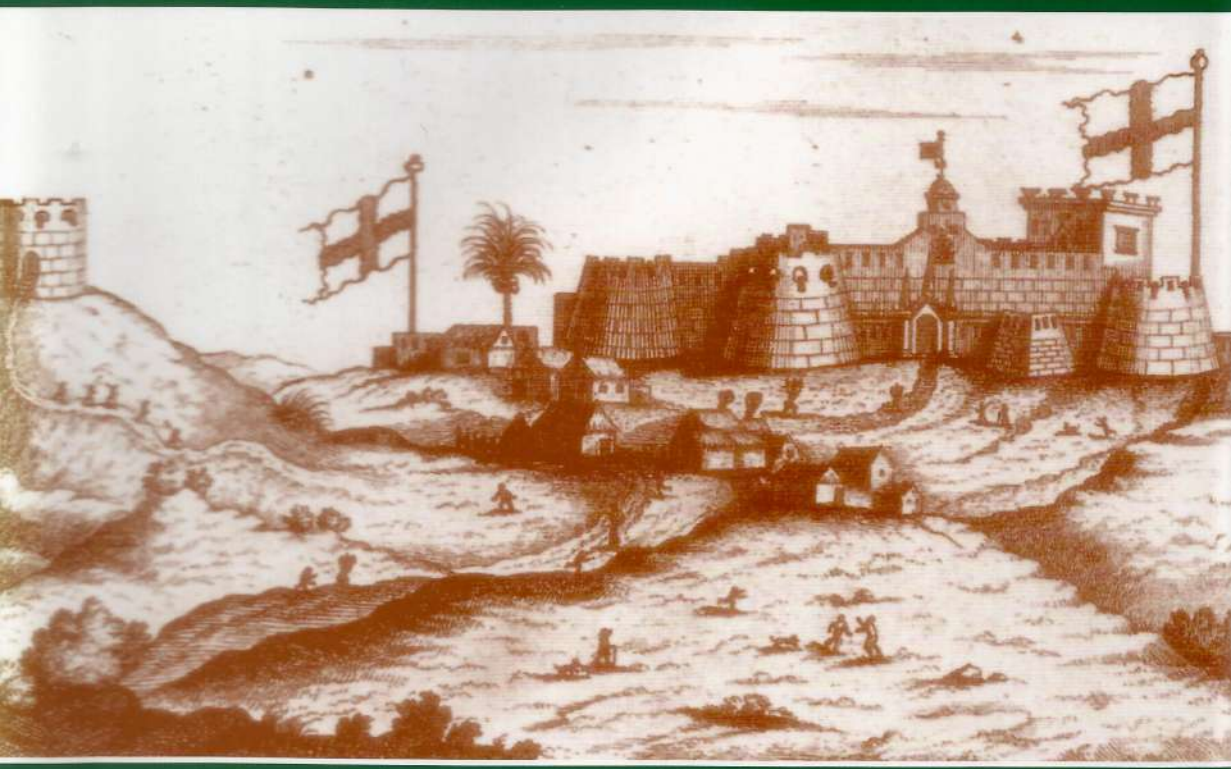
The English in West Africa 1691–1699



The Local Correspondence of the Royal African Company of England, 1681–1699
Part 3

EDITED BY
ROBIN LAW

Fontes Historiae Africanae, New Series
SOURCES OF AFRICAN HISTORY,
No. 8

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Cover illustration. Cape Coast Castle, the English headquarters in West Africa, seen from the landward side, with the 'redoubt' (Phipps' Tower) to the west: from Willem Bosman, *Naauwkeurige Beschryvinge van de Gunese- Goud- Tand- en Slavekust* (1704).

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Contents

To the memory of Paul Hair

Introduction

This book is the third and concluding 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 (hereafter, RAC), chartered in 1672, held a legal monopoly of English trade to West Africa for most of this period.[2] Its local headquarters in Africa was Cape Coast (originally, Cabo Corso) Castle, on the Gold Coast (modern Ghana); and it maintained other forts and 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) to the east. Its trade in Africa was mainly for gold and slaves, the latter for supply to English colonies in the Americas. The RAC lost its monopoly of the African trade in 1698, and thereafter went into decline, effectively ceasing to operate as a trading concern in the 1720s, although it continued to manage the English possessions on the West African coast until it was replaced by a new body, the Company of Merchants Trading to Africa, in 1752.

The main body of surviving records of the RAC is preserved in the National Archives (NA, formerly the Public Record Office), in London (series T70). As regards the Company's activities in Africa, however, the material in the NA is of limited value, because for the most part correspondence received from there is preserved only in fragmentary form, in brief extracts and summaries rather than the full original texts. Much more substantial material relating to the RAC's activities in the late seventeenth century is preserved outside the NA, in the collection of Richard Rawlinson (1690–1755), in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.[3] This material is preserved in three bound volumes (Rawlinson C.745–747), and includes over 3,000 documents, which unlike the material in the NA are preserved in their full original texts, thus providing massive detailed documentation of the RAC's activities.

The material in the Rawlinson collection comprises a series of letter-books containing copies of correspondence received at the RAC's West African

[1] For the previous volumes, see Law 1997a & 2001a, cited hereafter as 'vol.i' & 'vol.ii'.
[2] See esp. Davies 1957.
[3] Described by Henige 1972; Law 1993.

headquarters, Cape Coast Castle, extending from January 1681 to February 1699 (although with some gaps, as explained hereafter). This material not only documents the operations of the RAC itself, but also reports on the activities of its commercial competitors, including English 'interlopers' (i.e. persons unconnected with the Company, and trading in breach of its legal monopoly), as well as foreign (Dutch, French, Portuguese, Danish and Brandenburger) merchants. From its focus on the African end of the trade, the Rawlinson corpus is especially valuable for the detailed information which it provides on the involvement of Africans, as employees or customers of the RAC, in the operation of the trade. Since the RAC's factories operated in close physical proximity and social interaction with the local communities where they were situated, their correspondence also constitutes a valuable source for the more general social history of West African coastal societies.[4] It also contains incidental information on political and military events within African societies, in the interior as well as at the coast, which were reported to the extent that they affected the state of trade or the security of the English coastal establishments. The Rawlinson corpus is thus an important source for indigenous West African history, as well as for African involvement in trade with Europeans.

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 third and final instalment.[5] Apart from the small number of documents which relate specifically to the 'Slave Coast', of which a preliminary transcription was published in 1992,[6] these documents are published here for the first time.

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 between January 1681 and November 1683; and the second, published in 2001, presented the next such segment, of correspondence received between January 1686 and April 1688. There is then a second gap in the sequence, of three years. The present volume presents the third and final segment of material, which is included in nine successive letter-books containing correspondence received in Cape Coast between May 1691 and February 1699,[7] though with

[4] For illustration, see Law 1997b.

[5] Earlier, it was anticipated that this material would require 2 further volumes, but since there proved to be no logical way of subdividing it which would not yield volumes of grossly unequal size, it has been judged better to include it all in a single, necessarily large, volume.

[6] Law 1992: for the documents in 1691–9, this is now corrected & superseded by the present volume.

[7] At first sight, there appear to be 10 letter-books, but this is because one (covering the period Feb. 1695–March 1696) has been cut into two, & the two halves bound in reverse order (C.746, ff.62–142 & 48–60). The statement in vol.i, p.viii, that there are in all 27 letter-books should therefore be amended to 26. NB also that the statement in vol.ii, p.ix, that the documents for 1686–8 comprise 8 letter-books is a slip; the figure should be 9.

four gaps: of five and a half months between mid-February and July 1693, 12 months between April 1696 and March 1697, two months in September and October 1697, and four months from September to December 1698. One of these letter-books (covering the period March to October 1694) is preserved in two duplicate copies, which include minor textual variations. These letters were addressed to the local governing body of the RAC in West Africa, the Council of Chief Merchants at Cape Coast Castle, which in May 1691 comprised Samuel Humphreys, Rice Wight and Robert Elwes (with John Bloome replacing the first from June 1691); the system was modified in January 1692 with the appointment of a permanent chairman of the Council, a position held successively by Joshua Platt (1692–5), William Ronan (1695–7) and Nicholas Buckeridge (1697–1700).[8]

Like others in the series, some of the letter-books from 1691–9 carry the title 'Copies of Letters sent by the Out Factors of the Royal African Company of England to the Chief Agents at Cape Coast Castle'. The great majority of the letters recorded did indeed originate from the Company's 'outfactories' elsewhere on the African coast. In May 1691, the RAC possessed, in addition to Cape Coast Castle itself, four other forts on the Gold Coast: at Sekondi, to the west; Fort Royal (formerly called Fredericksburg), just east of Cape Coast Castle; and further east, at Anomabu (Charles Fort), and Accra (James Fort). During the period 1691–9, further forts or factories were established (or in some cases re-established): at Dixcove, west of Sekondi (from 1691); at Komenda, between Sekondi and Cape Coast (briefly in 1691, and continuously from 1694); at Anashan, west of Anomabu (1692–5 and again from 1698) and Egya, east of Anomabu (from 1692); and at Tantumkweri, further east again (briefly in 1693, and again from 1698), and Winneba, between Tantumkweri and Accra (from 1693). On the other hand, the Sekondi fort was abandoned in 1694 (though it was briefly reoccupied in 1698); and Fort Royal was neglected, if not formally abandoned, from 1695. There is also a less frequent correspondence from the RAC's factory at Whydah on the 'Slave Coast' to the east. There are no letters from the establishments which the RAC maintained in this period at the River Gambia (James Island), and at the River Sherbro (York Island), in Sierra Leone; these factories reporting directly to the Company in London, rather than through Cape Coast.[9] The correspondence also includes some letters from RAC ships (or individual agents) passing along the coast; and a few from foreigners, mainly from the headquarters of the Dutch West India Company (WIC) at Elmina on the Gold Coast.

[8] See Porter 1968 (which requires some correction in detail for 1691–2, in the light of the evidence of the Rawlinson documents).

[9] A factory which the RAC had maintained earlier at Benin (in modern Nigeria) no longer existed at this period; that in the River Sierra Leone (Bence Island) was temporarily evacuated in 1690, owing to the current war with France.

Besides the original texts, this edition also includes annotation, intended to clarify obscurities and provide cross-references among documents within the Rawlinson corpus; 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 NA, although, as explained earlier, these are generally much less informative than the Rawlinson corpus itself.[10] Use has also been made of records of the Dutch West India, Brandenburg African and Danish West India and Guinea Companies, as available in English translation in published editions.[11] There is no comparable published collection of French archival material; and indeed, there seems to be little relevant documentation extant in French archives for this period.[12] There also seem to be few Portuguese records relating to the Gold and Slave Coasts for this period; Portuguese trade there had been largely destroyed by the Dutch in the mid-seventeenth century, and was only in the early stages of revival in the 1690s.[13]

There are also some published contemporary accounts. Among these the most important general account is that of Willem Bosman, an officer of the Dutch WIC, written in 1701–2 but based upon the author's experience in West Africa, mainly on the Gold Coast, over the previous 14 years, i.e. since c.1688: he refers in particular to having served at the Dutch fort at Butri (between Dixcove and Sekondi) in 1690–1, at Shama (between Sekondi and Komenda) in 1692, at Sekondi in 1693, at Axim (west of Dixcove) c.1694, at Komenda in 1695, and at Mouri, between Cape Coast and Egya (in 1699), and having traveled to trade at Whydah three times in 1697–9.[14] In the Rawlinson correspondence, he is mentioned by name only once, in relation to Whydah in 1697 (document no.1353); but he can also be recognised in unnamed Dutch agents whose activities are mentioned at other points, at Komenda in 1695 (no. 342), and again at Whydah in 1698 (no.1354). The RAC's correspondence provides a valuable complement to

[10] Transcriptions of material in the NA relating specifically to the 'Slave Coast' have been published in Law 1990a; but this includes very few documents from the 1690s. Some other RAC documents from this period are published in Donnan 1930–5, vol.i.

[11] For Dutch records, see the selection published in Van Dantzig 1978 (& cf. also Van Dantzig 1980); for the Brandenburg & Danish Companies, see the more comprehensive publications by Jones 1985; Justesen 2005.

[12] The main published study of French trade to Africa (Ly 1958) focuses on the Compagnie du Sénégal, which lost its rights on the Gold & Slave Coasts in 1685.

[13] See Verger 1968.

[14] Bosman 1705, Preface; & for the details of his service, 17, 113 (Butri); 312 (Sekondi); 22, 24 (Shama); 226 (Axim, 'eight years past'); 27–8 (Komenda); 114 (Mouri); 329, 334, 337–8, 389, 398 (Whydah). For the date of his service at Mouri, cf. Van Dantzig 1978, no.93 (Jan Van Sevenhuysen, Elmina, 21 June 1700). His West African career culminated in a period as Chief Merchant at Elmina (1699–1702).

and control over Bosman's account, which historians in the past have sometimes treated somewhat uncritically. In particular, it records episodes to Bosman's discredit which in his published account he chose to suppress: an attempt to murder John Cabess, the leading African trader at Komenda, in 1695 (no.342), and a physical assault on an officer of the English factory at Whydah in 1697 (no.1353). Beyond this, the RAC material sometimes reveals inaccuracies and omissions in Bosman's account of other events, thereby tending to support (or at least contextualize) the complaint of an official of the RAC that his book exhibited 'disingenuity, partiality and malice'.[15] It may be noted, however, that Bosman's partiality included bias against fellow-officers of the Dutch Company, as well as against the English.[16]

Less substantial than Bosman's but also useful is the account by the Danish factor Erick Tilleman, published in 1697, and available in a modern translation into English.[17] Some material supplied by John Bloome, chief of James Fort, Accra, in 1692–5, was also included in the account by John Barbot (published in 1732); and extracts from RAC correspondence from West Africa, including some letters relating to the years 1697–9, were quoted in a pamphlet in defence of the RAC's commercial privileges by Charles Davenant (1709).[18] There are also four accounts of particular European voyages to West Africa during this period. Two of these relate to French voyages: by Tibierge, factor on the ship *Le Pont d'Or* in 1692, and the Chevalier Damon, captain of a unnamed French vessel in 1698–9.[19] These two are relatively slight in content,[20] but more substantial accounts are provided by Johann Peter Oettinger, surgeon on the Brandenburg ship *Friedrich Wilhelm* in 1692–3,[21] and especially by Thomas Phillips, captain of the English ship *Hannibal* in 1693–4.[22] Tibierge's ship (although not Tibierge himself) is mentioned only once in the Rawlinson correspondence (no.1345), and Damon's presence is not registered at all; while the passage of Oettinger's ship along the coast occurred during one of the hiatuses in

[15] Davies 1957, 268; Lawrence 1961, 230. The complaint may have related specifically to Bosman's account of the destruction of the RAC's fort at Sekondi by local Africans in 1694 (& his suppression of the alleged role of the Dutch therein).

[16] His account of the Komenda wars of 1694–6 (1705, 29–33) seems (by comparison with the RAC documents in the Rawlinson corpus) to exhibit bias against the then Director-General of the WIC, Johan Staphorst, as well as against the English & John Cabess. It may also be noted that Bosman, along with the next Director-General Jan van Sevenhuysen, was blamed for the deterioration of the WIC's trade, & forced to resign (Van Dantzig 1980, 136), & in his book was clearly concerned to dissociate himself from the latter.

[17] Tilleman 1994.

[18] 'Bloome's Memoirs', in Barbot 1992, esp. ii, 436–7; Davenant 1771, Part II (163–239), esp. 198–204.

[19] Both included in the collection by Roussier 1935.

[20] Also, both deal mainly with events at Assinie, at the extreme western end of the Gold Coast.

[21] German original published 1886; English translation in Jones 1985, 180–98 (doc.79).

[22] Phillips 1732.

the documents (in February–July 1693).[23] But Phillips' passage along the coast can be followed in some detail in the correspondence, both he and his ship being frequently referred to by name; indeed, there are even three letters written to Cape Coast Castle by Phillips himself (nos 1395–7). The published journal and the Rawlinson documents, here again, usefully complement each other.

The annotation in this volume also draws extensively, for the identification of ships and their captains mentioned, on the database of slave-trading voyages compiled by David Eltis, Stephen Behrendt, David Richardson and Herbert Klein.[24]

The period covered in this volume was one of great difficulty for the RAC, whose political position in England had been undermined by the Revolution of 1688, in consequence of its close association with the deposed King James II, encouraging attacks on its privileges which culminated in the loss of its monopoly of the African trade in 1698.[25] The Rawlinson documents for the 1690s illustrate the West African dimension of this struggle, as the Company's trade faced increasing competition from interlopers, operating from English colonies in the Americas as well as from England itself. The RAC's problems were compounded by the European war (the War of the League of Augbsurg) fought between 1689–97, in which England joined in an alliance against France. This involved some fighting in West Africa, including notably the destruction by the French of the RAC's fort on James Island at the Gambia in July 1695. This event is not mentioned in the Rawlinson documents, whose coverage did not normally extend to the Gambia, as noted earlier;[26] but the correspondence registers recurrent concern about the threat (both actual and anticipated) of the incursion of French warships and privateers into West African waters. At Whydah, the only place where the English and French had establishments adjacent to each other, there was a clash in 1692, in which the English fired on the French factory (nos 1342–4). But the overall effect of the war was the eclipse of French trade in West Africa, which revived only after the conclusion of peace in 1697. The RAC's situation was also complicated by poor relations with the Dutch WIC. Although England and the Netherlands now shared (since 1689) the same monarch, and in Europe the two fought as allies against France, in Africa the English and Dutch Companies continued to pursue their bitter commercial rivalry, at times even to the point of war, for the most part conducted by proxy, through African allies.[27]

[23] His ship sailed east from the Brandenburg headquarters at Gross-Friedrichsburg, west of Dixcove, on 14 Feb., & departed from Whydah on the Slave Coast on 4 April 1693.

[24] Eltis et al. 1999: cited hereafter as 'Database'.

[25] Carlos & Kruse 1996.

[26] Though the capture of an RAC ship at the Gambia earlier in 1695 is noted (no.81).

[27] Cf. Postma 1990, 74; Davies 1957, 267–9. The former says that relations between the 2 companies 'rose to the brink of war' in 1699, while the latter suggests that they 'began to improve' from 1698. Apart from a rapprochement at Komenda in early 1698, which proved short-lived (see chap.III), the Rawlinson correspondence does not support the suggestion of any improvement.

The period was also one of great significance in the history of European trade with West Africa more generally, as slaves progressively overtook gold as the principal commodity sought by European traders. Although the main centres of the slave trade were outside the Gold Coast (mainly at Whydah), the Rawlinson correspondence documents the beginnings of the transition from gold to slaves on the Gold Coast itself.[28] The principal value of the Rawlinson material, however, lies in its documentation of the RAC's interactions with indigenous Africans, and of political conditions and developments in African societies. This was a period of increasing disorder in the Gold Coast and its hinterland, as intra-European rivalries intersected with struggles among and within African communities, and of the progressive militarization of African societies.[29] How far this process reflected the rise of the export trade in slaves is a contested issue, on which the Rawlinson correspondence offers potentially critical evidence. Uneven but often quite detailed information is offered on the internal politics and external relations of several of the major African states in the coastal region. The correspondence from Dixcove and Sekondi, for example, records both internal conflicts within the state of Ahanta, in which they were situated, and the domination of that state by its hinterland neighbour Adom, whose forces repeatedly invaded the coastal area. That from Komenda documents attacks on the kingdom of Eguafo, to which it belonged, successively by Adom and another state of the interior, Twifo, both supported by the Dutch. Letters from Anashan, Anomabu and Egya report on the politics of the state of Fante, and its conflicts with (and ultimate subjection of) its immediate hinterland neighbour Etsi (or 'Cabess Terra'). Correspondence from Winneba provides information on the kingdom of Agona, in which it was situated, and its western neighbour Akron. The rise of larger territorial states further inland can also be discerned, most clearly in the case of Akwamu, which directly controlled the port of Accra on the eastern Gold Coast; more dimly, but still very usefully, in that of Denkyira, in the west behind Adom and Twifo. On the 'Slave Coast' the correspondence from Whydah likewise provides invaluable documentation of the rising new power of Genyi, known to Europeans as 'Little Popo'.

One critical question on which this material sheds important light is the decline of the commercial system of the Akani, which had earlier dominated the supply of gold to the Gold Coast.[30] The conventional view of the decline of the Akani derives from Willem Bosman, who attributed it to their defeat by

[28] By 1705, the Director-General of the Dutch WIC observed that 'this Gold Coast has turned into a real Slave Coast' (Van Dantzig 1980, 146).

[29] See esp. Kea 1982.

[30] 'Akani' apparently originally designated a confederation of states, but in the late 17th century probably referred specifically to Assin. However, there was an 'Akani' commercial diaspora which was widely spread among neighbouring countries: for a recent discussion, see Van Dantzig 1990; for the Akani trading organization, see also Kea 1982, chap.7.

Denkyira in 1698, and the need to expend reserves of gold in ransoming prisoners taken in that war.[31] The material in the Rawlinson correspondence, however, shows that the disruption of Akani trade to the coast in fact preceded 1698. Akani traders had already been excluded from trade to Accra by the Akwamu conquest of the latter in 1680;[32] and by the 1690s they are also no longer mentioned at Komenda. Even in the intermediate ports of Anashan, Anomabu, Egya and Winneba, references in the 1690s to Akani traders coming there are relatively infrequent. A war fought by Akani, in alliance with Fante, against Etsi and Fetu (the state in which Cape Coast was situated) in 1693–4, in an attempt to secure freedom of access to the coast for its traders, was a military success, but evidently, from the evidence of the Rawlinson correspondence, of only limited or short-lived effectiveness as regards its wider purposes.

The treatment of the text

The general principles followed in the presentation of the text were set out in the Introduction to the first 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);[33] they have been separated out according to their geographical provenance, all the letters from each 'outfactory' over the whole period 1691–9 being grouped together, and in the order of their composition; letters received from an RAC agent temporarily resident in two places where the Company currently had no factories—at Amisa, between Egya and Tantumkweri in 1695, and Adangme, east of Accra, in 1694—have been treated in the same way. The correspondence from these various locations is presented in geographical sequence, from west to east along the coast (chapters I-XIII). The letters received from ships moving along the coast are treated similarly (in chapter XIV), all the letters from each ship being grouped together. The small number of letters from foreigners are presented in a final separate chapter (XV).

The actual texts are reproduced in full, with the omission only of the purely formulaic beginnings and endings ('May it please your Worship', 'This is what offers', etc.), which add no substantive content. The spelling of the original has generally been retained, except that the conventional contractions employed (such as 'y^{e}' for 'the', 'Comp^{a}' for 'Company') have been expanded; in an additional refinement, in the present volume the doubling of the letter 'f' at the beginning of words (as in 'ffrench' for 'French') has been altered to a single letter. Punctuation

[31] Bosman 1705, 77.
[32] See vol.i, chap.VII.
[33] In some cases, the dates are evidently jumbled, suggesting that letters were sometimes not entered as they were received, but allowed to accumulate & entered *en bloc*.

and capitalization, on the other hand, have been revised in the direction of modern usage, in the interests of comprehensibility. 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 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 the case of the one letter-book preserved in two copies, variant readings are noted only where they materially affect the sense.

It should be noted that the dates employed in these documents are according to the Julian (or 'Old Style', hereafter OS) calendar, which continued in official use in England until 1751, and which in the seventeenth century was ten days behind the Gregorian ('New Style', NS) calendar which most other Europeans involved in the African trade had already adopted.[34] 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, '$169^1/_2$'). 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.

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[34] Denmark & Brandenburg officially adopted the Gregorian calendar only in 1700; however, the single letter in the Rawlinson corpus from the Brandenburg African Company (no.1457) seems to be dated according to New Style.

Glossary

Non-English words used in the documents:

acky [Akan *akye*]: greeting, often used with the verb 'frow' (or 'throw'), evidently meaning 'give'

bendefoes: military organization, probably a form of town militia [Kea 1982, 136–7]

bon/boon (day) [Portuguese *bom (dia)*]: good, referring to days considered auspicious for the conduct of business [as described e.g. by Bosman 1705, 160]

Brafo/Braffo [Akan *obrafo*]: title, whose functions appear to have varied from place to place—generally, either the 'governor' of a town or a military commander [Kea 1982, 127–8]; normally a subordinate office, but in Fante, in the absence of a 'king', the Brafo was the head of state

bumboy, bomboy, bomba [origin untraced]: slave foreman

Caboceer, Cabbosheeer [Portuguese *cabéceira*, 'head']: chief, used of both officials of indigenous African states & senior employees of European trading companies

canky, cankey [Akan *kankyew*]: maize bread; hence 'canky money', subsistence allowance; 'canky stones', grindstones, for flour; 'canky woman', cook

chitchee, che [Akan *tietie*]: herald

consar [Portuguese *casár*]: marry

Copeman [Dutch *koopman*]: merchant, applied to chiefs of European factories

Corrantier [Akan *koranti*]: title, generally the head of a village; in Fante, apparently the representatives of component towns at the federal council, who together with the Brafo formed the ruling body

cra cra [Akan *kakra*, 'little']: adulterated gold (originally a small piece thereof, serving as small change)

croom [Akan *kurow*]: village; strictly, applied to dependent settlements, as opposed to capital cities [Kea 1982, 100–1]

dashee [Portuguese *dação*]: gift

Fetera [?Portuguese *feitor*, 'agent']: title; 'captain of the bodyguard of the king' [Barbot 1992, ii, 595].

fetish [Portuguese *feitiço*, 'artificial']: deity or magical charm, often in the phrase 'take/drink fetish', referring to a ritual oath; also, with reference to gold, pieces of worked gold (not necessarily religious objects) as opposed to gold dust

Fiscal [Dutch *fiscaal*]: title of senior official of the Dutch WIC at Elmina, in charge of revenue matters

Marine [Portuguese *meirinho*, 'bailiff']: title, tax-collector

palaver [Portuguese *palavra*, 'word']: dispute, discussion

panyar [Portuguese *penhorár*, 'distrain']: to seize (persons or goods), usually as security to enforce payment
rowsaw [Portuguese *roçár*]: clear land for planting

Weights, measures and values:

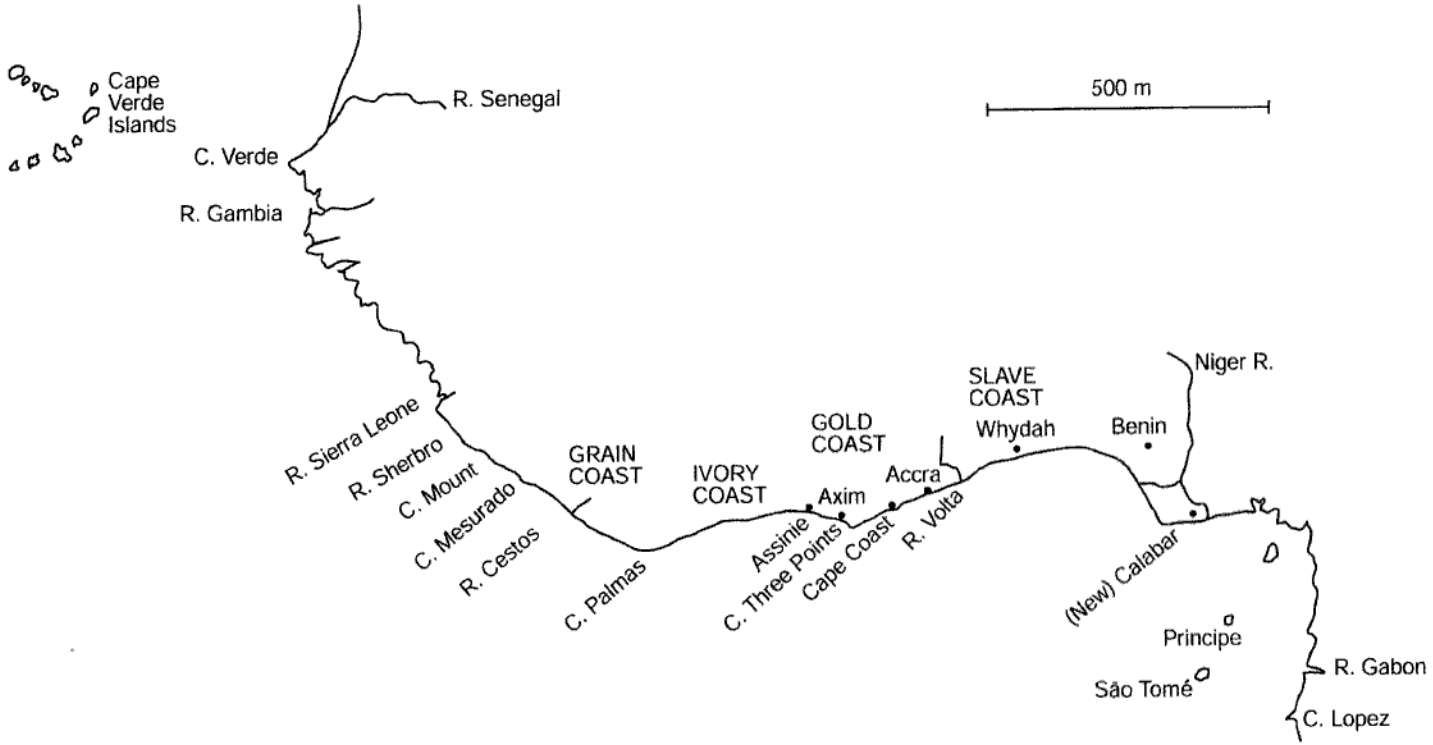
ackie	alternative (indigenous) name for 'angel'
angel, angle [abbreviated as 'a', 'an']	$^{1}/_{16}$ of an ounce of gold (value 5 shillings [£0.25])
anker	liquid measure, 10½ gallons
barrel	as standard measure, variable according to commodity, e.g. wine/liquors 31½ gallons, beer 36 gallons; a standard whole barrel of gunpowder contained 100 lbs weight
bendy	2 ounces of gold (value £8)
butt	large barrel; as standard measure, variable according to commodity, e.g. wine 126 gallons (= 1 pipe)
case	of wine/spirits, 12 bottles
cask	as standard (liquid) measure = wine barrel, as above, i.e. 31½ gallons, commonly called a 'quarter cask' (from being ¼ of a pipe)
chaldron	coal measure, 36 bushels (288 gallons)
chest	as standard measure for corn, 4 bushels (32 gallons)
cra cra	small piece of adulterated gold, serving as small change, value from 1 farthing upwards [Bosman 1705, 81–2]
demba	½ of a taccoe, the smallest gold-weight (value 2½ pence)
farthing	¼ of a penny
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)
groat	4 pence
hogshead	liquid measure, 63 gallons (= 6 ankers)
hundredweight ['cwt']	in usage at this time, normally 100 rather than 112 lbs
league	3 miles
mark ['m', 'mk']	8 ounces of gold (= £32)
ounce ['oz', 'o']	of gold, or equivalent value (= £4 sterling)
peas	¼ of an ounce of gold (= 4 angles, value £1)
penny ['d']	the pre-decimal penny, 240 to £1
pipe	liquid measure, 126 gallons
puncheon	large barrel, capacity variable according to commodity, e.g. wine/liquors, 84 gallons
quart	liquid measure, ¼ of a gallon (2 pints)
quarter ['qr']	as measure of weight, ¼ of a hundredweight (25 lbs)
roll	of tobacco, = 80 lbs weight
rundlet	small barrel, of variable capacity, commonly 18 gallons
quire	of paper, 24 sheets
shilling ['s']	12 pence, $^{1}/_{20}$ of £1

skein	coiled bundle of yarn or thread, of variable length, commonly 120 yards (360 feet)
tacco ['ta', 't']	$^{1}/_{12}$ of an angle (value 5 pence)
tun	as liquid measure, 252 gallons (= 2 pipes)

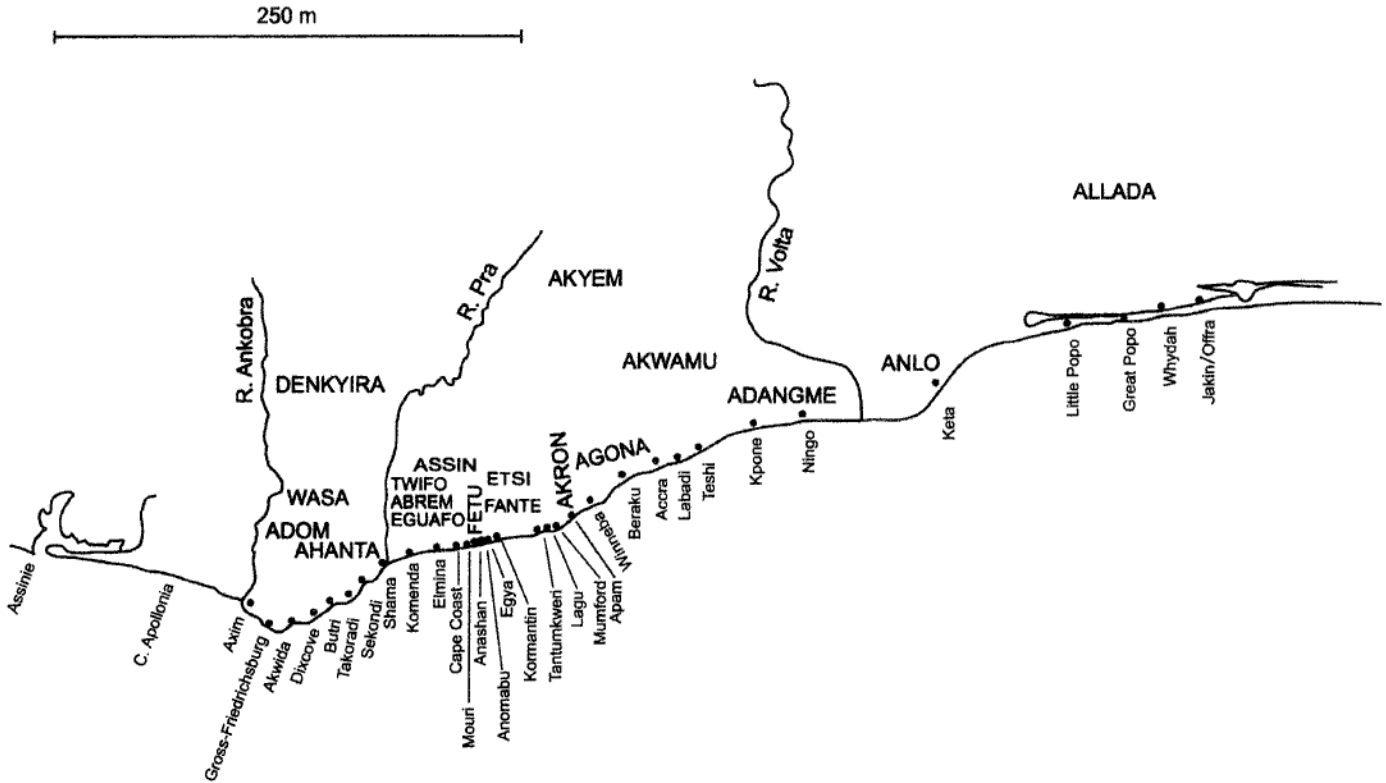
Trade goods:

aggrey	blue bead of African manufacture, highly valued
allejars	Indian fine cotton (or mixed cotton & silk) cloth
bafts	Indian coarse cotton cloth
booges, bouges	cowry shells
boysadoes	woollen cloth, made in England & Netherlands
brawls	Indian coarse striped (blue &white) cotton cloth
caddy (as 'caddy chintz')	presumably = 'khadi', Indian coarse cotton cloth
carbine	short-barreled firearm
cauldees	cloth purchased from Benin
chercolees	Indian cotton cloth
chints	Indian block-printed cotton cloth
clouts	cloth in small pieces
diglings	pots [apparently from Dutch *diggel*, earthenware; but here applied to brass items]
firelock	early form of musket, with pyrites rather than flint ignition
fusil	light musket
ginghams	Indian cotton cloth, woven with pre-dyed thread
Guinea cloths/stuffs	Indian cotton cloth, specially made for the African market
herba (as 'herba longees')	made of grass fibre
kettles	in 17th century usage, pans
lawns	fine linen cloth
long cloths	Indian cotton cloth made in long pieces
longees	Indian cloth in small pieces, used e.g. for loin cloths & head-scarves
mahubetbanes	not identified—probably Indian cloth
malagueta	species of African pepper
manillas	bracelets
matchlock	early form of musket, with match rather than ignition lock
neptunes	pans (brass or copper)
nicanees	Indian striped cotton cloth
paper (as 'paper brawls')	faced with paper
pautkaes	Indian cotton cloth
perpetuanoes	hard-wearing serge (wool) cloth, made in England
photas	Indian cloth
pintadoes	Indian printed (batik) cotton cloth
plains	coarse woollen cloth
platilloes	fine linen cloth
rangoes	red beads (carnelian, or glass imitation thereof?)
saccorguntes	probably a corruption of 'sastracundees', Indian cotton cloth
salemporis	Indian cotton cloth

says	fine worsted (woollen) cloth, made in England & Netherlands
sletias	linen cloth, originally from Silesia but also imitated in Netherlands & England
snaphances	early form of flintlock musket
tapseils	Indian striped (blue & white) cotton cloth (also imitated in England: see no.1236)
tims	cloth purchased from Benin
umbanees	not identified, apparently cloth; from the form of the name, probably Indian (cf. e.g. 'allibanees'), but if so, also imitated in Netherlands (no.1297)



Map 1. Western Africa



Map 2. Gold and Slave Coasts

I

DIXCOVE

In the 1680s the westernmost establishment which the RAC maintained on the Gold Coast was at Sekondi ('Succondee' in these documents), but in the 1690s one was established 30 km further west (80 km west of Cape Coast), at Dixcove ('Dickie's Cove').[1] An attempt by the RAC to establish a factory here in 1684 had been abortive,[2] but a claim to the place was maintained. In 1691, as reported in correspondence from Sekondi (no.153), the Brandenburg African Company made an attempt to settle at Dixcove, and this provoked the RAC to revive its interest. A first attempt to establish a factory was made from October 1691 (nos 161–3); this was evacuated in the face of a local war, but revived fears of Brandenburg intervention led to its reoccupation in March 1692 (nos 175, 177). Correspondence from the Dixcove factory is entered in the Rawlinson corpus only from August 1692; evidently earlier it reported to Sekondi, rather than directly to Cape Coast Castle.[3] The new establishment was fortified, but its construction proceeded at a leisurely pace; in 1694 it was described as 'not half finished', having only 'a few small guns planted upon the rock under the fort open' for its defence,[4] and it was still unfinished in 1698 (no.136).[5]

From 1694 the Dixcove fort established trading relations with Denkyira ('Dankera' etc.), the rising power in the interior of the western Gold Coast, and a major supplier of gold (no.49).[6] However, Dixcove in the 1690s was of only minor importance for trade in gold, having a reputation for supplying adulterated gold.[7] At this period, it also provided only small numbers of slaves. When the

[1] The name is apparently a corruption of 'Dickie's croom [i.e. village]' (Barbot 1992, ii, 361).
[2] Davies 1957, 249.
[3] In fact, the first letter recorded was addressed to Sekondi, & enclosed in one from there to Cape Coast; direct correspondence from Dixcove to Cape Coast began only from Sept. 1692.
[4] Phillips 1732, 202.
[5] See also Lawrence 1969, 186.
[6] For Denkyira, see Daaku 1970, 156–61.
[7] Bosman 1705, 15.

factory was reoccupied in 1692, it was anticipated to be rather 'a good place for corn and at wooding and watering'.[8] It also served, as this correspondence illustrates, the function of sending advice to Cape Coast of the approach of shipping from the west. The Brandenburg African Company held two forts to the west of Dixcove, which are referred to in this correspondence: its headquarters Gross-Friedrichsburg (at modern Prince's Town), 20 km from Dixcove (generally referred to as 'the Brandenburgs' Fort'), and a second (Fort Dorothea), at Akwida ('Accoda', 'Ocada', 'Ockadou', etc.), mid-way between Gross-Friedrichsburg and Dixcove.[9] The Dutch West India Company had a fort (Fort Batensteyn), at Butri ('Buttre', 'Butteroe' etc.), 15 km east of Dixcove, which is likewise frequently referred to, mainly in connection with its alleged sponsorship of anti-English intrigues.

In the 1680s, Dixcove had been regarded as belonging to the country of 'Incassa' ('Ancosa' in this correspondence), as distinct from Ahanta ('Anta') to the east, which included Butri and Sekondi; but by the 1690s the former had lost its coastal territory, and Dixcove also was considered to belong to Ahanta.[10] Events recorded in this correspondence may relate to this process of absorption. Ahanta was dominated at this time by its northern neighbour Adom ('Adoom'),[11] whose forces repeatedly raided the coastal area. Dixcove itself had been attacked shortly before the first English attempt to settle there in October 1691, probably by the Adoms (no.162). Later in 1691 tensions between Adom and Ahanta intersected with internal divisions within the latter, and Dixcove also was drawn into the conflict. An Ahanta chief called Asirifi ('Ashrevy', 'Asherry' etc.) took refuge at Dixcove, provoking an attack on the town by his enemies within Ahanta (nos 164, 167–8); the Adoms in turn intervened in support of Asirifi's opponents, and threatened Dixcove in 1692–3 (nos 1–2 etc.). Asirifi remained at large, operating as mobile warlord along the coast, generally in support of the Dutch interest against the English, and in turn threatened the English fort at Dixcove in 1694 (no.50), and did eventually attack it in 1696 (during one of the hiatuses in the Rawlinson correspondence). Dixcove itself was divided in its allegiance, some of its people supporting Asirifi but others identifying with the English. By 1697, the fort's correspondence was referring to the local community with which it dealt as the 'Ahantas' (nos 108 etc.).

[8] NA, T70/11, Chief Merchants, Cape Coast Castle, * Aug. 1692.

[9] The Akwida fort had been taken by the Dutch in 1687 (vol.ii, no.343), but was restored to the Brandenburgers in 1690 (Jones 1985, 4). In 1694 a third Brandenburg fort was established at Tacrama, between Gross-Friedrichsburg & Akwida, but this is not mentioned in the Rawlinson correspondence.

[10] Compare e.g. Barbot 1992, ii, 344–5; Bosman 1705, 13–14. The latter mentions 'Encasse' only as an inland country (73).

[11] For which, see Henige 1975.

1. Christopher Clarksone

Dickies Cove, 15 Aug. 1692 [to Thomas Johnson, chief of the RAC fort at Sekondi][12]

I have already informed that when I cam[e] to Dickies Cove I found that all the people were fled, and that with the slaves[13] and canoemen gott 2 guns ashore, a 3[d] I planted in the canoe for our better security if we should have been repulsed. After I had gott the flag hoysted I fired 2 guns to keep of [= off] our enimies and encouradge our friends.[14] Understanding by one of Captain Dickies[15] boys who came to me in a small canoe that he was fled to Ockadous, I sent to him a little of brandy and desired to see him, upon which he sent me 2 more of his boyes [blank space in original] wellcome.[16] The next day he sent his brother and kinsman to give me a fatich [= fetish][17] to be true to him and not to lett the Adoomes take him away, which I took, binding his kinsman in the same that Captain Dickie and all his people should willingly assist in bringing of ston[e]s and other necissaries for building of the Fort, in which I find them very willing, asking no more then [= than] a dram for their dayes work, which 4 flasks will not performe, our camp consisting of 12 Cabbosheers[18] and about 80 fighting men (our slaves women, children & boyes which know not the use of armes excepted), being all in camp on the hill where our Fort must stand. Yesterday Captain Dickie layed some gold under the foundation stone and killed a fatt sheep,[19] which I could [not?] performe, haveing the ground to [blank] our tents to make the foundation to digg. Workmen and lyme, bricks and deall boards will be [what] most I shall want, hopeing to gett most of the timber neer the [blank], for which I desire Bass Johns assistance,[20] and the sauiers [= sawyers] and smith, the stone being very hard. Provision as yett is very scarce only [i.e. except] corne, of which as yett we have enough. Captain Dickie expects a cloth or something for a dashee.[21] I dispatched the canoe the 13th day to fetch the slaves, pray hast[e] them as much as you can. The Cabbosheers expect all to have cloths of blue Welsh plaines, and I am forcied [= forced] to speak them fairr. This is all at present only my love to you, Mr Edwards and the rest of your men.

[12] The letter was sent as an enclosure in no.191; Clarkson was a surveyor, charged with building the fort.
[13] i.e. slaves employed by the RAC locally, rather than destined for export.
[14] The 'enemies' are identified later in this letter as the Adoms, who had defeated Asirifi's partisans at Sekondi on 31 July 1692, & then pursued him westwards (no.190).
[15] The name or title of the ruler of Dixcove.
[16] Evidently the missing words were something like 'to bid me'.
[17] See Glossary.
[18] See Glossary.
[19] i.e. as a sacrifice.
[20] More correctly 'Bastian' (as in no.22), whose full name was 'Bastian Ferdinand' (no.101): a carpenter in the RAC's service, already attested in 1686 (vol.ii, no.5).
[21] See Glossary.

2. Christopher Clarksone Dickies Cove, 26 Sept. 1692

I have most humbly made bold to give your Worships to understand that on the 22th instant I received a letter from Mr Johnson, Factor at Succondee, as also on the 27th [sic = 24th?], which speciefyed as followeth, vizt that I protected the Adoomes enemies, not nominating any persones but one Neddee, one of the Cheif[s] of this place, which as I understand is for the promotion of the English interest and much respected by Captain Dickie and the rest of the Cabbosheers. [blank] of the said letters, and understanding the Buttre men or Asherves [= Ashreve's] party haveing the day before ingadged the Adoomes,[22] and the said Captain Neddee being privat[e]ly departed hence and at Butteroe, I sent the rest of his familly to him, for which reasone the rest of the Cabbosheers would have gone and resided at Ocada, beleiveing that Captain Dickie and I had dealt unjustly with them, but after were reconcealed [= reconciled] again and Captain Dickie with 9 more of the Chief[s] took a fetich to be true to the English, and noewise to ingadge against the Adooms without [being] molested by them first. I also took the same still to protect them as long as they keept their fetich and all were well satisfied. I should have had the guns mounted upon the flancker[23] by this time were it not for exces[s]ive rains we have had here. I have been verry ill disposed in body, and were it not for one man, a soldier belonging to Mr Johnson at Succondee, who hath used his endeavour much, I might have been in my grave. His name is William Morrell, and [I] most humbly desires your Worships would grant me he may remaine here with me, here being not one upon occasion can drese [= dress][24] or look after a man, and we are daily not without some small desasters or others. I have sent to Succondee some maulls and crows[25] to be mended at Cabo Corso, but I have not had them since.

3. Christopher Clarkson Dickies Cove, 1 Oct. 1692

According to your Worships command I have indeavoured to the utmost of my power in getting the canoes your Worshipps required,[26] but found them not fitting for service, being all old but new burnt[27] and fitted up, and so amongst them all I have found and bought one large 7 hand canoe new and am promised by a Black man that makes them to be fitted with the rest specifyed in your

[22] The Adoms had attacked Butri, pursuing some of its people towards Dixcove (no.199).
[23] Flanker, i.e. bastion at the corner of a fortification, to provide flanking fire along the walls.
[24] Evidently in the sense of 'tend'.
[25] i.e. mauls (a form of hammer, usually wooden) & crowbars.
[26] Cf. later references to the purchase of canoes at Dixcove (nos 23–4, 38, 43, 70, 83, 107), & also at Sekondi, (nos 161–2). The western Gold Coast, being heavily wooded, was a major centre of canoe-making (Barbot 1992, ii, 528–9).
[27] Burning was part of the process of hollowing out tree-trunks to make canoes (as described ibid., ii, 529).

letter in three or 4 dayes. I am much troubled at the unfortunat[e] death of Mr Gregory,[28] and wish your Worships more prosperous dayes then he did.

4. Christopher Clarkson Dickies Cove, [10?][29] Oct. 1692

I have most humbly made bold to present to your Worships these to lett your Worships understand I have been at great expence for your service and want many bricks, with lime and deall boards for the covereing of the flancker. The smith I have sent again [i.e. back], being no wayes fitt for service, and desire of your Worshipps to send by the first oppertunity George Walker. So haveing gave your Worshipps a full accompt in my last I conclude.

[PS] I once more make bold to desire of your Worshipps more guns for encouragment of the natives.

5. Christopher Clarkson Dickies Cove, 12 Oct. 1692

I have most humbly made bold to give your Worshipps to understand that Capt. Jeffryes is safe arrived here,[30] and have from him received what your Worships sent by him, but thought I should by him had more guns and liquors for the people which dayly work aboute carrying of stones &ca for the building of the Fort, which dayly relie upon me, by which reasone I am much out of pockett for the Company int[e]rest and humbly desires your Worshipps to take it into consideration. I am informed there is two interlopers belonging to the Dutch to windward. I most humbly desire your Worshipps to satisfie Leiut. Freeman[31] what I owe him and I shall be [re]sponsable again to you.

6. Christopher Clarkson Dickies Cove, 17 Oct. 1692

I have most humbly made bold to give your Worshipps to understand the gunns are mounted upon the flanker and do with all possibility proceed but am much detar[d]ed [= retarded] by the weather and the people being much unwilling to work, they finding not the encouradgment they expected, though I have delivered liquors of my own, by which I am much out of pockett. The slaves desire your Worshipps would be pleased to grant them there [= their] pay every two months, they finding it hard to gett provitions at this place. I have here inclosed sent what their pay comes to in 4 months, and desire you will be pleased to order Mr Johnsone for the payment of the same. I am creditably

[28] John Gregory, one of the Council of Chief Merchants at Cape Coast Castle, had been murdered (cf. no.200).

[29] '16th' in ms., but apparently in error; the letters immediately preceding & following being both dated '10th'.

[30] Leonard Jeffryes, commander of the *Alligator Sloop*.

[31] Commander of the garrison of Cape Coast Castle.

informed the Dutch Copeman at Butteroe[32] hath profered to the Adoomes 50 bendys[33] to procure the place [i.e. Dixcove] for them, which I humbly desire may be taken into consideration. Here is nothing done but by meer [= mere] compulsion by the natives, and severalls have deserted the place. If your Worshipps will be pleased to furnish me with more gunns and amunition I shall for the Company intrest expose my life to verry great hazards.

7. Christopher Clarkson Dickies Cove, 25 Oct. 1692

Yours of the 17th ditto I have received, which gives me to understand how rouguisly [= roguishly] and ungreatfuly [= ungratefully] this people have dealt with me, contrary to my desearts [= deserts], and doubt not but Ha[n]sico and Quo can and will give you to know better,[34] so I hope I shall have no occasione to writte in my own vindication for what I have done. Being not ambitious to be starved, I must [= most] humbly desire your Worshipps to send a Factor hither the first conveniency, which will much ease me of my great trouble and expence which I am daily at here in the Companys interest and all canot give satisfaction, and thereby shall be out of danger of incouring [= incurring] your displeasure, which is not my desire. I have lent Captain Hasico 12 angles out of your Worshipps gold. I once more desire you to take these into consideration, which will satisfie me.

8. Christopher Clarkson Dickies Cove, 28 Oct. 1692

I have most humble [= humbly] made bold to give your Worshipps to understand that the people of this place have already brocken [= broaken] their fetich taken befor[e] Hanscico and Quo by refusing to bring stons &ca. They also denie me the men I formerly had to keep watch, I being forcied to appoint two slaves for sentorys [= sentries] and we white men take our da[i]ly watch 3 hours to bring the night about, only John Pimm excepted, who not only denies it but also his work, telling me to my face I have no power to command him. I most humbly desire of your Worshipps to determine the case between us, for I have not power to restraine him from his palme wine and keeping our eniemys company.[35] I had with your leaves raither [= rather] want his company then he persist in his erorrs [= errors]. I desire your worshipps would be pleased to lett the slaves have their pay, for it is deficult [= difficult] here to gett canky.[36] I can

[32] For the term 'Copeman', see Glossary: here referring to the chief of the Dutch fort at Butri.
[33] For gold weights (marks, bendas, peas, ounces, angles/ackies, tackies, dembas), see Glossary.
[34] Both prominent African employees of the RAC, also mentioned in the 1680s. For Hansico, see vol.i, nos 15 etc., ii, nos 254 etc.; also Phillips 1732, 225. For Quo, see vol.i, nos 198 etc., ii, nos 123 etc.; he was killed at Sekondi in 1698 (no.432).
[35] Meaning presumably the Dutch at Butri.
[36] See Glossary.

allow but 2 heads of corne a month for myself and the rest. I have no more then half one barrell powder left to defend your interest if occasione should happen. The Dutch slaves[37] are here very insolent in stopeing [= stopping] your letters and comeing in pretence to drinck and dance in the town and after to pretend[38] to bind and carry away as prisoner the natives of this place, all which I once more desire your Worships to consider, and I shall in duty bound in all things follow your commands.

9. Leonard [ms. 'Lenonard'] Jeffryes & Christopher Clarkson
Dickies Cove, 7 Nov. 1692

Yours we have received of the 3d last and shall to the uttmost of our power obey your Worshipps commands. The sloop wants much repaireing,[39] which we desire may be done, we haveing verry good weather here, and desires you would be pleased to send by Coffee[40] the things undernominated as soon as possible may be. We have sent down Allampo in the roome of Coffee. I should have also sent John Pimm but that without knowledge he is gone and hath inticed with him two of the sloop men, and were informed [they] have made a great many lyes, as to say we have 2 whitemen in the Adoomes camp which are comeing to ingadge the natives in these parts, by which reasone the people are afrayed [= afraid] to come & depart from hence. Upon this accompt [= account] we have this day sent some of the Companys slaves to bring them back. We desire some powder with match by the 1st conveniency, which will much oblidge us.

For repaireing the Alligator sloope, ocum [= oakum] 7 lbs, with sheeveing [= sheathing] naills[41] 1000 ½ [inch?], other naills 200 of each, deal boards 10.

10. Christopher Clarkson Dickies-Cove, 13 Nov. 1692

Yours I have received of the 11th instant, and have received what nominated in yours and shall supply Thomas Wann with wood,[42] I haveing already [done so] and for 3 weeks past have sent him some, & for John Pimm he hath much amended himself since his arrivall from Occada, haveing worked on board the sloope, where Capt. Jeffryes desires yett that he may show his ingenouity and by him in the sloope come down. I receive [= perceive] in your Worshipps information to me the Generall of the Mina[43] hath gave you to understand our

[37] i.e. slaves of the Dutch fort.
[38] In the sense of asserting a right.
[39] i.e. the *Alligator*, of which Jeffryes was commander.
[40] Captain Coffee, an African employee of the RAC, also attested in the 1680s (vol.i, nos 1–4 etc., ii, nos 5 etc.).
[41] i.e. tacks, used to attach coverings.
[42] The 'tank-maker', currently working at Sekondi (nos 197 etc.).
[43] i.e. the Director-General of the Dutch WIC, resident at Mina (Elmina), 10 km west of Cape Coast.

slaves with the Dickies Cove people hath abused their slaves, which is altogither faboulus [= fabulous]. I have also received from Mr Johnsone the same,[44] and that the Generall of the Mina should say we send our servants (or Companys slaves) up and down the country to sell liquor and tobacco, which is altogither as fallse, for myself and people here I can swear and protest [neither] I nor any of our people sold never any liquors or tobacco here, nor in any part of the country, and accordingly have sent your Worshipps both from under my own hand and all, the which they and I are ready upon your demands to windicat [= vindicate] upon our corperall oaths[45] that no such things hath been acted to the knouledge of any white man here, and as for the coppy of the inventory of the necissarys of the Castle,[46] I gave one to Mr White and another to Mr Elwes,[47] but for the originall of them it is in the till[48] of my chest, my freind the gunner haveing the key of it [omission in text?] writte to Mr Johnson, so hopeing these may suffice and most humbly desire your Worshipps to asure yourselves here shall by me nor other men here nothing acted but what you shall have a just accompt by me.

[PS] Capt. Jeffryes will stay here till your Worshipps commands further if not forcied to the contrary for want of corne, which is not here to be gott & cannot make shift above 12 dayes.

11. Christopher Clarkson Dickies Cove, 20 Nov. 1692

Yours I have received the 16 ditto. I here [= hear] the Generall of Cape Trees Pintas[49] hath sent two Cabbosheers to the Generall of the Adoomes to treat about a peace, but hear not where they are. We are very bad, noone being better then another, not one being able to help another, we haveing feavers and agues. Out of the 5 men we have not one able to fire a gun, neither can we gett provitions for money,[50] being forceid to fast here sometimes 4 or 5 dayes togither to live without sustinance. I humbly desire your Worshipps to take these into consideration and if possible send a man fitt for service, and as for John Pimm he shall come down in the sloope. As for my n[e]ighbour the Dutch,[51] I desire you to asure yourselves I shall in all things obey your Worshipps commands, not only in this but in all other things you shall command me.

[44] Cf. no.207.
[45] i.e. oaths by the corporal, the cloth used in the celebration of mass.
[46] i.e. Cape Coast Castle, referring to transactions prior to Clarkson's posting to Dixcove.
[47] Rice Wight & Robert Elwes, former members of the Council of Chief Merchants at Cape Coast: the first until Jan. 1692, the latter to his death in June 1692.
[48] i.e. drawer.
[49] Cape Three Points, west of Akwida: the 'General' being the Director-General of the Brandenburg African Company, at Gross-Friedrichsburg, actually west of the Cape.
[50] i.e. gold, a common usage in these documents.
[51] i.e. the Dutch fort at Butri.

12. Christopher Clarkson Dickies Cove, 23 Nov. 1692

Yours I have received of the 22 instant and have also received the beefe and corne, for which I returne your Worshipps most humble thanks, and shall with all possibility imaginable procure beams according to your dementions [= dimensions], but Mr Jeffreys protests he can no ways bring them down to Cabo Corso. So haveing nothing more of importance but returneing your Worshipps most humble thanks for your care of us.

13. Christopher Clarkson Dickies Cove, 25 Nov. 1692

I thought it convenient to give your Worshipps to understand the news we have here [which] seems crediable [= credible] to us. I am informed the Adoomes are comeing with all speed towards us, upon what designe is not certa[i]ne. John Cabass [= Cabess] from Commenda is arrived at Butterue with all his men, upon what accompt I know not,[52] but the people here are much dissatisfyed and humbly desires you would send a Factory [= Factor] hither, I myself being not able to stirr out of the roome but thank God the rest of the men are again indiferantly recovered. Here is one roome in the round flancker I think may serve a Factor for the presents. I should be verry glad if the Doctor could spare us a few unguents and implasters [= plasters] if occasione should hap[p]en, I haveing [n]one, which I question not but can make use of them upon occasion. I have sent down 6 musquets being not fitt for service, [omission] with flints may be sent down in their room. I have received from Mr Johnson Thomas Alner and John Warrington to remaine here.

14. Francis Smith Dickies Cove Fort, 30 Nov. 1692

According to your orders att my arrivall I took charge of the Fort,[53] which I hope in a short time will be fitt to secure any good[s] youll be pleased to send, but much sooner if the free people would break the stones as they did at first, for then all our slaves worked on the Fort, since which they are forcied to break the stones and bring them up, which is a great hinderance in forwarding the building. The Cabbosheers that drunck the fetich wants cloaths, Captain Hansico can sattisfie you how many they were that drunck. Capt. Jeffreys haveing the carpenter to fitt the sloop, which is the reasone that Mr Clarkson has not been ready to send per this canoe, which I have loaded with wood. The ship to windward I hear is a Barbadoes man. This with my hearty thanks for placeing me here.

[52] John Cabess, a leading merchant of Komenda, east of Sekondi (cf. chap.III): presumably, he was intending to intervene in the conflict in Ahanta, but no further reference is made to him in this context.

[53] Smith was now appointed Factor at Dixcove, so taking over command from the surveyor Clarkson.

[PS] I have received from Mr Clarkson the following goods vizt

6 4lb) basons [= basins]	$4^2/_3$ half barrells powder
6 3lb)	20 string rangoe beads

The Adoomes are gone away.[54]

15. Francis Smith Dickies Cove Fort, 4 Dec. 1692

This serves only to certifie you that there is a Dutch interloper in the road and in the offen [= offing] two or 3 ships, what they are I dont know. Yesterday pas[s]ed by two Portug[u]eeze which the Dutch has taken.[55]

16. Francis Smith Dickies Cove Fort, 11 Dec. 1692

Yours of the 5th ditto have received and the first Portugueeze that comes [I] shall buy some rum upon accompt of the Royall African Company of England. Here is in the road a Barbadoes man who is bound down to Cabo Corso, haveing letters on board directed to Mr Elwes. Two or 3 dayes agoe wrotte to Mr Johnsone to send the Black carpenter up which Capt. Jefferys had to fitt his sloope, I haveing no answer from him do presume that Capt. Jeffreys has carried him to Cabo Corsoe, if so desire you would be pleased to send him up, for want of whom the bricklayers will be forceid to lye [ms. 'buy'].[56] We are now building on the 3d flanker, which I beleive it will be raise[d] by Christmas.

17. Francis Smith Dickies Cove Fort, 12 Dec. 1692

This is to certifie that here is an English interloper who reports there is no ships suff[e]red to come out.[57]

18. Francis Smith Dickies Cove, 15 Dec. 1692

Yours of the 13th ditto have received wherein you have mentioned that you have ordered Mr Johnson to send John Pimm up. He mentioned in his letter to me that he will send him when he has done with him, and when that will be I don't know. The bricklayers can work no more upon the flanker till the carpenters work is done. Just now came into the road two Dutch interlopers.

[54] Apparently a false report: on the same day, the Sekondi factory reported that the Adom army was still intending to march, but its advance had been deferred because of its commander's sickness (no.213).
[55] Cf. no.214, & other references to the arrest of Portuguese ships by the Dutch in nos 63–4, 104, 162, 1353. The Dutch claimed the right to exclude Portuguese ships from West Africa, unless they called at Elmina to pay a levy of 10% of the value of their cargoes for permission to trade (Verger 1968, 41–6; Postma 1990, 76–7).
[56] i.e. lie idle.
[57] i.e. from England, referring to an embargo on merchant voyages imposed by the government in wartime, to safeguard the supply of seamen for the navy (Davies 1957, 209–10).

19. Christopher Clarkson Dickies Cove Fort, 29 Dec. 1692

Yours I have received of the 26th instant and in obedience to your Worships commands have called Captain Dickie with the rest of the Cabbosheers, who unanumously [= unanimously] deny to give any money to the Adoomes,[58] but promise their uttmost assistance to the English and the Company interest, and if the Adoomes come here to offer any violence they are resolved to stand upon their own defence, and I hope they shall find us more able to defend ourselves then they may imadgine. So hopeing these may satisfie your Worshipps.

[PS] These Cabbosheers desired to signe to these to asure your Worshipps of their fidelity to the English: Captain Dickie, Captain Ballee, Captain John, Captain Quashee, Captain Berree, Captain Quamboe.

20. Francis Smith Dickies Cove Fort, 7 Jan. 1692 [= 1693]

Per the 13 &7 hand canoes have received the following particulars for use of the Fort, vizt 24 granadoe shells, 300 naills, 100 speakes [= spikes],[59] 30 lb occum, 6 24 lb sheet[s] lead, 37 lb steell, 8 fathome 3 inch roap [= rope], 6 deall boards, 14 quarter casks & two hogsheads lime, 6 iron barrs, with some small roope for the scaffolds. Also received one piece reed [= red] cloth, which I desire to know what I must do with it, if for cloaths to the Cabbosheers please to advise how many must have and what you allow on each cloath. The canoes could not take in the coales, which please to send per first, with some tarras[60] & powder, the latter which we have is damaged. Per the canoe comes William Morrell, for whom please to send me one man more, for you have had two in the room of these two you sent up before. There is a mollatta [= mulatto] that would be very servic[e]able here in mending the flagg, for it is almost in pieces. Thomas Plumer humbly desires of your Worshipps [that you] would be pleased to grant him the same sallery as other gunners have at out Factorys. This with my thanks for your kind entertainment at Christmas.

21. Francis Smith Dickies Cove Fort, 14 Jan. 1692/3

My last was per the 13 hand canoe of the 7th ditto. The particulars therein mentioned desire may be sent, with some shells.[61] Lime received before is all used and we have two curten [= curtain] walls with one flanker to point,[62] for which if you have not sent a canoe to hand please to order some shells, which will be better then lime, for one cask makes 2 of lime. We are in great want of

[58] Evidently, to beg off the threatened attack.
[59] i.e. levers (used to manoeuvre cannon).
[60] A form of volcanic earth, used for cement.
[61] Oystershells, which were burned to make lime (for plaster).
[62] i.e. fill in joints with mortar.

he left at Axim.[72] We haveing occasion for some coals and deall boards, have taken out of the said sloope 12 deall boards, with a small parsell [= parcel] of coales, for which haveing no orders crave your pardon.

