

The English in West Africa
1685–1688



*The Local Correspondence of
the Royal African Company of England,
1681–1699
Part 2*

EDITED BY
ROBIN LAW

Fontes Historiae Africanae, New Series
SOURCES OF AFRICAN HISTORY,
No. 5

The letter-books of the Royal African Company of England, which have never previously been printed, cover the period 1681–1699. The original texts are being published in full, with extensive explanatory commentary, in three or four volumes. This second volume contains the letters for 1685–1688.

'Once completed, Law's edition of the Rawlinson manuscripts will place at the disposal of historians a set of materials that provides hitherto unimaginable opportunities to trace the micro-history of commercial relations at the Gold Coast and adjacent areas during the period when the English began to dominate the slave trade with this region.'
Slavery and Abolition, on Part 1.

Robin Law is Professor of African History, University of Stirling.

Cover illustration. Charles Fort, Anomabu, one of the Royal African Company's principal establishments on the Gold Coast: drawn by Jean Barbot, from his manuscript 'Description des Costes d'Affrique' (1688), in the Public Record Office, London, ADM 7/830.

THE ENGLISH IN WEST AFRICA
1685-1688

The Local Correspondence of the
Royal African Company of England 1681-1699
Part 2

FONTES HISTORIAE AFRICANAE, NEW SERIES
SOURCES OF AFRICAN HISTORY

5

THE ENGLISH IN WEST AFRICA
1685–1688

The Local Correspondence of the
Royal African Company of England
1681–1699

Part 2

edited by
Robin Law

Published for THE BRITISH ACADEMY
by OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

Oxford University Press, Great Clarendon Street, Oxford OX2 6DP

Oxford New York

*Athens Auckland Bangkok Bogota Bombay
Buenos Aires Calcutta Cape Town Dar es Salaam
Delhi Florence Hong Kong Istanbul Karachi
Kuala Lumpur Madras Madrid Melbourne
Mexico City Nairobi Paris Singapore
Taipei Tokyo Toronto Warsaw*

*and associated companies in
Berlin Ibadan*

*Published in the United States by
Oxford University Press Inc., New York*

© *The British Academy, 2001*

*All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced,
stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means,
without the prior permission in writing of the British Academy*

*British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
Data available*

ISBN 0-19-726252-X

*Typeset by Alden Bookset, Osney Mead, Oxford
Printed in Great Britain
on acid-free paper by
Creative Print & Design, Ebbw Vale, Wales*

Contents

Introduction	vii
Glossary	xiv
Maps	
1 Western Africa	xvii
2 Gold and Slave Coasts	xviii
THE DOCUMENTS	
I. James Island (Gambia)	1
II. Sekondi	4
III. Komenda	75
IV. Fredericksburg	141
V. Anashan	145
VI. Charles Fort, Anomabu	153
VII. Egya	238
VIII. James Fort, Accra	267
IX. Whydah	322
X. Ships	348
XI. Barbados	414
XII. Foreign Companies	419
Concordance	430
Bibliography	452
Indexes	
Places and Peoples	455
Persons	458
Ships	463
Selected Topics	464

For Paul E. Lovejoy,
in friendship and respect

Introduction

This book is the second volume of an edition of correspondence of the Royal African Company of England, relating to its activities in West Africa between 1681–99.¹

The Royal African Company (RAC) was chartered in 1672, held a legal monopoly of English trade with West Africa until 1698, and continued to manage the English possessions on the coast of West Africa until it was replaced by a new body, the Company of Merchants Trading to Africa, in 1752.² In Africa, the Company's trade was for a wide range of commodities, but principally for gold and slaves, the latter for English colonies in the Americas. Its local headquarters in West Africa was at Cape Coast (or, in the original form of the name, Cabo Corso) Castle on the Gold Coast (modern Ghana), and it maintained other forts or factories not only elsewhere on the Gold Coast, but also at the River Gambia and in Sierra Leone to the west, and on the 'Slave Coast' (the modern Republic of Bénin) and at Benin (in modern Nigeria) to the east.

The main body of the surviving records of the RAC is preserved in the Public Record Office (PRO) in London (series T70).³ But, at least as regards the Company's activities in West Africa, these records are less informative than might be expected, since the correspondence received from its agents on the African coast is preserved for the most part only in fragmentary form, mainly as brief summaries and excerpts rather than in the full original texts. This deficiency is offset, however, by other series of documents which are preserved outside the PRO; above all, by a group of letter-books of the Company from the late seventeenth century which passed into the possession of the eminent collector Richard Rawlinson (1690–1755), and which are now held by the Bodleian Library at Oxford.⁴ This material is preserved in three bound volumes (classified as Rawlinson C.745–7), and comprises a series of letter-books containing copies of correspondence received at Cape Coast Castle, the Company's West African headquarters. The value of this material lies not only in its

¹ See Law 1997a, cited hereafter as 'vol.i'. Since this is the second volume in a series, matters which relate to the series in general are treated only in an abbreviated form. For a fuller account, the reader is referred to the Introduction to the previous volume.

² See esp. Davies 1957.

³ Described by Jenkinson 1912.

⁴ Described by Henige 1972; Law 1993.

sheer extent (over 3,000 letters), but also in the fact that, unlike most of the RAC documents in the PRO, those in the Rawlinson corpus are preserved in their full original texts.

The letter-books in the Rawlinson collection extend from January 1681 to February 1699, though with substantial gaps between November 1683 and January 1686 and between April 1688 and April 1691; and briefer hiatuses in April 1696-March 1697 and September-December 1698. They comprise letters received at Cape Coast Castle, mainly from the Company's own agents elsewhere in West Africa. Most of these come from its other factories, but a significant minority from RAC ships trading along the coast. These letters not only document the commercial operations of the RAC itself, but also report extensively on the activities of other traders who were operating in competition with it, including English 'interlopers' (i.e. traders outside the Company, whose operations were technically illegal, being in breach of its monopoly rights), as well as foreign (Dutch, French, Portuguese, Danish and Brandenburg) competitors. As regards English trade, by comparison with other contemporary material, the principal value of the Rawlinson correspondence lies not only in its much greater density of detail, but also in its particular focus on the local West African end of the trade. It thus documents the role played by African servants and employees within the Company itself, as well by its trading partners in the coastal African societies with which it dealt; and linkages between overseas trade and the domestic economy, through the supply of foodstuffs (for the provisioning of slave ships, as well as for local subsistence) and other goods and services to support the operation of the trade. To the extent that the RAC's factories operated in close physical proximity and social interaction with the local communities where they were located, their correspondence can also be drawn upon as a source for the social history of African coastal communities more generally.⁵ Beyond this, it also contains incidental information on political and military events within African societies, including sometimes those in the interior as well as at the coast, which were reported insofar as they materially affected the state of trade. The Rawlinson corpus is thus an important source for indigenous West African history, as well as for African involvement in the European trade.

The importance of these documents is such as to warrant publication in their entirety; and the British Academy has undertaken this project, of which the present volume represents the second instalment. A further volume (or more likely, given the amount of material involved, two) will complete the project. Apart from the relatively few letters which relate specifically to the area of the 'Slave Coast', of which a preliminary transcription was published in 1992,⁶ these documents are published for the first time.

⁵ See further Law 1997b.

⁶ Law 1992; for the documents in 1685-8, this is now corrected and superseded by the transcription in the present volume.

The present volume

The first volume, published in 1997, presented material from the first continuous segment of time covered by the collection, comprising letters received at Cape Coast Castle between January 1681 and November 1683. There is then a gap in the series of two years and two months. The present volume presents the second continuous segment of material, which is included in eight separate successive letter-books containing correspondence received in Cape Coast between January 1686 and April 1688. (Because of delays in delivery, two of these letters, both from Whydah on the 'Slave Coast', were actually written in late 1685.) Initially, these letters were addressed to the Agent-General (who in 1686 was Henry Nurse) and Council at Cape Coast Castle; but on the retirement of Nurse in June 1687 the office of Agent-General was suppressed, and local authority was vested in a Committee of three Chief Merchants (initially Samuel Humfryes, Richard Wight and John Boylstone).⁷

Like others in the series, the letter-books from 1686–8 all carry the title 'Copies of Letters sent by the out-factors of the Royal African Company of England to the Chief Factors [or Agents] at Cape Coast Castle'. The great majority of the letters received did in fact originate from 'outfactories' of the Company elsewhere on the West African coast. Most of these came from factories elsewhere on the Gold Coast itself. At the beginning of 1686, the RAC possessed, in addition to its headquarters at Cape Coast Castle, a total of six establishments on the Gold Coast: these were, to the west of Cape Coast, at Sekondi and Komenda; and further east, at Fredericksburg (recently taken over from the Danish African Company), Anomabu (Charles Fort), Egya, and Accra (James Fort); and in 1687 a seventh factory was established (or rather, re-established) at Anashan, between Fredericksburg and Anomabu. There is also a substantial though less regular correspondence from the Company's factory at Whydah on the 'Slave Coast' to the east; and exceptionally, three letters received from that on James Island, in the River Gambia. There is no correspondence from the factories which the RAC is known to have maintained at this period in the Rivers Sierra Leone (Bunce Island) and Sherbro (York Island) to the west, and at Benin (in modern Nigeria) to the east,⁸ presumably because these reported directly to the RAC in London rather than to Cape Coast (as, normally, did James Island). There are also a large number of letters received from RAC ships trading along the African coast. These serve to extend the geographical coverage of the corpus, since they include reports from places where the RAC did not maintain any factories — in particular, on the Gold Coast itself, a number from Beraku, between Egya and Accra, and from the Adangme ('Alampo') country east of

⁷ Davies 1957, 245.

⁸ One letter (no.845) refers to trade in the Benin River, but does not mention any RAC factory there.

Accra; and also occasional letters from (or reporting trade on) other sections of the coast, including the Grain and Ivory Coasts (modern Liberia and Côte d'Ivoire) to the west and 'the Bight' (i.e. south-eastern Nigeria) and Gabon to the east. There is also, exceptionally, a group of five letters received from the RAC's agents and ships at Barbados in the West Indies; and others from non-English (Dutch and Danish) Companies on the West African coast.

Besides the original texts, this edition also includes annotation, intended mainly to clarify obscurities and (critically) to provide cross-references among documents within the Rawlinson collection; and also to direct attention to relevant secondary literature and comparative material in other original sources. Among the other primary sources cited, most systematic use has been made of other extant records of the RAC, preserved in the Public Record Office, although, as explained earlier, these are generally much less informative than the Rawlinson collection itself.⁹ Extensive use has also been made of records of the Dutch West Indian and Brandenburger African Companies, as available in English translation in published editions;¹⁰ and of records of the Danish African Company in an as yet unpublished translation, very generously made available by its editor.¹¹ There is no comparable published collection of French material, and the principal published study of French commerce in Africa in this period suggests that little detailed documentation survives in French archives for the 1680s.¹² In compensation for this deficiency, the most substantial published contemporary account which falls within this period is French, the account of the naval captain Du Casse, relating to a voyage to West Africa in 1687/8.¹³ Indeed the passage of Du Casse's expedition along the coast is noted in the RAC correspondence, making possible a quite detailed confrontation between the two sources, in which each can serve both as a control over and to clarify obscurities in the other.¹⁴

Before all else, of course, this material documents the commercial operations of the RAC itself, including the threats posed to its position not only by foreign European commercial competition (including especially, in the period 1686–8, the attempted intrusion of the French, culminating in the expedition of Du Casse) and English interlopers, but also by the operations of pirates.¹⁵ It also illuminates

⁹ Correspondence in the PRO relating specifically to the RAC factory at Whydah on the Slave Coast has been published in Law 1990a. A few other RAC documents from this period can be found in Donnan 1930–5, vol. i.

¹⁰ For Dutch records, see the selection published in Van Dantzig 1978 (and cf. also Van Dantzig 1980); for the Brandenburger Company, see the more comprehensive publication by Jones 1985.

¹¹ Justesen, forthcoming.

¹² Ly 1958.

¹³ Du Casse 1935.

¹⁴ Du Casse is mentioned by name in nos 304, 308, 316 (at Komenda); 572 (relating to Anashan); 797, 804 (Accra); 827 (Whydah); 949 (also written at Whydah, but referring back to events at Amisa).

¹⁵ The problem of piracy in the Atlantic in late 17th and early 18th centuries is commonly perceived as a specifically Caribbean problem, but it also affected the African coast: for a recent treatment, see Lane 1999.

the indigenous African side of the trade, for example by documenting variations in the range of commodities in demand on different points of the coast, and shifts in African demand through time,¹⁶ as well as the Company's frequently problematical relations with local African authorities. Further, this correspondence also provides invaluable documentation of significant political developments among indigenous West African societies. In particular, the correspondence from Sekondi on the western Gold Coast documents the power of the state of Adom, including its disputes with Wasa in the interior as well as with the coastal state of Ahanta in which Sekondi itself was situated. That from Komenda illuminates both internal disputes within the kingdom of Eguafu to which it belonged and intra-African wars which also involved the states of Abrem and Twifo in the interior, both of which intersected with Eguafu's disputes with the Dutch. That from Anomabu and Egya, both within Fante, record that state's wars with Fetu to the west and Agona to the east. That from Accra provides detailed information on the expansionist wars of Akwamu, under its King Ansa Sasraku. And that from Whydah offers more fragmentary but nevertheless precious glimpses of the emergence of the new power of Genyi ('Little Popo') on the coast to the west.

The treatment of the text

The general principles followed in the presentation of the text, as set out in the Introduction to the first volume, are also followed in this second volume, and are therefore summarized only briefly here. First, the letters are not presented in the order in which they appear in the original (which is, within each letter-book, according to the date of their receipt at Cape Coast); they have been separated out according to their geographical provenance, all the letters from each 'outfactory' over the whole period 1686-8 being grouped together, and in the order of their composition; and the collected correspondence from the various factories presented in geographical sequence, from west to east along the coast (chapters I-IX). The letters received from ships are treated similarly (in chapter X), all the letters relating to each particular ship being presented together. This sometimes involves separating letters from the local RAC factor and from a visiting ship's captain which refer to the same events; but cross-referencing has been included, to facilitate the making of the relevant connections among the documents. The handful of letters from the RAC's Barbados factory, and the letters from the Dutch and Danish Companies in West Africa, are also presented in separate chapters (XI and XII, respectively).

As regards the actual texts, these are reproduced in full, with the omission

¹⁶ The correspondence shows, for example, that sheets and tallow were among the major commodities sold on the Gold Coast, but neither were sold on the Slave Coast. By comparison with the correspondence for 1681-3, that for 1686-8 documents the increasing importance of tobacco and (especially) rum.

only of the purely formulaic beginnings and endings ('May it please your Worship' etc.) which add no substantive content. The spelling of the original, with all its idiosyncrasies and inconsistencies, has generally been retained, except that the conventional contractions commonly employed (such as 'ye' for 'the', 'Compa' for 'Company') have been expanded. Punctuation and capitalization, however, in the interests of comprehensibility, have been revised in the direction of modern usage. In the Introduction to the first volume, I explained that, in consequence, 'Although the sequence of words is (in intention, errors omitted) accurately reproduced from the original text, the grammatical structure is largely imputed to it, and in particular cases may be regarded as speculative or debatable', so that 'Readers should not feel constrained from envisaging other constructions of the grammar of these documents, if unhappy with those presented here'.¹⁷ Since this formulation has puzzled at least one reviewer,¹⁸ let me offer further explication. Given the inconsistency (and general exiguousness) of punctuation in the original text, it is often unclear where sentences (or indeed, constituent clauses) are meant to end, and consequently which subordinate clauses should be construed as belonging to which main ones. As a concrete illustration, in one of these letters (no.383) the phrase 'concerning Captain Wyburne' could, grammatically, relate either to the preceding or the following sentence; although an instinctive sense of language (as well as understanding of the context) favours the latter, this cannot be a decisive criterion. In most cases, such ambiguities do not materially affect the general thrust of meaning, but there are instances where they may be more critical: for example (in no.664) the lack of punctuation in a list of names leaves it unclear whether 'Ahen Domine' represents one person or two.

All editorial matter inserted into the text is distinguished by being included within square brackets. This includes notes of occasional places where the reading of the text is uncertain, and also cases where the spelling of the original seemed likely to cause confusion, or where words necessary to the sense are omitted, and it seemed appropriate to supply the additional material required for easy comprehension. In one respect at least, the letters from 1686-8 have presented fewer editorial problems than those from 1681-3, since whereas several of the letter-books from the earlier period exist in duplicate copies containing numerous detailed discrepancies, those for 1686-8 are preserved only in unique copies, so that the problem of variant readings is generally absent.¹⁹

It should be noted that the dates employed in these documents are normally given according to the Julian (or Old Style) Calendar, which continued in official use in England until 1751. In the seventeenth century, this was ten days behind

¹⁷ vol.i, xv.

¹⁸ David Henige, in *Journal of Imperial & Commonwealth History*, 26/3 (1998), 103.

¹⁹ One single letter (no.826) is duplicated, being copied into two separate letter-books; evidently, because copies were dispatched separately, and reached Cape Coast at different times.

the Gregorian (or New Style) calendar which most other Europeans involved in the African had already adopted.²⁰ In England at this period, the civil year also began officially on 25 March rather than 1 January; the ambiguity thus created was commonly (though not always) resolved by citing the year for dates between 1 January and 24 March according to both conventions (as, for example, 1685/6). Readers should also note that the directions 'windward' and 'leeward' (and also 'up' and 'down'), which appear frequently in these documents, correspond on the West African coast to west and east, respectively.

Acknowledgements

The author thanks the Bodleian Library for permission to publish this material, and the British Academy for its material and moral support of the project. The initial work of transcription was undertaken during the academic year 1996/7, when I held a Visiting Professorship at York University, Ontario (and, it so happened, materially facilitated by a faculty strike which suspended teaching during several weeks); and subsequent work on the editing and annotation of the text at the University of Stirling, including in particular a period of sabbatical leave granted for this purpose in the autumn semester of 1997. I wish also to place on record my appreciation of the assistance of many colleagues who have generously supplied advice and relevant information, including above all Adam Jones and Paul Hair; Ole Justesen, for making available to me his as yet unpublished translations of Danish documents; and for more specialist help David Bebbington (on Puritan devotional literature), Magnus Huber (on West African pidgin English) and Kris Lane (on piracy).

²⁰ In the letters from the Dutch and Danish Companies (nos 976–98), dates are given either in New Style, or according to both calendars.

Glossary

Non-English words and titles used in the documents:

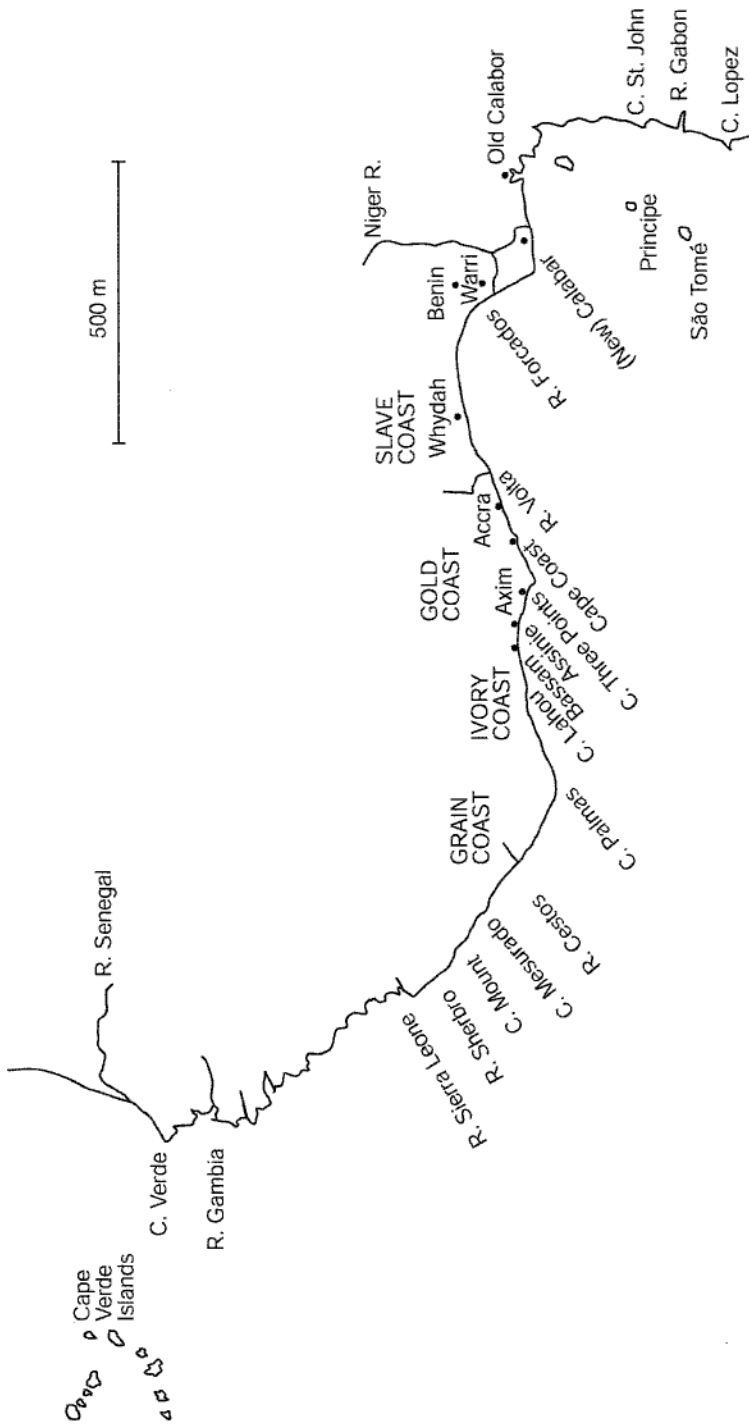
- acky [Akan *akye*]: greeting; sometimes used with the verb 'frow', which has not been identified but from the context clearly means 'gives' or 'sends'
- bendefoes: military organization, probably a form of town militia [see Kea 1982, 136–7]
- Braffo [Akan *obrafo*]: title, whose functions appear to have varied from place to place (and perhaps through time)—generally either the 'governor' of a town or a military commander [Kea 1982, 127–8]; normally a subordinate title, but in Fante, in the absence of a 'king', the 'Braffo' was the head of government [Bosman 1705, 57]
- bumbo [origin untraced]: slave foreman
- Cabushier, Capusheere [Portuguese *cabéceira*, 'head']: chief, used of both officials of African kingdoms and senior employees of European establishments
- cankey [Akan *kankyew*]: maize bread; hence 'cankey money', subsistence allowance; 'cankey woman', cook; 'cankey stones', stones to grind flour.
- concer [?Portuguese *casár*, 'marry']: have sexual relations with, marry
- Copeman [Dutch, *koopman*]: merchant, applied to chiefs of European factories
- Corrantier, Curranteer, Quarranter [?from Akan *kurow*, 'village']: title; in Fante, apparently the ruler of an individual town, as opposed to the 'Braffo' of the Fante confederation
- croom [Akan *kurow*] village; strictly, applied to dependent settlements as opposed to capital cities [Kea 1982, 100–1].
- dashee [Portuguese *dação*]: gift
- Fetera [?Portuguese *feitór*, 'agent']: title, an officer of the royal household [Kea 1982, 127]
- fetish [Portuguese *feitico*, 'artificial']: deity or magical charm; often in the phrase 'take fetish', referring to the taking of a ritual oath; also, with reference to gold, pieces of worked gold (not necessarily religious objects) as opposed to gold dust [Phillips 1732, 198; Bosman 1705, 73–4].
- fiscal [Dutch *fiscaal*, 'magistrate']: title of the second-ranking official of the Dutch West Indian Company at Elmina
- kickadevo [etymology uncertain; ?from Portuguese *cadaver*, 'corpse']: explained in an early 18th-century source as meaning 'killed, dead' [Atkins 1735, 60: 'kickatavoo']; but used in the Rawlinson correspondence of canoes capsizing
- Mareene [Portuguese *meirinho*, 'bailiff']: title, tax-collector [Kea 1982, 127–9]
- pallaver [Portuguese *palavra*, 'word']: dispute, discussion
- panyar [Portuguese *penhorár*, 'distrain']: seize (goods or persons), usually as security to enforce a payment
- prendee [Portuguese *prender*, 'take']: fine
- rowsawing, rosaing [Portuguese *roçár*]: clearing land for planting
- Tatea [Akan *tietie*]: herald

Weights, measures and values

angle, angel [abbreviated as 'a']	$\frac{1}{16}$ of an ounce of gold (value 5 shillings [£0.25] sterling)
anker	liquid measure, $10\frac{1}{2}$ gallons
barrel	as standard measure, variable according to commodity, e.g. wine/liquors $31\frac{1}{2}$ gallons ($\frac{1}{8}$ of a tun), ale/oil 32 gallons, beer 36 gallons; a standard whole barrel of gunpowder contained 100 lbs weight
benda, bendy	2 ounces of gold (value £8 sterling)
butt	large barrel; as standard (liquid) measure, variable according to commodity, e.g. wine/liquors, 126 gallons (= 1 pipe)
cask	as standard (liquid) measure, = 'barrel', as above, about 32 gallons
chest	as standard measure for corn, about 4 bushels [Phillips 1732, 208], i.e. 32 gallons, or 224 lbs weight
cracra	small piece of adulterated gold, of value between 1–3 farthings, $\frac{1}{4}$ – $\frac{3}{4}$ penny sterling [Bosman 1705, 81–2]
damba, damboy	$\frac{1}{2}$ of a taccoe (the smallest gold-weight, value $2\frac{1}{2}$ pence sterling)
fathom	measure of length, 2 yards (= 6 feet)
firkin	liquid measure, a 'quarter' of a barrel, i.e. around 8–9 gallons
gallon	at this period, the gallon was the 'old wine gallon' (3.785 litres), smaller than the modern 'imperial' gallon (4.546 litres)
guilder	Dutch unit of currency, value 2 shillings [£0.10] sterling
hogshead	liquid measure, 63 gallons (= 6 ankers)
hundredweight	in usage at this time, normally 100 rather than 112 lbs
mark ['mk', 'm']	8 ounces of gold (= £32 sterling)
ounce ['oz', 'o']	of gold, or equivalent value (= £4 sterling)
peas, peso	$\frac{1}{4}$ ounce of gold (= 4 angles)
puncheon	large barrel; as standard (liquid) measure, variable according to commodity: e.g. wine/liquors, 84 gallons
rod	measure of length, $5\frac{1}{2}$ yards (= $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet)
rundlet	small barrel; as standard measure, variable according to commodity, e.g. wine, 18 gallons; but fruit (cf. no.912) only 2 gallons
taccoe ['ta']	$\frac{1}{12}$ of an angel (value 5 pence sterling)
tierce	cask of 42 gallons ('one-third' of a pipe)
tun	as liquid measure, 252 gallons (2 pipes)

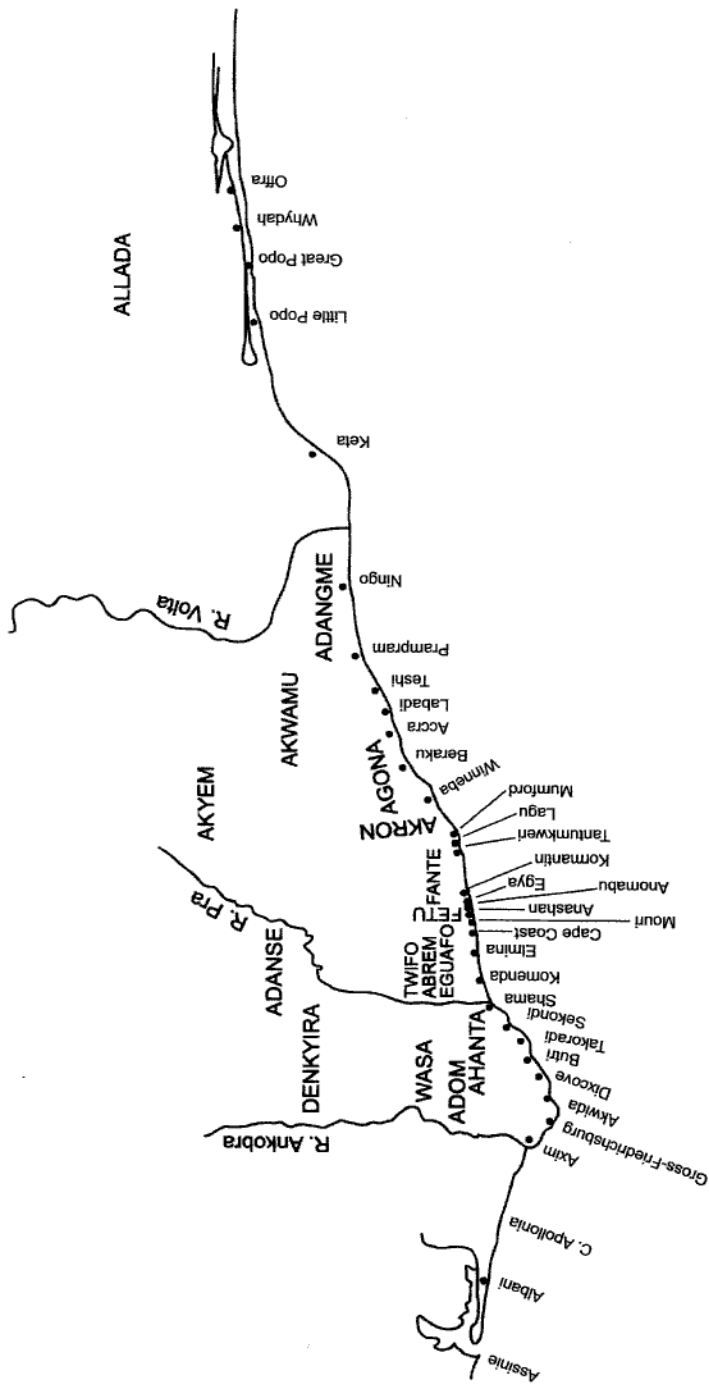
Trade goods:

allejars	Indian cotton (or mixed cotton and silk) cloth
bafts	Indian coarse cotton cloth
bouges	cowry shells
boysadoes	woollen cloth, made in England and the Netherlands
brawls	Indian coarse cotton cloth
broad cloth	English woollen cloth
carbine	short-barreled firearm
chercolees	Indian cotton cloth
clouts	cloth in small pieces
diglings	brassware, not identified
firelock	early form of musket, with pyrites rather than flint ignition lock
ginghams	Indian cotton cloth, woven with dyed thread
Guinea clouts/stuffs	Indian cloth, specially made for the Guinea market
herba	(as 'herba longees') made of grass fibre
Hessian	coarse cloth made of hemp and jute (from Hesse, in Germany)
Holland	linen cloth made in the Netherlands
long cloth	Indian cloth made in long pieces
longees	Indian cloth in small pieces. used e.g. as loin cloths or head-scarves
malagueta	species of African pepper
manobut bands	not identified (Indian cloth?)
marble clouts	not identified outside these documents; presumably, cloth dyed in a variegated pattern, resembling marble
matchlock	early form of musket, with match rather than lock ignition
mundees	African cloth, purchased from Benin
neptunes	pans (brass)
nicconees	Indian cotton cloth
paper	(as 'paper brawls', 'paper sletias') faced with paper
pautkeys	Indian cotton cloth
perpetuanoes	hard-wearing serge (wool) cloth, made in England
photas	Indian cloth
pintadoes	printed (batik) cloth from the East Indies
plains	(as 'Welsh plains') coarse woollen cloth
rangoes	sort of beads (carnelian, or glass imitation thereof?)
salamporis	Indian cotton cloth (from Salem)
says	fine woollen cloth, made in the Netherlands and England
sletias	linen cloth, originally from Silesia but also made in England and the Netherlands
snaphance	early form of flintlock musket
tapseiles	Indian cloth of mixed cotton and silk
umbanees	not identified outside these documents; but since packed in bales (no.777), presumably a form of cloth



Map 1. Western Africa

250 m



Map 2. Gold and Slave Coasts

I

JAMES ISLAND (GAMBIA)

The English fort on James Island in the River Gambia had been established in 1661, by the Company of Royal Adventurers Trading into Africa, the predecessor of the RAC, and inherited by the RAC in the 1670s. The trade from James Island was conducted not only up the River Gambia itself but also over a wide section of the coast to both north and south, and was for ivory, wax, gum, hides and dyewood, as well as slaves.¹

It is clear that James Island normally reported directly to the RAC in London, rather than through Cape Coast Castle, so that correspondence from the Gambia was not regularly registered in the Cape Coast letter-books which make up the Rawlinson corpus. This arrangement reflected patterns of ship movements: the trade to the Gambia (and also to Sierra Leone, to the east) being conducted mainly by ships sailing directly from and back to England (or, if they carried slaves, to the Americas), without proceeding further east along the coast;² while conversely, ships bound for the Gold Coast did not normally call at the Gambia en route, but took a course from the Cape Verde Islands south and east through the open sea before turning north to make their first landfall on the West African coast further east, in the area of Cape Mount (in modern Liberia).³ Exceptionally, however, the Rawlinson corpus contains three letters from the factory at James Island — plus one further letter (no.919) from a ship calling there — during 1686–7. Of the three letters from the factory, one (no.1) relates to a transfer of goods from James Island to Cape Coast and one (no.3) to goods taken on board an RAC ship, which were charged to Cape Coast, while the third (no.2) is a letter of congratulation on the appointment of the Committee of Chief Merchants at Cape Coast; and it is evidently these particular transactions which explain this exceptional correspondence. The first of the James Island letters mentions, implicitly as an innovation, that two of the RAC ships annually of those headed for the Gold Coast were henceforth to call there, to land goods at the factory. This does not, however, seem

¹ Davies 1957, 214–19.

² *Ibid.*, 185–6.

³ Cf. Barbot 1992, ii, 769.

to have produced a more regular correspondence; apart from the ships by which these three letters were transmitted, at least one other called at the Gambia on its way to the Gold Coast during 1686–8, but does not seem to have carried any letter.⁴

1. Alexander Cleave

James Island, 10 March 1686

This accompanys the Lindsey, Captain James Butler Comander, who was ordered to touch here per the Royall Company for to put me some iron and other goods on shore, which the ship[s] the Company consigns heither for the carriing away the produce of this place are not capable to bring, per whome have likewise received an order for to imbarque on board all such goods as I have per me that is not proper for the trade of this place and to consign them to you, which accordingly I have done. They importe to as per invoice and bills of loading inclos'd 429 barrs, being rated according as I sell them here,⁵ but if they will yeild more on the Coast⁶ be pleased accordingly to give credditt. They are many of them intire as they came out of England, therefore noe wayes doubt but they will prove well condition'd. I am in expectation of Captain Pickards arrivall dayly, who is designed for the Coast but order'd to touch here to put me more iron ashore,⁷ per whome shall consign you some Islands cloths, if they come timely to hand, I haveing sent a ship to the Isle of May for the purchaseng the same.⁸ I am promised per the Company to have two Coast ships touch here annually for better supply of this factory, the trade being of late soe much improv'd that the ships which carry away the produce of the place are not capable of bringing sufficient for the purchasing $\frac{3}{4}$ of what they carry away. If you are pleas'd to lett me know wherein I can be servisable to you per way of shipping that shall touch here or otherwise you shall finde how ready I shall be to demonstrate myself how much I am [Your assured ffreinde and servant].

⁴ Viz. the *East India Merchant* in 1686 (no.923)

⁵ At the Gambia (and also in Sierra Leone) goods were valued in 'bars'; although (presumably) this had originally represented the actual value of an iron bar, by the late seventeenth century it was a conventional unit of account, somewhat less in value than an actual iron bar (Davies 1957, 238).

⁶ The term 'the Coast' is consistently used in this correspondence to refer not to the African (or even West African) coast as a whole, but to a particular section if it; cf. no.301, where 'the Coast' is distinguished from Sierra Leone, as well as from the Gambia. It should probably be understood to mean the 'Coast of Guinea', in the more restricted use of the latter term common in the seventeenth century, to refer to the coast east of Sierra Leone (the land further west being called 'Nigritia'): as e.g. in Barbot 1992, i, 16, 231.

⁷ Pickard arrived at Axim on the Gold Coast in May 1686 (no.836); there is no indication in this correspondence whether he did, in fact, call at the Gambia en route.

⁸ Referring to the Cape Verde Islands, of which the Isle of May was one. Cloth manufactured on the Cape Verde Islands was purchased for re-sale on the Gold Coast (Phillips 1732, 188).

2. Alexander Cleeve

James Island, 27 July 1687

Having this oppertunity per the Francis, Captain Mitchell, I could do no less, than to congratulate your confirmation per the Royall Affrican Company, wishing you all health and prosperity in your present employ.⁹ I should have sent you some head of catle per this conveyance could that captain have taken them in. Shall readily serve you, when I receive your comands.

3. Alexander Cleeve

James Island, 12 Aug. 1687

I wrote you of the 27th July per the Francis, Captain Mitchell, to which I refer you.

This accompanies the Coast Friggat, Captain John [sic: = Henry] Wood, who arrived here the 30th July,¹⁰ being in want of provitions, wood, water & ca., which I have supplied him with as per the inclosed receipt, for which I make your Factory debtor.

⁹ Alluding to the constitution of the committee of three Chief Merchants at Cape Coast (Samuel Humfryes, Richard Wight and John Boylston), following the suppression of the office of Agent-General in June 1687.

¹⁰ Cf. no.919.

II

SEKONDI

The westernmost factory held by the RAC on the Gold Coast during the 1680s was that at Sekondi ('Sucedee' in these documents). This factory had been re-established, after a period of abandonment, in 1683,¹ and was maintained continuously throughout the period of this correspondence, from January 1686 to April 1688. In 1686, as is noted in this correspondence, the factory was in the process of being rebuilt or extended in stone, and was henceforth regarded as a 'fort'.² The Sekondi factory was primarily important for trade in gold, though it also supplied some slaves. It also served the function, as this correspondence illustrates, of giving notice to Cape Coast Castle of the approach of shipping from the west.

The Dutch West Indian Company (WIC) also maintained a factory at Sekondi throughout this period, which is frequently referred to in this correspondence. A second Dutch factory which had existed earlier at Takoradi ('Taggeradoe' etc.), west of Sekondi, had been abandoned in 1684.³ In this absence of the Dutch, the Brandenburg African Company had taken the opportunity to establish a factory in Takoradi in 1685,⁴ but, as reported in this correspondence (no.104), the Brandenburgers were forced out by the Dutch in September 1687. In January 1687 the French Guinea Company also attempted to establish a factory in Takoradi, but this was attacked and destroyed by military forces from Mina, at the instigation of the Dutch (nos 65-8).

Sekondi and Takoradi both belonged to the state of Ahanta ('Antia', 'Antea'), which was seemingly a loose federation rather than a centralized kingdom.⁵

¹ See vol.i, chap. I.

² Fortification of the Sekondi factory was recommended in 1684, and had begun by Aug. 1685: PRO, T70, Henry Nurse et al., Cape Coast Castle, 24 July 1684 & 15 Aug. 1685.

³ The factory was abandoned in Dec. 1684, apparently later reoccupied but again abandoned in Dec. 1685: Jones 1985, 98, n.1, 158 n.2.

⁴ Jones 1985, no.26 (Resolution of Council, Gross-Friedrichsburg, 5 Feb. 1685). The Brandenburg factory was attacked by the Dutch, and its personnel massacred, in Feb. 1685: *ibid.*, no.72 (Johan Nieman, Gross-Friedrichsburg, 25 May 1690). But it had been reoccupied by July 1685: *ibid.*, no.31 (Accounts, Akwida, July 1685).

⁵ For Ahanta, see Welman 1925.

Ahanta had been conquered by the interior state of Adom ('Adoom', 'Idoom') in 1681.⁶ In 1683, at the time of the re-establishment of the RAC factory in Sekondi, it was clearly under the effective control of Adom, with whose ruler 'Tickadoe' the English company negotiated. In 1686, Adom was still ruled by the same man (called 'Tecodee' or 'Ticodee' in nos 42, 44), and was still a power to be reckoned with; but its authority over Sekondi seems to have become tenuous, with instances of harassment of Adom merchants seeking to trade there, and recurrent rumours that Adom was contemplating a further attack on Ahanta (nos 16 etc.). The situation was complicated by tensions between Adom and its own immediate neighbour in the interior, Wasa ('Wassaw' etc.), which culminated in a war between the two states in 1688 (nos 29 etc.). The tensions between Adom and Ahanta on the one hand, and Adom and Wasa on the other, combined to disrupt trade through Sekondi throughout this period.

4. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 16 Jan. 1685 [= 1686]

Your Worships I received, with the knives, rangoes, and corral, which I will dispose of to the best advantage I can. As for the warehouse, I shall be as carefull as posible may be. As for what ships are to windward, I am informed by Captain John Woodfine there is a French man, and a Dutch interloper, and three other which he could not give an account of. I have heard no news of the Mary as yett; as soon as I can heare of her, I shall deliver your Worships letter and informe your Worship thereof. As for my December account I would have sent with my November, but was continuously troubled with [ms 'wt'] the canoe men and the blacks though their business was of noe account, [so] that I could not have time to write them all out; I haveing one write, could not perswade Mr Innes to tarry till I write the other out. I would have sent them now, but durst not trust the canoe men with the mony.⁷ Of the occasion of my writing at the present, is to informe your Worship of the death of Robert Chapple, who died the 15th instant. Mr Baily⁸ presents his servis to your Worship, and desires a corker [= caulker], if there be any to be spared; a Munday he hopes to heave up her keel, and desires to informe your Worship he is in good health and hath been soe ever since he hath been here. John Veasey is very ill, and am affraid we shall loose him; soe is Mr Hilling but I hope he will recover. The othere sleepes night and day, ask him how he doth he saith very well, butt I beleive he is ill and is not sensible of it. Captain Assumes⁹ wants his Christmas cloth.

⁶ Barbot 1992, ii, 345, 363 n.45. A further war between Adom and Ahanta had been fought in 1685: Jones 1985, no.26 (Resolutions of Council, Gross-Friedrichsburg, 5 Feb. 1685). For Adom, see also Henige 1975.

⁷ i.e. gold, a regular usage in this correspondence.

⁸ James Bailey, commanding the *Adventure* Sloop.

⁹ A leading chief of Sekondi, also mentioned in the 1683 correspondence (vol.i, nos 2-3 etc.). He died in Sept. 1687 (no.100).

5. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 18 Jan. 1686

I received your letter by Bastian Ferdinand, whome I sent aboard Mr Baily, who wisheth he had a corker in his stead, but he will make the best shift he can. Mr Helling is indeferently in health againe; but John Veasey is little better, lying and sleeping continually. Here is two Fflemish interlopers in the road; but I cannot here [= hear] any news of the Mary yett, neither by blacks nor them. Shortly we shall want blew [= blue] perpetuanoes, tallow, narrow nicconees. Pray send me waits [= weights] and scales, to weight the beads, for we have sorts the Dutch¹⁰ hath not, which I know not how to sell; also the weight of the whole chest, otherwise if part be sold know not how to charge it in my accompt; also how many chests of corne was in those caske[s] sent me last and what the quarter caske of oyle contains, with the price of both. I have sent my December accompt by the canoe, but the mony I durst not trust. 3 marks was paid Mr Humfryes at Christmas; the remaynes I will send per first conveyance. The Capusheres¹¹ of the twon [= town] are desireous of Cophee¹² and would not be satisfied till I write, proffering to send a canoe themselves, with the letter.

6. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 22 Jan. 1685/6

I have by this canoe sent downe Robert Stone, who is uncapeable of doeing Mr Bayley anye servis by reason of sickness. Mr Bailey presents his servis to your Worship, and will make what expedition he can in creening [= careening] his vessell, one side being done, by reason of the sea being so great could not finish the other. Pray send me as soon as possible may be some blew perpetuanoes, narrow nicconees, and tallow, which would goe off dayly, though I have but small trade, it being rowsawing¹³ time yet. We have had a very sickly time amongst us: when one is up another is down, Mr Chambers haveing had a violent fitt of vomitting and loosness but is sometimes cheary at present, Mr Hilling [and] John Veasey being sometimes well other times ill. As for my selfe I make shift to keep indiferent well. 21st instant a French man of war of 28 gunns anchored here; the Lieutenant, marchant and purser came a shoar, who say the ship was given the French Company by the king of France, to clear the coast of pyrates, who he was informed wore the French flagg.¹⁴ The Captain[s] name is Monseur Lefebree, who knowes your Worship very well, as they say; the Captain presents his servis to your Worship, and designs to be at Cabo Corso very spedily. They have a letter from Mr

¹⁰ i.e. the factory of the Dutch WIC at Sekondi.

¹¹ See Glossary.

¹² Captain Coffee, a prominent African employee of the RAC, also frequently referred to in the 1681–3 correspondence (see vol.i, nos 1–4 etc.).

¹³ See Glossary.

¹⁴ Probably the ship *Les Jeux*, which was sent to West Africa in 1685: see Du Casse 1935, 16.

Platt to your Worship, who lyes at Cape Appellonia;¹⁵ but I cannot hear of the Mary, nor none but another French ship of 24 gunns to windward,¹⁶ only [= except] 3 Fflemish interlopers in this roade. I have also sent a broken maule¹⁷ which would desire your Worship to order another as big againe to be sent in the rome of it. I have turned out the Cape Coast canoe men; for they would give me ill language and would not work, [so] that the slaves has played for want of stones;¹⁸ soe have gott 9 Succondee men, for 4a¹⁹ 3 men per turne, willing men who will help the slaves fetch the stones, which the other would not. Now the others would work, but I will not lett them; if I should turn them [= the Sekondi men] out, and they [= the Cape Coast men] fall to their old tricks I should gett none; now they are contented to work when the others are done. If your Worship would have them down pray send by the next. The slaves work stoutly, and use stone very fast, for the which I am glad I have 4 [sic] Succondee men to supply them.

7. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 28 Jan. 1685/6

This accompanys Joseph Collenwood, who came in a canoe from Cape Tree-spintas,²⁰ from the Generall of the Branburgers,²¹ haveing laine their a week before he could gett any canoe, which cost 4a which I have paid. He informes me that Mr Platt is carried away by the pyrate and 4 men panyard²² by the Negroes, the rest he left at Axim.²³ He said he heard aboard the pyrate that the Mary fought him at Cestos,²⁴ but she shot his mayn mast, which occasioned him to leave her.²⁵ For further news I refer to Joseph Collenwood, who can better informe your Worship. Pray send some nicconees, tallow, sheets, boysadoes, and blew perpetuanoes. By next opertunity will send my January account. I have bought a man slave for 7 peas which you will receive per the canoe. Our fforte goes very well forward and will goe ffaster when the sloops²⁶ are gon. We want another maul. We are in a sickly condition amongst us, Mr Hilling haveing the yallow janders [= jaundice]; as for

¹⁵ = no.829. Cape Apollonia is west of Takoradi.

¹⁶ Probably the *Saint Louis*, commanded by D'Amon: cf. Du Casse 1935, 16.

¹⁷ maul, i.e. a wooden hammer.

¹⁸ i.e. for building the fortifications.

¹⁹ i.e. 4 angels: for units of gold value (marks, bendas, ounces, peas, angels, tackies, dambas) see Glossary.

²⁰ Cape Three Points, between Cape Apollonia and Sekondi.

²¹ i.e. the Director-General of the Brandenburger African Company, based at Gross-Friedrichsburg, Cape Three Points.

²² See Glossary.

²³ Cf. no.831. Axim is between Cape Apollonia and Cape Three Points.

²⁴ River Cestos (nowadays, Cess), on the Grain Coast (in modern Liberia).

²⁵ Cf. no.898.

²⁶ i.e. the *Adventure* and the *Ann*.

myselfe very well in health. The Capusheers makes a palaver²⁷ for Cophe, so doth the Idoom people, who all know him as I beleive. The Capusheers desire him upon their account, for they came to me for a letter to your Worship, and they would send a canoe themselves for him. Pray send Captain Assumes cloath.

8. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 30 Jan. 1686

Your Worships is received with the nicconees and tallow, whereof 9 nicconees is damaged. As for the forte we will forward as fast as possible may be. I encourage the slaves what I can to gett it up before the rains, which they p[r]omise to effect, they haveing used their indeavour very well heitherto, but we shall want bricks and lime very quickly, also three trouells and 100 large staples for the canoe, and nayles for the carpenters, 100 single [ms. 'signle'] tenns and as many double tenns. As for goods I want sheets, boysadoes and blew perpetuanoes, broad tapseiles. Perpetuanoes I could put of one blew one green,²⁸ which I could not doe before, the Dutch haveing none nor none to supply him at the Mine.²⁹ I have almost a chest of sheets left, which are most damnified, and the rest is soe course [= coarse] they will scarce pass but for damaged sheets, all of them almost comeing in one of the last chests sent me; some may pass when I have better to mix with them, but as they are they will not take one. As for news to windward I hear none but what your Worship already knows of, only Mounser Leffebree who lies at Commenda,³⁰ whom I write to your Worships of, he is suspected to be confeding with the pyrate, to sell his goods [which] he takes from other ships, I being informed he sold English goods at Commenda. I have write to Mr Cross³¹ what I heard, that he might make what inquirey he could, and give your Worship information thereof. Mr Bayley hath clean'd his vessell, and stayes but for the creening one side of the Ann Sloope, before he comes down; he hath sent down the other white carpenter, being very sick [so] that he was afraid of burying him here. Pray send me some rum and paper, also the qantity and price of the corne and palm oyle sent me last, otherwise I know not how to charge it. I have sent down the letter for Mr Carter³² by Captain Petter.³³ The people are glad of Cophes coming up. Captain Assume makes a pallaver for his cloth.

²⁷ See Glossary.

²⁸ i.e. Africans would only accept the less favoured colour (in this case, green) in combination with the other: cf. e.g. no.469.

²⁹ A Mina (also called Elmina), the headquarters of the Dutch WIC on the Gold Coast, to the east.

³⁰ Komenda, east of Ahanta.

³¹ William Cross, chief of the RAC factory at Komenda.

³² Capt. John Carter, commander of the *Mary*.

³³ An employee of the RAC, also mentioned in the 1681–3 correspondence (vol.i, nos 92 etc.).

9. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 2 Feb. 1686

Your Worships of the 30th of January is received and have inquired what I could after the pyrate, all the news I can hear of him is buy a Portugues who arrived here last night and informes the sames [sic] pyrate hath taken 5 ships upon the coast of Brazell, one being loaded with plate, there being seaven Ffathers aboard whom killed and saved all the rest of the men. He saith he se noe ships to windward but the French mans consorte and his tender. The pyrate is suspected to begon down to Ardra.³⁴ I have sent down Collin Hunter, according to your Worships order. I would have sent my Januarys accounts, but they departing soe suddenly after my month was up, I could not gett them ready. By the next returne of sloop or canoe I shall not fail to send them. I sent down one markes, four ounces, three angles, and four taccoes of gold by Mr Innes, which with three marks already received by Mr Humfryes is the ballance of my December account. Mr Chambers desires your Worship to order the windows for the lower rooms to be done as fast as they can. Pray send those necessaryes both for the fforte and ffactory, mentioned in my last letter.

10. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 8 Feb. 1685/6

I have received your Worships letter per the Ann Sloope, also by Mr Bayley. Likewise the goods for the ffactory, and other necessarys for the forte. Mr Chambers presents his servis to your Worship, and will husband the lyme and bricks as well he can. For bricks we shall doe pretty well, but lyme we shall want a good quantity more, though we use it but for the outside. Also thirty scaffold poles, and the best of the old timber for lintles for the windows, which is all the timber we shall want, till the uper floor be ready; then we shall want nine girders of 26 foot long, which since lyme is scarce will be convenient to lay across the fforte and cramp at each end with iron, which will be a great strength to it, if your Worship please to allow thereof. Pray send the windowes as soon as possible may be, also 200 of six penny nayles. We want blew perpettuanoes and more tapseiles, which would fetch a little mony, though we have but small trade and great charges of canoe hire. The merchants expects great dashes,³⁵ the Dutch spoiles the trade by giveing a sheet in every bendy,³⁶ which would desire your worship to consider of at leasure. As yett but few merchants comes till rowsawing time be over. I have sent my January account by Mr David Innes, also three marks, six ounces, eight angles, six taccoes, being the ballance of my account. I have sent two men one

³⁴ = Allada, on the Slave Coast. But this name was frequently used in a broad geographical sense, to include the neighbouring but distinct kingdom of Whydah, where the RAC's factory in this area was in fact located.

³⁵ See Glossary.

³⁶ i.e. as 'custom', or commission.

women slaves in three severall months, which I have noe receipts for, neither doe know who I ought to have it of, which I humbly desire your Worship to informe me of.

11. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 14 Feb. 1685/6

I received your Worships letter by Mr Innes with the bricks, lyme and timber and other necessaryes for the forte. For the windows we were forced to use some of the old ones, else we should have tarryed for them. We should have been forwarder, but the sea hath been soe bad, that we have had noe stones fetcht this week, which occasioned us to use more of the old stones then we were willing. As for the 9 girders I write for, Mr Chambers saith he thought to use noe jeyce [= joist?] at all if had them, but if your Worship dislikes thereof he leaves it to your Worships discession. Pray order three door cases and the windows for the upper roomes to be got ready, also some rope to tye the scaffold poles. As for goods I want only iron bars and white beads. Here is an old girder that was put up in the last forte,³⁷ which the carpenter saith is not fitt to be put up in this. The girder is very bad, that is true, but Mr Chambers is for haveing it up; for my own part I doe not much approve of it, but if better cannot be conveniently spared it may serve. As for the complaint I made of the carpenter in my last letter, he still continues in his obstinancy, doeing nothing but what he listeth himselfe.

12. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 17 Feb. 1685/6

This accompany Mr Chambers, by whome I have sent a sample of white and yellow beads, which is all the sortes are vendible here, especially the white. The samples would have gone by Mr Innes but he hastened away so fast for fear of a turnado, that he went without them. As for other goods I want only sheets. What is wanting for the forte Mr Chambers will inform your Worship. The carpenter hath been very mild ever since he received a check from your Worship, but before their was no rest in the ffactory for him.

13. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 19 Feb. 1686

I am forced to be at the charge of a canoe, to render your Worship an account of our hinderances in building the fforte, ffirst through bad seas that we could gett noe stone, and now through carelessness of the canoe men, who have staved the canoe all to peices. We have used all the old stone which was good, and question not but to have lay'd the floor all by Tuesday next at ffarthest, which had been done

³⁷ At the beginning of 1686 the fortifications under construction had collapsed, and the work was resumed on a new plan: PRO, T70/11, Henry Nurse et al., Cape Coast Castle, 6 Jan. 1686.

before, could we have been supplyd with stone. I would desire your Worship to render us advice what we shall doe with all the convenent speed, for haveing noe stone cannot tell at present. Mr Chambers present his servis to your Worship and desires some more lyme and bricks; if there be noe bricks, also desires liberty to come down a Satterday affter the floors lad [= laid] and come up a Sunday night. Yesterday a Pourtugees passed by with a Governer aboard for the Island Princes.³⁸ Here is a Dutch interloper in the roade, and one at Dicks Cove³⁹ newly come upon the Coast.

14. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 24 Feb. 1686

I have received your Worships letter both by the canoe and sloop, also the necessaryes for the forte, and iron barrs one hundred for the ffactory. For what shall be wanting for the fforte, Mr Chambers will informe your Worship on Satterday next. I have sent a sample of what beads I want by Mr Innes. Also sheets, I desire your Worship to supply me with as soon as may be, for I have none. The canoemen I have order'd to goe down in the sloop, 5 that came with the 7 hand and 4 of the old canoemen, which I have paid here, their being 27 turnes due to them. I would a [= have] given your Worship a ffull account but the wind blowing ffresh Mr Innes feard a turnadoe, soe would not tarry. By Mr Chambers I shall send ffurther advice.

15. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 4 March 1685/6

The occasion of my writing at present is to give your Worship an account that the French man that hath lay soe long to windward is noe better then a pyrate by all signs that may be,⁴⁰ for here lay a Dutch interloper in the road, who seing him comeing about the point, weighed in the night and stood of [= off] to sea, and the next day after he was gon, came into the road againe. The Ffrench man came to anchor of Taggeradoe under Flemish coulors, were [= where] he tarried not above four howers [= hours]. The blacks went aboard to buy goods but they had nothing to sell, but told them they were a Dutch ship. This day we saw him sayle to Shuma⁴¹ wearing French coullers, where he remayns at present. He is a ship of force, and the blacks say full of men, soe haveing all these suspicions of a pyrate I thought good to render your Worship advice thereof.

³⁸ Prince's Island (modern Principe): see further no.391.

³⁹ Dixcove, between Cape Three Points and Takoradi.

⁴⁰ Du Casse complained that the Dutch misrepresented the *Les Jeux* and its fellow-warship the *Saint Louis* as pirates (1935, 16).

⁴¹ Shama, east of Sekondi.

16. Thomas Bucknell [Succondee],⁴² 6 March 1685/6

Your Worships by Mr Bayley is received with the bricks, lyme and timber for the forte. As for other materialls, we want none at present only boysadoes for the ffactory. As for my accounts I will send them down in the Ann sloop, for I had no paper to write them out till I received some per Mr Innes, otherwise your Worship had received them before. As for trade here is little, nor no better like to be as yet. as I can perceive. I set [sic] Cophe to inquire of the blacks why the Idoomes came not down, but he cannot understant the reason of it. All as I can understand the Idoomes have a pallaver with the people above them,⁴³ which hinders their comeing down, but I am sometimes of the opinion they carry a fayr correspondence and make a shew of pease with the Antia people, and wait but for an oportunity to come down upon them as they did before.⁴⁴ I am inform'd by the blacks that Captain Towers, the Dutch interloper,⁴⁵ fought the pyrate to windward 3 dayes till his ship sunk under him, he escap'ding [sic] ashoar in his boat to the Brandyburgs forte⁴⁶ w[h]ere he dyed, I have no certainty but what the blacks report.⁴⁷ I here of no ships to windward only one Fflemish interloper in this road.

17. Thomas Bucknell Succondee, no date

I have received per Ann Sloop 4 chests of sheets, one chest of beads and one bale of blanquetts, which I have here mentioned in my letter by reason had no letter from your Worship know not what I ought to receive. I have sent down one of my accounts by which your Worship may se how my accounts stand, which is all bussiness would permit me to write out, haveing no paper tell Satturday towards night. As for the beads in my account I would not charge quantity nor the remaynes, not knowing what was in the chest, which desire your Worship to send me word, also of those now sent, with the price of the blanketts, and I shall send your Worship two duplicates of my Ffebruary accounts and desire this to be returned, which am forced to require, paper being soe scarce. I have also sent mk4 6oz 4a 4ta of gold by Mr Innes, being the ballance of my account. Mr Chambers desires your Worship to order the windows, lyme and lintels to be sent.

⁴² 'Annamaboc' in ms., clearly in error.

⁴³ i.e. with Wasa: cf. nos 29, 34.

⁴⁴ There were recurrent rumours of an impending attack by Adom on Sekondi during 1686: cf. nos 25–6, 28–9, 44, 55. No such attack occurred; but this may have been because Adom was distracted by its war with Wasa in the interior.

⁴⁵ Thomas Thors, actually a German in the service of the Danish African Company (see Nørregård 1966, 53–4).

⁴⁶ i.e. Gross-Friedrichsburg, at Cape Three Points, the headquarters of the Brandenburg African Company.

⁴⁷ In fact, the report was false: Thors did fight the pirate, but later arrived alive in Sekondi road (no.23).

18. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 9 March 1685/6

This accompanys Mr Hilling, who is in a de[s]perate condition with the fflux who haveing used all possible means here to noe effect, earnestly desired to goe down to have some remidy for his dangerous distemper, whom I have sent per the canoe. The rest in the factory remayne in good healt[h]. Pray send me some boysadoes and white beads, which is the only sort of beads I want, desireing when I sent the sample the white especially, and the chest last sent is all yellow. Mr Hilling can inform your Worship what sort to send me, I have no sample left. Also the price of the blanquets and the weight of the two chest of beads. Mr Chambers desires your Worship to send some more lyme and planck.

19. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 12 March 1686

These lines are to give your Worship an account that Captain Wood is safe arrived in this road from the Boneen,⁴⁸ being all in good health at present but haveing had much sickness amongst them. For further advice I refer to Captain Woods one [= own] letter, which your Worship will receive per canoe, wherein your Worship will be ffully inform'd of all news.⁴⁹ We are quite out of lyme [so] that the work lyeth still for want thereof.

20. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, no date [17 March 1686]

Your Worships per Mr Innes is received with the ten boysadoes. For other goods I want only white beads which I have writt for in severall letters before and have received a chest of all yellow insteed thereof. I have sent down another duplicate of my Ffebruray account wherein is two blanks, one of the beads and the other of the palm oyle. Not knowing the weigt of the chest of beads or quantity of the oyle could not know how to charge it, which I desire your Worship to send per the next returne, also the weig[ht] of the last chest of beads and the price of thee blanketts, also this duplicate of my account and I shall fill in the blanks and returne another with it. As for ships I heard of none but your Worship hath had already advice of. Pray send me the jeyce and some more lyme with all the speed that may be. Mr Chambers hath bargained for oyster shells⁵⁰ to be brought for 10ta a but and hath built a kill⁵¹ to burne them in the time the slaves lay idle for want of lime, being of opinion he can make lyme cheape here. He hath ventred as far as halfe an ounce, further he will not till he heres from your Worship, also he beleives they will not

⁴⁸ Benin, in modern Nigeria. For European trade with Benin at this period (mainly for ivory and cloth, the latter for re-sale on the Gold Coast), see Ryder 1969, 124-6.

⁴⁹ = no.834, from Henry Wood, commanding the *George Sloop*.

⁵⁰ Oystershells were burnt to make lime, for building.

⁵¹ i.e. kiln.

fetch wood reasonable. I haveing been very sick of late but am something better at present.

21. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 22 March 1688

Your Worships per Mr Innes is received with the lyme and timber. As for in my last letter being of no date was an oversight which I desire your Worship it excuse of date should have been the 17th instant. But for the white beads I never had any word I could not be supply'd before, otherwise I should not have been so importunate for them. I have filled up my account; also sent another duplecate, but could not charge the remaynes of the beads, not haveing an account what the first chest weigh'd. I want some more Guine clouts and sheets, which I desire your Worship to send per first oportunity. Mr Chambers desires your Worship to send some brick batts, iron work for the girders, a few peices of broken tiles, and the remainder of the jeyce, also to order the sawyer to cutt the boards ready for the floor, and the smith to make the nayles. If it stands with your Worships good liken would come down with my March account my selfe, for one dayes continuance if no other bussiness falls out betwixt this and then.

22. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 31 March 1688

Yours of the 26th instant is received with the sheets and Guine stufs and other necessaryes for the forte. Have return'd the chest of yellow beads, the full weight received, and not haveing any trade for them. Here is a great Capushere of the Idoms, come down a Sunday last with about two hundred souldiers, with haveing as he saith a pallaver with Yankee⁵² at the croom,⁵³ which he keeps closs to himself, till such time as Yankee cometh down. When I understand what the palaver is I shall render your Worship advice thereof. I shall make bold to accept of your Worships grant to come when the Capushere is gon, leave the factory in trust with Collin Hunter for so short a time, I desiring but one dayes time their. I want green Welch playns, and Arda cloths⁵⁴ haveing a stripe of blew and one of white which the Mine people sell for 14 per one ounce,⁵⁵ and some rum. Mr Chamber desires your Worship to order some Ss⁵⁶ for the girders, nailes and boards and what brick batts the sloop can carry, to be sent; and some lyme, the making of which comes to small effect for want of wood.

⁵² A prominent chief of Sekondi, already mentioned in 1683 (vol.i, no.18, where the footnote incorrectly identifies him with a different 'Captain Yankey', who was an employee of the RAC).

⁵³ i.e. 'Yankee's croom' (cf. no.25). For the term 'croom', see Glossary.

⁵⁴ Cloths purchased from Allada, for re-sale on the Gold Coast: cf. Law 1997c, 92-4.

⁵⁵ African merchants from the Gold Coast also went in canoes to Allada and Whydah to purchase cloths as noted e.g. by Du Casse 1935, 15; cf. also Law 1991, 148-9.

⁵⁶ i.e. S-shaped pieces of metal, used to brace walls.

23. Collin Hunter

Succondee, 4 April 1686

Your Worships letter is received for Mr Bucknell, which shall be deliver'd at his return to Succondee; and also I have received bricks, lyme, Ss and other necessarys for the forte, with 10 green Welch playns, and the blew cloth for the Capushere, but he was gon before Mr Bucknell was come down, but Captain Cophe says he will be here in a shorte time againe. As for necessaryes wanting for the forte, Mr Chambers can give your Worship an account thereof. The news is that Captain Towers is in Succondee roade. I sent aboard to know what ships was to windward and there is none but one English interloper. He sayes he did fight the pyrate, since he came from St Thoma,⁵⁷ and killed six of their men, but received noe hurte himselfe nor noe of his men. He desire to know his servis presented to your Worship.

24. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 12 April 1686

I have received your Worships letter per the Ann Sloop with sheets, boysadoes, carpitts, green perpetuanoes, knives, rum &ca mentioned in your Worships letter. The English interloper that lay to windward is arriv'd in this roade, being a sloop something bigger than the Adventure Sloop. He was fitted out of Jamaica but the master is a Barbarian [sic: = Barbadian], his name is Steet. He hath a great cargo aboard of all sorts of goods with a bundall of blew perpetuanoes, by which he takes all the trade from the shoar, the canoes being continually aboard of him, so that I can take nothing, but can receive by him noe intelligence of any of the Company ships nor noe other but one which he suspects to be the pyrate, which gave him chase but could not come up with him. Mr Chambers desires your Worship to order the remainder of the deal boards and as many bricks as the sloop can bring, the wether being so bad that we have had but little stone fetcht, also the two crows to be mended now sent down by the sloop, and the fflag and flagstafe to be sent. I have return'd the quarter cask the last rum was in.

25. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 17 April 1686

These is to inform your Worship of Captain Thomas Woodfines arrivall, who hath sent his letter per this canoe.⁵⁸ He hath six and twenty seamen and tradesmen for the Castle⁵⁹ and a chyrurgion [= surgeon], which are all goeing down in the George Sloop. There is two more Companyes ships to windward, which I suppose Captain Woodfine has given an account in his letter. I have had great hindrances of

⁵⁷ The island of São Tomé.

⁵⁸ Not preserved.

⁵⁹ Usually, as here, 'the Castle' in this correspondence means Cape Coast Castle; but sometimes (as e.g. in no.109), it refers to the local RAC factory.

trade by reason of this interloper lying here, also am afraid of more by reason of one black at Yankees croom panyard an Idoom merchant which came down to buy goods and sold him aboard the interloper. The Idooms threatens to make war but what the issue of it will be know not as yett. Captain Assum hath taken up the matter and saith he will end the pallaver. What further news I here of the matter will give an account per the An Sloop.

26. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 21 April 1682

Your Worships of the 15th instant is received with the bricks and deal boards for the forte. Mr Wood arrived here the Fryday last but the interloper went to leeward the day before, the blacks told me designed to lye at Commendo, which informed Mr Wood of but have heard nothing of him since.⁶⁰ I have had but a very bad trade this month, their being ships continually in the road soe that I have not taken aboard a mark of gold, for the blacks will not buy anything at the factory as long as a ship be here. The Dutch hath had noe trade niether, haveing sold nothing but Portugues tobacco,⁶¹ but I question not but to have a good trade when the ship be past and the merchant[s] come down againe from carrying up their goods that bought aboard, for their hath been abundance of mony laid out this month with the ships, especially with the interloper who sold his goods for nothing in comparison to the prizes [= prices] of goods, he lying here continually from the time I have first advise, till the day before Captain Woodfine [sic: = Wood?] came down which was Fryday last. Yanke at the croom came to me this day and desired me to write to your Worship, that if the Dutch interloper be taken or by any means the Idoom merchant could be recovered, which inform'd your Worship in my last letter was panyard and sold to him, he would give two slaves for him. Yanke hath given pawns for but the Idooms are not sattisfied with that but told him if he did not procure the merchant they would come down noe more tell they came to fight with him. Mr Chambers desires your Worship to send some more batts,⁶² tiles, 12 pieces small hinges and some thin whole deals for the window shutters, 10 penny and 6 penny nails. I received an order per your last letter to sell sheets butt 28 penny bendy which I cannot do, the Dutch selling thirty two just buy me.

27. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 28 April 1682

Your Worships of the 24th instant is received with the bricks and tiles for the forte also the flag and flagstaff. We shall want seaven hundred good sound tyles more

⁶⁰ From a later allusion (no.70) it appears that Wood had been instructed to intercept the interloper.

⁶¹ i.e. Brazilian tobacco, which the Dutch obtained from Portuguese ships on the West African coast either through trade or (cf. no.71) seizure.

⁶² i.e. brickbats.

for covering the forte, with more bricks batts, two thousand of 10 peny and 20 peny nailes six [penny?] singles [and?] quarters. As for trade I have none at present, there haveing been never a trader down since my last writeing, but there is some expected about four dayes hence. As for the order I writt of to sell sheetts but 28 per bendy, is certainly so in the postscript of your Worships letter of the 8th instant, which Mr Innes se as well as my selfe, but it might be a mistake in the writer. Cophe desires your Worship to give him leave to come down with the next returne of the sloop.

28. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 7 May 1686

Your Worships is received, the bratt [= bats] and tiles &c. for the forte. As for other necessarys that are wanting, is Dutch nailes, doubles and single tens and six peny nailes, also a peice of eleaven foot long and eight inches square to lay over the flanker, with a quarter of hundred of whole deales, and six slitt deals and some more batts. I have sent down my April account with one mark one ounce one angle and five taccoes of gold being the ballance thereof per Mr Innes, I haveing had noe trade at all their being never a trader come down since my last writing, the little mony I have been [= being] taken the first 4 or 5 dayes of the month. What the occasion should be of their not comeing down canot writely [= rightly] understand but I judge it to be some great pallaver in the cuntrey. I asked of Captain Assum the reason of it and he told me he heard by two Ancorsa⁶³ people that the Idooms are preparing war with Antia, but he is not certain of it, nither doth he give much credditt to it, but I hope in a little time to have a better trade, or give your Worship a more true account of the reason of the contrary. As for news to windward I hear none. Captain Walker went down from hence to Comenda this day. I want some more sheets.

29. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 15 May 1686

I have received your Worships letter per the sloop with those necessaryes for the forte mention'd therein. I have also mounted one of the gunns, but the other the carriage is all to pieces so could not mount it, but are ready for the rest as soon as your Worship pl[e]ases. As for men I know not how to bestow them at present till the house be a little more settled, then if your Worship thinks fitt a few more would be convenient. We shall want more for the forts use, twenty two pieces hooks and staples to hold the windows open, 500 of larg nailes with some oyster shells, here

⁶³ Cf. also no. 34. This name appears in other sources of this period (e.g. Barbot 1992, ii, 333, 339, 344–5) as 'Inkassa', and designated both the area of Cape Three Points, between Axim and Ahanta (called 'Little Inkassa'), and a state inland ('Great Inkassa'), with which it was presumably connected. See also Jones 1985, 4–5.

being much raine fallen of late, which hath washed down one of the flankers at the Dutch forte which compasseth in his yard and hath cract his house, [so] that I believe it will scarce stand another great raines, but ours hath received noe damage but remayns very firm and sound, which I think to put the goods into a Munday next, and remove myselfe as soon as may be. For news to windward I here none at present but only that unwelcome news of a bad trade remayns here still, which [is] occasion'd by a pallaver between the Idooms and Wassaws, report'd by a black which went up the cuntrey on purpose to here the pallaver, who saith that the last war the Wassaw had with Dunkeder⁶⁴ a great Capushere of the Wassaws fled for safety to the Idooms and they killed him, for which they have been at difference ever since, and now the Wassaws are preparing war, as they pretend war with the Anguers⁶⁵ but the Idooms suspect it against them, so will not lett them pass through their cuntrey,⁶⁶ which was the reason of our small trade and not the Idooms coming upon Antea as was report'd to Assum. Pray send me some sheets and Guinea stuffs per this first conveyance. Pray send some 6 peny nailes for the fort windows.

30. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 25 May 1687

These is to give your Worship an account of the excessive rains that hath fallen ever since the 18th instant almost continually, it haveing washed the Dutch fort down to the ground last Wednesday morning, which made us very much afraid of ours, we not haveing wherewithall to secure it, but thanks be to God it remayns in safty, Mr Chambers haveing used what means he could to preserve it. We have also used all our lime and tiles [so] that we have not materialls to goe forward wherefore we desire your Worship would be pleased to send some lime and tiles either by sloop or canoe, with all convenient speed, for fear of further danger, the weather continuing very lowring still. Pray send me some sheets and Guine stuffs for want of which I have lost takeing 3 or 4 marks of gold. I humble desire your Worship would be pleas'd to send for Cophee for he is altogether deceitfull that I have noe trust in him, being again[s]t the Company intrest if it stands not with his own, which if he would be true noe man could doe more for their profit in this place for he bears the whole sway in this town and rules them as he lists, but he is altogether false, therefore I could doe better without him, only I should want an interpreter for the cuntrey people. I would have sent him down myself once but he made his pallaver with the Cabusheers that they came to the factory, and told me he should not goe except I gave them a pawn. Captain Pickard arrived here in this

⁶⁴ Cf. also no.64 ('Dunkedors'), though there (in Jan. 1687) they are allied with Wasa (against Adom) rather than at war with it. Presumably = Denkyira, inland from Wasa.

⁶⁵ Not identified (unless = Eguira, west of Wasa?).

⁶⁶ Cf. subsequent references to Adom/Wasa disputes during 1686-7, in nos 34, 64, 69.

road this night and came ashore with his boat and received an affront from the Negroes, he hath a man with him who was Captain Bells servant formerly, by whose order he panyard 4 ounces of gold from these people for a debt they owed him,⁶⁷ for which they stop him now ashore and will not lett him goe of without the mony be paid them back againe, which is a great hindrance to the Captain, he being his gold taker, with severall affronts against the Company for which I would require satisfaction by force, when we are settle'd, if your Worship pleases to allow thereof, but I will first give account what the affronts are, which I wish I could doe by word of mouth, it being more satisfaction than by writeing, but by the next opertunity I shall give a full account which I could not do at present, it being late when the pallaver happen'd and the canomen want to be dispatcht.

31. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 31 May 1686

This accompanyes Mr Chambers who, understanding by Mr Innes canomen their was no lime aboard the sloop, could not be satisfied without comeing down for the same. I have received your Worships letter per the cano with Captain Pickard, which I send down affter him to Commendo. Not long since their came two men about midnight to our factory to rob it as we suppose which is very probable was their intent, for they had noe business their at that time of night, but the carpenter overhearing them make their pallaver stept out with a musquet charged with small shot to se what they were, but as soon as they espi'd him they ran away, upon which he fired after them and shot one of them, by which the next day we knew him to be one of this town, so demanded of him what he want'd at that time of night about the factory. All he could plead was a great Capushere was buried their and he came to dig for gold which was buried with him, but all the blacks said that was a blind excuse, for none of them could remember any Cabusher being buried their, but however this fellow affter he was well out of reveng for his hurte, panyard two of our women slaves and was a carriing them up to Axim to sell them, he being of that cuntrey although now inhabitent here, but was stopt by the Braffo⁶⁸ of Tagarado. But in the meantime I went and made a pallaver with Captain Assume for the two slaves; he presently panyard one of his [i.e. the offender's] couzens, and gave me [him as] a pawn till I had the two slaves againe, which when I had was unwilling to deliver the man except I might have the ofender, which I perceive did affront Assum, so being unwilling to disoblidg him deliverd the man upon condition Assum should deliver me the ofender in eighteen dayes time, which is now expired, but perseive I am not like to have him of Assume. For ought [= aught] I know he may be the person hath stoln all the goods

⁶⁷ Perhaps in 1683, when Capt. Robert Bell was in the Sekondi area (vol.i, no.9) — but very possibly he had made a further voyage subsequently.

⁶⁸ See Glossary.

hath been lost, and therefore I think nothing but reason he should make satisfaction, for they will not put up the least thing from us without amends. wherfore thought good to give your Worship this full account, as also desire advise whether I might take him my selfe or not. Pray send per first conveyance some iron barrs.

32. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 4 June 1686

Your Worships per Mr Innes is received with the sheets and Guine stuffs, also those necessaryes for the fort mentioned therein. I sent down two old casks that came with the corne [which] was given the slaves; but for lime cask here is none for they were always returnd with the return of the sloop, except one for measuring oystershells. I send down Mays account with one mark ten taccoes of gold, being the ballance thereof, per Mr Innes, which if I had had sheets and Guine stuffs I should have sent 8 or 9 marks, but the sloop arrivd not till they were gon up the cuntrey, but I question not but they will be down shortly, for sheets they bought of the Dutch, but Guine stuffs he could not supply them with, but I hope ere this month be past to have a good trade, for by that time the water will be abaite'd which I understand are very high up the cuntrey. The goods I shall want is a hundred iron barrs and 6 chests of sheets. Also if their be any blew perpetuanoes and broad tapseiles, to be spar'd out of the Castle, I desire your Worship to send me what quantity you please. Also powder would sell at one ounce per barrell otherwise not by reason the Dutch sell it at that rate. For necessaryes for the fort Mr Chambers knows better what is wanting than I doe, to whom I reffer you.

33. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 4 June 1686

I have according to your Worships order charged Thomas Taylor's pay in my months account, he dying but two dayes before pay day, so their was due at his death 14a 10½ta which I have sent your Worship per Mr Innes, but as for what he had I could find nothing but his bed and one coat was sold for 5a, which I paid Mr Nelling [sic: ?= Helling] towards his debts in the seller [= cellar]. His bed remaines yet unsold, which I hope your Worship will be pleased to lett me have for 3 angles he owed me since his pay, with what hath been already paid will discharge his forty shillings advance mony and his seller debts. I have received the bread and beaf [= beef], for them I return your Worship all hearty thanks. I shall shortly have occasion for a sute [= suit] of cloths, which if your Worship have any stuff or good strong silk to sell would desire your Worship you would be pleas'd to lett me know it. I shall endeavour to pay what is already due. I have been importuned by Collier Hunter to speak for him to your Worship to grant him a Seconds place here, soe being troubled every day with his importunity have made bold to troble your Worship not for a Seconds place for him, which with your Worships leave I doe

not desire, not as I can [say] any thing against his fidelitty in the warehouse, but his proud temper, doubting he would be my master if he were advanced, but he understanding your Worship will send more men doth presume their will be a Serjants place, so desireing me if he could not be Second, that I would speak for the Serjants place, which if their be any such thing ordered if your Worships thinks him worthy of it I make bold to speak for him, though I am not very forward in it, knowing his pride, but upon his promise of amendment have done it, soe leaveing it to your Worships consideration beging excuse for thus troubleing your Worship.

34. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 5 June 1686

Your Worships letter per Mr Chambers is received with the cloth for the Braffo of Taggarado which I shall deliver per first oportunity. As for goods I desire your Worship would be pleased to send me 6 or 10 chests of sheets, one case more of Guine stuffs, one case of paper brawles; also blew perpetuanoes and broad tapseiles, of which I have not nominat'd a quantity, not knowing what supply was in the Castle. Also pewter juggs and brass pans hath been inquir'd for, of which desire a dozen or two to se how they will vend. I made a bad month of May for want of part of these goods, but hope to make a better of this, being supplied with these goods this month; and being part of the rains over, and waters abated up the cuntrey, I doe expect a reasonable good trade, from the Ancorsa people, whose cheif trade is for these goods and powder if sold for an ounce per barrell, otherwise the Dutch will take that from me, but from the Idooms little is expected at present, they being still at difference with the Wassaws. Cophe is come down with the cano, but I was forced to pay him the last two months before he would goe, which I did to avoid mistrust, for he is very subtil, and if he had mistrusted in the least he would a brought the Capushers in a pallaver and pretend'd they would not lett him goe, also he demanding after my account was made up I could not charge it, so must defer it till June account.

35. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 17 June 1686

Your Worships of the 15th instant is received wherein I received an order to sell all goods as the Dutch sell them, which I shall doe and not under, and question not when trade come down but to have as good a share of it as he. Powder vends indifferently but as yet canot advise for a suply, not haveing conveniency to secure it, but shall forward it with all expedition that may be. As for sayes are very bad comodity, but I humbly desire a full supply of those goods I last write of, with additions of 30 or 40 Welch playns and as many course sletias, and for sheets particularly I desire your Worship would not fail me, if a suply is to be had in the Castle, for all received last are gone and a great many more might have been disposed of I had had them, I being forced to turn away two bendys this day for want

of them. I have bought a man slave for seaven peas, whome I will send down per sloop. I have also called a pallaver about the man which panyard the slaves and told them of our abuses and losses and that your Worship would not put it up, upon which they desired time and desired me not to writ untill I heard further from them. What they will conclude upon as yett know not, but the sloop shall render advice thereof. The slave called Oldman sayes their is eight months pay due to him on pay day next insueing and that there was four months due when he come up, which I have paid him in part, but he makes a palaver for the whole, so would desire a word of advice from your Worship wether there be soe much due and wheather I may pay him or not.

36. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 20 June 1686

I have per the cano received your Worships letter with just qauantity [sic] of goods mentioned therein, only the bail of green perpetuanoes hath two redd and 18 green, and the bale that was sent [as] 25 blew perpetuanoes hath one green therein but 24 blew. As for other sorts of goods I have no occasion for at present as I know of, but if the natives should enquire for any I will render timely advice thereof. The merrchant[s] were gon up the cuntrey before the cano arriv'd but others are dayly expect'd down, by whom I am in hopes to have better trade than heitherto have had, I being now provided of all they have required. As for abusers of traders or refractory persons I have none at present, how they may prove hence forward I know not, but if otherwise than they should be, I shall render account thereof. I can hear no news of Captain Wood but so soon as I can understand where he is I will with all expedition send your Worships letter to him. As for the boysadoes they were certainly missing, but for a note I se none at the opening of them, nither can I find one at my second looking them. An attestation I have here down and here inclosed sign'd with myne one [= own] hand, to be signed also by Collin Hunter at Cape Coast, he being all was present, for I not expecting any such matter us'd not to call anybody but those were concerned, but for the future I will call one white man besides my warehouse keeper I now seeing it will be convenient on such occasion. Pray send me word per Mr Innes what particulars is to be given on the Companys account to the Capushers of this place at danceing times which is four dayes hence,⁶⁹ also pray the price of the brass pans and pewter jugs, or if time permits pray send a full invoyce of all sorts goods, that for the future whatsoever sort of goods be sent me I may know the price readily, also what powder will be

⁶⁹ Cf. also no.90. 'Dancing time' was also around July at Komenda (no. 166), at Anomabu (vol.i, nos 276-7, referring to 'their Christmas day'), and at Egya (no.674). Evidently, this does not allude to the 'Yam Custom' (Ahuba Kesi), later considered the principal annual festival in the coastal societies (and known to Europeans in the nineteenth century as 'Black Christmas'), which took place normally in October, but to the earlier festival of commemoration for the dead (Ahuba Kuma), normally in early June: see Sarbah 1906, 13-14.

allow'd to the forts use. I have sent those armes I write went by the sloop, in the cano, they being detained by the negligence of those I orderd to se them aboard.

37. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 21 June 1686

This accompanys Mr Chambers, who is come down according to your Worship order. I went down this morning to Captain Assum to know what answer they would return your Worship about the pallaver, the which I perceive I am like to doe noe good about, their desiring time being only to drive it of to se if you would bury it in oblivion, for they make a palaver that the man came not to rob the factory but to dig for gold as he pretended at first, that he panyard the slaves because we shot him for nothing, and they told me in short that the man was run away and when he could be found again he should be examined whether he came to rob us or noe, and that was all the answer they said they could give me, upon which I made them answer that as they had made a promis upon the first panyaring of our slaves, to deliver the ofender to me within eight dayes and have not done it, that they had taken the pallaver upon their one [= own] heads, and they ought to make good our losses, and as they had been short in their answer your Worship would be as resolute to have satisfaction, on which they made noe answer, but had the grace (though they will not give satisfaction) to demand their dues, and tell me their dancing time is ten dayes hence and their was a dashe from the Company, so I would desire your Worship to send me word what is to be given on that account. I have not taken above three mark of gold yett this month besides charges, I haveing the ill fortune still. As the traders come down they want those goods I am out of, they being so fickell minded, that I know not what to advise for except I have a full supply of all sorts, for somtimes goods shall lie buy me two months and not be asked for and of a suddain they would be gon if I had never so many, therefore I would desire that favour of your Worship once to be at the c[h]arge of a cano with these goods hereafter mentioned except any of them be on board the sloop allready, and for the future I will give more timely advice what is wanting, for the sloop is now arriv'd and I have been in want of severall of those goods I have advised for this month. The goods I am in want of is vizt 10 chests of sheets, one hundred narrow nicconees, forty green Welch playns, and as many course sletias, and for blew perpetuanoes and broad tapseiles as many as can be spared me, twenty brass pans and pewter jugs, forty half firkins tallow, one case of Guine stuffs, also rum for I spend all [so] that I was forced to buy of the Dutch brandy to give away. Their is mentioned in your Worships letter of the 8th of Aprill last 21 boysadoes in a bale no.11, and I not questioning have charged myself with soe many in my two month account, I not haveing occasion to looking it tell Saterdag last [when] opening of it for a customer I found but 18 theirin, so I humbly desire of your Worship that the mistake might be lookt over and the 3 boysadoes sent me.

38. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 25 June 1685

Your Worships is received with the full number of the Guine stuffs, paper brawls, broad nicconees, brass pans, pewter jugs, iron bars and powder therein, also the hogshead of lime, and two guns and carriagees. As for the powder it came unexpected, otherwise would have advised what parcels it should have come in for the natives are altogether for quarter barrells and half at the biggest, but the whole they will not buy,⁷⁰ so if there be any empty half and quarter barrells would desire your Worship to send them me and I will take care to put them up in such quantities here. Pray send per the return the narrow nicconees, green Welcor plays and tallow mentioned in my last letter. Per the sloop I have sent down the man slave I last writ of, also Collin Hunter, and have nayled up his chest presently on receipt of the letter, as your Worship order'd, but a key has he none, for he keeping the ware house opened it with the sheet chest key belonging to the factory for he hath none but sheet chests of his own, he having sold his other some time since, which could not send down, I having never another. He also hath a few pipe earthenware in another sheet chest, which have not sent down, but have them in my possession. Edward Andrew is now come down in the sloop, being so sick and weak that he is uncapeable of any servis here. I have also sent down thre[e] old musquets, two old bandilers and the sword which the carpenter broak, they being unfit for service, so would desire your Worship to send others in their roome, for we have but one musquet and one sword in the factory. Pray send some musquet shott and three pounders for the canons and granado shells unfitt, with some brimstone, and Hugh Hilling will fitt them here. I have also return'd the two cases the last rum was in. Have sent down one broken carriage to be mended or another sent.

39. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 29 June 1685

Have received your Worships letter per Mr Chambers, and also the goods both per sloop and cano. I have also sent your Worships letter to Mr Wood on Sunday last and in order to the contents thereof he is now making the best of his way to Cape Corso. As for news to windward I here of non at present, only in the road 2 Dutch interlopers and one Portugues. The dancing time is now here and I have given the Capushers the Company dashes mention'd in their agreement, that is one green perpetuano, one broad tapseile, three sheets and an ankor $\frac{1}{2}$ of brandy. Pray send word whether I may pay the slave called Old Man what he demands, which is 3 months pay due the 18th instant. 4 months as he saith was due to Cape Corso when

⁷⁰ This African preference for smaller barrels is frequently reported in this correspondence; it probably reflected the fact that a standard whole barrel of gunpowder (weight 100 lbs) was too heavy to be headloaded by a single porter.

he first came and 4 months here, which he dayly pallavers for. Per the next return of the sloop I will send my accompt and monys.

40. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 3 July 1686

Your Worships of the 2^d instant is received with the two bottles of cordialls for Mr Chambers, who is now something better though in a ill order still but no bad but that he goes about his business. He humbly presents his servis to your Worship and returns all hearty thanks for your kindness to him and doth desire to se the sloop up and the tiles laid upon the house, and then God willing with your Worships leave he doth design to goe for Cape Corso. For ships to windward I here of none at present. The Dutch interlopers are at Commenda, so I have sent to Mr Cross to inquire affter the ships at St Thomay and to give your Worship account thereof, and as to the Portugues I wish I had known your Worships pleasure sooner, for he lyes now at the Mine. All news I can possible here of I shall render advice with all expedition, which I will diligently inquire affter.

41. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 9 July 1686

These lines are to give your Worship account that the 7th instant a Dutch interloper was in this roade that came from St Thoma, whom I went aboard of to know what ships he se there, who sayeth he nither saw nor heard of any ship there or anywhere else upon the Coast from thence heither. Also at intrim of time I was writeing these lines, a great ship passed by this place showing French collers, whom I would have sent aboard but the blacks had intelligence before he arriv'd the [= that] he was a pyrat, so that I could not gett a cano to goe of to him for no mony, by reason of which I can give no farther account of him, but haveing such information by the natives, also your Worship desireing advice of all ships, I thought good to dispatch this letter with all expedition to advise thereof.

42. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 17 July 1686

These goeing by Cophes cano which brought him up are to inform your Worship that Mr Jones lies very bad of a feaver. His cano came from Shuma on this day night last past to desire me to send some foules [= fowls] and a little butter, which I did send him, but the sloop⁷¹ anchoring this day a little to leward of this road his cano came a shore againe and Francis Nixson in her, who told his master was very bad and that he could not stirr out of his cabin no other wayes than he was lifted, nor hath taken any rest this 3 or 4 dayes, soe desiring me to send him a little

⁷¹ i.e. the *Ann*, of which Jones was presumably commander.

diascordium,⁷² which I did and a little of the surfeit water⁷³ your Worship sent Mr Chambers, which I hope will doe him good. By report of the man he is in a bad condition and soe are the sick men in the forte, for I doe realy beleive without the wonderfull work of God Anthony Medcalk [sic] to be a dead man. Also Hasting Ingram lies very ill and the carpenter is little better, but Hugh Hilling is indifferant well againe. Mr Chambers [and] John Veasey are, God be thanked, in their perfect health. I am informd by Cophe that Tecodee the Idoom Capushere will come down 7 dayes hence to a croom which lies above Butterue,⁷⁴ and hath sent for the Capusheres of Succondee, Tagarado and Yankee at the croom and another Capusher at a croom a little to leward of Yankes croom, to meet him their about a pallaver, but conserning what I know not, for the Capusheers carry it very private, and Cophe had not known it if it had not been for Captain Crew, who is a great freind to Cophe, who told him but bid him keep private. I asked Cophe if he told him what the pallaver was and he said no, but he told me he did beleive the Idooms and Antia people were not good freinds, so if your Worship like well of it I doe think to send Cophe with a good dashe to Ticcodee to here what the pallaver is. as soon as I here he is come down, which Cophe hath promisd to give me notice of. I was told per the canomen that he se 3 ships and a sloop to windward in the offing. but what they were he could give no account off.

[PS] The cano I sent to Cape Coast to inform your Worship of our sickly condition is not yett return'd.

43. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 19 July 1686

Your Worships per the An Sloop is received with the iron barrs, great and small shot, nine musquetts and four cutlashes and bandileirs for the fforte, mentioned therein, but 5 of the musquetts I have sent back per the sloop to be now [= new] fitted, for they are out of order and unfitt for servis. The cano with medicines arrived here on Sunday morning last, but to late for Anthony Medcalfe who that day about one a clock departed this life, for whom I am heartily sorry for I beleive I shall not have the like quiet man in his room. As for what he had is all scarce worth 1a, he haveing nothing worth taken notice of but one blew shirt, which those that stript him clame as due to them. Hasting Ingram and William Davis are both bad of a feaver, the most of their grive [= grief] lies in their head, also want of rest. but I hope those medicines received from the Doctor with Gods blessing will doe them good. I have here inclosed my June account. Also per Mr Innes your Worships will receive 3 marks, 5 ounces, 5 angles and four taccoes of gold, being the ballance thereof. The carpenter was desireous to goe down in the sloop, soe

⁷² A medicine (made from the herb germander) for stomach troubles.

⁷³ An alcoholic drink, taken to counteract the effects of over-eating.

⁷⁴ Butri, between Dixcove and Takoradi.

having nothing more but what the Black carpenter can doe I have complyd with his desire.

44. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 28 July 1686

These goes per Mr Chambers are to desire your Worship to send me per first conveyance 50 silke longees, and as many large brass pans per next return, also one bale of blew perpetuanoes, if they are not all disposed of. The George sloop arrived in this roade yesterday, where they still remayn, not having a wind to carry them up any further, from whome your Worship will receive a letter per Mr Chambers.⁷⁵ As for our healths we are all indifferent well except Hastings Ingram who lyes in a week condition still but I am yett in hopes of his recovery. I am almost certain that there will be war betwixt the Idooms and Antea people, for about three dayes since their came an Idoom trader to this town to buy goods, of whome I took twelve ounces of gold which he sent per his man to the ffactory, himselfe resideing at a Antea mans house being one of his freinds in this town, being afraid to go out least the people should kill him, but he ventering to the forte about some difference in the layeing out his mony, I bid Cophe ask him of the affaires of the Idoomes how they stood effected to these people, and what was the reason Longbeard⁷⁶ came not down from Tiecodees as he used to doe in Mr Whiteings time,⁷⁷ who answered Cophe that he was affraid and that the Idooms had much mony to lay out but are affraid of these people panyarring them if they come down and that there would be a war betwixt them. Also one of this town told me that they expected war with them shortly. Captain Assum did also desire me to gett more gunns, but I could not gett anything out of him concerning the war, but bid me make hast and write and told me more guns was very good and he wanted them, but Cophe told me Captain Assum had sent two slaves up the cuntrey to watch when Teccodee comes down and give him notice with all speed, and that he beleives according as the pallaver ends with him their will be peice [= peace] or warr.

45. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 11 Aug. 1686

These are to advise your Worship of my safe arrivall at Succondee. Those goods specified in your Worships letter whereof 4 of the Welch playnes are very much damag'd, and whereas your Worship orderd ten men and eight women, some of them being taken sick so that the work was not so forward as was expected.

⁷⁵ = no.840.

⁷⁶ Not otherwise referred to; from the context, evidently an agent or official of the Adom king 'Tiecodee'.

⁷⁷ Mark Bedford Whiting had been Bucknell's predecessor as chief of the RAC factory at Sekondi (appointed in 1683; cf. vol.i, chap. II).

Yesterday a Portuguez weigh'd out of this roade, who informes me Captain Wood is very sick and is no hier than Dickecove.⁷⁸ I humbly beg your Worships pardon for detaining the cano so long, I being suddainly and violently taken with a casting and purging, soe I could not dispatch him sooner, but (I thank God) it is over with me and I hope it may be the better for me in my future health, I bringing up abundance of tought [? = taut] yellow couller. We want a few more 6 peny and 4 penny nailes for the forts use, also if the smiths are not to busie, would desire your Worship be pleased to let them make a few duft tails [= dovetails] for cloth windows for the forte. I have here inclosed a list of those names [= names of those] sent down, whereof Obin was ordered to tarry. I was forced to send him down to safe his life which is threten'd, he being taken with another mans wife, whereby a pallaver arose and two towns people are wounded. Also 8 women being above mentioned I have sent but six their being nessessity for them.

46. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 21 Aug. 1686

Your Worships per Captain Deals man is received and shall obey your Worships order therein specified, but I understand per Captain Poyston [sic], who arrivd here last night, that Captain Deal lyes between Cape Trees Pointas and Axim, so untill such time as I here he is arrivd to the Brandyburgs fort I will entertain him here. Captain Poston presents his humble servis to your Worship, and doth design to send his boat down to Cape Coast this night. As for goods I have no occasion for except there hath been a supply of sheets, broad tapseiles and blew perpetuanoes, for the which goods I could take mony enough, for otherwise I shall make but a bad month of it. Captain Brandfeilds blew perpetuanoes haveing carrid away all the mony, and now also Captain Poston being arriv'd, I doe expect to take but little, for whilst ships lyes in the road I may lock my scales in my chest, and do no damagg to the Company.

47. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 23 Aug. 1686

I haveing sent Captain Dales man on board his ship per the return of the cano received this inclos'd from the Captain,⁷⁹ with a line to request me to send it to your Worship imediatly on receipt of the same, for which purpose I have now sent cano, I haveing no other business at present nor no occasion for goods except there be a suply out of Captain Brand[f]ield of blew perpetuanoes, sheets, broad tapseiles. Captain Daile now rides at Dickecove. Captain Poston is gon to Commenda. I am most intollerably trobled with rats in the warehouse. They now begin to damnifie the goods, I haveing found severall things knawed

⁷⁸ Cf. no.842.

⁷⁹ = no.909.

[= gnawed] per them. What further mischief they have done I am uncensable of, untill I overhall the warehouse, which I am now about to doe. If any man in the Castle can advise me how to distroy them, to advise me of the means; niether can I gett a catt any where.

48. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 7 Sept. 1686

These accompany's Captain Coffee by whome I have sent my months account with three marks, four ounces, three angles and four taccoes of gold, being the ballance thereof, the which I would have sent before but that Cophe said he would goe down this night, and my takeings being small and no other business presenting, I thought it not worth the sending a man down and charge of cano, knowing of this oportunity by Coffee. The slaves will make an end this week, so I would desire your Worship to send an order which are to remayne here, and also (if they be ready) to send what gunns more your worship designs for this place before the slaves goe down, that they may help gett them on the battlements. As for oyster shells I could buy none, the saltponds⁸⁰ being so full of water which cannot be lett out. Pray send word how much pay Samuell Jones must have per month and allso Mr Chambers sallery. I have had very bad trade ever since the ships arriv'd here, blew perpetuanoes carrying away all the mony that I can take noething.

49. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 21 Sept. 1686

These are to advise your Worship that the slaves have finished there work and only waite your Worships order for their coming down, and also desire your Worship to send me a chest or two of mundees, and if their hath been a supply out of these last ships either of blew perpetuanoes, broad tapseiles, sheets, or tallow, I humbly desire your Worship to send me a supply of them here, for the want of which goods I take but little mony they being the chiefe of the vendable goods in this place. Also powder would vend if it were in half barrells, for want of which it lyes a hand. Pray advise me whether Captain Assume ought to be paid his custom⁸¹ every pay day that the wight [= white] men are paid or to reckon but 12 months to the year, also how much Samuell Chambers and Samuell Jones must have per month. I know not what to doe with the rats, they damage so much good[s] that would make one mad to se, especially the woollen goods. They eat wholes [= holes] in the boysadoes, Welch plains and blankets that I can run my fist in them. I have here beneath sent your Worship account of all the damagd goods in the warehouse, the most of which is damagd per the rats, and how to remedy it I cannot tell. I have presumed to use some of the scaffelling bauks to make platforms for the goods, to

⁸⁰ The inland lagoon, from which salt was extracted by evaporation.

⁸¹ i.e. customary gift.

prevent their harboring under the sides of the old nine hand cano that was broak in fetching stones, which I had laid at the bottom of the warehouse to set the cases upon to keep the goods from the damp flower, at the removall of which we killed eight ratts of a great biggness and destroy'd two nests of six young ones apeice, but some escap'd our hands, doe what we could. What further to doe to prevent more damages I cannot tell. I have spoild their harbors and made all passages free that they cannot secure themselves from a good cat, but that I have is to[o] little, soe I humbly desire your Worship to send me a bigger if it can be procurd. Here be rats almost able to deal with cattis. Also would desire your Worship to send me some rum for I have none in the factory.

Goods damaged in the warehouse

6 boysadoes

12 green perpetuanoes

8 green Welch playns

12 stript carpits

10 broad nicconees

11 ditto narrow

2 narrow tapseiles

9 Guine stuffs

most of the blankets, all the sheets.

50. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 24 Sept. 1686

Your Worships of the 22^d instant is received with the mundees and rum. Also I have received the four hand cano and have sent down the seaventeen hand cano. which now accompany's Mr Chambers, who also hath taken with him five men slaves, so that their now remayns here but six men and eight women, they being left here for the building the wall quite out to the brink of the hill, as your Worship orderd per Mr Chambers. As for your Worships order concerning the goods it shall be dilligently observ'd. As for Captain Cophe, he hath serv'd here ever since the 7th October last untill the time of his last departure for Cape Coast, but I have paid him four months sallery, that is from the first of January to the 23^d of Aprill last. The reason that I paid him for those months and not for the months before was his going down to Cape Coast in December and coming up in January [and he] told me your Worship had paid him to January the first and orderd for the future he should be paid here, but I haveing taken but little mony at the time of his last going down, I would not pay him from April the 23^d to that time. Pray send perticular order how many slaves shall remayn here for a constancy, which if your Worship be pleas'd to spare them four would be convenient of men slaves and one woman. Less will not be able to carry a burden from waterside to the forte and the towns people are of such a sordid nature that sometimes they will be hyrd to help

us and sometimes they will not. Niether can a sentenell be conveniently kept with less and other business done, for we fetch out wood and water at a great distance from the factory, and there is one dry time in the year which we are forced to fetch our water betwixt three and four miles of.

51. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 2 Oct. 1686

I have by the bearer hereof sent down my September accounts with three mark, one ounce, thirteen angles and eleven taccoes of gold, being the ballance thereof. Also I have sent one man slave which I bought for seaven peas, and desire your Worship will be pleas'd to send per the return of the cano the carriage for the gunns, which lyeth unmount'd here. As for goods I have not occasion for at present, here being little trade and Dutch interlopers always passing two [= to] and from which carries away all the mony, and the people of this place have gott such a hant [= haunt] a goeing aboard, and find the sweetness thereof so much that they will keep there mony two or three months for a ship, whereby they ruine our trade, which will scarce ever be better except a means be found to stop there progress that way, for there comes a considerable supply of mony to the place but the ships take it all. One [= on] Sunday the 26th of September the Cabashers mett under a boom of cocornutt trees behind the twone [= towne] and sent for me and the Dutchman, and going to them to know there business the[y] offered us fetishes to drink,⁸² upon which we went a little from them to consult about it and after agreement betwixt ourselves, we refused it, except they would take a ffitish to fullfill the articles concluded upon at our first settleing by both our Generalls, especially in that clause of trading aboard,⁸³ upon which they answerd that they bought nothing aboard but what we could not fu[r]nish them with, and that the cuntrey people came down and went aboard and that they could not help. Unto that we replyd, as for what niether of us could supply them with they might buy freely aboard, and for what the cuntrey people bought aboard should be no palaver one [= on] them, one condition if we offerd to panyar those goods they should not assist the cuntrey people against us, but affter a long palaver and many equivocations fecht up per them they said they would go aboard for they could buy things cheaper there than of us, soe finding [them] so short we were as shorte as they, and told them playnly if the ships should take there mony if war came down the ships should secure them and that we would take there goods per force, as they had desir'd forts they should know they have fortes, upon which the pallaver was broke up tell Captain Assume was well, who being indisposed in his health was not there, so I humbly desire your Worship to advise me on what account if we should agree on a palaver I may take a

⁸² See Glossary.

⁸³ i.e. forbidding trading directly with ships, rather than with the factories on shore.

fitish, for I being under command, canot take it except your Worship be pleas'd to maintain it.

52. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 18 Oct. 1686

These are to desire your Worship to send me on sight hereof a quantity of rangoes to the vallue of a mark and halfe or two mark of gold, for I have sold all I had to one man and have two bendyes of gold of his in my hands for more of them, which I promis'd he should have in two dayes; therefore I humbly desire your Worship to send them with all expedition, and lett them be very good, foe [= for] we had like to have parted about the whiteness of some of those I had. Also I want a supply of knives, broad stript sattens, Guine stuffs and narrow nicconees; I have lost the taken [= taking] a considerable sum of mony for want of blew perpetuanoes, broad tapseiles, sheets and tallow, which are the cheife vendable comodity here, and the Dutch are supplyd with all of them, which is a greate hindrance to my takeings. I am now to advise your Worship of a unhappy accident, that is the untimely death of John Veasey, the manner thus one Satterday the 2^d instant the ffiscall⁸⁴ and book keeper of the Mine came to overhall the Dutch ffactory and on the morrow sent for John Veasey to shave them, whome they sent home drunck. In the affternoone they came to our fforte and stayd there till night, and then they told me they had a good supper provides [sic] at the Dutch factory, and desired me to goe with them, which I did, and as we satt at supper, John Veasey came in with a tuck⁸⁵ in his hand and one of the slaves with him, and told me it was dark, and he was come to see me home; so the Dutch would have him sitt down to supper and gave him wine and punch freely, so I fearing he would be drunk bid him begon, but they importuneing him, he would not goe untill they made him drunck, so seing him in that condition, I bid the slave carry him home and come again for me, which he did; but as the Dutch bricklayer sayeth the slave goeing to carry him down the ladder which goes up to the Dutch mans house lett him fall, where I beleive he broke his neck for in two howers affter he died not speaking one word. He hath left two gold rings, a good serge sute and severall odd things which per the next I shall give a perticular account of, which now I could not the man hastening me to send for his rangoes. Captain Nanter past by here the 10 instant in the morning and I guess gott up as high as Dickecove that night.

53. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 20 Oct. 1686

Your worships of the 19th instant is received with the narrow nicconees, Guine stuffs, broad stript sattins, broad tapseiles, rangoes and rum speciffied therein. The

⁸⁴ See Glossary.

⁸⁵ A form of sword.

slaves have not yett finished their work so I have not sent them down, but by the end of the month they will finish there business, so shall send them down with my monthly accmpt in the four hand cano, and whereas your Worship write I might keep four men and three women for the forts use, this is to lett your Worship understand that here is not four men your Worship would be willing to spare, for here is but six men here and Yanke⁸⁶ and Joyce, your Worship writes for them perticular and I cannot make four besides them without the carpenter, whom I presume your Worship did not think off, soe desire your worship would be pleas'd to send another, that can be conveniently spared in his roome, hoping your Worship will not lessen the number, for the ill convenience that I should find thereby, amongst sordid sort of people who will not lay a hand to anything but just when there one [= own] humor serves them. An account of John Veasey's things have here inclosd, some of which I shall dispose of here, the rest I will send down at the months end with the produce of the rest. As for his pay all the white men here can witness he owed me all his full two months pay which he did not ffully live out. As for ships to windward I here of none.

54. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 2 Nov. [16]86

I have per the bearer hereof sent down my October accounts with 6 marks, six ounces, ten angles of gold being the ballance thereof, also one man slave which I bought for seaven peas. Likewise there accompanys the canoe all the slaves except three men, three women which are to remayn to the ffactorys servis, and one woman that is very sick so that she could not accompany the rest. I would also have sent John Veaseys chest and cloths but the cano was so full with the slaves that they could not carry it. Pray send up per return of the canoe some more ranges, for the man that bought the last hath been here, and hath bought since my account was write most of those which are made remaining in my account and saith he will be here in a little time for tenn bendyes more of them. Also pray send some more match and cartherige paper for the forts use, and if there be ever a slave your Worship will spare in the room of the carpenter I humbly desire your Worship will be pleased to lett me have [him], your Worship ordering four men to be here whereof here remains but three. Samuell Jones told me at pay day your Worship promised to allow him something more than his ordinary sallery for looking affter cleaning the arms, which if soe I desire your worship to send me word how much he must have advanced.

[PS] Pray send a lock bolt for the back door in the wall of the fforte.

⁸⁶ Clearly a different person from the 'Yankee' mentioned elsewhere in this correspondence (no.22 etc.), who was a chief of Sekondi. This 'Yanke' was evidently a slave or employee of the RAC, who was a mason (cf. no.309), and is presumably identical with a 'Yankey' employed in the RAC factories at Anomabu and Komenda in 1681–2, who is described as a bricklayer (vol.i, nos 64–5, 212).

55. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 6 Nov. [16]86

Your worships with the rangoes are received and also the table. I have now [as] your worship ordered sent down the black carpenter and allso all the slaves except three men and three women which remayne to the ffactorys servis. I would have sent them in the last cano according as I writ in my letter, but they had so much lumber to carry with them that I was afraid of the canos oversetting and so to have lost the Company mony: but now your worship ording the carpenter to be sent down, I thought good to send the four hand cano once againe which will carry them all, for it would have cost halfe the charge to send one alone. As for Captain Nanter I cannot learne where abouts he is at present but I am informd per the man that bought the rangoes that there is never a ship betwixt this place and Axim; but as soon as I shall understand where he is I shall give your worship advice thereof. About a week since there came Yankee from his croom with all his men in arms and other Antea Cabusheers with there men in arms all to Succondee town, bringing a great complaint to Captain Assum that the Cheife of Shumah⁸⁷ had been up Shumah river⁸⁸ into the Idooms cuntrey and had carryd two canoes loaded with powder and shott and arms for the Idooms to come down to destroy the Antea people, upon which they went up in a pallaver to the Dutch Cheife who gave them many fine words and perswaded them it was noe such thing, so after they had been with him they came to me to know if we would assist them and to desire me to write for more gunns, to which I gave them many faire promises, which very well sattsified them, but in two dayes affter there came one Idoom man down and told them all the pallaver was falce, he said the Cheife of Shumah was there but he came to sell those goods, and that the Idooms had panyard them and would not pay him for them, upon which they were all sattsified and went to their crooms. Now whether it might be policy of the Dutch to sent that man down I know not, nor yett can I give credditt to the blacks, but the occasion of my writeing is to know whether if at any time such a thing should suddenly happen your worship would have me side with the upland people, or watterside people, or whether to resist either of them, for although we live among the Antea people yett the upland people are our merrchants. I also desire your worships advice about letting the Antea people in our Castle, which I understand they all depend upon, if wars should happen, which I fear would be very ill convenient without it were two or three of the old Capusheers, for the Dutch will certainly side with Idooms and these being a sordid rugged people if we should lett them all into our forte and the Dutch resist them they would overpower us and fire at the Dutch from our forte, and although I cannot credditt any such thing, yet least it should unexpectedly happen I humbly desire your worships advice in itt.

⁸⁷ i.e. chief of the Dutch WIC factory at Shama.

⁸⁸ The Pra River, east of Shama.

56. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 12 Nov. 1686

I have received your worships with the goods, which I have disposed off for the best advantage I can. I hear noe news of any ships as yett, butt as soone as I shall I will render advise thereof. And for the Duch affaires I hear nothing more at present, not haveing any convers with them this three or four dayes, the cheife being gone to Shumah, and all things are seeming quiett among the natives, butt here is little trade, neither hath there bene there any Idome trader downe since the pallavar happened. I will dive into there affaires as farr as possibly I can, but they are subtill and close to themselves and verry wary in there proceedings. I am alsoe to advise your worships that here is a new Chiefe for the Duch. The last haveing imbaseld [= embezzled] the Companys goods, was taken by the fffiscoll and carried to the Mine about six weekes since, and the under fffactor of Axim succedes him as fffactor here, a wary man and kinsman to the Generall of the Mine,⁸⁹ upon which he presumes on greater matters then the former did, as the stoping the Negroes going aboard, for the Ffrancis passing by here he called all the Cabusheers and told them if he see any canoe goe of to that ship he would fire into the downe [= towne] presently and putt all the Cabusheers in irons, unto which they made him little answer but only told him they would not goe aboard. This I was told by the Black which I sent with my accompts to Cabo Corsoe, for if I be there and he making pallavar against there coming aboard it is only interlopers but if I am absentte he is against English Company's shippes. Pray order per next oppertunity some match, chathrige [= cartridge] paper and twine for the fffortts use for wee have none.

57. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 14 Nov. 1686

This morning came to my hands the inclosed from Captain Nanter which he desired should be sent to your Worship with all expedition.⁹⁰ He now writtes [?=rides] in Cabra road.⁹¹ Pray if there be storee of blew perpetuanoes come over send mee some more of them, and alsoe if any quantyty of sheets, desire your worship would be pleased to loade a canoe with those two commodities.

58. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 18 Nov. 1686

Your worships of the 16th is received, with tenn chestes of sheets and 1 bale blew perpetuanoes, alsoe the match and paper for the ffforttes use. As for the goods I doubt not butt they are come to a good markette, according to rattes they sell att,

⁸⁹ i.e. the Director-General of the Dutch West Indian Company, based at Elmina (currently Nicolaes Sweerts).

⁹⁰ = no.920 (actually signed by Robert Elwes, not George Nanter).

⁹¹ Ankobra River, between Cape Apollonia and Axim.

that is 10a a perpetuanoe, and one angle a sheet. As for your worships order concerning the gunns upon the ffortt I will observe, but desire your worship per first oppertunity to send what more gunns are designed for this place, for here is nott gunns below [sic: ?= beyond] to answer a salute. Your worships letter to Mr Elwes⁹² I will send forward this night. Per this canoe I have sent John Veaseys cheste and remaynner of his things. I have sould the 2 gold ringes, for four anglees of gold, 2 paire of whitte sleeves for one angle, one checkard shirtte three taccoes, three playne whitte neckcloaths and two ditto lacett for 10ta, which in all is 2a 1ta, which I will send with my monthly account. Have not elce only I have sold more of John Veaseys things, his hone⁹³ for 1a, 1 paire of old blew drawers, Bible and Practice of Piety⁹⁴ 7ta. I hear Captain Butteram is about Axim.

59. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 3 Dec. 1686

By the bearer hearof I have sentt down my November accounts with four markes. seaven ounces, fiveteen angles and six tacoes of gold being the ballance thearof. and your worship will receive by the bearer seaven angles, eight tacoes gold being for two gold rings and few cloths sold of John Veseys mentioned in my letter of 18th November. I being suplyed with the most vendable goods did thincke I should have had a good trade this month butt Captain Buttrams arrivall frustrated my expectation, for as soone as hee was heard of my trade ceased, the mony I have sentt being all taken the beginning of the month. Pray send a lockbolte and padlock for the last dore [= door] case which was sentt.

60. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 8 Dec. 1686

This morning I received your Worships of the 9th instant by Mr Robert Elwes⁹⁵ and Mr Halford, and according to the contents thereof have obeyed your Worships order in inventoring the warehouse and all other materialls belonging to the Royall Company in this ffactory signed with all our hands. As for the three Guine stuffs your worship writes is undercharged, is not soe in my cobby. Whether I have mistook the ffigure in those sent down, I know not, but my cobby makes four hundred sixty six remaying, which I think is right. If not so [ms. 'se'] in those sent your Worship, it is an error. I return your Worship many thanks for your kind invitation at Christmas.

⁹² Robert Elwes, factor on the *African Merchant*, commanded by George Nanter.

⁹³ i.e. stone for sharpening blades.

⁹⁴ *Practice of Piety*, a well-known work of Puritan devotion, by Lewis Bayly, Bishop of Bangor (c. 1631), re-printed many times during the 17th (and down into the 19th) century.

⁹⁵ Elwes had now left the *African Merchant*, and was employed at Cape Coast Castle.

61. Thomas Bucknell Succondee, 11 Dec. 1686

I have received your worships per Mr Elwes, and according to your worships order together with Mr Elwes have the second time taken an inventory of the Royall Companys concerns in the ffactory, and have valued the damnified goods according to the best of our judgments, which I hope will be to satisfaction of your Worship.

62. William Halford Succondee, 18 Dec. 1686

I think it my duty to return your Worship my humble thanks that you were pleased to send me as second to an outffactory, whereby I shall gaine experience of the trade and be more capable of serving the Royall Company when required. I doe promis your Worship, that while I remayne here I will keep the goods and all the concerns of the Royall Company to me willed to my charge by my Cheife in as good a condition and as free from damagd as possible lyes in my power, as I will at any other place where ever your Worship pleases to command me.

63. Thomas Bucknell Succondee, 30 Dec. 1686

These accompany Mr William Halford and is only to advise your Worship of my safe arrivall at Succondee,⁹⁶ and that the East India Merchant is now in the roade, I haveing nothing more of moment at present nor no occasion for goods, here haveing been but small trade in my absence. I would have sent down my accounts, but Mr Halford being desirous to depart presently according to the contents of your Worships order I had not time to make them up and write them.

64. Thomas Bucknell Succondee, 12 Jan. 1686/7

By the bearer your Worship will receive my Decembers accounts with five mark, six ounces, six angles, and one taccoes of gold, which with five marks paid Mr Humfryes at Christmas is the ballance thereof, which I hope will come safe to your Worships hands, which I have been doubtfull of and that is one reason I sent them not before, fearing the canomen should take the mony from the boy, for the last time the cano went down with Mr Halford your Worship giveing the boy his letter to be gone he called the canomen to gett the cano ready and they being unwilling to goe untill the next night and the boy would not tarry, they beat him at Cabo Corso and tore his beads from off his neck and threatend to heave him overboard and at Commenda they would have beat him againe, Samuell Jones haveing much adoe to hinder them, which made the boy himselfe afraid to carry mony down with

⁹⁶ i.e. on his return from visiting Cape Coast Castle for Christmas.

them, but the boy haveing found other canomen of his freinds whome he thought he might trust, I would have sent him by them but was hindered by the afforesaid canomen. I asked them the reason why they beat the boy, they laught at it and told me they came not to talk of that, they came for their mony, which I told them they should not have untell I made the Cabushers acquainted with it, but I had as good done nothing for tell them [= the Cabushers] what you will, they will only give a few good words and ask for a bottle of brandy. Perhaps they will sitt and chide the transgressors and he att the time shall stand and laugh in their face; but they will be sure to make a pallaver enough upon a white man if they can pick anything to build upon, for about 2 days before the date hereof a French ship of 12 guns and seaventy men came to an anchor at Taccarado, and yesterday the Commander and his Doctor came ashore here and while I was entertaining them Captain Assum came to the ffort, whome I sent for upstairs and set Charles Dean sentinell at the stares foot to keep the rest of the blacks down, it being their rude custome if strangers be here to run all upstares, which they would then have done, but being stopt four of them fell upon Charles Dean and beat him, which Samuell Jones seing took up a sword and struck one of them on the head with the flatt of it which drew blood of him (and that was as much as it did doe) and likewise drove the rest out of the fort, but the next day the Cabushers made a pallaver upon it and demanded twelve angles, which I was forced to give them, being unwilling to make resistance befor I gave your Worship account thereof, but if your Worship thinks fitt we might fetch it back againe, for they have as much reason to pay for stricking a white man as we for stricking a black, this being the third time they have struck a sentinell in the fort, and they are so impudent, that except we use force to keep them in aue, we shall be pulled out of the fort, and they laugh at us because we doe not, telling us our gunns stands for a show, we dare not use them. I have a cask which will hold water for a months time and more, and wood and provision I can gett in, for if a pallaver happen they canot hold long, they being but weak only dominating sort of people, the Dutch have but three men and yet he fires at all the canos that goes aboard [so] that now they dare not lett him se any goe. I have had little or no trade this month and am afraid little I shall have, the Dunkedors and Wassaws being now at warrs with the Idooms so that nothing sells but powder,⁹⁷ which the Dutch take all the mony, for theirs being in quarter barrells, if their be any halfe barrells at Cabo Corso I could sell them here but whole they will not buy. The inclosed is a letter from Mr Bayly who now rides at Tagarado.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ Cf. no.69; and further references to fighting between Adom and Wasa in early 1688 in nos 126 etc. These subsequent reports do not refer to any involvement of the 'Dunkedors [Denkyira]'; but later in 1688 Denkyira was again reported to be allied with Wasa against Adom (Justesen, forthcoming chap.II, no.17: Daybook of Nicolay Fensman, Christiansborg, 29 Sept. 1688).

⁹⁸ = no.853.

65. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 18 Jan. 1686/7

I have sent down this cano on purpose to give your Worship an accompt that the four hand cano is not yett returned which Thursday night last I sent down with my December account and mony and one man slave, also with a letter from Mr Bayly, who hath ride here ever since for an answer, by the black that used to bring my accounts, which I pray God to be safe come to your Worships hands, for I am much troubled I have not yet heard from him, fearing some mischance should befall him (which God forbid) but hope rather your Worship hath been the occasion of his stay, for if no casual accident is happend question not his being at Cape Coast, but I humbly beg the favour of your Worship speedily to dispatch this cano to give me advice whether he hath been at Cape Coast and wheather your Worship hath detained him, for his delay so long doth much trouble my mind with fearfull imaginations, but trusting in God and hoping for the best I patiently wait your Worships answer. In my letter by the boy which I hope is received I gave your Worship account of a French ship of 12 gunns and 70 men rideing at anchor at Taccarado, who now have settled a factory there and very closely carried it untill they had landed twenty one men and three great gunns which are to remayne their. The Dutch haveing notice of it sent the Fiscall to speak with the French Captain about it, who came this morning and brought four souldiers to remayne in their fort, but the French ship was gon to Commenda whether [= whither] the Fiscall immediately ffollows them.⁹⁹ I hear they expect two more great ships down every day.

66. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 20 Jan. 1686/7

Your worships of the 17th instant is received with the twelve halfe barrells of powder and twenty narrow nicconees, which being the two only commodities now vendable here I hope they will fetch some mony, for as yett I have but little. The nicconees according to your Worships order I shall hold at 3a per piece. I have also received your Worships letter of the 19th instant which accompany William Woodmansey, Nicholas Ruddy and John Shorter, which is cheifly to caution me to be wary of my unwelcome neibours the French, the contents of which I will carefully and dilligently observe, and upon all occasions shall render timely advice of all news, arrivall of ships and whatsoever elce I can here. Concerning them the blacks tell me they work night and day in pallazadoring a peice of ground intire to itselfe and placing three great gunns to the most advantage, and every French man hath a forked stick upon which they hang their peices loaded and bandilers full of powder, and wheresoever they remove they carry them with them and stick it by them, and I hear they are well provided with necessarys upon all

⁹⁹ Cf. Van Danztig 1978, no.58 (Resolutions of Council, Elmina, 3 Feb. 1687).

ocasions. The ship has gon down to settle another factory at Ampena,¹⁰⁰ which is all at present I can give account of concerning them, and for further advice concerning the blacks I can say no more than what I last wrote of, that is Charles Dean stopping them from goeing upstaires into the hall four of them threw him down and beat him, which Samuel Jones seing struck one of them and drew blood, for which we were forced to pay twelve angles. I doe not desire to make any disturbance to the Company prejudice, nither will doe anything, absolute necessity excepted, before I render your Worship advice if it be matter that requires consideration, least unadvisedly I bring damage upon myselfe, only I would have them so much in awe, that they should not dare to strike a sentrey, for putting up such abuses with goods given them I fear will incourage them to make disturbances to gett dashes, and I am glad I had a civill man sentinell, for some desperate men in that place would have gon near to have shott them, it being a common opinion among many that the law bears them out in such cases.

67. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 24 Jan. 1686/7

Your Worships last letter commanding me to render speedy advice of all ships arrivall, I have sent this cano on purpose to give your Worship account that there is now rideing at Tagaradoe a Barbados interloper, a small sloop of three gunns and eight men, haveing but little goods the cheife whereof is Beneen cloths,¹⁰¹ rum and suggar, they have a few perpetuanoes and nicconees, but these they will vend for nothing but slaves, refuseing mony for them. I have likewise an account by the black that there is two English ships at Dickecove, but I am not certain of the truth thereof. The French haveing pallazadored a peice of ground at Taccarado and are all gon on board ship againe except three which stay to keep possession. The Dutch second of this place went thether to se their proceedings who possitively affirms the ground they have taken is almost as big compass as the Mine Castle.

68. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 28 Jan. 1686/7

In obedience to your Worships command for speedy advice of all occurances, I have sent this cano to give your Worship account that yesterday came from the Mine to Taccarado about one hundred and fifty canoes, in each cano three men with arms, Dutch coulers flying and beating drums, to seize the French and carry them to the Mine, but they haveing notice of it the natives conveyd them up the cuntrey and fled all from the town themselves, so that when the Mine blacks landed they neither se white nor black, being nothing left but their houses which they put fire to and burnt them all to the ground, and then they marched a little way

¹⁰⁰ Cf. no.216. Ampeni is on the coast east of Komenda, and also belonged to the kingdom of Eguafu.

¹⁰¹ Cloths from Benin, re-sold on the Gold Coast in exchange for gold.

up the cuntrey firing shott into the bushes as they went along, with intent to drive them out, thinking they were hid there, but finding nobody there they were forced to return without accomplishing their ends,¹⁰² but I understand by the Dutch Cheife of this place that the Generall of the Mine is resolved if possible to drive them out, for he saith if they settle there this place will be worth nothing, most of the trade comeing that way, especially now the Idooms not haveing free passage, but I here notwithstanding all their endeavours to the contrary if the French follow their business they will settle there in spight of them, for the natives are resolved to protect them and convey them away upon all occasions, and if taken at a surprize to stand by them to the last man. I here by the natives they expect two great ships more of great burthen to bring materials for building, and then this ship that is allready here is to go for Arda to buy slaves to bring to Taccarado to work for building a fort,¹⁰³ which is all at present but the unwellcomeness of a bad trade, for what with the disturbance of them and the difference of the upland natives it grows worse every day, for I have not taken above $\frac{1}{3}$ of last months taken [= taking] this month.

69. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 7 Feb. 1686/7

I have by the bearer hereof sent down my January account with four marks, four ounces, seaven angles and four taccoes of gold being the ballance thereof. I received your Worships letter of the 29th January mentioning what fresh goods were come over for Cabo Corso, but by reason of a bad trade have no occasion for any here. Captain Bristow said he had an order from your Worship to put six chest of sheets ashore here, but haveing so many of the last that was sent me remaying I refused them, my trade being dull. From the time of my sending for powder to the end of the month, I took but five ounces of gold, and yet not above a week before they were mad for powder and cleared the Dutch of all theres, so that my trade is such a lottery I know not what to advise for, for they are eager for a sort of goods, just as I send for them, I am not certain they will vend when they come upp. The Antea people say the war lyes betwixt Wassaws and Idooms spoils trade and the cuntrey people say it is the unjust dealings of the Antea people, so that what with one and with [ms. 'wt'] the other I have small encouragement when it is like to be better. What [= that] the upland warr hinders I know, but I am certain the Antea make it worse for there came a man and bought five peas in goods at our factory and the town panyard it from him, which is a common trade amoung them and [they] some times sell the traders two [= too] for a slave, which makes them afraid

¹⁰² Cf. Van Dantzig 1978, no.58 (Resolutions of Council, Elmina, 3 Feb. 1687); Jones 1985, no.64 (Johan Nieman, Gross-Friedrichsburg, 23 April 1687); also Du Casse 1935, 9, 32.

¹⁰³ Slaves from the Allada region were commonly employed by Europeans on the Gold Coast: see Law 1997c, 90–2.

to come down. I would have gott leave of the Antea to have sent up the cuntrey with some dashes for the upland Cabushers to se if I could have made trade better or elce to have had better sattisfaction to the contrary, but they would nither consent to my goeing or sending any body and to offer it without their consent were a vaine attempt, for they would certainly doe him a mischeife. The person I have now sent down with my accompts is Hastings Ingram, who being to civilly used groweth upon my kindness and doth not behave himselfe of late as he ought to doe [ms. 'does'], he says he came of great freinds, and upon that I suppose he thinks himselfe to be to good to be under my command, his behaviour being more like a master than servant and canot show me less respect than he doth, without he should tell me playnly he is my fellow, perhaps he hath been a better man than ever I shall, yet now I think he ought to be so, so long as I am placed by your Worship as his master, so humbly desire your Worship to give him a check or elce detain him and send another man in his room which your Worship shall think fit to doe.

The French came from Taccarado to take canoes here to goe to Commenda but here [= were?] stopt by the Dutch untell an answer was had from the Mine whether to lett them go or not. Here hath passed by a Pourtugues to the Mine whose Captain was seized by the Dutch at Axim.¹⁰⁴ Pray send a baile of narrow nicconees per return of the cano, a chance customer haveing bought most of that is made remayning in my accompts.

70. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 10 Feb. 1686/7

Your Worships of yesterdayes date is received with my account inclosed returnd to be signed, the oversight of which I am forced to confess to be a gross error, two [= too] plainly shewing my negligence in not takeing more heed in seing all things properly placed, but I hope for this once your Worship will be gratiously pleased to extend your clemency to a pardon which I humbly beg, promising more care for the future. I have now by this cano sent them down signed. I have also sent the graplin and tarpaylin. The bail of nicconees is received, being the worst I have had since my being here. Thirty of them are verry much damnified, some the worm hath eaten halfe through, the doubles I can run my fist through and some the edges eaten, and those that are sound are verry course, which happend just upon the rising of them, I fear will cause a stop to their vent. I here no news of Mr Bayly nor any other ship except a Barbarian [= Barbadian] interloper to windward which

¹⁰⁴ See also further references to the seizure of Portuguese ships by the Dutch in nos 71, 92, 99. The Dutch claimed the right, under Treaties with Portugal in 1641 and 1661, to exclude Portuguese ships from West Africa. This policy was later modified, to permit ships bringing tobacco from Brazil to trade for slaves to the east of the Gold Coast, on payment of a 10% levy on their cargoes, but this more permissive policy seems to have been pursued systematically only from the later 1680s: Verger 1968, 41–6; Postma 1990, 76–7.

is the same sloop Mr Wood was fitted out to take last Aprill,¹⁰⁵ but hath nothing now but rum and a slave cargo. Pray send word how much William Woodmansey must have per month, your Worships last letter concerning it mentioning his full pay and he sayeth he hath left eighty pounds a year in England, allso pray send word when Charles Deans pay is to begin and whether Samuell Jones is to have anything advanced above his ordinary pay for looking after the arms.

71. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 20 Feb. 1686/7

These are to advise your Worship that Captain Draper is arrived in this road, who humbly presents his servis to your Worship and desires your Worship would be pleased to pardon him that he hath not as yett sent down his boate, which he saith he will send as soon as with conveniency he possible can.¹⁰⁶ He hath had but very bad tradeing to windward, scarce any canos comming aboard except at Bassam.¹⁰⁷ He mett with Mr Bayly who is not yett gott so high as Cape Appalonia. Captain Draper humbly desires your Worship to send him word whether there be any corn to be had to leward. Here hath lately passed by three Pourtugues, one from Lisbon haveing only a slave cargo aboard, the other two had tobacco, both which were panyard at Axim, and sent to the Mine directly. This I did not advise of before thinking not worth the charge of a cano. Haveing no more but the unwellcome news of bad trading to advise your Worship of, only Daniell Coopman after I had write my letter hearing I would send a cano to Cabo Corso desired to goe down in the cano, which the Captain being willing to I consented, by whome your Worship will receive the Company pacquett.

72. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 2 March 1686/7

Your Worships of the 28th of February I have received, being an order for purchaseing corn, for effecting of which I will use my utmost endeavour. Here is abundance of corn at the crooms, if I can perswade them to bring it down. I will call the Cabusheers together this day and here what they say, and tomorrow I shall send my monthly accounts and then I will render your Worship advice what may be done in it. I have a very bad trade here; I have not taken a bendy of gold this fortnight and better, neither hath here bin any traders down, and I cannot understand what causes it to be so bad. They have no upland wars as I can here of, only threaten it dayly, which hath bin a long time doing. The cheifest reason as I can gather is the unjust dealings of the Antea people towards them, which causes

¹⁰⁵ Cf. nos 24–6.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. no.931.

¹⁰⁷ (Grand) Bassam, on the Ivory Coast (modern Côte d'Ivoire).

them to forsake this place, and seek trading otherways, as I am told by some of the town people themselves which used to keep correspondence with the traders.

73. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 4 March 1686/7

I have sent down my February accounts inclosed herein, with mk2 6oz 1a 6ta of gold, being the ballance thereof. I had sent them down that day I write to your Worship off; but seing Mr Baylys sloop I staid the cano to know if he had any business with your Worship,¹⁰⁸ and the next day happened a strong east wind, all day long, that the cano could not go of, which detaind her till now.

My trade is very bad, I have sold nothing but sheets and narrow nicconees this month and of those a verry few, most of the latter we sold to one customer all at a time; I have not taken the vallue of a taccoe for above a week past. I have spoaken with the Cabusheers about corn, and they give me very fair promises of procureing the quantity your Worship writes for. I know there is enough at the crooms, if they will but bring it as they promise they will. They have brought about fifty chests already, most of it from Taccaradoc. There accompany this cano John Dean, carpenter, who came over passenger in Captain Draper for Cabo Corso. I desired him to come ashore to fix a door and other conveniencys for the corn room and set up cabins for the white men to lye upon, which were necessaryes I much wanted, so hope your Worship will pardon him for staying and me for detaining him so long after the rest of the passengers.

Here inclosed comes an attestation of the damaged nicconees signed by my selfe and men; I could find no number on the bail.

74. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 14 March [1686/7]

This accompanys Samuel Chambers, who hawling the sain [= seine]¹⁰⁹ this day, was accidentally stung with a fish, which hath swelled his hand very much, and fearing further danger might insue he is now come down to have some timely remedy of the Doctor. I have noe trade yett for gold, and I have but four chests of corn come in since my last advice to (your Worship), but I suppose wett weather that we have had hinders that. I hear the Generall of the Mine will be here within three or four dayes.

75. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 20 March [16]86/7

I have received your Worships letter of the 15th instant by Mr Peperell,¹¹⁰ and according to the contents thereof have obeyed your Worships order in ladeing

¹⁰⁸ Cf. no.854.

¹⁰⁹ A form of fishing net.

¹¹⁰ Nicholas Pepperell, commanding the *Alligator Sloop*.

aboard what I had by me, which is seaventy chests good sound corn free from wevills, but dust there is a little, which I cannot avoid, otherwise the corn is very good. I shall continue purchaseing untill an order to the contrary from your Worship. Here is corn enough, but they bring it but slowly in. I will use my endeavour for purchaseing a bigger quantity as soon as possible, which when I have effected, I will render advice. I have likewise put aboard the sloop the scaffolding poles and ladders, which came up heither for the building, to be put ashore at Commenda, being write for by Mr Chambers.

I have little or no trade here yett, so have not occasion for any goods. The Generall of the Mine hath write to the Dutch Cheife of this place that he will be here this week. If so he comes I shall to my power show him that civillity and respect that is due to his quallity.

76. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 24 March 1686/7

I received your Worships letter of the 23^d instant by way of Comenda, being order for allowance of three tacoes upon each chest of corn for the spedier purchaseing a quantity thereof, for efecting of which a dilligent and faithfull endeavour in me shall not be wanting, but as yett I have received but little since delivery of the last, the natives being busy about planting new corn [so] that they will not bring in the old. Haveing no trade so no occasion for any goods, I have nothing more to add.

77. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 6 April 1687

I have now sent down my March accounts with seaven ounces nine angles one tacoe of gold, being the ballance thereof, which your Worship will receive per the bearer hereof. I have noe trade yett nor se no likelyhood of itt's being better. If there be any of the fine sort of narrow niccones I had before the last bale was sent me, I desire your Worship will be pleased to send me a bale per return of the cano, for those I have, if it where not for buying corn I could not vend them. Also if there be any sheets or blew perpettuanoes I could take some mony for them. As for corn, I have yett but thirty chests more of, which hath been brought within this two dayes. I have many fair promises of a quantity considerable, but use what endeavour I can they will not bring it in no faster. Pray send some iron barrs, for I have but few left, most of which are refused by the Blacks.

78. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 14 April 1687

I have received your worships of the 11 instant by Mr Pepperill, with two hundred iron barrs, and tenn whole ffirkins of tallow. I have likewise received per returne of the four hand canoe, two bailes containing 50 blew perpettuanoes. As for other goods, I have noe occasion for any att present. And for ships to windward, I hear of

only one small Portugueze which is about Ashenee,¹¹¹ and of one great Deanes [= Danes] ship which is now in this roade. As soone as I heare of any English shippe I shall not faille to advice your worship thereof.

79. Thomas Bucknell

Succonde, 15 April 1687

This goes by the canoe your worship sent to Cape Tress Pointas, and is only to advise your worship that John Shorter is verry ill of a gripping in the gutts and a violent loseness. He himself desires your worship will be pleased to order the Docter to send him some thinge that might give him ease, he being now in much paine.

I have received the blew perpetuanoes and also the iron and tallow by the Alligator Sloope, which was dispatch from hence yesterday.

80. Thomas Bucknell

Succonde, 18 April 1687

This accompanies John Shorter, who being verry bad of the flux and havinge nothinge here to give him ease, and findeing himselfe to growe worse and worse every day, was verry desiarous to goe downe to Caboe Corsoe to seek for remidy of the Docter, soe have sent him per this canoe. Havinge noe occasion for goods, nor noe news of any shippis.

81. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 2 May 1687

These are to advise your worship that I am in want of these ffolowing goods, vizt blew perpetuanoes, sheets, narrow tapseiles, narrow nicconees and halfe barrells of powder, of all which I humbly desire your worship to suply mee with all convenient speed, for I have had something of a trade this two or three dayes, which hath almost cleared mee of those goods, and more money lies ready in the towne for the same comodities. Narrow nicconees I have a small quantity left, but there being soe many damaged in the last baile, with those I had before leaves mee butt little choice of good ones.

I am now to advise your worship thatt the hoopis are moste of them flowne off from the whole barrills of powder; and the rest are soe brittle I am afraid to remove them, leaste the[y] fall in peices. Per the retturne of the canoe with goods I shall send downe my Aprill accompt. Heareing noe news of any ships to windward, have nothing more to add.

¹¹¹ Assinie, west of Cape Apollonia (in modern Côte d'Ivoire).

82. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 5 May 1687

Your worships of the 3^d instante is received, with one hundred and twenty narrow nicconees, one hundred and twenty narrow tapseiles and twenty halfe barreles of powder. I have here inclosed my accompt for Aprill, and by the bearer hereof have sent downe the ballance, being seaven markes, six ounces, one angle and seaven taccoes of gold. As for corne I have aboute 92 chests, butt according to your worships order I shall nott buy any more untill further advice As soone as I heare of any English ship, I shall not faile to render your worship speedy advice thereof.

83. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 12 May 1687

To understand that this evening came downe from windward a ship under Dutch colours, which the Blackes thinking to be a Duch interloper, went on board to buy brandy, butt the canoe were no sooner along his side butt he lett downe a tackle and ho[o]ked upon the canoe and hoys[t]ed itt aboarde with the men in her and fyred att the rest.¹¹² What country he is I know nott, for since he anchored he hath putt outt boath English and French colours, which makes hee suspect him to be a pyratte. To our sight he appeares butt a small ship, butt how well he may be fitted for a ill designe I know nott, butt giving cause of suspittion by those ill circumstance I thought itt convenient to render advise thereof to your worship, and likewise to Captain Gould, to whome I have writte concerning him to be delivered him by the way, leaste he should be surprized by them in the night. I received your worships letter by Captain Goulds boatte, butt his ship being gone downe for Commenda before receipte thereof I have not received any goods from aboard him. Present my humble service to your worship, humbly begging your worship to excuse brevity, being some thinge in haste least the ship should sayle before my letters went.

84. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 23 May 1687

To understand that I am in want of these fflollowing goods, vizt two hundred iron barrs, two bailes of blew perpettuanoes, six chests sheets, twenty halfe ffirkins tallow, one barrell of horne hafte knives, tenn pieces of course sletias and tenn pieces of green plaines and tenn pieces boysadoes, all which if a supply been at Caboe Corsoe I humbly desire your worship will be pleased to send with all convenient speed. Haveing no news of any ship I have nothing more at present.

¹¹² Cf. no.995.

85. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 29 May 1687

I received your Worships of the 26th instant with two course sletias, twelve green plains and twelve boysadoes, whereof one piece of plain and four pieces of boysadoes is damnified.

86. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 29 May 1687

Please you to understand that I have received per the nine hand canoe your letter with the following goods, vizt six chests of sheetes, one bale of blew perpetuanoes and tenn half ffrkins of tallow on the Royall Companies accompt, for which goods according to your order I have here inclosed a receipt.

87. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 19 June 1687

I have sent this canoe on purpose to render advice that last night came to this place a Dutch canoe from Axim with the Chief of Axims boy in it going to the Mine with a letter, who gave accompt to the black that used to bring accompts down to Cabo Corso that at Ashinee was twelve sail of Ffrench shippes, and that two of them has been a Dutch interloper down to Axim and have shott his sailes all to peeces, and that he was going with that letter to give the Generall of the Mina notice of it, upon which newes I went presently to the Dutch Chief at this place to know whether he had any such newes, who denyed that he heard of any thing of it, but his boyes standing by made answer there was such newes from Axim and avouched it strongly to his face, which he seemed angry at, and asked him [= them] why they told not him before, they answer'd they thought he had already heard of it, which makes me conjecture he had already heard of it but was not willing to own it, but my boy tells me he see the Chief of Axims boy and that he told him he was carrying a letter to the Mina with that newes, upon which grounds although I have nothing of certainty I thought convenient to render an account thereof. Mr Pepperell still rides here, it raining so perpetually day after day that wee cannott gett the corn aboard, and having no more but an old four hand canoe which will carry but 8 chests of at a time makes it so tedious. I hired small canoes, but they wett it so much I was forced to leave them off. As soon as weather permitts I shall use all possible means to dispatch him. He hath already on board one hundred and sixty chests and I beleeve there is forty more ashore, it shall be laden on board with all expedition. Here is more corn to be sold, but not at 2a per chest, for canoes comes from all parts both windward and leeward, from Axim to Anamaboe,¹¹³ hither to buy corn and give any rate for't, here comes at least 20 canoes every day, but if wee raise a price I beleeve would gett corn good quantity, for if they can have the

¹¹³ Anomabu, in Fante, east of Cape Coast Castle.

same price of us as of blacks I should have it for the sake of my liquors, which I am forced to expend freely among them to gett what I have since I come up last.

88. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 21 June 1687

I received your letter per the return of the canoes, and shall duly observe the contents thereof and will not be negligent on any accompt. As for goods I have not occasion for any, having taken little or no mony this month, the waters being so high with the continuall rains, that traders cannot come down. I have received from aboard the Allegator Sloop two hundred iron bars, and have laden on board said sloop two hundred chests corn, all I had, but shall be endeavoring to purchase more to the quantity of one hundred chests as per order. These with my humble service is what offers at present, only my corn I measured by an ordinary sheet chest, I have no other, if any be wanting I shall make it good.

89. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 10 July 1687

Per the bearer hereof I have sent down my Junes account with seven ounces eleven angles and six taccoes of gold, being the ballance thereof. I would have sent them sooner but that it hath rained here so continually the canoemen would not go, which hath likewise been the occasion of my bad trade this month, the waters being so high traders cannot passe. These ten dayes of July I have not taken the value of eight angles of gold, no traders coming down by reason of the ffloods. Pray send me when conveniency permitts six chests of sheetes, twenty half ffirkins of tallow and one bale of narrow tapseeles, and six empty half barrells to put the damaged powder in, all which thought good to advise for to save the charge of a canoe on purpose, for when weather permitts traders to come down what I have of those goods would be soon disposed of. I have bought forty five chests of corn more, which is all can be gott here, for what is left is half nought and good for little. Pray send me word whether the men here are to be paid their wages at four pound per ounce next pay day or whether they are to be paid at the rate they had formerly to the 5th of June.¹¹⁴

[PS] Captain Thomas Tours now rideth in this road having been two months.

90. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 11 July 1687

I received your letter, with twenty half ffirkins of tallow and one hundred and twenty narrow tapseeles on the Royall Companys account. Per the return of the

¹¹⁴ Wages were valued in sterling, but paid in West Africa in gold. For this purpose, gold had earlier been valued at £3.12s (£3.60) per ounce, but in 1687 the RAC raised the valuation to £4 per ounce—in effect a wage cut; after protests from its employees, a compromise of £3.16s (£3.80) was agreed (Davies 1957, 253).

canoe I have sent down twenty five chests of corne, good measure. Would have sent thirty, but the canoe leaking so much water I could by no means perswade Hucamee¹¹⁵ to take it in. I pray advise me how the soldiers ought to be paid here. This week is the dancing time of the Blacks, at which time a custome is due to the blackes Cappusheers of this place from the Royall Company, which if your orders contradict not I shall pay them.

PS. Likewise six empty ankors are specified in your letter, but none came in the canoe.

91. Thomas Bucknell Succondee, 16 July 1687

Yours came to hand late last night, and according to order have dispatched the canoe this morning early with twenty chests of corn and shall not be wanting in my endeavour to purchase more. As for news I hear none at present, when any offers I shall not be negligent in rendering advice thereof. Here inclosed comes another Junes accompt signed.

92. Thomas Bucknell Succondee, 18 July 1687

Having an opportunity by my boyes going down about his own business, I have sent these to desire you if there be any silk longees at Cabo Corso of a deep redd and yellow coulored chesquers, to send me thirty or forty of them, they being very much enquir'd after. Likewise if any sheetes pray send three or four chests. Have nothing of newes as yett, only a Dutch ship taking a Portugeuze to windward, which I suppose you have heard of before, I not knowing it myself before they past this place. Pray if businesse you liesure send me word what order I must use in paying the soldiers, their two months being up and they demand their mony.

93. Thomas Bucknell Succondee, 20 July 1687

Your letter is received with one hundred and thirty sheetes, tenn cases of spiritts, tenn flowered silk longees, and twenty silk ditto, all on account of the Royall Affrican Company of England. Per return of the canoe have sent twelve chests of corn, all I had and all I can procure, the old corn being all gone. As to promotion of trade, I have used and ever shall use my utmost endeavours to procure it. I must confesse my returns are but small, but hath never been occasioned through my negligence, for I have always made it my businesse (as it is my duty so to do) to promote trade, and have given all imaginable encouragements to the natives to be conformable thereto; but if the event answer not my expectation, I know not how

¹¹⁵ An employee or associate of the RAC; already attested (as 'Captain Hoccomey') at Cape Coast in 1681 (vol.i, no.221).

to remedy it. I could wish I had a trade to give you content, for it would redound as much to my credit as to the Royall Companies interest, and I should be much to blame if I did not seek it. You write you only expect my endeavours, which I faithfully promise to use, so pray judge me by it, and if you find I am remisse in any thing which might be to the Royall Companies interest, deal by me accordingly, but if the successe of my pains answer not expectation, when my endeavour is used, in that point I am excusable. I have received six empty ankors for powder. When any thing of note presents to windward I shall not fail to advise

94. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 1 Aug. 1687

Yours I have received, with one hundred and four narrow nicconees and twelve peeces of green plaines on accompt of the Royall Affrican Company of England. The canoe came late this morning, and you ordering her speedy return have dispatch[ed] her early this evening, but have no corn to send in her. I had sent my accompts but could not gett them all written in so short a time, but shall send them speedily after. Having nothing of newes to windward as yett.

95. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 5 Aug. 1687

Per this canoe have sent down my July's accompt with the ballance thereof, being three markes of gold. The Jacob Pink anchored here on Wednesday night and designed to sayle next morning, on which accompt I forbare sending a canoe with advice, thinking they would have been there allmost as soone, but weather not permitting they tarried longer. I have no other news at present. The Blacks report there is a Portugueze at Cape Tres Pointas, but whether it be true I am not certain.

96. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 11 Aug. 1687

These are to desire you to send mee one hundred iron barrs and twenty halfe firkins of tallow. Pray send them as soone possible may be, the tallow being all sould, and traders waiteing for more. According to your order I have consulted Captain Assume about procuring two 11 hands and 1 fifteen hand canoes, and he tell's mee he knows not where they may be had except at Axim, and there by no meanes to be procured without the leave of the Duch cheife there; hee makes itt his proffitt to take money for all canoes sould there, and paying the blackes in goods, otherwise he will not lett a canoe goe off; and if they gett itt off withoutt his knowledge, if ever hee heares off itt, hee makes them pay for itt what he pleases himselfe; soe if you please to have them through his meanes, Captain Assume sayes hee will send to some Cabusheers of his fri[e]nds there, to see they be good; as for himselfe, understands butt little of a canoe, nor none of his servants. Alsoe the messenger sent with my accompts will goe up to see for good, and knows an Axim, that usually

byes them for the Mina people, who he sayes will gett them if they are to be had; and they say the Chiefe of Axim will lett any man make his own bargaine with the Blackes for the canoes, or if required will further you in it; all he desiars is to have what you bargaine for in money and he to pay them in goods. Soe if you thinke fitt I will send up to see if they are to be had; and if to be had when bargained for; I will gett the Duch Cheife here to writte to him at Axim, to lett such canoes come off and pay him the money for them. Soe if you like off itt, advise. As for corne here is noe old to be had, butt if new will serve, I believe such a quantity as you writte for may be procured. Have noe news of shiping. A Sunday noone last a small Portuguez anchored here, and weighed att night, he said he would goe for Caboe Corso. He informes mee he saw noe shipp but a Fleming interloper upon the Coaste.

97. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 15 Aug. 1687

The 11 hand canoe arrived here on Saturday at two in the afternoon, by which I received one hundred iron barrs, five whole and ten halfe firkins of tallow, all on accmpt of the Royall Affrican Company of England. Sunday I kept the canoe, not having corne ready, but have dispatcht her this morning early with fifteen chests good corne. If you have occasion for a considerable quantity of corne, pray advise per next and shall endeavour to procure it. Here is new corne in abundance at the crooms, but must be bought with caution for they hold it up at 2a 6ta per chest, imagining wee are in need of it as formerly. I have received your letter by the two hand canoe, the contents of which shall observe with diligence. This day shall send to Axim my servant, and Captain Ashume likewise [will send] to his friends, and as they shall report whatt canoes are to be had, shall render advise; the Dutch chief here is so sociable and friendly a neighbour, that doubt not but to have his assistance. Having no news of shipping to windward have not else to add.

98. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 30 Aug. 1687

These are to advise you that I sent my servant to Axim to learne what canoes were there to be had, and gott a letter from the Dutch Chief here to the Copeman¹¹⁶ of Axim, of which I had an answer from him yesterday by the returne of my servant, in which he writes me he hath one very good eleaven hand canoe to dispose off himselfe, which is all the canoe[s] are there att present, but he sayes he will gett mee in a very little time a fffifteen hand or what canoe soever you please to write for. My servant tells mee the eleaven hand canoe is a very good new canoe, it was bought out of the country that day he arrived there. The length that he brought mee the measure is full forty nine foot, the breadth four foot. There is a knott in here [= her], just under the stearesmans seat above the watter, otherwise as they

¹¹⁶ See Glossary.

informe there is noe ffault in her to be seen. The price he writes me is four bendys, and for a fifteen hand six bendys, besides sending canoe men to fetch them. This is the answer I had, which when you have considered off pray send me word whether you will have itt or noe, and whether I shall writte him to proceed for a ffifteen hand canoe, and as you please to order shall send word to Axim. Some small time since two of the white men were taken sick, by which we were disabled to keep watch as formerly. This the Negroes perceiving, made use of the oportunity one night to climb up the hill next the baie and breake open the shutter of the warehouse window, and although the iron barrs stopt them from getting in, yett they made shift by fastaning ffish hookes to stickes and alsoe to lines with a bullett of lead, to heave them into the narrow tapseiles, and by that meanes drew forth eleaven ounces in goods; this I found out by two hookes they had fastened to a great nicconee which had more weight upon it then there tooles had strength to remove, broake the hookes in itt, which I seeing made the goods be told, and found eleaven ounces wanting, the chief of which is narrow tapseiles. This lose (not knowing the transgressor) I consealed but kept strickt watch, expecting there second comeing, in which they failed me not, for nine dayes since Samuell Jones sees two men at the window, whome he watched till they had itt open, then ffetching a musquett, shott one of them through a loopehole in the fflancker with a brace of bullets, which went in att his side, and out att his backe; by this he was taken, and confessed his fellow, and this ffellow impeached six more of the towns people, upon which I sent for the Cabusheers and told them my losses, with the transgressors, and withall if they would not secure those persons that were impeached, they should pay for the goods, upon which they went presently and seized them, and finding one bendy four angles in goods in their houses, I can by no meanes perswade them to deliver the men into my possession, but they proffer to give the bendy four angles in goods again and sufficient pawns for four bendys twelve angles more, which I would not conclude upon, before I gave you advise thereof. Soe (Gentellmen) if you thincke fitt to lett the buisiness to be made up on them termes, or if you have any thing to say further in the matter, pray advise. Three dayes agoe passed by a small Portuguez to the Mina and another is att Axim, noe other ships as I heare off yett upon the Coast. Pray send me twelve peieces of boysadoes, and twenty peces of green plains, with a caske of rum. Alsoe pray order some iron shackles, I have four paire charged to me, which are sent downe with slaves, and not returned.

99. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 2 Sept. 1687

By the canoe I have received twenty peices of green plains, one caske containing sixty five gallons rum, and six paire of short irons¹¹⁷ on the Royall Companies

¹¹⁷ i.e. shackles, for slaves.

accompt. Would have sent my accompts, but being a little buissie could not gett them writen. Mr Chambers being sicke, I wanted his assistance. The goods found in the Blackes houses have received, the pawnes shall gett as soone as possible, and shall be the more urgent Captain Assume being very ill, and thinke he will dye, which if soe this will be a distracted place for a time. As to slaves here comes but few, what may be had, I will be sure to buy. Heare of noe English shippes as yett, when I doe shall not faile to advise. The Pourtuguez I wrott was at Axim, is as I am told taken by the Dutch, and sent to the Mina. Thomas Mekin and Henry Eves came with the canoe. William Woodmansey and Nicholas Rudy are the persons that were sick, the former is well againe, the latter on the mending hand. Both unwilling to leave this place, soe keep them still.

100. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 10 Sept. 1687

This is to acquaint you that Hukamee has been up att Axim and disliked the 11 hand canoe and has bought a 7 hand one, which he saies was your order to him to take any canoe he liked off there, for which the cheife of Axim writes to mee to pay the Cheife here two bendys for the said canoe.

I being verry bad with the fflux, not capable of writing, I could not send my accompts, but you shall have them as soon as possible I can. I have sent per Huckamee six markes of gold, which is near the ballance. The Cabusheers will give noe pawns till Captain Asshume was well, for the breaking the warehouse, only brought part of the goods, and now Captain Asshume is dead, and there is nothing more don in the palavara, and he is buried in the Dutch Castle,¹¹⁸ and I understand that the Generall of the Mina will be here on Sunday next to putt in another.¹¹⁹

101. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 14 Sept. 1687

Yours by Mr Elwes¹²⁰ is received with two anchors brandy one Turkey carpett, and one sheet. Mr Elwes hath insisted on the pallavera he came for, to whom I referr you for satisfaction for what is don, myselfe by reason of sickness not being at the pallavera. The particulars of the goods stole is forty seaven tapseils narrow, and eleaven narrow nicconees. Mr Blinsham returns by the same conveyance he came. My selfe through Gods blessing being able to walke about though very faint, but hope in three or four dayes shall gather streng[t]h to go through my buisness as

¹¹⁸ This may mean either the local Dutch factory in Sekondi (as in no. 112), or the Dutch headquarters at Elmina (as in no. 107).

¹¹⁹ i.e. appoint a successor to Captain Ashume.

¹²⁰ Now RAC chief factor at Komenda; sent to Sekondi, as reported later in this letter, to resolve a 'palaver' there.

well as ever, and then shall send my accompts and have all things in good posture. The canoe shall pay for as is ordered. I sent not a canoe [to inform] of the Mary's being to windward, hearing Captain Bradley had sent himself.¹²¹

102. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 19 Sept. 1687

These serves particularly to give you accompt that have received from on board the Mary ten chests sheets and two bales blew perpetuanoes on accompt of the Royall Affrican Company of England. Mr Boylston¹²² hath made the pallavera for restitution of the goods stolen, and do expect immediate satisfaction.

103. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 19 Sept. 1687

These are to give you accompt thatt the Cabusheers came about sunn setting, and brought five ounces twelve angles in gold, seting the rest of the money upon the heads of those in hold,¹²³ att six pease per man, which they would have mee take, and Cabusheir Clois¹²⁴ sett free. After much pallavera I toke the mony, butt not as sattisfaction, telling them this that I could not end the pallavera without your order and that I would writ to you there offers, and before I received an answer from you, I could sattisfie them no further on such termes, which they desired mee to doe. Pray in your answer a word how you would have me acte in their pallavaras. These with my service to your selfe and best respects to Agent Bradley.¹²⁵

104. Thomas Bucknell

Succondee, 26 Sept. 1687

By this canoe have sent down the two men who stole the goods, also doe by this give you accompt that Henry Eves dyed yesterday in the afternoone, but hath left nothing behind him worth taking note off. A Ffriday morning last the Mina Generall came hither, and stayed till Sunday morning. He made litle or no pallavera with the Cabusheers as I can hear off, only he gave every one of them a green perpetuano for a dashee and likewise to all the Cabusheers of the croomes; he sent for the Cabushiers of Taggeradoc to come hither to him, with whom he had a great pallavera, about the ground the Brandenburgh inhabits, which he hath new bought of the Cabusheers, and paid them four bendyes for it here, with this proviso,

¹²¹ = no. 944.

¹²² John Boylstone, one of the Chief Merchants at Cape Coast Castle, who had evidently been sent to Sekondi to handle the dispute.

¹²³ i.e. persons who had been given in pawn, as security for the payment of the demanded compensation.

¹²⁴ Not otherwise attested; from the context, presumably one of the pawns held by Bucknell.

¹²⁵ Nathaniel Bradley, now commanding the *Mary*, had formerly (1678–81) been Agent-General of the RAC at Cape Coast Castle.

[that] they should turn out the Brandenburgs, which they have promised him to doe.¹²⁶ He is now gon up to Axim.¹²⁷ The Generall likes our fort much, but disliked his owne

[PS] Pray send me one bale of narrow nicconees.

105. Samuel Chambers

Succondee Factory, 2 Oct. 1687

I am verry sorry that I must acquaint you of the death of Mr Bucknell who dyed in a swooning ffit suddenly. Pray excuse my short writing, for I was very much troubled and danted at such a sudding [= sudden] thing.

106. Robert Elwes & William Cross¹²⁸

Succondee, 6 Oct. 1687

According to your order we have inventoryed the Royall Affrican Companys wharehous, and have taken an exact account of what remayns were there, one of which inclosed wee send down to you togeth with his last monthly accompt we could find, and compareing that with the remayn[s] wee find him indebted to the warehouse above seaven marke of gold, without he has sent money downe to you, which by his papers wee can not find, being left in soe disperst a manner and not any book of accompts to be seen. We alsoe send you herewith an accompt of his estate, which wee have taken with all care and caution imaginable, and shall secure the same till further orders. I desire I may be ordered if you please to [stay?] in the ffactory, understanding Agent Bradley's departure will be suddenly and my September accompts not finished. Mr Cross being much ffrightened desires the same.

107. James Walker

Succondee, 10 Oct. 1687

This accompanys Mr William Cross, and are to informe you that this morning at four [I] arrived att the Royall Affrican Company of Englands factory. Might have been there soner, but that the canoe men would put in at Comenda, under pretence that the wind blew hard, when it was noe such thing. Presently after my arrivall, wee went about inventorying the warehouse, which inventory have inclosed. Hope shall be more successfull than my predecessors. Shall allways have due regard and respects to your commands and instructions, and am humbly thankfull for your favor to me, and shall behave my self soe that noe dishonour shall come to you for your great kindness. Pray send me on account of the Royall Affrican Company of

¹²⁶ For a Dutch account of this incident, cf. Jones 1985, no.66 (Diary of N. Sweerts, 3–4 Oct. 1687).

¹²⁷ He went on to expel the Brandenburgs from their factory at Akwida, Cape Three points also: see no.343.

¹²⁸ Chiefs of the RAC factories at (respectively) Komenda and Egya, sent (as explained in this letter) to inventory the Sekondi factory after Bucknell's death.

England, tenn barrells of powder, one caske of rum and armes for the soldiers, tenn will be sufficient, which shall be kept as ought to be. Wee have discoursed the Cabusheirs, who are well sattisfied, they have made a demand of custome, which have promised shall be allowed off as formerly, soe pray advise what itt is, as may governe my self there by. Request that I may have the sheep, and some other things which shall have need of, which did belong to Mr Bucknell, and shall pay the value on demand. Have not any thing at present that can thinke off, butt shall be diligent and carefull in the trust now reposed in me.

PS. Pray send one barrell of tarr and nailes, locks and hinges.

[PPS] Since my conclusion here is arived in the roade a Dutch sloop, and has brought from the Dutch Castle four or five men, and four great gunns. Thiere intent I know not, but leave to your judgement. I shall certainly be soe carefull that they shall have as little advantage as possible. Here is noe more than five men besides Mr Chambers and two of them are very ill, soe desire you would be pleased to send me what you thinke convenient. As to the fflag itt's soe torne that it's a shame to hoyst it, the length of it is twenty four foot, the brea[d]th sixteen, humbly desire may have a new one sent me as soon as a canoe shall come, likewise some bobins for the fflag, match, carthridge paper, fflints for musquetts, spunges and ladles, for great gunns.

108. James Walker

Succondee, 15 Oct. 1687

On sight of yours, I toke Samuells Chambers alone and examined him, which way he imagined the Companys concerns should fall soe considerable short as now they did, and that he haveing the key of the warehouse in the sickness of Mr Thomas Bucknell, he must certainly know of the thing, which he says he is inocent off, and that Mr Bucknell was a man lived very high and was very liberall as to house affaires. I presently serched his chest and elce belonging to him [and] find noe more gold than five peoz which have inclosed. Have examined all men, which says nothing went out of the Castle after the decease of Mr Thomas Bucknell, and that the warehouse dore was sealed the next morning after he dyed, and continued soe till Mr Cross and Mr Elwes opened it. Shall give you due answer as to yours per the 11 hand canoe tomorrow.

109. James Walker

Succondee, 16 Oct. 1687

Your two bearing date the 14th instant have received by the 11 hand canoe, with fforty nine gallons of rum, six barrells of powder, six English musquetts and six swords, all new, with four paire of hooks and hinges, all on accompt of the Royall Affrican Company of England, on whose accompt pray send mee one hundred and ffty iron barrs, these have here being much rust eaten, which prevent there sayle.

Alsoe pray send twelve good boysadoes or more, if can spare them, these two comodities being askt for. The Blacks here demand of me one angle upon a bendy, as being formerly allowed by Mr Whiting, and Mr Bucknell. On my deniall they made a pallavera that noe money should be brought into the Castle, soe was forced to submitt. Pray advise if must continue it. Beleive will be a hard and difficult matter to breake them of that old and soe good custom to themselves. I received three men per name as you nominated, and now shall keep a centinall day and night, and shall be soe circumspect in all actions, that the Dutchs shall find itt a hard matter to gaine any oppertunity of injuring any thing, belonging to the Royall Affrican Company of England here. The second of the Dutch came two days since to visitt me, who [I] made welcome, but could not gett any thing from him touching affairs, wee soe ill understanding one another. He told me Mr Bucknell was there debtor for powder twelve angles, which he desired might be payed.

As soon perused yours tooke Samuell Chambers by himself and demanded of him the key of his chest, which sought all over very carefully but found not there any money or papers of accompts between Mr Bucknell and him. I lookt into every place in the chamber but to noe purpose, finding nothing. I required of him what had about him, he produced five peoz and one discharge from under Mr Bucknells hand for the month August. Haveing don with him called up the soldiers one after another and examined them, who doe protest that they see not any thing carryed out of the castle after Mr Bucknell was deceased, but that the next morning Samuell Chambers sealed up the warehouse dore and soe it remayned till Mr Elwes and Mr Cross come to inventory the Royall Companys concerns.

As to my getting out of the Blacks anything, if it were certaine there were any such thing, tis impossible, he [= Chambers] speaking Blacks¹²⁹ soe well that he can oblide them as he will per way of there country. I have really don my utmost in order to your comands and wish could have given you more answerable account. I have sent per this canoe two roles [= rolls] of tobacco and his chest, which is all he has in the Castle.

I have laide wait for news of shipping to windward and am promised shall have intelligence if any comes to Axim, and that which is really true. The man have employed is the chiefest Cabushiere in these parts, and as soone as receive shall advise presently.

Pray lett me have a bill of prizes of goods, and your answers as to the Cabushiers custom, which they thinke long till payed. Alsoe pray send me on accompt of the Royall Affrican Company of England, three yards of redd broad

¹²⁹ i.e. the local African language (in this case, the Anyi dialect of Akan). This is one of only two references in the 1686–8 correspondence to Europeans speaking the local language; the other being Jonas Perring at Egya (no.466). Implicitly, this was an unusual accomplishment. By contrast, James Nightingale at Anomabu, although he had been on the Coast since at least 1681, had to interrogate a canoeman through an interpreter (no.438).

cloath. I have nothing of moment only begg pardon for the ill writing, which is because I am destitute of a penknife.

110. Ralph Hassell¹³⁰ & James Walker Succondee, 24 Oct. 1687

First wee must begg pardon for not haveing acquainted you sooner, but as yett have not don any thing. Yesterdai morning wee arrived about seaven a clocke, and at landing was meet with a great concorse of people, which did not make any oposition, but were frindly giveing us acky.¹³¹ soe past up to the ffort quietly, then sent for the Cabushers, who came. I put the question to them what injury did Mr Walker ever doe them that they should in soe inhuman a manner abuse him, which was not only the injury don to his person, for which they must make satisfaction, butt the great affront and abuse to the English nation, which was matter of consiquence. They made noe answer butt said they would come today at 10 a clocke. Wee expected them accordingly but they came not not till just now (twelve a clocke), and putt us off till tomorrow, today being the last for mourning for Captain Ashume, all the country round about being there to lament him, and as soone as have concluded or [we] heare what they [say], and what satisfaction or agreement they will come to, shall not faile to render advise. Noe news of shipping to windward.

PS. We have this day taken an inventory of the warehouse.

111. James Walker Succondee, 27 Oct. 1687

This accompanys Mr Hassell and six marks, six ounces of good gold, on accompt of the Royall Affrican Company of England. Will send you my accompts in three or four days. Mr Hassell has made an end with the Cabushires, who does say what was don was not by them, but by the younge men of the towne,¹³² who I had not paid theire custome, which now I have, they giveing satisfaction for the [a]buse, two sheep to you, one to me, and payment for my cloaths, and a pawne which they say is a Cabushers son, that I shall not have any abuse offered or anything that is ill. Reffer you to Mr Hassell, whoe will informe you more at large. Pray send me on accompt of the Royall Affrican Company of England, thirty or fourty halfe ffrkins of tallow, or what you can spare, with the goods advised you of in myne of the 16th instant, alsoe stores for the Castles use. Request may have as soon as possible. We heare of a great Ffrench pyrate who has on board her three hundred men, and is to

¹³⁰ Chief of the RAC factory at Fredericksburg, east of Cape Coast, sent to Sekondi to mediate between Walker and the local authorities.

¹³¹ See Glossary.

¹³² Referring to the organization of youngmen (*asafu*) under their own chiefs, as described e.g. by Bosman 1705, 164–5; see also Kea 1982, 132.

windward of Axim.¹³³ Shee has taken a Brandersburgh, and has engaged Thomas Towers and killed him many men, and don great damage to his shipp. As soone as heare of any English shipp, shall advise the needfull.

112. Theophilus Blinsham

Succondee, 5 Nov. 1687

This accompanyes Mr Thomas Johnson, who brings you the inventory of all the Royall Affrican Companys merchandizes, ammunion, stores belonging to the said Company, remaying in the Fort. Yesterday I received the possession thereof according to your order of primo ditto, by the hand of Mr Johnson.

In which concerne I hope to discharge my self of all things committed to my care, and to give you good sattisfaction of my dilligence, therein, and for your favor I humbly thanke

At my arrivall on the first instant between 5 and 6 in the morning, I found Mr Walker laid forth, who dyed the evening before, about 5 in the afternoon. I demanded his keys, and all things belonging to the deceased. They who watched him tould mee the wharehouse and his chest was sealed up per his order, and all things was there inclosed. His corps was enterred about one in the afternoon, neare to his predecessor, I haveing the company of the Copeman and second of the Dutch Castle at his funerall, I beseeching God to give me good success, to enjoye and survive my predecessor.

By the inventory you will plainely see what goods and materialls are wanting in this ffortt, seeing the remayns are soe much damnified. Bee pleased to send on accompt of the Royall Affrican Company 5 or 6 chests of sheets, 100 or 200 iron barrs, 3 or 4 boysadoes, a caske of the best sortt of knives, allsoe accompt of the prizes of all goods as now sold, and if can be spared a carpenter, with some plank, nailes and small trucks for the gunns, as alsoe to make up 2 or 3 cabins for soldiers.

I find a chest of suggar in the ffactory, supposing it to be the deceasd's, which by my desire is left here, haveing occasion for itt, and [having] noe stilliards,¹³⁴ have computed it at large to be 120 lb and shall be accomptable to you for the same. Likewise of the deceased's, a Black boy about 7 yeares old, being now sick, and by the consent of Mr Johnson have detained him, when well shall be accomptable to you, what he may be reasonable worth. There is alsoe of sheep tenn in number, 5 yews [= ewes] and 5 lambs, one being old and sick, to which I begg your consents, to lett mee have them, what they may be reasonable, worth shall be accomptable to you for them. If soldiers can be spared pray send two or three, seing here is one man sick.

¹³³ This was evidently *La Tempeste*, commanded by Du Casse, which was not in fact a pirate, but a warship of the French crown: cf. no.115, with n.138. Du Casse complained that the Dutch misrepresented him as a pirate (1935, 25).

¹³⁴ Steelyards, i.e. balances for weighing.

[PS] I desire to waite on you with my first months accounts and if possible to seale my Binin account¹³⁵ or when you shall please to order me.

113. Theophilus Blinsham

Succondee, 11 Nov. 1687

My last to you was per Mr Thomas Johnson, with the inventory of all the Royall Affrican Company concerns here remaying in their fort of Succondee. Also I desire certaine goods from Cabo Corso, which if not sent before this comes, to your hands, I pray add, thirty narrow tapseeles, and half ffrkins tallow, what you thinke fitt. I do expect little trade this month, seeing the Adooms are fallen out amongst themselves. As I have accompt, shall give accompt of their proceedings. I hope I may live quietly with those people here. As yet I have nothing to say against them, but they ask me often, if I am to revenge the quarrell of Mr Walker, which I tell them I have not any thing to do in. The Cabushiers have demanded their dashees, I desired them to tarry untill I have heard from Cabo Corso. As for any thing else I referr to my former.

Just at the sealing of the letter, there is a shipp appears just off of Tackerada. What she is know not.

PS. One of the clock afternoone

114. Theophilus Blinsham

Succondee, 11 Nov. 1687

This day about 12 a clock came into this roade Captain Emanuell Burgess, who intended for Cabo Corso, who brings a note from the Mary, the contents are as followeth, vizt

Thomas James, 10 November 1687

If you be an Englishman, that these lines shall come to, I am now the King of Englands shipp, and have this day been engaged with a pyrate and his prize, both of them having about 36 gunns, and for want of a wind and currant setting into the bay, I am now to leward of them, therefore if you be an Englishman desire your assistance, and tomorrow will certainly take them both, and in so doing, you will oblige your King, and the Royall Affrican Company and your servant, now comander of the Mary.¹³⁶

Wee have been engaged this day about 8 houres. I understand but one Englishman hurt. This day about 12 I heard many guns, as it seemed to be broad sides, although

¹³⁵ i.e. Benin, where the RAC still maintained a factory at this time, although this had been abandoned by the 1690s: cf. Ryder 1969, 124. Blinsham's service at Benin presumably followed his removal from the RAC factory at Egya in Aug. 1686 (cf. chap. VII).

¹³⁶ James had assumed command of the *Mary* after the death of its original commander, Nathaniel Bradley.

no place mentioned in the letter, what bay [he] speaks off, but I understand by blacks, they are near to the Brandenburgh Fort.

115. Theophilus Blinsham

Succondee, 15 Nov. 1687

Yours of the 12th ditto I have received, as also a letter to Captain James, which I have sent, he being then at Comenda. According to your order, have acquainted the Cabushiers concerning their dashees, and of their barbarous usage to Mr Walker, to which they give litle answer, only hums and haws, of which I cannot understand, but [they] tell me they love me very well, and desire I may tarry with them and they will do very well by me. I have made what inquiry I can, as concerning the Idooms warr, which is as I am informed, there being four or five coming to towne this day and give accompt that it is quite over, it being only two great Cabusheirs, the one taking away the others wife, and concernd¹³⁷ her, some pallavera having been, for 4 or 5 days past, and further tells me that severall Idooms will be downe very suddenly. As for any shipp, to windward, I hear of none, only the pyrate lyeth still at the Brandenburgh fort. It seems the Dutch Copeman had the pyrate ashore at Axim and treated him well, for which he is dismiss,¹³⁸ and the Copeman of this place is this night going thither Chief. By this canoe comes two white man, Joseph Boyce and John Cunnington, the one being sick, and the other understanding the Coast friggatt is suddenly to be paid off, and he having debts owing him, and he owing to me, desire to be there at the time of payment and then to returne, as also Boyes [= Boyce] when well.

I begg your ffavors in sending the prizes of the Royall Company merchandizes as now sold, being unwilling to damnifie the Company or hurt my selfe, which at present am i[g]norant off the goods remaying.

[PS] If men can be spared pray send a man or two.

116. Theophilus Blinsham

Succondee, 16 Nov. 1687

This afternoone about 5 of the clock came to an anchor in the roade of Tackerada, the pyrate and his prize, and sent his boat, intending to go ashore, but the Blacks sent off to the boate a two hand canoe, to tell them they should not come there from the pyrate.¹³⁹ They [= the pirates] said they would come and bring great guns, and destroy them, if they would not yield tonight or tomorrow,

My endeavors shall not be wanting in securing the Royall Company ffort, having water for 20 days, and the Cabushiers will hinder their coming ashore here,

¹³⁷ See Glossary.

¹³⁸ This was Du Casse, commanding *La Tempeste*: cf. his own reference to this incident, in Du Casse 1935, 25.

¹³⁹ Cf. Du Casse's own account, recording his arrival at Takoradi on 27 Nov. 1687 (New Style: = 17 Nov. Old Style): 1935, 17.

as they have promised. The Blacks this day tell me there is a great shipp at Dickiscope, being darke could not see his colours. Also say the pyrate had seaven men killd by the Mary, and were buried in the Brandenburg ffort, for which he saith he will have satisfaction. How many wounded know not. What is further needfull, be pleased to advise.

117. Theophilus Blinsham

Succondee, 19 Nov. 1687

Yours per Mr Price I have received, and have per this canoe sent two carbines, one pair of pistolls, one birding peece, one silver hilted sword, and a Black boy, being Mr Walkers. Hoping to be at Cabo Corso on Munday next. The pyrate and prize went to leward yesterday, supposing to Comenda, as the Blacks say, to setle a factory there.¹⁴⁰

118. Theophilus Blinsham

Succonde, 18 Dec. 1687

Yours of the 12th ditto I have received and the merchandizes therein exprest out of the Ann sloop, Mr Richard Bradshaw Master, and are as ffolloweth, six chests of sheets containing three hundred and ninety, one hundred and fifty iron barrs, fifty tapseiles, fifty halfe firkins with tallow, and fifty one gallons rum, all on account of the Royall African Company of England. According to your order, have put on board the same sloop all the damnified powder that was remaining in the fort, being in all eight and a halfe barrells of damnified powder. I shall doe all I can to make the best and quickest returne of the merchandizes. I heare since I came up of some canoes that are to be sold at windward, five, seven, nine and eleaven hands, which with your order shall endeavor to buy, rangoes being there good, the deepest redd are the best. The charges from hence is four angles for a two hand canoe and kanky mony¹⁴¹ for the time of their stay. The Black that goes belongs [to] the Fort, and hath been there in the time of Mr Thomas Bucknell.

119. Theophilus Blinsham

Succonde, 20 Dec. 1687

My last was on the 18th ditto, since none from you. This day the Cabushiers of this towne was with me for there dashes for a new Cheife,¹⁴² in which pallaver I ffollowed your order of the 12th November, to which they would not give me answeare, but said they would stop the traders from coming to the Castle to trade if I did not pay the dashes. I feare the next thing will be in hindring the Royall Companys slaves in fetching of wood and water or shutting up the gates. At my arrivall here I found Mr Thomas Price and two more very ill disposed in body, with

¹⁴⁰ Cf. nos 300ff.

¹⁴¹ See Glossary.

¹⁴² i.e. gifts due to them on the appointment of a new chief of the RAC factory.

greate paines in the head, and burning feavors and womitings. Desire those things may sent that are necessary for those distempers, as I have writt the doctor. I desire one caske of beefe and a caske of bread, these two that are here are neer out, and shall send the produce with the ballance of my monthly account, and for wood and water shall gett into the Fort what I can. If you will be pleased to allow the dashe they will be satisfied, if not be pleased to send some Cabushier to discourse them, for I have noe one here that I can trust.

120. Theophilus Blinsham

Succonde, 30 Dec. 1687

My last was the 20th ditto, since none from you, in which I gave you account of the Blacks palaver about their dashee for a new cheife, and also that without they would stopp the trade of this place, which next day they did, and have had noe trade since. I doe beleive and alsoe are informed, if they can gett me they will send me to Cabo Corsoe Castle.

121. Theophilus Blinsham

Succonde, 3 Jan. 1687/8

Yours of the primo instant have received and, have sent for the Cabushiers, some of which are a rowsawing, and will be in towne tomorrow, being sent for, and those that are here will not doe anything untill they come altogather. Shall doe all I can to end the palaver. The indisposition of Mr Price hath hindred me of sending my monthly accounts with ballance and inventory of the warehouse, hoping that in a day or two he will waite on you, and give you a just account how all things are here. I heare this morning that Captain Batherne is at Axim.

122. Theophilus Blinsham

Succondee, 4 Jan. 1687/8

This accompanyes Mr Thomas Price, who according to your order brings you my monthly accounts with the ballance, which is one marke, two angles and nine taccos of good gold, as also the true inventory of all the Royall Companyes goods remaining in their Forte of Succondee.

This afternoone I gott together the Cabushiers, but they would not come into the Fort. I told them it was to pay them their customes as you had ordered for a new cheife. I could not perswade them, but what I had to say I must speake to a Black and the black to tell them, which I did, that you were willing to give them for a dashee of a new cheife, one green perpetuano and one anchor of brandy, seing they had custome for a new cheife,¹⁴³ I could not perswade them soe lately, they might very well take it, and that I was ready to give it them. The Cabushiers sent me word

¹⁴³ Although the terms 'custom' and 'dashee' are often used interchangeably, they are here distinguished (cf. also no.453); the former were strictly obligatory, the latter discretionary payments.

they had been soe often for their customes that I had made them ashamed, and that they would have me goe to Cabo Corsoe and not to stay here, which is all I can gett at present from them.

If you are pleased to allow the blacks to chuse the Royall Companys servants, and to send them of at their pleasure, they will have one every two or three months, which will be very hard for any to live without better reasons or objections then they, as the blacks tells me. If you will be pleased to send a Cabushier to discourse them, that the truth may be knowne wherein I have [not?] done any thing, but always endeavored to oblige all the Cabushiers of this towne, as much as possible I could, and have endeavored to encourage trade with them as much as any man, and they never come to the factory, and goe away but they have drams. Having not any one that I can trust to tell them anything, wherein I can be sure they tell the same I speake to them, doe beleive they tell me one thing and the Cabushiers another, which you will be pleased to send a Cabushier, and their customes, and that their may be a right understanding between us, I beleive all things will doe well and the Cabushiers satisfied a greate deale better then now they seeme to be, by reason of a bad interpreter between us. Hoping this thing will be taken into your consideration, being the reall truth.

123. Theophilus Blinsham

Succonde, 13 Jan. 1687/8

This accompanyes Captain Quow,¹⁴⁴ who I hope will give you a just account of the pallaver with the Cabushiers and traders of this place, though it was ended the evening before, by Captain Batherne and my selfe, which hope is to your likeing to pay the blew perpetuanoe, two narrow niccanees, one ankor of brandy and one anchor of rum, for their customes of a new Cheife, and have free trade, and all things elce to be the same as formerly before this palaver begun, on the payment of the aforesaid goods, which next day was done. I would have given you accompt before this but Captain Quow hindred me by his arrivall next morning with your orders, and being desirous to give you the greatest satisfaction I can desire that Captain Quow might here the pallaver and the agreement between the Cabushiers and me, which was made the night before, which was granted, and find nothing in itt but there dashees being not paid as formerly had been done, that now they are all goods [sic] ffriends, and will doe all they can to encourage trade to this Fort, and the Cabushiers frowes you all ackey. The green perpetuanoes being all damaged, paid Captain Batherne 9a for one blew perpetuanoe, which shall charge in my monthly account, and also the two ankors of brandy per Captain Quow, which are already expended, one to the Cabushiers and the other in the time of the pallaver. Shall endeavor to redeeme the time that has been lost and encourage traders,

¹⁴⁴ A prominent employee of the RAC, already attested in 1681–3 (vol.1, nos 198 etc.; also Daaku 1970, 104).

hoping my two accompts for November and December are right. Desire the receipts for the ballance, and also a noate of those mens wages that came to me last. A day or two past the Dutch slaves and the French had some skirmishes att Taccaradoc, wherein some was wounded. How many kill'd know not, but in the night aboard the French ships was fired 6 or 8 guns, supposing some officer was buried,¹⁴⁵ and at Quidah¹⁴⁶ the Dutch and Brandenburg has 2 or 3 skirmishes, but of what effect know not.¹⁴⁷

124. Thomas Price

Succonde, 17 Jan. 1687/8

I arrived here about seaven this morning, where I found all at quietness. I understand the pallaver was made up before Captain Quow came up, with the help of Captain Batherne, who will be able to give you a true and exact account of all their proceedings. Since the business has been made up, Mr Blinsham hath taken but eight angles for iron barrs, they carry their mony aboard shipp. Captain Batherne is now at ankor between Shumah and Succonde,¹⁴⁸ and endeavors to turne it up higher and higher.

125. Theophilus Blinsham

Succonde, 17 Jan. 1687/8

Yours of the 16th instant per Mr Thomas Price I have received, and find that you will not allow of the dashees paid to the Cabushiers and traders, which was one blew perpetuano, one anchor of brandy to the Cabushiers, two narrow tapseiles, one anchor of rum to the traders for their customes, and to end all pallavers, and make a free trade to this Fort, and one anchor of brandy expended in the pallavers. Doe beleive had their dashees been paid at ffirst without any trouble as Mr Walkers was, [they] would have taken as they did of him, one green perpetuano and one anchor of brandy to the Cabushiers, one broad tapseile and severall case[s] bottles of rum, but how it was charged to the Royall Company know not. I hope may be allowed the same as my predecessor was, if not the same that is paid, I desire you to allow what you thinke fitt. I hope Captain Batherne when comes to Cabo Corsoe will give you a good reason for the payment of those goods, who seing the narrow watching of the Blacks for me, and doe beleive if could have gotten me as they did Walker, they would have served me the same, and also to other things, as the Blacks pretended to in the hindrance of rowsauing, their were

¹⁴⁵ This is again Du Casse, who (having sailed west towards Cape Three Points, to look for the other French ships) arrived back at Takoradi on 19 Jan. 1688 [New Style: = 9 Jan. Old Style], and exchanged fire with the Dutch there: Du Casse 1935, 18.

¹⁴⁶ Akwida, on Cape Three Points.

¹⁴⁷ The Dutch had expelled the Brandenburgers from their factory at Akwida in October 1687 (cf. no.343); this report presumably relates to a Brandenburger attempt to recover possession.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. no.956.

damnified. Hoping all things will be considered, and not thinke too much paid on the agreement with those unruly people.

126. Theophilus Blinsham Succondee, 20 Jan. 1687/8

Having an oppertunity by a two hand canoe bound to leeward, would desire you to send up some powder and lead barrs¹⁴⁹ for the use of the Royall African Company of England, the said goods be likely to be in request at this place, by reason of the warrs breaking out between the Adoomes and the Warshaws.¹⁵⁰ Captain Batherne came to an anchor in this roade yesterday, he hath noe greate matter of trade, but presents his most humble service to you. Referring you to my former, hoping you will consider me as other men.

127. Theophilus Blinsham Succonde, [blank] Jan. 1687/8

My last to you was the 20th ditto per a leeward canoe, desiring powder and lead barrs, to which be pleased to ad some sheets on accompt of the Royall African Company of England, having disposed of most of those sheets that were remaining here by reason Captain Batherne had none left, but takes what mony comes for other goods. Hoping in a little time may have a trade at this place, if warrs continue.

128. Theophilus Blinsham Succonde, 25 Jan. 1687/8

Yours of the 23^d ditto per the eleven hand [canoe] have received and also 100 lead barrs, three hundred and ninety sheets, ten whole barrells of powder, all on account of the Royall African Company of England, and shall be sure to returne you the Companys gold where the goods are disposed. As to the customes which I have paid to the Cabushiers, is very little more than what Mr James Walker gave before me. Whether its on the Companys account or his owne I am not certaine. Here are them that delivered it, and see the goods paid. I desire to know what you will allow, and for the rest I will doe as well as I can, and the Royall Companys honor and intrest shall be wholly seekt for by [TB]

129. Theophilus Blinsham Succondee, 3 Feb. 1687/8

This accompanies my monthly accounts with the ballance, being six ounces, six angles and foure taccooes, which you will receive per bearer. I have not charged

¹⁴⁹ Lead bars, from their frequent association with gunpowder in this correspondence, were evidently cut up to make shot.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. further references to this dispute, culminating in the 'total rout' of the Adoms in March 1688, in nos 129, 131–2 (and also no.317, from Komenda).

any of the Cabushiers dashes to this months account, having not your orders. Trade I have had none this 8 or 10 dayes, noe people from the upland country. Expect to heare of the Adoomes and Wasshawes second fight very suddenly.¹⁵¹ Captain Batherne sayled out of this road the 31st of January 1687/8.

130. Theophilus Blinsham

Succondee, 20 Feb. 1687/8

Yours of the ditto I have received, in which you blame me for not giving you advice of Mr Thomas Prices going from hence per my last, which I could not do, he being then on board Captain Batherne, and came here in a day or two after, and then told me Mr Robert Elwes had received a letter from you, for him to go to Comenda. I have always endeavoured to oblige the blacks of this place, and do beleive that should any aske them of my kindness to them, they would speak well of me, or elce I am sure they abuse me much. I am sorry the ballance of my monthly accounts are not greater, I wish it were in me to enlarge them, but at this time it lyes in many, that in litle time I hope will amount to the largeness of your desire. It is now very small, yet larger than my neighbour,¹⁵² for three months last past for goods sold 5mk 4oz 0a 0ta and all charges to be deducted. I am informed of two or three English shippes at windward, one at Dickiscove as I understand by blacks a pink. I cannot hear but by blacks and oftentimes they tell lyes to gett a dram. I wish I could be more punctual in my writing of things at windward. Some time you may heare of shippes at windward before me, by some vessell as goes to the Mina, which passeth here at great distance. Captain Buttram came into the roade of Tackeradoe on the 9th instant, and two or three days after came to an anchor off of Abody.¹⁵³ Five or six shippes have past here to the Mina this month from Holland, whereof three for slaves. It shall be always my care and indeavours to maintain the Royall Company honour and interest, to the utmost of my power.

131. Theophilus Blinsham

Succondee, 3 March 1687/8

My last to you was the 20th February, since none from you. This accompanyes my February accompts, which ballance comes per bearer, being in all one marke, one ounce, one angle, tenn taccoes and a damboy, which finding write [= right] pray send a receipt for this and January accompt, haveing as yet none. I should have sent this month accompts two or three days sooner, being ill disposed desire your pardon. I have endeavored as much as possible I can to enlarge but as yett cannot, the [A]doomes and Warshaws being now for two or three days past fighting, as I am informed. Some Cabushiers desire the Adoomes to come in to this towne to

¹⁵¹ In the first conflict Wasa had defeated Adom (no.317).

¹⁵² i.e. the Dutch WIC factory in Sekondi.

¹⁵³ Aboadi, between Sekondi and Shama.

reside here till the warrs are over. Its expected the Adoomes will be beaten. What goods will be wanting here I know not, there being so small a trade at present, only nicconees being in request. I understand Captain Buttram intends a trade at Cabo Corso Castle on Munday next.

132. Theophilus Blinsham Succondee, 12 March 1687/8

This morning arrived here Captain Lomax boat with the Royall Companies letters, and desires they may be sent forward to Cabo Corso Castle. He being a stranger himself to this Coast, cannot spare his boat and men. The ship is now at Dickiscope at present, finding but litle trade, intends to be here in two or three days, Captain Barrett arrived here on Friday. Wee have a generall conformation [= confirmation] by all Blacks here, of the totall route of the Adoomes by the Warshaws, who having taken all the countrey but two little small townes, which are said to be taken yesterday. This morning a messenger is sent by the Warshaws to the Cabushiers of this towne to have a pallavera with them. Hoping in few days to have encouragement of a better trade than for some time hath been.

133. William Ronan¹⁵⁴ Succondee, 12 March 1687/8

On my arrivall here I have according to your orders, and directions, proceeded in inventorying this factory, and made an end next day following. No mony to be had this voyage, Mr Blinsham being in advance for the Company, the accompt of which have by me. The rest of his accompts are not as yet made up. Mr Price parted for Axim a Saturday night. Here is some prospect of a trade, the warrs being over.¹⁵⁵ If John Downs sends the accompt of the bread, and beefe supplied Mr Blinsham, I will returne the produce. This accompanyes the packett, came by Captain Lomax, who complains very much of meeting no trade to windward. He has some letters for Captain Buttram, but judging his departure, did not send them. Mr Price on his returne will bring them. Captain Barrott is just now departed, he could procure no corne here. Excuse scarcity of paper.

134. Theophilus Blinsham Succondee, 16 March 1687/8

This night about 6 a clocke I received the inclosed seaven letters from on board Captain Lomax, who as yet is at Dickescope.¹⁵⁶ I heare of noe more shippes to windward. Per your next be pleased to advise, if I shall take the charges of canoe hyre of Captain Lomax, or place to the Companies accompt. I hope by this, Mr

¹⁵⁴ An official from Cape Coast, sent to inventory the Sekondi factory.

¹⁵⁵ This judgement proved premature, the Adams fighting back soon afterwards (nos 135–6).

¹⁵⁶ Cf. nos 967–8.

Ronan and Mr Price have given you an accompt of all things here, since which is litle don, only this day came to this fort Yankey and Ashreney, with 4 or 5 Warshaw people, to make a pallavera with the Cabushiers of this towne, and as I am informed they meet at Yankey's croom on Sunday next. At the time of their stay, I made them welcome and showed the Warshaws severall goods, and told them they should be kindly dealt with, for what they wanted. At present here is no corne to be had, it being at the croomes, and there slaves are going, and some gon to panyar the Adoomes, I have per this canoe sent you one man slave, on accompt of the Royall Affrican Company of England, desire there may be short irons sent per the returne of this canoe. The Generall of the Mina has sent to the Copeman here, to give a bendy a head for men slaves, and seaven peaz for women, in any sorts of goods. I can say nothing to goods as yet, having not taken one craca¹⁵⁷ since the inventorying of the warehouse. As things shall offer shall give you an accompt.

135. Theophilus Blinsham

Succondee, 21 March 1687/8

Yours of the 19th ditto [received], with a letter to the Copeman of Axim, which is sent forwards. On Sunday last arrived here Captain Lomax in his boat, who being dissatisfied with the blacks at Dickiscove about the delivery of corn bought, and also to understand how trade went here, wherein I could give no encouragement, and desires me to let the linguister, that belongs to this place, go to Dickiscove, with him, to have a better understanding between them, who went from hence last night, about twelve a clock. I understand that the Adoomes got together in a small party, and did much damage to some of the Warshaw people, the Addoomes being disperst in the woods. The Warshaws have invited this townes people to take of them what they can, [so] that wee have now very few people in the towne and at present here is no trade for slaves or money. As yet I cannot add to the moneys that was taken when Mr Ronan and Mr Price were here, only one man slave, which you shall receive with my March accompts and what elce shall purchase to the end of this month. In your next be pleased to order, if shall draw this months accompt from the primo March, or from the 10th ditto. I shall do what I can to get in corne, but at present there is knowne [= none] to he had. I shall do what I can to satisfie the ballance of my former accompts, and shall obey your order in sending it with the accompt, but what I had, and what I have taken, was [paid] to the soldiers, being now out of pockett about 5oz of gold, for the Royall Company, and at present have hardly any to buy provitions. According to your order I asked Captain Lomax for the charges of canoe hyre, that is two canoes to Cabo Corsoe and one to Dickiscove, being in all 8a on his accompt, which money he refused to pay, only the first canoe to Cabo Corso Castle, and tells me he will discourse it with

¹⁵⁷ See Glossary.

you. By this canoe you will receive one Samuell James, a soldier, for some time residing in this place and for some time since my coming here has been very refractory in this ffortt, by his behaviour and language, and yesterday being the 20th ditto abused me very much with a great many curses and oaths, and also threatned mine and others lives that were then in the Fort. To execute his intent got a large cutlas in the night at sentinell with him, on the topp of the house, and said, who ever came there, he would cutt him in peeces or shoot him, at which time, being not his watch, I understanding this, demanded his armes, which he refused, but by force of soldiers disarmed him and for myne and others security, put him in irons, he being still desperate, and fearing he would do mischief to some of the soldiers that lay in the room where he was, I put him into the slaves prizon, and also [he] said he would bring blacks, and beate us all out of the Castle, also said that I had put him in irons as a slave but could not sell him, but bid me have a care he did not sell me, and all the rest, he having severall times before had great conferences with blacks, and in the middle of the night in another mans watch, sets open the doores of the Fort, with a great many other bad circumstances, which I have here omitted, thinking it will be tedious to repeate, beleiving this may be sufficient.

136. Theophilus Blinsham

[Succondee],¹⁵⁸ 22 March 1687/8

My last was the 21th ditto, since none from you. The last night arrived the Black I sent to Dickiscope with Captain Lomax, who tells me there is corne enough to corne 2 or 3 shippes more, but Captain Lomax being a near and fretfull man, and not giving blacks drams, and not oblidging, [they] began to fall back from their words and [he] sending the King a dashe and none to the Cabushiers, but now tis all well, and he may have his corne if he pleases. The last night also came into this towne severall Warshaw people, some wounded by the Adoomes and came here for shelter, and tis said by some blacks that the Adoomes have gotten what before had lost. Those that came here of Warshaw people have made [omission] to the Cabushiers of this towne, but what is don in the pallavera is not knowne, being by them kept very private.

137. Theophilus Blinsham

Succondee, 26 March 1688

My last was the 22th ditto, since none from you, The last night I received the inclosed from Axim.¹⁵⁹ On the 23th ditto arrived Captain Bridges, who lyes in the roade of Abodey. As to what I said in my last concerning the Adoomes gaining the parts of their countrey they had lost, it is true. I understand that a great many

¹⁵⁸ 'Commenda' in ms, clearly in error.

¹⁵⁹ = no.970, from Capt. John Bridges.

people are going out of this countrey to help the Warshaws. The Generall of the Mina hath sent to their Fort here two great guns, six foot long, and carries a large 4 lb ball, and also per next do expect from the Mina 8 or ten men more. I understand that Abond Cabushier of the Mina¹⁶⁰ doth threaten these people in much about the 11 bendyes they owe him, what he will do, if they carry their money and slaves any where but to the Dutch, so at present they carry what they have for feare of him.

138. Theophilus Blinsham

Succondee, 2 April 1688

Yours of the 30th past by Mr Jefferyes¹⁶¹ have received and shall follow your orders. This accompanys my March accompts with one good man slave, also one ditto sent the 16 March, for which be pleased to order a receipt. What moneys have taken this month, as per accompt appears, will not defray the soldiers and Forts charges this month by 5oz 3a 2ta, here being no trade at present for either moneys or slaves. On Friday last Captain Lomax went to leward. Captain Bridges remaynes here, I doubt with litle or any trade. Here is litle talk of the warrs, expecting to hear in 10 or 15 days. Captain John Lomax hath not payed me the canoe hyre, as I have payed for him, which be pleased to stopp and is as under. Also be pleased to send per bearer some large paper for accompts and some small for letters, having none left of either sort.

Captain Lomax debtor for canoe hyre	oz	a	ta
To two hand canoes to Cabo Corso Castle	0	6	4
To a two hand canoe to Dickiscope	0	1	8
	0	8	0
To Captain Buttrram for ditto	0	3	2
	0	11	2
By moneys sent per bearer which is in full of the) difference of December, January & February accompts)		2	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
		13	7 $\frac{1}{2}$

139. Theophilus Blinsham

Succondee, 8 April 1688

This accompanies the bearer Mr Charles Towgood, who being sick of a feavour and ague, desires to be at Cabo Corso till better. Since the two sloops¹⁶² came into

¹⁶⁰ This is probably a different man from the 'Abonnido' referred to subsequently (no. 142), who was commander of the Mina army; more probably to be identified with 'Aban', a leading 'caboccer' of the Dutch WIC at Mina, who is also referred to in the 1681-3 correspondence (vol. i, nos 35-6 etc.; also Daaku 1970, 104-5).

¹⁶¹ Leonard Jeffreys, now commanding the *Ann Sloop*.

¹⁶² i.e. the *Adventure* (commanded by James Bailey) and the *Alligator*.

the bay of this place, hath been very bad seas, insoemuch that they had much adoe to ride it out, the like of seas hath not been knowne here this great many years, but now all quiett. Since the carpenters have been here, have don litle, by reason of the bad weather, have employed them in doing some small jobbs in the Fort, and desire there may be 5 iron barrs made 2 foot and 5 inches long, one end to go into the wood, the other to nayle, the rest of the windows in the Fort being all iron barrs but this is not, as I formerly gave you accompt. Also here being two of those gunns that are here quite dismantled, by which are unserviceable, the carriages being rotten, understanding there is two carriages aboard the Alligator sloop that will fitt those gunns, which if you please to order, shall put the two gunns in those carriages. Also shall want axell trees and trucks for the other three gunns, being all rotten and torne, also three bolts for ditto of 12, 13, 17 inches longe, $\frac{3}{4}$ bolts.

140. Theophilus Blinsham

Succondee, 19 April 1688

This accompanies Mr James Bayly in the Adventure sloop, in which I have putt on board, on accompt of the Royall Affrican Company of England, three good men slaves, which I hope will come safe and well to Cabo Corso Castle. I have don what I can, with those people I have of the Companyes, for the speedy dispatch of the two sloopes, but the weather has much hindred. Trade here is none, for any sorts of goods. Have not moneys to defray charges this month, and pay day is neare at hand, desire three angles and two taccoes of gold, which moneys I payed the last month, to defray the charges of the Royall Companyes Fort. The people of this countrey are going to fight the Adoomes, since are already gon. I heare not of any shippes belonging to the Royall Company at windward.

141. Theophilus Blinsham

Succondee, 20 April 1688

I have per Mr Leonard Jefferyes sent you one good man slave on accompt of the Royall Affrican Company of England, [and have received from him] one carriage for one of the gunns of this Fort, for which I have given him a receipt, also the four pair of short irons, as formerly you writt. The Dutch panyarrs all the Comenda men as comes here to this place.¹⁶³ What elce referr to my last per Mr Bayly. As to moneys can gett none, shall do all I can to make it up in good slaves, or what elce offers. Pray per the next oppertunity, be pleased to send some small and and large paper, for accompts.

¹⁶³ These were presumably refugees from the invasion of Komenda by Mina forces allied to the Dutch (cf. no.334).

142. Theophilus Blinsham

Succondee, 27 April 1688

Yours of the 25th ditto per Mr Ronan have received, and shall with all civility treat him to content, and give you thanks,¹⁶⁴ also one Serjant and two soldiers, who with the rest shall be carefully looked after. I have per this 9 hand canoe sent three musquetts, which are out of order and unserviceable, desire they may be changed, also be pleased to add one musquett more to those sent, that each man may have armes, and if can be spared, five collars of bandileers, and some odd ones, to fill these collars here. In my last of the 19th per Mr Bayly I sent three good men slaves, which I heare not off, though I hope you have well received them. I doubt this factory will not defray charges this month, seing have taken no more than 1oz of gold, and pay day being on Friday next, shall be more out. I should not have been so earnest, but am to borrow moneys to buy provitions, which is here scarce. I have ever endeavoured to my utmost to gaine a good trade here, and would gladly imbrace it, but hitherto am put by of my desire. On the 25th ditto the under Fiscall was here at the Dutch Fort, and said the Generall¹⁶⁵ intended to take the Adoomes part, if the Warshaws and this countrey did not suddenly make an end of the warr, and send Abonnidoo¹⁶⁶ with his army to fight the Warshaws.¹⁶⁷ Since the fight at Great Comenda, these countrey people stand much in feare of the Dutch.

143. William Ronan

Succondee, 27 April 1688

I have not as yet any subject deserving your perusall, only to advise you of my arrivall here, and for the promise of kindness you were pleased to give me, I do returne you infinite thanks, assuring you that my utmost care and indeavour shall no way be wanting in the Companyes buisness, and shall be ever freely disposed to oblige you on all occasions. As for occurrences for the present, do referr you to Mr Blinsham.

¹⁶⁴ Ronan was now appointed as a subordinate to Blinsham in the Sekondi fort.

¹⁶⁵ i.e. the Dutch Director-General at Elmina.

¹⁶⁶ General of the Mina army, currently in the field against Komenda (cf. nos 313 etc.).

¹⁶⁷ It is doubtful whether this intervention took place. Danish records show that later in 1688 Wasa, together with Denkyira, defeated Adom, but say nothing of any Dutch/Mina involvement (Justesen, forthcoming, chap. II, no.17: Fensman, 29 Sept. 1688).

III

KOMENDA

The RAC factory at Komenda ('Comenda', 'Commenda'), east of Sekondi, had been re-established, after earlier short-lived occupations, in October 1683.¹ It was then apparently occupied continuously down to April 1688, when it was again abandoned, in the face of a local war.² During 1686–8 it was being fortified, but this had not been fully effected by the time of its withdrawal. Komenda was situated within the kingdom of Eguafu ('Aguaffo'), whose king resided at 'Great Komenda', a few miles inland from the coastal trading centre.³

The Komenda factory was mainly important for the gold trade, although it also supplied corn for the provisioning of slave ships, and there are a few allusions during 1686–8 to the supply of slaves. In 1681–3, the principal local trader with whom the English dealt had been one 'Captain Bracon'; but by 1686 he had been replaced in this role by John Cabess, who was indeed to remain a prominent trader-chief of Komenda down to his death in 1722.⁴ In addition, the English dealt at Komenda with gold-traders from the interior, the Akani ('Arcany', 'Arcania').⁵

The Dutch West Indian Company also maintained a factory in Komenda throughout this period, which is frequently referred to in this correspondence.⁶ The French Guinea Company also made attempts to establish itself in this area, both at Komenda itself and at Ampeni ('Ampena'), a few miles to the east. A French request to establish a factory at Komenda in March 1686 was refused by

¹ See vol.i, chapter II.

² The account of this war in the Komenda correspondence (no.334), although referring to the evacuation of some of the local population, does not explicitly state that the factory was to be abandoned; but cf. also no.972.

³ The coastal village was called in distinction 'Little Komenda', although this terminology does not occur in the 1686–8 correspondence.

⁴ For John Cabess, see Henige 1977.

⁵ Akani may originally have been the name of a specific state (or confederation of states) in the interior, but seems also to have been applied to gold traders generically: for a recent discussion, see Van Dantzig 1990.

⁶ The Dutch factory in Komenda had been evacuated in May 1683 (vol.i, no.112), but was again reoccupied by Jan. 1684, when the incumbent factor was replaced: Van Dantzig 1978, no.46 (Resolutions of Council, Elmina, 3 Jan. 1684).

the local authorities (nos 150–2); and a factory established at Ampeni in January 1687 was attacked and destroyed by African forces from Mina allied to the Dutch (nos 216, 221). A more sustained attempt to establish factories at both Komenda and Ampeni was initiated by the French expedition under Du Casse in November 1687 (nos 300ff), provoking Dutch counter-measures which culminated in an invasion of Komenda, again by Mina forces operating in the Dutch interest, in April 1688, which forced the evacuation of both the English and the French factories there. The Mina were also allied in this attack with a dissident chief of Eguafu, called 'Tagee' (nos 313, 320). These events left Dutch influence, for the moment, paramount in Komenda, enabling them to build a fort in Komenda.⁷

144. William Cross

Commenda, 24 Jan. 1686

Here passed by an English ship this morning taken by two French men to windward.⁸ Shee had on board the men belonging to a Dutch Companys ship which they have likewise taken and secured, sending the men in the afforesaid ship for the Mine.⁹ What they have done with the English men belonging to her, I cant learne; this news only I have it from the Dutch man here¹⁰ who went on board to know what ship it was, and found as I have given your [Worship] an account. He tells me farther, that as soon as the two French ships now [at] Succondee come down they have a design upon Captain Woodfine, and that the other ship here is fallen to leward on purpose to secure him from goeing away. She is a ship of force and full of men, and what goods he has on board are only such as he has taken from the Brandyburge, Dutch and English, haveing little or nothing of French on board. John Cabess advised me to write to Captain Woodfines mate to weigh in the night and goe for Cabo Corso, for he has been on board, and sayes they are pyrates; but I advised him [= Woodfine] of the same in the morning, and as I understand by them I sent, he laughed at it, I wish he may [have] noe cause in the end. The Dutch man tells me he beleives the Generall of the Mine will write to your Worship aboute it,¹¹ but for fear he should not, I have sent this canoe. If it stands with your convenience, pray send me some more broad nicconees by the canoe; those you sent last are sold to four. I thought it altogether necessary to advise your Worship of this.

⁷ Van Dantzig 1978, no.88 (Attestation of C. Le Petit, Rotterdam, 18 Dec. 1690); cf. also Bosman 1705, 27.

⁸ i.e. the *James*, commanded by Richard Platt (cf. no.831).

⁹ Cf. no.976.

¹⁰ i.e. the chief of the Dutch WIC factory at Komenda.

¹¹ As he did: see no.976.

145. William Cross

Commendo, 5 Feb. 1685/6

I gott safe up with the goods, I thank God, and found all things in good order; but looking over the ware house and goods there I found among the caske of knives, a bill which gives an account of noe more then 145 dozen, whereas they are charged to me for 205 dozen; here is a mistake of 60 dozen of knives which, if it had not been so reasonably discovered, it might a breed a[s] great distraction as the sletias, and put your Worship to a great deale of trouble and me charge, for I suppose I must have paid for them. Herein comes a copy of the bill; I humbly desire your Worship will be pleased to order Mr Hassell to sett this to rights in my last accounts, for I have charged 205 dozen according to invoice I received. I am sorry it soe falls out, to give your Worship this trouble, but I hope you will excuse me in it, for it can noe way in reason be imputed to me. There is a Portugale ship at Shuma and the blacks say a Ffrench ship or two to windward. I have sent Mr Humfryes the mony for the bafts.

146. William Cross

Comenda, 10 Feb. 1685/6

These with my humble servis to your Worship are to desire you to send me another caske of horne halfted knives, haveing disposed of that I had here, and because there was a mistake of sixty dozen, as I gave your Worship an accompt in my last, discovered first by a note found among them, which now appears likewise by tale.¹² I have sent William Bedford for your further satisfaction, if you please to inquire into the matter; for the mistake must be when sent from the Castle, it cant be since they came here. I hope I dont displeas your Worship while I give you this troble, but knowing you to be as good a[s] great, humbly presume you will excuse me, and order these thing to be sett to rights. The Ffrench sloop rides here, and another at Butterue.

PS. I cant hire a canoe here to Cabo Corso under 2a and 2 taccoes canky mony.

147. William Cross

Comenda, 13 Feb. 1685/6

Yours with a caske of knives containing 108 dozen of knives I have received, and had sent a bigger canoe could I have got one, there being none but two hand canoes belonging to the town, since John Cabess at Christmass last left his at Cabo Corso, it proveing soe leakey he could not come up in it. The number of the first caske of knives is soe obscure I cant certainly tell what to make of it, but suppose it to be as per margent [= margin] ['no.540' in margin]. I have sent the head by the bearer for your Worships satisfaction. Here is a parcell of old sheets, damnified, which will not goe off at the price with the other, but if you please to give me order I shall

¹² i.e. by counting.

dispose of them the best I can; I have occasion for some liquor for the use of the ffactory, which your Worship may send per Captain Nuna,¹³ who comes as he tells me to look after one of his boyes that is run away.

148. William Cross

Comenda, 3 March 1686

These comes with my humble servis to your Worship by Captain Nuna, who brings my account and mony. I have occasion for some more sheets and horn halfted knives, and brandy for the use of the ffactory. The knives I beleive I must be forced to sett at 12 per angle, yet I have kept them up still at 10, finding them to goe pretty well till within six or eight dayes, but there are some soe eaten up with rust, they will heardly sell at all. Captain Nuna has [been] severall times at me for his wages, but knowing not how long he has been here or upon what account I have refered him to your Worship for an order, if you design he must be paid here.

149. William Cross

Commenda, 10 March 1685/6

Yours by Captain Nuna with twenty four gallons of rum and two chests containing one hundred and thirty sheets I have received and desire your Worship to send some carpits with the rest of the goods, if you can afford them at 3a per peice, for there is a man at that rate would have layd out a bendy and a half. Here lys a French ship, takes all the trade from the shoare so that we have littill to doe at present.

150. William Cross

Comendo, 17 March 1686

These lines humbly comes to acquaint your Worship that on Fryday last the Captain of the French ship and his Liutenant went to give the king a visit at Great Comendo, takeing John Cabess with them, but since understand their business was more, for they have a design to settle either here or at Ampena and build a ffortification and went in order to gett the kings leave, which tis said by great presents they have obteyn'd, and he given them a pawn on board. I cant learn the whole, things are carri'd so private. They have been extream kind to John Cabess, presenting him high, and he a little to[o] fforward in serving them if he considers the obligation have been lay'd upon him by the English. They have severall times sent him on shoare greate quantity of goods, more I am sure than has monyes to pay for, which makes me beleive he is to keep a ffactory for him [= them] at his house till they returne, for they are gon to windward and design to trade about a month before they come down againe. They have left ashore at John Cabesses

¹³ An African employee of the RAC. A 'Captain Noona' who is attested at Cape Coast in the 1660s (Makepeace 1991, no.82: Agent & Factors, Kormantin, 10 June 1661) was perhaps his father or predecessor in office.

some water caske with [ms, 'wt'] one of their men to look affter them, the man is an Englishman, born in Cornhill.¹⁴ These are a new Company newly raised in France,¹⁵ the former and this being the two firste ships have been ffitted upon their account. I received the knives and carpitts by the An Sloop and desire your Worship to send some more sheets the next time she comes, or otherwise if with conveniency.

151. William Cross

Comenda, 18 March [16]86

As I writ to your Worship yesterday by Doctor Griffins¹⁶ boy was what I understood in this affaires, but upon receipt of yours immediatly I went to John Cabess and lay'd before him, as you was pleased to order, all the inconveniences he would certainly involve himselfe in, by deserting the ffreindship hee and especially his father had so long been subservient to, telling him nothing would be more displeasureable to your Worship, or a greater detrement to the Royall Company than making his house a factory for the French. At this he seem'd very much concern'd, assuring me he never received any goods from the French upon any such account, very well knowing that he would lay down his life for the English, as his father had done before him.¹⁷ His cozen being present, sent to him from the Generall of the Mine,¹⁸ hereing this it rais'd a great dispute between them, in fine he bid his cozen goe tell the Generall of the Mine he would not come to him, but if your Worship was pleas'd to send for him he would most readily obey your comands, he owning himselfe a servant to none but the English. These are his pretentions, which I hope are reall, and if I here any thing to the contrary I shall presently inform your Worship. There is none but one of there men on shoar here, which is an English man left to look after their caske. The king has given them a pawn on board, and what for I can[not] learne.

152. William Cross

Commenda, 26 March 1686

By all that I can learne and have inquired into since the reception of yours, cant find in all was objected against John Cabess, anything of realty, but that was falcely surmised, as well as informd your Worship. The French indeed went up to the king at Great Commenda with a design to gett a settlement here or at Ampena;

¹⁴ The French ship was the *Saint Louis*, commanded by D'Amon: cf. the account of his negotiations with John Cabess in Du Casse 1935, 16.

¹⁵ The Compagnie de Guinée, formed (superseding the Compagnie du Sénégal) in 1685.

¹⁶ An African employee of the RAC, already attested in 1679 (Barbot 1992, ii, 402-3, n.2); and also mentioned in the 1681-3 correspondence (vol.i, nos 4 etc.). When he died in 1689, it was reported to be 'a great lose' to the RAC: PRO, T70/11, Humfryes et al, Cape Coast, 19 Nov. 1689.

¹⁷ His father, also called 'John Cabessa', had served the English at Kormantin in the early 1660s, and was killed in the defence of Kormantin against the Dutch in 1665: Henige 1977, 5.

¹⁸ Cf. no.986.

but here the king would not grant it, this place being as he told them already settled by the English and Dutch. What they may doe at Ampena another year I cant learne, but beleive they will endeavour to gett a settlement their. The pawn they have on board is as John Cabess beleives for some goods they have trusted the king: he has sett his people to worke upon his canoe and as soone as done will come down and weight upon your Worship at Cape Coast, which will be in a day or two, being alwaies ready upon the first summons, as he tells me, to obey your Worships comand. The English man here on shoare belonging to the French ship has a great desire to serve your Worship either on shoare or at sea if you are pleas'd to entertain him.

153. William Cross

Comenda, 30 March 1686

By William Bedford I have sent this months account and money the ballance being 3mk 3oz 0a 6ta. Our takeings would be greater if you please to allow of cratra mony,¹⁹ and therefore have sent down enclosed with the rest 1oz 8a for a pattern. Nuna tells me tis good mony and that they never refuse it at the Dutch factory, which makes their takens greater than ours. Here is occasion for some sheets, and blew perpetuanoes, but no cano fitting to send for them. In the caske of knives received from on board the Anne Sloop, no.508, found wanting eleaven dozen and six knives; but the bill among them according to invoyces sent me specified 110 dozen, which made us tell them over againe to sure, yett affter twice telling found them wanting. Captain Nuna desires your Worship would be pleased to send him an order to receive his pay here from the time due, for he sayes all his concerns being at Cape Coast he is forced to live upon the charrity of other people here, which is very true, though he comes and eats with me, and has anything he wants when he pleases to. I dont understand what John Cabess intends to doe. When first I made known your Worships desire, he shew'd himselfe extreamly forward and ready, but since I have been at him every day and he puts me of from time to time soe that I cant [learn?] where [= whether] he designs to come or not.

154. William Cross

Commenda, 2 April 1686

These are to desire your Worship to send some boysadoes and another cask of knives with the sheets and perpetuanoes I writt for by William Bedford, for yesterday I disposed of what remaynes, excepting some few which are soe eaten with rust I am afraid they will hardly goe off at all.

¹⁹ i.e. adulterated gold.

155. William Cross

Comenda, 3 May 1686

By Nuna I have sent down my monthly account for last month and desire your Worship to send more niconees broad, course sletias, and tapseiles broad, and narrow, which is what I have occasion for at present. Our knives proved extraordinary rusty in last cask, I have disposed of some of them as you ordered but beleive if we had a grind stone here, might make them more vendible. Captain Nuna desires your Worship would be pleas'd to grant him an order for his wages to be paid either here or at Cape Coast, he being in great want of itt. Yesterday noon a small Portugues vessell came to an anchor at Ampena and the French sloop in this road, both from leward.

156. William Cross

Comenda, 7 May 1686

Yours with the goods per the Anne Sloop I have received and gott safe on shoar, the Captain of the French sloop assisting me with his boate, elce it had been impossible without opening the caskes, for here are not other than two hand canos, therefore if your Worship be so pleased to order, I think a three or five hand cano may be very convenient for the use of the factory and beleive I may gett one to windward. I here one of the Company ships [is] at Succondee and has been arrived there these three dayes, I am told shee is a small vessell and the Captain never here before, which is what I know at present, and understand per the Ann Sloop you have had noe news of her, [which] makes me give your Worship the trouble of these lines, desireing to be excused in my negligence of last writeing, which was occasiond [by] nothing of moment or business presenting.

157. William Cross

Comenda, 11 May 1686

Nuna hearing of his house being burnt at Cape Coast desires liberty for two or three dayes, to look affter his affaires their, which occasions his coming now: by him I have now inclosed sent you one bendy, which is due to him for eight months sallery. I understand [he] is further indebted to your Worship so shall stop his pay as it becomes due till further orders. I here of an English ship to windward and suppose it may be Captain Pickard, in the Hunter, by what I understand by Captain Walkers mate. Here is little mony stirring at present but the merchant tells me their will be in a very short time a good trade, for gold and slaves both.

158. William Cross

Commenda, 21 May 1686

I gave you the troble of a few lines by Nuna on the 11th of this instant, he desireing to goe to Cape Coast for three or four dayes, hereing his house was burnt, and by him sent your Worship one bendy as you was pleased to order me, due for his

sallery here, as likewise as five angles, two taccoes to Mr Humfryes, wanting to the ballance of my last months account, but haveing noe news of him since, and he promising to return speedily, makes me humbly presume to give you this troble againe. I design'd to wait upon your Worship and the Gentlemen at Cape Coast, but the weather proveing very rainey and the sea growing high, I am told it is not altogether safe comeing, but I wish you all a merry Whitesontide and that all health and happiness may ever be your attendance. I have heard noe news since of the ship I wrote you in my last was at Dickecove, soe beleive it may prove a mistake.

159. William Cross

Commenda, 25 May 1686

The enclos'd coming last night to my hands,²⁰ I have sent to give you notice of Captain Pickards arrivall, and by a canoe from John Cabess I have endeavoured to answer his expectations, giving the best intelligence I could both of the prizes of goods on shoar and on board ship. Captain Pickard sends his humble servis to your Worship.

160. William Cross

Commenda, 13 June 1686

Here is occasion for some more sheets, iron bars, broad nicconees and rum for the use of the factory, which with another role of tobacco I desire your Worship will be pleased to send per first conveniency. Our trade is but small, this place seldom being without shipping, where they must dispose of their cargo at easy rates for a quick dispatch or in liing [= lying] long for higher prizes the charges of the ship will exceed the profit of the goods, thus I have heard them speak, yett if your Worship is pleased to consider they hinder the factory ashore, and especily this place, which occasions the prizes of our goods to be lower than as I understand elcewhere, besides the merchants here, if I may call them soe, take the cuntrey peoples mony and raise their gains from them as well on shoar as on board ship, which makes them the harder with us. I have since I came up last kept the broad nicconess at 4a. For the narrow tapseiles they offer me but 3a, I allow them 3½a, but have disposed of none. The gingham, because the lower end is not good and being soyld, I sell at 5a but have disposed of no more than three since I have been here. I hear Captain Wood is dead and buried at the Brandiburgs Castle.²¹

161. William Cross

Commenda, 17 June 1686

Yours I have received with the goods according to invoice, and sent back three

²⁰ = no.906 (from Captain Nehemiah Walker).

²¹ A false report: the man who died being in fact Aron Slade: cf. no.837.

cases, which are what I can conveniently spare at present. The goods came last will goe of apace, if a ship dont come and take away our trade. Here is likewise wanting some sheets, which they inquire much after. I sent Mr Bucknells²² letter away by a two hand cano, as your Worship was pleas'd to order. The sloop²³ lies a little to windward of this roade. I have no more to troble you with at present.

162. William Cross

Commenda, 18 June 1686

The inclosed came last night from Mr Bucknell who desired me to send it to your Worship, being an answer to that you sent.²⁴ I have had an indefferent trade since those last goods came up, and beleive they will not lie long upon hand, especially the iron barrs, if a ship dont come and spoil all. There is a flying report of ships to windward but hear nothing of certainty.

163. William Cross

Commenda, 21 June 1686

I received the factory and goods here at the rate I have since charg'd them in my account. I wish your Worship and Councill had been pleas'd to set the distinct of every [in]dividual sort of goods sooner, and I am sure I should observ'd your order. The broad nicconees were no comodity but since when as in my last account I found them goe off, I left word upon coming down the other day to waite upon your Worship that none should be disposed of under 4a, to which price have kept them. Tis trew I never had any order for the selling them or any other goods at any set prices, and am mightily mistaken, if I have not follow'd the same as they were charged at before I came, and hope I may be the more excusable if your Worship will be pleas'd to understand that the town blacks, by takeing the cuntrey mens mony and bringing it to the factory, gett what I humbly presume you may surmise. I doe leave all to your Worships and Councells consideration.

164. William Cross

Commenda, 22 June 1686

William Bedford hath been taken these three dayes with a feaver. At first it seemd little but yesterday he was dangerously ill, so that I was afraid of him, today he is a little better. I apply the best kitching physick I can, haveing no other. The role of tobacco is dispos'd of, it was charged at 5 lb per angle containing 221 lb weight, I sold it at five fathom per 1a, the fathom containing 6 foot. I know not where [= whether] there may be a mistake in the weight or how tis, but I have not made the mony by 6a and better, this being the first, I put all the mony together by itselfe,

²² Thomas Bucknell, chief of the RAC factory at Sekondi, to the west.

²³ i.e. the *Ann.*

²⁴ = no.35.

to see how it hold out. I humbly desire if your Worship please an answer to what I writ per your man.

165. William Cross

Comenda, 25 June 1686

I understand by a Dutch Companys ship that passed by yesterday that there are two pyrots to windward of Cape Appilonia. He saw besides two Dutch interlopers but no English ship. I thought it my duty to give your Worship an account of this.

166. William Cross

Comenda, 4 July 1686

By Captain Nuna I have sent my Junes account with the mony, and have occasion for some boysadoes, sheets, knives, herba longees, small checkerd, and lead bars; of the two last be pleased to send the prizes. The knives, as I wrote your Worship, prov'd extraordinary rusty. What you send now if good, will goe off apace. I gave Nuna a say when he went last for Cape Coast, for which he told me he could not buy a good five hand canoe, which is extreamly wanting for the use of the factory, for if the goods come per the Ann Sloop, here is noe gitting them ashoar without one, I therefore desire your Worship would be pleased to speak to him about it, for I suppose his man he sent may be come back againe ere this. Next week dancing time as they call it begins, at Great Commenda, and I have had severall invitations from the king to come up. There is some custom to be paid, as a cloth to himself and the Ffetera²⁵ &c, besides brandy, all which I leave to your Worships consideration. I sent just now on board the Dutch interloper to inquire what shipping were at St Thoma when he was there, who sent me word he saw no English ship since he has been gon, but left one Dutch interloper at Cape Apilona. Here are three of them in this roade.

167. William Cross

Commenda, 6 July 1686

These are to desire your Worship to send some good sayes with the other goods sent for, if you can afford them at 14 angles. Doctor Griffin sent to me to buy one anchor of brandy for him on board the Dutch interloper, which I have done. The Captain sent me the enclosed, which I showd to the Dutch, and find he has made me pay one angle more than he sells to the Blacks, the reason is as I understand from them that he was panyard last voyage by the English pyrate²⁶ and is therefore resolved to take sattisfaction of the first Companyes ship they meet with. On Sunday last they went from hence and kept all three together upon that design if tis trew as I here. I desire your Worship would be pleased to send the bearer back

²⁵ See Glossary.

²⁶ Not identified.

again as soon as possible because I shall want him. Your tobacco goes of at a little a time because it is very bad and the Dutch have that which is good, but dont question but shall dispose of it before the month be up. Here wass [sic] the Little Phiscall of the Mine today and he would have kept this noate, if I would have lett him. I dont know the meaninge of it.

168. William Cross

Comenda, 7 July 1686

Yours with the goods I have received, but se no perpetuanoes unless it be among the nicconees, which have not open'd, haveing no conveniency of stowing them at present. I have sent herein inclosed 14a as I received it for a say, because find the mony I send down wants 6a in weight which was great weight by my scales; you cant expect that I should take the weight as at the Castle. I am forcd often to take theirupon an equall ballance, because they should not carry it away again. The 14a with one by itselfe are for the ballance of the errors that were in the 25 nicconees, 102 sheets and 85 dozen knives, which I desire you would be pleased to se rectified. I have sent the king word what you are pleased to allow and when I receive an answer, I shall give your Worship an account. I have sent the inclosed and desire a receipt upon it for the ballance, as likewise for the ballance of the four last months accounts.

169. William Cross

Comenda, 10 July 1686

These inclosed came from Mr Bucknell, which he desired me to send your Worship with all speed.²⁷ Last night there came down a ship with English coullers aboard and anchored to windward of Comenda hill. I sent a cano of thinking it one of the Company ships, who brought me word she was a Portuguez. This morning she weighd and stands down. I would have sent a cano againe but cant gett the blacks to goe today, they say she is a pyrate and are all afraid to goe on board her. Here lyes the Ann Sloop windbound, she has let her alone and I beleive for all this she is a Portuguez. There came no perpetuanoes with the other goods, I therefore desire you would be pleas'd to send a blew one for the king, with what elce you have allowd, he will be sattisfied as John Cabess tels me. Here is a fair proffer of a trade, and [need] for another man that can write, for when I have business, William Pigg not reading my noats I am afraid will make a mistake in my warehouse. John Cabess has a great mind for Benjamin Broadgate to come againe, whome I found very faithfull when here before, and desire if you are pleased to send him up be pleased to send the price of the lead bars and herba longees.

²⁷ = no.41.

170. William Cross Commenda, 17 July 1686

Haveing this oportunity by John Cabeses cano, these are to desire your Worship to send some sayes, pray lett them be good and they will goe of at 14a. I have been very ill but thanks be to God am something better at present.

171. William Cross Commenda, 20 July 1686

Yours with the goods I have received, vizt fourty sayes, twendy [sic] five blew perpetuanoes, fourty green and red ditto, thirty five peices of narrow nicconees, and ten broad stript sattins, which I shall indeaver to dispose of to the Royall Companyes best advantage. I have paid the king his custom, as you were pleas'd to order, which has well enough pleased him. Here is no news stirring at present.

172. William Cross Commenda, 30 July 1686

I have here sent per Nuna my mony and accounts, the ballance being 7mk 3o 4a. Yesterday I had it well pickt and blowd²⁸ and dont question but it is very good gold. Here is a prospect of a trade now, and since Mr Chambers was here to servey the ground all the people are very desireous we should have a fortificasion and will give their assistance in what they can towards it. John Cabess desires me to lett you know so much, and sayes whatsoever you are pleas'd to command he will ffaithfully serve you. The sattins would have all sold if they had all been red and stript, the other sort they dont like. There is one wants about a fathom and halfe, which has been cut off. The perpetuanoes goe of a blew and green, I kept them up at a blew, green and redd but could not dispose of them at that rate. Here is occasion for some nicconees broad, sattins, and as many blew perpetuanoes as wants to put of the green and redd I last received, or elce they will lye upon my hands.

173. William Cross Commenda, 5 Aug. 1686

These are to lett you know that I have had a good trade for three or four dayes, the cuntrey people begining to come down, and desire your Worship to send some [omission] pound basons and their price, with those goods I sent for by Nuna, vizt nicconees broad, stript sattins and some perpetuanoes, which will help of with other goods. I have likewise occasion for a blowpan if you have any to spare.²⁹ William Pigg is taken very ill and desires to come downe, be pleas'd therefore to send another man with the goods, one that writes.

²⁸ Gold (in the form of dust) was 'blown' to get rid of impurities: Phillips 1732, 206; Bosman 1705, 84.

²⁹ i.e. for blowing gold dust.

174. William Cross

Commenda, 6 Aug. 1686

Yours with the goods I have received, and hope shall meet with a speedy saile for them as well to your Worship as the Royall Company satisfaction, and shall observe your order in sending timely for a supply of what goods I shall have occasion for here. William Pigg is pretty well againe, he seemes not to like this place so have lett hime come down againe.

175. William Cross

Commenda, 10 Aug. 1686

Haveing intelligence of Captain Bathroms [= Buttram's] arrival about Axim, these are to give your Worship an account. I had the news from a black who has been aboard a Portuguez vessell now at Succondee that saw him to windward. I return your Worship many thanks for the piggeons you was pleased to send me.

176. William Cross

Commenda, 1 Sept. 1686

Per Nuna I have sent down last months mony and my accounts. I should have meett with a good trade had not so many ships arriv'd, but beleive in a shorte time trading will come again and then shall advise what goods are wanting, finding no occasion at present. I bought a very good man slave for seaven peas, which I sent on board Captain Brandfill, desiring him to bring him down to your Worship, and have here inclosed sent his receipt.

177. William Cross

Commenda, 3 Sept. 1686

I had sent yesterday but a pallaver happening by turning a black out who made some disturbance in the house, was as I understand about palm wine, for I was gon to look on some corn for Captain Poston, but returning presently and finding all in an uproar and inquireing the matter found the stons and clotts [= clods] begin to fly about me, upon which I made our people secure him and sent for the Cabushers to know if they would suffer us to be thus abused, but affter a long pallaver I was contented the ffellow should beg pardon, which he did, and I thought all had been at peace and quietness again, but at night after twas a little dark this ffellow bring a parcell of rouges [= rogues] with him firing their guns, shot and all, at us as they came along, designing some mischeif had not they been timely prevented per the people here who were presently up in armes, but it being dark they could not find them. I am advised per John Cabess and the Cabushers to send up to the king about it as well as to your Worship, for I here they design some further.

178. William Cross

Commenda, 6 Sept. 1686

Yesterday I sent John Cabess and Captain Nuna to the king at Great Comenda, who acquainted him with the insolences of those fellows, that dared abuse us; which the king was very much troubled at, protesting they should be severely punished and sent away to command them before him the next morning [and] orderd John Cabess upon any such affront immediately to send him the offenders head. Tomorrow as I hear there will come one from the king heither to give your Worship further satisfaction, this day being spent in pallavers and debates about it, understand they are all ready to give their assistance as soon as you send Doctor Griffin to treat about a ffortification. I have occasion for some nicconees broad and narrow, they goeing of againe, which I desire you would be pleased to send per first oportunity.

179. William Cross

Commenda, 8 Sept. 1686

Yours per the nine hand cano I have received with the goods, but there falls short in the broad nicconees twenty one pieces, for upon twice telling³⁰ them over we found no more than seaventy nine. I began to fear as much before, seing the bail so loose, which made me open it before I took it into the warehouse, that all might be wittnesses, and because you write you have but few left and would have me dispose these the best I can, I think it convenient to keep them up at 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ a, beleiving after a little while they may go of at that rate. If I find not tis but disposing of them as before, they will not ly long upon hand. I have sent Captain Nuna down to look after the sayes I gave him to buy a 3 or 5 hand cano for the use of the ffactory, as your Worship was pleas'd to order, which is now about 3 months agoe, and he tells me the man is not come back yett which he sent, and is willing to se after him himselfe. The king yesterday sent me a sheep for farther satisfaction about this pallaver, which I have sent your Worship herewith.

180. William Cross

Commenda, 16 Sept. 1686

John Cabess goeing to Suma about some business is panyard their per order from the Generall of the Mine for laying out his mony on board English ships and bringing none to them.³¹ He sayes he owes them nothing and humbly implores your Worships assistance that you would be pleas'd to be instrumentall as to his release by makeing some intercession for him to the Generall of the Mine,³² which shall ever entirely devote him to the servis of the English, be resolvd to ffollow his

³⁰ i.e. counting.

³¹ Cf. the later account of Du Casse 1935, 16–17, who says that Cabess was panyarred because he had assisted the French in their attempted settlement at Komenda.

³² Which the RAC indeed did; for the response of the Director-General of Elmina, see no.991.

ffathers steps as he hopes he has done heithertwo. Here is an indefferent good [trade].

181. William Cross

Commenda, 17 Sept. 1686

Having an indifferent good trade occasions my sending now to desire your Worship to send me some sayes, cours sletias, horn halftd knives and narrow nicconees. I have kept the broad ones (as I write) up at $4\frac{1}{2}$ angles, but cant sell any at that rate so must let them goe at the former price, but it has occasiond the disposall of the narrow owns [= ones] which did not goe off before. Here is twenty seaven narrow nicconees, three broad ditto, ffive sayes, and what knives remayn, all very much damniffied. They are as received, be therefore pleas'd to send those that are good and order how these must be disposed off. The blacks have made a great pallaver about John Cabess his being panyard by the Dutch, being resolvd to have him again or them here suffer. This has brought most of the trade to me, all the merchants and Capushers being very invetterate against them upon this account. As I was writing your Worships letter of this date came to my hands, and understand nothing farther John Cabesses business than what I write before. The Capushers and people upon their pallaver made the Dut[c]h Copeman here write to the Generall yesterday to know the reason why he panyard him; and not receiveing a satisfactory answer, and made him write againe today. As soon as we know the truth, his wiffe will send to your Worship, hoping your Worship will be pleasd to shew some kindness to him, if tis upon account of serveing the English. I will sent what mony I have per the great cano. I thought to have sent it by Benjamin Broadgate but I suppose the other way is more saffe. Here just now came a man from John Cabess, who sent me word that the Dutch have panyard him to make him serve them, which he sayes he will never yeild to. Benjamin Broadgate can satisfie your Worship further.

182. William Cross

Comenda, 21 Sept. 1686

I have sent down eleaven marks, four ounces of good Arcany gold,³³ as soon as the month is up your Worship shall have what more I take with my accounts. The goods I received according to invoice, and hope shall find a quick dispatch for them, and for those that are here damniffied shall endeavour to dispose of them best I can. I hear Captain Nuna is returnd and that they will not take a say I gave him toward the cano, be therefore pleas'd to order what I must give, if your Worship design to have him pay'd here and the say to be return'd.

John Cabess his wife has sent a man to give your Worship thanks for the trouble you are pleas'd to take upon you in her husbands business, not questioning but he

³³ i.e. pure gold: cf. Bosman 1705, 37.

will endeavour a relation and prosecute the Royall Companyes intrest, when at liberty, to the utmost of his power.

183. William Cross

Commenda, 25 Sept. 1686

Yours by Doctor Griffin I have received and understand, according to what John Cabess and Captain Nuna told me when last at Great Commenda, that the king, Fetera and Cabushers were willing we should have a ffortification here, but articles of agreement must first be propos'd, and entred into by both parties, in order to which somebody must be sent to the king to treat with him about this affaires. Upon Doctor Griffin moveing it to the people here, they told him they were the kings subjects and servants, and whatsoever commands he should lay upon them, they will readily obey, whether in carrying stones, bricks or doeing anything elce that may forward your Worships intentions in building here; but the pallaver must be first made at Great Commenda, and when that is done, everything is compleat'd.

184. William Cross

Commenda, 6 Oct. 1686

Finding my trade to continue these are humbly to desire your Worship to send me some sayes, iron barrs, and broad and narrow nicconees. If they can be here by tomorrow morning, which I suppose they may by sending a canoe away tonight, I dont question the disposall of most of them, especially the sayes. I to[ok] about 3 mark affter I came up yesterday, by [= but] the sayes, some of them proveing a little damnified, I was forced to lett go at 13a; here are others that are worse, which will not fetch above 11a and 12a. What barrs remayne they will not buy becaus'd not markd.

185. William Cross

Commenda, 7 Oct. 1686

Yours with the goods according to invoice I have received, and shall endeavour the disposall of them to the best advantage for the Royall Company. The barrs I find will not ly long upon hand, they being markd, and for the rest, I hope a quick trade; but here came last night to an anchor in this road a Brandyburg, which may put some stop to them. I understand from him their is no English shipping to windward. I have sent you three mark, four ounces of gold, and according as trade presents shall give your Worship timely notice.

186. William Cross

Commenda, 14 Oct. 1686

This morning came to the ffactory the Ffetera and Kings Cheife man, who told me all pallaver were done conserning the building and that, if your Worship pleases

you may send slaves to break stone to be in a reddyng against the bricks come and build as you think most advantageous, but they admitt of no great guns. Tis to these two men the two cloths must be given, I told your Worship of when last at Cape Coast Castle. I have occasion for some more iron barrs, and if your Worship shall think it convenient, you may send them and the slaves with one trouble in the same cano. Here are remaying twenty nine sayes, all more or less damnified, which I offer together at thirteen angles per piece but cant dispose of them so. I suppose at 12a they may goe of but I shall lett that alone till I here from your worship, which I hope will be tomorrow, or elce the people will be gon into the cuntrey, which will hinder the sayle of them, for I find the trade here begins to declyn.

187. William Cross

Commenda, 18 Oct. 1686

Captain Nuna desiring to leave to come down to Cape Coast about some business, by him I have sent your Worship five marks, four ounces, which with the three marks, four ounces I sent you by John Ratlief makes nine marks of gold. I desire your worship would be pleased to send me as soon as possible two cases of good sayes and a hundred or more iron barrs, those that are marked. We here no news of any shipping to windward.

[PS] If there are any blew broad bafts be pleas'd to send some with the above mentioned goods.

188. William Cross

Commenda, 19 Oct. 1686

Yours with the goods by the 11 hand cano I have received according to invoice, and hope they are come to a good marquett. As for those damnified sayes which are here, I endeavour the best I can for the disposall of them to the Royall Companyes advantage, and I hope to your Worships satisfaction.

189. William Cross

Commenda, 24 Oct. 1686

Yours per the 11 hand cano, with one hundred and eighty iron barrs I have received, and shall endeavour the disposall of them as you are pleas'd to direct and in every thing elce shall advance the Royall Company intrest the best I can. John Cabess presents his servis to your Worship and sayes he will wait upon you, when their bellyaring³⁴ about the elephant they have killed is over. I am pretty well again, I thank God, and tomorrow the Doctor will come down.

³⁴ Portuguese *balhár*, 'dance'. The term also occurs (in the form 'bellyareing') in an earlier document from the RAC factory at Offra on the Slave Coast: Law 1990a, no.5 (Invoice of Goods most in demand at Arda Factory, 15 Jan. 1680), where it is wrongly assumed to be a miscopying.

190. William Cross

Commenda, 27 Oct. 1686

Yours by John Ratliefe with six men, one women and a child slaves I have received, and tomorrow shall set them to work, and forward the building as fast as possible, not questioning the peoples assistance here, but there must be scarlett or blew cloth sent to the Ffetera and another to the kings Cheife man, these being the people thatt made up the pallaver with the king.

191. William Cross

Commenda, 2 Nov. 1686

The slaves keep close to their business in breaking stones, the bricks being brought up with a great deale of ease by the women came last and town boyes. I have sent per the bearer one of their maules being broken, and desire your Worship to send two double headed ones halfe as big againe as this, and four wedges more. The sloop³⁵ will be unladed tomorrow morning, and by her I shall send down my accounts and mony, and write more at large.

192. William Cross

Commenda, 3 Nov. 1686

By Mr James Bayly I have sent down last months mony and account. The iron barrs dont sell well now, especially since the price is raisd. I have occasion for some boysadoes, broad nicconees if you have any or else send narrow, carpitts, and some good sayes.

Last night I received a great abuse from John Cabess for nothing at all, as Mr Bayly can sattisfie; he strick me thrice in the face and once that I fell to the ground, and after all (if he could) would have sent me away. This morning I made the pallaver, calling all the merchants and Cabushers, who all took my part, Cabess haveing nothing to say for himselfe. I told them I would have satisfaction, which they say I shall; and left it to your worship what to impose, hoping that if they are not soe good as their words, which I dont much question, you will have an opertunity some time or other to nabb him elcewhere. He pretends to serve the English, and doth quite contrary, but I made him stoop today. This morning likewise I gave the cloth, one halfe to the king and the other to the Ffetera, and a gingham to the kings cheife man, that being what they demanded as a custom upon building, which I thought was best to give than to hinder [ms. 'kinder'] the worke. I have sent one of the roles of tobacco which I find to be rotten within side, and not vendable. This morning came here the Generall of the Mine with a great train to visitt his ffactory.

³⁵ i.e. the *Adventure*, commanded by James Bailey.

193. William Cross

Commenda, 6 Nov. 1686

The slaves tooles being broake about their work, have sent them down to be mended; they have plyed their buisness pritty well and gott up a parcell of verry good stones. I understand since the Generall of the Mine was here he came to survey their ground and house, intending to make a fforte of itt, he was likewise to see our ground. John Cabess is very sorry and much ashamed of what he hes done, and sayes he will pay what your Worship shall be pleased to impose, and ever after will serve us soly and faithfully, hoping you will not be to severe upon him for this one time. I have since found him verry respectefull and much humbled but shante forgive him without your Worships order.

194. William Cross

Commenda, 10 Nov. 1686

This morning the King sent downe his man to mee to acquaint your Worshipe, thatt the cloath was sent him, is not satisfaction enough upon account of the building and would have you send up Docter Griffin and Mr Chambers to treat with him about itt, which was the answer he sent by Captain Quo who he understands since did not deliver his message right to your worship. I shall rectify the errors in laste months account and send by the firste oppertunity, butt if the tobacco must be left out in thath[sic], itt must be omitted likewise in my September account, being charged there.

195. William Cross

Commenda, 11 Nov. 1686

By the 11 hand canoe this morning I received six chests containing three hundred and ninty sheets, and one baile containing twenty five blew perpetuanoes, those I have diposed of att 10a each, and the sheets will not ly long upon hand att 32 per bendy, that being the price which the Dutch sell for. If you have any more blew perpetuanoes be pleased to send some, as likewise sheets, by the slooppe. I desire your Worship would be pleased to send up Mr Chambers and Docter Griffin with all convenient expedition to hear what the King further demands, and end the pallavar. The Duch are a breaking stones by us, and designe to make a fortification, they have sent up to Great Commenda, but what agreement they have made whith the King I cant tell.

196. William Cross

Commenda, 13 Nov. 1686

Yours of the 12 I have received, and as for the tapseiles if they are broad they may sell, butt it is seldome any body enquires for them; here are about forty five narrow ones which lye upon hand, becaus they won't give 4a for them. The sheets goe off verry weell.

197. William Cross

Commenda, 16 Nov. 1686

Yours of yesterdays datte I received and hope shall soe maneged the pallavar as to bringing it within compas of your worshipe allowance, which shall be forwarded with a convenient speed. Here is one Negroe, a Cabusheire of Great Commenda, lives here by the Kings order, to see that wee suffer noe abuises any ways by Blacks &c. I have found him experimentaly servicable aboutt John Cabesses buisnes; and he lookes carffully affter building to see that nothing is stole and I dont question his assistance in the foresaid affare, for all which to encourage him, I told him I would writte to your worshipe that he might be entred into the Companys service at 4a per month, which if you please to grante, as I thinke itt extreemly nessesary, I am sure he will save and geett the Company above foure bendyes per month, for not only this, butt he is a greatt trader and brings to the ffactory most of the money comes through his hands. The Ffettera and one or two more interseding I have forgiven John Cabess, and he made satisfacione, soe that wee are good friends again, he sayes he has a dasshee dow [= due] for your Worshipe too for your worshipe [sic] upon the same account, hopeing you will likewise be pleased to excuse him.

Whith this comes my October account, but I have not left out the tobacco, because I am debter for it in September, butt for the futter shall sende the money to John Downes and shall take care to dispose of the narrow tapseiles according to order. Here lyes the broad blew bafftes cam laste, they dont goe off at 4a. If they had been black, I should have had none left by this time.

198. William Cross

Commenda, 19 Nov. 1686

The Kings cash keeper hant been hear yett aboutt the pallavar, butt yesterday John Cabess went up to Greatt Commendee. I acquainted him with everything your worship gave in order and he promised to geett the buisnees done for as little as possible, and soe make up the pallavar that there shall be no more trouble. I sent a man along with him, and as soone as he retturnes shall give your worship an account of their proceedings.

199. William Cross

Commenda, 20 Nov. 1686

The man I sent with John Cabess is returned, who brings word that when Docter Griffin and Mr Chambers were att Great Commenda the Kings demands were ffifteen sayes upon accompt of the building, but they telling him that it was to much, affter some consultation, hee was willing to accept of ffourteen, and now because I have putt in my word (if may writte in there own stille) he will take twelve, upon which I sent a man to John Cabess, the utmost your worship have allowed is eight sayes and to endeavor to bring it within that compas. This is what I

heare now, butt when he retturnes you shall know farther. I hear he has spoake and done verry well in the behalfe of the English.

[PS] I sent downe yesterday in the Adventure sloop a good man slave att 7 pease.

200. William Cross

Commenda, 24 Nov. 1686

I have sent the four hand canoe and desire you to send as many one pound [basons] as shee can conveniently bring; or in case they ffall shortt some sheets or broad nicconees, that shee may not returne empty; and pray lett them be here tomorrow morning, which may be effected by sending the canoe away tonight. John Cabess returned yesterday from Great Commenda and brought much the same newes that I wrott your worship before, which was that the king stood for 12 sayes, saying they were to be distrubuted amonge his Cabushers and that a small sharee would come to himselfe, which makes mee humbly waitte your worships funder order. Be pleased to send all one pound basons if you have them.

201. William Cross

Commenda, 1 Dec. 1686

This morning aboute nine of the clock I arrived safe at Commenda, where I found my old customers the Arcania merchants weighting my comeing. I have taken some of there mony, and want for them some sheets, boysadoes and nicconees, which occasions my sending this cano now, and desire your worship would be pleased to order soe, that she may be here tomorrow morning. For what powder you are pleased to send I have agreed for a place to keep it in. I desire you to send those articles as soon as possible, with an order to pay the king the ten sayes, upon his signing of them I shall send in my accounts and what mony more I take by the next conveniency, and desire you to send a padlock for my warehouse.

202. William Cross

Commenda, 3 Dec. 1686

By Mr Ellwes I have sent downe 3m 6o 1a 6ta in gold, which with the 15 marke I brought makes the ballance of last months accompte, being 18m 6a 1a 6ta. My accompts you shall have in a day or two, as soone as coppied oute fair. I only waite Doctor Griffins comeing or meeting mee att Great Commenda, for the sooner this buissness is compleated tis soe much the better, thearfore be pleased to order his comeing as soone as possible. I have occation of some one pound bassons, powder, and because the narrow are gone send some narrow niccanees.

[PS] I want a padlock with grummetts and staples for the powder roome.

203. William Cross

Commenda, 4 Dec. 1686

Upon the bearers designing [= desiring] leave to come downe to see his wife by

him I have sentt the broken mawles and wedges to be mended. Hearin likewise comes my accompte, and shall send another cobby by the next conveniency. I stay for Doctor Griffins meeting mee att Great Commenda or his comeing heither, for I should have been there before now. By Mr Ellwes I gave your worship an account of what goods we are wanting.

204. William Cross

Commenda, 5 Dec. 1686

Yours I have received with two hundred two pound pewtter bassons and tenn barrills of powder. Instead of the narrow niccanees came a bayle of paper brawles, which I shall endeavour to dispose off the best I canne, butt I never heard them enquired after. Bee pleased to send some niccanees, more powder and one pound pewtter bassons if theree bee any, as soone as with conveniency you canne, and pray lett the baile of narrow niccanees be discounted that theree may bee noe hereafter mistake, or trouble. The place weare I putt the powder is the warehouse in Captain Braughtons house³⁶ where Mr Chambers formerly was, where I likewise putt the paper brawles, till I finde they will sell, thinking itt nott convenient to returne them. I am now providing for my goeing up to the king of Aguaffo tomorrow, to end the pallaver about the house, which I hope I shall soe well conclud[e] that itt shall bee both for the Royall Companys and your worships and Councillis satisfaction. I finde itt will bee to my noe little charge and likewise hope you in them will consider and nott to lett me beare the extreamitty of itt. Mr Eansworth³⁷ and another man from the Mina are goeing just now up to the king. I doe nott know theree buissness butt hope itt is nott to intercept any thinge of ours, because hee knows I am to goe tomorrow, butt if itt is I beeleive hee will loose his labour. Bee pleased to send the contents of the baile of paper brawles and the prices, for I have nott opened them.

205. William Cross

Commenda, 7 Dec. 1686

I am just now with John Cabess and Captaine Quow returned from the King of Agauffo, where wee have finished the pallaver soe beneficiall to the Royall Companys interest, that I am sure your worship will be satisfied with itt, and you may goe forward with the worke when you please and as you please. I have nott tyme to acquaint you with all our proceedings now, butt you shall have the full by Captain Quow, and only send these to prevent further charges, hearing Doctor Griffen and Mr Chambers is to goe to the King tomorrow, which would have signified noething, if I had nott went in the nature I did.

³⁶ Not identified; but his house is mentioned again, no.316.

³⁷ Jan Ainsworth, factor of the Dutch WIC at Komenda.

206. William Cross

Commenda, 8 Dec. 1686

In order to your commands on Munday morning early I sett out with John Cabess and Captain Quow to end the pallaver about the house with the king of Agaffo, where we arrived by 10 of the clock and were conducted to the Mareens³⁸ house, presently after we had audience of the king, Fettera &ca, where affter some little entertainment we were dismiss, and told we should have a hereing on the morrow morning, and were conducted to the Mareens, haveing there refreshed our selves, comes one to me to know what presents I had brought with me for the king, Ffetera and Tagee.³⁹ Now being forwarned that my not comeing up and bringing those presents which is usuall upon such accompts had occasiond the hindrance of our building, and the pallaver could never be ended otherwise, I accordingly provided my selfe and sent each of them and their wives a present, which was verry well accepted. In short the morrow being come, we were sent for, where were present only the king, Fettera and Affer Tagee, with one or two more of their attendance. I ffully layd before them all your Worships demands and took their answers in writinge, where affter some debates it was ordred

In primis, That we should build our house in what manner and forme we pleased and have a mudd or stone wall about it, but noe great gunns att top.

Item, That the Commenda people shall fetch up the stones for the mony owing about the fformer building in Agent Greenhills time⁴⁰ and that we only give them drinck;

Itim, That if any of our slaves make their escape he shall use the utmost of his power for the regaining them

Itim, That none of the Commenda Cabusheers shall ever hereafter send any of the Royall Companys servants away without the consent of the Agent Generall at Cabo Corso Castle, and that if any white man abuse the blacks, they are to make their complaints as aforesaid.

Postremo, That noe person or persons presume to make any further pallaver about this building upon any pretence whatsoever so as to demand any other custome more then the ten sayes, and that the Agent Generall order the building as he shall thinke most advantagious for the use of the Royall Company without any lett or molestation, great gunns only excepted.

Upon this the king desired that the tenn sayes should be presently payed, and that when the house is ffinished he may be allowed something per month as an acknowledgment and that if he sends cracra mony the ffactor may have an order to take it, and be payed his yearly custome at the dancinge time.

³⁸ See Glossary.

³⁹ Called 'Affer Tagee' later in this letter; probably the same as 'Taggee', described in 1683 as cousin to the King of Eguafo (i, no.112). In this context, in 1686, clearly part of the ruling establishment; but by August 1687, he was considered a 'rebel' (no.270). Perhaps to be identified with 'Abe-Tecky', king of Eguafo in 1694 (Bosman 1705, 33).

⁴⁰ Henry Greenhill, Agent-General of the RAC 1681-4.

To the first of which I have agreed, finding after he had been soe civill to me I should have very much provocked him if I had persisted farther, and told him I did not question but your Worship would grant the rest.

Upon this they signed the articles and delivered them to me in the name of your Worship, the king and both Fetteras,⁴¹ first kissing them. In like manner I delivered them your, so that I think the contract is firmly enough established, and we have nothing to doe more but to go on with our work as fast as we can.

I thought it convenient to give your Worship a full account of all our proceedings, and lett you know that if I had went up empty handed the business would never have been ended or at least brought to that perfection tis, soe that I hope you will be pleased to allow my charges, which were noe more then what meer necessity itselfe required, yett far to great for me to bare. I shall trouble you no farther at present, only hope that what I have now done is to your Worship and Councells satisfaction, and shall ever remayne, I have sent the 7 hand cano for some narrow nicconees, powder sheets and one pound basons iff their be any, the two pounder dont sell at 3 lb per angle.

207. William Cross

Commenda, 9 Dec. 1686

By the 7 hand cano I have received one baile of narrow nicconees, quantity 120, and twelve barells of powder. This morning with Mr Elwes and Mr Halford I took an account of the warehouse and all the Royall Company concerns here in order to your Worships commands. Yesterday, I sent the 7 hand cano, and want more narrow nicconees, sheets and one pound basons [ms. 'basasons']. For powder we have enough at present.

208. William Cross

Commenda, 12 Dec. 1686

This morning with Mr Elwes wee overhalled the warehouse againe, and tooke a particular accompt of all the damnified goods; and have valued them according to the best of our judgments. I received the bale of narrow nicconees and three casks of two pound basons by the 7 hand canoe, but there were twenty wanting in one caske no.38, as per certificatte. This with my humble service to your worship and Councill is all at present from [myself], only I have sent another copie of November account.

⁴¹ Cf. the later references (nos 334, 971) to a Great and a Little (or Young) Fetera at Komenda.

209. William Cross

Commenda, 14 Dec. [1686]

I have occasion for some good sayes, pewter basons and a cask of rum, which I desire your Worship to send as soon as possible with conveniency.

210. William Cross

Commenda, 15 Dec. 1686

Yours of yesterdayes date I have received with the goods, according to invoice, and sent you by Ridley Horsford ffifteen marke of gold. I have more money by mee of John Cabesses, and others which is not blowed nor weighed, and he being gone to the Mina cant send itt now. Last Ffriday I paid the King the tenn sayes according to the contract and on Satterday ffollowing he sente the Ffette[r]ja to call all the Commenda Cabusheers to Aguaffoe, and hes ordered them to begin ffetching up of our stones one [= on] Tuesday next. Wee have three great heapes, and those that are very good, and only want the workmen. What pewter caske for the future comes shall be returned, the other I gave to the people that bought the basons. By this canoe came likewise Mr James Wheeler whome I shall treat civilly, and give him incouragement according as I finde him carefull of the Royall Companys concerns. Att Christmass I thinke to kiss your worships hande. I have sent downe what empty cases, caskes &c I have by mee. Two of the weomen slaves, Agaba and Mandeloe, asked leave on Satterday to goe to Caboe Corsoe and are not returned yett.

211. unsigned

Commenda, 17 Dec. 1686

Yours by the return of the cano with three green perpetuanoes I have received. The occasion of my writeing now, is the sending down the bearer with four wedges and one crow that wants mending. I gave all along a strict charge to have a care of there tooles but the stone is soe hard twill force steell itselfe. The two women slaves mentioned in my last are not returned.

[PS] The damnified sayes I sell at 10a, thinking it convenient to dispose of them as soon as I can, fearing they may grow worse, and for the damnified nicconees, &c I will gett the most I can.

212. William Cross

Commenda, 22 Dec. 1686/7 [sic]

Yours by the 11 hand cano with the goods according to invoice I have received but there [are] a dozen bafts more or less damnified. Here lyes the Deans interloper still, which is a great hindrance to my trade, for elce I should have sold all the sayes, and a great many other goods. He has been out of Flushing near three months, and tells me we shall have war with Holland upon the account of

Bantam.⁴² Yesterday by order from the king of Aguaffo, we had some of our stones brought up, and tomorrow he has also ordered the Mereen to stop the canomen and sett them to bring up the rest, as fast as they can.

213. William Cross

Commenda, 1 Jan. 1686 [= 1687]

By this cano I have sent down my account and 3mk 2o 13a 1ta [which] with the 15m and 14 mark received before makes 32 mk 2oz 13a 1ta being the ballance. On Thursday night Captain Hosea came to an anchor in this road, and had a good trade yesterday. After his departure I shall send for such goods as I find their will be occasion for, I must expect no trade as long as he lyes here. I desire your Worship would be pleased to send me a little paper, pens and inck for I have hardly any of either left.

214. William Cross

Commenda, 5 Jan. 1686/7

These are to desire you to send me one bail of narrow nicconees, about 50 iron barrs and twenty one boysadoes, together with some sheets and blew perpetuanoes if this last ship hath brought any. Captain Hosea has disposed of most of his cargoe and I suppose will be down tonight. Pray be pleased to send a quire or two of paper [and] per the next you shall have another copy of last months account.

215. William Cross

Commenda, 6 Jan. 1686/7

Yours with the goods according to contents I have received and hope they are come to a quick market. As for Edward Jacklins sallery I allowed it him the last and these two months to stock him selfe with cloths, or elce he must have went naked, and for the 1oz 8a given to the king of Aguaffos officers and souldiers I hope your Worship will be pleasd to allow, for Ile [= I'll] assure you it is not $\frac{1}{3}$ of what it cost me, being myselfe above two ounces more out of pockett, and yet I went as near as the state of the business at that time would permitt. The slave I sent down I took not as a pawn, but bought him outright and have often sent to know where [= whether] they would redeem him, but never heard from them and where to find them now I cannot tell. Here are all things ready if you please to send the workmen to goe fforward to the building before the rains come, and if there is not stone enough broak the slaves can break near as much more before this will be layd, but the Cabushers are very unreasonable in their demands about bringing them up, for they will have mony as well as drink, which because I would not give them there is part of the stones lye behind, but yesterday I sent up a man to the king

⁴² Bantam, in Java, formerly the centre of English trade in the area, had been taken by the Dutch in 1682, and was still the subject of negotiation between the two powers. Relations between England and the Netherlands were very tense in 1686-7, but they did not in the event go to war.

about it, who is very much displeas'd with them, and will send an officer down today to have the remaynes of the stones brought up and further the building in everything according to contract. I received but 16 two pound basons instead of nineteen.

216. William Cross

Commenda, 8 Jan. [16]86/7

Yours of yesterdays date I have received and shall observe your orders. I payd Edward Jacklin his last two months sallery and have lett him have 8a as I wrote towards his cloths till next pay day, and desire to know where [= whether] I must stop all his sallery for the future or allow him dyett. By the bearer I have sent one crow and two wedges that wants mending. Yesterday a Cabusher of Aguaffo came down by order of the king to look affter the bringing up of our stones and the Tatea⁴³ was sent about to stop the canomen and this morning accordingly they went to work, but affter they had brought about $\frac{1}{3}$ of them all the Cabushers came to demand brandy, I told them when all were brought up they should have an ancor of rum for the canomen and three gallon among themselves, but that would not satisfie them without an ounce of gold more, so that being in a streight, haveing no order from your Worship, upon second thoughts, I told them I would move it to you, with which they were well enough satisfied in case [= on condition] I would give them the rum imediatly down upon their promis that the stones should be brought up, to all which I was forced to condecend for they were in that rage I could compare them to nothing but a parcell of madmen, so the kings officers will stay here to se they are as good as their words. I will endeavour to gett it done for a peaz or two and that to be paid when all the stones are brought. I layd the case down playn enough if they had eether since [= sense] or reason. Here is a Brandenburge came to an anchor, and we here their is a French ship to windward with materialls to build at Ampena.⁴⁴

217. William Cross

Commenda, 13 Jan. 1686/7

These are to desire you to send a bail or two of narrow nicconees, two or three hundred three pound basons, some sheets if any, and twenty flowered silk longees for John Cabess if you can afford them at 5a per piece, and if their is anything else that you think may sell pray be pleased to send it. I have not had so quick a dispatch as I used to have because my Arcania merchants are not come down yett, and what mony is brought to the town people they send on board the French ship now at Succondee. Your Worship was speaking I remember of building a house for the slaves and now here is a very good house of an Arcanyes lately decesad to be

⁴³ See Glossary.

⁴⁴ Cf. no.66.

disposed of over against ours and likewise the windwardmost house, for which they ask one ounce, which will be cheaper considering the loss of time than such a one can be built. With this comes two coppies of December account and by the return of the cano you shall have the 1oz 8a that is due to ballance.

218. William Cross

Commenda, 14 Jan. 1686/7

The occasion of my writeing is to desire that you would be pleasd to order the mending of these wedges and their return as soon as possible, for these are all we have, and that you would send the goods I write for with all convenient speed.

219. William Cross

Commenda, 21 Jan. 1686/7

By James Bayly I have sent down six marks, three ounces of gold with one ounce, eight angles for the ballance of December last account of which I desire a receipt. I should have continued my trade had not the arrivall of these ships put a stop to it, but I hope shall have it againe after their departure. I have taken two bales narrow nicconees of Mr Bayly and received them by the cano, which I beleive will goe off if no other shipping comes down upon the head of these, with my humble servis to your Worship and Cuncell and continuall prayers for your health and prosperity is what offers at present

[PS] Only shall want some iron barrs which pray send per first.

220. William Cross

Commenda, 22 Jan. 1686/7

Benjamin Broadgate being very sick and weak, upon his request have sent him down and desire you would be pleasd to send another man in his stead by the return of the cano, one that is honest and civill. I have bin of late somewhat out of order but am upon the recovery of my health againe, I thank God, only a little troubled with the toothach.

221. William Cross

Commenda, 26 Jan. 1686/7

Last night here came to an anchor in this roade a small vessell, being an interloper from Barbadoes, and as I hear intends to corn, and gett what slaves he can, if not designs for Annamaboe. He has perpetuanoes and other goods on board, though tis given out only for rum and sugar. This morning passes by near two hundred Mine canoes to rout the French from Taccardo,⁴⁵ and another party came affter to Ampena where they have taken away their boat and five men, that were left to look after her while the rest went on shore, and carried them to the Mine. They [= the

⁴⁵ Cf. no.68.

French] have been up with the king of Aguaffo and design a settlement there likewise and so along the Coast if not prevented. We here from the interloper that they have another ship to windward, which is all the vessels he saw. I thought it requisite to advise your Worship hereof, so I hope you will be pleas'd to excuse this trouble. I have occasion for some iron barrs and desire you would be pleas'd to send word where [= whether] I must pay Edward Jacklin any part of his sallery.

222. William Cross

Commenda, 28 Jan. 1686/7

Yours by the 11 hand cano I have received with the one hundred ninty and nine iron barrs, one falling short upon twice telling them over, first out of the cano and againe into the warehouse. I hope they are come to a good marquett, but they all keep up their mony in expectation of these shipping, when they hear of that is over I shall have a brisk trade againe. We are hard put to it for room, our warehouse not holding above one third of our goods, so that I am forced to lett the barrs, bailes, case[s], goods lye out in the next room, which makes me want conveniency of lodging for our people. The little interloper weighed yesterday morning and stood down.

223. William Cross

Commenda, 3 Feb. 1686/7

By the bearer I have sent 5mk 13a which with the 6mk 3oz I sent before by Mr James Bayly makes 11mk 3oz 13a, being the ballance of last month[s] account. If shipping forbear comeing a little here will be againe a good trade on shore. I have likewise sent a copy of my account, and you shall have another by the next convenience.

224. William Cross

Commenda, 7 Feb. 1686/7

Here are lately come down the Arcania merchants with a new Captain,⁴⁶ they haveing given and taken hostage of the king of Aguaffo for a trade and safe passage. They have bin with me and demand halfe a peice of say, and 3 gallons rum, for which I have agreed to pay this day, the Dutch paying the same yesterday. If your Worship pleases to order me some tallow and perpetuanoes I shall have a quick dispatch for them, and as to the stones I beleive their are near enough broak with the bricks that are here to finish the house, if you design it but forty foot long &c, but we shall want more lyme.

⁴⁶ i.e. Captain of the Akani (as in no.355, at Anashan).

225. William Cross

Commenda, 10 Feb. 1686/7

There is here happened a difference between we and the Dutch about the stone place, they taking upon them to turn our slaves from the ground we have cleared, and stand so far in opposition as to tell us we shall break no more on the side of the river, the ground being theirs, which I suppose was occasioned by the Grandee Coopeman⁴⁷ comeing heither from the Mine yesterday, they designing some quarrell with us, but they sent since to tell us they would give leave to carry up the remayns of our stons if we made hast, as if we must be beholding to them.

I humbly give your Worship and Councell this account first and shall lett them alone till I know your pleasure, being unwilling to be the author of any disturbance, though I am sure I can make my part as good as theirs at an howers warning, and not only so for it is a thing the king of Aguaffo will not suffer, he sending his man but the day before to turn them away. I have sent John Ratleife for your Worships farther sattisfaction in this affair, and thinking the best way may be to acquaint the king with it or at least the Generall of the Mine, for they say it is per his order.

[PS] I have sent another cobby of my account.

226. William Cross

Commenda, 12 Feb. 1686/7

Yours of the 10th instant I received and sett our slaves yesterday to breaking of stons as formerly, but today the Dutch has turnd them away pretending the ground and place to be theirs, which I have born with it being your Worships order that I should make no opposition but advise immediately. I have therefore accordingly sent the bearer away, this happening about eleaven a clock this morning. There is no enmity between Mr Ensworth and me as I know of but what is done by order of the Generall of the Mine. Now I suppose if the king of Aguaffo is acquainted with this he will not suffer their proceedings, for he sent and turnd them away once, as I wrote before, but I cant tell what pallaver they may have made with him since, their pretentions are that the place belongs to them as a wattering place and that they are now breaking stones to inclose itt with a wall, but that is only to cheat the black[s], their design being to gett a wall round their houses. It may be convenient that Mr Chambers come up (if your Worship and Councell shall please) and put the building forward, for I beleive theyr are near stones enough broak but the blacks have been very backward in bringing them up. I have hired them for Tuesday next and they have promised all their assistance.

The Arcanyes mised comeing down this week so that here has been but a small trade, but I here they will be all here on Munday.

I have bought a house over against the Factory containing six rooms for four

⁴⁷ Chief Merchant (i.e. of the Dutch WIC).

damned narrow nicconees vallued at about $1\frac{1}{2}$ a per piece, for before we had no conveniency of lodging for our slaves and people under two angles per month.

227. William Cross

Commenda, 17 Feb. 1686/7

Yours by Samuell Chambers I have received and he is now setting the slaves to work to clear the ground for the foundations, the stons he very well approves off, but thinks we shall have occasion for more than are broak and what he finds cheifly wanting are six or eight men slaves more, one hundred 4d nails, two hoggsheads to keep watter in and some iron bound tubbs for mortar, the slaves are to helpe bring up the great stons. This morning early returnd Captain Nuna from Aguaffo, whome I sent up to acquaint the king of the insolency of the Dutch in presuming to turn our slaves from the place [that] was assigned us by him and his Cabushers, to break stone in, he brought word the king would suffer no quarrell between we and the Dutch and that the place formerly belonged to them, and they have since claimed it for a wattering place, but if he cant shew us as good a place as that he will make a pallaver with them and we shall goe their againe; in order to which the cheife Merein is comeing down today from the king, who desires your Worship to send his silver headed stick.⁴⁸ I have taken two rooms into one and fitted them with conveniency where I can put three or four hundred chests of corn, which I shall endeavour to purchase according to order. Here has been but very little trade of late, the Arcanyes not comeing down as formerly, but I here their pallaver is allmost ended. I have sent down by the return of this cano two women slaves which are uncapable of doeing the Royall Company any servis.

228. William Cross

Commenda, 21 Feb. 1686/7

These comes by Captain Bristow, and are to acquaint your Worship that the foundation of the house is open and tomorrow Mr Chambers thinks to order the laying of the first stone, but he finds the ground so infirm that he desires you would be pleased to save what more plank there is and send it with all convenient expedition, and the men slaves we wrote for before. The blacks tell us we covett for stone when we have no need, for they expected a larger fabrick. The king will order us our stone place againe and has sent to me twice or thrice about. We are now sinking a hole and have found a very good spring of fresh water within pistole shott of the factory which will be very advantagious.

⁴⁸ Personalized canes, used to authenticate messages, were issued by the RAC to its factors and African 'caboceers', and also given as gifts to African rulers (Phillips 1732, 208); cf. also no.723.

229. William Cross

Commenda, 23 Feb. 1686/7

Yours of this days date between 3 and 4 of the clock this affternoon I have received and shall take care to send the cano and letter up to Succondee when shee comes, w[h]ere I here Captain Draper now is. I have made my pallaver with the Cabusheers &ca for corn, which they have promised at $1\frac{1}{2}$ a per chest and most of them will take goods, but they say that the next ship that takes in corn shall pay 2a per chest and that they will not suffer the corn which I shall buy to be shipt on board any of the Company ships, they reserveing that priviledge to themselves, but that your Worship send for it by the slooppe [or] otherway as you shall please to order, they think to ingross the coming of ships to themselves, hereing corn is scarce elcewhere,⁴⁹ which I suppose has occasioned them to make this pallaver. Mr Chambers present[s] his [service] to your Worship and will wait upon you on Satturday. The cano I here lyes at the Mine.

230. William Cross

Commenda, 24 Feb. 1686/7

This accompanies Mr Chambers, who is desireous to waite upon you to know your further pleasure about the building. This morning arrived the 9 hand cano with the deals and plank, and understand by Mr Wheeler, that they would put in at the Mine whether he would or no, elce they might have been here yesterday, and now they are come they are so obstinate I cant gett them to goe to Succondee this morning, but will stay till they se their own time. I have not more to advise at present only I partly understand by the Cabusheers today that I shall have liberty to ship of corn according to order.

[PS] These are only to advise you that the cano stoped yesterday from 9 in the morning till past night at the Mine for no occasion in the the world as I can tell but their faulce pretension of the wind blowing two hard, but I know had we continued on our way might have been here by 1 a clock that day, so I hope nothing will be payd to my charge therein. James Wheeler.

231. William Cross

Commenda, 27 Feb. 1686/7

The occasion of my writting now is to send the inclosed with all possible speed to your Worship and Councell, it being from Captain Draper, who came this evening to an anchor in our road about five of the clock.⁵⁰ All that I have more to add, is to acquaint you that the people keep up their corn in expectation of a better marquett from the ship then [= than] on shoar, so that I gott but little as yett.

⁴⁹ Cf. nos 745, 747 (at Accra, to the east).

⁵⁰ = no.933.

232. William Cross

Comenda, 3 March 1686/7

By thee bearer I have sent down last months mony and accompts, and by the next you shall have another cobby, till when I hope you will be pleased to excuse me, being a little indisposed. I have occasion for a hundred or two of iron barrs and what pewter you can spare. The merchants begin to come down as formerly, and the heate of shipping being a little over, makes me hope for a good trade again. We have gott three quines⁵¹ out of the ground, and are about the bass's of the flankers; the work might have been forwarder had we more hands; for we are forced to employ two of our bricklayers to fetch stone. I have been at great charges to the people about bringing them up and notwithstanding all their fair promises, I never found them so good as their words. On Satterday they will goe to work again and I have promised them more palme wine for their incouragement. Mr Chambers desires you to send up as many more slaves as you can spare, for their is no trusting to these people, give them what you will.

233. William Cross

Commenda, 8 March 1686/7

This accompanyes Mr James Bayly in the Adventure Sloope, from whome I have supply'd the Factory with such goods as are chiefly wanting, only pewter he has none. I have likewise by him sent down twenty eight chests corn, which is all I had by me, the people not being so good as their words in bringing in their corn according to promis, and when they do will give them but little better than strickt measure by a chest out of the warehouse. I shall endeavour to purchase what I can and have hopes of a considerable quantity in a short time, but I partly find they keep up their corn in expectation of raising it, hearing it is very scarce to leward. Mr Chambers desires you would be pleased to send some more slaves with all convenient expedition, which would very much forward our work.

234. William Cross

Commenda, 14 March 1686/7

These from [= by] Mr Chambers are to acquaint you that we have gott the square above ground, and are goeing on with the flankers with all possible speed, and that we shall want some more lime old plank; and the dore cases, which we desire you would be pleased to order by first oportunity. Here is an indifferent trade, the road being seldom free from Dutch interlopers.

235. William Cross

Commenda, 15 March 1686/7

Haveing severall times received severall abuses from Mr Wheeler since his

⁵¹ quoins, wedges for raising guns.

coming up, but more especially last night when he took upon him to hector and huff me as he pleased and to tell me he would turn me out of the Factory, makes me at this time humbly give your Worship and Council this accompt of his behaviour. His whole endeavour is I find to defame me as he can, and he has don openly now; what before he did by way of detraction to the Dutch man; his design I suppose is to gett the Factory; but that is not at all takeing with the people here, by whose instigation I chiefly send this, being very unwilling to make any complaint was not I very much necessitated to it. I shall trouble your Worship and Council noe further at present, only desire you would be pleased to take this into consideration. Be pleased to send twelve barrells powder, six chest of sheets and what pewter you can spare by the first oppertunity.

236. William Cross

Commenda, 17 March 1686/7

Yours of the 15th instant about four a clock in the evening yesterday by the Companys slaves I have received. These are to accompany Mr Wheeler, who comes down according to your Worships order, and I desire you would be pleased to give him a full hearing in every thing he has to say against me, and if I am found faulty I humbly submitt to your Worship and Councells censure; he has taken upon him to demand the warehouse out of my hands, which I was unwilling to grant till he had finished some other business about my books I put him upon, and this was the first occasion of our disagreeing, but the other night he was so high with me as to abuse me by opprobrious words as he pleased. Since he has been more submissive and seems to be sorry for what he has done, and if he will beg your Worships and Councells pardon, and promis to mind only the Companies business, I am willing to receive him again with all the kindness and respect I showed him at his first coming, for I find he is a person fitting to serve them and assist me.

The Allegator Sloope arrived here yesterday in the afternoon; and if you have any blew perpetuanoes be pleased to send a bail or two of perpetuanoes by the return of this cano, and the bulces.⁵²

237. William Cross

Commenda, 22 March [16]86/7

Yours of the 15th of this instant by Mr Pepperell⁵³ I received, with the goods and other materialls therein mentioned, and by the return of the slooppe have sent down eighty five chests of corn, which is what I had by me, but shall endeavour to purchase what more may be as fast as I can. There comes a crow which wants mending, and Mr Chambers would have it made flatt at both ends, and sent by the

⁵² bulses, i.e. purses.

⁵³ Nicholas Pepperell, Commander of the *Alligator Sloop*.

first conveniency, with three new wedges. By what I understand here, Captain Gold may be to windward, if not now at Succondee, for we heard the gunns this morning. Yours of the 18th instant by Mr James Wheeler I have likewise received with one baile of blew perpetuanoes.

238. William Cross

Commenda, 23 March 1686/7

Yours of the same instant came this night to my hand, and accordingly I have sent the enclosed to Mr Bucknell at Succondee and shall endeavour to buy up all the corne, that I can possible gett at the rate mentioned. Mr Chambers is a little indisposed, and thinks to wait upon your Worship on Satterday if he can come down.

With conveniencys that which is cheifly wanting to the building is the crows, wedges, lime, bricks and stone, these here being almost worked up. I hear of a Dean and Pourtugueze to windward, but noe English ship.

Stones are the cheifest materialls we want, and are setting the slaves to break more.

239. William Cross

Commenda, 25 March 1687

This serves cheifly for a cover to the enclosed, being only to desire some more blew perpetuanoes and sheets, what you can spare, and rum for the use of the Factory, when the sloop comes up. I have had an indifferent good trade, and shall gitt corn apace I hope; but I am forced to pay mony for most of itt and take little better than striked [= strict] measure.

240. William Cross

Commenda, 28 March 1686 [sic: = 1687]

Yours of the 26th instant with the goods according to invoyce I have received, and hope they are come to a good marquett. As soon as the month is up shall send down my account and mony.

241. William Cross

Commenda, 31 March 1687

This comes by the return of the nine hand cano, which brought up ten deal boards and six women, two boyes and two girl slaves, but Mr Chambers tells me there is wanting Sayes wench and Boffery and Pishepans two daughters, which should have come up now according as your Worship ordered. We have sett them all to work, and hope the building will go apace, which we endeavour to forward with all convenient expedition. On Satturday or Munday at farthest I shall send down my mony and accounts, and then write for such goods as I find occasion for. I have near 80 chests of corn by me, and hope shall gett as much more, by the latter end of next weak.

242. William Cross

Commenda, 2 April [16]87

These come by Nathaniell Western, by whome I have sent last months account with the ballance, and by the next will send another cobby. The goods I have occasion for are blew perpetuanoes, three bailes; six chests sheets; two cases sayes; twenty whole firkins tallow; one hundred paper brawles; which be pleased to send per the first oportunity. Yesterday send up Nuna to the King of Aguaffo; with an anchor of rum, as custome upon putting his corn in the ground, which is accepted kindly enough, and has promised send to send down 100 scaffold poles, but told him rum was a liquor the people there did not much care for, and desired an anchor of brandy more, and that should sattsifie him.

Here has been an indifferent good trade this month, and if your Worship and Councill are pleased to order an anchor of brandy among the merchants, I am certain twill not be lost, being an encouragement for them to bring their mony to the Factory,

243. Samuell Chambers

Commenda, 2 April 1687

These are to give you an account of our proceedings in the building, which is forwarded with all possible expedition, haveing gott up the flankers almost even with the other work, which when is leaveld will rise a pace with bricks, which we must make use of amongst the stone in the outside. The cheifest thing still wanting is stone, which breaks very hard, so desire you'l be pleased to send us as soon as possible a very large maull, and wedges, and a crow square pointed, for we are going on to break stone in two places. The next thing will be lyme, which I hope you'l supply within a short time. The slaves Bofferys girl and Pickinine, Sayes wife, are come here, which were wanting.

I understand we are promised some scaffling poles from the king, which will do us a kindness. I have nothing more to add at present, but will use my best endeavour in forwarding the work that it may go on with all expedition.