[PS] The letter received of Franck[73] have sent on board the ships. The carpenters work is very backward for want of one. Quashee is still lame. Mr Johnson has sent Thomas Wann but he keeps the slaves. Per the sloope comes the two canoes I advised you of before, for which gave 7 ownces.

25. Francis Smith Dickies Cove Fort, 16 Feb. 1692/3

Yours of the 4th & 6th ditto have received, the 1st per the Alligator Sloope with 30 butts oystershells, 3 hogsheads tarras, 3 ditto coales, 2 whole barrles [= barrels] powder and eight quarter cask rum. Also by Capt. Jeffreys received 4o 12a 2ta gold, being what I disbursed for canoe hier on accompt of the Royall African Company. Your last mentioneing that I answer to mine of the 2d ditto, wherein I desire you may send me no goods, the Blacks being very poor, and had not seen any money since I came here, which I can safely sware [= swear], and all the people can justifie, as per the inclosed certificat, that I han't taken a cra cra, except two angles for a sheet chest.[74] In complying with your first have put as much wood on board the sloope as Capt. Jeffreys could take in, with six beams for the corne roome, for which was forceid to take all the slaves from work, which has been a great hindrance to the building, considering the rains are so nigh at hand. Provisions being very hard to be gott, the souldiers desire you'll be pleased to order beef, bread, flower [= flour] and pease for them, and that their pay may be stopt for the same at pay day. If youll allow coals and Coffee we can make bricks to serve all the battlement. I have not paid the canoemen, which reffer till have your orders. They made 20 turns with a 7 hand canoe, each man demanding 2a per turne. Please to send some sheets and knives which if you please may pay them with.

[PS] Mr Johnson keeps the slaves, I don't know what occasion he has for them now the tank is finished. He also advised the Adoomes are marching this way,[75] for which please to order 2 or 3 jarrs to keep water in. The slaves makes a great complaint, haveing received no pay this 18 weeks. Also received John Pimm carpenter & John Carter souldier. Please to send some looks [= locks] for the gates.

[gap in correspondence, mid-Feb. to July 1693]

[72] 30 km west of Dixcove.
[73] Identified in 1694 as 'the butler of Cape Coast Castle' (Phillips 1732, 201).
[74] i.e. a chest in which sheets were packed.
[75] Cf. no.220. Owing to the following gap in the correspondence, it is not known whether the Adoms did in fact attack Dixcove on this occasion.

26. Thomas Edwards Dickies Cove, 9 Aug. 1693

This accompanyes Mr Francis Smith,[76] of whome conforme[ably] to your orders have received all the goods and stores contained in the fort of [sic] and factory[77] of Dickeys Cove belonging to the Royall Affrican Company of England, as per inventory enclosed will appeare. As I was passing by Tackerado Roads the canoe was oversett and William Harding, who was going up to visit the sick of this place, is drowned, my 2 boys, 2 canoe men and a wench belonging to one of the slaves of this place, with all my necessarys of cloathing, & blessed be God I am delivered my selfe by the help of a two hand canoe that went along with me, though I am much bru[i]sed, which I hope will amend in time if soe be you will please to permitt any Doctor to come and looke after me. Being inable to enlarge shall conclude with my humble respects.

PS. The great canoe was saved by the canoe which took me up. She is a little splitt but may be mended. I render you my humble thanks for this your kindness of advancement to [me].

27. Thomas Edwards Dickies Cove Fort, 22 Aug. 1693

Yesterday I received yours by William Marrall [= Morrell], whom you are pleased to order here to officiate as chirurgeon [= surgeon] for this & Succonde factory, for which I render you most humble & hearty thanks. I bless God I am pritty well recovered again. As to the canoe men I can impute nothing to there blame, for on a sudaine [= sudden] the sea did swell and broke ahead of the canoe, which filled her full of water, and the next did oversett her. Worke goes on as speedily as possible can be, and the Cabbosheers make the people bring stones when desired. Some of them complaine they have had no cloths and are dayly asking me for the same. There is wanting deale boards and tarras for covering the roofe and bricks for the battlements but above all oyster shells to make lyme for painting [= pointing] the walls before the latter raines come,[78] which if not perfected will be great damage though never so great care be taken in covering it with thatch.

28. John Ryves[79] Dickis Cove Fort, 6 Nov. 1693

By this you will understand that I have sent you a letter which I received from the Copeman of Occady by his boy, and have sent it by this bearer.[80] Here is

[76] Smith was now transferred to take charge of the Whydah factory (see chap.XIII).
[77] This phrase, regularly used in this correspondence, evidently refers to a fort which also served as a factory, rather than to 2 distinct buildings.
[78] The 2nd (lesser) rainy season normally falls in Sept.–Oct.
[79] Subordinate & now (briefly) successor to Edwards, who had died 22 Oct. 1693 (no.227).
[80] = no.1347, from Whydah.

three of the souldiers very sick and desire very much to goe downe to Cabo Corsoe Castle.

29. Thomas Pilkington Dickies Cove Fort, 24 Nov. 1693

This to convey my thanks to you for the favour of advanceing mee,[81] it shall bee my utmost endeavour to deserve it. Mr Layton will informe you in what a condition wee found this fort,[82] and the severe turnado [= tornado] wee had last night makes it to stand more in neede of a surveyor then to have the slaves recalled, but being it was your possitive order I have obeyed, and by the returne of these canoes you will receive them.[83] There is sev[er]all palavers[84] between them and the beggarly Natives, I am not able by this to give you a particular accompt, both Mr Layton and myselfe still in the dark. As to Morrells business it will bee very hard to beleive the Blacks reports altogether against a white man. Herewith goe Mr Edwards concernes, which to Mr Laytons & my amazement and mine [sic] falls short of our expectations, considering the inventory taken on the 9th August differing soe much from that of ours. Where the fault lyes I am not able to determine. If I can finde out anything hereafter that will bee for the advantage of the deceased['s] remaines[85] shall advise you. I have made use of some things of his, which according to Mr Layton and Doctor Hamiltons valluation amount to one ounce one angle, which I will returne to Cabo Corso as soon as setled, the particulars are expressed in the inclosed note, which I leave to your censure.[86] I find by all hands that the white men have had no pay since their arrivall here. What they are respectively indebted to Mr Smith or Mr Edwards their owne books or accompts must make out. Your orders as to this or all other things shall bee punctually observed. If I can but get victualls I shall not doubt my health, but I am afraid of starveing if my friend to leeward[87] will not afford mee a little helpe of provisions, this place and all about being not worth a herring or two penny chickens. If Mr Salmon can spare any eatables,[88] shall bee extreamly obliged, for it is a great discouragment to a young factor to bee under such hungry circumstances. Here are severall complaints against one of the

[81] As chief of the fort, John Rives having also died (cf. no.231).
[82] Benjamin Layton, chief of Fort Royal, who had evidently been sent to install Pilkington at Dixcove.
[83] The slaves were presumably sent to Winneba, where the RAC had established a fort in Aug. 1693 (see chap.X), whose chief had requested them (nos 1067, 1071).
[84] See Glossary.
[85] i.e. property left at his death.
[86] Evidently in the sense of judgement, neutrally, rather than necessarily (as in modern usage) adversely.
[87] i.e. the RAC factor at Sekondi.
[88] Charles Salmon, Steward (i.e. in charge of provisions) of Cape Coast Castle.

Royall Companyes slaves called Abraham in soe much that Captain Dickie threatens to leave the towne if hee stays. I look upon it as onely a fetch[89] to have him sent downe, because they are indebted to him, and hee is the only person that knows what is owing to others. I should have given you a larger accompt was I not disordered by the raine that almost drowned mee in my bed last night, and therefore makes bold to referr you to Mr Laytons relation.

[PS] I understand Mr Morrell is indebted to Mr Edwards for halfe a say which hee pretends was given him. Your Worships perhaps may find out the truth.

30. Thomas Pilkington Dickis Cove Fort, 25 Nov. 1693

Mine of yesterdays date per Mr Layton I confirme, and hope the contents were satysfactory, wee haveing done to the utmost of our power in order thereto. What slaves are here, I have set to work to point the walls of this Fort, which work I presume will not bee long in hand. I hope it will in a short tyme suit with your pleasure to remitt mee what slaves fitting for work you can spare, that the battlements may bee raised and the work of the spur[90] &c halfe finished may bee compleated. I hold it needness [= needless] to acquaint you with our want of boards &c., my predicessors haveing soe often renewed their advices to that purpose, and I hope when supplyes comes from England Wynnebah will not altogether put our nose out of joynt, for I live in hopes one day to see all the Royall Companyes trouble and charge here retaliated. I am bold to give you fresh assurances, I will leave noe stone unturned. Since Mr Layton's departure [I] had a very hott pallaver with the Cabbosheers about the customes,[91] I alleadged I knew of none nor would admitt of any thing till I had advised your Worships. I perceive Mr Edwards paid none, and therefore it is you and onley you that can determine the justice of their demands, which are to the vallue of six pease. Here was three or four ablelike men slaves, which may come at oz1 8a per head, but they demanding sheets onely for them, but I haveing noe orders from you nor any quantity, and by my observation it not being customary to part with soe currant comodity everywhere, I declining any dealing till I had your orders, which both in this and whatever else will conduce to the advantage of the Royall Company shall be punctually observed.

PS. Pray bee pleased to lett mee have your orders, if any Companyes shipps are heard of to windward, [whether] I may not send their pacquett [= packet][92] downe to you without adviseing you of such their arrivall first. If it is your

[89] i.e. stratagem.
[90] An angled work projecting from the main fortification.
[91] 'Customs' means customary payments, or taxes, not necessarily 'customs' in the modern sense.
[92] i.e. of mail, for Cape Coast Castle.

pleasure I medle with any slaves,[93] bee pleased to lett me have some irons,[94] here being none.

31. Thomas Pilkington Dickies Cove Fort, 2 Dec. 1693

Before yours of the 30th ultimo came to hands I had strictly examined all things under my charge and found some things omitted which are particularized in the inclosed note. I suppose your Worshipps are mistaken as to the number of slaves sent downe from here, you mentioning but four and twenty, whereas Mr Laytons note, a coppia whereof I have, takes notice of the names of five and twenty, for I assure you I have but ten remaineing here, whose names you have in the above mentioned inclosed, soe that by examining both together it will bee found who is wanting, if any. I presume it will bee convenient that I have one of the inventoryes returned to mee, in order to make the due additions. Your pleasure shall bee observed. As [to] your order, I shall forward the building here to the utmost. I have made some progresse already and shall continue doeing. The Cabbosheers are satisfyed with your reply as to customes, but Captain Dickie presses mee to begg a stick of you for him.[95] I know not but it may bee deserved in a little tyme, since the report is very fresh here that their enemyes the Dedoomes [= Adoomes] have received a notable overthrow,[96] and consequently may bee thereby inclined to peace, the effects of which few are ignorant of. I shall observe your orders as to slaves but am affraid nothing or very little but sheets will go downe. What the white men are indebted to Mr Edwards estate you will find in the forementioned note. What of his remainder here herewith is sent down, and if can finde out any thing to the vallue of a taccoe anywayes belonging to him shall advise & returne it you. Mr Edwards great canoe will not swim without mending, I will goe about it on Munday. The 3d one goes downe herewith, as also his slaves and pawnes particularized in the aforesaid paper. I have noted the price of goods in conformity in my booke, and observe the white mens sallary per month. Desire your order against next pay day, that I may sett things to rights with them, which I cannot doe without I have an accompt what hath really been paid them already by other hands.

Stores omitted in the inventory, vizt 1 great shott, 1 old spung [= sponge],[97] 1 coller [= collar] bandileers [= bandoleer],[98] 2 crows, 1 maule, 1 pick-ax[e], a parcell old iron about 28 lb, 1 roll of sheete lead, eight men, 2 women slaves.

[93] i.e. purchase any.
[94] i.e. shackles.
[95] i.e. a personalized cane (usually silver-headed), employed to authenticate messages. Such canes were commonly given by the RAC as gifts to African rulers (Phillips 1732, 208).
[96] Perhaps in war with Denkyira: a later report lists Adom among states 'ruined' by Denkyira (Van Danztig 1978, no.93: Van Sevenhuysen, Elmina, 21 June 1700).
[97] Used to dampen gun-barrels after firing.
[98] i.e. cartridge-belt.

32. Thomas Pilkington Dickies Cove, 16 Dec. 1693

When your of the 11th instant came to hand I was scarce able to read it, being taken on Sunday last with a violent feaver, and what is more to my misfortune the Doctor would do his part, but it seems Cape Coast cannot finde remedyes. I hope I shall doe well againe, since this is the first time I could sitt up to writte. Worthy Sirs, I must tell you the too excessive raines creates all our sickness here, wee haveing not a dry hole to put our heads. What hath been done hitherto to this fort is no better then a cheat, and if you are not pleased to send us up some good quantity of lyme and plaster, wee must sitt still and lett this worke m[o]ulder away as oft as each shower raines. When the great canoe brings any lyme &ca bee pleased to lett Mr Edwards panyard[99] woman Maria bee returned, here being a very fine slave kept here to be exchanged for her.

[PS] Herewith comes the female slave you wrote for. I hope you will pardon that I doe not answer all particulars.

33. Charles Hamilton Dickies Cove, 21 Dec. 1693

This canoe comes to acquaint you that Mr Pilkington is againe relapsed into his fever, which I am affraid will carry him off. Hee doth already sometymes stammer, othertymes speak nonsense, his fever is very great. If Doctor Hayes could possibly send him up a cordiall aulep [= julep][100] and some conserve made sharpe with spirit of vitriol[101] it [ms. 'vitriolist'] would doe him a greate deale of kindness. The canoemen I have sent are those pawned to Mr Edwards. I had sent yesterday, but every hour [of the] day am confined to my pillow with a violent feaver. Let the canoe bee dispatched back.

34. Charles Hamilton Dickies Cove, 27 Dec. 1693

These come to acquaint you of the death of Mr Thomas Pilkingon my Chiefe, hee departed this life aboute eight of the clock last night, soe according to your order of the 20th instant have secured the Royall Companyes concernes, which I have accordingly done and with as much care as if my own. Mr Pilkington his estate was by himselfe at my desire put up in a trunk and chest, which soe soon as hee dyed, in sight of three of the whitemen, [I] seal'd up both. Yett there are severall little things forgott out, but they shall bee as sure as if they had not. Those things upon him, I had much ado to keepe from the man that shifted him,[102] pretending custome, but untill ordered by you will secure them also.

[99] See Glossary.
[100] i.e. sweet medicinal drink.
[101] i.e. sulphuric acid, used (highly diluted) for various medicinal purposes.
[102] i.e. changed his clothes.

Wee are all much out of order with intermitting fevers, but Thomas Plummer and John Bird almost spent with its long continuance, the last of which earnestly desires his removeall to Cabo Corsoe, as if perhapps change of aire might do him any kindness. If I can have Mr Pilkingtons bedding vallued here, it will doe mee a great kindnesse, for comeing soe suddenly from on board, [I] have been forced ever since to lye upon a bare cott. I have been at some small expenses since his sicknesse, laid out upon necessaries for the house, defraying some charges &ca, soe give it to your consideration as to my satisfaction. What money hee had was in 3 bulses[103] and put [in] his trunk with other things.

35. Thomas Buckeridge Dickies Cove, 3 Jan. 1693/4

These may advise my arrivall at Dickies Cove the 1st instant, where with Mr John Pinck I tooke an exact inventory of the goods, merchandizes, guns, stores, amunition &ca belong[ing] to the Royal Company in this Fort and Factory, which with copia are inclosed. I also to the utmost of my power have examined into the estate of the deceased Mr Thomas Pilkington, and dide find in his trunk (according to certificate of myselfe, ditto Pinck and Mr Charles Hamilton) mk1 2oz 3a 5ta, which again is therein deposited, with addition of 15a ta½ due to him from Thomas Alner, 15a 1ta from John Story, oz1 0a 6ta from Henry Casey, 4a from John Bird, 4a from Thomas Plummer, 7a paid by Doctor Hamilton, and 14a sent by myselfe for one pair of shoes, one silver spoon weighing oz3 and two small sheep vallued at 9a, which sums in totall doth amount unto mk1 6oz 15a½, being all I believe due to him in these parts, or that I can at present discover. Thomas Plummer and John Bird being extreamly ill and dubious of their recovery, I earnestly according to their desire entreate leave for sending them to Cabo Corso, and that I may bee supplyed with able men in their rooms, which wee shall much want, the remainder being sickly and capable of little service. I finde this place to bee ev[er]y day decaying for want of workmen and materialls to make a progresse therein. I shall doe my endeavour and hope your assistance will not bee wanting therein. As to the effects of Mr Thomas Edwards I must humbly referr you to my next, then hopeing to satisfie you in the particulars thereof. In the mean tyme must crave a supply of powder, haveing but one barrell, soe damnified it is good for little, also some Negroe irons, without which wee cannott secure any slaves in the Fort. You will receive by the returne of the canoe all the deceased concerns, with two men slaves bought by ditto for accompt of the Royall Company, who have this morneing broake a hoale [= hole] through the prison wall, had gone near to have made their escape, all which referr to your consideration.

[103] i.e. purses.

PS. I have per 2 hand canoe sent a man slave to bee exchanged for a woman named Mago which was a pawne of Mr Edwards, desireing shee may come per ditto canoe.

[PPS] Since my writing hereof, the Cabbosheers desired mee to keepe one of the slaves abovementioned, that they may exchange him, whereupon have not sent them both ut supra advised.

Upon the arrivall of any shipping I desire to know whether I may forward their pacquett by a canoe to Cabo Corsoe.

36. Thomas Buckeridge Dickies Cove, 9 Jan. 1693/4

Yours of the 6th instant with the woman pawned to Mr Edwards and the inventoryes of Dickies Cove came to hand, the latter of which, being drawne conformable to order, you will receive per bearer. Neverthelesse I do verily beleive that the Company concernes (in my former) were not at all undervallued. I notice your pleasure concerning English shipps, and shall take care to gett the sticks for hand spikes in a readiness against arrivall of the Briganteene.[104] Thomas Plummer mentioned in my last to bee very ill departed this life the 7th instant, leaveing 11a of gold, and a small bundell of old cloths, which have sent by the canoe, the money being inclosed. I hope you will not forgett to supply mee with some whitemen in roome of the deceased and John Bird, whome shall send downe by Capt. Bradshaw, the other three remaining being forced the greatest part of the day to keep their beds, soe that should there bee any occation I have not a man fitt for service in the fort. I have sent you the man slave which in my last I mentioned the Cabbosheers have a designe to exchange, and crave your orders for to purchase others, if they shall offer. As to the estate of Mr Edwards I have stopt from the whitemen for his accompt oz3 13a 2ta, with addition of 7a 2ta, a debt from myselfe, shall send you on order. I enquired of Mr Johnson concerneing a memorandum of debt at Succondee which Mr Edwards left with him, and hee told mee that Cape Coast Toms son liveing at Batteroe was indebted to him 12a. Taccabas brother[105] did owe him something, but how much hee could not tell me, for that Mr Edwards on his comeing from Cabo Corsoe tooke the paper from him, and imployed Mr Rives therein. As to the former the Copeman of Butteroe hath panyard him for mee, whose money when I receive shall give you an accompt off, and for the two boys Kinney and Benney released by Mr Pilkington Captain Dickie (as himselfe and the Cabbosheers doe testify) did pay oz2 4a to ditto Pilkington for their releasement. Dickie also promises that that if he cannott gett the boy Will, which run away, to Succondee

[104] The *Swallow*, Capt. Bradshaw.

[105] Cf. no.207, 'Taggaba'; also Phillips 1732, 202: 'Taguba, a noted negro woman in Cape Corce town'.

himselfe by fair meanes, he will paniar some of Occady people on his heade and bring them to mee for satisfaction. Hee hath importuned mee for a cane which Mr Pilkington promised you would send him. Alsoe the rest of the Cabbosheers doe expect dasshees for Christmas, wherefore I desire you will please to lett me know what customes or dashees these people are allowed, that I may governe myselfe accordingly. Per the Briganteene bee pleased to supply mee with some Guinea cloat[h]s and with powder on accompt of the Royall African Company. If ships arrive I desire to know whether I shall send downe the packett or not. In my last I committed an error in forgetting to send money for Mr Pilkingtons case, which I had taken to myselfe, and did disigne then to bee accomptable for itt. As for pewter I thought it had been putt in the canoe, but have since understood that his boy Jack carried away two plates and a spoon, soe that there is noe more then one small dish, 3 old plates, 1 tankard and spoone remaining, which being worth little, Mr Pilkington had them into the bargaine of other things hee bought of Mr Edward[s], wherefore for them and the case have sent inclosed 5a, being what they are worth. As for what goods you doe not finde disposed in his books, I cannot discover anything of them, wherefore with many thanks for your late favors, I shall conclude.

37. Thomas Buckeridge Dickies Cove, 25 Jan. 1693/4

This serves to enclose 3 letters[106] which iust [= just] now I received from the Commander of a Barbadoes interloper named the Supply, who came to an anchor (at Cape Mountserrado)[107] in company with Capt. Shirley in the East India Merchant and Capt. Phillips in the Hanniball, a ship of 36 gunns, where hee left them cutting of new masts, the latter haveing fought a Frenchman of warr (near the Canaryes) of 48 gunns, by which hee received much damage, as also the other by bad weather. Capt. Richard Bradshaw in the Swallow Briganteene arrived here last night. In your last letter I am ordered to cutt a great quantity of timber, which by reason of our carpenters lameness, who hath not been able to stand upon his leggs these 10 dayes, as also two more of our slaves, I cannott effect, nevertheless shall send what I can gett ready, and I must needs say Mr Pilkington was very much overseen[108] in chuseing out of 35 slaves which were here such sorry ones for to continue at this factory, two of them being boys and one old fellow of little or noe service, whereas considering the work wee have in hand to finish the fort, as also that of cutting tymber, wee ought to have able slaves, as also a greater number, with more workmen, otherwise I fear wee shall not finish our work before the raines, the floors of all our roomes being yett unlaid, our walls not pointed, our curtaine walls and ports

[106] Sic, but only 2 letters are copied: nos 1392, 1395 (from Capts Shirley & Phillips).
[107] Cape Mesurado, on the Grain Coast, the location of the modern city of Monrovia.
[108] i.e. ill-advised.

upon our battlements not raised, as also them not tarrased, our hall not covered other then with thatch, besides a small tower (which it will be necessary for us to have) not built, as also severall doors and windows to make, all which shall referr to your consideration what tyme our carpenter and bricklayer with 3 or 4 slaves will bee a finishing, for which wee shall want a great quantity of deels [= deals], with nails, with hinges both for doors and windows; therefore if upon arrivall of the shipps you please to order them to put on shore such d[e]ales and other things as wee want, as also if you would please to spare us the surveyor for two or 3 weeks, with more slaves and workmen, it would mightily forward us, for indeed if the slaves which Mr Pilkington sent downe were here, they would not want imployment. Whereas you was advised by ditto that hee had furthered the building much, I must needs say it was not true, for there had not beene anything done therein a great while for want of lime and other necessaryes, which now wee have, wee shall want people.

38. Thomas Buckeridge Dickies Cove, 6 Feb. 1693/4

This accompanyes one Peter James, who about 4 days since was discharged the Barbadoes interloper mentioned in my last, and being desirous for goeing for Cabo Corso hath procured his passage in a canoe bound from hence thither, by whom thought proper to advice my receiving from on board the Swallow Briganteene four barrells gunpowder, three hundred Guinea clouts, and forty butts oystershells, with some bricks for covering the Fort. Our carpenter is not yett in a condition to work, and I feare hee will continue soe for a while, wherefore unlesse he amends before the vessell goes from hence, cannot send him on board to ca[u]lk her. Our slaves being few in number, and them none the best, have had work enough, notwithstanding the assistance they have had from the Townes people, in bringing on shore the goods, shells and bricks abovementioned, and it is more then they can doe to bring wood and water to the Fort for our owne use, wood to burne our lyme with, water for mixing it, besides working it with swish,[109] and makeing it fitt for use, alsoe a great deale of other worke, which they are every day about, wherefore unless you will please to send 6 lusty slaves more to abide here, I can make but very little progress towards finishing our Fort, much more be able to cutt the tymber & wood you expect, for I must needs say there is now almost as much occasion for the slaves you sent for from hence as ever, the country people beeing a rowsawing,[110] and therefore not able to give us that encouragement, it being a great while since they have had anything given them more than a little liquor, which they doe not vallue, wherefore I desire you will please to furnish mee with a piece of red or blew

[109] i.e. compacted earth, used as building material.
[110] See Glossary.

[= blue] cloth that I may give to such as I finde deserveing and promoters of the Royall Companyes interest. I gave them the answer you wrott mee concerning their customes, with which they were not contented, saying it would be a great charge for them to goe for Cabo Corso, and that you might deferr finishing the Fort as long as you pleased, wherefore if it should bee your pleasure to lett mee know what you thought it necessary to allow them, I could make an agreement (on the Royal Company and your behalfe) injoyning them on such considerations to which services may bee advantageous to ditto Companys interest, and send you, which I beleive might bee very instrumentall in bringing a trade that may help to defray the charges of building This place will also require a linguist who may bee serviceable in procureing trade, which they of Occady and Butteroe[111] are not without, wherefore am apt to beleive my endeavours to bring some here in little tyme will take effect, provided you will grant your assistance and some thing to send as a dashee to such great men in the country as wee must be beholding to for them. Francis Fitzgerald hath been here since Sunday was seaven night last,[112] but could not hear any news of the shipping, 6 dayes haveing been continu'd soe foggy wee could not see a musquett shott from us.[113] If I had not had the 5 hand canoe of Francks, and the old 7 hand canoe which was Mr Edwards, I should not have gott our things on shore from Capt. Bradshaw, for his men did absolutely refuse bringing them in their boate, neither will they take anything off therein, soe that whatever I send on board must goe of in canoes.

PS. If you should want any great canoes, I believe I may sometimes have an opportunity to purchase them, wherefore desire your order and that I may gett one for the use of this Factory. Our flagg is rotten, it will not hoyst the staff, wherefore desire another.

39. Thomas Buckeridge Dickies Cove, 27 Feb. 1693/4

This accompanyes Capt. Richard Bradshaw in the Swallow Brigantine, by whome goes the surveyor and John Bird soldier, who through sickness is uncapable of serving the Company at this place, the former of which can give you an accompt of what will bee wanting to finish the building, to whose advice therein I shall referr you. By the vessell goes likewise 290 peices for handspikes, 6 slyding pieces,[114] and aboute 9 7 hand canoa loads of firewood, being what I could procure with the small assistance I had, the Company slaves being imployed at home, that Mr Clarkson might give them some instruments and

[111] i.e. the Brandenburg fort at Akwida & the Dutch fort at Butri.
[112] i.e. a week (seven nights) ago last Sunday.
[113] Alluding to the dust-haze carried by the seasonal harmattan wind.
[114] Perhaps rollers, used to move heavy equipment.

forward us something while hee was here, the canoemen you ordered to cutt wood haveing afterwards but litle time and then not willing to take the paines, the country being a rowsawing, and indeed unwilling to work any longer for a little liquor, unless the agreement aforementioned were concluded on, and I beleive to have a trade, encouragement must first bee given before wee can receive any. As for a linguister, I believe such a person will bee absolutely necessary, upon any palaver whereby the Company interest may bee concerned, [otherwise] my neighbor[115] (who [i.e. the Dutch] have at all their[116] factoryes such & more assistance) will gett the better of mee. You will receive also 50 fathoms 5 inch rope, 170 4 inch ditto, a parcell of blocks and eyes,[117] some junck,[118] an anvill, a pair of smiths bellowes with tooles & bricklayers ditto, some rigging of the sloopes, two sacques [= sacks], two anchors,[119] 1 windlass. The sailes, haveing in Mr Edwards and Mr Pilkingtons tymes been layed in a place which was not light, they were soe rotten as not to hold the takeing up, where [= were] but as much as will cover my powder, wee have throwne away, as you may bee better satisfyed per bearer, per whome you will receive 4oz 4a 6ta, being the estate of Mr Thomas Edwards, according to myne of the 9th last instant, with addition of 4a for his canoe, being what or more then shee was worth, being now not fitt for any service, nobody dareing to venture in her soe farr as the road, wherefore hope you will please to allow another for Factory use. I have also sent 5 musquetts and 1 blunderbuss,[120] which desire you will please to have mended, they being very much out of order, and not fitt for service. The fellow mentioned to bee in irons at Butteroe for 12a oweing to Mr Edwards,[121] I have freed to Mr Johnson, who promises to bee accomptable to you for that money. Sirs, both the men you sent up last are violently ill of a fever, in soe much that I fear they will not live, and another of them is uncapable of service, wherefore I desire now you have a supply from Europe[122] you will please to send mee 5 or 6 men more, which will bee as litle as well can bee kept in such a Fort as this, soe farr from magazine [= medicine] and sickly, also that you will please to send a man capable of lookeing after our gunns, and allow of him to bee a Serjeant, which will bee a great security and ease to mee, should I bee taken ill, and indeede this place will require them farr more then Annamaboe or soe much as Accra.[123] Here is a man whose name is Thomas Alner, who hath

[115] i.e. the Dutch fort at Butri.
[116] Ms. has 'yor', i.e. 'your'. but this must be a mistake for 'y^r' [= their].
[117] Pulleys used in a ship's rigging, the 'eyes' being looped ropes by which they are suspended.
[118] Old rope, used as a source of oakum.
[119] Probably ankers, i.e. barrels of this capacity, rather than anchors.
[120] Large-bored firearm, firing several balls at once.
[121] i.e. he was pawned or panyarred as security for this debt.
[122] By the ships *Hannibal* & *East India Merchant*, now at Cape Coast.
[123] Charles Fort, Anomabu, & James Fort, Accra, the 2 principal RAC establishments on the Gold Coast after Cape Coast Castle.

served the Company eight yeares, being the eldest stander at the place, a civill person and capable of such preferment. One of the women slaves hath a very ill quality of runing away when there is any worke to doe for her to doe [sic], which in the former Chiefs tyme she hath practised, as also twice since my arrivall here, the last [time] shee was 15 dayes before I could hear of her, and at length was taken by some belonging to Mr Johnson at Succondee with 6a charge, wherefore desire another in her room, for shee is not at all a fitt woman for the place. I left a cott behinde mee, when I came from Cabo Corso, which I have had since my first comeing in this country, to which I had expended some money in fixing a bedsteade fitt for curtaines which I have now by mee, desireing you will please to send the same up here, [there] not being a cott fitt to lye upon in the fort, they being rotten and torne, soe that without I have one from Cabo Corso [I] shall bee forced to lye upon the ground.

40. Thomas Buckeridge Dickies Cove, 16 March 1693/4

The occasion hereof is to acquaint you that a little before day break this morneing the greatest part of our easternmost curtaine wall tumbled downe through the excessive raine which fell this night, which likewise soe much endamaged a flanker adjoyning thereto, that unless there be some speedy remedy the next showre [= shower] if not before it will undoubtedly be in the same condition, being already very much settled & crackd from top to bottom. Wherefore desire you would please to send some assistance by first oppertunity, otherwise the raine will very much endanger the whole building, the slaves wee have being not able to performe the fourth part of the worke, which had you supplyed me with when first desired our walls had before now been secured and this mischief prevented. The Castle hath been covered by the surveyour or my predecessor with none other then swish, except some lyme and tarrass that hath been wasted thereon, which notwithstanding [the rain] peirces through, soaks into our walls and cause them to fall, which covering wee are forced to throw off and place bricks in roome, part being already downe, and the rest above soe fast as the worke it occasions can be dispatched.

41. Thomas Buckeridge Dickies Cove, 23 March 1693/4

Yours of the 19th instant, with Edward Littingston Serjeant, Richard Richardson & John Brittain bricklayers, likewise 9 men slaves, I received. Desireing you will please to advise what advance money is allowed the foremost, as alsoe what will be the others pay. I shall hasten the finishment of our breach as fast as I can, the flanker mentioned in my last being come downe, and shall endeavour (according to the little knowledge I have in such affairs) securing ourselves for the future from the like disasters. I suppose the surveyor has acquainted you with what will be required to finish the Fort as to the number of deals, bricks &ca, to

which I shall add that if you please to spare 7 chaldron coals I beleive we can in this place make a sufficient quantity of the latter to serve our turne, of which we shall want a great quantity to raise the ports and curtaine walls round our battlements, alsoe to cover some parts of the Castle, which we cannot with our present number, and to finish the spurt [= spur], desiring you will be pleased to send us what shells you can, some whereof with little dificulty can procure from Tacaradoe if you please to allow charge of canoe hire, alsoe 12 paire of hinges for doores, 24 pair ditto for windows, some staples, bolts & nailes of all sorts. Sirs, I am continually baited[124] by Captain Dickie & other Cabbosheers for his cane [ms. 'canoe'] and the agrement you promised to make with them, wherefore desire to know your pleasure therein per next. I have sent by the 13 hand canoe 46 knees[125] according to order, and should yesterday have dispatched her had it not been for bad weather.

42. Thomas Buckeridge Dickies Cove, 3 May 1694

By this canoe goes one man slave on accompt of the Royall African Company of England, and is to desire you that you will please to spare mee 3 lb or 4 lb weight of beefe & send per returne thereof, provisions at this place as yett by reason of the late warrs and present rains being somewhat scarce, unless corne, of that here is plenty enough, should you have occasion, at 1a½ [var. 1a] per chest. The breach which was in our curtaine wall is made up. Alsoe our flanker is brought within four foot of its height, and would before now have been finished had not our bricklayers sickness and bad weather, which obliged us rather to secure what was standing than to work upon that which could take noe further harme, prevented us. Sirs, the brick[s] & lyme which came by the Briganteen are near expended, wherefore shall only presume to lett you know that we shall yett want a great quantity of each, wherefore supposing the surveyor hath particularized the same unto you I shall not further enlarge.

[PS] I desire you will please to send me two chests of sheets, some blue Welch plaines & English woollen carpetts on accompt of the Royall Affrican Company of England.

43. Thomas Buckeridge Dickies Cove, 10 May 1694

Since my last of the 3d instant our flanker, being raised to the height of its covering, tumbled downe againe, whether through the bricklayers ill carr[y]ing it up or through the excessive raines I knowe not, but notwithstanding they are both very idle & careless, giveing me very much trouble, I am apt to beleive it was occasioned by the latter, it being raised (sutable to the rest of our fort) with

[124] i.e. tormented.
[125] Curved timber braces, used to strengthen canoes for use in heavy seas (Law 1989, 227–8).

nothing but swish (except the coynes [= quoins] or corner stones that were layd in morter), which untill it be covered and well pointed will not endure any wett, soe that unless it be built with lyme we must lett it alone while [= until] the raines are over, and goe about some other worke. Neverthelesse thought fitt to advise, as alsoe that I have bought a 11 hand canoe for the Companys accompt, desireing to know what I shall doe with her, as alsoe whether you will please to have Quashee putt knees in her here or, when she goes for Cabo Corso, send them to be put in there. By this canoe you will receive a man slave for ditto accompt.

[PS] I desire you will please to give me leave to come for Cabo Corso the latter end of the next month in order to make up my accompts.

Yesterday in the afternoon passed by this place two Danes Company shipps.[126]

I have correspondence with a great Cabbosheer to windward of Axim who will furnish me with great canoes, and promises in a little time to send traders, wherefore if you please to allow of something to be given him as a dashee, it will be much to his encouragement and I beleive beneficiall to the Companys interest.

44. Thomas Buckeridge Dickies Cove, 20 May 1694

This with the 11 hand canoe accompanying a pacquett which yesterday was sent from Cape Trespointas.[127] I may advise my receiving yours of the 14th past taxing me with negligence, and that the falling downe of our flankers with other ill convenien[ce] doe ensue thereby, wherein I am very much wronged, as all our people can testifie, for nothing which lay in my power towards secureing and forwarding the Castle hath been omitted, and it hath been my particular care to cover our walls with thatch, which notwithstanding you blame me about, but since I am oblidged to defend my selfe in your good opinion, I shall declare nothing but what your reason will satisfy you to bee true, that our wall & flankers falling at first, as alsoe since my last great part of our spurrs & the flanker adjoyning, being well pointed & covered with tarras, hath happened through their ill raiseing with nothing but dirt, which will not bind, and in very great raines as are usuall here, continuing four or five dayes without cessation, growes naturally damp & slipery, whereby if one or two stones slide great parte if not the whole wall follows, whereas if that diligence you thinke wanting in mee had been used by others the Castle might have been built with strong mortar and made durable against all weather, by reason of a quantity of shells almost

[126] The *Christiansborg* & the *Gyldenløves Våben*, which were on their way to Accra (see no.1240).
[127] = no. 1349, from Whydah.

sufficient to have done this worke which I have lately found about 2 miles off, which will cost noe more bringing of them to hand per canoes then than what you pay at Amersa per butt, if you please to order it, which had they been used at first would have saved all this & a great deale more trouble which may happen, alsoe the Royall Company a great deale of money. As for the bricklayers whither they doe there worke as they ought to doe, I am not a competent judge, wherefore if anything happens amisse through their ignorance or willfullness it will not be my fault. I wrote of the 23d last instant[128] that I could procure shells if you would allow the charges of a canoe hire, which you did not answer, wherefore shall make bold to add that if you intend to finish your Fort there most be both workmen and materialls, otherwise in one or two raine tymes more it will wholy come downe, unlesse you shall bestow as much worke thereon as being imediatley followed would in four or five months tyme finish it, and put a stop to any further trouble, in order to which if it shall be your pleasure I desire you will answer the contents of yours dated the 7th past soe soon as you can, sending us the iron worke wrote for, with deales, and if you can spare some bricks or coles, otherwise haveing time shall make what shift wee can, but in a little time shall be put to a stand for want of deales. John Storey comes by this conveyance, in whose roome desire another man, and that you will please to lett me come for Cape Coast next month, my left hand being lame, for which shall want the Doctors assistance.

45. Thomas Buckeridge — Dickies Cove, 15 June 1694

Yours of the 31st of May came to hand with all therein mentioned, saveing the contract I should make with the Cabbosheers that I did not receive, wherefore desire you to send it per returne of this canoe, and that thereby you will be pleased to furnish me with some money for bearing factory charges, haveing allready disbursed of my owne soe much as conveniently I can. I suppose before now you have been advised what hath happened at Succondee,[129] and hope you will not pass over soe great an injury without satisfaction, which will expose the Royall Companyes concernes, alsoe the lives of their Factors and other servants, to the mercy of the Negroes, or worse of the Dutch, throughout this country. The English have yett friends enough in these parts to punish the insolency of their enemies if you encourage and protect them in time, otherwise thro fear they will be forced to stand for the other party, who allready threatens them. They all looke upon you, & one Cabbosheer of this towne, who hath been most usefull towards building of this Fort, and [whom] Ashrevy hath declared he will destroy, by reason he would not goe nor suffer his people to help him in this

[128] Actually, 23 March 1694 (no.41).
[129] i.e. the destruction of the RAC fort there, & the killing of its chief Thomas Johnson (see chap.II).

warr,[130] will be ready with upwards of 200 fire armes.[131] Here are others who promise & will take fetishes to doe the like, soe that in a very short time you may have a farr more force than the Dutch, and indeed may have farr more people to take your part, if you will stand by them, than they. Therefore if you please to omitt other means, you may make use of this to be paid for what damage has been done, to serve our neighbours as they have served us, and for the future to secure our interest in this country. Mr Barter, who knows more hereof, can satisfie you further.[132] I shall observe the contents of yours.

[PS] I have sent downe 3 unserviceable musketts, and the five we have remaining are much out of order, wherefore desire a supply of new ones and of the necessaries undermentioned:

vizt carthriage [= cartridge] paper
twine
match
skinns for spunges
half a dozen rammer heads
a half houre glass
one or two worming irons
threed and scupper nailes
a lanthorne [= lantern], with a ladle for minion gunns.[133]

And if you would please to send a sufficient person for a gunner, also some ammunition, swords & collers of bandiliers. We have never a flagg. Please not to forgett more deale boards by first oppertunity.

46. Thomas Buckeridge Dickes Cove, 21 June 1694

Yours of the 16th instant by George Clune with the stores therein mentioned, save a lanthorne, and the contract came to hand, which upon perusall I finde not be authentick for this place, wherefore desire to know what present payment you are willing to make, there being upon conclusion of that agreement 10 perpetuanoes & 10 plaines, alsoe what ground rent[134] you will allow Captain

[130] Asirifi had been responsible for the attack on the Sekondi fort.
[131] Later (no.51) identified as Captain Billy.
[132] Edward Barter, a man of Afro-European parentage, educated in England, who returned to Africa in 1693, & was employed by the RAC at Cape Coast (Daaku 1970, 98–9; Davies 1957, 280–1), frequently mentioned in this correspondence. On this occasion, he had been sent to Sekondi to negotiate (unavailingly) to beg off the impending attack by Asirifi on the RAC fort there (nos 153–5).
[133] Gunner's stores: sheepskins, used for the heads of sponges (for cannon); rammers, i.e. ramrods (for ramming down charges in gun barrels); worming irons, spiral-screwed instruments for cleaning barrels; scupper nails, tacks to fix coverings (as for a ship's scuppers); minion, a form of small cannon.
[134] For the payment of ground-rent for English factories on the Gold Coast, see Davies 1957, 282.

Dickie, and what dashees of liquor & goods you will pay to the Cabbosheers at danceing time[135] and Christmas, which when I am satisfied in shall draw the contract as much to the advantage of the Companye as I can. There are one or two Cabbosheers of great power in the country adjoyning who are & will stand our friends, who I think fitting to comprehend in the agreement, and if you would please to send me something to give him a cloth, as alsoe allow 4 or 5 every year to be disposed on such as are deserving, it would doe very well and not turne to the Companyes loss in the end. Yesterday came a greate canoe with six souldiers, 166 lb beefe, three gallons sweet oyle,[136] 6 ditto pease, and ½ ane anchor [= anker] palme oyle,[137] which doth extreemly encourage Dickies Cove people and all which take our parts. Ashrevy I understand hath both declared and taken a fetish he will come here, and on the contrary all the people under this Fort have taken fetishes and severall Cabbosheers of great force in the country that they will fight for the English to the last man, whome [= who] if they continue true, as I have all the assurances imaginable, we have twice the force of our enemies, and are able to drive Ashrevy out of this country, without doeing of which [we] must never expect trade or security here. The Brandenburghs have declared for us, panyard severall, and drove the rest our enemies friends out of their country, and have sent me word that upon any warr comeing here they will send both the Cape Trespointas and Occoda men to our assistance. I am very well satisfied the Dutch are the only and sole causers hereof, our enemy being freed by them,[138] fighting under a flagg given by my neighbour Copeman, most of the men raized by him and the Generalls boy with the Companys stick,[139] who [= the Dutch Copeman] hath been an actor through this tragedy, and againe the Companyes goods,[140] the jaw bone of Mr Johnson,[141] with some of the Company slaves, linguister & Captain of the towne are brought & keept in Butteroe Castle, which if you suffer to pass without satisfaction it will be an eternall shame for us. If you please to send some Cape Coast blacks to head these country people wee may make a des[c]ent into Butteroe Towne, which harbours all our enemies, and panyar Ashreveys wives and severall of his friends, whereby you may regaine Succondee and be paid for all damage, likewise secure our selves for the future without proceeding to fight with him,

[135] i.e. annual ceremonies, marked by public dancing. The main 'dancing time' at Dixcove was in June (cf. no.83, with n.193).
[136] Olive oil (imported from Europe).
[137] Palm oil was used for lamp fuel (cf. nos 407, 1057), but also 'for slaves' use', i.e. in cooking (no.1196).
[138] i.e. Asirifi, who had earlier been imprisoned in Gross-Friedrichsburg (no.251).
[139] i.e. of the Dutch WIC.
[140] Here of the English RAC (i.e. goods plundered from its Sekondi fort).
[141] Jaw bones were commonly taken from slain enemies as trophies (Phillips 1732, 201; Barbot 1992, ii, 607).

which if you please with such assistance shall be strong enough to doe. Sirs, in my last I wrote you for money to bear Factory expence, which upon my word I very much want and cannot make any shift without, haveing been forced to send what little I had to redeem some of our Cabbosheers children which lay in pawne for some moneys they owed the Dutch, who by reason of their takeing our parts threatened to send away their children[142] if not imediately redeemed, which I have done, and hope I have thereby wholly brought over one Cabbosheer mentioned to promise assistance of 200 fire armes to our interest, haveing the same children for my security. Wee shall want some nailes & pitch, with some canvas to make baggs for carthadges.

[PS] I wrote you the 10th last instant and there[by] sent you a good man, whose receipt you have not advised of.

All blacks are madd to have your orders for fighting Ashrevy and gaining satisfaction, otherwise they say they shall be much ashamed. You may use this oppertunity of gaining Commenda.[143] Herewith comes 14 granadoe shells.

47. Thomas Buckeridge Dickies Cove, 25 June 1694

In my last of the 21st past I wrote you severall matters requireing an answer, which haveing not yett received, this comes express therefore, alsoe to advise by report of some country people fled to Butteroe a great party of the Adooms are come downe into Ancosa country, which is less than a dayes journey from these parts,[144] intending to make an attempt on Butteroe Castle in revenge of the injury hath been done to Succondee, which they say did belong to them. This hath putt my neighbour into a great fright, in soe much that he keeps at strict watch in his towne and expects a reinforcement of Mine Blacks tomorrow or next day. Now whether the brute [= bruit][145] of the Adooms be spread abroad purposely by the Dutch for a colourable pretence of raiseing men & gaining more of this country to take their part upon some new designe they may have, I know not. I have this day burnt a killne of 33 butts shells, charges whereof come to 1a per butt, with which I am againe setting to worke. If our breaches were rebuilt, our hall covered, our tower raised, alsoe our curtaine walls & ports about our battlements, with water, provision & ammunition, we are able to withstand all the Blacks in Guinea, which I hope may be compleated by Christmas if wee have but your furtherance therein. We want deale boards & nailes of all sorts with what last wrote for.

[142] i.e. sell them into export.
[143] i.e. the English fort at Komenda, which had been abandoned in 1688.
[144] Spelled 'Ancorsa' in earlier Rawlinson documents (vol.ii, nos 28, 34): earlier, as noted above, extending to the coast & including Dixcove, but by this date confined to the interior.
[145] i.e. rumour.

[PS] Just now came all the Cabbosheers of Dickies Cove croomes,[146] and have taken fetishes to stand by the English.

Our Gunner had the chance to blow up his hand & face with powder the other day, which is yet something troublesome to him, wherefore desire the Doctor may send us some salves & unguents for wounds or sores if any mischance should happen. Edward Nowell on Saturday morning was surprized with a fitt, and spake not till this afternoon.

pitch
salves & unguents
shovells
nailes a good quantity
more bolts for windows and some great ones for doores
deale boards
stock locks[147] & spring locks, alsoe padlocks

Richard [i.e. Richardson] the bricklayer hath 7 peeze owing him from Mr Clarkson, which he humbly desires you will please to receive & secure for him, being absent.

48. Thomas Buckeridge Dickies Cove, 3 July 1694

Yours of the 27th last instant I received by return of my canoe and of the 29th by the 11 hand ditto, with the necessaries therein mentioned and 11 black souldiers. I am very glad you are resolved to punish Ashrevy for the villanies he hath committed, which being performed will turne very much both to your owne and the Royall Companyes honour and interest. I could wish you had wrote me to what vallue the dashees you order me to be given should amount to, for my government therein, nevertheless hope to give content on both sides. Had I been either to[o] rash or severe, soe ma[n]y Cabb[oshee]rs and of soe great power would not upon my single request have taken fetishes to defend my self and Companyes concernes to the last man. As you have been pleased to place me in an imploy of some trust and creditt my actions shall be correspondent thereto, and tho I may advise of the power I imagine you may gaine in this country to revenge the injury [which] have been done to us and for the future to bridle the insolency of our enemies, shall doe nothing therein without your positive order therefore, which to execute no danger shall affright me, as being the Companyes servant I hope you will not suffer me to be abused. Inclosed goes my accompts

[146] See Glossary.
[147] Locks enclosed in a wooden case (for outside doors).

for six months from ultimo December 1693 to ultimo June 1694, ballance amounting to mk4 7oz 13a 10ta due to factory charges.[148]
[PS] When the agreement is concluded shall send you a coppy thereof, alsoe duplicates of my accompts so soon as have time to write them.

When any great canoe comes this way please continually to send deale boards in her bottome while we have a sufficient number to worke with.

49. Thomas Buckeridge Dickies Cove, 17 July 1694

With this you will receive the contract [var. 'compact'] made with the people of Dickies Cove, which by reason of my illness hath been deferred soe long. My accompts I suppose you had per last. Ashrevy is againe come to Butteroe, where he hath been a considerable while, the women whereof have every night slipt [= slept] under the Castle walls, and the canoe men gone up the river,[149] while within this day or two, for fear of our attempting to cutt them off, some of [the] Cabbosheers have offered themselves to serve you against any enemy whatsoever, and desire they may not be thought backwardly, when they are resolved to follow your orders, either in continueing at home or goeing to fight, and if you were pleased to cause them to attempt something against the Dutch interest it would be a means to make them stand more firmly to us. I beleive if you sent encouragement to Jappo, Ashrevys enemy,[150] and procured what people you can to joine with him, you might soon have an army to retake Succondee and severely revenge the murther of Mr Johnson, which if you doe not doe and that Blacks perceive you soe little vallue the lives of your Factors, in a short time more it will grow to a common practice and yourselves may not be altogether free. You will never advantage the Company by not punishing the murtherers of their servants, but day by day you will find their interest decrease thereby. The warrs between the Dankeraes and Awomweyes [continue?],[151] and indeed soe much that some of the former have been downe att Butteroe, one of which came hither and bought what perpetuanoes I had remaining, and told me from the others that there were a great many traders come downe to Impoho country,[152] which upon their second returne should be to Dickies Cove, and [would have] been then but for want of [a] way to be cutt through the bushes leading hither, which our Cabbosheers have promised to goe about on this side if they will doe the like on the other. With the lime I burnt the other day have

[148] i.e. the accounts were in deficit for this amount.
[149] The River Butri, which runs through the town.
[150] Another chief of Ahanta, who lived east of Sekondi (cf. no.240).
[151] Denkyira, in the interior north of Adom, & Aowin, its western neighbour; Bosman also refers to a war in which Denkyira defeated Aowin ('Awine'), but does not give a date for it (1705, 79).
[152] Cf. 'Umpohoh' in no.436; i.e. Mpohor, 18 km north of Dixcove, which belonged to the kingdom of Wasa, between Denkyira & Adom (Welman 1930, 56).

raised our port walls upon our largest flanker towards the sea, 18 inches thick & 7 foot high, there being five ports, and roome enough for soe many good saker gunns.[153] I am now about our other battery, haveing raized the foundation and laid it anew, and other needfull worke in the Castle. By reasone of this warr with Ashrevy I cannot goe to one of the places where I should have gott shells, and in the other there is not above 40 butts remaining, soe that we shall in a little time be att a stand unless you will be pleased to desire leave from the Brandenburgh Generall for us to goe up the River of Occada,[154] where there are enough, and I am confident upon your request he will lett us take what we shall have occasion for.

[PS] On Munday was sevennight last Ashrevy and Finney, two of the Cape Coast men you sent me, without my leave or knowledge tooke a very good large & new canoe which one of this towns people had lately bought for fishing, and went away with her either to Cabo Corso or some other place, the owner whereof makes a great complaint and demands satisfaction. Besides two of the 13 [var. '15'] Blacks you mentioned did not come, which I hope you will not lett cheat you of the money you gave them.

Pray send a great canoe with boards, a lanthorne & shovells.

50. Thomas Buckeridge Dickies Cove, 31 July 1694

Yours of the 28th instant came timely to hand with advice of Anta Ashrevys[155] intention to surprise this place, which had he endeavoured accordingly I doubt not but should have given him a repulse. I have had severall false allarmes, and am sensible that he dayly threatens and wants not good will to cutt us off, which makes me keep a good watch and take all the care imaginable, by which means hope to frustrate his designes and turne them to his owne ruine. I believe he has been dealing with some of our Cabbosheers, but I hope to little effect. He is now at Succondee, where yesterday he had a fight with Jappo and some of the Adoomes, of which last night was informed he had the better, causing the former to cutt his throat, which not being yett confirmed I hope is untrue.[156] The Cabbosheer I mentioned to promise assistance of 200 fire armes is Jappoes cozen, who's interest is consonant with ours and therefore will be oblidged to stick to us, Ashrevy wanting to cutt him [ms. 'his'] & all his relations, soe that if this news be true he will endeavour I believe to raise an army to fight his enemy, upon whose approach to Butteroe [he] sayes he will send for all his friends

[153] A form of small cannon.
[154] The River Suni, which flows into the sea west of Akwida.
[155] i.e. 'Asirifi of Ahanta', to distinguish him from other persons of this name, especially 'Adom Asirifi', mentioned in correspondence from Sekondi & Komenda (nos 240 etc.).
[156] The report was false: cf. no.51.

hither, and put them in armes. Sirs, by reason of this warr cannot gett more shells, for which our work is at a stand, as alsoe want of boards, which if we have not to secure our building before the next raines I know not what will become thereof. Since my last have been very ill, which occasions me not to send duplicates of my accompts, alsoe want of inck & paper. Last night deceased Richard Barker soldier, his things not being sufficient to pay his debts. Sirs, I forgott in my former letters to advise that upon opening the bale of plaines three of them were much damaged & wett with salt water & rotten. I received yours of the 19th instant with twenty five blue perpetuanoes and ballance of my accompts.

[PS] The Dickies Cove people assisting Ashrevy are not returned, their wives & children flying away so soon as we heard he had.

51. Thomas Buckeridge Dickies Cove, 4 Aug. 1694

This morning the Cape Coast men you sent me being in drinck, & haveing a quarrell with some of the town's people, Quomina, who comes in this canoe, was killed by them, being shott in the groyne [= groin], upon which they all fledd, [with] their wives & children, save Billy, the Cabbosheer aforementioned, and them belonging to him. The occasion was through our souldiers panyaring of two fowles, which being refused by the owner, caused one of them to give him a cutt over the shoulder with his sword, which notwithstanding I sent word I knew nothing thereof, and would cause satisfaction to be given to the person, they were resolved thereupon to leave the place, getting together in armes, whereupon sending my people to stop them, and intreat them to stay untill they had a right understanding of the matter, they killed the party above mentioned, whose death his companions in the heat of blood revenged on one of them, which is all I know thereof. I am apt to beleive that, notwithstanding their feteeches and fair promises, they have been corrupted by Ashrevy while he was att Butteroe (whose Copemans boy was here just before the mischief happened), and wanted but a plausable pretence to play the rogue. I shall want two chests of sheets, which please to send me.

PS. Since writeing hereof I received yours of the 2d August with the things therein mentioned, save the paper. Jappo is liveing & well att his croome, haveing killed a great many of Ashrevy's army, especially Dickies Cove men. I can have noe certainty of the news, for the Dutch spread abroad false storyes, and endeavour to conceal the truth as much as they can, only I understand he caught them sleeping before break of day, makeing three attempts on them, whom he drove severall times round the Dutch Fort, which fired att him. I have sent two unserviceable musketts. We have others that looke indifferently well to the eye, but the screws are worn out.

52. Thomas Buckeridge Dickies Cove, 11 Aug. 1694

Yours of the 6th instant by Cape Coast Tom I received, wherein I find it's myselfe must beare the blame, though others in the fault. It is true I have severall times writt you that I had all the assurance could well be required of these peoples fidelity to the English, they haveing taken feteeches thereon, and made all the protestations imaginable, sufficient to have deceived a more experienced person than I am, notwithstanding all which if they will play the rogue, can I help it? In my last I advised that 2 or 3 of the Cabo Corsoe soldiers had a quarrell with a man or two belonging to one of our Cabbosheers about panyareing a fowle, the former thereupon giveing one of the others a small cutt over the shoulder, which I knew nothing of till done, and that I see the people leaving the town, a very ill thing of them after their late pallaver, and positively contrary to one of the articles therein contained, not to make me acquainted therewith, but immediately thereon to leave their habitation. Nevertheless by sending some people to stopp & lett them know I was not sensible thereof, but if they were abused would cause satisfaction to be given them, they stayed a while, when after two or three houres I sent for the Cabbosheer whose man was cutt in order thereto, which he by means of another person (whome I had allways been very kind to), who is the author of all this stirr, refused and withall sent some of his people away, a thing not sufferable in these parts, to have any person liveing under a Fort not to go thereto when required, without some great reason to the contrary, which observing and hearing his answer, I sent some slaves to stay them the second time, otherwise to bring him or some of them to the Castle, when againe I see others goeing in like manner, whereupon sent our black soldiers to keep them in, upon which one fellow lay in a bush shott Quomina and all fledd, some through guilt and others through fear. It is a thing common amongst these people to leave their dwellings in a time when they are not afraid of any enemy, haveing done soe both from Butteroe and Occaday since my being here. You see that wee have the wrong, which the bearer can satisfie you in, the pallaver not concerning me. Some of them will come of their own accord, and beg pardon. You tax me with breach of your orders, which I have always observed. I fear not Ashrevy & all Anta together, the sea being att my command, wherefore since we are amongst an unfaithfull & forsworne people, your orders are very strict for the preservation of the fort, whereby I am disabled to disarme or harme such as I find to be our enemies, but must harbor snakes in my own bosome, which, haveing an advantage when they please to give the first blow, may occasion the loss of all. I am oblidged to defend the Companys interest, when you are on our enemies side, soe that I fear to doe any thing therefore, and fear not to doe, for if any thing happens amiss, the same must be thrown on me, whereby I may be ruined, upon which consideration, and that you have them more capable to manage this place than myselfe, intending alsoe to goe for

England in the next shipping, if you send a person in my roome shall freely resign what you were pleased to bestow upon me.

[PS] I have sent my canoe for sheets, and desire to know what shall pay to the Cape Coast men concerning canky money. Please to send inck & paper. I desire to know what advance you allow our Gunner.

53. Thomas Buckeridge Dickies Cove, 30 Aug. 1694

Yours of the 15th instant came to hand, wherein you say I would not permitt Cape Coast Tom to execute his orders, alsoe that when this difference happened myselfe went armed with my people of the Fort, which if I deny, I hope you will not be angry, neither one nor the other is true, indeed upon consideration that I had not done these people any harme, but that myself had rather the injury, was unwilling by my submission to draw them back, least thereby I might impaire both the Companys & your honour, alsoe encourage them for the future to be guilty of the like. Nevertheless did not hinder your messenger from acting as he pleased, but did allways imagine that, not being sollicited thereto, they would returne of their owne accord, which hath since happened, they being come home begged pardon and promised to deliver up the person that shott Quomina. As for my disability to support any trouble may come upon me, I may thanck you therefore, but am not insenceable what must lye att my doore. Ashrevy with his people have been upwards 10 dayes att Butteroe. By the Fauconberg sent a man slave for accompt of the Royall Company, and desire a chest sheets by returne of this canoe, haveing per last received two ditto. Sirs, my covenanted time with Company being expired the first of Aprill last and haveing some affairs which require my return to England, desire leave to imbarque on board the shipp Fauconberg, Capt. Francis Buttram, in order thereto, which will be esteemed a favour granted.

PS. On the 28th instant deceased Samuell Evans soldier, haveing made his will to one of the men here.

54. Thomas Buckeridge Dickies Cove, 18 Sept. 1694

This accompanys a man slave for accompt of the Royall African Company of England, and may signifie my receiveing of yours of the 5th instant, with one chest sheets damaged as per inclosed certificate, alsoe my thanckfullnesse for the grant of my request to returne for England by the Fauconberg, Capt. Francis Buttram, in order to which shall write my discharge, till when should not have given you further trouble had not the sale of my basons, the Negroes importunity for more and great appearance of a trade intervened, and is only to desire you will by first opportunity send a supply of the following goods, vizt pewter basons great & small, brass panns, perpetuanoes, Welch plaines, sheets, & powder.

55. Richard Goreing Dickies Cove, 25 Sept. 1694

Yours I have received by the 11 hand canoe with goods for accompt of the Royall African Company of England, vizt one hundred three pound pewter basons, one hundred two pound ditto, fifty four pound ditto, three hundred & fifty one pound brass basons, fifty perpetuanoes blue, one hundred & thirty sheets & twenty Welch plaines. Traders being come downe to severall crooms, that here being great prospect of a good trade, I wholly referring myself to the bearer Mr Thomas Buckeridge, late Cheif, for those goods & necessaries that are wanting in this place, desireing that my wants may be supplied with speed, and you may wholly assure yourselves that it shall be my whole study to promote the Companyes interest to the best of my power.

56. Richard Goreing Dickies Cove Forte, 29[157] Sept. 1694

This serving to desier you to send the Royall African Company of England 50 blew perpetuanoes, 20 [var. 'twenty five'] perpetuanoes read [= red], 20 screwed juggs, a cask of knives, tallow, a baile of green Welsh plaines, paper brawls, striped silke, tapsells, pintadoes, with all sortes of great and small beads, for which goods I have sould of those sortes that I had, and for what I wanted as I have above wrote for, the traders haveing money to purchase, and will be with me a Tuesday next. The traders doe expect a dashee, which I shall observe your orders therein, and the Cabbosheer of the towne [expects] 6 gallons of rumm [var. 'brandy'] at my comeing, for which I desier your orders. They promise great matters, and have sent up the countrey for the traders to come downe, which I have had every sence I have bin hear [= here]. Plancks, bricks, lime are very much wanted for the securing of the Forte, of what is already built, for that round flanker that fell downe the last raines, sence I came heare hath leaked through, and [is] in great danger of falling. I have caused itt to be well thathced. Heare is likewise great want of lockes and keyes.

57. Richard Goreing Dickies Cove, 11 Oct. 1694

This being my third to you for to desiere of you to send the Royall African Company of England the goods as follows, vizt fivety perpetuanoes blew, twenty five [var. 'twenty'] ditto reed, tweenty screwed juggs, a cask of knives, a baile of green Welsh plaines, with tallow, paper brawles, stripped silke, tapsells, pintadoes, niconees, alejars, Guiney cloutes if you have any that are small ones. Pray worthey Sirs, dispacth the cannoe the 1st opportunity, for otherwise I shall loose takeing of money that is in the towne, haveing already disappointed many by long waiteing for the cannoe.

[157] Var. '2', clearly in error.

58. Richard Goreing Dickis Cove, 12 Oct. 1694

Yours of the 8th instant I have receved by the 11 hand cannoe with the following goods for the accompt of the Royall Affrican Company of England, vizt fivety perpetuanoes blew, twenty five reed and twenty five green ditto, tweenty five screwed juggs, fivety halfe firkins of tallow, one hundred and eighty seven dozen of knives, 159 lb of severall sortes of beads. Worthey Sirs, you did mistake in sending of the green perpetuanoes, it was for a baile of green Welsh plaines that wrote for, which I desier you will lett me have by the first opportunity, with the paper brawles, tapsells broad, striped silke, pintadoes, niconees, alejars, small Guiney cloutes. You may satisfie your selfes that I will att all times observe your commands, and by what I can learne you are misinformed, for the difference [is] in a great prospect of being at an end with that Ashrewy, for he hath not 20 men, I am very well satisfied, in that yeasterday I gave our Serjant leave to goe and fecth his cloaths the taylor of Butteroe had of his, and when he came there the Castle gates where shutt upp and they had got Ashrewey and where resolved to make him pay 12 bendyes that he owed or to keep him in irons, but the Cheife took 12 of his wifes with his children and other of his relations till he does pay it, and our Serjant doth say that the Ducth [= Dutch] is very much his enemy and doe say he is a very great rouge.[158] He saw likewise in the Chiefes roomes Mr Johnsons cane and severall other of his things. Hear is severall of these towne people that doe come to aske leave to settle heare, that have bin at the assisting of Ashrewey, and all that they can say is that if Mr Buckeridge had not gave them leave they had not whent, and are willing to take a feet[i]che or anything to come and live heare againe. I have gave some leave to build allready, and desier your orders [var: 'derections'] for the future what I shall doe therein. I never suffer not above six Blacks in at once. I have had twenty at a time but I gave orders to the Serjant not to let more in and to have all the men with ball ready till they have bin gone, for when there come soe maney they seldome buy, but whant those goods I have not, but when you have sent me those goods that I have wrote for I shall [k]now the reality.