244. William Cross

Commenda, 5 April 1687

Yours of the 4th instant by the 11 hand canoe with one hundred blew perpetuanoes, three hundred and ninty sheets, two hundred and forty paper brawles, thirty whole firkins tallow, and twenty sayes, I have received, and hope they are come to a good marquett. By the return of the cano I have sent down 30 chests of corn, and as for cases here are none but what I make use of in the warehouse and about the corne.

Doctor Griffin parted from hence about ten this morning, intending for the Mina tonight, and tomorrow will waite upon your Worship at Cabo Corso.

245. Samuel Chambers

Commenda, 5 April 1687

This is to acquaint you that the greatest of our want is stones, which I have endeavoured as much as in me lyes, yett cannot supply fast enough. I have advised with Mr Cross to set some of the slaves to gett some more thetch and cover the house; and then with your Worships leave desire to come to Cabo Corso tell there be a good quantity of stones broak and brought to the work. Pray send some more lym by the first oportunity.

246. William Cross

Comenda, 22 April 1687

These accompany Mr James Wheeler, who finding his distemper to increase desires to come down in time, hoping to finde a remedy att Caboe Corsoe Castle.

The people conserved in the pallavar about one angle in a bendy⁵⁴ waited my coming up with longing expectations to know your worships pleasure in it; which when they found would not be allowed, brought them upon very high termes, in soe much they told mee they would brande our house and by a pallavar stope all traders from bringing any money to the ffactory, which pallavar they accordingly made yesterday, and since I have taken noe money. The authors of this are the Captain of the merchants, alias old Tom, and one Captain Petter.⁵⁵ This is a verry unreasonable demand, when they themselves give the Duch what they requiree from us. I have sent to the King and he sayes the same and today will send downe aboute it. This with my humble service to your worship and Councill, wishing you your good health and prosperity, being all att present, only this pallavar if brought to perfection will be very disadvantageous to the Royall Affrican Companyes intrest.

247. William Cross

Comenda, 27 April 1687

Yours of the 20 instant by the Allegator Sloope I have received, with the goods and other materialls according to invoice; and she had been downe soner had the weather been favorable while unlading. The trade is stopt still, and will be as far as I understand till there is some consideration allowed. But if it should come to that, which I thinke as unresonable as their demands, it may be alledged that whereas the Dutch have been the first promoters of this at Succondee and elce where, let them begin here, and your worship will give a sattisfactory answer, for by what I heare the Dutch have putt them upon this to hinder our trade; which I really beleive is true, because they have given every Cabushere of any conserne a new cloath besides brandy.

⁵⁴ i.e. demanded as commission on trade.

⁵⁵ Cf. no.267, where Captain Peter is identified as one of the 'Chief Merchants' of Komenda. Clearly a different person from the Captain Peter mentioned elsewhere (no.8 etc.) as an employee of the RAC.

248. William Cross

Commenda, 30 April 1687

Tis now since the 20 instant, tenn dayes our trade has been stoped, which the country merchants with longing expectations and money in their hands have patiently waited, hoping an accommodation. In the meane time, I hant bene idle with these people here, endeavouring by all the arguments I thought most convenient, and their kind entertainment with what the ffactory affords, to reduce them as formerly.

Upon the reception of yours yesterday I acquainted them of your worships and Councils finall resolution in not allowing any thinge upon soe unresonable demands, and after a longe pallavar, the kings cashe keeper and Mereen being present, thought I had composed the whole affaire, when in the end twas concluded that if I would give them a bendy to drinke all things should be quietly settled, and they would make the country merchants take of those goods that were not as well as those that were vendable. This morning I sent for them againe, and by the assistance of the Mareen and kings cash keeper have made up the pallavar, and the trade is now open and the money coming in as fast as I can take itt, butt they insisted on the same demands as yesterday and I gave them the same answer. The Mereen and other likewise expect a peice for wating here these eight dayes about this buisness; they spoake very well today in the companies behalfe, and told me in privatt that if they some time gave some small dashees among the people, as the Duch doe, wee shold live more quiett without any pallavars if they will play the rogue againe.

249. William Cross

Commenda, 4 May 1687

Trade coming in againe as formerly occations these lines, desiring you would be pleased to send what blew perpettuanoes, sheets and sayes you can conveniently spare. If the sayes are damnified rate them accordingly, and I can dispose of them, and if there is not the other goods send a baile of narrow nicconees and paper brawles, or what elce you may thinke proper for this place. My accompts and money lies ready to come downe by the Allegattor Sloope, which arived yesterday, and now are getting the things outt, and shall dispatch her downe with corne as soon as possible. If Captain Nuna has don his buisness, be pleased to send him up againe to looke after the money.

250. William Cross

Comenda, 7 May 1687

Yours of the 14 instant by the 7 hand canoe, with the goods according to invoice, I have received, and was forced to keepe her a little, the other wanting mending, to help dispatch the Allegator Sloope. By ditto I have sent downe 17m 7o 12a 6ta, which with the 20mk 3o 8a makes 37mk 7o 4a 6ta, being the ballance of laste

months account. I have likewise shipped on board her one hundred thirty six chests of corne, all measured, on boarde, and that their may be noe mistake have sent downe the chest I bought it by, which Mr Whittings⁵⁶ being bigger may occasion what was before, or elce the slaves ran away with some of it.

251. William Cross

Commenda, 13 May 1687

These are to desire you to send one baile of narrow nicconees and Guynea cloutts, twenty boysadoes, tenn barrells of powder, and as many iron barrs besides as the canoe will bringe. Here is plenty of money, and as soone as Captain Gould⁵⁷ hath donn wee shall have the trade againe on shoare. Tis now a yeare and halfe and as much as since the 12 of Aprill laste I have been att Commenda, and desire you would be pleased to grant mee an order for sallary, and hope if itt may be allowed as per establishment, you will give that encouragment, considering the trouble and charge I am att and the many dashees I am forced to give away for the advancement of the Royall Affrican Companies intreste bringing the trade to what itt is, or else there is noe peace, quiettness or living amongst such people as these are.

252. William Cross

Commenda, 18 May 1687

There being now noe shipping here and a faire prospecte of trade againe, these are to desire you would be pleased to send those goods I writt for in my laste, as soone as the weather will permitt, for itt has been verry extreame here and abundance of raine fallen, butt I don't find itt has done any harme to the building, though it hinders us sometimes from breaking stones, by filling the place with watter, butt that defecte is supplied by the slaves bringing up those that are broaken. Here has been a flying reporte of a pyratt upon the coaste, with 100 men and 24 guns; and that he has tooke one of the Companies ships, called the St John, which does not any wayes seem credible, though some of the Blacks affirme it still.⁵⁸

When the month is up I shall waitte upon your worshipec and bring downe with mee my money and accompts. I lay out all the wayes that possible I can for corne, butt find it verry scarce, att present.

253. William Crosse

Comenda, 18 May 1687

Yours of the 12th instant by the Maynards boat I have received, and likewise tenn chests of sheets and two bailes of blew perpetuanoes, having a supply of tallow by mee and no occasion for cases of spiritts, they being no vendible commodity in this

⁵⁶ Mark Bedford Whiting, chief of the RAC factory at Accra.

⁵⁷ Robert Gould, Commander of the *Maynard*.

⁵⁸ Cf. no.995.

place. I keep a distinct accompt of my sayles and shall bring it to Junes accompt, as you have ordered me, and the mony with me, when I come down with this months accompt, but giving my receipt in this month and not bringing them to accompt till the next I humbly move it to you, fearing hereafter it may occasion some error or mistake, and that you would be pleased to advise me herein by the return of the bearer.

254. William Cross

Comenda, 28 May 1687

Wee have been according to your order att Aguaffoe with the king, endeavoring to seeke redress for all those continewall abuses that are dayly putt upon us in this place, which affter a greatt deale of trouble, unresonable charges and three dayes waitting wee have there words for att lastte, and thatt for the ffuture there shall never be any body forst [= forced] away without first acquainting your worship and Councell, and the same wass confirmed here yesterday by all the Cabusheers of this place; butt all this, as farr as I understand by there pallavar, is with this proviso, thatt the Royall Company shall pay the kinge two peize per month till the house be build, and when built one bendy per month for ground rent,⁵⁹ and to begin this pallavar I was turned away, they nott knowing elce hansomly to bring itt aboutt, for the old fellow mett mee att Aguaffoe, and after wee had concluded our buisness makes this pallavar anew with the King and Fetteras, and has insensed them soe farr, that I was once afraid the King would not have lett mee come away till they had your answer, butt att laste it was concluded I should goe to Commenda, and from thence thus move itt to your worship and Councell that if you will nott grant the King two peaze per month while the house was building and one bendy per month when built for ground rent, then you are to breake down the house, send for all the Royall Companyes goods and concernes away, and depart their countrey, and there is nobody shall wrong them of the least cracra or abuse us when going off, but if you will grant this we shall be very quiet and peaceable and the king will take us into his protection and endeavour the advancement of the Royall Affrican Companys interest, as he has done allready without any consideration from them by granting the merchants of all countreys a free passage through his and in sending them down with their money to our Factory. You are to chuse (pardon my style for I write after theirs) one of these two which you please and send them an answer immediately, or else to expect and take what follows, for this is the resolution of the king and all of them. We used the best of our endeavour to compose and moderate this affair, but all signifyd nothing for this is a law confirmed like that of the Medes and Persians, for they doe as good as tell us they will have a grant for this or otherwise play the roague. I shall trouble you no further

⁵⁹ For the payment of ground-rent for English factories on the Gold Coast, see Davies 1957, 282.

at present, but leave the rest to Hansicoe,⁶⁰ who I thinke has faithfully performed the charge you were pleased to commit to him.

255. William Cross

Commenda, 1 June 1687

Yours of yesterdays date I received and have followed your instructions, which accordingly proved very successfull, for by sending for Old Tom privately this morning, and telling him the encouragement you were willing to give him, provided for the future he would be faithfull to us, and endeavour to hinder all pallavera's that may be to our prejudice and end this, he was so well satisfied, that the tide is quite changed, and now he stands up as much for us as he was against us, and has wrought so effectually with the kings men that they are satisfied with what you have been pleased to allow him for a ground rent, and don't question but their Master will be the like and not suffer any more abuses to be put upon us, so for the future I hope we shall live more quietly or else we must endeavour to right our selves. I was forced to give the kings men a peoz to drink before I could be rid of them. Old Tom says he will come down a Saturday next and wait upon your worship and Councill, and John Cabess tells me he will come too. Captain Thompson weighed this morning and is gon to windward.⁶¹ Here is come to be had under 3 angles per chest.

256. William Crosse

Comenda, 10 June 1687

I gott to Comenda last night but had the misfortune to be oversett coming ashore and have lost most of my things and the mony that I brought up with me, which was taking from me when I was in the water either by the canoemen or some that came pretendedly to my assistance. All the Royall Companies concerns here are safe and secure, and the goods ashore you was pleased to order me, and dont question but I shall have a very good trade again.

[PS] By the return of the canoe I have sent down one woman slave and a girle that are sick and uncapable of any work.

257. William Crosse

Comenda, 15 June 1687

This serves chiefly for a cover to the inclosed, being two coppyes of the last months accmpt. I have almost finished another, but being hindred by business otherwayes shall lett it alone till next conveyance. Edward Jackline and Nathaniell

⁶⁰ Captain Hansicoe, also mentioned in the 1681–3 correspondence (vol.i, nos 15 etc.): a prominent employee of the RAC at Cape Coast Castle, reckoned in the 1690s as one of the 'Castle Capusheers' (Daaku 1970, 104; Phillips 1732, 225).

⁶¹ Cf. no.939.

Westrane have been both very bad with an ague and feavor, butt today are a little better and hope will recover if the next fitt don't pull them downe againe. Wee have had abundance of rain and badd weather, but don't find that it does prejudice the building, though it hinders our slaves from breaking stones, and the overflowing of the river has carried so great a bank of sand into the sea that the landing place is become very dangerous.

258. William Crosse

Comenda, 23 June 1687

On Tuesday night the Allegator Sloop from Succondee came here to an anchor, having two hundred iron barrs to putt ashore, but waiting all yesterday and now likewise the sea running extraordinary high, so there is no possibility of getting the goods ashore or likely to be better weather, I thought it more proper to advise his coming down, knowing not whither his absence with the corn may hinder Captain Goulds dispatches. I have occasion for tenn chests sheets, two cases sayes, two bales of narrow niconees and one bale of paper bralls, which with the iron barrs be pleased to send by the Sloop if you do not otherwise di[s]pose of her and Mr Chambers to foreward the building, for the Dutch are hard at it, thinking to have done before us.

259. William Crosse

Comenda, 2 July 1687

Yours of yesterdays date last night I received, and according to order have sent down Fozea Doe and Bashaw the Royall Companys slaves. Wee are breaking stones as fast as wee can, and others employ'd in bringing them up, and for scaffolding poles I will send again to the King or endeavour to gett them elsewhere. Upon Captain Daniells coming downe I went on board to know whether you had any advise of his arrivall, and he told me Mr Bucknell was on board and said he was send down, which made me think it needlesse, so hope you will please to excuse me, but for the future shall send on board all ships and immediately advise. Here lyes three or four Dutch interlopers up and downe, who have been a very great hinderance to the ffactory, but I hear they have now disposed of all so that I hope to have a good trade next weeke. I have sent downe another Mayes accompt and my accompts of last. The mony will send per Mr Pepperell, he is gott as high as Ampenney.

260. William Crosse

Comenda, 4 June [sic: = July?] 1687

By the Alligator sloop I received eight chests containing five hundred and twenty sheetes, two bales containing two hundred and forty narrow niconees, one baile containing two hundred and forty paper brawles and two hundred iron barrs, all which I hope will come to a good markt. I sent of yesterday to a vessell coming

down, which proved to be a Dutch Companys ship from the Beneen, and had been out three months and [said] that the Jacob Pink came out before them a month and had lost two men. They saw no shipping to windward more than a Dutch interloper and one of their Companies ships. By Mr Pepperell I have sent the ballance of last months accompt.

261. William Crosse

Comenda, 5 July 1687

The occasion of my writing is to acquaint you that it is now dancing time at Aguaffo and the King hath sent down people to demand his custome according to Articles of Agreement made between him and the Worshipfull Henry Nurse Esq, late Agent Generall for the Royall Affrican Company of England, of December 1686,⁶² vizt two anchors brandy and one say to be paid himselfe, one ankor of brandy to the Fettera, one cloth or gingham to the Queen, two angles in gold to the Chief Cappusheers of this place, two fine sletias and half an anchor of brandy to the merchants, and half a barrell of powder and half an ankor of brandy to the soldiers. I have few of those things by me as per my accompt, so have sent this canoe for what you are pleased to order, the Kings men being in great hast to begone again. I understand he expected to be paid his custome without sending for it, wee hearing that twas now their dancing time. I have occasion for 10 boysadoes, which if the canoe will bring be pleased to send per her return.

[PS] Pray be pleased to dispatch the canoe as soon as possible, and send the things by her with your order for their delivery.

262. William Crosse

Comenda, 16 July 1687

Having had an indifferent good trade, these are to desire you to send me 20 boysadoes, 2 bales of blew perpetuanoes, two bales of narrow nicones, fforty half firkins of tallow and tenn barrells of powder in wholes and halves. Pray be pleased so to order them away that they may be hear on Tuesday morning; The King was well satisfyed when I sent him his custome, and say's as soon as Mr Chambers comes up lett him send to him, and he will send a hundred men which he beleives will cutt as many scaffolding poles in one day as wee shall have occasion for. They must come this way for them, there being none to be gott nigher than Shuma. Wee have been all of us here taken with agues and feavors and great pains in our limbs since the ffoggy weather came in, but I hope twill wear away again. Here just now came down a Dutch Companyes ship and I sent John Ratcliff to enquire what newes to windward, and the Captain told him they saw no shipp &ca, but since came to our house the Copeman of Shuma with the Chief here and they tell me that

⁶² Cf. no.206.

the Mary is to windward and that they had it from the Captains own mouth, so he told them one thing and us another

263. William Crosse

Comenda, 19 July 1687

Yours of yesterdayes date with the goods according to invoice I have received, vizt two hundred and forty narrow niconees, twenty five blew perpetuanoes, eighteen boysadoes, fforty half ffirkins of tallow and tenn barrells of gunpowder seven whole and six halves all which I hope are come to a good markt. As to the tallow you mencon, tis three whole ffirkins which remaind undiposed of, being very much corrupted. When Mr Halford and Mr Bloome were sent to inventory the warehouse, they then valued them worth nothing, but since disposing of one for $2a\frac{1}{2}$ I made it about $\frac{3}{4}$ damnified. I will send to the King again for the men he promised to cutt the scaffolding poles, but I understand he wants Mr Chambers here first, and the bricklayers to forward the worke, and seemes concerned that the Dutch are so far before us. Here are a good quantity of stones broken, and most of them brought up round the building. That which will be chiefly wanting is lime.

Yesterday morning one of our slaves went to cutt some wood, and coming through the corn with it, chanced to break down a stalk with three ears upon it, whereupon they panniard him for stealing their corn and kept him in irons, demanding one saye and half a barrell of powder for his redemption. I sent twice for him yesterday but they would not lett him come, but today have sent to the King and suppose shall gett him again with some small charge.

264. William Crosse

Comenda, 25 July 1687

These are to desire you to send me fifty half ffirkins of tallow, one bale of paper bralls, twelve barrells of powder and one bale of black bafts broad, and if there are perpetuanoes or pewter basons be pleased to send me some with the other goods, and order them away so that they may here tomorrow morning if possible. I have occasion for my bulce and a gold chest for the better security of the mony in sending it down. I have gott the slave again I write you was panniard for stealing of corn, but it cost me four angles and about three gallons of brandy. I sent again to the King about the scaffolding poles and he promises to gett some, as he has done a great while, but I see none coming and believe we must send to Shuma at last to gett some.

265. William Crosse

Comenda, 27 July 1687

Both yours of yesterdayes date I have received and the goods by 17 hand canoe accordingly, vizt two hundred and forty paper brawles, one hundred broad black bafts, twenty five blew perpetuanoes, fifty half ffirkins of tallow, one hundred two

pound pewter basins, and twelve whole barrells of powder. By the return of this canoe I have sent down in the gold chest twenty four markes of gold. What I take more before the month is up you shall have with my accompts per the next conveyance.

266. William Crosse

Comenda, 28 July 1687

I provided all things ready to have dispatched the canoe away again yesterday but the canoe men going into the town, these people and they fell out and they have gott broken heads on both sides. This morning by calling all the merchants and Cappusheers together, I have made them friends and composed the pallavera for the future. Henry Clement can satisfye you farther. I had a good trade yesterday and have sent down eight markes more in a leathern bulce, which with the 24 in the other makes in all thirty two markes of gold. Pray be pleased to lett me have receipts.

267. William Crosse

Comenda, 30 July 1687

Be pleased to understand that the people are making a pallavera to turn me out, because I will not trust them with the Companys goods, and so ruin and discredit my self. They have another article against me too for selling the iron barrs too dear, for where I give but 24 they can go to the Dutch ffactory and have 28 per bendy, and that I am too curious in blowing and picking their mony, and such like frivolous storyes. Tis only by the intercession of Old Pay and Captain Peter, two of the Chief Merchants, that I am not turned out before I could give you this accompt, for they are resolved to have another, which if you approve dispose with me otherwayes, as you are pleased to order, and I shall most readily obey. John Ratcliffe being very sick and weake, upon his request I have sent him down.

[PS] Here will be wanting another man in John Ratcliffs room. I have paid him his sallary.

268. Robert Elwes

Comenda, 6 Aug. 1687

Last night between 7 and 8 of the clock I arrived here and this morning had all the Cappusheers with me, from whom I received a very kind welcome. I did not call in at the Mina, but since understand that the ship that came down two dayes since was an interloper taken to windward and sent downe. Likewise that the Generalls journey to the King was purposely to remove the Ffrench men, which was not granted.⁶³ Great dashees was given on that intent, but not having his desire

⁶³ This presumably refers to an anticipated, rather than an actual settlement by the French. The French expedition under Du Casse did not arrive in Komenda until November (cf. below, no. 300).

answerable to his expectacons, went away much discontented. Its reported that to windward are arrived three Ffrench ships.

Traders are not as yett returned, tarrying here on expectacon of goods, which are one hundred half ffirkins tallow, two bales of black bafts, one bale of broad nicconees, and two ditto of narrow ditto, one bale of paper bralls, twelve barrells of powder, two hundred two pound pewter basons. What sheetes and perpetuanoes you can spare, may be immediatly disposed of. It is also desired by the Cappusheers that Mr Chambers be sent up with what assistance can be spared to forward the building, the Dutch being much beforehand with us, This morning came Nunah, and according to your orders menconed the removall of Mr Crosse, but [they] would give me no answer, only that he may come without any molestacon to receive what belongs to him.

269. Robert Elwes

Comenda, 12 Aug. 1687

Yours of the 8th and 9th instant have received, and according to your order endeavoured as much the resettling Mr Cross as I could doe, butt the Cabusheers as I writte you before, soe now likewise would give mee noe answer, butt that he deliver the Factory up and take his things away with him. Could scarce gett soe much time from them, as to lett him tarry till the greatt canoe came up. Cannot understand Mr Cross has anywayes disoblidged them; butt as alwayes they have been rouges, soe I feare they will remayne. Not finding any probability of resettling Mr Cross, have taken into my possession all the Royall Affrican Companyes merchandize and matterials belonging to this Factory, as per invoice does appear, for which I shall be accomptable for. As to relating the Generalls goinge to Aguaffoe, cannot understand it to be on any other accompt then what I writt you; if otherwise shall advise.

270. Robert Elwes

Commenda, 12 Aug. 1687

Yours of the 10 instant have received, with two hundred and thirty narrow nicconees, two hundred blacke bafts, two hundred and forty paper brawles, two hundred two pound pewter basons, twenty whole firkins tallow, and thirty halfe, on acompt Royall Affrican Company of England. Desiare you will send two hundred more blacke bafts, and twelve barrells powder. The fine narrow nicconees, which Mr Cross informes mee has been here some time, and will not sell att the price ordered, if you thinke convenient to sell them at 2a 6ta each, desiare your order, which I believe may be better then to remaine unsould, wee being much troubled with rattes, they may be damnified. Desire you will send some brandy and rume for the Factory, here not being any, and trade cannot be carried on withoutt those supplyes. Since my writing my former understand the Generall[s] journey to Aguaffoe was on accompt of a pawne of his, the king of

Accraas sonn,⁶⁴ who with others went up with goods to one Tagee, a rebell,⁶⁵ and they all being panniard by the king of Aguaffoe, itt happened that the said kings sonn of Accraa had his head cutt off, and all there goods taken away. Soe the Generall demanded sattisfaction, but not being granted, returned the same night in greatt anger. This is more I heare off. Mr Chambers presents his service to you, and desires the seaven hand canoe may be sent backe in all hast for to fetch greatt stone, and that she brings up in her what lime shee cann.

271. Robert Elwes

Commenda, 13 Aug. 1687

This serves only to desire you to send up six trowells and six hammers, which Mr Chambers advised mee to send for, being for the use of the building. He likewise desires you would send by the first opertunity what lime you possible can, imagining by Wednesday all the stocke here may be spent. The 7 hand canoe I mentioned in my last came not downe to you, the canoemen being unwilling to carry her, soe desire you will give order to them when opertunity serves that she may be mended and made for use, which shall have occasion to imploy her in fetching stones, here not being any great stones, and at present have much want of them.

272. Robert Elwes

Commenda, 14 Aug. 1687

Yours of the 13th instant have received, with one hundred and fifty broade blacke baftes, tenn whole barrells of powder, and one hundred and sixty munde Binin cloaths, and two ankers of brandy. Here is noe corne to be procured att present, butt hope by the first opertunity to supply you with tenn or twenty chests, butt must buy itt by the taccoees, which will be about two angles or more perr cheste. They are unwilling to give any more than a bendy for thirty four mundees, and soe att that ratte they will buy a considerable quantity, soe if you please to sell them soe, you may send two or three hundred more. Desire you will send one baile more of paper brawles; likewise an answer concerning the fine nicconees, the merchants being willing to buy them all. One of the baggs of mundees contains butt thirty nine, the rest all forty, soe there is one wanting to make up the full complement.

⁶⁴ Presumably, a member of the royal family of Accra prior to its conquest by Akwamu in 1680. By this time Ofori, the displaced king of Accra, had settled at little Popo on the Slave Coast (no.825), but he had earlier spent some time in exile at Fetu (Barbot 1992, ii, 598).

⁶⁵ Presumably the same as the 'Tagee' who in Dec. 1686 was still part of the ruling establishment of Eguafu (no.206). Subsequently his rebellion was supported by military intervention from Mina (nos 313, 320).

273. Robert Elwes

Commenda, 15 Aug. 1687

These are to desire you to send twenty good boysadoes, fifty halfe firkins tallow, with the goods I write for yesterday, and that they may be here tomorrow; being the day traders will be here. Mr Chambers desires you will spare him all the boards you can for scaffaling, and what ould timber you can for to putt in the wall, the bricces being safft.

[PS] Mr Chambers desires a carpinter.

274. Robert Elwes

Comenda, 21 Aug. 1687

Yours of the 19th instant have received with two hundred and forty paper brawles, four hundred Benin munde cloths, and forty seaven gallons rumme. Am sorry cannot be supplied with boysadoes, knives, and Guinea stuffs. Provided you have any boysadoes (although damnified), desire you would send ten, with the iron I wrote for. Mr Chambers desires the sloop may be dispatcht in all haste with lyme, the last being but a small quantity, and soon workt up; have returned the cask. Per this canoe you will receive ten chests of new corne.

275. Robert Elwes

Comenda, 23 Aug. 1687

This comes by the returne of the 9 hand canoe, in whom have sent you downe eight chests of new corne. Desire you would send me some iron barrs, and if you have any damnified boysadoes could dispose of them. Have but little trade this eight last days, and not having goods proper cannot expect any. Mr Chambers desires you would send in all halfe the lyme; he is now gon in the country to gett scaffolding poles. No news to windward.

276. Robert Elwes

Commenda, 25 Aug. 1687

This comes by Mr Chambers, who comes downe on account of some necessarys he shall have occasion for the building. He will informe you concerning the scaffold. The other day he went in the country purposely to procure, but att his returne the kings Mareen demanded for their people bringing of them downe, two ounces and a halfe anckor of brandy, butt provided they would bring downe one hundred and twenty long and shortt and that may be fitting for our purpose in tenn dayes, they should have six peaze and halfe an anckor of rum, which they consented to, and one [= on] that intent the Mareen will this night goe to the king to gett his people. The King likewise demands his monthly sallary att eight angles per month, which he sayes was never paid him in Mr Cros's time. I told him I know nothing off itt butt would informe you, and soe desire your answer concerning it. Mr Cross would doe verry well to send mee an accompt of all customes and there time when to be

given, that therein I may not be to seeke when they demand it. I desire you would admitt of Mr Griffith's coming up here that he may give mee an accompt of all things att Agga,⁶⁶ with the inventory delivered from whome shall goe there, that thereby I may discharge myselfe of that place, and then will send you those accounts, determining the time I received this Factory.

277. Robert Elwes

Commenda, nd

These are sent on purpose to desire you to send Mr Chambers up, if with conveniency he can returne, for the people here are impatient till such time our effort be don. The Dutch have finished their house but are still fetching stones, on what designe I know not. Yesterday the king sent to them, and told them since they had don their house, they should desist fetching any more stones, for he knew not whether the consequence might not be of great inconveniency. They tell me in ten days shall have what scaffolding poles wee want, and will be for their parts as assisting to us in building the fortification as possible they can. The like I told them would not be wanting in ours. But litle trade this ten days, being hindred by some pallaveraes occasioned in the country, that they have not yett disposed of any goods already bought. Yours off the 23 instant by the Alligator Sloop have received, who arrived here last night, so as yett have not taken out the iron barrs, nor lyme. Shall take care what wee can to returne the casks with the heads of them. Observe your orders in disposeing off the damnified goods for corne, at 1a 6 per chest, but yours of the 13 instant being so urging [= urgent] for corne and I not knowing what occasion you might have for it, caused me to procure you six chests after the rate of 2a per chest, and beleive cannot gett any more under that price. Last night went downe a small Portuguez. Pray informe me whether you please to have the corne sent downe in the sloop.

278. Robert Elwes

Comenda, 30 Aug. 1687

This comes by a canoe bound downe to Cabo Corso and is to desire you to send twenty whole firkins of tallow. I hope Mr Pepperill may be with you tomorrow. Wee have had a great deale of trouble to gett the lyme and iron ashore, of which I hope all will be ashore today or tomorrow early. The great canoe belonging to John Cabess is broken, so wee have been forced to make the more turns. I desire you would spare us a great canoe, for our seaven hand will not swim.

⁶⁶ Egya, east of Anomabu, in Fante, where Elwes had been RAC factor prior to transferring to Komenda.

279. Robert Elwes

Commenda, 31 Aug. 1687

This accompanies the Alligattor Sloope, from whom have received two hundred iron barrs and twenty eight caske of lime for the buildings. Have returned the caskes. Mr Chambers desires you would in all hast send up more lime, for this last parsell will not last above eight dayes. Have put on board the Alligattor Sloope four chests of good corne, being for his use, for which have taken a receipt. Have also received from him twelve deale boards, being for Mr Chambers use in forwarding the building. Have made the best shift wee could to patch up the seaven hand canoe, and comes downe with the sloope, which desire may be mended in all hast, and sent up hither, being in much want of her. Pray send by the first a gold cheste, being for the security of the Royall Affrican Companies gould, which will send you in.

280. Robert Elwes

Commenda, 3 Sept. 1687

This comes purposely to desire you that in all hast to send the particulars Mr Chambers did informe you he should have occasion for, and that in case the sloope cannot be dispatcht in time he desires you will send the carpinter with eight slitt deales, and nailes of six peny and four peny sorte, in a canoe, having such occation for them he cannot proceed any further in the building. The lime is almost worked. All things is well here. I only waite a good occasion or I had sent downe what gold have taken this month, which is betwixt twenty one and twenty two markes. Shall have occasion for more brandy. Noe news from windward. Desire you send mee two hundred two pound basons.

281. Robert Elwes

Comenda, 23 Sept. 1687

This morning came down the king of Aguaffo's people to demand his monthly custome. If any allowed, I desire your order for the payment. They tell me they have not been paid for the time Mr Cross lived there. Mr Chambers desires he may have an order for to receive twenty five or thirty balks from on board the Mary. Agent Bradley⁶⁷ has since Mr Boylstons departure been much indisposed, that he hath not been ashore, neither designs he, but beleive in two or three days will be downe with you in his shipp. No news from windward. Have disposed of the blew perpetuanoes; if you thinke convenient that I may have more from aboard, I desire your order.

⁶⁷ Nathaniel Bradley, commanding the *Mary*.

282. Robert Elwes

Comenda, 26 Sept. 1687

Yours of the 19 instant have received, and according to your order have sent you the 5 hand canoe. Have received from on board the Mary thirty balks.⁶⁸ Wee are in great want of supplies of lyme, and bricks. Have sent what empty caske were here aboard the Mary, not having any other oppertunity to send them downe to you. Wee are in great want of the carpenter, whom wee have expected long since; hope wee may have him by the next. Desire you would send by the next oppertunity twenty barrels powder.

283. Robert Elwes

Commenda, 28 Sept. 1687

Yours of the 27th instant have received, with twenty whole barrells of powder and 10 caske of lime. Have sent all the empty caske on board the Mary, only three which came in the 17 hand canoe. Observe your orders in procuring two hundred chests of corn att 1a $\frac{1}{2}$ per cheste.

284. Robert Elwes

Comenda, 28 Sept. 1687

I had waited on you by soe good an occasion as with Agent Bradly, but it being now the time of trade I could not, so desire you would send those accompts by the return of the boy I sent yesterday and I will rectifie them, or that you please to make mention of the errors and you will oblidge.

285. Robert Elwes

Comenda, 1 Oct. 1687

This is only to desire you to send up a bale of paper brawles, a bale of black or blew baffts. Likewise that you would be pleased to send me an order how to dispose of the English and Ffrench brandy. Mr Chambers desires we may be supplied with more lime, and bricks. What caske wee had here, were all send downe by the Mary. Here is no news from windward. Yesterday were in sight three Dutch interlopers, who informes us of noe English shipp being to windward. I designe to come downe with my accompts if you thinke convenient.

286. Robert Elwes

Comenda, 2 Oct. 1687

This is to advise you of the death of Mr Bucknell, who this morning departed his life.⁶⁹ The news came to me but just now, in what manner or with what distempers

⁶⁸ Cf. no.947.⁶⁹ At Sekondi: cf. no.105.

he dyed I know not. The Generall of the Mina is expected here every minute, being now at Shuma.⁷⁰

287. Robert Elwes Comenda, 3 Oct. 1687

Yours of this days instant have received, and according to your order, shall this night goe to Succondee and take a true accompt of all things there, both of the company and what belongs to Mr Thomas Bucknell, which don shall give you an accompt. Observe your order in disposing of brandy and rum.

288. Thomas Johnson Comenda, 7 Oct. 1687

I begg your pardon in not writing sooner. The reason is I have been very ill this two days, with a feaver, but now thanke God am much better upon recovery. Mr Elwes is not returned, in the intrim shall take all care necessary.

289. Robert Elwes Comenda, 11 Oct. 1687

Yours of the 10th instant per the 9 hand canoe have received, with one hundred broad blew baffts, two hundred and fforty paper browles, and twenty says. Wee are in dayly expectation of the sloop with lime and bricks; hope shee may be dispatcht away in all hast, for what stock we had of both are some time gon. Mr Cross is here and tomorrow designs to be with you, who will give you an accompt of all passages at Succondee.⁷¹ Mr Walker was well settled there with great respect and civillity from the Negroes.⁷² Am hartyly [sorry] to heare of the death of Agent Bradley. I doe designe to be with you about Saturday and bring my accompts with me. Had don them before had I not been at Succondee.

290. Robert Elwes Comenda, 12 Oct. 1687

This accompanys Mr William Cross, and is to advise you that yesterday on opening a bale of paper browls mentioned to contain two hundred and fforty pieces, we found ffifty pieces, for which shall give the Royall company credit for. Have not more to enlarge, designing my self to be with you a Satterday.

291. Robert Elwes Comenda, 21 Oct. 1687

Yours of the 17th instant have received [with] forty course sleetias, two hundred

⁷⁰ The General had been visiting Sekondi (cf. no.104).

⁷¹ Cross was now chief of the RAC factory at Egya, and had joined Elwes in visiting and inventorying the factory at Sekondi (cf. no.106).

⁷² James Walker had succeeded Bucknell as chief of the Sekondi factory.

and thirty six paper brawles, twenty says, ffifty broad black baffts in one hundred halfe pieces, and eight whole barrells of powder. Captain James⁷³ is very well, and in two or three days designs to be downe. Have sent per this canoe what empty caske shee could conveniently take in, and the other have put on board the Alligator sloop.

292. Robert Elwes

Comenda, 30 Oct. 1687

Yours of the 27th instant, with 16 caske of lime and a quantity of bricks, have received, and have putt what empty caske here is on board the Ann Sloop. Herewith comes Mr Chambers, who will give you an accompt of the building. Hope you will returne him as soone as possible you can, for without him the slaves will be very careless. Here is at present but little trade, there being much pallavera in the country, but hope in some few days twill be decided.

293. Robert Elwes

Comenda, 5 Nov. 1687

Yours of the 1st November have received with tenn caske of lime, and a quantity of bricks. The empty caske are all putt on board the sloop, soe desire you will returne Mr Chambers, for cannot proceed in the building till such time he comes. Having gon all the first fflower [= floor] round wee shall have occasion for the largest of the balkes for joyces for the fflankers, not being supplied with timbers from the Negroes. They shall cutt them, butt have not conveniency to bringe them downe, soe that without you will procure leave from the Generall of the the Mina to send a canoe in the River of Shuma, where they now lye ready cutt, I know not how wee can be be supplied. What other occasions are, Mr Chambers can best informe you. Doe desire you would send a caske of rum per next.

294. Robert Elwes

Comenda, 5 Nov. 1687

Yours of this instant have received, with another for Captain James, which shall forward to him but heare no advise where he is. Mr Johnson went from hence a Thursday morning, and as yett not returned. Heare not of any news from windward. Inclosed have sent two of my accompts for October, the other shall send with its ballance by the retturne of the Mary. Desire you will returne Noona, who without being sent away, will tary longer then expected.

295. Thomas Johnson

Comenda Factory, 5 Nov. 1687

This accompanys the 7 hand canoe, wherein have sent all Mr Walkers things

⁷³ Thomas James, who had succeeded Bradley as commander of the *Mary*.

sealed up in a cheste, in which you will finde the inventory.⁷⁴ The money shall bring allonge with me, designing to ffollow to morrow morning. Captain James came into the roade the 2^d to take in ballas[t], and on the 3^d in the evening sayled up to windward, and is just now comeing into the roade againe as wee suppose. Shall at my arrivall at Cabo Corso Castle give your worships a full accompt of our further proceedings.

[PS] Inclosed is the key of Mr Walkers chest.

296. Robert Elwes

Comenda, 10 Nov. 1687

This is sent on purpose to desire you to send me up a bale of paper brawles, a bale of black or blew bafts, ten barrels of powder, a cask of rum. The Mary went from Tackerada three days agoe, and bound for Axim. Wee heare likewise that the pyrate is here, and has taken a Dutch interloper which he keeps with him.⁷⁵ Have no advise of the Maryes proceedings, or whether the pyrate went from Axim, upon her going up. She is reported to be a shipp of a considerable force, having thirty two guns, and six patereroes,⁷⁶ and one hundred and fifty men. Wee are in great want of Mr Chambers, which if not sick, desire he may come up.

297. Robert Elwes

Comenda, 11 Nov. 1687

Yours of the 10th instant have received, and by the 11 hand canoe have received two hundred and forty paper brawles, ten whole barrels of powder, thirty four broad blew bafts, twelve broad black, and sixty seaven gallons rum. Shall employ the slaves, according to your order, in breaking of stones, till such time Mr Chambers can with conveniency come up. No news from windward.

298. Robert Elwes

Comenda, 12 Nov. 1687

This is only to advise you that per information of the Negroes, the Mary is returned to Tacherada, but at Axim he mett with the supposed pyrate, fired severall guns at him, till such time he weighed anchorr, came out and sent his boat aboard.⁷⁷ The Negroes reports that he has a considerable quantity of goods, and lyes at Axim trading, and does design in three days to be at Comenda. Yesterday went downe a shipp, newly come upon the Coast, reported to be a Portuguees. Pray informe whether you please to have any more corne put aboard the Mary, for your

⁷⁴ Johnson had been sent to inventory the effects of deceased James Walker at Sekondi (cf. no.112).

⁷⁵ i.e. the 'great French pyrate' earlier reported west of Axim (no.111), which was in fact the French warship *La Tempeste*, commanded by Du Casse: cf. no.300, with n.79.

⁷⁶ A form of small cannon (Spanish *pedreiro*).

⁷⁷ Cf. no.114.

order was 100 chests, and not having them by me so much, he received no more than 84 chests. I have seaventy chests now by me.

299. Robert Elwes

Comenda, 16 Nov. 1687

Yours of the 13th instant have received, and according to your order have put aboard the Mary one hundred chests of corne, as per his receipts appear. Have also sent you his receipt for the 84 chests formerly delivered him. Likewise my other October accompts, with [ms 'wch'] its ballance, seaven marks, one ounce, six angles and ten taccoes. Acquainted Captain James, that if he pleased to take in corne here, he might, but his stay not to be on account of demorage.⁷⁸ The Cabusheirs of this place have been with me, and were very earnest to have allowed them one angle on a bendy, or that I should have no trade, but after a great deale of pallavering they were willing to take two angles on a marke, to which I told them I would first advise the Dutch to allow them greater allowances. I desire your answer, for they do detain trade on this account.

300. Robert Elwes

Comenda, 18 Nov. 1687

This is to advise you that last night came into the roade the French shipp with her prize, and designs as he sent word to the Dutchman, to be this day ashore.⁷⁹ Severall canoes has been aboard, and what they brought ashore are blew perpetuanoes, snaphanses, and brandy. The greatest part of his cargo remaying is brandy and snaphanses and powder. The Dutch have been supplied with a great many Negroe soldiers from the Mina, likewise at Ampeney the same, imagining the French may setle either here or at Ampeney. If anything happen relating either of them, shall advise you.

301. Robert Elwes

Comenda, 21 Nov. 1687

Yours of the 20th instant I have received, and as to the relating of the two Ffrench shippes, I had some discourse with the Comander ashore, who told me that the King of Ffrance had heard that there had been severall pyrates that frequented this Coast under French colours, likewise had carried off severall Negroes, seaven of which he now brought with him, and hath put them ashore at the place from whence they were panyard.⁸⁰ The reason of his tarrying here to windward is that he expects two great shippes from France of fifty guns each, which were to come out in a litle time

⁷⁸ Demorage payments were penalties for failing to dispatch a ship within the time contracted.

⁷⁹ This was *La Tempeste*, commanded by Du Casse (who is named later in this correspondence: no.304), who by his own account (1935, 18) arrived at Komenda 28 Nov. 1687 New Style [= 18 Nov. Old Style].

⁸⁰ Du Casse records returning a kidnapped African to Axim (1935, 25).

after him.⁸¹ He toucht in at all the places to windward, was ashore at Gambia, and Cherelone,⁸² likewise here on the Coast at Axim and the Brandenburgs. He designs, as he told me, to come downe to Cabo Corso in three or four days. Also the reason that he tooke the Dutch interloper was that he found French colours on board him, and severall writings, wherein was the whole concerne of the shipp, all in Ffrench. He put the comander of her ashore at the Brandenburgs, and gave him all his goods and gold. The Commander of this French man hath been severall times on this Coast, he gives a good description of Agent Greenhill, also of severall places both to windward and leward.⁸³ He lyes here to dispose off a considerable quantity of Portuguez tobacco, at 9 lb per angle, brandy at 1a 4ta per gallon, so that he sells none. The Generall of the Mina has bought seaven barrels of his wine, of which he brought a fflask ashore, its white wine and not good.

302. Robert Elwes

Comenda, 2 Dec. 1687

Hearing of the Frances arrivall, doe desire you would be pleased to send up two bales of blew perpetuanoes, ten chests of sheets, a bale of black bafts, four hundred of one and two pound basons, one or two cases of sayes. Shall by my next send you my November accounts ballance. Herewith you will receive two accounts and the other shall send with its ballance. Am sorry Mr Chambers is not as yett recovered. Wee are like to loose a good season for want him. Just now came into the roade a Brandenburg ship.

303. Robert Elwes

Comenda, 5 Dec. 1687

This is onely to advise you that the French designs to settle here near us, and on that intent are gone this day up to the King, who by information of John Cabess has granted them leave to settle in the same place wee formerly had, a little within us, and as report goes will tomorrow highst their flagg.⁸⁴ Its encroaching on our bounds, soe desire your speedy answeare whether they shall be permitted. John Cabess has been with the King already, who seemes inclined to their settling there, but he told the King they should not be permitted till such time wee had advice

⁸¹ These other two French ships were *Le Jolly* (commanded by D'Amon) and the *Saint Louis* (Du Casse 1935, 20).

⁸² i.e. the River Sierra Leone, the site of the modern city of Freetown.

⁸³ The summary of Du Casse's career in Roussier 1935, XIV, n. 1, mentions only one earlier voyage to Africa in 1678, when he captured Arguin Island (off the coast of Mauritania) from the Dutch, but does not appear to have proceeded as far as the Gold Coast. He was, however, reported in the RAC correspondence to be in command of a French expedition which visited the Gold Coast in 1682: see vol. i, no. 55, where the editorial comment (n. 39) doubting the accuracy of this report is evidently, in the light of this present reference, unwarranted.

⁸⁴ Cf. Du Casse's account (1935, 19), recording the 'cession' of the coastal village of 'Aquitagny' to the French and the raising of the French flag there.

from you. There are severall places they may settle, and not soe neer us. It would be convenient to send one Cabushiere here, and with him John Cabess will goe up to the King. It must be done suddainely, or the French will have a settling. Tomorrow will dispatch the sloop down to you.

304. Robert Elwes

Comenda, 7 Dec. 1687/8 [sic]

Yours of the 3^d instant per Mr Bradshaw⁸⁵ I have received, with six hundred and fifty sheets, 200 broad black bafts 25 green and 25 blew perpetuanoes, 400 one pound and 100 four pound pewter basons. Have by this conveyance sent my November ballance, seaven marks, seaven ounces, fifteen angles and three taccooes. Likewise comes my 5 hand canoe, but desire it may be returned, for the seaven hand is soe rotten that it will not swim, and here is not a canoe fitten for use to be had. The Dutch have left this place and are gone all downe to the Mina, taken their goods with them, and lockt up their doore.⁸⁶ The French flagg flyes at Ampenna, and as the Negroes report will likewise ffly upon the Dutch flagg staff here. The certainty of it shall be better informed per returne of Hansecoe. Monsieur Du Cass has been ashoare severall times and told me that, as he understood this part of Comenda where wee now are is solely the English, that he will not in any respect molest us, but designes neer the Dutch, if not in their very place. Captain Cowley⁸⁷ I heare is at Cape Tres Pointus, I desire you would send Assina⁸⁸ here, Captain Noona being dangerously ill and designes this day for Cabo Corsoe.

305. Robert Elwes

Comenda, 8 Dec. 1687/8 [sic]

This is onely to advise you that the French have settled their factory, about pistoll shott from the Dutch, and have now severall of their people ashoare, to build them for the present a mudhouse. The Dutch collors fly, but they all gone. As yett Hansicoe is not returned from Aguaffo. Have by me about 70 or 80 chest of corne. Desire you would send Assina here, Captain Noona being gone sick to Cabo Corsoe. Captain Cowley is at Aquidah.⁸⁹ Noe other newes from windward.

306. Robert Elwes

Comenda, 9 Dec. 1687/8 [sic]

This is onely to advise you that, on opening the chests of sheets, I found two of them all rotten, being damnified with the salt water. The one of them had washt,

⁸⁵ Richard Bradshaw, Commander of the *Ann* Sloop.

⁸⁶ The departure of the Dutch is also noted by Du Casse 1935, 19.

⁸⁷ Commanding the *Hannah*.

⁸⁸ An African employee of the RAC.

⁸⁹ i.e. Akwida.

but however will not sell. Desire you would send me some more sheets, a bale of paper brawles, or if you please that I receive them from Captain Cowley, whome I understand is at Succonde.

The French are gone downe to the Mina,⁹⁰ have left foure men ashoare here, who are now building them a mudd house. Hansicoe is not yett returned from Aguaffo. If Captain Cowley has any narrow niccannees desire your order that may receive some.

307. Robert Elwes

Comenda, 14 Dec. 1687

Yours of the 12 instant per the Ann Sloope have received, with five hundred and twenty sheets, two hundred and forty paper brawles. Have dispatcht the sloope for Succonde. Am now delivering corne aboard the Hannah. Noe news from windward.

308. Robert Elwes

Comenda, 19 Dec. 1687

This accompanyes Mr Richard Bradshaw, by whome have sent you three receipts for what corne have put aboard the Hannnah. Have but little to add. Trade is here very dead. This morning came into the road Mounsier Du Cas.⁹¹ Shall at Christmas waite upon you.

309. Robert Elwes

Comenda, 22 Dec. 1687

Yours of the 21st instant have received, and according to your order have sent Yankee and the Old man with their masons tooles. Heare noe news from windward, only that Mr Blinsham and Mr Price are both sick.⁹² It is reported here that the Dutch will make warrs with the Aguaffo, and on that purpose have sent to the Adoom country one thousand snaphances with powder and shott, severall says, with other goods to defray their charge, and buy them provition.⁹³ Likewise Kufroo⁹⁴ will be assisting to the Adooms, who [= Kufroo] are very popalus and rish but are hindred to trade. The issue of it wee shall in a short time understand.⁹⁵ The French are building now a mud house, but have contracted with

⁹⁰ Du Casse's account (1935, 18) records his departure from Komenda for Mina on 7 Dec.; in view of the evidence of the RAC correspondence, this must be a miscopying of 17 Dec. [NS: = 7 Dec. OS].

⁹¹ Du Casse returned to Komenda from the east on 28 Dec. 1687 [NS: = 18 Dec. OS]: cf. Du Casse 1935, 19.

⁹² At Sekondi: cf. no.119.

⁹³ These Dutch negotiations for assistance from Adom are also recorded by Du Casse 1935, 19–20.

⁹⁴ Twifo, inland from Eguafu.

⁹⁵ In the event, Adom played no active role in the attack on Eguafu, perhaps because it was distracted by its own war with Wasa (cf. no.317). Twifo, however, did subsequently fight against Eguafu (nos 313, 326, 334).

the King of Aguaffo to build a strong fort in a yeares time, which if not are to demand no right or title to settle there, soe that I imagine they have given the King (and as I am informed) thirty marke.

310. Robert Elwes

Comenda, 31 Dec. 1687

This comes per returne of the 11 hand canoe, from whome have received one hundred iron barrs. Have sent per this occasion all things belonging to Mr Thomas Johnson. Heare of noe newes from windward. All things are here [ms. 'hery'] very well and in good order.

311. Robert Elwes

Comenda, 13 Jan. 1687/8

Yours of the 12th instant have received. Relating to the warrs between Cufferoes and Amramboes,⁹⁶ the first attempted yesterday on the latter, which caused them to fly to Aguaffo but returned the same night with a greate force, soe that the Cufferoes left them. The Fettues⁹⁷ had yesterday a small fight with the Cufferoes, its thought they will not come to a sett fight. The difference between the Cufferoes and Amramboes were almost decided had not the Generall of the Mina encouraged them [= the Cufferoes] to proceed in their intend with [ms 'wch'] the Amramboes [and] promised them all the assistance he can to fight Aguaffo, without they will remove the French, which is expected every day will be, and that the Generall will make up all pallavers.⁹⁸ The King of Aguaffo must be forst to remove them, or will endanger his whole country, which in a day or two shall understand, and you shall have further advice. Shall be carefull of all concernes here. Here are severall comodities here that are damnified and not fitting for this place, which I will put on board the sloop at her arrivall, soe that if any danger happens can the sooner put aboard the remaines. As to the damaged goods if you thinke conveyent shall remaine them aboard the sloop and send them downe after that the pallavers are all over. On the arrivall likewise of Captain Batherne⁹⁹ shall put aboard what come I have without contrary orders from you. He is expected down this day, having been at Succonde this five dayes. Mr Griffith has been very ill for three dayes and remaines soe. Here are two French shipps in the roade.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ Abrem, north-east of Twifo. Cf. subsequent references to Twifo/Abrem hostilities, in nos 312, 315.

⁹⁷ Fetu (Afutu), the eastern neighbour of Eguafu (in which Cape Coast Castle was situated).

⁹⁸ Earlier in January the Dutch Director-General had negotiated an agreement with the King of Eguafu, 14 Jan. 1688 [NS: = 4 Jan. 1688 OS], whereby the latter ceded the coastal area of his kingdom to the Dutch and undertook to expel the French within a specified period: Van Dantzig 1980, 60 (also Daaku 1970, 81, who gives the date as 4 Jan. 1688).

⁹⁹ Edmund Batherne, Commander of the *Elizabeth*.

¹⁰⁰ i.e. *La Tempeste* and *Le Jolly*, commanded by Du Casse and D'Amon respectively. Du Casse had gone west towards Cape Three Points to meet D'Amon, and returned to Komenda on 21 Jan. 1688 [NS: = 11 Jan. OS]: Du Casse 1935, 20.

312. Robert Elwes

Comenda, 13 Jan. 1687/8

This is to advise you that this day the King of Aguaffo has caused the French flag staff to be struck and sent aboard.¹⁰¹ Yesterday upon the returne of the Ambramboes to their country, they engaged the Cuffroes, of whome was killed a greate many. Captain Batherne is arrived,¹⁰² with one more French shipp.¹⁰³ As the warrs encrease shall advise.

[PS] If you can spare me a flagg desire you would send itt per first.

313. Robert Elwes

Comenda, 15 Jan. 1687/8

This is to advise you that have put on board the Adventure sloop all things belonging to the Royall African Company, the powder and corne only excepted.¹⁰⁴ The corne I had designed to had put on board Captain Batherne, who promised last night to send his long boate for it, but is this morning turnd to windward. John Cabess and Cabushiers have sent all their effects from hence, tho I hope all pallavers will be decided, for Taggee, who is now with Abonadoe,¹⁰⁵ its thought will returne to his owne croome, which done the differences will be soone over. This Tagge is all one as Ahen at Annamaboe,¹⁰⁶ who [= Tagge] relying on the Cufferoes and Abonadoe was in hopes to conquer Aguaffo. Mr Griffith being very ill comes downe.

314. Robert Elwes

Comenda, 21 Jan. 1687/8

This morning came the Cabushiers and would have had me to trust them some powder and lead barrs which I denied, telling them that the king had received both from you. However they would not be satisfied till I writt you to be informed if you be pleased to order any from me, or to lett them have it [at] Cabo Corsoe.

315. Robert Elwes

Comenda, 23 Jan. 1687/8

Since the difference between the Mina and the Fetera[s] people, of whome were panyard severall, the French have been at Aguaffo, and are againe entertained here at Comenda, giving the Cabushiers here in mony and goods forty bendys.¹⁰⁷ The

¹⁰¹ Cf. Du Casse 1935, 21, recording the embarkation of the French on 22 Jan. [NS: = 12 Jan. OS].

¹⁰² Cf. no.956.

¹⁰³ i.e. the *Saint Louis*, which now arrived from the west: cf. Du Casse 1935, 22.

¹⁰⁴ Evidently, in anticipation of the possible need to abandon the factory, if Komenda should be attacked.

¹⁰⁵ Military commander of Mina (cf. no.142), operating in alliance with the Dutch.

¹⁰⁶ For Ahen, a dissident chief of Fetu who sought external assistance from Fante, see nos 566, 593, 656, 664, 701.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. the account of these negotiations in Du Casse 1935, 22–3. The 40 bendas was required by the Eguafu king to buy off the Adoms.

Fetera, who in all this pallaver has been much for the Dutch, is now of the contrary, insoemuch as I question whether they may have a settling here more. The King of Aguaffo has proffered the Dutch house to the French, which they denied.

You have [heard] that the French Factory was sett on ffire by a Dutch slave.¹⁰⁸ As to relating to the warrs, I understand the King is in the ffeild with all his army, but have as yett made noe ffight. The Cufferoes and Umbramboes [sic: = Abramboes] have made severall attempts, in which was a greate many killed on both sides. Have received severall messengers from the King to advise me to send of all my goods aboard, which accordingly I have done, only three barrells and a halfe of powder. Yesterday went downe to the Mina a prize which they [i.e. the Dutch] tooke to windward.

316. Robert Elwes

Comenda, 23 Jan. 1687/8

Yours of the 22th instant have received, and according to your order comes downe the 9 hand canoe. The Cabushiers have not as yett been with me, which when they come shall informe them of what you write. I have but little knewes concerning the warrs, here being noe body to informe me. I desire if Noona be well, he may returne. The French are now settled at Brawtons house in the towne.¹⁰⁹ Monsieur Du Cas lyes here only to recover his debts, which I understand are considerable, upwards of seaventy bendyes, of which I beleive he will not this voyage receive any.¹¹⁰ Wee having a greate many working slaves doe desire to know whether you please to have them come downe, till such time the pallaver in the country be over, or that they remaine here.

317. Robert Elwes

Comenda, 31 Jan. 1687/8

This is onely to advise you that yesterday the King of Aguaffo sent me downe word to take the Companys goods ashoare, that there was noe warrs in his country but all quietness and pease, soe desire to know whether you thinke it conveinent as yett to remove them. Desire you would by the ffirst oppertunity send Captain Noona up. Noe newes from windward. The Wassawes has lately defeated the Adoomes.¹¹¹ There is noe trade stirring.

¹⁰⁸ According to Du Casse (1935, 21) the burning of the French factory had occurred some days earlier, on 22 Jan. [NS: = 12 Jan. OS].

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Du Casse 1935, 23, recording the landing of six persons for the factory.

¹¹⁰ Du Casse records leaving a debt of 13 marks owed by John Cabess: 1935, 23. Shortly afterwards, Du Casse left Komenda, to go eastwards; he was at Accra by 5 Feb. (cf. no.797).

¹¹¹ For the Wasa/Adom conflict at this time, cf. nos.126, 129.

318. Robert Elwes

Comenda, 2 Feb. 1687/8

Yours of the 1st instant have received, and this day shall be put aboard what corne I have. By this comes all the slaves, only six, four men, two weomen. Mr Price by reason of his indisposition came downe with the Elizabeth but is something better recovered, doe desire that you would be soe kind as to admitt of his tarrying with me, being alone, Succondee not agreeing to his health. Shall observe your orders in not taking the Companyes goods ashoare till I heare further from you.

319. Thomas Price

Comenda, 2 Feb. 1687/8

Finding my selfe ill with an ague and favor, was forced to come downe with Captain Batherne, he having a Doctor on board, by whose helpe and assistance I have recovered part of my strength. Succondee agrees not at all with my health, for I am continually ill. I have not, nor have not had any of the Royall African Companys concernes in my custody since I was last at Cabo Corsoe. Captain Bathernes time is to farr spent, I can not goe in him, soe I humbly desire I may be with Mr Elwes he standing in greate need of assistance, till it may please you to dispose of me otherwise or time may serve I can dispose of my selfe.

320. Robert Elwes

Comenda, 5 Feb. 1687/8

Herewith you will receive Captain Bathernes receipts for corne, and two men slaves. Also my December accounts, the ballance have already delivered you. My January accounts you shall receive by my next, its ballance but very small. Its reported that the Generall of the Mina designs to goe for Shuma, and carry with him a greate force to assist Abozanadoe [sic] and Tagge, of the truth of it you may be better informed than I am. The Cabushiers have been with me every day on their old pallaver to borrow powder, soe that not to be troubled with them, have lent halfe a barrell.

321. Robert Elwes

Comenda, 8 Feb. 1687/8

This comes purposely to advise you that there is in the roade a Dutch shipp from the Mina, lyes near the shoare and has this day fired two greate shott over the twone [= towne]. Here is also fifty or sixty small canoes who will not suffer any canoe to goe of,¹¹² and this morning had not Mr Bayly gott aboard the Dutch shipp he had by those canoes been cutt to peeces before he had gott aboard his sloop. After the returne of the canoes to the Mina, who are tomorrow expected againe, Mr

¹¹² Cf. Du Casse 1935, 24: Du Casse had by now left Komenda, and heard of these events while at Whydah. As is specified later in this letter, the canoes were from Mina, and operating in alliance with the Dutch.

Bayly went aboard the shipp, and examined the full reason of the Blacks attempt, who told him that he could not hinder what they had done, or may doe. Mr Bayly being in greate want of water, I desire you would order some meanes how he may send ashoare, and that I may have a free passage in case of any disturbance to send aboard the slooppe.

322. Robert Elwes

Comenda, 11 Feb. 1687/8

Yours of the 10th instant have received and returne you thanks for your kindness. I hope the pallaver will soon be decided, understanding it tis the King of Aguaffos inclination to remove the French, who [i.e. the king] on that intent sent for the Cheife¹¹³ yesterday to come up to him, but being sick he did not. Its thought he will have him up with him, that he may the better make up the difference with the Generall of the Mina. The shipp continues here yett and fires every day six or seven great gunns over the towne, and will not suffer any canoe to goe off without a white man in it. Upon sending the powder aboard one of the barrells hoops was all broake, so have ordered Mr Bayly to make use of it as he finds occasion, or to deliver it ashoare at Cabo Corso Castle.¹¹⁴ Herewith you will receive my January accounts, the gold is on board the Slooppe.

323. Robert Elwes

Comenda, 17 Feb. 1687/8

Not having heard lately from Cabo Corso Castle, this is onely to be informed where [= whether] you please as yett to have the goods be brought ashoare, not understanding of any pallaver here at Comenda, in which you are better advised then I can be, for I have noe body to informe me. Have had some time since advice of Noonas coming up, who probably may be expected to be here, but as yett is not come, soe desire you would hast him, that therein I may the better informe you of all transactions, which at present I cannot, John Cabess not coming near me. Yesterday passed by the Alligator Slooppe. Captain Buttram I heare is at Taccaradoc but designs to windward.

324. Robert Elwes

Comenda, 19 Feb. 1687/8

This is to advise you that yesterday the French were removed from hence, but their goods detaind by the Negroes.¹¹⁵ Its likewise reported that tomorrow the Generall of the Mina will send a Factor here, the King of Aguaffo having given him sufficient pawn for their security, and the Generall to gratifie him, hath given him

¹¹³ i.e. the chief factor of the French at Komenda.

¹¹⁴ Cf. no.865.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Du Casse 1935, 24, reporting that the French factor was forcibly put on board the *Saint Louis*, the remaining French ship at Komenda.

two hundred and fifty bendyes in good gold. This information I have from John Cabess and Cabushiers. You formerly promised me a flagg, I desire you would send it. The French shipp who is now gon downe,¹¹⁶ informed us of two English shippes, the one a friggott, the other a pink, at Cape Lahoo.¹¹⁷

325. Robert Elwes

Comenda, 24 Feb. 1687/8

This is only to advise you that yesterday Mr Griffith was taken with a convulsion fitt, which lasted him severall houres, and remains in so bad a condition, that dare not send him downe, so I desire, if you can give him any releif, you would be pleased to disptach it in all hast. Captain Buttram I hear is gon up to Ashinee.

326. Robert Elwes

Comenda, 11 March 1687/8

This evening the King sent down to me, to lend him seaven barrels of powder, and in case I had none, to send to you, so thought more convenient to deny him, and referr it to your selves, likewise I have not that quantity, which if I had I could not doe without your order, which I advised him, also telling him that he had been supplied already from Cabo Corso. It is reported here that the Bendefoes¹¹⁸ have encountered the Cuferas this day.

327. Robert Elwes

Comenda, 12 March 1687/8

This is to advise you of the arrivall of Captain Barrott, who this evening came to an anchor here. The bearer hereof being indisposed, and desired leave to come downe. There is another English shipp at Dickiscove.

328. Robert Elwes

Comenda, 14 March 1687/8

Yours of the 13th instant have received, with ten barrels of powder. Observe your orders for the intrusting the King of Aguaffo with five of them, shall endeavour to get what security I can for them, and to dispose of the rest, according to your order. By Mr Ronan you will receive my February accompts with its ballance, two ounces, eleaven angles. Have not more to enlarge, referring all windward news to Mr Ronan, who comes with the same conveyance.

329. Robert Elwes

Comenda, 21 March 1687/8

Having this conveniency by a Cabo Corso canoe, it is to advise you that Mr Bayly,

¹¹⁶ i.e. the *Saint Louis*.

¹¹⁷ Cape Lahou, on the Ivory Coast (modern Côte d'Ivoire).

¹¹⁸ See Glossary. Here, clearly the 'bendefoes' of Komenda are meant.

who by reason of bad weather has broke two cables, and besides his pump very bad, which if should given way, [he] must come downe, and so thought convenient to informe you of it beforehand. Three or four days since the King of Aguaffo sent a pawne for ten barrells of powder, but it not being all good gold, I spared him but four barrells, till such time he brought another that is good, which he promised to do, and to receive the powder at 1oz 4a per barrell. Am advised of three French men of warr to windward, and that they have taken a Dutch Companys shipp. Hear nothing of Captain Lomax nor Captain Bridges, only that the French shipp some time since gon downe spoke with the latter in the road of Sestos.

330. Robert Elwes

Comenda, 24 March 1687/8

Inclosed is a letter from Mr Blinsham, which came just now to hand.¹¹⁹ Provisions being very scarce, I desire you would be so kind as to spare me a litle beefe, for I cannot get ffish nor fowles for money nor any thing elce without paying double the price. It would be very convenient to have the slaves returne here for a litle time, to provide thatch and wood to cover the Fort, for what people I have neither know how to do it, and besides are too few. It has been formerly thatcht, but Mr Chambers knows its all broke to peeces, and lost, expecting it might be finisht this season, so did not take any care of preserving the thatch. This comes by a canoe, not on purpose but bound downe on his owne account.

331. Robert Elwes

Comenda, Ultimo March 1688

According to your order have put aboard the Ann sloop, all the merchandizes and materialls belonging to the Factory of Comenda, which were before aboard the Adventure sloop. He being ordered up with the Alligator to Succondee, are now both on their voyage. Captain Lomax is here, and by his owne discourse, designes to remayne eight days. No trade stirring, and but little news concerning the warrs. The King of Aguaffo has ordered the French flagg to fly on the Dutch flagg staff, which accordingly does.¹²⁰ By this canoe you will receive one of the working slaves, who instead of working for the factory, makes it his buisness to fetch wood for the towne, so desire another in his place. By the next shall send my accompts.

332. Robert Elwes

Comenda, 6 April 1688

This accompanys my March accompt with its ballaance, five angles and five taccoes. Captain Bridges is in the roade I suppose, but the seas being so bad, there has not been a canoe on board him, neither any from him a shoare. Have made the

¹¹⁹ = no.136.

¹²⁰ Cf. Du Casse 1935, 24, who records that after the expulsion of the French recorded earlier (no.324) the King of Komenda again invited the French to settle, and three men were put ashore.

eight barrels powder, which are delivered the King upon pawns, remaying till such time he redeems them, and then will give the company credit for them. Here is not any trade stirring, neither can I understand any discourse of their proceedings against the Cufferaes. Abonadoc I heare is very ill with severall paines in his bones occasioned by his debauchery. Have write you some time since concerning sending the slaves here to provide wood and thatch for the covering of the building, the sooner you could sent them the better, for wee have had a great deale of raine already and no question but may have much more, which must needs be prejudiciall.

333. Robert Elwes

Comenda, 17 April 1688

Yesterday the King and Fetera sent downe to me for powder, but not having any I gave them a letter to you, which was stopt by the Mina canoemen, and returned hither, so this day I send away my owne five hand canoe, and desire you would be pleased to send up ten barrels of powder. The Fetera sends downe two men to remayne as pawns,¹²¹ which if you please to lett them remayne with you, I can deliver them two of them you sent up to me. I desire you would dispatch the canoe this night.

[PS] I send my flag in the canoe, that the Mina may not molest her, as she passed.

334. Robert Elwes

Comenda roade, 18 April 1688

Yours have received, and shall according as I see occasion receive what powder you order Captain Bridges to deliver me. You have heard that the Great Fatera is defeated, and by its means it is thought Aguaffo will be worsted, though as yet wee have no ill news from the King, but that he has fought stoutly. It is reported the Little Fatera has routed the Cuferas. The enemies have taken and burnt all the upper croomes, but as yet have not attempted our parts here. Ampenny is all burnt by the Mina people. The Great Fatera is now aboard Captain Bridges, with as many more Blacks as she can conveniently receive, likewise the sloop full. I have secured the Royall Affrican Companys concernes, the brandy excepted, which is ashore, and cannot get people to bring it off, for as I send the great canoe ashore, the natives force themselves into her, and come off.¹²²

[PS] This accompanies the Great Fatera.

¹²¹ i.e. as security for payment for the powder.

¹²² Cf. Capt. Bridges' account, no.971. The ultimate outcome of the fighting was the total defeat of Eguafu, the death of its king and the expulsion of the French: cf. Barbot 1992, ii, 350; Bosman 1705, 31 (misdating to 1687). The Fetera and many of the people of Komenda took refuge with the English at Cape Coast Castle: PRO, T70/11, Humfryes et al, Cape Coast Castle, 12 May 1688.

IV

FREDERICKSBURG

Fort Fredericksburg, east of Cape Coast Castle (and like the latter, situated within the kingdom of Fetu) was originally the headquarters of the Danish African Company (Frederixborg), but had been pawned to the RAC by its commandant in 1684, and taken over by the English company in the following year.¹ The Danish company disputed the validity of the transfer, and negotiated to recover the factory: two letters from the Danish Director-General to the Chief Agents of the RAC relating to the issue, written in 1687, are included elsewhere in this corpus (nos 997–8). In the end, however, in 1688 the Danes agreed to give up their claim to Fredericksburg, in return for further payment; it remained in English hands thereafter, and became known as Fort Royal. Although it had been in English hands since 1685, no correspondence from Fredericksburg is preserved until September 1687, when Ralph Hassell was transferred from Anomabu to take over there.²

Although Fredericksburg did some trading for gold (and once, slaves), as reported in this correspondence, its principal value to the RAC was strategic rather than commercial, since it overlooked and commanded Cape Coast Castle.³

335. Ralph Hassell Frederickburge, 6 Sept. 1687

Here is a man that would have two bendys worth of three pound pewter basons. I told him here was none, and not soe many at Caboe Corsoe. Whatt there is that is good, pray spare, with some lead barrs if any. Have not as yett had an inquiry butt for two tapseiles; the money being verry badd, refused itt.

336. Ralph Hassell Frederickburge, 9 Sept. 1687

I have received yours, togethar with a caske of rum containing fifty eight gallons

¹ Davies 1957, 275; Nørregård 1966, 32–33.

² James Nightingale, who succeeded Hassell as chief factor at Anomabu, had earlier (Jan.–Aug. 1687) been in charge of Fredericksburg (cf. no.555).

³ Cf. Barbot 1992, ii, 392, 401.

and fifty lead barrs, which shall give the Royall Affrican Company credit for accordingly and endeavor the saile thereof.

337. Ralph Hassell Fredericksburg, 12 Sept. 1687

Pray be pleased to send me on account of the Royall Affrican Company of England one hundred iron barrs.

338. Ralph Hassell Fredricksburge, 15 Sept. 1687

According to your order have sent you all the red perpetuanoes, which is twenty eight and a halfe. Yesterday I tooke them all out of the fillits,⁴ being very full of moths, and brusht and aired them. Yesterday I received the hundred iron barrs, and have given the Royall Affrican Company credditt for them.

339. Ralph Hassell Fredricksburge, 20 Sept. 1687

I request the ffavour to send if possible to be spared two chests or more of sheets, one bale of blew perpetuanoes and twenty halfe ffirkins of tallow, here being people to buy these goods or at least that enquir for them.

340. Ralph Hassell Fredrickburge, 22 Sept. 1687

I have send downe one iron barr to be wrought into lynch pins, wormes, nailes and spikes for the use of the Fort. Intreat you that the smith may worke it, being wanting. The bearer hath also a noate of some other things which hee stands in need of.

341. Ralph Hassell Fredricksburgh, 22 Sept. 1687

I pray send on accompt of the Royall Affrican Company of England, two chests of sheets, money being in the scales for them.

342. Ralph Hassell Fredricksburge, 23 Sept. 1687

Since the last I write I had received one hundred iron barrs, I have received more for the Royall Affrican Company accompt, vitz on the 20th instant twenty five blew perpetuanoes in one bale, one hundred and thirty sheets in two chests; on the 21th twenty halfe firkins tallow, and this day one hundred ninety five sheets in three

⁴ fillets, i.e. bindings.

chests, one hundred paper brawles in a case, for all which goods I have given the Royall Affrican Company credditt.

343. Ralph Hassell Fredrickburgh, 3 Oct. 1687

Pray be pleased to send me if you have any, one case of Guynea stuffs, alsoe, six barrells of powder, and six chests of sheets.

Here is a man bound to Morea,⁵ which came from the Mina, which tells me the Dutch has taken the ffactory at Oquadah,⁶ belonging to the Brandenburg, and brought all their men to the Mina,⁷ and alsoe has taken one of the interlopers boates, and seaven men.

344. Ralph Hassell Fredrickburgh, 4 Oct. 1687

I have here inclosed sent four accompts for the month September. Have this day received six barrells of powder and five chests of sheets. Pray send your bale of Guynea stuffs by this bearer.

345. Ralph Hassell Fredrickburgh, 4 Oct. 1687

Pray be pleased to send me a caske of knives, having received money for some of them.

346. [unsigned] Fredricksburgh Fort, 3 Nov. 1687

I have here inclosed sent you four accompts for October. If there be any error after examination it shall be corrected.

347. Ralph Hassell Fredrickburgh, 8 Nov. 1687

Pray be pleased to spare me five chests of sheets. I have sold all I had, and have money for more. I have sent men for them.

348. Ralph Hassell Fredricksburgh ffort, 16 Nov. 1687

I have taken money for four chests of sheets, some knives, and paper brawles, so humbly request, if possible, four chests of sheets, a caske of knives, and a bale of

⁵ Mouri, to the east of Fredericksburg.

⁶ Akwida, at Cape Three Points.

⁷ Cf. Jones 1985, no.66 (Diary of N. Sweets, 7–8 Oct. 1687). This followed the Dutch ouster of the Frandenburgers from their factory at Takoradi a few days earlier (cf. no.104).

brawles. The people wait for the goods. If cannot be supplied, may returne them their money. Have sent people for the goods.

349. Ralph Hassell Fredricksburgh, 2 Dec. 1687

Pray be pleased to send me on accompt of the Royall African Company of England six chests of sheets, two bales of blew perpetuanoes, and two casks of knives. For each of these sorts of goods have some monys.

350. Ralph Hassell Fredricksburg, 17 Dec. 1687

I heave sent down slaves, and request one hundred iron barrs and six barrells of good powder. This morning opening a barrell of powder, find it not fitt for sayle, nor for use, soe have sent it downe, and pray another in lieu thereof.

351. Ralph Hassell Fredricksburgh, 4 April 1688

Pray be pleased to send me, on accompt of the Royall Affrican Company, one caske of knives, here being customers for some, and they like not them which I have.

352. Ralph Hassell Fredricksburgh, 13 April 1688

Pray be pleased to send me a caske or two of knives more, on accompt of the Royall Affrican Company of England, for which shall give credit accordingly, here being customers for more than what I have.

V

ANASHAN

The RAC's factory at Anashan ('Annishan'), in the kingdom of Fante, east of Fetu, had been abandoned in 1682.¹ It was apparently briefly reoccupied during 1684-5,² but had evidently been again withdrawn by the time the Rawlinson correspondence resumes in January 1686. Although there was some discussion of re-settling the Anashan factory in April 1687 (no.517), nothing was immediately done to effect this. In November of the same year, however, when it appeared that the French might establish themselves at Anashan, the RAC sent a man to resume possession of its factory there (no.569). The Anashan factory supplied gold and corn for the provisioning of slave ships, and some firewood; there is one allusion in this correspondence to trade in slaves (no.368). The principal hinterland traders coming to Anashan, as to Komenda, were the Akani.

353. John Bloome

Annishan, 19 Dec. 1687

Att my arrivall I inspected the Factory in part, and find that wee have occasion of a carpenter to make us severall necessaryes, vizt foure doores, two windowes and foure shutters, with severall other conveniences, which I cannot expresse. The warehouse has naer a dore, nor conveniences to lay goods upon, therefore be pleased to dispatch us necessaryes as soone as possible. Here are severall Arcany men who have brought good sumes in gold, and doe want perticularly sheets, iron barrs, lead barrs, powder, carabines, pewter of all sorts, paper brawles, tallow, says, rum, boysadoes, &ca, of each sort of which you may be pleased to send us a quantity. I wont neglect to put the Factory into an imeadiate capacity of receiving all things necessary, therefore be pleased to dispatch us a carpenter to assist us in our wants. Pray send us some pewter juggs, for the people doe aske for them. You may also send other goods which you may thinke conveyent. This is what at present I can informe you, but hope to make new discoveries and shall advise you.

¹ See vol.i, chap. III.

² The reoccupation of Anashan was under consideration in 1684, and the factory is recorded in a list of 1685: PRO, T70/11, Nurse et al, Cape Coast Castle, 24 July 1684; Davies 1957, 247.

354. John Bloome

Annishan, 22 Dec. 1687

I wrote you the 19th instant, a little after my arrivall, I then lett you know the greate occasion wee should have for a carpenter to make doores, windowes, &ca, but for thatching and mending of our walls, wee are working with all dilligence. The Arcanee men are gone up to the country but doe promise to be downe againe very speedily. I wish wee had some of their mony before their departure. I hope to have a good trade when goods come.

355. John Bloome

Annishan, 28 Dec. 1687

I wrote you the 23^d [sic] currant per John Teague, to which referr you. Wee have since put all our roomes in a posture to receive goods, and therefore desire you would be pleased to dispatch us the carpenters worke and goods as soone as you thinke convenient. Heres one of the Arcanee Captains in towne, who stays till our goods come, and then returns to informe the Cheife Captain³ of our settlement. He says that as soone as the traders hear that goods are come downe, they will be speedily with us. This I thought convenient to informe you.

356. John Bloome

Annishan, 3 Jan. 1687/8

My last was per the Frances boate, since which have none from you. The Blacks are impatient to see goods come, and begin to be discontent, and say that the English dont intend to settle the Factory, therefore if the French do come they say they shall be very welcome. This Captain Coffee tells me, which I thought not amiss to advise you. Here are some Arcanyes in towne have brought mony, but if our goods dont come today they'l be begon to Morea, but I hope before night wee shall have wherewithall to satisfie them. I have gott the Captain of the Arcanies to perswade them to stay till to morrow night, upon full assurance of goods for their purpose.

357. John Bloome

Annishan, 4 Jan. 1687/8

I have received per the eleven hand canoe one hundred iron barrs, two cases of sletias course, one cask of rum, and one punsion [= puncheon], the contents of which is unknown to me, but tomorrow I shall examine and advise you further. It being late and the canoes ready to goe off, wee have not time to doe it tonight.

³ Meaning presumably the Chief Captain of the Akani; cf. subsequent references to 'the Captain of the Arcanies' at Anashan (nos 356, 378, 381). There are also references to Captains of the Akani at Anomabu (no.486) and Egya (no.642). Akani traders settled in coastal towns appear to have been organized under their own chiefs (Kea 1982, 261–8).

358. John Bloome

Annishan, 5 Jan. 1687/8

I wrote you two or three lines last night per the 11 hand canoe, and doe expect another canoe today, according to what you wrote me, and then shall write you more amply. Having this oppertunity and it coming into my mind, I thought fitt to desire you would be pleased to speake to Captain Cowley for his weights and scales &ca. If I could have bought any, I would not have put you to this trouble, for which I beg your pardon. The Blacks are something better satisfied then they were the other day, and altho the goods they most desire are not yett come, I have againe obliged them to stay, but with much adoe. I am expecting another canoe.

359. John Bloome

Annishan, 5 Jan. 1687/8

Yours of the instant I have per the 11 hand canoe with five chest of sheets, two caske with pewter, one case of tapseiles, forty halfe firkins of tallow and fifty lead bars, and yesterday I received two cases of course sletias, thirteen screwed juggs, one hundred iron bars and one cask of rum, all on accompt of the Royall African Company of England. Perpetuanoes, sayes, boysados, powder, paper brawles, and Guynea stuffs would sell and are demanded very much, you may be pleased to send some if you thinke conveyent. Wee shall dispatch the carpenter as soon as possible. He has brought us noe locks, but I have by hazard three padlocks which must serve untill wee can be better furnist. Wee want 3 haspe and staples to hang our padlocks, which please to send us as soone as possible. Our corne roome is ready, therefore when you please to give your orders, they shall be punctually observed.

360. John Bloome

Annishan, 9 Jan. 1687/8

My last was the 5th curreant, since which have none from you. Wee have since opened the caske of pewter basons no. 299, 302, and find that they containe each 200 one pound basons, as you did advise. I hope you will be pleased to send some perpetuanoes, says, boysados, powder, paper brawles and Guynea stuffs, soe that wee may be furnist upon occasion. I have given my receipt to Mr James Nightingale,⁴ for five green and five blew perpetuanoes (of which wee have but two green remaining), ten sletias course and thirty two Guynea stuffs, of which twenty one disposed, the rest are damaged. I have disposed three chests of sheets, the rest noe doubt will be gon very speedily. I desire you would be pleased to remember Captain Cowley for his weights &ca. Tomorrow shall dispatch the carpenter, and expect your orders, for the buying of corne.

⁴ Chief of the RAC factory at Anomabu, to the east, to which the Anashan factory was subordinate.

361. John Bloome

Annishan, 13 Jan. 1687/8

I have the honor of yours of this instant with 12 blew perpetuanoes, four green and foure redd ditto, one caske containing fifty foure pound pewter basons, four whole barrells of powder, and twelve cases of spiritts, all on accmpt of the Royall African Company of England. According to your order I shall purchase two hundred chest of corne, and shall take all care possible to preserve it from the wevell. I thanke you humbly for sending me a man that may be soe necessary to me. Your letter for Mr Nightingale I sent away on arrivall. I hope you have Captain Cowleys weights &ca, but suppose you have forgott to send them by this canoe. The Cabushiers of this place came this morning for their custome (as they call it), which they say is one ankor of rum and one say. I desire you would be pleased to give me your resolution in this matter. Mr Nightingale may know some thing of itt, therefore have writt to him to be informed. I have received 12 cases of spiritts, but you mention but ten in the letter.

362. John Bloome

Annishan, 14 Jan. 1687/8

I write to you yesterday per the canoe that brought some goods, to which reffer you. Mr Nightingale writes me that he knowes not the custome that the Cabushiers used to be allowed, therefore I reffer myselfe to you. This goes per Herbert Currie, who was sent hither by Mr Nightingale.

363. John Bloome

Annishan, 10 Feb. 1687/8

Our Cabushiers are not content with 3 cases of spiritts, they would perswade me to beleeve that they were allowed two Welch plaines in Mr Prices time,⁵ and desire to have the value of an ounce in some other goods. Therefore when you please to order it shall be observed by [JB].

364. John Bloome

Annishan, 20 Feb. 1687/8

Captain Batherne told me that he would leave his weights, scales &ca with you, therefore this is to desire you would be pleased to remember him of his promise. When you thinke fitt to send slaves please to send us men slaves, for a woman wont at all be necessary to us. I begg your pardon for the trouble.

365. John Bloome

Annishan, 2 March 1687/8

I send you per David Silverwood my monthly accmpts and for ballance thereof two marks, one ounce, three angles and six taccooes, which you may please to

⁵ Presumably Price was factor at Anashan during its brief reoccupation in 1684-5.

receive, and pass to my credditt. If you please to send me some says, perpetuanoes, Guinea clouts and other goods, for the purchasing of corne, would do very well. The slaves, weights, and scales &ca., if you have them, would be a greate supply to me, I refer myself to your bounty.

366. John Bloome

Annishan, 7 March 1687/8

I have received per the nine hand canoe ten sayes, ten boysadoes, twenty five blew perpetuanoes and twenty five green ditto, on accmpt of the Royall African Company of England. Please to procure me weights, scales, blow panns and sifters,⁶ for I am at a greate loss for want thereof. What concernes the Factory shall be dilligently observed.

367. John Bloome

Annishan, 8 March 1687/8

In my letter yesterday I had forgott to desire you to send us some iron barrs and gingham clouts, of all which wee have none.

368. John Bloome

Annishan, 13 March 1687/8

I have received per the 9 hand canoe, eighty iron barrs, and ninety six gallons of rum, on accmpt of the Royall Affrican Company of England. If at any time you send a canoe this way, please to send me some gunpowder. According to your order have sent up Daniell Silverwood. He's a quiet sober man, I wish the other may prove so.

[PS] Just now I have bought a man slave, which I send per the 9 hand canoe.

369. John Bloome

Annishan, 16 March 1687/8

This is to desire you would be pleased to order the takeing of fifty chests of corn from this place as soone as you judge it neccessary, for our corne room is very little and wont hold much more conveniently, and if corne comes in plentyfully upon me I shall be at a loss for want of stowidge.

370. John Bloome

Annishan, 16 March 1687/8

Just now I have received yours and accordingly have dispatched the canoe to Captain Buttram.⁷ The news wee have here informes me that the biggest of the two

⁶ i.e. sieves, for sifting gold dust, to remove impurities.

⁷ Buttram was at Anomabu, to the east; the message to him evidently concerned the French ship mentioned in the following sentence, which was suspected of being a pirate: cf. nos 600–1, 960–2.

is a French man,⁸ the other a Portuguez, but I shall endeavor to informe my selfe better, and if I discover any thing shall advise you and Captain Buttram.

371. John Bloome

Annishan, 17 March 1687/8

Yesterday I sent a canoe off to the French man to discover what he might be, but they would not suffer the Blacks to go aboard, not upon offer to trade with them. This morning I sent againe, and the Blacks had admittance, but not to come nigh the cabin door, which was guarded with two musquittes, a thing not usuall on board honest merchant men, nor will they sell any goods for gold, but offer to barter for slaves. Those circumstances do perswade me that he is a rogue, and I have given Captain Buttram notice of it, by returne of the message. I understand that you have sent 20 men to his assistance, which I am glad off, for he cannot be too secure. If you please to give me any instructions they shall be duly observed.

372. John Bloome

Annishan, 18 March 1687/8

I have received yours of this instant. The French man is sayld too leward, and I hope will not trouble any of the Royall Companyes shippes. If you please to send me some powder, here are traders will buy it out of hand.

373. William Ronan⁹

Annishan, 5 April 1688

I have according to your orders sent Mr Whiting¹⁰ a copy of the inclosed. Captain Barratt parted yesterday. Annamaboe inventory is signed, noe ballance due to the Company by the accompt finished before the warehouse was opened, but by his other accompts he sayes there will, theye are not made up as yett. Ther's noe come at all but is dayly in expectation, as I suppose he writt you.¹¹ Agga inventory and Annishan likewise have done, there accompts are not as yett made up. By tomorrow night, I judge I may be re'dy to waite on you at Cabo Corsoe. I shall give you a farther accompt at [sic] of my proceedings on my arrivall.

374. John Bloome

Annishan, 7 April 1688

I send you per Mr William Ronan my monthly accompts, and for ballance thereof one marke, four ounces and three taccoes. Be pleased to send me some powder, Guinea clouts, sheets, fifty iron barrs, all which are in request, and a few allejarrs,

⁸ Evidently the *Saint Louis*, the third ship in Du Casse's squadron, which followed him from Komenda eastwards after a few days (Du Casse 1935, 24).

⁹ Sent from Cape Coast, to inventory the factories at Egya, Anomabu and Egya.

¹⁰ Mark Bedford Whiting, chief of the RAC factory at Accra.

¹¹ i.e. Nightingale, chief of the Anomabu factory: cf. no.608.

for a tryall. Corne is scarce, what intrigue the Blacks have to keep it is a mistery to me. I hope you have got weights and scales, &ca, of which I have great occasion.

375. John Bloome

Annishan, 9 April 1688

I have received yours of this instant, per the 9 hand canoe, per whom have received fifty iron barrs, two hundred and sixty sheets, and twenty five allejarrs, on accmpt of the Royall Affrican Company of England. If I find an occasion to barter powder for 16 chests of corne, shall advise you, but hitherto the Arcanies have generally demanded it. The Corrantier¹² presseth for a say, he has sent here dozen times, but I am resolved to do nothing without your order. I shall endeavour to purchase all the corne possible, but I find it comes but very slowly. I have about forty chests, and no more, but I hope to have more ere long. Captain Buttram and Captain Sturt told me they had left their weights and scales at Cabo Corso.

376. John Bloome

Annishan, 13 April 1688

This is to desire you would be pleased to send us some blew and green perpetuanoes, of which wee have occasion. Be pleased to order the next shipp that comes downe to take what corne wee have by us. In the meantime, I shall purchase all I can.

377. John Bloome

Annishan, 14 April 1688

I have received yours of the 13th curreant per the 7 hand canoe with 3 bales containing seaventy five perpetuanoes blew, and one bale containing twenty five ditto green, on accmpt of the Royall Affrican Company of England. I have also received scales, weights, and the things thereunto belonging, mentioned at the foot of your letter.

378. John Bloome

Annishan, 19 April 1688

This is to desire you would be pleased to send us eight or ten chests of sheets, and a few horne halfted knives, I would not have too many, least they rust on our hands. The Captain of Arcanies expects tomorrow people to buy the aforesaid comodities. He would have a sallary settled upon him, to that I could say nothing, but have promised him the same priviledge that they have at Agga. He has brought us five or six marks, since a few days, and I beleive may do very well for our Factory. Be pleased to let me have your order about the Corrantier, for he is very importunate.

¹² See Glossary.

379. John Bloome

Annishan, 20 April 1688

I have received yours of this instant, with eight chests containing 520 sheets, and ninety dozen of horne halfted knives, per content, on accompt of the Royall Affrican Company of England. As to the Captain of the Arcanies and Corrantier, I referr myself to your next, but the surest way (in my opinion) will be to allow him so much per marke, for having a sallary setled on him may cause him to carry his trade another way.

380. John Bloome

Annishan, 24 April 1688

This is to advise you that the Arcanies are now in towne, and would buy about two hundred perpetuanoes blew, therefore I desire you would be pleased to supply us, for I have not above fifty by me, if you can possibly send them to night, or to morrow morning at the farthest. If you please to send some trusty person, Ile send you nine marks of gold per returne of the canoe.

381. John Bloome

Annishan, 26 April 1688

I have according to my promiss and your order delivered to Mr Robert Elwes¹³ sixteen marks of gold, being what at present by me. As to the Captain of Arcanies and Corrantier I referr my selfe to your next. In the mean time the Captain requires an angle upon a marke, which I pay him, as he brings his money. I shall continue to encourage a trade, as I have don, and hope it prove as good or better hereafter. I have received per the 9 hand canoe, eight bales containing one hundred and fifty blew, and fifty green perpetuanoes on accompt Royall Affrican Company of England.

¹³ Formerly chief of the RAC factory at Komenda, to the west; but since this had just been evacuated (cf. chap. III), presumably now at Cape Coast Castle.

VI

CHARLES FORT, ANOMABU

The RAC's principal establishment on the Gold Coast after Cape Coast Castle itself was at Anomabu ('Annamaboe' etc. in these documents), east of Anashan, and like it situated within the state of Fante ('Fanteen'). The Anomabu factory had been fortified earlier in the 1680s, and was known as Charles Fort — though this name occurs only occasionally in the correspondence for 1686–8. The other RAC factories within Fante, Egya ('Agga') to the east as well as Anashan, were subordinate to it. The Anomabu factory supplied principally gold, but also corn for the provisioning of slave ships, and some slaves. The principal hinterland traders bringing gold to Fante, including to Anomabu, were the Akani.

The Dutch West Indian Company also had a factories in this area, at Mouri ('Morea') to the west of Anashan, and at Kormantin ('Cormanteene') to the east of Egya, which both are occasionally referred to in the Anomabu correspondence. The correspondence also records an attempt by the French Guinea Company to settle in the area towards the end of 1687, at Anashan (nos 572–4) and at Amisa ('Amersa), east of Kormantin, (nos 577–8, 580–1).

In addition to records of trade, much of the correspondence relates to negotiations and disputes between the RAC factory and the local political authorities, mainly over the payment of 'customs', or customary gifts; such disputes forced the removal of two successive chiefs of the factory, James Nightingale in September 1686 and Ralph Hassell in August 1687. The Anomabu correspondence also refers occasionally to relations between Fante and neighbouring states, notably a war against Akyem ('Ackim') and Agona ('Anguina') to the east in 1687, and a projected war against Fetu to the west in 1688 — the latter in support of an exiled chief of Fetu called 'Ahen'.¹

¹ Existing accounts of the rise of Fante power deal in detail only with the period after 1700 (esp. Sanders 1979); the Rawlinson correspondence provides important information on an earlier stage in the process.

382. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 19 Jan. 1686

Your Worships of the 14th instant received with six chest of sheets, for which said goods will give the Royall Company credditt accordingly. As to the Braffo² and Curranters yearly customs, have sent it them up for both ffactoryes³ but as yett have not received their answer. The bearer hereof is one of the Arcanyes; I humbly desire your Worship will be pleased to agree with them your selfe, for your better sattisfaction, and what I must give them a month, and their gift at Christmas both for Cheife and Second.⁴ As touching the Cabusheers of Annamaboe, have shewn them your Worships order, they say that your Worship promised to be more larger to them this Christmas, as per your Worships letter in Ffebruary last; but they plainly tell me, they will not loose their old customs, which have been paid them by the Royall Company, besides what they have had of ffactors, assuring your Worship that it is not a little charge to me and it is as much as I can doe to content them. James Griffeth can give your Worship an account in generall. Five here enclosed has had yearly three yards of cloath each man, besides Eggin and Annamo,⁵ which your Worship hath allowed of. Haveing followed your Worships order in getting a canoe for Captain Bridges, which is at Annamaboe, would have sent her up but have not agreed for the price.

Also have people abroad purchasing more. Pray send on the Royall Companys account vizt green and blew perpetuanoes, allejars, course sletias, paper brawles, lead barrs, halfe firkins of tallow. If your Worship please to spare me two whitemen more, by reason two sent up, and two sick. Upon the receipt of your Worships of this instant, have sent away to Morea, to Annashan, to Agga, to Amessa, doe not doubt if the boate be at sea the ffisher men will bring her in and then we will secure them.

383. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 22 Jan. 1686

Your Worships of the 21st instand received, with thirty allejars, twenty course sletias, one hundred paper brawles, ffifty lead barrs, fifty halfe ffirkins tallow, and twenty perpetuanoes, all good only one ffirkin of tallow which is almost out, for which said goods will give the Royall Company credditt accordingly. Likewise take notice concerning the allejars and brawles, also your worships order which in all perticulars shall be observed. Our Cabusheers of Annamaboe gives your Worship hearty thanks for their yearly customes, also the Braffo and Curranteer, and tells me that whatsoever occasion you should have for them in time of war

² Presumably referring here to the head of the Fante confederacy, who had the title Obrafo, rather than 'king'.

³ i.e. those of Anomabu and Egya, to the east.

⁴ Probably referring to the Captain of the Akani and his 'second', as in no.384.

⁵ Chiefs of Anomabu; Eggin became Obrafo of Fante in 1688 (no.594).

against any nation, they will with their lives and fortunes serve the Royall Company and your Worship, also procure slaves and corne. Haveing told the Arcanys before about twenty times that they should send up Shedow,⁶ and not boyes, but they were affraid tell now, haveing promised them to returne, soe that Shedow will be at Cabo Corso this night. I have sent last night payment for all the canoes which are at Cabo Corso, also would know the price of the canoe which is here, and then will send her up, and have sent per Captain Peter three mark of good gold on the Royall Company accompt, also two men slaves, which am indebted as per December accompt. Likewise your Worship will receive on this accompt ffive men slaves and one women, for which pray order the bum boy⁷ to give me a receipt as per inclosed.

Humbly pray your Worship to send me and [= an] order for the payment of tenn ounces of gold.⁸ Concerning Captain Wyburne, Mr Price with the ship is now between this place and Annashan coming up to Cabo Corso.⁹

384. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 26 Jan. 1685/6

Your Worships of this instant is received, and have examined the Arcanies, who tells me that it is the Captain of Arcany's and Seconds possitive order this custome should be paid to both their sons that are here, and it will be as well as if they were present, they being in the cuntrey to send down the gold, and their sons order the disposeing of it where they please, soe I desire your Worship, what I shall give them a month and a gift besides the perpetuanoe.

Pray [send] me on account of the Royall Affrican Company of England vizt 30 chests of sheets, 100 blew perpetuanoes, 100 ditto green, here being mony ready, and pray lett me begg your Worship that this ffactory may now be supply'd with good and currant goods, affter soe great a trouble to your Worship and charge to the Royall Company and myself.

PS. I am hartily glad that Captain Carter has soe valliently cleared himself from the pyrate.¹⁰

⁶ Elsewhere, also 'Ashedow'. A leading Akani trader (cf. no.458); in 1687 he became Captain of the Akani at Anomabu (no.486).

⁷ See Glossary.

⁸ i.e. for the slaves just mentioned?

⁹ The syntax is uncertain, and the phrase 'concerning Captain Wyburne' might belong with the previous sentence. Petley Wybourne was an English interloper who maintained a factory at Whydah, on the Slave Coast. This reference probably alludes to his removal and arrest by agents of the RAC. In March 1686 he was put on a ship at Cape Coast for repatriation to England: PRO, T70/11, Samuel Humfreys et al., Cape Coast Castle, 19 March 1686.

¹⁰ Cf. no.898.

385. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 5 Feb. 1685/6

Your Worships of the 4th instant received, and perceive your order therein mentioned which shall be observed in all particulars, as soon as have paid this troublesome people what I am indebted to them for corne and shaves [= sheaves?], soe that I may leave the ffactory in good order.

386. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 14 Feb. 1685/6

This gives your Worship an account [that] at my coming to Anna[ma]boe, made an inquirey what quantity corne Captain Carter had gott, which is not in all one hundred chest, whereupon called the Capushers to bring into the ffactory or send aboard the ship what quantity they had. They promised fair, but being the rowsawing time am afraid will hinder, their people being imployd about the affaires, but here is a Cabushere that will diliver a quantity and that at two angles per chest, therefor desire your Worships order in this particular. My last remayns at Annamaboe of January is 1037, whereof I have delivered 600 chests to Captain Woodfine¹¹

now at Annamaboe	437
at Agga	320
bought this month	<u>100</u>
	<u>857</u>

If your Worship pleases to order the man of war to take the corne at Agga, and if Captain Carter may take what corne I can spare or purchase for him at Annamaboe at the aforesaid price, pray lett me have your Worships order upon receipt. Also desire of your Worship to know what quantity and quality of goods was putt aboard the sloop, it being not al come a shore as yet, that I may see if it agree accordingly.

387. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 15 Feb. 1686

Your Worships of the 14th instant received, wherein you were pleased to mention that you did perceive my intention is to the raiseing of the price of corne, which really is noe such thing, but rather my ambition to assist and dispatch Captain Carter as soon as possible, as per his inclosed doth appear.¹² As to the answer of the latter end of the letter, I doe really tell your Worship I doe my endeavour to keep these people under and not to be ffooled by them considering the assistance I

¹¹ i.e. John Woodfine (cf. nos 388–9); the Captain Woodfine who arrived at Anomabu in April 1686 (no.400) was his brother Thomas.

¹² = no.899.

have, soe what corne I have and can purchase shall be at $1\frac{1}{2}$ a per chest. I have not as yet received the goods out of the Adventure Sloop, when doe will compare it with the noate from Cabo Corso and what I receive will give the Royall Company credit accordingly. Yesterday deceased the person of Richard Barker, souldier, haveing left nothing behind that is to vullue of a craca, only some sallery due.

388. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 18 Feb. 1686

I have delivered Captain John Woodfine six hundred chests of corne on the Royall Affrican Companys account but received noe receipts. The good[s] received out of the Adventure sloop have given Mr James Bayley¹³ a receipt on the Royall Affrican Companys account. Have also delivered Captain John Carter what corn I had and assisted him as much as possible. He haveing his complement as he tells me, intends for Cabo Corso, and now under sayle. Am also delivering Mr John Brown his corn, according to order, which shall be accomplished with all expedition. This day arriv'd a canoe from Arda in 9 dayes, which spoak with the pyrate Trampoose¹⁴ at Ffriday, Captain Low and Ounsted being then departed from thence, the ffirst without his complement of slaves, but the pyrate understanding the same swore if they meet with him, would make him pay for the fformer, and immediatly cut their cable to ffollow him. Captain Bridges has an order for his corn but not for his canoe, pray lett him pay for the same as well as Captain Woodfine has done.

389. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 21 Feb. 1686

Have delivered Mr John Brown one hundred nynty chest good corne, also have receipts of Captain John Woodfine for six hundred ditto, all on account of the Royall Affrican Company. Pray take notice that thirty of the sayes are damag'd, whereof ffifteen very much, [as also] ffive carpets and four boysadoes sent last in the Adventure Sloop. Pray let me have a list of the prizes of goods to prevent errors.

¹³ Commander of the *Adventure Sloop*.

¹⁴ Clearly referring to the pirate reported earlier west of Sekondi (nos 7, 9, 898), which is elsewhere identified as French (no. 976). *La Trompeuse* was the name of the ship commanded by Jean Hamlyn, a French pirate active on the West African coast earlier, in 1683. The original *La Trompeuse* was destroyed by an English warship in the West Indies in 1683, but Hamlyn survived and subsequently commanded a ship which he called *La Nouvelle Trompeuse*. However, Hamlyn does not seem to be documented after 1684, and a report from Cape Coast Castle identifies the pirate active on the coast at this time as 'Capt Larance', referring probably to Laurens de Graaf (also known as Lorencillo), who was actually Dutch, although based in the French Caribbean: see PRO, T70/11, Henry Nurse et al., Cape Coast Castle, 19 March 1686; and for Hamlyn and de Graaf, see Lane 1999, 128–9, 169–70.

390. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 3 March 1686

This accompanys Mr James Griffith who has realy behaved himselfe very honest and servill in his imploy. I humbly thank your Worship in his behalfe for your kindness towards him, which without doubt will prove advantage to him. If your Worship thinks it convenient I can send to Agga some of each sorts of goods which are here, being supply'd with severall sorte only [= except] blew perpetuanoes and sheets, which pray send per first for both factoryes. As soon as all things are adjusted will send up my monthly account of both ffactoryes.

391. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 6 March 1685/6

Just now being 3 a clock the people of Annamaboe have panyard the Pourtuguees Captain, his men and boate, striped and carried them to the town under pretence that the Governer which is agoeing to Princes formerly panyard one of the Capushers, per name Humfryes. Am afraid this night they will likewise sease the ship. This in hast.

392. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 15 March 1686

I entreat your Worship in sending me ten chests of sheets, ten barrells of powder and a cask of knives on account of the Royall Affrican Company of England. Also desire the price of the birds eye carpitts, brass neptunes, and diglins full in perticulars specified in the inclosed.

393. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 23 March 1686

Have sent your Worship a new nine hand canoe, very good and strong, and have emberqt on board her, [omission] chests of corne. Doe also desire your favour in sending the underwritten goods vizt sheets, course sletias, stript silks, chercolees, ginghamms, blanquetts, looking glasses, red and blew broad cloth, all on account of the Royall Affrican Company of England.

394. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 28 March 1686

Your Worships of the 26th instant received with the following perticulars vizt. two chests containing ginghamms twenty, forty stript silkes and forty chercolees, one baile no.629 containing white blanketts, four chests containing sheets, one hundred looking glasses, one piece of red cloth containing 21½ yards, one piece ditto blew containing 18 yards on account of the Royall Affrican Company of England. I have sent up your Worship two men slaves and sixteen chest corne on account of the ditto Company. I am heartily sorry cant send your Worship the chest and cases, haveing us'd them on necessaryes for the house.

395. James Nightingale Annamaboe, 1 April 1686

I send your Worship my monthly account for this factory with the ballance of the same, being 5m 4oz 3a 2ta, for which pray lett Mr Samuell Humfryes give me his receipt. Pray send me per first ten chests sheets on the Royall Company account, with some bricks, lyme, tarris,¹⁵ the hooks and hinges for the use of the ffactory.

396. James Nightingale Annamaboe, 12 April 1686

According to your Worships comand have inventor'd the warehouse, as your Worship will se per inclos'd, signed per selfe and second. Humbly intreat the favour of your Worship not to take ill the detaining of the doctor, my self and one of my men being very dangerous ill, but I thank God and him are much recovered. Trading is very bad by reason of the French and Deans ships rideing here. I desire your Worships supply of sheets, also of tarris and bricks to mend the tank, which per last raines received much damaged.

397. James Nightingale Annamaboe, 14 April 1686

Received your Worships presently after the doctors departure from hence, who I understand had leave of your Worship to take a progress heither, where arrived on Munday, and as I wrote to your Worship per him stayd on account of mine and one man more being extream sick, which I hope your Worship will not take amiss. I have sent your Worship the receipt of my account of errors, which humbly desire may be return'd after your sattisfaction. As to the French man stay, is on account of getting wood which they are now furnished with, and does intend to sayle tomorrow to Accra. They give their humble respects and hearty thanks to your Worship for your kind entertainment to them.

398. James Nightingale Annamaboe, 16 April 1686

Last night received your Worships per Mr Wortley, who this morning goes to Agga, and also my second, to take an inventory of the warehouse their, so that he [= Wortley] may be responsible for noe more than received.¹⁶ I shall obey your Worships order in intrusting him what able on all occasions. I desire your Worship to supply me with 3 or 4 quire of paper.

399. James Nightingale Annamaboe, 16 April 1686

I received per Petter the lyme and tarris, and have as your Worship will find per

¹⁵ Tarras, a form of cement.

¹⁶ John Wortley was sent to take over the Egya factory from Theophilus Blinsham.

inclosed taken care in inventoring the warehouse at Agga, and have also sent your Worship an account of sayle since the departure of Mr Blinsham. I desire your Worship will be pleas'd to send me what sheets can conveniently spare.

400. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 18 April 1686

Received your Worships which gives information of the arrivall of Captain Woodfine,¹⁷ Captain Butler and Walker on this Coast. I shall make it my endeavour to buy what corn possible can, in regard of which have invited the Capusheres to dine with me and hope to be able to supply with what they'l want. Have also spoke to Mr Wortley who will make it his business. The corne I sent your Worship per Petter which forgot to nominate was twenty chests.

401. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 20 April 1686

Pray send me in your 5 hand cano as many good green perpetuanoes as she can conveniently carry, also some sheets and blew perpetuanoes if you can spare them, all on account of the Royall Affrican Company of England.

402. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 23 April 1686

This accompanyes Mr Whiteing,¹⁸ who arriv'd here last night. They come in answer to your Worship on the 20th instant, when received two chests sheets and ffifty perpetuanoes, which had disposed of had they been good, but being much worm and ratt eaten would not vend. The sheets received much damage in the canoe. Intreat your Worships pleasure in sending me with first oportunity a quantity of good perpetuanoes of the deepest couler, for they are most esteem'd of per blacks.

403. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 25 April 1686

Have given your Worship an account the 23^d instant that the perpetuanoes last sent are most damaged, and last month remayns were print'd and noe good couller. Also the Arcanyes of this place and Agga have been with me with a good quantity of gold, but doe not like the perpetuanoes, and for want of good, have sent some their gold aboard ships, and last night came ashore a quantity of pepettuanoes which was panyard by the Cabushers; but the afforsaid Arcanyes of both ffactorys wants more, therefore pray send me per first 100 blew and 200 green perpetuanoes, 10 chests of sheets, five cases of sletias course, 100 lead barrs and 50 halfe ffirkins

¹⁷ i.e. Thomas Woodfine, brother of John.

¹⁸ Chief of the RAC factory at Accra, presumably on his way to visit Cape Coast.

of tallow, all on account of the Royall Affrican Company of England. Lett the goods be good I pray.

404. James Nightingale Annamaboe, 5 May 1686

According to your Worships order will God willing deliver the packett sent me and take Captain Towers receipt for the same. Likewise the bearer will give your Worship an account of Mr Walkers actions without your Worships order, acted to the natives that very night I came to this place,¹⁹ upon which I humble begg your answer, and had not Mr Whiteing and my selfe hindered their design they would have sent him away to your Worship.

405. James Nightingale Annamaboe, 6 May 1686

According to your Worships order have delivered the pacquetts letter sent, as per inclosed will appear. As soon as possible will send my monthly accompts with the ballance of the same. Concerning Mr Walkers business the blacks are rather worse than better, Mr Whiteing being witness to all the pallaver made.

406. James Nightingale Annamaboe, 7 May 1686

This accompanys Mr James Walker, who have sent to your Worship to give an account of the action and transaction past here at my being at Cabo Corso last. Have made inquiry into the business, but the Capushers desired your Worship to send Captain Quow or any other Capushere here. As then will send per him the particulars, otherwise it will be supposed that I am instigater against him.

407. James Nightingale Annamaboe, 10 May 1686

Your Worships per Captain Quow is received. In answer to Mr Walkers business, have with ditto Quow had a long pallaver, they demand at first 3 sayes and one anchor of brandy, but at last come to one anchor of brandy and piece of say. It has cost me one anchor in the pallaver. Desire your Worships order on this particular. As to the purchaseing corne, have done and dayly doe indeavour, but have not received one chest, so that I have noe more than my last remayns. I suppose Agga the same. I[n] short here is but little corn to be purchased, but the Capusheres tells me that if you will be pleas'd to give 2a per chest, they will send in the cuntrey for a quantity, and without that their is none to be gott. In short am so much troubled with them that if I had but your Worships order, and the white man and Companys

¹⁹ James Walker had evidently been deputising for Nightingale in charge of the Anomabu factory during a temporary absence of the latter.

goods from Agga, would bring them to better complacency. Upon receipt beg answer, which with Quow will send up my account. This is in hast.

408. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 11 May 1686

I send your Worship my Aprill monthly account with the ballance of the same, being 4mk 2oz 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ a, pray lett Mr Samuel Humfryes give me a receipt for the same. Could not send it before by reason of the pallaver, which is not a little troble and charge to me. Captain Quow will give your Worship the whole curcumstance thereof, I haveing not been here when the business was acted, and as to what your Worship has been pleased to mention, that you much question if I am not an instigater of raising the price of corne, I doe now sollemly protest before Almighty that it was the least of my thoughts, much less to put in action, your Worship being sencible these people promis ffair but perform little, and he that told your Worship that I doe not as much as any man possible with gifts, words and what little power I have, told your Worship abomanable untruth, by reason their is noe raine make them keep their corn up as they doe. Have received one hundred sletias course, one hundred and thirty sheets, twenty allejars, ffifty pintadoes broad, and seaven ditto narrow, for which goods will give the Royall Company credditt accordingly.

409. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 13 May 1686

Yesterday I had a palaver with the natives, who for some time shut up my gates, the circumstance being shall crave your Worships pardon rehearsall till dispatch of ships. Have examined concerning the stillards, which find was only sent up per former and appertaining to one John Ratliffe, who as I am inform'd bought them of Cusshees son, to whom they were given per Evan Price. Shall endeavour the dispatch of ships with all possible speed. Desire your Worships order to what Captain Woodfine writes contradictory.

410. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 16 May 1686

Your Worships with the letters for Agga and orders received. Also delivered Captain Woodfine aboard your Worship[s] to him directed. Also what corn was at Annamaboe have delivered. Also assisted with both my canoes [at] Agga, and have made agreement with the natives for 300 chests with this promis to bring in suddainly. Captain Woodfine and Captain Butler shall be dispatcht as soon as possible. Captain Butler will be with your Worship tomorrow, per him will receive all particulars with an information I kept your boy so long.

411. John Boylstone²⁰

Annamaboe, 18 May 1686,

I made bold to trouble your Worship with a line at the bottom of Captain Woodfine's letter,²¹ to acquaint you that I was come saffe heither. Since I have been at Agga and have inventoried the warehouse, the copy of which I send you here inclosed. Mr Blinsham has desir'd me to assist him a little in his accounts between Mr Wortley and him, which I have promised him to doe, or in anything that concerns the Company interest, designing tomorrow morning to goe to Agga and put them to rights, if I can.²² As to Mr Walkers business it is not as yett over; the Capushers promised me to end it this morning, so wait their coming, which I understand to be no more than delivering their say and an anchor of brandy. I shall be sure to se all ended before I come away. Captain Woodfine has above 400 chests of corn on board, and will have the rest in a day or two. As to Mr Nightingales pallaver tis all over and quiett, and noe difference as I can find. If your Worship pleases I will return with Captain Woodfine, and suppose he will saile on Thursday or Friday if the raines doe not prevent his takeing in his corne.

412. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 22 May 1686

In answer of what your Worship writes me of the 10th and 16th instant, I will only say he that told your Worship that I have not done my endeavour to purchase corne at the old price both with gifts and good words, told your Worship abominable untruth, which will justifie to your instigators face, either white or black; and as to keep your Worship in darkness in the Royall Company affaires, I never have done niether will doe, but rather permit their intrest according to my mean capacity, and without doubt Mr Boylston will give your Worship an account of all perticulars relateing to the Company's affaires both heir and at Agga, to which I refer myself. Pray send me per first 3 or 4 cases of good sayes on the Royall Companyes account. Shall procure all the corn possible against Captain Woodfine comes down.

413. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 23 May 1686

The reason your Worship haveing not heard of me was occasioned by being busy to purchase Captain Thomas Woodfines corn, he haveing his complement on board only [= except] a hundred chests, which hope shall purchase before he comes down again. Have per Mr Boylston wrought your Worship an answer of

²⁰ Sent from Cape Coast Castle, to inventory the factories at Anomabu and Egya.

²¹ = no.904.

²² Blinsham had been reinstated as chief factor at Egya, but Wortley initially refused to surrender the factory to him: cf. no.615.

your letters dated the 10th and 16th instant, he will give your Worship the particulars. All is well here, only wanting trade.

414. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 2 June 1686

Your Worships of the 29th instant received, and have according to your order reserv'd for Captain Woodfine the remainder of his corn, being one hundred and one chest to make up six hundred and ten. Allso put on board Captain Walker about fifty chests and have more ready when weather permitts.²³ Shall dispatch him with all expedition possible, Mr Blinsham I hope will make it his endeavour the like. Desire your Worships pleasure in supplying me with four cases of sayes and blew and green perpetuanoes on account of the Royall Affrican Company of England.

415. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 3 June 1686

Received your Worships yesterday, and shall obey your order in putting on board Captain Woodfine his remainder of corn, being one hundred and one chests, and also twenty six chests of corn for Mr Whiteing.²⁴ I am forced to send up to your Worship, being very turbulent and [re]fractory, three men, their names as followeth, Jeremiah Mitchell, Francis Dormer, John Ratlife. The former is one that is very servisable to the Company in severall petty affaires, and hath promisd great amendment. He has a child who he pleads will be ruin'd, if he not return againe. He has made many of the Capushers his freinds, who desires when your Worship has ordered such punishment as your great prudence shall think fitt, that he may be returnd. John Ratlife is a ffellow, who was generally the occasion of difference. I had not given your Worship this troble could I any wayes avoid it, but by fair and foul means they would not permitt me quiett.

416. John Boylstone

Annamaboe, 10 June 1686

Haveing this oportunity by the return of the messenger you sent heither, I thought convenient to acquaint your Worship of my arrivall here, since which I have this morning with Mr Nightingale been at Agga and have taken an inventory of the goods in the factory, except the corn and iron, which I could not doe this day, haveing ordered all the slaves their to assist in the shipping of Captain Woofdines corn, which will be done this night, with that for Mr Whiteing which will be 30 chests as he himself promises to take in, judging it more necessary to dispatch him away than my staying here a day or two signifies. I have left Mr Chambers at

²³ Cf. no.907.

²⁴ At the Accra factory, where there was currently a shortage of corn (cf. no.717).

Agga and tomorrow morning will goe and measure the corn and count the iron, and with the first oportunity of weather return to your Worship and bring Mr Blinsham in along with me, which I think will be absolutely necessaryes [sic] to adjust his accompts at Cabo Corso, and shall in the mean time leave the charge of the factory in the charge of Mr Nightingale. I beleive it will be Saterdag before I return, for in the morning I shall be at Agga and in the afternoon the cano will hardly venture of. Mr Wortley has paid Mr Blinsham his full demands.

417. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 10 June 1686

Your Worships is received and your order therein is observd. Also Captain Woodfines corne and Mr Whiteings will be aboard this night.²⁵ Have also purchased what corn I could for Captain Pickard but could not gett it under 2a per chest. Shall likewise take what care I can to promote the Royall Company intrest at Agga. Also beg pardon in not sending my monthly account tell the ships be dispatcht. When Mr Boylston comes up will give your Worship a generall account.

418. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 15 June 1686

Your Worships of the 3^d instant received and shall obey your comand in not purchasing corn till further orders. All that I have had since May, could not be had under two angles per chest, corn being very scarce and is still. I have inclosed your Worship my monthly account, which had sent according to time had not been indisposed, and also much hindered per blacks who I was indebt'd for corn, which now have clear'd. Pray send on account of the Royall Affrican Company the following particulars vizt sheets, blew and green perpetuanoes, best sort of knives, broad tapseiles.

419. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 18 June 1686

Your Worships of the 15th instant received, also fifty five course sletias, with Mr Humfryes and Mr Wights receipts which came per Captain Walker. Have rectified my accounts of those charges your Worship was pleas'd not to allow of, although have really been at the expence of canky mony and powder, as apears per gunners accounts. Pray let me have per first those goods I write your Worship for account of the Royall Affrican Company, I wanting them.

²⁵ Cf. no.905.

420. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 19 June 1686

Received your Worships yesterday and shall follow your order therein mentioned, and shall if possible waite on your Worship tomorrow. Have put on board the cano twenty five chest of corn measured per the iron bound chest, question not but will contradict that gentleman which reports I gett four chest in aleavan.

421. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 25 June 1686

Att my comeing to Castle sent for the Capushers, before whome had your Worships letter read, which I found has taken effect as intended. I have discoursed [word illegible] before Doctor Griffin and find him not so guilty as inform'd, he makes promis to trade only with the Castle, which if can be proved to contrary, is willing to loose his sallery and banish the Castle. I beg your Worships pardon for account of goods till tomorrow. Multiplicity of business at present, with a great charge with the Capusheers, who I dont question will be very much siviler than formerly, which I hope will prove to the Royall Company intrest.

422. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 28 June 1686

Your Worships of the 18, 24, 25, 26 instant is received, and have delivered Mr Blinsham the key of the warehouse and paid him the ballance of his account. Also sent 25 chest of corn in the 11 hand cano and 30 ditto in the 17 hand cano on account of the Royall Affrican Company, for which I desire Mr Downs receipt. Will likewise ship on board Captain Pickard one hundred chests of good corn with all speed possible as per your order. Have received eight hundred fifty and four dozen knives per contents, fifty perpetuanoes blew, four hundrd iron barrs, four hundred one pound pewter basons, one hundred two pound ditto, one hundred three pound ditto, fifty gallons rum, and ten cases liquor, and one hundred musquets, for which goods will give the Royall Company credditt in this month account. James Walker, Samuell Walker and John Teague in opening the knives found some short in every cask as per the backside of the noate which were found in the cask and attestation, with my monthly account, will appear: 854 dozen of knives, 50 perpetuanoes blew, 400 iron barrs, 400 1lb basons, 100 2lb ditto, 100 3lb ditto, 57 gallons rum, 10 cases liquor, 100 musquetts. Pray be pleased to send my former account signed per me per bearer.

423. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 5 July 1686

Last night departed this life James Chambers. Have severall men very ill, in so much want men to gard the Castle. Desire your Worships pleasure in the sallery of George Hagett and [the] deceased person, for which cant make up my account.

The goods he dyed possessd of are not worth the nominating. The Doctor is trobled with a violent flux.

424. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 7 July 1686

Desire your Worships pleasure in sending on account of the Royall Affrican Company of England the ffollowing goods vizt three or four bailes of green perpetuanoes, one of tapseiles, one of Guine stuffs and one of broad bafts, and what iron barrs the cano can carry.

425. James Nightingale

Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 9 July 1686

Your Worships received with one hundred and fifty iron barrs, sixty green and red perpetuanoes ten damnified, eighty broad blew bafts, one hundred and sixty five Guine stuffs, for which goods will give the Royall Company credditt. As to the complaint received against me by the Generall of the Mine, I much admire that instigateing Ernsthuss²⁶ cannot leave his old tricks, he haveing sufficient abused me three times, one at Accra,²⁷ and now he puts me on foot. Will give your Worship the heads of peticulars. At my comeing from Cabo Corso about 6 or 7 months agoe, with his invitation went to Moria, and he in short being drunk turn'd me out of his room and made me lye all night upon the stones in the yard, would not permitt me to depart but kept me prisoner; and as for the actions in June, in realty he ought to thank me, Captain Walker and Plumer, for affter were all abed, the second and serjant had a great falling out, by reason the serjant would not drink our kings health in so much that he snapt at the serjant severall pistols, broak two of Ernsthuss swords [and] my own cutlash, as per bearer will appear, and I being wounded in severall places to[o] parted them, in short severall men [sic], had it no[t] been for me, and to make it more plainly apear, enclosed is a letter from the second of Moria, wherein he plainly begs pardon, desireing me to excuse what was past the night before, saying he was drunk and that took away his honnour and reputations, and affterwards sent his assistance to me to Annamaboe to beg pardon and also desired me that I would not give the Generall an account, knowing the severity of the fiscall, which never have done, but only am bound to answer your Worships, and this is the real truth which will justifie to Ernthus face weresoere [= wheresoever] I se him, without your Worship and Generall of the Mine make it up, you will certainly here more of it, knowing that my great master the king and the Royall Affrican Company of England will protect their servant against any of the Dutch unlawfull and hostell actions. Tomorrow God willing will send my

²⁶ Joris Ernsthuyss, chief of the Dutch WIC factory at Mouri, to the west.

²⁷ Nightingale had earlier served at the RAC factory at Accra (cf. no. 742); Ernsthuyss had been chief of the WIC factory at Accra for a period from 1683 (Van Dantzig 1978, no. 40: Resolutions of Council, Elmina, 25 March 1683).

monthly account. Am not well is the reason I doe not come up, being much troubled with vomiting, also Walker.

426. James Nightingale Annamaboe, 13 July 1686

Received your Worships and accordingly have sent up Mr Jonston and with him my monthly account. In few dayes will adjust whats owing in the seller [= cellar] from Annamaboe.

427. James Nightingale Annamaboe, 15 July 1686

This day was sent me per Mr Blinsham your Worship and Councells order for delivery of him either Uniquidee and wife, or Ahenishaw and wife. Have sent the latter, the former being servisable in carpentership, which is now realy wanting here. I inform'd your Worship in the passage at Cabo Corso, find Mr Blinsham only promis. I humbly intreat your Worships ffavour in giveing advice thereof, so then for the future may have a faire correspondence, which may prove much to the intrest of our Masters and our own happiness. I desire your Worship to send on account of the Royall Affrican Company of England what blew and green perpetuanoes you can spare that are good, a case of knives, and one barrell of rum.

428. James Nightingale Annamaboe, 17 July 1686

Your Worships received, and tomorrow will send your Worship a received [= receipt] for the goods quantity and quality, and answer the Generall of the Mines letter in particular theirin mention, and in the intrim am busy about the accounts.

429. James Nightingale Annamaboe, 18 July 1686

Your Worships of the 16th instant received, also fifty perpetuanoes blew, eighty ditto green, whereof forty eight damnified, one cask of knives per contents two hundred and ten dozen, and a cask containing sixty gallons of rum, for which goods will give the Royall Company credditt for accordingly. Concerning the trust to Mr Walker, your Worship sent him here as second and for that reason trusted him with the key of the warehouse, also when the knives were wanting I was at Cabo Corso. Where the error lay know not, which pray be pleased to consider. As to the error in my accounts, have sent two new, which are rectified, and the ballance of the same. Pray send me one of my May accounts, your Worship haveing three whereof two signed, also both my accounts last night. The copy of the attestation have showed Mr Walker who is the bearer hereof, and if your Worship please will discourse you in all particulars, that those errors may be

rectified to prevent further trouble for the future. Pray send me [on] account of the Royall Affrican Company of England four hundred 1lb pewter basons, some good sayes.

430. James Walker

Annamaboe, 20 July 1686

Delivered your Worships letter to Mr Nightingale, who I found extreemly sick of an ague and feaver. He still continues so in so much he is not able to write, ordered me to acquaint your Worship that he had received, on account of the Royall Affrican Company of England, eight hundred pewter basons, forty sayes, twenty four stript sattins, which he will dispose of according to order if possible. He desires your Worship to send him ffifty blew, and ffifty green perpetuanoes on account of the said Company. Have as per Mr Nightingales order sent up the gunner, who will give your Worship a true account of the delivery of the knives, which he was concerned in the tale, and have according to your Worships comand sent up the cask which the knives were in, as the gunner can justifie although the head cant be found, he haveing an order from Mr Nightingale for the savinge of the same.

431. James Walker

Annamaboe, 20 July 1686

Thanks be to God Mr Nightingale is somewhat better than when wrote your Worship in morning. He desires your Worship would send him on account of the Royall Affrican Company of England [the] ffollowing goods vizt one pound pewter basons, with what goods was wrote for in morning.

432. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 22 July 1686

Whereas there is an order from your Worship and Councilll that if Mr Blinsham shall want any goods which I have, am to supply him, and likewise he the same to me, this morning sent Mr Walker with a noate to him to send me twenty five blew perpetuanoes and twenty five green ditto or the half of each, which he denyd, saying he was not obliged to send his best goods, but yet notwithstanding would not [sic] send them if I would sent [sic] him gold answerable. These perpetuanoes I had take mony for before. Wrote your Worship yesterday, was a mistake of Bryan Ingles and the and [sic] canomen, in sending on shoare one cask pewter which belong to Mr Blinsham, who sent for [it], but being late thought not proper, so gave him a receipt. For want of currant goods which he's supplyd with the Arcanyes are forced to goe to Agga, as they tell me themselves. I can't obtain a receipt of Mr Blinsham for the two slaves delivered him per order of your Worship and Councilll, niether have the fare correspondence as was promised per him before your Worship.

433. James Nightingale [Annamaboe], 26 July 1686

Your Worships of the 23^d instant received, and have according to order demanded the gold for the 53 dozen knives of Mr James Walker, but he tells me that what he had in cash [he] sent it home per his brother and Captain Pickard, so that if your Worship thinks convenient will stop it out his sallery. As to what your Worship writes that Mr Blinsham is not to be excus'd in not sending of the perpetuanoes according to order, is certain, therefore pray for the future let me have an order in writeing, to send for what goods I shall want from Agga, as Mr Blinsham has to demand of me, which order at all times per me has been observ'd, and for my part I covet no more goods than what is for present sail [= sale], haveing, as formerly write, received gold for them, and have also a good quantity in custody for perpetuanoes, sheets and doe beleive if your Worship had them you would supply this ffactory, and without that you cant expect a trade, I being forced to lett the Arcanyes goe to Agga and other places for want of the same, and as for liveing quietly with Mr Blinsham that is my only desire. Shall for the future be very cautious in corresponding with him only what shall be realy for the Royall Companys intrest. I have been very sick and continue so still.

434. James Nightingale Annamaboe, 30 July 1686

Pray send me on account of the Royall Affrican Company of England two hundred three and two hundred two pound pewter basons, some allejars and the lowest price of the stript sattins and snaphance. As for the goods wrote for before, your Worship said there was none left.

435. James Nightingale Annamaboe, 1 Aug. 1686

Received your Worships with one hundred ninty and nine two pound pewter basins and two hundred three pound ditto, and one hundred allejarrs on account of the Royall Affrican Company of England. The snaphances will not sell at your Worships price as long as any Dutch ships are upon the Coast. Mr Blinsham on his receipt shall be supplyd with what goods he writes for if I have them. Have sent your Worship on account of the Royall Affrican Company of England two men slaves.

436. James Nightingale Annamaboe, 4 Aug. 1686

By information of Cockeo, the Quarrantees son, who lay last night in Agga factory, understand that Mr Blinsham was this morning designing to come up with his monthly account and nine mark of gold, and being about half a mile of the shoar the sea running quick and haveing his gold slightly under his arm,

endeaverring to save himself let fall the bulce of gold, which as he sayes fell into the sea. The blacks are of another opinion, saying its impossible except it was designd, the cano being so far from oversetting that Mr Blinsham was hardly weett. Am inform'd per blacks that noe man se the putting and sealing up the gold as formerly, niether cano men or any that belonged to him se it.²⁸

437. Samuell Humfryes & John Boylstone Annamaboe, 6 Aug. 1686

Yesterday about three in the affternoon we arrivd here and immediately went to Agga, but could doe nothing that night nor could receive any certain information of the mony, but this morning about seaven a clock the mony was taken up per a canoman very nere the shoare and is safe in Mr Blinshams possession. Mr Nightingale has about twenty one mark of gold, being the ballance of his months account, and with his and Mr Blinshams will be very neare thirty marks of gold, which desire your Worships order per the return of this messenger to bring up per the cano tomorrow morning, and shall expect your answer, which request may be with all speed. Mr Blinsham desires he may come up and will give you the full account of this accedent. Mr Nightingale being indisposed, desires he may come up to Cabo Corso to take phisick.

438. James Nightingale Annamaboe, 10 Aug. 1686

Yours per Mr Jonas Perrin on the 8th instant is received, in answer to which send to abide with him James Griffin.²⁹ Likewise sent James Walker to inventory the warehouse, which is accordingly done as you will find per inclosed inventory. Have made it my business in finding out the truth of Mr Blinshams recovery of his mony, haveing examined the canoman which found it and indeavord his comeing up to give your Worship an account, which he will not by any means be perswaded to, saying he is a free man, and withall for what he hath done he is satisfied per Mr Blinsham. How long the gold has been there or per what means it came there he knows not, but Mr Blinsham made a contract with him early that morning for two bendies, if he could find a parcell of gold, which he had lost two dayes before between such and such a place, shewing him very nigh the place were he took up the gold.³⁰ Have had promis of the canoman which carried of Mr Blinsham, that they would goe when I ordered them, yet when I sent for them, [they] fall off, through the means of one person at Agga, which I cannot yet find out. Have sent up Pheny and the slave Jack. Pheny was interpreter between my selfe and Mr Blinshams cano men,³¹ who [= Pheny] will give your Worship a true relation of

²⁸ Cf. Blinsham's own account, no.620.

²⁹ Perrin was going to take over charge of the Egya factory from Thomas Blinsham.

³⁰ Cf. Perrin's account, no.621.

³¹ Cf. chapter II, n.129.

what they said. If per any means it is possible rightly and truly to understand it, Ile certainly obtain it. There was made diligent search into Mr Blinshams chest, but the gold as the former is not to be found without his assistance. Have delivered the key of Mr Blinshams chest to Piney.

439. James Walker

Annamaboe, 19 Aug. 1686

Yours per Peter is received, and the goods therein mentioned find right in every particular as per account taken. None shall study more your satisfaction in your charge concerning the Royall Companys affairs than will [James Walker]

bales no.35: containing 50 ca[r]pitts

ditto no.267: containing 40 ditto

ditto no.582: containing 50 ditto

bale no.703: containing 25 blew perpetuanoes

one case no.484: containing 20 sayes

ditto no.372: containing 20 ditto

ditto no.370: containing 20 ditto

one case no.613: containing 100 l [lb] basons

ditto no.570: containing 100 tow [= two] pound ditto

440. John Boylstone

Annamaboe, 25 Aug. 1686

According to your order I have been to visitt the Royal Company concerns at Agga and have taken an exact inventory of the same, a copy of which I send your Worship here inclos'd. These comes per the nine hand cano, per which I have sent up Bryan Ingle, with chest seal'd up. I demand'd a veiw of them and his answer was he would part with his blood before I should se any thing, for which reason I confind him last night in this forte. I hope your Worship will approve what I have done. I leave him to your Worships justice, but I think him a very ill [= evil] man and shall satisfie you at my return. I have ended all palavers at Agga and given Mr Nightingale quite [= quiet] possession,³² only given away one case of spirritts and have received back one say which is paied to the Company credditt.

441. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 25 Aug. 1686

Have per your order taken possession of the factory at Agga with the goods therein, as specified in an inventory signed per me which youl receive per Mr Boylston. Give you my humble thancks for this and rest of favours, with an assurance of my care and dilligence in the endeavouring in the discharge in this

³² Meaning presumably authority over, rather than physical possession of the factory; Nightingale remained at Anomabu, leaving Perrin charge of Egya.

and rest wherein may be concernd. Referr you to Mr Boylston how things stand here and Agga. Pray send me per return of this cano some nayles of all sorts and a barrell of lyme.

442. John Boylston

Annamaboe, 26 Aug. 1686

Your Worships is received. I am glad what I have done meets with your approvall. When I return, shall fully sattisfie you in every thing. This morning we are inventoring the warehouse, which as sun [= soon] as done shall come up to Cabo Corso with the furst opertunnity. The slaves are all gon this morning to Agga to take the corn out and dust it and cleans[e] it, which when they have done I will go over and se it and take Mr Nightingale receipt for it againe and bring it up along with me.

443. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 2 Sept. 1686

Last night was left in my hands per Arcanyes eight marks of gold, for which they would have blew and green perpetuanoes, to the vallue of which gold I desire you would be pleas'd to send me on account of the Royall Affrican Company of England. Am in great want of a cask of lyme and some nails, also desire one souldier in the room off Sellick.

444. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 3 Sept. 1686

Your Worships and Councells of the 25th, 30th August received, also one of the 2^d instant with seaventy five perpetuanoes blew and one hundred ninty five sheets, for which said goods will give the Royall Company cridditt for accordingly. Have winded and clean'd the corn at Agga, but in short it is all veavell [= weevil] eaten and full of buggs, suppose for want of cleansing room and looking after. I will doe my endeavour to preserve it as much as possible, there being 123 chests. I sent a sample of the corn at Annamaboe and asure you is all in this condition and not so much as a veavell in it. I have thrown a good quantity of mallegetta in it to preserve it. Am hearty thankfull for what you have been pleased to intrust me withall, I doe not question by Gods blessing but to discharg my selfe with all ffidellity and will endeavour to promote my Masters intrest. Shall not be ungreatfull to Mr Walker and Mr Perring according to merritts, and give an account according to times. Have also received back from Cabo Corso John Sellick, which can testifie per all our people he is a greate rouge, haveing broack open dores and hinges and stoln abundance of things, likewise a great mutinus unsivell [= uncivil] ffellow not to be trust'd in Castell, haveing denyd your order severall times, and makes his brags that you have not punished him but give him liberty to doe what he pleas'd, therefore pray lett me desire you to consider it that the rest may not ffollow his

examples. Pray send me against 10 a clock tomorrow, 200 green and blew perpetuanoes and some sheets, I haveing a great quantity of gold in custody for the same and more a coming, pray doe not faile. I sent your Worship my monthly account of August with the ballance, being mk2 6oz 2a 10a 4ta.

445. James Nightingale [Annamaboe], 7 Sept. 1686

Yours of the 4th instand have received with ffifty blew and fifty green perpetuanoes and three chests of sheets containing 195. Had I received Agga account had sent it with mine, but had it not till Sunday last, and have now sent it per bearer with gold as received of Mr Perring. Have taken all imaginable care in suning [= sunning] and winnoing the corn, which realy is very bad and extreamply full of severall sorts of vermine, per which if not prevent'd will be quite spoild. Desire your pleasure in sending me on account of the Royall Affrican Company fifty blew and fifty green perpetuanoes, also would desire you to send a chest with bouy [= buoy] and roape for the better security of conveying the Company gold when you shall please to order.

446. James Nightingale Annamaboe, 11 Sept. 1686

Yours of the 7 and 8 instant received with monthly accounts. The errors have rectified, excepting in the blew perpetuanoes, which will bring to this months account, likewise what goods has been disposed of at Agga. Have sent in exchange of the mony of Sellicks 6a 4ta of good currant gold. Shall make all expedition in the dispatch of Captain Brandfeild. Be pleas'd to send me what blew and green perpetuanoes you can on account of the Royall Affrican Company of England, and also desire to send a barrell of tarr for doores and windows.

447. James Nightingale Annamaboe, 13 Sept. 1686

Yours last night received. Shall supply Captain Brandfeild with what corn am ordered of good and old. Have no[ne] now by me, not haveing your order to purchase. If you doe not send me some perpetuanoes presently, must restore the Arcanyes their mony.

448. James Nightingale Annamaboe, 14 Sept. 1686

Desire you on receipt of these to send me down Doctor Griffin, who may make a right understanding between myselfe and Capushers, who are at variance through their insolences. Pray faile not, fearing the ill event, for will not any longer suffer the daily affronts as fformerly, it being a disgrace to the Royall Company &c and impossible for any to live here, except other method used.

449. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 18 Sept. 1686

Yours of the 14th instant have received with fifty blew and ffourty green perpetuanoes, and yours of the 16th instant. Shall supply Captain Daile with what corne am ordered. All differences are ended between self and Capushers. You will here the whole relation per Mr Boylston, and how insufferable we are daily abus'd. Have received this day of the Arcadians [= Arcanians] 7 mark of gold. Am promis'd a great quantity more if am supplyd with good perpetuanoes of each coller and also sheets. Would desire you to send me what have often wrote for, and which is really requisite for the preservation of the gold in returne where [= whether] you shall thing fitt to order a good chest.

450. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 21 Sept. 1686

Yours of the 16th and 20th received. In answer to the first, although not suffered myselfe and none of the Company servants nor no attestation to be made per Mr John Boylston in our behalfe, of severall gross abuses per the natives, not sufferable to be borne withall to the great prejudice of the Royall African Companys intrest.³³ Likewise that threat[n]ing of Mr Boylston affter comeing from Cormanteen, telling me he would put me into irons and send me up to your Worship, and so to be sent to the Royall Company, which saying I did not understand, I seing no such order from your Worship and Councill, that was the reason I told him my mony was at Cabo Corso, but the next morning proffer'd him the mony of both ffactorys, before Mr Elwes and Doctor Griffin, he refusing the same, saying I should lett it alone untill further orders. I sent on account of the Royall Affrican Company of England twenty marks of gold for Annamaboe and three mark more for Agga per Mr Robert Elwes. Your further orders shall be obeyd at the months end, and it shall be alwaies my meathod to keep the count clear, and pay the ballance of the same, which at all times will contradict undermining people. Have been forc'd for want of goods to deliver the Arcanys their mony back againe. I doe what I can to dispatch Captain Daile, who has aboard two hundred chest of corne.

451. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 23 Sept. 1686

Yours of the 21st instant received. In answer of what you write about the Companys servants to be sufferers [it] is realy trew [= true], which can justifie, for last night and this very day, some of them ware like to be nockt down at ssentree by the v[u]lgars, without any affront shown to them by us or any justice on their side &c. If your Worship will be pleas'd to look upon your letter dat'd the 24th of June last, wherin you were pleas'd to mention that if the Capushers did still

³³ Cf. no.541, which recalls that Nightingale had been stripped and beaten.

persist in their rougeries that you would then send a sufficient supply to suppriss their insolencies, and without that the Royall Company intrest and servants will be dayly abus'd. As for my part am not able to doe more than I have done, and it is more difficult for a factor that lives here to answer all their pallavers than to pleas' the Royall Affrican Company, your Worship and Councill without a man bribes them, which for my part shall not doe, being a servant to the Royall Company and not to the Blacks, although their parts being taken by a falce information and mine and the Royall Company servants here being never hard [= heard], which is hard measure.

Have deliver'd Yaboy³⁴ his pawne as per enclos'd will make appear, for which he gives your Worship and Councill thanks. If their be any abuses showne by our people at Agga, shall rectifie it, and will endeavour to purchase three or four hundred sticks of wood as per order. Have deliver'd Captain Deal three hundred chests of corne. He will take in noe more, haveing bought the remain's now.

As to any pallavers concerning the Royall Companies intrest, for the future think it most proper to be done by your Worship and Councill, and according to that order shall act. The Blacks are more likely to stand to what [= that] which is done than any propositions or articles made per any ffactor.

452. James Walker

Annamaboe, 6 Oct. 1686

Have put on board the canoe twenty five chests of corne, which the canoe man said was as much as possible she would carry. Have received ffourty boysadoes, greate part of them being much ffaided, and also thirty pewter juggs much bruis'd, which the Arcadians approve not of.

[PS] If please to send good juggs can vend to the vallue of 18oz.

453. James Walker

Annamaboe, 9 Oct. 1686

Att nine this night received yours. Nothing shall be wanting mine, in endeavouring to live peaciably and quietly with the natives, but it is not my will but theirs must be done. Their good success in their rogeries has brought them to such a hight that they esteem and vallue a white man as nought, and as for the Castle, they say can distroy it at pleasure. Likewise say no man shall live their as Cheife but whome they approve off.³⁵ Hope will not impute it ill in giveing Mr Nightingale whome you orderd my Cheife, an answer of his letter. Shall as a servant to the Royall Company study to discharge my duty in all respects. The Capushers as yett are indifferently civill. The Curranteers dayly dun me for their custome, saying that

³⁴ A prominent trader or chief of Anomabu, already attested in 1683 (vol.i, nos 255-6, etc.).

³⁵ This evidently implies that Nightingale had been removed from charge of the Anomabu factory at the insistence of the local authorities.

what Mr Nightingale gave them was as a dashee and not as their custome. Shall treat the Capushers to the utmost of my abillity, which is to give them ffaire language, and more am not capible of.

454. James Walker

Annamaboe, 10 Oct. 1686

Am just now privately informd per Comander James that the Braffo and Curranteers intend tomorrow to shut up the gate, the reason know not, they this morning seeming to be very kind, only was very desireous of knowing who should be their Coopeman, which told them know not, but did beleive in two or three days time there would be one according to your pleasures, this is what passed between them and selfe, parting very civilly. Leave it to your construction.

455. Ralph Hassell

Annamaboe, 14 Oct. 1686

These accompany's Mr Samuell Humfryes, who will give you a true narrative of all our proceedings, since our arrivall here; and that the lowest these people would come down to which is agreed on to pay them, vizt to the Capushers of Annamaboe two sayes and one anchor of rum, to the Braffo and Quarrenterrers the same. To write att large would be to prolix, therefore beg your excuse and leave it to the narration of Mr Humfryes, who also imports the inventory's of both factory's with their last months accounts, also what mony Mr Perrin had received. The Arcanyes this morning came here and demanded affter some small debate, one say and a case of spiritts, which they say was always allow'd them, soe would intreat the ffavour to enquire of Mr Nightingale what he gave, that I may not exceed in any think [= thing], and what your Worship will allow, for more Ile not pay on the Company account at present. Will not overtyre your patience with an over large epistle, by reason of Mr Humfryes speed, but will enlarge as opertunity occasion's. If have omitted anything, pray lett me be advis'd in what, which will endeavour to supply the defect.

456. Ralph Hassell

Annamaboe, 18 Oct. 1686

My long silence was for want of subjects, soe begg it may not be imputed neglect. Since my being here, which is a week today, have taken noe more mony then one ounce, which was for iron barrs. Nothing of trade presents by reason the Arcanyes are gon up, but in few dayes they will return. The comodity I want at present is rum, which I begg may be supplyd with. Heare is never a cano belonging to the ffactory, which upon occasion will be much wantd. I have had many fair promises but as yett noe performance of a trade. The men here has not been paid for the last two months due the 8th instant, and all the mony here will not be sufficient, being in all, with Mr Walkers takeing in Mr Nightingales absence, 7oz 7a 8ta; but as soon

as have enough will pay them. I am anxious in mind that I cannot give my Masters noe better encouragement, but time that brings all things to pass, I hope will alter the currant.

[PS] Since what is writte above have received your orders which shall be obeyed.

457. James Walker

Annamaboe, 22 Oct. 1686

Yours by the 17 hand cano with 3 casks of rum have received, and have returnd per her what goods of Mr Nightingales she is capable of carrying; and shall returne the[m] when ordered. Shall be very carefull in all the Company affairs.

458. Ralph Hassell

Annamaboe, 25 Oct. [16]86

This morning I haveing takeing mony for stript sattins but have none, soe request I may have some sent as soon as possible, and by the return of the canoe will send up two good men and two women slaves. Asheddow being a verry dilligent ffellow and one who hath the ear of all the Arcanyes and as far as I perceive rules them here, he by Affidoe or some other means understands that your worship is not well affected to Affidoe, which indeed there is no reason of affection towards him; and in fine Ashadoe would nay can officiate the place of a linguister better than Captain Dickall Affidoe; soe desired me to write to you that he may have the sallery he had, and promises to bring all the traders here; I request your answer. Here is a great quantity of mony, but for those goods which I know is not at Cape Coast, so shall not nominate them. All things are quiett and in a good composed estate here, which I will endeavour to keep soe, for the benefitt of my employers. Had any thing of moment presentd would have advised, and shall as occasion offers. Have sent up 7 bolts, 1 piece long irons to be mended, also two cold chisells. Have not another here, which begg I may be supplied with.

459. Ralph Hassell

Annamaboe, 29 Oct. 1686

These I send on purpose, being much importunated by the Arcanyes for two or three hundred of brass neptunes, not of the largest size, those from one pound and a halfe to two pound. I sold just now all that I had, being 146 which has layne by here for some months, all at 6ta per pound, and have received 7oz 8a for two hundred and forty pounds. I fear the stilliards are naught; I request the weight of them, to know whether I am wronged, and the next parcell will retrieve the loss if [so]. Here is mony some quantitty, but for perpetuanoes blew, sheets and such goods I know there is none at Cabo Corso. I beg that the neptunes may be here by tomorrow at noone.

On Munday God willing I purpose to send up Mr Walker with this months account and the ballance, with the slaves advised in my former.

460. Ralph Hassell

Annamaboe, 1 Nov. 1686

Yours of the 30th ultimo I have received, together with 369 brass panns. There wanted two of what you writt should bee; and are not of the sorte the last was, which they doe not like by reason they are bright within and turnd in streaks on the outside, and are to weighty. I have sent a sample of the sort and size they would buy; if they be a verry little size bigger and lesser, it matters not much. They tell me they have two marks for such when your Worship pleases to send the cano with such. If there be any pray send a small bunch of good large rangoes.

I hope I have committed no error in not sending the cano away yesterday. If I have I beg pardon: but all circumstances considered aright, I did it to save the Company's charges, for if I had not detain'd her, I must today have putt the Company to 7a charges, to send up the slaves with the ballance of Octobers account, which I now by Mr Walker send, being 4mk 6oz 6a as per the accompts inclosed will appear. Also 4 men two women slaves: I have not in Octobers accompt charged them sent, being the 1st October, nither have I given credditt for the brass panns by reason my accompts were ffinished before they came, and desire an order that they may be return'd.

Here is two roles of tobacco, I know not the weight nor price. Here hath been severall to buy some, but know not how to adventure. I suppose it is the Company [sic], I would willingly be inform'd of the matter and I shall alwaiyes be ready to observe all your commands and use my utmost dilligence for my Royall Masters intrests while I am in their servis.

461. Ralph Hassell

Annamaboe, 2 Nov. [1686]

Yesterday soon affter Mr Walkers departure I received from Jonas Perrin by the hands of James Griffith his Agga account for October with the mony for the ballance thereof, which yesterday I examined in the presence of James Griffith, and hope it will goe safe, had a better opertunity presented would imbraced it. The Arcanys yesterday inquired for corral and desired me to write for some, which if any begg a supply with the price per string or per ounce.

462. Ralph Hassell

Annamaboe, 4 Nov. [16]86

Yours of yesterdayes date is safe come to hand, and have likewise received two cask of neptunes contayning three hundred and five, one bunch of rangoes containing fourteen hundred and ninety beads, which I wrote for as soon as any man demanded a sample to buy some. You seem somewhat dissatisfsied at the

charges when I came here, which I will assure you I really paid and was agreed on by Mr Humfryes and myselfe, and was the lowest they could be brought to, which we did beat as low as we were able. The letters at present I cannot find, but suppose the copy is with you, by which as well as my memory dictates to me was to be as good husbands for the Company and come of as cheap as we could, which I take to be the substance of the letter.

Ampeteene³⁶ this day came to me and sayes Mr Nightingale owes him 11 chests of corne. I would know of him wheither I shall deliver him his pawn which he gave me, or elce to write me what the difference is betwixt for [he] sayes he will paniar on his head to the vallue. Now if he writes me word I will end that difference. There is not a day but I am troubled about his concerns. Ashedow has a great command of all the Arcanyes and told me today that none should come to trade here unless Mr Nightingale satisfies him, soe leave it to your matter and due considerations to adjudg how disadvantageous it is to the Company that trade should be hindred for frivolous matter. The two casks of rum containing 77 gallons of rum is gon to Agga, and this cano now brings from thence 15 chests of corne. I have not paid the slaves for the last two months; they are at me this two dayes for payment, soe request what each slaves pay is, that may satisfie them, and in what.

[PS] I have also paid Asheddo 5a for Mr Nightingales account rather than loose trade, which he really owes him, as letter per bearer can tell what he said.

463. Ralph Hassell

Annamaboe, 7 Nov. 1686

Yours per Peter I have received together with two hundred iron barrs, and doe conjuncture that by soe small a matter as the raiseing the price from 28 to 26ta I shall have small sayles this month. The letter at length I have se[a]rch [and] found in a booke in which I was fformely reading, and have here inclosed sentt it you. As for the corne in my accompts it is 348 chests, which would easily apear by my receipt for all things in the ffactory. The beads I have since weighed and there is 780 pounds, soe begg it may be mentioned in my accompts. As for the corne, I beleive few Commanders will receive such if they can have new corne.

I have likewise received Bonashees³⁷ pawne, that is his armring, which when he comes to demand it shall be delivered according to order. I have delivered Jonas [Perrin] his accompts and bid him rectifie them. On Frydaye I with Mr Walker [went] there³⁸ where we inventoryd the warehouse, and find if it be true as he saith that he trusted Quabba with three sayes, if I have not the mony by tomorrow night I will againe take an exact accompt of every thing and demand the mony for all that

³⁶ Also mentioned in 1682, when involved in a 'palaver' with the RAC factory (vol.i, no.319).

³⁷ Called 'Ando Bonashee' in no.556; a leading trader of Anomabu: already attested in 1682-3 (vol.i, nos 293 etc.).

³⁸ i.e. to Egya, where Jonas Perrin was chief of the RAC factory.

is wanting, which if he makes not good your Worship shall here thereof, and then I beg If not before to have your possitive order, for I fear he is not as he should be. I beleive more than ordinary fate attends these places. There shall not any damage attraw [= accrue] for the future to the Company soe far as it lyes within the sphere of my capacity to remedy.

464. Ralph Hassell

Annamaboe, 7 Nov. 1686

Since my sealing of my letter of this date which goes likewise by this canoe, Bonashee came and demanded his pawne, which I tendred him, and when he saw [ms. 'say'] it he refused it, by reason he had not the neckring with it, which he sayes he has satisfied for both and if he has not that you may keep both, this to pardon me that I rite you soe for this was his expression and many worse. Had above two howers dispute and would have him to take it, but he utterly denys it unless he hath the other with it, that is the reason Petter staid soe long, and hee understood and heard all the pallaver and can tell you the truth at large, if a black may be beleived. I have here enclosed the receipt which would have him sign; also have per Peter sent the ring back, he refusing it.

465. Ralph Hassell

Annamaboe, 8 Nov. [1686]

Yours of yesterdays date I have received, and according to order sent this morning for Bonashee. He is still on his same string, harping to have the other ffitish,³⁹ and sayes that Murrowando was his kinsman and that he neaver had any thing to doe with that neckring, and that when he pawned it to Mr Richard Thelwell⁴⁰ he [= Murrowando] was Braffo; and that it was their custome that whenever a man is made Braffo he canot see the salt watter, and he sayes that last slave and five angles was in full for boath the pawns, and that he will take a ffitish before Doctor Griffen, and any other white man you will send down, if you will not beleive him then hee desires the slave and five angles againe. This palaver has taken up most of this morning, I have inquir'd of severall wheither Murrowando be liveing, some sayes yes at Annian,⁴¹ others sayes he is dead long since but not byryed, soe how to beleive them I know not, but I beleive he is dead. I also demanded of him that if any of his [= Murrowando's] ffreinds should ever demand this ffitish, he answered that he had neaver anything to doe with it. Shall immediately goe to Agga and there with Mr Walker inventory the warehouse and demand all the mony for all goods wanting, which if he complyes not with shall then ffollow your worships orders, but then I fear a future charge will then ffollow by putting in

³⁹ See Glossary.

⁴⁰ Chief of the RAC factory at Anomabu in 1681-4 (see vol.i, chap. IV).

⁴¹ Also mentioned (as 'Annian', 'Angian') in the Anomabu correspondence of 1682 (vol.i, nos 269, 281). Not identified; but evidently inland from Anomabu.

another, nevertheless Ile doe my Masters the justice they shall not be wronged or I myselfe injured as little as may bee. As soon as he has finished his Octobers accompts will send them up.

466. Ralph Hassell

Annamaboe, 9 Nov. 1686

According as I wrote you yesterday I with Mr Walker went to Agga and inventoryed the warehouse there, where found all the goods wanting as per the inclosed note amounte to 1mk 1o 11a 10. I demanded the money for the goods as I did the time before, he [= Jonas Perring] told mee he had trusted most of the money and if I would but stay a day or two he would endeavor to gett itt in all and bring it mee; I replyed this is your old pleay which you promised on Ffryday that if I would tarry but till Munday I should then have itt, and that I then cam for it and would not be putt off any longer, and allso taxt him with this letter inclosed which hee sent mee on Sunday, whereof you may playnly perceive the roguery of this ffellow. Farther James Griffin verryfyed it to his face that he saw soe much as his noate specified, which after soe taxed he humed and hawed and could not tell whatth [sic] to say, butt looked and shuffled things about, to looke if any money would appear. Att length he looked and found a bulce with fittishes and other beads and some money, all weighing butt 6o 4a bare waite; I beleive the beads and ffittishes were borrowed. I had not been there a quarter of an hower but people swarmed about us mumbling and grumblng. I sent out scouts to understand what might be the meaning and in the pallavering hous it was sayd and agreed amoungst them that if Jonas was sent away noe other white man should come there. I made an end as soon as I could and brought away the key of the warehouse [so] that noe other goods should be imbazled, and I fear if I should send Mr Walker there they would doe him a mischief or any one elce, which make mee in truth amazed and require your farther order. I fear by his speaking Blackes⁴² it would be a difficulte matter to gett him away. Never was any man soe plagued att his firste entrance into an imployment as I am, what with trobles and noyse here and disquietting my self about Agga [so] that I have not a quiett houre in a day, and haveing so small a trade and soe great expence discomposes mee, butt patiance and hope my dayley companions has not forsaken mee. I humbly begg your speedy answer and order to proceed in the affaire.

467. Ralph Hassell

Annamaboe, 10 Nov. 1686

Yours by Toby of yesterdayes date received the last nighte, and in pursuance to every one of your commands I have ffully effected and hope will give and render your Worships contente. I have now likewise thinking itt matteriall sent up the

⁴² i.e. the local African language, in this case Fante. Cf. above, no.109, with n.129.

money with ffitishes and as I received itt from Jonas Perrin and sealed whith his owne seale, and by whatt accompts he renders your Worshipe you may adjudge if whatt I have advised timely off be not reasonable to cleare mee of any defecte in relation to my Masters concerns, for I have done the parte of a servante that I would not lett them be any ways sufferers. The messenger that I sent for him tells mee that the house was full att Agga and making pallavers on James Griffin keeping the key, which I order'd him and sent another man there yesterday, not adjudgeing it safe [that] Mr Perrin should have itt any longer by reason he complied not with promise, and fearing that goods to a greater value might goe to hatch money to make the other good, and having th[o]roughly sifted out the matter I finde more bran them [= then] meale; yett by reason I paste [= passed] my word to Cabushers and likewise to him before them, I would doe him no injury, soe begg you would be as favorable as in equity may bee. I feare all is not over yett, for a little of sparke kindles a greatt fire, and the firste smoake thatt appears Ile not fayle of rendering immediattly advise. It would in my opinion be verry nessessary that a Chiefe should be there, and not under this place. I am not covetious of itt, for if I should longer take the charge under such a one there, I should weave the webb of my owne woe and spinn the thread of my thralldome. If I should expatiate on this subjecte I could not be held a fflatterer butt rather a suffragante to truth. I submit to your candid judgements.

468. Ralph Hassell Annamaboe, 11 [Nov. 1686], att 5 in the morning

Last night between the howres of 7 and 8 I received yours datted the 10 currante together with teen chests of sheets and two bayles of perpetuanoes. Coming soe late I opened none butt deferd itt till this morning, I hope all are well and true according to what you mentioned. The canoe men were somewhat to blame in not looking better in coming a shoree, for the canoe shipd watter and wetted the cheste much. I will open all to see if any damaged, which I hope the beste. I had an indefferent good trade yesterday, I tooke aboute 2 mark and moste for neptunes and bassons; the neptunes are almoste gonn, and I hope today to have a good markt for sheets and perpetuanoes, for as soone as I received the goods in the warehouse laste night I was promised two more tomorrow, for blew perpetuanoes, butt I told them I must sell green with blew; they told me they would not give butt 7a for green, to which I answered they should have noe blew then. Iron barrs as informed your Worship stickes ahand since I rose them by order to 26 per bendy and have not sould one, soe what I have must ly longer on hand or order to continew att 28 per bendy. Although I have endeavord to exercise the vivacity of my small capacity to bring them to it, it is as much to the purpose as to blow feathers againste a storme, and if I have hitherto committed any errors, which I hope not, I doe avow to repay that debt which the intreste of all my best endeavors and your commands shall be ever with mee and absolute law; and soe far hath my

duty to you lead mee to subscribe ever only I begg by firste conveniency aboute 20 or 30 deales to make place above stayers [= stairs] to take mony in, for have not any place fitting for that purpose, allsoe a carpenter.

469. Ralph Hassell

Annamaboe, 12 Nov. 1686

I wrott you yesterday morning I expected a verry good trade, which I might have had if would have sould all blwe [= blue] perpetuanoes without green, soe I sould butt two. Thee green will not fetch 6a apeice, I am suree it was noe good husbandry to pull all the fillits of, for that exposes the damage to veiw and does them noe good. I request your speedy answer, for they will buy none butt blew; if soe, I then can dispose of double the quantity this month, or if any new greens be come to send some. I sould two chests of sheets yesterday and hope to have ready money in a shortt time for all. The neptunes are likewise now in demand, I have sould all and wante a supply of more of the same sortte I now send a sample by the bearer; if a little larger some, it would not be amiss soe they be verry slight and light, for they esteem of number as much as weight: the last held out verry good weight. Quashee⁴³ was whith mee for to pay him for four hundred of wood and three chests of salte which was for the Coast friggatt, Mr Henry Wood Commander, the wood att four angles per cent, the salt att 3a per cheste. If Mr Nightingall has not paid or charged itt I begg your resolve about itt. The corne roome will be finished by tomorrow night, on Munday all the slaves shall goe and thatch the ffactory Agga.

470. Ralph Hassell

Annamaboe, 15 Nov. 1686

I had wrote to your worship on the 13th instante and then had sent it had it not been for Yabboe, who then cam to mee [and] makes a demand who should pay him six bendys which he lett Jonas Perrin have for ballance his October accounte till Mr Humfryes and I cam downe, Jonas telling him he would pay itt againe as soone as the Arcanyes cam to trade, he then telling him he had as much in cracra money but he knew that Mr Humfryes would not take itt; and Yabboy is resolved to have itt one wayes or other, soe I begg your Worship and Gentellmen to examine him stricktly aboute itt, butt I verryly beleive he will give as little insight into that as in all the reste, being alltogather obstinate, and he must have all his money, for the blackes say that he never was a spendthrift. I have now sent up his trunk with papers, which will stand him in as much stead to make up his accompts as if nothing had been in it, it cam oppenn to mee, and soe I send itt your worship. Here is now noe money stirring, by reason one Captain John, Captain Dickes brother,⁴⁴

⁴³ Attested in 1682 (as 'Captain Quashee'), when he was appointed by the Anomabu authorities to 'look after the white men here' (vol.i, no.258).

⁴⁴ Also mentioned in no.496. Captain Dick was appointed (together with Quashee) to look after the Europeans in Anomabu in 1682 (vol.i, no.258).

the last weeke went up to Cabo Corsoe aboard shipp, where he purposed to lay out six markes, butt not finding the goods he expected returned and gave this answer to the Arcanyes and Cabusheers, that he h[e]ard there was two greatt ships to windward, soe the money is all stopted for a trade aboard them. I pray send per the first conveniency a bale of broad tapseeles and a cask of three pound pwetter [= pewter] basons and some stripitt sattins if any of the same sortte laste of 5 ft 5, butt pray whatt is sent lett them bee off a deep reed and a gold couler and if att that rate 30 or 40. The green perpetuanoes hinderes the sale of the blew. I turned the corne yesterday and itt is extremely dusty, and being old the weavell increases dayly, [I] doe what I can and if it be not verry speedily expended itt will be altogathar invalid, I writte nothing butt the truth; if any one gainsay itt, lett him be a spectator and an impartial Judge. I have bought noe corne as yett nor can not, for feare of this spoyling [the] other, though in a remotte partte yet vermin will spread abroad.

471. Ralph Hassell

Annamaboe, 22 Nov. 1686

Yours of this date I received about two houres since, and as soon as I received itt sent for all the slaves which belonged boath to Annamaboe and Agga which were buissey there, and as soone as they cam sett them at worke to through [= throw] all the corne out from the roome over the kitchin and to carry itt in to the greatt yard to winnow itt and dust itt and then to putt it in the roome which I have now coverd, by reason there is noe weavells or virmin, and the roome where itt was Ile indeavor to cleare from all buggs &c, and if in one weekes time I see itt growes weavely Ile remove itt againe, and there shall be noe care wanting to save it. I have sent your worship a sample of boath according to order. This verry day I turned away money for all the blew perpetuanoess by reason they would not buy one green one; if you have any good green att Cabo Corsoe pray send 20, butt if they be the least touched they will not buy them. I have now by mee aboutt tenn marke of gold, and if may sell the blewes singly question not butt they will all be gone suddenly with other goods, soe begg your answer. The barer can informe you that all hands are att worke in order to your commands. If any thinge of news by Captain Butteram I begg a line. In the napkin you will find a noatt which is Annamaboe, and that is the best corne.

472. Ralph Hassell

Annamaboe, 3 Dec. 1686

Yours yesterday I received with two hundred iron barrs and two hundred and fower brasse diglins, all which shall dispose of according to order. This canoe alsoe returnes with 30 chestes of corne from Agga, alsoe all the broad niccanees that weare heare, all as I received them being accompted ninetye and a remnant in baggs. Heare is sletias and carpitt in a bad condittion, and what to doe with them I

knowe nott, for they are nott vendable. Likewise all the things which belonged to Jonas Perrin goes herewith. Since my being att Cabo Corso all the sheets are gon, soe desire as many chests as your worship cann well spare, for withoutt them I shall make butt a small months accompte. All thinges are in a quiet condition here and well. This is the key of Jonas Perrins cheste.

473. Ralph Hassell

Annamaboe, 7 Dec. 1686

I received yours last night, att which I was amazed to heare of such complaints. First against niccanees, I had recourse to Mr Nightingalls accompte, and found noe narrow nor short as I remember thearin; and for the corne, itt was very well dusted I will averr when your worship ordered itt, and being the very bottom of the flower [= floor] and soe many buggs remaine in the corne roome, they presently entred againe, and all the heart being eaten some durst will reman in the hallow husk. I heare is now butt teen chests remaining att Agga, from whence the other 30 chestes went. This heare I take as good care of as any man canne, and will for every thing else. If you will please to inspect the inventory you may see many dommaged [sic] goods, which you will all grant I cannot mend, butt my care shall be to preserve them. They have been twice taken downe and brusht, which is as Mr Walker sayes more than was done in 6 months before, and shall bee every month, and oftner if nessesity requires. Since my beeing heare I have advised for noe perrishable commoditie. The accompts shall bee sentt God willing tomorrow. They had gone today butt in a morning I am favored with many vissitations which cannott shunn, though never soe much buissness. The Arcanians are just now gonn to fetch money for 20 barrills powder, which they say shall have in the afternoon; how to beeleive them I know nott, butt praye a suply of that commodite tonight if possible. Bonnishee is with mee att this instant and these are his very words, the Agent Blackman[s] good freind and doe all Black man very good, butt hee noe savee for what hee noe love mee, butt I love him and tell him to make all pallavra succaba, Ile give him a very good woeman and then hee send mee the two pawnes and then Umbra Cooshie, that is to say a finall conclusion.⁴⁵

474. Ralph Hassell

Annamaboe, 7 Dec. 1686

I wrote your worship this morning that the Arcanians had been with mee for

⁴⁵ An interesting (and effectively unique) representation of seventeenth-century West African English; see discussion by Huber 1999, 87–8, with n.10. Of the non-English words, ‘savee’ and ‘pallavra’ are Portuguese *saver*, ‘know’, and *palavra*, ‘dispute’ (lit. ‘word’). An eighteenth-century source records the phrase ‘palaaver suquebah’ as a formula used to seal a bargain (at Cape Lopez), and also gives the term ‘soquebah’ in coastal pidgin for ‘gone, lost’ (Atkins 1735, 60, 197); the second element is probably from Portuguese *acaber*, ‘finish’ (perhaps specifically the reflexive form *se acabou*, ‘is finished’). ‘Umbra cooshie’ has not been identified (unless the first word is from Fante *brá*, ‘settle’).

powder and that they would bring money this afternoon, which since I have received for 16 barrells, alsoe for 1: 2 and 3 pound pewtter bassons, of which I bage [= beg] you would bee pleased tomorrow to send 20 barrells powder, 400 1 pound bassons, 200 2 pound, 200 three pound ditto, for have past my would [= word] they shall have some tomorrow. They are very importunate for sheetts, which I tould them I beebeived there was none. Here is a greate quantite of money and more would dayly come had wee butt such goods as they want, which I shall nott nominate knowing there is none to suply me with all; what I now write for I hope tomorrow early to receive.

475. Ralph Hassell

Amamaboe [sic], 9 Dec. 1686

Last night per the cano I received both your letters together with thirty barrells of powder, four chest sheets, three hundred two pound pewter basons, two hundred three pound ditto. The major part of the basons I had mony for, soe hope in a shorte time to send for more of the same commodities, for I doe not hold it discession to send for great quantities at a tame [= time], for then they will but blow upon goods, and being soe near where I may suddainly be supplyd will cause a greater eagerness in them to take what I have. Bonashee last night sent in a woman slave according as he promised and hopes your Worship will be as good as your word. By this cano I have sent up three men and one woman besides that of Bonishees, also according to your Worships order twenty chests of Annamaboe corne, which I will say is clean, and so is all here or that shall come from hence. The accompts I have sent up all signed by myselfe, and the errors rectified in James Griffins time. I want paper much. This is the ultimate val[u]e of what I have.

476. Rice Wight⁴⁶

Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 13 Dec. [1686]

Last night we got safe down and meat with a civil reception. This morning early in order to your command began the inventory [of] the warehouse, which I find more difficult than I apprehended, by reason of the damaged goods, soe that I fear I shall not dispatch in the time limitted, but what I came about shall be done effectually. Several of the damaged sayes are sold to Captain Quashee. I shall not enlarge.

477. Ralph Hassell

Annamaboe, 14 Dec. [1686]

Yours yesterday with three hundred two pound pewter basons and two hundred three pound ditto and four chests of sheets have received. Have concluded the inventory of the warehouse here and am just goeing to Agga. This cano carryes 2 men 1 woman slaves and 20 chests of corn. Mr Whiteing is arrived and somewhat

⁴⁶ Sent from Cape Coast Castle, to inventory the factories at Anomabu and Egya.

indisposed and will stay till to morrow to refresh himselfe. Shall if your Worship thinks convenient towards the end of the month waite upon you with my accompts and the ballance.

[PS] The woman that was sent last was Bonashes.

478. Rice Wight Annamaboe, Charles Fort, 14 Dec. [1686]

Your letter of yesterday date have received by Mr Elwes. Your orders therein shall be observed, [he] being this morning goeing to Agga.⁴⁷ Last night finished the warehouse here and hope to compleat all this night that I may return to Cabo Corso tomorrow.

[PS] Powder is verry scarce. Mr Whiteing[s] cano is in sight and since came on shore, but much indisposed.

479. Ralph Hassell Annamaboe, 15 Dec. 1686

This accompanys Mr Rice Whight, by whome goes the inventory of boath ffactoryes signed under our hands according as ordered, with the accompte of what goods has been disposed of, since the 1st of the month. I have nigh twenty marke of gold by mee for boath ffactorys, besides all the people paid this month. I am hartily glad off soe good a neighbor as Mr Elwes, with whome will bare so ffriendly a correspondence as may be, and question not butt itt will be for our masters intrests. I hope all things will be to your satisffaction, and then my joy att present is compleate.

480. Ralph Hassell Annamaboe, 15 Dec. 1686

Since what I wrote per Mr White a chapman⁴⁸ has presented for good markt iron barrs, which I have not any good ones left which they approve of, so pray send per first conveniency, tonight if possible, three hundred.

[PS] I begg some paper of both large and small. I have 4oz for barrs.

481. Ralph Hassell Annamaboe, 17 Dec. 1686

Your Worships yesterday by the 17 hand cano with three hundred iron barrs is received. If any defect in the inventory, as your Worship and Gentlemen signifie, it shall be corrected and amended. I have since told over severall goods and find them more than what was inserted in the inventory, and in my monthly acount. All things shall be rectified. The sayes Mr Wight sold had like to be returned again, for

⁴⁷ Robert Elwes was now placed in charge of the Egya factory (cf. no.626).

⁴⁸ i.e. trader.

Assina blowing of the mony and finding it so bad that he tarried and took up a great deal of tim, as indeed it required time to be well pickt. Quashee after the departure of Mr Wight, was in such a rage that he would return all againe. All the mony I have sent by itselfe, as also that for the ffactory of Agga. I humbly begg your excuse that the account is not transcribed, for were a sheet of paper to be the ransom of the cuntrey, I have it not, and I have wrote for some more than once; I am brought to the necessity that I am constrained to return you part of what letter is sent to me, which this is by Ridly Horsford. Your order is obeyed for I have sent up in all 20m 6oz 12a, all that I have by me for both ffactoryes. I have not elce to add but humbly return you thanks for your invitation at Christmas, which if health permitt shall not fayle to kiss your hands.

482. Ralph Hassell

Annamaboe, 18 Dec. [1686]

The bearer being an Arcany man is sent on purpose to be sattisfied whether your Worship ordered me to sell iron at 24 barrs per bendy, which in the mergent [= margin] of your worship and Councell of the 16th instant it is so, which I observed according and will let none goe under. I have this morning by their approbatiuous [= opprobrious] language abused and they say I keepe the mony my selfe for 4 barrs which in Mr Nightingales time they use to have 28, so pray sattisfie the bearer it is your order. They say they will all leave this place they tell me, as the bearer will inform your Worship. Here is mony for powder and sheets, and more dayly expected. I have for two or three dayes been endeavouring to raise the price of powder to 18a, the Dutch haveing none, but cannot, but doe thinck at 10 [for] 1oz to put a quantity off[f], if they are as good as their words. I should inlarge had I paper, I beg I may be supplied by the bearer.

483. Ridley Horsford

Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 28 Dec. 1686

Last night Mr Elwes and selfe arrived at Annamaboe, and this morning Mr Walker is bound for Cabo Corso in the cano we came in. As for what I have seen he hath left all things in good order, belonging to the Company concerns. In the meantime shall be careful what lyes in me.

484. Ralph Hassell

Annamaboe, 30 Dec. 1686

According to your order yesterday morning we began to inventory the warehouse, and today by noon shall compleat it and tomorrow your Worship shall have it. Yesterday in the affternoon the Cabusheers were with me for their accustomed Christmas, dashees and told me today they would have it. I desidrd them to tarry untell such time that I heard what your Worship and Gentlemen would allow, they answerd they would not be delayd, I had been at Cabo Corso and that you had

orderd me to give what other men had done before me, they were sure, and that twas not mine but the Companys pleasure to give it them, and that they would have it. I endeavoured what possible I could with reason to perswade them to mittigate the charge, telling them that the Company was at great charge when I came here; but all argument proved to no purposes for they told me I should not debar them from their right which had been given them by my predecessors. Their insolency is in realty so great that it is not sufferable. These begs your Worship an answer, what was given the last year, for so much they say they will have, I beleive rather more than less for they talk of great matters. Pray take it not amis that Ridly Horsford stays so long, tomorrow he shall return. If your Worship think it convenient I will send up the mony that I have.

485. Ralph Hassell

Annamaboe, 31 Dec. [16]86

I here inclosed sent your Worship an account of all the goods in Annamaboe. I have delivered Boneshee his two pawns as per the inclosed receipt, so desire mine againe. He would not sign to a receipt for the pawn in Braffo Murranadoes [sic] name but as his own. Have now sent up 4mk 3a of which two ounces is on Agga account. I am almost bated to death with these people. I desire your Worship to speak to Mr Nightingale to give me advise how he disposed the dashees and to whome. This cano takes in but 10 chests corn by reason of Mr Walkers things.

486. Ralph Hassell

Annamaboe, 1 Jan. 1686 [= 1687]

I received yours yesterday dated the 30th ultimo, at which thime all the Cabusheers with many others were assembled together makeing their demands for their severall Christmas dashes, which I would have abaited as much as I could, but they rather stood to have it augmented. I could not stay them of a minute, they would have itt and more to. Now Asheddo is Captain of the Arcanyes and another second, he tells me that your Worship promised him a cloth, which he insists on and sayes I detain it from him, although yesterday I gave him a red perpetuanoe and a case of liquor, which he sayes is usuall to the Arcanyes besides a cloth to the Captain and second. He threaten no trade shall come without two cloths of 10a price be given him and second, pray your answer. Though yesterday I ended with the men I have still a great plauge with the women, who will not lett me alone; which way to take I know not, fair means work not, I am almost att my witts end, I wish three or four dayes over that I might be at quiett. Have not elce farther to add only the messenger is sent by the Arcanyes to know your pleasure.

487. Ralph Hassell

Annamaboe, 4 Jan. 1686 [= 1687]

Haveing this oportunity by Captain Peter of conveying my December accounts with the ballance, have thought it requisite to send them, the mony being 1mk 1oz

6a for Agga accounts till Mr Elwes time. Your Worship shall receive them as soon as they are finished, which I am now about; you had received them long since had I not been interrupted by the noyse and clamers of these people. I received yours ordering the purchaseing of corn but as yet have not got one chest, but as it comes in will render advice. When I was at Cabo Corso one of the Arda men⁴⁹ went up theither, and as yet is not come down, his name is Hans, desire your Worship to send him, or another in his roome. Here is no trade by reason of two ship[s] here and one to windward.

[PS] Just as I was sealing this up I received yours intemating the complaynts of the Cabushers saying the Castle is cold, if it be hotter I am sure I am not able to continue in it. The allowance of rum goes but a verry small way in the heat, their is not a day yett hath passed over my head since my being here but it hath cost me a gallon rum besides the double monthly allowance. What they would have is brandy and that I am not able to afford; to be more liberall of the Company goods I will not, and of my own I cannot, and in that I consider the Company intrest. I am very willing to be at quiett but these are a people trobled with a nunquam satis.⁵⁰ They never complayned to me of what you intimate. This fellow was sent on purpose to acquaint you that I will not take Fanteen mony,⁵¹ which they bring in great quantities and bad, nither will they suffer it to be well pickt, which will be to my loss. Ask Captain Peter, he will tell you it is the reason of their complaint.

488. William Halford

Annamaboe, 8 Jan. 1686/7

Mr Hassell and myselfe are now takeing an inventory of the warehouse, of which I had sent your Worship a coppia, but takeing a particular account of all the goods to se wheather they have been cut, takes up more time than I did imagine. The first oportunity I will send up an exact coppie, in the intrim I hope you will be pleased to excuse [William Halford].

489. Ralph Hassell

Annamaboe, 9 Jan. 1686/7

Yours of the 7th instant I have received by Mr Halford, to whome shall shew civillity. The Cabushers are now all gon into the cuntrey. I have not received one chest of corn as yett; this that is here growes dayly worse and worse though I doe my utmost to preserve it. Tomorrow shall finish inventoring the warehouse. Here is now no manner of trade by reason of two ships here and others to windward, but hope the next week it will mend.

⁴⁹ i.e. slaves of the Company, purchased from Allada, on the Slave Coast to the east.

⁵⁰ 'Never enough'.

⁵¹ i.e. adulterated gold (in contrast to 'Akani gold', as in no.182); cf. the later reference to 'Fanteen cracraes (which is nothing but meere brass)' (no.544).

490. Ralph Hassell

Annamaboe, 11 Jan. 1686/7

Just now came down Boneshee from Fanteen, being sent from the Braffo and Curranters, hereing that the Ackims and Aguinas are coming upon them,⁵² they say they want powder to fight them, and have sent to be trusted with four barrells of powder and one ounce in lead barrs, and say they will pay out of their monthly customes, and if they are conquer[er]s in slaves. I will not doe it of myselfe but by your order, so beg your immediate answers, and a supply of more powder. I am constraigned upon your [= their] great importunity to write this. Nothing of trade presents, they being all up the cuntrey. Pray send no powder except you intend to trust them. I have delivered 4 sayes to have corn in eight dayes for them, being baited almost to death to doe it.

491. Ralph Hassell

Annamaboe, 11 Jan. 1686/7

Yours with my December accounts have received, which are sent down to be rectified according as you write at the foot of the letter, which I will not be so prophane as to call the God of truth to be wittness to a lye, but this I will aver that for me or to my knowledg they are the same goods as formerly I received for broad nicconees, no more nor no less nor otherwise to my knowledg without any equivocation or mentall preservation [= reservation], and this I will aver as God shall be my help; and if you think I doe with any fraud endeavour to put an injury upon any man, I averr I have no such thought nor intention, and lett the saddle be laid on the right horse, I received them so. Pardon me writeing so bluntly, but it is nothing but truth, which I will aver before the Almighty to whom I appeal. I also perceive that since the 6th December one broad nicconee is wanting of what was then mentioned, so there may be mistakes in the best of men. I have sent the account back againe and beg a more favorable judgment and not such severe sentence on the innocent to that concerne. This affternoon I have taken in sixty chests of corn which I have not paid for, and tomorrow and affterwards shall have more, but not to be had under 1½a per chest, which they say is the usuall rate, or 11 chest for a say &ca pro rato. Not a cracra stirring. It is the generall fear of all this cuntrey, nay an undoubted truth that the Achims with the Anguinas are going to fight the Accrongs, which these people are to protect,⁵³ and Ahenesah will

⁵² i.e. Akyem, in the interior to the north-east of Fante, and Agona, on the coast to the east. As is made clear in no.491, Akyem and Agona were not threatening Fante directly, but Akron, its eastern neighbour, which was under Fante protection. For the Agona/Fante conflict at this time, cf. also no.637, from Egya.

⁵³ Akron, the immediate eastern neighbour of Fante (and between it and Agona). For the Agona/Akron conflict at this time, see also nos 869, 884, from Beraku. The two states had also been at war earlier, in 1681–2 (vo.i, nos 251, 385–8, 506). For Akron's status as a protectorate of Fante, cf. Bosman 1705, 61.

undoubtedly be on the back of the Achims to help Fanteen.⁵⁴ We hope it will be a good time shortly for slaves. The corn that I shall have within this three or four dayes, with the corn I had from Mr Nightingales, I hope to make it betwixt 400 or 500 chests.

492. William Halford

Annamaboe, 15 Jan. 1686/7

I have here inclosed an inventory of the warehouse and I have take all the possible care I could in laying up the goods so that they may not take any more damage, so I shall use my utmost endeavour to keep all the goods neat and clean which I receive from Cabo Corso.

493. Ralph Hassell

Annamaboe, 15 Jan. 1686/7

These serve for covert of the accounts for Agga till such time that Mr Elwes took charge. They should have been sent up sooner but I tarried till I had received the ballance, which I received at three times, and have sent it up, being 6a 13ta. Also I have inclosed the accounts which were sent to be coppied over, but not that which Jonas signd, for that I reserve for my selfe without you are pleased to have that. [As] to corn [it] comes in but slowly either here or at Agga. I have not in all received above one hundred and twenty chests and I beleive Mr Elwes none, for the news of war and preparation thereto hath so allarmed this town that they are all gon to Fanteen except it be the ffishermen, women and children. Here is not 50 fighting men in Annamabo and all the adjacent crooms, and till such time as they return cannot expect any corn. I beleive shall not take so much mony this month as will sattisfie charges. I purpose today to goe to Annishan and agree for two or 300 chests and so to have it sent of to the ship that shall next come, if it stands with your approbation, pray by return of the messenger a word, but I would willingly have the old corn aboard first, for if he has the new corn he'l hardly take the old and when that is gon I shall have roome enough for 1000 chests more, for I dare not mix new with old.

494. Ralph Hassell

Annamaboe, 17 Jan. 1686/7

I received yours of this dayes date while I was at Annishan measureing the corn, where I am promised 3 or 400 chests of corn. I have left Henry Underhill there to measure it and with all have given order to receive whatever good corn they bring tomorrow and next day. I have exactly three hundred and forty chests here with Mr

⁵⁴ Ansa, King of Akwamu; but for local doubts about whether Ansa would assist Fante, cf. no.496. Ansa had already been allied with Fante against Akyem and Angona in 1681 (vol.i, no.232). The Accra correspondence refers frequently to tension between Akwamu and Akyem during 1686-7, but does not connect this to the Fante/Agona conflict (nos 707, 717-8, 762, 766).

Nightingales corne, which I hope you will order to be shipt first. I have now also sent a note to Mr Elwes to se what corn he has and what he can purchase.

I have done as much as possible could for Mr Halford and selfe on Satterday went to Annishan to agree for corn. They stood on their terms then and would not comply anything reasonable, imagining we wanted corn to goe to them. Beleave as you will but it is far better to be always stockt with 1000 chests than to want 100, for they know when it is their harvest time to reap both the benefitt and gather the gleaning, and this I beg, whenever a ship comes next you would be so kind as to send a cano or canoes to carry it off to the boat, for I cannot gett one of any size for love or mony, although I have endeavoured much, have sent to Laggue⁵⁵ and there is not one to be had by reason of the warrs. The times here are extraordinary dull, here is not twenty able men left in the twone [= towne], they begin to be fearfull and bring their gold chests in the Castle. In fine, I know not what their apprehentions are unless it is with fear of success. God grant it be for the best. Today have sold 2oz of snaphances and 1oz lead barrs, and they say will have more dayly, so beg a supply of both, with good ammunition and more men for our own safegard and the Company intrest. I write in hast according to your commands.

495. Ralph Hassell

Annamaboe, 19 Jan. 1686/7

Yours of yesterdayes date I have received by Peter, together with 50 snaphances and 50 lead barrs. There is 13 of the snaphances halfe of the but ends broak of, one without a lock and severall almost out of the stocks. If I am charged with firelock musquetts pray lett the denomination be altered, for they are not so. Shall not lett slip any opertunity but render advice upon the least prospect of a trade and intimate particularly the goods that shall or will vend. I have by this cano sent up twenty chests of corn. To answer about the nicconees, and speaking my mind freely, I am very loath to lanch out any mony for what I never received. If they were narrow I protest they were as I received them, without any addition or alteration or demunition but only [= except for] the six peices which I sold. Your Worship and Gentlemen are men of reason, and I propose this: a negro payes for one sort of goods and through mistake receives another, afterwards he calls himselfe to mind he paid for the other, which comes to more, you will in justice sattisfie him. Though this may well be against me, yett I plead that the transgressor, be who it will, that first gave them the denomination of broad nicconees and alterd the prosperity [= property] of the goods [should] make restitution, for it is very severe for one man to pay for anothers default, so hope your candid constructions of this will administer justice to [Ralph Hassell].

⁵⁵ Lagu, on the coast east of Amisa.

496. Ralph Hassell

Annamaboe, 27 Jan. 1686/7

Yours of yesterdays date I have received, and concerning what corn I have now is 113 chest of old corn, haveing shipt but 100 aboard Captain Hosea⁵⁶ and forty five sent to Cabo Corso this month. I have but 15 chests of new corn, but in 4 or 5 dayes I can have from the Annishan people paid in their 4 or 5 hundred chests if they are as good as their words. I shipt from thence in one day, near two hundred chests. I am promised much here but here is no people to bring it in, but they say in a dayes time or two people will come downe, which I give little credit to, for as far as I can understand they are in great consternation of mind, fearing much Ahenesahs aid, for they say he will scarce come to their assistance, and the Aboncomes⁵⁷ makes incursions on their territories dayly, approaching nearer and nearer. This is what I can learn at present. If any ffather occurrences happen shall not fail to advise.

Assina says that whilst he lived at Succondee he had the allowance of three angles per month, he takes care in blowing the mony and likewise is i[n]stead of Captain Dick the interpreter, so I request your answer to this and whether I may take any quantity of corn at Annashan. Here I am promised more dayly, as it comes in will dayly advise you.

497. Ralph Hassell

Annamaboe, 29 Jan. 1686/7

Yours of yesterdays date I received and as soon as I read the contents imediately sent a man to Annishan to measure corn and thing [= think] to goe thether my selfe today to agree for the quantity you order, for here I cannot gett any, being no people to carry it, all being gon into the cuntrey, and when have any quantity will advise. You write I may sell narrow nicconees at 3a, I never had none that I know of, nor flowerd silk longees.

As concerning the warrs I know no farther than what I advised of in my last, but that they expect the enemy to give the ffirst onsett, they being all prepard. As any other news shall happen will render an account. Here is much wanted some tarr and trucks for great gunns, also sponges for have not one, some small shott, ladles and worms for minion and faulcon,⁵⁸ which are the biggest guns [we] have, some match and cathridge paper, some old junk for wads. I want short irons, haveing but 3 pieces, for whenever I sent slaves I never receive any back. Also firelocks.

⁵⁶ Cf. nos 924–5.

⁵⁷ Abonse, an inland market which supplied gold to Accra (cf. Barbot 1992, ii, 435); later part of Akuapem.

⁵⁸ minion, falcon: types of small cannon.

498. Ralph Hassell

Annamaboe, 3 Feb. 1686/7

These accompanys my January accounts with the ballance, which is so small that I am in a maner ashamed to insert it in computation of the foregoeing month, it being but 2mk 10ta. I much fear as yett the alteration or increase of better times till Dame Fortune crowns these people with victory, which they in my apprehension seem dubious of, for yesterday they sent from Fanteen to command all able men to bear arms up thither and hung a fittish at the gate that no man should come to trade to sell any corn or any other thing, butt imediately to repare with arms to Ffannteen. I was forced to give the Braffo and Cabushers to take it down againe 2 lead barrs and $\frac{1}{2}$ a barrell of powder and a pintadoe that we might not be debar'd the liberty of people to bring refreshment to sustain us, which is granted, and people have free egress and regress. Quashe presents his servis to you, who came down last night to settle his affairs before the battle. I humbly request 3 or 4 men more by the return of the cano, I will if you please send up three of the greatest sotts in Guine, which much perplex me by their sottishness. I beg you would send John Pound down as a serjant, for I much want a sober man for that place, and I take him to be one; if you have one a fitter man in your estimation, I refer it to your grave judgment. Likewise for what I wrote for in my last, with a pair of moulds to make shott. If any four pound basons at Cabo Corso may send what you can, halfe to Mr Elwes and halfe to me, for I have been desired to write for them and so hath Mr Elwes in my hearing. I have not mentiond any thing about the nicconees in my accounts by reason they were not inserted in the last, but when I know what you will demand, if you will be so hard as to extract from me I must refund.

499. Ralph Hassell

Annamaboe, 7 Feb. [16]86/7

I received yours of the 5th instant yesterday and perceive thereby your displeasure in mine which you formerly received. If I could tell in what, I would strive to amend it and shall for the future avoid inserting any thing but what is the Company concerns. I did not imagine anything in mine could be taken for flattery in the least. The putting up the fittish at the gate was on this wise: the Braffo and Quarranters had sent for powder and shott, which I denied thinking it but frivolous and that it had been no such thing; the next day without any notice to me the Fittisherers came and put it up, forbiding on pain of their displeasure any man to trade for corn or goods &ca before I could advise you of itt, [and] denyd any sustenance to supply us, and rather than want provitions, and fearing itt would increase by neglecting to grant their demands, I paid it. I canot learn that I was in any wayes imposed on, they are so insolent now that a man can hardly stand sentinell at the gate but they affront him one way or another without the least occasion in the world. I had not mentioned any thing about Yabboy had I not been importuned by him, and for the future I will not meddle or make any more with other mens business of that nature.

If these ships have brought perpetuanoes, sheets and tallow I desire your Worship to send me some. Trade is now very dull by reason of the warrs. Per the cano have sent 20 chest of corn. Have not now sent up the men, haveing so few men left to doe duty which are able.

500. Ralph Hassell

Annamaboe, 11 Feb. 1686/7

By Henry Clements I received yours of yesterdays date, whome I will assist to the utmost of my power upon all occasions as shall be requisite against the settlement of the French if they attempt it,⁵⁹ and if they doe I will render timely advise and observe orders as from time to time as you shall direct. I purpose in the evening to goe to Annishan and se what quantity of corn comes in there, for I have not heard from there this two dayes and when I know I will give your Worship an account and withall beg that a ship may come and fetch it away with what I have here. I want much some sheets, blew perpetuanoes, tallow, boysadoes that are good, for want of which I have no trade. Pray supply me likewise with what I advised for in mine of the 29th January last and 9th instant. This is the needfull at present, only I beg some paper, being in great want for it to answer what letters may come.

501. Ralph Hassell

Annamabo, 13 Feb. 1686/7

Yours of yesterdays date received together with the goods therein mentioned, which will use my best endeavour to dispose of, and also desire that as soon as any perpetuanoes come you will spare some. I have veiwed my copy of November account and cast it up article per article and canot find the error out, soe I beg your favour to know where it lyes, that I may be righted. If to my prejudice I acknowledg that in January account and will make it good. I render you humble thanks, for giveing me account of my mistakes and will endeavour to amend, elce I should be disingenious to be obstinate. I have now sent up Jeremiah Mitchell and Samuel Walker, the former is Jeremy, a person that is so ill humourd, thatt not but wisht him hence many times. There is nothing said nor acted but what he relates to the Blacks and in generall is very abusive. Walker is desireous to come up (though faulty by two much drinking). I have sent up John Teag the gunner, he hath an account of what is wanting and hope you will be pleased to supply according to your promise. I also desire some paper for have none for accounts, or letter[s]. I have endeavoured by every vessell to supply myselfe, but canot for love or mony. I pray by next to spare a quarter casque of palm oyle, for here is none to be had.

⁵⁹ The French had attempted to establish factories at Takoradi and Ampeni, east of Komenda, in Jan. 1687 (nos 65–8, 217, 221); presumably, it was thought that they might make a similar attempt in Fante.

502. Ralph Hassell

Annamaboe, 16 Feb. 1686/7

By the cano you sent yesterday I received yours together with three white men and John Teag the gunner, the stores also therein inserted falling right, which will endeavour to use to utmost advantage, and se everything managed for the best. Likewise received two bails of perpetuanoes and two chest of sheets, for which shall give credditt for in my accounts accordingly and endeavour the best I can for to vend them. I have received the paper and quilts which comes in time of necessity. Will also take notice about the mens pay. I cannot deny but the corn is bad. I wish I could help it, I doe the best I can. Captain Hosea said if many of his slaves dyed when they feed on it he will make a protest against it, these were his words and Chilper advised him to it.

503. Ralph Hassell

Annamaboe, 18 Feb. 1686/7

These goes by Domini⁶⁰ who with 4 of the Cabushers sonns were sent to me to desire me to send the Braffo and Quarranters two small gunns which are about $\frac{2}{3}$ of a hundred[weight] a piece. I told them I would not doe it without your order, they tell us the Dutch lent them two, so Domini goes himselfe to know your pleasure. They promis reward if they overcome. I beg pardon for this troble.

504. Ralph Hassell

Annamabo, 25 Feb. 1686/7

These are to render your Worship the advice of the good success that the Fanteners have had over their enimyes.⁶¹ Yesterday they fought and vanquished them and have taken (if they report not a lye) many slaves. I would this morning timely [have] rendred this advise but such crouds of people comeing in bringing the heads of the victory would not admitt me any leasure untell now, unless I would have undergon the scandall, reproach and ill will of these people, who are upon the last [= least] occasion of this nature, apt to reflect upon a whole nation. It hath cost me this morning most considerable in liquor to congratulate their good success; and I hope within few dayes slaves will come in, so beg to have a good supply of irons, and as they come in will render advise of it that so I may send them up. The Captain of the Arcanyes is come to Annishan and has sent to write to your Worship for goods to be sent there. I sent Henry Clements back to tell him that whatever he wanted I would supply him from hence, as yett have no answer to that. I have about 170 chests of corn at Annishan and begg your Worship and Gentlemen that the first ship that wants corn may take it in, for I hold it not safe to lett it abid there, as here

⁶⁰ Also mentioned in nos 596, 664. Probably identical with 'Dominee of Agga [Egya]' attested in 1681 (vol.i, no.247); but unlikely to be the same man as 'Ahin Domine', who was installed as Dey of Fetu through Dutch support in 1688 (Van Dantzig 1980, 105).

⁶¹ i.e. over Agona (cf. no.883, from Beraku).

and now may have in a short time corn enough here. May it please your Worship Quashee is come down; and this I send by his sonn who begs that which I told him could not be granted, which is that Docter Macdowall might come and se his hand, he has lost the forefinger of the left hand and his thum cutt much; I advised him immediately to go himselfe, but he sayes he cannot as yett, he would not be quiett till I sent.

505. Ralph Hassell

Annamabo, 8 March [16]86/7

Yours of yesterdayes date have received by Daniell Coopeman and shall follow your orders and directions therein. By this cano have sent up nine very good men slaves, likewise what Mr Elwes has bought, which is twelve men, in all is 21. I have very dull trade and I am much frustrated in my expectations of buying corn, for they hold it at extraordinary rates, and are a goeing to war again but with whom they will not tell, but it's conjectured with the Fetues.⁶²

506. Ralph Hassell

Annamabo, 10 March 1686/7

Yours of this dayes date have received, and in answer thereto I have at Annishan on the Company account one hundred and seaventy chests of corne, with what have here will make up one hundred twenty odd. For the slaves I have sent up were all very good and not the least defected. I shall acquaint the Cabusheers of your command about corne and slaves although I beleive to litle purpose, for they will not take under two angles per chest.

507. Ralph Hassell

Annamabo, 11 March 1686/7

I sent this messenger on purpose and beg a supply of irons, for slaves present and have not one pair of irons left. I have speak to Bonneshee for corn and slaves, and his answer is they must all meet together first, which will be to morrow, and you shall know their minds, and when I know shall acquaint your Worship.

508. Ralph Hassell

Annamaboe, 13 March 1686/7

I received yours of yesterdayes date, also tenn pair of irons, and have sent up 3 slaves, which is all I have bought. Trade is very dull and I fear shall take very little mony more than what will defray charges of the Factory. They ask very dear for corn, and say they will not take less than two angles per chest, and say it will grow dearer, they pretend a great scarcety by reason of the warr.

⁶² Cf. references to impending war with Fetu, in subsequent reports (no.566; also, from Egya, nos 656, 664, 676). No fighting seems to have occurred, however, until 1688

In fine they are very great villians, and a combynd pack of knaves as any in Guynney, and no beleife in thm.

Henry Henderson desires to goe to Cabo Corso to bleed and purge for a humour in his arme.

509. Ralph Hassell

Annamaboe, 19 March 1686/7

Just now by Captain Draper I received yours ordering me to ship three hundred and thirteen chests corn on board him, in case I had so many. Mr Elwes and my selfe can supply him, and if your Worship and Gentlemen pleases to send down a 9 or 7 hand cano will dispatch him with what expedition I can, and with[out] a cano I cannot put any aboard. I have endeavoured the purchaseing of a cano, and cannot, by reason of the warrs in those parts where they are.

Yesterday the corne roome at Annamaboe, one side brake downe and much corne lost, the people makeing use of such advantages. I begg that I may have a cano down to night.

510. Ralph Hassell

Annamaboe, 24 March 1686/7

By this cano you will receive ten men slaves which were bought at Agga, Mr Elwes desireing me to send them up. The cano had returned yesterday had not the men been lazy. I have sent up a white man to look affter them, and at his return request a hogshead lyme and a hogshead of tarris for the Castles use. Now the rains coming on it is and will be much wanted,

Captain Draper is not gon as yett but tarries to make up his complement of corn, which I beleive cannot be effected here,

I wrote in one of myne lately that he might have had it here, which I could have performed had not one end of the house at Annishan falne down, and these people kept there words with mee, for have paid for much more, but I see and find no cridditt is to be given to what they say, so that I am altogether weary of this place, and am not able to maintaine the charge they da[i]ly putt me two [= to], unless I should runn out the Royall Company goods, so humbly offer it to your considerations.

511. Ralph Hassell

Annamabo, 27 March [1687]

Yours of yesterdayes date with a cask of lyme and a cask of tarris I have received, and shall observe your orders as to the purchaseing of corn. I would willingly a waited on you but am not very currant. I wish you all a merry Easter.

512. Ralph Hassell

Annamaboe, Ultimo March 1687

By the bearer of this I received yours and shall follow your orders therein. On Sattrday Mr Halford shall goe up and carry my accounts with the ballance, which is but verry small. Have allready begann to inventory the warehouse and shall effecte it by the time prescribed, that is tomorrow night.

513. Ralph Hassell

Annamabo, Primo Aprill 1687

This accompany's Mr William Halford and serves for covertt of my March accounts, by whome have also sent up the ballance thereof, being six ounces and three taccoes, a verry inconsiderable quantity to the proportion of the charge, God send times to alter. I have alsoe sent up the inventory of all the goods, which agrees with the remaynes in my accounts. I am sorry to write of dammage done by ratts, which is verry much, especially in the allejarrs: we are so pester'd with them that they are not easely destroyd, although keep three cattts in the warehouse. I have enclosed here a noat of severall perticularrs which is much wanting, and desire to have them if possible as soon as may bee; also pray send on the Company account 200 iron barrs, two cases sayes, and six roles of tobacco if any, also a case of looking glasses. I have not as yett received above 7 chests of corn but am promised at 2a per chest a quantity if they fail not,

PS

nayles of severall sorts

hooks and staples to lett the windows open, 10 pair

a quarter caske of palme oyle

some pad locks

20 deals to make a place to take gold in and mend doors and windows

2 trowells

a hammer

2 or three pair of long irons and some short ones, with revetts and forelocks

a punch or two & cold chissells

514. Ralph Hassell

Annamaboe, 5 April 1687

I received yours of yesterdayes date by the nine hand cano with one hundred and fifty iron barrs, and severall stores under mentioned therein; only the four shackles for the long irons are wanting, so that they are of no use. I doe desire two cases of sayes, and two hogsheds of rum, with hasps and staples for the windows. Here is no trade for any manner of commodities but drams given for ackeys, which makes me dissatisfied very much to think that I am so unfortunate a servant to my Masters, I wish the times may alter, elce I shall be a shearer in their sufferings

515. Ralph Hassell

Annamaboe, 8 April 1687

Yours of the sixth instant I have received, together with my March account which you sent down to rectifie, to which answer that for the 45 chests of corn which was lost and spoyled at Annishan. I will make affidavit that I paid for one hundred seventy five chests putt into that house which fell, and when it was removed to another it measured out one hundred and thirty by the same chest strict measure. Then for slaves which were bought for sayes, you are pleased to say that I know they are rated att 1oz in barter, which I aver I know no such thing or that ever I was orderd so, except for corn, which indeed I have formerly wrote orders for. I thought the slaves very reasonabley bought, which is 7 peez per man at 14a per say. Then Gentlemen to the complaint about the great charge in carrying the corn of; which I will demonstrate to you I had hyred a 9 hand canoe the day before the Cape Coast cano came down, att Annishan, not knowing wheither I should have had one. I gave 3a for the use of the cano, and paid the canoemen 4a and paid Annishan people to carry the corne down 3a, haveing but 3 of the Company slaves there, besides 1 of the Cape Coast canomen and Mr Elwes canomen, for he sent me his cano; and what I paid is more than what I charged in my accounts. Hope this will be sattisfactory and to content, and as for affidavitt or attestation for the corn Ile send my own who, paid for so many chests there, if that will be sufficient. I also received by the cano two cask of rum, and 50 iron barrs with 4 shackles, but one revitt. The mony that I sent up am sorry proves not to content, but this I can assure you it is without any mixture by me and just as I received it; and for the future will pick it better.

516. Ralph Hassell

Annamabo, 9 April 1687

Since mine of yesterdayes date I have received your order to what noats James Bayly shall charge on me for oyster shells. The contents shall observe according to order.

517. Ralph Hassell

Annamaboe, 11 April 1687

This morning came several Arcanyemen and bought all the sheets I had that was good, and told me withall that the way was now open and desired mee to write for more sheets and perpetuanoes. I have not had any trade this month till today and have taken 12oz. I also sent to Mr Elwes on his noate for the Royall Companyes account 9 perpetuanoes, soe that I beleive he has a trade likewise. I desire 50 perpetuanoes; 10 chests of sheets; 200 lookinke glasses in sorts no 3, 4, 5; tenn barrells powder, for I sould 3 today and more asked for, which if sent tomorrowe theyle not carry their money to the Duche, for they cannot tarry as they pretend. This goes by Henry Clements and Assina. For Clements being at Anisham, it is to

noe purpose and if you intende to send any goods and to settle it he is abusive and not fitt to be with any ffactor there, this I thought good to advise your worshipe and Gentlemen. If your inclinacione is to settle Anisham I heare that there is som money there now, which I offerd to furnish them with what goods they wanted, butt they are for haveing goods there, which in my judgement will not quitte the expense the company will be at, soe leave it to your consideration.

518. Ralph Hassell

Annamaboe, 12 April 1687

Yours of this dayes date is come to hand and is before mee, and canot imagine the reason of such necessities in remitting aggaine my accompts. Had there bene any fraude found therein it would have been a good reason to object against them, butt knowing there is none imboldens mee to speake in my owne behalfe. For the barrell of powder expended, wheithere or noe it was ever the companies orders that their garrisons should not with respecte answeere salutes from their owne vessels, nay if a stranger out of complement salutes, either of you would you not thinke it unbeseeming yourselves to dis[r]specte civillity, nay whether by the Companys letters establishment or otherwise they ever stinted or gave limitts to what salutes should be answered by their garrisons, soe much as a barrell of powder was really spent bona fide and without any lafishment As for better sattisfacione of the corne being lost, shall send up affidavitt when have transcribed my accompts, by reason my name was calceld.

The 50 perpettuanoes and 10 barrells powder is received and shall for the future observe your orders for buying of slaves with sayes, which will be none, for today I see Bonneshee sell 8 men for good gold att 30a per man to the Arcanyes to carry up into the country, and if a Blacke gives soe much one to another they will exacte more from a white man, soe leave all under your judicious considerations, which hope will produce favorable constructions for [RH]

519. Ralph Hassell

Anamaboe, 15 April 1687

This serves for covert of my March accompt, which I have transcribed anew; and gave credit for halfe a barrell of powder; and by this bearer I have sent up the money. Inclosed is alsoe a certificate for the corne which was loste at Anisham, which hope may prove to content.

520. Ralph Hassell

Annamaboe, 22 April 1687

This serves for coverte of the certificatte you wrote for in your laste, and is alsoe to desire you to lett mee know what has been the usuall custome to be given the Braffoe and Quarranters of Fanteen and Cabusheers of Annamaboe, att their putting their corne in the grounde. I never knew of it till juste the day, and sayed

they could nor would not tarry till I had acquainted my selfe, soe by their hideous taunts I gave 8 gallons of rum and $\frac{1}{2}$ a barrell of powder to all, and they tould mee withall if it were not allowed they would pay for it; soe would gladly know, how much has been allowed, that I may charge noe more in my months accompt. Nothing of trade presents for any comodity excepting sheets, which I have none that is good.

521. Ralph Hassell

Anamaboe, 28 April 1687

Just now received the inclosed from Mr Whitting, and desired mee to send itt to you.⁶³ I made as much haste as I could, knowing what haste itt required, and begg an answer by the bearer of what I writt in my laste, of the usuall customes given to the Blackes att putting theire corne in the ground, for till I know I cannot make up my accompt, for what has been the allowance I must charge and noe more. If I have given more I must nay ought not to be blamed, not being acquainted what is usuall given, soe pray inform me by the bearer.

522. Ralph Hassell

Anamaboe, 4 May 1687

I received yours of the 29th of Aprill ordering mee not to charge anything given the Braffoe and Quarranteers and Cabusheers at their putting corne in the ground, which I am certaine has been allowed. If you please to inspect Mr Nightingalles Aprill and May accompts you will find spirritts and powder. Alsoe peruse the contract made with them att the building the Castle, in which they say it is insertted, butt I have not charged any, though have paid what I wrott I had. This now serves for coverte for my Aprill accompts; the ballance thereof I have sent up by Daniell Copeman, being 4mk 4oz 6a 4ta. I would have come my selfe with it, butt haveing noeboddy I could trust here thought it convenient to send itt by him. I have not hearde from Mr Bailey since he came downe nor have I seen anybody to demand satisfaction for any more then 58 butts of shells, which I have paid. I have Mr Bailys tally, and as they demand satisfaction shall pay them. Trade continews verry dull.

523. Ralph Hassell

Anamaboe, 6 May 1687

Yours of the 4th currant by Daniell Copeman I have received, and in every particular therein shall ffollow your orders. The 3^d instant att night (affter had sealed up my letter and accompt) about 8 or 10 yards in length of the mud wall to the sea which inclosed the yarde, fell downe, which I have fenced in I ordered Daniell Copeman, by worde of mouth to acquainte you thereof, soe request a

⁶³ = no.752.

couple of crowes, a maule and wedges to breake stone to build up the breach and farther, for I imagine it to be far better then mudd walls. Likewise to spare a man slave or two, for have no more since Hanse went up then [= than] four men, and two are not able to worke for worms in their leggs. Alsoe pray (if any are made) some hookes and staples for the windowes, 12 hookes 24 staples, for the rust have devoured all these here soe that they are altogether useless.

524. Ralph Hassell

Anamaboe, 12 May 16[87]

Just now came downe 7 or 8 of the Quarrenteers and demanded five months custome. I paid them in January as per my monthly accounts, 4 barrells powder and 1 oz lead barrs, which they acknowledge; they alsoe demand another case of spirritts for putting their corne in the ground, which they say they will have from Agga if not here. I have been threatened this weeke to bee sent from hence, and now tomorrow expect to here farther, these fellows being come, and for what unless I would give all the Companies goods away, they are soe unreasonable they know not what to have. I writte this in haste, that you would consider and send some one early to morrow to know their demands. I know nothing but their threats, soe cannot by any meanes advise for any thing what to doe or how to act. In fine I am weary of my like [= life] amongst them and wish my selfe cleare of this place. I cannot ad further, being in haste to send away, and desire as much speed from you.

525. Ralph Hassell

Annamaboe, 17 May 1687

I received yours of the 13 instant, butt before the arivall thereof I had with great trouble concluded their senceless pallavar, and paid them theire juste due to the laste of month, and have a receipt for 12oz, that is for 8 months custome commencing the primo October and ending the ultimo May, This serves to acquainte you that Henry Hendersone and Robert Hugues, which I now send up, the first denies doing his duty and obey commande, and sayes hee will doe butt what he lists, and will not bee compelled to anything, and Hughes has nott done the Companie one peny worth of servis this foure months, and withall soe idle and slothfull that if sette aboutte cleaning of arms he spoilles and marrs what he takes in hand, and soe reffractory that if bid him to doe anything, his answer is I doe nott care, Ile goe to Cape Coaste, and that is the answer of severall here, which I hope your worship and Gentellmen will see them wellcomed. I have paid them in parte what is underwritten, which pray stop out of their wages, that I may have the money, for I purpose nott to charge anything paid them in my accompts; and in the roome of these two I requeste Henry Stephens: for an armorer, and John Warrington if to be spared being a smith may make worke that is wanting here, as spikes for charidges [= carriages?] and bolts, which pray send aboutt 20 of 14

inches and 10 inches, halfe of each sorte spikes, the charridges are all outt of repaire.

I have paid Henderson in parte of 2 months	6a
and Hughes	4

526. Ralph Hassell

Anamaboe, 22 May 1687

This serves to accompany Mr Boylston, who together with Mr Whiteing haveing yesterday ffinished the inventoring of all the goods, &ca in the ffactory of Anamaboe, since the compleating of which he being here received your commands ordering Mr Elwes and my selfe to buy what good corne wee could, but here is none to be had att any rattes, for they send all to Accraa, that they cann, where they make more then 4a per cheste, and say that your worship give them corne att 3a they will buy it soe, and I am certaine as I formerly advised your Worship and Gentellmen it would be farr better to have a thousand chests beforehand, than to have a 100, and had not I had a contradictory order for buying of corne, I might then have had a quantity in all probability, to have furnished a ship, butt now itt is to late and cannot possibly be effected, if would give 4a, which Mr Boylston can sattisfie you, I requeste some sheets, tallow and lead barrs.

527. Ralph Hassell

Anamaboe, 25 May 1687

I am sorry these should bringe soe bad newes. Yesterday I bough[t] one of the lustiest men slave I have sene a longe time. He had not been $\frac{1}{2}$ an heure in irons, when Mr Elwes's slaves came for watter, and whiles drawing of an anchor the slave of his owne will sprang into the tank, and Henry Underhill standing by cryd out for help, which immediately gott downe a ladder and John Pound and Will Goff boath went in and dived and after some tyme brought him up, but dead, though endeavoured what we could to gett life in him, by rouling him on a caske and hanging him by the hecles, but all in vaine.

Bonashee was with me today and told mee hee would endeavour to gett 40 or 50 chests of corne in 3 weeks time at 3a per chests, soe desire your answer.

Iff any sheets, tallow, lead barrs cane be spared lett mee have some; alsoe powder, for I have butt 6 barrells left, for I spared Mr Elwes 6 the other day.

528. Ralph Hassell

Anamaboe, 28 May 1687

I received yours by the 7 hand canoe, together with eight barrells of gunn powder, and I am glad to heare that Captain Thomson is safe arrived to windward. Have nothing of moment to enlarge.

529. Ralph Hassell

Anamaboe, 28 May 1687

By the great canoe I received on accompt of the Royall Affrican Company, five chests of sheetes, fifty lead barrs, and twenty $\frac{1}{2}$ firkins tallow, and shall observe your orders in keeping a distinct accompt thereof, and endeavour the sale. This is the needfull, and hope receipt sufficient.

530. Ralph Hassell

Anamaboe, 10 June 1687

Yours I received with thirty half firkins of tallow and ten whole ditto, which shall endeavour to dispose of for the Companyes accompt. According to your orders have now sent you per this canoe a woman and child bought per me, also one woman which was formerly bought by Mr Elwes. Three dayes since one of the Royall Companyes slaves named Andrew, which was mason, dyed of the fflux. This night a great part of the stone wall which inclosed the yard towards the town fell downe; so desire those things I left an accompt of when at Cabo Corso with Christopher Price, also if possible two or three hogshheads of lyme and tarras.

[PS] John Tagg desired my leave to go to Cabo Corso to receive what his brother left, which I granted.

531. Ralph Hassell

Anamaboe, 12 June 1687

I received yours of yesterdayes date, wherein you intimate your dislike of my informing Mr Elwes whether I had paid the Braffo and Quarenteers six pieze per month for custom. All the time it was under my charge I never paid any mony for the custome of Agga, so it must be for both factoryes, but I told him that I did never read the contract. He answer'd me again that he thought the pallavera over by paying them the custome for putting their small corn⁶⁴ into the ground, and farther [they] added they would go to Cabo Corso and gett their ground rent for Agga at 12 angles per month and 6 piezes for Anamaboe. Never a word was ever menconed to me by the Quarenteers, but they are minded to be rogues as they ever were. Yesterday they had been like to have served me so or worse, because I refused to take cracra mony, withall adding that no English men should tarry here, but all their goods they [= the English] should take away and carry it to Ffetu, for that they loved them better than the Ffanteens. Wherein I have occasioned trouble or impeded trade I know not, but they know it as well as I, butt they'r will they'l make their law, and its not so easy a matter as is imagined to perswade them from their own inventions and wills. Pray hasten some lyme and tarras, for if the rains continue shall be at a great streight for want thereof.

⁶⁴ i.e. millet (as opposed to 'great corn', or maize).

532. Ralph Hassell

Anamaboe, 17 June 1687

I received yours of yesterdaies date by Assina, and as to what you say that when I paid the Braffo and Quarenteers, I should have told them it was for both factoryes, they knew it was for both as well as I could have told them, for they never made demands for any thing before, and these two that has made all this stirr are slaves or little better to the Quarenteers, for I went as soon as I received your last and acquainted them with Mr Elwes. It was as I have menconed, they are there still and have taken away the ffetish⁶⁵ and wait for one of the Quarenteers to come down, who is one that signed to my receipt, and as soone as he comes Ile make him sensible how it is. When your letter arrived yesterday I was there, but as far as I from Mr Elwes do understand, they purpose to begin a new custome, for before a small time of Agent Greenhills departure⁶⁶ they rose this custome here and shutt up Mr Thelwall, and would have custome as they had at Cormantine and still have for every shipp that shall arrive at the Mine.

I request those materialls for the Castle I advised for, especially 3 or four hogsheads of lyme and tarras, and Ile send up empty hogsheads in the roome. Pray send down John Tagg with two or three men more in lieu of them I last sent up. Lett one be a smith if possible to make iron work, for it is very much wanted, also an Ardra slave or two, a mason, for ours is dead and is very much need of. The ffactory is much out of repair. This is what needfull at present, and hope you will be pleased to answer my requests.

[PS] I pray spare a stick or two of wax or some wafers.

533. Ralph Hassell

Anamaboe, 25 June 1687

Yours of yesterdaies date have received, together with 40 half ffirkins tallow, allso 3 caske of lime and 1 of tarras, with the iron work menconed in yours. I have by the canoe sent all the good corn I have, being 13 chests, also a sample of the other rotten corn I was offerd yesterday, 6ta psome [= per sum?] per chest, which I thought fit to advise you I have sold some, which I thought better than to throw it all away. About a month since at the turning it, the bottom with the moystnesse of the weather was so rotten and caked together that nigh twenty chests I was forced to throw away, it stinck so much.

PS. Daniell Coopmens being very ill thinks if he were with the Doctor he should recover, therefore at his request I have permitted him to go to Cabo Corso for three or four dayes. I pray send down three or four men, for am now very weakly manned, allso three or four Ardraes more if to be spared.

⁶⁵ Presumably placed at the factory to interdict trade (as in nos 498–9).

⁶⁶ i.e. April 1684.

534. Ralph Hassell

Anamaboe, 27 June 1687

In my last I omitted the advising you for iron barrs, which I now want, those that are good and marked, for none else vends here. I have a great many here which are not so qualified, so pray if any markt ones at Cabo Corso spare them to the number of two or three hundred.

535. Ralph Hassell

Charles Fort, Anamaboe, 30 June 1687

Last night happened an accident. A slave which I bought this month and another more which belongeth to Captain Heggen [= Eggin] made their escape away from this house by the enticement of some Cabo Corso people, so desire you Gentlemen diligent search and enquiry, for Captain Heggen makes great noise about it. The said slaves were mett this morning betwixt this place and Annishan with a Cabo Corso man, making as I understand their way towards you.

536. Ralph Hassell

Anamaboe, 1 July 1687

I wrote you yesterday morning of an accident which happened the other night, and wish could hear news of the slaves, for I am extreemly perplext about the losse, and am threatened hard for large satisfaction for the Cappusheers man. These are also to acquaint you that yesterday Quashee in the hearing of Mr Whiting, Mr Walker and my self made a great noise and stirr about two coves, about forty fowls &ca, which he sais Agent Nurse⁶⁷ owes him, for which he demands satisfaccon for, and if he pays him not he will pay himself out of the goods which shall come down from Cabo Corso to this place, so begg you to make enquiry of the truth. I have wrote to Agent Nurse about it to be satisfied with speed, that so [sic] no detriment may accrew to the Royall Company for the future. I have wrote you that I wanted more men, I have but three that is capable of doing duty night and day, which they complain is to hard for them to do. Pray spare two or three men more. Likewise pray send two hundred iron barrs, lett them all be marked, for they will take no other here. Have had a very small trade this last month.

[PS] Since the writing of the foregoing I received yours of yesterdays date, taxing me with negligence and want of care in securing the slaves, which I averr they were well secured at night when lockt in the prizon, but they broke an iron barr and crept through into the yard, where there lay an Ardra slave to look after them, and after broke a padlock on one of the doors and gott over the walls where there is a breach by the late excessive rains. Also a white sentinell is every night on the tower all night, and how it should happen that that they should gett away I cannot imagine, unlesse the black sentinells should be consenting to it, so pray a more

⁶⁷ Henry Nurse, RAC Agent-General at Cape Coast Castle.

favorable construction than to imagine me any wayes negligent or carelesse. I have acquainted Mr Whiting with what you wrote me

537. Ralph Hassell

Anamaboe, 4 July 1687

I received yours by the 11 hand canoe, also one hundred and fifty iron bars and two men. I would gladly know how much each man has a month, against I pay them. I would have sent you up my monthly accompts but have done but two. The ballance allso, which is six mark, four ounces, eight angles, eleven taccoes, shall send with them the first good oppertunity. If any sheets to be spared pray send ten chests, for all I had is gone. Yesterday I was desired to write for powder by Bonashee, but heel [= he'll] give but 13a for 14 barrells, and if that may be sold so then send some.

538. Ralph Hassell

Anamaboe, 8 July 1687

I arrived safely about six or seven last night here, and as I entered the gate the Bendefoes after I was in made outcryes to hinder my entrance, and as I am informed they were ordered by the Cappusheers to do it, and not permitt me to come again into the Castle. The reason I know not, unlesse I would give them all the Royall Companyes concernes. They daily pretend to new customes due to them, and that it has been paid by all my predecessors. I have by their continuall and unjust demands so much drained my whole small stock, and all for my Royall masters interest and safety of their concerns, that I am not able to lanch any farther in the vast ocean of the unsafe forcible and unsatiabable people. They demanded three cases of spiritts, besides half a barrell of powder. If it will or your pleasure is to allow it pray signify it to me. Else my humble peticon is, I candidly present [sic: = request] your judicious consideracons either to order some ffactor you judge most fitting to take charge of this ffactory and the concernes of the Companye or remove me from these diabolicall evill people, and for the removal I shall think myself eternally obliged for your favor, for I am very loath to defraud my masters of a mite, they having been just to me. Pray afford me your resolves with what expedicon may be. I begg excuse, being disturb'd in mind and is the only occasion of this scrawle.

539. Ralph Hassell

Anamaboe, 15 July 1687

Yours of the 13th I have received, and render hearty thanks for your kind profers and promises, but commiserating my condicon adds nothing to my releif, neither abates the demands of these unjust and unsatisfyable people. Would fair words assuage them I could in some manner appease them, but all the eloquence of Cicero goes not so far as a case of brandy or a cloth. In mine of the 8th I write with

unfeigned heart, beseeching and humbly desiring my removall. Likewise do now begg the same with humble peticon to you, and shall think my selfe eternally obliged to you. In what station soever I can be serviceable to my Royall masters interest, I am willing to submitt to your judicious consideracons, for in verity my continuance here will be unprofitable for them, committing it wholly to your mature judgements. Yesterday being on board Captain Gould to take my leave of Agent Nurse,⁶⁸ Mr Walker sent me the enclosed note by Quashees son, whom I heard demand payment of Agent Nurse for 3 cowes and 4 sheep &ca, which he denyed that ever he had nor would pay anything. What the event will be I cannot saye.

Accordingly as you wrote me I have endeavored to sell barrs at 22 per bendy, but have not sold one nor cannott, which is a great hinderance in the sale of other goods. I could have sold a quantity of barrs at 24, whereas now the Dutch has the mony, so pray your answer.

[PS] Just now the enclosed letter arrived in my hands.⁶⁹

540. Ralph Hassell

Anamaboe, 23 July 1687

This accompanyes the canoe that came down yesterday, by which I have sent up two men slaves. One is the fellow I wrote of the last of June broke prison, which with great charge have gott him again. These unreasonable people would not lett me have him unlesse I paid three pieze, which I did and hope it will be allowed of. The prison windowes are so rotten that it is not fitt to hold slaves till have a new one made. I am still perplext with this people. Just now came in three of the Quarenteers to demand knives to cutt their small corn, and will not tarry an hour before they have them, so that I am in the dark of what Mr Nightingale paid the last year, for they will have as many this. God send me well from hence, for my patience is quite worn out with them.

541. Ralph Hassell

Anamaboe, 27 July 1687

Whereas on Satterday last, being the 23th of this instant July, the Cappusheers of Anamaboe (I then being Chief there) demanded a case of brandy as an accustomed dashee at their new year as they called it, that is at their cutting of their small corn, which at first I denyed to them, and that I know no such custome and that I would be satisfyed first from you whether it would be allowable, by reason I would give no ill presidents [= precedents] for the time to come, their answer was that if it was not accustomed and allowed of by my predecessors and former Agents and if not by you they would pay for it, and on consideracon of

⁶⁸ Nurse was returning to England with Capt. Gould.

⁶⁹ = no.759, from the Accra factory.

which I did deliver them a case of rume, with which they went out of the gates seemingly well contented. Some small time after they were out of the gate they sent for me to render thanks for the same, and as it was their new year all Chiefs did use to drink with them. Not in the least imagining they had any design or prejudice of ill against me, I did go out. I had not gone six yards from the Castle wall without the gates but presently unsuspectedly a great number of Blacks interveened me and the gate on purpose to hinder mee from returning again, as I since found true. I then went to the Cappusheers, which satt under the wall about 7 or 8 yards farther, they desired me to sitt down, which I did, then they began long storyes, saying that at my going there I promised to be kind to them. I replied, I never was otherwise. They answered that I would not take cracra mony as others had done before me, and that I would take no pawnes nor trust them,⁷⁰ and that the English men were not so kind to them as the Dutch, for that wee [i.e. English] all loved the Fetuers better than the Ffanteeners, and that the Ffetuers were their enemyes, and that they [i.e. the English] might be better aided at Cabo Corso than at Anamaboe, and that I should not tarry there no longer; to which I made this answer, that I had orders not to take their cracra mony, it was so bad, and if I should take it it would occasion more bad mony to be made and brought to me, which I must make good, and that it behooved me to take none but what was good, and what others had done should not be a president for me. I told them likewise that I could not take pawns, knowing that they do not care to redeem them, and that for severall years Mr Thelwall had pawnes from severall of them and that time the Royall Companyes mony lay dead, and so they would do again if I took any pawnes, and as for trusting of them I had to my losse done to much, which I have made good to the Royall Company, and as to the Dutch loving them better than the English, replied they had more reason for they were ever treacherous to us, as instance their selling Cormantine from us to the Dutch,⁷¹ and as for being more kind to the Fetuers, though their enemyes, [they] were more faithfull ever than they, yett for their mony they might be supplied as as well as they, for they have nothing without money, and what had I done that should so much incense them to that height. They still persisted in the same story, and that I should not go into the Castle again but I should instantly go to Cabo Corso, and that they would strip me naked and beat me as they had Mr Nightingale, unlesse I would send for an anchor of rume. I well knowing that their cruelty infinitely transcends humane apprehensions, condescended to save myself unpunified, and that I might go into the Castle again, which they would not permitt unlesse I left Mr Walker behind me as a pawn and that severall of them might enter with me. This was all done under the Castle walls where no damage could be done to them by any gunns, the fort being so ill contrived and so weakly manned that

⁷⁰ i.e. give them goods on credit.

⁷¹ Fort Kormantin was actually taken from the English by force (in 1665); but presumably, the Fante had subsequently accepted payment from the Dutch in confirmation of their title to it.

they esteemed it invallid. This I humbly offer to your consideracons and will averr to be truth, which is the only reason of my returning to Cabo Corso. Withall that their resolves are that I shall never return to Anamaboe to reside there. To all that is above and within writt, I attest to be nothing but what is truth.

542. Ralph Hassell & James Nightingale Anamaboe, 30 July 1687

Yesterday wee arrived well here. The Cappusheers are all up in the country, so as yett have not had a pallavera, but they have sent for them to acquaint them of our being here and do expect them down tomorrow, and as soon as have done anything shall immediately advise you. Have acquainted Mr Elwes with your desire, who will be here when wee treat with them.

543. Ralph Hassell & James Nightingale Anamaboe, 3 Aug. 1687

As yett wee have not had any discourse with the Cappusheers, they being all up in the country about some grand pallavera and will not come down till they have ended, which as wee understand will be Ffryday next. Till then shall desist from writing unlesse busnesse of moment presents.

544. Ralph Hassell⁷² Anamaboe, 7 Aug. 1687

This day about two houres since I have had a great discourse and longe debate with the Cabusheers, and the result is they will not again except of Ralph Hassell, he having spoiled the country by his refuseing to take Fanteen cracraes (which is nothing but meere brass), and that he will not trust them, nor take their pawns, that he will not buy noe corne, and that alsoe by his meanes the Factory is not well fortified as it formerly was, which since the great raines it might have been don; would he have satisfied them to their unresonable demands. Soe we boath desire and request the canoe wee came down in, and att our arrivall shall enlarge farther, soe that you may farther receive better sattisfaction. Soe in the interim begg your excuses

545. James Nightingale Anamaboe, 7 Aug. 1687

This day had a pallavara with the Cabushers, the result of them shall give an accmpt at my comeing up. In order thereunto desire you will be pleased to send a canoe for my imbarqument to Caboe Corsoe.

⁷² This letter was clearly written in the names of both Ralph Hassell and James Nightingale, but as Hassell reported later (no.546) Nightingale refused to sign it.

546. Ralph Hassell

Anamaboe, 8 Aug. 1687

Yours of this date have received, and shall here fully give you the resolution of these Cabusheers, Imprimis that I Ralph Hassell shall noe longer stay here, butt if your pleased to send any other they will except of him, and still continews in the mind I wrote to you before, which Mr Nightingale would not signe, elce it might not have had any impertinency or breach of orders, for I had not his orders butt well know the tennors was to endeavor quietly to resettle mee if possible and render advise to you of our proceedings imediatly, as I now desired him to doe the same. He utterly denyed signing to any thing, but would goe up himself tomorrow and tell what he had to saye. I desired Mr Walker to heare what he would say, who can attest the same. I demanded and desiared him to signifie with mee to you of what was sayed, he answered he would goe up tomorrow. I replyed it to be a greatt breach of our last orders, he replyed hee did not care. They are desiarous of those men who cannot weell be removed,⁷³ vizt Mr Whiting or Mr Elwes. They are now growne to such a height that unless speedily suppression this place will not be long tenable, the walls being downe and the Fort out of repare, which makes them soe insolent. I humbly beg your speedy answer, they are much insenste that I stay soe longe, and [I] feare there brooding brains will hatch more mischeife against mee, for Mr Nightingale, if as good or rather bad as his oath, will depart tomorrow early. I humbly begg your pardon if remis in any particular, being written in haste. Pray when the canoe comes downe send some powder, sheets and blew perpetuanoes if any; the sheets all that are good are gon almost, the blew perpetuanoes all but one, and butt six barrells powder left.

547. Ralph Hassell

Anamaboe, 9 Aug. 1687

Since the departure of Mr Nightingale all the Cabusheers of this place have been with a full cry, why did I not goe with him as I came with him. I told them he went contrary to your orders, and that hee could not tarry any longer for want of a doctor, and [they] by noe meanes would not heare of any tarr[y]ing till tomorrow; nor till I could here from you. Daniell Coapeman will tell you the same. They told him likewise he must goe too, butt if I would give them three bottles of brandy, I should tarry till after dinner and not longer, which I did to sattisfie them; and when I goe they will demand more, as I am informed; nay told by them, soe that I am putt to a deale of perplexity by his abruptly goeing away. I doubt must be forced to foot it all the way. I dare not venture to carry the money with mee, which is 5mk and 6ta, but will leave it with Mr Walker. In truth if a speedy course be not taken here, doe believe in a short time noe Factors nor others will be able to abide here. This is the truth; as cann be made apeare, soe in hast to conclude.

⁷³ i.e. from their present positions.

548. James Walker James [sic= Charles] Forte, Anamaboe, 13 Aug. 1687

By advise of Mr Hassell that it's your command that I should send up an accompt of the stores now remaineing in the foresaid ffortt and signed per selfe, you will find per inclosed it's obeyed. This day has been a greatt difference between Captain Eggin and Boneeshee about a slave of the latters, who has panniard gold and sheepe of a servant belonging to one Ashaw. The deniall of Boneeshee's delivery of the said slave to be prosicuted according to the laws of their country made every Cabusheer his enymy, in soe much that the whole downe [= town] was in armes, many shott past on boath sides, but little damage. Had intilligence that had itt not been for Ahen,⁷⁴ whoe gave pawnes for Boneshee that he should comply with their justice, that he and slaves had severely suffered. The pallavara is to be ended tomorrow, and as I am informed, it will cost Boneeshee at least six bendy's, besides charges of soldiers. I have not elce, only that the Cabusheers are yet verry civill and promise the same for the future. As to myself, give you the assurance of my duty in carefulness of the Royall Companyes concernes.

549. James Walker Anamaboe, 21 Aug. 1687

By the 9 hand canoe I received yours, with ten whole barrels of powder, and fifty four gallons of rumme, on accompt of the Royall Affrican Company of England. Here has been prying [= plying?] to windward a Dutch sloop for some days, which suppose you may take to be Mr Bayly, which if had would have fulfilled your comands, so have thought fitt to returne back your letter to him. I have nothing of moment, only that the Cabusheers are impatient for a new chief, and the more because I am really very poore, and cannot supply their brandy pallate's. I give them faire words, which doth a little assuage their passions, which is only in the morning, when they say their stomacks are cold for want of a dram. They offer no abuse, but continue their visitts every morning. The Arcadians want knives much.

550. James Walker Annamaboe, 22 Aug. 1687

Understanding this afternoone that the Cabusheers designed to morrow morning to go up in the country to rowsaw, and that they would not returne under three weeks, sent to them to desire them to defer for a day or two, till had acquainted you with it, not knowing what buisness you might have with them, so [they] have promised to stay till Thursday. Do in all submission begg pardon for my omission, in not sending the letter as nominated, which is now certainly inclosed. So waiting your pleasure I take leave.

⁷⁴ For Ahen, a chief of Fetu in exile in Fante, cf. no. 566 below.

551. James Walker Anamaboe, 26 Aug. 1687

Yours came to hand about six this evening, and shall send away the messenger tomorrow as sone as daye. The Cabusheers are all here, but had been gon only for a pallavara amoungst themselves. They designed to have went tomorrow, but on sight of yours sent them advise to the contrary.

552. Rice Wight Anamaboe, 31 Aug. 1687

Yesterday about twelve a clocke wee got downe here, where wee ware welcomed with a sea that broake into our canoe and wett us sufficiently. The Grandees of this place was att Cormantine, but the news of our arivall being carryed to them, made a speedy retturne. Yesterday in the affternoon went to Agga, and inventoryed that ffactory. This morning, wee discours'd the Cabusheers, who were all averse to Mr Hassells continuing in this place any longer, but are very well satisfied with Mr Nightingall, who they promise to be kind to. Wee are now inventoring this ffactory (and hitherto very calme). Soe soon as finished will retturn and render you an accompt.

553. James Nightingale Charles Fort, Anamaboe, 9 Sept. 1687

These are to give you an accompt of my saffe arivall and civill reception per natives. Am att present verry buissie with them, soe begg your pardon doe not write you largely, as otherwise would, but shall in two or three dayes time. Have sent by the canoe butts, hogsheads, and caskes twenty.

554. James Nightingale Annamaboe, 18 Sept. 1687

Yours with accompts yesterday came to hand, and shall according to order transcribe and rectifie. As to the 21 snaphanses gave credditt to the Cabusheers, shall give the Company credditt for in my accompts, so that will not give you occasion of an ill thought. I shall ever make it my study to gain your good opinion. Request your favour, that Mr Hassell may use his indeavours to obtaine of the Cabusheers the corne for the snaphanses, which they promised to pay me, the Mareens son being a pawn for their performance, as Doctor Griffin well knows. Likewise desire to have orders whereby may pay the soldiers, also your pleasure in what wrote concerning the delivery of goods to Mr Cross,⁷⁵ and when have all the says, perpetuanoes, tallow &ca to supply me with, there being many Arcanies now here.

⁷⁵ William Cross, now appointed chief of the Egya factory.

555. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 21 Sept. 1687

In respect to your orders of the 17th instant have sent you the duplicates of January, February, March, Aprill and May accompts, alsoe three of each for the month[s] of June, July and August, all which belonging to Frederickburge for the yeare 1686/7,⁷⁶ and hope in all particulars answer a faire and just accompt. My request is that may have your resolves concerning mine of the 18 instant, as to goods that have and may on occasion be delivered Mr Cross. You were pleased to specifie in your last the coming downe of the slaves, which I have not seen, soe thought good to advise you thereof, imagining that they may not follow your commands.

Just now received a letter from Mr Pepperell directed to you, which you will now receive.⁷⁷ Jeremiah Mitchell is a very drunken ffellow, and not fitt to be employed in any buisness, he, as I am informed, being the only occation of the canoe's being staved. I shall say noe more butt that he is whatever I know him a fellow not to be intrusted. Here has been for some time a Dutch interloper, on board which all Cabushiers and traders resort, soe that wee have had noe trade this severall dayes, neither can expect, as long as they heare of any shippes to windward or leeward, which [is] to say between Succondee and Winneba.⁷⁸ Mr Cross is and has been ill this three or four dayes. Desire your favor for instructions for the payment of the soldiers as now they are.

556. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 23 Sept. 1687

Yours of the 22th instant received, wherein you are pleased to say the sending goods from one place to the other it never did any good but occasioned trouble, and for my part I am very well satisfied with your order, which by me at all times shall be observed, but pray ley me tell you since goods was sent hither in my absence, I thought it my duty to acquaint you of it, that I might have Mr Cross his receipts for what have been delivered, or the goods restored, and Gentlemen I do not at all question but that you will supply us both when occasion shall present. You were on my departure pleased to order three men and two women slaves with William the Carpenter in order of repairing what is fallen downe, and without a black carpenter and mason, it cannot be don. For my part I do my indeavour.

When Ando Bonashee comes downe with the Cabusheirs which are in the country will do my indeavour to purchase what corne you were pleased to order. I shall not neglect to procure wood for Agent Bradley, and could wish that I was capable in serving him more, which shall be my study to endeavour it

Pray lett me have a copy of Mr Hassells accompt as touching your payment of the soldiers. At the rate here some have more, some less in sallary, and without

⁷⁶ Nightingale had earlier been chief of the RAC factory at Fredericksburg.

⁷⁷ = no.893.

⁷⁸ Winneba, in the kingdom of Agona, east of Fante.

cannot make an accompt up right. Here is no trade at all, the gold is gon aboard the Mary, and as you know as long as any shippes to windward the Annamaboe and Agga people are there.

557. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 27 Sept. 1687

This accompanyes Herbert Curry and is to informe you that I have dayly complaints against him by the Cabusheers and people of this place, and is as I understand through liquors and other comodities which he sells them, and trusting them for it, and in demanding of his debt. They are so unjust as not to pay him, but according to their ways do predee⁷⁹ him for demanding of his right, which in short they are not willing to [allow?] any white man. I have not anything to alledge against him as to the performance of his duty, or civil deoprtment, only that if he should remayne here, it would be a continuall trouble, in making up the differences which may happen, therefore humbly requesting the ffavour, that there may be no occasion, and as to the men when you have them, and supplied, desire your consideration as to this place. Pray let me have a bill of rates for goods, and copy of Mr Hassells accompt as to the payment of the soldiers. So begging your pardon for this trouble, which I cannot avoyd.

558. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 29 Sept. 1687

Yesterday I gave Mr Walker orders to pay the soldiers their sallary in good gold. The only exceptious persons were John Pound and Herbert Curry, whom Mr Walker on the refusall of the gold brought before mee, with the gold. I told them that in my judgement it were verry good, and that if they would depend on their owne opinion before mine, wee would be tryed by neither, but that they should take the said gold sealed up and goe to Caboe Corsoe, and soe refer to your better judgements, but Curry refused the thing and tooke the gold, the other continued obstinate, and giving mee very absurd language, saying that his covenants with the Royall Company is not fulfilled, and if all men were of his opinion they would lay downe their armes, and lett the Company come here and keep their fforts themselves, for they have putt a cheat upon men, and if occasion should serve, he would serve them accordingly. The gold which denyed have now sent up, and is the same Mr Walker gave him, haveing sealed these in the presence of most here. Thought not convenient to trouble you with sending him up, have put him in the hole and there shall continue till your further commands. Requesting your favors that there may be some course taken and that there may be noe incouragement for such mutinous fellows, whoe is not to be doubted, if opportunity served, would betray a ffort. Pray take itt not ill, for itt is realy my thoughts. And your great

⁷⁹ See Glossary.

civillity to Herbert Curry, which he has made his boast of, makes the others more presumptive, and if had a Serjant would ocasion less trouble, and if you approve of Hastings Ingram, who I find to be a sober man, shall by your order make him Serjant, which may be well in keeping better commands and orders.

559. James Walker

Annamaboe, 2 Oct. 1687

My humble requests and intreaties are, as there is a vacancie of a seconds place at Accraa, that you will be pleased to lay your comands on me to officiate in the same, and I shall with all diligence and faithfully indeavour to give that satisfaction as may be required, and shall ever acknowledge your great favor in that and others.

560. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 7 Oct. 1687

Since my departure from Cabo Corso, have taken an accompt of the Royall Companys concerns, find all things very well. Have alsoe made an end of [sic] with Mr James Walker from primo to ultimo. The reason I have not sent my accompts is occasioned per multiplicity of buisiness in sorting the damaged goods from the good, in order of the purchaseing of corne for the same if possible, and bring the Cabusheers to $1a\frac{1}{2}$ per cheste, and Gentelmen lett me tell you, these are a strange sort of people to deale with. God willing will send my accompts Sunday or Monday next. Gentelmen pray send me on accompt of the Royall Affrican Company of England, tenn chests sheets, fifty halfe ffirkins tallow, one cask of knives, ffifty cases of spirrits, tenn barrells of powder, two caske of palme oyle and two ditto lime, I want the same much. The rest I leave to be discoursed by Mr Walker.

561. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 9 Oct. 1687

Yours of the 8th instant have received, alsoe five hundred and twenty sheets, fifty whole cases of spirritts, thirty halfe ffirkins of tallow, six barrells of powder, one caske of palme oyle, and one ditto of lime, for which said goods will in the months accompt give the Royall Company credditt for accordingly, and I am thankfull for supplying the ffactory with what is wanting.

I send per Peter the sum of two marks, three angles and five taccoes of good gold, being the ballance of Ffredrickburgh August accompt, also my September accompt at Annamaboe with the ballance, being two ounces, tenn angles, and ffour taccoe's. There having been soe many Dutch interlopers, is the occasion we have noe trade. Ffour ships at a time has been in the roade, besides Thomas Towers.

Gentlemen you will find the dashees given for settling and the liberty for rebuilding this ffactory has been only in brandy and rumme, which formerly was

in says, perpetuanoes and other goods. Have after some trouble a grant to receive the Companys gunn, which Mr Hassell gave the Cabusheers, and tomorrow will send for it. A ffactory is better once well settled than troublesome dayly, and doe ashure you it has not cost mee little liquor.

Have sent John Teage with four iron barrs, in order that if you please the smith may make what is wanting. Ditto Teage has the dimentions of each. Here is hardly a window that will hang on thier hinges, being all rotten, therefore pray let mee have some deale boards, or elce be pleased to order the carpenter to make windows at Cabo Corso, some coming per this canoe.

562. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 13 Oct. 1687

Yours of the 10th instant received, and have according to your order altered my accompts, which comes per bearer. Have also received one caske of knives no.202, containing one hundred and one dozen, for which will give the Royall Company credditt for.

563. James Nightingale

Anna[ma]boe, 26 Oct. 1687

Inclosed is two letters from Mr Whiting, whoe ordered me to send forward with speed.⁸⁰ Alsoe desire your answer, which you will be pleased to direct to me, by reason his canoe is here and stays for an answer.

564. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 26 Oct. 1687

Yours received. In answer to what you write, I once more dow solemnly protest before the Allmighty God, that I never saw the man you write for, only as formerly by mine the 22^d instant, twas by desire of Captain Coffee, and lett him be who he will that hath told you to the contrary, has told abominable untruth, for have never had the man in my custody, as have made appeare in the presence of the whole garrison, and Mr Elwes boy by name Eggin, and that before Captain Coffees face, as per a letter written to Mr Elwes to that purpose. I have proffered a great deale to procure the man, which is at Anisham, in order that you may know the truth, and more then that as soon as I can procure, Captain Coffee will secure him till your [= you are] satisfied. As to the Royall Companys concernes to make up my accompts, pay the ballance and come up my self, shall be observed, or what elce in soe, [you] will be pleased to command me.

565. James Nightingale

Anna[ma]boe, 30 Oct. 1687

Some days agoe sent you some letters of Mr Whitings at Accraa, who ordered me

⁸⁰ = nos 778–9.

to keep the canoe here till such time you were pleased to send an answer. This is therefore to desire you will be pleased to lett me know whether you will send, or have already. Alsoe lett me humbly begg you will send the Doctor here for a day or two, am very much troubled with vomiting, and that together with my rupture troubles me soe much that am not able to stand. I hope you will grant my request.

566. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 3 Nov. 1687

Yours of primo instant received, and doe send per bearer my October accompts, with the ballance of the same, being mk2: 4: 4: =. I give you humble and hearty thanks for your kind proffer of assistance what Cabo Corsoe can afforde, for which are much obliged and hope to recompence the same with my good service.

Gentlemen you will be pleased to excuse my coming to Cabo Corso, its not disobeying your commands, but in reality as followeth.

In the first place I am not well in health. Secondly the natives here are all in armes, and our ffort wall is not above four foot high and some places downe. I have ever since my being here, as per your order of the 8th September to put the ffort in as good a repaire as possible, I have don my endeavors and have compleated $\frac{3}{4}$ of the wall, and that 14 ffoot high. Chancellor⁸¹ and others plainly tells me that when they please they can take our ffort, which troubles mee dayly to heare. Therefore pray if possible lett me have some white men, alsoe four men, two weomen slaves, only for 14 days, in order to gett the wall up, for intend towards the watter side to make the gate, which is more secure. You would admire what trouble and charge dayly I am at to keep the Companyes ffort and concernes in good being, which doubt not as long as I am here shall be kept soe.

I am forced to send this by a two hand canoe, by reason there is noe passage by land, in which canoe pray send the windows, nailes and what elce was ordered for this place. Want also some lime and a caske of tarris for the tank, which is quite out of repaire, and some sheet lead for the gutters, and when your leasure will permitt pray send me some says, and a baile of the redd Guynea stuffs, all on accompt of the Royall Affrican Company of England. Last night came here ambassador[s] from Ffetue about settling Ahen, but he refused there propositions.⁸² Intends with

⁸¹ Not identified; from the context, presumably a chief of Anomabu.

⁸² Cf. no. 701, from Egya, which makes clear that the demand was to 're-settle' Ahen 'in his old place at Fetoo', implying that he was an exile from that kingdom. 'Ahen' was a generic title of nobility in Fetu, applied to several individuals in this period, including notably 'Ahin Domine' who became Dey (the second-ranking chief after the king) in 1688 (Van Dantzig 1980, 105). The person referred to here, however, seems to be called 'Ahen Comenda' in no. 660, so was presumably a different person; this 'Ahen of Comenda' (described as 'the Dutch counsellor') died in 1689: PRO, T70/11, Humfryes et al., Cape Coast Castle, 12 Feb. 1689. There is no reference to this man in the survey of Fetu history by Deffontaine 1993. The overtures from Fetu at this point may have been connected with a change of monarch there, king Ahen Penin Ashrive having died on 3 Oct., and his successor Ahenaco being enthroned on 18 Nov. 1687 (Hillier 1697, 687–8).

Fantene people to fight Ffetue about 8 or 10 days hence, and to that intent Captain Eggin, who is Generall, with the Cabusheers goes to the Braffoe and Coranteers to gett their people in readiness as well as here.⁸³ When I hear the certainty more of the thing, will advise.

567. Thomas Johnson

Annamaboe, 9 Nov. 1687

This accompanies Mr Nightingale, in the 7 hand canoe. Upon the receipt of yours [he] received me kindly, and this morning hath locked up the warehouse, and will not seale it. He hath brought the key with him, and left in possession [myself].

568. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 18 Nov. 1687

I humbly desire you would be pleased to send me per first on accompt Royall Affrican Company ten chests of sheets, and one case of says. All is well here.

569. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 22 Nov. 1687

Yours of the 21th instant received, and am thankfull in sending Doctor Wolber, for severall men here are troubled with Guinea distempers. Shall use him according as shall meritt, I being sensible he was sent out by the Royall Company. Am very well satisfied, if you had the goods write for, you would have sent them. The gold came to me first, but I having none, sent them to Mr Cross with the gold. Its all one where the Company takes there gold, yet a great difference in the charge of each Factory.

Shall purchase what corne you are pleased to order at the price mentioned. Also have on receipt of yours sent John Teague to Annishan, to keep the Royall Company possession at that place, and will with the assistance of the natives, hinder the French landing or coming ashore, if should attempt it.⁸⁴ Have paid John Pound his sallary and canky money and took his receipt, and per this canoe comes up, he and John Todd.

570. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 23 Nov. 1687

This accompanyes James Cunduit, which sent to give you an accompt what is wanting to repaire the canoe at Amersa. I understand the people at Annishan

⁸³ For Ahen's intention to attack Fetu, in alliance with Fante, cf. earlier reports from Egya, back to May 1687 (nos 656, 664). The attack did not materialize, however, until Feb. 1688 (nos 593, 701).

⁸⁴ Cf. subsequent references to the French attempt to settle at Anashan (no.571-3) and later at Amisa (nos 578-81), one of these letters naming Du Casse (no.572). Du Casse's own account makes no reference to these attempts, although he does record spending some time 8 leagues eastward of Komenda during Dec. 1687 (1935, 19).

begins to play the rogue, which sent John Teague away yesterday, but sent him back againe, after I had discoursed with Coffee. I as yett heare nothing. This morning when doe, will give an accompt per express.

571. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 24 Nov. 1687

Since my last per James Cunduit, came here the Cabushiers from Annishan, with Captain Coffie, who told me that they were ordered per the Quarrantiers, and the Cabushier of Caesuckam,⁸⁵ to tell me that without you send a white man with the Royall Company goods to reside there, as formerly, they would dispose of the Royall Companys interest and gunns at Annishan. They desire your answer per first, what you intend to do, and if not come suddenly, they will turne the white man away, and go on board the Ffrench shipp⁸⁶ to effect their designs. I desire you would be pleased to order me, or who you shall please to appoint, what you please to do in the thing. In short they are rogues, and want but an oppertunity. This is in short the reall truth, which is my duty to advise timely. Pray send some white men if possible, I having no more than four that are good, and if can, pray let one be a carpenter to mend the guns carriages. Really wee are very week here.

572. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 1 Dec. 1687/8 [sic]

Yours of the 26th past have received, and have done my endeavours according to your orders concerning Annishan. Have sent Herbert Currey instead of John Teague, he being more sober. The Cabushiers and Quarrantiers are still for goods and without the same, say they will certainly dispose off the Royall Companyes intrest at that place, and Gentlemen they are not to be trusted. They have sent to Mr Du Cass to the effect.⁸⁷

I humbly desire you will be pleased to send on account [of the] Royall African Company of England, some powder, perpetuanoes, sheets, says, rum, and palme oyle. For want of the same Mr Crosse tooke gold for his this morning, coming to me first, and there is a greate deale of difference in the charges of each Factory, which pray please to consider. In a day or two will send my monthly accountts.

573. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 4 Dec. 1687

Both yours dated the 3^d instant received, with 25 perpetuanoes blew, 25 ditto

⁸⁵ Cf. 'Consockum' in no.577: not identified.

⁸⁶ This was not Du Casse, who was still west of Komenda (which he reached only on 28 Nov. (cf. no.300, with n.79); but he mentions two other French warships who were later with him east of Komenda, commanded by d'Amblimont and d'Ervault, one of whom must be the ship referred to here (1935, 19).

⁸⁷ Now at Komenda (cf. no.304).

green, 390 sheets, six barrells of powder, and 165 gallons of rum, foure white men, all on account of the Royall African Company, for which said goods will give them credditt accordingly.

Yesterday before the first letter came to hand saw a shipp come to an anchor at Annishan, the natives telling me it was Captain Emanuel Burdis. I seeing the boate goinge ashoare, sent imeadiately Hansicoe to see what newes there, but coming told me there were French men, whereupon ordered all Annamaboe people to come to arnes, and goe along with me to Annishan, but before gott thither, received the letter, which came in good time. The Cabushiers of Annishan understanding our coming sent the French men all away with their boate. I went with all Annamaboe people in the Factory and ordered the soldiers to ffire three vollues under the Royall Companys fflagg in deffiance of any French to settle there, although they have liberty of Annishan people.⁸⁸

But in short the thing is thus, that with much adoe have gott a promise, with condition the Royall Company, or you Gentlemen in their behalves, will send goods and rebuild [ms. 'rubuild'] the Factory, noe nation whatsoever shall settle there, and without that they are resolved to dispose off Annishan to the French, having already been conditioning about it, but where [= were] at present hindred, understanding my coming there. They say they will stay for your answeare till Munday night or Tuesday morning and noe longer, and with much adoe gott that promise of them, and in reallity, if not send goods and resettle your intrest will be lost. This is the reall truth and my duty to advise timely, therefore desire your order against the appointed time.

Inclosed comes my November accounts with the ballance, being two ounces, two angles and eight taccooes. The two duplicates will send per first. I humbly desire youl be pleased that I may purchase corne for all the damaged goods, for now is the time, before ships come downe.

Pray be so kind as to send some musquetts, swards and bandeliers for our white men, a halbert, and a carpenter for six dayes to mend the gun carriages.

574. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 5 Dec. 1687

Yours of yesterdays date last night I received, and this morning early sent for Captain Coffee and the Cabushiers from Annishan, and fully discoursed them, in what relates to the Royall Companys intrest and affaires in that place. They are very well satisfied with your resolution in not suffering the French to settle, since you have promised to doe it yourselves, but by all meanes send downe some goods to morrow before the Curranteers comes, for I feare elce these rogues will fall from their words, for they doe as good as tell me soe. There is a house ready for the reception of the goods. In the interim shall take what care I can till your further order.

⁸⁸ Cf. no.690.

[PS] Captain Coffee tells me that the Dutch sent him word that if wee did not settle at Annishan they would, before the French should have it. I sent them word that wee was as able to doe it as they, and that wee had done it already.

575. James Nightingale & William Cross Annamaboe, 7 Dec. 1687

Yours of the 6th instant have received, and this morning Captain Coffee and the Cabushiers have been with us, and they have agreed to send up a mann tomorrow to treat with you about the affairs of Annishan, at Cabo Corso Castle. I have sent there according to order some goods, and lay'd before them what you have mentioned in your severall letters, with which they seeme very well satisfied.

576. James Nightingale Annamaboe, 8 Dec. 1687/8 [sic]

This accompanys one of the Cabushiers according to order of the 6th instant. The French shipp sayled yesterday to leeward. I sent to Annishan five blew perpetua-noes, five ditto green, ten course sletias, and thirty two Guynea stuffs, all good goods.

577. James Nightingale Annamaboe, 9 Dec. 1687/8

Captain Coffee with the Cabushiers of Annishan are here, and tells me that the Braffo of Consockum has ordered that [if] you doe not send more goods and a white man at Annishan, they will send yours away.

I am credibly informed that the French are about settling at Tantan Querry,⁸⁹ Ladjue,⁹⁰ Winibo and Barricoe,⁹¹ all belonging to the Royall Company.⁹² Soe Gentlemen you know best what to doe in this thing. Here are five greate ships in sight about Amersa but as yett know not what they are, when doe will advise. I desire you will be pleased to send me back the list of the three French ships, which comes inclosed.⁹³ Our sloop is in the roade, but the Master is not yett come ashoare.⁹⁴ Our Cabushiers begin their old tricks, with much adoe I can keepe them in quietness. All things are well, God be praised, at both the Factoryes.

[PS] The shipp in sight are Frenchmen. In hast.

⁸⁹ Tantumkweri, between Amisa and Lagu.

⁹⁰ i.e. Lagu.

⁹¹ Beraku, east of Winneba, and also in the kingdom of Angona.

⁹² The RAC claimed rights in these places on the basis of having had factories in them earlier, even though they were currently unoccupied.

⁹³ i.e. Du Casse, and the ships commanded by d'Amblimont and D'Ervault, who were with him east of Komenda (Du Casse 1935, 19).

⁹⁴ = the *Alligator*.

578. James Nightingale Annamaboe, 11 Dec. 1687

Yours of the 9th instant received, and have told Captain Coffee and the Cabushiers of Annishan what you ordered me. The Currantyer is not yett come downe.

The French went ashoare at Amersa with the flagg and flagg stafe, in order off their settling. I sent imeadiatly some rum to the Cheife there to hinder their designe, yett thaye have in cognito sent to the Currantyers and Braffo of that place to settle there, and their cheife article they stand upon, is not to suffer any nation to purchase oyster shells but themselves, yett their flagg is gone aboard againe.

Inclosed is a letter from Mr Whiteing at Accraa, who desired me to send forward per express.⁹⁵

579. James Nightingale Annamaboe, 12 Dec. 1687

This accompanyes the Mate of Captain Simon Shears, who will give you account of their affaires.

Likewise is come ashoare one Captain Joseph Andrewes, Comander of one of the Royall Companys shipp bound for Old Callabar.⁹⁶ The French are still at Amersa.

580. James Nightingale Annamaboe, 14 Dec. 1687

Yours of the 12th instant have received, and had before that time put on board the Mary 100 sticks of wood from Annishan on Agent Bradlys account, also 150 ditto on account of the Royall African Company at Annamaboe, as per receipt at the months end will appeare. Will undoubtedly observe the motion of the French, and hinder if possible their settling at Amersa. The reason was Captain James stayd yesterday, because his long boate fetcht water.⁹⁷ Have sent on the Royall Companyes account 18 pewter juggs.

581. James Nightingale Annamaboe, 17 Dec. 1687

This is to advise you that the sloop is departed from Amersa with 60 butts of oystershells, and have hindred the French of settling there, per the Braffo, Eggin and upland people, although the Quarrantier of Annishan put it on ffoote, as likewise his son Gauguning at Winaboe.⁹⁸ Since the Mary departed from hence

⁹⁵ = no.787.

⁹⁶ Old Calabar, in the Bight of Biafra (modern south-east Nigeria). For English trade with Old Calabar (for slaves) in this period, cf. Latham 1973, 17–18.

⁹⁷ James had succeeded the deceased Bradley in command of the *Mary*.

⁹⁸ This implies that Winneba, although formerly part of Agona, was now under the control of Fante: cf. also no.885, with n.62.

am informed that about Tanton Querry she mett with a French man of warr,⁹⁹ and there past severall guns between them at night and the next day day, hope it may prove salutes.¹⁰⁰ Have the same information from Amersa.

Pray be pleased to sent on account Royall Company some sletias course, lead barrs, tallow in halfe firkins good pewter jugs, one pound pewter basons, with some lime and tarris. Captain Coffee sent to me the Companyes stick to know if it was your order. I sent word whatever he did he should waite on you imeadiately, and obey order.

582. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 20 Dec. 1687

Yours of the 19th instant received, also forty course sletias, fifty halfe firkins of tallow, one hundred lead barrs, two hundred one pound and fifty foure pound pewter basons, for which said goods will give the Royall Company credditt accordingly.

I am thankfull in sending me a second, whome I will treate with all civility imaginable, and shall procure the wood according to order. Likewise, waite upon you at Christmas, and obey what further comands you shall be pleased to lay upon [JN].

583. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 1 Jan. 1687/8

This is to desire you will be pleased to send me for account of the Royall African Company of England &ca two hundred iron barrs, a halfe peece of red and a halfe peece of scarlett cloath, two cask of lime, two caske of tarris, one hogshhead of brandy, some coller bandeliers, or cattuch [= cartouche] boxes. Tomorrow you will receive James Cundy, in whose place pray send James Levanelo. Not elce at present, but wish you all a happy New Yeaere.

584. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 2 Jan. 1687/8

Yours of this date have received, alsoe one hundred iron barrs, eleven yards of red cloth, eleven and a halfe yards of scarlett cloth, twelve screw'd jugs, fifty seaven gallons of brandy per content, for which said goods shall give the Company credditt accordingly.

Doubt not but shall purchase the corne ordered with those goods which are not vendable for gold, as much as possible.

Have likewise received six cattouch boxes, and doubt not when occasions present but that you will furnish me with lime and tarris, which is realy much

⁹⁹ This was Du Casse, who was now passing back up the coast to Komenda (cf. Du Casse 1935, 19).

¹⁰⁰ In fact, the *Mary's* encounter with the French was friendly: cf. no.949.

wanted for our tank. Captain Cowley is dispatcht from hence with his corne and wood. I will send Mr Cross tomorrow my canoe, canoe men and slaves for dispatch of Captain Cowley.

585. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 9 Jan. 1687/8

I send per bearer my monthly accounts for December 1687 with the ballance of the same, being five ounces, five angles and four taccooes and a halfe. I can expect noe trade here, there being two Factoryes supplied with goods, one to windward and another to leeward of me,¹⁰¹ yett I between both am at the charge, by comers and goers in drinking of brandy, and in reality have been at a more charge to the natives of Annishan, Amersa, and upland people. Mr Cross can give an account as have charged in my accounts.

The two hundred chest of corne have delivered to Captain Cowley, but tooke noe receipt, and he going away suddenly, have not gott the receipt for the wood, yett have sent an attestation for your better satisfaction.

586. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 19 Jan. 1687/8

Yours of the 18th instant received, also three hundred and ninety sheets, one hundred iron barrs, eighty eight dosen horne hafted knives, and ten whole barrells of powder, for which said goods shall give the Royall Company credditt accordingly, and dispatch the sloop with wood, it being ready to put on board.

587. James Nightingale & William Cross

Annamaboe, 30 Jan. 1687/8

Yours of the same date came this day to our hands, which wee have perused with the precautioned secreacie but upon mature deliberation, thinke is not safe for us to seize on his¹⁰² books or papers before a better oppertunity presents, for underhand he carrys himselfe slyly to the Blacks, by feeding them with brandy and other dashes, that noe longer then fourteen days agoe my Serjeant had like to have been carried per force out of the Castle, and abused, and all this through his meanes and procurement, and should wee now attempt any thing are afraid the same or a worse inconvenience would follow, besides he has packed up all his things, expecting to goe up to Cabo Corsoe Castle, and if there is any thing private, he is cunning enough to convey it another way. He is soe greate with the natives that should he continue here long, upon a fair oppertunity I verily beleieve he would betray the Fort. This is what wee can say at present, only upon the first convenience shall use our endeavours to execute your commands.

¹⁰¹ i.e. at Anashan and Egya, respectively.

¹⁰² From no.588, this refers to Dr Walber.

588. James Nightingale & William Cross Annamaboe, Primo Feb. 1687/8

Yours Ultimo January have received, and are sorry that wee gave you an occasion of offence, and that you should thinke wee dare presume to disobey your orders, for if you are pleased to peruse againe what wee wrote before, you will find our proposalls are as much for the advantage for the Royall African Companyes intrest, as your jealousie is to the contrary, for that and the security of this place is onely what wee designed. Gentlemen, wee are troubled that you should tell us of a joynt confederacy with Doctor Woolber. What you have writt upon suposition will be thought reall when it comes to the African House,¹⁰³ soe pardon us if wee justifie ourselves, for farr be it from either of us to have any such thoughts as to be concerned with him, or any body elce, in things of that nature, and soe wee hope you will interpret it. Last night wee tooke our oppertunity, and have seized upon all Doctor Woolbers bookes and papers, and safely sealed them up, and by this conveyance sent them to you. He had not the least suspicion of our intentions, soe certainly nothing was conveyed away, onely wish this had been done the night before, but knowing you to be as good as greate, hope you will be pleased to excuse us this time, and then lett come what will come, wee shall most readily execute your comands.

589. James Nightingale Annamaboe, 6 Feb. 1687/8

I send my January account per bearer with the ballance of the same, being one marke, two ounces, thirteen angles and nine taccooes in gold. The traders were afraid to come, here occasioned by dayly pallavering concerning Ahen,¹⁰⁴ which is the reason they went to Agga. I have sent to the Arcanys to procure the same at this place, and some of their merchants are come here. I doubt not but shall have a good trade in a little time, the merchants shall not want encouragement.

Pray be pleased to send me on account of the Royall African Company a quantity of blew and green perpetuanoes, says Guyny stuffs, sheets if you can spare them or be at Cabo Corsoe.

590. James Nightingale Annamaboe, 9 Feb. 1687/8

I gave you an account of the 6th instant that I had brought the Arcanie merchants downe hither, therefore pray send me some goods formerly writt for, or as many as you can spare of them. Also send some iron barrs, for the merchants staves here onely for goods.

¹⁰³ In Leadenhall Street, London: the headquarters of the RAC.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. no.566, above.

591. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 15 Feb. 1687/8

Just now received per express this inclosed letter from Mr Whiting, who writes me that the inclosed is of greate matters of concernes relating to the Royall Companys affaires.¹⁰⁵

Both your last letters shall answeare per first, being this morning beusy in putting corne aboard of Captain Batherne.

592. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 16 Feb. 1687/8

Yours of the 10th and 14th instant have received. Your orders not to dispose of iron barrs for corne shall be observed, but please to understand that a greate many of them are the remaines before Mr Thelwalls time, as per publique inventory taken, and are most eaten up with rust. Concerning the remaines in my last monthly account [they] are realy true, and it hath been my method and shall be to keep my accounts and the warehouse to agree, and hope you have not found it hitherto to the contrary, and Gentlemen I cannot help that there is noe more gold returned, the charge being soe greate both in payments of soldiers, slaves and other concernes for the Royall Company, which my neighbouring Factors are not concerned withall, which occasions soe small a returne, which pray be pleased to consider, and if you be pleased to conjecture what dayly trouble I am at here with these people [it] would tyer a mans heart out.

I have already delivered on board Captain Bathernes shipp 92 chests of good corne, as per his receipts will appeare. Shall purchase for the Royall Company 300 chests ordered, as soone as possible. Have sent per bearer five ounces of gold belonging to the estate of Mr Walker, and would have done it before if have had your order, which now I see is sufficient, but noe other single person which first demanded it [was sufficient]. Just now arrived a letter from Captain Vagoner,¹⁰⁶ who advices me that Mr Fensmen at Accra¹⁰⁷ ordered him to sayle upon receipt to ditto place, being also desired by the Generall of the Mina.

593. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 18 Feb. 1687/8

This comes per express to give you an accompt that last night Ahen and all Fanteen people are gon to Saboe,¹⁰⁸ to joyn with the King of ditto place, with an absolute resolution to fight Fetue.¹⁰⁹ Eggin comands as chief, and its thought they are very strong, and tells me 5400 men, besides the traine. In short there is not a Cabushier

¹⁰⁵ = no.798.

¹⁰⁶ Jan Wagener, a ship's captain of the Danish African Company (Nørregård 1966, 54).

¹⁰⁷ Nikolay Fensman, Acting Director-General of the Danish fort at Christiansborg, Accra.

¹⁰⁸ Asebu, on the coast between Fetu and Fante, to which Mouri belonged.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. no.701, from Egya.

or a man left that is able to carry arms. The Generall of the Mina is very buissy in the concernes.¹¹⁰ Pray send me some slaves, what are here are sick, and are continually running away, since they see the former are not yet returned. I have but one man, one woman, which are not able to keep the Castle with wood for our people. I likewise begg a copy of your orders at your gates of Cabo Corso, that I may accordingly keep our people with their order to their duty. Am much troubled with them, playing the rogue dayly, from the highest to the lowest, and do what they please. Pray excuse my writing, am somewhat sickly.

594. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 23 Feb. 1687/8

This morning I received a letter from Mr Whiting with the inclosed,¹¹¹ and also another from Captain Waggoner, who intends to sayle for Europe in few days, therefore pray send your letters with all speed, and be pleased to lett the canoe call in here, because I would send a letter to my father, having received one from him per the last Dutch shipp. This being sent per express, there being no passage by land. The Braffoe of Fanteen hath been dead this six days, and Captain Eggin will succeed him.¹¹² They will not let the vulgar people know it untill Ahen's designe is effected. Pray send me what I desired in my last letter.

595. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 28 Feb. 1687/8

I send per bearer my monthly account with the ballance of the same, being the sum of mk2=5=12=7. You will perceive per ditto account what currant goods are wanting, which if you please to send, the Royall Company shall have credditt for them accordingly. Pray Gentlemen send me a Black carpenter and a mason for 10 days, with some nailes and small staples for doores and windows, also 3 hogsheads of lyme, and 2 ditto of tarris, to repayre the flanker, platforme and tanke, for they are all crackt in severall places, insoemuch that I am afrayd they will tumble downe without a sudden repayre, wee having had here a great deale of rayne. Also be pleased to grant me the slaves which you were pleased to promise, at my being at Cabo Corso, and humbly begg a copy of your orders at the gate of Cabo Corso, in order to keep our people, upon their duty. In reality if I should fall sick, here are so many comandars, that it would occasion a great deale of trouble and ill

¹¹⁰ Presumably the Dutch were supporting Ahen and the Fante against Fetu. Whether the attack on Fetu took place, and with what outcome, is not recorded in the Rawlinson correspondence, or in any published account. It seems likely, however, that the campaign was successful, since Dutch influence was certainly consolidated in Fetu during subsequent months: in June 1688, the king of Fetu signed a defensive alliance with the Dutch, and later in the year he unsuccessfully attacked Cape Coast Castle: Daaku 1970, 90–1; Deffontaine 1993, 183–5.

¹¹¹ = no.800.

¹¹² Cf. no.700.

conveniency at this place. Shall not insist any further on this particular, but hope to keep that good comand you have been pleased to give, with all civility imaginable, as hope you have not heard to the contrary.

596. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 3 March 1687/8

Yours of the 29th February and accounts received, with an order to rectifie the same. Gentlemen be pleased to consider what people I have to deale withall, that never did nor will keep their promises nor words, but to the contrary impose new burthens upon him that is most kind to them, and they thinke it is because he dare not do otherwise to them, for there hath been formerly so much granted by my predecessors that scarce any thing can safely be denied, which pray be pleased to consider. I do assure you if had not pay'd for the building of the wall, which is effected, it would have occasioned a great deale of charge and trouble more than it hath don. And if I should give you an account of all transactions wee are under here, it would be endeless to write, and put Mr Boylston to a great deale of trouble, and litle satisfaction. As to the iron barr and one sheet [it] hath been really disbursed for Factorys use, and for the halfe barrell of powder and eight gallons of rum, [it] is really paid to Fanteen army. It hath cost me one anchor of brandy, four lead barrs and a half barrel of powder and other necessaryes on my own particular account, and yet they are not contented. Concerning the canoe, I do protest before God it did never belong to me, but on the contrary to a Negroe, by name Dominee. And Gentlemen since I have been on the Coast, what a Factor really could make appeare to have disbursed on Companyes account, as I have don, has been allowed, which humbly begg you will be pleased to grant me, and to consider in what place I am, where neither is satisfaction for the Master, but on the contrary intolerable dayly affords and charges to their servants. Do not presume to insist upon old methods, but on the contrary leave my self wholly and solely to your discretion, and humbly begg you will be pleased to consider and allow the aforementioned charges, being really disbursed on Company account as is before mentioned.

597. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 3 March 1687/8

Yours of the 3^d instant received. Shall only say that I send my February accounts rectified according to order, also the ballance of the same, being three markes, eight angles and seaven taccoes. The carpenter wants two of the biggest spars for the hall at Annamaboe, or elce all will tumble downe, a hand screw, one hundred tenn penny nailes and two hundred smaller in sorts, for the doores, windows and hinges. The great canoe is here from Accra. The canoemen being weary cannot padle against the wind but will be at Cabo Corso in the morning. Clements has given me the letters, which comes inclosed. Pray send the slave back, here is not one man slave in the Castle.

598. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 8 March 1687/8

Yours of the 7th instant with two sparrs and one hogsheadd of tarris and a hand screw have received, and alsoe the two men slaves which formerly run away, for which I thanke you.

Per returne of the 9 hand canoe comes up Doctor Wolber according to orders, who is a very troublesome fellow and puts more confidence in a Black man then in a White, and hath had of late with them severall ganglins [= janglings]¹¹³ and quarrells continually to and fro about the Castle, that it makes me very uneasy, and indeed am not fond of his company, without you will be pleased to give such orders that he may keep himselfe in that station that he is in and not to keepe any correspondencies with any Black here at Annamaboe. He hath trusted them with much goods and monyes, which they now have cheated him of, which is the occasion of the continuall dispute.

Docter Walber tells me that his agreement was with the Company for fifty pounds per anno for his diett, as he will showe you per his papers at Cabo Corsoe Castle, which you have been pleased likewise formerly to allow him at Accra and alsoe here at Annamaboe.

I humbly desire you will be pleased to send on account of the Royall African Company of England vizt sayes, sheets, perpetuanoes, blew and green, iron barrs, for what is remaining here is the very refuge [= refuse] of what was left in Mr Thelwalls time. I shall likewise want (when your keele [= kill] is burnt) three hogsheads of lime and some bricks and more tarris, and a bricklayer, ffor the flanker doth crack in severall places, and the tanck and platfforme is much out of repaire.

[PS] The duplicates of February accounts shall be sent per first.

599. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 15 March 1687/8

The carpenter being here wants 100 6 penny and 100 2 penny nailes more [for] Factoryes use. Likewise I desire you would be pleased to let the carpenter stay here till Saturday, in order to mend the canoe which carryed oystershells, for here is no[t] a canoe to be gott, if shipps should be order[d] downe for come.

600. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 17 March 1687/8

Yours of the 14th & 16th instant received. In answer to the 1st is that I have delivered to Captain Buttram his complement of as good corne as ever was shipt aboard. Am likewise satisfied in your orders concerning Doctor Wolbers dyett, for which I shall give the Company credditt in this months accompt. The next

¹¹³ i.e. noisy disputes.

morning after the receipt of yours, sent Mr Johnson to Captain Eggin, and to the Cabushiers up in the country, in order to provide some corne. They understanding that there are many ships on the Coast, do pretend that corne is both very deare and and scarce, so I can give you no certainty. In short could not purchase one chest since my last remaynes. I understand that they do designe to raise it to two angles a chest, and to be payd in good says. Notwithstanding shall follow your former orders, with what goods I have if possible. Have sent likewise the Generall of the Minas letter (in your inclosed) to Mr Everaas¹¹⁴ upon the receipt. Wee are ready to assist Captain Buttram with six good guns, if occasion shall require.¹¹⁵ The Companyes money, and his owne, is at present in the warehouse. Here are severall soldiers sick and lame. Be pleased to order Doctor Mackdowall to send some bresilicum¹¹⁶ and plastering, Doctor Wolber has lockt up all his things, and has left no plasters for the men.

[PS] Pray be pleased to send me some paper, for indeed this is the last sheet.

601. James Nightingale

Anamaboe, 19 March 1687/8

By report of the Negroes the French shipp hath received advice of the gold being put ashore, and that Captain Buttram hath assistance of men, was the occasion of preventing their fighting, which otherwise might have been expected.¹¹⁷ The French shipp at this interim past by without showing any colours. I shall send a messenger on board the Portuguez, to get a further account of the Ffrench man, and shall advise you if needfull. Pray be pleased to order what shall don with the gold chest, whether it shall be delivered on board Captain Buttram or sent up to Cabo Corso. Pray be pleased to send me some paper, for indeed I have nothing to write upon.

602. James Nightingale

Annamaboe, 20 March 1687/8

This accompanies Nathan Pile, whom sent up to you. Pray be pleased to send some lyme, and tarris, and if you can a bricklayer, for the flankers and walls are very much out of repayre, as per an account at large you shall have of the bearer.

603. James Nightingale

Anamaboe, 25 March 1688

Yours of the 24th instant have received, and Ile assure you the last monthly

¹¹⁴ Carel Everaers, chief of the Dutch WIC factory at Kormantin (cf. no.996).

¹¹⁵ Against the threat from the French ship referred to in no.601, which was believed to be a pirate.

¹¹⁶ basilicum, a form of medicinal ointment.

¹¹⁷ Cf. nos 960–2. The French ship was actually the warship *Saint Louis*, which was following Du Casse down the coast.

remaynes is true. The reason of not present delivery to Captain Buttram his complement of corne, is that by reason of great quantities of corne lying together I thought it fitt to order the corne to be kept in its teers [= tiers], for the better preservation of it from buggs and weavels. The ware [= war] coming on, it cannot presently be brought in. I sent my second up to that purpose for the forwarding it home, which is as sure as as if it were in the warehouse (only for the present). I am now dispatching Captain Buttram. I do not want corne for him, although I did instant to his mate of what you write. Understanding by him, that the Captain is very well provided with beans and other Negroe provitions, therefore for the surety and sooner dispatch of other shippes, proposed it to him. For the better dispatch of Captain Sturt, pray be pleased to order him to take the rest of his corne in at Agga, of Mr Cross. In the interim shall forward home the rest of the corne, which is dayly coming. You yourselves know that no Black is punctuall to his word to a day or teen [= ten]. That and the ware hath been the principall reason of my not being ready. There is nothing of what is aforementioned, or other cases, but that I have at all times acted the Companies best interest, which never shall be wanted in me.

If chance I shall be disapointed in which I have don for the good of the corne, I have money ready to purchase corne, therefore pray be not offended for the present disapointment, be assured that shall be ready in a very short time.

604. James Nightingale

Anamaboe, 26 March 1688

Captain Buttram being dispatch yesterday by nine of the clock with his corne, I ordered Hukamee to returne to Cabo Corso with his canoe. At his being here, he continually idles away his time, and no persuading him to returne, staying here expecting Captain Buttrams dashey, and being continually up in the towne, am afraid of some ill to attend him and the rest of the canoemen, having enough to do to keep them in peace. Shall endeavour to dispatch Captain Sturt as soon as possible, the sea being very high. Hope he shall want litle of his complement, if any at all, the rest shall be brought in with all speed possible in the Factory. There shall be nothing wanting in me.

605. James Nightingale

Anamaboe, 27 March 1688

This is to give you an account that I have ship't on board the shipp Expedition, Captain Sturt Comander, one hundred sixty three chests of very good corne, as per the inclosed doth appeare.¹¹⁸ There shall be no neglect in me to gett the rest in (which is in teers) as soon as possible. All the people being in the countrey is the onely hinderance to get it in so suddenly. This night all the men were forced out of

¹¹⁸ Cf. no.964.

the towne to the army, only some few fishermen. Gentlemen at the decease of the Braffo of this countrey have been forced (otherwise could not live in quietness) to give towards his funerall these goods on account of the Company, vizt one brawle, two sheets, one damaged allejar, one quarter barrell of powder, and eight gallons of rum, which I hope you will be pleased to allow in this months account, having really paid the same.

[PS] The other inclosed will show that Captain Buttram is also fully satisfied, although his huffing mate writt otherwise, and put you to a misunderstanding of me, and am sorry that you are so continuall misinformed of me, which always proves to the contrary.

606. James Nightingale

Anamaboe, Ultimo March 1688

Yours of the 28th instant received, and observe what you allow for the Braffo's funerall, which shall charge accordingly.

As to Doctor Wolber, in short he is more a beast than a Christian, and has so many tricks that he is able to set up all by the ears, and ruine all the Royall Companys concernes here, or any where elce, without he be kept under, and if you Gentlemen did but see the hundredth part of his moross and unbecoming actions, you would not blame me, nor any in that station you were pleased to put me in, to keep him under a good and lawfull comand, as hitherto have don, and Gentlemen you yourselves are sensible of his tricks at Cabo Corso, Accra, aboard the Mary, and since his last coming downe. Had like to bring a great difference between Mr Everars and my selfe per his reports, which after a strict examination found to be falce, before all our garrison. I am afrayd that one time or another he will occasion great trouble per the Blacks, if not betray the ffort. Have not received any corne, all the people are with Captain Eggin and [= at] Saboe. I intend to go there tomorrow, in order to have corne brought downe as soon as possible, I find that sending of others signified nothing. I humbly begg you will be pleased to have patience till I can get it in. If the people were downe could soon be supplied with a great deale of ease, which hope you will be pleased to grant. Should without writing let Mr Cross have the 5 hand canoe, for wee always let one another have what wee want. Have sent Dr Wolber this morning to Agga, The old Gentleman there is very sick.

607. James Nightingale

Anamaboe, 2 April 1688

Yours of this date have received. The boy brought it to me about three a clock this afternoone, and upon receipt I immediately dispatcht it on board Captain Barratt, and received the inclosed for answer, which comes express.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁹ = no.966.

608. James Nightingale

Anamaboe, 7 April 1688

Yours of the 3^d instant per Mr Ronan have received, and your orders to him, Mr Bloome,¹²⁰ and Mr Johnson have observed. I have sent per Mr Ronan my accompt to the primo Aprill, which was in the warehouse before wee tooke an inventory, but for the better satisfaction, have made two accompts beginning ultimo March and ending 4th Aprill, which agrees with the remaynes at this Factory, only the corne, which shall be in the Factory within 6 or 8 days. I have been yesterday in the country in order to have it brought downe. The rest leave to the personall discourse of Mr Ronan.

609. James Nightingale

Anamaboe, 21 April 1688

I humbly desire you would be pleased to send me, on accompt of the Royall Affrican Company of England, some sheets, says, knives, blew and green perpetuanoes, Guynea stuffs, sletias fine, for dayly people come and ask for them. I am troubled with the Quarrantiers, they demand two cases of spiritts for the planting their corne. Our Cabushiers at this place likewise they will not let me alone till they have it.