The Castell is in butt a very bad condition, that is built with swish, that the raines doe wash it, that it is contenewly falling. If you could butt send one hundred butts of shells I will ashure you to secure the Forte from ever falling more. Wee are daily a pointing of it but to noe end, for it washes away one day as wee lay it on the other, that heare is not one dry place in the Forte. As for brick if you will be pleased to be at a small charge I cann supply my wants, haveing one Francis Nixson [var. 'Frank Nickson'] that will burne them. As for plankes for flowering [= flooring] I stand in great need of, and desier you will be pleased to lett me have a flagg, as also swords and belts for the men.

[PS] I have not a sheet of paper nor any quills.

[158] However, a few months later Asirifi was again friends with the Dutch (cf. nos 76, 298).

59. Richard Goreing Dickies Cove Forte, 14 Oct. 1694

Just now received these 3 inclosed letters[159] of the Copeman of Draggodoe's [var. 'Dragode's'] boy.[160] Not knowing what consequence they may be of thought it convenient to dispacth them by this cannoe, haveing likewise occasion for a parcell of those beads and the price, being informed will be sought much after by these countrye natives, leaveing the quantity to your judgement, as likewise if you please to lett me know the price of the other sorte, if I then meet with anyone that will buy a parcell worth my sending for, I shall not otherwayes trouble you. Worthey Sirs, haveing one request, to begg you to lett me have a good Serjant, for this I have is an ill drunken fellow, and one that beares noe command at all amongst the men, that makes them they are contenieully in drink this cockroo time[161] and afighting and of a very ill consequence to mee that I must alwayes be troubled to parte them. You may for the better understanding onely inquier of Mr Buckeridge. I have a very honest stoute fellow for a Gunner and thats a good souldier, who was your corperall before he came heather, if you may aprove of him [i.e. as sergeant] and send me [a] Gunner, and shall then live quietly & beare good command in the forte.

60. Richard Goreing Dickies Cove, 22 Oct. 1694

Yours of the 15th [&] 19th instant [received], by the latter haveing received by the two handed cannoe for the accompt of the Royall African Companey of England three hundred seventy pound of beads. I stand in great need of those goods that I wrote for. I shall use my endeavour in preserveing the Forte. I have heard that you are informed that I have bin at Butteroe, which is very false as God is trew [= true], for I have not bin two stones cast from the forte sence I have bin heare, and as for the mens goeing to the croomes is as false as the other. I doe ashure you that I will be as wacthfull as lyes in my power and obey your orders in all things. I haveing by this sent you the Serjant and have placed George Clunn in his st[e]ade and Thomas Allenner gunner. The men are in great want of provisions and desier you to spare them some out of the stores, for what they gett is a little fish from Butteroe by one of their boys that they send.

[159] Not preserved.

[160] Presumably the name is a garbled version of Takoradi (sometimes spelled 'Taggeradoe'), where there was a Dutch factory (originally Brandenburger, but taken by the Dutch in 1687: vol.ii, no.104).

[161] Cf. 'cockroe' in no.774: a form of palm-wine (Phillips 1732, 201, 'cocoro'). According to Bosman (who gives the name as 'quaker'), made from the wine-palm rather than the oil-palm, stronger & more expensive (1705, 57, 286). Palm-wine production was concentrated in the dry season, beginning in Oct.

61. Richard Goring Dickies Cove, 30 Oct. 1694

My last to you was of the 22 instant, by which I desired those goods so often wrote for, as now likewise 100 perpetuanoes blue and 130 sheets. This day here came 3 or 4 Blacks to tell me that their master was comeing to trade & did want white blankets and brass kettles great & small, with red correll [= coral]. If you think fitt you may send those things by the canoe, for I want the other goods extrordinary, and hope you will let me have the canoe in 2 or 3 dayes, by which I will send you my accompts.

62. Richard Goreing Dickies Cove Forte, 5 Nov. 1694

Yours of the second I recevied with the following goods for accompt of the Royal African Companey of England, one hundred white blanketts, one hundred blew perpetuanoes, twenty eaight broad tapseils, twenty three broad niconees, one hundred and sixty Guiney stuffs, one hundred and thirty sheets, seventy six ounces of corrall, I haveing sent you my accompts and ballance with the great canno.

63. Richard Goreing Dickies Cove Factory, 6 Nov. 1694

This serves onely to desier [you] to send the Royal African Companey three [or] foure bailes of green plaines, for they are the vendables[t] commodity that you can send, I being daily asked for them, and two or three cases of broad tapeseiles if you have them of this couler, or other wayes you may not send them, for the last where of soe durtye [= dirty] a coler, as likewise the niconees, that the Blacks would not soe much [as] looke upon them, and verry maney of them are much damaged by the fly,[162] [and] for want of boards in the bottom of the cannoe are very much weett, I have bin as carefull in preserving of them as lay in my power butt have not as yett made through [= thoroughly] dry, I doe not question but I shall preserve them. If you will send deale boards in the cannoe I could keep the carpenters att woorke on flowering of the hall and three other roomes, for I cannot keep any goods dry in the warehouse for want of boards. Last night theire came into this road a Pourtigueze, and there being a Ducth galley[163] and a great Ducth shipp likewise, therefore I sent my Gunner on board, that they might not take her in the rood, butt the Ducth galley fiered a shott into my canno, but the canno got on board, with that the galley manned her boats and the second of the Mina came on boards hal[f] an hour after the Gunner and demanded to [know] what he did theire, and he told them to keep the vessall from them, with that he bid him be gone or he would send him owt of her

[162] In ms. apparently originally 'wett', overwritten by 'the fly'.

[163] Frequently mentioned in this correspondence, & named in no.1451 as the *Beschermer*: a warship based in Africa, employed mainly to arrest interlopers (Bosman 1705, 421–2).

presently, that the Gunner came on shore, therefore I could not do anything more therein, thinking it might not be amiss to acquaint you therewith.

[PS] I haveing this theft to request your advise in, on Thursday the 5th day of November Cape Coast Thoms son with Ashrewey and two Cape Coast souldiers with a slave of Harries the bomboyes[164] did att 12 a clock att night brook open the doores of one in [= of] the Cabbosheers liveing att the King of Bauduh[s] Croome about 2 miles from the Forte,[165] and presented theire musqets att the Cabbosheer and the people of the house and demanded his back [= bag], which they presently found and brought away with them. That man and the King came to aquainte me herewith, and I sent for all the Cape Coast souldiers and slaves, that he might see them, and he found onely two of them, that was Harries slave, and [he] confesed before all the Cabbosheers that he was one, and Anshrewey was the other, which is a slave of Hansicoes of Cape Coast, confesing he was in the house, but they both deny they had any sheer [= share] in the gold or other things that was in the bagg, which the Cabbosheer value to be worth 3a, butt they say Cape Coast Toms son hath the bagg and what their [= there] was. Now this being down [= done] on Thursday night, on Friday morning the great canno whent from hence, and that Cape Coast Tom['s son] in her, and that noebody but Quashe that commands the souldiers know as fare as I can learne, and he [= Quashe] said he [= Tom's son] told him he was Yavvey, for all my boy whent in the same cannoe, yet he did not know that [ms. 'it'] he was in the cannoe tell he came to Shooma,[166] where the cannoemen undcovered [sic] him, and he [= Quashe] asked how he durst come without my leave, he told him he would returne in my canno, but did not so, but is still at Cape Coast. The other two I have put in irons untell I have your orders to the contrary.

64. Richard Goreing Dickies Cove, ** Dec. 1694

Yours of the 29th past have recevied, and the Portuguez that the Ducth galley took owt [= out] of my road was to windward of the Forte, that he was better then a leauge from Buttroe when my Gunner was on board, the Portugueze was within the least gun shott I have, and was coming to an ancor when the Second of the Mina came on boord that was on boord the galley came on boord her and

[164] See Glossary.

[165] Cf. 'King of Badow' in no.65; but later (nos 108 etc.) 'King Badue', suggesting a personal name or title rather than a territorial designation; 'Baddoe Bossoe', who died in 1716 (Van Dantzig 1980, 185), was presumably either the same person or a successor to his office. Identifiable as 'Baidu Bonsu', the dynastic name of the kings of Busua, 3 km east of Dixcove (Welman 1930, 49–50), Baidokrom ('Baido's village') being one of the component sections of Busua (ibid., 9). Busua certainly existed by the 1690s (see Bosman 1705, 14, 'Boeswa'), but is not referred to by name in the Rawlinson correspondence. By 1716 Baidu Bonsu claimed to be 'king of [all] Ahanta', but there is no hint of any such paramount authority in the 1690s.

[166] Shama, on the coast east of Sekondi.

threatned to heaive him over boord, that is the Gunner, if he did not quit her, when he his men brought her about and stood off to sea tell he was owt of gunn shott, and the next morning weaighed ancor and stood for the Mina. The great ship with the galley lyes heare still in waite for two more Portugueze that are att the Brandenbourgh Forte. I haveing receved Cap Coast Toms sons [= son], and haveing examined him before the Cabbosheer, he hath confesed the fact and all that I charged him therewith, as also the other two that was his comrades, this being come to speake with Cape Coast Tom his father and Hansico, one being Hansicoes slaves [= slave], I haveing them all three in irons till returne of this boy with your orders, the Cabbosheers demanding three bendyes, being the custum of the country, as the Cabbosheers say, I referring myselfe wholly to you in this matter.

[PS] I have sent you Aqquba the woman slave by this cannoe.

65. Richard Goreing Dickies Cove, 10 Dec. 1694

Yours of the 5th and 7th instant I recevied, the later with two great cannos layding [= laden] with lime and a silver headed cane for Captain Dickie. You may be ashured I shall not be wanting in useing my endeavoure to the forwarding of the forte, not doubting but to secuer ite [= it] before the raines. I have bin very indisposed & for this 14 days of the dry gripes and in great fear of looseing my left arme, I haveing now by the help of the Brandenbourgh Docter that hath bin with me five or six days much recovered myselfe, but have those paines left in my limbs as I cannot walke the length of my roome as yett, wherefore I refer sending my accompts this month, and as for ballance that will be none, for its as much as will pay the men, I haveing had very little trade this month, by reason of one parcell of goods I sould in and about the Copeman of Butteroe panyard and made them pay a bendy, and the others the Adoomes made the traders pay such great custum that they they sent me woord that if I could not find some other way they durst [not] venture any more, that I sent to the King of Badow, and the Capusheer and the King hath promised to open the way, that he did send foure men to show them the way, that if once cle[a]red I do not feare of a trade, which the King[s] men and my Capusheer[s] men are all at woorke theire. I desier you to send me those agrements that Mr Buckeridge did make with them Cabbosheers,[167] for my government in this mater, and as to my sending cannoes I never sent one as yet but when I sent for goods, that I charged the Company with.

According to yours of the 5th instant I have used my endeavoure to make the theift up with the Cabbosheers, haveing with a great deale of trouble brought itt to a conclution that the Cabbosheer is to have two bendys, he haveing sent this

[167] See no.49.

cannoe againe for to bring the answer, I desier of you to send me woord. Ife you do not aprove of what is done here I may take my mesures, for the Cabosher is resolved to goe his way and to panyare to the valew of three bendys and six peize ife you do not agree to what I have wrote and to lett him have his money att the returne of the cannoe.

As to the Cape Coast souldiers you may withdraw them when you shall think convenient, for I will ashure you need noe way doubt of my fiedillity both to the Company intreast and the respects I ow unto you. I woold no ways desier of you to withdraw them iff I did not noe [= know] my selfe to be in safety to the full as I now am.

You alsoe requiered search might be made for those things, but Cape Coast Toms sons disposed of them at Cape Coast:

Theire where three traders comeing to the Forte with sixty bendys, but the Adoomes stoped them and forced them to goe to the Brandenbourgh.[168] I have sent you 12 angles due from John Dobsons as by advise from John Woodburne.

66. Richard Goreing Dickies Cove Forte, 21 Dec. 1694

Yours of the 15 instant I have recevied, and accordingly have called my Cabbosheers togeather to lesson [= lessen] the pallaver, butt I can not gitt them to hear of anything bated of two bendys, the Cabbosheer ofering to take a fet[i]che if [= whether] his loss was above a bendy. Consedering all things his demands are very reasonable, he demands Cape Coast Tom['s son] and Hansicoes slave from me, which I have in irons, theirefore I desier your possitive order weather I may send them up with the other souldiers. Wee have made the lyme goe as fare as wee could in securing the Forte, and hope you will lett me have more, for the Forte stands in great want still, and all girders and joyces [= joists] ready. I desier you to send the Royall Companey two cheast of sheets, a cask of 1 lb brass panns and one hundred weaight of 3 sorts of beads somthing smaller then these. Pray dispacth the cano to away the first opportunity, for traders stay in the towne for these goods. I am verry weak and am troubled with the grovell [= gravel] and a swelling in my belly, I cannot tell weather I shall live. [By] this canno therefore I desier of you to send me a Docter tell I have recovered, for I am in that paine day and night that is impossible I can remaine soe long.

67. Richard Goreing Dickies Cove, 9 Jan. 1694 [= 1695]

This serves to advise of the arrivall of the John Boneventer, Capt. Zebbett Commander, tomorrow morning you will receive the letter[169] and the soulders.

[168] i.e. the Brandenburg Fort, Gross-Friedrichsburg.
[169] = no.1400, from Zebbett.

I thanck God I am more recovered of my ileness and shall return the Docter in a few days, and hope you will not forgitt to send me foure chest of sheets per the first convenienc[y], as also nessareye[s] for the finnishing of the Forte. The Captain gives you his service.

68. Richard Goreing Dickies Cove, 21 Jan. 1694/5

This with my November and December accompts, and to advise you that I have sent you the said 10 Cape Coast Castle solders per Capt. Piles in the Guiney Galley, and have made the palaver up with the Cabosheer for 3oz, 2oz I shall stopp in my next accompt. [As] for Cape Co[a]st Tom[s] son and Hansicoes slaves [they are] dead, & Sir, I am not littell troubled att the ill news I have heard you have lost your brother Mr Joshua Platt, whose death I verry much lament.[170] I am indebted to him one marque of gold that I borrowed of him sence I came heather, for which he hath a note from under my hand, which I shall pay when you demand itt.

[PS] This day I am informed by a 2 hand cannoe that came from Cape Trees Pointus that there is a Companeys shipp wooding and watering at Sisters,[171] of great burden.

69. Richard Goreing Dickis Cove Fort, 30 Jan. 1694/5

Yours of the 26th instant [received], wherein I am very much conserned that you should charge me with ile actions. As to this matter, I can when ever occasion serves answer to any that shall call me to an accompt for any misdemeanour I have done eather to the Companey or your honours, and as to what you desiered to know conserning the slaves defferance, that I am very ignorant thereof, for I never ever saw or heard of any deffe[rance] that ever where amongst them, butt a great deale of friendship, and [they] does as much woorke as for there number as any one [= on] the Coast, and [as] to any palaver that any one of them had I never heard of nore lifted my hand up against them sence I came. Therefore, worthey Sirs, if you doe not think me capable of management of this post nor of the Companys service, I shall be very willing to returne from whence I came, or serve you in any other place you may think I can content you, or otherwayes I shall be very uneasssie, for its the onely thing I desier to live under what government soever, and to further confermation conserning the slaves [it] is not soe long sence Capt. Piles and Doctor Jayton's [= Jackson] whent from hence, which please to informe yourselfe of them. I have here sent one Richard Richa[rd]son, haveing some small matter f[o]r to settele [= settle] with the Captain, and pray informe yourselfe of him, or else I will send Harrey the

[170] Chairman of the Council of Chief Merchants at Cape Coast Castle, died 11 Jan. 1695.
[171] The River Cestos (nowadays Cess), on the Grain Coast.

Bomboy if you please or any slave. Captain Dicke desier you to send him 3 yards of scarlett cloath dew [= due] to him sence Christmas, & I desier you to send by the next cannoe the woman slave I sent, or any other, for this I have has a woorme, that she cannot goe, and to that palaver I made for Cape Cost Tom and Hansicoe, I wrote you formerly that Cape Cost Tom son and Hansicoes [slave] and a son of Henery the Bumboys where all three equally conserned in the robberey. I charge you two oz and Harry the Bumboy one.

[PS] This serves to acquaint you that as Quashe the carpenter haveing been sick for week he asked me leave to goe to Cape Coast Castle, that I told him it did not lye in my power to give leave till I had informed you[r] worships. Last night he took his canno and whent away in the night and took Quominonoe the Companey slave with him, that is his son as he saith.

70. Richard Goring Dickiescove, 16 Feb. 1694/5

According to yours of received the 15th instant, I have sent to Commenda my white bricklayers one John Britton and Iankey the Black,[172] & hopeing you will excuse my negligence for this reason, my canoe that was last with you haveing the bad fortin [= fortune] to sp[l]itt in the sea, & my canoe men in danger of looseing their lives before they could gett to land, that they were forced to come from beyond Commenda by land, that I received yours dated the 4th instant but [= only] the 13th, & haveing sent my canoe men to buy me a canoe they are not as yet returned, and here is not a canoe to be had here for mony, and as to my not adviseing you of the English interloper that was here last, I did not know that it was your desire to give me that liberty, for you formerly cheidd [= chided] me for putting the Company to the charge of canoes, but you may be assured I shall be mindfull not to neglect any of your commands. This morning saild out of this roade for Comenda a New England Briga[n]tine with provision for the Coast (viz) bread, flower, butter, pork & Barbadoes rumm, with one pipe of Mendera [= Madeira] wine, and a Dutch interloper of 30 guns. For the want of collours to the fort all ships saile by, that I am forc'd to send to Buttroe to hire a canoe to be inform'd, that if you will be pleased but to lett me have a flagg you will verry much oblidge [me].

71. George Clunn Dickies Cove, 15 March 1694/5

Yesterday morning about nine a cloack my master[173] was taken verry ill with a violent fitt, which has continued all night and this morning, in so much that he has been speechless & senseless ever since, so hoping your worships would be

[172] Also attested, as 'Yankey', in the 1680s (vol. i, no. 212; vol.ii, no.309).
[173] i.e. Richard Goring.

pleased to send some body up here to take care of the fort, and in the mean while I will do my utmost endeavour to keep all things safe & secure & in good order.

[PS] Wee all hope your Worships will be pleased to consider us this rain tyme about provisions, which is verry scarce already, in so much that we cannot get a tacco's worth of fish in one weak [= week], so hopeing your Worships would be pleased to releive our necessities in this sad condition.

72. John Pinck Dickies Cove Fort, 16 April 1695

This serves only to inform you that Mr Jordan[174] has been ever since his arrivall at this place extreamly ill of the flux, feavour, stone & gripes, so that have done but verry little bussiness since wee have been here, by reason he has been forc'd to keep his bead [= bed] all this time, therfore I send this to know your further orders, there apearing as yet noe signe of his amendment, as likewise by the importunity of the soldiers, who have been dayly at me to wright for provitions, for they are ready to starve, haveing neither corne or any thing else to subsist on. They doe humbly desire that you would be pleased to lett them have their pay for the last two months, Mr Goreing dying before pay day. Here is a Cabbosheer by name Cakonoko who has panjard two of the Company slaves and keep them at his croome, they say it is on Harry the bomboyes head, when I am better sattisified shall informe you att length.

PS. There is an English interloper att Cape Trespointas who reports that Queen Mary is dead.[175] Pray send some paper.

73. John Pinck Dickies Cove, 19 April 1695

By the hands of Mr Barter I received yours of the 18th instant & according to orders have inventoryd the Company's warehouse & Mr Goring['s] concerns, which you will receive from said Barter. I would have sent two inventorys of Mr Gorings concerns by this conveyance, but had not tyme, shall not fayle to send one per next. Here is a boy which was Mr Gorings slave, soe if you please to lett me have him [I] shall give a women slave for him, which Mr Rootsey has in his hands.[176] Mr Jordan is soe bad that he dares not venture downe in the canoe.

74. John Pinck Dickies Cove Fort, 24 April 1695

This serves to advise you that on the 22d instant Mr Jordan went on board of an interloper called the Adventure in order for to take his passage in her to Cabo

[174] Charles Jordan had been sent to replace Goring, who had died; Pink had come with him from Cape Coast.
[175] Queen Mary II of England, who died 28 Dec. 1694.
[176] John Rootsey, chief of Charles Fort, Anomabu.

Corsoe, and this instant arrived here Mr Jennings,[177] upon which we sent a canoe aboard to know whether he [= Jordan] was able to come back to assist at the inventoring the Companys concerns, and by returne of said canoe had advise that this morning four of the cloacke he departed this life, and that the Captain had according to custome in such accidents buryed him in the sea. He carried with him in one of Mr Gorings small truncks some cloaths, one ounce gold, and one of Mr Gorings shirts, of which we have noe accompt from the Captain, soe desire you will be pleased when the said Captain comes to leaward to require an accompt of him.[178]

PS. The Dutch Galley has had a fight on Sunday last with a ship which is supposed to be a French man off of Buttroe. Mr Jennings being somewhat indisposed with stone, can give you at present no accompt of his proceedings, but by the next opportunity will not faile.

75. John Pinck Dickies Cove Fort, 24 April 1695

By Mr Jennings have received the orders, and am sorry should doe any thing to displeasure you. I have with Mr Jordan deseased taken an inventory, and have put in every thing I could see or find belonging to the Royall Company, and I cannot tell how those things should be wanting which you say are, by compareing the inventory and accompt together. I hope you doe not impute those things to me, you verry well knowing that I could not by putting more or less gain any proffitt to myself, when I was to returne and the deceased to stay. As for my hindering Edward Barter from inventory[i]ng contrary to orders received, it is notoriously false in him to say soe, I only telling him that to show [how] great he had streatched his orders, however he was only ordered to proceed, and to begin whatt he had done before, but if he would take the trouble the goods were all there, and [I] proferred him the key of the other warehouse. My actions, Sirs, are soe cleare and just that I care not what eye inspects into them. As for the screw'd juggs it was a mistake by Edward Barters importunity to begone thatt they were putt downe a[s] half damadged. As for the extravagant damadges you mention, I wish Mr Jennings doe not find them more. As for the tallow, it was rated by Mr Edward Barter. Sirs, I am verry sorry that I cannot be employed upon any bussiness, but that by the information of my ill willers I must (without being heard in my owne defence) be counted a rogue. If you will be pleased to putt me in place[179] shall be verry thankfull and show by my diligence the interest I take in pleasureing my masters whose servant I am; if otherwise, desire you will be pleased to lett the accompts between the Company

[177] Richard Jennings, sent to replace Jordan as chief of Dixcove.
[178] Cf. no.1402, from Capt. Shering, commander of the *Adventure*.
[179] i.e. appoint him permanently to the Dixcove factory.

and myself be made up, and that I may take my passadge for Europe in Capt. Piles, my time being expired.

76. John Pinck Dickies Cove Fort, 8 May 1695

This serves only to advise you that the canoe I sent to informe you of the death of Mr Jordan is in her returne hither piniard per Anta Shrevey, upon no other accompt then that Taggee has beat the Cufferoes,[180] neither will he release the men or send the letter, wherfore have thought it convenient to advise you. The Dutch have a great many irons in the fire, & this place is a great eye sore to them and would faine remove out of their way, though itt were after Sucundee fashion,[181] & in case Anta Shrevy should come against us, we are verry ill provided of every thing, haveing neither corne nor water to subsist on, therfore humbly desire you will be soe kind as to assist us with provitions &ca. All the men are downe of distemper, so that there is not four man in the fort that are able to stand on their leggs, and the fort if not better remedied will on a short time fall about our ears. Mr Jenings has been ill of the stone & feavour ever since he have been here, so desireing you will be pleased to dispatch the canoe with speed, as likwise to send your former orders by her.

77. Richard Jenings Dickies Cove, 14 May 1695

Since my arrivall I have been much aflicted with the stone & still continues. As did advise your Worships in a letter of the death of Mr Jordan, Mr Pinck & self have taken inventory what belonging to the Royall African Company & of Gorings estate, the which I here inclosed send your Worships, also what papers I have found. As for the perpetuanoes that are wanting, Peter, a Black in the towne, declares he brought traders some small time before Mr Goreing deceased that bought seventy, and the said Goring gave him a niconee & the trader a carpet to encourage them, & Francis Nixson declares that he saw thirty perpetuanoes deliver'd, & Mr Goring should say that was the remaines of the blue perpetuanoes. One lead barr he cutt into sluggs & gave the blacks with powder to burne Canconnock[s] croome.[182] One half firking tallow he sold Peter, it being damaged, for 2a 6ta. I have examined the Serjeant & the men, who will all declare upon oath not the least thing of the Company has been deliver'd out of the warehouse from the death of said Goring till Mr Jordan & Mr Pinck came. I should have sent the serjeant downe, but he is troubled with a violent feavour & ague, & his leggs so swelled that he is scarce able to goe, and

[180] 'Great Taggee', king of Komenda, & Twifo, the former allied with the English, & the latter hired by the Dutch to attack him (nos 277 etc.).
[181] i.e. by attack by African allies, as had happened to the RAC factory at Sekondi earlier.
[182] Presumably in retaliation for his panyarring of slaves of the RAC, mentioned in no.72.

most of the men downe with other distempers, & provision so scarce that they are ready to starve. As to the Serjeant[s] paper [it] was a coppy taken from said Goring, & [he] further declare he did not know what goods was in the warehouse. As for the differences in the inventory, Mr John Pinck has disposed of some goods which he will give your worships accompt. I have further inquired after Mr Gorings estate, & am inform'd he sent two canoes with perpetuanoes to Cabo Corso Castle and consign'd them to the French Doctor,[183] they were bought out of the interloper. Mr Goring was to pay 8mks, the French Doctor the ballance, the whole amounting to 15mks, but what returns was made I cannot learn. Further he laid out with the interloper 11oz in Cabe de Verde cloaths.[184] What I have write concerning the Royall African Company & said Goring in the foregoing part of this letter is the best information I can give at present. Here are severall palavers about Harry the Bomboy, and the people are soe disattisfied with him that they are resolved never to bring trade to the fort till he is remov'd, soe shall keep him till further orders. The reason detaining the canoe so long was by seas being soe bad that noe canoe could goe off. When the seas being abated, intending to forward the canoe, [I] had information the Mine did panjard all the canoes that was belonging to Cabo Corso Castle.[185] The reason which gave me to suspect it [was that] the canoe we sent to advise your Worships of the death of Mr Jordan is not returned. I have received yours of the 3d of May, & accordingly have sent away the five hand canoe with John Pinck. We have had for these eight days last past such violent rains that one of the flanckers is downe, & the rest I believe will falow [= follow] if the rains hold. The reason that I have not sent anything that belong to Mr Goring is because they will take damage, so shall referr it till forther orders. I humbly desire your Worships for God sake to send another person to take care of the Companys concerns, that I may come to Cabo Corso and not lye & perish here, for there is noe sustanance to be had. Being forced by my sickness to omitt severall things, shall referr you to the bearer.

PS. By the canoe comes two slaves & a pawne for six angles.

78. Richard Jenings Dickies Cove, 31 May 1695

My last was on 14th instant, wherein I gave you an accompt what condition the Fort was in, but have not heard from you. These are further to acquaint you in what condition we are in by the violent rains, who have scarce pleace to keep the

[183] i.e. at Cape Coast Castle, probably referring to Dr Julian Gillois.

[184] Cloth manufactured in the Cape Verde Islands, purchased for re-sale on the Gold Coast (Phillips 1732, 188).

[185] A continuation or renewal of reciprocal panyarring of canoes by Mina & Cape Coast which had broken out in March 1695 (cf. nos 316, 318, 1443–4); see also no.331.

Company goods nor the men to lye dry. There is two flankers already downe, expecting every minuett when the others will fall, if the rains should continue. The men are in great want of their pay. I have not any mony, therfore I would desire your worships for to take some speedy care or they must starve, for the natives will not give them creditt no longer. Captain Dick makes much complaint for rent, he says he hath a twelve month due. I continue verry ill of my distempers. I humbly begg of your worships for God sake that you would be pleased to send some other person to take care of the Companys goods, and I may come downe to Cabo Corso Castle for recovery [ms. 'rerevery'] of my health & not perrish for want of releife. Worthy Sirs, if I have not got your consent I must come away without, but I hope you have Christianity in you and will consider my condition God knows is verry bad, that so I may have your worships consent. As to the trade I think it is no great matter where there is any body there or no, for I shall not take what will defray charges.

PS. A list of the mens mony & what pay they have per month.

79. John Pinck Dickies Cove, 12 June 1695

This accompanys Mr Jenings, by whom according to order you will receive two inventorys signed by us both. The fort is verry much out of repair, two of the flankers are downe, & part of the curtain wall, & the rest if the rains hold longer will be about our ears. I humbly desire as soon as possible you can to let the surveyor come to view it, & send up some workman, I shall gett whatt materiall I can in areadiness for them. I do designe God willing to gett another clamp of bricks made & burnt. Francis Nixson, whoe setts the clamp, desires to know what you will be pleased to allow him for his pains. I shall use my endeavours to gett what oysters shells I can to make lime, that nothing may be wanting when the workmen come. I can not at present inform you of any news in these parts, save that the canoemen that Anta Sherevy panyard he has been about of ships to sell him, but no body will buy him. I shall have a watchfull eye over Anta Shrevy & his actions, and as I hear further shall advise you. I desire you will please to send per first opportunity six chests sheets and some blue perpetuanoes if any to spare. I humble desire you will be pleased to send us up some provitions, or else we must starve, here being nothing to be gott for love or money, the people them selves being ready to devour one another. I give you my harty thanks for placeing me here, & hope by my deligence in the Company's service to merritt your further favours. The slaves Conconoko had seized on have made their escape, so that I find none wanting save Quomanay. I humbly beg if possible that you send up some body in quality of a Doctor, that can bleed & administer physick, for most of the people are ill. Hopeing you'l consider our necessitys, and send what desired.

80. John Pinck Dickies Cove, 15 June 1695

This comes express to desire the sheets & perpetuanoes before wrote for, people being here with their money waiteing for them. By this canoe comes John Dobson soldier in a verry bad condition, that had he stay'd here would certainly have perished. I humbly crave your pardon for sending him downe without your orders, so desire another in his roome. By this canoe comes five old musquetts not servicable, so desire others for them. By this comes three bricks moulds, to desire you'l be pleased to send up in their rooms five new ones, & 6 plains [= planes] for bricks. At the foot hereof is an accompt of gunners stores wanting.

PS. Gunners stores: flints [ms 'tlints'], tar & brushes, cartridge paper, needles, threed & twine, skins, canvas, trucks,[186] a pack needles, nails of [all] sort[s].

81. John Pinck Dickies Cove Fort, 2 July 1695

Yours of the 21 past I received, with the things therein mention'd. I am verry sorry that I should put the Company to any unnecessary charge. All the Mine canoes [that] comes to this place informed me that the palaver was made up, & that all was quiet of both sides.[187] The perpetuano that Mr Jenings has overcharged, he may thank him self for it, being his fault. I thought he had given you the inventorys when he [ms. 'y^{e}'] came to Cabo Corso, for I wrote two which were signed by us both. If you pl[e]ase to trouble your self you may find the other among his papers. I should for all that have sent another but have no paper to write one on, this being all I have, so desire you'l be plase'd to send to me some with some quils per returne of [t]his.

The occasion of my sending this is to complain of the rougery of these people, especially of Captain Need, he being so great a rougee that there is no liveing for him, he haveing desarted the towne some time agoe upon some discontent between the Cabbosheers and himself, & haveing gott others to doe the like, keeps his habitation about 3 miles off, where by his rougery he not only hinders traders but paniar all he can gett. Two or three days agoe, he & the rest sent to me, pleading they were Dickies Cove people, & desireing they mig[h]t live in the towne, & that I would send my boy to assure them no body should hurt them. I haveing at that time occasion for oyle for the forts use, sent my boy to assure them that if they would live peaceable no body should hurt them. As soon as Need had my boy he panyard him, & bids defiance to the King of Aguaffo & all that can assist the Englisch.[188] He has him there now, & says he'l keep him till [the] King off Aguaffo comes to redeem him. He is a great rouge & may work much upon the rest, & doe us a mischeif. They all acknowledge, though the fort

[186] i.e. wheels (for gun carriages).
[187] Referring to the reciprocal panyarring of canoes recorded in May (nos 77, 331).
[188] Eguafo, the proper name of the kingdom of Komenda.

be downe, they can't hurt it, but they will starve us out and keep us from water. There is 3 French ships to windward, & one past by the 27th last, who tooke an Englisch ship of 28 gunns at Gambo, with 400 negroes of the Companys.[189]

82. John Pinck Dickies Cove Fort, 7 July 1695

Yours of the 4th instant have received, & observe your advise concerning the differances of this people. I did what I could to have all qui[e]ted before I advised you of it. I sent a slave for water which he [= Captain Ned] has panyard alsoe, so that if they hinder us from water cannot tell what to doe. I have placed a barrells of Mr Gorings powder to the Companys accompt. The Copeman of Accoda advised me of the French ship to windeward, and the other Tomas Allner was aboard on, she being at anchor of this place, and bought the English Captains coate he was kill'd in. The French vessell is a galley of 18 oars & thirty eight gunns and one hundred and seventy men; her name is the Garden, she came here to loock for the Windhound,[190] or any other vessell she can light on. The Captain own'd of three more vessall but could not tell whether they were [ms. 'more'] gone downe or no. I shall not fayle to be as carefull of the fort & Companys concerns as lies in my power. I should be verry glad if Taggee were in these parts to bring these people a little more to reason and honesty, for of a small company there cannot be greather rogues under the sunne. Please to send when the flagg comes a pair of halliards [= halyards][191] with it, for here is none.

83. John Pinck Dickies Cove Fort, 20 July 1695

Yours of the 9th instant I received, & have with much adoe made up the palaver & hope all things are now in peace & quietness. They have so orderd the bussiness that it is all laid on Harry the bomboys head, whom they have prended[192] 4oz 8as, Nedd alledging that he took his brother out of his grave, with his gold & what other theings he had in with him, which he makeing appear before all the Cabbosheers they have ordered him to pay the above said sume, which I was forced to pay in goods before I could get either boy or slaves from their croome. The reason of the canoes so long stay is itt being their Christmas time, they would not go about till now their danceing is over.[193] Captain Dick

[189] i.e. the *Three Brothers*, Capt. Daniel Hudson, taken in April 1695 (Database #20834).

[190] The *Winthont*, a ship of the Dutch WIC, based locally in West Africa.

[191] i.e. ropes & tackle for raising the flag.

[192] In ms. corrected to 'pretended', but 'prended' is correct, meaning 'fined' (from Portuguese *prender*, 'take').

[193] Cf. later references to 'dancing time' & 'the Blacks' Christmas', in June (nos 107, 129). In the 19th century Europeans applied the term 'Black Christmas' to the 'Yam [i.e. harvest] Custom' in Oct.; but at Dixcove in this period it was a ceremony held in June/July. This was probably *Asafua*, a ceremony of 'purification' held nowadays in western Gold Coast towns in June, described by Bosman in the 1690s (1705, 158–9).

demands for custome at said time one green perpetuano, & eight gallons rum as all custome at a new Cheifs settling, which he says my predecessors have alwais paid him, which if so please to advise me. I hope the musketts are mended before this time, so desire you'l please to send them. You order me to buy canoes, & I do not know what goods to pay for them. I am enformed of a 11 hand canoe to be sold, & on Munday expect her here to view her. I am forced to turne away traders because I have no goods to sell them, so desire you to send up per first opportunity what sheets you have to spare, two, three & four pound pewter basons of each sort a hundred, alsoe what powder you can spare, as also the workmen for I am ready for them. I know not what I shall doe with the whitemen, they not haveing their pay can gett nothing to eat, & these people's faith extend no further than ready [money], so humble desire you'l send mony to pay them by first opportunity; also to send a doctor with medicines and salves to look after our people's leggs & other deseases. If they are not looked after they will drop off, or else must send them downe to Cabo Corso & so disable ourselves. I hope you'l be pleased to allow me some expence of lyquor, which I have expended at makeing upp the palaver. I am verry much in want of a good loke [= lock] for the warehouse, this that is on being quite spoiled, so that I am forced to putt a small padlock on, which signifies no more then if there were none. Please to take notice that Mr Jennings received on Mr Gorings accompt from Captain Billy 7a, & Braffo[194] 6a 6ta. We shall be verry much necess[it]ated for two boyes in the makeing of the bricks, so desire you'l please to send back Quomin & another boy. If you can spare me the 8 mark pile of weights[195] which did formerly belong to Annashan,[196] they would be a great help to me, here not being one pile fitting to recieve or pay mony by in the fort. Please to send to me bolts & staples for windows, also as good pair of stilliards [= steelyards][197] to weight the brass by, these we have here being good for nothing.

PS. When you send the canoe please to order her to take in my things, being much necessitated for my lining [= linen].

84. John Pinck Dickies Cove, 25 July 1695

Yours of the 23^{d} instant received, & observed the contents there of, and doe find that I am accused for extorting mony from the natives, & useing other means [ms. 'maens'] prejudiciall to the Companys concerns in this place, all which I utterly disown, and think it verry hard that you should be against that which all

[194] 'Brafo' was normally a title (see Glossary), but occurs sometimes as a personal name (e.g. no.181).
[195] i.e. a set of weights fitting one within another.
[196] Anashan, east of Cape Coast: the RAC's factory there had been closed down in May 1695 (no.806).
[197] i.e. a balance, for weighing.

the Cabbosheers both of this place, Cape Tres Pointas & Butteroe thought to be to little a satisfaction for Nedds panyaring my boy, & keeping him three weaks fast nailed to a blo[c]k & almost starved, for pallavers which were long before my time. I might then well make myself a party when the affront was put on me. As for following [ms. 'fallowing'] Mr Johnsons courses,[198] I disown them and regard my owne sefety more, not designeing to loose my life & ruin my security upon such trifle pallavers, though if occasion were (which God forbid) should as willingly loose my blood in their service as any other of the Companys servants. The ounce I am not as yet paid, neither was it given to me, but [to] the boy & slave who were sufferers. I acknowledge that I did fire att canoes in the bay, but they did not belong to this place, butt were Mine canoes, that buy up all the corne before it is fitting to take in, & we all ready to starve for want of bread, being forced for six small cankys a day to pay six angles the two months, & it cannot be expected that 285 lb beafe can last for ever. Their oyle or fowles they will not sell to us, but the Mina canoes may buy them under rate. In short, they would be rogues, if they had witt enough, & their designe [ms. 'desinge'] I believe is to starve us. I have by me twenty butts oyster shells, & wood within a small matter to burn a kill of 50000 bricks, & should have been much forwarder if these people would have given their assistance as they ought to have done. The custome in palavers you mention the Dutch use,[199] it was also used att this place but never brought up by me, but it being your order to the contrary shall most strickly observe, & for the future, unless it concerns my masters intrest, shall on no terms whatsoever concern my self in any of their palavers, but leave them to their owne laws & customes. I had not concerned myself in this, but you ordered me to be assisting to Hucame,[200] and he being such an old fool, they would never have done it if I had not gone, so that my goeing was in obedient to your orders. The report goes in these parts, that the Copeman of Butteroe has order to raise what force he can in these parts to oppose John Cabess & Taggee,[201] the former of which we hear the Dutch Copeman of Commenda had wounded.[202] As I hear further of anything of consequence shall advise you. I have not a coppy of the articles of agreement by me & to the best of my remembrance never see the originall but once, so by returne of this canoe desire

[198] Referring to Thomas Johnson, factor at Sekondi when it was captured in 1694, & implying that he had provoked the attack by his own actions; cf. NA, T70/11, Chief Merchants, Cape Coast Castle, 2 Aug. 1694, which reports that it was 'occasioned by the rashness of Mr Johnson'.

[199] Probably meaning that the Dutch exercised judicial powers in their major settlements, a practice which the RAC more often mentioned positively, as something to be emulated (Davies 1957, 279–80).

[200] Captain Hucamee, an African employee of the RAC, also mentioned in the 1680s (vol.i, no.221; ii, nos 90 etc.).

[201] The Dutch were seeking allies for a new attack on Eguafo (cf. no.337).

[202] Cf. no.342.

a coppy, also another man in the roome of William Phillips, whom I am forced to send downe by reason of his leggs. I have paid him his six months pay.

85. John Pinck Dickies Cove Fort, 12 Sept. 1695

Yours I received. This comes to desire on accompt of the Royall African Company of Engeland,[203] one hundred 4 lb, 3 lb, & 2 lb pewter basons to be sent as soon as business will permitt, the traders staying for them. The mony I formerly advised you Mr Jennings received from Captain Billy & Braffo he is still indepted to Mr Goring, that not being included in my receipt. You will likewise receive an accompt of what things I have of his. As for an accompt of his debts I have none, Mr Jening[s] carrying to Cabo Corso, so desire the workman of. It is likewise of the articles of aggreement for this place. I hope by this time the platforme may be done at Cabo Corso, so desire the worckmen may be sent, I haveing in readiness burnt fifty thousand bricks & upwards of fifty butts of shells which I am unwilling to burne before I see the workmen. The slaves we have most of them being lame is the reason we goe so slo[w]ly to work with the bricks, but if you please to spare me a dosen or a halfe more of slaves, I dare promise not only to build that which is downe with good brick, but [to] new case the rest of the fort, which will preserve it mightily from the rains. Here is no news stirring in these parts, nor any schips to windward. When the workmen come please to send some cordages[204] for the scaffolds, as also Quashee the carpenter.

86. John Pinck Dickies Cove, 18 Sept. 1695

Yours of the 14th instant I received, with Serjeant Nathan Lathom, in whose roome according to order have sent downe Serjeant Clunn, [with whom also][205] Thomas Alner & Francis Nixon. The 2½ lb basons shall sell according to order. Per next pray advise the mens pay you now have sent upp, and likewise send four quarter cask tarras, a carpenter & a saw for the sawyers use, as also the nails formerly wrote for. There are severall other necessarys wanting which my indisposition hinders me from writing, but when I am better shall further advise.

87. John Pinck Dickies Cove, 20 Sept. 1695

I hope you have had before now mine of the 18th past. This comes expres for three cask knives & five or six hundred brass panns, which desire you'l please to send with speed, and any other goods you have vendable, as green & red

[203] An example of occasional lapses into Dutch spellings in this correspondence (presumably reflecting the employment of Dutch clerical personnel), as also 'schips' later in this letter.
[204] i.e. ropes.
[205] This phrase is misplaced in the ms., after 'in whose name'.

perpetuanoes not damaged, these few I have by me being damaged they will not sell so well. I hope whe [= we] shall in a short time gett this place in a posture of defence. In order thereto, your worships know building in this country cannot be carryed on without expence of lyquor, and you alone being the onely judges thereof, I humbly tender to your consideration, for our slaves being so few [we] must of necessity use the assistance of the natives, and if you please to send the other sawyer with the slaves and a carpenter, I will not trouble you for a deale board or any thing else this country affords. The surveyour desires six women slaves may be sent up, for he shall mightily stand in need of them in working about the fort and carrying lime & swish.

PS. Pray send the nails formerly wrote for, with bolts & staples for the windows, with four hundred large spikes.

88. John Pinck Dickies Cove, 11 Oct. 1695

By this canoe comes the quarter cask of wine, thinking you might be in want of it have sent it downe. I should have sent it downe before but that I only waited for the great canoe. I could neither for love nor money procure you either butter or cheese, they bringing just enough for themselves.[206] Here is another ship I hear to windward, if I can get anything out of her shall not fayle to do it. Pray, Gentlemen, if you can spare me a doctor, for I am mightily troubled with fa[i]ntings that take me clear of my leggs. I am too weake, I can scarce stand. I hear nothing of news but what you had long before now. Pray lett me have the nails & the rest of the things formerly wrote for.

89. John Pinck Dickies Cove Fort, 19 Oct. 1695

Yours of the 23 September & of the 14 instant have received & observe the contents thereof, and according to order have sent my accompts & lickwise Mr Gorings remains, as you will perceive per the inclosed accompts. The sayes and bafts have received, but am afraid they will turne to no accompt at this place. The six women slaves you sent [I] desire to know their pay, as also the black bricklayer & carpenter. We have two slaves that work verry well and are verry servicable in the building, they therfore desire you would be pleased to advance them. Here is a whiteman by name John Ashfield whom the surveyor does approve of, if you think it convenient he desires he may have the allowance and work at the trade. You will find by my accompts the expence that I have been at for building & getting things in readiness, so humbly desire you'l pl[e]ase to allow it, I haveing come as near[207] my expence as may be. The surveyor can

[206] Referring to ships arriving from Europe or the Americas, which often carried provisions for sale to Europeans on the coast (cf. nos 70, 1376).
[207] In the sense of niggardly.

informe you what trouble I am att. The latter rains have been verry excessive and has thrown downe another of our bastians [= bastions], so that we have no defence against any thing that may happen, but nothing shall be wanting in me towards the forwarting [= forwarding] of it. According to your order have examined the whitemen about the mony they are indepted to Mr Goring. Edward Howell acknowledges 6½a & John Ashfield 5a, w[h]ich is all they will owne. Sirs, please to take notice that Mr Jennings is indepted to me 1oz for twelve Guiney clouts he paid the slaves with and 2a for an anchor of brandy, which I desire may be paid. I am verry sorry you have never a doctor to send us & that we must [be] beholding to our neighbours the Dutch, whose assistance we cannot get without we pay dear for it, I being forced to give the Dutch doctor half an ounce for bleeding the surveyor, he being almost dead with the plurisie [= pleurisy]. I desire the liberty of come[ing] downe to Cabo Corso to see if change of air will do any good. I am upon recovery, but every now & then troubled still with those fainting fitts. The rum have received, but do not know what quantity that contains. Hopeing you'l grant my request.

PS. We must be forced to lye still till the surveyor returns againe. Please to take the ballance of my accompts and pass it to Mr Gorings, & please to returne my receipt.

90. John Pinck Dickies Cove, 29 Oct. 1695

Haveing this opportunity of a canoe to Cabo Corsoe thought fitt to advise you of affairs of these parts. These people, upon what accompt I know not, on the 28 of this instant denied us water & were all up in arms, soe that thought they would have fight us. They take the opportunity off the fort being down & knowing that a slit deale door is all our protection. Dick, to whome you have been toe [= too] civill, more then he ever deserved, is the chieff fomenter of all this buisness. I thought it my duty to advise you of these things since they soe near relate to my masters intrest. Gentlemen, he is a verry foothish [= foolish] fellow & is let [= led] on by the nose by a parcell of rouges, who because they are indepted to Mr Goreing would be allways in pallavers, to keep them out of reach of paying of it. I suppose they being most of them for the Dutch, they [= the Dutch] may sett them to worke. I desire if you thinck it convenient now wee lie in soe ticklish a condition we may have Cabo Corsoe souldiers, that they may assist us in times when we shall have occasion. Wee cannot goe forward with the building because want a carpenter to fix the gurders [= girders] of our flankers, & I doe not question but that we may goe on verry well. We have need, Gentlemen, of a Captain for this place that can keep it[s] people under, & not such [ms. 'sach'] a one as Captain Dickey, whoe instead of commanding is commanded by everyone, & if you please to chuse one then we shall have what we want for building ready to our hands. I could not gett anything done when the

workmen first came up till Captain Dickey had a quarter cask of rume, & now he has had it is all one, nothing can be done by faire means, & if I should goe to seek compulsion you would lay the blame on me and say I have broake the articles of agreement & that alone am the hinderance of the building, soe that refer to your judgement.

91. John Pinck Dickies Cove, 6 Nov. 1695

Yours of the 31st October have received, & observe the contents therein. This you'l receive by Captain Huccamee. The palaver I had made up two days before he came, for a green perpetuano which they demanded, thinking it better to comply with them at this time, the Castle being downe about our ears two or three nights before this palaver happened. If Captain Billy would have been as great a rogue as Dickey they where to have come up and fight us, and because the other would not come, Dick would have come himself with what men he could have raised of his kindred, but none of them through Captain Billys perswasions be[ing] willing to come, he was forced to give over the attempt. Gentlemen, there being a Dutch interloper to windward who by the later end of this month will be ready to goe off, desire that youl please to give me liberty to come to Cabo Corso to clear all accompts, that I may take my passage home in him for Europe, you being very [ms. 'every'] sensible I have not injoyed my health since I have been in the country. So waiting your answer & hopeing you'l grant my request.

92. Nathan Lathom Dickies Cove, 13 Nov. 1695

My master[208] being verry bad, I made bold to write unto you to sati[s]ff[i]e that the reason of the cournew [= canoe] staying so long was because he was not able to writt, and desires you will be pleased to send a doctor, for he has had a violent f[e]avour this five or six dayes and without spedy remedy we fear he will dye, and for the other two men that was sick on[e] is recovere[d] and [t]he other is so bad he is not able to come down in the cornieuw.

PS. My master would desire you to spare Doctor Jackson up for one weak if you can conveniently.

93. John Pinck Dickies Cove Fort, 23 Nov. 1695

Yours of the 9th instant I received, but was then in [ms. 'a'] such a condition that I was not able to answer it, neither am I much better now, for I am afraid I shall loose the use of my left [ms. 'lest'] hand and all that side of my body. The

[208] i.e. John Pink.

occasion of my now writing I have a Portuguez come ashoare, if you thinck it convenient to entertaine him. He came on shoare the 20th instant. Here is nothing of newes stirring in these parts, nor no ships to windward.

PS. Please to send Bastian and the other saweyor [= sawyer], because we are now forced to stay for them, as also a saw.

94. John Pinck

Dickies Cove, 29 Nov. 1695

Yours of the 25 instant I received, & the Portugueeze has contracted for three years, soe have entertained him accordingly. William Seffton departed this life yesterday. He made me his executor, by next you shall receive the coppy. I have gott one flanker up & paved itt. Desire soome scaffolding ropes by first opportunity.

95. John Pinck

Dickies Cove, 13 Dec. 1695

Yours of the 9th instant have received, with Bastian & the sawyer, as also the saw. I shall not faile to keep [t]hem to worck as much as I can. Two or three nights agoe a party of the Adoomes, soomes of Jappo's friends & Ante Sherry['s] own cousin sett upon him [= Ante Sherry] & routed him, he narrowly escapeing with one of his wifes & a little girle.

96. John Pinck

Dickies Cove Fort, ** Dec. 1695

This day arrived in this road Capt. Osburne, an English interloper from England.[209] I hear of no more shipping from Europe, my friends adviseing me that there will be no ships from the Company these two months yett.

97. John Pinck

Dickies Cove Fort, 21 Dec. 1695

Yours with the iron worck &a I received. [omission] [ad]vise you of w[h]at news was stirring, but for the future shall be more large. Capt. Buttram & Capt. Pepperell are arrived safe,[210] & Capt. Piles is supposed to be taken.[211] The Hanniball is also arrived safe. Capt. Buttram & Peperell are both a comeing out againe.[212] The files advised of we are in great need off, our saw being soe blunt that they can scarce saw with them. We haved sawed out soome boards of sixteen inshes broad, & haith we these files should goe verry forwardly on, soe

[209] Probably the same as John Osborne, who commanded the *Whidah Frigate* in 1698 (nos 904, 1329), but his ship in 1695 is not identified (Database #21226).
[210] i.e. in England: commanders respectively of the *Fauconberg* & the *Swallow*.
[211] i.e. by the French.
[212] Both the *Fauconberg* & the *Swallow* did return to Africa in 1696, but the former under a different captain.

deseiring the files by first opportunity, I wish you a merry Christmas & a happy new year.

98. John Pinck Dickies Cove Fort, 22 Dec. 1695

This serves only as a cover to the inclosed.[213] Noting he being a privateer watering at Cape Tres Pointas, the Dutch galley commanded her aboard as firing att her. They being unwilling to broak the pease, the Captain went on board with his commission, which they have cavilled at & doe designe to make her a price [= prize]. If they doe these things in the sea the next thing will be to take the fort, not privatly as they did Succondee, but openly. At noon day they desire to know your mind weither [= whether] they shall follow the galley into Mina. They are not willing to breake the peace, but they say than can soon take the Dutchman.

PS. They desire [you] to send a canoe to advice them if they shall come to Cabo Corso. They have eighty men in the ship, the Commander Capt. Robert Glover of the Resolution, privet man of ware, belonging to Antago [= Antego],[214] the owners Capt. Perry & Capt. Horne of Antago, & have been out of New York in New England seven weekes.[215]

99. John Pinck Dickies Cove Fort, 26 Dec. 1695

Yours of the 24th instant I received with the letter there inclosed, which shall deliver. When any such thing [as] that if any Company ship should be to windward, I should be soe negligent as not to give timely advise of them. This serves on purpose to advise you of the disorder that happined yesterday in the towne. These people have fallen upon some Dankary traders that are there waiting for goods, & have beat them & have taken some of their money from them, which hath soe exasperacted them because Captain Dick would not redress them that one of the Chief of them hath stuck of knife in his throat & hath certainly cutt it, if I had not timely sent the Serjeant down, who upon promise of you[r] protection hath disisted. I sent for Captain Dick, whoe lies in such a condition that a[t] present I am forced to hold a candell to the devill.[216] Where [= were] the fort up should not trouble you with these palaver.

The surveyor desires that William Coubourne may measure the wid[e]ness of the cooke roome & he'll gett the timber accordingly. Please to send the two files formerly wrote for.

[213] Not preserved, but presumably from Capt. Glover, named in the PS to this letter.
[214] i.e. Antigua.
[215] The RAC complained to Elmina about this incident: see response, no.1451.
[216] i.e. to affect friendship to an enemy.

100. John Pinck Dickies Cove Fort, 21 Jan. 1695/6

This serves only to advise you of the departure of the Generall of the Brandenburgs, who went away this morning.[217] As soon as had advise of the interloper I sent on board (which was on the 20 instant), he said he was verry sorry that he could not stay to take in your packett. There is a little to windward [of] Axim an New England interloper, all the provisions he has to sell is butter & flower. There is also a Lisbon Portuguese loaded with French brandy & wine. Noe other ships to windward. Sirs, our whiteman being greatly in want of mony & being ready to starve, desire youl be pleased to send them their pay for the laste two months, here being no goods vendable, I have launsed [= launched][218] out all the mony in that I have in Castle charges, soe that unless I can have some mony or vendable goods I shall not be able for the future to send downe a cano to advise you any thing that may happen. We are greatly in want of files formerly wrote for. The axle trees are ready when you please to send for them.

101. Bastian Ferdinand Dickies Cove Fort, 21 Jan. 1695/6

I hope you will be please to give me the same pay I formerly had, which was ten angles one month, for the worck leys [= lies] verry hard upon me and my pay is but small, and if your Worships pleases to grant me it I shall be verry willing to doe any thing I can in the country, or else I think to goe home to my own country.[219]

102. John Pinck Dickies Cove, 5 Feb. 1695/6

This you will receive by Richard Richardson, who is very desirous to goe home in the Fauconberg.[220] I beg your pardon for sending him downe, but he informed me it was your orders. Sirs, I humbly begg the favour of you, since my intentions are for Europe, that you'l be pleased to send some body up to take the charge of this place and that I may come downe in time before the ship goes for Cabo Corso, and not be hurried away just as the ship is goeing. Here is no news stiring in these parts save that the Mine canoes lies up and downe Takaradoe & Aquba.[221] Here is just now come into this road Capt. Johnson, a Dutch interloper, who is bound for Holland.[222] The fort is now in a posture of defence, only the thatch that is over the hall will somthing annoy us, if wee should happen

[217] i.e. Jan ten Hoof (Jones 1985, 311).
[218] In the sense of spending freely.
[219] Bastian was 'black' (no.873), perhaps from the Afro-European population of one of the Portuguese territories in West Africa, such as the island of São Tomé.
[220] Which had returned from England, & was now at Dixcove (cf. no.1404).
[221] On the coast between Dixcove & Takoradi: cf. 'Aquouba', on Barbot's 1688 map of the Gold Coast (1992, ii, 329, fig.28). The Mina canoes were blockading Komenda (nos 365–6).
[222] Perhaps the same as Francis Johnson, in 1694 (no.1341), but not further identified.

to come to a fight, but I doe not fear any such thing unless it be from Mine people, the Cabbasheers promising me that they will stand by this place with their lives and fortune. The Serjeant in his passage to Cabo Corso when he came off of Commenda was forced to returne back, the canoe men being afraid to venture. Anta Shrevy is at Axim getting an army, but not haveing money enough I beleive will come to nothing.

103. John Pinck Dickies Cove Fort, 21 Feb. 1695/6

Yours I received, & by the bearer have sent the remainder of the goods I panyard. Some are sold, of which I shall give you an accompt when I come to Cabo Corso. Seeing I can have no justice from your hands, shall add no more.

An accompt of goods panyard
250 brass panns
25 Cape de Verd cloths
18½ quantity barrells powder
2 anchors rumm

comes by the canoe
250 brass panns
17½ quantity barrells of powder
2 anchors rumm

104. John Pinck Dickies Cove Fort, 24 Feb. 1695/6

This you'l receive by Henry Casey, who comes downe in a Portuguze, to secure him from being seized by the Dutch,[223] he being as he informes consigned for Cabo Corso. I once more desire that you'l please to send another to supply my place, & that I may come downe to Cabo Corso before the ship goes, for I suppose itt can'tt be very long now before she does goe, & besides, wee have no money nor goods to sell for any, that wee are ready to starve, the faith of these people extending no further then ready money. Edward Howell departed this life this instant, and what he had hath left by will to John Davis. There is to windward a St Thoma Portuguze[224] & a French man of war.

105. John Pinck Dickies Cove Fort, 7 March 1695/6

This you'l receive by the hand of a Portuguze, who was seized upon by Captain Dick, belonging to Capt. Lawrence Schoza.[225] After they took all he had, with

[223] i.e. the ship, not Casey himself (cf. n.55 above).
[224] i.e. from the island of São Tomé: probably the ship of de Souza, named in no.105.
[225] Lourenço de Souza, a Portuguese merchant based on São Tomé (see chap.XV).

much intreaty I gott him from them & accordingly have sent him downe, & Sirs, humbly beg that you'l please to send another in my roome, I being very sencible that it now cannot be long before the ship departs Cabo Corso, & for me to be sent away in a hurry will be much to my cost, soe hoping you'l be favourable as to grant my request.

[PS] There is a Dutch interloper in this road & two Portuguse att Cape Tres Pointas

An accompt of things wanting
3 new trowells
1 ha[lf] round file
1 three square file
1 heading chizell
1 broad ditto
3 small gimbletts [= gimlets]
1000 ten peny nailes
2 augurs [= augers] of 1 inch ¼
2 ditto ½ inch[226]

106. Thomas Buckeridge[227] Dickies Cove Fort, 12 March 1695/6

This accompanys Mr John Pinck, from whom have received the Royal Companys fort and factory, att the [= this] place, with the merchandize, stores &c therein contained, as per inclosed inventoryes, the condition of which is none of the best, our walls being raised with swish, daily crack and settle, and notwithstanding some of them are thinly cased and covered with bricks, and what quantity of lime can allow, upon great storms of raine the ground through excess of moisture yeilding to the foundation reduces them under such circumstances as the other, that unless after every shower they are new tarrased and securd the water has free passage into them and occasions them to fall, so that fear unless such a quantity of shells can be procured as may raise itt with good stuff, it will never be finished. It is them [i.e. shells] I want, and shall endeavour to gett if possible, more whereof shall advise per next. What goods I found in the warehouse were extreamly damaged, as you may perceive. The blanketts very rotten and some of them full of maggotts, [I] gave to the slaves, being asham'd to see them among other goods. The sayes being 10 in number, I know not what to doe with, being soe damaged, also some other goods not much better. Here are in the country some Danckra traders, which have been with mee

[226] Carpenter's tools: gimlets & augers, types of boring tools; 'ten penny' (& other values), applied to nails, refers to different sizes, from costing so much per 100.
[227] On his 2nd tour of duty, after returning to England in 1694.

for perpetuanoes, sheets and basons, the latter whereof and some carpetts have sold. I received your letter of the 9th instant with things mentioned att the foot thereof, and want for the surveyor 12 slitt deales, 4 small gimblett, and 1 adds [= adze]. I notice you[r] pleasure concerning the timber, which is not yett ready, but will [be] before an opportunity of sending it. I desire you supply me with goods, arms (what I have here being good for nothing), also swords for the men, cartridg[e] paper, the Gunner haveing none left, 2 small ladels and wormes, a sheep skin, some scuper nailes. 40 of my granadoes want new fuses. I hear nothing of Shrevy or shiping. I find the blacks somthing more insolent more then they use to bee.[228] One of the canoe men belonging to Dickies Cove which brought mee up hither, Mr Pinck putting in irons, telling me he was his slave, I am forc't to keep him in the fort, untill I know your pleasure, to gratifie the black[s], who have made great complaint thereon, saying he was pawnd to Mr Pinck for payment of 14a which he had in goods and brandy, for to satisfie the Cabbasheers for making a pallavera which he had att that time, & that 8a thereof are to be discounted upon his going 8 times to Cabo Corso, so that there are but 6 remaining, which they offer to pay. Mr Pinck charges him with 8a more, which he paid att Succondee, haveing one of his canoes panyard there upon this fellow[s] head for stealing a knife. Sirs, pray forgett not the great canoe, with which desire may be sent my beding, brandy and hampar [= hamper] of wine, if she may come with safety.

PS. I shall want some paper, haveing none here. Please by the Dickies Cove canoe to send my firkin of butter, 6 cakes of soap, and what more she will hold and may be hazarded. I desire some wax wafers,[229] haveing none is occasion of my not sealing here.

107. Thomas Buckeridge Dickies Cove, 24 March 1695/6

Yours of the 13th instant with the necessaries at the foot thereof have received, also 10 new muskitts (5 old ones being wholly unserviceable are herewith returned), and what last wrote for, 12 slitt dales, 4 small gimbletts, with threed and needles more for the surveyor, 1000 ten peny nailes, 3 plaines and plaine irons, a fore plaine, a jack plaine, a joynter, a broad axe, a gudge [= gouge] and a firmer.[230] The ladles you sent are to large for our gunns, and for the fuses (our Gunner not knowing how to fitt and fix them) am little the better. I shall endeavour to put of the damnified goods, to what advantage am able, & must desire you to putt a small price upon the sayes, which otherwise, being no commodity in this countrey, will lie untill they are worth nothing. I believe att

[228] i.e. by comparison with Buckeridge's earlier period at Dixcove, Jan.-Sept. 1694.
[229] i.e. wax in thin leaves, for sealing letters.
[230] Carpenter's tools: jointer, a form of plane; gouge & firmer, forms of chisel.

12a each may in a short time dispose of them. The chest of beads can also sell but not att six taccoes per pound, wherefore if you will suffer me to vend at a lesser rate I doubt not to make a considerable sayle thereof. What I wrote in my last concerning the fort was what I experienced when here before, and have great cause still to feare, the walls which tumbled being built of the same or little better stuff. The surveyor according to my judgement hath done and daily uses his endeavour, which without materialls can but little availe. Both he and I hope they will not fall againe, and keep our slaves continually att work in getting shell between this and Butteroe, from whence think wee may procure 40 or 50 butts, which shall be sure [to] use to what advantage wee can. I am told their are great quantity of shells about 6 leagues to leward which may more then finish our work and that Mr Pinck hath payed for them, but unless I have a great canoe and halfe a dozen small ones for bringing them hither, shall reap little benefitt of them, the people here being unwilling to goe without extrodinary payment, and then but when they please, not halfe loading their canoes, but if you please to send me such from Cabo Corso or allow me to purchase the latter here for Companys accompt, I have canoe men belonging to me to padle them, who shall wholly imploy in fetching thereof, whereby doubt not in a little time and without much charge to procure lime enough for our building, if some new pallavar of the negroes does not interveen. The timber for the cook roome, 4 planckes for gunn carridges and peices for axle trees, lyes ready for sending. Captain Dickie and Cabbasheers demand their Chistmas dashees according to contract made with me formerly, which Mr Pinck hath not payed. The former desireth his cloth to be blue, which if you please to send me one or two more for such Cabbesseers as may be servisable it will not be amiss. What the Cabbasheers are to have at Christmas and at their dancing time in June, be pleased to advise. The coppy of their contract being not with mee, have forgott. Here are abundance of Dankra traders continually baiteing me for goods, who would not lett me rest untill I promised to write for some, which if they come safe, could heartily wish were supplyed with, as well to defray factory charges as to satisfie the tradders, from whom have bought four cows, which if you please to have shall send downe by first opportunity. I believe this will prove a place of great trade and in some time will fully repay the Companys charg[e] of building with interest, if new warrs do not brake forth. I here the Taggees have fought, upon which have various reports, wherefore hope it may be for the Companeys interest.[231] I lost in comeing Mr Mellross note of debts,[232] which desire to have a coppy of per next, also some flints, haveing none that are good in the fort, with corkers [= caulkers] tools for the surveyor. Asherrey hath lately been at Succondee panyaring his brother Mensa's women, and is now within two miles of us at a

[231] 'Great Taggee', king of Eguafo, & his younger brother 'Little Taggee' (cf. no.378).
[232] William Melross, one of the Chief Merchants at Cape Coast Castle.

Cabbasheers croome named Conconoco with some force, pretending he is going to Axhim. I have bought some snappans [= snaphances], which designe to keep in the fort for use thereof, that if any disturbance should happen the Companys blacks and others belonging to mee may be armed for our defence, the muskitts I have not being sufficient for halfe our people neither so ready as the former, wherefore desire they may be allowed in my first accompt.

PS. I am in great want of a small vise [= vice][233] for cleaning our arms. Please to send some swords and bandileers.

[gap in correspondence, April 1696 to March 1697] [234]

108. Wiliam Puplett Dickies Cove, 2 April 1697

Yours of the 27 ultimo with two marks gold yesterday received, and the same day came a man into the bushes near the Castle who sent to know your answer, to whom I returned answer according to your orders, who immediately replyed that nothing lesse then their former demands should end the pallaver, and that your slaves must no more go into the woods, till such time you send their soldiers three bendys, which money they have been very urgent for,[235] the Dankara traders being very desirous to come and trade but are prevented for want of the said soldiers money, and if that was paid I should have a free passage into the wood, and presume a good trade. The Cabbasheers here want to goe for Cabo Corso againe, seeing they have no pallaver to make.[236] Wee have burnt one kiln of lime, and thatcht the hall, and now most of the slaves must stand still, they not being suffered to goe into the woods, which with the continuall raines wee have and have had (ere [= ever] since the surveyor arrived) shall proceed very slowly toward repaireing the Fort. What the canoamen informed your worships is notorious false and forged lies, to excuse themselves for running away. Inclosed is the accompt of charges for last three months, the ballance of which desire may have sent by first shipp. The two shovells sent was stop'd att Comenda, soe desire two more. The nailes and axe are received.

[233] i.e. screw.

[234] During this hiatus, on 6 Aug. 1696, Asirifi 'with the Anta & Dutch people' attacked the fort, & besieged it for some days: see extract of letter of Thomas Buckeridge, Dixcove, 8 Aug. 1696, in NA, T70/169, f.128; also Bosman 1705, 14–15 (who omits the alleged Dutch involvement). Although they failed to take the fort, Bosman says that 'they oblig'd the English to their terms'; an RAC report says that the Ahantas gave pawns 'for the security' of the fort (NA, T70/11, Chief Merchants, Cape Coast Castle, 1 Oct. 1696).

[235] It is later explained that the money was needed 'to make them lay down their arms' (no.111). This seems to relate to an agreement made following the siege of Dixcove fort in Aug. 1696 (cf. no.112, with n.246).

[236] Referring to persons sent from Cape Coast, not local chiefs (cf. no.111).

As for the 14 perpetuanoes trusted[237] the Addoomes, I did it judgeing it would have proved for the Royal Companeys interest, and [as] for not adviseing thereof, could not gett a canoa to goe for Cabo Corso, and they [= the Adoms] pretended hast[e] for their more expedition comeing back into the countrey,[238] but if I must see it paid (which is very hard upon me) I desire I may have the five men and boys sent me by first shipp, that I may make what money I can of them towards paying myself.[239] The two lusty women and Anthony are the two I found here at Mr Phillips death,[240] the latter was pawned to Dickie and the former was sent (as the Serjeant informed me) for protection and not for pawnes, Mr Phillips not takeing one pawne the time of his being here. The daminner[241] his wife and a lusty young man are pawnes for the powder and barrs[242] that I trusted the Addoomes, the five which I took for the perpetuanoes are Atoo, Coffe, the man that is sick, the boy that has a gold feitich about his neck, and the tall young man. The other a little boy I kept for better satisfaction of the other five. I humbly desire the 3 pawnes of Dickies to be returned me when the shipp comes, except Dickie will send the money, which is 4oz 4a 6ta, Mr Pinson can satisfie you which,[243] and the fiv[e] pawned for the perpetuanoes. Two of our townes people are panyard in the bushes and will not be delivered till the pallaver is made up. I doe not perceive but the longer the pallaver is deferred, the more inflexable the Antas are, soe desire a speedy answer.

PS. I have a very hard swelling in my belly and stopage in my stomach, that I cannot fetch my breath without great paine, which makes almost incapable of any bussiness.

Just now King Badue sent to me to know your answer, and also was very urgent for the souldiers money, saying he had given pawnes for it. I presume if the money was paid would be a great insight to me, to see their reallity of performing their promises, and should know how far they deserve more.

109. William Pupplett Dickies Cove, 6 April 1697

This serves to desire some person to take charge of this factory, my indisposition since my last being increased, with a fevor which makes me wholly uncapable of any business, not being able to stir out of my bed, or to speake to anyone without

[237] i.e. given on credit.
[238] Referring to Jan. 1697, when the Adoms had again attacked & defeated the Ahantas (NA, T70/11, Chief Merchants, Cape Coast Castle, 13 Jan. 1697).
[239] As made clear later, these had been left as pawns for the goods supplied on credit.
[240] The preceding chief of Dixcove fort.
[241] Possibly 'dominee', Dutch for 'clergyman', but sometimes applied to African officials.
[242] i.e. lead bars, which were cut up to make shot (cf. no.77).
[243] Henry Pinson, formerly mate of the RAC ship *Hannibal*, which had been taken over by a mutiny of its crew, who subsequently remained at Cape Coast (NA, T70/11, Chief Merchants, Cape Coast Castle, 6 April 1697), & was employed on various vessels based locally in West Africa (cf. nos 124, 1309).

a great deal of paine, and but little hopes of long continuance in this world, therefore desire a speedy answer with your orders to come for Cabo Corso.

110. Henry Vincent Dickies Cove, 15 April 1697

This comes by Mr Pupplett,[244] with whom have inventoryed this warehouse and factory, and to whom I refere you to receive an accompt of affaires in these parts, desireing your needfull instructions accordingly. I desire youl please to send a cask of beefe, here being great scarcity of provitions, [and] some money to defray the charges of this Factory, here being no trade so can receive none.

111. Henry Vincent Dickies Cove, 27 April 1697

Since the departure of Mr Pupplett from this place I have been mightily importuned by the blacks to make up this pallaver, and [blank] I sent to Captain Billy, who came to me and expresses a great desire of peace, that he may come and live in the town, which he and all his people would so soon as the pallaver is ended. I also sent to King Badue, but he would not come, but sent me word he and his people would come and build the towne and live here if the pallaver was ended. All they demand is three bendys eighteen angles for the soldiers in the countrey to make them lay downe their armes, and some liquor to drink, but without will not make any pallaver. I hear King Badue gave some pawnes to the countrey people to keep them quiett till the pallaver was over, and that they have brought him his pawnes againe, soe last Munday they panjard 4 of our townes women, and our townes people went out after them, but could not overtake them. The two Cabbasheers you sent were very impatient for one of them to goe to you, soe have sent one in the canoa. Please to send us three or four thousand bricks for the steps, and some odd things. As yett cannot begin the flanker because cannot send into the woods for timber. There is no shipp at Cape Tres Pointas, but as soon as hear of any shall advise.

PS. Here is no scales, blowpanes nor sifters,[245] when any occasion offers, soe desire you'l please to send some, as also some cartridge paper and some corne, here being but little to supply the slaves as well as ourselves.

112. Henry Vincent Dickies Cove, 4 May 1697

Yours of the 21 & 22^{d} ultimo have received, and sent immediately to Ainam, King Badue and Billy, the last of whom came but the others would not, returning answer that my predicessors had sent them such word as I, but they could never

[244] Puplett evidently soon recovered his health at Cape Coast, & was sent to take charge of the RAC factory at Egya in early May 1697 (cf. no.1021).

[245] i.e. blowpans & sieves, equipment for the gold trade: gold dust was sieved into pans, & 'blown' to remove particles of dirt (Phillips 1732, 206; Bosman 1705, 84).

see anything, soe would have the goods sent to them, which I refused to doe, but sent King Badue and the others word that if they would send me some pawnes [I] would send them some part of the goods, but they refused, soe [I] took two pawnes of an old Cabbasheer that lives in the towne and sent them 3 perpetuanoes, upon which on Saturday last King Badue and Billy came on to the sand but would not come to the Castle, soe I went to them and at last gott them to take a feit[i]ch to be true to the English and to keep any body from coming to molest them in getting of wood, or in trade or any way whatsoever, but on the contrary to help them in the aforesaid things, as also against anybody that should oppose them, and they made me take a feitich to protect them, which ended [the matter]. I gave them the goods to the value of 3 bendyes, but their greatest pallaver was for 10 bendeyes more for the Cabbasheers, this being for the soldiers to lay by their armes, which they say Capt. Pepperell promised them at a pallaver with them,[246] to which I answered I knew nothing of that nor had no orders for any such thing but would give them the 3 bendys, which at last they took, but put into my feitich that I would write to you and send them a true answer of what you wrote, with the full quantity of what you allowed them if any thing, but I did not know whether you would give them any thing or not. Captain Ainam did not come, but King Badue told me he would come and take a feitich if you would deliver up his cozen you have at Cabo Corso,[247] but hope the paire will be as well, Captain Billy haveing begun to build in the towne, and he and King Badue are the Chief Cabbasheers in these parts, but they are much against Captain Dickie, and they will not have him to come here any more, if he should [it] would breed fresh troubles. This day have sent into the woods to gett what wood we can to burne shells. Mr Howard tells me there is timber enough downe to last the sawyers this month, soe please to send them, for we cannot remove nor doe any thing with it till they come. The Brandenburgh ship is come to Cape Tres Pointas from tradeing to windward, they saw no ship besides the Barbadoes man. I have herewith sent you the petitition of John Davis, he being one that was here at the fight[248] the blacks doe not effect [= affect] him.[249] If you send for him please to send us somebody in his roome. I have also sent the Cabbasheers by this canoa.

PS. Please to send us 3 or 4 paire bandeleers or catuch [= cartouche] boxes and a screw to draw a muskett.[250] As to other necessaryes referr you to the surveyors note and my last letter.

[246] Pepperell had been sent to Dixcove in Sept. 1696, apparently to negotiate with the local people following their attack on the English fort (NA, T70/11, Chief Merchants, Cape Coast Castle, 19 Sept. 1696).
[247] But later referred to as his 'brother' (no.119).
[248] i.e. the attack on the fort in Aug. 1696 (see n.234 above).
[249] i.e. feel affection towards him.
[250] i.e. to clean it.

Pray send some writing paper by the canoa, for I have no more than what I herewith send you.

113. Henry Vincent Dickies Cove, 15 May 1697

I received yours of the sixth instant on Sunday last, at which time was violently ill of a feavour and have been soe almost ever since, but now thank God am a little better, if it hold. Capt. Piles sailed from hence with the slaves as you ordered on Munday night last to Cape Tres Pointas, where he now is.[251] He desired [sic: = delivered] one cask of beef here, and (as the Serjeant informs me, who measured it, I being sick) eighty one chests corne, leaveing some with Mr Gore at Commenda.[252] The corne is very indefferent, and wonder any body should enforme your Honours of such a falsity of selling any corne here, there is no such thing, nor I had never any body come to aske to buy corne, only Dickies cozen a chest when I came here first, but I do not perceive the countrey people doe want corne, and here it will lie and spoyle, for I have nowhere to keep it but on a moist floor, and the drying it will keep halfe our slaves alwayes in employ. I only writte for a little for our own and slaves use. Please to send some nicconees and sheets, those being the goods the blacks ask for. When the sawyer comes from Cape Tres Pointas shall observe your orders in cutting out the timber. The Doctor has sent a note of mediccines he wants, please to lett him have what can be spared, for he has none, and know not how soon I may be sick againe, it only being removed with the Jesuitt barke,[253] soe desire you'l please to dispatch the canoa againe with all speed. I do not hear of any shipps to windward, but when that or anything else offers you may be sure of advice.

PS. Pray send me some writeing paper by the canoa, as also scailes, waites [= weights], blow pane & other necessaryes I have before wrote for. They gott all the things our surveyor wrote for at Comenda, desire some more.

114. Henry Vincent Dickies Cove, 4 June 1697

Yours of the 18 and 24 last past I have received, with the three barrells of powder on accompt of the Royall African Company of England. I am sorry for the mischance the other canoa mett with at Comenda.[254] I have observed your orders and sent Howard, slaves and corn to Cape Tres Pointas the same day the canoa came. As to the natives I cannot see but they are wholly reconciled to the English, for since my last Captain Ainam has been here, and took a feitich to be

[251] Now commanding the *Sally Rose*, & engaged in cutting timber (no.1376).
[252] Gerard Gore, chief of the RAC fort at Komenda.
[253] Cinchona (from which quinine is extracted), used to treat fever, so called from having been introduced into Europe from America by Jesuit missionaries.
[254] See nos 395 etc.

true to the English, but would not come to the Castle till his cozen at Cabo Corso be delivered to him, the which he made me promise to write to you and send him your answer. However he took a feitich not to hinder us any way, nor panyar our people (which he remaines firm to), so that now no body molests us. Here was lately the Dutch Generalls boy came to make a pallaver with the Antas, his business was to gett them to fight Great Taggee,[255] and offered them money (how much I know not), but they refused all offers, and sent me word of itt next day by my boy, who was there, which refusall I encouraged them in, and reminded them of their feitiches, and now they seem very true, soe hope all will continue well. As to the measure of the corne, I advised you before [I] was sick when it came, and left the measureing to the Serjeant, soe when the slaves returne from Cape Tres Pointas, shall measure it, and advise you of. I have nothing to advise of any shipping but those that are past by and hope safe with you, which would have done sooner but want canoas, soe hope you will please to order two up.

PS. Pray send me some paper, the last you send being lost at Commenda, as also the ironwork. As to the necessaryes have sent you the Gunners note.

115. Thomas Howard Dickes Cove, 2 July 1697

I doe herein give your worships an accompt of what materialls is wanting here: four iron barrs, 4 foot long apeice flatt, and [with] mortaces [= mortises] to lett in the 4 asses with shoulders to them,[256] which wee have occation for one of our flankers, three stone hammers, six bills, two paire of linepins[257] and one broad ax[e]. Worthy Sirs, I humbly desire you would be pleased to send me one white man to assist me, either carpenter or bricklayer, one to look after the bricklayers, or the other to goe in the woods, to look affter them, for I cannott look affter them all my selfe and they are so lazy I cannott make them work. Worthy Sirs, the things wrote for before have received, a two hand saw from on board Capt. Piles, and a grindstone and two old shovells that were broak to peices in makeing the sawpitts att Cape Tres Punctus. Worthy Sirs, I understand he had another saw and two axes for us, which he carryed away with him again. Worthy Sirs, I desire your worshipps to send 3 iron shovells more, and a pair of hand screws to gett our timber on the pitt, for itt is so larg[e] thatt wee cannott doe without. Likewise some ropes with all to draw our timber out of the countryes. Worthy Sirs, I desire your worshipps would be pleased to send people to make bricks, and I doe not q[u]estion but in two or three months time, if itt please God, I shall bring Dickes Cove in good repair.

[255] The king of Eguafo, against whom the Dutch were again attempting to organize a coalition: cf. Bosman 1705, 35–6 (though he does not mention Ahanta specifically).
[256] Referring to mortice-&-tenon joints; presumably, 'asses' is a term for tenons.
[257] i.e. pins to hold a line, to provide a straight edge for guidance of carpenters etc.

116. Henry Vincent Dickescove, 3 July 1697

Yours of the 10th ultimo have received, since which Ainim has sent to me about his cozen, and I returned him the same answer you sent me, with which he seemes to be well sattisfyed, and has sent me word [he] will come to the Castle. The Antas have been mightily of late affraid of the Adoomes comeing, but now hear nothing of itt, Captain Anta,[258] one that was with the Adomes, being come to make fri[e]nds with Ainim. If [they] should come Ainim would find but few to helpe him, for Billy nor Baddue I hear will not, and the Brandenburgs have putt all the Cabbosheers att Accadah in irons for agreeing to take Ainims money.[259] At present are all things very peaceable.

Since Capt. Pepperrell went down[260] have received a letter from the Branderborgs Generall, he wanted two of his slaves. One was here which I sent him, the other I hear went downe in the said Captains shipp. Please to order him to be looked for and sent, he is brother to one Hennicoe, a cozen to Aggubah Braffoe.[261]

I desire you will please to send me these following goods, having been much inquired for (vizt) two chests sheets, and some nickones and brass panns, with one cask two pound and one ditto one pound pewter basons. This cask that have here upon opening find to be four pound basons.

In yours of the 10th ultimo, you were pleased to mention [I] must make the corne received as in your last. The corne I have measured since, and find itt to be no more than whatt before writt you, and have tryed the chest by severall others, in which is noe default. If Capt. Piles had one hundred sent on board [he] would have done well to have seen the delivery of them, for the Serjeant will avouch there was but 81 brought here, therefore with submission to your honours think itt not reasonable to charg[e] 11 chests att 3a each more than have received, so desire you will please to consider of itt.

PS. I forgott in my last so thought fitt to advise here that when Ainim took his fettish I gave them the six yards cloath you alowed. Pray send me some writeing paper, for have received none. As to other necessaryes for the building, refer you to the surveyors letter.[262]

[258] A chief of Sekondi, earlier associated with the RAC factory there (nos 200 etc.).

[259] There was a wider background to this dispute between the Brandenburgers & local rulers. Earlier in 1697 their headquarters at Gross-Friedrichsburg was besieged by the local Africans, with those of Akwida & Tacrama, complaining of financial extortions (Jones 1985, no.84: Report of Capt. Woulter, 28 July 1697). Cf. also no.127, for continuing clashes in the following year.

[260] From Cape Three Points, where he had joined Capt. Piles, to cut timber (cf. no.1380).

[261] Cf. no. 1079, 'Occubah Braffo'. Presumably the same as 'Aguaba Brafo', who in 1704 was installed as Queen of Fetu (in which Cape Coast was situated) by the English (Deffontaine 1993, 203–4).

[262] = no.115.

117. Henry Vincent Dickies Cove Fort, 14 July 1697

Yours of the 8th instant have received, and shall endeavour according to our orders to keep all quiet here as wee are at present, but our Cabbosheers here have been a little disatisfied since the returne of this last canoe, by hearing all their pawnes are lately put in irons at Cabo Corso, for what reason they know not, and have been to aske of me, which I could not resolve them, so would have me write to you, that might give them an accompt. Pray send the goods, a carpenter and iron work as soon as possible can, for at present lye very open and cannot proceed for want. You herewith have our Sergeant, who haveing some buisness at Cabo Corso Castle, with your promiss to his uncle, have gave leave to goe downe in this canoe, per whome when returnes desire you will please to send money to pay our people, they being very desirous to be paid, it now being 4 months since. Here will be wanting besides what I have received two marks.

PS. I desire when you send the goods above you will send the rumm, that which had beein[g] expended at palavers and belliaring.[263]

118. Henry Vincent Dickies Cove, 5 Aug. 1697

Yours of the 21st and 31st last past are come to my hands, and note their contents. As yett have not spoke to the Cabbosheers, some of them being buisey in rowsawing in the country,[264] when return shall give you an accompt. The cause of this [is] the bearer, who is so troubled with a distemper in his side that he is incapable of duty, so on his request sent him down to Cabo Corso Castle, his name is Anthony Caravelo, a Po[r]tugueze. I hear Shumaw people and the Addoms are prepareing to fight Great Taggee.[265] There is a Dutch interloper at Cape Tres Pointas under Deans [= Danes] collors, who says there is a great talk of peace in Europe, but the King is in Flanders, & the King of Sweden is dead.[266] I have not anything more materiall but only to desire you will please to hasten the sloop[267] with those things wrote for, with an addition of one bale perpetuanoes & 1 cask of knives.

PS. Pray when send up the sloop send somebody to releive John Davis, who is very desirous to be gone.

[263] i.e. dancing (Portuguese *balhár*): the word also occurs in vol.ii, no.189.
[264] i.e. for the 2nd (lesser) planting, harvested in January.
[265] According to Bosman the Adoms were hired by the Dutch to fight Eguafo, but in the event did not (1705, 36). He implies that they approached Adom only after the failure of negotiations for aid from Fante (in Sept. 1697: see chap.VI, n.205), but the Rawlinson correspondence shows that they pursued both alliances simultaneously.
[266] Referring to the preliminaries to the conclusion of the Treaty of Ryswick, reported in no.120. 'The King' is William III of England, campaigning against the French; King Charles XI of Sweden, who died in April 1697, had been a mediator in the negotiations.
[267] A sloop of the RAC employed locally in West Africa (see no.1382).

119. Henry Vincent Dickies Cove, 21 Aug. 1697

This accompanyes Captain Dickies cozen, to whom have told what you write me, from whom could gett no other answer but that he would waite on your Honours himself, so is the bearer hereof. Captain Ainam has lately been impatient for the comeing of [his] brother, and desired me when sent to lett a man goe with him to his brother and to speak to your Honours, so desire to know your pleasure. On the 19th instant our surveyor said would go to Cabo Corso Castle, which I did not deny him, seeing him very earnest to goe, but whatt accompt I know not but suppose the cause was liquor, so desire your Honours to send him or some other, with a carpenter and necessaryes before wrote for to finish the fort, which now lies in no good condition. I have heard from the Generall of Munfort[268] about the slave, and he says he has spoke to the Negroe whose slave he is, who will by no means allow of his slaves being detained from him unless his freinds will pay him five ounces gold, which if they will may keep him, elce if not sent they will seek satisfaction some other way, so please to send him or money by first opportunity, the Generall being very kind on all occasions and given me an invitation to see him, for which shall waite your approbation. I have several times wrote to your Honours for goods, which you have been pleased to write you will send, which pray do with all speed, I haveing sent one into the Dancres country, who is now returned with traders to King Badue['s] croome waiting for England goods, soe if not speedily sent I beleve will be gone.

PS. I desire you will send me twoe bale perpetuanoes, haveing wrote before for but one.

[gap in correspondence, Sept. & Oct. 1697]

120. Henry Vincent Dickies Cove, 6 Dec. 1697

This serves to acquaint your Honours that yesterday passed by this place Jacob De Brayne [= Bruyne] commander,[269] who sayes there is a peace concluded between English, Holland and all the Confedirates ex[c]ept the Elector of Brandenberge and the Swishes, for them there is six weeks time for the English and Dutch to meditate [= mediate] between them.[270] He saw no shipp to

[268] i.e. of Gross Friedrichsburg, 'Mamfort [Amanforo]' being the name of the hill on which it was situated.

[269] Commanding a Dutch slave ship bound for Danish West Indies (Database #35135).

[270] The Treaty of Ryswick, ending the War of the League of Augsburg, was signed in Sept. 1697. The reference is awkwardly worded, since the peace was made between the 'confederates' of the 'Grand Alliance' (including England, Holland & Brandenburg) on the one side & France on the other. The details are also garbled: it was the Austrian Emperor & the King of Spain who initially refused to sign the treaty (but did so later); the 'Swishes' are presumably not the Swiss, but the Swedes, who were not combatants but involved in the negotiations as mediators.

windward, except the Deane which is past by.[271] Wee have now gott up the two flankers and worked up all our shells, so cannot proceed in the building without you will please to order some up, and a carpenter and a halfe round file to set the saw to cut timber for the hall. Our surveyor sayes, if had the necessaryes above would finish the fort in less then two months time, so hope you will incourage it. If had any green Welch plains could dispose to the vallue of a mark, as also some blanketts.

121. Henry Vincent Dickes Cove, 28 Jan. 1697/8

This serves to inclose the letter from the Royall Affrican Company to your Honours brought by Capt. Cotterrell, who is a permissioned shipp,[272] and one from him,[273] who is now here wooding and watering, and expects to be down at Cabo Corso in six or eight dayes. He advises of a shipp that will be here shortly, the Commanders name is Capt. Burrows,[274] which is all the Companyes can hear will be here soone, but advises they had taken up six more for these parts and four for the Norward,[275] and there is a great many other English vessells coming out to supply the Spanish West Indies with slaves. Of late I have a feavour but now wee are all verry well. I have entered the Portuguezes into the Companyes service from the 31st December 1697 at 1oz 9t the two months, their names are Anthony Goonsolous and Antony Pararo, which hope you will please to note, as also Emannell Farnandoe, of whome have formerly advised.

122. Henry Vincent Dickes Cove, 28 Jan. 1697/8

If you please to advise what you intend to pay Robert Wright, who was Gunner at Annamaboe. His bargaine he sayes was for one ounce four angles eight taccoes with the Company in England. By being Gunner he received 1oz 8a 8t, so he only hopes youl deduct none but his advance pay. My orders are to pay one ounce eight taccoes the two months.

123. Thomas Howard Dickes Cove, 22 March 1697/8

These few lines are most humbly to desire your Worships would be pleased to pay my sallery what is due to me to the 19th instant to Mr Cornbrow, begging your Worships pardon for troubling you so suddenly, this being a very hard

[271] The *Mynten*, bound for Accra (see no.1320, n.145).
[272] i.e. one holding a licence purchased from the RAC, a practice which was extended at this period, when the RAC's monopoly was increasingly difficult to defend (Davies 1957, 125–6).
[273] = no.1426, from Charles Cottrell, commander of the *Merchants Goodwill*.
[274] William Burroughs, commander of the *Coaster* (NA, T70/61, Instructions for Captains).
[275] Referring to what the RAC termed 'the Northern parts of Guinea', i.e. the coast from the River Senegal to Cape Mount (Davies 1957, 214).

place to live at. May it please your worships I have been at the charge of canoe hire twice, for bringing up of iron worke, which I hope your Worships will please to consider me somthing for it, for the Cheife will not allow me any thing towards it. Likewise there was a file and carpenter to cutt the teeth of the saw, which stood me in two angles. May it please your Worships I shall give you an accompt of what things is wanted, (vizt) three new iron shovells, one thousand of ten penny nailes, two trowells, two iron crowes, halfe a sheet of lead. Pray be pleased to send a new fille for the old saw, for that is broke which I sent downe, and likewise four old crowes. Humbly desireing your Worships would be pleased to send the iron worke by returne of this canoe, by reason there is none that's fitt for the slaves to work with.

124. Henry Vincent Dickes Cove, 23 March 1697/8

In answer to yours of the 16th instant, have sent my accompt to the ultimo December, and the rest to the ultimo Febbruary shall foollow in the Gally,[276] and the remainder for the future shall follow monthly, but for the vending my goods here at present is not to be thought on, the country people are all at warrs one with another, which stopps the passages.[277] When any thing offers for the Royall Company shall be sure to advise. At present wee have no quarrell with them, but on the contrary all our fri[e]nds, tho' know not how soone [they] may come to disturbe our Blacks in this towne, whome I hope your Honours will please to protect if [they] come, it being Billy and his people who was the first promoters of a conferance with the Blacks. I have nothing else to add on this affaires. By this canoe have sent Robert Wright, and paid him according to your orders 10a 4t per month, and his arrears to the 25th Febbruary 1697 [= 1698]. Have also sent two blunderbusts [= blunderbusses] and twelve musquetts, to be exchanged for others, these being faulty. I am glad your Honours are pleased to expediate [= expedite] the building the fort, which when the people arive may soone be finished.

PS. Just now wee see a small vessell in the offen, which wee hope to be the sloope. When arives shall load her with all expedition. Since my last have had one Ardah slave dead,[278] as also one white man Portugueze of whome have advised before, his name was Anthony Gonsolvus. I have entered one Dutch man for the Royall Company who runn from a shipp. I also sent you one nine

[276] i.e. the *Cabo Corso Galley*.

[277] Cf. later references to conflict between the Brandenburgers & local Africans, in nos 125, 127.

[278] Allada, the most important state on the 'Slave Coast' (in modern Bénin), for which see Law 1997c; but the name was often used in a broad sense, to include neighbouring peoples who spoke related languages, including Whydah, where the RAC's factory was situated (see chap.XIII). Slaves from the Allada region were commonly employed by Europeans in their factories on the Gold Coast (Law 1997c, 90–1).

hand canoe by Mr Pinson, of which desire your notice by next. Have no advice of any shipp. Pray send the filles and crowes by the canoe for Mr Howard.

125. Henry Vincent Dickes Cove, 29 March 1698

Since my last of the 23d instant, the sloope is arived with one white and two Black sawers. According to your orders have loaded her with wood, and taken out her shells, which wee hope will finish the fort. They sawers are beginning to work, who shall take care to forward as much as I can. Wee have no signe of vending any goods here, the people in the country being still in troubles, tho' hope shortly will all be quietted, the Generall of the Brandenberghs being dead, who was a great promoter of them.[279] I have herewith sent you one of the Ardah women slaves with her child, her name is Yaw, who breeds a great disturbance amongst the rest of the slaves, being always fighting about her, soe desire you will please to send Bristow the sawers wife in her roome.

PS. Having noe more paper then have herewith sent you, is the reason have not sent my accompts remaining, but if receive any as wrote for by last, shall be sure to send by first opportunity, being all ready, only want fair drawing out. Pray send a broad ax.

126. Henry Vincent Dickes Cove, 14 April 1698

Yours I received, and have dispatched your letter on board Capt. Rawlin[g]s at Cape Trees Punctus, who is since sailed.[280] Have received the lead, gunns and crowes &ca. According to your orders have inventored the factory together with Mr Gerrard Gore, and he has the ballance with him, as also accompts to the date of the inventory.[281] I desire you would be pleased to send here two bailes of perpetuanoes, as also powder and rumme, the stock here being very low. In short time hope may have occasion to write for more goods, but at present vend nothing. You were not pleased to mention the receipt of the slave I sent, in your last, soe desire will in your next. Herewith goes John Davis, one off our souldiers, he being desireous to goe to Cape Coast. Here is nothing new to advise in these parts, and as to necessaryes wanting refer you to the surveyors note enclosed.

127. Henry Vincent Dickes Cove, 1 May 1698

Yours of the 29th last past have received, together with fifty perpetuanoes blue, fifty gallons rumme and two barrells powder, in which I find wanting one fourth

[279] i.e. Jan van Laer, who died 5 April [NS: =26 March OS] 1698 (cf. no.1457).
[280] Presumably Benjamin Rawlings, who also commanded voyages in 1692 (no.661) & 1695 (nos 831–2, 1403).
[281] Cf. no.425.

barrell in each, and have sent certificates accordingly. Have received yours and Mr Gabbs orders for timber,[282] which shall endeavour to supply as soone as possible can, butt are in want of the files [ms. 'till^rs'] and other needfulls wrote for. Have entered a souldier for the Royall Company, his name is John Johnson, he made his escape from Capt. Hall, who is passed by. As for other shipping have heard of none for the Coast, only his companion, as one Bristow [= Bristol] man, but he advised two Companyes shipps are gone for Sherbrow and those parts.[283] Yesterday the two armies in these parts engaged, wherein the Brandenbergs partly worsted the others, having beaten them out of the feild and taken a great many, soe hope in short will be forced to make peace. At present have not else, when have shall advise.

PS. Have sent by the canoe five planks for gunn carriages, two at seaven feet long each, and three at 14 feet each, which is all our canoe men would venture to carry.

128. Henry Vincent Dickies Cove, 31 May 1698

This serves to acquaint you that Abraham the Bomboy is just now arrived from Succondee, who brings the sad news of Little Taggee's takeing thatt fort, the morning att 6 a clock, wounding severall of the white men and one he thinks was killed.[284] He sayes he heard from Succondee people who runn affter him to Pompony,[285] [they] say the white men were sent to the Dutch fort. They panyarred him att Pompony with two more slaves, who they keep, demanding a bendy for them. Shall see to gett them if possible, but thinking he can tell more then I can learne in the space of time, have sent him with this. Wee are all att quiett here att present, butt now they are come soe far know nott butt thatt they may advance. Wee have noe provitions, soe desire you may supply us of all sorts as well as cann. Corne can provide here. Pray be pleased to send us up with speed some musquetts, there is nine that belongs here now at Cabo Corso, and these thatt are [here] most out of order.

129. John Hust Dickes Cove, 27 June 1698

These are most humbly to acquaint your Worshipps that Mr Vincent, being invited by the Dutch Coapman of Buttrew yesterday, and coming home in a canoe, was oversett just at the mouth of the bay, and was drown'd, tho' all help that possible could bee could not save his life. Worthy Sirs, have herewith sent

[282] William Gabb, chief of the RAC factory at Sekondi, which had been re-established in April 1698 (cf. no.257).
[283] The River Sherbro, in modern Sierra Leone, where the RAC had a factory (on York Island).
[284] Cf. report from Komenda, no.432.
[285] Pompendi, on the coast between Butri & Takoradi.

your Worshipps the key of his desk, itt being sealed up before four or five men. It has not been opened, nor nobody knowes what is in it. Desireing your Worships would be pleased to send somebody up as soone as possible you can. Here being not one dropp of liquor in the Castle, and the Blacks Christmas being just at hand, the Dutch Coapman being greatly in love with the Blacks, I think he may inveigle them to him, if they have not what they expect at the time. They are every day more and more in building, and it is likely to be a fine place.

130. Captain Nedd[286] Dickes Cove, 28 June 1698

My humble service to you all. May it please your worships I have herewith sent you a sheepe, which desire your Worshipps will be pleased to except [= accept] off, the Coapman being dead. Captain Dick and I was and are building a croome just by the Castle, which wee doe think may be good towards the Castle. Captain Billey and others are not very willing wee should build, but the Anta up country people are very willing, for it may be great cause of bringing trade to the Castle. Worthy Sirs, wee took advice with the Chiefe before he dyed, and he was very willing to it and soe wee did sett about it. Worthy Sirs, I desire you would be pleased to speak to the next Chiefe which comes up, that the building may goe on, for I am very willing to doe the English all the service I can.

131. John Hust Dickes Cove, 30 June 1698

Your two letters by the two hand canoe have received, and being informed it was the custome to open them, I did make bold, begging your Worshipps pardon if I have done amiss. Worthy Sirs, haveing returned the letters, there being money in one of them, which your worships will receive. Worthy Sirs, for shipping wee doe heare not of one of any sort. The man that Mr Vincent sent to Succondee brought word there was three gunns and Capt. Kempthorns boate[287] and a five hand canoe, but for moveable things, they are all carryed away. The man that went brought with him 19 great shott, there being noe Blacks live there.[288] The Dutch have withdrawne their fort and will not settle the[re] till the English are settled first, the Coapman which lived there is removed to Buttrew.[289] As for the two slaves that was there, Mr Vincent has redeemed them, and one Cabo Corso man.

[286] One of 3 letters in this correspondence from Africans (with nos 423, 426), presumably written for them by persons in the local English factories.
[287] Also noted later at Egya (nos 1034, 1037): i.e. Samuel Kempthorn, who commanded several slaving voyages between 1686–1703 (see Database — but this voyage in 1698 is not listed).
[288] Referring to the site of the abandoned RAC fort at Sekondi.
[289] Cf. no.436. But the abandonment of the Dutch fort was evidently only temporary.

132. Thomas Howard & John Hust Dickes Cove, 9 July 1698

Yours of the 30th June have received, and will take what possible care wee can of what your Worshipps have orderd to us. Worthy Sirs, wee cannott gett this man[290] to inventory or any thing else, and here is goods goes out dayly, but upon what accompt wee know not. Worthy Sirs, for what Mr Vincent have left wee have taken an accompt of all, espetially odd things, they being in the Chiefs roome. Worthy Sirs, Mr Vincent has four men slaves in irons, and one girle and two canoemen pawns. Worthy Sirs Mr Vincents desk of which your Worships have the key, the seale was broaken since this man came here, not wholy, but wee doe think here is nothing diminished, or it was open'd. Worthy Sirs, wee looked over Mr Vincents things, wee found two letters for your Worships which came out of a Dutch interloper, they being in the Chiefs hands.

133. Richard Sheldon Dickes Cove, 15 July 1698

Yours of the 5th and 12th instant, I received. Affter my arrivall here, I went with Mr Howard and Serjeant Hust, and unsealed Mr Vincents chamber doore, and found in his roome most of the Royall Companys goods, and accordingly took an inventory of them, whilst the said Mr Howard and Serjeant was present, likewise the apparrell of the deceased Mr Vincent. Affter that a Dutch interloper came into our road. Our gunns being then unloadded, I went with said Mr Howard and Serjeant and unsealed the Royall Companys warehouse doore, for powder to load the gunns, which was the reason of opening the warehouse. Likewise at the same time took out one chint and two pounds of beads, the above being present. The next day affter the inventory was taken I added them to the invoice, and shall make my selfe debtor in my accompts. This really is the truth. As for Mr Vincents pawnes &ca, [I] have [them] ready against the Gally arrives, with the inventorys, but the Gally is not yett arrived, she lyes as I am informed at Shuma, and has been there this 7 or 8 dayes. The difference betwixt Captain Nedd and Captain Billy is about building his house nearer this Castle, and to him I beleive I could make up this pallaver for a case or two of liquors, in the meane time I shall endeavour. I doubt not when your Worshipps receive Mr Vincents accompts to find your expectations answered as to the warehouse, which shall always be the endeavour of [myself].

PS. The information Mr Howard and the Serjeant gave your Worships was mearly out of mallis [= malice], because I threatned them about interlopeing goods which they had in the fort, likewise a slave which the Serjeant took upon him to buy and put in irons unknown to me in the fort.

[290] i.e. Richard Sheldon, the new chief of the fort.

134. Richard Sheldon Dickes Cove, 15 July 1698

Being informed last night of a Briggantine to windward, I immediately dispatched a canoe away to learne advice of the Captain if he heard of any Companys shipps to windward, who advises me that he left on the 7th instant at Cesters a Company shipp, The Prince of Orrange, Capt. Daniell Commander, she waited only for wind and weather when he left. Here inclosed is two letters directed to your Worshipps, which I found tyed up in a bagg among some other papers of Mr Vincents.

135. Richard Sheldon Dickes Cove For[t], 18 July 1698

Hope by this time your Worshipps are partly made sencible that I have not been in this short time I have been here, so remiss in the Companyes affaires and your Worshipps orders, as you represent in your last, to deserve your just resentments or complaints. I received your Worshipps dated the 12th instant on the 14th, sent away the canoe with all the expedition I could, which was the next morning the 15th, with I hope a sattisfactory answer, which I am sure your Worshipps will find to be true, as soone as you receive Mr Vincents accompts, which I shall take care to send, with slaves, pawnes &ca, as soone as ever the Gally arives, which I will not detaine an hour longer then needs must. She lyes now as I am informed at Pompony, three leagues off. As for the two letters your Worshipps mention I sent inclosed in my last, which I found accidentally scattered in his roome, your Worshipps letter directed to the Generall of the Brandenbergs I sent away,[291] and the other your Worshipps ordered me to deliver to some Dutch interloper, [I] delivered yesterday myselfe on board to the Captain myselfe, who promised me faithfully to deliver the same, the Commanders name is John Dooves. I am very impatient for the arrivall of the sloope, that your Worshipps may see all things faithfully stated, and I may noe longer lye under your Worships displeasure for want of a true information of things, and by the callumnys of some. Soe hopeing your Worships will, as I doubt not, give a favourable and impartiall construction to these.

PS. I am informed by Captain Nedd, who was yesterday at Buttrew, that a friend of his, a Cabbosheer resident there, advised him that he had private intelligence from the Mina that the Generall endeavours by large promises of money to engage some of the Anta Cabbosheers, especially them in and about Buttrew, to endeavour to hinder the resettlement of the Royall Companys fort and factory at Succondee. Captain Nedd hath now 11 of his people in the Mina Castle, who lye for one mark,[292] which if your Worships pleases to [r]emitt hither for the discharge of his the afforesaid people, hee promises to give his two sons for

[291] Cf. no.1457.
[292] i.e. they were held in pawn for this sum.

pawnes, untill such time as he hath repayed the said mark, and as soone as he receives his afforesaid people, he promiseth to undertake to gett people to rebuild the afforesaid fort. This is what Captain Nedd informes me.

136. Thomas Howard Dickes Cove, 25 July 1698

These are humbly to give your Worships an accompt of what timber and iron work I have sent by returne of the sloope: 27 sawed pieces which may be usefull for window cases, door cases or axell trees for great gunns. I have a great deale of timber of all sorts ready cutt, and should have had a great deale more if I had received the iron work sooner. Worthy Sirs, I have returned three old broaken crowes, two shovells. The Castle will in a short time be finished,[293] except your Worships will be pleased to have a tank made, which if there be it will require a great deale more lime, for it is not convenient to leave the Castle without lime.

An accompt of what iron work is wanting more, being needfull: 2000 of sixpenny and tenn penny nailes, three new trowells.

PS. Humbly desireing your Worships will be pleased to grant me liberty to come downe soone enough to goe home in this shipp, otherways humbly desire your Worships to let me goe in the first ship bound for Barbadoes that presents.

137. Richard Sheldon Dickes Cove Fort, 25 July 1698

The Gally came into this road the 24th instant. According to your orders I have sent you Mr Vincents things. I could not send them in his chests, he haveing sould it to Captain Ned sometime before his death, but have taken all the possible care I could of everything belonging to the afforesaid Mr Vincent. As for his debts I cannot as yett find out, but your Worshipps will as soone as you receive his desk, where I am informed all his accompts are inserted, both to white men and Black men, the key of which I suppose your Worships received before my arivall at this place, I found it safe locked and sealed. I have likewise sent one boy pawned by Captain Dickee for 12a as I am informed. Likewise two men and one girle slaves. He hath two more, whome the other night broke their irons and made their escapes, one of which runn to Captain Benns house at Buttrew, who promised to returne them both or money in two or three days time, which I shall take care to send downe the first opportunity. Here lyes some Dancra traders in the towne who wait for goods, therefore humbly desire your Worshipps [to send] a supply of sheets, pewter and brass, and what other goods your Worshipps thinks convenient the first opportunity. I am informed of more traders coming downe, soe hopeing your Worships will find all things here answer your expectation.

[293] But 3 months later, it was reported that there was still need of 'materials to finish' the fort (NA, T70/11, Chief Merchants, Cape Coast Castle, 1 Nov. 1698).

PS. Inclosed are the inventorys &ca received this day from on board the Cabo Corso Galley, Mr William Hippsly master, on accompt of the Royall Affrican Company of England (vizt) 50 gallons of rumme, 26 large nicconeese, 57 narrow ditto, one hand saw, 2 mawles, 6 wedges, 1 plaine, 1 chizwell [= chisel], 1 augor.

138. Richard Sheldon Dickes Cove, 26 July 1698

Affter the slaves and goods &ca of Mr Henry Vincents were put on board, and the Gally ready to saile, Captain Dickie brought the money, vizt 12a, which he sayes is all the boy lyes for, and desired me to take the money and send your Worshipps, which I have [sent] by the master of the Gally. I keep the boy in the fort untill such time I have your Worships orders to release him.

139. Richard Sheldon Dickes Cove Fort, 27 July 1698

The Serjeant this day [came] to ask of me leave to goe downe to Cabo Corso Castle, whome not haveing your Worshipps orders I refused, soe that if he doth come your Worshipps may assure yourselves is without leave or consent. This I thought my selfe in duty bound to acquaint your Worshipps. Worthy Sirs, I doe humbly acknowledge my selfe extreamly oblidged to your Worships for my present advancement to this place. I desire you'l excuse my not returning my humble thanks for the same before, the concerne at the first letter being the reall cause.

PS. This day the Cabbosheers of Buttrue canoemen with severall of the canoemen, with their wives and children, came to desire to live under the protection of our fort. The reason of their leaving Buttrew they say to be the ill usage they received from the Dutch.

140. Richard Sheldon Dickes Cove Factory, 29 July 1698

Those two canoe men are as I am informed Mr Vincents deceas'd pawnes.[294] The canoe [ms. 'canoemen'] belongs not to them but to another man in the towne, which pawnes if your Worships designes to keep at Cabo Corso Castle, untill they have sattisfied Mr Vincents debt, bee pleased to send away the canoe with the next. The felows desire to work it out, as they say Mr Vincent intended they should, who imployed them constantly, as he had occation. I had sent them downe in the Gally with the slaves, but I had sent them before, with Peter[295] and my letter dated the 18th instant to your Worshipps, who arrived here the 27th instant, with yours dated the 25th, which I received and acquainted Captain Nedd

[294] i.e. pawns of the deceased Mr Vincent.
[295] Probably this is 'Captain Peter', as in no.161.

of your Worships answer to this pallaver. Likewise [aquainted] the Anta Cabbosheers of what you mentioned in your last. I desire your Worshipps to send with the rest of your goods you designe for this place, red cloath, corrall and knives.

Captain Benn not performing as before advised your Worshipps of sending the slaves or money in two or three dayes time, I sent and panyard one of his wives, a free woman, who is now in the fort. Wee are all here quiet at present.

PS. I have sent the bagg that lay in his roome, which was forgott.

141. Richard Sheldon Dickes Cove, 30 July 1698

Affter I had wrote and finished my letter yesterday to your Worshipps, and just ready to send away the canoe, espyed two shipps comeing downe, soe that I defered sending untill such time that I could be informed what they were, and what news to informe your Worshipps, which proved to be Portugueze, one an indifferent large shipp, and the other a small one. The Captain of the large shipp delivered a letter to me directed to your Worshipps, which is inclosed,[296] the other hath another which the Captain is desireeous to deliver himselfe. The Captain of the great shipp informed me, who desired me privately to acquaint your Worshipps, that he hath severall ill effected persons on board, corrupted by a superior officer, who have combined together to seiz[e] and carry away the shipp, which said persons in order thereto did last night attempt the life of the Captain. Therefore he being very sencible of their roagury, desires your Worshipps to secure the shipp, it being a Companys,[297] as soone as he arives, which shall be in a day or two's time. He sayes they had dismounted the gunns from off the quarter decks, and had certainly shot him had he not had notice given him by some of his men.

142. Richard Sheldon Dickes Cove, 21 Aug. 1698

Yours of the 5th and 15th instant I received, and according to your Worshipps orders of the 5th instant, have enquired concerning the canoe men, pawnes to the deceased Mr Vincent, and am informed they were pawned for four ounces, (vizt) one for one ounce eight angles, the other for two ounces eight angles, which last was pawned by Captain Nedd for the bendy he borrowed in money of him, soe in persuance to your orders will use them as I am informed he did. Wee hear the Generall of the Mina is at Shuma, and Peter Passop was two dayes agoe at Buttrew.[298] There be severall canoes goes downe to the Mina from windward.

[296] Not preserved.
[297] i.e. belonging to the Portuguese Royal Guinea & Indies Company.
[298] An associate of the Dutch WIC at Accra (cf. no.1291); he had allegedly been involved in the attack on the English fort at Sekondi (no.1337).

William Cobourne arived here yesterday with the 5 hand canoe and nailes. According to your Worshipps orders have sent Mr Thomas Howard with the afforesaid canoe. The Gally is not yet arived. If your Worships have occation for corne, as I hear it's scarce to leward, beleive could furnish you with 100 chests in a little time, or what you have occation for, at 2a per chest.

[gap in correspondence, Sept. to Dec. 1698]

143. Benjamin Curteis[299] Dickes Cove, 1 Jan. 1698/9

Yours by the sloop have received, with the sundrys therein mentioned, and have dispat[c]hed her as soone as possible could, with the surveyors accompt inclosed of what timber, bricks &ca is putt on board. Also have sent by Capt. Willson[300] 30 chests of corne, and my accompts for the last month, wherein your Worshipps will find two persons unpaid, whose names and dues are as foot appears. The 10 slaves likewise on board.

John Barker carpenter	8oz	1a	9t
Anthony Guilding	5	3	9

144. Benjamin Curteis Dickes Cove, 22 Jan. 1698/9

Yours I received with the letters from Europe, and have according to orders weighed the beads, and find them containing 210 lbs. As death putts an end to all subblunary affairs,[301] soe I doubt nott butt itt was the entrance of my deceased masters soule into eternall happyness. I being att this juncture very ill of a feaver humbly intreat you to spare me a dozen bottles of beere, and in soe doeing that will very much oblidge [me].

145. Benjamin Curteis Dicke Cove, 8 Feb. 1698/9

I have sent Samuell Ward, and likewise one Anthony Guilding, who is a lame infirme man, and has the palsie in his hands, and not fit for service. I have paid him two months pay, and what remaines due to him you have the accompt, January 26th 1698/9. One Hannce Jackson souldier dyed [ms 'dyet'], haveing left nothing behind him. I humbly pray when you shall think to send others in their roome. I have noe bandileers nor cartouch boxes.

I hope to send my accompts up in a weeks time, but at present am soe weak, both in body and intellectualls (haveing been light headed most part of my sickness), and now uncapeable.

[299] Subordinate & now successor to Sheldon, who had died.
[300] John Wilson, commander of the sloop.
[301] Sublunar, i.e. wordly affairs.

146. William Cobourne Dickes Cove, 8 Feb. 1698/9

These are to certifie you that I have assisted Capt. Williams[302] all that lay in my power, but as for the timber boards and plank you wrote for, here is none ready yet for our carpenter, and three of our sawers has been sick ever since before Capt. Willson went from hence. The carpenter and one of the sawers are not yet able to work, the rest shall be kept at sawing soe soone as Capt. Willson is gone hence,[303] for while any ship is loading here the slaves are all imployed about her, but shall endeavor to get both the timbers, planks, boards and knees ready with the ribbs soe soone as possible, but wee can cut noe more timber then what is already falled, till you send us a grindstone, as the master of the Gally can very well sattisfie you. Four girders under writen were sent to Commendo per Capt. Willson. Wee are in great want of lime, and have seaven doores and sixteen window shutters lyes downe for want of hooks and hinges. Wee want some ragg bolts[304] to pinn the axell trees to the carryages. I have pinned them with wood pinns very often, and every time they are fired they break, and the fall of the gunns upon the pavement does much damage. The iron work I humbly begg you will please to order as soone as may be, for when the carpenters are building the Gally they will wholy imploy the smiths shopp.[305]

PS. Sent to Commendo per Capt. Willson 4 girders, 2 of nine foot and two eleaven foot long. I have sent two maules, three hammers, one shovell to be mended, which I humbly intreat may be mended and sent up.

Accompt of Gunners stores wanting
gunn powder
cartridge paper
12 fatham inch rope for halliards
3 or 4 small spung heads, 2 sheeps skins
3 or 4 small rammer heads, 100 spung nailes.

147. William Cobourne Dickies Cove, 15 Feb. 1698/9

These are to certifie you that the knees and ribbs of the Gally are all ready, and as soone as I can I will get ready the plank and boards. There are 24 of the great joyces ready, and as soone as I can I will get ready all the rest. One of our sawers being a pit man is still sick, soe wee can keep but one saw at work, which is a great hinderance to our work. Pray send us what things is ready before advised

[302] Thomas Williams, commander of the *Paget Frigate* (NA, T70/61, Instructions for Captains).
[303] Sic, but presumably this should be 'Capt. Williams' (since Wilson had already gone 'from hence').
[304] i.e. bolts with barbs to prevent extraction.
[305] It is not clear if this refers to repairs to the *Cabo Corso Galley*, or to the construction of a new vessel.

of, especially a grindstone. Money being very scarce at Dickies Cove, and with Mr Curteis and I haveing six month sallery due, I humbly intreat your Worships to send it up to me by this conveyance. Affter the death of Mr Sheldon I laid down some money upon the Companys accompt for a pallaver about the slaves, as also canky money to the same canoe as the Serjeant paid the canoe hire, which amounts in all to 3a 9t. I desired Mr Curteis to pay it and he told me I must write to your Worships, for he had noe order to concerne himselfe with any thing done before he came. I am indebted to your Worships for twelve gallons of rumme, which I desire you to deduct from the sallery, and send the remainder and the 3a 9t to me, and in soe doeing you will very much oblidge [me].

148. Benjamin Curteis Dickies Cove, 16 Feb. 1698/9

I have sent my last months accompts and have discharged all old arreares. I have paid likewise the last two months sallery due to the 27 January to each person, except four hereunder mentioned. Pray please to send me some pewter two and 3 lb basons, one cask of knives, for these here are not vendable, as also a little gunnpowder and cartridge paper, and some to write on, for I have not one sheet left. I humbly thank your Worships for the wine, which am of opinnion did me a great deale of good.

Serjeant Hust
John Baker
Abraham Gibson
Emmanuell Fernance

[PS] Pray please to send me more souldiers, for we have very few and those sickly.

II

SEKONDI

Sekondi ('Succondee') is 30 km east of Dixcove, 50 km west of Cape Coast. The RAC had re-established its factory here, after a period of abandonment, in 1683.[1] It was fortified, though it was described in 1694 as 'of no great defence', having only 'eight or ten small pop iron guns, good for nothing but to waste powder, being all honey-comb'd within, and the carriages rotten and out of order'.[2] It was destroyed in an attack by local Africans in June 1694, and abandoned for several years. An attempt to re-establish it in 1698 was aborted, after less than two months, again under attack by African forces.[3] The Dutch WIC also had a fort at Sekondi (Fort Oranje), and there were Dutch forts in neighbouring areas, at Butri ('Butteroe' etc.), 15 km to the west (Fort Batensteyn), and at Shama ('Shuma' etc.), 10 km to the east (Fort St Sebastien), all of which are frequently mentioned in the Sekondi correspondence. Sekondi supplied mainly gold, but also some corn and small numbers of slaves. In the 1680s, the main source of gold sold there was the kingdom of Wasa ('Wassaw'), in the interior to the north, but this was no longer so in the 1690s; in 1694 an attempt was made to open a trade with Twifo ('Cuffere' etc.), to the north-east (no.244), but this was obstructed by the Dutch at Shama. More generally, trade at Sekondi in this period was disrupted by frequent wars among local African states.

Sekondi and Butri were situated in the territory of Ahanta ('Anta'),[4] which had been conquered in 1681 by the inland state of Adom ('Adoom'). By the 1690s, however, relations between Adom and Ahanta had broken down. Willem Bosman refers to a war between the two which broke out in 1690, lasted

[1] See vol.i, chap.I.

[2] Phillips 1732, 203.

[3] Bosman refers to 'several attempts' to resettle the English factory at Sekondi in 1700/1 (1705, 19, 'last year'); a factory was re-established from 1704 (Davies 1957, 249).

[4] For which see Welman 1930. Earlier sources refer to Ahanta as a 'kingdom' (e.g. Barbot 1992, ii, 345), but Bosman (1705, 164) described it as a 'Republic'. The Rawlinson correspondence makes no reference to any paramount ruler (see also chap.I, n.165).

3–4 years, and resulted in the destruction by the Adoms of Sekondi.[5] The RAC correspondence presents a more complex picture, in which fighting in 1691–2 broke out originally between two local chiefs in the Sekondi area, Asirifi ('Asherry', 'Ashrevy') and Yankey (nos 151, 164), with the Adoms intervening in support of the latter. Sekondi was destroyed, in 1692, in this fighting between internal factions, rather than by the Adoms (nos 183–4). After a period of eclipse, Asirifi re-emerged, and it was he who destroyed the English fort at Sekondi in June 1694. As related in subsequent correspondence from Dixcove (no.50), the Adoms intervened, once again, in support of Asirifi's enemies in Sekondi. The RAC factors also allege that in this Asirifi was supported by the Dutch at Butri, an aspect which Bosman's account suppresses. The reoccupation of the English fort in 1698 was carried out with the support of Adom, but again opposed by the Ahanta (or a section of them), who were responsible for its destruction, in alliance with 'Little Taggee', an exiled prince of Eguafo to the east, and again allegedly operating at the instigation of the Dutch.

149. Thomas Stephenson Succondee Fort, 18 May 1691

This accompanyes the returne of the shipp Supply, Mr James Lashly Commander, by whom I received the following goods in [= on] accompt of the Royall Affrican Company of England, vizt one hundred fifty five dozen knives, twenty blue Welch plaines, two hundred woollen carpetts, one hundred blue and fifty green perpetuanoes, ten chest sheets, ten whole barrells powder, two hundred iron barrs, and have now put on board the same shipp Supply, James Lashly master, two men slaves, two hundred ninety chests corne, which you will receive on accompt of the Royall Affican Company of England.

150. Thomas Stephenson Succondee Fort, 25 June 1691

This comes to desire your Worshipps to send up on accompt of the Royall Affrican Company of England some blew perpetuanoes with one baile of redd & one of green ditto and some knives, two pound pewter basons, currell [= coral] small, brass pans, screwd juggs and some of the blewest sort of tims and cauldees,[6] & if you order the sloope[7] up with the goods then would desire you to send a litle lyme and tarris with a few deale boards & halfe a dozen pairs of short irons for the Castles use, and a cask or two of tanck water.

I desire to know if I shall allways send the ballance with the accompts at the months end or wait for your orders. Pray be pleased to order the Doctor to send

[5] Bosman 1705, 18–20, 23.

[6] Types of cloth from Benin, in modern Nigeria (cf. vol.ii, no.845). Benin cloth was regularly purchased by Europeans for re-sale on the Gold Coast (Ryder 1969, 93–5).

[7] i.e. the *Alligator Sloop*, commander Leonard Jeffryes.

us up a litle phisick [= physic], one souldier lying verry sick of a feavor. Per this canoe you will receive one man slave on accompt [of] Company. So returne you many thanks for all kindnesses received from you at Cabo Corso.

151. Thomas Stephenson Succondee Fort, 6 July 1691

Yours of the 4th instant have received, wherein you order me to purchase 100 chests of corne. I am affraid I cannot answer your expectation by reason the Mine men have bought up all here at Succondee. I have sent to all the crooms about and there is none to be gott at present. Yankey[8] has some, but he and Asterell [sic = Asheree][9] are goeing to fight, Asterell haveing fought Ayabo, killed sev[er]all and taken others slaves, and now is come to Yankeys Croome intending to fight him, so that till those pallavers are over I shall not be able to gett any corne, but shall endeavour. Per this canoe you will receive my June accompt. The ballance I shall send downe per the great canoe.

152. Thomas Stephenson Succondee Fort, 9 July 1691

Yours of the 7th instant per the 13 hand canoe with the following goods have received, vizt seaventy five blew perpetuanoes, fifty green ditto, twenty five redd ditto, four hundred and six timms [ms. 'timins'] and cauldees, four hundred two pound pewter basons, one hundred and eight ounces of corrall, on accompt of the Royall African Company of England. Here is no corne to be gott at present, till new corne come which will be a month or thereabouts.[10] Per this canoe according to your orders have sent downe the ballance of my June accompt, being 10m 2oz 15a 4ta gold, the 2 men slaves you have received before. Per this canoe you will receive one man slave on accompt Company. Per this canoe comes Anthony Martin the Portuguese souldier, who has been sick a great while and desired to come downe in this canoe, so would desire you to send him up againe when he is well, or another in his roome.

153. Thomas Stephenson Succondee Fort, 2 Aug. 1691

Having this opertunity of writting you, would desire you to send up on accompt of the Royall African Company of England some blew & green perpetuanoes, with a bale of redd, some knives and one pound pewter basons, if any screw juggs, small brass pans, with a few Guynia stufs & flowered longes.

[8] Chief of a 'croom' near Sekondi, already recorded in the 1680s (vol.i, nos 18 etc; ii, no.22 etc.).
[9] For the correct form of the name cf. nos 156 etc. Probably the same as 'Ashrenee' (?miscopied for 'Ashrevee', as in no.180), mentioned at Sekondi in association with Yankey in 1688 (vol.ii, no.134).
[10] The main harvest is normally in July/August.

[PS] About a week agoe the Brandomborg[11] sent down to Dickis Cove & put up a flagg, and about two dayes agoe the Generall of the Mina sent up 2 or 3 Cabbosheers to tell them if they did not desart [= depart] he would send the Mina Blacks and turn them out as they did at Tackerada,[12] so that betwen them two we shall loose our right if not looken after.

154. Thomas Stephenson Succondee Fort, 8 Aug. 1691

Yours per the nine hand canoe with the following goods have received, vizt one hundred sixty seaven Guynea stuffs, fifty blue perpetuanoes, fifty green ditto, two hundred two pound pewter basons, on accompt of the Royall African Company of England, with 10 deale boards & 3 pair of irons for factory use. Per returne of the canoe you will receive my July accompt with the ballance, being 12mk 2oz 4a, & 3 men slaves, one you haveing received before, two comes per this canoe, & shall purchase no more till I have your orders. I have sent down Antoney Marteins his pay, 14a 7ta, deducting 2a 2t which he owed me, and would desire you to send him up againe by the first opertunity if he be well.

155. Thomas Stephenson Succondee Fort, 27 Aug. 1691

I received the accompt which you returned me, which shall be corrected & sent down per first opertunity, with 1o 0a 9t. I would desire you to send me a new flagg starff, this being blown down and broken to peces, it was so rotten.

156. Thomas Stephenson Succondee Fort, 9 Sept. 1691

Per this canoe you will receive my accompts, as likewise my July accompts corrected, with 1o 0a 9t due to ballance of my July accompt, & would desire you to correct that which you keept. So haveing occation for some goods which I would desire you to send up on accompt of the Royall African Company of England, vizt some blue & green perpetuanoes, allejars, Guynea stuffs, paper brawles, a few broad tapseells, with a flag staff, & per returne of the canoe which brings up the goods shall send the ballance of my August accompts. Here is at present a prospect of a litle trade, so that I am afraid it will not hould. The Cabbosheers of Quambang[13] & Asheere, they make them [i.e. the traders] pay before they will lett them goe with there goods, as the other day at Quambang they made them pay eight sheets &ca to Asheere, notwithstanding I sent the lingester & two slaves to conduct them out of Anta country. [I] thought they durst not medle with them where we have paid so much custom at the sitleing

[11] i.e. the Director-General of the Brandenburg African Company, at Gross-Friedrichsburg.
[12] In 1685 the personnel of the Brandenburg factory at Takoradi were massacred by forces from Mina allied to the Dutch (Jones 1985, no.72: Johan Nieman, Gross-Friedrichsburg, 25 May 1690).
[13] Cf. no.163: not identified, but by implication in the immediate hinterland of Sekondi.

[= settling] of the factory & 6a a month and danceing time,[14] all most [= almost] about [ms. 'abdy'] to have a free trade, & now they play the rogue, so would desire to know what I shall doe in this case. Capt. Pepperell is now of of Succondee.[15]

157. Thomas Stephenson Succondee Fort, 12 Sept. 1691

Yours per the 11 hand canoe with the following goods have received, vizt five hundred sixty nine Guinie stuffs, two hundred forty paper brawles, twenty five perpetuanoes green and twenty five ditto blue on accompt of the Royall African Company of England. Per returne of the canoe you will receive the ballance of my August accompt, vizt. mk10 5oz 5a of gold.

158. Thomas Stephenson Succondee Fort, 17 Sept. 1691

This comes to advice you of an English interloper at Dickiscove, and likewise to desire you to send up on accompt of the Royall African Company of England some two pound, three pound & four pound pewter basons, with a cask of palm oyle, if any.

159. Thomas Stephenson Succondee Fort, 21 Sept. 1691

Yours per the 7 hand canoe with the following goods have received, vizt two hundred two pound pewter basons, two hundred & tenn three pound ditto, one hundred four pound ditto, on accompt of the Royall African Company of England.

160. Thomas Stephenson Succondee Fort, 10 Oct. 1691

This accompanys my September accompt with the ballance, being mk11 1oz 5a 2t gold, which comes per Mr Jefferyes. Yours have received per the 7 hand canoe, wherein you write me you have sent up on accompt of the Royall African Company of England tenn bundles times & cauldes containing three hundred eighty eight, but have received but nine containing three hundred fifty eight. For these & such like goods you order me to purchase corn, butt canot as yett bring the negars to take them, they se[e]ing the sloop here thought I must be forced to comply & give them what goods they demand, but when they se the sloop gone they will be willing to take them. Capt. Pepperell was at Cape Apalone[16] about

[14] As in Dixcove (no.83), 'dancing time' in Sekondi was in June/July (cf. vol.i, no.4; vol.ii, nos 36–7, 39, 90).
[15] Commander of the *Discovery*.
[16] Cape Apollonia, west of Axim.

three dayes agoe, as it was informed by the Vindhond, who chased a Dutch interloper from thence.