¹²⁰ John Bloome, chief of the RAC factory at Anashan.

VII

EGYA

The RAC factory at Egya ('Agga'), east of Anomabu, had been occupied, apparently continuously, since the 1670s. It supplied gold, corn for the provisioning of slave ships, and some slaves. As at Anashan and Anomabu, the hinterland traders bringing gold to Egya were the Akani.

Like Anashan and Anomabu, Egya belonged to the state of Fante, and the factory periodically had dealings with the 'Braffo' of Fante. The Egya correspondence throws further light on Fante's relations with its neighbours, including its war with Agona in 1687 (nos 651 etc.) and its projected invasion of Fetu, in support of the exiled chief 'Ahen', in 1688 (nos 656 etc.).

610. Theophilus Blinsham

Agga, 8 March 1686

Your Worships letter 6th ditto I have received, giveing account of 4 chest of sheets for this factory. When received shall give the Royall Company credit, desireing your Worship to order me the goods as underwriting on account of the Royall Affrican Company of England, also pray that those goods I writte for now may be good, to encourage trade, this factory being in great hopes of gaining a trade. Also pray your Worship to give an order to Mr Nightingale¹ to veiw the corn [which] was bought by Francis Nixson. Pray your Worships order for what corne I shall buy, for the account of the Royall Company of England, and also the prizes of goods in generall, per first.

20 broad pintadoes; 160 gallons rum; 10 cases of spirits; 200 iron barrs; 20 course sletias; 1 cask knives; 10 chests sheets; 1 cask of 2 pound basons; 1 ditto 3 [pound] basons; 1 ditto of 1 pound ditto; 6 screwd jugs. Pray your Worship to send me the Company prizes for slaves.

¹ James Nightingale, chief of the RAC factory at Anomabu, to which the Egya factory was subordinate.

611. Theophilus Blinsham

Agga, 14 March 1686

My last to your Worship was of the 11th ditto, which was return'd me per James Baily.² I received a letter of the 9th ditto with the prizes of the Companyes goods, wanting the prizes of the birds eye carpitts, paper brawles, Guine stuffes. Have also received the goods from on board the sloop, and haveing given the Royall Company credit. Have laden on board the same sloop forty chest of good corne on the account of the Royall Affrican Company of England, the receipt of which shall be sent your Worship with my monthly account. In mine to your Worship of the 8th November prayd your Worship to send twenty course sletias, twenty broad tapseiles on the account and resque [= risk] of the Royall Affrican Company of England, and if you would be pleased to send thirty or forty Turky carpitts on the same account, I understand that Mr Nightingale has many damnified Turky carpitts undisposed of. Also pray your Worship to give order to Mr Nightingale to veiw the corne of Francis Nixon, the rome of which would be very usefull to me. The sayes that I advised your Worship of, desireing the price, giveing account they came from Mr Whiting at Accra³ to Cabo Corso [and] after sent Mr Nightingale to be disposed of, which sayes Mr Nightingale hath since sent for and are delivered, begging your Worships pardon for the trouble gave.

612. Theophilus Blinsham

Agga, 27 March 1686

Your Worships letter of the 26th ditto is received and a baile of fifty stript carpitts. I have this day sent your Worship per canoe a man slave on the account and resque of the Royall Affrican Company of England, for which desire your Worships receipt. The slave is tawl [= tall] and hath eight white rings on his arme and some of his haire is cutt from his head to his crown that your Worship may the better know the slave that I sent from Mr Nightingales. If your Worship please to give me leave shall waite upon your Worship with my monthly account and give what account I can of this place.

613. John Wortley

Agga, 30 April 1686

I have received by the 11 hand canoe those goods your Worship sent to Agga, but most of them prove very much damaged, vizt 60 broad blew bafts, 30 whereof is very much worm eaten; 40 green perpetuanoes, 20 much damnified; 140 dozen knives not yett opened. I have likewise by your Worships order sent up by the canoe the 2 cases that the bafts and perpetuanoes came in. I doe intend about the begining of this next week to [send] your Worships up my monthly account begining at the last of March and ends the last of April.

² Commander of the *Adventure* Sloop.

³ Mark Bedford Whiting, chief of the RAC factory at Accra, to the east.

614. John Wortley

Agga, 1 May 1686

Here inclosed is my account for month and the ballance is 2mk 6oz 6a 1½ta [and] another for the Company with the ballance thereof, which I hope will find acceptance at your Worships hands, without errors. I have made bold to send your Worship six green birds by the bearer hereof Mr Bryan Ingle, which I hope will deliver them safe to your hands. I desire your Worship be pleased to send me some paper and quills &ca. I will doe the best endeavour to serve the Company, and for their best advantage, which is my utmost endeavour.

615. Theophilus Blinsham

Agga, 14 May 1686

Att my comeing to Agga I made demand of the factory, which Mr Wortley denyd, haveing a positive order from your Worship and Councell so to take possession thereof and keep tell farther orders from the said, therefore I humbly desire your Worships pleasure in sending me one contradictory to that, at receipt of which will be delivered into the charge of [Theophilus Blinsham].

PS. I being present when demand[ed] the factory, pray your Worships answer upon receipt. JN [= James Nightingale].

616. Theophilus Blinsham

Agga, 4 June 1686

Your Worships letter of the 29th last past I have received with the goods therein exprest, desiring your Worship to send me these following goods, vizt six chests of sheets, haveing monys for part of them; one baile of green perpetuanoes; ten half firkins of tallow; one cask of knives; one cask of rum, on account of the Royall Affrican Company of England. Have per bearer sent your Worship my monthly account with the ballance, desiring your Worship to send a receipt for the monys sent before and this now. I am heartyly sorry that your Worship should think that I should detain any of the Companyes mony in my hands or imploy any of it to my use; to the contrary, the bearer can witness that I have never done, but sent your Worship all the mony that I received in the month. I would with all my heart [have] sent an account before but sickness hath hindred me. I have put in the goods in my account that was laid buy for corn bought in March.

617. Theophilus Blinsham

Agga, 25 June 1686

I haveing the conveniency per Doctor Griffin, desire your Worship to send me two or three hundred iron barrs and one bail of green perpetuanoes, if any blew to spare one bail, and some narrow nicconeas, and some paper brawles, of the 2 latter what your Worship thinks fitt. Just now I received your Worships letter, for which I shall gladly wait on your Worship with my monthly account.

618. [Theophilus Blinsham]⁴

Agga, 16 July 1686

This is to desire your Worship there may be sent tomorrow if possible 3 bailes blew perpetuanoes, 3 ditto green, a cask of 1 lb basons, the Arcanyes being here with a considerable quantitty of gold, desires these goods tomorrow, I haveing sold what blew perpetuanoes I had with as many green. I have paid the Braffos custom, and find that your Worship is misinformed of a pallaver between me and the Braffo, and as I find are very well sattisfied. I have likewise received from Mr James Nightingale two of the Companyes slaves, Ahenisaw and wife. I have desired Mr Nightingale to view the corn of Francis Nixson but as yet not done. If your Worship pleases one cask of knives, those I have are very much rusty, almost eaten up.

619. Theophilus Blinsham

Agga, 19 July 1686

I have sent your Worship per bearer Bryan Ingle on account of the Royall Affrican Company of England twelve marks of good gold in part of this month account for which I desire a receipt for the same. I desire your Worship to send tomorrow, if possible, on the account of the Royall Affrican Company, two bales of blew perpetuanoes, and two ditto green, and a cask of 1 lb basons, and a cask of knives, and some cases of spirrits. If your Worship pleases to take 11a for the stript sattins. Bryan Ingall hath promisd amendment and if your Worship pleases will try him a little longer.

620. Theophilus Blinsham

Agga, 4 Aug. 1686

This morning I was comeing to wait on your Worship with my monthly account, also with the ballance of the same, but I was unfortunately hindred per the sea. I being got not above seaven or eight rods from the shore, was oursett [= overset] and in saveing myselfe lost the Royall Company gold, which is eight markes upwards. I have all this day endeavverd with a great many blacks to find it by their diving and dragrakes, the water being not above one fathom and halfe at low water, desireing your Worship if any thing that will be servisable or any black or other, to send with what speed may be, being in great hopes with good assistance to find it. I here inclosed sent this months account, wishing I had been so fortunate to send the gold with it.⁵

621. Jonas Perring

Agga, 10 Aug. 1686

According to your Worships and Councells order have inventoryd the warehouse at Agga with Mr Walker and Mr Griffin, which inventory you will receive by the

⁴ 'James Nightingale' in ms, clearly in error.

⁵ Cf. no.436, for suspicions of the veracity of this account.

bearer. We found the key of the warehouse in Mr Blinshams chest, but cannot find a crakra of money without there be any in the trunk, which we have not the key of, but Bryan Ingall sayeth that he doth believe that there is [not?] a crakra of money of the Company in the factory. We have made what inquiry we can about the money, and have likewise examined one of the canomen that carried Mr Blinsham of when the money was lost and he saith that the cano was not oversett but that when they put of Mr Blinsham sat in the cano with the money in his lap, but how it came into the water they cannot tell. The said canoman has promised us faithfully he will come up to Cabo Corso, to declare the truth of the matter. He likewise informed us that when they put off Mr Blinsham fell backward in the cano. Likewise yesterday we found out the man that took up the money, and demanding of him how he came to find it, he made us answer that the money being lost he came to Mr Blinsham and told him if he would give him a dram of the bottle he would goe and fetch his money for him, but we tax'd him with being bribed by the said Blinsham for the concealing thereof, which when he heard, had not the face to deny it, but rose up and went out of the factory. We can per no means persuade him to Cabo Corso. The slaves [sic] we have likewise examined, who sayes he knows nothing of ill [?= it], but shall send him up in this cano.⁶ All the Company affaires stand very well at present but as yet have no trade.

622. Jonas Perrin

Agga, 10 Aug. 1686

This accompanys one of the canomen that carried Mr Blinsham of when the money was lost, which hope your Worship will be pleased to examine, and he will tell you the whole truth of the business.

623. Jonas Perrin

[Agga], 10 Aug. 1686

Your letter I received yesterday with two bales containing forty sayes and one bale containing fifty carpitts, which hope to have a good trade for them. All the Companys affaires stand very well at present. I beg a supply of paper quills and wax. The people here demand a piece of nicconee and a case of spirrits to bring down a trade, which I want your order for.

624. Jonas Perrin

Agga, 4 Sept. 1686

These serves for covert for August account, bein[g] made up the day Mr Nightingale took charge of this factory, the ballance hereof being 2mk 7a 6ta of gold. Our Ardra slaves makes sad complaint for their money and say that Mr Blinsham did not pay them. I therefore humbly desire to know whether I must pay them. All the Company affairs stand very well at present.

⁶ Cf. no.437.

625. Jonas Perring

Agga, 10 Oct. 1686

This 10th day of October have received yours and understand what you wrote concerning my takeing care of the Company's concern's, which I shall doe to the best of my endeavour, and give a ffaire [accompt] att the end of every month. As to the Cabusheres at Agga have been verry hard, but at present are pretty civill. Humbly begg [pardon] for my being so shorte, bein[g] very ill could hardly hold up my hand to write this.

626. Robert Elwes

Agga, 16 Dec. 1686

Yesterday according to your orders with Mr Rice Wight, Mr Ralph Hassell and Mr William Halford⁷ took a true inventory of the Royall Affrican Companys merchandize belonging to Agga, mentioning each sorts how qualified, which done gave Mr Hassell a receipt for the same. As traders come down shall acquaint your Worship fffurther. In the intrim I desire I may have two casks of two pound basons, one case of good sayes, twelve stript sattins, one case course sletias, ten boysadoes, some paper of both sizes, and iff your Worship can spare 8 or 9 chests of sheets.

627. Robert Elwes

Agga, 18 Dec. [1686]

This morning came the Arcanyes belonging to Annamaboe to demand their custome of a new ffactor settleing here, telling me that they alwaies had allowed them a green perpetuano and halfe a case of spirrits, but were denyd till order from your Worship. The Agga Cabusheers also were with me to demand there custom, which are two green perpetuanoes and an anchor of rum, which has been given by Mr Blinsham fformerly, so desire to know your Worships approbation. I am in great want of paper, or otherwise would not have writ in this manner. I could have sold some iron barrs, but they not being marked they would not have them, soe desire you would be pleased to send me a marking iron and we will doe as well as we can.

628. Robert Elwes

Agga, 19 Dec. 1686

Yours of the 16th instant received with four chests of sheetts, ten boysadoes, twenty sayes, twelve narrow stript sattins, twenty course sletias, and three peices brown Hessens on account of the Royall Affrican Company of England. Two of the Hessens are I supposed designed for Mr Hassell. I can give your Worship no news of this place as yett. Wee expect the Captain of the Arcanies here a Munday. [PS] I return your Worship thanks for your kind invitation and will wait upon you.

⁷ Hassell was now chief of the Anomabu factory; Wight and Halford were sent from Cape Coast Castle.

629. Robert Elwes

Agga, 28 Dec. 1686

This morning were the Cabusheers with me to demand their custom and dashes at Christmas, so desire to know what you will be pleased to allow them. I desire your Worship would be pleased to send down two hundred iron barrs, one hundred two pound and one hundred three pound pewter basons, one cask of rum, which are at present the needfull.

630. Robert Elwes

Agga, 31 Dec. 1686

Yours of the 30th instant received with two hundred iron barrs and a cask of rum, mentioning to contain eighty nine gallons, the pewter except [sic], with one hundred narrow nicconees, they being all gon to seaven, I desire may receive them as soon as possible. As to the Braffo and Curranters customs, they were here to demand them this morning, being two sayes, two cases spiritts and two iron barrs, which shall be deliverd them. As to the Cabusheers I shall endeavour to abreviate their demands, though doe beleive their allowances as by report have been much enlarged by my predecessors, but hope with the indifferency your Worship hath to remayn the factory to bring them to an easy perswsion, for find by your last they are much danted. Have sent by Captain Petter two marks, six ounces, ten angles of gold, on account of the Royall Affrican Company. Whatt more attends shall [send] with my accounts.

631. Robert Elwes

Agga Factory, 5 Jan. 1686/7

Yours of the 3^d instant with two hundred two pound basons and one hundred three pound ditto and one hundred and twenty narrow nicconees received, all on account of the Royall Affrican Company of England. Per Captain Peter have sent up my December account and one ounce, eleaven angles and six taccoes, which with the six marks, five ounces, ten angles and eight taccoes as per account appears. Have had the Cabushers of this place with me severall times, and cannot bring them lower than four gingham and one Welch playne, it being as they say verry ordinary to what they fformerly have received. Shall observe your Worships orders in buying three hundred chests corn.

632. Robert Elwes

Agga, 5 Jan. 1686/7

This comes by Yabboys boy, who hearing of Captain Buttrams return desires your Worship would give him some sattisfaction about his former pallaver as per sending Robin down, that was aboard Captain Buttram but lived here with Jonas [Perrin]. He has been with me severall times and sayes that his mony lent Jonas was deliverd Mr Humfryes by Jonas, and as he told him to buy blew perpetuanoes,

on which account Yaboy lent it him. I desire may have your order for the deleviry of the goods the Cabusheers demand for their Christmas dashes.

633. Robert Elwes

Agga, 11 Jan. 1686/7

Yours of the 7th instant received, and yesterday the Cabushers when they came from Fanten were with me to demand their customary dashes at Christmas, so told them your Worship would allow of none, it being so lately that they had received dashes from others that lived here before me. Their answer was that unless they should be paid as formerly they have been, they will not goe out of the factory but remain where they are, and doe impute it to my fault, that they have not already received it. I desire your Worship would be so kind as to allow it in my time as before, and as you writ they have received sufficient dashes already, they say what was given them before my time was not on account of Christmas, and as itt being customary are resolved they will not loose it, and their demands being so great cannot on my own account allow it, soe desire will consider the dayly troble they put me to. Without they are paid must expect more. They are all now in the factory and put me to great inconveniency, which may be remided if your Worship pleases to grant an order that they may have their demands, which were four gingham and a Welch playne.

634. Robert Elwes

Agga, 12 Jan. 1686/7

Yours of the 11th instant received. As yett have not bought any corn by reason that the Cabushers have been this ten dayes up at Fanteen, but today the Cabushers returning have promised me that when they are paid their custome at Christmas, that in ten dayes they will procure me three hundred chests corn and that they have by them great quantities, so expect an answer to my letter sent yesterday. Corn is here very plenty and hope in a short time to be supplyd. Yaboy has promised me to bring in one hundred chests himselfe and [with] what others doe promis you may depend upon the quantity you write for. As it comes in shall have immediate advice.

635. Robert Elwes

Agga, 15 Jan. 1686/7

This morning have taken in fifty chests of corn, which is all we have at present bought, but shall be ataken in every day so question not but in 4 or 5 dayes to be supplied with three hundred chests, which is the complement you ordered to be bought. Desire may be furnished with one hundred lead barrs, ten boysadoes, twelve narrow sattins, six barrels powder, if you can all halve owns [= ones], and looking glasses, all on account of the Royall Affrican Company of England. Here

is a grate noyse of warr so that little trade is here stirring.⁸ The Cabushers are all up at Fanteen but have left order for the delivery of corn, so that this weak at farthest I hope to have my whole complement.

636. Robert Elwes

Agga, 19 Jan. 1686 [= 1687]

Yours of the 18th instant [received] with twelve pieces of boysadoes, one hundred lead barrs, twelve pieces of narrow stript sattins, sixty looking glasses no.3, sixty no.4, sixty no.5 (so I found the case to contain, by your letter no.4 is but sixty mentioned, the mark of the case is 66), four whole barrells and four halfe ditto [powder], on account of the Royall Affrican Company [of] England. When have received the three hundred chests of corn shall give advice. I desire your Worship would spare me the 5 hand cano I sent up to remayn with me here, being not any upon any occasion to be gott.

637. Robert Elwes

Agga, 27 Jan. 1686/7

Yours of the 26th instant received, which [= this] is to advise you that I have not taken in any more corn than one handred [sic] and thirty chests. Corn is very plenty, but here not being people to bring it canot in a small time expect to procure any quantity without the warrs sease and their people to return, of which there is no likelyhood, the Anguinas being resolved to break a free passage of trade and come on the intent nearer and nearer upon the Fanteen.⁹ As yet they have had no settle [= set] battle. What corn we buy is most for lead barrs, and doe take in aboute 8 or 10 chests a day. At that rartes [= rates] we may be procurd corn, so that the utmost may be expected to take in by me canot be more than three hundred chests in any small time. Yesterday went away the East India Merchant. Not any trade stirring.

638. Robert Elwes

Agga, 29 Jan. 1686/7

Yours of the 26th instant received, and shall endeavour to gett what corn possible can be procurd [and] observe your order in not bartering any more lead barrs for corn, and to sell narrow nicconees at 3a and iron barrs at 24 per bendy, [and] flowered silk longees to be disposed at 5a. Severall of these received last were very much damnified. Since my last have not received more than twelve chests corn. As it comes in shall not be backward in advising. Last night came down a small English interloper and lyes between Annamaboe and Agga, and his cheife of of his loading is sugar and rum, some allejars and broad nicconees. He tarrys here to take in fourty chests of corn and on that intent he sent yesterday for Yabboy aboard,

⁸ Cf. no.637 below, alluding to an impending war with Agona.

⁹ Cf. reports from Anomabu (nos 490–1).

who I beleive will endeavour to supply him. As to the warrs they have made no proceedings but lyes in readiness, expecting the enimys approachment.

639. Robert Elwes

Agga, 3 Feb. 1686/7

This comes by Mr Griffith, with whome have sent my January account and four mark, four taccoes for ballance. Desire may have the four pound basons, and if your Worship can spare me any half firkins of tallow could immediately dispose of them, as allso sheets, which are the comodities enquired for. Informed you in my last what quantity of corn had by me and taken, since have in no more than six chests, so that in all that I have is one hundred and sixty chests of corn. But little discourse concerning the warrs, the Cabusheers remayne al up at Fanteen and have sent word down that in case they fight not in 5 dayes, that then they must tarry a month longer for a bondee.¹⁰ Sevrall of my sattins received last month were damnified, mentioned them in per my last [by] mistake [as] flowered silk.

640. Robert Elwes

Agga, 5 Feb. 1686/7

These comes on purpose to desire your Worship that I may have sent me down two hundred iron barrs with the goods I write for by Mr Griffin. Have taken in but little corn since my last.

641. Robert Elwes

Agga, 7 Feb. 1686/7

Yours of 5th and 7th have received with one hundred and fifty iron barrs, three hundred and nynty sheets and ten whole firkins of tallow on account of the Royall Affrican Company of England. The blew perpetuanoes except [= expect] per next. As traders comes in shall give your Worship advise [and] observe your order in disposing of the above goods for gold and not to barter any of them for corn, which at present is not to be procured at any parts. But little news of the warrs.

642. Robert Elwes

Agga, 11 Feb. 1686/7

These comes by Mr Griffin by whome I desire your Worship would be pleased to send down two hundred iron barrs, ten screwd pewter jugs, a case of blew perpetuanoes on account of the Royall Affrican Company of England. Upon opening one of the chest of sheets we found them all damnified to about six, which Mr Griffin will also affirme. The Captain of the Arcanies is some time since come down and has been with me sevrall times to know what should be allowd him as

¹⁰ This term has not been traced in any other source, so that its meaning is conjectural: possibly = Portuguese *bom dia*, 'good day', referring to a day considered auspicious for undertaking business. For the concept of 'good' and 'bad' days in the Akan calendar in a later period, see McCaskie 1980.

monthly sallery, so desire to know of your Worship what you will be pleased to allow him. He is a man formerly brought good trade, and I hope will doe so againe, so desire he may be encouraged. Likewise desire may have more tallow down. Have bought no more corn than what formerly informd, nither is there any probabillity of procureing more.

643. Robert Elwes

Agga Factory, 12 [Feb.] 1686/7

Yours of the 12 instant I have received with one hundred and fifty iron barrs. The Dutch I am well advised sells their iron at 26 per bendy, and at that rate they will not sell any as long as we are provided, ours being in more esteem. Have sent up per the 11 hand cano the remayns of the chests of sheets, which were received damnified. Have disposed of fifteen, so that in the chest there are fifty. Desire your Worship would be pleased to spare me some more sheets.

644. Robert Elwes

Agga, Feb. 15 1686/7

Yours of this dayes instant have received with two bailes containing fifty perpetunanoes blew, no.797 and 787, also two hundred and sixty sheets in four chests on account of the Royall Affrican Company of England. Shall advise your Worship when have taken in the three hundred chests of corn. It comes in very slowly, haveing in all one hundred and seventy chests.

645. William MacDowall

Agga, 20 Feb. 1686/7

According to your Worships order I arrivd here yesterday about nine of the clock, when I found Mr Elwes (though bad) yett better than I expected. He was taken evill [= ill] of a feaver and ague with a violent vomitting ever since Wednesday last. This morning I gott him an emetick, which hath wrought very well, and now, though the time of his ague be two howers past, there are no simthoms [= symptoms]. I canot leave him till tomorrow, so on Tewsdays morning I shall wait on your Worship and I hope give an account of his recovery.

646. Robert Elwes

Agga, 6 March 1686/7

These are to desire your Worship to send down one case of sayes, one ditto of course sletias and ten boysadoes. Have sent by the bearer my February accounts with the remayns of the ballance, being mk0 2oz 4a 8ta of gold. Have bought seven men, one woman slaves, which I have sent to Annamaboe.

647. Robert Elwes

Agga, 8 March 1686/7

Yours of the 7th instant have received, with twenty sayes, fourty course sletias, and

ten boysadoes of the Royal Affrican Company of England. Yesterday we have shipt on board the *Lucitania*, one hundred chests [sc. of corn]; this day or tomorrow hope she may dispatchd. Have advisd Mr Hassell to send up what slaves he has buy him; have sent him twelve lusty men slaves, and one woman. Here is no more corn to be procured without your Worship will allow two angles per chest, they haveing by reason of their warrs lost great part of their rowsaing time, and are also resolved to war with the Fettues,¹¹ so that they will keep their corn for fear of want, without they can dispose of it as is rated above.

648. Robert Elwes

Agga, 10 March 1686/7

Yours of this dayes instant have received, and inclosed have sent Captain Bristows¹² receipts for one hundred eighty two chests of good corn, so that have no more remaying than fifty eight chests, and doe not expect to procure any more, without your Worship will be pleased to allow of two angles per chest. Have bought three lusty men since the last that were sent up. The Dutch buys great quantity and send them to the Mine. If you have any broad tapseiles or blew Welch plains, desire I may have some sent me. Captain Bristow saild yesterday morning.

649. Robert Elwes

Agga, 12 March [16]86/7

Yours of this dayes date have received with a bail containing eighty broad tapseles, twenty Welch plains, viz ten blew ten green, twenty anchors rum and ten whole firkins tallow, observe your orders in disposeing of them. As to corn I doe endeavour to gett in what I can, but they are really resould [= resolved] not to sell any under two angles per chest; I told them what your Worship write, that unless they would assist us with corn we could not buy any more slaves, they answer that in case we did not the Dutch would and that they could send their corn down to Accra and gett three angles per chest. Desire you would be pleased to spare me a little wax or wafer.

650. John Boylston Cabo Corso Castle, I mean Agga [sic], 22 March [1687]

I have demanded of Captain Draper goods for the two slaves that he has not paid for, he tells me possitively that he will part with nothing, if I will take two I may, but I cannott doe it for he will give one that is a fool, and the other not able to stand, and them I can by no means receive. I can bring him to no termes in the world, therefore request your speedy answer, for I tarry on purpose for itt. Tis in vain to talk to him, for he will do nothing in reason. I offerd him to take the two men that is

¹¹ Cf. subsequent references to war with Fetu, nos 656, 676 etc.

¹² Commander of the *Lusitania*.

in dispute, but them he will not part withall, but if I will have any I must take the refuge [= refuse] ones. He sayes he will sayle tonight, therefore request, your answer, as soon as may bee. He will go away 90 chests of corn short or thereabout's. Mr Elwes is very ill. I lay at Agga last night but could have no rest, by reason of his indisposition. God send him well for he look like death. I beleive when all is done I must protest against the Captain, for he will come to no compliance. The Company letters and your Worship[s] are all aboard. I have given Champion his noatt and have sent up the other.

651. Robert Elwes

Agga, 26 March [16]86 [sic; = 1687]

Yours of the 16 instant have received, with two men slaves, am sorry they are not according to expectation. Observe your orders in buying two hundred chests of corn. Have shipt on board Captain Draper eighty eight chests corn, and are very good, as per his receipts inclosed does appear. He desires this night to sayle, haveing bought a five hand cano and hired five men to goe down with him. But little trade stirring, the Arcanies being at warrs with the Anguinias.¹³

652. Robert Elwes

Agga, 2 Aprill 1687

By Mr Halford have sent up my March account with the ballance, three marks two ounces seaven angles and six taccoes. As yett have taken in no corn since your order. Desire your excuse for my shortness and ill writeing, being much indispos'd with the dry bellyacke. I am extreame want for a stock lock for the warehouse and a padlock or two.

653. Robert Elwes

Agga, 8 April [1687]

Yours by the 7 hand cano have received, with my March account which you send me back to rectifie, in which I find no fault. As to what I charge a head for the Negros, is no more than what your order was to give, and if you please to vallue the Negroes you will find the goods come out proportionable at the rate of 7 peaz per man and 6 per woman; how you rate goods at Cabo Corso I know not. As we sell our sayes for gold, they will have them at the same for slaves, as sayes at 14a,

¹³ But cf. no.670, where the Akani are reported to have made peace with Akyem ('Akim') rather than Agona; possibly in this letter a reference to Akyem (as e.g. 'Arguins') was miscopied. However, Agona was at this time allied with Akyem (against Akron and Fante, nos 490-1), so it is possible that both of these states were involved. The reference to 'Akani' in these two letters (as also in nos 710, 720, 743, from Accra) clearly denotes a state, rather than (as more commonly in this correspondence) a trading diaspora. Wilks 1959, 117, interprets references to 'Akani' in Danish sources of the 1680s as relating to Akyem (which is sometimes called 'Great Akani' in earlier sources); but in the English correspondence of this period Akani and Akyem are clearly distinct. More probably, to Assin, immediately north of Fante, is meant.

boysadoes 1oz, paper brawles 1a 6 ta. I know not what you mean in hudling¹⁴ my account up, it is in the same method I alwaieses [sic] write them and as I was first ordered to do. I have sent it up in hopes you will be satisfied therewith. Desire you would be pleased to send me down some sheets, the woman slave you'l find in my account charged as sent to Annamaboe, and Mr Hassell keeps her, being in want of a canky woman; I suppose he has giveing credit for her.

654. Robert Elwes

Agga, 11 April 1687

This comes on purpose, not seeing any canoe coming downe, to desire you to send downe with the sheets, two bailles of blew perpetuanoes, twenty sayes on accompt of the Royall Affrican Company of England. But little corne, and noe slaves to be procured.

655. Robert Elwes

Agga, 12 April 1687

Yours of this dayes instance have received with fifty blew perpetuanoes. Observe your orders in not bartering sayes for slaves under one ounce. At present have noe other occasion for any other goods then what advised you.

656. Robert Elwes

Agga, 7 May 1687

This comes with my accompts and ballance, with what delivered Mr Humfryes alreedy, which in all is five markes six ounces six angles and tenn taccoes. I had sent my account before, butt have been much indisposed with my old paine. Here is butt little trade stering for gold, corne or slaves. Laste night came downe Ahen from the Braffoe, and is fully resolved to vissitt the Fetturees, being much encouraged by the Fanteens, who had before his coming downe here designed the like.¹⁵

657. Robert Elwes

Agga, 9 May 1687

This comes on purpose to begg the favor of your worshipe and Gentellmen of the Councell to addmitt of my goeing downe to Accraa along with Mr John Boylston, who I understand is goeing downe there;¹⁶ and now that trade being dead here, know not when I may have the same opertunity, soe the grant will be a great obligation.

¹⁴ huddling, i.e. doing hastily or carelessly.

¹⁵ For earlier report of Fante intentions to attack Fetu, cf. no.647; and for the subsequent development of the dispute, nos 664, 701; also no.566, from Anomabu. Ahen was an exiled chief of Fetu, seeking Fante support for his restoration.

¹⁶ Cf. no.754.

658. John Boylston

Agga, 20 May 1687

I am just now arrived here, and in good health, and Mr Whiting with mee. I doe not find any body has been here to inventory either of the ffactoryes, soe am here will doe it my selfe, and when have donn will returne, God willing, with Mr Whiting. The inventory of Accraa ffactory, sent one by the slooppe and the other will bring up with mee, being soe cold and wett in meeting with this great turnadoe that could not write my selfe, soe begg your worship will be pleased in answer to this, you will order Mr Whiting to inspect into Anamabo ffactory with mee, two heads being better then one.

659. Robert Elwes

Agga, 21 May 1687

This comes by Mr John Boylstone, who with my selfe have taken a true and exact inventory of all the Royall Affrican Companies merchandizes and matterialls belonging to the ffactory of Agga. Do desire by the first opportunity you would be pleased to send downe some tallow, sheets, blew perpetuanoes and good sayes, which are the only goods are likely to sell here, tread [= trade] being butt verry dull. Wee heare that Captain Gould is arived, soe hope I may be provided with the above goods. I retturne your worship thanks for the liberty you was pleased to grant mee in going down to Accraa.

660. Robert Elwes

Agga, 26 May 1687

Hereby you will receive a narrow stript sattin which Mr Boylston upon inventor- ing the Factory excepted against, it is as I received him, and by the end you may see it has nott been cutt. Had I the goods I formerly writt for could have disposed of a great quantity. Desire you would be pleased to add to them tenn barrells powder, one hundred lead barrs. Butt little news, only that Ahen Comenda had liked to have been poison'd by the Captain Cormantine Twone [= Towne], who was ffeede¹⁷ as they say by the King of Fettue.¹⁸

661. Robert Elwes

Agga, 29 May 1687

Yours by the 7 hand canoe with 8 barrells of powder have received. Am very glad to hear of the arrivall of Captain Thompson, and hope by him we may be supplied with what goods we want.

¹⁷ feed, i.e. hired, or bribed.

¹⁸ Evidently, in response to his intended attack on Fetu: cf. no.656.

662. Robert Elwes

Agga, 29 May 1687

Yours of the 23th instant by the nine hand canoe have received, with five chests of sheetes, twenty half firkins of tallow and fifty lead barrs on account of the Royall Affrican Company of England. Hope from Captain Thompson wee may be supplied with sayes and blew perpetuanoes. Shall observe your orders and make a distinct account of the goods received from you, and inclosed have sent three receipts for them.

663. Robert Elwes

Agga, 9 June 1687

This comes by the nine hand canoe, from whom have received twenty five blew perpetuanoes, ten whole and thirty half firkins tallow, on account of the Royall Affrican Company of England. Since my arrivall here have understood that the Braffo and Quarranteers have debarred any traders from coming hither, on account that they are not paid their monthly customes for ground rent, likewise for putting small corn into the ground, which by information of Mr Hassell has never been allowed here but solely from Anamaboe. I desire your speedy answer in this case, that trade may not be hindred.

[PS] But little trade stirring.

664. Robert Elwes

Agga, 13 June 1687

Yours of the 11th instant have received, and by reason of the badness of the weather could not answer it till now. Traders are still forbidden the ffactory, and that I can understand is only that as Anamaboe did formerly pay two cases of spiritts, being as well for Agga as there, as. Mr Hassell since his time has not paid but one for their putting their small corn into the ground. Then likewise I understand that the Braffo and Quarenteers are resolved that Anamaboe shall pay 1oz 8a per month and Agga 12a per month, which pallavera as yett they have not made with me, but as the Cappusheers here informe me. I tarry expecting an answer from the Braffo and Quarenteers, which is hindred by reason the excessive rains that has fallen there, so that all our trade here is hindred. Two dayes agoe Ahen, Domine¹⁹ and the Chief Cabbusheers of Anamaboe went up to Hebraw country²⁰ with the intention to gett their assistance in pursuit to their designe of fighting the Ffetues. My sheetes are all disposed to about 33, tallow one half of the small, more might have been had not this happened. When an answer comes from the Braffo you shall have immediate advice,

[PS] Mr Griffen has been some time ill.

¹⁹ Not punctuated in the ms, so that these two names might represent a single person 'Ahen Domine', who is known from contemporary Danish records; cf. chap. VI, n.82, above.

²⁰ Perhaps Abora, later considered the capital of Fante.

665. Robert Elwes

Agga, 17 June 1687

Yours of the 16th instant by Assina have received, and as to enlarging the ground rent have no more advice than what I formerly wrote you. Traders are no longer hindred. We are in dayly expectacon of the Quarenteers people down, on what account know not unlesse it be to receive their customes for putting small corn into the ground. You writt me that Mr Nightingale did not allow more than a few old knives, which I believe by his account does not appear so. They tell me here it was allwayes paid at Anamaboe, and Mr Hassell not as well paying of it in his time I believe has been the meanes of this pallavera. It is only a case of rumme, and if they demand it again there must be no contending, so hope it will be allowed. By Assina you will [receive] six markes, five ounces, and twelve angles of good gold, being for goods sold on account of the Royall Affrican Company of England. Desire I may have some more sheetes and half ffirkins of tallow, they being the most part of the produce of the said gold above menconed. But little trade for anything else.

[PS] Mr Griffen is something amended.

666. Robert Elwes

Agga, 19 June 1687

Yesterday arrived here three Dutch interlopers, who inform me of an English interloper lying to windward and designes to remain there two months, on what accompt I know not. Likewise came down the Curranteers people yesterday night and demanded for the future six piez per month ground rent, which I told them would not be allowed, so they desire your answer or they will stop trade, which with much perswasions to the contrary, or they would have done it already. I desire you would make a quick answer, in expectacon of which they now remain. I desire you would send the goods I wrote for, having in my hands two bendyes for sheetes, and more mony will come provided I have those goods desired. As to the case of spiritts must be forced to pay them for their small corn custome, pray give your real resolucon in this accompt, that trade may be no wayes hindered, for they are resolved to have so much of both ffactoryes or that wee deliver it²¹ to them again.

667. Robert Elwes

Agga, 21 June 1687

Yours of the 20th instant have received, and according to your order sent for Mr Hassell, with whom this morning have discourst the Braffo and Quarenteers people that you are unwilling to give more for ground rent than what formerly were allowed them by your predecessors, so after a great insisting they demand two sayes, two anchors of brandy for both ffactoryes and that then they will give

²¹ Presumably, the Egya factory.

under their hands that no pallavera or hindrance of trade shall be any more permitted by them, which unlesse you allow that then they will have six pieze per month for each ffactory, or that wee deliver the ffactoryes to them, so have desired them to tarry til tomorrow, which they say shall be their extent, and in case of no answer that they will return and that trade shall be no longer admitted. Do also desire to know whether Mr Nightingale did ever give any thing to a Cappusheer that buyes coves for the Ffanteens, demanding of me one course sletiae, one gallon of rum, and that Mr Nightingale did allways allow them once a year for both ffactoryes. Desire I may be acquainted about it, that I may not raise new customes. If you please to send the goods I formerly wrote for with some more blew perpetuanoes, I could dispose of them.

668. Robert Elwes & Ralph Hassell

Agga, 22 June 1687

Yours of this days instant have received, and with Mr Hassell wee have made up the pallavera as cheap as possible could be, copy of which have sent you. As for their monthly pay [it is] to be continued for both factorys as before. Shall not enlarge by reason have sent you the copy of our agreements, and hope it will be for the Companys interest and your satisfaction. So I know not of any danger that may accrew but that you may with safety send down the goods I writt for, the sooner the better.

PS. I pray also when the canoe comes to send me fifty half ffirkins of tallow.

669. Robert Elwes

Agga, 25 June 1687

Yours of the 24 instant by the nine hand canoe have received, with three hundred and ninety sheetes, sixty half ffirkins tallow, twenty four blew perpetuanoes and one green ditto on accompt of the Royall Affrican Company of England. Have according to your order sent up what corn the canoe would conveniently carry, quantity I know not, the Negroes having broke open the corn roome and stole with corn my chest [so] that I could not measure it, so must take it my your chest there. Have made a pallavera with the Cappusheers about it, and till new corn comes can not be satsyied. Do imagine may have lost fifteen chests of corn, as I also told them. They promise me they will return me the damage. Am sorry it fell out in so unfortunate a time. It's not the first abuse wee have received from them, and to make complaint to the Braffo and Quarenteers is only an expence extraordinary, for the Anamaboe people do as they please and no contradiction to be given. Have received my self a sufficient damage from them, about tenn dayes agoe they came and destroyed my hoggs, some they shott dead and some they carried away with them, and plundered all the Agga people, not leaving them so much as a matt to ly on.

670. Robert Elwes

Agga, 26 June 1687

This comes on purpose to desire you to send downe two hundred iron barrs that are marked, one case of course sletias, and six barrells of powder on accompt of the Royall Affrican Company of England. Wee understand that the Arcanyes have made peace with the Akims,²² so hope in a little time trade may encrease. Our factory is in a very bad condicon and wants repair very much. If you could spare Mr Chambers and a few slaves for a month it would be very acceptable.

671. Robert Elwes

Agga, 29 June 1687

Yours of the 28th instant have received, with one hundred and sixty iron barrs, twenty course sletias, six whole barrells of powder on accompt of the Royall Affrican Company of England. According to order have putt on board the canoe what corn was remaining in the factory, being in all eleven chests. Here is not any more to be procured here as yett.

672. Robert Elwes

Agga, 4 July 1687

These are to desire you to send down two hundred iron barrs more, having last month and with this disposed of most part. I would have sent up my accompts with the bearer, but understanding Mr Hassell designes to be with you tomorrow or next day, by whom you will receive them with the balance. If you can spare me four chests of sheets it will be very necessary. Mr Whiting has been detained here by reason of bad weather, endeavored once to get off but was forced to return, the canoe being full of water.

673. Robert Elwes

Agga, 7 July 1687

This comes with my accompt and ballance, with the six marks five ounces twelve angles already sent up makes 10mk 01oz 00a 5 ta. I had sometime since sent my accompts up but expected Mr Hassell would have gone up, so finding to the contrary I now send them, and begg your pardon for the delay. I desire you would send the iron I writt for, with the sheetes and with them tenn boysadoes.

[PS] Captain Thompson saild from hence yesterday.

674. Robert Elwes

Agga, 8 July 1687

Yours of the 7th instant have received, with two hundred iron barrs, four chests

²² But cf. no.651, where the Akani are said to be at war with Agona; with discussion in n.13. In 1688, Akani was again at war with Akyem, with Agona now allied to the former: Justesen, forthcoming, chap.II, no.17, Fensman, 6 & 10 July 1688.

sheetes. Observe your order in selling iron at 20 or 22 per bendy, but believe the Negroes will not be brought to it. I could have sold most of them this day at 24 per bendy, but informing them your orders they told me they would rather buy the Dutch barrs, who sells at 28 per bendy. The Braffo and Quarenteers have been with me to receive their customes at danceing, which is two cases of rume, which has been given them. The Cappusheers also demand as much, but as yett have not received it till such time I have your order.

675. Robert Elwes

Agga, 13 July 1687

Since your last orders for disposing iron barrs at 20 or 22 per bendy have sold none, and likewise but little trade, so desire to knoe whether you please to continue it further or no, here being mony but are unwilling to part with it unlesse you are pleased to sell iron at 24 per bendy, likewise do believe that I shall not sell them for more. I received from on board the Allegator sloop ten boysadoes on accompt of the Royall Affrican Company of England.

[PS] Have bought 1000 yamms for Captain Gould.

676. Robert Elwes

Agga, 20 July 1687

Yours of the 19th instant by Mr Griffith have received, and am very sorry I cannot answer the contents, not having by me above of a chest and that old corne, and as yett here is no new corn. Neither do I believe when ripe, there will be any sold, reserving all as provisions for their intended warrs with the Ffetues, which may be, but not suddenly. As to any canoemens being abused, or anybody else belonging to Cabo Corso, it is their own faults, for did they not go to Anamaboe, they might remain here quiett, without any molestacon, but there they are and will be abused by the Bendefoes.

[PS] But little trade.

677. William Cross

Agga, 21 Aug. 1687

I arrived safe to Anamaboe, and went the next morning to Agga, according as you was pleased to order, and was received civily by the people of both places, who wait Mr Wights coming downe, for the resetling of Annamaboe againe.²³ I have no more to add at present, being yett a stranger, but in my next shall advise further.

²³ Following the expulsion of Ralph Hassell from the RAC fort there: cf. no.552.

678. William Cross

Agga, 27 Aug. 1687

The inclosed are a copy of my Comenda accompts²⁴ and an inventory of all the Royall Company merchandizes in this place taken by Mr Walker and my self. Wee find most of the goods to be very much damnified, which wee have valued according to the best of our judgements. Here is very little to do at present, but understanding from the Cabusheers in a short time, as soon as their pallavera is ended, there will be a good trade, in order to which they tell me that the Generall of the Mina is sending up a white man into the country with dasheys, and if you please to do the same the buisness will be more easily and sooner composed, which is expected because the benefitt of the trade will be as much ours as theirs, and wee have the credditt with them. As trade presents I shall send for such goods as I shall see wanting, here being now occasion only for some rumme, a case of course sletias, and broad tapseils if any, which be pleased to send with my chests &ca. This invoice is for your satisfaction of the Royall Company concerns. When Mr Wight comes all things are ready to be overhalled againe.

679. William Cross

Agga, 4 Sept. 1687

The occasion of my writing is the sending of the inclosed, and to acquaint you the Cabushers are very hard upon mee for their custom, being two perpetuanoes, one anckor of brandy, and a cloath to the Captain of the towne, which I hope you will be pleased to allow in soe expensive a place. Here is wanting the 5 hand canoe belonging to this Factory, and desire you will send in her one hogshhead of rum for Captain Yabba, and the loest price, and as he likes that, he will buy half a dozen more as he tells mee.

680. William Cross

Agga, 9 Sept. 1687

Yours of the 7th and 8th instant I have received, the first by land the other by Mr Nightingale, with a caske of rum. Edward Jacklin is here, and Griffin will be up in a day or two. He has sent his chest and things by the canoe, and only stayes while I tell over the things againe. Here will be trade shortly if wee have goods come to supply them. I find Yabboy thought to have been trusted, butt since you have precautioned settles me more firme in the resolution of trusting none of them. I have not more to add at present, only I have occation for tenn barrells of powder, in whols and halves, and some halfe ffirkins of tallow if any.

681. William Cross

Agga, 11 Sept. 1687

This accompanies James Griffith, who stayed a little the longer to compose his

²⁴ Cross had previously been chief of the RAC factory at Komenda.

affaires here, and are to desire you to send the goods I wrot for, with tenn cases of spiritts, by the first conveyance. Wee are in hopes of a trade as soon as goods that are wanting can be had.

682. William Cross

Agga, 13 Sept. 1687

Yours of the 12th instant by the 9 hand canoe I have received, with ten whole barrels of powder, and ten cases of spiritts, all which I hope are come to a good markett. All things are well here.

683. William Cross

Agga, 14 Oct. 1687

By the 11 hand canoe I have received eight chests containing five hundred and twenty sheets, and one case containing twenty says, forty halfe ffrkins of tallow and ninty Guynea stuffs, for which shall give the Royall Affrican Company credditt accordingly. All things are well here.

684. William Cross

Agga, 17 Oct. 1687

These are to acquaint you that the bearer, one of the best working slaves the Royall Company has here, being disabled at present by a cut in his ffiggers, the other two cant putt the corne roome and ffactory in that nessessaty repaire which is wanting without more help, soe desire you would be pleased to order what you shall thinke convenient to the Cabushiers and they will assist mee in both. There is some corne lyes ready for me in the towne, which shall gett in as soone as I can gett the roome fixt, but here is a very bad trade for money, occasioned by five or six Dutch or Dane interlopers that have been up and downe neare these three weeks together. By the first conveyance be pleased to send a caske of lime.

685. William Cross

Agga, 2 Nov. 1687

This accompanyes Edward Jackline, who brings my October accompt, and the ballance. Here has been butt little trade till within this four days, which makes my takins soe small. I have occasion for one hundred iron barrs, and a caske of lime to help to repaire the ffactory. The corne roome I have gott donn, and suppose shall quickly purchase the quantity of corne you have ordered. The ffactory is verry much out of repaire, and with your leave shall agree with the Cabusheers, and gett itt don us cheape as possible. By this conveyance have alsoe sent a good weomen slave on accompt of the Royall Affrican Company.

686. William Cross

Agga, 8 Nov. 1687

Yours by the 9 hand canoe with one hundred iron barrs I have received, and as for

the repayres of the Factory, I shall do it with the least charge that possibly can be expected, which I have ever endeavoured, wheresoever I have been, though at present cannot compute the cost, but shall not suffer it to be extraordinary. Tis true here is but little trade now, but they tell me in two months wee shall have as good takings as has been knowne for a considerable time. Yesterday and this day I tooke in about one hundred chests, all very good corne, and if you are pleased to order more than what you did before, I shall accordingly purchase it. Now is the time, for shortly they have new corne and that will not be so fitt for your purpose.

687. William Cross

Agga, 15 Nov. 1687

The occasion of my writeing is to desire you to send me eight chests of sheets, one hundred and fifty Guinea stuffs, and fifty iron barrs, I have taken in about two hundred chests of corne, for damnified goods, and if you have occasion for more, be pleased to advise. I am told it is not safe coming by land, so have send this by a two hand canoe.

[PS] Pray be pleased to send a litle bottle of ink.

688. William Cross

Agga, 18 Nov. 1687

Yours by the 11 hand canoe have received, with two hundred and sixty sheets, one hundred and sixty Guinea stuffs, and one hundred iron barrs, all which I hope are come to a good market. In two or three days I shall have taken in a hundred chests of corne more, as you have ordered, and desire you would be pleased to dispose of it with the ffirst conveniency, for tis very good, and in lying long may receive damage.

689. William Cross

Agga, 2 Dec. 1687/8 [sic]

This accompanyes Edward Jackline, by whome I have sent my November accompts and the ballance, and desire you would be pleased to send me ten barrells of powder, in wholes and halfes, eight chests of sheets and two bailes of blew perpetuanoes, for I heare you have a suply by the Frances. Pray dispatch the bearer away, and order the goods by the first conveyance.

690. William Cross

Agga, 4 Dec. 1687

Yours of yesterdays date by the 9 hand canoe I have received, together with six chests containing 390 sheets, 25 blew and 25 green perpetuanoes, and six whole barrells of powder, all which I shall endeavor to dispose of to the best advantage.

Yesterday came downe one of the French ships, he sent his boate ashoare with

men twice to Annishan and will endeavor to settle there. Mr Nightingale took all the Bantefoes and mett them there, of which I suppose he will advise.²⁵

691. William Cross

Agga, 14 Dec. 1687

By this conveyance have sent you one man and two weomen slaves, on accompt of the Royall African Company of England. On Saturday last I dispatched James Bayly in the Adventure sloop, with one hundred chests of corne, according to your order. Inclosed is a copy of their customary dashes here at Christmas, the originall of which they brought me, to demand it. I told them I would advise you first, and what you were pleased to order they should have, but here are noe gingham. I have occasion for another man if you can conveniently spare one, that is civill and honest.

692. William Cross

Agga, 21 Dec. 1687

The occasion of my writing is to acquaint you that last night wee had the misfortune to have the warehouse broake open but lost only four fine sletias, which lay next at hand. They gott in under the tha[t]ch, made a hole through the sealing, and soe stole them out. I sent this morning for the Cabushiers about it, and they promised to pay for the goods and secure the thieves if they can find them out. I thought it proper to advise imeadiately of this, that I may know your further pleasure.

693. William Cross

Agga, 1 Jan. 1687/8

Yours by Captain Cowleys Mate I received, and shall take care to dispatch him away with one hundred and thirty nine chest of corne with all possible expedition as you have ordered. Yesterday came here the people to demand their masters custome, which is two says, two cases of spirritts, and two iron barrs, besides three carpetts to three of their men. This formerly was paid by the Cheife of Annamoboe, but they being not paid there now, are come here for it. I advised with Mr Nightingale about this, and he says tiss their due, and must be paid, soe pray be pleased to send your order, for till then I shant be redd [= rid] of them. To the Cabushiers of this place their yeerely custome is as I wrote you before. As soon as I have made my accompts up shall advise what goods here will be occasion for.

694. William Cross

Agga, 9 Jan. 1687/8

By the bearer I have sent my December accompts and 1m 0o 0a 9ta, which with the

²⁵ Cf. no.573. Nightingale now was again chief of the Anomabu factory.

3m 2o 10a 5ta I paid Mr Humfreyes when at Cabo Corsoe Castle last makes the ballance, being 4m 2o 11a 2ta. I had sent sooner, but was hindered, by the Cabushiers palavering about their customes and dashes this Christmas. There is a green perpetuanoe and four gallons of rum to be paid to the Captain of the Arcanyes which I forgott to advise of before. I desire you would be pleased to send one hundred and fifty iron barrs, forty halfe firkins of tallow, two hundred Guynea stuffs, four chest of sheets, one hundred one pound pewter basons, and ten boysados, if any. I have gott the Factory new thatcht and repaired at the cheapest rate I could. It had stood soe long that when they came upon it most of the stantions [= stanchions] and rafters broake in, which put me to more charges to gett new ones in their places. By this conveyance I have sent up a man and weoman slaves, the woman is brought to December accompt but the man is not. By this conveyance shall send another copy, and desire you would be pleased to send the goods, that they may be here before night.

695. William Cross

Agga, 11 Jan. 1687/8

Yours of this date by the 11 hand canoe I have received, with one hundred iron barrs, two hundred and sixty sheets, 113 Guinea stuffs and 50 halfe firkins of tallow.

The inclosed is John Garrards receipt for one man and two weomen slaves, which with the woman you received last, makes one man and three weoman slaves, being all that are brought to my December accompts, soe I thinke there is noe occasion of altering them againe, for the man slave returned have not brought to accompt, as I suppose you thought I had. I was indeed overseene in him, but for the future shall be more curious, if slaves present.

696. William Cross

Agga, 28 Jan. 1687/8

The inclosed coming this morning to my hands occasions my sending now, being desired to forward it with all expedition.²⁶ The Fanteens are preparing for the warr with Fetu, and tis said in a very short time will fight them. They keepe up the corne to see the event of the warr, soe that their is very little to be purchased at present. What I have by me is about two hundred chests.

697. William Cross

Agga, 4 Feb. 1687/8

This accompanys Nicolas Beadle, whome I have sent up with my January accompts and the ballance, and desire you would be pleased to send me on accompt of the Royall African Company of England six chest of sheets, ten

²⁶ = no.796, from the Accra factory.

barrells of powder, and two bales of blew and green perpetuanoes, and for corne, fifty white blanketts, a case of course sletias and what elce you can best spare. Here has been two angles per month always allowed to the Captain of the Prea,²⁷ which since my time I have not paid, because I had not your order, The Cabushiers came the other day and made a greate pallaver about it. I told them there was no question but you would allow what had been formerly, of which be pleased to advise. By this conveyance have sent a good weoman slave.

698. William Cross

Agga, 7 Feb. 1687/8

Yours of this date by the 11 hand canoe have received, with 40 course sletias, 50 white blanketts and 8 whole barrells of powder. Most of the windward trade is coming this way, and had you sheets, says and perpetuanoes to supply us with our takings would be like those formerly at Comenda, for good Arcany gold. I have occasion for 200 iron barrs and a case of fine sletias, and about 40 gallons of rum, which be pleased to send by the first conveyance. These two angles per month to the Captain of the Prea was always charged by Mr Robert Elwes to the Company in his accompts, and not given by him. I am at four angles per month charge to servants in the Factory besides this, which if you are not pleased to allow I must pay it my selfe. Twas Captain Peaw that received it formerly, but he has been dead about this six months, and there is another in his place, which is to looke after all goods that come ashoare and corne that goes off, to see that nothing be wanting or lost.

699. William Cross

Agga, 9 Feb. 1687/8

Yours of the 8th instant I have received with 150 iron barrs, 20 fine sletias and 102 gallons of rum in two cask. Twas night before the goods came ashoare, soe had very troblesome bringing them up in the dark. They lett one of the cask of rum fall of the slings and staved it. What the damage will be, I cannot tell yett. Wee are a drawing it into another cask. Here is a new 7 and 5 hand [canoe] to be sold, if you have occasion for any be pleased to advise, and what the prizes may be. I stayed to see the caske drawne of, and find the loss about twenty gallons. The cask I have sent up per the returne of this canoe.

700. [William Cross]²⁸

Agga, 23 Feb. 1687/8

Yours of this date by the 11 hand canoe have received, with fifty blew perpetuanoes, twenty five ditto greene, twenty pieces says, ten boysadoes, six

²⁷ i.e. the beach (Portuguese *praia*). As explained in no. 698, the 'Captain of the Beach' was in charge of the landing and embarkation of goods.

²⁸ 'Robert Elwes' in ms, evidently in error.

greene, and six blew Welch plains, two of the greene damaged each, and one hundred iron barrs.

I hear the King of Fanteen is dead, and that Captain Eggin is to succeed,²⁹ which I am told will put some stopp to our trade, as well for gold as corne, till all things are resetled as formerly,

701. William Cross

Agga, 3 March 1687/8

By this conveyance, have sent you up by February accounts and the ballance. The King of Fanteens death has put a stopp to all trade, or elce my takings had been considerable. Captain Eggin I hear is with the army, and will not sturr till he has resetled Ahen in his old place at Fetoo.³⁰ Where [= when] that pallavera is over, and the other established here there will be a good trade againe. These things happening thus has put me to great charges, for I was forced to pay to the army half a barrell of powder and eight gallons rum, and towards the Kings buriall a stript carpett, two sheets, and eight gallons of rum more, which they sayed had ever been allowed them upon the like occasions, and I find if I had denied them it I should have brought a worse trouble upon my self, among such people as these are. I have not brought any of this to accompt, but humbly advise, hoping you will be pleased to allowe the charge, or at least some part of it. I had in a chest of sheets forty six which were very much damnified, by salt water. I have disposed of twenty one, at ta6 per piece, and for the rest I can get nothing, so have sent up twenty five, judging they may serve for the Doctor, or some other use, for here they will turn to no accompt at all.

[PS] This chest of sheets I suppose received the damage in the shipp they came over in.

702. William Cross

Agga, 28 March 1688

Yours of the 25th instant I have received, and these are to acquaint you that Mr Nightingale has dispatched Captain Sturt with his complement of corne. What I have in the Factory is about two hundred and ten chests. Corne is very scarce now, occasioned by the warrs, and am afraid will be dear, but I hope to purchase what you have ordered in a short time, having a promise from some of the Cabushiers, of which as it comes in shall timely advise. If you please to send downe a canoe with the next shipp, she will be the sooner dispatched, for here are none good. I paid towards the Kings funerall two sheets, eight gallons of rum, and a carpett, which I

²⁹ Cf. no.594. There was not, strictly, a 'king' of Fante, the reference being to the Obrafo, or commander-in-chief.

³⁰ Cf. no.593.

hope you will be pleased to allow, for I have been at great charge to the army besides this.

[PS] Nicholas Bidle is very sick and weake.

703. William Cross

Agga, 7 April 1688

This accompanyes Mr William Ronan, by whom I have sent my March accompts and the ballance, together with the inventory of the Factory. I likewise went to Annishan, and there together with Mr John Bloome and Mr William Ronan inventoryed that Factory, as you were pleased to order.³¹ Here is no trade, by reason of the warrs, but as soon as money presents, which I hear will not be long, shall advise of what goods there will be occasion for. By the first conveyance, will send up the woman slave, which is brought March accompt, there being none now.

704. William Cross

Agga, 16 April 1688

Yesterday morning came here the Corrantiers people to demand custom for their masters putting his small corne into the ground, which they say is two cases of spiritts allowed by the Company. I told them I knew nothing of it, but would advise, and what you were pleased to order, they should have. With this answer they were not contented, but threatened to shutt us up in the Factory, and suffer none to come out nor in till they were satisfied, and had don it, I beleive, had not some of the Cabushiers perswaded them to the contrary. They are gon up againe to the masters, and left word in three days wee should heare farther from them. I cannot tell whether this has been formerly allowed or no, so humbly advise, desiring to know your pleasure. I shall be at some charge here to the Cabushiers upon the like occasion. I have gott no corne in yett, but dayly expect their bringing in considerable quantity, for in a litle time twill be plenty.

705. William Cross

Agga, 26 April 1688

Having some hope of a trade, these are to desire you would be pleased to send eight chests of sheets, one hundred and fifty Guynea stuffs, fifty lead barrs, and ten cases of spirritts. Powder likewise will bare a good price if you have any to dispose of.

The Currantiers people came againe and would not be putt of under two cases of spiritts. Tis as I understand what they were paid last yeare upon the like occasion. Be pleased to send a hundred or two of one pound pewter basons if any.

³¹ Cf. no.373.

706. William Cross

Agga, Ultimo April 1688

Yours of the same date have received by the 9 hand canoe, with eight chests containing five hundred and twenty sheets, eighty nine Guynea stuffs, fifty lead barrs, two hundred one pound pewter basons, and ten whole cases of spritts, in one of which there is a bottle broken. Here is a woman slave which should have come up with last months account, but till now there has been no conveyance, and both the women ffactorys slaves being taken very sick and paine, I have put her to do their worke, but as soon as they are well will send this up. I have been very much indisposed these three or four days, with ague and feavour.

VIII

JAMES FORT, ACCRA

James Fort, Accra, on the eastern Gold Coast, had been occupied by the RAC continuously since the 1670s. There was also a Dutch fort (Fort Crevecour) and a Danish fort (Christiansborg) in Accra, both of which are regularly mentioned in this correspondence. Christiansborg had been pawned to the RAC by its commander in 1685, but it remained in the possession of the Danish company; eventually, following negotiations in Europe, the English claim to it was renounced.¹ The correspondence also refers to an attempt by the French expedition under Du Casse in early 1688 to purchase Christiansborg from the Danes, which was opposed by the English on the grounds of their own prior claim to the fort (nos 792 etc.). Accra supplied both gold and slaves.

Accra had been conquered in 1680 by the inland kingdom of Akwamu ('Quamboe'),² and remained subject to Akwamu during the period of this correspondence. The king of Akwamu who had carried out this conquest, Ansa Sasraku, was still on the throne during 1686–8, and is frequently referred to in this correspondence ('Ahenesah' etc.).³ The trade to Accra was now dominated by Akwamu, the access to it of countries further inland, such as Akani ('Arcanye') and Akyem ('Arkin' etc.) being recurrently disrupted by disputes with Ansa Sasraku. The Accra correspondence for 1686–8 also provides important evidence for Ansa's continuing military conquests, including wars against Akyem (nos 707 etc.), Akani (no.720) and Kyerepong ('Occrepon') (nos 727 etc.) in the interior during 1686, and in 1688 against Adangme ('Alampo) on the coast to the east (no.796) and Agona ('Anguyna') to the west (nos 802 etc.).

707. Mark Bedford Whiting James Forte, Accra, 15 Jan. 1685 [= 1686]

I haveing been very ill and not as yette recovered of an ague and feaver, and also most of our people taken down by fluxes, prevented my writing before; niether am

¹ Davies 1957, 275–6.

² Daaku 1970, 154–5. For Akwamu power in this period, see also Wilks 1959.

³ Ansa Sasraku seems to have died in late 1688 or 1689 (Wilks 1959, 118–19).

able as yett to finish my December accompt but hope within three or four dayes to be better in health. Trade is very bad by reason of the multiplicity of shipping. I understand by some cannoes belonging to the Mine that some of the people of Kittowes⁴ hath cutt some of Captain Crookshanks people heads of: wheather certainly I know not, however Captain Lowe and Captain Ounsted heard the same newes,⁵ so they may be more cautious how they venture ashore in those parts. The goods we want here are vizt tapseiles broad, black bafts, and sheets. Ahenesa is fighting against the Argins,⁶ who [= Ahenesa] is an hindrance to our trade.

708. Mark Bedford Whiteing [James Fort, Accra], 24 Jan. 1685/6

I haveing this opertunity of sending could not lett slip informing you that some Mine canoes some dayes agoe came from Ardra, which informes that the Chaldron [sic: = Charlton] sloop, Captain Latton Comander, the slaves rise on board her and killed all the white men, affterwards cutt the cable, which occasioned her running ashoar, and staved all to peices.⁷ This news is not only by the negroes, but by the Dutch ffactors,⁸ who hath received letters from those parts. As to trade never was soe bad since my resident here. As to Captain Carters bussiness and news of a pyrate, I shall not give an account, but reffer your Worship to his letter.⁹ I hope he is safe. Here I am at present much better then I was. We are in want of broad tapseiles, sheets and black bafts, also allejars. Lime and nailles we want much.

709. Mark Bedford Whiteing James Forte, Accra, 27 Jan. 1685 [= 1686]

Your Worships of the 25th instant received per Captain Bridges with the goods consigned, vizt ten chests of sheets and one hundred allejars. I am sorry your Worship has noe tapseiles and black bafts in the Castle of Cabo Corso, which sorte of goods the Dutch are well supply'd with. Blanquetts I am well supply'd with, and all sorts of other goods. Trade is very bad, soe I have not taken three mark this month, also slaves very scarce. The ship Mary has been noe small hindrance to our negociation.¹⁰ I shall use my utmost endeavour to procure cowes for Captain

⁴ = Keta, east of the River Volta.

⁵ As later acknowledged (no.710), this report was muddled, the victim of the attack being actually Captain Sylvanus Paine.

⁶ Cf. also nos 717-18, 721; and also reports of a subsequent dispute with the 'Arkins' in 1687 (nos 762, 766). Presumably the reference is to Akyem. Akwamu had been at war with Akyem earlier, in 1682 (vol.i, nos 423, 425).

⁷ Cf. no.900: this incident occurred at Great Popo, between Keta and Whydah.

⁸ i.e. at Accra.

⁹ = no.898.

¹⁰ i.e. trade.

Bridges, doubt but must be fforced to send to Olampo for them,¹¹ here being none to be had for mony. We are in extream want of lime to repair the fflankers belonging to the Castle and other necessarys, which if not done will tumble down. Inclosed is as also a bill of sundrey necessarys wanting to the gunns, which we cannot be without, if we should have ocasion in our defence. Also we want more nailes. I hope your Worship will ffurnish us with all these necessarys per next.

710. Mark Bedford Whiting

James Forte, Accra, 2 Feb. 1685/6

This accompanys the Captain Quow, with my December account and the ballance thereof, which is

	m2	oz2	a7	ta5
having paid before to Mr Humfryes	8	0	0	0
which makes in all for the said month	m10	2	7	5
More your Worship will receive the ballance account of January	mk0	oz2	a1	ta2

Never meet with such a dull trade, especially this last month, and now Ahenesa hath stopped the way, not suffering any Quamboers to come down the water side, by reason some of them bough[t] a quantity of powder out of some ships and carry it up in baggs, as generally they doe salt, that it might have ffree passage, as being that comodity. Upon the discovery of it, [he] ordered none to goe down the seaside lest they should by more and supply the Arcanyes with it, who [he] is afraid will come down and rout him out of his cuntrey.¹² How long he will continue in this mind of stopping trade I know not. I have sent up to him about it. I wrote your Worship some dayes agoe of some of Captain Crookshanks people being cutt of at Kittowe.¹³ It seems it is a mistake, it was Captain Sylvanus Paine and seaven more of his white men. The quarrell begun about filling of water at that place. The said Paine run one of the Negroes through with his sword. Presently affter, they shot Paine on the head, with the rest of the white men then there present.¹⁴ This news brought Captain Crookshanks canoe men, and Phynye, a black boy which went to Ardra with the said Crookshanks. Captain Brouse put on board Captain Pains ship some of his men, she being disabled of seaven or eight. Mr Carter at Ardra¹⁵ is very well, he designs to come up as soon as those ships that are their are dispatcht. This day arrived from thence four great Mine canoes. The sloop Captain Laton and all his men are killed by the slaves which he had then aboard.¹⁶ Your Worship

¹¹ More usually 'Alampo', i.e. Adangme, between Accra and the River Volta. The trade in livestock from this region to the coast to the west was noted later by Bosman 1705, 327.

¹² Cf. later references to conflict with Akani, in nos 720, 743: probably referring to the state of Assin (cf. chapter VII, n.13, above).

¹³ = no.707.

¹⁴ Cf. no.903.

¹⁵ John Carter, chief of the RAC factory at Whydah.

¹⁶ Cf. no.708.

wrote me last for cowes, accordingly I sent to Olampo but can gett none thats good, but are all leane, haveing had noe raines this considerable time, that they have nothing to ffeed on, an[d] soe it is with sheep. We are in extream want of lyme, one of the fflankers being ready to tumble down, and part of the tower. Also other places that wants to be repaired, or else will come to ruine. We want also nayles, hooks and hinges and deal boards. I must inform you that William Warner the smith will not doe the smiths office, unless his wages be advanced more then a souldiers pay, here being severall musquetts and other gunns that will spoile if not cleaned and mended. Your Worship promised to send us another gunner in the rome of Thomas Amis, deceased, here being none that can take it upon them, only one and he can niether write nor read, but is a great drunckard.

711. Mark Bedford Whiting

James Forte, Accra, 16 Feb. 1686

Yours of the 12th instant is received, and according to order I, Mr Swindall and one Mr Manning went and delivered your Worships letter to Mynherr Hans Luke¹⁷ but could not have an answer, only that upon my desireing him either to write or to give me one by word of mouth, he replied he would send his boy to me tomorrow with a letter, which he never did, although I sent my boy twice to him this day to know wheather he had wrote any, according to his promis. I found presently that your Worships letter was very unwelcome to him, who I think will not nor never will give answer to it.

In answer as to your Worships of the 9th instant, I have tryed all means to procure oyster shells to reparaire the Castle,¹⁸ here being none to be had. If there was any your Worship may imagine that the Dutch, which have a very fine lyme kill, would never be supply'd soe constantly from the Mine as they are generally. What oyster shells that is here are very few, and those they pick up from the salt ponds. Neither have we a lyme kill. Besides if their was any possibillity, we could not have time enough before the raines to gett all materialls ready, and the Castle wants much repairing, if not done soone I doubt part of it will tumble down. The walls within are built with swich [= swish]. As for timber, we want much deal boards, and nailles of all sortes, also some tarris. Trade is better than it was last month, now they are for snaphances and carbines of the longest sorte. If your Worship have any in the Castle, I humbly desire your Worship to send a quantity of, here being but a ffew carbines in the ffactory. Let the carbines be of the smallest sorte and longest sorte. The Dutch sells great quantitys at 12 carbines per bendy, and 10 snaphans per bendy. These goods I want much at present. Here lyes a Dutch interloper, and a great Ffrench man. As to what the Company makes me debtor, I

¹⁷ Hans Lykke, Governor of the Danish fort at Christiansborg, Accra.

¹⁸ Here, meaning James Fort itself; but later in this same letter, 'the Castle' is Cape Coast Castle (the same ambiguity occurring also in no.717).

have examined my accounts and receipts, finding that I have paid more then what the goldtaker Mr Master gives me credditt for in the Journall, as per receipt. Inclosed is an account of what I have paid, and what remaynes due to the Company. I would had come up had not trade come in lately. We want some black bafts and some broad tapseiles. Inclosed is also my August account. According to your Worships order I told the armourer that if he would not work according to his agreement he should goe to Cabo Corso, now he is willing to work provided he be cleared from duty; if so, I desire your Worship to send another man in his roome. I am in extream want of writeing paper and large paper for my accounts.

712. Mark Bedford Whiting

James Forte, Accra, 2 March 1685/6

According to your Worships order with much adoe have procured this inclosed from the Agent of the Deans.¹⁹ I was forced to send my boy twice to him this day, before he would comply. At last I sent him a note, a copy of which is here inclosed, then he sent this letter. By the bearer your Worship will receive my account for February, and the ballance thereof being 6m 3o 6a of gold. We want more sheets, tapseiles, and materialls for the Castle, inclosd is an account. I have a good quantity of very good slaves, if Mr Bayly²⁰ comes down againe. We shall want corne and a kettle to boyle canky for the slaves, here being one which I had of Mr Bayly, which is good for nothing. I am in want of a gunner, I am informed that there is one in James Bayley that can officiat that place. Also want carpenters tooles and smiths tooles, as fformely wrot.

713. Mark Bedford Whiting

James Forte, Accra, 16 March 1686

Yours per Mr Slade and goods per Mr James Baily have received, and according to order have dispatch Mr Brown with twenty five men and twenty woman, very good slaves. With what he had before from Cabo Corso makes in all two hundred and seventeen males and femayles slaves, as per bill of loading doth appear. Inclos'd is three, one according to order with the noat of the mens wages. Have inclos'd it in Collonel Steeds letter at Barbadoes,²¹ mentioning therein how many men, women, boys, girles amounts in the whole. As to what your Worship is troubled in not sending my slaves per the sloop,²² is because I had noe order. I did not know but might displese your Worship, for the future shall not lett slip noe oportunity. I wish your Worship had sent more sheets, they putting of other goods. Inclos'd is an account of all materialls, and dementions of them, wanting at Accra. We want more lyme to compleat the Castle, which will be a great preservation of

¹⁹ Not preserved.

²⁰ James Bailey, commander of the *Adventure* Sloop.

²¹ Edwyn Steed, the RAC's factor in Barbados.

²² i.e. the *Adventure*, commanded by James Bailey.

the same against the raine. The tanck wholes [= holds] water very well and is likely to continue soe. Doctor Mead dyed last night, and hath maid Mr Swindall his executor. I shall for the future send the mony in a five hand canoe. First must see to procure one, this I have is all broak, it will serve some time to land goods.

[PS] Just now is arrived the ship James from the Mina.

714. Mark Bedford Whiting

James Fort, Accra 18 March [16]86

I hope by this time the sloop is arrived with you affter such a strong turnado and furious raine, which hath occasioned one of the fflankers towards the land to fall down. We cannot raise it without more lyme and a little tarris. Eight hogshead of lyme and one hogshead of tarris or theirabout will goe nigh to compleat all and pint [= point] out the outward work, which will be a great preservation of the forte. We want also more hooks and hinges, ten for the hall windows, bigger than those that was sent last, [they] being short to enter the walls, haveing no hold. Also a few more nayles and those things according to the gunners noate sent per James Baily, carpenters tooles and a few deal boards. As for goods, we want more sheets, broad tapseiles, blew perpetuanoes. Those sheets sent last are almost gon, we sell none but for gold. As to blew sallampores, I have not the price of then [= them], which I desire per next. I must informe your Worship that severall good slaves presents but cannot buy them, haveing noe irons to secure them, haveing spared all I had to Captain Brown, who wanted them much, so desire you to furnish me as soon as possible.

715. Mark Bedford Whiting

James Forte, Accra, 4 April 1686

Your Worships received per James Bayley with those goods sent by the same conveyance. I have sent back which will not vend, one hogshead of flower rum containing 68 gallons, 22 fine sallampores, 20 damag'd bafts being taken out of the 12 sent last. More you will receive per the same conveyance mk6 4oz 10a 10ta being the ballance of my March account. Inclos'd is an account of the same, and what slaves I had I have according to order sent up also. When I have direct'd in building up the flanker, and taken an account of the delivery of the Company concerns to Mr Thomas Price, shall not faile to come up with those papers tending to the said Company ever since the departure of Agent Greenhill in April 1683.²³ As for other matters shall acquaint your Worship of the same at my arrivall, which shall be as soon as possible. Your Worship will receive 11 man and 22 women slaves. We are in want of green, read and blew perpetuanoes. I would had return'd the lyme cask had Mr Bayley had taken them in.

²³ Sic: but actually in 1684.

716. Mark Bedford Whiting

James Fort, Accra, 8 May 1686

Arriving here this morning, heard of a disturbance which has happen'd since my departure from my factory, occasion'd by the bearer Shadrick Harrison, a drunken sott. Had it been the first time, I had not sent him up as yett; now finding all promises in vain, could prevail with him noe longer. He tells me he lived to well, and that's the only reason of his obsurdity and sottishness, and further his time is almost out, is also a means and putts him on his ffigarries²⁴ and resolutions. I hope your Worship will stop out of his pay a ffirelock musquett which he broak in two peices in time of doeing duty, also the charge of this canoe and four gallons of rum left unpaid due to the Company.

William Warner the smith died before my arrivall, so that we are now destitute of such a man, also one in drunken Shadricks room, which hope your Worship will furnish us with them per first. Trade has been very bad since my departure, what reason I know not as yett but shall inquire further in that matter and per next shall return advice of all other matters. The Adventure sloop is very leakey, being forced to pump continually.

PS. Here is a man ashoar at the Deans fort who was left ashore out of the Jamaica sloop that was at Succondee. If your Worship thinks it fitting I will send him up or intertaine hime [= him] here, he haveing proffer'd his servis both to Dutch and Deanes. The said sloop am informed is returnd to Jamaica, and the reason of this fellows leaveing her I doubt is for no good. Inclosed is a sample of bead, if any in the Castle desire a small quantity for a tryall.

717. Mark Bedford Whiteing

James Forte, Accra, 27 May 1686

This is occasion'd up by re[a]son of our great necessity of corn, haveing not above five chests left, and sundry slaves besides those belonging to the Castle. Could buy more [slaves] but cannot for want of the same. I have wrote to Mr Bayly, who I understand is at Lague, that if he hath a quantity of corn immediately to come down and supply our want, and stopt his cano from goeing any farther, if not then to forward this to your Worship to acquaint you thereof, or elce the said sloop to come down and take the slaves on board her in order for their passage to Cabo Corso. Trade is soe bad, we take little or nothing of gold by reason of the war that is between the Arguins and Ahenesaw. We want the following goods, vizt broad tapseiles, sheets, black bafts, knives, and blew perpetuanoes; also for the Castles use deal boards, some lyme and tarris, by reason of sundrey leaks we find by the furious rains we have here dayly. By James Baily shall send up my account and the ballance their of. Here is an enquirey for bouges for slaves, if any in the Castle it

²⁴ figgeries, i.e. ornaments; perhaps here in a metaphorical sense, = affectations.

will be convenient to send some with the price of the same. As to other matters shall refer till then.

718. Mark Bedford Whiteing

James Forte, Accra, 5 June 1686

Yours of the 31st of May and of the 3^d instant is come to hand, and according to order shall procure what slaves possible I can against Captain Thomas Woodfines comeing down. I have now by me 30 very good slaves, 16 men 14 women. Had I not been necessitated for want of provisions I might have encreased the number. Trade has been very dull these two months, haveing taken little more than will defray the charges of the Castle. Ahenessa haveing war with the Argins is great hindrance to the negotiation in these parts. I am sorry we cannot be supply'd with those goods I write for in my last. Inclos'd is my accounts for Aprill and May. The ballance thereof is 1mk 0oz 8a 4ta, which you will receive per bearer. Captain Quo is at Annamaboe. I wait'd his comeing down, elce I had sent up these accounts 5 dayes agoe, they being then finish'd. We are in extream want of a seaven hand cano. Our five hand cano is quite rotten and not fitt to goe on the water any more. Should have a seaven or nine hand canoe for conveniency of landing goods ashore. This goes by the two hand cano that came from Cabo Corso per Captain Woodfine. I hope your Worship will supply us with lime and tarris, slitt deals and whole ditto, a few nayles of all sorts.

719. Mark Bedford Whiteing

James Fort, Accra, 29 June 1686

Your Worships per Captain Thomas Woodfine have received [with] those goods consign'd this place. Those now wanting are per inclosed note; if any of those sorts are to be had with you I humbly desire your Worship to furnish us with them as soon as possible, we wanting them much, as also a great cano, which we cannot well be without. These goods according to directions did take on shore for slaves put on board said Woodfine. As to the bouges and manobut bands we are as yet ignorant of the disposall, not knowing what quantity we must vend for slaves or gold, which I desire your Worship to inform us per next. Per the bearer your Worship will receive mk1 6oz 6a 11ta being the true ballance of the inclosed account. Trade is very dull with us by reason of the rumors of wars in the inland. I am sorry must informe your Worship of the death of Doctor Josuah Pratt, who deceasd the 27th instant, at 3 a clock in the morning, of a violent feaver that heald him about nine days. His last will and testament, cobby hereof is here inclosed. As to an inventory of his things, is mentioned in said will and testament, he haveing put his whole estate in it. As to the disposall of them, shall waite your Worships answer. Here is also sun[d]rey people sick in this Castle, which I fear will indanger their lives for want of a good Doctor. The Deans Castle is almost all tumbled down.

720. Mark Bedford Whiteing

James Fort, Accra, 18 July 1686

Your Worships of the 16th instant per Captain Quow received with a promiss of being supplied per the sloop very spedily with the good[s] and materialls for the Castle so far for that you have them. I hope now it will not be long before they come, we wanting them, as also herba longees, red ground and no other couler. It will also be very convenient to send some more short irons and mallegetta for slaves use, and a pair of great stilliards, which we cannot be without. We have now put twenty five very good slaves, sixteen men and nine women, which shall be sent per ditto sloop according to former order. Ahenesa went from Quamboe about 10 dayes agoe to the Arcanyes in order to war in those parts, so that we cannot expect anything of a trade before his return, then may expect a considerable trade, which cannot be this two months at least.²⁵ The conveniency is an inclos'd per via Mine. Here is arriv'd from windward the great Portuguez ship and a Dutch interloper, also two more at Barracoe. We have not a man well in the Castle, being all trobled with the feavers, in so much that they are not capable of doein[g] duty.

721. Marcus Whiting

Accra, 12 Aug. 1686

Your Worships of the 4th instant received with the goods therein mention. Only two broad nicconees wanting in the baile no.152, also one pautkey in the whole number as per inclos'd attestation appears. It will be very convenient for Mr Bayly affter his discharging his Negro slaves at Cape Coast to come down againe and ly at Barraco, where I am informd slaves are plenty, which cannot be brought here by reason Ahenesah having war with Arguina.²⁶ The Dutch are orderd to procure what slaves they can, some dayes agoe they sent 50 by a great cano that brought them a supply of goods, having liberty to give any sort of goods for them, and I detaind of such an order, is a great hindrance to me in porcureing them. By this conveniency your Worship will receive forty seaven slaves, 30 men 17 women, good Negroes. I must inform your worship that then [= when] I came down from Cape Coast four chests of sheets [ms 'sheest'] was put on board the Adventure Sloop and consignd me, of which I received but three and gave criditt for no more in my accounts, but doubt am charg'd with them all; if not rectified will be prejudiciall to me. We want more irons, Mr Bayly was forced to make use of them he brough[t] down last. If he should come down again, lett him allso bring more

²⁵ Earlier, it was rather Akwamu which was reported to be under threat of invasion by the Akani: no.710 above. Cf. also the subsequent (Feb. 1687) reference to peace being made with Akani, in no.743 below. The fighting may relate to the kingdom of Tafo, between Akwamu and Akani, which is said to have been attacked by Akani but brought under the protection of Akwamu during 1687 (unless this relates to further tensions subsequent to the peace of February 1687): Justesen, forthcoming, chap.II, no.17, Fensman, 28 July 1688.

²⁶ Originally 'Aguina', with the 'r' inserted as a correction; presumably intended to be 'Arguins', i.e. Akyem (as in no.717), but the copyist may have confused this name with 'Anguina', i.e. Agona.

rum and red herba longees, if to be had good. Also the great guns belonging to the Castle are viz. 2 sacer, 5 minion, 5 faulconet, 4 faulcon,²⁷ the weight we cannot justly tell.

[PS] I am afraid we shall loose Mr Swindall, who is dangerous sick.

722. Marcus Bedford Whiteing

James Forte, Accra, 18 Aug. 1686

My last to your Worship was the 12th instant per the sloop with fourty seaven slaves, 30 men 17 women.²⁸ This per via Mina, desiring your Worship to supply us per the sloop or other conveniency with more broad nicconees, red ground herba longees, also rum, if any black bafts, if not to send us some black sallompores, course not fine, with its price, and the price of the stript sattins sent per James Baily. I am sorry there is no blew perpetuanoes, broad tapseiles, Dutch umbanees or phota longees, sheets, which sorts of goods are sutable for this place. The Dutch by great quantity of slaves with sheets and take great quantity of mony, for they have bought all the Deans slaves with the same comodity. I must inform your Worship they have lowered powder to one ounce per barrell, they have such great quantity at the Mine and now is become a very dull comodity. The 16th instant deceas'd Mr Swindall of a feaver at 3 a clock in the morning. A copy of his last will and testament shall send per the next opertunity, he has left all to his wiffe and children. Here is most of the white men sick. We want more short irons, the sloop haveing carried those away which were sent last.

723. Mark Bedford Whiteing

James Forte, Accra, 22 Aug. 1686

My last to your Worship was the 18th instant per via Mine, since received yours of the 20th ditto. According to order shall procure as many good negro slaves as opertunity presents. Also the gold with my accounts shall be sent up at the months end according to direction as formerly done. I wrote your Worship also per James Bayly, who depart'd hence the 12th instant with forty seaven slaves, 30 men 17 women. In my last inform'd your Worship of the death of Mr Swindall, who died the 16th instant of a violent feaver, also what goods was wanting at Accra, which as per inclosed noate. Trade is something better than it was. Ahenesa desires of your Worship to spare him a Company stick or cane, he being afraid that some of Quambo people come down in his name.²⁹ This he desired me to write to your Worship sundrey times before, but forgot it. Goods wanting at Accra, vizt nicconees broad, a good quantity; pautkais white, one bail; rum, a good quantity; Dutch umbanees or phota longees, a good quantity; and red ground ginghams;

²⁷ Saker, minion, falcon, falconet: types of small cannon.

²⁸ Cf. no.849.

²⁹ Cf. chap.III, n.48.

herba longees and silk longees, red ground no other coller; sheets, a great quantity, whereof one chest is owing to me, I standing indebt'd for it which never had per James Bayley; blew perpetuanoes, red and green, but especially blew, a great quantity; black bafts, a great quantity, if not to be had, then black sallompires not of the finest sorte; tapseiles broad, a great quantity; also broad pintadoes, red ground, a good quantity; allejars, a great quantity of the reddish sort. The above said goods if to be had are the goods wanting here which will produce gold or slaves.

Memorandum, To send the prizes of the stript sattins, to send us also the prizes of the black sallompores not of the finest sort, also to any new goods that shall come down. To send us more corn and short irons for the slaves, Mr Bayly carried them away which he brought down. The Dutch have filled their sloop full of goods to trade at Barraco, the natives being not sufferd to come down.

724. Marcus Bedford Whiteing

James Fort, Accra, 31 Aug. 1686

Yours of the 24th instant per the Ann Sloop with those goods consigned here have received.³⁰ The goods now wanting are as underneath mentioned. Here would be a very great trade if had goods proper for this parts. I am sorry your worship did not supply us with blew perpetuanoes wrote for in my last, also greens and reds. Those pintadoes sent by Hugh Hilling³¹ are most of them white ground, which none but read will vend here, so desire a greater supply per next. As to slaves I have now per me fourty Gold Coast, 25 men 15 women. Slaves are something scarce, and Olampo slaves none are to be had. My people came from thence three dayes, who informs me none are to be had in those parts. Mr Helling I suppose this day is gott to Barraco. By the bearer your Worship will receive mk5 3o 5a being the true ballance of my August account. Inclosed is also copy of Mr Robert Swindalls last will and testament. People are still very sickly at this place. I desire your Worship to supply us with a new fflag staff and halliards,³² we haveing none at present, the old one is for nothing. We want also a paire of stilliards, haveing none to weigh anything, upon occasion. Goods wanting at Accra, vizt herba longees, red grounds; Dutch umbanees or longees photaes; sheets; perpetuanoes blew, read and green; black bafts, as those sent last are almost gone; read gingham if to be had; white pautkeis; some brawles.

725. Mark Bedford Whiteing

James Forte, Accra, 11 Sept. 1686

Your Worships of the 7th instant have received with goods theirin mentioned per

³⁰ Cf. no.868.

³¹ Commander of the *Ann Sloop*.

³² halyards, i.e. ropes for hoisting flags.

the seaven hand cano, which shall be disposed according to directions. The goods now wanting are, vizt more sheets, blew perpetuanoes, redd ground pintadoes, pautkeis white, photaes, red gingham. I must inform your Worship that the Dutch sells a good quantity of powder but it is in quarter barrells, the blacks will buy no others, half nor whole, of which I have enough by me; if any of the first size, it will be convenient to send some per the return of this conveniency. By the seaventeen hand cano goes forty slaves, 22 men 18 women; could have 50, only hearing Mr Helling at Barracoe had some by him, which he canot so conveniently keep them on board as on shoar, so shall keep the rest untill the return of the said cano, in which time I hope shall provide her another cargoe. Mr Price is very ill, who hath continued so this four dayes of a violent pain in his belly and hard bound withall flies up into his head; God knows what will become of him if no remydy of a doctor, which we canot have here, both Dean and Dutch doctor are trobled with the same distemper. We are also in great want of a Serjant, and for the Castles use a pair of stilliards, a flagstafe and halliards. I desire your Worship to send the irons back per the same conveniency, we haveing hardly any more left to secure slaves.

726. Mark Bedford Whiteing

James Forte, Accra, 19 Sept. 1686

Your Worships of the 15th instant per the seaventeen hand cano with fourty chests corne have received. By the same your worship will receive ten slaves, vizt 5 men 5 women, with what Hugh Hilling hath on board I beleive will make the number of fffifteen or twenty, which had it not been for him could had supplyd you with the like number. James Bayly is not yet arriv'd but hope it will not be long. Inclosed is a noate from the gunner for matterials wanting.

727. Marcus Bedford Whiting

James Forte, Accra, 30 Sept. 1686

Yours of the 15th instant per the seaventeen hand cano with 40 chests of corn have received. Received also, that of the 26th ditto per James Bayly with the goods therein mentioned, which shall be disposed of when oportunity presents on accompt of the Royall Affrican Company for their best advantage. This accompanyes Edward Jacklin, one of the Company apprentice, who for want of his health in these parts has a greater desire to live at Cabo Corso, according to his request have sent him up; by him goes m65 1o 7a 8ta, ballance of the enclos'd account for September. Trade is grone very low again by reason Ahenesah warring Occrepon.³³ Slaves also are grone very scarce, the Dutch here has risen men at a bendy and women at seaven peaze, being an express order sent downe from the Generall of the Mine for the dispatch of Captain Star, a Dutch Company ship, now to

³³ Cf. further references to this conflict in nos 729–30, 742. Probably = Kyerepong (later part of Akuapem), east of Akwamu.

windward, who is expected within this four dayes, with Mr Eurnthuys Merchant, now at Morea, to goe in her to Olampo for slaves, which I fear will prove very disadvantageous to Mr Bayley, now there, from whome I have received twelve, vizt 7 men 5 weomen, slaves. I have not bought one slave since the Dutch has risen the above said price. Here is now in the Castle 48, which is enought for the great canoe pasage up. I must inform your Worship that the natives will not buy a blew perpetuano with a green, which is the reason will not vend. Edward Jacklin is paid to the next pay day. Captain Brandfill went hence the 25th instant for Whiddah.

728. Mark Bedford Whiting

James Fort, Accra, 10 Oct. 1686

Your Worships of the 4th and 6th instant per the 17 hand cano with 25 chests of corn have received. Per the same goes what slaves is now by me, vizt thirty: 15 men 15 women. I shall according to order procure what Gold Coast slaves presents and allow the price currant. Inclosed is a letter from James Bayly to me, complayning the dearness and scarcity of slaves at Allampo, which is occasioned by the Dutch, who have sent down an express order to keep them for Captain Starr who is dayly expected. Slaves are also grone very scarce here, and trade very dull for gold.

In the cano goes Mr Griffin of Agga, who being sent on board Captain Poston by Mr Nightingale for certain things for the gunners use wanting at Annamabo, the said Griffins canomen that carryd him on board, stole some of the said Postons ships provitions then a wattering in a tubb, which occasiond them to run away. Captain Poston had no conveniency of landing him nowere but here last Sunday in the evening. I have also received two roles [sc. of tobacco?], for which shall give the Company credditt, and shall endeavour to pay the slaves and black freemen with the same. I have also per the bearer sent up 1oz 8a for two cask of palm oyle.

729. Marcus Whiteing

James Forte, Accra, 21 Oct. 1686

This accompanys James Bayly, by whome I have sent twelve Negro Gold Coast slaves, vizt six men and six women. I have little or nothing to inlarge, no more than the bad information of a bad trade, haveing not taken soe much this month I fear as will defray the charges of the Castle, which is occasion'd by Ahenesah is now goeing to warr Occrepon, his motion will be next Satterday, soe that it will not be long before our negotiation will improve itselfe.

I must informe your Worship that the 25 chest of corne that came last by the seaventeen hand canoe from Annamaboe is not fitting to give to hoggs, what to doe with it I know not.

Also must ffurther informe your Worship that Hugh Hilling spend[s] his time idely, he comes runing down here with the slooppe from Barraco, leaveing the Dutch a tradeing there, pretending to come down on noe other accompt than to put

of his goods, which is very well known his intention was to cut his beard, and now his humour takes him to run up to Mountford.³⁴ His adversary the Dutch are well satisfied with it. He tells me it is your Worships orders for him to trade under my nose, I told him it was no such thing.³⁵

730. Marcus Bed: Whiteing

James Forte, Accra, 31 Oct. 1686

My last was by James Bayly, hope this time is safe arrived. This accompanys my monthly accompts with the ballance and product of a bad trade, being mk1 1o 4a 2ta. I hope in a shorte time to find an alteration, now Ahenesah haveing beaton Ocrepon, will not be long ere slaves and gold will be more plenty, being now very scarce. The Dutch Company shippis Captain Starr is still at Olampo, his cargo consisteth most in bouges. James Bayly parted hence in good time, elce his stay would a bin to little purpose.

I have now by me 16 Negro slaves. We have had no incouragement of trade all this month, the cuntrey people have absented from hence all along by reason of the above said warrs, now allmost ended. We are dayly in expectation of the Generall of the Mines comeing in these parts, upon what account I cannot learne of any; I suppose you may have heard to windward, if soe pray advise if possible on what account he comes. Nothing shall be wanting per me to uphold the Companys intrest.

I must desire your worship when oportunity presents to ffurnish us with lyme and blacks [= balcks], here being a flanker and some of the souldiers houses if not taken up will fall downe. Haveing not elce to inlarge, only we have noe stilliards no more.

731. Marcus B: Whitting

James Fforte, Accrae, 8 Nov. 1686

I having this oportunity by an Annamaboe canoe, cam in good time to answer your Worships of the 3 instante, and cheifly to desire your worship by firste conveniency to furnish us whith pautkaes white, broad striped sattins, and som sayes; alsoe for Castles use a quantyty of lime and tarris whith some balkes, and for slaves use some corne, long irons and shortt irons, for I know not how suddenly may come a greatt quantity, they coming dayly more and more verry good Gold Coaste slaves from Ahennesah. I sent Ashumah³⁶ to him with an anchor of rum and a cloath for that purpose, which I find has tooock effect: doe verry belive whithin this month to find greatt alteration of trade. I have now by mee twenty five good Gold Coaste Negroes.

³⁴ Mumford, betwen Tantumkweri and Winneba.

³⁵ For Hilling's reponse to this criticism, cf. no.875.

³⁶ Presumably an employee or associate of the RAC; clearly a different person from the 'Ashumah' who was a leading chief of Sekondi (nos 4 etc.).

As to the Generall of the Mine his coming downe here, if he comes, will not be [I] verry[ly] belive upon any inchochment into the Deanes ffortte; if so, shall endeavor to ffollow your worships orders. The Deanes are in a verry low condition. Should the docter, who is the only moneyed man and chief trader and manneger of all things acted in that fforte, dye, the Generall in the firste place would starve, for he hath not a cracra of himself. The rest of the people trade for themselves, reiceving noe sallary for the same reason; the ffortt ready to fall about there ears, and had it not bin a little repaired by the cost and charge of said docter, the Generall and rest of the people would not have room to putt there heads in.³⁷ Havinge given you a full accompt of the state of the Deanes ffort I rest [etc.]

732. Marcus Bedford Whitting

James Fortt, Accra, 14 Nov. 1686

This accompanyes the Generall of the Mina, who arrived hear the 9 instant, attended with the Domine³⁸ and Myne Heer Scheffer. He was received with a greatt deall of respect and civility by the natives, as being hear before [as] a ffactor urged a greatt deall of ffamiliarity and ffriendship.³⁹ Last Thursday he invitted mee to his ffortte, where hee made mee harttily welcomee, drunck the King of England [and] Royall Companyes good health, and your Worships continuallity. After this intertayment, I invitted him to James Ffortt, where as a stranger and in behalfe of the Royall Company I returned him the like civillity, and on Satterday he was invitted to the Deanes ffortt by Myne Heer Luck, who received him and intertained him according to his capacity, att the charge and cost of the docter and others in that ffortt. There your Worships health was drunck before the Generall of the Mina by the said Hans Lucke, as our Company haveing some intrest att that place.⁴⁰

I cannot find any inchoachment was made by the Duch Generall nor anything acted by him to the prejudicall to the Royall Company. His coming heare I find was on noe other accompt then to peruse their Castle, haveing brought itt a recrutte of ffour greatt gunns, a thing mighty well taken of the natives, they being heare of that humor gladder to receive said commoditys then to take any away. He [h]as alsoe ordered severall things to be alterd in this ffortt, and for the security of the Accraaces from Ahennesah, who threaten them dayly,⁴¹ a traangla [= triangular]

³⁷ The docter was Nikolay Fensman, who in 1685 had contracted with the Governor Hans Lykke, to maintain Christiansborg fort at his own expense: Justesen, forthcoming, chap.II, no.27, H.Meyer, An Account of Fort Christiansborg, 1659–1698. Fensman succeeded Lykke as Director-General on the latter's death in Sept. 1687.

³⁸ Dutch *dominee*, clergyman: referring here to the fort chaplain at Elmina.

³⁹ Nicolaes Sweerts, the current Director-General, had earlier been chief of the Accra factory, where he was met by Barbot in 1679 (Barbot 1979, 325, 327).

⁴⁰ Alluding to the pawning of Christiansborg to the RAC in 1685.

⁴¹ Cf. no.742, for an explanation of this tension between Akwamu and Accra.

wall to be build without the Castlee with a tancke, that thereby if Ahennesah should come downe to warre them, they might with themselves secure their wiffes and children from him, a thing verry acceptable to the waterside people, butt doubt Ahenessah will not retturne him thanks when he heares of itt. I understand the Generall has sent a Mina Cabusheer with a greatt dashee to Ahennesay, what it is I am not as yett certayne, hope shall fully satisfy your worship per the next. Trade is now verry dull for gold and little better for slaves, which must be expected untill the retturne of the said Ahennesah from the feild, which I hope will not be long, he is dayly expected. I have now by mee upwards of 30 slavees, most men and all Gold Coast. I wrotte your worship last for a ffresh supply of corne, long irons and shortt irons, some staples with nailes of all sortes, hooekes and hinges for windoes and dores, with two greatt staples for the gattes of the Casell [= Castle], lime a great quantity with some tarris and baulkes, alsoe striped broad sattins, pautkaes white, a quantity of sayes. I must informe your Worship that I understand that there is a great quantity of gold and slaves at Barracoe. If your worship thinks ffitting I will supply Bryan Ingall with what is sutable for that place, he haveing sent down to mee twice, tould him could not without order from your Worship and Councill, which shall heare per the next.

733. Marcus Bedford Whiting

James Fortt, Accra, 15 Nov. 1686

I wrote you yesterday by the Duch Generall, then wrotte att large. Since Ahenesah has sent downe for some sayes, haveing none to supply him but what is damaged much. Wee wante alsoe some striped sattins, pautkaes white and course sleetias. Feareing elce the Dutch Generall should make any stay att Corminetene and Morea, made mee send this canoe expresly for said commodity. Ahennesah returns tomorrow from the field to Quomboe whith his army, doe belive will cause a greatt alteration of trade. Alsoe wee stand in need of a quantity of lime and tarris, baulkes, staples, two whereof must bee verry bigg for the Caselle gatte, nailes of all sorte, cartridge paper, alsoe some boards for platformes for the gunns, the want of them occasions the fflankers to be verry leaky and rott the timber verry much; and for slaves use some corne, long irons and shortte irons. I have now by mee fourty slaves, moste men, which I desire your worship to tacke them up as soone as possible, alsoe to supply us with the above said goods and materialls for the Casell. If any sheets, blacke bafftes, Dutch umbanees, herba longees reed ground, broad tapseeles, read ginghamms att Cabo Corsoe, desire your worship to furnish us with them as soone as possible, with those above mentioned. Just now could have sould many sayes but have verry few, which are damaged; desire your worship to furnish as soone as possible with them and all other goods wrott for. By the same convenience will send up my slaves.

734. Marcus Bedford Whitting James Fortte, Accra, 20 Nov. 1686

Your worships per the 11 hand canoe have received with the goods therein mentioned, only find one cheste of sheets wanting, the letter expressing six and only five cam to my hands, the canoe men tells mee they received noe more; desire your worship to rectifie itt. I have allsoe received the irons from Hugh Hilling, must desire your worship that when Mr Bailly comes to bringe some along with him, he generally is forced to tacke ours [a]way. According to your worships orders I send noe slaves by this canoe, although I could wish they weare gone, haveing now by mee 54 Negroes slaves, 36 men 18 weomen. I hope itt will not be long are [= ere] the slooppe will be down with those goods, vizt more sayes, pautkaes whitte, striped sattins and severall others writt for in my laste; alsoe matterials for the Castle, vizt a good quantity of lime and tarris, deale boards and boards for platfforme for the gunns, also carriges, nailes of all sorttes, hookes, hinges, staples for windoes, whereof two must be verry bigg, being for the Castles gatte. I hope by this time your worship hath received mine of the 14th per the Duch Generall, then wrott att large how affaires went during his stay here, which is the needfull from att present, only wee shall want corne, and are in extreame want of canky stones, here being none to be bought for money.

735. Marcus Bedford Whiteing James Forte, Accra, 27 Nov. 1686

Your Worships of the 22^d instant with the goods therein mentioned have received. By the same conveniency of the slooppe⁴² have sent up sixty slaves, 43 men 17 women, being all she could conveniently carry. I beleive affter her dispatch of this cargoe by that time to be ready for her againe. Then desire your worship to send us more necessarys for the repairing the Castle, I desire your Worship to examine Mr Bayly about it, he can give you a ffull accompt how the souldiers houses and two fflankers if not taken up will certainly fall down, may be will doe the white men harm. Also the outward walls want to be plastered; to repaire this wee shall want a great quanty of lyme and some tarris, baulks, boards and boards for platfforme for the gunns. We have not a carridge worth any thing in the Castle. I have bought 20 cockernutt trees, which is not enough, we shall want 60 to repair it all. Here we are forced to pay according to custome one angle a ffathom, so thought it convenient to acquaint your Worship of this affaure, to rectiffie it. As to any goods we want is only pautkeis white.

I have according to order sent up Mr Charles Charles [sic], who during his stay here behaved himselfe very civilly, and did thee people good servis at [= as] to their healths, in his roome Doctor Walber [= in Dr Walber's room]. Your Worship

⁴² The *Adventure*, commanded by James Bailey.

did not informe what was his, and his two servants pay, which I desire your Worship to inform per next.

I wrote your worship last aboute a chests [sic] which was wanting in the 11 hand cano.

God willing, affter my settlement of the Royall Company's concerns in the hands of Mr Thomas Price, by the 12 next month to be with you.

PS. These irons sent per conveniency went back againe.

736. Mark Bedford Whiting

James Forte, Accra, 1 Dec. 1686

I wrote you last by Mr James Bailly, who parted hence the 27 November last with sixty Negro slaves, vizt 43 men 17 women, I hope by this time draws near you. I am almost ready for him againe, haveing now 30, vizt 19 men 11 women, soe desire a discharge of them as soon as possible. As to materialls for the Castle, I refer your Worship to mine of the 27th last month. We want also canky stones, here is none to be had for mony; also more hooks, hinges for windows, with staples to hang padlocks upon; and as for goods we want none but pautkeis white.

Inclosed is my accounts for November, being mk1 7o 7a 7t a, which your worship will receive by bearer. Here is noe trade for gold, I suppose cannot be expected before they have discharged themselves of their slaves.

I could buy more slaves then I doe, had I the priviledge as the Dutch to buy them with any sorte of goods as the natives doe desire, for if I will not give it they know where to have itt &ca. The Dutch sent 40 slaves down to Olampo, in order to supply Captain Starr, they being verry scarce there, in a great cano, the said cano spleat in a turnadoe and most of the slaves drowned. As soon as James Bayly comes down and discharges me with these slaves I have by me, which are 30, vizt 19 men 11 women, then please God shall come and pay my respects to your Worship and rest of the Gentlemen. Send us word the price of those narrow stript sattins sent by James Bayly, they seem to be but halfe peices, being but halfe as broad and halfe as long as those broad ones.

737. James Nightingale⁴³

Accra, 5 Dec. 1686

Att my comeing downe went according to order a board the Anne Sloop and delivered your worships letter to Mr Hilling, who tould me hee had imbarck aboutt ten marke in gold.⁴⁴ I understand that the Accraies people⁴⁵ are intended to fight the Anguinne and Barracoe people by reason they have agreed and permitted the

⁴³ As explained in this letter, sent from Cape Coast to report on the situation at Accra.

⁴⁴ Cf. no.881.

⁴⁵ From what follows, this clearly means Akwamu, to which Accra was subject, rather than Accra itself.

Dutch [ms. 'ducth'] to putt ashore their flagg and flagstaffe without his [= Ahennisa's] leave;⁴⁶ and Ahennisa intends to bringe the whole country under his command and then to have a factory settled and a fort built on accompt of the Royall Company of England and nott suffer the hoogen moogen⁴⁷ formerly the poore distressed to predominate in his terrytorys as they have done.⁴⁸ Shall not fail to inspect into the Deanes and Dutch [ms. 'Ducth'] actions, also Barracoe, and give your Worship a true relation of all concernes att my returne, and doe beleive that Mr Whiting will come along with me to Cabo Corso, which will bee as speedy as possible wee canne.

738. Marke Bedford Whiteing

Accra, 5 Dec. 1686

Your worships of the 2^d instant by Mr Nightingall, the othere of the 3^d ditto by the two hand canoe by way of express came safe to hande. In answeare to your last, I wrote your worship by my boy Jack, then wrote what quantite of negroes I had then by mee, vizt 30, 19 men 11 woeman; have now 33 men 12 woemen. As to what quantite shall be eable to purchase in a months tyme, may be 100 or 150, itt is a thinge uncertaine, butt if I had the same priveledge as the Dutch have to give all sorts of goods as demanded, I might encrease the number, for what I refuse to give, they know wheare to have itt, as sheetts, blew purpetuanoes, broad tapseales. I have according to order despatcht the canoe to Hugh Helling with his letter to make noe stay after the delivring of itt. Mr Nightingall and I beegun the inventorying the ware house last Saturday. As soone as donn shall visitt the Deanes and follow orders, then please god intend to come up along with him.

739. Marcus Bedfordus Whiting James Forte, Accra, 8 Dec. 1686

This accompanyes Mr Nightingall, with whome I inventored the Royall Companyes Warehouse as per inclosed, and according to order went with him to visitt the Deanes. As to the condition and statte of their affairs, I leave to Mr Nightingall to give your Worship a full accompte. I have alsoe showed him what is one [sic] repaired at James fforte, that your worship may alsoe have a full satisfaction of the Royall Companyes ffactory. I would had come alonge with him, being [h]indered in expectation of som slaves from Ahenesah which I expect every moment, beside alsoe an answer from my canoe per my boy Jack. Haveing nothing elce to enlarge, only refer you to Mr Nightingall whom I wish well up.

⁴⁶ For Dutch negotiations to establish a factory at Beraku, in the kingdom of Agona, in Sept.-Oct. 1686, see nos 868-73.

⁴⁷ Dutch *hoog en mogend*, 'high and mighty'.

⁴⁸ For Ansa's intention to attack Agona, cf. nos 742, 885.

740. Thomas Price

James Forte, Accra, 24 Dec. 1686

Your Worships per Captain Francis Buttram and Captain George Nanter⁴⁹ have received, with thirty five barrells of powder and two roles of tobacco. According to your Worships order have shipt on board the Dragon forty six men, twenty one woman, good Gold Coast slaves, twenty five pieces of blew perpetuanoes and three hundred forty six dozen of horn halfted knives by tale, the caskes being bad, all being for account the Royall Company of England.

Since Mr Whiteing departed hence I have had a desperate fitt of the dry gripes which held me for the space of nine dayes, but thank God I am now well recovered, which has been the reason Captain Buttram is so long absent from your Worship, for I had noe rest nor could not send people abroad to look slaves, as I could have done had [it] pleased God to have spared me my health.

According to your Worships order shall not purchase any more slaves except I can have them at seaven peaz men and six women, and those shall be good Gold Coast Negroes. The reason their is no nicconees shipt on board Captain Buttram is they are almost disposed of except thirty seaven, and they shall be disposed of for gold, for they are verry much in request here.

741. Marcus Bedford Whiteing

James Fort, Accra, 15 Jan. [16]86/7

Your Worships of the 14th instant per the Mary, Captain Richard Gilbert Commander, with one hundred and ffifty broad black bafts came safe to hand, which shall be disposed for the Company[s] best advantage. This goes by via Mina, haveing this opertunity could not let slip to inform your Worship of my arrivall here the 12th instant, w[h]ere I found things in good order but a bad trade for both slaves and gold, which is worst than all. Nothing shall be wanting by me to incourage the same, as also shall do my endeavour to purchase such quant[it]ies of slaves you advise. Your Worship writes I must not barter away such goods as will vend for gold, not for slaves. Was I here without a neighbour⁵⁰ the thing might be done; besides we shall make noe hand of it, as long as Manuell Burges the Pourtuguez is here giveing more than the price limited. Here is now in the Castle merchandable Negroes slaves. By next opertunity desire your Worship to furnish us with the following materialls, viz corn, sheat lead, cathridge paper, tar, some planck to mend carriges of guns, and when any sea coale⁵¹ comes also to furnish us with the same, being in sad wantt of lyme. As soon as this month is expired shall send up Mr Price with all my accounts.

⁴⁹ Commanders, respectively, of the *Dragon* and the *African Pink*.

⁵⁰ i.e. the Dutch WIC factory at Accra.

⁵¹ Coal imported by sea (into southern England, from Newcastle, or Scotland), i.e. real coal, as opposed to charcoal.

742. Marcus Bedford Whiteing

James Fort, Accra, 1 Feb. [1686/7]

Yours of the 29th January came safe to hand, and in order to advise what slaves might be procured in a months time in these parts, it is a thing I cannot absolutely resolve, the trade now being so dull for that sort of commodity, cannot give you the least encouragement imaginable, having bought but one man since my last to you. I might had procured somewhat more, which for want of giving them the goods demanded, being contrary to your last orders to part with any such, where [= were] carried another way. I wrote you last to this point and unless we have the same liberty as others we can make no hand of it. We have neither sheets nor blew perpetuanoes, which sort of goods are most in demand for slaves. We could had disposed those perpetuanoes that were ordered up for slaves. If any pautkeis white pray send us a quantity, and more sayes. I will do my best endeavour to comply with your desires. In order to it I will send up to Ahenesah. I suppose you have not heard since my coming down he made the Accras pay him 24 sayes, at first he demanded forty bendys, for offering the Anguinias their servis to assist them against him the time he was out against Occrepon. Barracoe we expect dayly the ruing [= ruin] of that place, and all the people to be put to the sword. Ahenesah has taken a fittish to doe it, also has ordered Fanteen people with corn, his intention shortly is for Anguina,⁵² in the intrim waits the proceedings of the Anguinias against Accron.⁵³

This accompanyes Mr Thomas Price with November, December and January accompt, with the ballance of December and January. The ballance of December is 7oz 12a 4ta and January is 1m 4oz 13a 6ta, trade being so dull that we take hardly mony to defray charges of the Castle. I wrot last for some sea coals. We are dayly procuring shells, doe not question but to gett enough to supply our occasions. I must inform your Worship that Dr Walbor humbly petitions for his wages to be paid, him being due since August last, about the 2d ditto, he being willing to find medicines for the use of the Castle, in consideration further desires that his wages might be advanced to 25 lb [= £25] per anno more than his agreement with the Company, being 36 lb per anno.

Also one John Bell, his time being expired, humbly petitions your Worship to goe home. We want more nailes, some planck. I have received 21 chests of corn from Hugh Hilling. I have ordered him to buy more. Here is a matter of 10 chests of corn which came from Annamaboe in Mr Nightingales time, not worth hoggs eating, what to doe with it I know not.

⁵² For Ansa's intention to attack Agona, cf. also later references in nos 768–9, 885 (though no campaign occurred until 1688).

⁵³ For the Agona/Akron conflict at this time, cf. nos 491, 637, 884.

743. Marcus Bed Whiteing

James Fort, 12 Feb. 1686/7

Haveing this oportunity by Mr Charles Everaas, Cheife Copeman at this place for the Dutch, being bound for the Mina, thought fitt to inform your Worship of our want of sheets, sayes, perpetuanoes blew, and pautkeis white if any. Trade is very dull both for slaves and gold. We here that Ahenesah is going to make pease with Arcanies,⁵⁴ if so, am in hope will mend. Here is yesterday arrived a Jamaica sloop and a Dutch interloper. Captain Crookshanks parted hence the ninth innstant. We are now ready for coals to burn oystershells. We want also nailes of all sorts, hooks and staples, also bolts and some tar, some sheat lead.

744. Marcus Bedford Whiteing

James Fort, Accra 18 Feb. 1686/7

I wrote you last the 12 instant by the Dutch factor. Fearing least he should make any stay at Cormanteen or Morea, thought ffit to advise, as per order of yours of the 12th ditto by Mr Elwes,⁵⁵ what goods and materialls were wanting at this place, which are as inclosed noat. As to slaves, shall endeavor to procure what I can that is good at the old price. I have now by me thirty very good; had I had those goods now write for, might have had a greater quantity. I could wish the coals for burning oystershells might be with us speedily, before the ill conveniency of the rains arrives, elce will prevent our design, and what goods I now write for send as soon as possible.

745. Marcus Bed Whiting

Accra, 1 March 1686/7

My last to you was the 26th February last by the oportunity of a cano bound to windward. Then wrot you the needfull. One [= once] more must inform your worship that unless we are supplyd with corn from windward speedily, we shall be much necessitated for want of the same. The natives here stands so much in need of it, that they will buy it from your Worship; are dayly at me to write to you to send down a sloop loaden,⁵⁶ and for these oystershells which now have bought would have faine been paid with it also, which I could not spare haveing upwards of 60 Negroe slaves in the Castle, which I wish had a discharge of them, haveing but a small quantity of corn left.

PS. This accompanyes my February accompt with the ballance thereof, being mk0

⁵⁴ Following the war reported in no.720. The peace had evidently broken down, however, by July 1688, when Akani attacked the neighbouring state of Tafo, then under Akwamu protection, and was expected to ally with Agona against Akwamu: Justesen, forthcoming, chap.II, no.17, Fensman, 28 July 1688.

⁵⁵ Robert Elwes, chief of the RAC factory at Egya, to the west.

⁵⁶ A 'great famine' was reported in Allada around this same time: Van Dantzig 1978, no.18 (Van Hoolwerff, Offra, 31 Jan. 1687).

7oz 6a 2ta. Here is no trade for gold and very little for slaves. We want nicconees broad, and some tarr, also those goods and materialls wrote for formerly, not forgetting a speedy supply of corn.

746. Marcus Bed Whiteing

James Fort, Accra, 5 March 1686/7

Yours by the 17 hand cano came safe to hand, with the goods and materialls therein mentioned, only ten deal boards the letter expresseth to have sent are not, which we want much, more sheets, and staves to keep open the windows, about two foot and a half long. The yams [= yams] shall charg in my account; must inform your Worship, most of them are very bad and small, and some not fitt to eat. By this conveniency goes 45 Negroes slaves, 30 men 15 women, some of them are resolute ffellows, haveing diged thee prison wall in one nights time, being six foot thick, three foot and a halfe through; after have bin prevented of the same, made their attempt to cut us off. You will also receive the irons along with them, which desire your Worship to send them back by my boy Jack, we wanting them much. This accompanys John Bell, who I know nothing to the contrary but hath performed his duty in all particular; and as to Doctor Walber I have informed him what your Worship wrote, who answers he will find medicines for the Castles use, as occasion serves so will bring them to account (if used) either every month or halfe year. Desire your Worship to send two more long irons, for Castle slaves, some of them haveing made their attempt to run away. Doctor Walber demands his wages, I know not to what time it is due, nither do I know what he hath a month for sallery and dyett, so desire your Worship to inform per next, or when your Worship pleases.

747. Marcus Bed Whiteing

James Fort, Accra, 14 March [16]86/7

The occasion of this cano, is cheifly our great necessity of corn, haveing little left in the Factory; moreover our great want of more sheets, broad nicconees, broad stript sattins, pautkeis white (if any). Here the Dutch vend a great deal of corn at 3 angles per chest. Ahenesah desires your Worship to send down a great quantity of the same, he will allow the same price; so will the Accra people, who are dayly at me to write you to that point, and when your worship sends sheets send a greater quantity then useuall, those that came last per Captain Bristow are vended, the Dutch haveing none. As for materialls for the Castle now wanting are deal boards, long irons, and those short irons sent per the great cano with the slaves; also we are much necessitated for carridges for the gunns, haveing not one ffitting for use in the Castle, which am ashamd to lett strangers look on them.

Must inform your Worship the Doctor desires his sallery. What [h]is agreement is with the Company both for sallery and dyett each month I know not. nither from what time due. As to his medicines I wrote your Worships his

answer in my last, which hope your Worship will answer per this return. Excuse my ill writing, being much incommoded with the great paine of dry belly ack, which has hold me violently this 3 dayes.

Captain Bristow went hence last Satterday, being very ill. The goods and coals came safe ashore. I desire your worship to send us the corn as soon as possible, with the goods and materialls wrote for before and those above.

748. Caleb Leage & Thomas Allner

14 March 1686/7

We your poor servants and supplicants, being through pollicy and fair promises of our master⁵⁷ drawn far from our freinds, parents and native cuntrey, are by his unjust detainment of things necessary for our sustinance brought to such extremity through hunger that unless your Worships clemency speedily prevents, and justice sheild us from his tyranny, we must speedily yeild our selves victims to the jaues of merciless death.

For may it please your Worship, we have been near upon three dayes together without any victualls or sustinance but water, and then makeing our case known to Mr Whiting, our master for some time [gave us] a taccoe a day betwixt us, but now may it please your Worship, fish not comeing ashore, we have for this great while had nothing but water and a little canky, and when we told him we could gett nothing he told us he brought us over for a cacrifise, and when meer hunger, for who can endure its sharpness, forced us to go to him day by day for our taccoe, he would beat us, and bid us gett victuall where we could, for he would give us nothing, so that now [he] detaining all things from us we did againe complayn to Mr Whiteing and [he] haveing wrought what he could with our master can gett nothing but that we are his servants and he will allow us what he pleaseth—whereupon Mr Whiteing hath ordered [us] to petition your Worship, upon whose order and the sharpness of extream hunger we have taken upon us the bouldness to prevent [= present] your Worship with this our humble petition, beging and humbly beseeching your Worship for the sake of allmighty God to look upon the mesery of poor victims. If there be any fault in us we humbly submitt our selves to your Worships sensure, only we beg that we may not die a sacrifice to our masters rage, by the insupportable of hunger [sic], and may the Great God deliver your Worship from all evill and make you happy here and hereafter.

749. Henrick Walber

James Fort, Accra, 22 March [1686/7]

Understanding here to be an order to Mr Whiteing, by Mr James Bayly of the 17th March 1687 for sending up to Cabo Corso Castle Thomas Alner and Caleb Leage, because not giving them full canky mony and other necessaryes not providing

⁵⁷ Dr Walber: cf. no.749.

for them according to their desire att Cabo Corso, have given an account to your Worship for laying out the mony before, and here will be judged by your Worship, and little say to what petition or complaint your Worship and the rest of the Gentlemen is troubled with from them or there consorts here. Was it from any honest gentleman it would much troble me. According to order doe send them to your Worship and rest of the Gentlemen to take care better then I have done for dureing the tyme they are to stay in the Royall Affrican Company servis here in Guinee, which was very well done, which for what servis I have had of them might have come before, and humbly give you many thankes for the great care and trouble, wish that I could studdy one way to reward it. Shall likewise doe my endeavour to give satisfaction to Mr Whiteing that there be no complaint made otherwise about me in the Castle.

Understand that an order is given for my sallery at 36£ per anno according to agreement made at home, for which I humbly return you many thanks. Likewise for my dyett at 24£ per anno, which is not according to agreements made at home with the Royall Affrican Company and allowed before the Commander and the Courte, to have dyett at your Worships table, otherwise to have 50£ per anno for dyett, and one servant, which agreement brought with Captain Andrew Brandfeill, under Mr Jacob Heatly's one [= own] hand to your Worship; the cobby Mr Stanton has, which I hope will give satisfaction to your Worship and the rest of the Gentlemen of the Councill.

750. Marcus Bed Whiting

James Fort, Accra, 24 March 1686/7

This goes by the opertunity of a two hand cano bound up to windward, chiefly to answer your letters, one of the 17th instant by James Bayly with the goods sent by him, which came safe to hand, the other by Mr Nicolas Papperell⁵⁸ of the 23^d ditto shall referr untill I have given answer to the former, being cheiffly to acquaint you that finding but small encouragement from Doctor Walbers unhuman useage towards his servants (as he pretends) in not allowing them what is sufficient for their sustinance, in consideration thereof have sent them both up by the Adventure sloop, also have paid them their full canky mony for this last two months past, due from the 28th January to the 25th of this present instant. As to their sallery have not paid any, leaveing it to your Worship. Your Worship writes 8 angles a month to said Doctor dyett, when he most assuredly pretends his agreement with the Company to be 50£ per anno; I have not paid him any nor shall not untill I have a more fuller satisfaction, which I hope may be per next. I must also inform your Worship that the 1000 yambs sent by this conveniency, most of them are not fitting for hoggs, and those that are good are extraordinary small. I have sent you per ditto one hundred and eighteen allejars, and seaventy broad black bafts in 3 cases, being

⁵⁸ Commander of the *Alligator* sloop.

good [but] not of the right sort. I would had wrought you by him, then being very weak; I have had a hard bout of it, now thank God I am upon the recovery. The two whitemen souldiers came safe to hand, shall pay them their sallary according to order. We are extreemly in want of a good man for a serjant, which if your Worship could spare us such a one will doe us a great kindness.

Now as to the Allegator sloop, I have not as yett taken anything out of her, just now being arrived. In answer as to yours of ditto concerning carridges for gunns, the dementions are as followeth: 2 carridges for small seaker and for half a dozen minion. I could wish your Worship would exchange half a dozen facon and faconnett for halfe a dozen long seaker, which if your Worship is willing, at the receipt of the other, if you send them or others pray send carridges with them, then shall send the other in their roome; it will doe us a great kindness and will grace the Castle, the Dutch haveing lately exchanged their small gunns, have placed most against us. Also must desire your Worship to supply us with all materialls belonging to them, as sponges, ladles &ca. We want also cathridge paper. As to what your Worship mentions concerning oyster shells they are very scarce here, haveing none but what we pick out of the salt ponds, being hardly enough to supply our occasions.

The rains being so upon us shall referr burning any till after they are over. The corn now sent shall doe for the best. I have now by me 20 slaves, shall send them by the Allegator sloop. Send us more sheets and broad nicconees. James Bayly went hence the 22 instant.

751. Marcus Bedfordus Whitting

James Forte, Accra, 13 April 1687

My last was the 24 March last, by a two hande canoe bounde to windward. Since departed hence the Allegator Sloop the 2^d instante. The goods and matterialls came safe out of her, as wrote you before, only must informe your worship that out of the 150 chests of corn 8 was founde wanting to make up the said number. By her went up eighteen negroe slaves, vizt 12 men 6 woemen, with the ballance of the inclosed accompt for March, being mk4 0oz 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ a. I begg your worships pardone for not writting by that conveniency, being then taken verry ill with a relapse, in soe much that inforced mee to keep my bedd ever since. Now thanke God am upon recovery, hoping in a shorte time to recover my strength againe. As to goods now wanting are sheets, sayes, broad stript sattins; horne haft knives. Trade is not verry fluent. As to other matters I refer your worships to my fformer lettere, not being as yett answered, hoping your worships will [answer] by this conveniency.

752. Marcus Bedfordus Whitting

James Forte, Accra, 24 April 1687

Yours of the 12 instante have received, being sorry those goods wrotte for are wanting, wee are in neede alsoe of stript carpitts, Duch humbanees and corne,

having sould a quantity of our laste suply, and had disposed of all, had wee not occation of some for the slaves, having now by mee 30, which I desire your worship to discharge us of them as soone as possible.

This goes by an accidentall canoe bound up to your partes, being on purpose to advise you thereof.

I have acquainted Docter Walber of what you wrotte, whose answer is that there was a certaine covenant which came over whith him, the coppie thereof being comitted to Mr Stanton at Caboe Corsoe.

In my March accompt I finde I have omitted entring the roale [= roll] of sheete lead which you have insertted there, shall not faile to bringe it to accompt in the next. Wee have not received the two hundred of spunge naills which you mention to have sent, soe desire you to furnish us with them per next. Having no more to add at present, only to informe you of my recovery from my laste distemper. Wee wantt alsoe some tarris, and carthridge paper.

753. Marcus Bedfordus Whitting

James Fortte, Accra, 1 May 1687

I wrotte you the laste the 24 of Aprill per way of a canoe bound up to windward. Then wrott for a fresh supply of striped carpitts, and Duch humbanees and corne, as alsoe for a discharge of those slaves wee have by us, amounting to fourty, the major parte being men. This serves allsoe to acquaint you the same, accompan[y]-ing my Aprill accompt, the ballance of it being 5mk 1oz 1a 2 ta, haveing not sent itt, your order being to the contrary of sending itt by such oportunities unlesse by way of Sloope or other conveniency more secure.

I am sorry you can't suply us with more sayes and such other stores of goods wrotte for formerly, as sheets, broad nicconees, pautkaes white, horne haff[t]ed knives, broad striped sattins. Materialls now wanting for the Castle are cathridge paper, tarris, spunge nailes, and three or four canky stones, wee wanting them much.

[PS] Primo May 87. I have forgot to writt about a caske of palme oyle. I know not its price, elce would have had sent the money. Itt was a quarter caske send down by James Bailey the 17 March laste. I want noe more.

754. John Boylston

Accraa, 12 May 1687

This goes by a two hand canoe which through absolute necessity I have sent to you to requeste the favor that I may have the nine hand canoe send down to mee, with all speed, for mee to returne backe in, there being not one heare to be had either from the Blackes or whittes, all being useless by reason of their leakes, and Mynheere Everas the Dutch coopeman has not any butt a 11 hand, one which came lattly from Ardraa much broaken, elce I beeleave I could verry willingly had itt,

butt itt is really verry bad, therefore desire I may have some conveniency of coming up in, which in the sloop I cannott, for shee will have sixty slaves and them verry stoutt lusty people, and will not depart till the middle of the weeke att sonest, for the weather is bad and shea hase butt as yett 17 chests of corne ashoare, and I muste either com in her, which I am verry willing to doe, or else in a two hand canoe, which is verry harde. I am sorry a [= to] putt your worshipe and gentellmen to this trouble, which could I avoid I would nott. I have this day inventoryed the warehouse, and find all well and verry inconsiderable damaged in the goods att my returne, which I care not how soone shall render a juste accompte in all perticulars. I am much troubled with griping, and Mr Ellwess has been ill ever since came hyther,⁵⁹ and if possible such a favor could be granted mee, that there might bee one sent to Anamaboe to inventory that ffactory, I should bee verry thankfull and would doe any thing in leiu of itt, being verry jealous of sickness and desiarous to returne. There is in the companies laste letter some thing mentioned in relation to Mr Whittings accompts with the company, if you will please to signifie to mee what itt, is wereby I may serve your worshipe in itt, should bee glade of the oppertunity. I desire your answer by the canoe, and if any newes from windward a line. Captain Hendrickes is here, and sailes tomorrow, he has invitted mee on boarde, butt cannot posible goe. None of his people has been ashoare here, he has on boarde about 200 negroes, most boyes and gairles. Mr Whiting and Mr Price presents there service to your worship, the former designs to returne in the canoe with mee.

755. Marke Bed. Whiting

James Forte, Accra 17 May 1687

Yours of the 9th instant per the Alligator Sloop, with one hundred stript Turkey carpitts, and one hundred thirty six chests of corne, I have received. By the same goes fifty six negroe slaves, vizt 42 men 14 women, alsoe the ballance of my Aprill accompt, being mk5 1o 1a 2ta of gold.

In answer to what you write conserning sending for goods (as your worship sayes), having a quaintity remaying you will not find such great number of such goods I wrote for in the inventory now taken; besides if I find I have but a bayle of sayes by mee, and I want Turkey carpitts, or other goods as wrote for in my last, it would not be convenient the sloop should come downe to mee only with the said carpitts, especially finding other goods vendable;

This day God willing doe intend to accompanie Mr John Boylston up in the nine hand canoe. Wee have had very bad weather, elce had been up before now.

⁵⁹ Elwes, chief of the Egya factory, had accompanied Boylstone to Accra to inventory the factory there (cf. no.657).

756. Thomas Price

James Ffort, Accraa, 22 June 1687

Yours received dated the 20th instant, wherein am ordered to inform you what progress Mr James Bayly has made at Alampo since his departure from Cabo Corso in purchasing slaves. Some four hours before the receipt of your letter received one from Mr James Bayly (which have inclosed) wherein he gives an accompt what slaves he hath purchased, which is to the number of thirty eight. He sent then two women full of the small pox (which are in the number), the one dyed in the voyage coming up, the other shall take all care possible to restore her to health, I examined his canoemen whether the slaves on board were most men or women, they replied he never bought women without men. He may be I judge half way between Olampo and here by the time of his departure, which was the 18th instant. The land breezes are far out and last not long, which will make his passage long ere he turn up. According to his desire have sent by his canoe four chests of the best corn in the Castle, and have gave him accompt of what you were pleased to order in yours. If he want any sort of goods for the purchasing more slaves he was to be supplied here, taking his receipt for the same, and what slaves he should purchase hereafter not to dispose of any without your positive orders. Gentlemen, yours makes mencon of twenty pair of short irons and five long ditto, but have received none. The slaves that have been purchased since the departure of Mr Mark Bedford Whiting are fourteen men and twelve women, good slaves. The irons wee stand in great need of, having but one pair to spare. The sheetes are all disposed of and the sayes, except one piece and a half which is very much damnified.

757. Thomas Price

James Ffort Accraa, 30 June 1687

The inclosed received yesterday from Mr James Bayly per his canoe, by whom he desired me to send it to you as soon as possible.⁶⁰ Likewise to send him down some corne, he standing in great need of it for the Royall Affrican Companys slaves, which according to his desire have sent him four chests of the best. In your last to Mr Mark Bedford Whiting you make mencon of 20 pair of short irons and 5 pair long irons were sent down by the bearer, but received none then nor since but stand in great need of them, having purchased since Mr Whitings departure eighteen men, eighteen women, good slaves. Trade hath been dull this 7 dayes, wee have taken little or nothing by reason of 3 Dutch ships, interlopers, which departed hence this morning. Here is mony comes down, but wee have none of the goods which are in demand, they are sayes and sheetes. Doctor Walber is taken ill this morning, the gunner and William Bonner is ill of an ague and feavour, and three more are lame with wormes.

⁶⁰ = no.855.

758. Marcus Bedford Whiting

James Fort, Accra, 8 July 1687

Yours of the 4th of July came to hand before my arrivall, which have perused. In answer to it and all other matters shall give you an accompt. This goes by a two hand canoe on that purpose. I have according to your orders supplied James Bayly with goods and all necessaryes as this place affords, finding him here yesterday morning at my arrivall on that accompt, his vessell lying at Labordee.⁶¹ I also received his slaves from him, being all 59, so that he has left us some thing threadbare with goods and plenty with slaves, having upward of one hundred and odd slaves in the Castle. I could wish a speedy delivery of them, which I hope you Gentlemen will effect as soon as possible, expecting your orders for the same, which when perused shall follow in all particulars. Wee are mightily put by of late by the Dutch, whose fresh supply of all sorts of goods proves a great hindrance to us and drawes the natives from our procuring what [ms 'wth'] we desire. I have here inclosed a note of our wants; I know sundry sorts of them are not by you, being only to give you an insight, but what is with you pray send, it will be a great means in provoking a trade, which endeavours shall not be wanting by me in any wise. Wee also stand in need cartridge paper and all sorts of things belonging to the gunners stores, some rivetts and forelocks for the slaves irons, likewise two clinch hammers, two cold chissells, two punches, and for the repairing of the Castle, the rains having been so furious as you are sensible has occasioned much damage, a bricklayer would be very necessary here, especially to arch the gate, having only a Negroe to help us, who understands no such worke.

I shall follow also your desires as to my monthly accompts, which shall be sent up as possible. James Bayly made his return this morning for Olampo. If he should want any more goods as per inclosed wee have not wherewithall to supply him, therefore once more desire you to furnish us with what you have of the said contents as possible. Our people some of them are very bad in health, most especially our Doctor. I hope God will restore them their health again.

[PS] A ship in sight, suppose to be Captain Thompson.

[PPS] The Dutch expect a ship every day out of Holland, which ship Monsieur Depalmas is ordered (when she comes) for Olampo to procure slaves. The factor here is providing for her in the interim.

759. Marcus Bedford Whiting

James Ffort, Accra, 10 July 1687

I wrote last the 8th instant and then advised you in full of what goods and materialls were wanting. This goes by the return of Mr Elwes his canoe, and serves to acquaint that wee shall very speedily want corn, having but 60 chests remaining.

⁶¹ Labadi, immediately east of Accra.

James Bayly has had at times in all forty chests. Has also left us very bare in goods, in so much that for want of the same our neighbour fares the better. This I thought fitt to advise you.

[PS] My most humble service to the Agent.

760. Marcus Bedford Whiting

James Ffort Accraa, 17 July 1687

This canoe is occasioned up by reason the master of the sloop just now arrived⁶² hath forgott his invoice and other things, I suppose writes to you by this opportunity in order to send them down by the bearer, he staying here till the return of the same.⁶³ Captain Gould arrived here last Thursday and went away last night, by him received the goods you sent. I am sorry must inform you that he was forced to carry one of the great gunns to Alampo to be putt on board James Bayly. Our nine hand canoe (here being no other to be had) by the carriage of the other three splitt in 2 peeces, all the great shott drowned, so that now wee shall want others and a new great canoe. I have comply'd with all your orders and putt on board him ninety one negroes, 49 men, 42 women, as per inclosed bills of lading appears. I was in hopes by this sloop to be supplied with goods and materials wrote for in mine of the 8th past. I am still procuring of slaves. The same have advised James Bayly, now to leeward. Pray also furnish us with corn, which wee shall want very speedily.

[PS] Mr Price presents his most humble service to you all. He is left with me.

761. Mark Bedford Whiting

James Forte, Accra, 27 July 1687

Yours by the 11 hand canoe is received with the iron barrs and matterials for the Castles use. I am sorry you have not sheetes, blew, red and green perpetuanoes, and sayes, which goods are all in demand. When any by you pray send them as soon as possible. Since my last to you arived here James Baily with 48 negroe slaves.⁶⁴ Having now almost one hundred of them in the Castle, by reason corne is here so scarce and non to be procured for money, refuse the buying any more unless you could procure mee the same provition. Now they are to be had, perhaps when you want they cannot be obtained. I could have wished James Bayly could have made a trip up with all his now procured. I have putt the thing to him, whose answer is that his orders runn to the contrary, being to lye here till further orders from you, which I hope will be for him to come up with them. On[e] of the great gunns is on board him, as wrote you before. Here is noe probability of getting her out of the sloop without necessaryes as now he writtes you, for the same might

⁶² Joseph Blyth, commanding the *George* Sloop.

⁶³ = no.941.

⁶⁴ Cf. no.856.

have been ashoare with the rest, our canoe sayfed [= saved] and all the shott, had not Captain Gould shown his tarpauling breeding⁶⁵ in not being so good as his word, not assisting us with any manner of things for that use. I suppose you heare the Danes are furnished with goods, alsoe that the Duch Companyes ship that is to slave from the Co[a]st is now arived, news is sent down to Alampoe in order for her dispatch. Pray send us word as soon as possible what your intention is, then shall follow what you shall direct. I humbly beg your pardons for not informing you of the death of William Fisher, itt was my intention soe to doe but in hast forgott itt. His things shall send up by the sloop. Mr Halford is very ill, fear his childlessness and fearefullness in his sickness will bring him to the same end very suddenly. Shall informe you further per next, which will be 5 dayes hence, with my months accompts.

762. Marcus Bedford Whiting

James Fortt, Accraa, 2 Aug. 1687

I wrot you last per the 11 hand canoe, then wrott you of the scarcity of corne. This alsoe serves to informe you of the same, none being to be had here in these parts. There is now remaining in the Factory not above 30 chests, and at the expence of three in 2 dayes for 94 negroes slaves now in the Castle, which I would desire a speedy delivery of them. I have desisted buying any more [i.e. slaves] untill further orders, which I hope will be by the retturne of this att furthest. Slaves presents dayly more then usuall. Perhaps now are to be had; when you want them are not to bee gott.

I must informe you that of the 136 chests corne sent to this place per the Alligattor Sloop eighteen chests of the same was damaged, being not fitting for hoggs, as per the inclosed attestation doth appeare. By the same goes my monthly accompts for June and July, the ballance for both being 2mk 1o 9a 1ta. The same have not sent you, your former orders being to the contrary of sending any gold in a two hand canoe, but by vessells or other conveniencys more secure. Here has been noe trade this two months for gold, Ahenesah having stopt the way for the Arkins comeing downe.⁶⁶ The goods wanting are sheets, blew and redd perpetuanoes, sayes. Our neighbour the Duch has been well supplied of latte with those sorts of goods, draws trade from us, alsoe buys great quantity's of slaves. The great ship is dayly expected downe from the Mina in order to goe downe to Alampoe, Mr Lapalma merchant.

James Bayly wrott you gentellmen for necessaryes to gett the gunn of [= off] the sloop.⁶⁷ He has bin here ever since my last, expecting an order what to doe. I

⁶⁵ 'Tarpaulin', literally a form of canvas, was colloquially applied to sailors.

⁶⁶ Cf. further reference to this dispute in no. 766. Presumably = Akyem. This followed the earlier 'war' between the two states in 1686, reported in nos 707, 717-18, 721 above.

⁶⁷ = no. 856.

hope you will order him up with those slaves now in the Factory, for I cannot keep them much longer without a suply of provitions. Mr Halford continews still verry ill, still sometimes is like a distracted man and other times speakes verry rationable; wants for nothing what this place affords. I am doubtfull of his recovery, God help him.

763. Marke Bedford Whiting

Accra, 4 Aug. 1687

The foregoeing was intended you, but your cannoe coming just as mine was departing put a stop to it. By the retturne of the same, is to sattisfie you that according to your order shall dispatch James Bayly with what slaves he can conveniently carry, which believe may be 60. I am sorry you cannot suply us with corne. Wee shall be forced to put on board the sloop the major part [sc. of corn] now remaining; having tacken well, as tould you before, will not goe halfe soe farr as better, which makes the expence of corne the greater, and for the maintenance of those slaves remaining after Mr Bayly have taken the said complement, will be about thirty, what to doe for them I know not, here being no manner of provitions for their substenance, unless wee buy fish and give them halfe allowance in caneky.

Gentelmen you write I must doe my utmost indeavours to procure what Negroe slaves I can that are good. Lett mee have provitions to keep them after bought, the thing will be easily donn, and had the Sloope binn suplyed (and myselfe ashoare) with the same might have had two hundred or more then already bought, they coming to saile every day more then usuall. This will prove a great hindrance to the Mary you mention is to be slaved of.

The three hand canoe you mention James Baily is in hopes of a better in his passing up. As to William Fishers things, shall send up by him, soe referring you till then.