PS. Yours per the two hand canoe have received & according to order have sent Mr William Melros downe. The rest of your order shall observe.

161. Thomas Stephenson Succondee Fort, 20 Oct. 1691

Yours per the hands of Captain Petter[17] have received, with a bundle of Bennen cloths to make them received before up three hundred eighty eight.[18] Peetter has seen the canoe, & tells me shee will doe very well when she is kneed.[19] The man asked 7 bendys at first but now is come to four, butt shall endeavor to gett her cheaper & send her downe at the end of the month, itt will safe [= save] some of the charges. Your orders concerning Dickiscove shall be observed, this night intend to send up a canoe with a case of lickers [= liquors] to Captain Dickee & aquant him with your pl[e]asure.[20] No newes to windward, only the Copman of Axsime[21] is dead & the fiscall[22] is going to put in another.

162. Thomas Stephenson Succondee, 26 Oct. 1691

According to orders sent up the lingester and the bearer hereof with a case of brandy to Dickescove to acquant them that you would resetle that place if they would send a Cabbosheer to give you assurance of their fidelity, whereupon Captain Dickee has sent down his brother to give you accompt how they have kept that place, notwithstanding the Brandenburgh & the Dutch have sought to setle there, so that if you will setle it presently, otherwise they will let some body els[e] come, by reason their towne was burnt a litle while ago & they cannot live in safety.[23] They will helpe to fetch stones and wood or anything els you shall demand. Haveing this occation to send down this Cabbosheer thought convenient to send downe the 13 hand canoe which I have purchased for three bendys 8a. Yesterday I saw two shipps at sea, I suppose one to be a Portugueeze and the other the Dutch briggantine after her to take her.

[17] An African employee of the RAC, also mentioned in the 1680s (vol.i, nos 92 etc.; ii, nos 8 etc.).
[18] Referring to the 'tims and cauldees' mentioned in no.160.
[19] i.e. fitted with 'knees' (cf. no.41, with n.125).
[20] i.e. to resettle the factory at Dixcove (cf. no.162), of which Dickee was chief.
[21] i.e. of the Dutch fort at Axim.
[22] See Glossary.
[23] i.e. they hoped that a European fort would protect them; the attackers were probably the Adoms, as in 1692 (nos 1–2 etc.).

163. Thomas Stephenson Succondee Fort, 6 Nov. 1691

This accompanys the returne of Captain Quow, who will advise you the needfull conserning Dickescove, by whom you will receive my October accompts with the ballance, being 1m 1oz 4a gold, as likewise coppyes of all my accompts from the time I took possesion till now. Inclosed is a letter from Charles Hinson wherein you may see what he writtes conserning that place.[24] Here will be no liklyhood of getting corne now by reason the croomes have played the rogue so long with the up country people that they are come downe upon them & has burnt Quambang & Assheres Croom with others,[25] the people being all come downe hither for protiction. Last night came two shipps downe which I take to be Dutch interlopers.

164. Thomas Stephenson Succondee Fort, 12 Nov. 1691

This day I received a letter from Charles Hinson at Dickescove, wherein he writs me there is likely to be warr thereabouts. The people are very much troubled, they being in danger, & know not where to run for refuge, who would desire you to send up a great gunn or two. It is verry true that Ashree is run that way & that the croomes by Yankey intended to goe & fight him, & I wish there could be a way found out to take of there heads, for here will never be a trade so long as they live, so if you think fitt to order one of these litle gunns up, it may goe in my 5 hand canoe & save some charges, or order one out of the Discovery, Capt. Pepperell, who lyeth at Cape Tres Pointes, but what your Worships think convenient is sattisfaction.

[PS] This canoe comes at the charge of Captain Dickee.

165. Thomas Stephenson Succondee Fort, 16 Nov. 1691

According to your orders sent up a man to Capt. Pepperell & Mr Johnson[26] to bring downe the money, who brought me a box nailed up, the contents unknowne, which shall be secured till such time as you shall please to send for itt.

166. Thomas Stephenson Succondee Fort, 24 Nov. 1691

This accompanies the returne of the five hand canoe who brought up Doctor Lassare, for whome I returne you many thanks. The inclosed comes from Dickescove.[27] One Portuguese at the Brandenburgs.

[24] i.e. Dixcove, where Hinson was settled (cf. no.164).
[25] The invaders from the interior were again presumably the Adoms: Bosman confirms an Adom invasion of Ahanta in 1691 (1705, 23).
[26] In the *Discovery*, now at Dixcove (cf. no.1357).
[27] = no.1358, from Pepperell & Johnson.

167. Thomas Stephenson Succondee Fort, 4 Dec. 1691

This accompanyes my November accompt with two men slaves due to ballance. The inclosed received from Charles Hinson,[28] with a large information of the danger Dickiescove is in, it being beseiged, and without the help of two or three great guns cannot be saved, all the townes between Succondee and Butterrue being burnt.[29] I have cautioned Yanky not to do any harme to Disckiescove, upon paying for the same.

168. Thomas Stephenson Succondee, 17 Dec. 1691

Just now received advice from Charles Hinson of a small English interloper off Dickiescove, and that Captain Dicke and all the people are gon to the Brandenburgh, and that Yankey hath burnt 14 or 15 houses of Dickiescove.

169. Thomas Stephenson Succondee Fort, 23 Dec. 1691

Yours of the 21st inst have received per Mr William Milross [= Melross], as also yours of the 7th ditto, but being sick ommitted to advise you. According to your orders have sent downe the box of money nailed up as I received it from Capt. Pepperell, and have forwarded yours to him, and when he comes downe shall send downe 100 iron bars according to your orders. I heare that the French are all dead at Ashine,[30] and that the Dutch doe intend to goe and setle there, and that the Brandenburghs was goeing to build a fort betwixt them and Axhim, but the Dutch would not suffer them.

170. Thomas Stephenson Succondee Fort, 1 Jan. 1691/2

This morning I had advise by a canoe from Axim that there are two English Companys shipps at Cape Tres Pointas, and that they were on board, and likewise one Dutch interloper at Axim.

171. Thomas Stephenson Succondee Fort, 7 Jan. 1691/2

This accompanies my December accompts with the ballance, being 1mk 4oz 4a 3½ ta, and two men slaves, and would desire you to advise me of the receipt of the box of money which I sent downe by the 7 hand canoe. I must beg your pardon for adviseing you so early of a Companys shipp before I was certaine

[28] = no.1359, from Pepperell, at Dixcove.

[29] The towns destroyed on this occasion by implication included Takoradi. This contradicts Bosman's account (1705, 20), which attributes the destruction of Takoradi to the Adoms.

[30] Assinie, west of Cape Apollonia (in modern Côte d'Ivoire), where a French factory had been established in 1687 (vol.ii, no.955). The report was false: in June 1692 a French vessel still found a French factor in place there (Tibierge 1935, 51).

[ms. 'sccertaine'], shall take care for the future, for I cannot understand that there are any to windward as yett. Charles Hinson, John Roe and Antonio Martein, who was put on shore per Capt. Pepperell,[31] I would desire to know their pay and from what time I shall pay them, and also Samuell Lassar would desire to know what you will be pleased to allow him to purchase phisick. Yankey is returned home from the warrs, so if you have any thing to say to him concerning Dickiescove advise, and your orders shall be observed.

172. Thomas Stephenson Succondee Fort, 14 Jan. 1691/2

Haveing advice of a Companies shipp at the Brandenburghs yesterday morning sent up to know the truth, who mett with Capt. Buttram, at Cape Tres Pointas, from whome I received the inclosed.[32] He is now at Dickiescove, and intends to be downe here tomorrow or next day.

173. Thomas Stephenson Succandee Fort, 4 Feb. 1691/2

Yours per Mr Francis Philips I have received. This accompanies Mr William Melross, by whom you will receive my January accompt with the ballance, 02oz 9a 7½ ta, and two men slaves, as also a true inventory of all the Royall Affrican Companies goods, merchandize, guns, stores and amunition here at Succondee, and would desire you to send up on accompt of the said Company some blue and green perpetuanoes, knives, sheets, one pound basones, brass pans, all[e]jars white, bafts, tapseils broad and narrow. By this comes [ms. 'craves'] William Woodmansy.

174. Thomas Stephenson Succondee Fort, 15 Feb. 1691/2

Yours per the 9 hand canoe have received with the following goods on accompt of the Royall African Company of England, vizt 100 blue perpetuanoes, 10 chests sheets containing 650, though your letter mention but 160, therefor must be a mistake.

175. Thomas Stephenson Succondee Fort, 18 Feb. 1691/2

The bearer came from Captain Dickie at Dickies Cove to request me to send up the white men and flagg that was there before, by reason the Brandenburgs intend to send 5 white men with great guns to take possession and tell him that he intends to build a fort, so sent bearer down to know your pleasure and your orders shall be observed.[33]

[31] Evidently, these people had been evacuated from Dixcove.
[32] = no.1384, from Buttram, commander of the *Fauconberg*.
[33] The Chief Merchants evidently ordered the re-establishment of the factory at Dixcove, where Charles Hinson was again established by late March 1692 (cf. no.177).

176. Thomas Stephenson Succondee Fort, 7 March 1691/2

This accompanies my February accompt with one man slave due to ballance, as also one English man who has been a prisoner under the Dutch and makeing his escape hither desired liberty to serve the Royall African Company of England. Here is at anchor an English enterloper and one Dutch, and another small one a comeing down [ms 'Iown'] the Blacks report to be a Portugees.

177. Thomas Stephenson Succondee Fort, 28 March 1692

This accompanies 4 white men, who haveing gott their discharge from the ship Septre [= Sceptre] now ridding in Tackorada Road, Capt. William Parish Commander, came ashore and desired me to send them down to you in order to their entring into the Royall Companys service, either to goe home with Capt. Butteram or stay upon the Co[a]st as you shall think fitt to order it. Sirs, I would desire to know if I may bring the charge of this canoe to accompt of Company or you will order them to pay for it. I would desire you to send me by the returne of the said canoe 6 chests of corne, here being scarce any to be gott for money. Charles Hinson att Dickies Cove desires that you would send him his pay or give me orders to pay. Be pleased to send me up 6 quire of paper.

178. Thomas Stephenson Succondee Fort, 8 April 1692

This accompanies my March accompt. Here is noe trade, for Adooms play the rouge up in the country and the Generalls boys here in the town, so that we have nothing but pallaveroes, the Generall of the Mina haveing undertook to make up the pallavers that these people shall pay them [= the Adooms] 15 bendys and so [the latter] to march from this part of the country. By this conveyance comes one Robert Drummett, who was desireous to serve the Royall Company as I adviced in my last but had no answer. Pray send me some naills with a little match and cartradge [= cartridge] paper.

179. Thomas Stephenson Succondee Fort, 5 May 1692

This accompanyes my Aprill accompt. We have a flying report of the French being to windward and pirratts, but I suppose it to be a Dutch. The Addooms are gone from hence and lye more about Buttru [ms. 'Pruttru'].

180. Thomas Stephenson Succondee Fort, 16 May 1692

By the canoe comes Robert Drumond, who refused to do his duty last night, and bred so much disturbance that instead of watching our enimie I could scarce keep them from fighting. I must likewise acquaint you the danger we are in for want of water. The Adoomes being gone, Ashrevee is come here with his army

yesterday morning, the Dutchman[34] and his adherents giveing him all the incouradg[m]ent possible they can. His designe is upon Captain Enba[35] and Yanky and all those that show us any kindnesse. Yesterday the town and he engadged [blank] most part of the day within musquett shott, but [we] durst not give them any assistance for fear they should keep us from water. They ly behind the hills and are in shott of our guns. We expect them every moment again, so I would desire you to send me up 2 or 3 white men with your advice.

181. Thomas Stephenson Succondee Fort, 6 June 1692

This accompanies my accompts with the ballance, 4o 13a 6ta gold, which you will receive per bearer, and would desire you to send up some 2 pound basons if any on accompt of the Company. Ashrevee has gott Yanky and is gone to the Brandenburgs Fort with him, as we are informed.

[PS] The other day dyed old Braffo, on[e] of the Company slaves, and would desire you to send me another in his roome if you can spare one.

182. Thomas Stephenson Succondee Fort, 7 June 1692

Yours I received this morning, and according to your order have sent down Mounseiur Laseare, and if you will please to send up Doctor Douglas in his roome you will very much oblidge [me].

183. Thomas Stephenson Succondee Fort, 26 June 1692

This comes at the charge of Mr Francis Phillips, who haveing gott a violent flux desires your Worships to send up Doctor Dowglas, by whos[e] means he hopes to attain some relife. I advised you before of Asherees panyarring of Yanky. Yesterday Yankys cosen came with ane army of about 500 men here.[36] The towns people that belongs to Ashree did oppose them a little whill but was defeated and about 40 or 50 killed, the town plundred and above 100 women and children panyard and carried away. The rest of the men are fled to Ashree, who lieth at Dickes Cove, so that I do not know what we shall do for provitions.

184. Thomas Stephenson n.d. [Succondee Fort, 4 July 1692]

This accompanies my June accompt, and likewise to acquaint that for want of a tank we are put to a great many ill-conveniencies, we haveing had for the last months nothing but warrs, as I advised you before myself, when you were

[34] i.e. the chief of the Dutch fort at Sekondi.

[35] Perhaps the same as 'Ayabo' in no.151.

[36] Yankey's cousin was apparently Jappo, who is named retrospectively as Asirifi's opponent on this occasion in no.255; either now or soon after, he was reinforced by forces from Adom (no.188).

pleased to order me not to concerne myself with it, so that now the towne is destroyed, only a few harbour themselves here and at the Dutch Fort. The armie ly without the town, so that if I send the slaves for watter they are panyaird insomuch that they are affrayed to stirr out, for which reasone I desire to be removed and stay at Cape Corsoe till such time as an oppertunity present of my passage for England or to be otherwise disposed of by your Worships, so to order up a Factor to take charge of the Royall Companies concernes is the humble desire of [myself].

185. Thomas Stephenson Succondee Fort, 4 July 1692

Just as the canoe was goeing of Charles Hinson arrived at [= from] Dickes Cove, he being verry sick, tells me that the Brandenburghs promise them a Fort, so that if you will not build one, they are resolved to comply with him. He tells that there are 2 Portuguize with the Brandenburghs.

186. Thomas Stephenson Succondee Fort, 13 July 1692

This comes exprese to acquaint you that last night was creditably informed that Asheere, who is now at Buttrue with his armie, intends to come here verie suddenly, and that his designe is against the Fort, being sett on by the Dutch, therefore desire you to take it unto consideration and send up 4 or 5 men with some water, for we shall not be able to fetch water or stirr out to give you ane accompt, so lett me not alwayes writte in wain [= vain] when it so neerly concerns the Company and you know we can have no help but what we have from you. I had raither pay the charge of the canoe myself then that anything should miscarie that I have charge of, so desire you to returne the canoe with speed.

[PS] The bearer can informe you of the whole bussiness, but desire you to returne him with speed.

187. Thomas Stephenson Succondee Fort, ** July 1692

This accompanies Mr Francis Philips and Charles Hinson [ms. 'Hinton'], who being very sick desired to come down in expectation of help, here being non to be had. I would desire you to send up a couple of soldiers and as soon as these troubles are over shall send them down again, for at present they seem to increase. To informe yourself I reffere you to Mr Phillips, who can give you an accompt in part. Pray send me by this canoe 6 dozen chests corne, with the contents of the inclosed note. I have according to your order sent up to Dickies Cove, but am sorrie you will not answer my expectations, which is meerly to free me of this trouble, being indisposed and not out of any self interest.

188. Thomas Stephenson Succondee Fort, 14 July 1692

This accompanies the returne of the great canoe who brought up Mr Lasar, the tank maker and four souldiers, 5 slaves, water and stores, all which have received, and as soone as this warr is over shall goe about the tank, but at present we are forcied to keep all shutt, Ashree being come. The Dutchman comes with him again[st] Yankys cosen and the Adooms.[37] He has sent 2 great guns out into the fields and planted them on a hill just by our fort. They have fought two dayes already, though to little purpose, but in 2 or 3 days they are to try their full force. By this oppertunity comes Robert Drummond souldier, he being such a d[r]uncken abuseive fellow that I could not rule him, he being containualy afighting and quareling with the rest of the souldiers and keeping a correspondance with the Dutch, [I] thought it safe to send him down. I desire you when the Discovery comes to send us up some corne and a cask of good beef for the souldiers.

P.S. By this canoe comes one man, 1 woman slave and at the end of the month shall bring them to an accompt.

189. Thomas Johnson Succondee Fort, 28 July 1692

This accompanies Mr Thomas Stephenson, from whom I have received all the goods &ca remaining in this place as per inventory. I returne you many thanks for this imploy, I shall alwayes use the utmost of my endeavours to give the Royall Company and yourselves content. We stand in great need of a large canoe to fetch [blank] that are in the bay for building of the [blank], as Mr Stephenson will give you ane accompt, as also of the affaires of this place. Pray be pleased to send me a box of eight mark pill [= pile] weights with blow panes &ca.

190. Thomas Johnson Succondee Fort, 1 Aug. 1692

Yesterday in the morning Asheer[e]s people which lay by the Dutch Fort went out to fight the Adooms, which did not containow above half ane hour, they meeting with so hott an opposition and so hotly persued by their enemies, choose raither to fly into the bushes then to retreat in their tents, and after that the Adoomes army marched up to the Dutch Fort, where they demanded the persone of Asheere as they were informed fled thither, and as the Dutch men did formerly threaten them with there great guns [they] did on the contrarie kindly intertain them and told them Asherre was not their, whereupon the Adoomes have taken a resolution to persue him as farr as the Brandenburghs Fort, where

[37] For the subsequent movements of the Adom forces, see nos 190, 199–200, 213; also Bosman 1705, 24.

they are intended to use their indeavours for Yankys relife if alive.[38] Sirs, we cannot go forward with the tanck, which is diged so neer the foundation of the Fort that it may prove predjudiciall, as Mr Stephenson I hope has given you an accompt. I could not have wrote you sooner for want of a canoe and men.

[PS] I don't hear of any news to windward.

191. Thomas Johnson Succondee, 15 Aug. 1692

This comes by John Row, how [= who] hath often bred much disturbance here which till this time I pased by. Last night he fired his peice[39] with shott through my roome, upon which Mr Edwards and myself went down to know the matter. He presented his peece to us and bid stand off for he was on his guard, upon which I ordered the rest to lay hands on him. John Warrington insteed of obeying orders told me what signifyes what he hath done, with severall other unbecomeing words, therefor I desire you would be pleased to order his removeall, he containouing raither worse in his insolences then att Annimaboe where Mr Bloome sent him up to Cabo Corso Castle.[40] I have sent you with this the surveyours letter from Dickies Cove to peruse.[41] We are in a great want of small canoes and canoemen, for which I could not advise you of a Portuguize vessell went down last night, all which I refer to your considerations.

192. Thomas Johnson Succondee, [15?][42] Aug. 1692

Yours of the 14th instant I have received, and have not at present any oppertunity to send down the remaining part of the perpetuanoes, and if you please to send me some green by this canoe I believe I can put them of with blew. Pray let me know your prices of goods here, especially powder.

[PS] This small canoe can carry well one baill of green, pray dispatch her.

193. Thomas Johnson Succondee Fort, 26 Aug. 1692

This comes per Captain Dickies canoe. Mr Clarksone[43] hath sent down some of his tools to be mended and wants a supply of tools to break stones, and doth desire you would be pleased to send up a smith and carpenter, otherwise he cannot go forward with the work.

[38] But since Yankey is not mentioned again subsequently, presumably he was in fact dead.
[39] i.e. gun.
[40] John Bloome had been chief of Charles Fort, Anomabu, to June 1691 (see chap.VI). Presumably the incident occurred before the Rawlinson correspondence begins.
[41] = no.1, the surveyor being Christopher Clarkson.
[42] '13' in ms, but probably in error.
[43] At Dixcove.

PS. No news of any ship to windward. Mr Clarkstone sayes he is forcied to work by day and watch by night, and that Captain Dickie are ready to pull him in pieces for want of liquors.

194. Thomas Johnsone Succondee Fort, 1 Sept. 1692

This accompanies my accompts for part of July and the month of August with the ballance, being mk4 7oz & 6ta. Those canoes that I sent you before were canoes that I gott at Shuma to go from thence down to Cabo Corsoe, and at another time I took a Shuma canoe that came hither but could not [take] the men, in which I put 2 of your canoemen out of the 13 hand canoe to send down to you. I am very sorie you should be misinformed, I shall at all times give you as true an accompt as [omission]. I could not till of late gett canoe men to put in the canoe bought of Mr Stephenson, which is since broak fetching stones in the bay to go forward with the tank, so haveing gott the 13 hand canoe which assisted Mr Jeffries to come down here and carrie stones, so shall send a white man to see the canoe men are not negligent, that any harme come to her. No news of any ships to windward.

195. Thomas Johnsone Succondee Fort, 2 Sept. 1692

My last to you the 1st instant with my accompts and balance, haveing since received a letter from Mr Clarksone the surveyour, who wants 50 deall boards, lyme, bricks, great axes, some iron, with the smith for use of the new building.

PS. This comes by Mr Jeffryes, who is asailling down, as also another ship in the offen. I have sent on board her, if anything worth advising shall not faill to inlarge.

196. Thomas Johnson Succondee, 5 Sept. 1692

Yours of the 3d instant have received, and by this have sent you one ounce 15 angles and 6 taccoes of gold, which is to compleat my ballance for month of August. The duplicats you will receive per next. I have received a letter from Mr Christopher Clarkson, Surveyour at Dickies Cove, who writts that there is arrived a Portugueeze briganteen, and that the Portugueeze sayes he meet with 5 Frenchmen.

[PS] I have sent a white man on board, in order of bringing her [= the Portuguese ship] to Cape Coast Castle.

197. Thomas Johnson Succondee Fort, 9 Sept. 1692

This accompanies the returne of the 13 hand canoe. The 5 hand canoe is imployed in fetching stones, which could be sooner done had we more slaves to

imploy daily in breaking them when the stones are brought ashore. For want of slaves to carry them into the Fort [I] imploy the towns women &ca for bringing them up into the Fort, who does require some small matter, which I leave to your consideration. Mr Wane the tanck maker wants one cask of hair,[44] and these casks which come up to be filled with lyme and some bricks. No news of any ships to windward.

198. Thomas Johnson Succondee, 24 Sept. 1692

Pray send on accompt of the Royall African Company of England 520 sheetts, 3 barrells powder and some few narrow stript sattine and mahubutebans. I have sent per this some of Mr Clarksons brocken toolls, who desires you would be pleased to send new ones in their rome, as also some lime, for want of which cannot go forward with the tanck. Be pleased to send me a pair [sic: = pile?] of weights, blow pans, sifters, scales and a touchstone.[45] No news of any ships to windward.

[PS] Pray lett the powder be in half barrells if you have.[46]

199. Thomas Johnson Succondee Fort, 27 Sept. 1692

By the Alligator sloop have received 3 small casks lime, which is already spent, so that without a further supply Thomas Wan the tanck maker must be idle as before for want of lime. The tanck is built at present about 10 foot depth, and doth require for finishing it above 16 cask lime, two casks hair and as the rest of the particulars. To have it arched or made flatt atop shall leave it to the judgment of the Surveyour. Sirs, att my first comeing here, haveing a great canoe then wanting canoemen as I wrotte you, and afterwards the mischance befaling the canoe and the 13 and 5 hand canoes long stay at Dickiescove when we had most occasione of them here, all these disapointments hath been the reason of the backwardnesse of the tanck. If lime be scarce, which may as well be wanting at Dickies Cove as this place, there are some places bettween Dickies Cove and this place where oystershells & wood are neer at hand to burn lime, if we be not hindred by the Dutch usage and frivoulous pretences. The Adoomes armey which lay neer Butterroe is withdrawen for the present,[47] and one of their Cheif Captains came and told me that they have been often solicetated by the Dutch to molest and disturb the English settling at Dickies Cove, promiseing them great

[44] Animal hair, used as a bonding agent in plaster.
[45] Used to test the purity of solid pieces of gold (Phillips 1732, 206).
[46] This indicates that the powder was for sale, rather than for the fort's use. The preference (frequently expressed) for powder in half (& quarter) barrels was due to the fact that a whole barrel was too heavy for head-loading over any distance (cf. vol.i, no.346: 'whole barrels are too great a weight to carry soe far in the country').
[47] It now encamped between Sekondi & Shama (see no.213).

matters, which they refused, saying that they had no pallavers with the English and had given their voues [= vows] that they would not molest Dickies Cove, and after much pallaver the Cheif of Buttero[48] drew out his pockett pistole and offred it to the breasts of some of the Adoomes, upon which they all gott over the river into Buttero Town, notwithstanding the Dutch fireing there great guns, and killed and took away severall prisoners and persued the rest to Dickies Cove, but would not molest Captain Dickie nor non of his Town people, I haveing ingadged Captain Anguiny, the Cheif Adoom man,[49] not to desturb that place, you designeing to build their. Those goods I sell here the Blacks will not take out of the Factory but by night, for fear of the Dutch seizing of them, which in time may be a further hindrance to trade.

[PS] I have received no hair nor bricks.

200. Thomas Johnson Succondee Fort, 2 Oct. 1692

Yours per Captain Anta[50] I have received, who went by this gate to the Dutch Fort before he would come to deliver the letter, I have received [sic] of 27 ultimo with 70 mahubetbanes much damaged with salt water, 6 half barrells powder and 455 sheetts, which have put to accompt. This accompanies my September accompts and ballance, being mk4 0o 8a 6ta of gold on accompt of the Royall African Company of England. Sirs, I have also received yours of primo instant, which gives me very bad and unwellcome news of the murther of John Gregory, for which I am heartily sorry.[51] The Adoomes Generall is reinforceing his army by Kuferoes and Danckeras,[52] and for his present designe I cannot for certaine writte you.

[PS] Here is great reports by Negroes of English ships to windward, I have sent to know.

201. Thomas Edwards Succondee Fort, 6 Oct. 1692

Mr Johnson tells me that I am accused by your Honours of ploting, conspireing and [being] one who formerly should be ane instrument of raiseing your souldiers in rebellion against you and the Royall Companies Fort of Admirality. Sirs, I cannot but with tears lament my unfortunat condition in being accused of that which (I swear before God Almighty) I am not guilty of, neither did I hear

[48] i.e. of the Dutch fort there.

[49] Cf. 'Aunquay', 'Auqan', in nos 215, 217: the commander of the Adom army (cf. Bosman 1705, 23–4, 'Anqua').

[50] A chief of Sekondi, in receipt of a salary from the English (no.222), although resident in the Dutch section of the town (no.251).

[51] One of the Chief Merchants at Cape Coast Castle.

[52] Twifo & Denkyira, in the interior to the NE & NW respectively.

of any such. Indeed after Mr Elwes death, being in company with Mr Gregory, [I] was told his writte [= right] was to succeed and his life for the same would venture, and that Mr Ronan was imperious and cruell over those he had power over, and instanced his killing the chyrurgion of the ship he came over in after he had made peace with him and that he was the cause of the gunners death att the Hill by the Lewtenant, all which turned my inclinationes with the rest (altho indeed I had never any reasone to do or speak against Mr Ronan) to vote for Mr Gregory if it should come to a vote,[53] wherefor I intreat you to have me free & and not suffer my good name to be inserted as an usurper or disturber of the Royall Company concerns. Sirs, you have alwayes showed me great and undeserved kindnese, and humbly begg youll consider me still and look upon me as [your most obliged, obedient and humble servant].

202. Thomas Edwards Succondee Fort, 18 Oct. 1692

The coppy of a letter to the late deseased,[54] which I did indeed signe to on the named reasons contained in my former, I received, wherein there is nothing of conspiracy against the Royall Company nor any elce as I can deserne [= discern], which I have likewise in my former avowched to God, before whom we must all answer, and I may again affirme my starrs fattell [= fatal] that ever I cam[e] here to be accused of such actions, but God whos[e] providence I hereto and still will depend upon I hope will free me from the same.

203. [Thomas Edwards &] Thomas Johnson[55] Succondee, 19 Oct. 1692

Yours of the 17th instant I received, this being my 3d answer. My first was of the 6th past in answer to yours of the 5th ditto, wherein you are pleased to charge me with plotting conspiracie a[i]ming the Royall Company ruine, which I do still say I am ignorant of what you do charge me, so do refer to your sounding the depth and then to know what you alleadge against me, and the second was by Hansico, by whom I sent with my accompts on accompt of the Royall African Company of England mk1 2oz 15 angles and 9 taccoes, and also a certificat by all the white men here to certify that I have not exacted nor extorted anything from any of the natives in this place, and with severall other matters which I hope will satisfy you, and I doubt not but plainly to clear your charge, which you are not realy possitive in. *When the 3 marchants place was vacant by the death*

[53] Robert Elwes, one of the Chief Merchants at Cape Coast, died 23 June 1692, & was succeeded by William Ronan.

[54] i.e. John Gregory: presumably this letter, whose contents were thought to compromise Edwards, had been found among Gregory's effects after his death.

[55] In ms. signed only by Johnson, but parts of the letter (distinguished here by being put in italics) are clearly from Edwards, continuing his rebuttal of allegations against him from nos 201–2. Presumably the copyist has conflated separate letters from the two.

of Mr Elwes, then understanding that Mr Ronan was to succeed I spoke some words to the Chaiplain and severall other Gentlemen att table and also to yourself [i.e. Joshua Platt] *and Mr Whiting and received a very satisfactory answer, and since what I wrote to Mr Gregory, being one of the Chiefe marchantts (Mr Platt the 1st and particularly from the Company),*[56] *I am sure there was no plotting, conspiracie and endeavouring to make the souldiers lay down their armes, aiming the totall ruine of the Royall Company. Sirs, I am an English man & a Protistant, who never were counted plotters.*[57] As far as I wrotte you concerning lime to be made at Taccarado or thereabouts I cannot perceive how I have contradicted it, without it was to exprese the mallicious & frevoulus pretences which the Dutch too often make in pretending rights to places that they have nothing to do with all.[58] The Dutch Cheif at Buttroe stoped this letter of the Surveyours,[59] which was afterwards sent hither by sea, so for the future I cannot expect to send by land.

204. Thomas Johnson Succondee, 28 Oct. 1692

Yours of the 25th past have per Mr Jeffryes received with some lime, which will not finish the tanck, as I formerly wrotte for 6 hogsheads. No news from windward.

205. Thomas Johnson Succondee, 7 Nov. 1692

Yours of the 3d instant have received and the inclosed were sent by sea.[60] Non of our slaves dare venture to go by land, one of them since I formerly wrote you haveing received some cutts on his hand and foot in strugling to gett from the Dutch slaves when they seized him. This accompanys my October accompt and ballance, being one ounce 15 angles and 11 taccoes on accompt of the Royall African Company of England, and inclosed comes also the particulars of the Dickies Cove slaves pay.

[PS] Be pleased by the returne of the 5 hand canoe to send us some casks of good water, which we are in great need of, & some looks [= locks] and keys for the gates of the Fort.

[56] Platt was sent out from England to be Chairman of the Council of Chief Merchants, arriving in Jan. 1692; Mark Bedford Whiting was also on the Council until his death in Aug. 1692, when he was replaced by Gregory.
[57] An innuendo against Ronan, who was a Roman Catholic from Ireland (Phillips 1732, 204), & whose loyalty was by implication suspect.
[58] Cf. no.199.
[59] = no.6, from Dixcove.
[60] = no.9, from Dixcove.

206. Thomas Wann Succondee, 8 Nov. 1692

Mr Johnson informes that your Worshipps wrote him that you cannot understand I should have occasione for so much lime, haveing sent sufficent to build such a tanck as your Worshipps supposeth it to be, so I have made bold to give your Worshipps the peruseall of a small epistle, the subject of which is to acquaint your Worshipps of my present occasion. Imprimis I shall want 30 deall boards, 200 bradd nails, a ladder, with about as much more lime, which I impute [= compute] to be 20 quarter casks. I request your Worshipps consideration. The to [sic] tanck consists of 16 foot in the clear diamiter, 13 foot depth and will contain about 60 tun of water. Likewise if the swich [= swish] had not [been] extraordinary it would have occasion for a considerable quantity more. The timber I have in areadiness in order for covering the tanck, so that if your Worshipps will be so pleased to order me what I have here above speciefyed there shall neither be care nor diligence in me wanting towards the finishing of it. The tanck had been performed long since had I been supplyd with stuff and slaves. What already is done was performed by myself, which I find very hard without the assistance of some trouell [= trowel] men, but as I have promised your Worshipps to finish what I have undertaken (God preserveing my life and health) I will performe my word, desireing in the conclusion that your Worshipps will be so favorable, the next English ship that comes, if my [ms. 'any'] work performed, haveing my discharge from the Royall Company and my time expired, to grant my passage for England and in so doeing your Worshipps will very much assist [me].

[PS] Upon a second consideration that if your Worshipps are pleased to order timber to be cut at Dickies Cove and conveyed to Succondee we shall have no occasion for deall boards or naills.

207. Thomas Johnson Succondee, 12 Nov. 1692

Yours of the 11th instant I received and for your satisfaction have sent down the slave who is not fitt for service by the injury he received from the Dutch people by carrying a letter to Dickies Cove, and as to what the Generall writes in defence,[61] I will prove by all the White men that the Company slaves are here no otherwise imployed then aboute the Companys bussinese here, about the Fort and sometimes a carrying a letter to Dickies Cove, and do not goe apadling [= peddling] about the country for me nor non that lives under me, neither do our slaves abuse any of them, being alwayes at work, but it is verry plain their slaves hinders our traders, for when they buy any goods they are forcied to take them out in the night for fear of being seized, and the Coopeman of Sumay[62] and

[61] The Director-General's letter is not preserved.
[62] Shama, referring to the Dutch fort there.

this place never made any complaint to me of our slaves abuseing any of theirs, so that you may see he hath nothing elce to bring them off but by such excuses. I do not know wherein I have neglected the Companys bussinese, I have at all times observed your orders, which shall not be wanting in me, and as for writting the duplicats of accompts I have no paper, which could I gett should never be the occasion of your displeasure. Thomas Wann, who is sick, hath received 3 casks lime, and he saith without you will be pleased to send the lime he wrotte for (20 hogsheads) he cannot finish the tanck. Mr Clarkson had the inventory of the necissaries of the Castle,[63] I have wrotte him about it.

[PS] Mr Rynhout is removed from Sumay, its said he goes to Axim, the Generalls brother supplies his place.

PS. As concerning Taggaba,[64] its aboute 3 weeks since came here one of her canoes from Axim who put in here for water. I haveing a letter then of the Surveyours which I gave the canoemen and two taccoes, they being bound to Cabo Corso Castle, for which they ask 3 angles, and since the same canoe men came here with your letter of the 3d past with another for the Surveyor [and] I could not then send by land, I was forcied to make use of the canoe, and when they were up Mr Jeffryes toke [= took] their small canoe and [I] put the 2 canoe men in the 5 hand canoe that came down the other day and now in [the] 5 hand up again, for which theask [= task] imployed them no more then from this place to Dickies Cove, becaus I could not send by land, and they being Cabo Corso canoemen I judged they might be paid at Cabo Corso for their whole voyage to Dickies Cove as useual. I would pay the fellow for his voyage from this place to Dickes Cove but he will not take it.

208. Thomas Johnson Succondee, 14 Nov. 1692

This canoe comes on my charge with the slave I mentioned in my last of 12th past, who was left behind by the overhastinese of the canoemen. According to your commands I will not suffer any afronts to be given to any people, but shall at all times give you accompt of all passages.

209. Samuell Lasserre Succondee Fort, 14 Nov. 1692

Since my last to your Worshipps I have been sickly, and understanding the Windhound, a Dutch Companys ship, is now at Shuma, there takeing in wood and water for her departure for Flanders, I humbly desire therefor youll grant me liberty to pass therein, for I much fear the sicknesse of this country, being

[63] i.e. Cape Coast Castle (cf. no.10).

[64] Cf. no.36, 'Taccaba', a prominent woman of Cape Coast; Johnson had married her daughter (Phillips 1732, 202).

already very weak both in leggs and armes, therefor I yett again desire your Worshipps would please grant this my earnest request, haveing performed my contract made with the Company one year and 4 months over.

210. Thomas Johnson Succondee, 20 Nov. 1692

Yours of the 18th instant have received with the lime mentioned. Mr Thomas Wann, who is on recovery, will I hope in a little time finish the work. Fryday last sailled down a Dutch ship which came from Arda.[65] The Dutch shipp called the Windhound is at anchore in Taccarado Road, I suppose she is bound for windward.

211. Samuel Lasserre Succondee, 20 Nov. 1692

Your complyance with my former desires moves me to render my most humble and hearty thanks to your Worshipps for the same. I am informed by the Dutch Coopeman here the Doctor of the Windhound will be disposed of for the Mina or some place elce and they want serurgeon [= surgeon] to go home, so that if your Worshipps will please to grant me liberty to come to Cabo Corso and give me a line to the Generall of the Mina it may tend somewhat to my advantage and likewise have my passage free, which will do me a great kindnese, for I have made but a small proffite from the time I have been here, in doeing whereof you will greatly oblidge [me].

212. Thomas Johnson Succondee, 25 Nov. 1692

Yours of the 22th past have received. This accompanyes Mr Lasserre. Thomas Alner and, Thomas Plummer being here indisposed, have sent in his roome John Warrington.[66] Mr Jeffreys came last night here in the bay with his sloope to clean, who tells me that the sick persones at Dickies Cove are upon recovery. We shall have occasion for John Pimm the carpenter after Mr Jeffreys has done,[67] to lay the beams on the tank and to mend the Companys canoe that broak in fetching stones.

213. Thomas Johnson Succondee, 30 Nov. 1692

This accompanys my November accompts, haveing found but very little trade this month. The Adoomes that are encampt between Suman and this place[68] are

[65] i.e. Allada, on the Slave Coast. The Dutch WIC had a factory here, at Offra, but this was destroyed earlier in 1692 (see chap.XIII); more likely the ship had traded at Whydah, west of Offra.
[66] Alner & Warrington were sent to Dixcove (cf. no.13).
[67] i.e. in repairing the sloop, at Dixcove (nos 9 etc.).
[68] Bosman recalls visiting the Adom army encamped near Shama during 1692 (1705, 24).

with as great resolution to prosicute the warrs, their Generalls being a little sick hath defferd them. The great canoe is returned from Dickies Cove. I have no news to advise you.

214. Thomas Johnson Succondee, 5 Dec. 1692

Yesterday sailled down to the Mina a Dutch Companys ship and a Portuguese which is taken by the Windhound. Pray be pleased to send for the use of the tanck vizt 12 deall boards to make spouts, 600 10d nails, 300 4d, 200 10d great nails, 16 clamps or squares of 10 inches each way to fasten the spout against the wall. Mr Francis Smith[69] writtes me of a French ship and another unknown at present to windward.

[PS] Pray send 6 spu[n]ge heads, 6 ram[m]er heads, one sheeps skine with naills, spike to mend the carriages, 6 quire cartrage paper, 2 skains [= skeins] English match, some threed and needles.

215. Thomas Johnson Succondee, 9 Dec. 1692

Yours of the 6th past have have received with these things therein mentioned. On the 6th instant pased by her[e] a Dutch Companys ship formerly called the African being her 5 month voyage from Zelland. The carpenter Pimm stands in great need of pitch and tarr to mend the Companys great canoe to fetch stones from the other side of the bay for the tanck being now overlayed with timber. It is reported by the Blacks that Captain Aunquay will come here within 5 dayes to encampe in order to his march towards Occada and will be accompanyed with a great many Cufferes.

216. Thomas Johnson Succondee, 22 Dec. 1692

Yours of the 17 instant have received. Pray send on the accompt of the Royal African Company 200 times and cauldees. The carpenter is now (the deall boards being slitted at Dickies Cove) goeing about makeing the spouts. We have been makeing a lime keall [= kill][70] and this day proved the effects of it in order of covering the beams over the tank, for which we want two iron bound bucketts and some roap. Pray send also half a sheet of lead.

[PS] Be pleased to send some alejars and silk longees. This day two Dutch and one English interloper sailled down to leeward from these parts, haveing laid at anchor 2 dayes.

[69] Newly appointed chief of the RAC factory at Dixcove.
[70] i.e. kiln.

217. Thomas Johnson Succondee, 8 Jan. 1692/3

This accompanies John Pimm, who has amongst others his works here mended the Royall Company great canoe, which is fitt for service as occasion shall require. I have nothing elce at present worth adviseing, Generall Auquan the Adoomes [omission], as I am informed, being disappointed of the quantity of men he expected in order to his march toward Occqueda. I may by the next give you a better accompt of the state of affairs per the next in these places.

218. Thomas Johnson Succondee, 23 Jan. 1692/3

This comes to acquaint you that Thomas Wann hath finished the tanck, desireing to know whither you are pleased to lett him come down to Cabo Corso or to go up to Dickies Cove. We stand much in need of a new flagg and some locks for use of the gates of the Fort.

219. Thomas Johnson Succondee, 2 Feb. 1692/3

This comes with my December and January accompts, by which you will see how the affaires in these parts are, which I hope will not long containow so.

220. Thomas Johnson Succondee Fort, 11 Feb. 1692/3

Yours of the 4th instant have received with 1 quarter cask of rum, which I shall give the Royall Company credit for accordingly. The slaves are at present imployed in mending and thatching the out walls against the rain time, they will have done in a very short time. The army that have so long encamped neer these parts are now on their march,[71] so that we hope in a little time to have ane occasion for goods.

[gap in correspondence, mid-Feb. to July 1693]

221. Thomas Johnson Succonde, 16 Aug. 1693

This serves to informe you that I have been these two months sick and now since the unfortunate death of the Doctor Harding I grow wors[e]. I desire that you would be pleased to send me a Doctor for a short time

PS. Here is four Dutch interloopers in the road.

[71] i.e. the Adoms, now finally marching west (cf. no.25). Bosman recalls a war between Adom & Ahanta, in which an attack on Sekondi was anticipated, during his time in command there, i.e. in 1693 (Van Dantzig 1975–84, 3, 250 [passage omitted in English edition, Bosman 1705]; for the date, cf. 1705, 312).

222. Thomas Johnson Succondee, 31 Aug. 1693

Yours of the 25th past I received, by which understand my linguister hath been to make his complaint as that I have not paid him. He stole from me some time since 6 peas and 3 angles. The matter being so plaine against him, I by his earnest request, he being an old man and a servant to the Company & his promising satisffaction, I did not then take notice as in case of theft is deserveable, and as for the waiges he has never been out of my debt since I came here, besides what he stole, and since his returne he hath in the presence of Mr Rives paid me in part of the accompt between us 6 peas 3an. The reports of Blacks guilty in this maner I hope are not valued. There are others that owe me money and are unwiling to pay and may give you the like trouble. Here is Captain Anta, who is now afraid to come nere this factory by the Dutch threatning, hath not received as you may perceive by my accompts his sallary this many months, therefore I have not charged it. Whe[n] Adoe Ahensa comes he shall be very wellcome & kindly received as a trader.[72]

223. Thomas Johnson Succondee, 28 Sept. 1693

Yours of the 27th past have received & the contents therein shall be obeyed. I returne you thanks for sending me the two men. The very small matter of money that hath been taken for these two months past by myself (and in my absence by Mr Rivers [= Rives]) will not answer the charges of the factory, & the late raines we have had here hath leaked down into my roome that I canot lye dry & securely in the hall. I desire you will send Richard Richardson to view the same. The carriages of the guns which were mended about six months past are much rotten & requires new, with severall necessaryes as here under written. The reason I did not acquaint you of them when down, is by reason of my longe sickness, that I did not know nor see the same.

PS. nailes of all sorts, cartridge paper, ladles, spunge staffs, worms, skins of sheep, twine with needles, deale boards a few.

224. Thomas Johnson Succondee, 6 Oct. 1693

My last to you was of the 28th past. Since none from you, nor is the canoe as yet returned. The carpenter is here & cannot do any thinge for want of nailes of severall sorts, and also some dale boards. I desire you would be pleased to take notice of the bad condition this fort is in, haveing mentioned the particulars in my last.

[72] Cf. later (Feb. 1694) references to the arrival of this man's traders at Sekondi in nos 240 etc. One letter (no.244) implies that he was from Twifo; & this is confirmed by a report of the Chief Merchants at Cape Coast that the Twifo Cabosheers had 'opened a trade to Succondee' (NA, T70/11, 23 Feb. 1694).

225. Thomas Johnson Succondee, 10 Oct. 1693

Yours of the 4th past have received with the gunners stores therein mentioned, for which I thank you. Have also received yours of the 7 past with the nails. I wish you could have spared more, all the shelves in the warehouse being rotten and falne [= fallen] downe, that the goods are forced to lye on the ground for want of boards and plank. Also as for the present affairs with the Adooms and Antas, there are such various discourses abroad that I cannott advise you any thing certainly.

226. Thomas Johnson Succondee, 21 Oct. 1693

I thought for to send you these inclosed, by which you may see how the affairs goe at Dickis Cove.[73] Here are reports by the blacks of an altercation there, which I hope will not prove true. Wee are a burning of lyme, and I hope in a little tyme shall have soe much as our occasion shall serve for when you please for to send up the surveyor or a bricklayer. Sir, I doe humbly beg of you that you would bee pleased to afford mee what medicines the Castle hath. I am mightily troubled with paines in my knees and ankles, which distemper I doe not know what to terme it, for I have not been able to stirr out of my bed this five dayes.

227. Thomas Johnson Succondee, 22 Oct. 1693

This comes to bring you the bad news of the death of Mr Thomas Edwards, Chiefe at Dickies Cove, who departed this life at six a clock this morneing.

228. Thomas Johnson Succondee, 23 Oct. 1693

Yours of the 22d past have received per Doctor Hamilton, and returne you thanks for ordering mee medicines.

229. Thomas Johnson Succondee, 1 Nov. 1693

This accompanies my August, September and October accompts & the ballance, being eleaven taccoes and a halfe, by which you may see what encouragement I have to serve the Company, and in a place I am alwayes sick. I hope these bad tymes will not continue long. Sirs, will have noe muskett ball or shott for small armes, pray be pleased to send some.

PS. Pray send some pitch, tarr, blacking & yellow paint for the flagg staffe.

[73] Not preserved.

230. Thomas Johnson Succondee, 22 Nov. 1693

By this I send you my August to October accompts. The mistake of Doctor Harden pay therein is altered. The bearer brings one pease and three taccoes which with a 11ta½ makes 5a 2ta½, the compleat ballance. The duplicates of the same and as well as other wanting shall follow ere long. Sirs, pray send on accompt of the Royall Company of England four whole barrells of powder.

231. Thomas Johnson Succondee, 25 Nov. 1693

Yours of the 21st past have received, and according to your orders have by Mr Layton sent these beding cloths &c belonging to Mr John Rives deceased.[74]

[PS] Inclosed comes an accompt of Mr Edwards & Mr Rives debts to mee. I haveing received from you two quarter casks rum, I know not how many gallons.

232. Thomas Johnson Succondee, 2 Dec. 1693

Yours of the 30th past have received, with fifty gallons rum. I returne you thanks for sending Mr John Pinck now in my sicknesse to remaine second. I have also received four whole barrells of powder.

233. Thomas Johnson Succondee Fort, 10 Dec. 1693

Yours of the 9th instant have received and note the contents thereof. I find the major part of you are not as well acquainted in the business as Mr William Ronan is, therefore referr you to my letter to him of the 7th instant.[75] I would have waited on you sooner then this letter, that by verbally the businesse might bee better understood, but was hindred by not haveing the use of my lymbs, and in the interim shall take care that noe injury shall come to the Company, and myselfe to, having received a great deal already, Mr William Ronan having received eight ounces eight angles from those that have injured mee in part of satisfaction. I therefore appeall to you to know who is in the wrong or whether I am the ogressor [= aggressor] or noe. Soe hoping in a short tyme to waite upon you.

234. Thomas Johnson Succondee, 12 Dec. 1693

Per Mr John Pinck comes the duplicatts of my severall months accompts. As to the slave you mention in your last, I referr it to the discourse of the bearer.

[74] Rives had briefly replaced Edwards as chief at Dixcove; Layton, chief of Fort Royal, had been sent to install a new chief there (no.29).
[75] Not preserved.

235. Thomas Johnson Succondee, 21 Dec. 1693

Yours of the 14th instant I received. I would very willingly have waited upon you, but being newly recovered cannot be able soe soon to make such a voyage, but hope by the end of the month to come with my accompt. As concerning the slaves that are runn away, it is not from anything of severity shown by mee. Itt is very hard for the white men to live here, by reason wee can scarce gett victualls to putt in our mouths, and much more for the slaves, which I hear to bee their complaint. Hopeing to have strength in a little time to performe the voyage.

236. John Pinck Succondee, 9 Jan. 1693 [= 1694]

This comes to acquaint you that last night came a canoe to this place with some perpetuanoes and other interloping goods. One of the white men (by name Benjamin Sewell) being then at the waterside, did offer to seize the same but was very much beaten by them, one holdeing him and the other holding a naked knife at his breast whilst the rest beate him. I have with much difficulty seized on one of them with the canoe, soe crave your orders for my government herein, which shall be observed.

237. Thomas Johnson Succondee, 15 Jan. 1693/4

By this have sent you two ounces seaven taccooes and half, being the estate of William Harden deceased, deducting fourteen angles and nyne taccooes due.

238. Thomas Johnson Succondee, 1 Feb. 1693/4

This accompanyes my January accompts, by which you'l see that the money taken in these parts will not defray Factory charges.

239. Thomas Johnson Succondee, 8 Feb. 1693/4

Pray send on accompt of the Royall African Company of England fifty perpetuanoes blue, one hundred dozen of good knives, two chests of sheets.

240. Thomas Johnson Succondee, 11 Feb. 1693/4

Yours of the 9 past have received with one hundred and four dozen of knives, one hundred perpetuanoes blue, for which shall give the Company creditt for. According to your commands shall treate Adua Kensah [= Hensah] and those his people that may come, and give all encouragement possible for the keepeing the way open. Adoom Assherry that lives up Sumay River[76] and Jappo that lives

[76] i.e. the River Pra.

on this side of Sumay are the only men to bee encouraged.[77] Shall want some cloaths for the same purpose.

241. Thomas Johnson Succondee Fort, 25 Feb. 1693/4

This serves onely to advise you that Adua Hensa's people was here and bought a parcell of knives and perpetuanoes, which were seized on by the Copeman of Shuma and they themselves are confined in their prison, soe desire you would bee pleased to send your orders, that wee may paniair other people to gett our traders goods againe, for they are resolved not to buy their goods here unlesse wee can protect them. They [= the Dutch] are dayly panyaring their goods and confining the men. Wee may bee in likelyhood of a good trade, provided wee can protect our traders. The Dutch are constantly selling [= seizing] a goods, and those that wee sell wee are forced to send away by night, but still they are seized on, soe desire you would bee pleased to seize on a Dutchman or two, to make us satisfaction for the affront received, or doe you seize upon the Copeman of Morea and Cormantine, who you have dayly at your Fort.[78] Lett not the Company bee abused and laughed at by the Dutch, who dayly makes it their business to molest them.

[PS] I am very bad and have been troubled with convulsion fitts and am now in a very bad condition, as Capt. Shirley and Capt. Phillips can both informe you.[79]

242. Thomas Johnson Succondee, 10 March 1693/4

Yours of the 21st of February received by Captain Anta, to whom I have paid his sallary for January & February last, and according to your orders have advanced him one bendy, which goods no sooner carried out of the Fort but were seized upon to pay his debts. He is a man that does not vallow me but stands in great awe of the Dutch, as all these people doe. This accompanyes Aduhenyusis boy, who is come to make his complaint and desire your assistance against the Dutch for molesting their trade and seizeing their goods continually. I never heard that ever we panyard any of their goods, and we have as much reason to doe it as they, and it is the greatest affront imaginable that they should molest our trade. I have this day received yours of the 6th of March with six yards of scarlett cloth,

[77] 'Asirifi of Adom' (by distinction from the Ahanta Asirifi), who lived on an island in the River Pra (no.380); for Jappo, cf. later references in the Dixcove correspondence (nos 49 etc.).

[78] i.e. the Dutch forts at Mouri (Fort Nassau) & Kormantin (Fort Amsterdam), both east of Cape Coast.

[79] Commanders of the *East India Merchant*, & the *Hannibal*, who were at Sekondi 20–21 Feb. 1694. Cf. Phillips 1732, 202: 'we found the factor Mr Johnson in his bed raving mad, cursing and swearing most wretchedly at us, not in the least knowing Capt. Shurley, tho' he had a long former acquaintance with him'.

which shall be disposed of according to your orders. I cannot yett send downe my accompts, but soe soon as I am a little better they shall be sent downe.

PS. You mentioned in yours of the 21st of February that you were informed that I pinyard the people of this place that I am not concerned withall, which indeed, Sirs, is a mistake, I have trusted them money and have pynyard them when they could not pay me, and severall others owe me for goods, and likewise Captain Anta, and must I not pynyard them if they will not pay me? My promoting of the Companies interest is the promoting my owne. Mr Pinck & all the white men are sick of a feaver.

243. Thomas Johnson Succondee, 15 March 1693/4

This comes to acquaint you that Benjamin Sevell dyed the 10th and John Warrington the 14th instant, the former of which being worth little and the other haveing his money out amongst the Blacks, have found but 12a in gold and nothing else but his necessary clothes. We are for the most part very much out of order & sickly, soe desire you will send up 3 or 4 men and lett me order that one of them may have some allowance above the rest to act as Serjant and Gunner. Aduhenna his boy has been with you these seven dayes, soe I hope you have done something as to the encouragement of trade. Some of Aduhenna his boyes in these few dayes have been here and tells he will send noe more money here, for they see that we are not able to protect their goods nor recover those that are painyard, which is a great prejudice to the Company. There comes inclosed an inventory of the estate of John Warrington and I shall use your orders how they shall be disposed, whether I shall sell them here or send them downe to Cabo Corso. Benjam Sevell had no more than what he was buried with except an old coate and paire of drawers, both not wortth 6ta.

PS. Warrington hath a boy which I will buy if you please. He hath abundance of outstanding debts by the blacks his wench who is run away knows off.

244. Thomas Johnson Succondee, 22 March 1693/4

Yours of the 16th instant I have received with the new Generall Staphorst['s] letter,[80] the interpretation of which you will find very insignificant and a mere flame [= flam].[81] You are sencible when he lived at Morea, when very much inferiour to what he is now, he could disputt with you as his equalls, much more now he is in his new place. Where [= were] he or the Coapeman of Shuma in

[80] = no.1435, from Johan Staphorst, Director-General of the WIC (in response to the RAC's complaint about the seizure of goods at Shama), which had been sent to Johnson for translation & comment.
[81] i.e. fabrication.

another, I could soon tell them that they are in the wrong, for there was no interlopers att that time from Cape Tres Pointas to Agga.[82]

Such an affront as this might be soon and easily remedied. I have two Dutchmen on my right hand and as many more on my left.[83] Those blacks that you call our poor friends they love us but are afraid of the Dutch, and what conduces more to a trade then fear? The Dutchman my neighbour his people sent him from Mina, Comenda, Shuma &ca by the Generalls order to gett fish for them, but wee have none to gett fish for us [ms. 'use'] but are forced to stand to their curtisie [= courtesy] for what they please to give use for our money. As for proving of the goods to be ours, the circumstances are soe plaine that it needs no proofe. The traders in my predecessors tyme they were Wassaws, [who] live quite another way from what the Cufferes [var. 'Croffies'] doe. Since I have received yours of the 19th ditto, and give you thanks for sending me those two men in the roome of those deceased. By this comes the estate of the deceased John Warrington who in his sickness had nobody to look after him but his black wench, who immediately after his death run away unknown to any but those of her couler [= colour]. Wee have soe much sicknesse here that the living could scarce see the dead interr'd.

Bradua Ahenesa[84] grows now very strange, and am affraid he will make his words good. I may presume to say that there is nothing wanting in me to the encouragement [of] a trade. I have given encouragement for a trade in a place where I have not had my health nor the use of my limbs for this fifteen months, as you are all sencible of itt. Sirs, I have often wrote to you the bad condition of this fort, and 'tis a hard case I cannot have a dry roome to lie in.

245. Thomas Johnson — Succondee, 24 March 1693/4

My last to you was of the 22d past. Since dyed Mr Charles Hamilton, and hath made his executor Mr John Pinck.

246. Thomas Johnson — Succondee Fort, 30 March 1694

Haveing this opportunity of a canoe bound to Cabo Corsoe, to certifie you that yours of the 24th instant I have received. I need not to prove any further, but that we may now as well beleive Ado Henasa and his people that the goods were his that were seized at Chuma, as we beleived him when his goods were seized at

[82] Egya, east of Cape Coast. Staphorst had claimed that the goods seized belonged not to the RAC, but to interlopers.

[83] i.e. the Dutch forts at Sekondi itself & Butri, to the west, & at Shama & Komenda to the east. The implication is that any of the chiefs of these factories could be panyarred, to secure satisfaction.

[84] Probably this form of the name is merely miscopied; but cf. 'Bado Aegyensan', who deposited gold for safekeeping in the Dutch fort at Shama in 1701, who might be the same man (Kea 1982, 247).

Comenda,[85] and in my predecessors time I know & saw with my eyes that the Blacks bought goods in the factory and carried out in the night, and soe they did when I first came and have ever since, and who can wee judge these people to be afraid of? Sirs, I doe desire your leaves to come to Cabo Corsoe in a few days and then I shall give you an accompt more plaine & large then this short time will permitt.[86] Sirs, I am very sorry that you should againe say that I doe not obey your orders, for if you will inquire of the great canoe you will finde that I sent Warringtons things therein, and 'tis a little to hard for me to pay the charge of a canoe to carry downe the Generalls letter which you sent to me to translate. The inclosed is an account between John Warrington and me as my second. Sirs, there are severall others that are deseased indebted to me, I desire you will be pleased to take notice of it. Inclosed comes the copy of the deseased Charles Hamiltons will.

247. Thomas Johnson Succondee, 12 April 1694

This accompanys my February & March accompts with the ballance, being one marke five ounces & seven angles & eleven taccoes.

248. John Pinck Succondee, 17 April 1694

This comes to desire you to send per bearer sixteen or seventeen ounces of corrall, here being an Adoom Cabbosheers that wants soe much.

PS. The Fort is ready to fall downe about our eares, the maine guirders [= girders] being rotten in [the] walls, unless speedily prevented

249. Thomas Johnson Succondee, 8 May 1694

Yours of the 18th of Aprill I have received with a parcell of corrall mentioned to contain 78½ oz. On weighing the same without its [w]rapper or cover found it to weigh but seventy six ounces, for which I give the Royall Company creditt. With this comes my Aprill accompts ballanced. By this have sent seven of the Companyes old musketts not fitt service, desire others in their roome, and also some muskett shott, and 3 or 4 scaines of English match. I trouble you once more to lett you know the great occasion wee have here for both carpenter & bricklayer, for now the frequent raines we have here doth us more injury. The carriages of our guns are rotten, and some of them have none, when they were lately mended they had nothing but new wheels. As also our warehouse lately

[85] Referring to 1693, when Twifo merchants returning from trading at Cape Coast Castle had their goods seized at Komenda; on that occasion the Dutch loaned money to Komenda to compensate the Twifo traders, in order to avert the threat of war (Van Dantzig 1978, no.79: Resolutions of Council, Elmina, 24 Nov. 1693).
[86] Cf. no.1438.

which had nothing done, for want of boards, but two or tree sticks or props put up. And by reason of such botching we are continually wanting. By this I have sent you downe according to your commands the last will of Mr Charles Hamilton deceased to be registered.

250. Thomas Johnson Succondee Fort, 15 May 1694

This serves only to advise you that the country is again up in armes, by the roguery of the Dutch, & their party, [they] doe threaten the surprisall of this place, as they formerly did in my predecessors time.[87] Wee cannot bee too carefull in watching such dangerous enemies, haveing an instance of the Danes sufferings before our eyes.[88] We are thus informed dayly by the Blacks, who tell it for a great secrett, soe desireing you will please to send three or four men more, it being very hard for four men to doe duty day & night, which we are forced to keep them to, itt being my part to acquaint as near as I can learne.

251. Thomas Johnson Succondee Fort, 21 May 1694

Yours of the 18th instant I received with two white men, and seven musquets. Anta Sherry [= Asherry] by the Dutch assistance is released from the Brandenburgh,[89] and is now att Butteroe makeing great preparations for warrs, and most of the Blacks liveing with my neighbour are gone to his party, and they are soe confident that they shall gett the day that they doe allready begin to play the rogue in hindering these poore women and children that live under our protection from buying corne, fish or wood, as likewise our owne slaves. I doe not know what will be the effects of such practizes, time will learn us. Captain Anta, to whome you have given his sallary and advanced money to build him a house, dare not goe through with it for fear of the Dutch, neither can he come from the Dutch towne (the place of his abode) to see me [ms. 'seem'] but with the Dutchmans leave. I shall obey your orders in keeping a faire correspondency between both parties and trouble myself with none.

252. Thomas Johnson Succondee Fort, 9 June 1694

This serves to advise you that on the 4th instant arrived Mr William Smith and Mr Edward Barter, and on the 6th ditto Anta Sherry, who has pitched his camp between the two Forts. I sent to him to know what was his designe, he told me that he had nothing to say to us, but soon after he began to destroy and take away our peoples houses. I sent to forbid him to go on, and my linguister asked him

[87] In July 1692 (cf. no.186).
[88] Alluding to the capture of the Danish fort at Accra by local African forces, in June 1693 (cf. chap.XI).
[89] i.e. from the Brandenburg fort, Gross-Friedrichsburg.

why he did not goe to the Dutch and take thatch, his answer was that the Dutch were his friends and he had no pallaver with them. According to your orders that I should concerne myself with none, I sent him word not to lett his people come within a limited place, but not withstanding my soe many warnings they would be intruding upon our liberties, and this present instant were intruding. I fired over them, upon which they fired again, narrowly missing John Pinck, and hitt a boy behind him, upon which the Dutchman hoisted his flagg in their camp and I hoisted ours, and shall stand by it as long as I have a drop of blood in my body. This comes express and is to desire you to send us some beef, bread & oyle, or else now wee may starve, being upon our defence. Mr Smith came ashore sick and has been soe ever since. I myself can scarce gett off my bedd, and one of our men [also]. I know no reason the Dutch should encourage them as to lend them the flagg to plant it or lett it blow under the command of my gunns, when they have already acted in hostile manner against me. Pray send me some sheep skins, small nailes, bandiliers, cathrrage paper, rammers & spunge staves, small wire, and be pleased to lett the carpenter come & bring some board & planks to make carriages, for we have scarce one fitt for service and we are much necessitated for them. Which is what for the present offers, being in haste.