764. Marke Bedford Whiteing

James Ffort, Accraa, 8 Aug. 1687

This accompanies James Bayly in the Adventure Sloop, by whome you will receive the ballance for my two last months accompts for both, being 2mk 1 oz 9a 1ta. Alsoe goes by him sixty negroe slaves, vizt 30 men, 30 women, with water, corne and other necessaryes I hope may be sufficient for their passage up.⁶⁸ For the remaying partt of the Negroes, I know not what to do, having only 14 chests of corne for their substenance, which is very bad. I have for a considerable time, as wrote you before, refused the buying any more slaves, which will prove a great disappointment to the Mary; now being to be had and not to be bought. Here is no trade with us, I have not taken one angle this tenn days, the Dutch being supplied

⁶⁸ Cf. no.857.

with our wants draws all from our ffactory. Their ship is dayly expected, all provition made for her dispatch. I would have sent you according to order William Ffishers things. Mr Bayly could not take them in. Mr Halford is yett sick, nobody knows his distemper, he is not himselfe, continually raving mad, talks at random, his discourse always about his wife and children in Europe. In this condition hath layn this two or three days, what to thinke of him I know not, he hath no ffeavour, nor any burning (God mend him).

If you could spare us a bricklayer for a finall time with some bricks to arch the gate, you would do a great kindnesse. Wee want also deale boards, small balkes, nailes of all sorts.

765. Marke Bedford Whiting

James Forte, Accraa, 9 Aug. 1687

This accompanyes the sad news of the death of Mr William Halford, who departed this life about 3 this morning. I have not as yett taken an accompt of his things, only have secured them untill the dispatch of this canoe, which I though[t] fitt to send her without delaying of time. I buryed him as becomes one of his station.

The following is a copy of a letter sent you by the Adventure Sloope, James Baily Master, who had his dispatch yesterday morning. By reason wind would not permitt could not stir. By him goes the ballance of my two last accompts, makeing in all mk2 1o 9a 1ta, and the quantity of sixty negroe slaves, vizt 30 men, 30 weomen, with all things convenient for their passage up, which hope may prove sufficient. For the remaning part of the negroes our provitions is very shortt, haveing butt 14 chests of damaged corne for their substinance. I have for some time (for want of the same) refused the buying any more [i.e. slaves], which thing I feare will prove a great disapointment to the Marys slaveing off the Coast. Now are to be had, but not to be bought. Here is noe trade for Gould, I have not taken one angle this tenn dayes; the Ducth [sic] being supplied with our wants draws all from us. Their ship from the Mina is dayly expected down in order to her dispatch. Wee have lost more slaves of the small pox. One was this day from James Baily, being newly taken with the same.

766. Marke Bedford Whiting

James Fort, Accra, 23 Aug. 1687

Yours by the 17 hand canoe, with sixty iron barrs and 25 chests of corne (as you mention), in measuring itt (in very small chest) made butt 23. I am sorry you have none of those goods I advised for, it is a greatt hindrance to mee, although trade is now very dead; whatever gold or slaves comes goes all to the Duch, for sheets, sayes, blew and green perpetuanoes, I see none inquire for any other. Here will bee noe probability of a currant negotiation, as longe as Ahennasah and Arkins are att variance. My endeavor ever was and ever shall bee forward to promote the companyes intrest, and this month will prove worse than laste, doe not take

wherewith to defray charges (and which is worst of all) not able to pay soldiers there sallary due to them since the 5th June. What to doe in this case I know not, butt waite with patience in hopes of better times. I shall comply with your orders concerning Mr William Halfords things, all he left being verry inconsiderable. You have here inclosed an inventory for your perusall, another of the same I have sent to Mr Wight. If possible of any saile shalle send him and you a true and faithfull accompt, our people being here soe out of money for want of their pay, that I feare noe good will come on't. I wrot last for a bricklayer and some brickettes for the gatte and gunn ports, a thing verry necessary to be donn. Wee want alsoe some nailes of all sorts, a few baulkes, deale boards, all these matterials I hope will not be wanting.

James Baylye is about the Great Divells Hill.⁶⁹ I feare his voyage up will be longer than usuall, the current running verry strong to leward.

767. Marke Bedford Whiting

Ditto, 23 Aug. 1687

Just now arrived this inclosed from the Generall of the Deanes, Mynheer Hans Luke, in order to be sent you as per superscription.⁷⁰ In this canoe goes twelve cows, whereof six belongs to you, the rest are the king of Fettues (purchased by his man). They are very ordinary and all he could procure. I have marked yours with a string on their legg, that you may distinguish yours from his, or Hoockomee knows them from the rest. The Portuguez is gon to leeward to Mounsieur Lapallma, there to follow such orders as he shall direct, being no possibility of turning to windward.

768. Marke Bedford Whiting

James Fort, Accra, 2 Sept. 1687

This accompanyes my accompt for August. You will find the ballance to be unconsiderable, and trade very dull. Ahennasah stiring abroad makes us soe backward in these parts, as currant negosiation cannot be expected as long as he is att variance with the uplanders.⁷¹ Now is goeing next month to fight the remaining part of Anguynas.⁷² It may prove good as to slaves, which are now scarce, either they goe to leeward on board the Dutch Companyes ship (for those supplies we have not) ore elce none comes downe.

Inclosed is an accompt of the disposall of Mr William Halford's things. An other of the same have sent Mr Rice Wight, to whome shall send the product of the same when oportunity presents of sending the ballance of those inclosed. I am

⁶⁹ Devil's Mount, between Tantumkweri and Winneba.

⁷⁰ = no.997 (actually signed by Nikolay Fensman, not Lukke).

⁷¹ Viz. with Akyem (as reported in no.766).

⁷² After the recent war of Agona against Akron (no.491). Cf. also no.769. But Ansa did not actually march against Agona until March 1688 (nos 803–5, 809–10).

sorry those goods wrote for formerly are not yett arived. In my last I wrote alsoe for matteralls for Castles use, vizt nailes of all sorts, some balkes deale boards, some breakes [= bricks] and old planckes of shipping (when broak up), which for want of the same to put under the gunns [we] use more lime be half then if otherwise, not forgetting some great iron wedges, for splitting of cockernut trees, as alsoe a great iron maule, two cold chisills, a clinch hammer, and two punches, for slaves use. I have now taken up the soldiers roome, and placed the gatte in the middle. By degrees the Castle will be in good repaire, and if kept soe, and not lett things runn to ruine before they are mended, as formerly donn, itt will not prove hereafter soe expensive to the Company to accomplish the same. Wee shall want more cockernut trees, and what shall be donn on this affaire shall be managed as to as little charge as possible to the Company.

769. Mark Bedford Whiting

James Fort, Accraa, 12 Sept. 1687

Yours of the 10th instant came safe to hand with the things therein mentioned. Since understanding a vessell is arrived you from Europe, occasions this canoe's going up to informe you off our wants of the severall sorts of goods and materialls for Castles us, as per inclosed. If any arrived, you will be pleased to furnish us with the same, by the sloop or other convenciencies.

As to the purchasing of slaves I refuse none that come that are good, although now are very scarce. Our being not supplied as per note is a great hinderance. The Dutch Company shipp of which you write is not very forward, having bought but 90 since her being at Olampo, which with 104 received from their ffactory here is 194 now on board her. God knows after this rate how long she may be purchasing her complement of 600.

Your letter to Doctor Walber have delivered. It is grat satisfaction to me you know him, and no wonder he'l abuse me (as he hath don), as long as he doth to his and my betters, from whom he hath received more kindness than deserved. It is not long some time past he struck one of the Company slaves, the most necessary man in the Castle, a carpenter, with an iron shovell, wounded him on the side insomuch that the blood came from his mouth. After having comitted the same error, and having given him a small reproband [= reprimand] for so doing, did desire him to see him cured, [he] would not but most inhumanely replied if he dyed could but pay for him, an answer not fitting to give me. This is the very reason of the falling out betwixt him and me, and upon that accompt turned him from my table or presence. I had sent him up some time past, had he not sent me the submission inclosed, acknowledging in order in a future amendment. I wonder he should write you to depart this place, when it is plainly appeared his inclination is to the contrary. This is like his abuseing me behind my back, but in my hearing in company [with] the soldiers a thing he denied, but ass sure to be true. What shall I say, he is a man of two tongues.

As to his difference with Mr Price, I have called them both to accompt, being for past quarrels betwixt them, when I was up at Cabo Corso, but now renewed. I cannot understand the right, for one says one thing, the others says another, and for my part I have not reason to beleive one of them, being very well satisfied is a great lyer. I must advise you that the Danes have inquired for an answer of their letter per the 17 hand canoe. The Generall is very sick of a fflux, and in danger of his life. There is great liklyhood to be warr betwixt Ahenesa and the Anguinas. I wish they would fight and make an end, I am sure they spoyle the trade. Having not else, only desire to be furnished if possible with those goods and materialls, staying for them, being things much wanted towards the repaying the Castle.

770. Marcus Bed Whiting

James Ffort, Accraa, 19 Sept. 1687

This serves to accompany the sad news of the Deans Generall who departed this life this day at three in the afternoone of a fflux,⁷³ I thought fitt to advise you thereof knowing the Royall Company has concerns in your hands, also that you direct yourself accordingly. This day am invited tomorrow with the Dutch ffactor to go to his buriall. Per next shall advise you further.

Your letter by James Bayly just came to hand. Those things sent by him are not as yet landed, You have omitted 2 pit [= pick] axes, tarr and tarris, the most necessary things wee wanted in repaying the Castle, which wee are now compleating with all speed. As to goods I hope you will consider us as soone as possible. I wonder what James Bayly can do to leward, there being a shipp there supplied with all sorts and makes no hand of it. Some days agoe passed another of the same bound for Ardra, having been six months from Europe, missing his intended port went round about, his people all much [blank].

Trade is still very dull, occasioned as advised you [by] Ahenesa being not contented. What comes down is for sheets, say's, perpetuanoes blew & green. Having not else, in hast.

771. Marcus Bed Whiting

James Fort, Accra, 24 Sept. 1687

Having this oppertunity of a Mina canoe bound to windward and thought fitt to informe you that those tapseils you intended on board James Bayly for broad prove all narrow, and his long cloths very course, worse than usuall. He is gon to leward to little purpose, and wee here being in want of those goods wrote for do little mend the matter. I have in one of my last inclosed you a note, and to supply with the same if possible per first conveniency. The corne sent per the Sloop being measured aboard by your owne chest wants three. Slaves are still very scarce.

⁷³ For the death of Hans Lykke, 19 Sept. 1687, see also Justesen, forthcoming, chap.II, no.15, letter of Nikolay Fensman, Christiansborg, 6 Oct. 1687.

Desire you Gentlemen to informe me per next, how the soldiers and other people are paid at Cabo Corso, which at present I am ignorant of.

I am at present much indisposed with a violent tenasmus,⁷⁴ makes me faint and weak, for that reason having kept my bed this three days. Begging your pardon for my ill writing.

772. Marke Bed Whiting

James Fort, Accraa, 26 Sept. 1687

This serves only to accompany the inclosed from James Bayly,⁷⁵ which is in reference of what I wrot you yesterday, that there is a mistake of goods putt on board him (narrow tapselees, for broad). Wee can doe noe good here, nor he to leward, unless wee were supplied accordingly. This goes by an Annamaboe canoe, and thought fitt to send you word I am still much undisposed.

773. Marke Bedford Whiting

James Fortt, Accraa, 30 Sept. 1687

This accompanyes my September accompt with the ballance thereof, alsoe that of August past, which alsoe had been with you sooner, had I not been in expectation of the great canoe comeing downe with those supplys you mentioned in your last, not as yett in sight, hope will not be long. James Bayly is still to leeward, waiting the same motion. Slaves are now very scarce and trade very bad. The Dutch companys ship has but 300 negroes now on board. Monseuir Delapalma is now come up here in a canoe, being tired out with the dullness of that negotiation. I wrote you last to know how the soldiers and and other people are paid at Cabo Corsoe. I understand it's otherwise than £4 per ounce. I have offered the same to them, will not take itt, soe desire your order that I may show them, which will give further sattisfaction.⁷⁶

By the bearer you will alsoe receive 6a 7ta, being what William Lawrance owed formerly in the celler.

Inclosed is a noate from our our gunner, being what things are wanting for the gunns, which wee stand much in need off. Alsoe have sent you a noate of moneys owing him, from the gunner deceased with you.

774. John Bloome

Accraa, 5 Oct. 1687

This is to advise you of my arrivall here, where I shall as circumspectly as possible observe yours and Mr Whitings commands, and shall always indeavor to comport my selfe soe well that noebody shall have a just complaint against me.

This I doe promise, and will by the help of God performe, of which you may

⁷⁴ Tenasmus: constipation due to inflammation of the rectum.

⁷⁵ = no.861.

⁷⁶ Cf. chap.II, n.114.

be pleased to rest ashured. I am very much oblinded to you for all your kindnesses and readyness to serve me, which alsoe injoyne a double obligation on me. Your favors have been soe great, that I shall never know how to recompence 'em but by an obedient observance of your commands. I kiss your hands.

775. Marke Bed Whiting

James Fort, Accraa, 7 Oct. 1687

The inclosed was intended you before but the bearer coming put a stop to it, by whom wee have received the goods mentioned. One of the bales of broad tapseiles I put on board James Bayly, then being at Tisha,⁷⁷ from whome wee have received on shoare twenty six negroes, vizt fourteen men, twelve weomen slaves. Now is gon down to purchase more. The bale on board him which proves to be narrow tapseiles, was not India packt, neither was there as he says any packers noat, being a repackt bale. I am fully satisfied are true narrow ones. I take notice you write of none of the umbanees to be disposed but for gold. You cannot expect to vend them for the same, they always was leeward goods, its those people that buys them. A great quantity of those you send now last are damaged, as may easily be perceived, the bales haveing been much rubbed. Captain Thomas Towers is here at the Deans ffortt. This day sent for me to have some discourse (of I know not what). The dispatch of this canoe hinders my goeing, soe cannot as yett give an accompt of his proceedings. By this canoe goes Docter Walber, whose dayly abuse, and finding noe alteration of amendment, which is against his promise, I have made bold to cause his removall, which I hope you Gentellmen will not be against, hoping I make the exchange of a worse for a better, and not long are [= ere] I am supplied with him.

PS. Dr Wolber is paid to the 5th June, his dyett to the 5th August 1687. You mention a caske of tarr, by this canoe none cam to hand, only tarris.

776. Thomas Price

James Fort, Accraa, 15 Oct. 1687

Since I understand the Royall Company will have none intrusted in your affaires of negotiation but those that they approve off, and have entred security, I humble make my request to you Gentlemen that you would be pleased to consider me, and put me in such an employ as you shall adjudge not prejudicale to your selfs. Shall willingly imbrace any thing I deserve. You know Mr Halford, whome God was pleased to take away, was sent downe to take the warehouse, a thing then in my charge, now Mr Bloome at present, and [I] destitute of any buisness, would not willingly be idle, but am still and ever was ready to serve my masters the Royall Affrican Company, it being my duty, as alsoe to obey your comanns, soe that I depend my selfe wholly upon you and refer to your next.

⁷⁷ = Teshi, east of Accra.

777. Mark Bedford Whiting

James Fort, Accra, 16 Oct. 1687

Meeting with a two hand canoe bound up to your portt, was glad of the oppertunity, hopeing by this time the Ffrancis may be with you. Our wants of the severall sorts of goods I wrote for, you have before you. The sheets sent last I wrote you are all disposed for gold. As to the umbanees I wrote you at large, only must informe you that in those two bales wanted five pieces, vizt in no.181 wanted one, and in no.182 wanted four. I could not find any packers noate in any of them. An attestation for the same shall be sent up at the months end. Corne wee shall want very speedily, haveing upward of ninety negroe, slaves in the Castle. Yesterday received a letter from James Bayly, who writes can doe noe good to leeward, as long as the Dutch Companys shipp says lasteth, all the men slaves going on board him for the same. It's the same here with us, now the sheets are gonn, wee stand still, and much inquires alsoe for says and perpetuanoes. Send us alsoe some more markt iron barrs.

I must desire you Gentlemen to supply us also with two lusty man Ardra slaves. Those few wee have here are imployed in makeing mortar and swish, and others burning of lime, soe that wee want a couple to fetch wood. When the Castle is finished and all worke done (haveing now abundance to doe) shall be returned you againe, for if wee imploy other other slaves wee are in danger of looseing them.⁷⁸ The gunners stores as per his note desire the same, and the tarr you mention never came to hand. If any balks, deale boards, pray send us, haveing great occasion for them, more especially for the prisons doores, which are not over secure, and alsoe slitt deale for to fitt a new nine hand canoe. I have according to your orders put the Searjant you sent downe in his office. You have not informed mee his pay. I wrote you last about the soldiers pay and other matters, which desire an answer. The Dutch Company shipp hath lost 20 negroes and one white man of the small pox.

PS. I am sorry to heare of the death of Agent Bradley and alsoe Mr Bucknells att Succondee.

778. Marke Bed Whiting

James Fortt, Accra, 23 Oct. 1687

Yours of the 18th instant with six chest of sheets and an barrell of tarr came safe to hand. This accompanys a two hand canoe bound to Annamaboe. The letters to the Deans copeman have sent him, as alsoe that of [= to] James Bayly, whom I expect here every moment. When arrived, shall follow what you have directed. I am sorry

⁷⁸ i.e. by running away. Other sources make explicit that slaves from Allada were preferred for employment on the Gold Coast because, as strangers, they were less likely to escape than those of local origin: Makepeace 1991, no.82 (Agent & Factors, Kormantin, 10 June 1661); Van Dantzig 1978, no.54 (Resolutions of Council, Elmina, 7 Aug. 1684).

you have noe gunners stores, especially carriages for the gunns, a thing harde to be got out of shipping, alsoe whole deale and slitt deale. As soone as possible desire a supply of bricks to to compleat the arching of eighteen gunn ports, verry neccessary to be donn, for want of the same our worke is behind hand. The markt iron barrs, corne, and rum, with those balks you mention, send us alsoe. I am sorry the Ffrances is not yett in hearing, I doubt much his safety.

779. Thomas Price

James Ffort, Accraa, 23 Oct. 1687

Yours dated the 18th instant have received, and according to your order shall waite on you, soe soone as Mr Whiting have made up this months accompt, and bringe them with me to Cabo Corso. Gentlemen, I humbly thanke you for your good proffers, and shall be very carefull and true in whatsoever you shall be pleased to intrust me in.

780. Marke Bed: Whiting

James Fortt, Accraa, 25 Oct. 1687

I wrote you last by way of Annamaboe under covert of Mr James Nightingale.⁷⁹ This accompanys the inclosed, by a fishermans canoe bound your parts, which desire it may be delivered as per superscription.⁸⁰ I have not elce to write you, waiting the motion of the 17 hand canoe, with those things wrote for, understand you intend her here. If any more sheets, send us some.

781. Marke Bed: Whiting

James Fort, Accra, 4 Nov. 1687

This accompanys the Alligottor Sloop with forty negroe slaves, vitz 18 men, 22 woemen. The goods sent by her have received. The bricks are not a quantity enough, so desire a greater quantity. James Bayley left this place about four days agoe, with sixteen men, fourteen weomen, besides what others he had on board makes up fifty six.⁸¹ The carriages of the gunns the dimentions shall informe you by Mr Price, who departs two days hence. The great gunn on board the Adventure Sloop send us, wee want him. The sheets sent are all disposed, so want more. If any goods arrived as wrote you formerly send us alsoe, with the iron wedges and iron worke wrote you for. You will receive per the bearer William Fishers things, the inventory and what is due to him shall ffollow by Mr Price.

⁷⁹ Now chief of the RAC factory at Anomabu.

⁸⁰ ? = no.862 (from James Bailey in the *Adventure*, on the coast wast of Accra).

⁸¹ Cf. no.863.

782. Marcus Bed: Whiting

James Ffort, Accraa, 7 Nov. 1687

I wrote you last by the Alligatorr Sloop, then advised you the needfull. This accompanys Mr Thomas Price, who comes up to offer his service to you, tending to his further employ. By him goes my October accompt with its ballance, being 5oz 0a 4ta, also the inventory of William Ffishers, with an attestation for goods wanting in the two bales of phota longees, per the 17 hand canoe. As for carriages for the guns, and other materialls wanting, the bearer can informe you.

783. Marcus Bed: Whiting

James Fort, Accra, 12 Nov. 1687

Yours by the Ann Sloop came safe to my hand. Being late have not as yet taken any thing out of her, but thought fitt to answer yours by Monsieur de La Palma. To what you mention concerning the charges in my last accompt, I can assure you, there is nothing brought to accompt, but what was necessary, and hath duly been paid, as may be maid appear; as also those slaves in sallary which you are displeased at, I know of none but what have been allowed the same since my taking charge. If you are pleased to peruse my former accompts you will find the same, and to be without them is a thing impossible. In answer to those that we sent up to you in both the sloops, I acknowledge none but those that went in the Alligator, for those sixteen men, fourteen women were those that were put ashore by James Bayly, and so returned him againe, but a slave may be well to day and sick tomorrow, they are subject to mortallity as well as whites. However I mind what you advise, so shall follow. The Dutch Company shipp is gon from Alampo, with 504 Negroes. The remayns of her cargo were all put ashore here, being sheets, says, and fine sletias. It hath been a great hinderance to those says you sent last, the Blacks esteeming theirs better than ours. I find you do not approve off our arching the batlements, I shall give you a satisfactory accompt by next for my so doing. In the interim, excuse my ill writing, being in hast.

784. Marcus Bed: Whiting

James Fort, Accra, 21 Nov. 1687

This returns the Ann Sloop, per whome you will receive twelve Negroe slaves, vizt six men and six woemen, with one weoman more which I put on board for a canky woeman, in all thirteen. I put all necessarys sufficient for their passage up. I wrote you last by Monseieur Delapalmo per him [sic] in answer of what you wrote me by the bearer, per whom I received the bricks and sheets, which are all disposed. Per next supply us with more, as also some green welch plaines, noe other colours. The gun carriages and things belonging to them Mr Bradshaw⁸² will give you a full accompt. According to your order have sent you six iron barrs for to worke the severall necessaryes ffollowing, nailes, hooks, and hinges for the

⁸² Richard Bradshaw, now commanding the *Ann Sloop*.

windows and doores, with some staples, and what other iron work is wanting for the use of the great guns. I could wish you could supply us with some plank to put under them, it would be a great preservation of the flankers, and saving of lyme and timber. Wee stand much in need also of boards, to make new prison doors, which are all very bad.

785. Marcus Bed: Whiting

James Fort, Accraa, 26 Nov. 1687

I wrote you last by the Ann Sloop, which departed hence the 21st instant with twelve Negroe slaves, which I thought sufficient. This goes by a fishermans canoe, which I thought fitt to acquaint you thereof, also to informe you that wee want some green Welch plains, halfe barrells and quarter barrells of powder, no other sort, wee having wholes enough, which I can not sell. By the Sloop I wrote you the needfull, so referring you till her arrivall.

786. Marcus Bed: Whiteing

James Fort, Accraa, 3 Dec. 1687

This accompanys my November accompt with the ballance, being 5mk 3o 7a 8ta. I have not elce to write you, having wrote you the needfull before. In my last, informed you of our wanting halfes and quarter barrells of powder, green Welch plaines and sheets, to be sent if possible at first oppertunity. As to other goods, informed you formerly suppose are not as yett arrived with you, soe must waite with patience. By the Ann Sloop, according to your orders, sent you six iron barrs to worke out in the severall necessaryes informed you, not forgetting iron wedges; those sent before are all plitt to peeces, quite out of service.

You informed me that I should pay Sarjeant Peter Baldwer 8a 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ ta per month. I have offered him the same, and caused him to write you the inclosed. He tells me that you promised him the same pay as he had before at Cabo Corsoe. A Serjaeants pay is here 11a per month soe you may use your pleasure and send me me the same, which I shall observe.

787. Marcus Bed: Whiteing

James Fort, Accraa, 9 Dec. 1687/8 [sic]

Yours of the 7th instant came safe to hand, being glad to understand that certaine ships are arrived you, hope with goods proper for this place. You have the perticulars before you, to be more sure have underneath mentioned them againe. I shall observe what you write tending in procuring of Negroes, but you know the Blacks will have what they list, elce will goe to other places, however shall doe for the best. I take notice of what you write concerning the French men.⁸³ Wee are soe

⁸³ i.e. the expedition under Du Casse, of whose possible approach warning had presumably been sent from Cape Coast.

unprovided in our forces that Wee are in greate necessity of those materialls I wrote for the greate guns, which you write you cannot furnish us, soe what to say I know not, referr to patience. I returne you many thanks for your kind invitation at Christmas and begg your excuse for this time, having a greate deale to doe to the Fort which I would faine see finisht. When done, shall come and pay my respects. Besides Mr Bloome is not as yett verst in the way of comerceing with the natives at [sic] this place requires, soe that it is impossible for me to stir. I wrote you last concerning the Serjeants pay, as yett noe answere, pray informe per next. Soe wishing you all a merry Christmas with a New Yeaere.

Goods in demand at Accra, vizt nicconees broad, pautkaes white, sheets, sayes, blew and green perpetuanoes, horne hafted knives, green Welch plaines, halfes and quarter barrells of powder, broad striped sattins, and red corral, these goods wee want much.

788. Marcus Bed: Whiting

James Fort, Accra, 12 Dec. 1687

According to your orders have sent you up Mr John Bloome, in the five hand canoe. The goods sent per the sloop, Mr James Bayly, have not as yett landed them, being just now arrived. Per him shall acquaint you the needfull, who shall be dispatched as soone as possible with what Negroe slaves wee have, being but few in number, having not bought any this month, now are growne very scarce. As to the French men of warr you mention, are not as yett arrived these parts, understand are all at Amersa.⁸⁴ Here is none but a Brandenburg and Captain Wyborns tender. By this time I suppose you have an accompt of him [= Wyborn's tender] by his boate, which he sent up to you from the Divills hill, he having missed Cabo Corsoe.⁸⁵

I must advise you that if you thinke convenient from this place, I can furnish you with oystersells farr better than those you have from Amersa, one but of these will goe as farr as two of others. I have now ready 50 butts, shall provide more as you advise your answere as to this point.

789. Marcus Bed: Whiting

James Fort, Accra, 15 Dec. 1687

This accompanyes the Adventure Sloop with twelve Negroes, vizt six men, six weomen slaves. I am sorry I must informe you of a sad accident. Eight lusty men Negro slaves are run away, which I am in hopes to gett againe, understanding w[h]ere they are sheltered, Ahenisha having promised to see them returned. My misfortune hapened in the manner ffollowing. Having greate occasion for lime for

⁸⁴ Cf. no.578.

⁸⁵ Petley Wybourne was on his way (in the *Hannah*, commander Robert Cowley) to take charge of the RAC factory at Whydah.

the repairing of the Castle, I ordered the Serjeant to send the Bumboys and slaves in long irons to goe and cutt wood for the burning of the same. The Serjeant did, but not with that discretion as he ought to have done, sends ten of the lustiest men in said irons with but two Bomboys. The slaves when they came to the plase assigned them and found their advantage, they seized the said Bumboyes, and wounded one of them in the back, and by chance of 10 Negroes that went out 2 came back againe, one of them being also wounded, which I send you per the bearer. Slaves now are growne very scarce. What comes the country people will have what they list, and without I comply, you cant expect noe slaves. The goods that came per this conveniency I received. The bailes of pautkaes I opened before Mr Bayly, thirty six of them are much damaged, occasioned by the rubbing of the said bailes. The sheets you sent are all disposed, soe wee want more, a greater quantity, as also broad niccanees. I wrote you last concerning oyster shells and Serjeants pay. Noe more at present, only wishing you all a merry Christmas.

790. Marcus Bed: Whiting

James Fort, Accra, 17 Dec. 1687

I wrote you the needfull per the Adventure sloop. Then advised you of our want of more sheets. Those you sent last are all disposed, also almost all the blew perpetuanoes, to that desire a further supply, and broad niccanees (if any). Wee are in extreame want of those carriages for the guns I advised per the Ann Sloop and iron worke for the same, also to send us the great gun out of the Adventure Sloop.

This accompanyes Captain Quow, who desired the liberty to come up at the buriall of one of his wives. I begg leave he may stay a weeke or two. Hear [= here] is the Mary. Captain Burdis is gone for Alampo. Captain James⁸⁶ is very sick aboard, has not been on shoare by reason of his indisposition. Send us more markt iron barrs. Being in hast.

791. Marcus Bed: Whiting

James Fort, Accra, 20 Dec. 1687

I wrote you last by a two hand canoe bound to your parts, then informing you our wanting more sheets, blew perpetuanoes, says and markt iron barrs. This serves to acquaint you of the same, to send us a greate quantity as soone as possible, not forgetting iron wedges and a couple of axes. Slaves are scarce, what comes they will have what they list. Having not elce to enlarge. Just now came to hand yours by Mr Kyte, shall follow what you have directed.

792. Marcus Bed: Whiting

James Fort, Accra, 2 Jan. 1687/8

This returns the canoe which brought yours of the 26th past, in which you advised

⁸⁶ Commanding the *Mary*.

of a letter you received from Mr Fensman⁸⁷ concerning the French treating with Ahenisah, to obaine Christiansburg Fort into their possession,⁸⁸ the same sent you via De Mina under cover of the Dutch Generall,⁸⁹ and not having any from me affords you some jealousie, as well from the Dutch as from the French. I had informed you at that time, but thought it better and safer way to make the thing knowne to Ahenisah, that the said Fort was ours in pawne, and in equity could not dispose of it, to accomplish their [i.e. the French] desire. Waiteing his answeere, in the interim arrived yours, which was much to the same purpose, I also imeadiately acquainted him of it. He pretends that he never knew before that wee had any right to it, and since it is soe, that wee desired the Castle into our custody, wee should have it before any other nation, paying the 40 bendyes, as the French had promised, due to him for the Danes, which they dayly refuse to disburse. I told him, as you directed, what was owing from them, they ought to make good, that after wee had possession of it wee would satisfie him punctually, upon which this day he sent his son to the Danes, to tell them that if they would not make immeadiately due payment he would take Christianzburg Fort, and deliver it the English per fforce. This morning to make an end of the busness, Mr Fensman paid 20 bendyes in gold, and 20 ditto in goods, soe then now the French are put by of their designe. As to the Dutch encroaching into this affaire, I am fully satisfied to the contrary. The letter Mr Fensman wrote them I saw, which is to the same purpose he wrote you. I delivered yours to him. Inclosed is his answeere,⁹⁰ and what he did was his ignorance.

Wee want more sheets, niccannees broad (if any). I am sorry you have noe blew perpetuanoes. I desire you to send me some paper, quills, or wax.

793. Marcus Bed: Whiting

James Fort, Accra, 7 Jan. 1687/8

Just now came an express from Ahenisah, who notwithstanding having received his due from the Danes is resolved to turn them out of Christiansburg Fort for the dayly abuses they give his people, is soe much incensed against them (for the same) that he will beare it noe longer, and resolved to deliver it to the English, in case wee should refuse then to the French. This came to me just now and withall desired me imeadiately to come up to him, and that he himselfe would give me possession. I could not goe by reason of leaving the Factory, but have sent my guner to dive into it. His [= Ahenisah's] intention is to come downe to Labardee. He is very angry and furious insomuch that what the Danes gave him, he would not

⁸⁷ Nikolay Fensman, successor to Hans Lykke as Governor of the Danish fort at Christiansborg, Accra.

⁸⁸ Cf. Du Casse, in Roussier 1935, 34–6: the king of Akwamu had sent a canoe to Du Casse at Komenda, offering the French possession of the Danish fort at Accra, and Du Casse sent a man to investigate.

⁸⁹ Not preserved.

⁹⁰ Not preserved.

keep it, but in a collerick manner hath sent it back to them. What to say in this case know not, but crave your answer immediately. Now receive yours of the 6th instant per Captain Quow. Have noe time to answer, neither to send you my December accompts, although ready. Shall send you when I have an answer from my guner. I have sent Ahenisah two peeces of sayes as for an encouragement.

794. Marcus Bed: Whiting

James Fort, Accra, 9 Jan. 1687/8

This accompanies an Arda slave, an old servant to the Company, who hath lost his left hand, occasioned by the firing of a gun at the salutation of the Castle by a Dutch Company shipp, as I judge bound for Alampo, not spunging the same before he gave it his charge againe, which is a thing I wonder at, a fellow who hath given his attendance to the guner, who is now, as advised you, at Quamboe, with Ahenisah, as yett have noe answer, was forced to make use of the said Arda slave to officiate the same, having noe Whites that understood any thing of that matter, his hand being in such a condition that by good fortune Captain Cowley and his Doctor being here, his Doctor advised it should be cutt of, which he did. Having noe body to follow the cure, I thought it more convenient to send him up to you, where some meanes may be used.

My last advised you that Ahenisah would not accept of the Danes payment. Since have advisd him to receive the same, which he hath done, and after to use his pleasure, which I shall advise you shortly. Being in hast.

795. Marcus Bed: Whiting

James Fort, Accra, 18 Jan. 1687/8

This accompanys my December accompt with his ballance, being 13 mk 6 oz 5a 4 ta. It would have been with you sooner, the difference betwixt Ahenisah and the Danes put by my intent, [he] is still soe much incenced against them that he is fully resolved to turne them out of their habitation shortly, the same to be delivered the English, the French to goe reside at Taisha. I have endeavored to hinder their settlement in these leward parts, Ahenisah will heare nothing of it but hath promised me faithfully he will not suffer them to buyld a Fort, only a house, for that reason has ordered them the abovesaid place, where there is noe stons to come at.

You are saying that you beleive Mr Fensman is tampering with the Dutch, whereby to inable him to satisfie us.⁹¹ I am well satisfied to the contrary, and can assure you none will have possession but us. When the thing comes to the point shall advise you. As to any pretence of injury done him I know of none, neither shall there any be offered by us, but what shall be acted to his displeasure is through his means, for the King says for [sic] the severall abuses the Danes have

⁹¹ i.e. to repay the sum due to the English for the pawning of Christiansborg.

done his people, is the thing insenced [him] against them, and fully resolved to remove them from Christiansburg Fort where they now reside, the same to be delivered in the hands [of the English] as aforesaid, but in case of their refusall then to the French. At that time when I made the thing knowne to Ahenisah, that it was properly ours, the same instant the French were drawing up the Articles of Agreement, which was put by, with a promise that none should have it but us. The same woards Ahenisah sent downe by our guner, who is now returned from him.

In my last I forgott to acquaint you that the shipp Mary was liked to have been consumed by ffire in Accra Roade, it hapned in the manner ffollowing. Captain James, Comander of the said shipp, being ashoare with me, the Cheife Mate aboard tyes a cracker at a monkyes tale [= tail]. The said monkey being frighted with the same, runs up in the maine topp and [w]raps himselfe in the said saile, with the said cracker, settts the maine topsaile afire, burnt all the same part of the yard and said rigging. The sparkles of the ffire that came from the said topp burnt the arning [= awning] on the quarter deck. By Gods mercy it proved calme that day, having no sea brease, elce the said shipp had certainly been lost. News was brought the Captain ashoare, in another maner then it was acted aboard, informing him that the said monkey should take the match, as usually it is on the quarter deck, run up in the topp with the same, settt the saile afire as aforesaid. Doe beleeeve Captain James knowes noe better to this day. I was informed of the truth how the thing was acted by the Cheife Mate on board, by the Master of Captain Wybournes vessell privately, who was on board the Mary then and gave his assistance in putting the said fire out.

I am sorry you have none of those goods I wrote for. Wee want the iron worke for the guns, not forgetting a couple of hatche[t]s, to cutt wood, a few deale boards, to ffix a five hand canoe and seaven hand ditto, which, being in greate want, I have bought from Mumford. You wrote me about burning of lyme, it is impossible to doe it here, but if you want any oystershells you had best advise in due time, that I may gett them ready against oppertunity shall present. These sort of shells will doe you better service then those you fetch from Amersa. Just now arrived Captain Thompsons canoe from Arda with letters from [= for] you. She hath been 12 days from Whyddah, the people are tired. Tomorrow she shall proceed for your parts. She left Mr Carter there, the Mary, Captain Cowley, and Captain Wybourne.⁹² Thompson is dead that lived there.⁹³

⁹² Wybourne had arrived to supercede John Carter in charge of the RAC factory at Whydah.

⁹³ This Thompson (to be distinguished from Capt. Benjamin Thompson) was an English interloper established at Whydah, associated with Wybourne in his own earlier interloping phase (PRO, T70/11, Henry Nurse et al., Cape Coast Castle, 11 Feb. 1685); his vacant factory was offered by the King of Whydah to the Dutch WIC: Van Dantzig 1978, no.20 (Van Hoolwerff, Offra, 5 September 1687).

796. Marcus Bed: Whiting

James Fort, Accra, 25 Jan. 1687/8

This goes by an oppertunity of a canoe bound to Agga, is to informe you that wee [want] some powder, in halfe barrells (if not any, then whole will doe), and a few boysados, and also to desire you to send downe a sloop, or other conveiniency, to discharge me of 30 Negroes, being most men. I am sorry you have noe sheets, says or blew perpetuanoes, those goods are much in demand, as also broad niccanees. You may also send a few iron barrs markt.

I suppose that you have not heard that Ahenisah has routed all Alampo people, on the other side of the River V[u]lter.⁹⁴ Wee are in want of the iron workt and materialls for the guns. I must informe you that heere is sundry letters passes between Doctor Woolber, chyurgeon at Annamaboe, and Mr Nicholas Fensmen, Cheife of the Danes. Those letters sent here under cover of my neighbor (and to me) makes me thinke there is something more then ordinary. Besides am informed (by the bye) that the said Woolber writes all transactions done to windward, more especially [by] his Cheife at Annamaboe, who he makes a laughing stock.

797. Marcus Bed: Whiting

James Fort, Accra, 5 Feb. 1687/8

Yours by the Ann Sloop and powder have received. I am sorry you have not the goods wrote for. I perceive you are against selling sheets at 33 per bendy, which was ever allowed, and thinke it a greate unjustice to pay that which I duely pay (an odd sheete for custome), the Dutch the same, and charges of the Factory you also mention is what was ever expended and brought to accompt. The coales you write for I have none, soe must waite with patience for the iron worke. Monsieur Du Cass and Monsieur Chevalier D'Amon are here.⁹⁵ I could hartily wish their ridence, am never without their company. Ahenisah[s] sonn Bubbee⁹⁶ is on board of them, I suppose with an intention to place them at Tisha.⁹⁷ I expect him ashoare every moment to know his proceedings, in my next shall give you a more satisfactory accompt.

798. Marcus Bed: Whiting

James Fort, Accra, 14 Feb. 1687/8

This is by a canoe bound to Morea serves onely to advise you the Ann Sloop

⁹⁴ i.e. the Volta. The meaning is apparently that Ansa had driven the Adangme from west to east of the river, rather than that he had attacked them east of the river: cf. no.803. This campaign is also referred to retrospectively in Justesen, forthcoming, chap.II, no.17, Fensman, 19 Oct. 1688 (also Wilks 1959, 116). Akwamu had attacked Adangme earlier, in 1682 and 1683 (vol.i, nos 431, 452–3).

⁹⁵ Cf. Du Casse 1935, 36 (coming from Komenda).

⁹⁶ Already attested, acting on his father's behalf in negotiations with Europeans, in 1681–3: vol.i, nos 406 etc. (as 'Bobie', 'Boebie').

⁹⁷ Du Casse (1935, 36) records negotiations for a settlement, conducted by D'Amon, but does not mention any specific location.

departed hence two dayes agoe, with 36 Negroes, vizt 24 men, 12 weomen slaves, being as many as she could conveniently carry. You advised me to buy corne, I have endeavoured, here comes downe noe more that [= than] what supplys the Negroes occasions. This I thought fitt to advise you in time. As to coales I have none. The French ships are both fallen as low as Labardee, having 7 men on shoare there. Although they are at a distance yett I am still dayly perplexed with their company, having much rongued [= wronged] my selfe with overmuch drinking with them, hath caused my old distemper, a violent tenasmus. I have the assistance of there Doctor. The Captain of the small ship with two more is gone to Ahenisah two days agoe, not as yet returned; what proceedings they have made I know not as yett but when I am informed of the certaine truth, shall punctually advise.

799. Marcus Bed: Whiting

Accra, 19 Feb. 1687/8

By the bearer you will receive twenty foure men, twelve women amounting in all to 36 Negroes. I will write you more at large, by spedier oppertunities.

800. Marcus Bed: Whiting

James Fort, Accra, 20 Feb. 1687/8

This accompanys my January accompt with its ballance, being m3 0 12a 6ta. It would have been with you sooner, had not my late indisposition prevented me, which I hope you will excuse. The Ffrench ships are both gon for Ardra, frustrated of their designe, and without settlement.⁹⁸ Ahenesah and they could come to noe agreement, demanding of them 500 bendyes for liberty of habitation. Is also still much incensed against the Danes, and they very timerous of him, not daring to stirr out of their Castle, which is continually kept shutt. Captain Waggoner is here, he tells me you were saying you would send letters by him, if so desire you would dispatch them here as soon as possible, [he] designing for Europe 5 days hence at furthest, his resolution being altered of going to windward againe. Here is also arrived Mr Veraus [= Everaus], with Mr Adrians to succeed him,⁹⁹ formerly chief of Cormentine. They brought downe a fresh supply of of all sorts of goods. Here is no trade but for sheets, says, blew perpetuanoes, and broad nicconees. I have according to your order used all means to procure corne, here comes no more than what supplyes the Negroes present occasion.

801. Marcus Bed: Whiting

James Fort, Accra, 1 March 1687/8

Yours by the 17 hand canoe of the 25th past came safe to hand, with the goods therein mentioned. Observe its contents, which shall indeavour to follow it in all

⁹⁸ Cf. Du Casse 1935, 36: Du Casse left first, followed a few days later by D'Amon. Du Casse arrived at Whydah on 13 Feb. (no.827).

⁹⁹ i.e. as chief of the Dutch factory at Accra.

particulars. Must desire a further supply of powder, haveing but nine barrells left of them, three being much damaged. The sheets you sent are very few, desire a greater quantity, with broad nicconees. The powder send with all speed, in quarter or halfe barrells if possible. Slaves are very scarce. What comes goes to the Dutch, he haveing the liberty of satisfieing the negroes in goods they desire. Wee are much necessitated for want of the great gunn which is in the sloop, and the iron worke formerly wrote for, with a few deale boards.

[PS] Pray send us also some boysadoes.

802. Marcus Bed: Whiting

James Fort, Accra, 4 March 1687/8

This accompanyes my Ffebruary accompt with its ballance, being five markes, one ounce, ten angles and eight taccooes. I wrote you in my last for powder, which wee stand much in need of, having but five barrells left, whereof three are unvendable. Send us alsoe more sheets, broad niccannees, a few boysadoes. According to your order am endeavouring to procure what slaves presents, heare is but few that offers. As to corne I cannot procure any. Ahenisah is making all provicons he can to fight the Anguinas.¹⁰⁰ This day sent an express for 12 barrells of powder, I had not to supply him. He is dayly watching to paniar Mr Fensman, who lives like a prisoner, not daring to stirr out of out of Christansburgh ffort, which is dayly kept shutt from morning untill night. Pray send us some writing paper and quills, and some cartridge paper, wee stand much in need of.

PS. By reason the weather proves very unlikely, I have stoped the gold from proceeding by this canoe, soe referr untill the oppertunity of a sloop.

803. Marcus Bed: Whiting

James Ffort, Accra, 15 March 1687/8

Yours of the 10th instant came safe to hand by Bradshaw, by whom I received the boysadoes and powder. By this conveniency you will receive no slaves, having only by me to supply Captain Buttrams occasions, they are now very scarce. The Olampo people being most part gon from their habitation, by means of Ahene-sah,¹⁰¹ who is now preparing for to warr the Anguinas, nothing at present vends here but ammunition. The powder you send went of at its landing, if you can afford a larger supply it will do well, as also sheets.

804. Marcus Bed: Whiting

James Fort, Accra, 20 March 1687/8

Yours received yesterday. The shipp you mention did not arrive me until this

¹⁰⁰ Cf. subsequent allusions to this conflict, in nos 803–4, 809–10.

¹⁰¹ Cf. no. 796.

morning. As soon as he saluted the Castle and ankored, he sent his Lieutenant and Scrivand ashore, to know whether Monsieur Du Cas left any letters with me, both which persons I knew in Agent Greenhills time.¹⁰² They are designed for slaves, as you advise, and the shipp of the same force of guns (with 60 men, no more), if possible to windward of Whydah, if not to proceed further. They pretend their not stay[ing] to windward was thinking to have meet Monsieur Du Cas here, for whom they have certaine letters and orders, which they will dispatch downe by a canoe, if they find encouragement here, if not they will be the bearer themselves. They lye at the Deans roade. This is what I learne of them at present and beleive are upon no bad designe. You write I must spare Captain Buttram some corne from this place, then if so I must de cease from buying any slaves, having but 60 chests of corne left, and 30 odd slaves in the Castle, and to procure any here it is a thing impossible, Ahenesah will let none come downe, now shortly is going against Anguyna, neither will he suffer any to buy any other goods than ammunition. Of those perpetuanoes you sent, I have not disposed of one. Slaves also are very scarce. I wrote you by the sloop, some days agoe, that I sent no Negroes, having then no more than what you ordered for Captain Buttram. Pray send us some more phota's and powder if possible. The French man has been but 8 weeks from Europe.

805. Marcus Bed: Whiting

James Fort, Accra, 29 March 1688

Yours by the Dragon, Captain Francis Buttram, came safe to hand. According to your order have loaden on board him ninteen slaves, vizt twelve men, seaven women, amounting in all with what came from you to forty, as per inclosed bill of loading doth mention, twenty eight men, twelve weomen Negroes. The other two bills shall be sent as advised, and all other perticulars you mentioned officiated according to your directions. This canoe is sent to you expressly to informe you that Ahenisah is willing to comply with your price for powder, and desires if possible to spare him eighty barrells and four chests of snaphanses. Lett them be very good, matching the sample which now I send you, both long and short. I have mony ready for what I write you. Send us also some longees, though here is no trade but for ammunition. The Dutch has a great trade for the same. Ahenisah intends to march out within this twenty days, so would desire you to supply us as soone as possible. The ballancee of February and March accompts shall be forwarded by Mr Price. The powder you sent last Ahenisah complains was none of the best, desire what you now sent may be good and dispatch it downe speedily.

¹⁰² This was the *Saint Louis*, the third ship in Du Casse's squadron. Henry Greenhill had been Agent-General at Cape Coast in 1681-4.

806. William Clifton

James Fort, Accra, 29 March 1688

Haveing this oportunity I take the liberty to acquaint you of my arrivall and to give my hearty [thanks] for all your favors, which by my dilligence I shall endeavor to requite. Mr Whiting received mee very kindly and I doubt not but that we shall live very quietly, which I will endeavor to my utmost, of which pray be assured.

807. Marcus Bed: Whiting

James Fort, Accra, 4 April 1688

I wrote you last, by way of express, for a fresh supply of powder, as yet have no answer. This goes by a small canoe bound to Cormantyne and is to signifie the same, and also to informe you that Mr Thomas Price is lame in his foot and not very well in health. Our canoes here are so leaky that wee have not wherewithall to accompany him up, except wee had deale boards to fix a new seaven hand and five hand.¹⁰³ The multiplicity of turnadoes will not permitt him to venture in a small one. All your orders are accomplit, in all particulars. I have thought fitting to send you by this conveniency one of the inventories, with one of my accompts. The next shall proceed, with its ballance, per first good oportunity. Here is no trade but for ammunition. Slaves are very scarce. What comes goes to the Dutch, they giving a greater rate to supply one of their shipp, now at Alampo, with 200 Negroes. The rest 300 are now ready for her at the Mina, to make up the complement of 500. You need not take care to supply me with corne. I have endeavoured to supply myself from hence at 1a 6ta per chest, which will save a great deale of charges.

808. Marcus Bed: Whiting

James Fort, Accra, 11 April 1688

I wrote you last by way of Cormantyne, since having none from you in answer, have mett with an other conveniency by way of Morea, is to informe you that the goods per the Dolphin Pinke, Captain Barratt Comander, came safe to hand. Also have supplied him with two slaves, vizt a man and a women, to compleate the number of twenty Negroes as per inclosed bill of lading, one of which [bills] I dispatcht away per the said shipp to the Royall Companys Factors at Nevis, the other two shall proceed per Mr Price, who is detained here for want of a canoe, having none here fitt to accompany him up, unless wee had boards to fix a new seaven hand and a five hand, so that he is in expectation of your supplying him from windward. The charges being the same I wrote you last, you need not take care to supply me with corne, having procured 300 chests from hence at 1a 6ta, not knowing whether the same oportunity might present hereafter. I shall de cease buying any more, untill your further orders.

¹⁰³ Canoes purchased on the Gold Coast for use on long-distance sea journeys were strengthened with boards: cf. Phillips 1732, 228 (referring to canoes taken to Whydah).

Note what you write concerning supplying Captain Lomax with twenty Negroe slaves. I advised you that the Dutch draws all to them, by giving greater prizes, and what goods demanded, to dispatch away their shipp now at Alampo with 200 Negroes. The rest 300 is ready for her at the Mina, to complete her complement of 500. Trade is very dull by reason of the warrs betwixt Ahenisah and Anguyna, which will begin very suddenly, hope then slaves will prove more plenty.

809. Marcus Bed: Whiting

James Fort, Accra, 16 April 1688

I wrote you last the needfull, by way of Morea. This only serves to accompany an Arda canoe which arrived here this morning, also to informe you that Ahenesah marcht out on Saturday last with his army towards Anguyna, and lyes, as wee understand, betwixt Winnebah and this place, there expecting the Accron and the Fanteeners to treat with them for to help him in his designs.¹⁰⁴ By reason of the same, no trade stirring. Neither gold nor slaves, nor any thing of provitions comes downe. Mr Price would have been with you per this canoe, but [my] being so pestered prevented his voyage. Is as yet in expectation of you supplying him with a conveniency from windward. Being in hast.

810. Marcus Bed: Whiting

James Fort, Accra, 22 April 1688

Yours of the 15th instant, with the deale boards and nailes, came safe to hand. The bearer has been detained something longer, by reason, according to your orders, have made the needfull enquiry about the quantity of corne you mention, which had I knowne your minde sooner, you would have been supplied by this time. There is great quantities at Aquamboe, but Ahenesah being gon from from thence to Winnebah with his army, with an intent, as advised you before, so that these people he has left behind him are only old men, women and children, who are afraid to come downe, for fear of being panyard by the Anguynas. That litle as comes downe I buy, but to give you a certaine time to procure such a number as you advise, it is impossible for me to advise you, although I have a promise, from one of Ahenesah's Cabushiers, whom he left behind to order his affaires at home, (but tis onely his bare word). As I find how many chests are brought in in a week, I shall know how long time it will be before I can answer your expectation, which I shall not miss any oppertunity of acquainting you. I am sick of a feavour. Mr Price will be with you in a day or two.

¹⁰⁴ In the previous year also, Akwamu had been allied with Fante and Akron against Angona, cf. no.491. For the subsequent development of this conflict cf. Wilks 1959, 117–18 (summarizing Danish records): although the campaign of 1688 was indecisive, in 1689 Akwamu defeated Agona, and captured its Queen.

811. Marcus Bedford Whiting

James Fort, Accra, 23 April 1688

My last to you was yesterday. Then wrote you the needfull, since which my feaver is so augmented that I am very ill and weake. Not knowing what may insue, therefore have thought fitt to stopp Mr Prices voyage for three or four dayes longer.

IX

WHYDAH

The RAC factory in Hueda ('Whydah', 'Whiddah', 'Whidah') had been established in 1682, superseding an earlier factory at Offra, in the kingdom of Allada ('Ardra' etc.) to the east.¹ In 1682-3. the RAC's factory had been in Savi, the royal capital of the Hueda kingdom, about 6 miles inland;² but by 1685, as is clear from the first letter in this correspondence, it had been moved to the village of Glehue (modern Ouidah), situated to the north of the lagoon which runs parallel to the coast.³ An English interloper called Petley Wybourne had also established a factory at Glehue in Whydah, and he was still there, trading in competition with the Company at the beginning of this correspondence (cf. no.812), but early in 1686 he was forcibly removed by the RAC's agents, and deported back to England.⁴ However, in 1687 Wybourne came to an agreement with the RAC to serve as their own agent in Whydah, and he arrived there, as reported in this correspondence, at the beginning of 1688. The Whydah factory was principally important for slaves, but there is also some reference in this correspondence to the possibility of trading for locally made cloth, which Europeans purchased for resale on the Gold Coast (nos 812, 821-2).

The French Guinea Company also maintained a factory at Whydah throughout this period, while the Dutch West Indian Company had one at neighbouring Offra to the east, both of which are occasionally mentioned in this correspondence.

Correspondence between the Whydah factory and Cape Coast Castle was evidently more irregular than with the other factories on the Gold Coast. The reason for this is evident from this correspondence, in which the Whydah factor complains repeatedly of his difficulties in getting African canoes to carry messages to the Gold Coast, while the small RAC vessels based at Cape Coast

¹ Cf. vol.i, chap. VIII.

² Cf. vol.i, no.487, with n.58.

³ The transfer may have occurred in 1684, when the RAC factor reported that he was 'busied about building an house': Law 1990a, no.18 (John Carter, Whydah, 11 Dec. 1684).

⁴ PRO, T70/11, Samuel Humfryes et al., Cape Coast Castle, 19 March 1686.

did not normally return directly up the coast, but went east to Cape Lopez in Gabon and then west through the open sea to reach the coast west of the Gold Coast, so that any letters sent by such ships would be long in transit.⁵ In addition to details of trade locally, the Whydah correspondence also throws some light on RAC and other European trading along the coast to the west, at Keta ('Kitto'), Little Popo and Great Popo; in particular a unique and invaluable detailed account of a visit by the RAC factor at Whydah to Little Popo in 1687 (no.825).

812. John Carter

Whiddah, 19 Sept. [1685]⁶

This accompanys Captain Henry Wood in the George Sloop, who I perceive was not ordered here, but by necessity of the badness of his rudder come to an anchor to have some iron work made for the safe gaurd thereof, but he that was ordered to call here, which was Mr Obery,⁷ was so well fitted to serve the Company that either he had nothing or could or would not spare us any thing, soe that if the Company ffactoryes be in never soe much distress, they are not to supply or assist us, by reason of breach of orders. If they had belong to any other nation or place elce I might I beleive a gott something out of them. It hath been a custome in former times and I think alwaies till now, and am sure tis alwaies expedient that when a vessell of the Companys is orderd for the Madearahs for wine, to France for brandy, or to Barbadoes for rum, that soon affter the arrivall of such liquors all the ffactoryes use'd to be supplyd with a stock according to their expence, some a butt some more, at the Companys price. Now that I beleive and am inform'd that your Honour is alwayes in action, and therfore your head taken up with many other of the Companys concernes and troublesome bussiness; but I am almost certaine that their is some other heads about you that should be ease to you, are more taken up with pot, boul [= bowl] or glass concernes than anything of the Companys business, and if they can but swill their gutts, will care for none elce, therefore tis my advice when next His Excellency as they call it knights them againe it may be Sir Tymothy Dolittle, Sir Roger Doe Nothing, Sir Andrew Love Nobody, and soe forth, and with this addition, (but drink). Had they been Orambarrowes [sic: = ?], I would have excused it. Here for our necessary expense have been forced to give two slaves an ancor for brandy, and canot have enough [even] so, and I think tis reason that these before mentioned knights should pay for this extravagant charge, it being not the Company fault but theirs, for not mentioning such a expedient to your Honour.

O fine brave councellors, you know that the ffactory was burnt and great part

⁵ The first two letters (nos 812–13), which were sent by such local ships, took respectively nearly 6 months and over 2 months to arrive in Cape Coast (and arrived in reverse order).

⁶ Dated 1686 in original, but clearly in error; this letter was received at Cape Coast in March 1686.

⁷ Richard Obery, commander of the *Jacob Pink*.

of the Companys goods,⁸ and noe ship hath been here since that had a sufficient cargo to leave any remaynes; and that I am at great charge in building,⁹ and twill be a ffine credit for the Company, that I must be fforc'd to borrow goods to supply our wants of the Ffrench ffactory or worse of Captain Wyburne, which I must doe if I canot perswade Mr Obery or Mr Wood to put some of their cargo ashore, which I am affraid they will not, it being a breach of orders, because I am not a Boneen or Bit¹⁰ Negroe &ca.,¹¹ though without orders I adventure to supply the Company ships with any necessaryes or assistance that I can. I remember before I came out of England and since it was the generall discourse of Comanders that they could not be supply'd with any thing from the Companys factors, but from Captain Wyburne, which was true enough, but now it is quite contrary, I want no supply for ships but have allready, but I want some from them. Captain Wilcox and Captain Mingham¹² dyed here, the ffirst the 28th of March, the other the 2^d August 1685. Captain Lowder and Captain Rickard had great sickness here, particularly Captain Lowder and lay a long time here from the 22 April to the 26 July, Negroes then being very scarce, by reason of some pallaver up in the cuntrey,¹³ but now are very plentifull againe, for the ffirst day I went up to the kings town¹⁴ to mark Negroes for Captain Mingham I mark'd 59 slaves, 51 men and 8 women, but Captain Lowder and Captain Rickards went both well away, but shorte of their complement of Negroes considerably by reason of short cargoes.¹⁵

By reason of the death of John Mingham here is bad news that the doctor¹⁶ with Gabrill Cloise, Captain Woods mate, is run away with the ship and 170 Negroes of the Company without signing bills of loading.¹⁷ The doctor, who commands, saith they designe to be honest, and deliver the Companys Negroes at the Companys ffactors at Jamaico, but whether they will or not I canot say, but I fear they are and will be rouges, if they can conveniently. Affter the death of the

⁸ The Whydah factory had suffered two fires, in April and May 1684, shortly after Carter's arrival there: Law 1990a, no.16 (Carter to RAC, 26 May 1684).

⁹ Cf. Law 1990a, no.20 (Carter to RAC, 13 Oct. 1685): 'Hath been a charge to build a substantial factory'.

¹⁰ Bight, i.e. of Guinea (or in later usage, of Biafra).

¹¹ i.e. they were under orders to take their goods for sale at Benin or the Bight.

¹² John Mingham, commander of the *Jonas*.

¹³ Cf. Law 1990a, no.19 (Carter to RAC, 24 July 1685): 'Trade hath been obstructed'.

¹⁴ i.e. Savi, the royal capital of Hueda. This makes clear that the RAC factory was now situated not at Savi, but at the coastal village of Glehue.

¹⁵ Cf. Law 1990a, no.19 (Carter to RAC, 24 July 1685): 'His [Lowder's] and Richards bouges short in weight'. Carter complains repeatedly about short cargoes: cf. also nos 813-4, 819, 822, below. This evidently arose because prices for slaves at Whydah were higher than allowed for in the calculation of cargoes (as explicitly complained by a ship's captain in 1687: no.949). The RAC complained to Carter that 'wee find the prizes of Negroes by you shipt to be the dearest of any that ever came from those parts': Law 1990a, no.26 (RAC to Carter, 18 May 1686).

¹⁶ Named later as Thomas Byre.

¹⁷ Cf. Wood's account, no.833.

commander I advised them to goe up to Cabo Corso, as you may see by this inclosed paper, which I sent to them by Mr Wortley,¹⁸ who read it aboard and [they] seemed to be all well satisfied. In order thereunto [I] put Negroes on board and was making all the dispatch I could my selfe, when Mr Obrey came down and ashore, for 2 or 3 days could not gett a canoe of, in which time they had seduced Charles Langly¹⁹ and got him aboard and confind him, and then with resolution the ships company declared they would keep him and proceed on their voyage to the West India according to charter party, but affter some time Charles Langly got away from them on board the Jacob Pink againe, where he continues. Then the doctor declared himselfe able, and said he could carry the ship himselfe to Jamaica, and desired his bills of loading to sign, which I writ and sent aboard, but before he had signed them Captain Wood came to an anchor and came ashore to gett his iron work done for his rudder, and the same affternone being the 15th September his mate Gabriell Cloyse went aboard and 10 the clock that night they weighed and went away without signing. Captain Wood ordered if they offered to sayle to ffire at them, and accordingly that they did 2 guns with shott, and Doctor Thomas Byre, who bares the command of the Jonas, fired 1 gun with shott at them againe and went away.

The winner hath liberty to laugh, the loosser to speak, the agreived to complayn, therefore I hope you will not be angry at my just complaint, since I am much agreived.

[PS] The Company surely thinks I have a great stock by me, or elce they would not mention in their charter partyes as if their ffactors here might have 3 or 400 Negroes ready to put on board every ship, it being worded after this manner, that if our factors at Ardra²⁰ shall have your complement of negroes reddey to put on board, then you shall deliver him your cargoe ashore, and it can not be possible, that I can purchase soe many slaves, without goods,²¹ and you will perceive by the inclosed account that I had not much left last June, and unless your Honour contrive some conveniency I canot possible gett a letter carried up more than once a year.²² Therefore I ought to have a sufficient supply of all things, by [= but] all ships that comes here are so pillaged at Cabo Corso that they bring nothing with them. Captain Lowder complayned of the coast [= cost] for selling his brandy at 1a per gallon, but here would not spare any for 2a per gallon nor 4a per [gallon], and Captain Rickard would have bought brandy here if it were to be sold. I am very

¹⁸ John Wortley, Carter's subordinate in the Whydah factory.

¹⁹ A subordinate of Obery (and later his successor in command) on the *Jacob Pink*.

²⁰ i.e. at Whydah. Although Allada was strictly a separate kingdom from Whydah, its name was often used with a wider regional reference, to include Whydah.

²¹ Cf. Law 1990a, no.20 (Carter to RAC, 13 Oct. 1685): 'Hints that the Company expects he should have Negroes ready for shippes yet they send him noe goods'.

²² As Carter explains elsewhere, canoes would travel up to the Gold Coast only in the harmattan season: cf. nos 814, 822.

angrey with the severall swill gutts that your Honour hath about you that have drunk up all the ships stock and stores. For above twelve months time, noe ship hath brought brandy, sugar, wine and all complayn it went away at Cabo Corso. If you please to send Captain Wood down here with sutiable goods, whose ship will be able to carry up slaves and cloth²³ and turne up along shore in 3 weeks time in all probability, especially between this and the month March, being the best time of the year,²⁴ and I beleive her voyage may turne to as good account as where she can be sent. I had not given any consent to come to Ardra but the Company promised me a packet vessell to be constantly sent between Cabo Corso and this place, and although she be not fitt for it by reason of the defects of Captain Bendalls judgement,²⁵ that is noe sure arguement that I shall have none, but ley here to starve or be fforced to shift for myselfe.

If I could have a vessell down here, and goods and advice beforehand, I could have slaves and cloths ready to put on board without staying her longer than taking them in.

813. John Carter

Whiddah, 28 Dec. [1685]²⁶

I have received many letters from you, all tending to the same purpose, of assistance to be given to every person, which I assuredly doe, by reason tis my duty to assist all persons in the Companyes servis. I wish others would doe the like, then I might have had some assistance from Cabo Corso Castle many times before this. Your judgements must be very weak, if you cannot disseerne that every ships Ardra cargoe is to short to purchase his slaves and therefore can leave noe remaynes, or elce you must imagine I am like the camelion to live by the air.²⁷ How can you imagine that since the ffire and charges of building, and the length of time, but I must want a supply, that you write in all your late letters, that I should send word if I want any thing, when Mr Winder knows (if his greatness hath not lifted him above his reason)²⁸ that we cannot send up by canoes but once a year, and for that reason I did not come out of England with my ffingers in my mouth, but the smack sent with me for an advice boate, to doe nothing but pass from Cabo Corso to Whiddah and from Whiddah to Cabo Corso, but with thanks to the Gentelmen at

²³ Cloth from Allada and Whydah was purchased mainly for re-sale on the Gold Coast: Du Casse 1935, 14–15. Some was also taken to the West Indies: Law 1991, 94.

²⁴ i.e. the dry season, when sailing conditions (especially landing and embarking through the surf at Whydah) were most favourable.

²⁵ Capt. Hopefor Bendall was a member of the Court of Assistants, the governing body of the RAC in England, in 1682–3.

²⁶ Dated 1686 in original, but clearly in error; the letter was received at Cape Coast in Feb. 1686.

²⁷ Cf. Law 1990a, no.23 (Carter to RAC, 28 Dec. 1685): ‘thinks we take him for a camelion’. For the belief that camelions live on air, cf. also Bosman 1705, 257.

²⁸ John Winder, now a member of Council at Cape Coast Castle, had been Carter’s predecessor (1682–4) as chief of the Whydah factory.

Cabo Corso, niether she nor any other small vessell, notwithstanding there was enough at Cabo Corso that somtimes were not better imploy'd, and might have been spared to have been sent directly down here, yet now it is almost two years since the smack came down last. Indeed some of your small vessells have called here as they were going to the Boneen, or other places to leward, but with such convenient orders that if we were burning, starving, dying noe assistance to be had of them, unless I would have gone to the Boneen and be a Boneen negroe, which I offered to be here, and have paid them as well. Tis a wonder to me that this ffactory being of so principall concernment to the Company, shiping of twice as many negroes as all the Coast besides,²⁹ and that a small vessell hath not been sent down to see in what condition. Tis well known that the Company ordered one for that purpose. I am much beholding to you as well as the Company for consignment however. I will not be wanting on my part to serve my masters. The less freindship I find, the less I am in debt.

814. John Carter

Whidah, 1 March 1686

Yours by the 4 hand canoe were all received and they were speedy in their passage, but they would not returne in [so] small a canoe but stay'd for mine and Quashee, that Captain Low hired at Annamaboe,³⁰ which now goes in company together. I likewise received all yours, I suppose, by severall ships; but could not answer them reddily by reason the ships did not return to Cabo Corso, for their has been no opertunity that I could here of or procure butt I have writ up since the 10th of March last twelve months past, though I have endeavour'd and profferd good encouragement, yet could I not perswade any canoemen to goe up, haveing been well supply'd and furnish'd with necessaryes, [and a] canoe for that purpose, and within two months I hired 30 canoemen, that our own ships brought down, to goe up, and on a suddain for noe reason that I know the most of them ran away, and disperced them selves amongst the Mine canoes.³¹ Therefore unless you can here [= hire] and oblige a gang of canoe men to come down and returne imediately, it is almost impossible to perswade them to goe up at any other time than about the hermitan time,³² and this I beleive is not unknown to Mr Winder.

Notwithstanding you seem to admire in severall of your letters that you here

²⁹ Whydah was certainly the most important centre of the English slave trade in the 1680s. Slaves from the Bight of Benin (which came overwhelmingly from Whydah) accounted for 37.5% of total English exports, and 49% of those from West Africa: *Eltis* 1995, 62.

³⁰ European ships trading at Whydah regularly purchased canoes and hired canoemen on the Gold Coast, because the local people did not navigate the sea: see further *Law* 1989.

³¹ Carter later refers more explicitly to the influence which the Mina canoemen exercised over those from Cape Coast, which they allegedly used to subvert the latter's loyalty to the RAC: cf. no.821.

³² Harmattan time, i.e. around December to February. The harmattan blows from the north-east, and is associated with currents which flow along the coast from east to west (rather than, as normally, west to east), thus facilitating a canoe journey to the west.

not from me, but indeed [I] have the gratist cause of admiration, first that the Company at my request and desire should buy a small vessell and send her out on purpose and purely for an advice boat from Cabo Corso to this place and to pass and repass, as occasion required and time would permitt, for the better settlement and government of this factory, but since the time I came here niether shee nor any other vessell have sent, though I have been inform'd by severall, that somtimes one vessell was designed to be sent down and other times another, [so] that I did still live in hopes. Now there is three reasons for such a vessell to be sent, first because the Company did order it; secondly because the destruction by fire did request it; thirdly because you did not here from us in soe long time. Twas requested a vessell should have been sent to se in what condition we were in, I mean the factory was in, which might very well be thought to be bad enough after such distraction [sic] by fire and no house to put our heads in but an interloper.³³ Before I came out of England I told the Company we could send advice home with more certainty at some times of the year than to Cabo Corso, therefore desired the said vessell and they granted it.

The last letter that Mr Winder wrot to Cabo Corso to Agent Greenhill I saw when I was there,³⁴ wherein he advised the Agent that 500 iron bars was proper to be sent down in a cargo, and since that time very few ships have brought out any and then but few in a cargo, which must of necessity make them a commodity. Notwithstanding all this Mr Winder hath advised those ships that had any to dispose of them before they came here. The last he so advised was Mr Elwes,³⁵ who by reason of that advice sold all his bars to windward, and did not bring one here, as if purposely he [= Winder] designed to doe us all the ingury he can, which I admire att. I doe admire that the Affrican Merchant, the Company[s] one [= own] ship comeing to the Company[s] own factory, should be stint'd to a short cargo and with a great quantity of large bouges, soe much behinde merchantable, that it was 10 slave loss to her cargo in slaves,³⁶ and I admire the said ships cargo was not consign'd to me, the reason for it would be as wellcome to me as a mark of gold.³⁷ I am shure you must allow my expences here to be greater than any mans on the Coast, and (excepting the Agent) my sallery and security greater than any persons

³³ Presumably, following the fires of 1684, Carter had had to take shelter with Wybourne.

³⁴ i.e. on his way to take charge of the Whydah factory, in Feb./March 1684.

³⁵ Robert Elwes, factor on the *African Merchant*, Captain George Nanter, which left Whydah on 30 Dec. 1685 (cf. no.900).

³⁶ There were similar problems with large cowries on Nanter's next voyage to Whydah, in 1687: cf. no.822. Large cowries were disliked by African merchants, who would accept them only at a discount. Cf. also Law 1990a, no.16 (Carter to RAC, 26 May 1684: 'Great bouges will not do, small is most esteemed'); Phillips 1732, 227 ('the smaller the more esteemed'); and other references cited in Hogendorn & Johnson 1986, 186, n.49.

³⁷ In fact, it was normal for the cargoes of RAC ships trading at Whydah to be consigned to the ship's captain rather than to the local factor, the latter acting as 'a kind of consul' rather than primarily as a trader: Davies 1957, 229–30.

than on the Coast, as [I] imagine, but for these and other favours from you Gentlemen at Cabo Corso I thank you for, as sending down liquors for factoryes expences, and a convenient supply of goods, and the great conveniency of the advice boate. The last letter I sent you by the canoe was the 10th of March last, and that and the former gave you an account that I wanted goods, and you have sent me none since but a little in Captain Lowder.

I have no goods of the Companyes, but am forc'd to make use of the estate of deceas'd persons and my own to maintain the factory, therefore cannot make up my account till I am supplyd. I hope shall not be distress'd like Deans to pawn the factory,³⁸ therefore I request you will be please to order down by a speedy conveyance, and [sic] a large stock of goods, that I may be furnished to purchase a quantity of Negroes reddy against any ships arrivall; and the goods I desire are, vizt 1000 iron barrs; 20 barrells bougees; 100 long cloths; 100 white bafts; 100 allejars; 100 pintadoes, white ground; 600 pautkeis; 6 pieces of scarlett cloth; 2 pieces redd cloth; 40 red perpetuanoes; currall [= coral], if any; good rangoes, if any; lemmons past, white and purple, as big as pease; large christall; christoll stripd white; sletias, if any. If the George sloop be arrived at Cabo Corso, as I hope she may, I request your Honour will please to order her down, with what goods you please to send downe, and if you can furnish her with 6 or 8 oars for rowing, I will [put] 20 or 30 stout slaves one [= on] board, who will quickly be entstruckt'd to row, which may be a great help to her comeing up. If soe accomplished I would not in the least doubt of getting up in her in 14 or 20 days time, and and I long to se Cabo Corso, therefore hope there will be none soe unkind as to putt a stop, or delay any means, that may tend to soe reasonable happiness. Gentlemen I came out of England in good equipage as to security sallery and great promises from the Company, with a small vessell, called a smack, which was brought and sent out purposely for my use, as Cheife of this factory, well knowing the necessity of such an expedient at this place, now depriv'd of the conveniency of the own [= one] and my expectation being wholly frustrated in the performance of the other, pray doe not mock at my misfortunes, because I am not soe happy as to be at Cabo Corso, where some have had the advantage of rising to greater preferment than they came out for.

You will doe me a great favour if you will give me your sentement what you think the Company designd when they sent out a vessell and call'd her the advice boat or packett vessell for Whiddah. Captain Bridges is now arrivd the 4th March, and in your letter by him you tell me of severall Mine canoes come up, which I beleive to be true, but they doe nott goe of from hence but from Pickaninee Popo,³⁹

³⁸ Cf. Law 1990a, no.24 (Carter to RAC, 9 Jan. 1686): 'hopes not to pawn the factory'. Alluding to the pawning of the Danish fort of Christiansborg, Accra, to the RAC in 1685.

³⁹ i.e. Little Popo (Portuguese *pequeneno*), modern Aneho, west of Whydah (in modern Togo). Later letters by Carter show that canoes going from Whydah to the Gold Coast went by the coastal lagoon to Little Popo, where they were hauled over to complete the voyage by sea: cf. nos 821, 825.

[so] that I am not acquainted with their departure, but if I were, I should not have write by them by reason I have at the same time been sending up my own canoe, which now is above 3 months past and so long delayd by reason of the roguishness of the canoemen, that I had spoake to and hired, a list of their names and places here send inclosed. I have at all times of the year indeavour'd to gett canoe men and profer'd them any cano they would take, and 7 and 8 cloths a man to goe up, but could not prevaile till now [with] those canoemen that comes up, and all the reason I can gather is that the Comanders are put to hire canoemen themselves, and by that means the canomen think themselves noe waies relayted to the Company; but when the Commanders discharges them think themselves abused by me, I suppose, because they have not the canoe given them, though at the same time I offer them a canoe if they will goe, but they will be sole masters thereof, for the canomen generall[y] importune the Comander to give them thee canoe when the ship is slaved, which the Commanders for the most part grant upon their good behaviour, which is but seldom.⁴⁰ Now by reasons they gett not the canoe I suppose they impute it to my fault, of all which I pray informe your selfe of Mr Wortley and Unguah, who comes up by this canoe.

It may be you may think I am passionate, but I am sattisfied I have just reason to complaine, but to conclude I hope you will by first conveyance be pleas'd to answer my request as far as the Castle affords, and if the George sloop doe not arrive time enough, then by some other convenient vessell, that she may returne up with account of what state we are in.

I am in great want of white men, haveing only my selfe, Mr Wortley and Mr Smith, and here should be 6 at least. If you please to send any down lett them be good men that will not dey [= die] with laziness. I here Samuell Chambers was comeing, I think he may doe well for own [= one]; since the writeing I have an ill carrecter of Samuell Chambers. What I cant think of to write Mr Wortley will give your Honour to understand. What goods will be sent down, if any is not packt up I desire they may be put up in sheet chests, and will pay the warehouse keeper for them if they are at the accustomed price, which was halfe an angle per chest, then if their be 40 or 50 chests I shall gladly pay for them.

Captain Woodfine⁴¹ is above halfe slaved and doubt not but he will be compleated in less than ten dayes more. The Orange Tree is arriv'd and I hope will be dispatcht in a month or 5 weeks time at farthest, but he also hath a shorte cargo. I should be glad to se Mr Winders computement of the cargo of these two ships that are the Company[s] own, for I can not understand how he makes it outt.

I want to se Cabo Corso my selfe to discourse fully of mine own business,

⁴⁰ Canoemen hired from the Gold Coast to work at Whydah were normally given one of the canoes to return home: Phillips 1732, 228–9.

⁴¹ i.e. John Woodfine, to be distinguished from his brother Thomas Woodfine, commander of the *Sarah Bonadventure*, mentioned in subsequent letters, who arrived in Whydah later in the year.

which I hope shall accomplish some small time. In the intrim refer you to Mr Wortley and to your own serious consideration of what I have write.

PS. Since now you may perceive I cannot send up but once a year, if you have not the conveniency of sending down a small vessell please to order down canomen with positive comands to return, that you may have a better account of affaires here.

Captain Thomas Browse and Captain Henry Ounsted dyed here.

815. John Carter

Whidday, 3 May 1686

Herewith send you bills of loading from the severall ships departed from hence since you received any. Likewise the unwellcome news of the death of my honours namesake, late Commander of the *Mary*,⁴² who dyed the 12th Aprill after about 7 dayes sickness on board, and was brought ashore and buryed the 16th, and the 17th at night the *Mary* and the *Orange Tree* sayld. Here goes up now three great canoes, all the Companyes except the canoe that Captain Carter brought down, which he gave to his canoemen. The graplin and graplin roap are all mine, which I requ[e]st may be sent down again, and begg your Honours will be pleased to order the smith to put three flukes more to one of them which hath but 2 now. By a Dutch ship that passed by here, I here that Captain Thomas Woodfine and Captain Buttler is arriv'd at Cabo Corso. I hope they will not come down both together. The Ffrench hath brought a great quantity of iron barrs, therefore advise the ship not to bring to many, but if the quantity before mentioned for the factory I shall have the longer time to put them of, and they will not damnifie. I beleive here is 7 years store of musquetts, therefore if these ships have any or powder to change it or sell it to windward. I hear Mr Winder is gon home, I doubt not but things will be better regulated now as to this place. I think he hath done much hurte for this place by his advise.

816. John Carter

Whiddah, 8 May 1686

Since my laste to you by the 3 canoes that went away I have seen the disposall of all the [iron] bars the French had, which in the last ship were but 800 and in the other 1600, and all are gon and find [they] still are good, therefore to contradict my last advise think it convenient that Captain Woodfine or the ship that shall come down here bring a reasonable quantity of iron barrs with them, besides what you please to order me, but no guns nor powder for a great while. Slaves are plentiful, therefore advise the ships to hasten down. I question not if Captain Woodfine were here he would be slaved in 10 or 12 dayes time if weather would permit to bring his goods ashore, which is all, being in hast, the cano men staying.

⁴² i.e. Capt. John Carter.

817. John Carter

Whiddah, 7 June 1686

It is now three weeks past since a Dut[c]h ship came by here and told us that Captain Thomas Woodfine was at Annamaboe to take in corne, and that in 3 or 4 dayes would be down, since which we have expected him every day, and indeed will be very wellcome, for here is a great many slaves in the cuntrey reddey for him, that could his good[s] be gott a shore he might have his slaves in 10 days at ffarthest. Since my last to you, I have had a violent fitt of sickness, but thank God I am pretty well recoverd. I wonder I here no news from Mr Wortley, whether he be liveing or dead, or whether he arrivd at Cabo Corso or not, tis now three months past since he went.⁴³ Since the departure of our last ship[s] the Mary and Orange Tree, here hath fallen abundance of raine [so] that the river⁴⁴ hath risen 4 or 5 foot heither [= higher] than ever I saw them and float'd [= flooded] the dry ground about a mile in breadth, and as yet are not quite down, but we can use canoes to carry goods over the river, if Captain Wood[fin]e comes that shall be noe great hindrance to his dispatch. Iron barrs proves better than I thought they would, considering the quantity hath been brought [by] the French 2 ships, 2400, and Captain Woodfine⁴⁵ and Captain Bridges, 870, and yet they goe currant at 15 for a slave. If Captain Woodfine⁴⁶ should happy to come down without any, he shall not want my assistance if I have any sent down, which I suppose I shall. This comes per the Mine cano that came down with Mounsieur Lefrea.⁴⁷ I have given them some brandy to be carefull of the delivery of this letter. I hope you enjoy your health better there than I doe here.

818. John Carter

Whiddah, 11 Nov. 1686

Just now the Dutch sloop comes up into the road bound up to the Mina. I suppose I have just tyme to satisfie you that if the Affrican Pink,⁴⁸ Captain Nanter, comes downe here without bouges itt will bee troublesome to procure her slaves, butt it shall bee done to the best of my endeavour.⁴⁹ If you please to send her, the goods most proper withoutt bouges are as followeth: rangoes, good red, as many as you canne; currell, aboutt 400 lb; brasse neptunes, large; long cloth; sallem pores; large white baftes, a great many, 100 slaves; broad white ground pintadoes, 200 peeces;

⁴³ Wortley had indeed arrived at Cape Coast, but did not return to Whydah, becoming chief factor at Egya in April 1686 (cf. nos 400, 613–14).

⁴⁴ i.e. the coastal lagoon, which separates Whydah from the seashore.

⁴⁵ i.e. John Woodfine.

⁴⁶ i.e. Thomas Woodfine.

⁴⁷ Commander of one of the French ships trading at Whydah.

⁴⁸ Called the *African Merchant* in no.974.

⁴⁹ For the importance of cowries ('bouges') in the Whydah/Allada trade (where they were used locally as money), cf. the earlier (1681–3) recommendation of the RAC factors there that they should account for half of each cargo: vol.i, nos 477, 494; also Barbot 1992, ii, 657.

pottkeys, 800 or 900 peeces; paper sletias, a few; striped Hollands, if any; yellow and white beads, if larger then a pea, the bigger the better. If these goods bee wanting, or if nott, twill be convenient to putt some good goods that will sell well for gold, and the gold will bee as good as bouges and purchase slaves att a more reasonable rate, and all men too, both with the whites and blacks, and this Ile make good halfe her quantite of slaves and more in good men, may bee had at 6 pease per head.⁵⁰ The canoe now will follow very speedelye, which I could nott perswade to goe before. Bad newes flyes a pace, therefore suppose you have heard of Captain Thomas Woodfines death beefore the ship departed hence. Captaine Branfeild sailed 14 dayes past, this day is gone Captain Poston and Captain Daile, all well. All my people dead butt Mr Wortley and my selfe.⁵¹ In hast.

819. John Carter

Whiddah, 22 Nov. 1686

I wrote you very lately by the Dutch slooppe, which was out of sight of land before my cano could gett on board him, [so] that I had noe time to coppie the letter, but think the substance was the same I shall now confirme, being in answer to your last concerning the accommodatng the Affrican Pinck with men slaves without bougees, which may be easily be accomplished in the same manner I before mentioned. Affter the major part of his Arda cargo is proposed in suitable goods, haveing not bouges, put a convenient quantity of sallable goods that will purchase gold as she is corning and comeing down, and the produce of those goods will accomplish good men slaves, haveing already discoursed the point here with the king and the whiteman, and the gold will be brought ashore with much less charge and loss then bouges by 4 or 5 slaves in the quantity of booges such a ship requires. If the Pinck should not come down this advise will be good for any other ship that comes from England, if they come with short quantityes of bouges as now they doe, they cannot doe amis in disposing of any goods unless these most proper goods I now shall mention: rangoes, long cloths, bafts, currall, pintadoes broad, pautkeis. Any other goods they may venture to dispose of for gold, and the gold will doe better then the goods [omission?] quantity of goods and produce in gold. I have here inclosed sent up my last years account, I could not make it up at the halfe years end as accustomed by reason I had not goods to ballance before that came in Captain Woodfine, and now you may see what was remaying some months past and at Christmas. Unless a supply comes down I shall bee ashamed to make up the halfe years account. Since this account have put

10 slaves aboard Walker

15 slaves aboard Brandfill

⁵⁰ For the sale of gold (purchased on the Gold Coast) for slaves at Whydah, see further Law 1990b.

⁵¹ Misread as 'wife' in Law 1992, no.45.

and severall other small parcells, besides factorys expence and building. Therefore I intreat your Honour and the Gen[t]lemen of the Councill will consider and send down a sufficient supply, for every ship comes short cargoed, and rake [?= take] what they can from me. I have some times 12, 14 or 20 white men a shore, all maintained at the factory and out of my store. Pray amongst goods for me send more scarlett and red perpetuanoes, but they are not proper in a ships cargo by reason the king is unreasendable [= unreasonable] in the demands of such goods, and tis not the king nor Cabusheers that buy them.

I have been so extreamly abussed by the Company that I am almost ashamed to think how I have written to you but much more to them,⁵² though I have just grounds to complayn by reason my reputation is abused and myself slighted and every thing quite contrary to what was promised me in England. I gave 1000£ security, and am allowed also double sallery, and that I shall not be trusted with halfe soe much value as my security amounts to is verry hard, besides halfe a thousand inconveniences and tenn times the hazard of my life as any where on the Coast. Wittnese loss of a great many goods, Commanders and all our people, and although it hath pleased Almighty God to spare my life yett I have very often a privatt whisper in my ears that I am threatened to be destroyd, one time by poyson and another time otherwise, which makes me look about me and call all my witts together and almighty God to protect me. One time I travell with a g[u]ard and well armed and another time with an antidote in my pockett, and alwaies discourse the point to the king and Cabushers, but they deny any such intention and seem to be verry true and loveing, God knows their hearts. I doubt not but by the providentiall hand of God to whether all.

I thank God am pretty well in health at present, and now to oblige the king and Capusheers am building a small house at the kings town.⁵³

I shall [= send] here inclosed a list of the dead and living. A proper Arda cargo is bougees; currall; rangoes; long cloths and sallem pores; bafts; white pintados; allejars; pautkeis; brass neptunes; iron barrs; paper sletias, if good; any fine white luinen; beads, purple, white, lemon culler, green, all round and as bigg almost as a horse beane.

[PS] Here inclosed also send the severall bills for the shipp[s] have been here since my last.

There is the value of a bendy of gold I payed to Say and Ned, two of Captain Thomass Woodfines canomen, which I intreat you will to pay into your own hands for me.

⁵² Extracts/summaries of letters from Carter to the RAC in London can be found in Law 1990a, nos 18–25. The Company counter-complained of Carter's 'scurrilous reflections': *ibid.*, no.26 (RAC to Carter, 18 May 1686).

⁵³ This factory at the royal capital Savi is not mentioned in any subsequent reports of the 1680s and 90s, and was presumably never finished or ephemeral.

Here was an accident happened on a Cormanteen man named Quacco, an antiant inhabitant here, who was murdered by a Mind [= Mine] man named Andaoma, who stabd the said Quacco severall times with a knife [so] that he dyed two or 3 howers affter. The said mallafactor made his escape up to Poppo but was seiz'd there and brought down here. He confesed the ffact and said that another Mind man named Wooradoe sent him to Quacco to receive a debt, being the value of a slave, and the said Wooradoo bid said Andaoma kill Quacco if he did not pay him, which he did, and was by the king and all the white men and all other the blacks here ajudg'd worthy of death. Accordingly his head was cut off in presence of Captain Poston, Mr Soomes, myself and severall others, also the Cabushers of the cuntrey. This attestation the freinds of Quacco desires me to write, by reason Quaccos brother now lives with the Generall of the Mind, as they tell me. Also Griffin is related to him also.

[PPS] I could not possible perswade the canomen to come up soon after the departure of the Sarah Bondaventure, nither indeed was it then weather. You may be assured what ever the canomen say or pretend, I never did soe nor will hinder their goeing but alwaies contrary posted them away with what speede I can, for I could send every month if possible, if it were a marke of gold a year out of my own pockett for the conveniency.

[PPPS, in margin] Pray order all ships that comes down not to trade at any of the places between the River Volto and this place, for it doth but encourage a parcell of runaway rouges that harbour there at Kitto.⁵⁴ They destroyed Captain Payne and 7 of his people and endeavoured the boat also,⁵⁵ and at Popo they joined with the slaves on board the Charlton sloop and rum [= run] here ashore, killd the Commander and all they could and took all the gold and slaves.⁵⁶

I hear you have a great many doctors on this coast and that doctor Walber is there. I should be highly obliged if your Honour would be pleased to spare him to come down here, with a man or two with him.

820. John Carter

Whiddah, 6 Dec. 1686

Yesterday the boy returnd from Popo which carryed my letter of the 22^d of November, and he tells me the cannoes are not gone, at which I am much troubled, for they might have been at Cabo Corso 6 or 8 dayes agone had they went of from hence, but I could nott perswade them, but they promised me not to stay above 2 or 3 daies at farthest; and all there pretences is victualling cheap, there corne being

⁵⁴ Cf. Law 1990a, no.23 (Carter to RAC, 28 Dec. 1685), describing the Keta people as 'renegadoes'. This probably alludes to the settlement in the Keta area of refugees from Adangme ('Alampo'), displaced by the Akwamu conquest of their homeland in 1682–3: cf. Law 1991, 25, 243.

⁵⁵ Cf. nos 710, 903.

⁵⁶ Cf. nos 708, 900. This incident occurred at Great Popo, between Little Popo and Whydah.

more plenty there then here; but I am certain they spend more in lying there, then there whole provisions for there voyage would come to here. I pray you will be pleased to castise them, and for the future order them otherwise.

I have now no canoes left, being all sent up and broke to peices, therefore advise that noe commander come unfurnished.

I want a dozen good servisable musquetts and a cupple of good blunderbusses for the use of the ffactory for defence if occasion.⁵⁷

If our canoes are gon of from Papo before this getts up there it will goe by a Mine cano.

821. John Carter

Whiddah, 20 Dec. 1686

This goes with the George Sloop, Richard Hobs comander, by whom I have sent 10 brave young Negroes men slaves on account of the Royall Affrican Company of England and according to your order. But for cloaths I have none, neither have I any goods to purchase any. I did send a letter and account &ca almost a month past by two canoes, who went up the river to Popo to goe off there, and they promised me not to stay above 2 or 3 days before they would put to sea. But now I hear they stayed above 3 weeks, and that by reason of 2 Mine canoomen that came with them. I request you will order itt that noe Mine canooman may be suffered to come with ours, ffor they rule all ours, and I fancie are sent on purpose to play the rogue with us. They soe abused the Braffo⁵⁸ that came down in Captain Dailes that he was fforced to enter himself and goe home with the shipp for quitenesse sake. They cut him in 2 or 3 places at 2 severall times ffor being vigilant to serve his master better than they, and all the rest of the canoomen sided with the Mine canooman, and I have always observed itt that 1 or 2 Mine canoomen shall rule all ours, which I wonder att, and I pray beleive that I always send as speedily as I can and never retarded a canoe since I have been here, but on the contrary proffer great encouragement and assistance if they would returne speedily. Ffor the future please to order them to goe directly of from this place, and beleive what I write is the reall truth, and much more to the same purpose and worse, but shall desist, only they are rogues. I wrote you in my last (that went by the 2 canoos, the 11 hand and the 7 hand) wherein I requested some more goods down, which I hope will come by next conveyance. I have since my last account put on board

Captain Nehemiah Walker	10 slaves
Captain Andrew Branfill	15 slaves
and now in the George Sloop	<u>10 slaves</u>
	35 slaves

⁵⁷ There is no indication of what threat Carter anticipated.

⁵⁸ Normally the 'captain' of a village; but here perhaps referring to a head canoeman or foreman.

These, with the expenses of the Factory being halfe a year more at Christmas, will I thinke signify a great want of another supply of goods, which leave to your consideration.

822. John Carter

Whiddah, 6 Jan. 1686/7

There hath been no opportunity that I could find or make since I came here, but I have wrote to Cabo Corso, and I have always by gifts and promises and threats endeavoured to perswade or force the canoomen to returne speedily, and of late in particular Say and them that came in Captain Thomas Woodfine, but by no means would they goe till the hermitan. Now whatever excuse they or any other make or say to the contrary are lyes, and I desire you to believe the certain truth. When Say with the rest of the canoomen that went last up departed from hence, I made them promise and swear that they would not stay above 2 or 3 days at Popo, but notwithstanding they stayed above 3 weekes, and all the reason I could hear was because one Mind canooman that was amongst them would not goe any sooner and then when he did goe it was to serve the Dutch, for the Dutch Chiefe at Offrah paniard a man that stole their flagg and sent him up to Popo to goe for the Mine,⁵⁹ and the whitemen finding no Minde canoe there forced our canoomen to take him in and carry him to their Generall, which they readily obeyed without order or knowledge from me, and I believe the fear of displeasing the Generall of the Mine made them post away with the Negroe, so soon as they tooke him in. They said they had no room for any Negroes here by reason they had 4 shipp canoomen to goe up in their two canoes. All which I leave to your examination why the Cabo Corso canoomen should stand in fear of the Dutch and be always governed by the Mine canoomen. If there be but one Mine canooman amongst 11 or 15 I have always observed that he shall govern the rest.

Captain Nanter arrived here the 26 December and hath 230 slaves on board from hence, and all the rest are in the Factory with 40 more if occasion served. His cargoe falls short and the more short by reason 6 barrels of his booges proved bigg, whereby was 6 slaves and more lost I thinke. To help him a little what slaves he has are very good and about 4 men to one woman, which will be welcome at Barbados.⁶⁰ God send him well there and his Negroes in as good plight as they goe aboard, and I am sure they are worth 21£ sterling per head round, I am so confident in the goodnesse. In my letters by canoes and by the George Sloope have requested some goods down, ffor I shall be ashamed to make up this last halfe years account. Per the canoes did send up a 12 months account, since which is now halfe a years expence charge and 40 slaves, and now more put on board the shipp

⁵⁹ For a Dutch account of this incident, cf. Van Dantzig 1978, no.18 (Van Hoolwerff, Offra, 31 Jan. 1687).

⁶⁰ Cf. Nanter's account, no.921.

here, and I suppose it will sound best in England that this Factory, where more slaves is shipt of then ffrom any one place in the world,⁶¹ should be maintained by the Royall Company, it being theirs; ffor now am sure I have but a bare ffactory, and I thinke it great pity it should be so empty, for I believe tis the largest factory of accommodation both for the Companys servants and slaves on the Coast of Guynes, I mean of a house,⁶² and withal more convenient and secure. I can entertaine 5 or 6 ships cargoes, 6 or 800 slaves &ca, and secure all from thieves and fire in all probability, and the Factory is at the same expence as if all the shippes were consigned to the Factory. You write to know how Captain Walker went away, and I answer very well from hence, and I put two slaves aboard him for the Companys account. I hope he may be well arrived in Jamaica afore this.

Likewise the goods I received safely by Captain Thomas Woodfine, and I request the favour you will not charge me with neglect when tis as impossible for me to doe more than I have done in that particular, I mean oftener sending advise, as tis for me to travell to England by land from this place, unless you can order the canoomen att a better rate or had not cutt the leggs the Company gave me when I came out.⁶³ My grief is sufficient, there needs no aggravation, and thank God for a good heart. I sent by Captain Hobbs 10 brave young men slaves according to your orders, but no cloths without goods. The goods I desire are booges: I suppose you have none, therefore iron bars; long cloaths; white baffties; pintadoes; allejars; scarlett cloath; broad blew cloath; read perpetuanoes; beads, purple, yellow, white ground, also bigg as rounsefull [= rouncival] pease⁶⁴ &ca. This comes by I think a very honest man named Annamah living at Annamaboe, I have promis'd you will be kind to him if he makes haste.

[PS] Just now is going by a great Dutch ship.

823. John Carter

Whiddah, 11 Jan. 1686/7

I had forgot to write an answer about Sir Benjamin Bathurst⁶⁵ till yesterday dispatching Captain Nanter your letter came to hand, therefore send this up to Popo after the canoe that if they be not gone, this may satisfy you. By the Mary had letters of credit from the Company (it being my request) that what estate should be left in my hands of any deceased partyes (having not a convenient specia here to send home) might charge a bill on the Company for the value and give the Company credit for the like value. Therefore did by the man of war the Orange Tree and the Mary send Sir Benjamin the accounts with a bill on the Company for

⁶¹ cf. n.29 above.

⁶² i.e. as opposed to a fort.

⁶³ i.e. by failing to provide a mail boat, as complained more explicitly in nos 812, 814.

⁶⁴ i.e. marrowfat peas.

⁶⁵ A member of the Court of Assistants of the RAC in England.

payment of the money, which was 23£ 12s 6d after all debts and legacies paid, which I doubt not will be paid when demanded.

Here inclosed have sent one of Captain Nanters bills of lading for 261 Negroe slaves, all choyce Negroes qualified as in the bills of lading, who now is under sayle this morning almost out of sight, God send him a speedy passage. I have [written] largely already, therefore shall not trouble you with more.

[PS] Yesterday we gave ourselves the honour of drinking yours and your ladyes health, and likewise the Gentlemens of the Councill, with guns, the dispatch being sufficient to bare itt, may itt succeed so well to the end. We want some more shipp down, slaves being plenty,⁶⁶ please to order them not to stay by the way, and send canoes and canoomen but more particularly canoes, for we had much adoo to patch up canoes to slave the African Pink.

The Dutch hath done a very honorable thing for their countrey. (As I wrote you) our canoes carried up a Negroe of Offirah that cut their fflag downe at the sand, which I suppose he intended to steale and carry away, but being sent up to the Generall, I suppose by request of the Chief here, cut off his head, and sent thee great ship that was bound to Angola purposely down here with the head of the offender, and the said shipp came down with his fflag at maine top, and as we heard him fire many guns, but what else is don I have not heard but suppose they bring it a shore guarded,⁶⁷ and what else may seeme to terrify the blacks and keep them in awe and fear to offend againe in such or the like cases, as I hear more of it worth noating shall by the next opportunity informe you of it.

824. John Carter

Whiddah, 16 March 1687

My last was by a canoman of Annamabo named Annomah, who promised to depart from Popo in 2 or 3 dayes at farthest. He seemed to be a mighty honest fellow, but now I here he is not yett gone, and the reason he did not goe [was] the Mind [= Mine] people perswaded him his cano was to little, and therefore stay till they went. I have [sent] up for the letter by reason one of Captain Nanters bills of loading is [blank]. Sometimes the canomen will not go till such a time, and sometimes they will goe from hence and stay a month or two at Poppo, which is a great vexation to me and have been ever since I came here, and your letters have been like Jobs comforters. I give you this relation that you may not think any negligence in mee.

It was debated in England by the Company whether I, as being then ordered Cheife for this place, should have a dependance from Cabo Corso Castle or not,

⁶⁶ The Dutch factory at Offra likewise reported two weeks earlier that 'slaves are abundant', and again four weeks later that 'there is great abundance of slaves': Van Dantzig 1978, nos 17–18 (Van Hoolwerff, Offra, 8 Dec, 1686, 31 Jan. 1687).

⁶⁷ Cf. Van Dantzig 1978, no.18 (Van Hoolwerff, Offra, 31 Jan. 1688).

and twas concluded I should. The reasons given me, that in case of want of any supply I could have spedier recours to Cabo Corso than to England, both by the advice boat was sent with me and the often returning of canoes, which was satisfactory reason.

But now I perceive I shall have no supplyes, not such as may maintain Factory expence. Where the fault lyeth, I know not I am sure tis not in me. If the Company hath given orders to the contrary, tis but just I should know of it. For all the loss of lives, for all the unnecessary expence, if any, tis occasiond by the Company, for I did not move the Company to come here, only to spend their mony; but it was otherwise proposed to me, and for that reason the Company required a double security of a private Factor, and allowed me double the sallery, with a promis of advance.

I am at the same expence, as if all the ships were consigned to my selfe, except the brandy for expending in buying of slaves, and that often lyeth parte upon mee too. Gentlemen, by the inclosed account you may perceive what quantity of goods remayn in the Factory, and that I have just cause to complayne; and if you will not please to send me no more I will doe my best endeavour to maintain the honour of the Royall Companys Factory here with what goods I have of my one [= own] and other peoples in my hands till I depart hence, which I hope in God may not be long, my three years being past considerable.⁶⁸ I will ask only God almighty's blessing for a fair oportunity and his good providence to protect me safe from this fatal and unfortunate place of Ardra. Now Captain Briston [= Bristow] is arrived but himselfe and Doctor very ill, but hope they may recover. They came ashore ill and went directly up to the Kings Town, and lay one night, but was ill very bad, after that they went both on board againe.

I perceive by the strangness of Commanders two of the lastest when they first came here, that I have some strang[e] ill report spread of me,⁶⁹ which hath caused me to make a little inquieri, and I am informed that Say should tell some of the Councill of Cabo Corso going up to the Mine or at sometime that Captain Thomas Woodfine and I had a falling out and that he went sick aboard; such a thing might have been and I not to blame, but on the contrary we had no falling out as I remember, and he went very well on board and was so two dayes, if not more, before he sickened, and truely till the day he dyed I did not think him otherwise sick than with vexing at thee miscarriages of the cano kickatevoing⁷⁰ almost every day, and drowning severall slaves, for we were told that every morning he stood on the quarter deck with his prospective [= perspective] glass freeting and vexing

⁶⁸ Carter had been at the Whydah factory since the beginning of March 1684.

⁶⁹ The nature of the rumours is not very clear from Carter's rambling treatment. In addition to the alleged quarrel with Captain Woodfine mentioned immediately hereafter, he alludes later to allegations that his factory was 'unwholesome' (implying presumably that he was blamed for Woodfine's death) and that he had appropriated belongings of Captains who had died at Whydah.

⁷⁰ See Glossary.

himselfe that the slaves could not be gott on board, for if it had pleased God the sea would have permitted he had had all his slaves on board and reddey to sayle by the time he first fell sick. I told him at his comeing first ashore that if please God weather permitted he should have his slaves in 10 or 12 dayes at farthest. He was but one or two nights ashore in all and he was so much my freind that he had been 200 if occasion had required. His welfare and health was so esteemed by me that I would have hazard my health and life to have preserved his.

Gentlemen, beleive me to be so much a Christian that I abhor the thoughts of doeing or suffering any injury to be done by to my freind. It is more then I would have done to the worst enemy I have.

If any such words have been utterd I beleive my man Unguah, who is kindred to Say, hath been the occasion, by reason I will not have him come down againe, hath wrought this forregerie. I doe beleive formerly when our house was green, being now [= new] built, it might be a little unwholsome, but now as it is I am confident tis as wholesome as any house in the cuntrey, and as convenient and as moderate drinking.

Captain Walker went well away

Captain Branfill, the same

Captain Poston the same

Captain Somes the same

Captain Hobs the same

Mr Hereford the same

Captain Nanter the same

Captain Gilbert the same

Captain Hosea the same

Captain Crookshanks the same

Captain Daile I suppose never well.⁷¹ These went all well away, God be prayed, and lay all their time at our house, except Crookshanks lay 2 nights at the Kings towne. I cannot gain say or argue against the providence of almighty God, but thank God my contience is clear from willfull injury to any man in the world, and as Agent Bradly use to say, if any man wishes or endeavours any injury to any man liveing, may the same misfortune happen to himselfe.

[PS] I am troubled I am continually constrained to write such epistles not tending to business.

Here inclosed comes my last account to Christmas last, and if I have no more goods shall be trobled to write no more accouts, so shall be eased of that troble.

Also comes here 3 bills of loading from Captain Gilbert, Captain Hosea and Captain Crookshanks.

⁷¹ Sic: the meaning is unclear, since in no.818 Daley is listed among the captains who had departed 'well'.

I have all along furnished the canomen with brandy and tobacco and palm oyle, and most commonly cables and anchors, and never had one returned againe. That graplin you sent by Captain Thomas Woodfine, Mr Attwell⁷² wrote me word he sent it by Say and one for themselves to, but they kept both. These canomen now I furnish with brandy, tobacco, palm oyle, wood and some other little necessaries, as stockfish, beef, pease &ca.

If you send the said Say of [= off] a slave you will doe a Christian act and justice to the deceased Captain Woodfine, for his canoman were all strangers here but Say, and Captain Woodfines whole dependance was on his abillity and care, but after Captain Woodfine went on board he [= Say] never would stirr off in the cano but stand ashore and se the cano kickativoo, and when Mr Attwell, who was there for he went alwaies to the waterside, saw the miscarridges and scolded at Say for not goeing off, Say laughed at him. Then Attwell told me and I threttened him and designed to have fully acquainted Thomas Woodfine and likewise write to you, but he took little notice off itt.

He is so great a rouge that if you doe not send him off, I will if he comes here while I am here.

I have strove much to perswade these cano men to goe off hence and now I se their store of flower all is not above a sheet chest full, which they have cheaper at Popo by about $1\frac{1}{2}$ [lbs] bouges or 2 lb at most, and that they should goe and go there a month to save that is strange to me.

It troubles me that you should have so little Christianity as to think me guilty of the least thought of such villaney. I never gott but one ring, that was at one Commanders buriall, I think my namesake, but have lost, I think, by all, especially by Thomas Woodfine. Had he lived it had been 20£ short in my way, but I am not so mersenary as to vallue that equall to the life and enjoyment of my freind which was honest Thomas Woodfine, whose death I now lament and all that have dyed at this place. I conclude with this scripture phraise, the Lord doe so and more to one [= me] if I have done or know of any such injury done to any person since I came to Whiddah, neither doe I beleive any such thing have been done unless twere to Doctor Gates, Edward Hill and my selfe when we were at warrs with these people.⁷³

[PPS] March the 23^d 1686/7. Captain Bristow is dead, but I hope the doctor may recoverr. We that live tis almost in missary, alwaies one distemper or another, that we deserve more pittty than such aspersiones as is thrown upon us. Some at Cabo Corso have known me before, and I am sure I was never malletious and I hope

⁷² Thomas Attwell, subordinate officer of Woodfine, and his successor in command on the latter's death.

⁷³ This relates to 1684, when Hill and Gates were among the English captains trading at Whydah, who reportedly 'had difference with the Natives': PRO, T70/12, Edwyn Steede & Stephen Gascoigne, Barbados, 18 June 1684.

never shall, and now at this instant could I meet with an opportunity I should be mighty willing and joyfull to serve any of you at Cabo Corso Castle, though you will not send me any goods.

I have I think fully satisfied you according to the truth of my heart and begg the favour of you that if any such asperions be spread abroad to put a period to them and doe them justice, and the God of justice reward you is the prayers of your afflicted servant, but I thank God honest as to men in the face of the sunn I can declare and so prosper.

[PPPS] Between these two dates have the canomen stayd to gett flower from Popo. I think twere well if you would please to order them to bring down flower with them.

These canomen can inform you when that Annomah of Annamabo come up, that you may gett the letter from him wherein Captain Nanter's bill of loading.

825. John Carter

Whiddah, 10 May 1687

Since my last to you by Occammy⁷⁴ I have been at Litle Poppo, and the towne where the canoos used to depart from is called Attome, being a few houses (or rather beehives only larger) standing on the sand by the sea side.⁷⁵ There I saw Annomah the canooman, which gave me my letters againe which I have now sent. At this towne of Attome I with Mounsieur Couerden the French Chiefe,⁷⁶ who went with me, were received by Mounsieur John Poeselwitt, ffactor for the Branderburgh,⁷⁷ who hath dispatcht two of their shippes from thence but will no more I suppose. Mr Poeselwitt in respect to us put up his flagg, intending to make us as welcome as he could, and that day we went to see Offerry Grandy, the king of Accraa, who recides about halfe a myle ffrom thence,⁷⁸ and whyle we were there the blacks at the said towne tooke down Mr Poeselwitts fflagg and put up a Dutch fflagg, at which affront to our ffriend we returned immediately from the town and pulled down the Dutch fflagg, intending the Branderburgs fflagg up againe, but soon after another Dutch fflagg was up, noe Dutch men ever reciding there, onely

⁷⁴ Clearly not the same as the 'Offery Occamye' mentioned later in this letter; perhaps = Hukamee, referred to elsewhere (e.g. no.90) as an African associate of the RAC. It is not clear whether the letter referred to is no.824, or another one that has not been preserved.

⁷⁵ Presumably the town nowadays called Aneho, the coastal port of Little Popo, on the south bank of the lagoon.

⁷⁶ i.e. chief of the French factory at Whydah.

⁷⁷ The context implies that this Brandenburg factor was resident at Little Popo, rather than at Whydah. Cf. Barbot's reference to Brandenburg lodges at both Whydah and Popo around this period (1992, ii, 343).

⁷⁸ Ofori, King of Accra, had fled from Accra after its conquest by Akwamu in 1680, taking refuge first in Fetu, but subsequently east of the Volta (Wilks 1959, 109–11). 'Offery Grandy' means 'Great Ofori', by distinction from his General 'Little Ofori' mentioned later in this letter. The King's settlement is presumably Glijji, the royal capital of Little Popo, situated on the north bank of the coastal lagoon.

by now perceive them all Mine people, or at least the rulers.⁷⁹ While we were arguing the reason with the Captain of the towne, Dutch fflaggs were put up at severall houses to the number of six. We had no pretence to the place, but immediately tooke our things and departed with our canoes to Offeryes, the king, and I lay their that night. The next day went to Sofferyes or Offery Occammyes, that is about 2 or 3 myles more windward, we generally call him Sofferry Pickaninee, who is the Generall of the Accraes and lives in much more grandeur than the king, having allways a good strength of soldiers at his command, and the river comes up to his croom, having 5 times the houses thatt is att the towne of Attome, and lives in the midway betweene the sea and the river, and the sea is about a quarter of a myle.⁸⁰ He proffered me, if I would send the canoes to take their departure at his place, he will hall over the canoes to the sea and furnish them with all necessaryes for their voyage and always speed them away. He is a person much afore the king for wisdome, valour &ca, very solid and very honest by all report. I thought him a fitt person to secure, and have now sent a canoe to fetch him down to take a fetish to serve the Royall Company only, and shall give him a Companyes fflagg and a letter to any of the Companyes ships that shall have an occasion to stop there, and they shall apply themselves to him and not to the Mine people. They always abuse the English, twas these Attome people that got all the Charletoon sloops gold, or else we had gott some of that againe.⁸¹ If I can secure this Saffery Pickaninny, he is more than all the people of those parts and can do as he pleases. He shews a respect to the king of Accraa, but the king is nothing without him and they are as brothers.⁸² The rest I leave the canoomen to informe. Just after I had wrote this I was told that the Generall of the Mine had sent the said Soffery Pickaninee a letter about 3 weeks afore, and that the letter was sent by Soffery to the Chief at Offrah, who invited Soffery down to him,⁸³ the truth of which I have now sent up my boy Cuffee to know, and whether he will be true to our Company. If soe I will ingage him as firm as I can, for we stand in need of him (I now perceive) on the account of our canoomen, ffor if the Dutch gett him, there

⁷⁹ Aneho was a settlement of canoemen from Mina (Agbanon 1991, 36–8).

⁸⁰ 'Sofferye [Safari]' means 'the Warrior [Sa] Ofori', while 'Sofferye Pickaninee' is 'Little Ofori' (Portuguese *pequeneno*); 'Occamy [Okyeame]' is a title, usually translated as 'linguist' (i.e. spokesman). Little Ofori's village was clearly not Gliji, later the royal capital of Little Popo, which was situated north of the lagoon, but a place on the seashore west of Aneho; perhaps to be identified with Tonu, recalled in local tradition as the initial place of settlement of the Accra refugees, before they crossed the lagoon to found Gliji (Agbanon 1991, 13–14).

⁸¹ The *Charlton* sloop, taken over by a rising of slaves, at Great Popo in 1685: cf. no. 708.

⁸² In fact, it was the General Ofori who succeeded to the kingship on Great Ofori's death, and who was known as 'King Afori' in the early 1690s: see Gayibor 1990, 58–66.

⁸³ Later in 1687 the Dutch chief at Offra called in 'a large party of Accra and Myna Negroes' to impose peace on the Governor of Offra (then in rebellion against Allada), which was presumably supplied, if not actually led, by Ofori of Little Popo: Van Dantzig 1978, no.28 (Van Hoolwerff, Offra, 10 Feb. 1688).

is no passage out of the river but by this man and the Attome people; and the pride and insolency of the Dutch is not pleasant, and the Mine blacks take after the Dutch, they have all along stopped our canoes and our canoomen will nott or dare not complaine.

I herewith send 5 bills of lading of the last shipp that went away, all having quick dispatch, some 14 days, 15 and the longest 20 days.

The succeeding Comander of the *Lucitania*,⁸⁴ notwithstanding I furnished him with a canoe to slave him, by reason his canoe was too long and not so ready to goe of here, at his going away sold his canoe to the interloper without speaking the least word to me of selling itt.

When I heard of it I told him twas unkind not to offer me the refusall, since I had lent him a canoe to slave his shipp gratis, so at last he sold her to me, and now the canoomen having no canoo fitting to carry them up I lent them this 9 hand canoe to carry them up, and request your honour will please to order her downe againe by the 1st conveyance, she being mighty convenient for the river here. Quavoo hath promised me to take care of her but I cannot depend on that. Here is few canoomen here and no canoes to depend upon. We have now no goods in the Factory of the Companyes, however I will not be wanting to dis[c]harge my duty to them.

If it be possible that the canoومان Say hath spoken words to that high degree of mischief, I request so much Christian justice (if heathenism doth not predominate at Cabo Corso Castle above Christianity, for ought I can hear great credit is given to the single report or whisper of a heathen rascal) I request the said Say may be punished according to his desarts and sent off or down here. The villany is to hard for me to bear, that such report shall be forged and I cannot come to give better satisfaction. How many times have I requested a vessel down here to come up and cannot be granted, and I will not be a boy to come up in a canoe. God bless all people from such hard fate.

826. John Carter

Widdah, 29 Aug. 1687

This goes by a Dutch small shipp, which is come downe purely for their packett or papers, and soe to retturne, by reason noe canoe can come up at this time, and I beleive twill be more than a month before I shall perswade any of them to goe. By them shall send all bills of loading &ca. The *Maynard* with the Captain and Agent,⁸⁵ and Captain Thompson and the *George Sloope* all were here and went well away, but the Agent was gon before the sloop came downe here, but Captain Thompson and the sloop sayled together the 6th of August⁸⁶ and the *Maynard* the

⁸⁴ i.e. succeeding Robert Bristow, whose death was noted above (no.824).

⁸⁵ Henry Nurse, retiring Agent-General at Cape Coast Castle, now returning to England.

⁸⁶ Cf. no.943.

28th July before. Captain Thompson had don noe buisness before the Maynard came downe by reason of loytring by the way. The Agent was but two days after him and in 8 dayes had his departure. Captain Thompson had gonn sooner but his canoe was broake, and I have none here, therefore pray order all shippes to bring canoes, and please to send my nine hand canoe downe, that I sent [var. lend] the canoemen up in. In hast.

827. Petley Wybourne

Whiddah, 18 February 1688

Am honoured with yours of the 5th of January last past, and meeting with this occasion of the advice yaght from the Mina could not omitt but to let you know how all things are, and to render you all my most humble and hearty thanks for me and my companys most kind and courteous entertainment with you,⁸⁷ for which shall be glad to meet with an oppertunity of retaliation. The shipp Hannah, Captain Cowley, arrived here in this roade the 13th of January last past and is not yet dispatched, by reason few or noe good slaves to be obtained, after any rate whatsoever,⁸⁸ so choose rather to keep her here at my charge⁸⁹ than to let her go away to my discreditt with bad and unfitting slaves to proceed a voyage, which if would have undertaken might have been gon ere now, and hope now within a week will happen, and then shall send the charter party.⁹⁰ The shipp Mary parted from hence the 4th of this instant with Mr John Carter, who left me possession of an ill contrived and rambling ruined Factory, without any effects of the Companys elce. I see by yours that the shipp Elizabeth, Edmund Batherne Comander, is arrived on the Coast, which am glad to see. The Brandenburg shipp called the City of Berlin, Jan Reyne successour of Simon de Leon, was taken at Grand Popoa the 19th of October last, by a Dutch man of warr named the Golden Greyhound, Ffredrick Ffredrickson Comander, and will be a very good prize to him.⁹¹ The shipp the Tempest, a French man of warr, Monsieur Du Cas Comander, is come to take in slaves here, and arrived the 13th currant,⁹² and the same day passed by a

⁸⁷ i.e. at Cape Coast, on his voyage to take possession of the Whydah factory.

⁸⁸ For the shortage of slaves at this point, cf. also a letter of the Dutch factor at Offra (sent in the same mail packet as this letter of Wybourne's) reporting that the slave trade 'begins to slow off a little', so that there were four English ships at Whydah, 'some of which had been there for over two months': Van Dantzig 1978, no.22 (Van Hoolwerff, Offra, 10 Feb. 1688). The French captain Du Casse, whose arrival at Whydah is noted later in this letter, reported that the supply of slaves from the interior had been interrupted by disputes with the King of Fon (Dahomey) in the interior, causing slave prices to rise: Du Casse 1935, 15.

⁸⁹ Wybourne's contract with the RAC required him to deliver 100 slaves in every ten days that a ship was in port (Davies 1957, 229), and he had to pay compensation for exceeding this term.

⁹⁰ But the *Hannah* was not in fact dispatched until much later: cf. Cowley's own complaint, no.954.

⁹¹ For this incident, cf. Van Dantzig 1978, no 21 (Van Hoolwerff, Offra, 26 Jan. 1688).

⁹² For Du Casse's description of conditions at Whydah, see Du Casse 1935, 14-15.

small Dutch shipp, bound for the Benin, and the next day, the 14th of this instant, passed by the advice yaght for Ofrah, per whom this comes.

[PS] Lame of the gout.

828. Petley Wybourne

Whiddah, 5 March 1688

The above is copy of my former. Since have received yours per the Elizabeth Captain Edmond Batherne comander, of the 25th last past, with the charter party, which shall send forward when he departs.⁹³ Have ordered per this conveniency Mr John Downes to purchase me what canoes he can gett, for which would intreat you to disburse what money soever they come to, and for your reimbursement, be pleased to draw on Mr Johnson Esq at the Affrican House in Leadenhall Street, and Mr Anthony Palmer, linnen draper, at the signe of the Wool Pack in the Minories,⁹⁴ where your bills shall all receive due honour.

⁹³ Cf. no.957.

⁹⁴ Wybourne's agent in London.

X

SHIPS

As was noted in the Introduction, a considerable number of the letters in the Rawlinson corpus (144 of 998 in 1686–8) were received from RAC vessels trading along the African coast (and in two cases, nos 901–2, from Barbados, in the West Indies) rather than from its factories established on shore. Many of these appear to be from vessels based locally in West Africa, engaged in coasting voyages to both east and west of Cape Coast Castle: characteristically, these were smaller craft, generally described as ‘sloops’, though one is termed a ‘pink’.¹ Only around half come from ships involved in trans-Atlantic voyages, which originated in England and would continue to the Americas. This distinction, however, is not entirely clearcut, since vessels based at Cape Coast sometimes undertook voyages to the West Indies (though returning directly to West Africa, rather than via England), and even ships from England often engaged in the coasting trade, turning back up the coast to the west after arrival at Cape Coast, before proceeding to the Americas. Moreover, the character of particular voyages is sometimes difficult to determine in practice, on the evidence of the extant correspondence alone.²

These letters received from ships sometimes supplement those sent by the factories onshore, but in other cases they serve to extend the geographical coverage of the correspondence, to areas where the RAC currently had no factories. In particular, there are several letters in this period from Beraku, in the kingdom of Agona, between Fante and Accra; and from the ‘Alampo’ (Adangme) country east of Accra. There are also generally sketchier references to trade by RAC ships on the coast to the west of the Gold Coast, in the areas known as the Grain Coast and Ivory Coast (though the latter term does not actually

¹ Technically, a ‘sloop’ is a single-masted vessel; a ‘pink’ a flat-bottomed, narrow-sterned vessel.

² It may be noted that in vol.i, one ship classified as engaged in a trans-Atlantic voyage, the *Jacob Pink* (which went to Gabon and São Tomé in 1683: no.639), was more probably on a coasting voyage, which would have ended with return to Cape Coast.

appear in the Rawlinson correspondence);³ and also to the east of the Slave Coast, including Benin, 'the Bight', Gabon and Cape Lopez.

COASTING VOYAGES

The *James*, Commander Richard Platt

829. Richard Platt [Cape Apollonia], 5 Jan. 1685 [= 1686]

My humble servis presented unto you, hoping in God that your Worship is in good health as we are all at this present writeing, prayes be God for it. These few lines is to sertifie your Worship affter that we parted from Cabo Corso we met with very strong current. We lay'd 4 dayes at the Cape Trees Punctas, the currant running strong. We broak our small bower,⁴ our bouy being sunck, their was noe hopes of getting our anchors, and Mr Pearce and I thought it convenient to stand of the shoare and wee stud so far to the southward as 1d 53m northward, and we fell to windward of Cotterue⁵ and we stoped at every place. Here is six sayle of Dutch interlopers, and them that I deal with all I make them goe out of my way. We have lost our carpenter, he deceased the 7th day of December. We had but small trade to windward of Cape Apelonia, but we have taken aboute six markes of gold; but we have scrubed our ship to goe to windward.

830. Richard Pears

From on board the *James* rideing at Cape Apilonia, 5 Jan. 1685 [= 1686]

This which comes to your hands by means of a Ffrench mans boate, being the first oportunity we have meet withall since our departure from Cabo Corso; this is to give you a short account of what trade we have had from thence to this place. We turned up along shoar as high as Dickecove but took no mony, and finding it not possible by reason of the strong current to turne aboute the Cape, we stood to sea, and fell into windward of Cotterue. The first place of trade was Cap[e] Lahoe, where I bought about eleaven hundred weight of elephants teeth; from thence traded down along shoar, at Bassam, Ashenee, and other places, but found gold to be scarse and goods at very low rates. We have been here this six days and have taken in all six markes of gold. There is noe place of trade between this and Cape

³ The Grain (or Malagueta) Coast was normally reckoned to extend from Cape Mount (or a point further east) to Cape Palmas (corresponding to modern Liberia), and the Ivory Coast from Cape Palmas to Cape Three Points (or, again, somewhat further west).

⁴ Two anchors, carried in the bow of the ship were called the 'best-bower' and the 'small-bower'.

⁵ Kotrou, on the Ivory Coast, west of Cape Lahou.

Lahoe but are furnished with Dutch interlopers, here being noe less than three at present, besides a French sloop. Within a few dayes we design to sayle againe to windward as high as Bassam, hoping we shall meet with a better trade at our next coming down. The principle goods which sell here at present are carpetts, sheets, iron, pewter and knives. I shall lett slip noe opportunity to acquaint your Worship and Councell of our proceedings, and for the Companys intrest, noe endeavour shall be wanting of [Richard Pearse].

[On 28 Jan. it was reported to Sekondi that the ship had been captured by a pirate to the west (no.7). The Captain, Richard Platt, was given command of a Dutch ship also taken by the pirate (no.976). But Richard Pearse and some other members of the crew were put ashore, as follows.]

831. Richard Pearse

Axim, 30 Jan. 1686

I imagine your Worship and Councell have had an ample information by those men already gon down to Cabo Corso how our ship was taken by the pyrate, therefore shall make noe further relation at present, these being only to acquaint you how we have been used, since he put us a shoar at Cabro,⁶ about some two leagues from this place. As soon as the blacks brought us ashoar, they carried me and three more into the woods, where we remained three dayes before we understood what became of the rest of our men, then had we liberty to goe see them at the twone [= towne], who greivously complain'd of their heard usage, ours being rather worse then theirs for we had nothing but corne and water for our ffood, and the cold earth for our lodging. Thus we continued nine dayes, hoping to hear from your Worship, but having noe news, we were in a manner hopeless, the blacks threatening us every day, if noe ransome come speedily, to send us up into the cuntrey, and that we should neaver se salt water more. Then we desired to know of their demands, who at first askt four mark of gold, but at last came to six bendy's for us eight, whose names are under written; then by much intreaty, I came to this place to se if the Cheife⁷ would disburst soe much mony to ransom us, but he sent a bla[c]k to make a palaver with them, who brought it to five bendy's, charges included, and paid the goods to the value thereof yesterday, soe we remayne here ingaged for the same, which we humbly beseech your Worship to send with an order for our coming to Cabo Corso, for which we shall ever be bound to pray.

Richard Pearse, William Baran, John Webb, Walter Lloyd, Francis Nickson, Henry Clemens, Nicholas Wilson and John Boyce.

⁶ River Ankobra, west of Axim.

⁷ i.e. the chief of the Dutch WIC factory at Axim.

[The men were eventually redeemed through the good offices of the Dutch, and taken to Mina, and from there to Cape Coast on 21 Feb. 1686 (nos 980, 982–4). The *James* had meanwhile been taken by its Dutch crew to the Mina, where the WIC recognised it as the property of the RAC, but eventually agreed to purchase it from them rather than to restore it (nos 978–80). As reported in this final letter, people were sent from Cape Coast to the Mina to try to recover personal belongings from the ship.]

832. Thomas Price & Petter Clungeon

A Mina, From on board the *James*, 31 Jan. 1686

These accompany's Joseph Colleenwood, whome your Worship was pleased to send up to se what chests, cloths &ca he could find which belonged to the ship before she was taken, which could not be counted stores, wherein he can informe your Worship that most of the peoples chests are on board and some beding, besides what is carried ashoar which he hath seen, and [they] are dayly carrying small bundles, which we suppose they take out of the chest, which we have spoak to them of, but they make answer the pyrate gave it them, and if their were tens times as much more our people should be never the better for it

[In March 1686 the *James*, presumably now under Dutch command, sailed from the Mina to Accra (no.713).]

The *George* Sloop, Commander Henry Wood

833. Henry Wood

From Cape St Johns,⁸ 6 Jan. [16]86

Having this oportunity by a Dutch sloop of the Mina, I acquaint you of our proceedings. We have been all round the Bite and find noe trade, and am now bound for the Gabons, Cape Lopes,⁹ and soe to the Coast againe, hopinge we may meet with a better trade than we have had heitherto as yet. We have now on board of us about seaven hundred pound of teeth. As [to] red wood we have some small matter.¹⁰ My mate Clay is run away from us at Whiddah, in the ship as was Captain

⁸ Cape St John, north of the River Gabon (in modern Equatorial Guinea).

⁹ For European trade at Gabon and Cape Lopez, mainly for ivory, but also wax and dyewood, see Patterson 1975, 13–14.

¹⁰ Wood had apparently traded at Benin before proceeding to the Bight (cf. no.19), and it was probably there that he obtained most of the ivory, though ivory was also available at this period in 'the Bight', at Calabar (Du Casse 1935, 15). It is not clear where Wood had hoped to purchase redwood; although this commodity had been bought at Benin in the 16th century, this trade had lapsed, until it was revived after 1713 (Ryder 1969, 138).

Minghams. The doctor went master. He has carried away one hundred and eighty slaves and has signed to noe bills of loading.¹¹ Mr Obery¹² died at Whiddah the 19th September, and the 27th day I se the Pink well into the River of Arcadoes.¹³ Our people here has been all sick, both whites and blacks, but now they begin to get up againe, all but John Hereford and the carpenter, they being very weak, but hope they will both recover againe. I here by this sloop as that [there] is an English sloop cast away at Papo, which I am heartily sorry for, and I hope that is none of ours.¹⁴

834. Henry Wood [Sekondi], From on board the Georg, 12 March [1686]

This is to acquaint you as we arrived here the 11th of this instant,¹⁵ to give you an account as we have had but a bad trade all along, and likewise [= likely] soe to hold. We have about one thousand weigt of teeth, nor taken four ounces of gold sence we arrived on the Coast, nor likely to have a trade. We have been at every place of trade to windward but met with none. Haveing an oportunity by this canoe I thought good to acquaint you of all our affaires. My mate run away from me at Widdah with the ship of Captain Minghams.

835. John Hereford [Sekondi], 12 March 1686

After my duty present'd unto you, these is to acquaint you of our arrivall at Succondee and of our hard fortune this voyage, for we have not gott one thousand weight of teath in all the Bite, nor one hundred weight of wax nor one stick of redd wood, and since our arrivall on the Coast we have not taken 4o of gold, trading being soe bad, and a Dutch interloper at our heals all the Coast down and haveing fresh goods and selling soe cheap that we can hardly gett a canoe on board.

[On 17 April 1686, Wood in the *George* Sloop was back at Sekondi, but due shortly to go down to Cape Coast (nos 25–6). He subsequently made a voyage to the west, as follows.]

836. Aron Slade¹⁶ of[f] Axim, 19 May 1686

Persuant to your Worships order, the 2^d instant about 10 a clock at night sett sail from the road of Cabo Corso, and on the 8th ditto anchored at Dickecove, at which

¹¹ Cf. no.812.

¹² Richard Obery, commander of the *Jacob* Pink.

¹³ River Forcados, south of Benin, in modern Nigeria: cf. no.844.

¹⁴ Alluding to the *Charlton*, taken over by a slave rebellion off Great Popo: cf. nos 708, 900.

¹⁵ Cf. no.19.

¹⁶ Although the evidence is not explicit, I assume that Slade was acting as factor in board the *George* Sloop, rather than on a separate vessel trading in company with it.

place took in wood and water and bought corn for the voyage. The 18th meet with Captain Pickard, to which time trading along the Coast have disposed of goods to the value of four marks and a halfe of gold. The remaining cargo proves bad in generall, shall use my utmost endeavour for disposall thereof. An accident hath happened to Evan Jenkins by firing the brass gun, which broak, the truth I refer you to the relation of Captain Pickard and his doctor, who hath been very kind and received him on board, with the carpenter, who hath been sick all the voyage and uesless.

837. Henry Wood

of[f] Axim, 3 June 1686

My first was by Captain Pickard of [= off] Axim the 20th May.¹⁷ The same day departed from thence, haveing the wind favourable for us, we arrived the 22^d of May at Cape Appalonia about 4 a clock in the affternoon and their meet with a ship that put out noe coulers. I histed out my cano and send my mate aboard of him to inquire what she was and whether [= whither] she was bound and what ship that was at anchor to windward of them. My mate comeing on board againe and told me that it was the ship as Captain Woodfine meet to windward, and had 10 guns and 40 hands and was bound up the Grain Coast, and as he belong to the Mine, and in the morning he would se what ship that was to windward. Sunday the 23^d in the morning we waied and stood in for the shoare for conveniency of the canoes comeing aboard, and about 8 a clock he sayld to windward and about 11 a clock he was up with the other ship, and he waied also and they stood of tell one a clock and then they both boare away upon us. We being afraid of them, by reason my mate told me he was bound for the Grain Coast, I waied and made the best of my way from them, but the biggest hold us way. About 6 a clock at night one fyred two guns, but the other kept company with us tell 9 a clock the same night, then we lost sight of them and at 11 a clock we anchored of Axim and rod all the night ffollowing, and the next day we waied and bore as low as the Brandiburg forte, and their we lay for a trade, and the next day being Tuesday Captain Slade was taken very ill in all his bones and I would a came to Cabo Corso but he would [not?]. I askd the reason and he told me as Mr Whiteing had a great deal of anger in comeing down in Captain Levandelo, therefore he would not goe down, and a Satterday at 12 a clock at night he dyed, and a Sunday the 30th May I bury'd him in the Brandyburg forte.¹⁸ I would a sent a cano down, but here is none to be had. He had received about 5 marks of gold before he dyed and he had taken none since, which I doe judge he gave your Worship an account of by Captain Pickard before he died.¹⁹ I have received almost 7 ounces for the Royall Company, which I shall

¹⁷ Not preserved.

¹⁸ Cf. no.160, which falsely reports that it was Wood himself, rather than Slade, who was 'dead and buried at the Brandiburgs Castle'.

¹⁹ = no.836.

give your Worship a just and true account of every dayes proceedings and saile of the goods. I shall take all the care I can to dispose of them for the best advantage tell I receive further orders from your Worship. I hope I shall be at Cape 3 Pints about a moneth hence, and then I shall send down our cano to Succondee for to here from your Worship, if I dont here from you before. Captain Slade sold these goods, vizt.

14 boysadoes	4 pintadoes
19 tapseiles	21 paper brawls
11 Beneen cloths	55 dozen knives
6 ffirkins of tallow	72 one pound basons
66 Turkey carpitts	4 lead barrs
7 Welch playns	3½ barrells powder
20 Guine clouts	4 iron barrs

This is all he sold for which I have receipts for. The carpitts proves bad, here is 24, all worm and rott [= rat] eaten and not worth one ounce.

Sold myself in his sickness

2 tapseiles	2 barrells powder
4 carpitts	12 1 lb basons
5 playns	1 damaged say
16 Beneen cloths	

Here is noe ship to windward but ourselves and a Dutch ship from the Mine.

[In late June 1686 Wood was apparently at or near Sekondi, since the RAC factor there transmitted a letter to him, but he then started towards Cape Coast Castle (no.39). In the following month, he was back on a further voyage to the west, as follows.]

838. Henry Wood & John Hereford

[Komenda], from on board the Georg, 14 July 1686

Wee arriv'd as high as the Mine a Satterday about 5 a clock, and coming to anchor the Mine fired a gun and put a weife [= waif]²⁰ aboard on his flag staff. I thinging it was to me went ashoare in the cano; and no sooner was in the Castle but one of the canomen run away from me and I forced to hire a canoe to carry me on board, and since here he is at Commenda, but [I am] now lien becalm'd and no likelihood of any wind. I have sent the cano to acquaint your Worship of it. Mr Hereford has sent your Worship a great ffish by Amo.²¹ We here Mr Cross²² is not well, and we hant had any trade as yett.

²⁰ i.e. a small signal-flag.

²¹ An employee of the RAC, already attested as the Company's 'gold-taker' at Cape Coast in 1683 (Daaku 1970, 104), and by the 1690s regarded (with Hansico) as one of the 'Castle Cappasheirs' (Phillips 1732, 225).

²² William Cross, chief of the RAC factory at Komenda.

839. Henry Wood & John Hereford

[Komenda], from on board the George Sloop, 20 July 1686

Meeten with the An Sloop at Comendo we have put all the mony on board as we have taken since we have been from Cabo Corso, which amount to two markes and four ounces of gold, which I hope you will receive per the hand of Mr Innes, the bulce markd and seald as per margent. I have also sent down Robert Dingwell, not being well and had a desire to come to Cabo Corso. Mr Innes has spared me one of his hands, which is a Portugues, so as I am not at all the weaker by him.

840. Henry Wood & John Hereford

Suceddee, from on board the Georg Sloop, 28 July [1686]

Wee arrived at Suceddee the 27th of this instant,²³ and understanding that Mr Chambers was going down to Cabo Corso thought good to acquaint your Worship and the rest of the Councill of our proceedings. We have sent down per Mr Innes two mark, four ounces of gold, and we have received since one mark, five ounces or thereabouts, which we doe intend to putt ashore at Suceddee, by reason we dont think it safe to send per Mr Chambers by reason he goes in a two hand cano and puts on shoare at Comenda.

841. Henry Wood & John Hereford

From on board the Georg Sloop, of[f] Butteru, 1 Aug. 1686

I received your Worships dated the 30 July, and according to your Worships order we have given you an account of our proceedings. We have anow [= enough] of all sorts of goods as yett only [= except] one pound basons, they be all gon. As for the Negroes they dont ask for any other sorts of goods but what we have. We have left with Mr Bucknell²⁴ one mark, four ounces, and 6 angles, which is all we have taken since we sent down the mony per Mr Innes, which was two mark, four ounces, which I hope your Worship has received. We are endeavoring to gett to Dickecove to corn and water, then to make the best of our way to windward in hopes to meet with a better trade there than here. Our wooden owrs [= oars] stands us in great steed, for we hant no land breas nor no good sea breas.

842. Henry Wood & John Hereford

near Dicke Cove, 11 Aug. 1686

Here arrivd Captain Brandfill the 10th this instant, which per him we render your Worship an account of all our proceedings. We have bin this 13 dayes and have not gaind a mile to the westward, and God knows when we may. We have no land

²³ Cf. no.44.²⁴ Thomas Bucknell, chief of the RAC factory at Sekondi.

breas nor sea breas, but the wind lyeth between the W. and W.S.W., a very strong leward curreant. As for our trade is very bad as yett. Them goods as we sell here as green playns, powder and narrow tapseiles, knives, and lead barrs, for which goods we have sent your Worship one mark, two ounces of gold, as we have received here, which per Captain Brandfiell we have sent it to your Worship, which we hope will safly come to your hands. We have overtaken a Dutch sloop that is bound up to Axim and has been eleaven weeks from the Mine and cant gett about the Cape,²⁵ so our indeavours shant be wanting to gett to windward.

843. Henry Wood & John Hereford

Butterue, 23 Aug. 1686

This by our own cano. We give your Worship advise of our proceedings and what mony we have taken sent to your Worship per bearer John Mullett, which is two mark and three ounces and ten angles, which we hope will come saffe to your hands. The occasion of sending the cano is for more rangoes, for we have sold all we had, one great and one small string for one angle, and much adoe to put the small of. We have sent your Worship per Captain Brandfeild ten ounces of gold, which we hope your Worship have received. We want no other goods. I desire your Worship would be pleased to send per the cano 30 or 40 ffathom of good rope to make bouy rope, for our cables are very bad and I am affraid we shall loose our anchor. Our boatswain being very sick desired to goe to Cabo Corso, and we have put him on board of Captain Dail.

[PS] This is to inform your Worship that the Dutch at Butteru doe hinder the negroes from tradeing with us, although we have sent up the cuntrey to them, and when they come down the Dutch seiz'd on them, and so for two or three dayes together. Here is one Dutch interloper and we here, and two or three more to windward.

[The *George* Sloop, now commanded by Richard Hobbs, was dispatched from Cape Coast for Gabon in Oct. 1686;²⁶ and was at Whydah taking in slaves in Dec. (no.821). In June 1687 it was at Aboadi, between Sekondi and Shama, on its way back to Cape Coast (no.938). Later in 1687, now under the command of Joseph Blyth, it made a voyage to Barbados (nos 941–3). Henry Wood had meanwhile transferred to command of the *Coast* Frigate, which also sailed to Barbados in 1686–7 (nos 918–9, 975).]

²⁵ i.e. Cape Three Points.

²⁶ PRO, T70/11, Henry Nurse et al., Cape Coast Castle, 27 Oct. 1686.

The *Jacob* Pink, Commander Richard Obrey, then Charles Langley

844. Charles Langley & Jonas Perrin [River Forcados], no date

These are to acquaint you that we are safely arrived in the River of Bercadees,²⁷ which we must confest we have prolonged our time at Ardra by occasion of Mr Obreys sickness, who departed this life in Guidah roade the 19th September, and we sayle from thence the 21st ditto. Mr Henry Wood, master of the George Sloope, came down before our departure, and the said Mr Obrey made him his executor, which the said Wood ought to make good all things are wanting, as your Worship will finde per inclosed. Likewise the said Woods vessell was forced to goe into the said river with us, where we were forced to stay with him 3 or 4 dayes, because his ruther [= rudder] was loose, and we were forced to take him in and out of the said river for fear of ffurther danger should happen to his vessell.²⁸ This day haveing understood that a Dutch ship being aloft at the Boneen town,²⁹ and understanding that one of that ships men that was taken per Captain Levandelos ship to be on board the said ship, and that one of our men on board us, then belonging to the said Levandelo, was on board his ship at that time when she was taken,³⁰ and he fearing that the said Dutch man should do an injury to him at his arrivall at the Boneen, have discharged him and put him on board Mr Wood, and have received from Mr Wood Richard Jones in his roome.