253. Thomas Johnson Succondee Fort, 9 June 1694

Mine of this date at 10 a clock and [advising] of the danger we are in of Anta Sherry, haveing offered me severall affronts and haveing planted the Dutch flagg, after which I could not by noe means thinck myselfe secure, he encroaching upon our liberties. According to your orders thought fitt to trust none. Seeing he could not be keept off us, according to your commands I gave him orders to retire, which they tooke no notice on. According to your orders that I am to trust none, thought fitt in defence of myself to fire at him, to keep him off by fireing at him. They came into the towne where our people formerly lived and sett itt on fire. Wee then soone engaged them with all our force, notwithstanding their attempts were soe bold to sett our slaves houses, corne houses &ca on fire about us, which much endangered the Fort, in soe much that there was not a window about us but were filled with shott, they being soe lowe, wee haveing but seven men, three of them being wounded at the first engagement, we had then little assistance. I have lost abundance of my owne people, two of the Companyes slaves wounded, I doe not know whether they be dead or noe, being in haste, neither can I in reallity say whether I can at this maintaine the Fort or no, but there shall be nothing wanting in me. People that were with me in my roome and warehouse were wounded, shotts comeing thro both. I was forced to come to a parley, most of my people being wounded and the rest out of heart. Soone after came the Dutchman my neighbour, who soon after came here, nothing discommended the blowing of the flagg and the

The Cabbosheers was earnest to have the flagg hoysted, which I did as soone as possible. The Dutch Coapman sent his cane to me three times before I had done. The fourth time he sent to demand of me the reason I did not come to him, he sending so often, for all palavers must be made in his Castle. Then I sent to tell him I was about my masters business, but by and by should be at leasure, and would meet him anywhere out of his Castle, so wee mett betweene the Castles. He asked me if your Worshipps had told the Generall of the Mina that you would settle againe at this place. I told him that was not my business to enquire affter. He said he thought the Dutch and English was friends. Yes, said I, and it may be best to keepe soe, and with a few words wee parted, but understand he is displeased and doe write to the Mine this night. About four this affternoone, the King came hither with a great guard. He came to me and then went to the Dutch Castle, but did not tarry above a quarter of an houre, then came to our side, where wee had a long palaver to that purpose, that he did promise your Worshipps that his people should help to build the Castle, which he will doe, and tarry here himselfe alwayes, if your Worshipps will please to goe about it presently, and send workmen and souldiers, and great gunns to defend the place, because he heard that some of the Anntar people did say, if any Englishman came to settle here, they would kill every man, but if your Worshipps will please to send men and gunns aforesaid, he would take care of all pallavers, that none should interupt the building, and say he love no roagues pallavers, if he did he would goe to the Dutch. He added that when the Dankeryes fought the Doomes, that some of em went to Cabo Corso for shelter, and the Admirall delivered him [= them] to their enemies,[97] and if the English would doe so any more, I should tell him off it, for he did not love to be deceived, to which I told him he need not feare, but your Worshipps would be reall to him in all you promised, [and he said] that when he sent heads by his cozen to Cabo Corso when he fought the Antas and beat them,[98] and Mr Ronan put him in irons, which he took very ill, and that he would have Adoe taken out of the ring [which] he understood by Addico he had on, and that he would not have Amuffoe, which killed Mr Johnson,[99] come here any more, but desire your Worshipps would send him to Barbadoes, or to the Royall Company in England, and tell them that was the man that killed one of their Cheifs at Succondee. If your Worshipps cannot doe one of these, he cannot live with the English more. He desires your Worshipps will write to the Generall of the Mina, that you have taken possession of the fort at Succondee. This is the import of the palaver, for I wrote in my pockquett book as twas told me. Part of the fort is fallen downe, and part is crackt, that it must be

[97] Perhaps in 1693: see no.31, with n.96.
[98] In 1697: see chap.I, n.238.
[99] Perhaps miscopied for 'Amussoe'; cf. 'Amiso' in no.257.

taken downe, and other part may be secured, but have not had time to examine it well, but will speedily and give your Worshipps a just accompt.

PS. I have not yet had time to write to Dickes Cove, but will before I sleepe. I cannot find where to have stones to build, but think the earth will make good bricks, which will examine and give you an accompt. I doubt here will require a great expence of liquors, therefore desire your Worshipps will please to send more by first, and a little Barbadoes rumme for my selfe, here being nothing to be had for money. I desine to beginn clearing tomorrow about the Castle. Nothing will sattisfie em but the above written, therefore humbly desire your Worshipps directions. I gave the King and Cheife Cabbosheers the caske of rumme your Worshipps ordered, and have spent part [of] the other.

257. William Gabb Succondee, 27 April 1698

This comes humbly to acquaint your Worshipps that since my last have had severall pallavers with the King and Cheife Cabbosheers, and all end well, they promise thatt all their people shall doe any thing I sett them about. Yesterday some of the people found a faulcon gunn,[100] she seemes very good, in the grass neare the Dutch fort. I gott the Blacks to bring it on our side. I gave them a large dramm, but they desire some dashee of your Worshipps for itt. I perceive the others are in this country, but cannot know till Sonday, neither will the[y] begin to work till then. This morning early the King sent to me and said a messenger from a friend at Butterow tell him that the Generall of the Mina sent to one Jiem,[101] brother to Amiso that killed Mr Johnson, to demand twenty bendyes [which] he gave him to take the English fort here and cutt off the Cheifs head, but he not being able to pay it is commanded to muster up his people to fight the Doomes and drive away the English againe from hence. The King sayes he expects they will come, so I have prevailed with him and some Cabbosheers to send for their forces, which will be here tomorrow, which was not to come till Sonday. All are very urgent to write presently to your Worshipps to desire white souldiers, powder, shott and some great gunns with all speed to plant on the hill by the Castle, to be shelter if surprized and oblidged to retreat, which if your Worshipps please to send I with their assistance can presently runn up a swish wall round the Castle, which shall be suffitient to secure us till the other be in order. The joyce in the vaulte[102] are very fitt for this place, if your Worshipps please to send with a carpenter, wee can be makeing things ready. So humbly desireing your Worshipps derections.

[100] A form of small cannon.
[101] The name is given as 'Jenum' in no.260.
[102] i.e. at Cape Coast Castle.

PS. The King gave the sheep I brought up to the white men that was killed in the Castle,[103] and his fetish tells him, if he doe not give one for the Castle, it will not doe well, so he desires one of your Worshipps. I have tryed the earth in severall places, and part of it will make good bricks. I sent the great canoe for Dickes Cove betimes a Monday, with an accompt of timber for this place.[104] The King and people will not lett me rest till I send this canoe, which I was unwilling to doe before received the other, but they urge the enemye will be speedily with us.

258. William Gabb Succondee, 3 May 1698

These comes humbly to acquaint your Worshipps I received yours of Aprill 26th with the caske rumme. Worthy Sirs, I have endeavoured to know the minds of the King and Cabbosheers, and they alwayes promise to assist with all their strenght to the building the fort, and that [they] try with the free consent of all that the English should now be settled in that fort againe, and if any enemie should endeavour to hinder or hurt any Englishman here, they would fight him to the utmost of their power. The King have had dealing with the Dutch some time since I have been here, butt he tells me if the English have goods here as he want he will never have to doe with them againe, and if they bring an enemie to hurt us here they will take their Castle. But Sonday being wett and Monday was the day to begin to work, they told me they would not build a house nore doe any thing, till your Worshipps had sent the things I wrote for last, and that your Worshipps promised to send the King seaven bendyes more, and that they had no provitions to eat, and if they worked they would be paid, unto which I told them they had promised your Worshipps to build the house, and to help build the Castle, and in all their pallavers they had promised me the same, and thatt all their men should doe any thing I sett them about, but if they would not doe every thing they promised I had orders to take downe the flagg and begone, and that your Worshipps was not so ill beloved but had all the country thereabouts at your command, and would take some other way to have the fort againe. Then the Cabbosheers told the King he must make the house and they would doe all they promised, which accordingly they sent their men for wood and have been at work this two dayes, and will finish itt in two or three more. They desire the gunns &ca wrote for, and the King desire your Worshipps to send him the seaven bendyes, and one bendy to buy the mens provitions while the fort is building. I have sent your Worshipps a ruff [= rough] draught of the old fort, and the dementions of the ground, and what addishions may be made if your Worshipps think well of itt, and that the hill may be fortified with a ranpier

[103] i.e. as a sacrifice.
[104] Cf. no.127.

[= rampart] and parrapett erected with earth, and doubt not but it will be of great use, which beleive your Worshipps will like well if itt was done. The earth by the Castle is good to make bricks, and here is no good stone to be digged in these parts. The earth will work the better to be digged now, and lye in the raine some time, and if your Worshipps please to have these things done, here will want some of the slaves that have made bricks, and some that can speak English, to tell the people what they must doe, and some of your bricklayers, six or eight iron shovels, six pickaxes, two or three dozen crews[105] to carry earth, one grindstone. Pray please to send a carpenter with stuff to make a strong doore and doore case to the Castle, and as soone as can have stuff wee can be makeing things ready, which will soone be wanted when the bricklayers are at worke. Pray be pleased to order the smith to make me some locks, to secure my things, for I loose somthing every day amongst that crew. I shall want some old door or somthing to make one for the new house, some stong twine for lines. The thinmost of the planks that came in the great cano will make a carriage for the gunn here, if your Worshipps please to send [it] with trucks, I can gett axell trees here. Lime will be wanting before wee begin to work on the Castle. Here is wood enough to burne bricks and lime grow neare the fort. I have done what I can with these slaves to rowsaw and cleare about the fort, to make it fitt to worke. I humbly desire your Worshipps will please to order me which way you like best to goe on with the fort, and send whatt supplyes your Worshipps can spare, and with Gods assistance I will goe on with all the strength I have according to your orders.

PS. I understand they have more bricks burnt at Dickes Cove then have occasion for, if your Worshipps please to order some here wee could be repairing part of the fort, before others can be ready. I humbly desire your Worshipps will please to order your Steward to send me some provitions and some Barbadoes rumme I wrote to him for. The King will not drink Portuguese rumme but come to me every day for punch and a dram I had for my selfe, till I have none left, I find he love his belly well. If your Worshipps please to send a little corne brandy[106] to humour his body, till the Fort is in good order, I will doe the best I can to mannage him. I humbly desire your Worships will please to send rowle [= roll] of tobaccoe, for the people goe to the Dutch for some. Abram, Bribbee, Quacoo and Affado and others at Commenda doe but break stone, others can doe there as well if your Worshipps please to send some of them. There is a long ladder and a story ditto[107] may be spared there which will be wanted here.

[105] i.e. pots.
[106] i.e. gin.
[107] i.e. one of a length to reach the roof of a building.

259. William Gabb Succondee, 10 May 1698

Your Worshipps received of the 7th instant, with the things therein mentioned, all but the barrels powder and long ladder from Commenda, which desire your Worshipps will please to order by the sloope. I gave the 12 perpetuanoes and sheep to the King &ca, and told em all you was pleased to order. They continue still they will stand fast to the English, and assist as before promised, but here are severall tempered[108] persons, and I perceive the Dutch employ all the instruments they can to obstruct us and infuse ill and absurd notions in the King and peoples heads, so that yesterday wee had some crabbed[109] palavery, and they did insist that your Worshipps would not doe what you promised &ca, and because the powder, shott and great gunns was not come they was very uneasie, but I by Cabbosheer Quo told them the gunns was fixing and would be here in a few dayes with powder and shott &ca. They was earnest for it, and that they might have some powder to be ready and I to have a store by me to supply em if the enemie come upon em. They say the Generall of the Mina have sent powder to the Antas to fight em here, and all they feare is they will come upon em when they are unprovided with powder and shott, and soe be oblidged to quitt this place, and urge that when the gunns are mounted at the Castle twill put a dread on the enemie, that they will not come near us. They desire more people here to work to hasten the finishing the Castle. I engaged my life to em that your Worshipps will assist em with all things necessary to carry on the building and be kind to them if the[y] fulfill all they have promised &ca. This morning all was very serene and all at work, and tomorrow will goe about our out fortification. I will lay out part this day and cleare to goe to worke. I humbly desire your Worshipps will please to tell me which way you like best for the inner fort, then Ile lay out that, which when tis done can the better contrive the outward, because of roome, and to make as little work as possible. Just now the King told me they desire powder and gunns by a canoe if the sloope was not neare. I have endeavoured to perswade em the canoes could not bring the gunns, but they will not be well sattisfied till they come. The canoe men say they did not see a barrell powder. Worthy Sirs, here is a great expence of liquors, the King and people desireing some every day, that I have spent one cask and one third of the other.

I would with all my soul doe what your Worshipps please to order, and would not willingly doe any thing to deserve blame, therefore humbly desire your Worshipps directions.

PS. The King desires you will send one woman hither, her name is Amquamboe, her husband dyed about a twelve month agoe in the Castle. If your Worshipps please to order two Black bricklayers more from Commenda wee could be

[108] Presumably meaning 'ill-tempered'.
[109] i.e. irritable.

prepareing earth for bricks and some lay the outside of our earth walls. Pray please to send some flints, one worme for our small armes, and two cattouch boxes. Please to order the smith to make us three or four stone hammers and as many trowells, with ferrills [= ferrules] to em about inch and ¼ diameter within and some three inches, and three inch and a halfe bradds, [which] wee want to make a door and lock to itt.

260. William Gabb Succondee, 23 May 1698

Your Worshipps of the 27th [sic] instant received with the things therein mentioned. The sloop and Gally arived here the 21,[110] and acording to your Worshipps orders sent the Gally to Dikes Cove the same day, and wrote to Mr Vincent for bricks and timber,[111] which wee much want. The currant setts so strong that she is nott two leagues off us. Wee gott all the gunns to the Castle this day, butt cannot mount them till tomorrow. I will hasten the unloading the sloope.[112] The Captain desires the gunn wee found here, and would leave a bigger for itt, because the least is more convenient for him, if your Worshipps please itt shall be done. Last night one from the Mina told the King the Generall had ordered Little Taggee[113] to send his people to Buttrue to help Jenum the Antar to fight the Doomes, and must take the English Castle againe. They say the Dutch shipp that sailed by here the 22d was loaded with them. They all came for powder and would not be denyed, for they had none to fight with. Addicoe said your Worshipps was pleased to tell him I must give the King and people some when they want itt, so I gave them four minion cartridges full. I would have sold some to them, butt they would nott then buy. The King swore all the Cabbosheers to stand true to the English, and would give your Worships eight marks of gold if he runn from the enemie as long as he live. If the enemie come upon us, I'le bee in as good order as possible to receive him, and if your Worshipps please to give the King orders and me leave to assist him, wee'l remove that unplaceable [= implacable] enemie the Dutch from Succondee, and Ile be cutt in peices before I'le surrender the Royall Companyes fort to them. The people here have been part imployed in building their houses, here not being above tenn when I first came here, and now is one hundred and forty. Some have work'd, and now they say will send all the strength they have. Wee are about the earth walls, and as soone as possible wee'l at the bricks, and doe assure your Worshipps [I] will to the utmost of my power hasten the building, and obey all your Worshipps orders. This day our three two hand canoes goes out to fish, butt

[110] The RAC's sloop & the *Cabo Corso Galley*, both based locally at Cape Coast.
[111] Henry Vincent, chief of the RAC factory at Dixcove.
[112] Cf. no.1382, from John Wilson, commander of the sloop.
[113] The younger brother of the king of Eguafo, who had earlier been supported by the Dutch in a bid to seize power there (see chap. III), but now in exile.

are nott returned. Cabbosheer Quo tells me they was affraid of this pallaver, and they have been disattisfied because I did nott give them canky money every day. I paid them all to the 11th instant, but wrote to Mr Homma to know if must pay them,[114] he gave me no answer and I was doubtfull your Worshipps would nott allow. I desire your Worshipps will please to send some [canoes?] here, the King being uneasie about their goeing away. Pray be pleased to send the things mentioned by the first.

PS. Pray send one powder horne for that is nott come [which] was sent; bolts for the three carryages, vizt four 13½ inches to the eye, four 9 inches, two 15 and two 10 inches, the smith had the length; the old carryage that is at the work house, or bolts to the carryage of the gunn wee have here; 16 lines pins [= linchpins];[115] a worme and ladles for the great gunns; some English and country match; a sheepe skinn and some spung nailes; one worme for small armes; 2 or 3 musquetts; one hour glass; 3 cattouch boxes; six iron shovells; three stone hammers; iron work for the grindstone; one large pair of hooks and hinges; 3 ordinary ditto; 2 padlocks and staples; 2 bolts and six staples, crook neck't; two or 3 hundred 3 inch and 3 inch½ brads; ½ hundred smallest spikes; one ball strong twine; one rabbett plaine [= rabbit plane] the Captain forgott; 1 pair stilliards; one buckett and rope to draw water; one dozen more crows, better made, these are not well groved; the moulds for bricks; some minion shott, here being none butt low minion and faulcon. Please to send the old draught of this fort, and I'le draw one with the earthworks, [and] 1a brass. Capt. Willson desire one hundred 10d and 20d nailes to mend his boat he stave'd.

261. William Gabb Succondee, 27 May 1698

This comes humbly to acquaint your Worshipps thatt since my last of the 23d instant, I see the pallaver is true that Little Taggee and Anters will fight us, which I did nott att first beleive, butt last night Little Taggee came in the bushes about halfe a league from us, and sent a lying pallaver to deceive the King and people, butt I used such arguments that prevailed with the King and people to look well out, which I did att the Castle. Wednesday morning a Dutch shipp came in this road, and is still here. This morning at daylight came about 20 two hand canoes, wee hear from the Mina, with four men armed in each, which posted to the Dutch Castle, where is all their towns people in armes.[116] Our King has been ill three dayes, this morning some carryed him to a croome about halfe

[114] Willem Homma, now Steward of Cape Coast Castle.

[115] Used to secure wheels on the axle.

[116] The Chief Merchants at Cape Coast wrote to the Dutch Director-General to complain about the impending attack, but the latter in reply maintained that the Mina canoes had been sent to Sekondi only to recover debts, while the Dutch ship was hunting interlopers (letters of 29 May & 7 June 1698, in Davenant 1771, 201–3).

a league from us. The King and Cabbosheers was earnest with me to goe aboard the sloope, when they went away and left me butt one Cabbosheer and three men, butt when saw my resolution nott to leave the Royall Company's fort, the King sent me three or four Capposheers with about 50 men. The[y] promised me to stand by us, and with Gods assistance [I] will to the utmost of my power maintaine the Royall Companys rites [= rights], and doe nott designe to quitt the Castle. I most humbly desire your Worships will consider us and please to direct.

PS. The King and people say they will fight the enemies. Yesterday the Cabbosheers had a barrell of powder. They were in a hurry butt promised to pay me this day. Wee have butt little corne and cannott now gett any, pray please to send us some. Our four gunns are loaded but one has noe carryage. The Gally cannot gett from hence, I have sent to her to hall [= haul] neer in to assist us. Please to send a ladle for our gunns, some cartridge paper, needles and thread, rammer heads and brass wyer [= wire]. I wish wee had more people to be revenged.

262. William Gabb Succondee, 30 May 1698

Your Worshipps of the 26 & 29th instant have received with the things therein mentioned. I thank God our enemie have nott yett attacked, tho' all continue att the Dutch Castle as in my last. The shipp likewise, and shee have sent near 20 white men and a great quantity of small armes to thatt Castle. Little Taggee marched back towards Shuma, but I hear is come this way againe. The King returned hither a Satterday, but brought butt a few men, and part I doubt are roagues. Sonday morning part of the women and some men went away, and others is at hott dispute, some complaining they had sent for their men and none came and was nott able to fight the enemie, some for goeing presently away. I sent Quo to reason with them butt to noe purpose. I went among them, they told me their people had nothing to eat, and they wanted the four bendye, if had nott would nott tarry. I used all possible arguments till my soule was weary. Att last I must lett them have one bendy or nothing to be done, which I did unwillingly doe and did not leave my selfe halfe an ounce. This day about twelve or fourteen more went, they say to call more from the croomes. I continually urge them to call their people in a body, for now was the time to gaine the favour of your Worshipps. They always promise well but doe nott performe accordingly. This day the King must have two sheets for the fetish, or else the Castle would be taken, which I gave them. Your Worshipps being pleased to order recruits to us, doe mightily annimate my spiritts. I hope they will stand true, and I fear none of them, but hope to putt things in better order among us here. I have nott spared to labour day and night with head and hands to gett all things in readiness, and the best order as possible could, and doe keep a strict watch in the night, and will to the utmost of my power doe all I can for my masters intrest.

PS. Will take care to give your Worshipps a just accompt how all things sent are expended. The King desire the two gunns at Dickes Cove to be sent here, and the 3 women thatt came from thence. Addico told me just now that some of them was saying if the 3 women was nott sent here they could not have any thing to doe with the English. Have sent Addicoe that your Worships may please to examine him. I find some are roagues butt cannott find who is the cheifest. They desire your Worships will ask the Generall of the Mina why he sent Little Taggee to trouble them, and another thing they would have me write to trouble you, as Addicoe heard, they desire the money mentioned. I long to see the recruits before wee are sett upon. Please to send some more small shott; the King and people had part what I had. They have nott yett paid for the barrell powder, Quo tells me they hope your Worshipps will give itt them. Pray please to send some canoes. Please to send me a little paper, having none to write.[117]

[117] The fort was attacked & taken the following morning: see reports from Dixcove (no.128) & Komenda (no.432); also Chief Merchants, Cape Coast Castle, to RAC in London, 26 June 1698, in Davenant 1771, 200 (which gives the date of the capture of the fort as 1 June 1698). In a letter to the Dutch Director-General, the Chief Merchants complained that 'our white men [were] murdered, and other black servants, our slaves seized, houses burned, the Royal Company's lawful possessions wrested by force and violence from us; and not only this, but the surviving men stript and miserably abused by them' (7 June 1698, ibid., 202); one of the African employees of the RAC killed was Captain Quo (no.432). Little Taggee himself subsequently claimed that he had come to Sekondi to fight the Adoms, & only attacked the English fort because it fired on him first (no.435). Forces from Adom arrived at Sekondi too late to save the fort, but drove off its attackers on 1 June (nos 433–4), & subsequently threatened the Dutch fort there, forcing its temporary evacuation (no.436).

III

KOMENDA

Komenda ('Comenda') is 30 km east of Sekondi, 20 km west of Cape Coast. The RAC's factory here had been abandoned in 1688, when the town was attacked by forces from Elmina allied to the Dutch.[1] An attempt to reoccupy it in 1691 was withdrawn in the face of local hostility, as recounted in the first three letters of this correspondence. The factory was, however, successfully re-established from November 1694. There was already a Dutch fort in Komenda (Fort Vredensburg), which is frequently referred to in this correspondence. A quarrel between the Komenda people and the Dutch provided the opportunity for the English re-establishment there in 1694, which in turn provoked a protracted Dutch-Komenda war, which drew in several other African states as allies on either side.[2]

Komenda belonged to the kingdom of Eguafo ('Aguaffoe'),[3] the current king being named in this correspondence as 'Taggee [Takyi]' or 'Great Taggee', i.e. 'Takyi Senior'.[4] A leading merchant of Komenda, who had been the principal local supporter of the English until 1688, was John Cabess; and it was again with him, as well as with the king, that the English negotiated for their abortive establishment in 1691, and who played a critical role in their definitive re-settlement in 1694.[5] As against the English alliance with Great Taggee, the Dutch from 1696 supported his dissident younger brother, 'Little Taggee', or 'Takyi Junior'. In 1698, when Great Taggee was thought to be becoming too friendly with the Dutch, the English contrived his murder on a visit to Cape Coast Castle. Little Taggee then claimed the throne, now with the support

[1] See vol.ii, chap.III.

[2] For the Komenda wars, see Daaku 1970, 83–9; Van Dantzig 1980, 106–12. These accounts are based mainly on Dutch sources (including especially Bosman 1705, 26–41); the Rawlinson material provides an important alternative perspective.

[3] For which, see Chouin 1998 (which however covers only the period to 1688).

[4] Presumably this is the same 'Taggee' who allied with the Dutch against the king of Eguafo in the war of 1688 (vol.ii, nos 313, 320; NA, T70/11, Chief Merchants, Cape Coast Castle, 12 May 1688).

[5] For whom, see Henige 1977.

of the English, but by the end of the Rawlinson correspondence in February 1699 the succession struggle was still unresolved.

Komenda had earlier been a major supplier of gold, but this trade was disrupted in the 1690s by the recurrent local wars. In the 1680s the main traders bringing gold from the interior to Komenda had been the Akani,[6] but they are no longer mentioned there in the 1690s. In 1691 the principal merchants at Komenda were from Twifo ('Quiffera' etc.), to the north (no.263); but this trade was interrupted by the Dutch-Komenda war, in which the Twifo initially took the side of the Dutch, in whose interest they attacked Eguafo in 1695. Perhaps in consequence, in 1695 the Komenda authorities negotiated with Adom ('Adoome'), to the north-west, to open a trade (no.332); but Adom in turn then allied with the Dutch, to attack Eguafo in 1696. During the period of relative peace which followed, trading links with the interior were restored: by 1697, traders were again coming to Komenda from both Twifo and Adom (no.384), and gold was also coming from Denkyira ('Dankara', 'Dancra'), in the remoter interior (no.389). Slaves were evidently as yet only of secondary importance in trade at Komenda, although in 1695, following local fighting, significant numbers were offered for sale (nos 333–5).

263. William Ronan Commenda, 30 Nov. 1691

The Cabbosheers and Quifferars are well affected,[7] but John Cabesse, being now a creature of the Dutch, will not suffer us so much as to make a negroe house untill he has sattisfaction for 8 bendys & ½ he sayes Mr Elwes owes him.[8] After I put up the flagg he sent his people to take it down. I sent yesterday morning expressly to Great Tagge, but is not as yet returned. The Dutch coopman sayes that he has orders from the Generall not to suffer the English to bring any great gunns here. If Great Tagge will not stand by us the Royall Company will loose their interest here, so that you must send to him immediatly, as also endeavour to appease John Cabess. I am forced to take my habitation within our bare walls, and John Cabess threatens to turne us out. I will keepe the great canoe till I heare further. Just now I received a message from Little Tagee, thinking we had been all setled, I returned him to his master to send him to Great Tagee. Without appeaseing John Cabess am afraid nothing will be done. Just now arrived the express from Great Tagge saying he will be here tomorrow, and ordering me to advise you to writte to the Generall of the Mina in order to send for himself,

[6] In the early 1680s, Komenda was even said to be 'the place where the merchants from Acanez most often come to the coast' (Barbot 1992, ii, 348).

[7] Twifo had been allied with the Dutch in their intervention in Eguafo in 1688 (vol.ii, nos 309 etc.), & had presumably thereby gained influence over it.

[8] Robert Elwes (now one of the Chief Merchants at Cape Coast Castle) had been the last chief of the RAC factory at Komenda (1687–8).

that he may be sattisfied that we are all in amity and friendshipp, likewise to let him know how much you will allow him per month ground rent, & he will come downe himself and see the Castle finished. You may take notice that they are afraid to owne us till we are in a capacity to protect them. Our house does not want so much but it may be soone in a condition to argue our priveledges with the Dutch. Severall of the Quiffers has been here this day. All sorts of English goods will sell here if we had a place to secure them. They are all for finishing the house immediatly. I am just now agoeing to meet another messenger from Great Tagge about two miles of, he being afraid to be seen by the Dutch. John Cabess is verry abusive, and beat some of the canoemen.

264. William Ronan Commenda, 30 Nov. 1691

This accompanies the 13 hand canoe with Luke Gale the carpinter, who can tell you what is wanting. John Cabess begins to change, and will be sattisfied to have his sallary as formerly, with a promise to be true & faithfull to the English, if you come to some agreament about his last demands. He and Great Tagge hangs upon a string, so that if he [= John Cabess] is sattisfied wee shall have no opposition. Great Tagge desires that what has been and will be given him may be kept secret. They are all slaves to the Dutch & want only a protection to free themselves. He will doe what he can possible for his ground rent, desiring to know what you will allow him monthly. When I see him shall show him the former contract.

265. William Ronan Commenda, 2 Dec. 1691

Just now Great Tagge surrounded us with his armed men & demanded sattisfaction for the following particulars, vizt for 64½ bendies with 22 slaves he spent in the last Fetue warrs,[9] of which he sayes that Mr Humfryes has 22 slaves & 20½ bendys of gold. Also he demands the following pawnes left with Mr Samuel Humfryes, Mr Rice Wight & Mr Boy[l]ston, of which Mr Wight & Mr Elwes knowe verry well,[10] vizt three golden manelloes [= manillas], one sword with golden handle & one string of broad fetishes, & sayes farther that if you will have any setlement here you must secure the following persons in Cabo Corsoe Castle, vizt Baniacon, Aminta, Ahenaco, Ahencoco & Hansaby. They must have your ansewer before they will let us part this place, soe humbly desire

[9] Fetu, Eguafo's eastern neighbour (for which see Deffontaine 1993). The reference is to 1689, when Fetu was at war with its own eastern neighbour Asebu, & Taggee brought forces to assist the latter, & received 'assistance with powder' from the English (NA, T70/11. Chief Merchants, Cape Coast Castle, 12 Feb. 1689).

[10] Humfryes, Wight & John Boylstone formed the Council of Chief Merchants at Cape Coast in 1687–9, of whom Wight was still serving at this date.

you will consider the danger I am in. Send your speedy answer this night or early in the morning. I am afraid I must make a country voyage of it.[11]

* * * * *

266. Thomas Willson[12] Commenda, 30 Nov. 1694

These are to acquainte your worships that this mor[n]ing about five clock where [= were] arrived att Commenda and according to your worships orders I whent [= went] derectly to John Cabbess croom, where wee where kindly [received] by him and his people. He understanding that there was a Ducth interloper lying about Cabo Corso Castle, hath desiered me to acquai[n]te your worship that he hath sent seven ounces to buy armes, which he pretends is to secure us and him selfe from the Ducth, whome he doth protest never to be friends with them againe. Further he doth desier powder & shott from your worships and a flagg to hoist, and is desierious to have the old Castle built and more and is much importuning to goe to see our Castle, he goeing with me and his people promising no damage shall attend me, which I will not doe without your Worships further orders. Tagge is up in the countrey, he [= John Cabess] hath sent for him and wee expect him about twelve a clock.

267. Thomas Willson Commenda, 1 Dec. 1694

This morning the messingers came back from Tagge, who sent for his foure ½ cases of spierritts, and boath he and John Cabess desier your worships to send slaves to build a house by our Castle to dwell in and bricklayers to [go] on with [ms 'w^{t}'] the Castle, and would have them to land at our usuall landing place, at Great Commenda,[13] they promising no injury to be offered to them, they haveing sent souldiers in to Great Commenda to secure them. As for the Ducth I have never heard from them nor seen them. They would desier your worships

[11] i.e. a journey overland (presumably, back to Cape Coast). The factory was now evacuated; as later reported, 'they were so continually attacked and disturbed by the adjacent negroes, hired and instigated by the Dutch, who had supplied them with arms and ammunition to that end, that they were forced to give over the thoughts of settlement there, and retire, not without the loss of some men' (Phillips 1732, 203). For a Dutch account of this incident, cf. Joel Smits, Elmina, 8 Feb. 1692, in NA, T70/169, f.98v. In April 1692 the RAC made a second attempt at a settlement, this time at Kotobrai, west of Komenda, but the English party was fired on by the Dutch fort at Komenda, & did not even land (see Chief Merchants, Cape Coast Castle, 22 Aug. 1692, & other documents in NA, T70/169, ff.122v-124).

[12] Wilson was a Sergeant, charged with reoccupying the fort at Komenda; a trading Factor was appointed only in Feb. 1695.

[13] Probably a confusion, as the coastal village where the European forts were situated (modern Komenda) was more usually called 'Little Komenda' (e.g. Bosman 1705, 27), 'Great Komenda' being the royal capital (modern Eguafo), 10 km inland (as it also seems to be in subsequent letters in this correspondence, nos 276 etc.).

to send the slaves as soone as possible you can. On Munday Ile send some people to ransace [= ransack] about our Castle.

[PS] John Cabess would have your worships to send a great cannoe with the slaves and a 2 hand ditto with her, the great cannoe to goe to Great Commenda and there bring to a[n] ancor, the two hand canoe to come on shoore att his croome and to give him an accompt of her arrivall.

268. Thomas Willson Commenda, 2 Dec. 1694

The people are very urgent to have the slaves come presently. The King hath sent downe to John Cabbes to send to your Worships for the great cannoe with 20 or 30 slaves and if you can spare some bricklayers. This day will come down from the King two hundred bricklayers, I say[14] souldiers, that the Caposheers of Commenda Towne hath sent to John Cabbess, and desier that your people may come presently to worke. John Cabbess thinks itt noe good palaver because the slaves do not come, all are very desierous. I had noe matter to trouble your worships with, the substance of which I wrote before, but John Cabbess will not let me alone writting further, he doth desire the canno may come away as this night.

269. Thomas Willson Commenda, 4 Dec. 1694

This is to give your Worships an accompt that on the 3th instant I received your letter, and the same day about five in the afternoon John Cabbess and your Worships boys and a small parcell of his people went over the salt ponds to a littell house where the Ducth keep a small guard where they digg for gold, as the Blacks say,[15] and about seven a clock they came back and brought with them five Duchmen, one of them being a Copeman, the other foure soulders, the Copeman and one of the soulders stark naked, the other[s] had shirts on [ms. 'one'] and draws [= drawers], but I doe not hear that they did hurt anyboydy as I can understand, and with them all the plunder of that place, as cheast [= chests], bundles, armes, sheep, goate &ca.[16] This mor[n]ing the Blacks are bringing all there goods over from Commenda. John Cabbess will have me over to his croome which he lately burnt, where he and all will reside not more, butt I referr your Worships to Quomminna who brings the letter, who will give your Worshipps a further accompt.

[14] i.e. 'I mean'.

[15] Presumably at the site later known as 'Sicke Bergh [Akan *sika*, gold]' or 'Money Hill' (Van Dantzig 1980, 100, 102, 113), nowadays 'Gold Hill', or 'Assay Point', 3 km west of Komenda.

[16] Cf. Bosman 1705, 29–30; Van Dantzig 1980, 106–7. Bosman presents this as the origin of the Komenda-Dutch dispute, which in turn led to the invitation to the English to settle there; but the RAC correspondence shows that both the dispute & the English settlement preceded the gold-mining incident.

270. Thomas Willson Commenda, 5 Dec. 1694

These are to acquainte your Worship that I recevied your letter being dated the 4 instant with a flagg and the slaves. John Cabbess grumbles there comes noe rumm nor powder, and ask if you think all these men doe not deserve drams. As for the powder he [is] not so hasty, for I see to the valew of 12 or 15 barrels which he purchased from the Brandenbourg, and doubtless there must be a time to make him restitution. Your worships in your last letter dated the 3rd instant would be advised what wood or water or landing place is neer or about the croome, the which I cannot, by reason I am not at that croome your worships may thinke I be. After wee landed at Commenda, being to windward of the town and Castle, wee carried our cannos over the sands and la[u]ncht in to a large salt pond, where wee ther[e] padled up about a mile and a ½ to a croome of John Cabbess, where there is nothing but a parcell of houses where they make salte, a remorse [= remote] place some distance from the seaside, so that you can neaither see the sea, Castle [nor] Commenda Town.[17] Yams, wine &ca are carried to and fro in cannos in the salte pond from croom to croome, haveing severall croms. The croome as your worshipps means I should reside at is the croome to which I am now goeing, which is situated by the seaside, by Commenda Towne, the Royal Companys old Forte, and by the Ducth likewise, at which croome wee must build the house, hoyst the Flagg att the Royal Companies old Castle, where when I come shall give your worships a further accompt. John Cabbess have some tragedom [= stratagem] in [h]is head, he often laughing and telling me he hath another trick to play, I know his meani[n]g by his mumping,[18] but I beleeve he will be decevied, therefore [fore]warned fore harmed [= armed]. This croome we are a goeing to is all burnt down but 3 houses, John Cabbess burnt it when he had the first palaver with the Ducth.[19]

PS. Your worships have one Peter in irons which John Cabbess and all the Cabbosheers would have owt,[20] all the country being for the English. Captain Peter will tell you the palaver, for there is such a tumult and noyse that noe mortiall [= mortal] can write before wee have a house and [are] a little settled.

[17] Bosman likewise recalls that John Cabess settled the English initially 'about a mile [= 4 English miles] from our Fort in one of his salt-villages' (1705, 31).

[18] i.e. remaining silent.

[19] This initial dispute occurred between Aug.–Nov. 1694, & was evidently the occasion for the invitation to the English to re-settle at Komenda: cf. NA, T70/11, Chief Merchants, Cape Coast Castle, 24 Nov. 1694, reporting 'a difference between the Dutch & Aguaffo [which] may put the [Royal African] Company in possession of Commenda'.

[20] Perhaps the 'Captain Peter' mentioned at Komenda in 1687, as one of 'the chief merchants' there (vol.ii, nos 246, 267) — distinct from the Captain Peter mentioned hereafter, who was an employee of the RAC.

271. Thomas Willson Commenda, 6 Dec. 1694

Yours I recevied this mor[n]ing by Quamana, with the two pieces of sattine and powder. For your boys to see the Ducth, I am alltogeather ignorant of itt, for I know [= knew] not weather [= whither] they where agoeing nor what about, tell at night the Duchtmen came into the sheed where I was smooking by a littell fier, for John Cabbess had told he had an English Brinney[21] and they should see sum [= some] when they goe to his croome. For me to rule your Worshipps boys or the people hear is a thing imposible, for they are like soe many wild beast lett loose. Hear I live in a noisty [= nasty] smooking hole, where I can neither lye, stand nor goe in it, and allwayes a tumultus noyse about my eares, and would I allow myselfe an ounce a day I could not injoy myselfe with it, I wish [ms. 'wch'] it had not bin my charge [ms. 'chonge'] to come heare, butt I hope your worships will releeve once a month. As for John Cabbess croomes your worships boys tell me they are all his, so that I know not what croome to keep att.

Yesterday being 5 instant I came downe to another of John Cabbesss croomes which is the croome as I suppos[e] your worshipps meane, where when I came in sight of the Ducth Castell I saw they had made a wiff [= waif][22] with theire flagg and a boote [= boat] came from the shipp that lyes theire, the Castle gate shutt up, the people in armes up apon the battlements, John Cabbess and King[s] people of the towne all in armes skulkin[g] up and down the bushes and town about the Castle wishing for muskett & shott, vowing if the Ducth fierd a shot they would take them.

The Ducth sent to John Cabbess four severall times to make up the palaver, John Cabbess demands one hundred bendys. The boate came not on shoore butt whent on board againe, and how the business stands I know not.

This mor[n]ing being the 6 instant the Ducth fierd three shott att the Royal Companeys Castle, the first over the other two att the slaves as they where rowsawing. John Cabbess sent to know what made them fier, they said that the English should not live theire, John Cabbess said they should, the Ducth sayd they will fiet [= fight] him, and John Cabbess says he will fiet them.

[PS] They are continually att me for rumm, John Cabbess saith he drinks none butt [it is] for the people.

272. Thomas Willson Commenda, 8 Dec. 1694

Your Worships I recevied dated the 7 instant, with a quarter cask of rumm and gold. Yesterday arrived hear another Ducth shipp wherin they tell me is the General of the Mina. They did attempt to come on shore in the long boote and

[21] Fante *buroni*, 'European'.
[22] i.e. a signal flag.

great canno, butt are not permitted, John Cabbess keep such strickt wacth night and day and suffers no letter to go on board and on shoore. John Cabbess would desier you to send him provitsions, as beef, hear being extrodinary scarce by reason noe people come downe butt souldiers nor no canno men go of afishing, but all beare armes. For my parte I have eate nothing but roisted [= roasted] yamms this three days, unless it where three small eonions, but I have sent to Forte Royle [= Royal] for provissions.

[PS] Hear is never a flag stove [= stave] to be gott, so have not hoysted the flag, nor no wood to build Fort. Hear is a spring of water very neer.

273. Thomas Willons [= Willson] Commenda, 10 Dec. 1694

Yours I recevied of the 11th instant with the quarter cask of beef and flagg stave &ca. John Cabess [has sent?][23] three bendys in gold and would desier your worships to send him twelve ounces in perpetuanoes to pay his men with [ms 'wch'] and in forty dayes time he saith he will certainly pay you. He hath sent your worshipps a fatt sheep, and would desier you to let one Peter, a Black, owt of irons. The Companys house goes on [ms. 'one'], being thirty nine foot in length and fivetenn square, which is divided into three roomes. By Christmas will be done and the Castle in a manner might have as soone bin finnished.

274. Thomas Willson Comende, 13 Dec. 1694

These by the bricklayer and carpenter m[a]y give your worships an [ms. 'on'] accompt that this mor[n]ing wee hoisted the flagg, which is a very naisty scanty thing which in all probabillity may flye tell night. I would begg the favour of your worshipps to give me a litle more encour[a]gment as to live at the Companys Forte tell such time the house is built at John Cabbess Croome, for I ly amongst a parcell of Blacks who all night long makes fier and such a smoak they allmost stivell [= stifle] me, and theire it will be more conveniently for one to see the slaves turne owt and the flag hoisted & struck &ca.

275. [Thomas Willson] Comenda, 16 Dec. 1694

Your worships of the 13th and 14th by the gunner and the other three men where recevied, with two great guns, three barrells of powder, which John Cabess hath in his keeping, wee have noe place convenient to put powder in, with the six bendys of perpetuanoes for John Cabbess. I would desier your worshipps to send woord weather you designed all the quarter cask of beef for him.

[23] Ms. apparently 'linsense'.

Yeasterday the Generall of the Mina came hear to make up all palavers and to drink friends.[24] John Cabbess would have your worships to send Captain Amo hear today to hear the palaver that he hath to tell, which [= what] he saith I cannot well unde[r]stand, something about the Ducth given [= giving] the King of Lancra [= Dancra] a great deale of money to come downe against Great Comenda and this place to keep the English off.[25]

276. Thomas Willson Comenda, 16 Dec. 1694

Your worships of the 15th instant I recevied, and tomorrow morning shall put your orders into execution. This morning before the receipt of this by advise from John Cabess I sent your worships a letter wherein doth desier [you] to send Captain Amo to hear the palaver &ca, which letter your Worships may have received by this time. Last night arrived hear a Ducth shipp from the Mina, this day they say the Generall goes to the Mina againe and Tage to Great Commenda, and then the women and people will come downe againe to this towne and all things to be plenty, which I shall be glad to see.

277. Thomas Willson Comenda, 17 Dec. 1694

These by Captain Amo will informe your woorships the palaver, he tell me the Ducth have sent the Cufferoes thirty bendyes,[26] and I think would your worships send the same in refuge [= refuse] goods,[27] but I refer your worshipps to Amo for the grounds of the palaver &ca. The General is not gon as yet nor Tage. Heer are two great Ducth ships ryding. The briganteen is gon to windward.[28] Hear is a discourse with the blacks that the Ducth have abdicated their Forte at Succondee and gon to Shumma, and that the Adoomes people have taken all their gunns owt &c.[29] William Pig, John Storrey, Richard Braywood would desier your worshipps to order the Steward to send them three angles appeice in beef

[24] Bosman 1705, 30–1, recalls a visit by the Dutch General to Komenda at this point, but says he came rather 'to take satisfaction of John Kabes', & dispatched forces to attack the latter's village, where a 'skirmish' occurred. Wilson's silence on this here, however, suggests that Bosman may be conflating the General's visit with the earlier dispute with John Cabess, referred to in no.270.

[25] Probably a misunderstanding, since in no.277 it is Twifo, rather than Denkyira, to which the Dutch are said to have sent money; but cf. later reference (no.284) to negotiations with both states.

[26] i.e. to hire their assistance against Eguafo. Dutch records also report this approach to Twifo (Van Dantzig 1980, 108). Although the RAC correspondence (as also Bosman 1705, 32) reports the Dutch-Twifo alliance as a purely commercial arrangement, Twifo evidently also had an agenda of its own to promote: there had already been reports of its intention to attack Eguafo in Aug. 1694, before the Dutch-Eguafo breach (no.743), & this followed an earlier dispute in 1693 (chap.II, n.85).

[27] i.e. goods left over, as unsaleable.

[28] Not the RAC's *Swallow Brigantine* (which had now left the coast), but a Dutch ship.

[29] Perhaps a confusion, the report relating in fact to the Dutch fort at Takoradi, west of Sekondi, which was evacuated around this time (Bosman 1705, 20).

and two angles each in bread and place it to this accompt, provisions being extraordinarye scanty.

278. Thomas Willson Commenda, 19 Dec. 1694

This comes by Doctor Tom, which may informe your worships yours of the 17th instant I recevied and hope all things will goe well. John Cabess hath sent a pawn of nineteen bendys eaight angles per seventeen bendys in perpetuanoes, & to send them presently and good.

279. Thomas Willson Commenda, 19 Dec. 1694

These may acquainte your worships that the General of the Mina went [ms. 'wt'] this day about two clock in the afternoone, when at the same time Tage came to the Companies Forte to fro me ac[k]ey.[30] Theire was ½ a case of spirrits of Captain Amos I had in keeping, which John Cabess would make me give the King, and likewise hoiste the flagg, and give the King three gunns, which I did. The King did open[ly] promise that he would allwayes be our friends and that noe body molest us, and that he would stand by us tell he has lost [h]is head if any insolence should be ofered us, and would not let me alone untell I had informed your worships of his speech, which he sends by one of his men.

[PS] And if any other countriemen comes to fight again[s]t Commenda that wee must help, Wittness the King his marque, the Fetera his ditto,[31] and Cabbess his ditto.

280. Thomas Willson Commenda, 22 Dec. 1694

Your worships by Captain Amo I recevied, and likewise John Cabess the sixty five carpetts and 30 boysadoes, and soe no more talke of any palaver, butt all things firmly settled, and would have your worships goe speedyly on with the Forte, and gitt gunns on it, and I hope ere long wee shall have things more plenty. The King when he took his leave of me at the Companeys Forte whent derectly to his royal pallas after haveing made his gratious speech that I acquainted worships with &ca, walkeing two hours after Amo arrived heare. John Cabess doth farther say that now noe more dashes, by no means or accompt whatsoever, untell the forte shall be compleated [= completely] finished, and then he himselfe will pay your worships a visite att Cabo Corso, and on [ms. 'one'] Christmass day he intends to present with palme wine.

[PS] I have noe wax nor butt one sheet of paper, butt I hope the writeing trade is over.

[30] See Glossary.
[31] See Glossary: in Eguafo, 'the rank closest to the throne' (Barbot 1992, ii, 595).

281. Thomas Willson Commenda, 24 Dec. 1694

John Cabess hath sent foure potts of wine, vizt each of your worships one, the other for Capt. Freeman,[32] and nineteen bendyes, eaight angles per seventeen bendyes of perpetuanoes which your worships promise to send for from Agga,[33] if not to send itt in one pound pewter basons and sheets. They would desier you to lett one Petter, a Black, owt of irons. Last night came downe a parsell of men from the King which say are come to help build the forte, soe would desier you to send woorkmen. I was forced to give them rumm.

282. Thomas Willson Commenda, 7 Jan. 1694 [= 1695]

This by returne of a canno belonging to Cape Coast that brought corne hear to the Companyes slaves, may advise your worship that there is two Companeys ships to windward. Yeasterday John Cabbess would have had me wrote a letter from him to the Captains, which not caring to doe [I] referred, as not [sic] being very sick of a feavour and soe I had bin for some dayes. He gott John Storey to write. Today he told me one of the shipps is att Taggeradoe, and [a] Pourtegeze in her companey, and that he had forty perpetuanoes owt of her. The Captains name he could not tell nor ship, but I beleve its trew.

283. Thomas Willson Commenda, 23 Jan. 1694/5

Yours per Amo of the 15th instant was recevied, with the things hearin mentioned, viz 4 cheast of sheets, 40 loose on[es], 3 pieces striped sattins, 30 carpetts and a bailes of boysadoes, 1 baile of perpetuanoes, 45 loose ones. On the 17th Captain Amo whent with them to the King of aQuaffoe and as yett is not returne[d], and on the native [= one of the natives] reflects on us [ms. 'as'] for being soe sloe [= slow] in building the Company Forte, telling me the Ducth built theres in 3 moons times, which is a larger place to this. The carpenter saith that the girders are all fitted att Cabo Corso for the lower woorke and [there will] be nothing done in bricklayers woorke till such time as is lade. Wee had from on board Capt. William Piles[34] 7 good gorders [= girders] and severall joyces, timber enough for the upper woorke. If your worships would be pleased to send us halfe a hundred of men slaves wee might be getting of stone against the bricklayer come up with crows and pikaxes for that purpose. Newby the carpenter promised to speek to your worshipps for severall things, as slett [= slit] dale which would serve for the dwelling house for doors and windows and save the whole deale, instead of that hee hath carried away all the tooles with him in pretence of gitting them mended and grounded, soe that the carpenter

[32] Lieutenant of the garrison of Cape Coast Castle.
[33] The RAC factory at Egya, east of Cape Coast (see chap.VII).
[34] Commander of the *Guinea Galley*.

heeare hath no tooles hardly to woorke with. Your worship please to send him downe againe, or some other carpenter to help this. Wee want a grindstone very much. John Brithoway is runn away to Cabo Corso Castle, as I think he swore he would goe home in these shipps, and that he would not woorke, and did not while he was here, what woorke was done the black bricklayer did. John Cabbess hath left a pawne with Capt. Roberts[35] wheaing [= weighing] tenn bendyes for the valew of 9 bendyes less one angle six taccoes in gold. His friends not being returned he would desier then that your worships would be pleased to send downe to reedeem itt againe, he nominated Mr Rootesey,[36] and he will redeeme itt again, he would desier answer of itt. This comes by John Cabess canno, who hath buisness at Cabo Corso Castle.

284. Thomas Willson Commenda, 24 Jan. 1694/5

Your worships I recevied per John Brithower, and as conser[n]ing the woorke all that is done to the Companys Forte is in putting in seven door cases and five window cases, butt neeither doors nor windows nor window shutters, except one littell door where the carpenter keep his stores. The dwelling house is [ms. 'his'] tenna[n]table and with a marchant with his wares, which I should be glad to see, for I have bin at some charge heare, and dayly am with there palaver and Cabbess['s] or one buis[ness] or other, haveing 3 doors, one window, one shutter, one table and bench and a house [sic]. The great hinges that where designed for the fort gate are putt on the yard gate, and one pair to the hall door in the forte. The deales are all gon except about halfe scor[e] which [are] nott good enough to make the forte gate, the carpenter saith. As for Amo, is still at Great Commenda with the King waiting for answer from the Densarces and Qurs, to whome they have sent the goods,[37] as they [= the latter?] are down here, a parcell of them, every Friday, I say Tuesday, and would b[u]y goods, they tell me now the Quafferoe people and wee all one. As for the Ducth I cannot descover nothing, butt of old I know them to be circunventing [= circumventing] people and would fained have us of againe, to which purpose have sent money to the Dansers and Quaffoe Twies [sic: = Quafferoes], if your worships are better informed then I can informe you. Before wee can gitt stone your worships may send up some crows and a great sleged [= sledge] hammer [and] wedges, and then we have but a parsell of puni slaves and shall make no great hand of itt. The carpenter would desier your worships to send up some whol deales and slats and iron hindges, a broad chiswell and a littell saw, 3 quarter augors and a great plum[b] iron and grindstone, without which he cannot proceed.

[35] Sic, but probably this should be 'Robinson', as in nos 780–1.

[36] John Rootsey, at this time chief of Fort Royal.

[37] i.e. Denkyira (miscopied for 'Dencaraes') & Twifo (abbreviated for 'Quafferoes', as later in this letter), the goods being those brought by Amo from Cape Coast (no.283).

285. Thomas Willson Commenda, 31 Jan. 1694 [= 1695]

Your worships of the 24th instant was recevied, with the iron woorke therein expres[ed] excepting one staple. James Driver the carpenter being very sick, haveing keept his bed this week or more, was desierous to come to Cabo Corso Castle, is imbarqued on boord a cannoe in order thereunto. He hath not bin wel never since he hath bin hear, but very weake and faint, soe now wee have never a tradesman heare. The slaves are imployed according to order in gitting stone togeather.

[PS] Mr Searle will do well to bring some tables downe with him,[38] for wee have never a table here. The carpenter was about the table when taken sick.

286. Edward Searle Commenda, 8 Feb. 1694/5

This morning about six a cloack I arrived here and was received per John Cabbess and the Cabbosheers of the place & made verry welcome per them, particularly John Cabess. So soon as I was ashore I dispatched a messenger to the King of Aquafoe to acquaint him of my arrivall, who sent downe his people to bid me welcome and verry earnestly requested workeman to goe on with the Forte, which he expected I had b[r]ought with me, and understanding to the contrary, said that if the Dutch had halfe the palaveras they would have had guns upon their fort ere this tyme, and that I should dispatch a canoe purposely to acquaint you that he is verry earnest to have us fortifie our selves, that we may be in defence against all the friends of the Dutch. John Cabess and the rest of the Cabbosheers were verry earnest with me on the same account, and that they will assist you with stones or any thing they can, and as I understand by them they are doubtfull[39] of the Quiferas, the Dutch endeavouring to bring them downe to turne us out. I question not, if you can suply us with men and materialls, but before the rains to raise the fort of defence against any Negroes that shall asault us. If in very few days we have not workman the natives will be verry much disatisfied, and those that would be our friends may be forced to fayle us for fear of the Dutch. The timber for the lower floor I understand you have ready framed, and for the upper floor I beleive here is almost suficeint here, which if this [is] raised would stop the mouthes of the Blacks, we could better fortifie our selfes, and I hope tomorrow night or a Munday morning you will send men and materialls, that we may not slip any opportunity, for all the people are verry much disatisfied that I did not bring workmen with me. I have sent a broken maul and desire three maulls, two crewes [= crows], two pick axes, for the breaking of stone. Alsoe I have sent a man slave which has been blind a long time, and I humble desire more slaves, lusty men for the breaking of stone,

[38] Edward Searle, who was now appointed chief of the Komenda fort.
[39] i.e. fearful.

and the free people will bring them [i.e. stones] to the fort, I supose for some small dashes, but as yet have made no [ms. 'ne'] palavra with them. I desire a table, a cott and a great chest which is in the possession of Mr Salmon[40] by first canoe, of which I stand in great need of, here being only row [= raw] walls, the slaves haveing nothing to doe for want of mawles to break stone. John Cabess did as good as tell me yesterday that if did loose possession again it was our owne faulte, and that we could never have the licke opportunity. He says all the Blacks say it is he that has brought the Englisch hither, and it has cost him abundance of money and it will be a continuall charge to him till the fort is upp, the meantime he has noe place to fly to for protection, [and that the] Dutch are continualy offering him dashes and lickewisse the same to Great Taggee to turn us out. The Dutch I understand has a great trade and most of the people which live with them, could we protect them, would come and build under our fort. Here is not a lock to a dorre [= door] or any else, I desire if you have any to send two, if not I desire the armorer may macke them. John Cabess is verry desireous to have some blew perpetuanoes, and if you have any I desire you will send what you can, as alsoe some sheets (if you think convenient). John Cabess says he will live and dye with us, but he hath been in the Dutch fort since this falling out and I believe the Dutch will spare noe cost to gett him of their side, soe that we had best make use of the opportunity we have, for he tells me him selfe they have offerd him whatever he demands to turn us out. I find by him he is not disatisfied at nothing more than at our being so backward to bouild, that we may be able to protect him, which with my respects humbly thanking for placeing me here.

287. Edward Searle Commanda, 12 Feb. 1694/5

Yours of yesterdays date per the 11 hand canoe I have received with one garder [= girder] & twinty six jeyces [= joists] peices, and will make the best use of the workman you have sent as I can till you can spare more. We are in want of lime, which I desire may be sent as soone as canoe returnes, for the briklayers tell me that the old morter which is here will be of noe service, however it shall be used in the midle of the wall. This night came to an ancker in this roade an English interloper, John Samson Commander, from Londen. I shall be very carefull to learn what I can of the palavras of the countrey, and advise you upon all occasions. I desire sheets, knives, iron barrs, English carpets and powder if you can spare any as soon as the armourer has made the locks, & till then I cannot with safety secure anything. The people has been with me for their custome of settling a Chiefe, I told them that when I had goods they should have

[40] Steward of Cape Coast Castle.

them and they are verry well contented, so desire to be advised what the custom is by next canoe.

PS. There is a Brigantine from New England ladened with provisions &ca att an anchor about Axim.

288. Edward Searle Commenda, 13 Feb. 1694/5

I trouble you with this, being perfectly forced to it by the Cabbosheers of Commanda about their customs, who were verry insolent with me this morning about them and told me they alwaies used to be paid after a Chiefe came, their demands is to the vallue of 4 says & a halfe & two anchors liquors. My answer was that I was unacquainted with it, but to satisfie them I would send to you for goods, & as soon as I had them they should have their usuall customs. Above mentioned goods part of it is for the King & Fetera of Aguaffo. We are in want of boards for scafolding and old [ones] for the same use.

289. Edward Searle Commanda, 14 Feb. 1694/5

Yours of yesterdays date I have received with the perticulars therein mentioned. I am still in want of one say, for the[y] demand ½ a say for one Captain Newna more then what they told me of yesterday.[41] Had I had goods here I would have given them twice as much rather then have had the trouble with them as I had this morning, besides the continuall charges I am & expect to be att till the fort is up. So soon as the canoe arrives I desire her loadened with bricks to carry up the corners of the wall with the boards, ladder and two walling hamers formerly desired. The Dutch has paniard Captain Abran and Shimbee of the Mina about our settling here, which much troubles Taggee & John Cabess.[42] This morning came ashore the Gunner of Cormantine[43] to be their Gunner here, & their fort is extrodinary well man'd. What they intend I know not, but I keep John Cabess out of their way as much as I can, for if we loose him our intrest here is all lost. I have continually messengers from Taggee pressing me to send for workman,

[41] A 'Captain Nuna' is mentioned in the Komenda correspondence in 1686–8 (vol.ii, nos 146 etc.), but he was an employee of the RAC, whose home was in Cape Coast (nos 157–8), not a local official. French records in 1671–2 refer to a 'Captain None', who was 'Governor' of Little Komenda, who would more likely be a recipient of customs (Chouin 1998, 135–42). But this person is not mentioned subsequently.

[42] 'Abran', more usually 'Aban' or 'Abon', was broker to the Dutch WIC, described in 1681 as 'Chief Cabbisheer' at Elmina (vol.i, no.35); see also Daaku 1970, 104–5. His arrest is also recorded in Dutch sources (Van Dantzig 1980, 108). He later gave diplomatic support to Eguafo against the Dutch (no.296). Following further difficulties with the Dutch, in 1696 he fled to Cape Coast Castle & was enlisted in the RAC's service (NA, T70/11, Chief Merchants, 6 Jan. & 11 May 1696), & supplied soldiers to assist Eguafo against the Dutch (no.380). Aban was an uncle of John Cabess, which may explain his attitude in these affairs (Van Dantzig 1978, no.97: W. de la Palma, Elmina, 26 June 1702).

[43] i.e. from the Dutch fort at Kormantin.

for he says the Dutch will never leave till they see us so well fortified that they cannot pretend to drive us out, & John Cabess says it has cost him above 150 bendis. If you please to send for the bricklayers that are att Dickies Cove and let me have a few more slaves, this would goe briskly on till you can spare the rest.

290. Edward Searle Commanda, 16 Feb. 1694/5

Yours of yesterdays date I received with the bricks sent per the great canoe, by her I have returned all the empty casks you sent the lime in. It will be impossible for us to be supplyed with lyme, bricks, and all other necessaryes in canoes. If you please to order Capt. Piles up loaded with shells, will macke us a good stock of lyme, and either load him up with bricks or send men hither that can burn us a kill. John Cabess and the rest of the people is verry desireous to have Harry the Bomboy, because he was here and knowes where to gett stone & everything without breaking their fetiches. We are in want of boards for scafolding & twenty joyce peices. The joyce of the roome is laid and two flanckers, & the garder is ready for the other, only stayes for joyce. We cannot shift without more slaves, & I desire to know what agreement I shall make with the people to bring stone, which I suppose you have mentioned in the agreement with the king of Aguaffo. Alsoe I desire a short ladder which Basjohn [= Bastian] says is ready made & purposely for the place, & ropes. Yesterday came to anchor here two Dutch Company ships, one from the Mina & the other from Shuma.[44] They are hall'd in verry near the shore, which made John Cabess in a very great rage. I could not keep him from going to the Dutch fort to tell the Cheife if any men came ashore he would kill'd them, which he did under the walls att 10 a cloack att night, though I told him they might shoot him if he [ms. 'be'] ventured in that manner. The Chiefe told him the ships should ride here four dayes, in this manner the Dutch did when they panyard the Commenda people before,[45] & the Blacks are afraid that the Dutch now expect some people, either Quiferas or others, downe upon them to serve them so againe, but certainly they have some designe more then ordinary, which I hope they will neaver bring to pass, but I plainly see that wee shall neaver be att quiet nor free from expence till we are able to defend ourselves, & then I doubt not but here will be a trade to answer the charge. I desire a piece of lead to putt to the bricklayers plume [= plumb] rules, and the joyce & the necessaryes desired a Munday.

PS. Basjohn tells me that either of the black carpenters will give him more assistance than this old man.

[44] Cf. Bosman 1705, 27–8; the ships were the galley *Beschermer* (no.300) & the *Winthont* (no.303).
[45] i.e. in the war of 1688.

291. Edward Searle Commenda, 17 Feb. 1694/5

Yours I have just now received, & have send your boy to the king. This beleive the Dutch expect, & wee must expect if we do not go on further in our work to be beaten out. I will engage, if you pleasse to send all the worckmen you have and good store of slaves & necessaryes, in twenty days to defend ourselves against all the Blacks the Dutch can raise, and it is hard if we cannot raise friends to keep them of so long. The King of Aguaffo had just send his Che[46] to call his men together, & we hear that the Quiferas is lickewise expected, but I am certain we cannot be long protected if we do not protect ourselves, so humbly desire that so soon as this comes to your hands that you will do as desire.

PS. I desire good planck to macke a gate & 3 verry st[r]ong hinges for the door, with hooks, bars & staples, & provisions & men, & we will not soe easily be driven as they may expect.

292. Edward Searle Commenda, 18 Feb. 1694/5

This comes as from John Cabess purposely for Captain Amo, and if he be not well a trusty friend in his roome this night without fayle, and he will endeavour to spoile the Dutch designes, and if we can now prevent them, and you answer my yesterdays request, they may do their utmost afterwards. I desire as many black soldiers as you can raise with ammunition [ms. 'annumition'] for them. I have noe powder, what is here is in the hands of John Cabess, and he tells me there is two barrels. As soon as I can I will secure the powder roome, and then will have itt from him. The Dutch designes is verry disperate [= desperate], for this morning the Copeman told John Cabess that before the ships sailed they would have Taggees head, and if he [= Cabess] would be their friends, they would pay him all expence.

PS. If you have not great canoes to bring slaves, tradesman & all pray sent [= send] 2 hands [i.e. 2 hand canoes], that there may be noe delayes.

293. Edward Searle Commenda, 18 Feb. 1694/5

Your messanger is just come from the king of Aguaffo, he says he expect the Quiferas & Cabestera people in 8 days to fight him.[47] His request is that you will send him ten bendyes in powder and thirty bendyes in goods to carry on the warr, and that with all the speed as is possible that we raise the fort. I am afraid the Dutch expect them much sooner, and beleive they will stick at nothing to gett us out. His messenger goes in the canoe. The great canoe is just arrived & I have

[46] More usually in a reduplicated form, as 'Chitchee' in no.1132: see Glossary.

[47] 'Cabess Terra', NE of Eguafo. Other sources confirm that Cabess joined Twifo in attacking Eguafo in 1695 (NA, T70/11, Chief Merchants, Cape Coast Castle, 14 May 1695; Bosman 1705, 32).

received the things sent by her. Here is hoocks & hinges &ca enough, but none fitt for the gate of a fort, but for slight dores, therfore I desire three larg[e] hinges, 3 ditto hoockes for wooden barrs. You advise you are in hopes the Quiferas will doe us no harme, but you may be assured that they will be with the Commenda people sudenly and that the King of Commenda is not able to resist them, as far as I can learne, so that if they come we must rely upon their mercyes, for we cannot pretend to defend our selves in the condition we are in. If I had the worckmen I would strike all these houses & lay in the fort, & run up a spur for the present with swish and stone, & when we are secure strike it againe & bring the guns in to the fort and plant them out at the lower window, so that with John Cabesses people & our owne we may defend ourselves, if we should have occasion. I doubt not if I had all the workmen but in twenty dayes to have two flankers upp. I can if I have slaves gett wood, or I can hire free people to fetch it. The slaves I have will not keep these men I have at worck, soe pray let me have more men slaves. You give me noe orders what I shall doe about the free people bringing stone, therefore can make noe palavera with them. Here is noe timber fitt for joyce, and not joyce enough for the upper floor, so desire you will have joyce sawed for us. Basjohn says there is two peices of timber by the water side is fitt for nothing else, and if you will send sawers & a saw I will saw what timbers here is, except three for the top, and will not be enough by at least thirty peices. I humbly desire that if any possibility of spareing the worckman that you will send them, & I hope all will be to your content. If not I fear that when the enemy approaches that John Cabess will shift for him selfe, for he told me yesterday that if I was not here he would go to some other country, and asked me if the English had but one canoe. I satisfied him the other was at Winneybah. He replyed that he had allmost spent what he had about the palavera, and at last must be forced to seek for protection. I promised him as fare [= fair] as I can, & tell him you will supply us with necessaryes as soon as possible. Here is but one crow, we should have four or six at least, and more mawls for the breaking stone. The canoe I returned as soon as she was unloaded, hoping to have her tomorrow with lyme, and when Capt. Piles comes I hope shall have his loading with shells & some bricks if he can take them in. Crows and mawls are much wanted.