845. [unsigned] from on board the *Jacob* Pink at Abbine,³¹ 20 July 1686

After my most humble servis to your Worship and Councill, in hopes these few lines will find you all in good health as we all injoy at present, but have had a great deal sickness in the term of the voyage. These few lines is to lett your Worship and Councill understand that the 19 September Mr Richard Obrey made his will to Mr Henry Wood and left all that he had to him, and about 11 in the forenoon the same day he dyed at Quidda, so [the] 21st day [omission?] we got over the bar into the river,³² w[h]ere I stayd till the 1st October to assist Mr Wood with my carpenter to the mendinge of his rudder and [we] pparted, so the 12th day got the ship up river

²⁷ River Forcados, in the western Niger Delta (in modern Nigeria).

²⁸ Cf. Wood's account, no.833.

²⁹ Benin City, situated on the Benin (or Formosa) River, north of the Forcados.

³⁰ Levandelo had captured a Dutch interloper in the previous year: PRO, T70/11, Nurse et al, Cape Coast Castle, 3 May 1685.

³¹ Albani (nowadays called Half Assinie), between Assinie and Axim.

³² Cf. nos 833, 844, which state that the *Jacob* left Whydah on 21 Sept. and entered the River Forcados on 27 Sept.

of Umbrah,³³ w[h]ere found that the Beeneens was at warrs with the other cuntrey people,³⁴ so cloths and teeth was very scarce, for the ffiddores³⁵ they would not let me have any trade for either cloths or teeth, till I had paid all customs and trust'd sum goods to them, as I was forcd for to doe,³⁶ but have got most of the cloths in for the goods trusted by me as 1068 times and coldes³⁷ and 1285 womens cloth.

[The *Jacob* Pink again sailed to Benin, and back to the Gold Coast in 1687 (nos 95, 260), but no correspondence survives from this second voyage.]

The *Adventure* Sloop, Commander James Bailey

[In Jan. 1686 Bailey was at Sekondi careening his vessel (nos 4–6, 8). He made a second voyage to Sekondi, to deliver letters and goods, in early Feb. 1686 (no.10). Later in Feb. he delivered goods to the Anomabu factory (nos 387–9); and in early March he was again at Sekondi (no.16). Later in March and again in April he went east, to deliver goods to Accra (nos 713, 715). In May 1686 he was reported to be at Lagu, to purchase corn (no.717).]

846. James Baily

Mumford, 28 May 1686

These are to sattisfie you that I am at this place and have endeavoured all I can at Barricoe and this place, but canot gett any corne, winds being so fair westerly that I canot get up, and as to trade it is very bad, for I have not took any mony this 9 or 10 days. Our leakes continue at the same rate, our sloop is so foule that we can hardly move through the water. I shall endeavour with all opertunityes I can to gett up.

847. James Bayly

3 July 1686

These are to acquaint your Worship that we are in great want of 20s and halfe crown nayles for to bring two [= to] our sheathing, we want 500 of each. I desire

³³ The geography is difficult to interpret. The reference to trade in cloth which follows suggests that the ship had moved from the Forcados to the Benin River, but the name 'Umbrah' is not otherwise attested; the usual trading places on the latter river at this time were Arebo and Meiborg (or Mabbor) (Ryder 1969, 124–6).

³⁴ Perhaps alluding to hostilities between Benin and Warri, the neighbouring kingdom based on the River Forcados. Three years later, in 1689, these two kingdoms were said to be 'not exchanging ambassadors . . . and resorting to war' (Ryder 1969, 113).

³⁵ 'Fiadors' (from Portuguese *veador*, 'inspector') was a term for royal officials in Benin, including those who dealt with European traders (Ryder 1969, 129–32; Bosman 1705, 433–4).

³⁶ On the necessity of advancing goods on credit in the Benin cloth trade, cf. Ryder 1969, 130–1; Bosman 1705, 433–4.

³⁷ 'Caldes' or 'Caldoes' and 'tyms' (also 'cymons', 'jims') are attested in other seventeenth-century sources as names of types of cloth purchased from Benin: Jones 1995, 315–6.

your Worship to send us what you have on Munday morning. I fear we shall doe but little till they come, our tarr spends apace and beleive we shall want two barrell or more of tarr and a barrell of lyme and we shall be in want of a boltsprit of 26 foot long and eight inc[h]es diamiter, if your Worship have any conveyance to send it up here that it may be sent before we git out.

848. James Bayly

6 July 1686

That this bearer hath been abusefull and I am not willing to take him any longer, and as for the nailes I have received yesterday about five a clock in the afternoon. I hope this day we shall compleat one side of sheathing. I desire your Worship that you will be pleased to send the lime and tarr. I shall want a half barrell of palm oyl. Pray be pleased to send what sheaths, nailes and others you have by you.

849. James Bayly

no date [Aug. 1686]

Yours of the 29th instant [received]. I have received from Mr Whiteing³⁸ thirty men, 17 women³⁹ and I have bought 5 men, 3 women, in all ffifty five slaves. I stopt at Barraco, coming down, but found no trade, but [they] said if I would stay 7 or 8 dayes I should have slaves and money. I made the best of my way for Accra. At my comeing up I se a Pourtugues and Dutch sloop rideing at Barraco. There came not any cano to trade with me. Ever since makeing the best of my way for Cabo Corso. I have had the slaves on board 20 dayes, I have not above 6 or 7 dayes water for them. I received to windward of Accra about 14 ounces. I suppose them⁴⁰ to be Accras, I have a five hand cano at my starn. There was not any 3 hand canoe to be had at Lague and Mumford. There is great enquiery for tapseiles and longees if they be good. I fear we shall light of a long passage up, the wind being quite contrary.

850. James Bayly

att Amersa, 4 Sept. 1686

According to your order have sent what slaves I have on board, that is twenty one women, five men. We doe what we can to gett up, we haveing not any wind to gett of or on the shoar, and a strong leward currant. I have not had a land breas to hold two howers ever since I came from Accra.

[After presumably returning to Cape Coast, Bailey was at Beraku on 18 Sept. 1686 (no.870), and at Accra, where he delivered goods, later in the same month (no.727). Early the next month he was at Alampo to the east,

³⁸ Mark Bedford Whiting, chief of the RAC factory at Accra.

³⁹ Cf. no.721.

⁴⁰ This evidently refers forward, to the canoe seen to stern.

purchasing slaves (no.728); and later in Oct. he was at Accra, on his way back to Cape Coast (no.729). Early in Nov. he was at Komenda, landing goods and collecting the factory's gold takings, to take back to Cape Coast (no.191-2); later in the same month, he was at Beraku (nos 879-80), and then at Accra, from which he departed back to Cape Coast on 27 Nov. (no.735-6).]

851. James Bailey

Mumford, 3 Dec. 1686

This morning wee lost the head of our mast lying att anchor with our maine saile up waighting for the land breeze. It brocke under the reging [= rigging] and all our shrouds and stays came downe. Wee have seaventy three slaves aboard, whereof is fivety fower men and ninteen woemen, the men are very troublesome unto uss. Wee are getting up of our riging upon the stump, and hope to bee goeing this night if any land breeze.

[After presumably delivering these slaves to Cape Coast, Bailey returned to Accra for more (cf. no.736).]

852. James Baylye

11 Dec. 1686

Wee are all in good health, with the slaves, and are in want of nothing. I have on board ffourteen men and seaventeen weomen.

[Bailey presumably now delivered these slaves to Cape Coast, before embarking on a voyage to westwards. On 23 Dec. 1686 he was at Cape Apollonia (no.923), and then proceeded back eastwards, as follows.]

853. James Bayly

Taccarado, 12 Jan. 1686/7

These are to acquaint you of our passage so far windward as Cape Apilonia in three dayes, where we found a strong trade wind with currant, and lay there 12 dayes in hopes of a slack but found it not abate. I endeavoured and stopt at all places of trade downward. I have not taken above three ounces all the way down besides mony for the rangoes I have sold them. All the blacks are all at warrs from Cape Appilonia to Cape Tres Pointas, inland people,⁴¹ and them by the waterside have not mony to lay out. By the badness of weather and a strong currant we broak our cable and lose our anchor two leaugues to windward of Cape Appilonia. He came in before us a French man of 12 guns and 70 men.

[Later in January, Bailey went back to Cape Coast, calling at Komenda to collect the factory's gold (no.219). In February he was again to the west of

⁴¹ Cf. no.854, reporting that the people of Apollonia had been 'routed'.

Sekondi, but was reported to have failed to get as far as Cape Apollonia (no.71).]

854. James Baily

Commenda, 5 March 1686/7

These are to acquaint you of our return to this place, we gitting no higher then Cape Appilonia, w[h]ere we lay a considerable time in hopes to gett to Ashenee but could not, haveing a strong leward currant. The people at Apilonia being all routed and two dayes before we came away were returnd againe, they came on board of us but had not any mony. I seing they had no mony, wayed and came down and stoped at all places of trade. No canos came on board of us, all being at warrs. I have not taken two ounces in my voyage. I spoak with two shippes that did inform me they found no trade at Ashenee. I stoped at Taccarado and went to Succondee to se if Mr Bucknell wanted any goods.⁴² He haveing no occasion for any, I came down to Commenda where I found a Dutch interloper with French coullers. Not any canoes hath bin on board of us as yett.

[Bailey returned from Komenda to Cape Coast on 8 March 1687 (no.233). Later in the same month he was at Mumford (no.885), and then at Accra, from where he returned to Cape Coast (no.749–50).] In April 1687 he was back east, at Anomabu, apparently delivering oystershells (no.516). In June he was at Accra, for where he set out on 18 June for Alampo, to purchase slaves (no.756).]

855. James Bayley

ffrom on board the Adventure sloop, neer Alampo, 29 June 1687

I did not think when I sent the letter to Mr Whiting (which I beleeve you have seen before now) that he had still been at Cabo Corso else should have given a farther accompt of my proceedings. I did to Captain Gould, whom I thought to have been at Accraa and to whom I was ordered by you to make my applications, but I was deceived in that likewise and received his letter back again from Mr Price,⁴³ as likewise another from you wherein you ordered me to advise Mr Whiting what quantity of slaves I have procured, which I did in the formenconed letter, since which time I have procured twelve which makes in all fifty, and thanks be to God all in good health. One of our canoe men I have left ashore at Alampo sick of the small pox and am forced to hire another in his roome, but when shall gett up with you know not, the breeze continuuing much out and leeward currants, cannot gett off. I have been 10 dayes from Alampo and have not gott three leagues of ground, and corn, wood and water spends apace. My canoe goes for more corn now, and by

⁴² Cf. no.73.

⁴³ Thomas Price, deputy to Whiting in the RAC factory at Accra.

chance with much adoe and some cost have gott some water here, else should not have had a drop to drink. My wood is allmost gone, and of that I can gett none. I could have gott more slaves had I had sayes, red and green perpetuanoes, most redd, and good long clothes, for the bale I had from Gould was new packt and likewise turned [?=torn], as all my men can testifye, and so bad that they would not meddle with them till abated upon every piece. In your letter you order me to leave the slaves at Accra and there to take in what goods and corn I shall want, with which you have ordered Mr Whiting to supply me with, and with those goods to receive and purchase gold and slaves, but whither I must go down again or where I must do it you do not order me; I shall as soone as gett up make my applicaon to Mr Whiting, and if he has any furder orders from you to me I shall readily observe them, but if in the mean time you shall think it requisite to order him to send downe his canoes for the slaves then I shall want besides the goods that he has by him, sayes and knives, provided I am to go down. I hope I shall gett up before your answer, I shall strive to do it.

[On 7 July Bailey came back west to Labadi, and visited the Accra factory to collect a supply of goods, with which he sailed back to Alampo on 8 July (no.758). Later in the month, Captain Robert Gould, in the *Maynard*, met Bailey at Alampo, and put one of his ship's guns onto the *Adventure* (no.760).]

856. James Bayly

Adventure Sloop, Accraa 27 July 1687

This comes by the 11 hand canoe to give you accompt that on Munday, being the 25 instant, I arived att Accraa with 26 men, 22 weomen slaves, which according to order I putt as[h]oare here, and now lye only for further orders.⁴⁴ I should have gott more slaves had not the canoemen played the rouge and runn away from mee. I stayed for them three dayes butt had no sight of them, although had very fair weather to come of. Two of them are now come up heare with a story that the canoe is broake all to peices upon a rocke as came alonge shoare, the other staves att Alampoe, soe that if you order mee downe againe I shall want a canoe and another canoeman, for he is so great a rouge, tis he that hath caused all this, the very Alampoe people complaines of him. I hope they will send him up, for since I cam[e] here there cam[e] a two hand canoe from thence with two slaves, which I have stopt upon his heade⁴⁵ and will keep them till you order the contrary if they doe not retturne him. Its hee that I was forced to hire a man in his rome for a month, pretending hee was sicke of small pox, which att my retturne I found to be nothing, soe I shall expect your orders what I shall doe with him if he comes. I received your letter at Alampoe, and received from Captain Gould two tonn of

⁴⁴ Cf. no.761.

⁴⁵ i.e. he had 'panyarred' them to keep as security for delivery of the canoeman.

watter caske. Likewise he putt on board mee one of the gunns that was for Accra, which he would not stay to putt ashoare there. How I shall gett him out I know not, for my tackling will not hold to doe itt. I had his runners and tackle to gett him in, with rope to slinge him, elce could not have dont, and without you please to send mee down such things I cannot putt him ashoare but must carry him with mee where are [= ere] I goe. Here is a three hand canoe to be bought, they aske five pease for itt, itt may be Mr Whitting may gett itt cheaper, provided you like the buying off itt.

[At the beginning of Aug. Bailey was still at Accra, awaiting instructions from Cape Coast (no.762-3), and on 8 Aug. was dispatched west for Cape Coast, to deliver gold and slaves (no.764-5).]

857. James Bayly

Adventure Sloop, 21 Aug. 1687

This comes by my owne two hand canoe to acquaint you that according to your last order I tooke aboard sixty slaves at Accraa, which have had on board now thirteen days, and have been from thence eleaven dayes, and not gott as high as Barracoe by two miles, the currant running strong to leward, and the breezes along shoare with calms, so that when I shall gett up know not, having been these six dayes and not gott three leagues of ground. When came from Accraa tooke aboard no more than fourteen chests of corne (not leaving them so many), expecting to gett up where I could have gott more if occasion; but now have not above six days corne aboard, and to send to Accraa tis in vaine, they having none to supply me withall, and if this weather continues, wood and water will be wanting likewise, and where to gett it hereabouts know not, and besides if could have not a canoe to fetch it. Severall of the slaves have been ill but now, thanke God, pretty well recovered, only one woman dyed of the fflux the 16th instant. I thought it convenient to give you timely advise, that I might in time receive your orders and supply. In the absence of my canoe shall use my utmost indeavour to gett up as high as I can.

858. James Bayly

Barracoe, Adventure Sloop, 23 Aug. 1687

By the 11 hand canoe I received your letter of the 22th instant, as likewise six chests of corne, water and yambs, as also a few coales, but wood will be our first want, having less than did imagine but hope shall have an oppertunity ere long to gett up, yett the currant runs stronger now than when sent up. According to your order, I sent up by the canoe ffifteen men slaves and ffifteen women slaves, being as many as the canoe would carry, and I hope the rest will continue in health as they are now.

859. James Baily

Amersa, 3 Sept. 1687

Since the retturne of your 11 hand canoe, I have made shift by the help of a slacke currant, though small winds, to gett up to this place, but now the currant is made downe soe stronge that how long I shall stay here know not. It was on the 29th past I weighed from Barracoe, and the 31st ditto I anchored not a league from this place, soe my necessityes forces me once more more to beg your assistance, for I have not above four dayes corne, and hardly soe much wood, and verry spedily shall want watter, and besides my long passage causes three or four of the slaves to fall away very much, although they eate well and drinke well, what's the matter with them know not. This goes by my canoe as farr as Agga and from thence by land.

860. James Baily

Amersa, 5 Sept. 1687

Your letter of the 4th instant have received this morning by the 11 hand canoe, by whom I sent the remaines of the slaves, being fifteen man and fourteen weomen, which with the weoman slave that dyed makes up the sixty received of Mr Marke Bedford Whiting, Cheife att Accra, and one weoman slave that I bought at Accraa just as your order came down to mee, soe that I did not putt her ashoare, which makes by this canoe fifteen men and fifteen weomen. This morning with a small breese and the currant being abated I weighed, but beleive shall gett but little today. I retturne you my humble thanks for your kindnesses, but I hope now my absence will not be long, soe that I shall make a shift with what I have till I gett up.

[Having presumably called at Cape Coast, later in Sept. Bailey went back to Accra, where he delivered supplies, before going on eastward (no.770).]

861. James Bayly ffrom on board the Adventure, at Mingo,⁴⁶ 26 Sept. 1687

These serves to acquaint you that in prosecution of your orders, on the 23^d instant I came as low as Pampara,⁴⁷ which is about 7 leagues to windward of Alampo (for I did not thinke it convenient to goe soe low as the Dutch shipp lying there), where I might have got slaves had I goods accordingly, which is sayes, blew and green perpetuanoes and broad tapseiles, for those that you put on board mee for broad proves to be narrow (and yet the bales holds no more then eighty pieces), which they will not looke upon. I have sent up a piece to Mr Whiting, whom I have desired to forward to you with this letter, which my canoes goes with to Accraa. I have made shift to purchase six slaves with such goods as I have, but theirs twenty gon away for want of goods. Some was for booges, but would not take 80£ and 90£,⁴⁸ the Dutch man giving more. This day I fell downe to this place in sight of

⁴⁶ More properly Ningo (nowadays Nungoa), east of Accra.

⁴⁷ Prampram, east of Ningo.

⁴⁸ i.e. 80–90 lbs weight.

the Dutch man, hearing by my canoe, which sent here before, that they had slaves. The allejarrs I cannot expect to gett of, for they will not looke upon them. Not else at present but humbly desiring your answer, and some supply of goods, without which can doe but little.

PS. If at any time they should like the narrow tapseeles I know not at what price they are rated at, therefore desire to know how I may sell them.

[At the end of Sept., Bailey was reported to be still to eastward of Accra (no.773); early in Oct. he came west to Teshi, to deliver slaves to the Accra factory (no.775); and on 16 Oct. he was reported still to eastward of Accra, trading for slaves (no.777).]

862. James Bayly from on board the Adventure Sloop, 23 Oct. 1687

By a two hand canoe received yours of the 18th instant, and according to your order shall make the best of my way up to Accraa, and there follow it both in takeing in slaves, and likewise puting ashore what goods Mr Whiting demands, except the bale of tapseeles you mention, which shall carefully bring up to Cabo Corso, from when[c]e since my departure have purchased ffifty slaves, thirty of which are at Accra, the rest on board, and should have gott a great many more, if it had not been for the Dutch mans says.

[Bailey now proceeded to Accra, from where he departed, presumably for Cape Coast, around 31 Oct. (no.781)]

863. James Bayly on board the Adventure Sloop, off of Morea, 7 Nov. 1687

I received your letter, but being in the orfing [= offing] with a land brease and a strong leward currant I shall not be able to seize the shoare nor fetch Annamaboe at present. I cam from Accra a Wednesday last, with twenty nine men and twenty nine weomen slaves, and one boy. Mr Pepperell⁴⁹ was to come away the Ffriday following, I expect to see him every minute.

[Having presumably delivered these slaves to Cape Coast, Bailey was back at Accra in Dec., to collect further slaves for delivery there (no.789).]

864. James Bayly

From on board the Adventure Sloope, in the roade of Cabo Corso, 12 Jan. 1687/8

I have received your orders, and shall as soone as the wind presents, ffollow them, in the ffirst, and when arrive at Comenda in the last, but beleeve my passage there

⁴⁹ Nicholas Pepperell, commanding the *Alligator* Sloop.

will not be soe speedy as may be expected, the currant being broake, but shall use my utmost endeavors to loose noe time.

[Bailey was ordered to Komenda on this occasion to assist in the evacuation of goods from the RAC factory there; the *Adventure* sloop was at Komenda for this purpose on 15 Jan. (no.313); and was again (or still) off Komenda on 8 Feb. (no.321).]

865. James Bayly

Comenda, 11 Feb. 1687/8

Your orders I received this morning and shall performe it in every perticular as neere as I can. I likewise received the powder, shott and every thing exprest therein.⁵⁰ There are two ships now in sight under saile coming downe, but what they are know not.

866. James Bayley

From on board the Aventure Sloop, 5 March 1687/8

These are to informe you that I was taken suddenly ill 4 days since, but was in hopes I should have gotten over it, but find to the contrary, having had an exceeding strong feavour this 24 hours, with great paine in head and hart. Doe humbly crave your worships would be pleased to order mee down to Cabo Corso, that the docter may be helpfull to me, if it be the will of God.

867. James Bayly

Comenda, 31 March 1688

This morning arrived here the Alligattor sloop, Mr Jeferyes (but the *Ann* is not yett arived), by whome I understand I must goe to Succondee, but understand likewise there is noe canoes ordered to carry out our anchors, when come there, neither am I in a condition to goe there, haveing but a cable of forty fathom, and that broake the other day, nor have not a booy roape thats good for anything for our ancors, nor barrells to booy up our cables, which must be used to save them from the rocks or elce shall be cutt adrift, six of which will serve. As for a cable I cannot go without it, the old one being broke to peeces, since rid here. I likewise want 4 fathom of four inch shroude hasser⁵¹ to make straps for our blocks, to heave downe by. I will make the best of my way up to Succondee when the goods are out, but can do nothing when come there without the things above mentioned, There is butts to make the carpenters staves, nor I know not what I shall do with the great gunn that I tooke out of Captain Gould, for cannot careen with it in.

[The *Ann* evidently arrived at Komenda later on 31 March, and the goods

⁵⁰ Cf. no.322.

⁵¹ i.e. hawser, a cable used for warping.

evacuated from the Komenda factory which were on the *Adventure* were now transferred to the *Ann*, and the *Adventure* and the *Alligator* departed for Sekondi (no.331). On 19 April 1688, Bailey left Sekondi again for Cape Coast (no.140).]

The *Ann* Sloop, Commander Hugh Hilling

[The *Ann* Sloop was employed between Jan. and July 1686 in voyages to Komenda and Sekondi (nos 8, 10, 16–17, 24–5, 43, 150, 156, 169, 839), but seems then to have been commanded by a Mr Jones, who in July was reported ill at Sekondi (no.42). Hugh Hilling, formerly employed in the Sekondi factory, had assumed command of the *Ann* by Aug. 1686, when he undertook a voyage to the east, as follows.]

868. Hugh Hilling

From on board the Ann Sloop in Barrocoe Road, 1 Sept. 1686

According to your order I sayld as low as Accra and deliverd to Mr Whiteing the good[s] consignd unto him from your Worship and rest of the Councill and took his receipt for the same,⁵² and I arrived here at Barracoe the second instant [sic] and found the Mine sloop trading here for gold and slaves, and I am inform'd per the Capushers that the Coopman of the sloop hath made a pallaver with them about building a house here, but this [= their] answer was that it did belong to the English and that they would not consent to anything before they did acquaint your Worship and the rest of the Councill with it. The Generall of the Mine hath sent them a dashee here, one green perpetuano and a halfe, and make them a great many fair promises. I have taken since I have been here two marks, four ounces of gold and three men, three women and one girle. I have sent per my cano one matchlock musquett of the same sorte that are vendible here. If I had two or three hundred I should sell them in a shorte time, for here is a good trade at present. If you think fit to supply me pray send per first opertunity some green and blew perpetuanoes, sheets, broad nicconees, broad tapseiles, for my green perpetuanoes are all gone and most of the nicconees. If you have any good herba longees they will goe of. I desire you if you think ffit to spare me another whiteman.

[Hilling was reported still at Beraku, 11 Sept. (no.725).]

⁵² Cf. no.724.

869. Hugh Hilling

From on board the An Sloop rideing in Barracoe Roade, 14 Sept. 1686

Yours received per seaventeen hand cano, per which I received one hundred broad nicconees, twenty five blew perpetuanoes, fourty green ditto. Likewise I have deliver'd to Ffrancis Dormer four men, five women, one girle. I would have sent a letter by him, but they would not tarry my writeing. I followd the cano in the evening as high as Lague, but not finding them I put ashore at Mumford to se about the corn that is due, and will be readdy at four or five dayes warning. I have taken four marks, one ounce, ten angles and six taccoes of gold and I have bought one man, one lusty lad and one girl more. I desire you would be pleased to send me some sheets and musquetts, broad tapseiles, lead barrs, white pautkeis, and likewise the price of tapsieles and pautkeis, and likewise some powder, about twelve or ffifteen barrells in whole, half and quarter barrells. I desire it may be good, for I have two barrells and a quarter of the last that lyes on my hands, for powder and musquets are a great commodity here, for they doe expect to fight the Acrongs within this two months.⁵³ As concerning the Dutch their building a house here, they would very willingly doe it, but the blacks will not consent to it, as far as I can understand. The Dutch does give the traders one angle in the bendy custom, as they call it, and bestow plenty of brandy upon them, but to what end I know not. As for a dashee, what your Worship thinks fitt will joyfully be expected. Here are five of them that speakes English, and they all expect a like. I desire your Worship to send me two or three anchors of rum and two or three skeines of twine if possible you can gett any. Atta Barba⁵⁴ presents his servis to your Worship.

870. Hugh Hilling

From on board the Ann Sloop in Barracoe roade, 20 Sept. 1686

Yours received by Mr Baily the eighteenth instant, [with] ten barrell of powder, six whole and eight halfe; ffifty bars of lead; one hundred white pautkeis; thirty blew ditto; ffifteen narrow tapseiles; two quarter casque of rum; three chests of sheets; sixty nine matchlock musquetts, and one that I sent up makes seaventy; twenty five firelock ditto; also one scarlett cloth. Concerning the settleing a white man ashore, they demand two sayes, half a barrell of powder, one ankor of brandy, a[nd] likewise a green perpetuano; and they doe likewise promis great care they will take of the white man and what other things your Worship shall intrust in their charge, and doe promis that the Dutch nor any other shall have any settlement here but whom your Worship shall order, and will take a ffitish for the same. These things I am obliged to deliver to them this night, and hoyst a flag in token of our

⁵³ Cf, later references to war between Agona and Akron, in January–March 1687 (nos 491, 884).

⁵⁴ A trader associated with the RAC, already attested at Winneba in 1683 (vol.i, nos 386 etc.; but the 'Atta' in nos 23–6, at Sekondi, is probably a different person).

settlement. I have sent according to order my gold, which is five marks as in margent (mk 5). Likewise I have sen[t] one man, one boy, one lad, three women, which is all the cano could take in. The Dutch profferd five sayes and other things to settle here, which they doe deny.

871. Hugh Hilling

Barracoe, 29 Sept. 1686

The occasion of my writeing is to desire your worship to send me these goods ffollowing, as powder, white pautkeis, green perpetuanoes, and redd stript gingham, and sheets, blew pautkeis, with the prices thereof, desiring your Worship to send an order for to bring up the damagd powder, for I have three whole barrells, four half, one quarter, which will not sell, and likewise to send some musquets of the same sort you sent before, matchlocks. I have nine men, seaven women slaves, and two marks of gold. I desire your Worship to dispatch these goods, with all expedition. The Dutch are very incroching and doe intrud[e] themselves into the Capushers company with promises of great reward if they will give leave to their settlement, but they will not as far as I can understand. Per the next oportunity I will give you advice farther.

872. Hugh Hilling

Barracoe Road, 3 Oct. 1686

Yours received by Captain Peter, of whom received these ffollowing good[s], forty green and redd perpetuanoes; six whole, eight halfe barrells of powder; fourty matchlock musquets; two hundred and fourty blew pautkeis; ffifty stript carpitts; twenty gingham; seaventy two white pautkeis. Likewise I have sent back by Captain Peter the bad powder, which is three wholes, three halfes and one quarter barrells of powder, and likewise two marks, five ounces, four angles and six taccoes of gold, and ten men, seaven women slaves. The people ashore has againe confirm'd their promis to me, about the Dutch not settleing here, but they say they are very sorry that their old masters will not doe by them as the Dutch would, which is to give one angle upon a bendy, which to encourage them I doe give, but if not allow'd I must pay myselfe, which I hope your Worship and the rest of the Councill will take in consideration.

As concerning the charge your Worship hath been pleased to intrust me with, I shall have a dilligent care thereof and shall doe my utmost indeavouring for the in[t]rest of the Royall Company

873. Hugh Hilling

Barracoe Roade, 11 Oct. 1686

This accompany's John Pound in the seventeen hand cano, which will acquaint your Worship that the Dutch has hoysted their fflag here by the order of Atta Barber, but there was none of the Winaba Cabushers would consent to it. The

Dutch man gave to Attabarba and some of his followers one quarter casque of brandy, and told him that the Coopman and ffizcall of the Mine should come down and make the pallaver and bring workmen with them to build a fforte, but as far as I can understand the Queen hath not consented to itt.⁵⁵ Trade is somewhat dead at present by reason their army are in the feild and doe expect to fight every day.⁵⁶ The queen has sent down for a white man to come up and speak with her about our pallaver. I have taken one mark, one ounce of gold and bought 3 men, 3 women slaves, and doe expect a good trade very suddenly. I desire your Worship to send down a fflag, if you think it convenient. The last caske of sayes that I opend was wormeaten, and there is 7 of them will not pass at the price curreant. I desire your Worship to send some sayes by the first opertunity. Bryan Ingle doth desire your Worship that I may be his paymaster, from the sixteenth of July unto the eight of October.

874. Hugh Hilling

Mumford, 25 Oct. 1686

These are to acquaint your Worship that I finding little trade at Barracoe, I came up to Mumford, and in our comeing up we broak our rudder of at the upper pintle⁵⁷ and lost the lower part of him, and likewise the lower gudging [= gudgeon]. I have sent up the dementions for makeing a new one, the longest peice of twine is the distance between the suppermost part of the upper gudging and the foott of the sternpost, and the shortest peice of twine is from the uppermost part of the uper gudging to the upermost part of the lower gudging that was before, and likewise I have sent the rudder head. I would not have the lowermost pintle nayld on untill it comes to my hands. Thee gudging must be four inches and a halfe wide, near five. Likewise send nayles for the said use and a great hammer, and I doe not question but to hang him as well my selfe as he was before. I have taken two marks of gold and bought eight men, four women, two boys and [a] girle. I desire your Worship to send me some sayes, paper brawls, white pautkeis and course sletias, and the price of the sletias, and an anchor of good rum. If your Worship doth send any corne to Accra, I can furnish you here with the old debt.

875. Hugh Hilling

Mumford, 28 Oct. 1686

Yours I received by Captain Peter, by whome I received twenty sayes, twenty course sletias, ninty paper brawles, and thirty gallons of rum. The sayes are much rat eaten, ten of them, we found a dead rott [= rat] in the case. According to order I have sent per Peter two marks, one ounce, seaven angles, of which there is two

⁵⁵ Agona was ruled at this time by a Queen: cf. Bosman 1705, 63.

⁵⁶ Against Akron: cf. no.869.

⁵⁷ The pin on which the rudder swings.

ounces, three angles of cratra mony by itselfe, and likewise eight men, four women, two boyes and one girle. There is one of the men hath had a great rising on his thigh since I bought him, I desire your Worship the Doctor may look after him and I will sattisfie him for it.

I am very sorry of the bad informations your Worship hath had of me,⁵⁸ but the reason of my going to Accra was to put of some nicconees and blew perpetua-noes, which the people at Barraco like very well but will not goe to the price.

876. Hugh Hilling

Barracoe, 1 Nov. 1686

Yours received by Roger Teage, and likewise the rudder, which he have hanged very well with much trouble, and according to your Worships order at the returne of my cano, which must fill me some water, I shall make the best of my way for Cabo Corso. I have taken one mark of gold and have bought three men and two women, I wishing time were enlarged untill the fight is over, which will be within this ten dayes.

[After presumably visiting Cape Coast, Hilling was back eastward later in the month, as follows.]

877. Hugh Hilling

Barracoe Road, 19 Nov. 1686

By reason of small winds and a windward currantt I did not arrive hear untill nine of the clock last night. I have a verry good trade, this day I have taken two mark and three ounces of gold this day and bought three men and one weomen slaves. I would desire to send mee downe what powder you can conveniently, and likewise sheets and som knives, with there price. I have but ffive barrells of powder left, lett the powder be in halfe barrells as much as you can. I shall advise your worship aboutt our affaires more in larg by the greatt canoe.

878. Hugh Hilling

Barracoe, 21 Nov. 1686

This accompanyes John Pound in the great canoe, which will certifie you all the powder is gone and most of the sheets. I hope my letter by my canoe hath reached your worships hands before this time, which hath certified your worship what is vendable here, that is powder, sheets, knives and paper brawles, which is the goods I wante att present. Here is a prospect of an indeferant good trade att present if your worship thinks fitt to supply mee.

⁵⁸ From the report of Mark Bedford Whiting, at Accra (no.729).

879. Hugh Hilling Barracoe, 26 Nov. 1686

These are to certify you that I received the 24 instante of Mr James Baily seaventeen whole and six halfe barrells of powder, and six chests of sheets. I have taken seaven marks of gold and bought tenn men and two weomen slaves. Laste night in the turnadoe the thunder and lightning splinterd our maste in the way off the riging and struck downe two of our men, butt all is well againe.

880. Hugh Hilling 30 Nov. 1686

According to order I have sent by Mr Bayly eleaven men, two women slaves; and I have received of Mr Hobbs four whole, eight halfe, and eighteen quarter barrells of powder and one hundred paper brawles, and likewise procured a cano for Mr Hobbs.

881. Hugh Hilling Barracoe, 6 Dec. 1686

Yours received dated the 3^d instant by a two hand canoe that came from Accra.⁵⁹ I have butt one man and two woemen slaves and nine marke of gold. I shall want some powder and sayes, and if your worship doth send and [= an] order for the gold I desire you would send mee a bulce to putt itt in. I would have enlarged more butt the cannoe would nott stay.

882. Hugh Hilling Mumford, 26 Jan. 1686/7

I have sent you up a five hand cano with two hired canomen and the sloops two canomen and cano, which desire your Worship to dispatch down to me againe. For the other two canomen I bargaind with them for one angle per man and at the delivering of the cano your Worship to pay them. Likewise have 25 chests of corn on board for Mr Whiteing. I can advise your Worship nothing concerning Barracoe, for I am weighing anchor now to goe their.

883. Hugh Hilling Barracoe, 3 March 1686/7

Yours received by the 17 hand cano, and this you will receive by Mr Whiteings cano. Trading has been very dead, and the Anguina people is beaten,⁶⁰ but they intend to fight againe and powder will vend here. I have but three men two women slaves and one mark and six ounces of gold. I shall inlarge more by the great cano.

⁵⁹ Cf. no.737.

⁶⁰ Presumably by Akron (cf. no.869); but decision was reversed shortly afterwards (cf. no.884).

884. Hugh Hilling

Barracoe, 6 March 1686/7

This you will receive by William Fisher, in the 17 hand cano in her return from Accra, and [is] to acquaint your Worship that the Anguina[s] hath beaten the Accrons, and most of their great men killed, but they intend to fight againe and doe buy some powder; our musquetts they doe not like as well as the Dutch musquetts. If they doe continue buying of powder our cano shall come up very speedly.

As for corn there is none to be gott here, but if noe trade presents if your Worship thinks convenient, there is corn plenty at Mumford for to supply Mr Whiteing with, but in the intrim I desire your Worships further orders.

I have four men and two women slaves, and two marks and a halfe of gold, which I did not think convenient to send by the great cano without your Worships order.

Brian Ingall desires your Worship to order him up to Cabo Corso by reason he has been very sick of late and continues weak, for here the people are in continuall fear.

885. Hugh Hilling

Mumford, 20 March [16]86/7

Yours I received by Mr James Baly, and am verry sorry I have displeased your Worship in not sending up the slaves and gold by the great cano. The occasion was because their was no order for itt in the letter that I received by the cano for itt. I desire your Worships pardon for this misdeamenor, and I shall be more dilligent by such oportunities hereafter.

All the people hath deserted Barracoe, being afraid of Ahenesah,⁶¹ and some of them are gon to Accra and some of them are here at Mumford, about making a pallaver with the Accrong Cabushers to settle at Wineabee.⁶² Their pallavers will be a Tewsdays. Here is slaves plenty here but I want some good sayes, these I have are worm eaten, therefore I desire your Worship to send a cano for these slaves I have and to send me down a cases [sic] of sayes and some whole and halfe cases of spirrits and the prizes of them. I have seaventeen men and two woemen slaves and two marks, four ounces of gold.

Mr Bayly would have bought some corn here but they ask him three angles per chest, but he wayed and went to Accra. They proffered corn to me for one angle six

⁶¹ Ansa Sasraku, King of Akwamu: cf. nos 737, 742, for expectations in the preceding months that Ansa would attack Agona and destroy Beraku. Ansa did eventually march against Agona, but not until the following year, 1688 (nos 802 etc.).

⁶² Winneba belonged historically to Agona, but in 1682 it had been abandoned under pressure of attack from Akron, its people fleeing to Beraku (vol. i, no.506); presumably, despite the earlier defeat of Akron by Agona (no.884), the site was still under the effective control of the former (cf. also no.581). The attempt to re-settle Winneba was abortive (cf. nos 888-9); in the end, later in 1687, the Beraku people settled instead at 'Shree', to the east (no.891).

taccoes per chest but they would have broad tapseiles, but I proferred one angle sixtaccoes if they would take it in sayes.

Pray send down some irons and mallegetta and some spare revitts [= rivets].

886. Hugh Hilling

Mumford, 22 March 1686/7

Yours dated the 21st I have received by the eleaven hand cano, with twenty cases of spiritts, and ten anchors of rum and ten pair of irons. I was proffered 4 angles a case for the spiritts but I will hold them a day or two more higher to se if I can get more, but if not I will sell them for four.

I have sent by William Stephens two markes and five ounces of gold, and eighteen men and one woman. I have agreed with the Cabosheirs for corn at one angle sixtaccoes per chest and they will bring it to the watterside as fast as they can.

887. Hugh Hilling

Mumford, 5 April 1687

This you will receive by Mr Pepperell with eighteen chests of corn, with five ounces seaven angles and eighttaccoes of gold and three men slaves. Bryan Ingle is dead. He dyed the first of this instant in a cano coming up for Cabo Corso, the canomen brought him aboard the slooppe againe, and we buried him in the sea.

One of our canomen is panyard for lying with a Cabushers wife in Fanteen. If nothing of consequence happen within six or seaven dayes I will make the best of my way up to Cabo Corso.

888. Hugh Hillinge

Winnabay, 21 April 1687

Not finding corne coming in at Mumford, but was putt of from day to day, and I understanding by some of the Blackes that the Anguina people came downe here to Winnabay, I wayed and came downe here. I was here three dayes before I had any trade, but since Sunday last I have taken one marke seaven ounces of gold and bought three slaves.

I desire your worship to send downe some sayes, sheets, broad and narrow tapseiles, paper brawles, course sletias, knives, ankors of rum, cases of spirits with all the expedition you possible can, for I loste the taking of four ounces of gold today for want of sheets and knives. My canoemen hath broake my canoe and are both run away. I could hardly gett a canoe to come up. Pray send keyes for the cases of spiritts.

889. Hugh Hilling

Mumforde, 27 April 1687

Yours of the 25th instant I have received by the eleaven hand canoe with forty

broad tapseeles, fourty course sletias, one hundred paper brawles, fifty narrow tapseeles, twenty cases of spiritts, sixty herba longees in thirty double peices, and tenn ankors of rum, which I might had taken money for, but there was a pallavar aboute a man that was killed in the way goeing to Anguina which caused all the people to deserte the place,⁶³ but on Friday they intend to goe there againe.

I have sent by Henry Stephens, two markes one ounce five angles of gold, one man two weomen slaves, and tenn chests of corne, and two chests of Bryan Ingalls and two pillowes and one carpitte. For money I saw none he had, for he is indebted to mee for one ankor of rum, four angles in gold, and five angles for parte of provitions I brought from Caboe Corsoe down whit me.

[At some point after this letter, the *Ann* evidently returned to Cape Coast Castle, before undertaking a further voyage east.]

890. Richard Bradshaw & Hugh Hilling

Mumford, 24 Aug. 1687

This is only to advise of our arrivall at this place, which was at five yesterday in the evening, and this morning Mr Hugh Hilling went ashore in our canoe. Wee are in hope of having a trade with them, as Mr Hugh Hilling gives me an account, but the sea at present runs very high [so] that very few canoes comes off, and by bad fortune that evening our own was oversett, and halfe her side staved out, and is at present ashore with the canoe men. Mr Hugh Hilling tells me it was only their fault, but wee are in hopes of mending her againe. This goes by the great canoe which came from Mr Bayly. Wee furnished them with a cask of water, and would have boyled some corn for the slaves, but the canoe men being in hast would not stay. They make here a great inquiry for says, sheets, and rumme, which wee are very ill stored with, but will do our indeavours to the utmost of our powers.

891. Richard Bradshaw & Hugh Hilling

Barracoe, 14 Sept. 1687

This is only at present to give an accompt of our proceedings since wee departed from Cabo Corso. The first place wee touched att was Mumford, where wee continued about seaven or eight days, but there was so little to be don that wee thought it not worth the while staying any longer, for in the first place their mony is very bad, and most of it cra cra, and those goods they had occasion for wee could not supply them with, by reason they are so extreame broken that they would not looke on them, and most places wee have been at since, all their inquire is for says, perpetuanoes, nicconees, sheets, and longees. Indeed wee have a great many of them on board, but the worme have damnified most of them, but some wee made a shift to putt off, and if the rest had been good wee should have disposed of the

⁶³ i.e. Winneba.

major part of them. The people that lived formerly at Barracoe are building a new towne, which is called Shree, its about three leagues to the eastward of Barracoe,⁶⁴ and they are at present so unsettled that there is very little to be don with them, so [we] are plying to windward as fast as wee can, designe once more to touch at Mumford, and there shall lye till further orders from you, which wee hope will be by the returne of this canoe.

[The *Ann* Sloop, now commanded by Richard Bradshaw alone, was subsequently employed in a voyage to Accra, and back thence to Cape Coast, in Nov. 1687 (nos 783–4); to Komenda in early Dec. (no.304); again to Komenda and Sekondi later in the same month (nos 118, 307–8); and to Accra in Feb. 1688 (no.797) and again in March (no.803). At the end of March 1688, the *Ann* was again at Komenda, assisting in the evacuation of the effects of the RAC factory there (no.331).]

The *Alligator* Sloop, Commander Nicholas Pepperell

[Pepperell was commanding the *Alligator* Sloop from at least March 1687, making voyages to Komenda and Sekondi to the west in (nos 75, 236–7); to Accra to the east in March (nos 750–1), calling at Mumford on the way back to Cape Coast in early April (no.883); again to Komenda and Sekondi in April/May (nos 78–9, 247, 249–50); to Accra, to deliver corn, in May (no.755); to Komenda and Sekondi, June/July (nos 87–8, 258–60); and to Komenda again in Aug. (nos 277–9). The main correspondence from him which survives relates to an expedition to fish for oystershells, off Amisa, in Sept. 1687, as follows.]

892. Nicholas Pepperell

no date

This morning our canoe broake all in peces agoing of the third turne, wee haveing bad seas and butt fourteen butts of shells on board. I hope you will be pleased to send mee order what wee shall doe.

893. Nicholas Pepperell

Amersa, 21 Sept. 1687

Yours of the 19th instant have received, with the seaven hand canoe. This morning wee were like to lose her thee first turne of, shee being to bigg and to heavie for this

⁶⁴ Clearly the same as 'Cherou', east of Beraku, where the RAC established a factory in 1705 (Van Dantzig 1978, no.118: W. de la Palma, Elmina, 5 Sept. 1705), and which is called 'Shido' in other English sources (Davies 1957, 248). Beraku had been abandoned 6 months earlier, in the face of threatened invasion by Akwamu (no.885).

place, that there is noe possibility in getting shells off in her. I have sent her up, and Jeremiah Mitchell with this letter, who will informe you more at large.

894. Nicholas Pepperell

ffrom on board the Alligator Sloop, Agga 25 Sept. 1687

My last was by the 7 hand canoe bearing date the 21st instant, and have lay ever since at Amersa expecting your pleasure. Not hearing from you and having not any canoe to send to know what I must doe, this day I thought good to weigh and got as high as Agga; from whence I send this, expecting your pleasures, by this bearer.

895. Nicholas Pepperell

Amersa, 2 Oct. 1687

This is to give you notice that this day wee have compleated our loading with shells. I have on board seaventy butts, and will if God willing make the best of my way for Cabo Corsoe. This comes by Jerimiah Michell, who is very sick, and hath been soe this three or four days. This canoe hath like to raised [ms. 'rasied'] the price of the shells, they telling the people here that this butt we have was bigger then the other, they demanding halfe an angle more per butt, with much adoe I have gott itt at the rate before.

[In October, the *Alligator* was again at Komenda (no.291), and in early November at Accra (nos 781, 863).]

896. Nicholas Pepperell

Amersa, 22 Nov. 1687

These are to give you notice that I have on board fifty eight butts of shells, the canoe being not serviceable and shall God willing make all speed possible up to Cabo Corso.

897. Nicholas Pepperell

Cabo Corso Castle, 31 Dec. 1687

Since there is a vacancy of a Comander in the shipp Frances, now bound for England, doe humbly request your Worships acceptance of me in that imploy, begging your answeare herein, that I may provide for the voyage.

[Whether Pepperell was given command of the *Francis* is unclear. In Feb. to April 1688 the *Alligator* was on a voyage or voyages to Komenda and Sekondi, but was now commanded by Leonard Jeffreys (nos 138-9, 141, 323, 331, 867).]

TRANS-ATLANTIC VOYAGES

The *Mary*, Commander John Carter

[The *Mary* was expected at Sekondi from mid-Jan. 1686 (nos 4–6), but did not call there, in consequence of being attacked by a pirate, as follows.]

898. John Carter

Accra, 24 Jan. 1685/6

This is to acquaint you of our arrivall at Accra. We was chast down by two pyrats that was at Axim. One of them we have been in fight with at Cape Mountsaradoe,⁶⁵ and put him to the worst of it, soe much that he ran away from us. His consorte is a Dutch man that he has taken upon the coast, and maned with his own men. They chast us so far of, that the ffirst land we could come in with was Lague. I beleive the pyrates are gone to windward againe, for he finding we could wrong his consort, he would not venture upon us, but in the night we lost him. I expect him down every hower. I wish we had but a consorte, then he would not come near us, for he will not meddle with us by himselfe, and if I had but another ship in company, I would not question but to take his consort or both of them. If he comes down we must be ffirst to come into the shoar, as near as we can to the Castle. Maddam Nurse⁶⁶ and all your children was very well when I came out of England.

[From Accra, Carter made his way back up the coast, stopping at Anomabu to take in corn (cf. nos 386–7).]

899. John Carter

[Anomabu], from on Board of the *Mary*, 15 Feb. 1685/6

I have been here to leward 3 dayes and have not purchased but a hundred chests of corne. The Negroes promis fair but performed little, which makes me fear I shall be a long time a purchaseng my corne. Mr Nightingale⁶⁷ desires your Worships order to put aboard of us what corne he can spare above the 437 chests which is at Annamaboe and the 300 chests that is at Agga, and what more he can purchase at 1½a per chest. Mr Nightingale is very kind and doth assist me very much in buying my corne.

[By 18 Feb., Carter had his complement of corn, and intended to proceed from Anomabu to Cape Coast (no.388). He then went east down the coast to Whydah. Carter himself died at Whydah, 12 April 1686, and the *Mary*

⁶⁵ Cape Mesurado, east of Cape Mount, the location of the modern city of Monrovia, in Liberia.

⁶⁶ i.e. the wife of Henry Nurse, the Agent-General at Cape Coast Castle.

⁶⁷ James Nightingale, chief of the RAC factory at Anomabu.

departed from there 17 April (no. 815), and arrived in Barbados, 29 June 1686 (no.974).]

The *African Merchant*, Commander George Nanter

[Nanter had left Cape Coast, bound for Barbados, in Nov. 1685 (no.973). Robert Elwes, the author of two of these letters, accompanied him as factor.]

900. Robert Elwes

[Cape Lopez], 31 Jan. 1686

This accompanys the Dutch sloop whom we met with of Cape Lopas and bound for the Mine. This is to give your Worship an account of the disposall of our cargoe at Whiddah, which I deliver'd to Mr Carter,⁶⁸ I not being able at my first arrivall their, as per cobby of his account appears, with what I disposed of at Little Papoe, being in all two hundred seaventy nine Negroes, two hundred and eleaven from Mr Carter, ffourteen bought at Papoe, ffifty four from Cabo Corso. Our bouges was some very large.⁶⁹ We departed from Whiddah the 30th December. I suppose you have heard of the death of Captain Paine and Mr Bodkey and severall of the seamen.⁷⁰ Captain Laton lost his sloop by his Negroes at Great Papoe, himselfe drown'd and his cook killed.⁷¹ Captain Browse dyed the 3^d January with a ffeavour. We lost our carpenter in ffew dayes affter we came from Whiddah. We have had a sickly ship, yet I thank God all indefferent. Mr Nanter has been very ill but recover'd, is still very weak. We have heitherto met with small winds, and our ship a heavy saylor. We have lost a great many Negroes with the small pox, it being very breife [sic] amounst them. This in hast.

901. George Nanter

Barbadoes, 10 May 1686

This comes by Mr Hobs. I had sent to your Worship from Cape Lopas, but at the present I was very ill, not able to write, but I hope Mr Elwes did give a full account of our proceedings. These are to give your Worship an account of our tedious passage from Cape Lopas to the Island of Barbados, which was two months and twenty dayes. We arriv'd the 22^d of Aprill, in which passage we lost 123 negroes. The cheif distemper was the small pox and fflux and discentory. In the road we lost five more, and one we paid at Princes for custom, for in all 129, and we brought away from Whidda 279, it being all that our goods would purchase,⁷² and we sayld

⁶⁸ John Carter, chief of the RAC factory at Whydah.

⁶⁹ Cf. Carter's complaint, no.814.

⁷⁰ Cf. nos 710, 903.

⁷¹ Cf. no. 708.

⁷² Cf. Carter's complaint of 'a short cargo': no.814.

from Whiddah the 30 of December in the evening. Captain Ounsted died and Captain Ware arrived at Spites⁷³ the 4th of May in the evening, and [said] that Captain Low saild from Whiddah three weeks before him; but they did not touch here, and Mr Ware gave us an account that the pyrate had taken a Dutch interloper and 120 marke of gold in him; and the merchant of the Dutchman told him that Platt was made Commander of their ship, and that Platt was worse to them than the French man.⁷⁴ This is to give your Worship an account that we are a ffitting the ship with all expedition to return for Cabo Corso, which I hope to be ready to sayle from hence per the latter end of June. I give your Worship many thanks for all the ffavours that I did receive from your Worships hands while I was at Cabo Corso. I am very glad to here of your good health per Captain Ware, who presents his servis to your Worship. Nor Captain Browsers ship did not touch here. We have noe news from England but we expect it dayly. Captain Cole was at Annamaboe and was ashore with his boate, and his ship went away and left him behind, and they playd severall pranks, and the Governor sent them away for Jamaica, and a little while affter Mr Cole arriv'd in Captain Masters and went down affter the ship. Captain Pains ship lost half their negroes, Captain Gold thirty odd, Crookshanks 7 or 9. Captain Ware brought here 210 negroes, the 11th day goes for Jamaica. Mr Elwes presents his humble servis to your Worship.

902. Robert Elwes

Barbadoes, 10 May 1686

This comes per Mr Hobs. I write to your Worship by the Dutch sloop from Cape Lopas, which gave you a particular advice of our proceedings from Whiddah. This serves to give your Worship an account of our tedious voyage from Cape Lopas to the Island of Barbadoes, in which passage we lost one hundred and twenty three Negroes. The small pox proved extreemly fatall, with which distemper we lost the greatest part. Are now fitting our ship for a return and hope to be dispatch'd in a months time. I give your Worship thanks for the recommendation you were pleas'd to oblige me with to Mr Hardin, from whom I have received all the immaginable kindness that could be expected. I suppose you have understood of Mr Carters leaveing the bills of loading behind him, which we found in the ship. I have sent them by Mr Hobs. I shall procure your Worship some Medera wine and sugar, the first very hard to be had if good. I am glad to hear of your Worships health per Captain Ware, who arriv'd to leward of the island last night. We have noe news of Captain Browsers ship, wee left her at St Thoma. No news from England. They are here in dayly expe[c]tation of ships.

⁷³ i.e. Speightstown, in Barbados.

⁷⁴ Richard Platt was commander of the *James*, which was taken by pirates at the beginning of 1686 (cf. no.831), Platt himself being then appointed by the pirates, as reported here, to command another of their prizes: cf. also no.976.

[For the return voyage of the *African Merchant* from Barbados to Africa, see nos 920–21.]

Unidentified ship, Commander John Collins

903. John Collins

6 Feb. 1686

After my departure from your Worship our first place for slaves was Kitto, w[h]ere found Captain Paine rideing and he had purchasd one hundred and fifty slaves, which made me stop expecting of a quick dispatch, but finding small trade I put Mr Bodkin on board, being his desire and Captain Paines. I went to Whiddah, and in 3 weeks time was dispatch, but the wether proveing bad I could not gett of. On the 26th of November came in Mr Robson. Captain Pain on the 29th goeing on shore, haveing received some abuse from the Negroes at Kitto, he, his Doctor, Mr Bodkin, boatswane, gunner his [= gunner's] mate, cooper and 4 men more were all cut in peices. 3 of his long boat crew got on board but wounded.⁷⁵ December the 1st I sayled from Whiddah, and was a month to the Cape,⁷⁶ put out and forc't to St Thoma, I haveing all that time much sickness, and now since my comeing from St Thoma a relapse and dangerously ill, but meeting your kinsman here Mr Hereford⁷⁷ I thought convenient to give your Worship this account, being the first I beleive you wil here of the accident. My slaves stand very well, but my vessell sayles extraordinary heavy. I beg you would be soe kind as to write to the Company of the delivery of my Gould, I now haveing lost my receipts, but how know not.

The *Sarah Bonadventure*, Commander Thomas Woodfine, then Thomas Attwell

[Woodfine left England in Dec. 1685, with instructions to trade for gold, ivory and pepper, and for slaves to take to Jamaica;⁷⁸ he arrived at Sekondi 17 April 1686 (no.25).]

904. Thomas Woodfine

Annamaboe, 16 May 1686

Yours received, and am very sencible of the times of the years spending and how that Captain Walker is soon ffollowing, but I can in noewise help itt by reason of

⁷⁵ Cf. no. 710.

⁷⁶ i.e. Cape Lopez.

⁷⁷ John Hereford, on board the *George Sloop*.

⁷⁸ Cf. Donnan 1930–5, i, no.135 (Instructions for John Woodfine, 10 Dec. 1685).

want of corn. Two dayes noe corn caused by the pallaver,⁷⁹ and since it was ended have received from Annamaboe 80 chests and Agga 196 ditto, here being not one chest left. This I thought to advise by Captain Butler, who comes to Cabo Corso tomorrow.

I have been with all the Capuishers in both townes, and they say they have anuff but not at the former prizes. How it comes to be rais'd I know not, for there is difference between two ffactors at Agga,⁸⁰ for had not Mr Nightingale sent his five hand canoe to Agga to assist mine we should not gett of any corn in length of time. Thus wishing your Worships good health, doubting not but that your Worship thinks I will make all dispatch I can.

PS. Captain Butler hath received from Annamaboe	180 Chests
	<u>100 Chests from Agga</u>
	280

[Inclosure]

I am but just now arriv'd, but by what I can understand their are some animositys betwixt the two ffactorys [sic: = factors], which tomorrow I shall inquire into the cause and give your Worship an account, which I beleive is the occasion of their detainment so long by reason of advancement of corne, which is occasion'd by, as Captain Woodfine informs me, their difference. I shall doe all that in me lyes to serve them, and to accommodate all difference, that so they may have a speedy dispatch.

Annamaboe Sunday 6 a clock in the afternoon

John Boylstone

[Woodfine apparently went east to Cape Coast, before returning to Anomabu, to take in the remainder of his corn (cf. nos 411-17)].

905. Thomas Woodfine

Annamaboe, 10 June 1686

Yours received, and for all kindnesses received I return your Worship hearty thanks and in this small matter that you have thought fitt for me to send your Worship, ware it ten times as much should readily be obeyd. At my arrivall here yesterday noon sent my long boat with my mate in her, and the sea goeing so great could not gett of any corn, but I came this morning on shore with our great cano, and shall I hope send of near all our corn for ourselves and Mr Whiteing, which will be thirty chests for him.⁸¹ And as to the hats I know not what price to put on them, for think to deliver them at home. I think, had not Mr Boylston sent the slaves from Agga, might a been a great hindrance to our dispatch, but God willing

⁷⁹ Between James Nightingale, chief of the Anomabu factory, and the local people: cf. no.409.

⁸⁰ Theophilus Blinsham and his predecessor John Wortley. Wortley had refused to hand over the Egya factory to Blinsham: cf. no.615.

⁸¹ Cf. no.417.

will sayl a Sattrday, and if any further servis to comand shall be glad to serve your Worship.

[Woodfine proceeded to Whydah, to take in slaves, but died there before his ship departed (nos 818, 824); command of the ship was taken over by Thomas Attwell, who completed the voyage to Jamaica.⁸²]

The *Mayflower*, Commander Nehemiah Walker

[Walker had arrived on the coast by 18 April 1686 (no.400). On 7 May he was at Sekondi, and went down from there to Komenda (no.28).]

906. Nehemiah Walker from on Board the Mayflower, 25 May 1686

Haveing taken phisick today am much indispos'd. If you think itt convenient I would desire your Worships favour to spare me one of the young men in Mr Hassells room to assist me, I haveing never seen one of those accounts made up before and may be occasion of being noe mistake. Pray pardon this troble.

907. Nehemiah Walker Annamaboe, 2 June 1686

We have on board about fifty chests of corn, and should have more had not the weather hindred.⁸³ Mr Nightingale is very carefull in our dispatch, and if we have good weather shall not be long before I wait on you at Cabo Corso.

[After calling at Cape Coast, Walker again proceeded east, calling at Anomabu later in June 1686 (no.419). He eventually proceeded to take in slaves at Whydah, from where he intended to Jamaica (nos 819, 822).]

The *Hunter*, Commander Peter Pickard

[Pickard was expected at the Gambia in March 1686 (no.1), was off Axim, 18–20 May (nos 836–7), and arrived at Sekondi, and from there to Komenda, on 25 May (nos 30, 159).]

908. Petter Pickard Commendo road, 31 May 1686

I have according to order sent the 4 bayles of perpetuanoes, which I hope will safe

⁸² Donnan 1930–5, i, no.137 (RAC Black Book, 16 March [1687]).

⁸³ Cf. no.414.

arrive with you, for the boat man saith he can carry them with conveniency. I have sent down my mate two dayes since to se if he can purchase from 2 to 400 chests of corne at Dickecove, where 2 was offerd at $1\frac{1}{2}$ a but my people that doe know corn better than me told me it was not so good as I should gett below, which occasione'd my neglect in corning their. My sayes stick on hand yett and powder and cases of liquor, all elce I shall dispose of though at low rates. God knows I wish I had brought blew perpetuanoes in leiw, for they were fitt to eat me for them after broak price for 2 blew and one green for 9a per peice, if I had sold the blew single 2 could gett for them [sic]. The sloop was in sight of this place yesterday at her return, if se her I shall comply with your order in sending the goods down.

[In June 1686, Pickard was at Anomabu, taking in corn (nos 417, 422, 433).]

The *Jeffery*,⁸⁴ Commander Benjamin Daley

[Daley was reported to be lying between Cape Three Points and Axim, 21 Aug. 1686 (no.46)]

909. Benjamin Daile Dicke Cove, rideing, 22 Aug. 1686

In answer of yours of the 19th instant and am very glad to here of your good health, and doe humbly thank your Honer for your advise. I have had a very small trade for teeth and gold in the ship. I doe intend to make the best of my way to Commenda, for I find very small incouragement here. The sea runs so high that canos cannot come on board. I humbly thank your Honour and Councill that you are pleas'd to take care for my slaves to windward.⁸⁵

910. Benjamin Daille Buteru, rideing, 23 Aug. 1686

Meeting with the bearer thought fitt to give your Honour account of my proceeding.⁸⁶ I doe find noe trade at Dickecove, nor Buterue. I doe intend to be down at Succondee this affternone, and if no trade there, to come down for Commenda.

911. Benjamin Daile Commendo, rideing, 25 Aug. 1686

Have sent my longboat with cordige, and the complement here inclos'd in this my

⁸⁴ Daley's ship is not named in the Rawlinson correspondence; see Instructions to Captains, in PRO, T70/61.

⁸⁵ i.e. to windward (west) of Cape Coast.

⁸⁶ Cf. no.843.

letter, and to give your Honour an account of my proceedings. I find a very small trade to windward, and desiring your Honour advice what I shall doe, or whether I shall corn to windward, and b[u]y slaves or no and what price, and if your Honour pleases to lett me come down and putt my Ardra cargo ashore, and then to stayer and take in slaves to windward.

[In Sept. 1686 Daley was at Anomabu, taking in corn (nos 449–51). He proceeded to Whydah, from which he departed on 11 Nov. 1686 (no.818).]

The *Hare*,⁸⁷ Commander George Poston

[Poston arrived at Sekondi, 21 Aug. 1686, and left there for Komenda, 23 Aug. (no.46–7).]

912. George Poston

Commenda, 23 Aug. 1686

I must begg that favour at your hands to pardon me in not sending the packett by my chururgeon, which hath trobl'd me very much ever since, being I never thought of it to send it affter my boate, not tell such time I received your Worships letter this morning. Therefore pardon me for I was so busy at Taggarado that I thought nothing but that I had sent it, for I orderd my young man to fetch all the letter[s] in such a place to me and I made them up, but little I thought I had left out the main business. I have sent in my long boate with 4 hogshead of strong bear [= beer] for your Worship; likewise 8 bales of perpetuanoes for your Castle. Your Worship was pleased to write to me for a sample of sum stuffs or silks and for two or three pairs of shoues, but I am sorry I cannot pleasure your Worship with any of those things; but I have sent your Worship one pair shooes which was made for my self and I have not one new pair more in the ship, or elce I would pleasure your Worship with them. May it please your Worship that here Captain Brandfeild hath sold perpetuanoes at 9a and sayes at 13a; but all this day I can't gett no trade except I lower the price, so haveing some green perpetuanoes and this night I have already sold them for 9a perpetuanoe and 12a for sayes, so I would have your Worship advice, for they will have every thing lowerd sumthing less than Captain Brandfeild has had, and will expecially when Captain Deal comes down to us, which I suppose will be in a daye or two more. May it please your Worship that I would have your Worships advice in every thing, by reason I have been 31 dayes upon the Coast already and have toucht at all places in generall upon the Coast, but could not gett but little trade, and to sattisfie your Worship that my owners hath noe part of my windward cargo, butt though they have not I will doe as much for

⁸⁷ Poston's ship is not named in the Rawlinson correspondence; see Instructions to Captains, in PRO, T70/61.

the Royall Company as any man that ever was in there imploy to the utmost of my power. I can gett no more for iron barrs than 1a. May it please your Honour that here I have sent you from your good Lady a small caske of olives, a 2 gallon runlett of mangoes, 2 boxes of prunelloes, and two potts of venus treatle, with a small chest of drugs for your Castle.

913. George Poston

29 Aug. 1686

Here I have sent in my bote all the sheets, which is 13 chests, two phota longees, with 6 barrell of pitch and tar, and according to your order have sent your hogshhead of clarett, which I hope will prove very good, for I am sure it was very good when it was bought. As for my bale of green perpetuanoes I will assure your Worship that I shall make some stir about it, when if please God to spare me life till I come home, for I know nothing but that they were all blew, for I indent'd for none but blew. Likewise when I came out, I was told by them that put them up, that I had none but blew, so of all that I sold in every chest there was none but blew. Likewise these two chests prov'd to be the last chests that was open'd in the ship, and I had sold them both for blew but they prov'd both to be green, which doth vex me to the heart for to se it, but I have put some of them of for corne at 8a per peice. Fformerly when I was on the Coast in this ship we had in every bale a few green and redd, and now I think it was very indisscreetly done for to put them in bayles per themselves. As for pewter, powder, knives, marble clouts, birds eye carpitts, flowerd longees, iron barrs, and powder [sic] I have dispos'd of none as yett.

[Poston was still at Komenda, 3 Sept. 1686, trying to obtain corn (no.177).]

914. George Poston

Commenda, 10 Sept. 1686

Here I have send for your Castle, the full remayns of the pitch and tarr, which is ninteen barrells. Noe more but sattisfie your Worship that I have but a very dull trade here and doe hope in a short time to se your Worship.

[In October Poston was at Accra (no.728). He proceeded to Whydah, from which he departed 11 Nov. 1686 (no.818); and arrived in Barbados (no.975).]

The *Alexander*,⁸⁸ Commander Andrew Brandfill

[Brandfill arrived at Dixcove, 10 Aug. 1686 (no.842).]

⁸⁸ Brandfill's ship is not named in the Rawlinson correspondence; see Instructions for Captains, in PRO, T70/61.

915. Andrew Brandfeill Succondee, 13 Aug. 1686

I am glad to here of your health and the hope of a quick dispatch at Ardra. I have sent you all your bear and other things. One of your cask is leakt out, which I canot help. When you have received pray give the bill of loading to my boatswane and a receipt for the passengers. I desire you not to troble your selfe to buy any corn for mee, for I can buy corn at Commenda while I am selling my goods. I have received little mony as yett. The Negroes ask only for blew perpetuanoes.

[Brandfill was apparently still at Sekondi, 21–23 Aug. (nos 46–7), but moved on from there to Komenda, where he took in a slave (no.176).]

916. Andrew Brandfill 30 Aug. 1686

I shall want 14 or 16 barrells, if you please lett my people have four or five to fill this morning, and what you will have for them Ile pay you. Mr William Ross desird mee to [write] you about a box of medicines left with Mr Winter last voyage. Mr Winters receipt is inclosed with the inventory.

917. Andrew Brandfill 6 Sept. 1686

I have sent per the hand of my mate sixty marks of gold. Desire for the forwardness of my voyage to go to Annamaboe to take in corn, and from thence shall send what other gold with accounts, and hope you will provide what letters and dispatches intended for me in five or six dayes, that I may goe onward to Ardra.

[Brandfill was expected at Anomabu, to take in corn, later in Sept. (nos 446–7). He went on to Accra, from which he left for Whydah on 25 Sept. (no.727). At Whydah, he took in 15 slaves, and departed form there around 29 Oct. 1686 (no.818, 821).]

The *Coast* Frigate, Commander Henry Wood

[The *Coast* Frigate was earlier commanded by Richard Hobs, who undertook a voyage to Barbados in 1685–6, returning direct to Cape Coast (no.973). Wood, who had earlier commanded the *George* Sloop (nos 823–43), replaced Hobs for a second voyage to Barbados, with 110 slaves, in Oct. 1686,⁸⁹ calling at Anomabu to take in wood and salt (no.469).]

⁸⁹ PRO, T70/11, Henry Nurse et al., Cape Coast Castle, 8 Oct. 1686.

918. Henry Wood

From Princis, 2 Nov. 1686/7 [sic: = 1686]

This is to acquaint your Worship and the rest of the Councell that we arrived at Princis the 28th of October, haveing lost one man slave and that was the madman as carried the peice of wood up and down the Castle, but I bless God I hant one sick nor lame Negro in the ship, all brave and lively and I hope in God they will continue so, but one thing greives me very much, that is I am forced to sell one Negro to provide for the rest, to make good the provition as I have spent and [get?] green trade⁹⁰ for them. The same ship as the Dutch informd me of when I was on my windward voyage⁹¹ has been here and burnd the town the most part down and plundered the most part of the island,⁹² and now is gon to Cape Lopez, I understand bound for the Coast againe. She comes from New England, she has 14 gunns and 4 pattarerors and one hundred and twenty men. We are come one bad disaster, that is by firing three guns one of our men broak his arme, but I hope he'l recover againe, his name is John Barber, but I bless God all our people is well besides, but our ship sayles very heavy and I am afraid of a long passage, but I dont fear our Negroes standing as I se as yett, and hope to give your Worship content at my arrivall at Cabo Corso, which I hope will be before your Worships departure.

[Wood was dispatched from Barbados back to Africa in April 1687 (no.975).]

919. Henry Wood

ffrom on board the Coast Ffrigatt at Gambia, 29 July 1687

Understanding by Captain Mitchell that there being no Agent but governed by you,⁹³ I thought it fitt to give you accompt of my putting in to Gambia River.⁹⁴ Wee have twenty tun of rum in for the Royall Company, which hath filled our ship so full that wee were forced to stave all our water butts, so that wee wanted water, for wee have been out of Barbados ever since the 8th day of Aprill, and the next day after wee sprung a leak, so that wee were forced down to Mevis [= Nevis] to stop it. I have received from on board Captain Mitchell one barrell of powder, and one cask of tallow. So having no more at present to trouble you withall, only satisfying you that I shall make all the hast downe as possible I can.

⁹⁰ i.e. trade in green vegetables?

⁹¹ i.e. in the *George* Sloop, in June-August 1686 (nos 837-43).

⁹² Cf. PRO, T70/12, Edwyn Stede & Stephen Gascoyne, Barbados, 28 June 1686, recording the plundering of Prince's Island by pirates.

⁹³ After the departure of Henry Nurse, the position of Agent-General at Cape Coast Castle was suppressed, and a Committee of three Chief Merchants established instead.

⁹⁴ Cf. no.3.

The *African Merchant*, Commander George Nanter (second voyage)

[Nanter departed from Barbados at the beginning of July 1686 (no.974). After presumably visiting Cape Coast, he passed Sekondi, on his way westwards, on 10 Oct. (no.52).]

920. Robert Elwes

Cobra, 14 Nov. 1686

This comes by a two hand canoe sent on purpose to give an accompt of our voyage, that we could not effect your order as to gett up as high as Ashenee, the windwardmost place being Cape Apalonia, w[h]ere wee and at other places to windward have disposed of all our powder, bafftes, nicconees, rangoes most part, iron barrs one halfe, and with other goods have taken about twenty five markes. Had wee broad bafftes, ditto nicconees could have disposed of them. This morning past by a Duch Companyes shipe bound to Cape Apalonia and soe to windward as farr as the Grain Coaste. Wee hear of the Ffrancis arrivall, whom wee saw of the Cape, but could not speake with him, not haveing a canoe to send on board. Alsoe two Duch interloopers bound off the Coaste. Wee designe to tarry there three or foure dayes and soe down to Cape Trees Pintas to wood and watter. Noe news of any shippes to windward.

[In Dec. 1686 Nanter proceeded east along the coast, calling at Accra (no.740), and arriving at Whydah 26 Dec. 1686 (no.822).]

921. George Nanter

Whiddah, 5 Jan. 1686/7

This comes by a canoe.

Finding this opportunity I thought it fitt to give your Worship an account of our proceedings at Whiddah. I hope I shall be ready to sail by the 10 of this instant, if it please God to send me fair weather to get the goods ashore and they stand aboard, but I shall not be able to purchase above two hundred and sixty slaves by reason women are scarce, for judge that I shall have 3 men to one woman, and severall barreles of booges praness [= proves?] so large that [ms 'qt'] I am forc't to give the cuntry people above a hundred pound for a slave and many of them will take other goods in the room of booges, and in thirty caskes of booges I have had almost one in durt and termerick,⁹⁵ and for my twenty cases of spirrits I have profered them for three good men slaves and cannot sell them to the natives, and as for my sleti[a]s they doe not care for them, but as for all the rest of my goods they are very well, and my correll most part of it is very small soe that I give 14 ounces

⁹⁵ Cf. no.822.

for a good man slave. One of my men dyed the 30th of December, his name was Isaac Clifford, he was sick at Cabo Corso, and two of my slaves hath got the small pox but I keepe them ashore, and as for all the rest are very well and as good as I ever saw in a shipp or ashore in my life.⁹⁶ I arrived here the 26th of December. The price of slaves I find to be little differing from our last voyage.

[Nanter was dispatched from Whydah, 10 Jan. 1687 (no.823). He arrived safely in Barbados, but the *African Merchant*, being judged too expensive to repair, was sold off there (no.975).]

The *Dragon*, Commander Francis Buttram

[Buttram was reported to be 'about Axim', 18 Nov. 1686 (no.58).]

922. Ffrancis Butteram

Ffrom on Board the *Dragon*, 28 Nov. 1686

Yours I received about two of the clocke this affternone, att which time wee ware aboute to anchor, and intended imediatly to send our boatte to waite upon you before now with all the letters, butt the news in Inghland of the coast being full of piratts was the occation of my unwillingnes to send the boatte and men soe fare, or any father then they may goe in an afternoon and retturne the next morning, and as for a canoe, I was loath to send the letters without your orders, and I was informed that you had an accompt of our being att Cape Trees Pointas, and had I knowne that your worships had been in haste, I should the more endeavored, and I have been informed off a verry bad trade every were, soe that I was willing to make the best use of our time wee could. I would have sent downe by the Ffrancis, butt that I hoped I should not bee a week or ten dayes after her, and believe I should not been more, had not meet with small winds and being in with the shoare. I hope within two or three dayes to waite upon you with our shipp, and therefore desire your worships excusee, for a thing ignorantly done, as not knowing your haste for the pacquett.

[By 3 Dec. 1686, Buttram was at Sekondi (no.59). Later in December he called at Accra (no.740). He arrived in Barbados before April 1687 (no.975).]

⁹⁶ Despite these precautions, Nanter's slaves suffered heavy mortality from smallpox (cf. no.975).

The *East India Merchant*, Commander John Hosea

923. John Hosea

From Dickecove, 25 Dec. 1686

Yours I received dated the 20th of this instant by Mr James Bayly in the sloop at Cape Appillonnia the 23^d instant, for which I give you many thanks, but am verry sorry I cant serve you, for I have none nor brought out none. I am heartily sorry to here of the death of Captain Thomas Woodfine, my verry good freind. This being the first port with safty I had an opertunity, I have sent you your packett from the Company and also the letter from your good lady, whome was verry well, and all your family, with a brave child of your own, that you never saw yett. All in generall presents servis and duty to you. To tell you of our tedious passage from Gambo,⁹⁷ it will be so tedious, and likewise our windward trade, which we have not mist any particular place from Cape Mount⁹⁸ to this place. I find but small trade, not like India. I hope I shall find it better to leward than I have to windward. Pray be so kind as to give me advise whether I may corn here, or if you would be pleased to supply me with corne. I wish I could with safty send your bear [= beer], now [it is] the good times, but I hope you doe not want it. Once more be so kind as to send me your advises about my corn, by which I shall guide my selfe and come down as fast as I se trade presents. By the bearer you will receive a square cask with a key which your lady sent, the key was seald up in paper but the waiters [sic: =?] had the confidence to open it and went to open the cask but could not.

[The *East India Merchant* was in Sekondi road, 30 Dec. 1686 (no.63), and arrived in Komenda road, 1 Jan. 1687, and was expected to leave there for Cape Coast on 5 Jan. (no.213-4).]

924. John Hosea

From on board the East India Merchant, [Anomabu], 23 Jan. 1686/7

Pray be so kind as to send your order to Mr Hassell,⁹⁹ to lett me have better corn, for the corn that is now ordered is not fitt to be put on board.¹⁰⁰ Here is good corn here, therefore I desire that favour you would let me have that which is fitt for use. Also Mr Hassell saith he doth not know what to doe for a cano, here is none but two hand canoes. I only give you this account, you knowing very well our charge, and that you would send down a cano to help us and an order for better corn.

⁹⁷ i.e. Gambia.

⁹⁸ In modern Liberia.

⁹⁹ Ralph Hassell, now chief of the RAC factory at Anomabu.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. no.496.

925. John Hosea

From on board the East India Merchant, [Anomabu], 25 Jan. 1686/7

Yours I received with a negro girle, and for the takeing care of her and what gold she hath, I shall comply with all according to your request. This night I shall certainly have all my corn aboard, therefore pray be so kind as not to lett me stay for my dispatches nor for your letters. This old corn is not worth anything, I did not think so much of it would a fell to my shear [= share]. You are a good computant judge what charge we lye at, therefore tomorrow pray lett me have my dispatches. Tomorrow I sayle. As for the girle I will take care of.

[The *East India Merchant* left Egya, east of Anomabu, on 26 Jan. (no.637). Hosea was later at Whydah, presumably taking in slaves (no.824), and arrived in Barbados (no.975).]

The *Lusitania*, Commander Robert Bristow

926. Robert Bristow

Cape Appilonia, 25 Jan. 1686/7

Being by Gods mercy arrived at this place, I have dispatched away my passengers, not knowing your occasion at the Castle, but being so distant thought it not convenient to venture those other goods on board for your own account, of which you have [omission] by your letter. I have had some small trade to leward of Cape Palmas,¹⁰¹ till my arrivall here, but would gladly be informd by the bearer, from your Worship, if you please to give your selfe the troble of a line or two. We have seen no English ships trading in our passage except one slooppe from Jamaica who rides at Cestos, which we could not surprize but by force. Also two Dutch interlopers, one of which rides here at this time. What letters from yours and other freinds directed to the Castle I have sent. Your good lady and children with all friend[s] were all well at our departure, which was the 14th of November.

[Bristow was later at Sekondi (no.69).]

927. Robert Bristow

Commenda, 5 Feb. 1686/7

According to your order I have sent what tallow and sheets your canno could conveniently carry, with a noat inclosed of particularrs. I would have come down to waite on you myselfe, but business here detaind me, which I hope you will excuse. I would gladly by the next opertunity have your advice as to corn. Here we

¹⁰¹ Cape Palmas, around the boundary between the Grain and Ivory Coasts (and between modern Liberia and Côte d'Ivoire).

can have very good at $1\frac{1}{2}$ a per chest, but if the same at Cabo Corso would stand more with our conveniency to take it there.

928. Robert Bristow

14 Feb. 1686/7

According to order I have delivered to the canomen the bailes of perpetuanoes. As to our corning, last Friday was the first we gott any, then not above thirty chests, but very good, and expect fifty or sixty more today, but they being so tedious I design to stay only for a hundred and fifty chests, which they have promised, and then to make the best of my way to Cabo Corso, where by your Worships assistance I hope my dispatch will be sooner than here.

929. Robert Bristow

From on board the Ship Lucitania, 17 Feb. [16]86/7

Yours of the 15th I received by Mr Chambers, in which your advise is to take in two hundred chests of corn. I had designed no less, if they be not two [= too] remiss in performance, but I resolve to lye here the rest of this week, i[n] which times I am in hopes I may furlinished [sic] with near that complement. If not Ile come down to Cabo Corso with my ship, and if there be any occasion can send the long boat up to Commenda when the corne is ready, for what I can't be supplyd with below. As to your news of warr we have the same here by way of the Dutch, but if true don't fear it can break out so soon.¹⁰² For your advise I return thanks, and shall be alwaies watchfull and preparad to prevent surprize.

[Bristow left Komenda for Cape Coast on 21 Feb. (no.228).]

930. Robert Bristow

Agga, 8 March 1686/7

Yours of the same date received, with your inclosed letters, God willing [they] shall be delivered according to order. Have my quantity of good corn aboard and expect to sayle to morrow. This with my humble servis to your Worship, and the rest of the Gentlemen of the Councill with many thanks for your kind favours

[Bristow left Egya around 9 March 1687 (no.647). Later in the same month he called at Accra, and delivered goods (no.747), and proceeded to Whydah later in March, but died there (no.824-5).]

The *Princess Anne*, Commander Thomas Draper

[Draper arrived in Sekondi road, 20 Feb. 1687 (no.71).]

¹⁰² Referring to the threat of war between England and the Netherlands: cf. no.212.

931. Thomas Draper From on board the Princis Ann, 20 Feb. 1686/7

These comes to acquaint you of my arrivall on the Coast, and finding this oportunity have sent down your pacquett, and had it not been for the great distance the long boat should a bin with you. I here that corn is scarce with you before, that you would be pleased to advise me what to do in it. I have six passengers for the Castle and some goods.

932. Thomas Draper near Succondee, 25 Feb. 1686/7

Yours received dated the 27th [sic], and according to your order, though I was not at Comenda, I have laden on board your 9 hand cano fourty whole or double firkins of tallow. The cause of my lyeing here is most for corn. I have gott about 45 chests allready and in hopes of more. When come to Commenda hope to gett some there, for it is for that I shall lye for, for the most of my cargo is putt of. If you have any encouragement to corn, that you would be pleased to give me an account and the price of a chest, for here they will have one angle $\frac{1}{2}$ per chest. Here is an English sloop that lyes at Taccarado, her lading is rum, belonging to New England, and as tomorrow morning intend to man both boats, God willing, and command her down to you to show by what power or lycence she trades here. If I command her I will put some of the cargo I have for the Castle and send her down.

[Draper arrived in Komenda road, 27 Feb. (no.231).]

933. Thomas Draper Commenda, 27 Feb. 1686/7

In my last I write you about takeing the interloper sloop at Taccarado, which accordingly I did seaz her according to my instructions, and have her with me. Some small quantity of gold the master hath taken, which I shall lett him keep tell I here from you, also about one hundred anchors of rum, and between 3 or 4 hundred weight of white suggar. Now I desire your order what to doe with her. The men surrendered very quietly. The vessell is about 55 tunns, and three years old. I doe beg of you that you would gett me corn, for I have not above 56 chests as yett, and here at Commenda they hold it up at 2a per chest, [and] that you would be pleased to order somebody to look out for a cano, for a good one. The sloop hath three hogsheads of rum. Likewise I have lost the paper that I took account of at the Affrican House, when I signd bill of loadings for the Castle goods, that you would be pleased to lett me have a cobby out of the bill of loading. Be pleased to give me the price of corn.

934. Thomas Draper 2 March 1686/7

Yours of the 28th received and according to your order I have followed as near as I

can, and as to my instructions I shall endeavour to keep. The bearer you sent up I have sent on board the sloop to come down with my chiefe mate, also the passengers that came from England. Your bear I would sent down if I could a come at it, as tomorrow God willing hope to se your Worship and Councell, and as for the watter that is in the sloop I hope you will not lett any body take it out before I come down. The Master of the sloop hath deliverd me the gold which he had taken, which is but ten ounces 11 angles. I thank your Worship for the good news of the corn, and hope it will be good. Also I have sent what goods the sloop would hold that was consigned to the Castle. I thank your Worship for the noate of the goods. The perticulars is as followeth: perpetuanoes, twenty two bails; seaven other great bailes, one hundred whole firkins tallow.

[In March 1687 Draper was at Egya, taking in slaves and corn (nos 650–1).]

The *Maynard*, Commander Robert Gould

935. Robert Gould

On board the *Maynard* to leeward of Ashenee, 5 May 1687

This comes by Mr Richard Bradshaw to advise you of our arrivall here, having been from the Downes since the 18th of March, and doubt not but Captain Thompson may be arrived with you, who departed the Downes with us. As to our trade here to windward, I can give you but a small accompt, having been here butt two dayes, but find that pewter and sayes are the commodities most in esteeme, of which wee have but a small quantity. All letters belonging to the Castle I have sent per the bearer. I purpose (if it please God) to be at Taccorada or Comenda on Munday or Tuesday next, and shall use my utmost care and endeavour to dispose of the Companyes concernes to their best advantage, and humbly request if possible that I may be slaved of the Coast. Please to afford a line or two per my boat.

936. Robert Gould

Comenda, 12 May 1687

I have received yours of the 10th instant, and shall follow your advice in delivering unto Mr Bicknell and Mr Crosse¹⁰³ what goods they have occasion for. You please to take notice that it would be necessary to buy corn here to windward, of which cannot as yett give you an accompt, being arrived but last night, but shall use my utmost endeavor to purchase what I can. I am heartily glad to hear of so many slaves by you, and shall buy what slaves I can here unlesse your order to the contrary. I have had an indifferent good trade to windward, and have on board neer forty

¹⁰³ Chiefs of the RAC factories at Sekondi and Komenda, respectively.

markes of gold and use my utmost endeavour in disposing the remainder to the best advantage; If it may be necessary for me to wait on you before the ship sayles for Cabo Corso, please to write me a line or two and your order shall be duly observed.

[PS] I have sent per the boat 2 bales perpetuanoes, 2 chests sheetes, the boat not being able to carry any more. Since my writing the former postscript do resolve to send our long boat, who will be with you tomorrow morning.

937. Robert Gould

Comenda, 13 May 1687

This comes per our long boat, which has in her fourteen chests sheets and three bales of perpetuanoes, but am something doubtfull that the rain has wett some of the chests, but if opened in time do hope there will be no damage to them. I humbly begg that you will please to stay a few dayes before you send for any more goods, having a present occasion for our long boat here. I cannot as yett give any accompt of the corn, the people here making a pallavera these two dayes [so] that I have not delivered as yett any goods, but know not the meaning of it, but hope in good time that I shall dispatch here.

[PS] Since the morning of the foregoing I have received yours, and shall duely observe your orders in keeping the goods on board which should have been delivered at Succondee and delivering to Mr Crosse what he pleased to have. I have already shewed him your letter to satisfye him. Shall in a few dayes pay my respects to you at Cabo Corso.

[In July 1687 Gould was expected at Egya, to take in yams (no.675). On 14 July, he was at Anomabu (no.539); and on 16 July he left Accra (nos 760, 943); he went on the Alampo, where he put one of his great guns on board the *Adventure* Sloop (nos 760, 856). The *Maynard* proceeded to Whydah, from where it departed 28 July 1687 (no.826).]

The *Good Fellowship*, Commander Benjamin Thompson

[Thompson had departed from the Downs together with Robert Gould, in March 1687 (no.933)]

938. Benjamin Thompson

ffrom aboard the ship *Good Fellowship* at Taccarada, 17 May 1687

Hearing that corn is very scarce below, I humbly pray you would be pleased to grant me your order to buy all such corn that shall present, and I will use my utmost endeavour to purchase it as reasonably as possible I can.

[Thompson presumably called at Cape Coast (cf. no.935), before proceeding back westwards along the coast.]

939. Benjamin Thompson Cuttabree,¹⁰⁴ 31 May 1687

This is to certify you that I called at the Mine coming up, and have engaged the Generall to assist me in purchasing my corn with the help of all his ffactoryes at 2 angles, three taccoes per chest, paying gold in the receipt of the same, and likewise called at Comenda and can by no means purchase there under three angles, so design to proceed no farther there, but intend to go up to Succondee with my ship¹⁰⁵ and use my endeavour to gett my corne following your instructions, and no more at present, Gentlemen, only craving your assistance to the ffurtherance of my voyage.

940. Benjamin Thompson Avodee, 4 June 1687

I have sent per the Ship George, Captain Hobbs Commander four butts which I suppose to be bread consigned to you. As for the corn I have made but a very little progresse as yett, finding it very hard to gett my shipp to windward, therefore do intend within four dayes to be down at Cabo Corso, hoping there to have your further assistance in order to my dispatch.

[Thompson was sighted off Accra, 8 July (no.758), and proceeded to Whydah, which he left 6/7 Aug. 1687 (nos 826, 943).]

The *George* Sloop, Commander Joseph Blyth

[The *George*, earlier engaged in coasting voyages from Cape Coast (nos 833–43), sailed from Cape Coast for Barbados in 1687.]

941. Joseph Blyth James Ffort, Accraa, 17 July 1687

These may give you to understand that I am arrived here about 12 a clock this instant, whereof I have lost the vessells head, in so much that I cannot tell how to secure the boltspritt, neither to hale the foretack down, and am now ashore to provide myself with some wood and plank and some other necessaryes, which I hope I may make a shift withall, untill I do gett to the Islands,¹⁰⁶ for I do not expect now to see Captain Gould on the Coast; and likewise if my neglect, I must humbly

¹⁰⁴ Kotobrai, between Shama and Komenda.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. no.255.

¹⁰⁶ i.e. the Islands of the Gulf of Guinea: São Tomé and Principe.

beg your pardons that the invoice of the cargo you have still with you, also your orders as to the two slaves, which you by contract did promise me; I not considering of it at Cabo Corso, being so quickly dispatch'd of, and thought I had received all the dispatches from you. This morning being thwart of Barracoe, looking upon what I had received from you, found no more but a packett for Collonel Steed,¹⁰⁷ a letter for Mr Carter and my sailing orders. Now as I shall require some time to procure some wood out of the country to make the vessell something fitting to sail down the Coast withall, I do humbly desire you would be pleased to send me down those dispatches as soon as possible, with your prizes upon every particular goods as to the purchasing of men, woemen, boyes and girles, and then I shall know how to procure them, not before; also I would desire you to send me down your orders, as to your aforesaid contract of two slaves, and not to lett me venture so hard as I am like to do for nothing, for the said Edward Hall which I paid the mony for is now very bad, and I am afraid will not live; but neverthesse I will do my endeavour as much as I am able for the good and interest of the Royall Affrican Company, both to their cargo and vessell. So having no more to begg of you at present, only hoping that you will be pleased to dispatch the said canoe or some other, and telling you that Captain Gould sett sail from the same road last night, and that the Agent¹⁰⁸ and Captain were well at their departure.

[PS] Mr Whiting gives his humble service to you, and will supply me with what is necessary for me at present.

942. Joseph Blyth

George Sloop, Accraa, 23 July 1687

Yours I received of the 10th past with the invoice of the cargoe, you giving me an accompt of the prizes, which I shall endeavour purchase the slaves at if I can. As for the vessells head wee cannot fasten it again, for the stemm is so much shaken that wee cannot fasten a spike in it, but with two foot plank and a piece of wood which I received from Mr Whiting have used what means I can till I can better provide myself. I shall not trouble with much at present only letting you know that I shall make the best of my way down to leward.

943. Joseph Blyth From on board the George Sloop, Whidah, 7 Aug. 1687

These may give you to understand that I doe intend (if God willing) to sett saile from Whydah this day in company with Captain Thompson, having now on board sixty one Negroe Slaves, vizt forty six males, and fifteen feemales, having fifty of

¹⁰⁷ Edwin Steed, the RAC's factor in Barbados.

¹⁰⁸ Henry Nurse, retiring Agent-General at Cape Coast, who was returning to England in Captain Gould's ship.

them at Little Paw Paw,¹⁰⁹ where I found I could purchase noe more, came here wanting onely five, the King threatning to make me pay the usuall customes,¹¹⁰ but I denied that I wanted noe slaves, gott them aboard Captain Thompson, where taking my oppertunity gott them on board the sloop, having signed to the bills of lading and taken three receipts of Mr Carter for these ffollowing remaining goods, vizt four hundred forty six pounds of bouges twelve sallampores, thirty two ounces of corral, twenty five iron barrs. Soe having little more to trouble you withall at present, only telling you that I shall not have four chest of corne of the last ten which came on board, it being soe wett that I could not, with all my endeavors, save it.

[PS] Captain Gould sailed from hence the 28th day of the last past.

The *Mary* (second voyage), Commander Nathaniel Bradley, then Thomas James

944. Nathaniell Bradly ffrom on board the *Mary*, off Bassam, 5 Sept. 1687

Yesterday I mett with a small shipp belonging to the Generall of the Brandenburgs, which I beleive will be at Cape Tres Pointus before me, so have wrote a letter to the Generall by him, desiring him to send it forward to give you advise off my arrivall in these parts. I send none off your letters inclosed, fearing they may miscarry, so on receipt of this desire you to pay the canoe men, and send me Doctor Griffin or some other for your letters, with advise off affairs with them and the prizes of comodityes how they bear, and if they have advise of any pyrates or any English interlopers on the Coast. I am in good hopes (according to the Royall Company assurance to me) that you have, or will have by then, my complement of slaves, or most part, before I come to you.

Pray write to me, the best place you thinke I may come in. All in quiett in England at my departure. Wee arrived at Cape Montseratho on the 5th July, where wee wooded and watered. Since wee have had calmes. A little trade at Cape Lahoo for teeth. I find few or no slaves hitherto.

[PS] If Agent Nurse is still at Cape Corse my humble service to him, and tell him all his relations are well, and as to my best knowledge are all yours.

Addition, the 12th ditto, between Cape Tres Pointas and Axim

I beleive wee are before the Branderburgh shipp, so here being a canoe bound for the Mina I send you this to confirme the above. Pray send me Amo, or Nuna, or some off your boys, to take my gold for me, as soon as you receive this. They

¹⁰⁹ i.e. Popo.

¹¹⁰ Probably in Whydah, as in neighbouring Offra (cf. Law 1990a, no.4: John Mildmay, Offra, 13 Oct. 1680), ships had to pay the full rate of 'customs' (for permission to trade), irrespective of how many slaves they shipped.

promise to be with you tomorrow morning. I have not paid him, give them what is convenient.

[PPS] I make all the hast I can to gett between Tackeratha and Succondee, but the calmes have been so I could not weather the Cape. I hope I shall do it today, now tis about 10 in the morning.

945. Nathaniell Bradly

Succondee, 15 Sept. 1687

Just now I received your letter. Mr Elwes with the nine hand canoe went from Succondee yesterday,¹¹¹ and had they had good eyes, they must have knowne my shipp. The Dutch Generall was on board mee by seaven in the morning.¹¹² I thought wee had noe English on the Coaste, I being soe longe in the roade and see none. Mr Bucknell is sick I excuse him.

I send you down by Griffins man three letters for Mr Humfryes, four for Mr Wight, and three from the Company to Mr Humfryes Mr Wight and Mr Boylston and six other letters. I hope you will gett a good quantity of slaves. I have a slave cargoe for 300, and what goods you want I can supply you with. I shall be very glad to see all and drinke your friends good health with you, as have promised.

[The *Mary* landed goods for the Sekondi factory (no.102), before proceeding east.]

946. Nathaniell Bradley ffrom on board the *Mary*, Comenda, 26 Sept. 1687

I hope you will take this five hand canoe for me, and send it away to Whiddah to Mr Carter about procuring our slaves, and wright to him effectually about it, for here at present is none else to be had.

I make bold to send you by this canoe two cases of says, and desire you to dispose of them either for money or send them to Accraa, or where else you thinke convenient most for the Company interest and owners, for gold or slaves. I hear you have none in the Castle nor ffactoryes, nor the Dutch, so they cannot be any prejudice, and Captain Towers told me he had but one damaged piece left. Mr Elwes I beleive in some time may be able to procure you another seaven hand canoe. In any thing I can serve you please to command.

947. Nathaniell Bradley ffrom on board the *Mary*, Comenda, 26 Sept. 1687

I did intend to have seen you before now, but having a kind of a promise that I shall dispose off some of my goods in two dayes that will not sell if I doe not sell them

¹¹¹ Robert Elwes was now chief of the RAC factory at Komenda, but currently visiting Sekondi (cf. no.101).

¹¹² The Dutch Director-General from Elmina was also visiting Sekondi at this time (cf. no.100).

here, made me stay. God willing intend to be downe Wednesday or Thursday at farthest. I have sent Captain James¹¹³ to John Cabess¹¹⁴ about the canoe. Mr Elwes shall have the balkes.¹¹⁵

Aboard this canoe according to your order I have laden you five bales of perpetuanoes, and six chests of sheets and a small rundlett of ale. Major Spencer sent Mr White from Deale, I thought it had been sent by the first canoe, but my Steward forgott it.

I thanke God I am pretty well now, as hope you all are, which pray God continue it to us all.

[Bradley seems to have left Komenda 28 Sept. (no.284). He presumably proceeded to Cape Coast, where he died (no. 289), and command of the *Mary* was assumed by Thomas James. James was back at Komenda 21 Oct., but intending to go down to Cape Coast in two or three days (no.291). He returned to Komenda road 2 Nov., and sailed west from there the next day (no.295).]

948. Thomas James

off of Taccaradoe, 6 Nov. 1687

Now under saile nere Taccarada. I received your letter where you advise me of [my] being at Comenda, and now writeing to you, but your information is not true, for I have not been in the roade nor near it by five leagues since I departed Cabo Corso Castle. I have since my departure from you been very sick for 4 or five days, [so] that at one time I thought to returne to you againe.

Gentlemen, you thinke what you please of my being to windward, and neglecting the Companyes intrest, but I will assure you that I have fulfilled every hour of time, butt with little winds and leeward currants, can gett no ffarther. On the 4th instant at 10 at night, wee saw a ship to sea and made towards her. When wee came neare her wee fired severall gunns at her, she likewise at us. Wee chased her all night of att sea till the next morning breaking day and about six came up with him, whom wee found to be a Brendenburgh, who giveing us no more accompt then Captain Towers, only that the pyrate doth not intend to come downe, heareing wee are here, he expecting another of his consorts. When wee first gave chase to the shipp wee was off of Butterue, and in the morning when wee left him wee was abreast the Mina 7 leagues off, and that day with a fresh sea breees gott up to Taccarado, but now have such stronger leeward currants, and little winds, that makes me feare that I shall not be able with soe heavy a sayler to gett up to Ashine in your days appointed per order. Gentlemen, according to your orders I will fullfill to the utmost of my power, but soe many dayes being expended and wee no

¹¹³ Presumably a subordinate officer on the *Mary*; he succeeded to the command after Bradley's death.

¹¹⁴ The leading African merchant at Komenda: cf. chap. III, passim.

¹¹⁵ Cf. no.282.

further, doe much doubt to fullfill your desire, unless the pyrate will be soe kind to come downe to us, wee being not able to gett up to him unless better winds and currants help us. Wee have now a very strong currant running to eastward. Wee indeavored last night in a small turnadoc, and likewise this morning, but lost ground, and do not know how long wee may be a gettin about the breakers, this place and Cape Tres Pointus being very troublesome [to] soe great a shipp as ours is unless favored as aforementioned. Gentlemen, I hope you have a favorable construction of [Thomas James].

[On 7 Nov. the *Mary* left Takoradi, bound for Axim (no.296), where on 10 Nov. James fought with the pirate (no.114). By 12 Nov. he was back at Takoradi (no.298), on 15–16 Nov. at Komenda, taking in corn (nos 115, 299), and on 13 Dec. at Anomabu, taking in wood and water (nos 580). On 17 Dec. he was at Accra, where the ship suffered a fire (no.790, 795).]

949. Thomas James From on board the *Mary*, Whydah, 29 Dec. 1687

These lines are to acquaint you of my safe arrivall att Whydah, which was on the 23^d instant in company with Captain Burdis. Since my departure from you I have been ill, but through mercy at present am in good health. Wee have now on board in all 192 slaves, and doe hope shall have the rest in a short time. I am very sorry that I had not the honor to carry home the Companys gold. Since Captain Du Cas and I parted soe lovingly at Amersa, sending by me downe to their Factor¹¹⁶ one hogshhead of wine, twenty anchors of brandy, and two baggs of bread, which I have since delivered to the person left alive, which was Doctor before the Chiefe dyed. Gentlemen I am sorry your computation of my Arda cargoe will prove soe short by at least 30 Negroes, which will be a loss both to the owners¹¹⁷ and my selfe. I doe wonder where this mistake can be, for at that allowance that Mr White gave me, wee shall want forty slaves, but I hope I shall purchase our complement into 30. I shall take all the care I can in the purchaseing of of slaves. As for Mr Carter he has not above one hundred Negroes ready. Slaves indeed are pretty plenty, which makes me hope my stay here to be short. I have from Mr Carter all the assistance that he can doe for me, he designing to goe home with us.¹¹⁸ Gentlemen I have no more to acquaint you off at present.

[The *Mary* left Whydah 4 Feb. 1688 (no.827).]

¹¹⁶ i.e. the chief of the French factory at Whydah.

¹¹⁷ i.e. of the ship: the RAC in the 1680s normally hired ships for the African trade, rather than using its own (Davies 1957, 194–201).

¹¹⁸ As he did: cf. no.827.

currant, and at 12 a clock at night anchored abreast of the shipp Hannah, and at sun rising wee did gett the gold safe on board the shipp Hannah. My long boate is gone ashore to fetch of fifteen chest of corne, which is all I am to have,¹²¹ and as soone as she doth returne I doe intend to sayle.

[Later in January Cowley was at Accra (no.794).]

954. Robert Cowley, Jr

Whiddah, 5 March 1688

I have made bould to write these few lines unto you concerning my bad fortune, for when I came downe here to Whiddah, which was on the 10th day of January, where I found the Mary, and she did not set sayle till the 3^d day of February,¹²² and now at this date I have but two hundred and twenty slaves, and do beleive that it will be three weeks, before I shall be ready to go from hence,¹²³ and then do beleive I shall have spent one hundred and fifty chests of of corne at least, which will be a great loss to me. I verily beleive the Company will quickly be a weary with this their contract with Captain Wybourne.¹²⁴

[The *Hannah* arrived in Barbados 11 June 1688, now commanded by Thomas Godfrey, Cowley having died en voyage.¹²⁵]

The *Elizabeth*, Commander Edmond Batherne

955. Edmond Batherne

Cape Appilonia, 29 Dec. 1687

After my most humble service to you all, I have sent my mate with my long boate with what passingers wee have for your place, and desiring you to send me a line or two how goods sell, that I may the better know how to governe my selfe in disposing of my cargoe both for the benefitt of the Company and owners of our shipp. Our trade to windward here is little or nothing, for the French hath settled a Factory at Asshinee, and hath put on shoare eighteen guns in order to build a ffortification. Yesterday wee came from Ashinee, and there wee left a French man

¹²¹ But the Anomabu factory later reported having supplied 200 chests of corn to Cowley (no.585).

¹²² Cf. no.827 (from the RAC factory at Whydah), which gives the *Hannah* as arriving 13 Jan., and the *Mary* departing 4 Feb.1688.

¹²³ In fact, Cowley did not leave until 2 April, four weeks later, Wybourne then explaining that he 'hath had great difficulty to gett Negroes for the Hannah' (Law 1990a, no.27: Wyborne to RAC, 2 April 1688). A Brandenburg ship which arrived later in April still found six ships there, some of which had been there for nearly three months, 'having been unable to depart because they could obtain few slaves' (Jones 1985, no.68: Friedson, Whydah, 21 June 1688).

¹²⁴ The RAC did, indeed, criticize Wybourne for the delays in dispatching ships from Whydah: Law 1990a, nos 31-2 (RAC to Wybourne, 8 Jan. & 2 July 1689).

¹²⁵ Law 1990a, no.26 (RAC to Wyburne, 7 Aug. 1688).

of 36 peeces of ordinance, which lyes there to settle their Factory.¹²⁶ Yesterday when wee ankored at this place wee found heere a French shipp, which presently waied and went farther to leeward,¹²⁷ soe that I feare trade to windward of Cape Tres Pointus is spoiled for us, but I hope Gentlemen you will give me a better encouragement for the disposing of my perpetuanoes, by reason the grate quantity I have. Gentlemen, I would desire you to know whether you have corne plenty to corne me, or that I shall buy corne to windward.

[On 3 Jan. 1688 Batherne was reported to be at Axim (no.121); and shortly afterwards he was apparently at Sekondi, where he supplied goods to the factory (no.123).]

956. Edmond Batherne

Abbody, 16 Jan. 1687/8

I received yours bearing date the 1st of this instant, being very glad to heare of all your good healths. Gentlemen, I make bould to trouble you with a line or two of our affaire of trade, which I hope Gentlemen you will commiserate me, and give me your best advice both for the intrest of the Company and owners of our shipp for since our first coming on this Coast the French hath been a greate instigation to the hinderance of our trade, by reason their riding in all places where I have been, canoes would not come aboard fearing them. The 13th instant I came to Comenda but found noe trade, by reason of the pallavers there.¹²⁸ Gentlemen, I hope since it falls soe unhappily that wee are frustrated in our windward trade by reason of the French and Dutch interlopers, you will be pleased to give me an order that I may come soe near your Castle as you thinke conveyent, for here I lye and dayly Dutch interlopers passes me, and that mony which properly belongs to me, those rogues they run away with.

[The next day, 17 Jan., Batherne was reported to be still anchored between Shama and Sekondi, but endeavouring to get further west (no.124). He reached Sekondi 19 Jan., and left there 31 Jan. (nos 126, 129). In early February he was at Komenda, taking in corn (nos 318–20), and on 15–16 Feb. at Anomabu, also for corn (nos 591–2).]

¹²⁶ For the establishment of the French factory at Assinie, see Du Casse 1935, 7–8, 29. The French ship encountered at Assinie was not Du Casse himself, who was now east of Komenda, but probably the *Saint Louis* (cf. *ibid.*, 20).

¹²⁷ This was probably *Le Jolly*, which met Du Casse east of Cape Three Points a few days later (Du Casse 1935, 20).

¹²⁸ i.e. the disputes between Komenda and the Dutch, over the attempted French settlement there (cf. no.311).

957. Edmond Batherne

Whiddah, 5 March 1688

Having this oppertunity, by a canoe bound for your place, is to give you an accomt of our arrivall at this place of Whiddah, where I still meet with the same misfortune as I have don from the first of my trade to windward. Captain Cowley is here, and hope in seaven days may be dispatcht from hence with his slaves,¹²⁹ but the French gives greater prizes for their slaves, more than wee can do.¹³⁰

The *Dragon*, Commander Francis Buttram (second voyage)

958. Francis Buttram

Dickiscove, 3 Feb. 1687/8

I arrived here last night, and find the trade being very backward, having as yett most part of my goods unsould. I thought convenient to advise you, being obliged to goe noe lower downe then Taccarada without your orders, therefore shall desire you may be pleased to dispatch the bearer adviseing your opinion, and if any encouragement you can give me to fall downe, if not I have thoughts to goe to windward againe tho I have endeavored to draine them,¹³¹ but I doe not doubt but that they are now recruited, notwithstanding there are severall other vessells. If any incouragement to fall downe, be pleased to advise the prizes of what goods are most in demand, that I may the better governe my selfe here if any trade offers. I have been timerous to send the letters by the canoe, fearing any diasastor. I have severall goods and provitions for the Castle, and should be very glad if I goe to windward you would order some secure way for your letters, for I am fearfull to disable my shipp by sending my boate, not knowing what may offer. I am to receive 320 Negroes at Whidah and 40 more on the Gold Coast.¹³²

959. Francis Buttram From on board the *Dragon* at Taccarada, 9 Feb. 1687/8

I am sorry I should make such a mistake in not sending the Companys packett downe in the former canoes. Wee arrived in the roade of Tackarada about 4 of the clock this day, and a little before received yours, and have made all the dispatch I could to send our boate downe with the packett in her. As for Doctor Abbitt I desire your excuse, I having our Doctor and severall other people sick and lame, but question not by Gods blessing and his indeavors they may all doe well againe. I desire if yames be at the rate as they were the last voyage that you would order

¹²⁹ Cf. no.954; but Cowley himself anticipated dispatch in three weeks.

¹³⁰ The French captain, Du Casse, confirms a rise in prices at Whydah at this point, but attributes it to a failure of supplies of slaves from the interior (Du Casse 1935, 15).

¹³¹ i.e. of trade.

¹³² The 40 slaves from the Gold Coast were probably to serve as 'guardians', as in no.963.

4000 yames to be gott for me, and I will be willing to take soe much the lesse corne as they may value.

[2 or 3 days later, Buttram anchored at Aboadi, between Sekondi and Shama (no.130). In March, when he was at Anomabu taking in corn, he was warned from Sekondi of the approach of a suspected French pirate (no.371); but meanwhile, William Ronan had already been sent fom Cape Coast Castle to help him meet this threat, as follows.]

960. William Ronan

Annamaboe, 15 March 1687/8

To prevent the danger we apprehend I have brought the gold ashoare this morning. Wee could take notice comeing downe last night that the French boarded the Portuguez, and we doe likewise imagine that he has plundered him and commanded him to anchor to the windward of our shipp. He has himself between both vessels anchored, and as soon as the sea brease comes we belive and expect that he will be upon Captain Buttram, if soe Captain Buttram designes to let all slip, and runn under Cormantyn Fort. Wee have sent an express to the Factor there to give him what protection he can. Captain Buttram desires you may be pleased to send him downe imediatly 20 or 30 men well armed. I hope they may be downe before the land bree be done. Captain Buttram has made all the preporations imaginable to receive him. Here is noe canoes to shipp your corne, soe that our cano and what you send down may doe it, if things fall contrary to expectation.

961. Francis Buttram

From on board the Dragon, 16 March 1687/8

I can heare litle more than wee did yesterday. Here hath severall canoes been aboard to buy goods, but he tells them he comes to buy slaves, and the onely goods they can see aboard him is course perpetuanoes, and iron barrs, and would hyre canoemen to go along with him. He lyes nearer the Portuguez than wee, which I thought he had surprized, but the Blacks tell me that the Portuguez hath made a great complaint for water, so that he hath spared him severall casks, and doth say he will come on board us, and goe also ashoare at this place. For my part I desire none of his company, for I still beleive him to be a rouge. Wee are as well provided as I can, and hope shall doe indifferently well with him. I have put no corne on board this day, by reason of him, but doe intend tomorrow to venture if he rides fast, or if you please to spare me some men for the time he lyes here. I understand Mr Nightingale has no canoes fitt to bring the corne into the boate, therefore I desire the favor of haveing the canoe that brought us downe. The gold is ashoare and hope it will be safe.

you, if you thinke fitt, to send home the money per Captain Bridges, and what letters I sent per the canoemen.

[Sturt went on to Whydah, which he reached by early April 1688.]¹³⁵

The *Dolphin*, Commander Robert Barrett

[Barrett left England in Oct. 1686, with instructions to trade for gold and ivory, and slaves for delivery to Nevis.¹³⁶]

965. Robert Barrett

Cape Tres Pointes, 23 Feb. 1687/8

I have sent you per bearer the Royall Company packett. You are informed of Captain Buttram (I suppose) why it came not sooner to your hands.¹³⁷ I fell in with Cape Mount the 26th of the last, and am obliged per charter party to spend 40 days on this side the Cape. Crave mean time your directions and comands. The great number of ships now on the Coast have rendered trade very bad, for a more particular accompt whereof, be pleased to be referred to the bearer, who is my mate.

[Barrett arrived at Sekondi early March 1687 (no.132)]

966. Robert Barratt On board the *Dolphin*, near Agga, 2 April 1688

Yours came to hand about 4th this afternoone, with which am willing to comply, as farr as my power will reach, which I hope will extend as far as your request. Have found a mistake in the accompts, and shall therefore wait on you to morrow in the morning, as soon as possibly I may.

[Barrett left Egysa on 4 April 1688 (no.373); later in the same month he was at Accra, where he delivered goods (no.808); and went on to Whydah.¹³⁸]

The *Sherbro*, Commander John Lomax

[Lomax arrived at Dixcove, and sent his boat to Sekondi, 12 March 1688 (no.132).]

¹³⁵ Law 1990a, no.27 (Petley Wyburne, Whydah, 2 April 1688).

¹³⁶ Donnan 1930-5, i, no.140 (Instructions for Robert Barrett, 25 Oct. 1687).

¹³⁷ Cf. no.959.

¹³⁸ Law 1990a, no.30 (Petley Wyburne, Whydah, 16 Nov. 1688).

967. John Lomax From on board the Sherbrow, Dickiscope, 14 March 1687/8

I sent the Royall Company letters to Succondee. I now send three of the Companyes servants, with letters to Captain Petley Wybourne, which if you can, pray forward to his hand, and if my mate deliver you any gold pray give him a receipt for what you receive. Trading is very dull and bad. I have fifty odd hundred of mallegetta, I fear it will heat in the caske and spoyle and I cannot help it, for some of it was wett when I received it. It is in my shipp caske, and hope you will find either casks or baggs to put it in, when it shall please God that I arrive. I understand that one of the Company Factors was very angry that I sent not the letters away sooner. I shall give what respects to the Royall Company's Factors as becomes me, and I hope the Company's new methods they have taken in chousing a committy is much better than to be lorded over soe much as has been by one person, who some of late days has thought themselves as great as Kings.¹³⁹ I am and hope I shall shew my self your obliging servant. Pray hasten away and if you please to give an answer you will oblige [JL].

968. John Lomax

Dickiscope, 15 March 1687/8

Yours of the 13th have received with the advice, which thanke you for. By this time my long boat is with you, who will advise you that there [is] noe likelyhood of slaves, neither is there any trade. I herewith send Mr Wybournes letters, which were left behind [in] our boate, and two for Mr Wight. Pray give my service to Captain Buttram, and tell him what letters were in our shipp he will receive by the boate. Pray forward Mr Wybournes letters per Captain Buttram, with my love and service to him and all you Gentellmen. I hope I shall have an oportunity to write to my owners per Captain Buttram.

[Lomax came in his boat from Dixcove to Sekondi, but returned to his ship, 21 March 1688 (no.135); shortly afterwards he was reported to have gone eastward (no.138).]

969. John Lomax

Aboard the Sherborow at Comenda, 30 March 1688

I have gott upwards of fifty chests of corne at Dickescope. The two last days I gott but four one day and two the other, soe if they would give me them for nothing, it not be worth my while to spend my time at that rate, nor have I any other trade, they put me off from day to day. I gott Ayre the chief negroe at Succondee to goe to them, which put me to some small charge, who told them how well you would take it and resent it if they furnished me with corne and give me a quick dispatch, but all

¹³⁹ Again alluding to the suppression of the office of Agent-General at Cape Coast Castle, and its replacement by a Committee of three Chief Merchants.

to noe purpose, and give them what goods they please amd almost att what rates they please. Wee have lately mett with two very bad turnadoes, lost my boates and cut my cables. My boates I gott againe with some charge, I lost one ancor. I wish I had not come this voyage, I have no chapemen, Black merchants nor Factors that comes to cheapeen my goods, I cannot sell them at any rates. I intend to lye here this weeke, that is about seaven days, and If I can have noe encouragement in that time Ile come downe to Cabo Corsoe and deliver my remaynes according to the Companys orders. In the meantime I have sent you my boate with some wooden ware. Discharge her and send her mee back with a line or two if you Please how to govern my self, which will be very exceptable. Suffer my boat not to stay ashoare but send her back with what speed you can, and if you you want them Ile send you more of those goods. I hope you will lett mee have watter out of the tank for my good frind Mr Bradleys sake, who is dead and gonn.

[PS] You will receive by this boate 50 trucks, 25 beads [= beds],¹⁴⁰ 35 quoinnes, 25 axell trees.

[The *Sherbrow* proceeded on to trade at Whydah.]¹⁴¹

The *Guinea* Frigate, Commander John Bridges

[Bridges arrived at Aboadi, 23 March 1688 (no.137).]

970. John Bridges

On board the *Guinea* Friggatt, between Tackerado & Succondee 24 March 1687/8

These may humbly certifie you that I have sent you downe in my boat all the Royall Companys letters, with your owne, and thirteen passengers. I hope you will be pleased to give me a dispatch for the same with a receipt. Gentlemen I have no other news to give you but that I have been on the Coast between Cape Mount and this place ever since the 23th of February, and have found but miserable trading, for I have taken but very little money, no teeth, and about 5000 weight mallagetta. Gentlemen I desire that by my boat you would be pleased to send me up the prizes of goods of all sorts, that I may be the better governed in what I sell for the future, if any.

[Bridges was still at Sekondi, 2 April 1688 (no.138).]

¹⁴⁰ i.e. foundations for gun-carriages.

¹⁴¹ Law 1990a, no.31 (RAC to Wyburne, 8 Jan. 1689).

971. John Bridges On board the Guinea Friggatt at Comenda, 18 April 1688

These are to acquaint you that at this time I have as many men, women, and children on board as my shipp is able to containe. Gentlemen, I have at present the Great Fatera in on board, which I presume hath left the day for want of courage, or elce by a bribe. The Yong Fatera hath beaten the Cuferas. Therefore I know not what more to advise you off at present, but that the King hath fought very well all yesterday, and since wee have had no perfect advise. Gentlemen by the first oppertunity pray give me an order from under your hands, in what manner I shall act, and in case that from the Mina there should come a demand for the people, let me have your pleasure, and untill I have an order from you I will not part with the least hair of a mans head, as long as life and shipp shall favour me and those that are with me.¹⁴²

Just now I had a Mine ships boate on board, of 30 or 40 gunns, but demanded nothing of me, but made all sayle he could for the Mina.

Gentlemen I received your letter by Charles Towgood, wherein I expected some order from you, but had none, only about the powder, which if Mr Elwes desired it is at your service. By my boate I have sent the Great Fatera, with five of my owne men. At his arrivall pray send her back with speed, and fill up my boats crew, and as many more of your men as you shall thinke fitt.

The *John Bonadventure*,¹⁴³ Commander John Woodfine

[John Woodfine had commanded a voyage to West Africa in Jan.-March 1686 (nos 4, 144, 386, 388–9, 814, 817), but no correspondence is recorded from this earlier voyage. He was dispatched again from England in Feb. 1688, on a voyage for Kakongo in West-Central Africa.¹⁴⁴]

972. John Woodfine

Tackarada Roade, 25 April 1688

This serves to advise of my safe arivall and to accompany the Companys pacquett. I am glad to heare of your good healths but sorry it should be my hard happ to arive to so dull a trade. I begg your advise in the disposall of my cargoe, as likewise if it may not be to your prejudice leve to com lower down for sinc[e] the warr hath

¹⁴² Cf. no.334. Komenda had been attacked by forces from Mina, at the instigation of the Dutch, in alliance with the Twifo ('Cuferas'), forcing the evacuation of the RAC factory there, together with many of the local population.

¹⁴³ Woodfine's ship is not named in the Rawlinson correspondence; see Instructions to Captains, in PRO, T70/61.

¹⁴⁴ Donnan 1930–5, i, no.142 (Instructions for John Woodfine, 16 Feb. 1688).

occasioned the withdrawing the Factory from Comenda¹⁴⁵ I hope it may not be prejudicial to the Companys intrest. I have liberty from the Company to purchase my corne anywhere on the Coast. Pray give me your advise and assistance, for I leave my self wholly to be managed as you in patience shall thinke fitt.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. nos 334, 971.

XI

BARBADOS

Exceptionally, the Rawlinson correspondence for 1686–8 includes some letters received from Barbados, these three from the Company's agents there, Edwyn Steed and Stephen Gascoigne (of whom the former was also Governor of Barbados); and two others (nos 901–2, above) from an RAC ship arriving there from West Africa. This correspondence from Barbados to Cape Coast Castle evidently depended on ships returning directly from the West Indies to Africa, rather than undertaking the 'triangular' voyage via England, and this direct trade was clearly at this period still unusual, and had been pioneered by interlopers rather than by the RAC itself.¹ Indeed, it is probable that the three ships which carried the following letters were the only ships of the Company which sailed from Barbados to Africa during the period of this correspondence.² These letters provide interesting supplementary material on the delivery of slaves to the West Indies, including local planter preferences for slaves of particular ethnicities, and on the supply of West Indian produce such as rum in the African trade.

973. Edwyn Steed & Stephen Gascoigne Barbadoes, 12 May 1686

Your severall letters by sundrey ships comes to our hands, vizt yours of the 4th August by Captain Hobs we received the 28th January; 15 of October per Captain Masters the 23^d January; of 19th October per the Goodfellowship, Captain Robson, the second March; of 19th November by Captain Nanter, the 23^d Aprill; of primo December, by Captain Gold the 20th March; of the 9 December by Captain Crookshanks, the 30th March. Captain Hobs and Captain Nanter being both very heavy dull sailors, had long and tedious passage, and which was worse, both ships happen'd to be much vissit'd with the small pox, which with the fflux, the usuall distemper of a long voyage, carrid of nigh ninty of the Negroes per

¹ Davies 1957, 190.

² Two other vessels reported as coming from the West Indies (one from Barbados, one from Jamaica) are both described as interlopers: see nos 24, 67, 70, 221.

Captain Hobs, and nigh half of those of Captain Nanter.³ The few that were left in both ships were most of them in low condition, so yeilded but a low price. Those per Captain Hobbs, by you stild good Gold Coast Negroes, we here found not to be so, but of severall nations and languages, as Alampo, the worst of Negroes, Papas and some of unknown parts, and few right Gold Coast Negroes amongst them, which are here presently now discern'd by every planter or inhabitant of this island from any other sort of Negroes.⁴ The generality of people here haveing of late years sufficiently paid for such their knowledge are no longer to be deceiv'd theirin. We also observe you send some old Negroes, gray headed, and some very small children, nither of which will here scarce yeild the freight to be paid for or what their passage amounts to. It were better to lett you know, that the like may be avoyd'd for the future. According to your desire we have here assist'd and furnished Captain Hobs with all nessessarys request'd for his return to you. The ship hath cost a great deal more mony and took up much longer time to reffit than could be immagind, amounts to 343£: 10s: 11d sterling as per the inclosed account, which is £9: 4s for eight barrells of beeff which the ships company are to make good to you. Thereby you will se all that hath been furnish'd here and what wages paid the Master and men and accordingly you may accompt for them there. We wish the ships future good servis may repay the great cost on her. By the inclos'd bill of loading and invoice you will see we have ship'd the rum and sugar desir'd per yours of the 19th December, which we hope will arrive you in safty and to a good marktett. All possible care hath been taken in the goodness of the caske, which we hope will prevent leakage and any the least then abouts [sic]. The like care shall be taken in what is to goe on Captain Nanter, who is now fitting and may be ready to take in goods in 15 or twenty day[s]. We have orderd the rum cask to be made less than those now sent on Captain Hobbs, and had you mention'd the size you would have them of they should have been so made. We could gett but two hogsheads of white sugar ready for Captain Hobbs, the other two hogshead are very good Musco[vado] sugar, which we are told will sell well with you. What will send per Captain Nanter shall be all white as you write for.

974. Edwyn Steed & Stephen Gascoigne

Barbadoes, 1 July 1686

The foregoing is a copy of our last sent per Captain Hobbs. This serves cheiffly to

³ Cf. nos 900–2.

⁴ Cf. Phillips 1732, 214, observing that 'the negroes most in demand at Barbadoes' were the 'Gold Coast negroes', which fetched £3–4 more per head than the 'Papa negroes', while the 'Alampa' were 'accounted the worst of all'. Phillips makes clear that the term 'Popo' was used in Barbados as an equivalent of 'Whidaw negroes', rather than with reference specifically to the ports of Great and Little Popo, west of Whydah.

accompany the Affrican Marchant, Captain George Nanter Comander, who has spent much time and expended much mony in refitting his ship, the perticulars of all which you will find in his inclosed and account of his disburstments, of the justice of which you will be better able to judge then wee, especially in what relates to the seamens wages, and his expences and disburstments at Princes, of which we know nothing but as he informes us, and therefore could take noe other measures in furnishing him with monys but as he demanded it. We hope the ship will doe the Company considerable servis, and so answer the cost has been expended on her. What allowance the Captain is to have for the victualling his ship here we know not, not being privy to what contract you have made with him about it, and therefore must refer that also to your consideration, and adjustment.

According to your desires we have shipt the sugar and rum you write for on the Company account, as appears per the inclos'd invoice and bill of loading, all which we hope will come safe and in good condition to you, being excellent good in their kinds and as well put in good caskes as is possible to be done, which we hope will encourage you to write to the Company to order considerable supplies of rum to be sent you from this place, we being told per them that has had large experience of it, that it sells to the natives as redily and for as much as brandy, which if it doe must be of great proffit to the Company to make use of it rather then brandy, since it cost not much above a third part of what brandy stands them.⁵ In all the convenience we shall have by it, is to advance the Company intrest, and to help make returns to them, it being now very difficult to make large and good returns, from hence to England.⁶ Yours of the twentieth of Ffebruary per the Orangtree, and of the ffirst of March per the Mary are now with us, those two ships arriveing here the twenty ninth past, haveing had great mortallity among their negroes, each ship haveing lost about one hundred of what they took in. The rest have had the flux and are in very poor and mean condition, the small pox also being very much on board the Mary, which will hinder their sales, and we fear make them come out at very low rates, if we can sell them at all, this island haveing for eighteen months last past paid very dear for pocky Negroes, import'd here by an interloper, in the loss of many thousand slaves, besides abundance of our white people, to the great weakening and impoverish of our island, soe that we are in great streight what we shall doe with the Marys Negroes, and indeed them per the Orangetree are so poor and bad that nobody rares [sic: = dares?] to goe on board to buy any. We therefore earnestly recomend it to you for the future, as one of the greatest services can be done the Company, that you will send us as many good

⁵ For the rum trade to West Africa, cf. Davies 1957, 115–16; Eltis 2000, 127–8. This was pioneered by interlopers, before it was taken up by the RAC.

⁶ This probably reflects the fact that slave prices in the West Indies were currently depressed: Davies 1957, 313–14.

Gold Coast and Cormanteen Negroes⁷ as possible can be gott, those comeing alwaies in good condition, also well accepted here, but we pray you by noe means to send Allampoes, for they are so bad and so well known here that, let them come in what condition they will, they will scarce sell at any price.

Wee observe what you write concerning Mr Bayly and Mr Standleys imbeazleing goods on board the prizes taken per Captain Bridges, and would be glad we could return any thing from them for the Company, but Bayly is dead, and Standly utterly denies that ever it was in his power to imbezle anything, for that he was never employd but in one ship, that had noe goods on board but a little iron and red wood, which he deliverd at Cabo Corso as he receiv'd it, and dares averr that Agent Nurse nor any of the Councill ever chargd him with any such misdemeanor, and seams to be much surpris'd to meet with this account and carrecter of himselfe here. We have not further to add but referr matters of news to Mr Elwaies, who is an intelligent man and to whome we have given liberty to take on board such reffreshments of wynes and other things as Agent Nurse orderd him to procure for him, and we have also permitted some tokens to be put on board the ship, which some people have sent to their relations on the Coast for refreshment, which are not much, besides what are sent to Mr Carter⁸ for household stuff, house keeping and refreshment.

975. Edwin Steed

Barbados, 6 Aprill 1687

Your severall letters per Captain Wood, Captain Poston, Captain Butram and Captain Nanter are now come to my hands, which I take this oppertunity to acquaint you off, having no other means of sending to you but returne of the Coast Friggatt, Captain Wood, whose Negroes came in pretty good condition, and yielded [a] price suitable, as they will always doe, that come from your parts, that is to say, from the Gold Coast, if they be well sorted, young and come in a healthy condition, as Captain Butrams also did, which were sold here in a litle time, and at a very high price, but Captain Poston and Captain Nanter had not that good luck, for besides the mortality that was among them, they came so full of the small pox that wee could find no custom for them, even at the lowest rate, so that many of Nanters remayne yet unsold, and it has spread that disease exceedingly in the country to the great damage and discouragement of all future sales of sick and pocky Negroes.

Your not giving me any encouragement to returne Captain Nanter to you, and

⁷ The wording seems to imply that 'Gold Coast' and 'Kormantin' were separate categories; but cf. e.g. Phillips 1732, 214, which makes clear these were alternative names for the same group. Fort Kormantin was the English headquarters on the Gold Coast until it was captured by the Dutch in 1665; hence its name was often applied to the Gold Coast as a whole. It is improbable, however, than any significant numbers of slaves were shipped to Barbados specifically from Kormantin, even before 1665.

⁸ John Carter, chief of the RAC factory at Whydah.

the Company thinking the last repairing of her was very costly, though the greatest part of the money was for seamens wages, which must have been paid if she had not been sent to you, I shall therefore follow their orders about that shipp, in disposing of her here the best I can, for I find she will cost more money to fitt her for another Guinea voyage than did last time, and though the Coast Friggatt has cost now in repayres about one hundred and fifty pounds, besides other insidents and wages due, amounting to in the whole three hundred, twenty and four pounds, ten shilling and six pence, halfpenny, as per the inclosed accompt appears, yet I hope, God sending her safe to you, her service will pay her charge with good proffitt to the Company. By her I send you invoice and bill of loading for fifty two puncheons, twelve hogsheads and twenty four tierces of rumm, and though it exceeds what you writt for in quantity, yet considering the freight cost nothing, and that every one that comes thence assures me it is a very proffitable comodity for the Company on all the Coast, and being now very good, and at a moderate price, though growing very deare, I was willing to take this oppertunity of shewing my diligence and care in the Companyes service, and I hope they and you will account it so in this particular. Captain Wood carried himself very well in this voyage, and I hope at his returne to you, will deserve the continuance of your favour to him, and if you see no objection against him, I conceive if you returne the the shipp with slaves he may be fitly trusted with that charge, if you find any error in his accompts, as to seamens wages or otherwise, you will be better able rectifie it, by your books, than I could here, though I hope there is no error in it, though I have by me the papers you sent me thereto relating.

I have spoke to Captain Nanter about the error that happened in your accompts with him to your damage, upwards of two ounces of gold. He seems to know nothing of it, but he says he will overlooke his accompts and give me further answer therein, but I will certainly make stoppage of so much money for you, whether he owns the truth or not, till the Agent Generall may call here in his way home,⁹ or that I have further advise from yourselves. Wee have litle news here, only all country comoditys sell very low in England,¹⁰ and by that means the people here are very backward in paying what they owe the Company.¹¹ All things are very peaceable in Europe, no warrs being there like to be but between the Emperor and the Turk.¹²

⁹ i.e. Henry Nurse, who was on his way home from Cape Coast.

¹⁰ Prices for sugar were currently depressed, with the lowest price recorded in the year 1686 (Davies 1957, 366).

¹¹ For the accumulation of debts owed to the RAC in the West Indies in the later 1680s, cf. Davies 1957, 318–19.

¹² Referring to the Austrian (Holy Roman) Emperor, currently at war with Turkey (1682–99).

XII

FOREIGN COMPANIES

The 1686–8 correspondence also differs from that of 1681–3 in including some letters received from representatives of foreign companies trading on the West African coast, the Dutch West Indian Company and the Danish African Company. Obviously, such letters must also have been received earlier, but were not then copied into the Cape Coast letter-books. There is no evident rationale to their inclusion or non-inclusion, which presumably reflects merely different instructions given at different periods to the Company's clerks. These letters are all recorded in English, but there is no indication whether they were originally written in that language, or translated from Dutch on receipt at Cape Coast.

DUTCH WEST INDIAN COMPANY (ELMINA)

Most of the letters reproduced here (20 in all) were received from the Director-General of the Dutch West Indian Company in West Africa,¹ resident at the fort of São Jorge da Mina (Elmina),² who was at this time Nicolaes Sweerts. These letters seem to comprise an occasional rather than a regular correspondence, relating to various matters of interest common to both Companies which arose from time to time (and it lapses for nine months after May 1687). In addition to supplementing the information received from the RAC's own factors on certain episodes, this correspondence serve usefully to illustrate the unusually friendly relations which existed between the two Companies at this period.³

¹ Also included here, for convenience of cross-reference, is one letter from a Danish ship's captain (no.994), since its contents relate to correspondence between the English and Dutch companies.

² In the letters in this correspondence the name of the Dutch headquarters is normally given in its correct Portuguese form A Mina (lit. 'The Mine'), but twice (nos 995–6) the corrupt (and nowadays current) form 'Elmina' is given.

³ See Davies 1957, 266.

976. N Sweets

A Mina, 4 Feb. [16]85 [= 1686]⁴

I cannot by any means leave giving you advice that their is a Ffrench pyrott up to windward, mounted with 28 or 30 gunns, and 18 or 20 pattererors. He hath taken a Dutch interloper, and affter that an English Companys vessell;⁵ and now about three dayes agoe hath taken our vessell, named Seroosherk, and put all our men one [= on] an English Companys vessell but left noe gunns nor any aminition, and scarce left them soe many sayles as to bring them heither. The Captain of her [i.e the English ship] is made Captain on that vessell which they have taken from us,⁶ and the rest of the men [of the English ship], they have left ashoar to windward.⁷ Their is two black boyes come here along with her, which belongs to Cabo Corso soe as they say, but I cannot tell you the true relation at present of anything.

977. N Sweets

A Mina, 4 Feb. 1685 [= 1686]

Yours per Mr Wight and Mr Hassell I have received, and have informed them of all the ships that were taken by this last pyrate, for as much as I know, and that there is a vessell belonging to the Royall Company taken and delivered to our men, which were there aboard of our vessell which they have taken. Ile no more but referr to the report done to the above said gentlemen.

978. N Sweets

A Mina, 5 Feb. 1686

This day our Councill being here, we have generally agreed that the English vessell which hath been plundered, belonging to the Royall Company, should be redrest to your Worship, and dispose of it to your Worship[s] one [= own] pleasure, but my design is, if you be minded to part with her, to sell her to me, and lett me know the least price, and shall see to agree with you, if you will not to[o] dear valleye her, and will either give you in exchange on accompt a brave shallop or else pay all in gold, soe as your Worship pleases. Soe noe more but desire your speedy answer.

979. N Sweets

A Mina, 7 Feb. [16]85/6

These are only to desire your patience till to morrow, shall as then send down Mr Smith and entrust him to make an agreement if possible, and if you are pleased to abate, being I thing [= think] a little to dear at the rate of 10 markes of gold, for I

⁴ The dates in nos 976–94 are all in ‘New Style’, currently 10 days in advance of the English calendar; whereas nos 995–6 (and one of the two letters from the Danish Company) give the date according to both calendars.

⁵ i.e. the *James*, Commander Richard Platt; cf. no.7.

⁶ Cf. later reference to Platt commanding the Dutch vessel, in no.901.

⁷ At Ankobra: cf. no.831.

doe not judge her to be worth soe much, for she lacks a great deale before she be finished.

980. N Sweerts

A Mina, 8 Feb. 1685/6

Yours I have received and se that you are come to an agreement of selling the vessell for six and a halfe marks of gold, which shall be returned to you per first occasion, for my desire is that you would be pleased to send up a canoe for to fetch the water casque, and the two men which are aboard of her, being I would fitt her as soone as possible. Last night amounst the men which came from Axim, which by the reason of the hard usage of the pyrate where put ashore, there was two English men belonging to the James, which per these I am sending to you. I am advised there is seaven more amounst the Negroes, but they will not release them, without they have a present,⁸ and it lyes not in my power to take them per fforce, being they are at the other side of the river, but if you are pleased to give me order what charges you will be at, shall take care to release them, and lett them be sent to you. Amounst the Dutch men here last night, there is one which had a little mony left, which hath paid the charges of coming heither [which] amounts to 2a $\frac{1}{2}$ that is for the two Englishmen 5a, which I desire you would have return'd to the poor ffellow back againe. As for the seamen, I cannot as yet give an account but will inquire whether there is any which are minded to goe into your servis and advise you per next.

981. N Sweerts

A Mina, 14 Feb. 1685/6

These are only to desire you to doe me the favour as to advise me wether there is any of your vessels which will shortly be directly bound for England, if soe be there is any I would willingly send some letters along with her for Holland.

982. N Sweerts

A Mina, 15 Feb. 1685/6

On Tuesday last I write a letter to our factory at Axim that he should doe his utmost endeavour to redeeme the white men that are their. As soon as they shall be arrived here shall send them down to you. Here which are coming to you 4 seamen are willing to serve the Royall Company, but doe desire you to lett them goe directly for London, being they have nothing at all left them but on their backs, and then a long voyage will be more tedious for them. If you have 6 iron guns to spaire which will carry 3 pound shott, pray lett me know the price, I shall send some body down to look on them.

⁸ Cf. no.831.

983. N Sweets

A Mina, 21 Feb. 1685/6

These are only to accompany 7 of the men that were sett ashore at Ancover. Whether their is any more their I canot tell, but our ffactor at Axim will inquire, and if their are any more their shall be redeemed as soon as possible. A while agoe I did desire you that you would return the commodities which were by me taken and send down to you to your Negroes back againe, to whome they did belong, or elce satisfie him, that soe I might prevent all the rogeries which he might invent; which you promised me to doe, but doe here that you have not as yett done, and that negroe dayly comming complaining, doe yett once more desire you to satisfie him, or elce if any mischance might happen shall blame you for it is not my free will but your desire that they might be returned to you, and you did promis me you would be bound for all that might happen on that account.

984. N Sweets

A Mina, 23 Feb. 1686

Yours per Richard Pearse with five bendys of gold for the redemtion of your men I have received, and will per first occasion send it up to our Factor at Axim.

985. N Sweets

Mina, 23 March 1686

The vessell which arriv'd here this day is the Castle DELmina, set sayle out of Texell the 4/14 January and 13/23 ditto out of the Downs. They were in company with 6 of our Company's vessells bound for this Coast, Angola and Ardra, but with a great storm separated from one another. Thers noe news but that all is at peace in Europe, but in France the persecution of the Protestans,⁹ and our vessell hath toucht at severall places to windward but saw noe vessell, niether heard of the pyrot.

986. N Sweets

A Mina, 26 March 1686

This day I had advice from Commenda that the French have brought comodities ashore there and hath left a white man there to look affter them, all are left at the house of John Cabess,¹⁰ but I will doe my utmost endeavour to hinder them in settling themselves there, soe my desire is you will doe the like, being it is as well your interest as mine. So I have this day purposly sent a negroe to the king of Comendo, that he will not by any means give liberty to the French to establish themselves their; if now by fare means he will not, my intention is to liten [= lighten] our ffactory and se what I can doe per force. This John Cabess I have a long time minded to punish him for his rogency but have not yet had any occasion.

⁹ The Edict of Nantes, granting toleration to Protestants in France, had been revoked in Oct. 1685.

¹⁰ Cf. no.150.

Now my desire is, whether he hath any revenues of the English Company and whether he is [in] your servis. If not I will doe my endeavor to take hold of him and then pay him sufficiently for all.

987. N Sweerts

A Mina, 30 March 1686

I give you many and hartly thanks for your good advice, you may be assured that I will doe my utmost indeavour to hinder the French in settling at any place. Desire you when needs be to doe me the favourable assistance and you may be sure, as soon as I hear they will settle at any place on the Coast, I will warne you betimes.

988. N Sweerts

A Mina, 22 April 1686

Yours I have received, and for answer the vessell which is arriv'd here hath not toucht in the Bemeen but only in the Cabons [= Gabons], Calibar, and Cape Lopas, so that he cant tell anything concerning your vessell.¹¹ Our vessell which arriv'd here out of Europe hath met with a vessell up to windward Cape Palm; suppos'd it to be an English Company vessell but can't certainly tell, being he did not speak to them and was afraid to trust them, being he did not certainly know that she was.

989. N Sweerts

A Mina, 29 April 1686

These are only to desire your Worship to doe me the ffavour to spare a carpenter for two months, and if you canot for two, pray lett me have him for one, being I am in great necessity for want of one, and if I can doe you the like servis in any labourers that are here will doe the like.

[PS] Pray lett it be as [= a] ship carpenter.