PS. The bar for the gate four foot two inches.

I have heard nothing of the workmen from Dickies Cove.

294. Edward Searle Commenda, 18 Feb. 1694/5

This comes expressly to advise you that between this & Thursday the Quiferas will certanly fight. We are in noe manner able to defend our selves, nor can I think of any protection here if Taggee be beaten. John Cabess came & advised me to send for canoes to fetch away our things. I desire Mr Salmon may

be ordered to take care of what I sent downe. I will alwais give him account, and send them by little & a little, that it shall be perceived as little as can be. We proce[e]d in our worck, but if Taggee be beaten, which is expected by all, it is to noe purpose, soe if the great canoe be not come away with the worckmen I leave it to yourselves, and desire you will order what I shall do and what security I shall take to save what I can of the Company timber &ca here, which I fear will be hard if once we have lost the feild. I desire your immediate answer.

PS. If you send me ammunition &ca & your orders what I shall doe in the matter, nothing shall be wanted in me.

295. Edward Searle Commenda, 20 Feb. 1694/5

Yours of yesterdays date I have received, and all the whitemen & slaves sent, and observe its contents, but the bussiness will be of a sudden. The Generall of the Mine is like the rest of his country men for fair promises & a false hart, but I hope to secure the Company possession against them.[48] If Taggee be beaten, indeed I know not what shift we shall make for water, which will be the chiefe thing we shall want. We have but 3 musquets, noe small shott, but little match, noe granadies [= granadoes], which I desire with speed. Here is wood enough to be had to burn shells, but I desire lyme as fast as you can in the mean time. You write me I may keep the canoes, but they are not to be so commanded. I desire you will not pay one of the small canoes a cra cra, but besides make some of them an example, for it is a shame we should be serv'd so by them as follows. Last night I ordered them all to stay till the morning & the great canoe to take in John Cabesses women & begone in the night, & they stayed till day. I went to the water side myselfe, all the small canoes tooke in Comenda women before my face & one would not take a wife of John Cabesses, nor staye for a letter of mine, so you may judge if we are served so by our owne people what those will do for us that lives under the Dutch. They would take in nothing for me nor come ney [= nigh] the factory, and if any mis[c]hance happens I know not how I shall give you advise. We desire that what canoes you send you will order them to bring the canoes of[f] our side. I cannot get a canoe to carry this same, forced to send it after the great canoe. I understand Mr Bloome goes home.[49] I am willing to stay here to see the ground of the designe & secure the place till the danger is past if possible, but if it be true I hope you will not dispose of Accra, but favour me with it.[50] I have not been so ill these two yeares as

[48] Apparently responding to no.1442, from Elmina.
[49] John Bloome, chief of James Fort, Accra.
[50] Searle was not in fact given the vacant position, though he was appointed to Accra later (see chap.X).

I was last night, and all day yesterday, or I would have write you by the smith. At present am something better; pray pardon my fowle [= foul] writing at this present.

296. Edward Searle Commenda, 21 Feb. 1694/5

Yours of yesterdays date I have received, with the particulars therein mentioned. We shall mount two guns today on one flancker & tomorrow the other two on another, to defend ourselves whilst we raise the other worck. The king of the Danckers, throw [= through] intrest Abon has made with him, thre[a]tens the Quiferas, which will delay them from coming so soon as the Dutch expect them, & the Quiferas has sent toe Taggee for elleaven bendis to drinck, which he has sent to macke a palavera, in which tyme I hope we shall be of more defence. If I hear the palavera is not to be made upp shall desire a canoe loade of water, pray let there be cask ready to be filled, for here is noe shift to be made for any here if we should be shutt upp. We have used almost all our boards to secure these flanckers & the gate, so desire what more you can spare, wee cannot doe any thing with less than fifty. Pray lett Capt. Piles take in what bricks he can to bring with the shells. If the canoe can bring any bricks with the boards pray let her, for they will be wanting. Wee want three walling hammers & two trowells. The seaven which have been here since we first took possession want their pay. I know not what their pay is or from what tyme they must be paid, & these which came last I know not what method to take to have them provided of, provision being verry scarce. These two days I have given them 1a a day to buy cankey, & soe I must doe till I receive your further orders, & that is verry short for working slaves in this place. Boards the surveyor say you have not enough to cover the fort when it is raised, therfore if you thinck convenient to send to Dickies Cove to have planck sawed would doe as well, & I hope we shall be soon ready for them. I shall forward it as much as is possible, & make as cheep agreement with the Commenda people to help me with stone as I can.

PS. The iron barr is to long, soe have sent him to be cutt to the length of four foot & one inch from outside to outside, & the hoocks will not bare [= bear] the gate, desire three elleaven inches long. 25 lb shott is as nothing, considering we have noe lead to macke more.

297. Edward Searle Commenda, 23 Feb. 1694/5

Yours of yesterdays date with i[t]s particulars I have received. I shall sende the sawyers to Dickies Cove to saw planck. I desire a canoe of bricks. John Cabess desires twelve half barrills powder, & as many musquetts or snaphances. If he doe not fight he will pay for the powder, and restore the armes.

PS. John Cabess will not be contented without Harry the Bomboy.

298. Edward Searle Commenda, 23 Feb. 1694/5

The Dutch have sent for Ante Ashrevy[51] now they see [ms. 'soe'] the other will not answer their desires so soon as they expected,[52] he is to pass Shuma Revier [= river] this night. John Cabess his people with more of Great Commenda people lay weight [= wait] for him, and [we] are all in what readiness we can be in to receive him. I have given John Cabess 4 of those musquets till you send his, & two barrills powder, so that you know how I am provided. I desire you will send his, as we may be furnished. The Dutch will neaver leave, therefore it will be convenient to have a canoe of water & a cask of bread more, which I humbly desire on sight hereof. We are somthing of better defence then we was. We want ca[r]tooch boxes, flints and a worme for our armes.

PS. I also desire ould junck & cartridge paper, and if we had more white soldiers it would do well.

299. Edward Searle Commenda, 23 Feb. 1694/5

This comes by John Cabess desire, for what Black soldiers you can raise. Pray send an hour glass, as we may keep watch right.

PS. Pray lett them be served with powder & ball, & then they will have catoock [= cartouch] boxes, for the halfe of the twelfe that is here have none. If Blow desires they may come by land.[53]

300. Edward Searle Commenda, 24 Feb. 1694/5

Yours of yesterdays date with the perticulars to be sent the king I have received, they shall be sent him this night. I hope the Quiferas will not come downe at all, for the Dankaras has sent to Taggee &ca to send eighty bendyes and they will not lett the Quiferas come, so they will conclude to send them pawnes and when they have ajusted all palavera will pay them, this is what I hear, but they tell me that Ashrevy was at the Mine about six days since & has taken mony to come & turne us out, but he will not find it so easy as he may expect. Tomorrow we shall be of as good defence as we can be till we have raised the flanckers to their height with good morter, & good & dry lodging in the fort, & then we must have the smallest guns you can gett, for these will take our work downe. The Dutch is on some new designe. The Galley is gone directly to the Mine this day, you may have an eye there to see if she doe not take Mina people to carry to Shuma to assist Ante Ashrevy.

[51] i.e. Asirifi of Ahanta, also referred to in correspondence from Dixcove & Sekondi (chaps I-II).
[52] i.e. the Twifo.
[53] Not identified: perhaps one of the soldiers?

301. Edward Searle Commenda, 25 Feb. 1694/5

Yours of this date per the great canoe with the particulers sent by her have received, except the hour glass. I desire she may be returned with bricks.

PS. Wee are in want of the three walling hammers & two trowells formerly desired.

302. Edward Searle Commenda, 27 Feb. 1694/5

I send this to desire you that since the great canoe is not come today that you will be pleased to load her [ms. 'hear'] with lyme, as much as she can carry, & if you have any more great canoes that you will send them with lyme alsoe. What we have here will hardly keep the men at worck for this day, & the bricks will last some days longer. If you can supply us I hope to have a flancker up to its height the next weack and ready for four small guns, which I hope you will have reade [= ready] to send by that tyme. The Dutch Generall last night sent money by the canoes to Shuma to be sent to the king of the Danckeras, that he might not hinder the Quiferas coming down to turne the English out.

PS. Pray lett the walling hammers & trowells be sent, as also 2 or 3 pair of line irons.[54]

303. Edward Searle Commenda, 28 Feb. 1694/5

About sunsett came the Windhowns long boate ashore here, as the Black says with armed men. John Cabess with his soldiers went downe to the water syde, and as the Blacks say the whiteman fired first, but there is two whitemen kill'd, one head they have cutt off as they tell me,[55] so that you may expect we shall have some sudden bussiness here. To trust the Blacks is hard, here is no comand to be kept over the soldiers you sent, they do us more harm in the fort then good, therefore on sight hereof I desire white soldiers, not such as the last, please to send but such as will do service. Tis the Mine people we may expect so sudenly. Tomorrow I will send all my lumber on board the Galley,[56] that I may lay in the fort. Lett me have your imediate order what to doe.

PS. John Cabess [would] have the Black soldiers you sent to help him, he told me otherwise that he waild [= would] go to Commenda.

[54] Presumably the same as 'line pins' (as in no.115).
[55] The incident was witnessed by Bosman, who was currently chief of the Dutch fort; according to him, 'several' of the Dutch were killed (1705, 28).
[56] Here, not the Dutch galley, but the RAC's own *Guinea Galley*.

304. Edward Searle Commenda, 1 March 1694/5

This accompanys the great canoe, which I send downe that with the other that they may immediately returne with lyme. Here is noe thought of burneing the shells here now, for this hinders all our worck. When I receive the lyme I will returne Capt. Piles and one of the canoes, that she may put the shells ashore with you and returne with lyme & bricks. The Windhown is hall'd in soe near that she may kill men of the shore with small arms, & the Galley is plying upp, she has fired three shott, one of which just over our fort, & the fort fired two shott, one in the see [= sea] and one in the towne. They have burned their towne & I suppose we shall in few hours see their designe. If we cannot defend ourselves I doubt we shall be in a bad condition, and we are really but of poor defence, seaverall of our men sick & others I beleive that never fired a gunn in their lives. I have pulled downe all the houses, so that now we lay all open to the dow [= dew] & raine. I desire a tent or something that may shulter [= shelter], or tarpollings [= tarpaulins] to cover the men, or we must all expect sickness, a chirurgeon will be necessary. The Windhown takes all canoes that passes. I hope before this tyme you have sent a good supply of bricks & men, & if the fort & ships doe not fire at us, I hope to deale well enough with the Mine Blacks if they come. You must not on any accompt lett us lack lyme, for delays will be very dangerous where the case is soe desperate. Wee expect assistance from Taggee but as yet the messanger is not returned. Pray send at least 100 lb shott, for these lead barrs will the best [ms. 'beast'] part be given away to the blacks. At tymes I have desired bandilears, wee have but three collers in the fort. Worms for the great gunns we have not one, we are bare of match, if you have not English pray send this country match. I have advised you what I can. If we canot defend our selves here is no way to escape the enemy, therfore we must not want any necessaries.

PS. The Cabbosheers desire two carpetts & one sheet to make a fetish. John Cabess is bare of powder, I cannot supply him. I have neither wax or wafers, therfore desire some. The glass you send is good for nothing, therfore desire others; if noe small ones, two hour glass will doe as well.

305. Edward Searle Commend[a], 2 March 1694/5

Yours of yesterdays date I have received with the men sent per the great canoe. I was sending her aboard the Galley to fetch the shells ashore, but the shott flyes so thick that the canoe men will not goe, so have returned her, & ordered Capt. Piles to weigh & saile for Cabo Corso. The canoes I desire this night full of lyme & the necessaryes desired yesterday as they can come. We stand still for want of lyme, & then pray let the Galley come up with lyme & bricks & four small guns. The blacks began to fight the Dutch fort last night about 8 a cloack & plyed them verry thick till one of the morning. There is only two Blacks wounded,

what damaged the fort has received I know not,[57] but they have made seaverall attempts to put more men from on board this morning but are kept of by the Negroes. Their Galley will be in the roade in an houre more, & then to be sure they will make some other attempt. Taggee has sent John Cabess a supply of men this morning, & I supose they will atack the fort in the evening. John Cabess had a barrell of powder of me yesterday, soe that I have but three barrells and he is still in want, as I wrote you yesterday. If supply[ed] with lyme this flancker will be up next weack.

PS. The men you send up says the Laiutenant[58] told them they need take nothing with them, that there was provisions enough. I thought the provisions had been to have served when we had been shut up, but as they have nothing to live on I have given them part & I desire the Galley may bring more, for here is not a cankey to be had.

306. Edward Searle Commenda, 3 March 1694/5

Yours of yesterdays date per the great canoe with what sent per her have received. We must stay for lyme, we always putt more swish than lyme, that you have now sent will only serve tomorrow. If we had lyme we should raise the fort verry fast. I sent downe one of the carpenters yesterday, & he tells me he doe not see any timber fitting for the timbers of this flanckers when it is up. At Annamaboe there is severall peices fitt for nothing else, and will doe our bussiness very well. The Dutch last night came ashore with all their boaths [= boats], and by force landed their men just against the fort; they leaped out of their boates and gott up the rocks at least thirty whiteman & three Blacks which swam before to show them the way, & just now came ashore & landed many casck of provisions at the same place, the Blacks continually fireing at them but had not the hart to advance to hinder it, the shott flying verry thick from the Castle and ships, and boats. One of our women slave goeing down to fetch the lyme as they began to fire came a shot from the ships, broacke her crew all to peices in her hand. Severall shott from the Castle & ships has flew'd directly over our fort. Here is now a fresh talk of Quiferas coming this weak, but I hope they will be frustrated. Pray lett the canoes come both as soon as possible loaded with lyme, and Capt. Piles bring a good quantity, for the rains is at hand and here is not covering for the men. I have given John Cabess one barrell of powder you have now sent & keep the other two, so that I have five barrells & I cannot keep less. He is much disturbed to be so scarce of powder. He in the canoe send[s] a boy to desire two barrells more, which may be sent in the night per a 2 handed

[57] Cf. the account of Bosman, who defended the fort on this occasion: he recalls that 'our enemies attacked us at night', & 'poured small-shot on us as thick as hail', but were forced to retire after 5 hours' fighting, the Dutch losing 2 men in the action (1705, 27).
[58] i.e. the commander of the garrison at Cape Coast Castle.

canoe. Just now is come advise that the Quiferas will fight Taggee suddenly. The blacks spend abundance of powder, & if they are not supplyed will be a means to make them fly. The 2 hand canoe I last sent you is not returned, I hear they are afraid to come, you sending your letter the other night per the great canoe, that if they come without a letter the Dutch will paniare them. They are my owne slaves, & I never send them but on such an occasion as the other night, when I canot get others, because I would have them to give you advice when there is nesessity. I desire you will have them found & send them away, for I shall get noe canoe here if anythings hapens. If you find they are rogues & wants to run away, pray secure them.

307. Edward Searle Commenda, 4 March 1694/5

This comes expressly to advise you that the Quiferas are certainly on their march. Taggee just now sent me word to be gone with all my people to Cabo Corso, for that he would goe out of his country the night, and he did not know what the Dutch would do, that they have hired the Quiferas to fight him, & the Anta people our Castle. Pray consider of this & order for the Galley immediately to come and sayle to windward of the Dutch, and six Cabo Corso canoes aboard to carry & send orders, as the Dutch do, and Capt. Piles to follow the signes I shall give him, and I will defend the fort to the utmost minute. If you give your orders we shall have upwards of sixty people & have not water and provitions for above eight days at most. We must have at least 2 months provitions and water, or wee must expect to deliver our selves into the hands of the enemy. If we have not a supply this night, I fear tomorrow will be to late. If they engage you must send people downe the country to make them raise their camp, or we shall be in a verry bad case. Thirty granadoe shells is nothing, the Dutch spend more in one night, and we have noe spare arms. Blunderbusses will be verry well, patereroes[59] will lickwise doe us a kindness, but am afraid your supply will be to late, for they are certainly now designed on us, and the fair stor[i]es the Dutch tell you is of noe effect, & I thinck it will be convenient to send another messanger to the Mina, for perhaps they will think to have revenge on us for the men they had killed by the Negroes. They salley out and fight every hour. John Cabess I hear designes to leave me this night.

PS. I wish I had another man in the roome of John Browne, a mutinous raskall, he strocke [= struck] the Serjeant yesterday, and you are sensible what he was before, he may doe more harme theen good.

308. Edward Searle Commenda, 6 March 1694/5

Yours of the 4th & 5th instant by the great canoes with bricks & lyme I have received. John Cabess went from hence with all his people last night, & I received

[59] A form of small cannon.

I have here heard, if the Dutch had been able to make noe better resistance John Cabess had unavoidably been master of their fort,[65] which to ours is a Fort Royall,[66] for they may stand upon one anothers shoulders & leap into ours, there being not one floar laide, noe not soe much as a place to lye drie in for the poor men. This is plainly my opinion in the matter, & on the other side if we should kill them a great many men, as tis possible & probable we may, those that remaine alive must expect noe quarter or mercy, all which I humbly leave to your worships consideration, with this provise, that if your Worships will have it defended we will God willing defend it to the last, & sacrifice our lives in the service.

311. Edward Searle Commanda, 8 March 1694/5

Yours of yesterdays date with a canoe loade[d] with lyme I have received. I have this morning ordered the survejor to build the outside of the wall with good marter & fill the inside with all swish, lyme being so verry scarce. This morning passed by this place to windward about forty canoes from the Mina, the Windhounds boate examined them all. Whither they were bound I know not. One came ashore to the Dutch Fort. John Cabesses man I advised you the Dutch took out of our canoe this night made his escape over the wall & came hither, he tells us that they expect [the] army verry speedily, and enquired mightily of him what was become of his master.

312. Edward Searle Commenda, 9 March 1694/5

Yours of yesterdays date with the lyme by the 11 hand canoe have received. I hope two canoe loads more will raise this flancker. I am glad to hear John Cabess is returneing, for I doubt the 300 soldiers they mention otherwise would never have been seen, if ever so great occasion should be of them. So soon as he arrives I will dispatch the Galley to you for bricks. I hope the fort is not in much danger, but it is good to prepare for the worst, knowing what neighbours we have by us. I hope in few days to be some thing better secured than at present we are, I have gott wild cockernutt trees enough to cover the flancker, which will serve both for joyces & boards, and by Thursday I hope it will be finished. Lieut. Keck says there is two gunns on the redoubt[67] that will be verry fitt for our purpose if you thinck convenient to send them by that tyme, & if could have two more with them should be verry glad, these we have being too bigg for our worcks. I will with all the speed as can be secure another flancker & then we

[65] Cf. no.305.

[66] i.e. it overlooked & commanded it, as Fort Royal did to Cape Coast Castle.

[67] An outwork covering the approach to Cape Coast Castle (described by Phillips 1732, 207), later called Phipps' Tower (and later still, Fort Victoria).

shall be in no danger of being stormed by the Negroes, & I hope by that tyme thee designe may be over. The Dutch ships still ride as they did. You advised me you sent twenty four Black soldiers, here is but nineteen. If John Cabess come we shall be well enough guarded.

313. Edward Searle Commenda, 12 March 1694/5

Yours of yesterdays date per the 11 hand canoe loaded with lyme I have received. The Quiferas may promise what they will, but they must doe as their master order them, & I am very sure that the Dutch has since I has been here offered to make up the palavera with John Cabess &ca & pay whatever they demand to turne us out, therefore there must be the same designe in bringing downe the Quiferas, and for Adoome Ashrevy[68] I hear is lickewise bribed, and to my knowledge refused Taggee his assistance & have rather assisted the Quiferas. If guns that lately came over are to large for this place you may charge two at Annamaboe, them being almost all small and wants larger, and then we shall have two on every flancker. These we have here already with after fireing will bring downe all our work. When another flancker is up we shall be as secure in our possession as we can be till there is a tanck. Water Capt. Piles says he has none for me. I designe to raise another flancker before I make dry lodgings for the men, which I fear must be made without thack [= thatch] to fence till after the rains. If those palavers was but over that we could safely suffer thack in the fort. The two canoes you sent hither to me a Friday I would have sent one to Dickies Cove to fetch the sawyers to saw the cokernutt trees, & neither of them would goe, soe that I was forced to gett a canoe that was just going of to Cabo Corso to goe to Dickies Cove, and a Sunday morning they went a fishing, as they pretended to me, & have never seen them since, so I supose they are returned to your parts & I have not a canoe here. Capt. Piles if you order me in your next I will send downe for bricks & lyme, & I hope he may be here again before we are in any danger.

PS. The black soldiers are at me for mony, I know not what agreement you have made with them. I desire with the small guns shott, cartridge [ms. 'partridge'] baggs & cartridges fitting for them.

314. Edward Searle Commenda, 13 March 1694/5

Yours of yesterdays date with its conten[t]s I have received. Anta Ashrevy I know is our enemy, but it is Adoome Ashrevy I say refused Taggee his assistance, but I beleive if Taggee has good success, we need not fear any thing but want of water. Capt. Piles I have sent downe, who I desire may bring bricks

[68] Asirifi of Adom (cf. no.240), as distinct from 'Ahanta Asirifi'.

& lyme with the timber from Annamaboe for the next flancker. This is in a readiness to brick & tarras, therfore I desire that I may have 2 hogsheads tarras, & the remainder of her loading lyme, & the other all bricks, which I hope will keep the men employed till you send the Galley. I hope you will order a Doctor to send some medicines, here is two of the bricklayers tacken verry ill & one carpenter, the latter I have sent downe. The Dutch landed yesterday forty hogsheads water, & this day a great canoe loaded all with provisions, from the Mina. We spend all upon the provisions you sent, for here is nothing else for us. Here is nothing to be done with these Black soldiers, some have not been here above fiveteen days & they say they will be all gone if I doe not give 1a 6ta each. I should have a Cabbosheer here & then I could doe better with them than I can, for they thinck I keep the mony for myselfe, & they say you promised them that every new month they should have 1a 6ta each, and if not they will go to Cabo Corso, if I will not lett them goe in the great canoe they will goe by land. Wee want some twyne for the gunner & bricklayers use, allso two or three spare axle trees for the guns that came this day.

315. Edward Searle Commenda, 15 March 1694/5

Yours of yesterdays date with what sent by the 11 hand canoe I have received. I am sorry that both canoes are not fitting to come as I may have lyme and bri[c]ks. However, we goe on with another flanker in the mean tyme, and only the outside stones layed in morter, the other swish. I should be glad to have this flancker paved as we may mount the guns on it, which will be of great defence to us. The curtaine walls I raise all with stones because I would use as few bricks as possible, knowing the charge it is to sent them. The Black soldiers I will content as long as I can without any more mony, and when they ask me againe I will pay them according to your order. About two days since all the croomes about us were burnt, and we know not the meaning of it, but thought it to be the Dutch slaves, but this morning I understand that it was some out scouts from the Quiferas army. They will not macke any pretences on us till they have conquered Tagee, if they should it would too plainly show the Generall of the Minas false hart. I wish we may not be molested, if we are I doubt our case will be but bad, but I doe assure you I will not eassely loose possestion. A Cabusheer will be very convenient, if any body of men should apear, to send upon a palavera, for I must [ms. 'naust'] not pretend to face out with them but keepe faire as long as possible & perswade them to our interest, if they are soe to be dealt with all, as to be sure if they conquer Taggee they will pretend the country to be theirs, & soe may say that none shall settle but those that make agrement with them. I wish Taggee may have success, & then need not make noe doubt of all this. I want trucks, & axle trees for the guns & twyne for lynes for the bricklayers & gunners use, & some thred to make cartridges. If you please to send another man in [the] Captains

roome he will goe down tomorrow, but is not willing to goe till another comes. If you send none he desire the arms that is in his roome.

PS. Here is noe cloath come for the Captain of the black soldjers. Since the sealing of this the slaves informe me that the bumboy sold the slaves missing, the truth of which I know not but have sent him downe by the canoe to prevent any further loss, & I desire two bomboys, one not being sufficient to take carre of soe many slaves.

316. Edward Searle Commanda, 19 March 1694/5

Yours of yesterdays date I have received. I know the Royall Companye is not indepted to the Mina Blacks, nor did I ever hear that their canoes was so panjard by any, but it is licke a Dutch trick,[69] & I doubt not but you will easely come up with them. I presume that you beleive their designe is on us here, or they need not endeavour to put us backward in building. Indeed they have hindred us mightily, we have done noe work since Monday morning for want of lyme and bricks, and if we had been supplyed we might have had another flancker ready to floar [= floor] by Saterday night, and then we might not have so much feare of the Negros. If I have never so great occasion canot send you a letter but when you send canoes, for here is none, which is very hard. I doubt not if the Quiferas overcomes Taggee but the Generall of the Mina will send white men to direct them to storme us here, and if wee can defend ourselves we have not water for above five or six dayes. I hear that one of the great canoes is staved & Mr Jordan is missing, which I hope not true.[70] I can ill spare the surveyor before the bussiness is over, which I hope will be tyme enough. As soon as I see how things are I will send him away to lay out planck for us & cutt the axle trees lickwise. I have herewith sent seven musketts that are not servicable, I desire seven per next. The shott you send with the last gunns fitt only one, they are all too bigg for the others, therfore desire by a two hand canoe 100 smaller & some smaller patridge [= cartridge] baggs.

PS. Leiut. Keck desires the armes in his roome whether you continue him here or not.

317. Edward Searle Commenda, 22 March 1694/5

Yours of the 19th & 21th instant I have received. By this canoe goes Basjohn. Capt. Piles arrived in this roade last night, I shall make the best I can of the lyme

[69] The Minas had panyarred canoes from Cape Coast; Searle seems to be responding to the explanation offered by the WIC Director-General, in a letter to Cape Coast (no.1443), that this was in retaliation for the earlier panyarring of persons from Mina by those of Cape Coast.

[70] Charles Jordan had been on one of the canoes panyarred, & was taken to the Mina, but then released & returned to Cape Coast (no.1443), & arrived at Komenda on 21 March (no.318).

he has brought, which will serve the people to work about two days or three, you may be assured that none here shall stand idle whilst I can employ them about any things towards the secureing the Royall Company possestion. Stone I have almost enough broake to build the fort. So soon as I heard the canoes were seiz'd on I had all the curtain walls run up with swish [to a] mans height to save us from small shott, which must come downe as you supply us with lyme. The Galley will be with you this day, in her goes Leiut. Keck. The fort is now almost as secure as it will [be] before the rains. I desire the shott wrote for in my last, & lines for the briklayers, with twyne for gunners use.

PS. The bricklayer I send downe is indebted for provisions 12as 4ta, the carpenter 2.8. I desire may be stopt at pay day, & the rest for the mens pay send hither, for they are all indepted for provitions & mony lent, therfore desire that noeone may stop their mony or their [= they] cannot subsist the next 2 months.

318. Charles Jordan Commenda, 22 March 1694/5

Yesterday I arrived here safe. The Mina canoes fish to windward of the Mina & keep together in great numbers, & 3 or 4 men in a canoe, and I beleive mostly armed. The cheif occasion of this is to thanck your worships for your favours, and also to assure you that I will in all matters be continually zealous & carfull in the Royall Company affairs, hoping also your Worships will thinck me so too. I begg your Worships as soon as palaver is made up with Mina people to send to me by first safe convoyance the five ounces for the things they penyard from me, and what else allowed for the abuse, which I humbly conceive ought to be considered, & not satisfied with less than a marcke, as I pretended I lost, besides other things. I desire creditt for a Guiney stuff, or a piece of perpetuano for a cloath for my boy Hansicoe, & that by first canoe sent hither, order Bomboy to send him to [me].

319. Edward Searle Commenda, 25 March 1695

Haveing the opportunity per the messenger Tagge sent to the Sabo people,[71] who is now returned, I trouble you with this & for little else but to aquaint you that we are all in peace & quitniss as yett, but hear nothing of anything the armyes intends, nor cannot unless it comes from you, for here is none but our owne people. Our lyme will all be spent tomorrow. I desier the shott formerly desired & all the other necessarys. If we have water caske we can fille water here, such as it is, & if not should Taggee lose the feild, & the Quiferas come upon us, we shall find the want of it.

[71] Asebu. Presumably Taggee was soliciting its assistance against the expected attack by Twifo: Bosman (1705, 32) says he was in fact aided by Asebu, as well as its eastern neighbours the Fante, but the Rawlinson correspondence does not explicitly corroborate this.

320. Edward Searle Commenda, 1 April 1695

Yours of this date have just received, with the particulers sent, and have sent downe the bricklayer. The shott are of the same sortes I received before, & are much to bigg for one of the guns, they will not enter the mussell [= muzzle], so desire less. The musketts I received. I am glad Taggee is likely to gaine the victory, but wish they had ended the matter. The Dutch have sent to the Danckeras for assistance; the King of the Danckeras men was at the Mina a Thursday last, which I presume you may have heard. Our bread is short, and we can gett no cankey, nor any thing more then what you send. Wee have not ten days bread, & beaf but two casck, and peeze almost all spent, so that our provitions is butt short. If Taggee has the victory it is well, but if not we shall soon be in want. I desire on accompt of all the mens pay & [sic] money to pay them with. This canoe goes another with four of Taggees soldiers which came to me and requested a canoe. We have sent downe two of the Black soldjers that are canoe men with them, & desire they may be returned in the morning. Here is more of his people here, but had not a canoe to send them in.

PS. Thomas Howard is indepted 5a 2[?] ½ta

321. Edward Searle Commanda, 4 April 1695

Yours of the 2^{d} instant I have just received. Basjohn brought noe to[o]ls hither, but I have sent what can be spared, accompt of which is here inclosed. I hope by this tyme the Galley is returned with shells.

PS. William Sessons being verry ill I have given him leave to goe downe by this canoe. He is indepted 4a 7½ta to provitions. Our match is the best part of it spent, I desire more of this contrey match to burn all night or we shall use abundance of English, alsoe sheet lead to make two spouts for the flancker.

322. Edward Searle Commenda, 6 April 1695

Soe soone as I had wrote you my last I was seized with a feavour, which held me for a considerable tyme and at this present is verry violent upon me. Besides I find a hardness in my belly, and noe convenient place for a sick man to be in, nor any necessaryes to help myselfe withall, & nothing to drinck that is fitting for a feavour but muddy water, therfore desire that you'l as soon as possible send a canoe to bring me downe to Cabo Corso to stay there tell I am recovered, which I hope will not be long were I in a place convenient, & if I lay here being sick, I shall I am sure throw myselfe away, for its impossible for a sick man to subsist here.

PS. I humble desire a little of wine or bear [= beer] or anything fitting to drinck.

323. Howseley Freeman Commenda, 9 April 1695

I returne you my most humble service & harty thancks for the many & continued favors I have received at your hands, and doe assuredly promise that I will act nothing in the station you have been pleased to place me in save what shall be to your Worships honour & creditt and the Royall Companys interest and advantage. I should here acquaint you with the particulers wanting to carry on the work of the Fort, as also about a supply of provitions, powder &ca, but shall referr you to Mr Searle, whom I discoursed about these things this morning, att parting.[72] The Doctor, John Browne soldjer, surveyor and 2 Black carpenters went along with Mr Searle, I hope you will not long detaine them, here being none left to carry on the worcks. All the soldiers are paid, except John Brittaine, who was left out of the bill, if he must be paid here pray advise what his pay is, & if any to be stop'd out of it. All our man are in verry good health, but much pinch'd for want of fresch provisions, and good liquors. I desire you would be pleased to [send] me up some brandy & rum & lymejuce, & let it come in the canoe that brings up the Doctor, least the canoemen spoile it. Here is not a lock in the Castle nor any hasps for hanging locks, soe desire the same may be shortly sent up, expecially to secure the powder. Mr Jordan is verry much indisposed with the flux, so is desirous to have some thing sent up to give him dose, or else you would please to send for him to Cabo Corso. The black soldiers importunes me verry much for money & say that what you gave them at [ms. 'to'] Cabo Corso was for a dashee. Mr Searle has since given them a months pay, pray advise me herein, for I shall not supply them till I receive your orders.

324. Howseley Freeman Commanda, 11 April 1695

By this canoe comes John Brittain and Thomas Wilkinson, both violently afflicted with the flux, in so much that at present they are not able to doe any duty, the latter of whom 2 nights since was bitt in the neck by a snacke [= snake], which in 4 hours tyme did cause such extrodinary pain, besides a great swelling, that we all cuncluded it would either have kill'd the fellow or made him goe distracted. Brittain is indepted for provitions 9a 3ta, which I desire you will please to stop out of the next payment. This morning the briklayers wrought up all the lyme, soe hope you will supply us with more verry suddenly. I beleive another canoe full will finisch this flancker wee are about soe high as to the laying on the timbers, but further wee cannot goe on with it except the carpenters be returned to gett the wood in readiness. I doubt not but if we are wel supplyed with lyme & bricks to have two flanckers finished before the rains.

[72] Searle did not return to Komenda, but later in April was sent to take charge of James Fort, Accra (no.1278).

There is noe want of stones ready broake & part of the slaves are daily employed that way. Pray send up two soldjers in place of these men, and by all means the Doctor with medicines. The men are much afflicted with the grips and flux, which I supose is cheifly occasioned by the badness of the water. Yesterday about 4 of the cloak Mr Pinck and Mr Jordan went from hence for Dickies Cove.[73]

325. Howsley Freeman Commenda, 13 April 1695

Yours with all the necessaryes by the 11 hand canoe I have received verry safe, except the lyme, which is verry much damaged by the salt water, so desire you will please to lett the next shells Capt. Piles brings us be burnt here. What lyme you have ready burnt pray send with all expedition, for one canoe full serves not above 3 days. The Arda slaves are verry much necessit[at]ed for provitions in so much that some of them are fallen sick and others verry weack, scarce able to do any worck. Here is not corne or any sort of food to be had for money, so that if they are not supplyed from Cabo Corso with corn or yams they will be in a miserable condition verry shortly. This is but a sickly place at present, so hope you will not lett us want medicines and one skilfull to apply them, here being none that can lett blood if never upon so great occasion. Here is great need of water cask, there being but 6 in the fort, which would not containe water enough to serve us 5 days if besieged. If you please to furnish us with 18 or 20 hogsheads empty, we can gett them fill'd here, but the carpenter must order them better then the others he hath sent, else the water will all be spoyl'd with the beef pi[c]kle. I desire you to send me per next canoe a stone jarr to keep water in, if you do not use that on the battlements it will fitt my purpose. As for the European provisions I shall not be att all lavish of them, but the soldjers have nothing else to live upon, so that had need be well supplyed with all sorts. I desire to be enformed what powder, rum & palme oyle is allowed monthly for the use of the fort. Att this time there is much powder used both by the whitemen and blacks in clearing their armes once or twice a weak, soe that I hope you will pleased during these troublesome tymes to allow something extrodinary on accompt of the powder. According to order have sent downe the Black carpenter Alampo, whom we shall want as well as the rest in a verry short tyme. They must be sure to bring all such toolls along with them as will be used for cutting and squaring of tymber and about the carpenters work. Pray hasten the locks and lett the smith make 6 hasps of severall sizes.

PS. Yesterday the Gunner was seized with a violent feavour, and is verry desireous to be sent for Cabo Corsoe.

[73] Jordan now became chief of the Dixcove fort.

326. Howlsey Freeman Commenda, 16 April 1695

By this canoe comes the Black carpenter Alampo, who unknown to me stayd behind the 11 hand canoe, for what reason I know not, but after she was out a league att sea he came in to the fort, and told me the canoe men would not stay till he had fetch'd his chest or what else he wanted from his house, this is the only excuse he made for his neglect. This day we have to finish the flancker we are about, to the laying of the tymbers, which shall be done tomorrow or next day. The lyme you last sent will be all wrought up today, and except wee are supplyed twice or 3 tymes a weak the men cannot go on with their worck as may be expected. When you send upp the lyme pray supply us with a canoe of bricks. I desire you to send up some sheet lead for making spouts for the flanckers, also a barrell of tarr for the gunns, 2 brushes & 2 powder horns with primeing irons.[74] On Sunday last some of our Black soldiers together with the Bomboy & most of our men slaves, unknown to me, rambled upp towards the Adoom country to fetch corne, who when they had gott their bootey, was sett upon by a party of the Adooms, well armed, who kill'd one of the Black soldiers and cutt of his head, and for ought I can imagine have either kill'd or panjard five of the Royall Companys slaves which are yett missing. I had given your Worships an accompt of this action yesterday, but that I was in hopes before this tyme some or all of the slaves might have been returned. I will not here trouble you any more about this matter, because the bearer hereof is come purposely to give you a relation of the whole bussiness. I wish you would be pleased to send up another bomboy in roome of this, for he more hinders then forwards the slaves in their worck. If the Serjeant or my selfe was not constantly amongst them in the tyme of their worck, I beleive one halfe of them would be idle all the day. Besides I do [ms. 'due'] impute the loss of these slaves wholey to his negligence, for had he not forc'd them to goe with him, not one of them durst have sturr'd from their houses. I hear nothing as yet of any ships to windward.

327. Howsley Freeman Commenda, 23 April 1695

The bearer hereof Serjant Wilson being verry desirous to goe to Cabo Corso for 2 or 3 days, have given him leave, with whom comes Isaac Ogbourn, haveing for severall days been violently afflicted with a feavour. I desire you will please to send up another in his room, here being but few men in the fort att this tyme. Six days agoe we lay'd the tymber upon the flanckers, but since that tyme not a stone lay'd for want of lyme. Could we be but well supply'd with bricks & lyme, I am sure the whole building might be finished in 5 months tyme, which if otherwayes the rains will destroy, all our men haveing nothing to shelter them from the weather. I hope you will dispatch Capt. Piles hither with all the shells he bring

[74] Needles or wire, used to clean the priming vents of cannon.

from Accra. Since my last fo[u]r of the slaves are return'd, but one of them as the others relate was panyard and carryed up into the country. If you doe not send corne & yams to releive those here verry suddenly they will all be disabled from doing any worck, and severall of them dye out of meere necessity. Here is not a graine or corne or any fisch to be bought, that if it were not for palme berrys & such trash as the poor slaves pick amongst the bushes they would all of them ere now have been quite famished. Pray advise me what pay the black soldjers have per months, this morning they came to me for their money & demanded 1a 6ta each man. Mr Searle told me when he went from hence that in 14 days their pay would become due to them, which tyme was expired yesterday. The necessarys you send up are come safe to hand, but not halfe lead enough to make the spouts. I have sent per the Serjeant a small case containing 6½ gallons, which I desire you will please to send per bearer with brandy, and an anchor of lymjuce, as also the particuleers under written.

[PS] I referr you to Serjeant Willson, who will give you an [ms. 'on'] accompt what provitions are wanting.

Necessarys wanting: beds, comes [? = coines] & trucks for all the gunns,[75] 6 hasps for doors, ½ m [= 1,000] 4d nails, ½ m 2d ditto, 2 small gimbletts, 3 spung[e] staffs, rammer heads, 6 worms for the great guns. To be mended: 3 musquetts, 1 larg[e] saw, 5 wedges, 1 mawle.

Cape Coast Tom went from hence last night.

328. Howseley Freeman Commenda, 1 May 1695

Yours received, together with one cask beefe & one of flower, but the case of brandy as the canoe men enforme me Captain Peter would not suffer them to bring now. I hope the letter I sent yesterday to Mr Ronan is received,[76] by which you will understand what necessity we are [ms. 'were'] in at this tyme, & expecially for bread. As for the flower it will be of little or noe use to me except I had palme wyne, which at this tyme is not to be purchased. If I have not some corne sent up I cannot possibly subsist, therfore earnestly entreat you to supply me with 2 or 3 chests in a day or two at furthest, for all my fowles dye for want of meat[77] to give them. What necessarys are wanting towards carrying on the fort, I advised you of in my former letters, so referr you to them, only desire we may be suply'd so soon as possible you can, else the rains will verry much damage the flanker wee are now a building. There is as great want of bricks as

[75] Beds, i.e. bases (of gun carriages); coins (quoins), i.e. wedges (to adjust elevation of gun barrels).
[76] Not preserved; Ronan was now Chairman of the Council of Chief Merchants at Cape Coast.
[77] In the sense of food, generically.

lyme, therfore desire both may be sent together. Seven of our Arda men slaves run away last Sunday, & are not yet returned or heard of, & I am much afraid of the rest unless some recruits are sent them. I writ in my last about the black soldjers pay, but haveing noe answer could not putt them off any longer, so paid them this morning 1a 6ta each man. 3 days agoe they had all run away from me, but I sent a file of musquetteers downe to the water side & fetch in to the fort 3 canoes which they designed should have carryed them to Cabo Corso. Pray faile not to supply me with the necessarys above said, & when you send me the brandy let the key of the case come with it, & a small anchor of lymejuce, for I have not any left. By this canoe come[s] Robert Ogleby, soldier, who has been so ill this 5 or 6 days that I t[h]ought he would have dy'd distracted with the violent feavour [which] was upon him, & here is not one can lett blood though never so great necessity. Last night & the morning came hither near 60 soldiers, who intend to remain here till John Cabess come to them.[78]

PS. Here are now but a few man in the Fort, so desire you to dispatch the Serjeant & what men you can spare.

329. Howsely Freeman Commenda, 4 May 1695

On Tuesday in the afternoon came hither John Cabess, accompanyed with a great number of Blacks, and intends to remaine here till the returne of this canoe, afterwards will goe for a few days to Abbraboe.[79] He desires you will please to give him creditt for 5 pieces of stript sattins, & lett them all be according to the inclosed pattern & sent up by the bearer, who comes purposely for them. All the Dutch canoes that have pass'd along since he came hither, his people have panjard, & yesterday morning came 2 Mina canoes from windward, both loaden with palme wine from Dickies Cove, there was in all 19 anchors, all which was brought ashore, though the Dutch fired att least 20 small arms shotted at the canoemen as they brought them in, yet hurt never a man. All our tradesmen lye idle for want of lyme & bricks, soe desire you will send up canoes, that we may goe on with the worck. The last 2 days rain did noe small damage to the flancker they are now carrying up, & which was finished all but the battlements before Mr Searle went away, now letts in water in 3 or 4 severall places, but I suppose it may easily be stopp'd when the lyme comes upp. We hear nothing of the seven slaves that are run away.

[78] The battle with the Twifo had finally taken place, on 28 April 1695 (NA, T70/11, Chief Merchants, Cape Coast Castle, 14 May 1695). Although the Komenda correspondence does not report the outcome, the defeat of the Twifo is noted in letters from Dixcove (no.76) & Anomabu (no.806); cf. also Bosman 1705, 32.

[79] Abrem, the northern neighbour of Eguafo: Cabess was probably going there to negotiate with Adom, Abrem's western neighbour, as reported in no.330.

330. Howseley Freeman Commenda, 7 May 1695

Yours have received, but much doubt Mr Pincks returne from Dickies Cove before the tyme you advise the Dutch ships will sayle, so intend on Thursday morning to hire a 2 hand canoe & come for Cabo Corso. Yesterday in the afternoon. John Cabess went from hence, and as I am since enformed is gone to macke a palaver with the Adoomes, who have received & protected severall of the Quiferas women. I [ms. 'It'] suppose it will be a fortnight or more before he returns to Commenda, though great number of people are daily comeing & begin to build, so that do not doubt in a short time we may have as good if not better trade then our neighbours.

331. Howsely Freeman Commenda, 18 May 1695

This serves only to acquaint you that at my arrivall at Comenda I mett with John Cabess, who has been return'd since last Thursday, but what palavera he hath made I know nothing of it as yet. I told him of your intention about panyaring the Mina canoes, who readily embraced the motion, & says if he once receive your orders, not one shall escape him.[80] I have had great damage by the rains since I went to Cabo Corso, both in my cloaths &ca, which I had lodged in the flanker already finished. The water runs into it so verry much that if it be not suddenly stopped, will certainly spoil all the floor over the powder roome. Here are a great throng of people already come to inhabit insomuch that they have built howses almost as low as the landing place. I belive there are above 40 canoes already come, so that I hope we shall not want for fish, but corne is as s[c]arce as ever [ms. 'over']. The 17 black soldiers have promised me to go for Cabo Corso this day, from whom I have received 4 musquetts belonging to the Fort, which was lent them by myself.

PS. There are 4 musquetts lost by the soldiers, which were delivered to them by Mr Searle & reckoned in the inventory.

332. Howseley Freeman Commenda, 21 May 1695

Just now I received yours, & imediatly sent for John Cabes, whome I have made privy to your commands. He assured me they shall be strictly observe'd and forthwith put in execution. In order thereunto he desires you to send him as many slaves irons as possibly you can, not haveing any to secure those he panyars, severall of his prisoners of warre have lately made their escapes from him for want of such necessarys. As to building near the Dutch fort, he hath already made this [ms. 'theis'] palavara with the people, that whoever goes to erect a house on that side of the salt pond, the chief actor shall have his head cutt

[80] Presumably, in retaliation for the Mina panyarring of Cape Coast canoes, reported from Dixcove a few days earlier (no.77).

of, and the rest be made slaves without redemption, and that noe fisherman is to supply the Dutch Copeman or his people, upon paine of the licke penalty. Yesterday the town Cabbesheers came to demand their custome, which they say is a whole say & 6 gallons rum. I have desired their forberance till I can receive your ordres, which I desire may be by the first opportunity, for till they are sattisfied I shall have noe quitenesse. The [= this] morning I sent up into the country along with some of John Cabess men, 21 of our slaves, whome he had orderd to load with corne, I haveing agred to pay him 3a per chest. Along with the bearer comes John Cabess boy, to whome he desires you to deliver one of the Company silver headed sticks, because at his return he intends to goe himself and make a palavaro with the Adoms to come down & trade, as also to send some sort of goods to take up [ms 'yp'] along with him. He left a cloth that you gave to him for a dashee, & now desires to have it sent by his boy. He further desires to know what you will be pleased to allow him here per month & what you have agreed to doe concerning the palavero he made with you about Mr Elwes, whome as he relates is indepted to him 11 bendys 1oz 7a of gold.

333. Howsley Freeman Commenda, 28 May 1695

Since Fryday last here has been such excessive raine that it has beat down one end of the house I lay in, so that now I am forced to lye under a shed in the Castle, nor can I secure my selve there from the weather except I have tarpawling to cover over the boards, which are so crack'd & shattered that not one in five of them but letts the water in upon me. I desire you will please to send one with all expedition 13 foote square, els not only my selfe but what necessarys I have will receive much damage thereby. Here are two leys [= lies] over the powder roome, but neither of them must be remov'd for fear of spoiling the powder. When you send the tarpawling pray send up some chests of sheets, here haveing been severall traders since Satturday would have bought a great quantity if they could have been supplyed. The soldiers are verry importunate with me for their pay, & desire you will order it by the first conveyance. Since my last I have heard nothing more about the Mina palavera. Pray advise me how you rate a whole chests of sheets when sold together.

PS. Here are slaves daily brought to be sold, so wish you to supply me with goods to purchase them. Sheets are most desir'd.

334. Howsley Freeman Commenda, 1 June 1695

Haveing the opportunity of this conveyance by Mr Jennings canoe, which came hither last night,[81] thought fit to acquaint you that John Cabess went from hence

[81] Richard Jennings, chief of the RAC fort at Dixcove.

towards the Adoomes yesterday morning, being call'd on by seaverall of Great Taggees people. Pray supply me with the necessarys I wrote for in my last by Tuesday or Wednesday att furthest, & advise me what I shall do concerning buying of slaves, which daily come hither to be sold. I have not irons to putt any in, so desire you to send up some by the canoe that brings upp the goods.

335. Howsley Freeman Commenda, 3 June 1695

Yours of the 1st instant I received last night, but the tarpawling was left at Cabo Corso. I desire it may be sent by the bearer, as also 6 gallons brandy, 100 weight of sugar, a cask lymejuce, 1 gallon sweet oyle, 2 gallons vineager, & a cask mallagetta to give amongst the slaves which I am now about buying. If you will be pleased to furnish me with the large tarpawling I formerly wrott for I can secure a great quantity of goods in the shed. I now lye in one of the flankers, which I am now getting thatch'd for that purpose. I do not think it convenient at present to build any other house, but to lye in the shed till the storm be quite blowne over, so shall employ the slaves in getting of stone [&] fetching of swish. Pray send me up what slaves irons you can spare at present, els I know not how to keep those I shall buy with safety. Corne here is verry dear, the lowest price being 6a chest, but beleive I can procure so much from John Cabess and others as will serve my purpose with good husbandry till there be new corne.

336. Howsley Freeman Commenda, 7 June 1695

I desire you will be pleased to lett me know what money is due to the Royall Companys slaves, who now begin to done [= dun] me for their pay, & send me up one quarter cask rum, one ditto of palme oyle, as also the slaves irons and mallegetta I wrote for in my last.

PS. Pray send up a halberd for the Serjeant.

337. Howsley Freeman Commenda, 8 June 1695

This morning came downe to me from the Quifero's country one of the king of Aguaffo's men, & Captain Amo's, with the following palaver, which they did desire me to give you an accompt of this night, vizt that the Generall of the Mina has already sent up to the Wassaw's & Anta Ashrevy 50 bendys in gold, to hire them to come downe & fight Tagee & John Cabess, but those people not att all consenting to the Generalls proposalls, immediatly sent it [i.e. the gold] away to Taggee & would have him accepted of it, but he refuseing ordered them to return it, & hath since in the behalfe of the English agreed to give them 20 bendys, which he desires you will not fayle to send him up with all speed, either in gold or goods, which you please, carpett & boysadoes being only accepted

[= excepted] against.[82] Great Taggee, John Cabess &ca being now at a place call'd Dumpim,[83] they desire you to send up per the bearer a couple of sheets to give the two messingers that brought downe the news, for a dashee. Pray dispatch the canoe tomorrow for the 2 men are order'd to returne from hence on Munday, at furthest.

338. Howsley Freeman Commenda, 12 June 1695

Yours received, together with the slaves irons and cask palm oyle, which was not above $^2/_3$ full. On Munday night John Cabess came hither & desires you will dispatch the canoe sent on accompt of Taggee['s] palaver with the Wassaws, his men remaining here on purpose to waite her returne. Ockamy, the Captain of Commenda, had lately his wife panyard in comeing from Cabo Corso by the Mina people and sold on board the Portuguez ship which was brought in thither last weak. He is inform'd she sayl'd from thence yesterday & is come to an anchor of Cabo Corso road. John Cabess in his behalfe desires you to gett her releas'd & sent hither per the bearer, & what charge you are at he will be sure to see defray'd. I should have enlarg'd but time will not permitt, it being verry late before the Captain of the Town came to me with the palaver.

339. Howsley Freeman Commenda, 14 June 1695

On Wednesday night about 8 of the clock, arrived here Mr Jennings from Dickies Cove, but in such a distracted condition as I seldom or never see any, & ever since hath continued delirious.[84] The hamock men which brought Mr Pinck I never see, since he went from hence, so conclude they went for Cabo Corso along with the soldiers. Earnest Week Gunner is verry weak with the flux, & for my owne part I have had a violent feavor & ague this 3 days, & fear tis lickely to continue. Be pleased to send me up the great tarpawlin I formerly desired, for except I can secure myselfe better from the bad weather, I shall have great reason to dread a tedious fitt of sickness. My ague fitt is just now comeing up on me, so take leave.

340. Howsley Freeman Commenda, 16 June 1695

Yours I received, and have aquainted Ookamy, the Captain of the towne, with what you writt me concerning his wife, as alsoe Taggees people who still remains here expecting your answer. I paid the canoe hire but no canky mony to the men that brought downe Tagee['s] palaver yesterday, and all last night I was extreamly afflicted with the ague & especially the feaver, which continued till

[82] Fur further Dutch attempts to recruit assistance against Eguafo, in July 1695, see no. 84.
[83] Dompem, 45 km NW of Sekondi (in Wasa).
[84] Jennings had retired from command at Dixcove, & was now returning to Cape Coast (no.79).

this morning at 8 of the clock, so I was forc'd (though much against my will) to send up to the Dutsch fort for a black they have there to lett me blood, since which I have been much better, but have nothing to take whereby to give me ease. I have sent downe the Gunner by this canoe, who is growned so exceeding [ms. 'exceedrag'] weak that I belive he would have dyed had he stay'd here 3 days longer. There comes in company with him John Dobson soldier, who came hither from Dickies Cove this morning in a verry weak and lame condition.[85] I wish you would be pleased to send some one hither that can both administer physick & lett blood, else all must be great suffere[r]s if sickness happen, by reason we are at so great a distance from you. My hands tremble so much that I am scarce able to write, so take leave.

341. Howsley Freeman Commenda, 21 June 1695

According to your order I have sent downe all the brickayers. Our slaves are verry urgent for their pay, being in want of money to buy provitions. I would desire you to sent money, or an accompt what their pay comes to, & I will pay them. I am still extreamly bad with the feavor and a verry great pain in my head, & so faint that I am not able to stur. I would desire your worships to send me [a] little cord[i]all waters, & some Venns treatle for two or three sweats,[86] & three or four doses of phissicke, by reason one of our men want a dose &ca. I would desire a quarter cask rum, & four cheeze if you have any good.

342. Howsley Freeman Commenda, 26 June 1695

Yours I received of Gamatan,[87] & according to order will advance the slaves each of them one angle. This morning about seven a clock John Cabes went to meet the Dutsch Copeman to palaver with them, as he use to doe severall times before, upon the sand by the Dutch Fort, John Cabbess haveing six men the Copeman ten, when after som[e] time being seated in their chairs and some discourse past, the Copeman haveing two pistolls in his packett [= pocket], drew out one & fired at John Cabess, which he perceiveing fell out of the chair upon the sand before the pistoll went off. The Copeman fired the other pistoll at him as he lay on the sand, but John Cabess grabling[88] about escapt the fury of them both, & by the asistance of his men gott clear.[89] The Copeman they say is

[85] Cf. no.80.

[86] Venice treacle, a compound of herbs & honey, normally taken as an antidote to poison, but here as a sudorific.

[87] Identified as 'my boy Gamatan' in no.345.

[88] Grabbling, i.e. sprawling on all fours.

[89] The Dutch chief concerned in this incident was Bosman, whose attempt to murder John Cabess is recalled in a later Dutch document (Van Dantzig 1978, no.97: W. de la Palma, Elmina, 26 June 1702), but it is not mentioned in Bosman's own account (1705).

wounded in the theigh with one of their swords, so went to his Fort & fired a great shott into the towne, & afterwards hang'd out their flagg, which is still flying, & I would desire you to send me two marques of gold by the bearer Gamatan. John Cabess would desire you to send a party of soldiers if you can to remain here. I am still verry ill.

343. Howsley Freeman Commenda, 4 July 1695

Yours I received with the two marques of gold, & did acquaint John Cabess what mony he had had on accompt of his pawne, who [he] saith in a short time he will discharge. I would desire you to send an [ms. 'on'] accompt of the slaves pay, who are so inpatient that I cannot be at quiest for them. I am still verry ill, haveing a verry great pain in my head, that I cannot rest night or day, & desire you to send me something that might move it, & two blanketts, & a brass kettle.

344. Howsley Freeman Commenda, 13 July 1695

I give you many thanks for sendeing Mr Julois up,[90] & God be praised, I begin to be something better, tho verry weak, that I am not able to write to you, but I hope in a short time to gather strength. I received the two blanketts you sent by the boy, butt for the brass kettle I know nothing of. I would desire you to send the Whitemens pay, they haveing at pay day 4 months due to them, & are in want of mony to buy corn or other necessarys, haveing no provitions for them in the Fort. As for the slaves they refuse to take 1a each, they will have their whole pay, therfore I would desire you to send the accompt & mony to pay them. The 11th instant we buryed Thoomas Heycock the carpenter. I would desire you to supply me with 4 gallons brandy more, & then not trouble you till a ship comes.

345. Howsley Freeman Commenda, 18 July 1695

On Satturday night last I sent my boy Gamatan to Cabo Corso along with Mr Julois, but since have not heard of him. If you have sent him away from thence he is certainly panyard by the Mina people. Since Tuesday night our bomboy has been missing, I desire to know whether he be come to Cabo Corso. I had intended to have sent him downe as this night, for he was so horridly abusive to the slaves that they all came togither & told me, exept I sent him away they would all go to Cabo Corso. He never would keep all to the Companys work, but would dayly have part of them to fetch his wood, to sell in the market for his owne use. I have at present put in one Coffee, a lusty young black fellow, one that speaks English verry well, and I beleive will behave himselfe civilly. Since my last I have paid all the slaves 1a each, but the bomboy none. Pray if my boy

[90] Julian Gillois, surgeon.

is not come away send up the slaves accompts, that they might be cleared to a day, for they are hard put to it to gett victualls, & the white mens pay, they being very much necessitated to gett provitions, everytheing here being att an unreasonable rate. I am now forc'd to pay 9 taccoes for 5 little boys, & glad that I can gett them for mony. Pray send a skeain of Englisch match & 6 balls [ms. 'ballt'] of country ditto, there is not an inch of English match in the Fort but what is on the linstocks,[91] alsoe 2 or 3 dosen of hoops ready made upp of 2 or 3 sizes to put in the powder barrels. The powder room is so extraordinary damp that itt rots everything that is putt in itt. We are forc'd once a weacke to carry the powder upon the flanckers to dry, but now wee cannot stirr a barrell except they be new hoop'd. I have ordered the Gunner to take up a firkin tallow to make me some candles, which be pleased to place to my accompt.

346. Howsley Freeman Commenda, 23 July 1695

Yours I received together with the 2mk gold, which did not hold out to pay the men by 5oz 12a 1ta, as you will see by the inclosed bill. The slaves are daily at me about their pay, & say that the 1a paid them is all they have had for 5 months. The Serjeant says he believe it is full so long time since Mr Searle paid them. I wisch you would be pleased to lett me know what remains the due to them, for I am afraid if they are not paid, they will most of them run away. If the bomboy is not come to Cabo Corso I cannot imagine where he should go, ex[c]ept to the Dutch, for I have had the bushes all here about sought for him twice. The match & hoops you mentioned in your last the canoe men says was never delivered to them. At pay day I put in John Story [as] gunner, who [I] desire to know if you aprove of him & will allow him his usuall pay & match mony from this pay day, he doth promise to be verry carefull in his employ. Be pleased to send up the goods together with their prices as under written.

PS. 1 baile carpetts, 20 oz corrall, 20 iron barrs, 1 bale green perpetuanoes, 50 1 lb pewter basons, 1 bale white blankets.

347. Howsley Freeman Commenda, 7 Aug. 1695

I received yours this morning, & imediatly sent for the slaves and a guide, and send him away. I gave the slaves 1ta each and the guide 2a to buy them cankey. The guide demanded how much I would give him for his pains, but that I told him he would know at Cabo Corso, so that if you pay him be pleased to let me know, or order me what I shall give him.

PS. Slaves sent to Cabo Corso: Quan, Affodue, men; Quack, Quo, Yow, boys.

[91] Match-holders (for cannon).

348. Howsley Freeman Commenda, 15 Aug. 1695

This is answer to yours of the 27th last month, when I received Mr Searle['s] old accompts & your aprobation of John Story being Gunner. There is not a neater men in the Companys service for cleanseing of small arms, it being formerly his trade, but except he be allowed match mony he will not act, & I am sure besides himself here is none capable. According to your order have sent an accompt of the expence of powder. It is verry hard upon me to give an accompts of every particulier cartridge of powder given out as such a time as when I first came, and the warr just ended, when I could not be att quiett for fresh comers for powder, as you will see per the bill. Had I denied all (though abundance went without) I am sure to have been reputed a verry ill man, & I believe it would not [at] that juncture have been for the Companys interest or reputation to have been pinching of a barrell of powder. As to the expence of lyquors I am sure I come verry little short of what charge the Company are at out of my own pockett, and yet have not given half the satisfaction I expected. Yours of the 13 instant have received, & can assure you there is nothing of truth in the palaver brought you about the serjeant and bomboy. T'is so far from any thing of that nature that my man has been this 3 dayes with Taggee & John Cabess on purpose to gett them to send downe to the Captain of the towne (who is a great rogue) to lett our whitemen be supplyed with fish. This is the second time I have been forced to send to John Cabess, the first time one of Taggees near relations, & did so because the Cabbosheers and fishermen that [w]as on assurance they would not play the rogue with the whitemen but lett them have what fish they wanted, he caused severall of them to lick the dust of the soles of his feet three times apeice with their tongues. I sent for the Captain of the towne as soon as received your letter & asked him the reason why he sent such a lying story to Cabo Corso, his answer was because I had sent to Taggee. We are verry hard put to it for want of provitions, some time 3 days together & no fish. I formerly writt for 3 or 4 dozen of hoopp for the powder barrells, which are now so decayed that we cannot touch them but they will fall in pieces. Pray send me some paper, for this is the verry last sheet. I have a great swellen [= swelling] fallen into both my leggs, that I am scarce able to stand, & such a great paine all over my limbs that I have very much adoe to write. I did expect to have seen the great canoe long since.

349. Howsley Freeman Commenda, 18 Aug. 1695

Yours received, and have inclosed returned your letter, which pray send me back againe by my boy when you have entered it. I have aquainted the Gunner with what you writt, who now is willing to embrace the employ upon your first proposall. The corne is come safe, 7 basquetts, which measured only 2 chests & one basket over & not a graine more. The hoopes my boy brought are good for nothing, being knokt of from old barrells, that they will not abeide driveing, pray

lett the cooper send soome green ones that may doe service. I earnestly entreat you now to lett John Tygar, and another if you can spare him, be forthwith sent up. Wee have not men to doe duty here, being two of these five that are here sicke of feavors & ague. If possible send up the great canoe up this next weeke with goods desire[d].

350. Howsley Freeman Commenda, 23 Aug. 1695

Yours with John Tygar have received, and returne you many thanks for sending him up. Some few hoops the cooper have sent but we cannot make use of them. He hath only splitt the sticks, not fitted them to any size. He should work them up, els we know not what to doe with them.

351. Howsely Freeman Commenda, 7 Sept. 1695

Yours with the goods have received. The blanketts & carpetts took some wett, but it proving indifferent fair weather this afternoon have open'd the bailes to dry them. The corrall so soon as I received it from the canoemen, the paper being broake, called the serjeant to see it weighed, and it wanted in weight 1oz 12a. Here had lately been some traders enquiring for the nicconnees and blew bafts, if you have any pray send some up by next canoe. I have by the great canoe sent downe 24 musquetts which are alltogether useless. Thomas Lee may cleanse and mend them, and if you please they may be kept at Cape Coast, we haveing here 22 more than what are constantly used by the soldiers, besides no one man is able to keep so many in good order. There where at my comeing 59, but the Cape Coast soldiers lost 4, & the night John Cabess had like to have been kill'd by the Dutch Copeman[92] the Towne Cabbosheers borrowed [word illegible], one of which they have lost, so of what remains in the fort hang'd up, the soldiers arms in use, those lost & 24 sent downe make up the number 59. The sticks the cooper sent up for the powder barrells are of no manner of use, they being only cast asunder, if he do not fitt up some, & send by the canoe of 2 or 3 sizes, we shall have all the powder spoyled for want of aire.

352. Howsley Freeman Commenda, 11 Sept. 1695

I have sent by my boy nine deale boards, which I desire you will please to lett Bastian gett sawn & bring them up the next week to make doers for the house. He must bring up some small hooks & hinges to hang them, here are some in the Fort but they will be to bigg for such slender works. I pray advise me per next what you sell the lead barrs for, as also the iron barrs, because I can sell some of the latter. The inclosed is the soldiers bill, which if you think fit to pay this day

[92] Cf. no.342.

will verry acceptable to them, here being nothing to be had without the ready penny, and at unreasonable rate.

353. Howsley Freeman Commenda, 18 Sept. 1695

Yours received, and shall returne Bastian & Tyger according to order. When the slitt deals came up in the great canoe, 3 half deals were left behind, which I desire you would please to order by my boy, as also 200 2d & 200 4d nails, 2 small hanging locks, 12 small hinges for the windowes & hooks proportionable, here being none of either sort but what are too big to put upon slit deals, 1a knifes for my own use. The Cabbosheers of this towne never let me rest but are daily duning me for their custome, pray let me know what you please to doe with them. The custome Mr Searle paid them is in the accompt you sent me. Our owne slaves are not less troublesome, not haveing a cra cra to help themselves. By next great canoe be pleased to send up some nicconees and blue [ms. 'flue'] bafts.