990. N Sweerts

Amina, 24 July 1686

I desire your Worship to doe me the favour if possible of letting me have a warp anchor¹² about 200 or 250 lb weight, being I am in nessesity of them. If you canot spare one, pray lett me have as many Scotch coales¹³ as you can spare. If any thing that is here I can serve you, pray freely comand him here.

¹¹ Probably referring to the *Jacob*, which eventually arrived at Albani on the western Gold Coast in July 1686 (no.845).

¹² i.e. an anchor used to tow a ship.

¹³ Cf. 'sea coal' in nos 741–2, above: real coal, as opposed to charcoal.

991. N Sweets

A Mina, 21 Sept. 1686

Yours per Mr Boylston I have received concerning panyarring John Cabess.¹⁴ I have done not on the account he is in servis of the Royall Company as you now rite, but can show you to the contrary that he is not in your Company's servis, with your own hand in a letter of the 20th of March [16]86.¹⁵ Yet nevertheless his roggerys done to our Company deserves to be severly punish'd. For the freindship and good correspondence betwixt us, will not be soe hard as ootherwise I would have been, yet will not leave such villians unpunish'd. As for oystershells I am not at present furnished, but as soon as have any will lett you know and let you have as many, or anything elce wherewith I can serve you, as you please.

992. Nicholas Sweets

Amina, 5/15 Jan. 1686/7

When I gave myselfe last the honour at Cabo Corso to sallute you, your Honour was pleased to acquaint me that you wanted shells, for burning to make lyme. Therefore I have sent your Honour a boat loading, with a fferther offering of my servis. We are here unprovided of sea Scotch cole for smiths work, if your Honour can furnish me with a small quantity shall be very thankfull for it.

993. Nicholas Sweets att the Mine, 9 May 1687 stilo novo

Some dayes agoe after inquiry I was certainly informed that a certain negro, called Obo, living near Fort Fredericks Burgh, by that people or slaves hath taken prisoners two off the West Indies Companies slaves who were cannoe men, as they were coming hither from the Mouree, and that they brought the foresaid cannoemen aboard off Captain Hendricks ship, for which he bestowed on them on[e] anker off brandy and two musketts for the canoemen, not being in the least indebted to him.¹⁶

The state off the affair being thus, worshipfull Sir, I desir friendly off your worship that you will be pleased to deliver me up the foresaid negro Obo, that I may doe the West Indies Company reason, or otherwayes I intreat that you will be pleased to take him in custody till he release the two cannoe men or pay four ounces off gold for them. Your worships servant Griffin knows the bussines very weel and I know will deal faithfully in the matter.

¹⁴ At Komenda: cf. nos 180-1.

¹⁵ Evidently in reply to no.986, above.

¹⁶ But see no.994, for Hendrix's denial of the charge.

994. Daniel Hendrix

From aboard the ship *Christianus Quintus*,¹⁷ 9 May 1687 stilo novo

Just now afternoon I received your worships letter wherein it appears that your worship has received a letter from the General off the Mine, who complains that the negroes under your government should have seas'd upon a cannoe with two negroes which belong to the Mine, and further that they should brought them aboard off my ship.

To which I answer that I ame altogether ignorant of itt, butt the same was doon by my boat, which went away in the middle of the night weel arm'd to board my pinnace and bring her aboard my ship, so that I doe not know that any under your worships command were in the least concerned, and being my pinnace was off great importance to me I doubt not but that I should have repaired the loss one way or another, but now am resolved to take my payment off the slaves.

Yesterday my drummer run away to Cormantin, being indebted two hundred gilders att home and aboard ship, occasioned by that the General off the Mine was pleased to invite him to the Companyes service, as your worship will see by the inclosed coppie off the letter written by the Generall of the Mine to the foresaid drummer.

Today I have written a letter to Mr Jo'el[?] Smith at Cormantin,¹⁸ who sayes that tomorrow I shall have ane answer, according to which I intend to take my measures. I remain infinitely thankfull to your worship for all kyndnesses, hoping to find a tyme wherein I can recompente them. In the mean tyme I wish your worship all desired happiness

995. Nicholas Sweets

Castle Del Mina, 17/27 May 1687

The 13/23 came here two Negroes from *Succondee* who said they had a letter from your worships ffactor directed to your worship, which according to their report did beare, that a ship with our colours had taken four Negroes belonging to Captain *De Bastion* and then afterwards sayled away.¹⁹

The 14/24 I hope to have had some further news from your worship, or from our *Comess*²⁰ att *Succondee*, butt the 15/25 I received advice from *Axim* that the 10/20 an English Companys ship named the *St John* under the comand of Captain *John Rocet*, was come into *Axim* road, which *Rocet* said that hee was taken by a Ffrench pyrate of 24 gunns and 100 men about the red cliffes,²¹ who tooke away all his goods, gunns, necessarys, as also broake up the ship in severall places, soe

¹⁷ The *Christianus V* was a ship of the Danish African Company: cf. Nørregård 1966, 54.

¹⁸ From the context, factor of the Dutch WIC at Kormantin.

¹⁹ = no.83.

²⁰ Dutch *commies*, agent, referring here to the chief of the WIC factory.

²¹ A well-known landmark on the Ivory Coast, west of Kotrou.

that according to what Mynheer Verdyke²² writes, shee [is] very neer unfitt for goeing to sea.²³ The canomen that brought mee the aforesaid letter say that they know nothing of any English shipp neer Axim butt of a little pyrate, who had taken two of their comrads (that went aboard in a canoe) and carried them away with them.

The same day wee received advice from our Comess at Succondee, whoe confirms the same that the two Succondee canomen reported upon the 13/23.

In all this doubt tis my oppinion that the same little ship which Mynheer Verdyke said was English Companys ship, is the same little pyrate which took away the negroes from Succondee and Axim, soe much the more, because upon the 25th instant shee went from Succondee, and past by Commenda and this place, almost out of sight in the sea, and likewise yesterday in the evening our people of Cormanteen se a ship passing by at sea, which by appearance is the same shipp.

If in case your worship hath any shipp which is called the St John, whereof the Captains name is John Rocet, then will my supposition be false, and that which is written by our Comess Mynheer Verdyke true, which I humbly desire your worship will be pleased to lett mee know, for my further information. I knew no better but that your worship was informed of every thing thus farr, especially because your worships ship departed yesterday night for Comenda.

996. Nicholas Swerts

Castle Del Mina, 16/26 March 1687/8

Wee cannot beleive that the unknown French ship is a pyrate,²⁴ because on Tuesday and Wednesday last he was at Comenda, and likewise hard by our fly boat, but did not hurt, and which is more wee have advise from Axim that there passed by a French Companies shipp, (appointed to Whiddah, for slaves) called the Glorious, Captain Barritt, mounted with twenty gunns and forty five men. Wee do beleieve and maintain that this is the same shipp, but that the said Captain Barritt did want sugar &ca. Wee could not neglect to send your Worships the inclosed, wherein wee have ordered the Chiefe Merchant Everaurs²⁵ to do all things requisite for protecting the Royall Company of Englands ships, in case she comes within reach of the gunns at Cormantyn, notwithstanding without that the aforesaid Chief Merchant would have knowne his duty. In case your Worships know any further news, it will be very acceptable to let me hear of it, as also the continuation of your Worships good and acceptable correspondence. I recommend you to God.

²² Johan Verdyck, chief of the WIC factory at Axim.

²³ Cf. no.252.

²⁴ A French ship at Anomabu, suspected by the English to be a pirate: cf. nos 371, 601, 960-2.

²⁵ Carel Everaers, chief of the WIC factory at Kormantin.

DANISH AFRICAN COMPANY
(CHRISTIANSBORG, ACCRA)

These two letters received from the Danish African Company arose out of the pawning of Fort Frederixborg and of Christiansborg by their governors to the RAC in 1684–5, whose legality was repudiated by the Danish Company. Agreement was eventually reached in 1688, whereby the English renounced their claim to Christiansborg but kept Frederixborg.²⁶ It may be noted that at least two other letters were received in this period from the Danish Director-General, perhaps on the same subject, which are alluded to in the Rawlinson correspondence, but were not copied into the Cape Coast letter-books.²⁷

997. Nicholas Ffencman

Christiansburgh, 13/23 Aug. 1687

Heretofore never haveing the good fortune nor occasion to honor my self by writing to you, I wish you health happiness, and prosperity, and that it please Almighty God to preserve you many years.

Seeing by our Royall Commissionate Danish West India Affrican Company I am now ordred to be second person and likewise Councillor next to the Generall Hans Luke, as alsoe Captain Thomas Towers by the aforesaid high and much esteemed Company is made of the Councell with us, who has orders to take perticular notice in every thing, and utterly to disowne and slight all former disorders and misunderstanding, to the end all things may be brought in good order, I doubt not but by the first the Ffort Ffredrickburgh will come under his Royall Majestie of Denmarks protection, and wee have it in our possession, whereupon I desired Captain Thomas Towers, when sailed from hence, that he would enquire of you concerning what is past, because our Royall Company and I am in the darke about it, chiefly of the Ffort Christianburgh, in order our present place of residence, there being money layde out upon it by those who proceeded you, which neither the Royall Company of Denmarke nor I have seen any instructions for, but only hearde discourse about it, and on the contrary Generall Hans Luke, which I askt him, who would not acknowledge noe such thing to me.

Now haveing lately received some letters from Captain Thomas Towers, by which I am informed that those who proceeded you had deposited seaven markes of gold a[tt] the request of the Generall Hans Luke upon that Ffort Christiansburg, in orderd the Generall Hans Luke did impart the buisness and shewed me the obligation, by which it appeares that nott only the ffortt Christiansburgh but all the

²⁶ Davies 1957, 275–6; Nørregård 1966, 32–33.

²⁷ Cf. nos 712, 792.

ammunition in it, and which is more twenty good men and twenty good weomen slaves belonging to our Royall Company or [sic: = are?] impignorate,²⁸ for six marks, one ounce, nine angles and six taccoees in gold, and that upon such slite conditions, which maks me much admire that he should put in pledge to other nations such ffortresses and slaves belonging to the Royall Majestie of Denmarke, and should know noe better how to maintain kings ffortresses intrusted to him, which if his Majestie was informed of, would be highly displeased, wherefore I wish from my heart upon the Generalls accompt that soe soone as possible his buisness concerning the ffort Christiansburgh may be accomodated, that noe further differences may happen betwixt the Royall Affrican Company of Denmark and the Generall Hans Luke, which as I have understood by Captain Thomas Towers letters, you are verry well inclined that the buisness should be accomodated, and that you had delayed for my comeing, which I likewise wish heartily to have the honor to kiss your hands. Seeing my health and buisness will not allowe it, I intreat you would be pleased to excuse me, and seeing wee expect letters dayly from home, and waite Captain Towers dayly to come here before he goes home, wee will advise together what is best to be donn, doubting not a friendly accomodation.

998. Nicholas Fencman

Christiansburgh, 8 Oct. 1687

I doubt not but that you have received my letter dated the 23^d August by address of Mr Mark Bedford Whiting, your chief ffactor at Accraa, but had noe answer. Now I understand by Captain Thomas Towers that latly he hath spoken to you about your pretended right to Christiansburgh for some marks of gold, which your predecessors, at the desire of of the deceased Hans Luke, had layd out on the aforesaid ffortt, which our Royall Company never gave him order to put in pledge their fforts belonging to the Crowne of Denmarke to other nations, far less to deliver the ffort Ffredrickburgh in possession of your prediccors because it was put in pledge, but on the contrary to defend the same to the utmost, and observe the said Royall Companys intrest in all things. Our Royall Company did not know in the least Christiansburgh was implledged, but of the ffort Ffredrickburg, whereof, I hope, our Royall Company will have possession soe soone as possible, which for three years by your predecessor, you and the aforesaid Hans Luke hath been kept very close, and though I have served our Royall Company sixteen or seaventeen months in this method neither your predecessor nor you did acquaint me with it, nor did the Heer Hans Luke give any answer to the Royall Company for his past fault, out of what absolutely pressing necessity or perswasion he had don such a thing, but to his advantage, death prevented any further.²⁹ I understand likewise by

²⁸ i.e. mortgaged.

²⁹ Hans Lykke died on 19 Sept. 1687 (no.770).

Captain Thomas Towers that you desire to have the money layd out by your preede[ce]ssor, at the desire of the Hans Luke (he being dead), to be paidd with intrest, although I find noe intrest specified in the contract, but according to my commission from our Royall Company to succeed Hans Luke in command, I am ordred to maintaine their Royall ffortresses to the uttermost and to observe their intrest soe far as I can, wherefore I order Captain Thomas Towers, as alsoe chief mate Tyaerd Tyerkers, soe soone as they are at Cabo Corso, to speak once more to you about the money layd out by your prede[ce]ssors on the ffort Christiansburgh, chiefly that you will be pleased to dispense with the payment of the money upon the ffort Christiansburgh till such time as our Royall Company be informed of it, and give me order how to act in the affaire, soe long as it's in our possession, but in case you doe not approve of my request, and that I must be put out by you, and you desire me to pay the money layd out by force, as the Generall Henry Nurse upon the 16th day of July, being come to anchor in Accraa Roade, made mee pay perforce five ounces of gold before he would lett me goe out of Captain Goulds shipp,³⁰ upon the accompt of Hans Luke, which he had noe reason to have of me but but of the aforesaid Hans Luke, with or without intrest, soe I say I neither can nor will pay the money, but desire some instructions to bear me harmles, and likewise to know the aforesaid sum of money, a month before, upon the which accompt I doe give Captain Thomas Thowers and Tyaerd Tyerkens his chief mate to treat with you about the ffortt Christiansburgh in or soe belonging to his Royall Majestie of Denmarke, and what shall be don by them shall be approved of and acknowledged, and on their assignation to pay the sum agreed on, soe that you by authority order, and full power, duely deliver up all acts, obligations and instructions may be disanuled and made of noe effect, likewise the restitution of 20 good men and 20 good weomen slaves, belonging to our Royall Company of Denmarke, which your prede[ce]ssors had as a pledge in keeping at the ffort Ffredrickburgh.

³⁰ Nurse, the retiring Agent-General of the RAC at Cape Coast, was returning to England in Gould's ship (the *Maynard*). However, the RAC correspondence from Accra makes no reference to this incident (no.760).

Concordance

This list gives the precise provenance within the Rawlinson corpus of all the documents published in this volume. The number in the present volume is given in the leftmost column; the Rawlinson location (including duplicate copies in the case of one single document) in the rightmost.

Letter				Rawlinson C.
1.	Alexander Cleave	James Island	10/03/86	745: 343
2.	''	''	27/07/87	747: 123
3.	''	''	12/08/87	747: 86
4.	Thomas Bucknell	Sekondi	16/01/86	745: 317
5.	''	''	18/01/86	745: 317v
6.	''	''	22/01/86	745: 319
7.	''	''	28/01/86	745: 322
8.	''	''	30/01/86	745: 322v
9.	''	''	02/02/86	745: 324
10.	''	''	08/02/86	745: 326
11.	''	''	14/02/86	745: 327v
12.	''	''	17/02/86	745: 328
13.	''	''	19/02/86	745: 329v
14.	''	''	24/02/86	745: 330
15.	''	''	04/03/86	745: 332
16.	''	[Sekondi]	06/03/86	745: 332v
17.	''	Sekondi	n.d.	745: 333
18.	''	''	09/03/86	745: 333v
19.	''	''	12/03/86	745: 333v
20.	''	''	n.d.	745: 336v
21.	''	''	22/03/86	745: 337v
22.	''	''	31/03/86	745: 341
23.	Colin Hunter	''	04/04/86	745: 341v
24.	Thomas Bucknell	''	12/04/86	745: 341v
25.	''	''	17/04/86	745: 342v
26.	''	''	21/04/86	745: 343
27.	''	''	28/04/86	745: 344
28.	''	''	07/95/86	745: 345
29.	''	''	15/05/86	745: 347v
30.	''	''	25/05/86	745: 348v
31.	''	''	31/05/86	745: 349

32.	''	''	04/06/86	745: 350
33.	''	''	04/06/86	745: 350v
34.	''	''	05/06/86	745: 350v
35.	''	''	17/06/86	745: 352v
36.	''	''	20/06/86	745: 354v
37.	''	''	21/06/86	745: 353
38.	''	''	25/06/86	745: 354
39.	''	''	29/06/86	745: 355
40.	''	''	03/07/86	745: 355
41.	''	''	09/07/86	745: 356
42.	''	''	17/07/86	745: 358
43.	''	''	19/07/86	745: 358v
44.	''	''	28/07/86	745: 362v
45.	''	''	11/08/86	745: 365
46.	''	''	21/08/86	745: 369
47.	''	''	23/08/86	745: 366
48.	''	''	07/09/86	745: 371v
49.	''	''	21/09/86	745: 375
50.	''	''	24/09/86	745: 376
51.	''	''	02/10/86	745: 377
52.	''	''	18/10/86	745: 380
53.	''	''	20/10/86	745: 380v
54.	''	''	02/11/86	745: 384
55.	''	''	06/11/86	745: 385v
56.	''	''	12/11/86	745: 390
57.	''	''	14/11/86	745: 390v
58.	''	''	18/11/86	745: 395
59.	''	''	03/12/86	745: 399
60.	''	''	08/12/86	745: 403v
61.	''	''	11/12/86	745: 404v
62.	William Halford	''	18/12/86	745: 411
63.	Thomas Bucknell	''	30/12/86	745: 421
64.	''	''	12/01/87	745: 425
65.	''	''	18/01/87	745: 426v
66.	''	''	20/01/87	745: 428
67.	''	''	24/01/87	745: 429
68.	''	''	28/01/87	745: 430v
69.	''	''	07/02/87	745: 433
70.	''	''	10/02/87	745: 434
71.	''	''	20/02/87	745: 437
72.	''	''	02/03/87	747: 2
73.	''	''	04/03/87	747: 3v
74.	''	''	14/03/87	747: 7
75.	''	''	20/03/87	747: 10v
76.	''	''	24/03/87	747: 12
77.	''	''	06/04/87	747: 18
78.	''	''	14/04/87	747: 25v

79.	''	''	15/04/87	747: 24v
80.	''	''	18/04/87	747: 25
81.	''	''	02/05/87	747: 29
82.	''	''	05/05/87	747: 32
83.	''	''	12/05/87	747: 34
84.	''	''	23/05/87	747: 38v
85.	''	''	29/05/87	747: 41
86.	''	''	29/05/87	747: 49
87.	''	''	19/06/87	747: 52
88.	''	''	21/06/87	747: 53
89.	''	''	10/07/87	747: 57v
90.	''	''	11/07/87	747: 58v
91.	''	''	16/07/87	747: 59v
92.	''	''	18/07/87	747: 60
93.	''	''	20/07/87	747: 62
94.	''	''	01/08/87	747: 65v
95.	''	''	05/08/87	747: 66
96.	''	''	11/08/87	747: 69v
97.	''	''	15/08/87	747: 72v
98.	''	''	30/08/87	747: 78
99.	''	''	02/09/87	747: 79v
100.	''	''	10/09/87	747: 82
101.	''	''	14/09/87	747: 85
102.	''	''	19/09/87	747: 86v
103.	''	''	19/09/87	747: 87
104.	''	''	26/09/87	747: 90v
105.	Samuel Chambers	''	02/10/87	747: 96
106.	Robert Elwes & William Cross	''	06/10/87	747: 97v
107.	James Walker	''	10/10/87	747: 101
108.	''	''	15/10/87	747: 102v
109.	''	''	16/10/87	747: 102v
110.	Ralph Hassell & James Walker	''	24/10/87	747: 108
111.	James Walker	''	27/10/87	747: 109
112.	Theophilus Blinsham	''	05/11/87	747: 112v
113.	''	''	11/11/87	747: 116
114.	''	''	11/11/87	747: 116v
115.	''	''	15/11/87	747: 118
116.	''	''	16/11/87	747: 118v
117.	''	''	19/11/87	747: 120
118.	''	''	18/12/87	747: 150
119.	''	''	20/12/87	747: 151
120.	''	''	30/12/87	747: 155
121.	''	''	03/01/88	747: 159v
122.	''	''	04/01/88	747: 158v
123.	''	''	13/01/88	747: 164

124.	Thomas Price	''	17/01/88	747: 166v
125.	Theophilus Blinsham	''	17/01/88	747: 167
126.	''	''	20/01/88	747: 171
127.	''	''	**/01/88	747: 170
128.	''	''	25/01/88	747: 172
129.	''	''	03/02/88	747: 175v
130.	''	''	20/01/88	747: 183
131.	''	''	03/03/88	747: 190v
132.	''	''	12/03/88	747: 194
133.	William Ronan	''	12/03/88	747: 194
134.	Theophilus Blinsham	''	16/03/88	747: 197
135.	''	''	21/03/88	747: 200
136.	''	[Sekondi]	22/03/88	747: 202v
137.	''	Sekondi	26/03/88	747: 204v
138.	''	''	02/04/88	747: 209
139.	''	''	08/04/88	747: 211
140.	''	''	19/04/88	747: 217
141.	''	''	20/04/88	747: 217v
142.	''	''	27/04/88	747: 219v
143.	William Ronan	''	27/04/88	747: 220
144.	William Cross	Komenda	24/01/86	745: 319v
145.	''	''	05/02/86	745: 325
146.	''	''	10/02/86	745: 326v
147.	''	''	13/02/86	745: 327
148.	''	''	03/03/86	745: 331v
149.	''	''	10/03/86	745: 333v
150.	''	''	17/03/86	745: 336v
151.	''	''	18/03/86	745: 337
152.	''	''	26/03/86	745: 337v
153.	''	''	30/03/86	745: 340
154.	''	''	02/04/86	745: 341
155.	''	''	03/05/86	745: 344
156.	''	''	07/05/86	745: 344v
157.	''	''	11/05/86	745: 345v
158.	''	''	21/05/86	745: 347
159.	''	''	25/05/86	745: 348
160.	''	''	13/06/86	745: 352
161.	''	''	17/06/86	745: 352v
162.	''	''	18/06/86	745: 353
163.	''	''	21/06/86	745: 353
164.	''	''	22/06/86	745: 353v
165.	''	''	25/06/86	745: 354
166.	''	''	04/07/86	745: 356
167.	''	''	06/07/86	745: 356v
168.	''	''	07/07/86	745: 355v
169.	''	''	10/07/86	745: 356v
170.	''	''	17/07/86	745: 358

171.	''	''	20/07/86	745: 359v
172.	''	''	30/07/86	745: 363
173.	''	''	05/08/86	745: 364
174.	''	''	06/08/86	745: 364
175.	''	''	10/08/86	745: 364
176.	''	''	01/09/86	745: 370v
177.	''	''	03/09/86	745: 370v
178.	''	''	06/09/86	745: 370v
179.	''	''	08/09/86	745: 371v
180.	''	''	16/09/86	745: 373v
181.	''	''	17/09/86	745: 373v
182.	''	''	21/09/86	745: 374v
183.	''	''	25/09/86	745: 376
184.	''	''	06/10/86	745: 377v
185.	''	''	07/10/86	745: 377v
186.	''	''	14/10/86	745: 379
187.	''	''	18/10/86	745: 379v
188.	''	''	19/10/86	745: 380v
189.	''	''	24/10/86	745: 381
190.	''	''	27/10/86	745: 383
191.	''	''	02/11/86	745: 383v
192.	''	''	03/11/86	745: 384v
193.	''	''	06/11/86	745: 388v
194.	''	''	10/11/86	745: 389
195.	''	''	11/11/86	745: 388v
196.	''	''	13/11/86	745: 390
197.	''	''	16/11/86	745: 391v
198.	''	''	19/11/86	745: 393
199.	''	''	20/11/86	745: 393v
200.	''	''	24/11/86	745: 395
201.	''	''	01/12/86	745: 396
202.	''	''	03/12/86	745: 398
203.	''	''	04/12/86	745: 398
204.	''	''	05/12/86	745: 398v
205.	''	''	07/12/86	745: 400
206.	''	''	08/12/86	745: 402v
207.	''	''	09/12/86	745: 404
208.	''	''	12/12/86	745: 405
209.	''	''	14/12/86	745: 405v
210.	''	''	15/12/86	745: 406
211.	[William Cross]	''	17/12/86	745: 407v
212.	William Cross	''	22/12/86	745: 420
213.	''	''	01/01/87	745: 421v
214.	''	''	05/01/87	745: 422v
215.	''	''	06/01/87	745: 423
216.	''	''	08/01/87	745: 423v
217.	''	''	13/01/87	745: 425

218.	''	''	14/01/87	745: 426
219.	''	''	21/01/87	745: 428v
220.	''	''	22/01/87	745: 428v
221.	''	''	26/01/87	745: 429v
222.	''	''	28/01/87	745: 430v
223.	''	''	03/02/87	745: 431v
224.	''	''	07/02/87	745: 433
225.	''	''	10/02/87	745: 433v
226.	''	''	12/02/87	745: 434v
227.	''	''	17/02/87	745: 436
228.	''	''	21/02/87	745: 437
229.	''	''	23/02/87	745: 437v
230.	''	''	24/02/87	745: 437v
231.	''	''	27/02/87	745: 438v
232.	''	''	03/03/87	747: 2v
233.	''	''	08/03/87	747: 5v
234.	''	''	14/03/87	747: 8
235.	''	''	15/03/87	747: 8
236.	''	''	17/03/87	747: 9
237.	''	''	22/03/87	747: 11
238.	''	''	23/03/87	747: 11v
239.	''	''	25/03/87	747: 12v
240.	''	''	28/03/87	747: 14
241.	''	''	31/03/87	747: 14v
242.	''	''	02/04/87	747: 15v
243.	Samuel Chambers	''	02/04/87	747: 16
244.	William Cross	''	05/04/87	747: 17v
245.	Samuel Chambers	''	05/04/87	747: 17v
246.	William Cross	''	22/04/87	747: 26
247.	''	''	27/04/87	747: 27
248.	''	''	30/04/87	747: 28v
249.	''	''	04/05/87	747: 30
250.	''	''	07/05/87	747: 33
251.	''	''	13/05/87	747: 35v
252.	''	''	18/05/87	747: 37
253.	''	''	18/05/87	747: 49
254.	''	''	28/05/87	747: 40
255.	''	''	01/06/87	747: 41
256.	''	''	10/06/87	747: 50
257.	''	''	15/06/87	747: 51
258.	''	''	23/06/87	747: 53
259.	''	''	02/07/87	747: 55v
260.	''	''	04/07?/87	747: 56v
261.	''	''	05/07/87	747: 57
262.	''	''	16/07/87	747: 59v
263.	''	''	19/07/87	747: 60v
264.	''	''	25/07/87	747: 62v

265.	''	''	27/07/87	747: 62v
266.	''	''	28/07/87	747: 63
267.	''	''	30/07/87	747: 63v
268.	Robert Elwes	''	06/08/87	747: 68
269.	''	''	12/08/87	747: 70v
270.	''	''	12/08/87	747: 70v
271.	''	''	13/08/87	747: 71v
272.	''	''	14/08/87	747: 72
273.	''	''	15/08/87	747: 72
274.	''	''	21/08/87	747: 73
275.	''	''	23/08/87	747: 74
276.	''	''	25/08/87	747: 74v
277.	''	''	n.d.	747: 77
278.	''	''	30/08/87	747: 77v
279.	''	''	31/08/87	747: 79
280.	''	''	03/09/87	747: 80v
281.	''	''	23/09/87	747: 89v
282.	''	''	26/09/87	747: 91v
283.	''	''	28/09/87	747: 92v
284.	''	''	28/09/87	747: 94
285.	''	''	01/10/87	747: 96
286.	''	''	02/10/87	747: 96v
287.	''	''	03/10/87	747: 97v
288.	Thomas Johnson	''	07/10/87	747: 98v
299.	Robert Elwes	''	11/10/87	747: 100v
290.	''	''	12/10/87	747: 102
291.	''	''	21/10/87	747: 107
292.	''	''	30/10/87	747: 109v
293.	''	''	05/11/87	747: 111v
294.	''	''	05/11/87	747: 11v
295.	Thomas Johnson	''	05/11/87	747: 112
296.	Robert Elwes	''	10/11/87	747: 115v
297.	''	''	11/11/87	747: 116
298.	''	''	12/11/87	747: 117
299.	''	''	16/11/87	747: 119
300.	''	''	18/11/87	747: 119v
301.	''	''	21/11/87	747: 120
302.	''	''	02/12/87	747: 141v
303.	''	''	05/12/87	747: 142
304.	''	''	07/12/87	747: 145
305.	''	''	08/12/87	747: 145v
306.	''	''	09/12/87	747: 146
307.	''	''	14/12/87	747: 150v
308.	''	''	19/12/87	747: 150v
309.	''	''	22/12/87	747: 153
310.	''	''	31/12/87	747: 155v
311.	''	''	13/01/88	747: 163

312.	''	''	13/01/88	747: 165
313.	''	''	15/01/88	747: 165v
314.	''	''	21/01/88	747: 169
315.	''	''	23/01/88	747: 169v
316.	''	''	23/01/88	747: 171v
317.	''	''	31/01/88	747: 173v
318.	''	''	02/02/88	747: 174v
319.	Thomas Price	''	02/02/88	747: 175
320.	Robert Elwes	''	05/02/88	747: 176v
321.	''	''	08/02/88	747: 177v
322.	''	''	11/02/88	747: 179v
323.	''	''	17/02/88	747: 181v
324.	''	''	19/02/88	747: 182v
325.	''	''	24/02/88	747: 185v
326.	''	''	11/03/88	747: 192v
327.	''	''	12/03/88	747: 193v
328.	''	''	14/03/88	747: 195
329.	''	''	21/03/88	747: 201
330.	''	''	24/03/88	747: 203
331.	''	''	31/03/88	747: 208v
332.	''	''	06/04/88	747: 210
333.	''	''	17/04/88	747: 214v
334.	''	''	18/04/88	747: 215v
335.	Ralph Hassell	Fredericksburg	05/09/87	747: 81v
336.	''	''	09/09/87	747: 81v
337.	''	''	12/09/87	747: 82v
338.	''	''	15/09/87	747: 83v
339.	''	''	20/09/87	747: 88v
340.	''	''	22/09/87	747: 88
341.	''	''	22/09/87	747: 88v
332.	''	''	23/09/87	747: 89v
333.	''	''	03/10/87	747: 97
344.	''	''	04/10/87	747: 97v
345.	''	''	04/10/87	747: 97v
346.	[unsigned]	''	03/11/87	747: 110v
347.	Ralph Hassell	''	08/11/87	747: 114v
348.	''	''	16/11/87	747: 117
349.	''	''	02/12/87	747: 141v
350.	''	''	17/12/87	747: 149v
351.	''	''	04/04/88	747: 209v
352.	''	''	13/04/88	747: 213
353.	John Bloome	Anashan	19/12/87	747: 152
354.	''	''	22/12/87	747: 153v
355.	''	''	28/12/87	747: 154v
356.	''	''	03/01/88	747: 158
357.	''	''	04/01/88	747: 158
358.	''	''	05/01/88	747: 159

359.	''	''	05/01/88	747: 160
360.	''	''	09/01/88	747: 161
361.	''	''	13/01/88	747: 165
362.	''	''	14/01/88	747: 165v
363.	''	''	10/02/88	747: 179v
364.	''	''	20/02/88	747: 183v
365.	''	''	02/03/88	747: 189
366.	''	''	07/03/88	747: 191v
367.	''	''	08/03/88	747: 192
368.	''	''	13/03/88	747: 193v
369.	''	''	16/03/88	747: 196
370.	''	''	16/03/88	747: 197
371.	''	''	17/03/88	747: 198v
372.	''	''	18/03/88	747: 199v
373.	William Ronan	''	05/04/88	747: 210
374.	John Bloome	''	07/04/88	747: 211
375.	''	''	09/04/88	747: 211v
376.	''	''	13/04/88	747: 212v
377.	''	''	14/04/88	747: 213
378.	''	''	19/04/88	747: 215v
379.	''	''	20/04/88	747: 217v
380.	''	''	24/04/88	747: 218v
381.	''	''	26/04/88	747: 219
382.	James Nightingale	Anomabu	19/01/86	745: 318
383.	''	''	22/01/86	745: 318V
384.	''	''	26/01/88	745: 321v
385.	''	''	05/02/86	745: 324v
386.	''	''	14/02/86	745: 327
387.	''	''	15/02/86	745: 328
388.	''	''	18/02/86	745: 329v
389.	''	''	21/02/86	745: 330
390.	''	''	03/03/86	745: 331v
391.	''	''	06/03/86	745: 332
392.	''	''	15/03/86	745: 336
393.	''	''	23/03/86	745: 338v
394.	''	''	28/03/86	745: 338v
395.	''	''	01/04/86	745: 340v
396.	''	''	12/04/86	745: 342
397.	''	''	14/04/86	745: 342
398.	''	''	16/04/86	745: 342
399.	''	''	16/04/86	745: 342v
400.	''	''	18/04/86	745: 342v
401.	''	''	20/04/86	745: 342v
402.	''	''	23/04/86	745: 343v
403.	''	''	25/04/86	745: 343v
404.	''	''	05/05/86	745: 344v
405.	''	''	06/05/86	745: 344v

406.	''	''	07/05/86	745: 345
407.	''	''	10/05/86	745: 345v
408.	''	''	11/05/86	745: 345v
409.	''	''	13/05/86	745: 346
410.	''	''	16/05/86	745: 346v
411.	John Boylstone	''	18/05/86	745: 347
412.	James Nightingale	''	22/05/86	745: 348
413.	''	''	23/05/86	745: 348
414.	''	''	02/06/86	745: 349v
415.	''	''	03/06/86	745: 349v
416.	John Boylstone	''	10/06/86	745: 351
417.	James Nightingale	''	10/06/86	745: 352
418.	''	''	15/06/86	745: 352
419.	''	''	18/06/86	745: 352v
420.	''	''	19/06/86	745: 353
421.	''	''	25/06/86	745: 353v
422.	''	''	28/06/86	745: 354v
423.	''	''	05/07/86	745: 355v
424.	''	''	07/07/86	745: 356
425.	''	''	09/07/86	745: 357
426.	''	''	13/07/86	745: 357
427.	''	''	15/07/86	745: 357v
428.	''	''	17/07/86	745: 358
429.	''	''	18/07/86	745: 358
430.	James Walker	''	20/07/86	745: 359
431.	''	''	20/07/86	745: 359v
432.	James Nightingale	''	22/07/86	745: 362
433.	''	''	26/07/86	745: 362
434.	''	''	30/07/86	745: 363
435.	''	''	01/08/86	745: 363v
436.	''	''	04/08/86	745: 363v
437.	Samuel Humfryes & John Boylstone	''	06/08/86	745: 364
438.	James Nightingale	''	10/08/86	745: 364v
439.	James Walker	''	19/08/86	745: 365v
440.	John Boylstone	''	25/08/86	745: 368
441.	James Nightingale	''	25/08/86	745: 368
442.	John Boylstone	''	26/08/86	745: 369
443.	James Nightingale	''	02/09/86	745: 370
444.	''	''	03/09/86	745: 370
445.	''	''	07/09/86	745: 371v
446.	''	''	11/09/86	745: 372
447.	''	''	13/09/86	745: 372
448.	''	''	14/09/86	745: 373v
449.	''	''	18/09/86	745: 374
450.	''	''	21/09/86	745: 374v
451.	''	''	23/09/86	745: 375v

452.	James Walker	"	06/10/86	745: 378v
453.	"	"	09/10/86	745: 378
454.	"	"	10/10/86	745: 378
455.	Ralph Hassell	"	14/10/86	745: 379
456.	"	"	18/10/86	745: 379v
457.	James Walker	"	22/10/86	745: 381
458.	Ralph Hassell	"	25/10/86	745: 381v
459.	"	"	29/10/86	745: 382
460.	"	"	01/11/86	745: 382v
461.	"	"	02/11/86	745: 383
462.	"	"	04/11/86	745: 385
463.	"	"	07/11/86	745: 386
464.	"	"	07/11/86	745: 386v
465.	"	"	08/11/86	745: 386v
466.	"	"	09/11/86	745: 387
467.	"	"	10/11/86	745: 387v
468.	"	"	11/11/86	745: 388
469.	"	"	12/11/86	745: 389v
470.	"	"	15/11/86	745: 391
471.	"	"	22/11/86	745: 394
472.	"	"	03/12/86	745: 397v
473.	"	"	07/12/86	745: 400
474.	"	"	07/12/86	745: 402
475.	"	"	09/12/86	745: 404
476.	Rice Wight	"	13/12/86	745: 405
477.	Ralph Hassell	"	14/12/86	745: 405
478.	Rice Wight	"	14/12/86	745: 405
479.	Ralph Hassell	"	15/12/86	745: 406
480.	"	"	15/12/86	745: 406v
481.	"	"	17/12/86	745: 407
482.	"	"	18/12/86	745: 410v
483.	Ridley Horsford	"	28/12/86	745: 420v
484.	Ralph Hassell	"	30/12/86	745: 420v
485.	"	"	31/12/86	745: 421
486.	"	"	01/01/87	745: 421v
487.	"	"	04/01/87	745: 422
488.	William Halford	"	08/01/87	745: 423v
489.	Ralph Hassell	"	09/01/87	745: 423v
490.	"	"	11/01/87	745: 424
491.	"	"	11/01/87	745: 424v
492.	William Halford	"	15/01/87	745: 426
493.	Ralph Hassell	"	15/01/87	745: 426v
494.	"	"	17/01/87	745: 426
495.	"	"	19/01/87	745: 427
496.	"	"	27/01/87	745: 430
497.	"	"	29/01/87	745: 431
498.	"	"	03/02/87	745: 431v

499.	''	''	07/02/87	745: 432v
500.	''	''	11/01/87	745: 434
501.	''	''	13/02/87	745: 435
502.	''	''	16/02/87	745: 435v
503.	''	''	18/02/87	745: 436v
504.	''	''	25/02/87	745: 438
505.	''	''	08/03/87	747: 4v
506.	''	''	10/03/87	747: 6
507.	''	''	11/03/87	747: 6v
508.	''	''	13/03/87	747: 7
509.	''	''	19/03/87	747: 9v
510.	''	''	24/03/87	747: 12
511.	''	''	27/03/87	747: 14
512.	''	''	31/03/87	747: 14v
513.	''	''	01/04/87	747: 15
514.	''	''	05/04/87	747: 17
515.	''	''	08/04/87	747: 18
516.	''	''	09/04/87	747: 19v
517.	''	''	11/04/87	747: 22v
518.	''	''	12/04/87	747: 23v
519.	''	''	15/04/87	747: 25
520.	''	''	22/04/87	747: 25v
521.	''	''	28/04/87	747: 28
522.	''	''	04/05/87	747: 29v
523.	''	''	06/05/87	747: 32v
524.	''	''	12/05/87	747: 33v
525.	''	''	17/05/87	747: 35v
526.	''	''	22/05/87	747: 38
527.	''	''	25/05/87	747: 39
528.	''	''	28/05/87	747: 39v
539.	''	''	28/05/87	747: 49
530.	''	''	10/06/87	747: 50
531.	''	''	12/06/87	745: 50v
532.	''	''	17/06/87	747: 51v
533.	''	''	25/06/87	747: 53v
534.	''	''	27/06/87	747: 54v
535.	''	''	30/06/87	747: 54v
536.	''	''	01/07/87	747: 55
537.	''	''	04/07/87	747: 56v
538.	''	''	08/07/87	747: 58v
539.	''	''	15/07/87	747: 59
540.	''	''	23/07/87	747: 62
541.	''	''	27/07/87	747: 65
542.	Ralph Hassell & James Nightingale	''	30/07/87	747: 63
543.	''	''	03/08/87	747: 65v
544.	Ralph Hassell	''	07/08/87	747: 67v

545.	James Nightingale	”	07/08/87	747: 67v
546.	Ralph Hassell	”	08/08/87	747: 68v
547.	”	”	09/08/87	747: 69
548.	James Walker	”	13/08/87	747: 71
549.	”	”	21/08/87	747: 72v
550.	”	”	22/08/87	747: 74
551.	”	”	26/08/87	747: 76v
552.	Rice Wight	”	31/08/87	747: 78v
553.	James Nightingale	”	09/09/87	747: 82
554.	”	”	18/09/87	747: 86
555.	”	”	21/09/87	747: 87v
556.	”	”	23/09/87	747: 89
557.	”	”	27/09/87	747: 90
558.	”	”	29/09/87	747: 92v
559.	James Walker	”	02/10/87	747: 96v
560.	James Nightingale	”	07/10/87	747: 98v
561.	”	”	09/10/87	747: 99
562.	”	”	13/10/87	747: 102
563.	”	”	26/10/87	747: 108
564.	”	”	26/10/87	747: 109
565.	”	”	30/10/87	747: 110
566.	”	”	03/11/87	747: 110v
567.	Thomas Johnson	”	09/11/87	747: 115v
568.	James Nightingale	”	18/11/87	747: 119
569.	”	”	22/11/87	747: 120v
570.	”	”	23/11/87	747: 121
571.	”	”	24/11/87	747: 121v
572.	”	”	01/12/87	747: 141
573.	”	”	04/12/87	747: 142v
574.	”	”	05/12/87	747: 144
575.	James Nightingale & William Cross	”	07/12/87	747: 144v
576.	James Nightingale	”	08/12/87	747: 145v
577.	”	”	09/12/87	747: 146v
578.	”	”	11/12/87	747: 147v
579.	”	”	12/12/87	747: 148
580.	”	”	14/12/87	747: 148v
581.	”	”	17/12/87	747: 149
582.	”	”	20/12/87	747: 151v
583.	”	”	01/01/88	747: 156
584.	”	”	02/01/88	747: 156v
585.	”	”	09/01/88	747: 161
586.	”	”	19/01/88	747: 167v
587.	James Nightingale & William Cross	”	30/01/88	747: 173v
588.	”	”	01/02/88	747: 174
589.	James Nightingale	”	06/02/88	747: 177

590.	''	''	09/02/88	747: 179
591.	''	''	15/02/88	747: 180v
592.	''	''	16/02/88	747: 181
593.	''	''	18/02/88	747: 181v
594.	''	''	23/02/88	747: 184v
595.	''	''	28/02/88	747: 185v
596.	''	''	03/03/88	747: 189
597.	''	''	03/03/88	747: 191
598.	''	''	08/03/88	747: 192
599.	''	''	15/03/88	747: 194v
600.	''	''	17/03/88	747: 198
601.	''	''	19/03/88	747: 199v
602.	''	''	20/03/88	747: 200
603.	''	''	25/03/88	747: 204
604.	''	''	26/03/88	747: 205
605.	''	''	27/03/88	747: 205v
606.	''	''	31/03/88	747: 208
607.	''	''	02/04/88	747: 209v
608.	''	''	07/04/88	747: 210v
609.	''	''	21/04/88	747: 218
610.	Theophilus Blinsham	Egya	08/03/86	745: 332v
611.	''	''	14/03/86	745: 337
612.	''	''	27/03/86	745: 338
613.	John Wortley	''	30/04/86	745: 344v
614.	''	''	01/05/86	745: 344
615.	Theophilus Blinsham	''	14/05/86	745: 346v
616.	''	''	04/06/86	745: 350
617.	''	''	25/06/86	745: 354
618.	''	''	16/07/86	745: 357v
619.	''	''	19/97/86	745: 359
620.	''	''	04/08/86	745: 363v
621.	Jonas Perrin	''	10/08/86	745: 364v
622.	''	''	10/08/86	745: 365
623.	''	[Egya]	10/08/86	745: 365
624.	''	Egya	04/09/86	745: 371
625.	''	''	10/10/86	745: 378
626.	Robert Elwes	''	16/12/86	745: 407
627.	''	''	18/12/86	745: 410v
628.	''	''	19/12/86	745: 408
629.	''	''	28/12/86	745: 420v
630.	''	''	31/12/86	745: 421
631.	''	''	05/01/87	745: 422v
632.	''	''	05/01/87	745: 422v
633.	''	''	11/01/87	745: 424
634.	''	''	12/01/87	745: 424v
635.	''	''	15/01/87	745: 426v
636.	''	''	19/01/87	745: 427v

637.	"	"	27/01/87	745: 430
638.	"	"	29/01/87	745: 431
639.	"	"	03/02/87	745: 431v
640.	"	"	05/02/87	745: 432v
641.	"	"	07/02/87	745: 433
642.	"	"	11/02/87	745: 434v
643.	"	"	12/02/87	745: 435
644.	"	"	15/02/87	745: 435
645.	William MacDowall	"	20/02/87	745: 437
646.	Robert Elwes	"	06/03/87	747: 4
647.	"	"	08/03/87	747: 4v
648.	"	"	10/03/87	747: 6
649.	"	"	12/03/87	747: 6v
650.	John Boylston	"	22/03/87	747: 10
651.	Robert Elwes	"	26/03/87	747: 14
652.	"	"	02/04/87	747: 15v
653.	"	"	08/04/87	747: 19
654.	"	"	11/04/87	747: 23
655.	"	"	12/04/87	747: 23
656.	"	"	07/05/87	747: 33
657.	"	"	09/05/87	747: 33v
658.	John Boylston	"	20/05/87	747: 37v
659.	Robert Elwes	"	21/05/87	747: 38v
660.	"	"	26/05/87	747: 39v
661.	"	"	29/05/87	747: 40v
662.	"	"	29/05/87	747: 48v
663.	"	"	09/06/87	747: 49v
664.	"	"	13/06/87	747: 50v
666.	"	"	17/06/87	747: 51
666.	"	"	19/06/87	747: 51v
667.	"	"	21/06/87	747: 52v
668.	Robert Elwes & Ralph Hassell	"	22/06/87	747: 52v
669.	Robert Elwes	"	25/06/87	745: 54
670.	"	"	26/06/87	747: 54
671.	"	"	29/06/87	747: 54v
672.	"	"	04/07/87	747: 56v
673.	"	"	07/07/87	747: 57
674.	"	"	08/07/87	747: 57v
675.	"	"	13/07/87	747: 59
676.	"	"	20/07/87	747: 61v
677.	William Cross	"	21/08/87	747: 73
678.	"	"	27/08/87	747: 77v
679.	"	"	04/09/87	747: 81
680.	"	"	09/09/87	747: 82
681.	"	"	11/09/87	745: 82v
682.	"	"	13/09/87	747: 83

683.	''	''	14/10/87	747: 102
684.	''	''	17/10/87	747: 106
685.	''	''	02/11/87	747: 110
686.	''	''	08/11/87	747: 115
687.	''	''	15/11/87	747: 118v
688.	''	''	18/11/87	747: 119v
689.	''	''	02/12/87	747: 141
690.	''	''	04/12/87	747: 143v
691.	''	''	14/12/87	747: 149
692.	''	''	21/12/87	747: 152v
693.	''	''	01/01/88	747: 156
694.	''	''	09/01/88	745: 162
695.	''	''	11/01/88	747: 163
696.	''	''	28/01/88	747: 172v
697.	''	''	04/02/88	747: 176
698.	''	''	07/02/88	747: 178v
699.	''	''	09/02/88	747: 177v
700.	[William Cross]	''	23/02/88	747: 185
701.	William Cross	''	03/03/88	747: 190
702.	''	''	28/03/88	747: 206
703.	''	''	07/04/88	747: 210v
704.	''	''	16/04/88	747: 214
705.	''	''	26/04/88	747: 219v
706.	''	''	30/04/88	747: 220v
707.	Mark Bedford Whiting	James Fort, Accra	15/01/86	745: 317
708.	''	''	24/01/86	745: 320v
709.	''	''	27/01/86	745: 324
710.	''	''	02/02/86	745: 325v
711.	''	''	16/02/86	745: 328v
712.	''	''	02/03/86	745: 333
713.	''	''	16/03/86	745: 338v
714.	''	''	18/03/86	745: 337v
715.	''	''	04/04/86	745: 341v
716.	''	''	08/05/86	745: 346
717.	''	''	27/05/86	745: 348v
718.	''	''	05/06/86	745: 350
719.	''	''	29/06/86	745: 355
720.	''	''	18/07/86	745: 358v
721.	''	''	12/08/86	745: 369v
722.	''	''	18/08/86	745: 365v
723.	''	''	22/08/86	745: 366
724.	''	''	31/08/86	745: 369v
725.	''	''	11/09/86	745: 372
726.	''	''	19/09/86	745: 375
727.	''	''	30/09/86	745: 376v
728.	''	''	10/10/86	745: 378v

729.	''	''	21/10/86	745: 381
730.	''	''	31/10/86	745: 383v
731.	''	''	08/11/86	745: 389
732.	''	''	14/11/86	745: 392v
733.	''	''	15/11/86	745: 392
734.	''	''	20/11/86	745: 394
735.	''	''	27/11/86	745: 396
736.	''	''	01/12/86	745: 397
737.	James Nightingale	''	05/12/86	745: 401
738.	Mark Bedford Whiting	''	05/12/86	745: 401v
739.	''	''	08/12/86	745: 404v
740.	Thomas Price	''	24/12/86	745: 421v
741.	Mark Bedford Whiting	''	15/01/87	745: 428
742.	''	''	01/02/87	745: 432
743.	''	''	12/02/87	745: 435v
744.	''	''	18/02/87	745: 436v
745.	''	''	01/03/87	747: 3
746.	''	''	05/03/87	747: 5
747.	''	''	14/03/87	747: 7v
748.	Caleb Leage & Thomas Allner	''	14/03/87	747: 8v
749.	Henrick Walber	''	22/03/87	747: 16v
750.	Mark Bedford Whiting	''	24/03/87	747: 13
751.	''	''	13/04/87	747: 24
752.	''	''	24/04/87	747: 27v
753.	''	''	01/05/87	747: 30v.
754.	John Boylston	''	12/05/87	747: 34v
755.	Mark Bedford Whiting	''	17/05/87	747: 37v
756.	Thomas Price	''	22/06/87	747: 53v
757.	''	''	30/06/87	747: 56
758.	Mark Bedford Whiting	''	08/07/87	747: 58
759.	''	''	10/07/87	747: 59
760.	''	''	17/07/87	747: 61v
761.	''	''	27/07/87	747: 64v
762.	''	''	02/08/87	747: 66
763.	''	''	04/08/87	747: 67
764.	''	''	08/08/87	747: 75
765.	''	''	09/08/87	747: 69
766.	''	''	23/08/87	747: 76
767.	''	''	23/08/87	747: 76v
768.	''	''	02/09/87	747: 79v
769.	''	''	12/09/87	747: 84
770.	''	''	19/09/87	747: 88
771.	''	''	24/09/87	747: 91v
772.	''	''	26/09/87	747: 93
773.	''	''	30/09/87	747: 99v
774.	John Bloome	''	05/10/87	747: 100

775.	Mark Bedford Whiting	''	07/10/87	747: 100
776.	Thomas Price	''	15/10/87	747: 104
777.	Mark Bedford Whiting	''	16/10/87	747: 104
778.	''	''	23/10/87	747: 107v
779.	Thomas Price	''	23/10/87	747: 107v
780.	Mark Bedford Whiting	''	25/10/87	747: 108v
781.	''	''	04/11/87	747: 114v
782.	''	''	07/11/87	747: 115
783.	''	''	12/11/87	747: 117v
784.	''	''	21/11/87	747: 122
785.	''	''	26/11/87	747: 122v
786.	''	''	03/12/87	747: 142
787.	''	''	09/12/87	747: 147
788.	''	''	12/12/87	747: 148
789.	''	''	15/12/87	747 153v
790.	''	''	17/12/87	747: 150v
791.	''	''	20/12/87	747: 152v
792.	''	''	02/01/88	747: 157
793.	''	''	07/01/88	747: 160
794.	''	''	09/01/88	747: 162v
795.	''	''	18/01/88	747: 167v
796.	''	''	25/01/88	747: 172
797.	''	''	05/02/88	747: 178
798.	''	''	14/02/88	747: 180v
799.	''	''	19/02/88	747: 181v
800.	''	''	20/02/88	747: 184
801.	''	''	01/03/88	747: 190v
802.	''	''	04/03/88	747: 192v
803.	''	''	15/03/88	747: 201v
804.	''	''	20/03/88	747: 202
805.	''	''	29/03/88	747: 206v
806.	William Clifton	''	29/03/88	747: 206v
807.	Mark Bedford Whiting	''	04/04/88	747: 213
808.	''	''	11/04/88	747: 213v
809.	''	''	16/04/88	747: 216v
810.	''	''	22/04/88	747: 218
811.	''	''	23/04/88	747: 219
812.	John Carter	Whydah	19/09/85	745: 334
813.	''	''	28/12/85	745: 330v
814.	''	''	01/03/86	745: 339
815.	''	''	03/05/86	745: 347v
816.	''	''	08/05/86	745: 356v
817.	''	''	07/06/86	745: 362
818.	''	''	11/11/86	745: 399
819.	''	''	22/11/86	745: 408
820.	''	''	06/12/86	745: 410
821.	''	''	20/12/86	747: 43

822.	''	''	06/01/87	747: 41v
823.	''	''	11/01/87	747: 45v
824.	''	''	16/03/87	747: 20
825.	''	''	10/05/87	747: 43v
826.	''	''	29/08/87	747: 94, 98
827.	Petley Wybourne	''	18/02/08	747: 212
828.	''	''	05/03/88	747: 216
829.	Richard Platt	<i>James</i>	05/01/86	745: 320
830.	Richard Pearse	''	05/01/86	745: 320
831.	Richard Pearse et al.	Axim	30/01/86	745: 323
832.	Thomas Price & Peter Clungeon	<i>James</i>	31/01/86	745: 323
833.	Henry Wood	Cape St John	06/01/86	745: 330v
834.	''	<i>George</i>	12/03/86	745: 334
835.	John Hereford	[Sekondi]	12/03/86	745: 335v
836.	Aron Slade	Axim	19/05/86	745: 347
837.	Henry Wood	''	03/06/86	745: 351
838.	Henry Wood & John Hereford	<i>George</i>	14/07/86	745: 357
839.	''	''	20/07/86	745: 359
840.	''	''	28/07/86	745: 362v
841.	''	''	01/08/86	745: 363
842.	''	Dixcove	11/08/86	745: 368v
843.	''	Butri	23/08/86	745: 366v
844.	Charles Langley & Jonas Perrin	[River Forcados]	n.d.	745: 335v
845.	[unsigned]	<i>Jacob</i>	20/07/86	745: 359v
846.	James Bailey	<i>Adventure</i>	28/05/86	745: 348v
847.	''	n.p.	03/07/86	745: 360v
848.	''	n.p.	06/07/86	745: 355v
849.	''	n.p.	n.d.	745: 369v
850.	''	Amisa.	04/09/86	745: 370v
851.	''	Mumford	03/12/86	745: 397v
852.	''	n.p.	11/12/86	745: 406
853.	''	Takoradi	12/01/87	745: 425v
854.	''	Komenda	05/03/87	747: 3v
855.	''	<i>Adventure</i>	29/06/87	747: 55v
856.	''	''	27/07/87	747: 64
857.	''	''	21/08/87	747: 73v
858.	''	''	23/08/87	747: 75v
859.	''	Amisa	03/09/87	747: 80v
860.	''	''	05/09/87	747: 81
861.	''	<i>Adventure</i>	26/09/87	747: 93v
862.	''	''	23/10/87	747: 108
863.	''	''	07/11/87	747: 112v
864.	''	''	12/01/88	747: 164
865.	''	Komenda	11/02/88	747: 180

866.	''	<i>Adventure</i>	05/03/88	747: 190v
867.	''	Komenda	31/03/88	747: 207
868.	Hugh Hilling	<i>Ann</i>	01/09/86	745: 371
869.	''	''	14/09/86	745: 373
870.	''	''	20/09/86	745: 375v
871.	''	Beraku	29/09/86	745: 376v
872.	''	''	03/10/86	745: 377v
873.	''	''	11/10/86	745: 378v
874.	''	Mumford	25/10/86	745: 381v
875.	''	''	28/10/86	745: 382
876.	''	Beraku	01/11/86	745: 384
877.	''	''	19/11/86	745: 393v
878.	''	''	21/11/86	745: 394v
879.	''	''	26/11/86	745: 395v
880.	''	n.p.	30/11/86	745: 396v
881.	''	Beraku	06/12/86	745: 402
882.	''	Mumford	26/01/87	745: 430
883.	''	Beraku	03/03/87	747: 3
884.	''	''	06/03/87	747: 5
885.	''	Mumford	20/03/87	747: 9v
886.	''	''	22/03/87	747: 11
887.	''	''	05/04/87	747: 19
888.	''	Winneba	21/04/87	747: 26v
889.	''	Mumford	27/04/87	747: 28
890.	Richard Bradshaw & Hugh Hilling	''	24/08/87	747: 75v
891.	''	Beraku	14/09/87	747: 85
892.	Nicholas Pepperell	n.p.	n.d.	747: 86
893.	''	Amisa	21/09/87	747: 87
894.	''	<i>Alligator</i>	25/09/87	747: 90v
895.	''	Amisa	02/10/87	747: 97
896.	''	''	22/11/87	747: 121
897.	''	Cape Coast Castle	31/12/87	747: 155v
898.	John Carter	Accra	24/01/86	745: 321v
899.	''	<i>Mary</i>	15/02/86	745: 328
900.	Robert Elwes	[Cape Lopez]	31/01/86	745: 331
901.	George Nanter	Barbados	10/05/86	745: 366v
902.	Robert Elwes	''	10/05/86	745: 367
903.	John Collins	n.p.	06/02/86	745: 335v
904.	Thomas Woodfine	Anomabu	16/05/86	745: 346v
905.	''	''	10/06/86	745: 351
906.	Nehemiah Walker	<i>Mayflower</i>	25/05/86	745: 348
907.	''	Anomabu	02/06/86	745: 349v
908.	Peter Pickard	Komenda	31/05/86	745: 349
909.	Benjamin Daley	Dixcove	22/08/86	745: 365v
910.	''	Butri	23/08/86	745: 369

911.	"	Komenda	25/08/86	745: 368
912.	George Poston	"	23/08/86	745: 367v
913.	"	n.p.	29/08/86	745: 368v
914.	"	Komenda	10/09/86	745: 370
915.	Andrew Brandfill	Sekondi	13/08/86	745: 369
916.	"	n.p.	30/08/86	745: 368v
917.	"	n.p.	06/09/86	745: 370v
918.	Henry Wood	Prince's Island	02/11/86	745: 427v
919.	"	<i>Coast</i>	29/07/87	747: 122v
920.	Robert Elwes	Ankobra	14/11/86	745: 390v
921.	George Nanter	Whydah	05/01/87	747: 46
922.	Francis Buttram	<i>Dragon</i>	28/11/86	745: 395v
923.	John Hosea	Dixcove	25/12/86	745: 420
924.	"	<i>East India Merchant</i>		
	"	"	23/01/87	745: 429
925.	"	"	25/01/87	745: 429v
926.	Robert Bristow	Cape Apollonia	23/01/87	745: 429v
927.	"	Komenda	05/02/87	745: 432
928.	"	n.p.	14/02/87	745: 436
929.	"	<i>Lusitania</i>	17/02/87	745: 435v
930.	"	Egya	08/03/87	747: 6
931.	Thomas Draper	<i>Princess Ann</i>	20/02/87	745: 436v
932.	"	Sekondi	25/02/87	745: 438
933.	"	Komenda	27/01/87	745: 438v
934.	"	n.p.	02/03/87	747: 2
935.	Robert Gould	<i>Maynard</i>	05/05/87	747: 48
936.	"	Komenda	12/05/87	747: 48
937.	"	"	13/05/87	747: 48v
938.	Benjamin Thompson	<i>Good Fellowship</i>		
	"		17/05/87	747: 48v
939.	"	Kotobrai	31/05/87	747: 49v
940.	"	Aboadi	04/06/87	747: 49v
941.	Joseph Blyth	James Fort,		
	"	Accra	17/07/87	747: 61
942.	"	<i>George</i>	23/07/87	747: 63v
943.	"	"	07/08/87	747: 170
944.	Nathaniel Bradley	<i>Mary</i>	05/09/87	747: 83
945.	"	Sekondi	15/09/87	747: 85v
946.	"	<i>Mary</i>	26/09/87	747: 91
947.	"	"	26/09/87	747: 92
948.	Thomas James	Takoradi	06/11/87	747: 113v
949.	"	<i>Mary</i>	29/12/87	747: 170v
950.	Robert Cowley	<i>Hannah</i>	21/11/87	747: 124v
951.	"	Cape Three Points		
	"		04/12/87	747: 144v
952.	"	<i>Hannah</i>	10/12/87	747: 146v
953.	"	"	05/01/88	747: 160v

954.	''	Whydah	05/03/88	747: 216
955.	Edmund Batherne	Cape Apollonia	29/12/87	747: 154v
956.	''	Aboadi	16/01/88	747: 166
957.	''	Whydah	05/03/87	747: 216v
958.	Francis Buttram	Dixcove	03/02/88	747: 175v
959.	''	<i>Dragon</i>	09/02/88	747: 179v
960.	William Ronan	Anomabu	15/03/88	747: 195v
961.	Francis Buttram	<i>Dragon</i>	16/03/88	747: 196
962.	William Ronan	''	17/03/88	747: 199
963.	Abednego Sturt	<i>Expedition</i>	20/02/88	747: 183v
964.	''	Anomabu	28/03/88	747: 206
965.	Robert Barrett	Cape Three Points	23/02/88	747: 185
966.	''	<i>Dolphin</i>	02/04/88	747: 209v
967.	John Lomax	<i>Sherbro</i>	14/03/88	747: 195
968.	''	Dixcove	15/03/88	747: 196v
969.	''	<i>Sherbro</i>	30/03/88	747: 207v
970.	John Bridges	<i>Guinea</i>	24/03/88	747: 203v
971.	''	''	18/04/88	747: 215
972.	John Woodfine	Takoradi	25/04/88	747: 218v
973.	Edwyn Steed & Stephen Gascoigne	Barbados	12/05/86	745: 367
974.	''	''	01/07/86	745: 372v
975.	Edwyn Steed	''	06/04/87	747: 123v
976.	Nicholas Sweerts	Mina	04/02/86	745: 320v
977.	''	''	04/02/86	745: 321
978.	''	''	05/02/86	745: 321
979.	''	''	07/02/86	745: 321v
980.	''	''	08/02/86	745: 323v
981.	''	''	14/02/86	745: 324v
982.	''	''	15/02/86	745: 325
983.	''	''	21/02/86	745: 326v
984.	''	''	23/02/86	745: 328v
985.	''	''	23/03/86	745: 340v
986.	''	''	26/03/86	745: 336
987.	''	''	30/03/86	745: 337v
988.	''	''	22/04/86	745: 341v
989.	''	''	29/04/86	745: 343v
990.	''	''	24/07/86 ns	745: 357v
991.	''	''	21/09/86	745: 374
992.	''	''	05/01/87	745: 423
993.	''	''	09/05/87 ns	747: 31
994.	Daniel Hendrix	<i>Christianus IV</i>	09/05/87 ns	747: 31v
995.	Nicholas Sweerts	Mina	17/05/87	747: 36
996.	''	''	16/03/88	747: 197v
997.	Nikolay Fensman	Christiansborg	13/08/87	747: 105
998.	''	''	08/10/87	747: 106

Bibliography

- Atkins, John, 1735: *A Voyage to Guinea, Brasil and the West Indies* (repr. London, 1970).
- Barbot, Jean, 1979: 'Journal d'un voyage de traite en Guinée, à Cayenne et aux Antilles fait par Jean Barbot en 1678–1679', ed. Gabriel Debien, Marcel Delafosse & Guy Thilmans, *Bulletin de l'IFAN*, sér.B. 40: 235–395.
- Barbot, Jean, 1992: *Barbot on Guinea: The writings of Jean Barbot on West Africa, 1678–1712*, ed. P.E.H. Hair, Adam Jones & Robin Law, 2 vols (Hakluyt Society, London).
- Bosman, William, 1705: *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea* (repr. London, 1967).
- Daaku, Kwame Yeboah, 1970: *Trade and Politics on the Gold Coast 1600–1720* (Cambridge).
- Davies, K.G., 1957: *The Royal African Company* (London).
- Deffontaine, Yann, 1993: *Guerre et société au royaume de Fetu (Afutu): Des débuts du commerce atlantique à la constitution de la fédération fanti (Ghana, Côte de l'Or, 1471–1720)* (Ibadan/Paris).
- Donnan, Elizabeth (ed.), 1930–5: *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America*, 4 vols (Washington; repr. New York, 1969).
- Du Casse, 1935: 'Relation du voyage de Guynée fait en 1687 sur le frégate "La Tempeste"', in Paul Roussier, *L'Établissement d'Issigny 1687–1702* (Paris, 1935): 1–47.
- Eltis, David, 1995: 'The volume and West African origins of the British slave trade before 1714', *Cahiers d'études africaines*, 35: 617–27.
- Eltis, David, 2000: *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas* (Cambridge)
- Gayibor, Nicoué Lodjou, 1990: *Le Genyi: un royaume oublié de la Côte de Guinée au temps de la traite des noirs* (Lomé).
- Henige, David, 1972: 'A new source for English activities on the Gold Coast, 1681–99', *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, 13/2: 257–60.
- Henige, David, 1975: 'Adom/Supome and Jabi/Yabiw: cases of identity in a period of shifting paramountcies', *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, 16/1: 29–45.
- Henige, David, 1977: 'John Kabes of Komenda: an early African entrepreneur and state-builder', *Journal of African History*, 18/1: 1–19.
- Hillier, J, 1697: 'Part of two letters from Mr J. Hillier dated Cape Corse, Jan. 3 1687/8 and Apr. 25 1688', *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, 292: 687–708.
- Huber, Magnus, 1999: 'Atlantic English Creoles and the Lower Guinea Coast: a case against Afrogenesis', in Magnus Huber & Mikael Parkvall (eds), *Spreading the Word: The issue of diffusion among the Atlantic Creoles* (London), 81–110.
- Jenkinson, Hilary: 'Records of the English African Companies', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 3/6: 185–220.

- Jones, Adam (ed.), 1985: *Brandenburg Sources for West African History 1680-1700* (Stuttgart).
- Jones, Adam (ed.), 1995: *West Africa in the Mid-Seventeenth Century: an anonymous Dutch manuscript* (African Studies Association Press).
- Justesen, Ole (ed.), forthcoming: *Danish Documents concerning the History of Ghana*.
- Kea, Ray A., 1982: *Settlements, Trade and Politics in the Seventeenth-Century Gold Coast* (Baltimore).
- Lane, Kris E., 1999: *Blood and Silver: A history of piracy in the Caribbean and Central America* (Oxford/Kingston, Jamaica).
- Law, Robin, 1989: 'Between the sea and the lagoons: the interaction of maritime and inland navigation on the pre-colonial Slave Coast', *Cahiers d'études africaines*, 29: 201-29.
- Law, Robin (ed.), 1990a: *Correspondence of the Royal African Company's Factories at Offra and Whydah on the Slave Coast of West Africa in the Public Record Office, London, 1678-93* (Centre of African Studies, University of Edinburgh, Occasional Paper No.24).
- Law, Robin, 1990b: 'The gold trade of Whydah in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', in David Henige & T.C. McCaskie (eds), *West African Economic and Social History: Studies in memory of Marion Johnson* (African Studies Program, University of Wisconsin-Madison), 105-18.
- Law, Robin, 1991: *The Slave Coast of West Africa 1550-1750: The impact of the Atlantic Slave Trade on an African society* (Oxford).
- Law, Robin (ed.), 1992: *Further Correspondence of the Royal African Company of England relating to the 'Slave Coast', 1681-1699: Selected documents from Ms Rawlinson C745-747 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford* (African Studies Program, University of Wisconsin-Madison).
- Law, Robin, 1993: 'The Royal African Company of England's West African correspondence, 1681-1699', *History in Africa*, 20: 173-84.
- Law, Robin (ed.), 1997a: *The English in West Africa 1681-1683: The local correspondence of the Royal African Company of England, 1681-1699, Part 1* (British Academy, London).
- Law, Robin, 1997b: 'The Royal African Company of England in West Africa, 1681-99', in Robin Law (ed.), *Source Material for Studying the Slave Trade and the African Diaspora* (Centre of Commonwealth Studies, University of Stirling, Occasional Paper No.5), 8-14.
- Law, Robin, 1997c: *The Kingdom of Allada* (Research School CNWS, Leiden).
- Latham, A.J.H., 1973: *Old Calabar 1600-1891* (Oxford).
- Ly, Abdoulaye, 1958: *La Compagnie du Sénégal* (Paris).
- Makepeace, Margaret (ed.), 1991: *Trade on the Guinea Coast 1657-1666: The correspondence of the English East India Company* (African Studies Program, University of Wisconsin-Madison).
- McCaskie, T.C., 1980: 'Time and the calendar in nineteenth-century Asante', *History in Africa*, 7: 179-200.
- Nørregård, Georg, 1966: *Danish Settlements in West Africa 1658-1850* (Boston).
- Patterson, K. David, 1975: *The Northern Gabon Coast to 1875* (Oxford).
- Phillips, Thomas, 1732: 'A journal of a voyage made in the Hannibal of London', in Awnsam Churchill & John Churchill, *Collection of Voyages and Travels* (6 vols, London), vi, 187-255.

- Roussier, Paul (ed.), 1935: *L'Établissement d'Issigny 1687-1702: voyages de Ducasse, Tibierge et d'Amon à la Côte de Guinée* (Paris).
- Ryder, A.F.C., 1969: *Benin and the Europeans 1485-1897* (London).
- Sanders, James, 1979: 'The expansion of the Fante and the emergence of Asante in the eighteenth century', *Journal of African History*, 20/3: 349-64.
- Sarbah, John Mensah, 1906: *Fanti National Constitution: A short treatise on the constitution and government of the Fanti, Asanti, and other African tribes of West Africa* (repr. London, 1968).
- Van Dantzig, Albert (ed.), 1978: *The Dutch and the Guinea Coast 1674-1742: A collection of documents from the General State Archive at The Hague* (Ghana Academy of Arts & Sciences, Accra).
- Van Dantzig, Albert, 1980: *Les hollandais sur la Côte de Guinée à l'époque de l'essor de l'Ashanti et de Dahomey 1680-1740* (Paris).
- Van Dantzig, Albert, 1990: 'The Akanists: a West African Hansa', in David Henige & T.C. McCaskie (eds), *West African Economic and Social History: Studies in memory of Marion Johnson* (African Studies Program, University of Wisconsin-Madison), 205-16.
- Vergier, Pierre, 1968: *Flux et reflux de la traite des nègres entre le Golfe de Bénin et Bahia de Todos os Santos* (Paris).
- Welman, C.W., 1925: *The Native States of the Gold Coast, History and Constitution, Part II: Ahanta* (repr. London, 1969).
- Wilks, Ivor, 1959: 'The rise of the Akwamu empire, 1650-1710', *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, 3/2: 99-136.

Indexes

[NB: Numbers refer to documents, not to pages]

Places and Peoples

- Aboadi ['Ab(b)ody', 'Abodey', 'Avodee'],
130, 137, 940, 956
- Abonse ['Aboncomes'], 496
- Abora, see 'Hebraw'
- Abrem ['Ambramboes', 'Umbramboes'],
311-2, 315
- Accra, 397, 425, 526, 559, 565, 578, 592,
597-8, 606, 611, 649, 657-8, 707-811,
849-50, 855-7, 860-3, 868, 874-5, 881,
884-5, 898, 941-2, 998; king of, in exile,
270, 825
- Adangme ['Alampo', 'Olampo'], 709-10,
727-8, 736, 756, 758, 760-1, 769, 783,
790, 794, 796, 803, 807-8, 855-6, 861;
'Alampo' slaves 724, 973
- Adom ['Adoome', 'Idoom(e)', 'Idom(e)'], 7,
16, 22, 25-6, 28-9, 34, 42, 44, 55-6, 64,
68-9, 113, 115, 126, 129, 131-2, 134-7,
140, 142, 309, 317
- African House (London), 588, 828, 933
- Afutu, see Fetu
- Agona ['A(n)guina', 'Anguyna'], 490-1, 637,
651, 737, 742, 768-9, 802-4, 808-10,
883-4, 888-9
- Ahanta ['Antea', 'Antia'] 16, 28-9, 42, 44, 55,
69, 72
- Akani ['Arcany', 'Arcanee', 'Arcania',
'Arcadia', merchants, 201, 217, 224,
226-7, 353-4, 356, 375, 380, 382-4, 403,
432-3, 443, 449-50, 452, 455, 458-9,
461-2, 470, 473-4, 482, 486, 517-8, 549,
554, 589-90, 618, 627-8, 642; Captains
of, 224, 355-6, 378-9, 381, 384, 486, 504,
628, 642, 694; Akani state, 651, 670, 710,
720, 743; 'Akani gold', 182, 698
- Akron ['Accron(g)'], 491, 742, 809, 869,
884-5
- Akwamu ['Aquamboe', 'Quamboe',
'Quombo'], 710, 720, 723, 733, 794, 810
- Akwida ['Aquidah', 'Quidah', 'Oquadah'],
123, 305, 343
- Akyem ['A(c)kim', 'Arkin', 'Arg(u)in'],
490-1, 670, 707, 717-8, 762, 766
- Alampo, see Adangme
- Albani ['Abbine'], 845
- Allada ['Ard(r)a'], 9, 68, 388, 708, 710, 754,
770, 795, 800, 809, 812, 824, 844, 915,
917, 985; Allada slaves, 487, 532-3, 536,
624, 777, 794; Allada cargoes, 819, 911,
949; Allada cloths, 22
- Amisa ['Amersa', 'Amessa'], 382, 570,
577-81, 585, 788, 795, 850, 859-60,
893-6, 949
- Ampeni ['Ampeney', 'Ampena'], 66, 150,
152, 155, 216, 221, 259, 300, 304, 334
- Anashan ['Annishan'], 353-81, 382, 383,
493-4, 496-7, 500, 504, 506, 510, 515,
517, 519, 535, 564, 569-77, 580-1, 585,
690, 703
- 'Ancorsa', 28, 34
- Angola, 823, 985
- Angona, see Agona
- 'Anguer' (Eguira?), 29
- Ankobra ['Ancover', 'Cobra', 'Cabra', 'Cabro'],
57, 831, 920, 983
- 'Annian', 465
- Anomabu ['Annamaboe'], 87, 221, 313, 373,
382-609, 627, 638, 646, 653, 658, 663-5,
676-7, 693, 718, 728-9, 731, 742, 754,
772, 778, 780, 796, 814, 817, 822, 824,
863, 899, 901, 904-5, 907, 917, 953, 960,
964
- Asebu ['Saboe'], 593, 606
- Assinic ['Ashinee', 'Ashenee'], 78, 87, 325,
830, 854, 920, 935, 948, 955
- 'Attome' (Little Popo), 825
- Austria, see Emperor
- Axim, 7, 31, 46, 55-6, 58, 69, 71, 87, 96-100,
104, 109, 111, 115, 121, 133, 137, 175,

- 296, 298, 301, 831, 836–7, 842, 898, 944, 980, 982–4, 995–6
- Bantam, 212
- Barbados, Barbadian, 24, 67, 70, 221, 713, 812, 822, 901–2, 919, 973–5
- Bassam, 71, 830, 944
- Benin [also 'Beneen', 'Boneen', 'Binin'], 19, 112, 260, 812–3, 827, 844–5, 988; Benin cloths, 67, 272, 274, 831
- Beraku ['Barracoe', 'Barricoe'], 577, 720–1, 723–5, 729, 732, 737, 742, 846, 849, 857–9, 868–79, 881–5, 891, 941
- Bight ['Bit(e)'], 812, 833, 835
- Brandenburgers, 7, 104, 111, 123, 144, 185, 216, 302, 343, 788, 825, 827, 944, 948
- Brandenburgers' Castle/Fort (Gross-Friedrichsburg), 16, 46, 114–16, 160, 301, 837
- Brazil, 9
- Butri ['Butterue'], 42, 146, 841, 843, 910, 948
- Cabo Corso, see Cape Coast
- 'Caesuckham'/'Consockum', 571, 577
- Calabar, 988; Old Calabar, 579
- Cape Apollonia ['Appelonia', 'Appalonia', 'Appilonia'], 6, 71, 165–6, 829–30, 837, 853–4, 920, 923, 926, 955
- Cape Coast [also Cabo Corso], 6, 36, 39–40, 42, 46, 50, 56, 64–5, 69, 71, 73, 80, 84, 87, 92, 96, 113–14, 117, 122, 125, 135, 139, 144, 146–7, 152–3, 155, 157–8, 166, 187, 210, 244–5, 278, 301, 304–5, 314, 319, 326, 335, 373, 375, 383, 387–8, 406, 416, 425, 427, 429, 437, 442, 444, 450, 458–9, 470–2, 483–4, 487, 492, 496, 498, 508, 525, 530–1, 533–6, 541, 545, 558, 560, 566, 589, 593, 595, 597, 601, 604, 606, 611, 621, 653, 676, 711, 713, 717–8, 721, 727, 733, 737, 749, 752, 756, 769, 771, 773, 779, 786, 788, 812–4, 820, 822, 824, 829–31, 836–7, 839–40, 843, 849, 855, 862, 864, 866, 876, 884, 887, 889, 895–6, 900–1, 904, 907, 918, 921, 927–9, 936–7, 940, 941, 944, 962, 969, 974, 976, 992; Cape Coast Castle, 120, 131–2, 135, 138, 140, 186, 206, 246, 295, 322–3, 575, 587, 598, 694, 709, 749, 813–4, 825, 897, 951; Cape Coast canoes/canoemen 6, 329, 383, 515, 822
- Cape Lahou ['Lahoo'], 324, 830, 944
- Cape Lopez, [also 'Lopas', 'Lopes'], 833, 900–2, 918, 988
- Cape Mesurado ['Mountsaradoc', 'Montseratho'], 898, 944
- Cape Mount, 923, 950, 965, 970
- Cape Palmas, 926, 988
- Cape St John, 833
- Cape Three Points ['Tree(s)'/Tress' 'P(o)intas'/'Pointus'], 7, 46, 79, 95, 304, 829, 837, 853, 920, 922, 944, 948, 951, 955, 963, 965
- Cape Verde Islands, see May, Isle of
- Cestos [also 'Sestos'], River, 7, 329, 926
- Charles Fort (Anomabu), 425, 476, 478, 483, 535
- Christiansborg Fort (Accra), 792–3, 802, 997–8 see also Danes' Castle
- Cornhill (London), 150
- Danes [also 'Deanes'], Denmark, 78, 212, 238, 396, 684, 712, 716, 722, 725, 731, 737, 738, 739, 761, 767, 769–70, 778, 792–6, 800, 814, 997–8
- Danes' Castle/Fort (Christiansborg, Accra), 716, 719, 731–2, 775; Danes' road (Accra), 804
- Deal, 947
- Denkyira ['Dunkeder'], 29, 64
- Devil's Hill, 766, 788
- Downs, The, 935, 985
- Dixcove ['Dicks Cove', 'Dicke Cove', 'Dickiscove'], 13, 45, 47, 52, 67, 116, 130, 132, 134–6, 138, 158, 327, 830, 836, 841–2, 908–10, 923, 958, 967–9
- Dutch, 5, 8, 10, 26, 29–30, 32, 34–5, 37, 51–2, 55–6, 64–5, 67–9, 75, 87, 92, 96–100, 107, 109, 112, 115, 123, 141–2, 144, 152–3, 181, 195, 223–7, 235, 246, 247–8, 258, 263, 267–8, 277, 299–300, 304–5, 309, 315, 321, 331, 343, 435, 482, 503, 517, 539, 541, 549, 555, 561, 574, 594, 643, 648–9, 708, 711, 716, 721–3, 725, 727–9, 736–8, 743–4, 747, 750, 754, 758, 762, 765–6, 770, 792, 795, 797, 801, 805, 807–8, 815, 817–9, 822–3, 826–7, 833, 837, 842–4, 849, 861–2, 869–73, 898, 900, 902, 918, 929, 946, 947, 980; Dutch Company, 144, 165, 260, 262, 268, 329, 727, 730, 761–2, 764, 768–9, 773, 777, 783, 794, 920; Dutch General, 732–4, 792, 945; Dutch interlopers 4, 13, 15–16, 26, 39–41, 51, 83, 87, 165–7, 234, 259–60, 285, 296, 301, 666, 684, 711, 720, 743, 757, 829–30, 835, 843, 854, 901, 920, 926, 956, 976; Dutch colours/flag 68, 305, 825; Dutch umbanees, 722, 723, 724, 733, 752, 753; Dutch muskets, 884; Dutch nails, 28; see also Flemings
- Eguafo ['Aguaffo(e)', 'Agaffo'], 205–6, 210, 212, 215, 216, 221, 224–7, 242, 254, 261, 269–70, 281, 305–6, 309, 311–3, 315, 317, 322, 324, 328–9, 331, 334
- Eguira, see 'Anguer'
- Egya ['Agga'], 276, 373, 378, 382, 386, 390,

- 398-9, 403, 407, 410-2, 416-7, 432-3, 436-8, 440-2, 444-6, 450-1, 461-2, 465-7, 469, 471-3, 477-8, 481, 485, 487, 493, 510, 524, 531, 552, 556, 589, 603, 606, 610-706, 728, 796, 859, 894, 899, 904-5, 930, 966
 Emperor, 975
- Fante ['Fante(e)n.'], 490-1, 498, 504, 520, 531, 541, 566, 593-4, 596, 633-5, 637, 639, 656, 667, 696, 700-1, 742, 809, 887; 'Fante money', 487, 544
- Fetu [also 'Fetture', 'Fetoo'], 311, 505, 531, 541, 566, 593, 647, 656, 660, 664, 676, 696, 701, 767
- Flemish, Flemish, 5, -6, 17, 96; Flemish colours 15
- Flushing, 212
- Forcados ['Bercadees', 'Arcadoes'], River, 833, 844
- France, French, 4, 6, 9, 15, 64-9, 87, 111, 123, 144, 145, 146, 149-52, 155-6, 216-7, 221, 268, 300-1, 303, 305-6, 309, 311-2, 315, 322, 324, 329, 356, 370-2, 396-7, 500, 569, 571, 573-4, 577-581, 601, 690, 711, 787-8, 792-3, 795, 798, 800, 804, 812, 815-7, 825, 827, 830, 853, 951, 955-7, 960, 976, 986-7, 996; French colours/flag, 6, 15, 41, 83, 301, 304, 312, 331, 854; French brandy, 285, 812; events in France, 985
- Fredericksburg, 335-52, 555, 561, 993, 997-8
- Gabon [also 'Cabon'], 833, 988
- Gambia [also 'Gambo'], River, 301, 919, 923; see also James Island
- Gravesend, 950
- Great Devil's Hill: see Devil's Hill
- Gold Coast, 958, 975; Gold Coast slaves, 724, 729, 731-2, 740, 963, 973-4
- Grain Coast, 837, 920
- Gross-Friedrichsburg, see Brandenburgers' Fort
- Guinea ['Guine', 'Guyney'], 498, 508, 569, 749, 822, 975; Guinea cloths, see under **Selected Topics, Trade Goods**
- 'Hebraw' (Abora?), 664
- Holland, 130, 212, 758, 981
- Holy Roman Empire, see Emperor
- Hueda, see Whydah
- India, 775, 921
- Jamaica [also 'Jamaico'], 24, 716, 743, 812, 822, 901, 926
- James Fort (Accra), 707-811, 941
- James Island (Gambia), 1-3
- Keta ['Kitto(we)'], 707, 710, 819, 903
- Komenda ['Com(m)enda', 'Commendo'], 8, 26, 28, 31, 40, 47, 65, 69, 75-6, 83, 107, 115, 117, 130, 141, 144-334, 678, 698, 838-40, 854, 864-5, 867, 908-12, 914-5, 927, 929, 932-3, 935-6, 939, 946-8, 951, 956, 969, 971-2, 986, 995-6; Great Komenda, 142, 150, 152, 166, 178, 183, 195, 197-200, 202-3; Komenda Hill, 169
- Kormantin ['Cormanteen', 'Cormantine'], 450, 532, 541, 552, 660, 733, 744, 800, 807-8, 819, 960, 994-6; Kormantin slaves, 974
- Kotobrai ['Cuttabree'], 939
- Kotrou ['Cotterue'], 829-30
- Kyerepon ['Occrepon'], 727, 729-30, 742
- Labadi ['Labardee', 'Labordee'], 758, 793, 798
- Lagu ['Laggue', 'Ladjue'], 494, 577, 717, 849, 898
- Lisbon, 71
- Madeira ['Madaerah', 'Medera'], 812, 902
- May, Isle of, 1
- Medes & Persians, 254
- Mina [also 'Mine', 'Elmina'], 8, 40, 52, 56, 67-9, 71, 87, 96, 98-9, 130, 137, 144, 167, 221, 225, 229-30, 244, 268, 300, 304, 306, 315, 321, 333-4, 343, 532, 648, 711, 713, 720, 722-3, 732, 741, 743, 762, 765, 792, 807-8, 818-9, 822, 824-5, 827, 832-3, 837-8, 842, 868, 873, 900, 939, 948, 971, 976-96; settlers from, at Little Popo, 825; General of, 68, 74-5, 87, 100, 104, 134, 137, 144, 151, 180, 192, 225-6, 286, 293, 301, 311, 320, 322, 324, 425, 428, 592-3, 600-1, 678, 727, 730-2, 762, 765, 819, 822, 868, 994; Mina canoe/canoemen, 221, 333, 707, 771, 814, 817, 821-2
- Minorities, The (London), 828
- Mouri ['Morea', 'Moria'], 343, 356, 382, 425, 727, 733, 744, 798, 808-9, 863, 993
- Mumford [also 'Mountford'], 729, 795, 846, 849, 851, 869, 874-5, 882, 884-91
- Nevis [also 'Mevis'], 808, 950
- New England, 918, 932, 951
- Ningo ['Mingo'], 861
- Ofori's ['Offerye's'] (Little Popo), 825
- Offra ['Of(f)rah'], 822-3, 825, 827
- Old Calabar, see Calabar
- Ouidah, see Whydah
- Persians, see Medes
- Popo [also 'Papoe', 'Papa', 'Popoa'], 819-22, 824, 833; Great Popo [also 'Grand Popo'], 827, 900; Little Popo [also 'Pickaninee

- Popo'], 814, 825, 900, 943; Popo slaves, 973
- Portugal, Portuguese, 9, 13, 39–40, 45, 69, 71, 78, 92, 95–6, 98–9, 145, 155, 169, 175, 238, 277, 298, 370, 391, 601, 720, 741, 767, 839, 960–2; Portuguese tobacco, 26, 301
- Prampram ['Pampara'], 861
- Prince's Island (Principe), 13, 391, 901, 918, 974
- São Tomé ['St Thoma'], 23, 40–41, 166, 902–3
- Scotland, coal from 990, 992
- Sekondi ['Succondee'], 4–144, 156, 175, 217, 229–30, 237–8, 247, 258, 287, 289, 306–7, 311, 318–9, 331, 496, 555, 716, 777, 835, 837, 840, 854, 867, 910, 915, 932, 937, 939, 944–5, 967, 969–70, 995
- Sestos, see Cestos
- Shama ['Shuma(h)', 'Suma'], 15, 42, 55, 124, 145, 180, 262, 264, 286, 320, 952; Shama River, 55, 293, 320
- Shido, see Shree
- 'Shree' (Shido), 891
- Sierra Leone ['Cherelone'], River, 301
- Sofori's ['Sofferye's'] (Little Popo), 825
- Speightstown ['Spites'], 901
- Takoradi ['Taccarado(e)', Tag(g)arado', 'Taggeradoe', 'Tackerada', 'Tacherada'], 15, 31, 34, 42, 64–5, 67–9, 73, 104, 113, 116, 123, 130, 221, 296, 298, 323, 853–4, 912, 932–3, 935, 938, 944, 948, 958–9, 970, 972
- Tantumkweri ['Tantan/Tanton Querry'], 577, 581
- Teshi ['T(a)isha'], 775, 795, 797
- Texel, 985
- Turkey, 975; carpets from, see **Selected Topics, Trade Goods**
- Twifo ['Kufroo', 'Cufferoe'], 309, 311–3, 315, 326, 332, 334, 971
- 'Umbrah', 845
- Virginia, 963
- Volta ['Volto', 'Vulter'], River, 796, 819
- Wales, cloth from, see 'Welsh plains', under **Selected Topics, Trade Goods**
- Wasa ['Wassaw', 'Warshaw'], 29, 34, 64, 69, 126, 129, 131–2, 135–7, 142, 317
- West India, 812
- Whydah [also 'Whiddah', 'Guidah', 'Quiddah'], 727, 795, 804, 812–28, 833, 834, 844–5, 900–3, 919, 943, 949, 954, 957–8, 996
- Winneba [also 'Winibo', 'Winaboe'], 555, 577, 581, 809–10, 873, 885, 888

Persons

- Aban, see Abond
- Abbitt, Dr, 959
- Abond (Aban), Mina caboceer, 137
- Abonado/Abonnido/Abozanadoe, Mina general, 142, 313, 320, 332
- Adriaans, 800
- Affer Taggee, see Tagee
- Affidoe, see Dickall Affidoe
- Agaba, slave, 210
- Ahen, Fetu chief, 313, 548, 589, 593–4, 664, 701; Ahen Comenda, 660
- Ahennisaw, slave, 427, 618
- Ainsworth ['Eansworth'], Jan, 204, 226
- Allner, Thomas, 748–9
- Amis, Thomas, 710
- Amo, RAC caboceer, 838, 944
- Ampeteene, Anomabu trader, 462
- Anamo, Anomabu chief, 382
- Andaoma, 819
- Ando Bonashee, see Bonashee
- Andrew, slave, 530
- Andrews, Edward, 38
- Andrews, Joseph, Capt., 579
- Annamah/Annomah, canoe-man, 822, 824–5
- Ansa ['Ahenesa(h)', 'Ahenesaw', 'Ahennessay'], King of Akwamu, 491, 496, 707, 710, 717–8, 721, 723, 727, 729–33, 737, 739, 742–3, 747, 762, 766, 768–70, 789, 792–7, 800, 802–3, 805, 808–10, 885
- Ashaw, 548
- Ashedow [also 'Shedow'], Akani trader at Anomabu, 383, 458, 462, 486
- Ashreney, Sekondi chief, 134
- Assina, 304–5, 496, 517, 532, 665
- Assum(e)/Ashume, Captain, Sekondi chief, 4, 7–8, 25, 28–9, 31, 37, 44, 49, 51, 55, 64, 96–7, 99–100, 110
- Ashumah, 731
- Attabarba, Agona trader, 869, 873
- Attwell, [Thomas], 824
- Ayre, 969

- Bailey/Baily/Bayly, James, 4, 6, 8, 10, 16,
64-5, 70-1, 73, 140-2, 192, 219, 223, 233,
321-2, 388, 516, 522, 549, 611, 691,
712-5, 717, 721-3, 726-30, 734-6, 750,
753, 756-66, 770-3, 775, 777-8, 781, 783,
788-9, 846-67, 879-80, 885, 891, 923
- Baily, Mr (another), 974
- Baldwer, Peter, 786
- Baran, William, 831
- Barber, John, 918
- Barker, Richard, 387
- Barratt/Barrett/Barrott, Robert, Capt., 132-3,
327, 373, 607, 808, 965-6
- Barritt, Capt. (another), 996
- Bashaw, slave, 259
- Batherne, Edmund, Capt., 121, 123-7, 129-30,
311-3, 319-20, 364, 591-2, 827-8, 955-7,
961
- Bathurst, Sir Benjamin, 823
- Beadle/Bidle, Nicholas, 697, 702
- Bedford, William, 146, 153-4, 164
- Bell, John, 742, 746
- Bell, [Robert], Capt., 30
- Bendall, [Horsefor], Capt., 812
- Blinsham, Thomas, 101, 112-43, 309, 330,
399, 411, 414, 416, 422, 427, 432-3,
435-8, 610-2, 615-22, 624, 627
- Bloome, John, 263, 353-72, 374-81, 608, 703,
774, 776, 787-8
- Blyth, Joseph, 941-3
- Bobie, see Bubbee
- Bodkey/Bodkin, Mr, 900, 903
- Boffery, 241, 243
- Bonashee/Bonnishee, Anomabu trader, 463-5,
473, 475, 477, 485, 490, 507, 518, 527,
548; Ando Bonashee, 556
- Bonner, William, 757
- Boyce, John
831
- Boyce, Joseph, 115
- Boylston, John, 102, 281, 411-3, 416-7, 437,
440-2, 449-50, 526, 596, 650, 657-60,
754-5, 904-5, 945, 991
- Bradley, Nathaniel, 101, 103, 106, 281, 284,
289, 556, 580, 777, 824, 943-7, 969
- Bradshaw, Richard, 118, 304, 308, 784, 803,
890-1, 935
- Brandfield/Brandfill, Andrew, Capt., 46-7,
176, 446-7, 727, 749, 818-9, 821, 824,
842-3, 912, 915-7
- Braughton/Brawton, Capt., 204, 316
- Bridges, John, Capt., 137-8, 329, 332, 334,
382, 388, 709, 814, 817, 964, 970-1, 974
- Bristow, Robert, Capt., 69, 228, 648, 747, 824,
926-30
- Broadgate, Benjamin, 69, 181, 220
- Brown, John, Capt., 388-9, 713-4
- Browse/Brouse, Thomas, Capt., 710, 814,
900-2
- Bubbee (Bobie), 797
- Bucknell, Thomas, 4-61, 63-104, 105, 108,
109, 118, 161-2, 169, 238, 259, 286-7,
777, 841, 854, 936, 945
- Burdis/Burgess, Emmanuel, Capt., 114, 573,
741, 790, 949
- Butler, James, Capt., 1, 400, 410, 815, 904
- Buttram/Butteram, Francis, Capt., 58-9,
130-1, 133, 138, 175, 323, 325, 370-1,
375, 471, 600-1, 603-5, 632, 740, 803-5,
922, 958-62, 965, 968, 975
- Byre, Thomas, 812
- Cabess, John, Komenda trader, 144, 147,
150-3, 159, 169-70, 172, 177-8, 180-3,
189, 192, 193, 197-200, 205-6, 217, 255,
278, 303, 323-4, 947, 986, 991
- Carter, John, Capt., 8, 384, 386-8, 708, 795,
815, 898-9, 974
- Carter, John, RAC factor, 710, 812-27, 900,
902, 941, 943, 946, 949
- Chambers, James, 423
- Chambers, Samuel, 6, 9-14, 17-18, 20-24, 26,
30-4, 37, 39-40, 42, 44, 48-50, 74-5, 99,
105, 107-9, 172, 194-5, 199, 204-6,
226-30, 232-4, 237-8, 241, 243, 245, 258,
262, 263, 268, 270-1, 273-7, 279-81, 285,
292-3, 296-7, 302, 330, 416, 670, 814,
840, 929
- Chancellor, 566
- Chapple, Robert, 4
- Charles, Charles, 735
- Chilper, 502
- Cicero, 539
- Clay/Cloyse, Gabriel, 812, 833
- Cleave/Cleeve, Alexander, 1-3
- Clement(s), Henry, 266, 500, 504, 516, 597,
831
- Clifford, Isaac, 921
- Clifton, William, 806
- Clois, Caboocer, 103
- Clungeon, Peter, 832
- Cockeo, 436
- Coffee/Cophee/Cophe, Captain, 5, 7-8, 16, 23,
27, 30, 34, 42, 44, 48, 50, 356, 564,
570-1, 574-5, 577-8, 581
- Cole, Capt., 901
- Collenwood, Joseph, 7, 832
- Collins, John, 903
- Coopeman/Coopman, Daniel, 71, 505, 522-3,
533, 547
- Couerden, Monsieur, 825
- Cowley, Robert, Capt., 304-6, 358, 360-1,
584-5, 693, 794-5, 827, 950-4, 957
- Crew, Captain, 42

- Crookshanks, Capt., 707, 710, 743, 824, 901, 973
 Cross, William, factor, 8, 40, 106–9, 144–242, 244–270, 276, 281, 289–90, 554–6, 569, 572, 575, 584–5, 587–8, 603, 606, 838, 936–7
 Cunduit/Cundy, James, 570–1, 583
 Cunnington, John, 115
 Currie, Herber, 362, 557–8, 572
 Daley/Daile/Dale/Deal, Benjamin, Capt. 46–7, 449–51, 818, 821, 824, 843, 909–12
 D'Amon, Chevalier, 797
 Daniels, Capt., 258
 Davis, William, 43
 Dean, Charles, 64, 66, 70
 Dean, John, 73
 De Bastian, Capt., 995
 De la Palma (Depalmas, Lapalma, Delapalmo), Willem, 758, 762, 767, 773, 783–4
 De Leon, Simon, 827
 Dick, Captain, of Anomabu, 470, 496
 Dickall Affido, 458
 Dingwell, Robert, 839
 Domini/Dominee, 502, 596, 664
 Dormer, Francis, 415, 869
 Downs, John, 133, 197, 422, 828
 Draper, Thomas, Capt., 71, 73, 229, 231, 509–10, 650–1, 931–4
 Du Casse ['Du Cas'], Sieur, 304, 308, 316, 572, 797, 804, 827, 949
 Eggin [also 'Heggen'], Captain, 382, 535, 548, 566, 593–4, 600, 606, 700–1
 Eggin, boy, 564
 Elwes, Robert, 58, 60–1, 100, 106, 108–9, 130, 202–3, 207–8, 268–94, 296–334, 381, 450, 478–9, 483, 487, 493–4, 498, 505, 509–10, 515, 517, 526–7, 530–2, 542, 546, 564, 626–57, 659–76, 698, 744, 754, 759, 814, 900–2, 920, 945–7, 971, 974
 Ernsthuyts, Joris, 425, 727
 Everaers ['Everaas', 'Veraus'], Carel, 600, 606, 743, 754, 800, 996
 Eves, Henry, 99, 104
 Fensman, Nikolay, 592, 792, 795–6, 802, 997–8
 Ferdinand, Bastian, 5
 Fisher, William, 761, 763–4, 781–2, 884
 Fozea Doe, slave, 259
 Fredrickson, Fredrick, 827
 Garrard, John, 695
 Gascoigne, Stephen, 973–4
 Gates, Dr, 824
 Gauguning, 581
 Gilbert, Richard, Capt., 741, 824
 Goff, Will, 527
 Gold/Gould, Robert, Capt., 83, 237, 251, 258, 539, 659, 675, 760–1, 855, 856, 867, 901, 935–7, 941, 943, 973, 998
 Greenhill, Henry, 206, 301, 532, 715, 804, 814
 Griffeth/Griffin, James
 276, 311, 313, 325, 382, 390, 438, 461, 466–7, 475, 621, 639–40, 642, 665–6, 676, 680–1, 728
 Griffin, Doctor, 151, 167, 178, 183, 194–5, 199, 202–3, 205, 244, 421, 448, 450, 554, 617, 819, 944–5, 993
 Haget, George, 423
 Halford, William, 60, 62–4, 207, 263, 488–9, 492, 494, 512–3, 626, 652, 761–2, 764–6, 768, 776
 Hall, Edward, 941
 Hans(e), slave, 487, 523
 Hansicoe, 254, 304–6, 573
 Hardin, Mr, 901
 Harrison, Shadrick, 716
 Hassell, Ralph, 110–1, 145, 335–52, 455–6, 458–75, 477, 479–82, 484–91, 493–544, 546–8, 552, 554, 556–7, 561, 626, 628, 647, 653, 663–5, 668, 672–3, 907, 924, 977
 Heatly, Jacob, 749
 Henderson, Henry, 508, 525
 Hendricks, Daniel, Capt., 754, 993–4
 Hereford, John, 824, 835, 838–43, 903
 Hill, [Edward], Capt., 824
 Hilling/Helling, Hugh, 4–7, 18, 38, 42, 724–6, 729, 734, 737–8, 742, 868–91
 Hobs, Richard, Capt., 821–2, 824, 880, 901–2, 940, 973–4
 Horsford, Ridley, 210, 481, 483, 484
 Hosea, John, Capt., 213–4, 496, 501, 824, 923–5
 Hucamee/Hukamee/Hoockomee, 90, 100, 604, 767, Occammy 825
 Hughes, Robert, 525
 Humfryes, Samuel, 5, 9, 64, 145, 158, 395, 408, 419, 437, 455, 462, 470, 632, 656, 694, 710, 945
 Humfryes, Anomabu caboceer, 391
 Hunter, Colin, 9, 22–3, 33, 36, 38
 Ingle/Ingall, Bryan, 432, 440, 614, 619, 732, 873, 889
 Ingram, Hastings, 42–4, 69, 558, 887, 889
 Innes, David, 4, 9–11, 14, 16–17, 20–1, 27–8, 31–3, 36, 43, 839–41
 Jack, slave, 438
 Jack, boy, 738–9, 746
 Jacklin, Edward, 215, 221, 257, 680, 685, 689, 727

- James, Samuel, 135
 James, Thomas, Capt., 114–15, 291, 294–5, 299, 454, 580, 790, 795, 947–9
 Jefferyes, Leonard, 138, 141, 867
 Jenkins, Evan, 836
 John, Captain, 470
 Johnson, Thomas, 112–13, 288, 294–5, 310, 567, 600, 608
 Johnson, agent in London, 828
 Johnston, 426
 Jones, Richard, 844
 Jones, Samuel, 48–9, 54, 64, 70, 98
 Jones (another?), 42
 Joyce, 53
- Kyte, Mr 791
- Latton, Capt., 708, 710, 900
 Langley, Charles, 812, 844
 Lawrence, William, 773
 League, Caleb, 748–9
 Lefebree/Leffebree/Lefrea, 6, 8, 817
 Levandelo, James, 583, 837, 844
 Lloyd, Walter, 831
 Lomax, John, Capt., 132–6, 138, 329, 331, 808, 967–9
 Longbeard, 44
 Lowder, Capt., 812, 814
 Low(e), [John], Capt., 388, 707, 814, 901
 Lykke ['Luke'], Hans, 711, 732, 767, 997–8
- MacDowall, William, Dr, 504, 600, 645
 Mandeloe, slave, 210
 Manning, Mr, 711
 Master, Mr, 711
 Masters, Capt., 901, 973
 Mead, [Ambrose], Dr, 713
 Medcalfe/Medcalk, Anthony, 42–3
 Mekin, Thomas, 99
 Mingham, John, Capt., 812, 833–4
 Mitchell, Capt., 2–3, 919
 Mitchell, Jeremiah, 415, 501, 555, 893
 Mullett, John, 843
 Murrowando/Murranado, 465, 485
- Nanter, George, Capt., 52, 55, 57, 740, 818, 822–4, 900–1, 921, 973–5
 Ned, canoeman, 819
 Nelling, 33
 Nightingale, James, 360–2, 382–438, 440–51, 453, 456–7, 462, 469, 473, 482, 485, 491, 522, 540–3, 545–7, 552–8, 560–612, 615, 618, 665, 667, 680, 690, 693, 702, 728, 737–9, 742, 780, 899, 904, 908, 961
 Nixon, Francis, 42, 610, 611, 618, 831
 Nuna, Captain, 147–9, 153, 155, 157–8, 166, 172–3, 176, 178–9, 182–3, 187, 227, 242, 249, 268, 294, 304–5, 316, 323, 944
- Nurse, Henry, 261, 536, 539, 944, 974, 998
 Nurse, Mrs, 898
- Obery, Richard, 812, 833, 844–5
 Obin, 45
 Obo, 993
 Offery Grandy, 825
 Offery Occamy, see Soffery Pickaninnee
 Oldman, slave, 35, 39; the same? 309
 Old Pay, Komenda merchant, 267
 Old Tom, 247, 255
 Ounsted, Henry, Capt., 388, 707, 814, 901
- Paine, Sylvanus, Capt., 710, 819, 900–1, 903
 Palmer, Anthony, 828
 Pearse, Richard, 829, 830, 831, 984
 Peaw, Captain, 698
 Pepperell, Nicholas, 75, 78, 87, 237, 259–60, 278, 555, 750, 863, 887, 892–7
 Perrin/Perring Jonas, 438, 444–5, 455, 461, 466–7, 470, 472, 621–5, 632, 844, 863
 Peter, Captain, RAC employee, 8, 30, 383, 399–400, 439, 463–4, 487, 495, 561, 630–1, 872, 875
 Peter, Captain, Komenda merchant, 246, 267
 Phishepan, 241
 Pheny, interpreter, 438
 Phynye, 710
 Pickard, Peter, Capt., 1, 30–1, 157, 159, 417, 422, 433, 836–7, 908
 Pickinine, 243
 Pile, Nathan, 602
 Platt, Richard, 6–7, 829, 901
 Plumer, 425
 Poeselwitt, Jan, 825
 Poston, George, Capt., 46–7, 177, 728, 818–9, 824, 912–4, 975
 Pound, John, 498, 527, 558, 569, 873, 878
 Pratt, Joshua, 719
 Price, Christopher, 530
 Price, Evan, 409
 Price, Thomas, 117, 119, 121–2, 124–5, 130, 133–5, 309, 318–9, 363, 715, 725, 735, 740, 741, 742, 754, 756–7, 760, 769, 776, 781–2, 805, 807–11, 832, 855
 Price, Mr, (another?), 383
- Quabba, 463
 Quacco, 819
 Quashee, Captain, 469, 476, 481, 498, 504, 536, 539; Cushee, 409
 Quashee, canoeman, 814
 Quow, Captain, 123–4, 194, 205–6, 406–8, 710, 7718, 719, 790, 793; Quavoo 825
- Ratcliff/Ratliff/Ratleife, John, 187, 190, 225, 262, 267, 409, 415
 Reyno, Jan, 827
 Rickard(s), [Samuel], Capt., 812

- Robin, 632
 Robson, Mr, 903, 973
 Rocet, John, 995
 Ronan, William, 133–5, 142–3, 328, 373–4,
 608, 703, 960, 962
 Ross, William, 916
 Ruddy/Rudy, Nicholas, 66, 99

 Say, canoeman, 819, 822, 824–5
 Saye (the same?), 241, 243
 Scheffer, [Willem], 732
 Sellick, John, 443–4, 446
 Shears, Simon, 579
 Shedow, see Ashedow
 Shorter, John, 66, 79–80
 Silverwood, Damiel, 365, 368
 Slade, Aron, 713, 836–7
 Smith, Joel[?], Dutch factor, 979, 994
 Smith, RAC factor, 814
 Soffery Pickaninne, 825
 Soomes/Somes, Capt., 819, 824
 Spencer, Major, 945
 Standley, Mr, 974
 Stanton, Mr, 749, 752
 Starr, Capt., 727, 736
 Stede/Steed, Edwyn, Governor of Barbados,
 713, 941, 973–5
 Steet, 24
 Stephens, Henry, 525, 889
 Stephens, William, 886
 Stone, Robert, 6
 Sturt, Abednego, Capt., 603–5, 702, 963–4
 Sweerts, Nicolaes, 976–93, 995–6
 Swindall, Robert, 711, 713, 721–4

 Tagee/Tagge, Fetu chief, 206, 270, 313, 320;
 Affer Tagee, 206
 Taylor, Thomas, 33
 Teague/Teag/Tagg, John, 355, 422, 501, 530,
 532, 561, 569–70, 572
 Teague, Roger, 876
 Tecodee/Ticcodee/Tiecodee, Adom chief, 42,
 44
 Thelwall, Richard, 465, 532, 541, 591, 598
 Thompson, Benjamin, Capt., 255, 528, 661–2,
 673, 758, 795, 826, 935, 938–40, 943
 Thompson, interloper, 795
 Thors ['Towers'/'Tours'], Thomas, 16, 23, 89,
 111, 404, 561, 775, 946, 948, 997–8
 Toby, 467
 Todd, John, 569
 Towgood, Charles, 139, 971
 Tyckers, Tyaerd, 998

 Underhill, Henry, 494, 527

 Unguah, 814, 824
 Uniquidee, 427

 Veasey/Vesey, John, 4–6, 42, 52–4, 58–9
 Verdyck, Johan, 995

 Wagener, Jan, Capt., 592, 594, 800
 Walber/Wolber, Henrick, Dr, 569, 588, 598,
 600, 606, 735, 742, 746, 749–50, 752, 757,
 769, 775, 796, 819
 Walker, James, 107–13, 115, 125, 128, 289,
 295, 404–7, 411, 422, 425, 429–33, 438–9,
 444, 452–4, 456–7, 459–61, 463, 465–6,
 473, 483, 485, 536, 541, 546–51, 558–60,
 592, 621, 678
 Walker, Nehemiah, Capt., 28, 157, 400, 414,
 419, 819, 821–2, 824, 904, 906–7
 Walker, Samuel, 422, 501
 Ware, [Robert], Capt., 901–2
 Warner, William, 710, 716
 Warrington, John, 525
 Webb, John, 831
 Western/Westrane, Nathaniel, 242, 257
 Wheeler, James, 210, 230, 235–7, 246
 Whiting, Mark Bedford, 44, 109, 250, 373,
 402, 404–5, 415–7, 477–8, 521, 526, 536,
 546, 563, 565, 578, 591, 594, 611, 658,
 707–75, 777–811, 837, 849, 855–6, 860–2,
 868, 882–4, 905, 941–2, 998
 Wight/White, Rice, 419, 476, 478–81, 552,
 626, 677–8, 768, 945, 947, 949, 968, 977
 Wilcox, Capt., 812
 Wilson, Nicholas, 831
 Winder, John, 813–15
 Winter, Mr, 916
 Wood, Henry, 3, 19, 26, 36, 39, 45, 70, 160,
 469, 812, 833–4, 837–45, 918–9, 975
 Woodfine, John, Capt., 4, 144, 386, 388–9,
 814, 817, 972
 Woodfine, Thomas, Capt., 25–6, 400, 409–17,
 718, 719, 815–9, 822, 824, 837, 904–5, 923
 Woodmansey, William, 66, 70, 99
 Wooradoc, 819
 Wortley, John, 398, 400, 411, 416, 613–5,
 812, 814, 817
 Wybourne, Petley, 383, 788, 795, 812, 827–8,
 950, 954, 967–8

 Yabboy/Yabba, Captain, Fante trader, 451,
 470, 499, 632, 634, 638, 679–80
 Yankee, Sekondi caboceer, 22, 26, 42, 55,
 134; Yankee's croom, 25, 42, 134
 Yanke, RAC employee, 53, 309

Ships

[Masters, where known, in brackets]

- Adventure* Sloop [James Bailey], 24, 140, 199, 233, 277, 313, 331, 387–9, 691, 716, 721, 750, 764–5, 781, 789–90, 855–8, 861–4, 866
- African Merchant* [George Nanter], 814, 974;
African Pink, 818–9, 823
- Alligator* Sloop [Nicholas Pepperell; Leonard Jeffreys], 236, 247, 249–50, 258, 260, 279, 291, 323, 331, 675, 750–1, 755, 762, 781–3, 867, 894
- Ann(e)* Sloop [Hugh Hilling; Richard Bradshaw], 8, 10, 16, 43, 118, 150, 153, 156, 166, 169, 292, 307, 331, 724, 737, 783–6, 797–8, 839, 867–70
- Castle d'Elmina*, 985
- Charlton* Sloop [Laton], 708, 819, 825
- Christianus V* [Daniel Hendricks], 994
- City of Berlin/Te Stadt Berlin* [Simon de Leon; Jan de Reyne], 827
- Coast* Frigate [Richard Hobs; Henry Wood], 3, 115, 469, 919, 975
- Dolphin* Pink [Robert Barrett], 808, 966
- Dragon* [Francis Buttram], 740, 805, 922, 959, 961–2
- East India Merchant* [John Hosea], 63, 637, 924
- Elizabeth* [Edmund Batherne], 318, 827–8
- Expedition* [Abednego Sturt], 605, 828, 963
- Frances* [Mitchell], 2–3, 56, 302, 356, 689, 771, 778, 897, 920, 922
- George* Sloop [Henry Wood; Richard Hobbs; Joseph Blyth], 25, 44, 812, 814, 821–2, 826, 834, 838–41, 844, 940, 942–3
- Glorious* [Barritt], 996
- Golden Greyhound/De Gouden Winthont* [Friedrick Friedrickson], 827
- Good Fellowship* [Benjamin Thompson], 938, 973
- Guinea* Frigate [John Bridges], 970–1
- Hannah* [Richard Cowley], 307–8, 827, 950, 952–4
- Hunter* [Peter Pickard], 157
- Jacob* Pink [Richard Obery; Charles Langley], 95, 260, 812, 845
- James* [Richard Platt], 713, 830, 832, 980
- Jonas* [John Mingham; Thomas Byre], 812
- Lindsey* [James Butler], 1
- Lusitania* [Robert Bristow], 647, 825, 927
- Mary* (1) [John Carter], 4–7, 709, 815, 817, 899, 974
(2) [Richard Gilbert], 741, 823
(3 — same ship as 1?) [Nathaniel Bradley; Thomas James], 101–2, 114, 116, 262, 281–3, 285, 294, 296, 298–9, 556, 581, 606, 763–4, 790, 795, 824, 827, 944, 946–7, 949, 951, 954
- Mayflower* [Nehemiah Walker], 906
- Maynard* [Robert Gould], 253, 826, 935
- Orange Tree*, 814–5, 817, 823, 974
- Princess Anne* [Thomas Draper], 931
- Sarah Bonadventure* [Thomas Woodfinc; Thomas Attwell], 819
- St John* [John Rocet], 252, 995
- Seroosherk*, 976
- Sherbrow* [John Lomax], 967, 969
- Tempest/La Tempeste* [Du Casse], 827
[La] *Trompeuse*, 388

Selected Topics

- adultery**, 45, 115, 887
- '**bar**', as unit of account, 1
- '**bellyaring**' (dancing), 189
- '**bendefoes**' (also 'bantefoes'), 326, 538, 676, 690
- canes, see '**sticks**'
- canky**, 712, 748, 763; 'canky money', 118, 146, 419, 569, 749-50; 'canky stones', 734, 736, 753; 'canky woman', 653, 784
- canoes**, canoemen, hiring of, 6-7, 10, 13-14, 48, 118, 135, 138, 146, 515, 814, 822, 838, 855-6, 882; purchase of canoes, 96-8, 100-1, 156, 179, 382-3, 388, 828, 856, 946-7; adapted with boards, 807-8; used on lagoon, 821, 825; slaves trained as canoemen, 814
- cats**, 47, 49, 513
- cloth**, African, purchased by Europeans, 1, 812, 821-2, 845 (see also 'Allada cloths', 'Benin cloths' under **Trade goods**); traded among Africans, 22
- corn**, purchased by Europeans, 71-7, 82, 87-9, 91, 93-4, 96-7, 133-6, 177, 221, 227, 229, 231, 233, 237-9, 241, 244, 249-50, 255, 258, 272, 274-5, 277, 279, 283, 298-9, 305, 307-8, 311, 313, 320, 360-1, 365, 369, 373-6, 383, 385-9, 393-4, 400, 407-8, 410-18, 420, 422, 442, 444-5, 447, 449-52, 462-3, 470-3, 475, 477, 485, 487, 489-91, 493-500, 502, 504-11, 513, 515, 518-19, 526-7, 533, 554, 556, 560, 569, 573, 584-5, 592, 599-600, 603-6, 608, 610-11, 616, 634-42, 644, 647-52, 654, 656, 669, 671, 676, 684-8, 691, 693, 696-7, 702, 704, 761, 800, 802, 804, 807-10, 817, 836, 841, 846, 858, 855, 882, 884-7, 899, 904-5, 907-8, 911, 913, 915, 917, 923-5, 927-34, 936, 938-40, 943-4, 953-5, 960-61, 963-4, 969, 974; supplied to factories, 5, 8, 415-16, 712, 717, 723, 726-7, 729, 731-3, 741-2, 745, 747, 750-7, 759-66, 771, 777-8, 857-8, 874, 882, 904-5; sold by Europeans to Africans, 526, 745, 747; intra-African trade, 87, 526, 820; planting, 76, 242, 520-2, 524, 531, 609, 663-5, 704; harvesting ('cutting'), 540-1; flour, trade in, 824; for African armies, 742; corn rooms, 359, 369, 469, 471, 473, 509, 684-5
- credit**, extended by Europeans to Africans, 152, 157, 180, 263, 267, 316, 329, 332, 463, 466, 490, 541, 544, 554, 557, 598, 680, 845, 874, 993; by Africans to Europeans, 52, 341, 345, 347-9, 385, 418, 462, 469-70, 536, 632; among Africans, 137, 819; see also **pawning**
- customs**, 49, 90, 107, 109, 111, 122-3, 125, 128, 166, 171, 192, 206, 242, 261-2, 276, 361-2, 382-4, 453, 490, 520-1, 524-5, 531-2, 538, 541, 561, 618, 627, 629-30, 634, 663, 665-6, 674, 679, 693-4, 704, 845, 869, 901, 943
- dancing**, dancing time 36-7, 39, 90, 166, 206, 261, 674 See also: '**bellyaring**'
- dashys** 10, 37, 39, 42, 69, 104, 113, 115, 119-20, 122-3, 125, 129, 248, 268, 453, 484-6, 541, 561, 604, 629, 632-3, 691, 694, 732, 868-9
- debt, see **credit**
- elephant**, 189; elephants' teeth, see **ivory**
- fetishes**, 498-9, 532; oaths by, 51, 465, 742, 825, 870; fetishers, 499; 'fetish' gold, 465-7
- fires**, 157-8, 795, 812-14
- fish**, 74, 330, 748, 838; stockfish, 824; fishermen, 382, 493, 605, 780, 785
- gold** (also 'money'), European trade for, sections II-VIII passim, 819, 829-30, 834-5, 836-7, 839-43, 846, 849, 853-4, 855, 868-9, 872-7, 879, 881, 883-5, 887-8, 889, 891, 901, 909, 915, 917, 920, 934, 944, 946, 949, 953-4, 956, 960-1, 970; paid out by Europeans, 96, 135, 140, 157-8, 215, 254, 261, 276, 558, 624, 831, 980, 984, 997-8; for corn, 239, 939; for slaves, 818-19; in intra-African trade, 518; adulterated ('bad') gold, 335, 481, 487, 541; 'cracra money', 153, 206, 531, 541, 544, 891; weights/scales for, 46, 168, 341, 358, 360-1, 364-6, 375, 377; blowing of, 172-3, 210, 219, 267, 366, 481, 496; goldtakers, 30; valuation of, 89, 773
- groundrent**, 254-5, 531, 663, 665-7

- harmattan**, 814, 822
- interlopers**, 4–6, 13, 15–16, 23–6, 39–41, 51, 67, 70, 83, 87, 165–7, 212, 221, 234, 259–60, 285, 296, 301, 343, 555, 561, 638, 666, 684, 711, 720, 743, 757, 814, 829–30, 835, 843, 854, 901, 920, 926, 933, 944, 956, 974, 976
- ivory** (elephants' teeth), purchased by Europeans, 830, 833–5, 845, 909, 944, 970
- language**: African languages ('Blacks') spoken by Europeans, 109, 466; English, spoken by Africans, 473, 869; interpreters, 30, 122, 135, 438, 496; 'linguister', 458
- livestock**: cattle, 2; cows, 536, 539, 667, 709–10, 767; fowls, 42, 330, 536; hogs, 669; pigeons, 176; sheep, 111–12, 179, 539, 548, 710
- madman**, 918
- malagueta**, 444, 720, 885, 967, 970
- money, see gold
- oystershells**, 20, 29, 32, 48, 516, 522, 578, 581, 599, 711, 742–5, 750, 788–9, 795, 892–3, 895–6, 991–2
- palm oil**, 5, 8, 20, 501, 513, 560–1, 572, 728, 753, 824, 848
- palm wine**, 177, 232
- panyarring**, 462; of persons 7, 25–6, 31, 35, 37, 44, 134, 141, 167, 180–1, 263–4, 270, 301, 391, 802, 810, 822, 887; of goods, 30, 51, 55, 69, 403, 548; of ships, 71
- pawns**, pawning, 26, 30, 98–100, 150–2, 324, 332, 451, 462, 473, 485, 541, 544, 548; human pawns, 31, 111, 215, 270, 333, 554; gold pawns, 329, 463–5; pawning of factories, 794, 814
- pepper, see **malagueta**
- pirates**, 6–9, 15–16, 23–4, 41, 83, 111, 114–17, 144, 165, 167, 169, 252, 296, 301, 384, 388, 708, 831–2, 898, 901, 922, 944, 948, 976–7, 980, 985, 995–6
- poison**, 660, 819
- prices**, of goods, in gold, 22, 26–7, 32, 34, 58, 66, 123, 148–9, 160, 163–4, 168, 170, 179, 181, 184, 186, 195–7, 211, 217, 226, 263, 267, 270, 272, 301, 329, 463, 468–9, 482, 497, 515, 518, 537, 539, 619, 638, 643, 653, 655, 674–5, 701, 711, 812, 843, 886, 908, 912–13; of slaves, 7, 35, 51, 54, 134, 176, 199, 515, 518, 653, 727, 740, 817–18, 861, 921, 957; in Barbados, 822; of corn, 87, 97, 229, 255, 272, 277, 283, 386–7, 407, 417, 491, 508, 513, 526–7, 533, 560, 600, 647–9, 747, 807–8, 885–6, 899, 908, 927, 932–3, 939
- redwood**, European trade for, 270, 833, 835, 974
- salt**, 469, 710; saltponds, 48, 711, 750
- shells, see **oystershells**
- slaves**, European trade for, 7, 10, 25–6, 35, 38, 51, 54, 65, 67–8, 99, 130, 134–5, 137–8, 140–2, 157, 176, 199, 215, 221, 320, 368, 371, 383, 388, 394, 435, 458, 460, 475, 477, 490–1, 504–8, 510, 515, 518, 527, 530, 535, 540, 612, 646–51, 653–5, 685, 694–5, 697, 703, 706, 709, sections VIII–IX passim, 833, 849–52, 855–63, 868–71, 873–7, 879–81, 883–5, 887–9, 900–03, 909, 911, 918, 921, 936, 941–6, 949, 954, 957–8, 961, 963, 968, 973–5, 996 (see also **prices**); employed by Europeans on the coast, 6, 8, 31, 35, 37, 39, 48–50, 52–5, 68–9, 112, 119, 123, 186, 193, 210–11, 215, 217, 226–8, 232–3, 238, 241, 243, 245, 250, 252, 256–7, 259, 263–4, 292, 297, 316, 318, 320, 330–31, 364–5, 432, 438, 442, 462, 469, 515, 523, 527, 530, 532, 536, 555, 557, 566, 592–3, 595, 597–8, 618, 621, 624, 670, 684, 706, 717, 746, 768–9, 771, 777, 783, 794, 814, 905, 993–4, 997; traded between Africans, 518; owned by Africans, 44, 134, 147, 532, 535; redemption of, 215; runaways/escapes, 147, 206, 535–6, 540, 598, 746, 777, 789; suicide of, 527; mortality of, 502, 765, 857, 860, 900–02, 918, 973–5; shipboard rising of, 708, 710, 819, 900; 'slave cargoes', 70, 71, 945; slaves' prisons, 135, 536, 540, 777.
- smallpox**, 756, 765, 777, 855–6, 900–2, 921, 973–5
- 'sticks', 227, 581, 723
- teeth, see **ivory**
- theft**, 31, 37, 64, 98, 101–2, 263–4, 692, 728, 822–3
- titles, African**: Braffo, 31, 34, 382–3, 454–5, 465, 485, 490, 498–9, 503, 520, 522, 531–2, 566, 577–8, 581, 594, 618, 630, 663–4, 667, 669, 674, 821; Captain of the Prea, 697–8; Corrantier/Curranteer/Quaranteer, 375, 378–9, 382–3, 453–5, 490, 498–9, 503, 520, 522, 531–2, 540, 566, 572, 578, 581, 609, 630, 663–7, 669, 674; Fetera, 166, 183, 190, 192, 197, 206, 210, 254, 261, 315, 333; 'Great Fetera', 334, 971; 'Little Fetera', 334; 'Young Fetera', 971; Mareen, 206, 227, 248, 276, 554; Occamyne, 825; Tatea 216; Veadors, 845
- trade goods** (sold by Europeans)
Allada cloths, 22

- allejars, 374-5, 382-3, 408, 434-5, 513, 605, 638, 708-9, 723, 750, 814, 819, 822, 861
 bafts, 145, 187, 197, 212, 264-5, 268, 270, 272, 285, 289, 291, 296-7, 302, 304, 424-5, 613, 707-9, 711, 715, 717, 722-4, 733, 750, 814, 818-19, 822, 920
 basins, 173, 200, 202, 206-8, 210, 215, 217, 302, 439, 468, 498, 610, 618-19, 626, 631, 639, 837, 841; pewter, 204, 209, 264-5, 268, 270, 304, 335, 360, 361, 422, 429, 430-31, 434-5, 470, 474-5, 477, 581-2, 629, 694, 705-6
 beads, 12, 14, 17-18, 20-22, 463, 716, 818-19, 822; see also coral, crystal, paste, rangoes
 Benin cloths, 67, 837; see also mundees
 blankets, 17, 49, 393-4, 697-8, 709
 bouges (cowries), 717, 719, 730, 814, 818-9, 822, 861, 900, 921, 943; used locally as money, 824
 boysadoes, 7, 8, 16, 18, 24, 36-7, 49, 84-5, 98, 109, 154, 166, 201, 214, 251, 262-3, 273-5, 353, 359-60, 366, 389, 452, 500, 626, 628, 635-6, 646-7, 673, 675, 694, 700, 796, 801-03, 837
 brandy, 37, 39, 64, 101, 122, 123, 125, 148, 167, 216, 242, 247, 261, 264, 270, 272, 280, 285, 287, 300-01, 333, 407, 411, 487, 541, 547, 561, 583-5, 596, 667, 812, 824, 869-70, 873, 949, 974, 993
 brawls, 605, 724; paper brawls 34, 38, 204, 242, 244, 249, 258, 260, 264-5, 268, 270, 272, 274, 285, 289-91, 296-7, 306-07, 342, 348, 353, 359-60, 382-3, 611, 617, 837, 874-5, 878, 880, 889
 broad cloth, 109, 393, 822
 carbines, see guns
 carpets, 24, 49, 149, 150, 389, 392, 439, 611-12, 623, 693, 701-02, 752-3, 830, 872, 913; Turkey, 101, 611, 755, 837
 chercolees, 393-4
 cloth, 6, 8, 186, 192, 194, 247, 261, 382, 486, 731, 814; scarlet 190, 583-4, 822, 870; blue 190, 394; red 394, 583-4
 coral, 4, 461, 787, 814, 818-19, 921, 943
 cowries: see bouges
 crystal, 814
 diglings, 392; brass, 472
 firelocks, see guns
 gingham, 160, 261, 367, 393-4, 633, 691, 723, 725, 733, 871-2
 guns, 44, 816; arms, 55; muskets, 109, 422, 815, 869, 884, 993; firelocks, 495, 497, 897; matchlocks, 868, 870-72; carbines, 353, 711; snaphances, 300, 309, 434-5, 494-5, 554, 711, 805
 Guinea cloths/stuffs, 21, 22, 29-30, 34, 37-8, 49, 52-3, 251, 274, 343, 359-60, 365, 374, 424-5, 566, 576, 589, 609, 611, 683, 687-8, 694-5, 705-06, 837
 Hessian, 628
 Hollands, 818
 iron, 1, 79, 274, 278, 673, 830; iron bars, 14, 31-2, 38, 43, 78, 84, 96, 109, 112, 118, 160, 162, 184-5, 187, 189, 214, 219, 221-2, 232, 251, 258, 260, 267, 275, 277, 279, 310, 337, 340, 342, 350, 353, 357, 359, 367-8, 374-5, 422, 424-5, 463, 468, 472, 480-2, 513-15, 534, 536-7, 539, 583-4, 586, 590, 592, 596, 598, 610, 617, 627, 629-30, 638, 641-3, 670-2, 674-5, 685-8, 693-5, 698-9, 761, 766, 777-8, 786, 790-1, 796, 813-17, 819, 822, 837, 912-13, 920, 943, 961, 974
 jugs; screwed, 59, 584, 610, 642; pewter 36-8, 452, 580-1
 knives, 4, 24, 52, 112, 145, 147, 150, 153, 154, 166, 168, 274, 345, 348-9, 351, 352, 392, 418, 422, 427, 429-30, 549, 560, 562, 609-10, 613, 616, 618-19, 830, 837, 842, 855, 877-8, 888, 913; horn hafted, 84, 146, 148, 181, 378-9, 586, 717, 740, 751, 753, 787
 lead bars, 126-8, 166, 169, 314, 335-6, 353, 359, 382-3, 403, 490, 494-5, 498, 524, 526-7, 529, 581-2, 596, 635-8, 662, 705-6, 837, 842, 869-70
 linen, 819; see also Sletias
 liquor, 422, 486, 504, 524, 561, 814, 908; see also: brandy, rum, spirits.
 long cloths, 771, 814, 818-19, 822, 855
 longees, 805, 849, 891, 913; silk, 44, 92-3, 217, 497, 638, 723; herba, 166, 169, 720-4, 733, 889; see also photas
 looking glasses, 393-4, 513, 517, 635-6
 manobut bands, 719
 marble cloths, 913
 mundees, 49-50; Benin mundeec cloths 272, 274
 muskets, see guns
 neptunes, 462, 468-9; brass, 392, 459, 818-19
 nicconees, 5, 7, 37-8, 49, 52-3, 66-7, 70, 73, 77, 81-2, 94, 101, 104, 144, 155, 160, 163, 168, 171-3, 179, 181, 184, 200-2, 204, 206-8, 211, 214, 217, 226, 249, 251, 258, 260, 262-3, 268, 270, 272, 306, 472-3, 491, 493, 497, 617, 630-1, 638, 721-3, 740, 745, 747, 753,

- 787, 789–90, 792, 796, 800–2, 868–9, 875, 891, 920
- pans, brass 36–8, 44, 460; see also: neptunes
- paste (beads), 814
- pautkeys, 721, 723–5, 731–4, 736, 742–3, 747, 753, 787, 789, 814, 818–19, 869–72, 874
- perpetuanoes, 5, 7–8, 10, 24, 32, 34, 36–7, 39, 44, 46–7, 49, 52, 57–8, 67, 78–9, 81, 84, 86, 102, 122–3, 125, 153–4, 168–9, 171–3, 195, 211, 214, 221, 224, 236–7, 242, 244, 249, 253, 262–3, 264–5, 268, 281, 300, 302, 304, 338–9, 342, 349, 359–61, 365–6, 376–7, 380–4, 390, 401–3, 414, 418, 422, 424–5, 427, 429, 432–3, 439, 443–7, 449, 459, 468–9, 470–1, 486, 500, 502, 517–18, 546, 554, 572–3, 576, 589, 609, 613, 616–19, 627, 632, 641–2, 644, 654–5, 659, 662–3, 667, 669, 679, 689–90, 694, 697–8, 700, 714–15, 717, 722–5, 727, 738, 740, 742–3, 761–2, 766, 770, 777, 788, 790–2, 796, 800, 804, 814, 822, 855, 861, 868–72, 875, 891, 908, 912–13, 915, 928, 934, 936–7, 947, 955, 961
- pewter, 232–3, 235, 353, 359, 432, 630, 830, 913; see also basons, jugs
- photos, 725, 804; photo longees 722–4, 782, 913
- pintadoes, 408, 498, 610, 723–5, 814, 818–19, 822, 837
- plains, 84–5, 94, 98, 842; Welsh plains, 22, 35, 37–8, 45, 49, 363, 633, 648–9, 700, 784–7, 837
- powder, 34–36, 38, 49, 55, 64, 66, 69, 81–2, 93, 107, 109, 118, 126–8, 201, 202, 204, 206–7, 235, 251, 261–5, 268, 270, 272, 282–3, 291, 296–7, 309, 313–15, 320, 322, 326, 328–9, 332–3, 343–4, 350, 353, 359–61, 368, 374, 392, 408, 419, 473–5, 482, 490, 498, 517–18, 520, 524, 527–8, 537–8, 546, 549, 560–1, 572–3, 586, 596, 598, 605, 635–6, 660–1, 670–1, 680, 682, 689–90, 697–8, 701, 705, 710, 722, 725, 740, 785–6, 787, 796, 801–5, 807, 815–16, 837, 842, 865, 869–72, 877–80, 883–4, 908, 913, 919–20
- rangoes, 4, 52–3, 55, 460, 462, 818–19, 843, 853, 920
- rum, 22, 24, 38, 53, 67, 98, 107, 109, 118, 125, 149, 160, 209, 216, 221, 224, 242, 270, 274, 287, 296–7, 336, 353, 357, 359, 361, 368, 422, 427, 429, 456–7, 462, 487, 514–15, 520, 542, 549, 561, 572–3, 596, 605, 610, 616, 627, 629–30, 638, 649, 665, 667, 674, 678–80, 694, 698–99, 701–02, 716, 721–3, 731, 778, 812, 870, 874–5, 886, 888–90, 919, 933, 973–5; flour rum, 715
- salamporis, 714–15, 722–3, 818–19, 943
- satins, 52–3, 171–3, 430, 434, 458, 470, 619, 626, 628, 635–6, 639, 660, 722–3, 731–2, 733–4, 736, 747, 751, 753, 787
- says, 35, 166–8, 170–1, 181, 184, 186–8, 193, 199–201, 206, 209–12, 224, 242, 244, 249, 258, 260, 289, 291, 302, 309, 353, 359–60, 365–6, 375, 389, 407, 411–12, 414, 429–30, 439–40, 455, 513–14, 518, 554, 566, 572, 589, 598, 609, 611, 623, 626, 628, 630, 646–7, 654, 659, 662, 667, 683, 693, 698, 731–2, 734, 742–3, 751, 753, 756–7, 761–2, 766, 770, 777, 783, 787, 791, 793, 796, 800, 837, 855, 861–2, 870, 873–5, 885, 888, 890–1, 908, 912, 946
- sheets, 7–8, 10, 14, 17, 21, 24, 26, 28–30, 32, 34–5, 37, 39, 46–7, 49, 52, 57–8, 73, 81, 84, 86, 89, 92–3, 101–2, 112, 118, 128, 147–50, 153–4, 160–1, 166, 168, 195–6, 200–1, 206–7, 214, 217, 235, 242, 244, 249, 253, 258, 260, 268, 302, 304, 306–7, 339, 341–4, 347–9, 353, 359–60, 374–5, 378–9, 382, 384, 390, 392–4, 401–3, 408, 418, 433, 444–5, 449, 459, 468–9, 472, 474–5, 477, 482, 500, 502, 517, 520, 526–7, 529, 546, 560, 572, 586, 589, 596, 598, 605, 609–10, 616, 626, 628, 641, 643–4, 654, 659, 662, 664–6, 669, 672–4, 683, 687–90, 694–5, 697–8, 701–2, 705–9, 712–14, 717, 722–5, 733, 738, 742–3, 747, 751, 753, 756–7, 761–2, 766, 770, 777–8, 780–1, 783–4, 786–7, 789–92, 796–7, 800–3, 805, 830, 868–71, 877–79, 888, 890–1, 913, 927, 936–7, 947
- shot, 55, 309, 865; see also: lead bars
- silks, 393–4, 639; see also: longees
- Sletias, 145, 814; coarse, 35, 84–5, 155, 181, 291, 357, 359, 382–3, 393, 403, 408, 576, 581–2, 610–11, 628, 646–7, 667, 670–71, 678, 697–8, 733, 874–5, 888–9; fine, 261, 609, 698–9, 783; paper, 818–19
- snaphances, see guns
- spirits, 93, 253, 361, 363, 430, 455, 538, 560–1, 609–10, 619, 627, 630, 664, 666, 681–2, 693, 704–6, 885–6, 888–9, 921
- sugar, 67, 112, 221, 638, 812, 902, 933, 973–4, 996; Muscovado sugar, 973
- tallow, 5, 7, 37–8, 49, 52, 78–9, 84, 86,

- 89-90, 96, 111, 113, 118, 224, 242,
244, 253, 262-5, 268, 270, 273, 278,
339, 342, 353, 359, 382-3, 403, 500,
526-7, 529-30, 554, 560-61, 581-2,
616, 639, 641, 649, 659, 662-5, 668-9,
680, 683, 694-5, 837, 919, 927, 934
- tapseils, 8, 10, 32, 34, 37, 39, 46-7, 49,
52-3, 81-2, 89-90, 98, 100, 113, 155,
160, 196-7, 335, 359, 418, 424, 470,
611, 648-9, 678, 707-9, 711-12, 714,
717, 722-3, 738, 771, 775, 837, 842,
849, 861-2, 868-70, 885, 888-9
- tobacco, 71, 109, 160, 164, 167, 192, 194,
197, 460, 513, 740, 824; Portuguese,
26, 301
- umbances, 775, 777; Dutch, 722-4, 733,
752-3
- wine, 301, 949, 974; Madeira, 812, 902
- trust, see **credit**
- wax**, purchased by Europeans, 835
- wood**, supplied to ships, 3, 397, 451, 469, 593,
836, 855, 858-9; to factories, 119
- yams**, 746, 750, 858, 959
- 'youngmen'**, 111; see also **hendesfoes**

Already published

**A Reliable Account of the
Coast of Guinea (1760)
by Ludewig Ferdinand Rømer**

Translated and edited by
Selena Axelrod Winsnes

This is the first complete English translation of an important and sensitive account of Gold Coast (modern Ghana) in the mid eighteenth century.

Ludewig Ferdinand Rømer was employed in West Africa from 1739 to 1749 by the Danish West India and Guinea Company. He published two books about Gold Coast, a short one in 1756, and then his more substantial *A Reliable Account of the Coast of Guinea* in 1760. Rømer deals with the operation of the various European trading companies, and discusses the African-European relations that he had witnessed. But the real value of his work lies in his descriptions of the local context — the African traders and customers, their societies, practices and religion. And he was much interested in African history, particularly from oral traditions.

This edition (principally of Rømer's 1760 text, but drawing on his 1756 volume too) makes available an uncommon source for the history of West Africa.

Fontes Historiae Africanae, New Series
Sources of African History, No. 3
320 pages (2000) 0-19-726218-X

Fontes Historiae Africanae / Sources of African History is an international editing and publication project, initiated in 1962 to organise a series of critical editions of the sources for the history of sub-Saharan Africa (i.e. Africa south of the Mediterranean lands), under the general auspices of the Union Académique Internationale. In 1973 the British Academy established a British Committee to publish volumes in the series. By 1995, ten volumes had been prepared and published via this Committee and the Academy, representing about half of the total output of the international project. The British Committee then established a **New Series**, in which all its volumes are now published.

PUBLISHED FOR THE BRITISH ACADEMY
BY OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

ISBN 0-19-726252-X



9 780197 262528 >