354. Howsley Freeman Commenda, 26 Sept. 1695

Yours of the 21st instant have received, & the next day acquainted the Cabbosheers of the towne with your answer, who seemed verry much disatisfied with it, but since I have not heard anything from them. The slaves are paid 1a per month for every month since I came hither, being 5 months beginning from the 29 March 1695, which was the first payement I made, to the 29 of the last month, and Sunday next there will be another pay day due to them. They say Mr Searle paid them only for 4 months each slaves, and that when he went away there was 2 months pay more due to them, for want of which they grumble extreamly. If you pl[e]ase it shall be paid them I will clear them next pay day. If some nails are not sent up Bastian cannot finish the wood work. For nailing on the hinges &a it may be easily done without him. I have got him to make me a desque [= desk] & want about 100 2d nails for the drawers, if any in the store pray send some by the boy. Here is but one axe in the Castle, which the other day cutting some timber broak, I have sent it to be mended and desire it may be returned by this canoe, for we cannot cutt any wood without it. Pray send up 2 sheeps skins, & some scupper nails, for we are in great want of them.

PS. Here is a flying report amongst the blacks of 2 English ships being to windward, but what place I cannot be enformed.

355. Howsley Freeman Commenda, 30 Sept. 1695

I had sent Bastian to Cabo Corso last night according to order, but takeing phisick & it not operating save 2 times caused me to keep my [ms. 'me'] roome and bed all day, not being able to set pen to paper. The goods all came safe, save one of the half pieces broad black bafts which is wanting & I beleive forgott in the packing,

the serjeant & myself haveing counted them over 3 times. Six of the sayes are extreamly much damaged, some of them being eaten through all the folds. There is noe certain rate can be sett on them, so that if you please to have them returned or that I shall sell them for what I can get, be pleased to give me your answer per next canoe. As to the slaves I shall observe your last dirictions, & had done it before now had I been advised. I hope you will spare me Bastian again in a little time. What work I have done here might if he had not idled away his time been finished in 4 or 5 dayes. I humbly thank you for letting John Tyger remaine here.

PS. Just now a Commenda canoe came from the Brandenburghs, haveing been there to buy a small canoe, who possitively affirms that there is a Dutch interloper lyes there who came out of Europe in company with 2 of our ships, & left them trading at Cestus. The interloper had been at the Brandenburgs since Satturday morning.

356. Howsley Freeman Commenda, 9 Oct. 1695

By this cannoe comes downe William Pigg soldier, who hath a long time been afflicted with a violent pain in his arme, which he saith was occasioned by a shott he formerly received, therefore be pleased to send up another in his place, here being but a few to doe duty. We want the hinges, hoocks and nails for the window shutters. There has been such excessive rains here of late that it has done much damage to the house by beating in at the windows. I wrote to you in my last about the damaged sayes, be pleased to give me order what I shall do with them, some of them are so eaten that I beleive if they where opened there is not a fathom off whole stuff in all the peice.

PS. Pray send me some inck and sealeing wax.

357. Howsley Freeman Commenda, 15 Oct. 1695

I have herewith sent downe Serjeant Willson on purpose to bring me up some corn & what provition he can meet with all. I humbly begg of you to spare me what beef you can and send along with him. We here are so hard putt to it that I protest I never lived so in my life. I shall say no more, the Serjeant can well informe you. As yet we have not viewd the saies, but so soone as the Serjeant returns shall obey your order, and give you an accompt per next opportunity. The inck you send by my boy was lost, the cannoe being oversett.

358. Howlsey Freeman Commenda, 23 Oct. 1695

I am daily dunn'd by the Cabbosheers about their custome but have now at last prevailed with them to waite on you at Cabo Corso Castle. They alledge that Mr Elwes &a that have been here alwais paid it them, and they wounder now why should be so much slighted. This morning the Serjeant and Gunner

according to your order have view'd the damaged saies, and do judge them to be worth no more then what is mentioned in the inclosed certificate.

359. Howsley Freeman Commenda, 29 Oct. 1695

Yours received, & humble thank you for your advise. I have not been at or neare the Dutch fort since I came hither but only the day Mr Searle went from hence. I shall take care to keep myselff out of their clutches, & as for our men I have them given sufficient warning.[93] I believe the Dutch Copeman had design to have panyard my Serjeant, for on Satturday last he sent his boy 2 times to me that he would give him leave to come & eat part of a pigg. Pray advise what must be done about paying our men. The next weake there is 4 months pay due to them, which coomes to as you will see by the inclosed paper. They are verry pressing for their money, & especially now it draws near Christmas. I have not taken above 7oz gold since I came hither, els would have paid them. All the blanketts are sold excepting 10 or 11, soe desire you will please to send up some per first great cannoe. I heare here that the Copeman at Sumah is run soe much in debt that he is like to be served as his brother Crajers.[94] The Dutch doctor was in our town 3 or 4 days agoe & told Serjeant Willson that the great ship brings over a new Generall, which news I wish may prove true.[95]

360. Howsley Freeman Comenda, 30 Oct. 1695

Haveing the opportunity of writing to you by this Comenda canoe bound for Cabo Corso, thought fit to acquaint you that this afternoon I panyard the Dutch Gunner belonging to their fort. I doe really believe though he promise not much it [sic], he is a verry ingenious fellow, haveing been Captain of a ship as he says & born others comands. He will wel informe you when you come to discourse him. Tomorrow I intend to send him for Cabo Corsoe. If I have done an ill action I heartily beg your pardon.

361. Howsley Freeman Comenda, 1 Nov. 1695

I have herewith sent downe the Dutch Gunner, who beleive will be verry servicable to you at Cabo Corso or elswhere. He is reputed to be a great artist in gunnery and one that understand fortifications very well. Notwithstanding I wrote in my last that I had panyared him, yet that was only done at the fellows request, to save him from the gallows, in case he should be retaken before he gott to Cabo Corso,

[93] Evidently, the advice was of the danger of being panyarred; retaliation being feared for the RAC's panyarring of the second of the Dutch fort at Kormantin, on 26 Oct. 1695 (nos 833–5).
[94] Not identified, but from the context a factor of the Dutch WIC.
[95] The report was false (or premature): the current Director-General Johan Staphorst was not superseded until the following year (Van Dantzig 1980, 109).

but his w[h]ole design of comeing hither was purposely to serve the English, and he told both me & Serjeant Willson that he was very much afraid they would fire at him from their fort when they see him come this way. He came to me early in the forenoon. The two markes of gold & goods I received safe, but there wants to make up their pay 6a 8ta, which I shall deposite at pay day. Be pleased to send me some quils and papers, this being the last peice that I have by me.

362. Howsley Freeman Commenda, 30 Nov. 1695

I understand by soome of our Dutch neighbours that the Galley is bound for Europe shortly after Christmas,[96] I desire leave to take my passage in her for England. I am sorry that I am not in a condition of staying 3 years in the country. I am really reduced to soe very weack a condition that I am scarce able to rise out of my chaire without the helpe of my chaire or some to assist me. I was never soe much indisposed since I came to Guinea. My long sickness I beleive hath [ms. 'thath'] thrown me into a consumption, for I have not enjoyed my perfect health since the beginning of June last, that now I am soe very much out of order whatever I eat or drinck generally makes me [ms. 'my'] sick. I hath sent to you sooner but defered writing in hopes that I might recover my health & continue my station, but I find my selfs grow weaker and weaker. I hope the Royall Company nor yourselfs can take it amisse, since tis the want of health obliged me to leave the country, nothing els should have done it. My [ms. 'me'] armes are so weak that writing is verry troublesome to me, I much fear lossing the use of them, soe hartily wishing you all you[r] health & humble craveing your answer.

363. Howsley Freeman Commenda, 8 Dec. 1695

I return you my hearty thanks for you[r] kind letter, and doe humbly entreat the favour of you to send me up the 5 hand canoe tomorrow night that I ma[y] take my passage for Cabo Corso, where I hope the change of a[i]re together with the doctors assistance, I may a little recover my health before I goe of the Coast.

364. Thomas Willson[97] Commenda, 18 Dec. 1695

According to your order on seight of your letter I have sent the twenty four green perpetuanoes.

365. Thomas Willson Commenda, 21 Jan. 1695/6

This morning by break of day we descried a fleet of canoes to windward at Aberebe,[98] & some few canoes to leaward apadleing up to them, who as soon as

[96] i.e. the RAC's *Guinea Galley*, Capt. Piles.
[97] Wilson, having remained at Komenda as Sergeant, now resumed command of the fort.
[98] On the coast west of Komenda (cf. Barbot 1992, ii, 347, 'Abroby').

they had joyned the fleet they bore directly downe for Commenda, being about 50 small canoes, 3 people in each canoe, two flags one Dutch on[e], the other a bloody flag, a red one. Our towne people were in no small confusion, bringing their wives, children, mats, basketts, pipkins[99] &a into the Castle yard, all scampering about in such a confused manner as if the enemy had been behind him a cutting their throats. In this hurly burly John Cabess came to mee and begged for Gods sake to give some powder, he have none to give his men, which I readily condescended. I encouradge John Cabess all I could, telling him if he could not hinder their landing, as I did imagin he could not, by reason of the Dutch Castle,[100] then to retreat to the Royall Company fort, and if they should dare to offer any insolence that we would stand by him as long as we are able. He promised he would, but notwithstanding all his promises hath it come to the test I beleive he & his people had taken to the bushes. It is pitty the fort is not better man'd, for fear of some such sudden exploit. The canoes came close almost to the shoar & there lay parle[y]ing from 6 a clock till tenn. There was 3 or 4 canoes came ashoar to the Dutch Castle, & so went to the fleet again. The true narrative of this bussiness I cannot learn, some say that Little Taggee was to fight Great Taggee,[101] & the Mine cannoes came to fig[h]t John Cabess & Comenda people, others say they heard John Cabess was gone into the country & that they came to fight Comenda, but hereing he was here were afraid to come ashoar, some say one thing & some another, but however I thought good to advise your Worships what I could. It is credibley reported that when this fleet joyn'd at Abrebee, besides the 50 that came downe to Comenda, there went thirty canoes to Shumah & landed. What their intention is we know not. A[t] tenn a clock these cannoes that lay at Comenda sett sayle & stood for the Mine.

PS. The canoes I writt went for the Mine went but to Ampenny,[102] & are now come back againe. We haveing seen a shipp all this day off in the offing which we do imagine may be a Dutch ship comeing here, I hope your worships will be pleased to sent powder & men. This comes by one of the Companys slaves per land, by reason no canoe will goe, being about 2 a clock at noone [= in the afternoon].

366. Thomas Willson Commenda, 22 Jan. 1695/6

In my last I gave you an accompt of a fleet of the Mine cannoes, which went by land by one Companys slave names Breaney. The canoes are still lying here,

[99] i.e. small pots.
[100] The Dutch fort commanded the landing place (as noted e.g. by Phillips 1732, 202).
[101] The king's younger brother had now allied with the Dutch against him (Bosman 1705, 32–3).
[102] Ampeni, on the coast 5 km east of Komenda.

some at Shumah, some at Comenda & others at Ampenny, ready to panyar any that shall make their escape by sea in case Little Taggee should prove victorious, which John Cabess credibly informed he is to fight Great Taggee on Sunday next, & so to come to Commenda & turne the English from thence, & that the king of Saboe is assisting to him, John Cabess desiring you would be pleased to send for the king of Saboe, for without his aide Little Taggee can do nothing.[103] We are here in a verry sad posture of defence, haveing no victualls, the fishermen being all run into the country & the woman, & no caske to put water in, few men & the most sick, in a manner nothing, no orders what we must do in any case whatsoever. I would desire your Worships to send us powder, men, water cask & provisions with your orders as soon as possible can be, which I hope will be tomorrow.

PS. I have neither paper nor ink to write any more.

367. Thomas Willson Commenda, 23 Jan. 1695/6

Yours I recieved with the caske of water, one barrell powder, tenn lead barrs, and shall follow the contents of your letter to the utmost of my power. I have sent what carpetts I have left with the corrall. I have likewise sent some slaves as underwritten. We are beleagurad all about with Dutch cannoes to panyar who they can, as people certain of victory. Most of our town people have desarted us to them selves. As I writ you word before, once more I hope your Worships will be pleased not to forgett us, but by all means to send us man, corne & more armes, without which it will be impossible for us to maintaine the Companys fort. Their is no trusting to blacks, I can assure you these slaves I have will leave us if it comes to the pash [= push], for they gramble [= grumble] already, and say they want victualls. It would be incouragement likewise to the men if youl send a doctor. I am say are more [= will say no more], but leave all to your Worships consideration.

368. Thomas Willson Commenda, 26 Jan. 1695/6

You must contrive som[e] way or other to gitt us of. John Cabess is gone and all the people. Whe [= we] have noe corne nor nothing to subsist on [ms. 'one']. They panyard the great canoe this morning and panyard all your canoes, and now the town people are gone. I doe suppose we shall have the dam'd people upon us, who I am afraid will give us no quarters, and their will be no way for us to make our escape. This morning John Cabess sent a ½ barrell powder to the King of Aguaffo with tenn lead bars.

[103] Whether the Chief Merchants intervened is not recorded, but Asebu did not in fact assist Little Taggee.

369. Thomas Willson Commenda, 31 Jan. 1695/6

Yours I received at the camp, and according to order went with all speed back to Commenda, where we found William Reeves and Richard Braywood, whom whe left there, who by reason of their infirmities were not able to go, so did designe to gett them passage in a canoe the next morning, but could not by any means procure one, tho they proffered never so much, yet with notwithstanding their stay the blacks have stole allmost everything. Now you cannot be unsensable that we have no powder nor anything in the Castle, only a runlett I gott for [= from] the king, for which I must pay him half a barrell the first powder you send. For my part I have lost all I had. I wish the corne hath come before the letter Coffee brought. The Company hath lost some goods. Coffee hath given you an accompt how we dispose of them, a further accompt you shall have when you send me ink and paper. You may now supply with what you please, the seas being clear, the Dutch canoes being all gone. Pray doe not pay the canoes for I pay them here.

370. Thomas Willson Commenda, 7 Feb. 1695/6

Yours I received of the 4th instant, with eight pieces of pork with [= weight?] 32 lb & 90 lb of flower. The canoe men say he was plundered a little of the Mine, by a Shuma canoe bound thither, who opened the anchors, suspecting it to be powder, & took some peices of the porck away. Wee have daily expected aide from your worships either by sea or land but find none. I have often sent to you for men & powder, we haveing not above 40 lb in the fort. Here we live pend [= penned] up, knowing nothing, niether intelligence from camp or court, and in daily expectation of the Miners or some other people to sett upon us, & when there will be no way for us to escape, & pray consider what a condition wee are in to fight, which wee must doe to the last. I hope you will be pleased to send up forthwith men, powder and match. The Dutch have a great many white & abundance of blacks alwaies in arms about their fort. Wee are all so lame with our late journey that wee are hardly able to stir. All our towns people are gone, some to one place & some to another; wee have not so much as any body to bring us any news, since the town people are gone. It is almost incredible to report the abundance of ratts we have, that wee cannot lye in our cotts a night but with sticks in our hands to kill them.

371. Thomas Willson Commenda, 13 Feb. 1695/6

On the 10th instant arrived here the Fauconberg, Capt. Browne, he came to an anchor in a great offin gunshott without [= outside] the Dutch Gally. The 11th instant [he] went to send a few canoes ashoar, who were interposed by the Dutch canoes and so was forced to putt aboard againe, and so ever since then she hath

layn without any action.[104] I was very eager to know what orders he had for us, and working all the stratagims I could to perswade a canoe to goe of, which by fair words and great rewards I gott a canoe two nights together to putt of, but [it] was afraid and so putt ashoar againe. The 12th instant I gott a canoe that went aboard and came safe ashoar againe, in which I wrote for a barrell of powder, & the Captain sent me a barrell of powder, a little biskitt & 2 peices of beef with your letter.[105] As for the ship we know there was one att Cabo Corso, and their she might have stayed for any service she will doe us. He might have landed the first or second day if he would have man'd his boats, the Dutch thinking we had some force in our towne, but since the Dutch being of great strength, haveing about a hundred men in armes ransacking about our towne, & about 40 small canoes att sea, that it would be hard for us if the goods were landed to secure it in the fort, haveing no body in our towne to assist us. As for your six black soldiers [they] are a thing of nothing, for if they were ashoar they would not stay with us two minutes but would be scampered into the woods, and indeed what doe six signifie? I reckon in a day or two more they will not suffer us to fetch any water. If your worships had sent 10 or 12 white men & about 30 or 40 blacks, it had been some incouragment, with a supply of powder & provitions, yett your worships may stand by us yett, only delays are dangerous. Send to the King of Aguaffo to send down 40 or 50 soldiers, & the Captain of ship to man but one boat will scare all the Dutch canoes, that they will not come near him, for they are a parcell of cowardly doggs. This 12 instant came likewise here 140 Adoomes Shrevys [men], and went to the camp to aid Little Taggee.[106] And as for the slaves, I would send them aboard if I could, but cannot so much as gett 2 two hand canoes if I would give a mark of gold, and [how] I shall send this letter I know not.

PS. Pray send possitive orders if I shall fire if they oppose our landing.

372. Thomas Willson Commenda, 19 Feb. 1695/6

Yours I received last night with one cheese and a peice sowes beef, some bread, but as yett have not weighed it, but noe powder, I believe the King keeps that for the small runlett wee had of him, which when we opened was not ½ full, not above 20 lb, all which is to no purpose, it is men, men, men and powder that I for this two months together have writt for, but to noe effect, & told you the necessity & the desperatness of our condition, haveing not a man for ever[y] flancker & most of them sick, as the other day when a turnadoe blew very hard

[104] Cf. no.1405, from Capt. Brown.
[105] Cf. no.1406.
[106] Cf. later report (no.375) of further Adom forces joining Little Taggee's camp; Bosman also records Little Taggee's reinforcement by 'the Adomians and other auxiliaries' (1705, 33).

and two canoes coming of from Capt Browne,[107] the Dutch Generals fleet being ashoar dare not putt of, made all the force they could & came out of our side, thinking to have seized them ashoar, fired two or 3 small gunns att the fort, wee firing one great gunn & severall small armes made them retreat, our two malatoes Browood & Tyger standing trembling & would not fire a gunn at their countrey men if you would hang them. The people say you make sure of the Companys concernes as their goods & slaves &c, tho they signifie nothing to us, it is white soldiers & black solders wee want, they might as well have come by land as it was proposed for as to goe downe by land. The Dutch have store of whites & black, but what doe I say any more for when to no purpose? I am doubtfull this may prove a second Succondee [ms. 'Secuccondee'] bussiness, who have not one black hear to assist us. Our men will come when it is to late.

PS. You will receive ninteen slaves. I would have sent 20 but by reason they are gone into the bushes for potatoes.

373. Thomas Willson Commenda, 27 Feb. 1695/6

This morning all the Dutch canoes were gone for the Mine, the Coast now being clear. If they returne not againe you may now furnish us with what you please, by night or I believe by day, for they have but one or two small canoes att the Dutch fort, provided they land not at the usuall landing place, but to windward. Wee are in great want of our pay; wee could now and then buy a taccoes worth of fish or petinoes[108] &c, tho att dear rate. Your worships must not be pleased to stop their pay by any meanes, being nothing to be had without the penny, and besides they are indebted to mee somthing for the Companys goods, wee [have] four months pay each due. Wee want some musquetts, flints, small wier, small tackes, two or three small long guimblets for clearing the vents of the great gunns, a skin or two to cover the spunge staves &c. Wee have a discourse here that the two Tagees are making up the pallaver, whether true or false I know not, wee haveing so many uncertaine reports. Wee received the provisions from the camp, but rest according to your letter as you will find under written, but no powder.

76 lb bread
65 " beefe
30 " cheese

374. Thomas Willson Commenda, 3 March 1695/6

This by return of the canoe that brought the powder &c, all being received according to the contents of your letter excepting the corne, which could not be

[107] cf. no.1406.
[108] Perhaps Portuguese *petinga*, small fry (normally used as fishing bait).

two chests, being but four small basketts. The canoe men I believe play'd the rogue with it. I would not have paid them, but considering I should not gett a canoe another time and the corne was very well accepted, being very scarce here, and none to be bought. The first corne I received from your worships was divided amongst us all, the corne I received from Capt. Browne I gave to the slaves, being then 27. The slaves begin to want their pay, telling me every day they are hungry. If you[r] worships would order us I would pay them, their being but eight of them and four months pay due to each &c, or send the money, with the white mens pay. I can advise your worships of no news. Here is great preparation for war, getting all the forces they can together. The Dutch spare for no cost, sending to all the people round about, but I think to little effect as I can hear, but I know not how I should hear of anything, for wee have nobody hardly comes near us, from on[e] place or other. The Dutch are very strong here, haveing a great many white men and black soldiers and a good fort. Wee on the contrary have but few white men, & not above ten old blacks, and four canoe men in the towne, & an open fort, which well mand [= manned] with water and provition enough would be sufficient. Your worships will consider and furnish us 4with men and some empty water cask, wee having but six punchings [= puncheons] of water. Pray send by next opportunity, if no flints a flint stone, 3 or 4 lead bars, if wee should have occasion a bottle of sweet oyle for musketts,[109] one or two hour glasses, the ratts haveing broke ours, that wee have none to stand sentry by.

375. Thomas Willson Commenda, 10 March 1696

Yours received with the gold, wanting an angle of weight, but nothing else, and by the return of the canoe have sent downe the Companys three says and one blankett. As for the peice and ½ of narrow bafts, I lett the men have it to make shirts, which [they] must [be] accomptable for. The says were all damaged and soe are these. The other night came a great parcell of the Addoomes, wee could see them by the moonlight, but not to tell what quantity. Their horns played a pretty while at the Dutch fort, and so went for Little Taggees camp. Last Sunday wee heard in the night a great many small peices goe off, as if they were but at a small distance. In the morning wee see about 12 or 14 blacks att a good distance as far as wee could see, which on a suddaine they all vanished into the bushes, soe wee see them no more that morning. I charged the blacks not to goe out of the towne, upon no accompt whatsoever. Notwithstanding one of them went to gett potatoes named Shadue, who I belive is panyard with some of the townes people, by Little Taggees [people], who sworme about here, there was this morning I believe, about 60 or 70 at the Dutch fort. The slaves will now be starv'd if you doe not forthwith send some corne, likewise wee have not

[109] Olive oil was used to clean musket barrels.

provisions to serve us above 4 or 5 days longer. The seas are clear, here is only the Dutch Galley riding here, but they panyar no canoes, wee have one or two canoes goes a fishing every day, which goes of and comes in att the Dutch landing place, without any stop or hinderance. The corne Mr Salmon sent last was so nasty nobody could eat it, but as hunger forc't &c.

PS. This afternoon the Dutch galley [went] to the Mine. If your worships would be pleased to send some beef & pease it would be very well, for it is cold weather and wee have a great deale of raine here &c. For the slaves I know not what they will doe.

376. Thomas Willson Commenda, 16 March 1695/6

Yours received with the cask of pease and 2 basketts of corne (which is a poor medicine for seamen & slaves), it cannot serve above two days longer, wherefore you will doe well in sending more corn and bread for the white men, for here is not a bite of anything to be had but what comes from your worships. It can never be that two little basketts, and them not full, can be a chest of corn. Wee have that chest here, but should I measure it I am sure their would not be halfe a chest. Mr Salmons may be small, but never soe small. These canoe men have play'd the rogue with the slaves and townes people corn, they sold two basketts, one to the white men, the other in the towne. The towne canoe men says when they fetch corn from Annamaboe, they have 3 basketts and halfe in a chest. Mr Salmon would doe well to send word how many basketts. I am advised that the Companys slaves is sold at Suma with two more of this towne by an old man that was panyard with them, who was likewise carried with them, but as he reports the Copeman, being in hast to goe to Succondee about some bussiness, bid them bring him another time, so he made his escape, but I rather think it was he being an old man and unfitt for bussiness the Copeman would not buy him, and so might make his escape, as they have served severall here that have been panyard, the Copeman seemed to be angry and chid them, saying who gave you orders to panyar these poor people, saying goe goe father or mother, such sort of inveagling deceitfull ways they use, when [they are] so old and decriped [= decrepit], with shakeing heads, unfitt for any service in the world, not worth a canky. He further relates of a two hand canoe that was bound for Dickies Cove, the Copeman of Succondee sent a canoe of & brought her in, which was fraigthted with two barrells of powder and twelve muskitts, they were carried to Suma, where your letter or letters were opened and read, and so for the Mine &c. I am glad to hear that Great Taggee is so strong.

PS. Now the old man says they were sold at Adoomes Sherreys croome and that only he was carried to Suma as I writt before &c. Wee have heard a great many small arms fired towards the camp, both in the morning and the evening.

377. Thomas Willson Commenda, 19 March 1695/6

Yours received with the four chests of corne.

378. Thomas Willson Commenda, 20 March 1695/6

This morning att six a clock wee heard them begin their fight, and about eight Little Taggees camp wee see on fire. Att four a clock came a great parcell of Great Taggees people, who brought in the joyfull tidings of Great Taggees victory, of which I was heartily glad.[110] Here's abundance of them, and likewise their is a great many of them gone to the Dutch fort that fled from the camp, amongst which they say the Adoomes Shrevy and Captain Dick.[111] The Accromes[112] and Great Taggees people together are come to catch them if they can. The Dutch fort fires att all the blacks that comes to our fort. I am att great charge with them both with powder and liquor. In hast.

379. Thomas Willson Commenda, 23 March 1695/6

This is by a canoe that John Cabess sends to buy him corn, att his request to give you an accompt that this morning att eight a clock he came here, and doth intend to stay, would desire you to send him some beefe and brandy. I would desire your worships to send some more slaves to thatch the factors house & likewise the fort, for wee lie open to the air, nothing but the heaven for our canopy, wee haveing pulled all the thatch work downe for fear it should have been fired by our enemies, and now the raines are comeing on, wee have but seaven slaves to doe the forts work. John Cabess would have you send him ½ a barrell of powder to give to his men.

380. Thomas Willson Commenda, 24 March 1695/6

This goes by returne of your canoe, by whom I received one chest, the other they4 keep their by reason the sea runs so high they could not take it in. I hope your worships doe not pay the canoemen that come from me, for I have paid them all along here, but of that gave you a caution in two letters before. I can advise you but of very little how affaires goes. That day the fight was, as I write you before, here came about two hundred of the Kings soldiers, when att the same time wee see from as far as Ampeny about a hundred blacks comeing upon the sands towards the Dutch fort, came very softly along, they were people that run from the camp for but very few had armes. Had the Kings soldiers came by

[110] Cf. Bosman 1705, 33.

[111] Not the chief of Dixcove; but another 'Captain Dickee', of Kormantin, who was also allied with Little Taggee in 1697 (nos 871–2).

[112] Akron, the eastern neighbour of Fante; evidently recruited as allies by Great Taggee, as they had also been in 1695 (no.1106).

the sea side they might have secured a great many of them, but they came out of the countrey hallowing and fireing as if they had been mad. There was not two minuites difference in their coming. The Dutch blacks just gott to their fort, the Kings people all enquireing after Addoome Sherrey in whom they were in pursuite. The poor people were very much tired with fighting and pursuing all that day. I gave them an anchor of Barbadoes rumm, and they beg soe heartily for powder, telling me they had none, and that they were going to Adoomes Sherreys croome, where there was a hundred gone before, that kept up along the countreys, that I was forc't to give them some, soe they lay downe till eleven a clock att night, then went for Adoomes Sherreys croome, but I can here of noe great exploits they have done their, only burnt one or two little ajacent croomes, and brought away some corne, that is some few of them that are come away, the rest remaine their still. His croome is on an island,[113] and that they cannot gett at itt without canoes, being very deep, so I suppose they may have belagured it. John Cabess as I wrote you before is come downe here, haveing about a hundred soldiers, few of them Commenda people, or his own, but most of them the Kings people, and Abonds [= Abon's]. All things are seemingly att quiet here, John Cabess according to his order, sending up and downe to adjacent croomes, willing the people to return to their habitations, and due [= do] allegiance to their King, & that now since the King had conquered his enemies, they might enjoy what they had in peace and quietness. Whether they doe this out of policy to trappan [= trepan][114] the people, or whether to wrong the fort of his people,[115] I am not able to judge, but certaine it is a great many of his people are revolted from him, and went to Little Taggee both from this towne and all the adjacent croomes, whome they all did hope would prove conqueror. Both battalions stood to it bravely, their fell that day a great many men, here is a great many men killd of Commenda that I know. The Dutch are now as mute as mutton, keeping all very close within their fort.

PS. Pray send some paper for I have not a bitt.

381. Thomas Willson Commenda, 26 March 1696

Yesterday being the 25th instant I had an embassador from the Dutch fort, to tell me that the Copeman had these orders from the Generall, to tell me that they meant us no ill will or to doe us any harme, but if the blacks would not lett their slaves fetch wood and water peaceably and quietly they had orders to burn the towne, and hop't wee would have nothing to doe with it, to which I answered wee had no ill will to them, nor nothing to say to them, but that the towne

[113] In the River Pra; cf. no.240.
[114] i.e. entrap.
[115] Meaning unclear, but presumably to divide the (Dutch) fort from the king's subjects.

belonged to the English, but that mattered not, he had best follow his Generalls orders, I had nothing to say to them. So I dranck to the man in a dram, as being a white man, & soe was going from him. He still urged me that I would speake to the blacks to lett their slaves goe and come in quiet, I told him wee had no pallaver neither with whites or blacks, and I had nothing to say in it, neither would it be prudent in me to meddle or make up, the people being exasperated against them, that they were the Kings people, strangers to mee, whom I had never seen in my life before, and that he had better redress [= address] himself to John Cabess. Why, says the man, is he here? I told him yes. He askt me that over three times, if he was here, I told him yes, & bid my boy call him, then the man began to be afraid and would have been gone, I bid him stay and told him nobody should hurt him here, as he came with a message to me he should return safe to his fort. John Cabess came not himself, but sent a Cabosheer that came downe along with him from the King, to whom the man said he had nothing to say to him, but that he came with a messige from his master to the English serjeant, [and] withall rehearseth the story he told mee. When the Cabbosheer heard him talk of burning the towne he was in such a rage that he could not utter himself at present, but spiteing [= spitting] on the ground with derision, and said what and all we here, lett him come. He told the man all this ground was Abba Taggees,[116] and that the Dutch had nothing to do with it, and how they dare be soe impudent to ask them for water, when they had raised a warr against them, and would have cutt them off, so bid him stay, and he went out to John Cabess, so when he came in againe, he asked him what made them sue for water when they were so strong that they threatned to burn the towne, but however told him they mattered not a little water, they might send their slaves and fetch it, but that a great many of their men was in the bushes, and if they were panyard they must not blame him for it, so with this answer the man wen[t], and had the satisfaction of seeing John Cabess as he went out of the gate, who sat under a pallavering house, to whom the man pulled of his hatt and bowed very low. The Copeman sent two canoes away to the Mine within halfe an hour, I suppose to tell the Generall his answer, and that John Cabess was here, but however I have seen no slaves fetch water. The Copeman when he sent the bold message little thought we were so strong, or that John Cabess was here. His embassador would have eat his words, saying the Copeman only bid him say so but did not intend to doe it. The meaning of my writing to [your] worships is to have your possitive orders, should they attempt any such thing, which I am pretty well assured they dare not. They are afraid before they are hurt, I see nobody that opposeth them, but all still and quiet.

PS. Pray send me some paper & inck.

[116] An alternative name for Great Taggee (cf. e.g. Bosman 1705, 33ff, 'Abe-Tecky').

382. Thomas Willson Commenda, 28 March 1696

This by a canoe that was coming to Cabo Corso about some bussiness, may acquaint you I received yours of the 26 & 27 instant, the former with the halfe barrell of powder, a case of spiritts, six peices of beef, John Cabess with his people being gone the night before to a croome hard by, to make some pallaver, and told me he would returne back on Sunday next, but ordered the aforesaid things to be sent to him, which was accordingly. The latter shall observe the contents, but received no rumm.

383. Thomas Willson Commenda, 31 March 1696

Yesterday being the 30th instant about nine a clock in the morning came here from the Mine about 140 Adoomes going home to their countrey, they having a white flagg with them, they made a small stay at the Dutch fort, and so went their way. In their going they unfortunately litt upon the Royall Company's slaves, who were fetching wood, and have panyard three of them. Ther[e] was no thought that day of any danger, most of the towne went that morning to the ajacent croomes to fetch corne. The Adoomes keep the exact path and went to Shamma. About an hour [later] John Cabess came. It was well they litt not of him, for he had not above twelve men with him. He saith if you will give him orders he will panyar some of the Dutch slaves. On Sunday next he doth intend to be with you at Cabo Corso. These Adoomes are a great plague to the King and John Cabess, haveing a great many of their women and will not lett them goe.

[gap in correspondence, April 1696 to March 1697][117]

384. John Rootsey Comenda, 6 April 1697

Yours of the 30th March last by the 7 hand canoa and 13 ditto loaden with corne have received, also 30 countrey boards, one role sheet lead and brads by the Sally Rose. I hope to have the Swallow here suddenly, for the shells that came from on board the former will doe no more then build the outer walls of our tanck, which in two days designe to begin, if no raine comes. By the bearer Serjeant Thomas Willson have sent my accompts and ballance, being 6oz 13a 2ta cra cra gold for Annamaboe Factory.[118] My suddaine removall from thence here, and the indisposition of my body, the care of the building, and the warr[119]

[117] During this hiatus, Great Taggee made peace with the Dutch, in Sept. or Oct. 1696 (Daaku 1970, 85; Van Dantzig 1980, 109; Bosman 1705, 34). But conflict soon recurred, with the Dutch firing on the English fort, & making 'another attempt on Comenda' (NA, T70/11, Chief Merchants, Cape Coast Castle, 16 Dec. 1696).

[118] From which Rootsey had been transferred to Komenda.

[119] The Dutch were now seeking to hire allies for a new attack on Eguafo (cf. no.864).

is the reason of my not sending them before, but I hope to be excused because I before sent you a ruff draught of them, which you returned to me, and ordered duplicates to be sent, which now comes by the bearer [ms. 'prier']. I cannot conveniently draw out accompts for this place by reason know not the mens pay due to them (or each of them), but have supplyed them with money to serve their occations, tho have not called to a generall pay. I had last week some Cuffra men down, whos[e] business was to take fetiche with John Cabess that no traders or their goods should be panyard that came downe here (on mens heads that owed John Cabess money), which after had passed on both sides, the Cufferas promised to be downe in fifteen days. John Cabess hath sent a man with him into the Cuffera countrey to take a fetich for him, which pallaver I now perceive is the reason I have sold but five perpetuanoes and a chest and a halfe of sheets of the goods you sent me, but now in all probabillity I shall have a vast trade, not only thence but from the Addoomes. Yesterday our cook, one of the five old slaves you ordered me to pay corne to, is mising. He went for wood, as the other slaves tell me, whether he run away because he was not paid as the others are or [is] panyard, I cannot tell. I sent the Bomboy and old slaves after him, also John Cabess soldier, who brought me word they trackd his footsteps over the salt pond towards the Dutch Fort. I then sent the Bomboy to know if he was there, and also to demand of him a child, which Little Taggees men had stole, and was in his custody, or he could procure, as he sent me word by his boy with his cane, but when the Bomboy came to the Castle gate he was stop'd (the like he never did before) and the Copeman sent me word that he had or knew of [n]either of them, and sent me word I should take what followed if I sent anybody to his Fort againe. The reason I suppose [is] that three of his soldiers run away from his Fort, and perhaps mistrust me that I intice them, but I hear they are gone to the Mine for want of food there. Shall want boards to turn the arch of the tanck, and 1000 20d, 10d & 6d nailes, some countrey match, wedges to break stone, and maules.

385. Paul Read Comenda, 6 April 1697

These with my most humble service presented to your worships, these are most humbly to desire the favour of your worships, as to lett me know what wages I was paid on board Capt. Pepperell[120] and to what time, for certainly there is a very great mistake, which your worshipps are not informed off, for on the 19 October 1696 I received an ounce of Mr Salmon, the 28 November at our comeing for Commenda [omission?], and since about Christmas another ounce sent me here to Commenda, and then at pay table Doctor Jackson received for me 3oz 12a 10ta, [of] which 6oz 12a 10ta the six angles one taccoe might be due to him

[120] Commander of the *Swallow Brigantine*.

[i.e. Salmon] for provitions, but I allways understood the money I received of Mr Salmon by your worshipps order had been part of my wages, but he has stop'd it from Doctor Jackson out of 3oz 12a 10ta, soe I am certaine that is the mistake, which I suppose your worshipps did not know of, therefore I most humbly desire your worshipps will be pleased to lett me have a right understanding, and I shall for ever as in duty bound pray for your worships good success.

PS. I suppose I was indebted on board about £3 English as Mr Adds laid out for us at Plimouth before our departure.

my wages due when I came on shore the same day was	£30 15s English
of which I received no more then	4oz 12a 10ta

386. John Rootsey Comenda, 18 April 1697

Yours by Capt. Pepperell with the oyster shells and bricks have received, and I shall want more of the latter and severall other necessaryes, which have sent Mr Gabb to acquaint you with. The man slave I mentioned in my last which run to the Dutch Fort they have returned againe on Friday last. I desire you'l please to enquire of Capt. Pepperell and he can give you an exact accompt of the bigness of our tanck, which in my opinion is not to large. Those that informed you I made it larger then the fort requires, should have consulted with me or had soe much reason to consider the illness of ground, which caused the hole to be made slopeing and soe wide on the supersition [= supposition]. I could not send my accompts by Capt. Pepperell but you shall have them by first opportunity. I have not nor will see a farthing of Mr Phillips money, Mr Puppelett I suppose can give you an accompt of what gold was by him when he dyed.[121]

PS. By this canoa comes Richard Hewett according to your order.

387. Paul Read Comenda, 2 May 1697

This comes to acquaint you that Mr Rootsey is soe dangerously ill that I am fearfull he will hardly recover. Please to send Doctor Jackson up with all speed, for here is none can help him, soe hope you will send him with all expedition, for I fear he will hardly find him alive.

388. Charles Nern, Paul Read & William Gabb Commenda, 2 May 1697

These comes to give you the sad news of the death of Mr Rootsey, who departed about one of the clock, but very senceable to the last minute. He has disposed of

[121] Phillips was chief of Dixcove fort, recently deceased, & succeeded there by William Puplett (cf. no.108).

what he has by will and hath inventoryed all he has before he dyed, and see his money sealed up, soe have sent to advise you and hope you'l please to advise what may doe, and send some Chief to take care of what is here, and wee shall take all the care we can to our utmost in the mean time.

389. Gervas Jackson Commenda, 5 May 1697

Here are at this place severall Dankara traders with money for goods. I have money for 16 perpetuanoes at 11a each and they want good tallow, knives, iron barrs, & powder. John Cabbess says there are Dankaras comeing down to buy a large quantity of perpetuanoes. The old Dutch Copeman is sent to the Mine, and their bookholder is come Copeman. The surveyor wants the ironwork to break stone, and the Gunner some countrey match. Wee are all heartily glad to hear of our good success.[122] John Cabess's people keep the bushes night and day.

390. Gerard Gore Commenda, 10 May 1697

In pursuance to your orders of the 6 instant received into my possession the Royall African Company of Englands fort and factory at Commenda with all the goods, merchandizes, gunns, stores, amunition &c, as will appeare by the inclosed inventory, and with me by the Sally Rose I received 100 blue perpetuanoes, and one cask knives mentioned to containe one hundred sixty six dozen. I desire youl be pleased to send me some tallow and some white blanketts, being enquired after here, and according to your order have sent Mr Gabb surveyor and two sawers on board the Sally Rose,[123] tho shall mightily want him in two or three days, by which time the tanck will be finished to arching, which then can goe no further without his direction, I shall stand still for want of him, and that where he was a goeing, he said he could mark out and direct them in all things what shall be wanting and necessary, both for this place and Dickies Cove, in four or five days time, and that after his staying will be to no purpose and much to our hinderance here, and that in a day or twos time more wee must stand still, which will be much damage to what is begun, for wee can finish nothing without him, for he said if he found his staying would be to no purpose there, after he had given as much directions as needfull, would come here by canoa from thence, and that you'l please to send two or three barrells of tarris more, this being too small you have sent, will not near finish it.

PS. I desire you will send me accompt of the customs of this place, not knowing what it is, and also desire the goods above writte for may be good for encouragement of traders, here being a great talk of traders comeing speedily, and likewise the other inventory shall send by the first conveyance that offers.

[122] It is not known to what this refers.
[123] He was sent to cut timber at Cape Three Points (cf. no.393).

391. Gerard Gore Commenda, 13 May 1697

Yours of the 11th instant by Doctor Jackson with the seven hand canoa I have received, also on accompt of the Royall African Company thirty white blankets damaged and 20 halfe firkins of tallow broaken, and some without firkins, and four quarter cask of rume containing one hundred gallons, and also two barrells of tarris, which will not be sufficient to finish the tanck, but desire you will send one cask or two more if possible, which believe will be little enough to finish [ms. 'finfish'] it, but will make it goe as far as possible I can. I allso received by Capt. Piles[124] seven and a quarter chests corne which in my last I omitted to advise off. The reason was he not sending it before he was under saile, and would not measure it, nor did not care how or what he gave, which came very wett on shore, and late at night, I had noe oppertunity next day of drying it, by reason of the weather. Likewise as concerning the surveyor as you was pleased to write to me, twas not my fault, for Capt. Piles came on shore himself, which I told him I could not send nor spare without your orders, which he told me he had possitively from you for to send him, which I told him I must see before I lett him goe, which orders he told me had mislade and could not find them, and was mighty importunate for him and told me he wondered I should disobey your orders, tho' I must acknowledge it was my fault because I did not see them, but the Captain makeing such a great noise about him, I thinking it was so, and that I should disobey you if I did not send him, therefore I sent him, which I humbly begg your pardon in soe doeing, tho' hope I shall have no occation for him before he comes againe. I believe the tanck is not soe forward as you have been advised, but it will be this three days before it will be ready for arching, which I shall forward as much as possible I can, and all other things. The inclosed is a note of what carpenters tooles is wanting here, not haveing any such tooles here, which wee are at a great loss for, therefore desire they may be sent by first opportunity, also the iron work the surveyor gave orders for when he was at Cabo Corso last may be sent with them.

PS. The above mentioned goods (vizt the blanketts) are soe much damaged will not sell here at the price you write, and also the tallow, therefore desire you will send me at what rates I shall dispose of them. I also desire you would be pleased to send by the next some powder for the Forts use, haveing here but 4 ½ barrells powder, as is by inventory, which will not be sufficient for this Fort, in case we should have occation. Also by the next I desire you will send five yards canvas. I have sent by Doctor Jackson according to your orders what the canoes could carry belonging to the deceased Mr Rootsey.

[124] Now commanding the *Sally Rose*.

a mortice chizell above one quarter breadth, one graveing ditto, one half inch ditto, one broad ditto, one inch ditto, a scribling [= scribing] gouge, one hatchet, a paire of hollows and rounds, one inch thick, one paire of three quarter, a small billeter [= pilaster] plaine, a smoothing plaine, a fine back saw, two small formers [= firmers], one 3 quarters the other two ditto, a rivitting [= rivetting] hammar.[125]

392. Gerard Gore Commenda, n.d.

I wrote you by Doctor Jackson of the 13 instant, with whome I sent according to your orders what things the canoas could carry belonging to the deceased Mr Rootsey, which I hope you have received. Also what things I wrote for I hope you will be pleased to send as soon as possible, especially the tarris, for what we have here shall have worked up this day, tho' have been hindred somthing by these two last nights raines, and also the carpenters tooles I desire you'l please to send them, these they have here already not being fitt for their work. Also I desire you would be pleased to send me an accompt of every mans pay, and from what time due, and your orders for my paying them, and also an accompt of the customes that is allowed for this place, which mightily want, not haveing what it is.

393. William Gabb Comenda, 17 May 1697

According to your worshipps order have been at Cape Tres Pointas, with two sawyers from Cape Coast and the two sawyers I had here, and with much adoe gott six slaves at Dickies Cove, Mr Vincent[126] was not willing to lett me have any, but with these I have cutt down six trees, which make near fifteen load of timber, at fifty feet per load, propper for what wee shall want hear or Cape Coast. I have cutt all off in length and squared six or seven load, and sunk a saw pitt and lined it out fitt for sawing, and gave directions to the slaves to cutt it out in scantling,[127] fitt to be carried on board. I likewise told Capt. Piles what was best to be done with the timber and desired he would lett his carpenters mate or any one white man to see the slaves did what I ordered them about the timber, but he would not, and both the Captains[128] sware neither of their men should put a hand in order to gett downe the timber to the sea side. Capt. Pepperell sayed he will carry but very little timber, and especially no heavy peices, he spoke of tarrying there two months. Capt Piles did intend to saile thence in eight or tenn dayes, but now he is vexed he must tarry for the other, and say none of his men

[125] Carpenter's tools: 'hollows & rounds' being also a form of plane.
[126] Henry Vincent, now chief of Dixcove fort.
[127] i.e. in small pieces.
[128] i.e. Piles, & Pepperell in the *Swallow*, who had joined him at Cape Three Points on 12 May 1697 (no.1376).

shall help him. There is a great deale of as good timber as any upon the Coast, of two feet diamiter and downwards, but I doubt unless your worships send more slaves, and some white men to see the timber cut out according to orders, that the shipps will bring away but little, and there is enough cutt close to that which may be gott with little trouble. I have cutt the poles ordered by Capt. Piles. Capt. Pepperell desired me to acquaint your worshipps he expected a seven hand canoa, and if he have none cannot gett his wood on board his boat, for they ride at grapling[129] and cannot gett away att the Brandenburgh Castle. The slaves have no corne, nor is there any to be bought in the countrey, else I had bought them some, for they cannot work without it. I came from thence a Fryday in the afternoon, it was late a Saterday night before I gott to Commenda, because of bad weather. Yesterday the raine hindred the canoa from goeing. Our masons have been to extravagant of their tarris in my absence, it is all gone and the tanck is not quite high enough to turne the arch, the bottom is not floored, therefore desire your worshipps would send downe three or four casks as soone as possible, that we may perfect it before the raines damage the walls too much. Our bricks prove very bad, they moulter away with the wett, and our masons have used parte I ordered for the arch. If a great canoa comes pray be pleased to send some well burnt. I will take care in all things committed to my charge.

PS. If any goe to helpe cutt timber they will want 2 or 3 broad axes and two cross cutt saws, that all may work. Wee want the iron work I desired, especially to break stone.

394. Gerard Gore Commenda, 18 May 1697

Yours the 17 instant I have received, with one barrell of tarris and the carpenters tooles therein mentioned, also 3 maules and six wedges, with a list of every mans pay except Anthony Martins, but the canvis and the iron work you writte me off I have not received, which I desire you will be pleased to send by the next, and also what things the surveyor wrote for the 17th instant, who there also advised you of what he had done to windward, and as for the tarris and what wee have here wee shall have used by this day night next, therefore desire you'l please to send as soon as possible two barrells more, which if wee have not cannot finish our tanck.

395. Gerard Gore Commenda, 20 May 1697

Yours of the 18 instant by the seven hand canoa I have received, also one barrell of tarris, which will not be sufficient for our tanck but shall want one more, which I desire you will please to send by first, and also what things you wrote me the 17

[129] i.e. secured by a grapnel, a small clawed anchor.

instant by the two hand canoa, which I have not received. I am also sorry I should acquainte you of the misfortune that has happened to the 7 hand canoa, which about nine of the clock yesterday morning arrived here, about which time the wind began to blow very fresh, and was mightily troubled to send a canoa of to her, by reason the seas was soe very bad, which canoa in comeing ashore againe was broke all to peices, and as soon as I had received yours according to your order I endeavoured to send of the iron work that was left here by Capt Piles, but could not, the seas and wind being soe extraordinary bad nobody would venture, haveing soe bad an example before, and that the seaven hand canoa could not goe by reason of the weather, was forced to remove, and about 9 and 10 of the clock last night there came three of the canoamen on shore, which I sent for into the Castle, who said the canoa was broke all to peices by a thunderbolt, and all the rest of the men lost, and everything that was in her, and this morning makeing further enquiry and searching after the goods but have not as yet found any, but have found five of the canoamen and the canoa a great way upon the sand near the Dutch landing place, and not in the condition they said she was in, but has been broke in comeing ashore, and just now I have found the rest of the canoamen which they said was lost. I have secured them all and examined very strictly, I have threatened them very severely, and I believe they have played the rogue with the goods they had in her, and I find them all in severall stories, and I hope shall make them confess somthing, for I find some likelyhood of it, but all as I can gett out of them they say they came ashore at the Dutch landing place, and before said to windward of our Castle, and that they believe the Dutch has the goods, whereupon I sent to see, but they own nothing of itt, but I hope to find it other ways, for two I have whip'd at the gunn but cannot make them confess anything to the purpose, but hope shall by inflicting punishment on the rest, which by the next shall acquaint you more at large. In the mean time I write this to acquaint you how it is, that you may doe as you think convenient.

PS. The surveyor sayes that one barrell more will not be enough, but desires wee may have two, and also if a large canoa goes to Cape Tres Pointas for to send some well burned bricks in her for this place, he believing wee cannot finish the tanck without them.

396. Gerard Gore Comenda, 20 May 1697

Yesterday I wrote you of the loss of the seven hand canoa, which I have examined in more stricktly, and in whiping the third man made him confess that four of the canoamen had carryed one case into the bushes a great way beyond the Dutch Fort when they went first with the canoa, but that man said he was not one of the four, but he was one that looked after the canoa, which four men he told me, whereupon I examined [them], but could not make them confess anything to the purpose, upon which I fastened two of them to the gunn, and

began to whip them, but they would not confess what they had done with the goods, but they said they were beyond the Dutch Fort, but would not tell what they done with the goods, and believe the Dutch had them, but the Dutch would not own nothing, tho believe had some, for wee saw three slaves very busie upon the sands a great way beyond the Fort, tho' could not see what they brought with them, tho' I sett people to watch, and this canoaman that said there was a case carried away by the 4 canoamen, to find out the truth whether it was so or not, I made him show where he thought it might be laide, with whom I went myself above a mile beyond the Dutch Fort but found nothing in the bushes as I expected, but wee found the boards of one case, which the surveyor said was broke open with hands, and the boards of another case, some way beyond, all scattered up and down upon the sands, and upon one of the rocks found one single nicconee, and this morning by break of day sent more slaves, with a whiteman with them, hopeing they might find more, by reason the water was down, but could find nothing, and examineing of two which I had whiped before, bringing them to the gunn the second time, who said if I would lett them loose they could find some, which accordingly I did, and sent some slaves and the whiteman with them againe, who in one hours time brought me word they had found a great many and wanted more slaves to bring them home, which I sent and one white man more to take an accompt how many there was, which in bringing them home, the Dutch Copeman panyard and carried them into his Castle, which I sent to know his reason for itt, who said he did not know whether they were Dutch interlopers goods or not, which was all his reason, and in the afternoon I mett him halfe way between the Forts, but he was still in the same story, which I told him his argument was very weak in that respect, and that I gave him sufficient reason to the contrary of that, and made it known to him that they were English Companyes goods, which then he said he had orders from the Generall of the Mine to seize of all things that came near, anything that belonged to the English, tho' he and I have had a faire correspondence one with another, and that yesterday I sent to lett him know beforehand that they were our slaves that were comeing, and what business they went upon, and he sent word to me againe that any body that belonged to me should goe any whether [= whither] without his medling with them, and [he] did not, but paid his respects to me both in comeing and goeing, and he beg'd my excuse because he did not give me invitation into his Castle comeing by, because it was his Generalls orders, and as before mentioned, and in friendship to me he lett us doe what wee did, which he desires I would be secrett in, and as concerning the goods I told him I was sorry that he had done what he had done, for I told him he must be accomptable for everything that was in the canoa, for what slaves did not find he took from ours, which was, as the man I sent took an accompt of them, forty one whole nicconees in whole length and fifty seven peices in severall lengths, and that the Dutch had this day a small canoa from the Mine, by whom he has sent to acquaint the Generall of what he has done,

whose answer he shall have tomorrow; which when comes he will send me word what it is, which I desire your orders for my further proceedings, whether wee shall take them or not, or send for them if he sends me word.

397. Gerard Gore Commenda, 25 May 1697

As I wrote you of the 20th and 21st instant the next day the Dutch had a canoa from the Mine, who I believe had a severe check from the Generall for what he had done, for he has sent to me severall times to send for the goods againe, and that he was mighty sorry for stopping them, who I sent word againe that I had sent to acquaint you of it, and that I could doe nothing before I had heard from you. Also acquainting you that wee have used all the bricks, and have not finished the arch of our tanck, but want halfe a days work to finish it, and that wee must now stand still for want of bricks, which I desire you'l be pleased to send with all speed a great canoa loading about three thousand well burnt bricks, or more if the canoa can carry them, and here is above four thousand of what has been sent not being halfe burnt are washed all to sand, which if had been good should have had noe occasion for more. Also desire you will send with the bricks two barrells of tarris, also the iron work, powder and canvas formerly wrote for by the 13 instant. Also acquainting you that cask of knives which I received by the Sally Rose, haveing occation to open for saile, find some much damaged with rust, and would not sell at 10 per a, tho' have disposed of a few at that price, and that if I would have sold them at 12 per a believe might have sold them all, which if you approve desire you would send me word by the first. Also acquainting you that here is severall white men very sick, especially my Serjeant and Gunner, who lies very sick and weak. I myself have been very sick this 4 days, but thank God pretty well recovered, tho know not how long shall continue soe, therefore desire you will be pleased to order some medicines by the first, our Doctor here haveing nothing to give us in our sickness, and that he tells me he has wrote to the Doctor severall times for what medicines he wants, therefore desire you would order Doctor Jackson to send some thing of what he wrote for, or what he thinks most needfull, our Doctor here not haveing over much knowledge in phisick, I believe.

PS. Since my writing this some of our townes people being by the salt pond gathering musells of from the rocks, the Dutch fired a shott at them, which I sent to know what it was for, he told me it was his Generalls order that none should come near his landing place, as he said they were, that he knew them to be John Cabess people, and they were none of our Companyes slaves, if they had would not have fired, tho he told me it was his Generalls order to fire at all, which he told me at our first meeting, and desired I would not lett our slaves come near the salt pond, which I told him againe they must be about their business in digging stone, and that if he fired at them, he and I must fall out, and that he must lett no

blacks out of his fort, which I believe has cast some terror upon him, for our slaves has been where they could not goe formerly, both digging stone and cutting wood, and that if he should fire at our slaves at any time, desire your orders whether I shall fire, if light of the same opportunity.[130]

398. Gerard Gore Commenda, 26 May 1697

Yours of the 24 instant with two barrells tarris by the 2 hand canoa have received, which will be sufficient to finish our tanck, and as to the return of the goods panyard by the Dutch Copeman, I wrote you of the 21st instant to know if I should receive them if he sent me such word, as [he] has severall times, as I wrote you yesterday. I have here according to your orders sent you an accompt of all the Royall Companys slaves that are here. Paul Read as I wrote you yesterday lyeing very sick and weak is not able to walk out of his roome, or else according to your orders should have sent him by this canoe, but if recovers if you approve of it I will send him, and as concerning the canoamen I am sorry that you have not approved of my punishment upon them, which was but on three, but had I not took these methods, you would never heard of any of the goods, but they told me a parcell of lies, that there came a thunderbolt and split the canoa all to peices, and that three men were drowned with the canoa, and that they were almost halfe way to Shuma. This they told me thinking I would enquire no further into itt, and that I thought it was all truth they told me, and that accordingly it was plotted before what they should say, and their three canoamen that they said were lost were hidd, and could not be found for a great while, and that the first I whiped said the English did not use to whip canoamen for takeing care of their goods, and that it was done by thunder and they could not help it, but I saw to the contrary of that before I whiped any, by the canoa which was broken in comeing on shore, which in whiping the second and third men they all confessed the truth, and said they were goeing on shore at the Dutch landing place, which was not their business, for they might have been halfe way at Dickies Cove, or at least ways keep out to sea, then all the goods had been saved, but they had certainely a minde to play the rogue with the goods, as I believe they have with part of them, for one of the canoamen confessed soe, as I wrote you by the 21 instant. I have also with the enclosed sent you an accompt of the iron work we want, which the surveyor gave the finish orders for when he was at Cabo Corso Castle last. The bricks yesterday wrote for desire wee may have with all speed, wee standing still for want of them.

PS. I have returned by this canoa 2 iron crows broak, 6 ditto wedges 3 ditto mawles.

[130] This dispute over access to the landing place continued for several months, until settled by agreement in Feb. 1698 (no.420).

399. Gerard Gore Comenda, 31 May 1697

Yours of the 25 instant I have received. Also by the 13 hand canoa about seven thousand bricks, which was not according to expectation, but thought should had enough by the canoa to finish our tanck, according as I wrote you by the 25 instant, and that believe with our good management these wee have received will be sufficient to finish our tanck, which we shall doe I hope in halfe a days time more, and that desire you would be pleased to send as soon as possible about two thousand more, for the pavement of our tanck within side, which we mightily want, and that if we had these bricks before might have finished our tanck before this time. Also acquainting you that we have been at a great deale of troublle in getting these bricks ashore, by reason wee have but three canoas here and that they would not venture for fear of breaking and that the canoa being so large could not come above halfe way ashore, before [= in front of] the Dutch, and then forced to put back againe, and that on Saturday night and last night they gott them all ashore at the Dutch landing place. Therefore desire you would send me a good small canoa or two, for if I should have never soe much occation for one they will not goe of here except the sea be extraordinary good indeed, nor that they will goe off a fishing for themselves, and that if I should have occation when they are fishing, have no canoa, which desire you will be pleased to consider. I am sorry that you are pleased to write me I must lett my knickknackes alone,[131] which truly I am altogether a stranger too, for all my care hitherto since I have been here has been for the Royall Companyes interest, in promoteing the forwardness of the Castle, and shall be till finished, if please God to bless me with life and health, and truely I am not mindfull of such thing yett a while. You also write me word that I gave you no accompt whither I have received the nicconees from the Dutch, which if you recall mine of 21st instant you will find at the latter end where I wrote possitively to know your pleasure whether I should send for them, if they sent me such word, as I also wrote you of the 25 and 26 instant, which truly I expected your orders before for my receiveing them, which as soone as [I did] I sent for them, which as I wrote you before of the 21 instant [are] fourty one in whole lengths and fifty seven in peices of severall lengths, all in a very bad condition, by reason they have been in the sea, and that I am not well but thank God on the mending hand, and that I cannot give noe better discription of them as yett, but will take such care that they be looked after as may be, and by next to give you a better accompt of them. I also by the first desire some powder for Forts use, haveing formerly wrote you for some. I also desire that what you send for the future to send by seven hand canoas, and not bigger, by reason of our landing place, which may

[131] From no.400, the Chief Merchants had evidently used this dismissive description of items requested by Gore from Cape Coast, in no.391.

come without much danger. It is also my humble opinion that if wee should fire at the Dutch canoas here, in goeing and comeing from the landing place, that they would leave off fireing at ours, nor molest us in our landing there, which is without any danger, for which desire your orders, I holding it to be our just due, it being the better halfe way from the Dutch Fort. Paul Read still continues his sickness, or else I had sent him by the 13 hand canoa. You are also pleased to write me we have one woman slave more then you have an accompt of, which there is no more then ten women, nor never was here my time, as you will find by my inventory. Also acquainting that the 13 hand canoa went away without my knowledge, and that I thought she had more bricks in her then what was brought ashore the last night, but found to the contrary, and that I ordered them to carry the 7 canomen, they saying the canoa could not be mended, which since with some charge and a great deale of trouble have mended [and which] I sent by this.

PS. Understanding the Fauconbergh is come,[132] desire you would be pleased to send by the first some sheets, which be the only means to bring traders downe hither, for John Cabess sayes they are mightily enquired for up in the countreys, and that the merchants cares not for comeing without they could gett some sheets, which will also be a great meanes for the dispatch of a great many other goods with them, and bring trade to the Castle, which has been but little yett, which I also begg you will be pleased to consider.

400. William Gabb Comenda, 1 June 1697

According to Mr Gores order I have note of what smiths work is wanting for the use of this Fort. He since told me you called it part knick knacks, I suppose you mean those things mentioned for which I sent a pattern. My reason was because I know the smiths are not acquainted with work belonging to building, nor are they capeable in directing me in my business. I am sure to my knowledge there has not been the worth of a two penny naile converted to any other use then the Royall Companyes interest. I am heartily sorry wee are obliged to trouble your worshipps soe often for bricks. I have been as frugall of them, and all other materialls, as any man could have been, but those we had proved so very bad that above four thousand of them are not worth anything, and I cannot pretend to erect any building firmly without materialls proper for what they are to doe, therefore humbly begg you will be pleased to send two thousand of the best burnt bricks, for wee received not above 700, which have but just finished the arch. The seas has been soe very bad of late that the canoa durst not come on shore, and had no other then two hand canoas to unload her. Some went off in the day and sunk coming ashore, soe wee were forced to unload her in the night

[132] i.e. to Cape Coast Castle (cf. nos 1418 etc.).

at the Dutch landing place. Wee want about 1800 bricks to floor the tanck, besides some to make the passage for the water into and out of the tanck. Pray be pleased to send the iron work before wrote for, that wee may finish the work in hand, that wee may begin the other you have already ordered. Humbly begg wee may keep the deales I brought from Cabo Corso to make the center of the arch of the tanck, that when wee strick the center [omission], the boards for the staircase, and many other things, which I hope you will please to order part of the timber hither which I cutt at Cape Tres Pointas, which will be suitable for what we want, as I at present think off.

401. Gerard Gore

Commenda, 2 June 1697

Yours of the 1st instant have received, and accordingly I have wrote you of the 31st past, thinking to have sent by the 13 hand canoa, who went away without my knowledge in the night, as I wrote you by the 7 hand canoa, which we have mended up againe and sent, whom I ordered to goe last night, but found by reason of the sea that runn here, went not before the morning, by whome I sent an accompt of the shipps that came into this road a Sunday last, and sailed last night from hence, and also sent an accompt of the good[s] received from the Dutch,[133] and also what I therewith wrote for, desire you will be pleased to send if possible. Yesterday with scarcity of bricks finished the arch of the tanck.

PS. As above written the 7 hand canoa in goeing off was oversett and a little broke, which must be mended before can goe of againe, which shall send this day, but have sent the letter by this canoa.

402. Gerard Gore

Commenda, n.d. [3 June 1697]

The enclosed letters[134] were sent on shore from an English shipp that came into the road yesterday, who I sending to know what she was, who brought an accompt she was a permission shipp from the Royall Company named the Prosper, Capt. Hobman Commander,[135] and this he desired the enclosed might be sent by the first, hee not knowing when he shall be at Cabo Corso Castle.

PS. Thinking the canoa would have been mended the last night I wrote accordingly, as which is mentioned, but the wanting soe much mending as wee have done extraordinary well, and not finished her before this night, or else would have been with you before, which I humbly begg you will be pleased to excuse.

[133] Not preserved.
[134] Sic, but only one letter is entered: no.1380, from Pepperell, at Cape Three Points.
[135] Database #21505 has a Capt. Hesketh Hobbiman on the coast at this time, but names his ship as the *Restore*.

403. Gerard Gore Commenda, 4 June 1697

As I wrote you of the 2d instant that wee had finished our arch of our tanck, and used all our bricks, and can gett no further in our tanck for want of bricks, which desire you will be pleased to consider, and that wee may have some soe soon as possible, and also with the bricks some sheets, which will be the only meanes of bringing traid down hither, haveing had but little yett, and also some powder for the Forts use.

404. Gerrard Gore Comenda, 27 June 1697

With me by the seaven hand canoe of the 24th instant I received three spung staves, one hour glass, one scaine of marlin and one houslin,[136] and some English match, gunners stores, and by this I have returned two firelock musquetts, one two hour glass, and one compas, good for nothing. Also by this according to your orders comes the surveyor, which desire you will nott detain, butt thatt you would be pleased to send him again as soone as posable, with all things necessary for the forwarding of the Castle. Also desire you would be pleased to send by the first some more sheets and one case chints, haveing had some traid since my returne. Also desire by the first you would be pleased to send two souldiers, haveing butt eight here already and half them sick & disorderd, also some flints and country match for the forts use.

[PS] Abraham, a black bricklayer which came from Winnebah, desires thatt you would be pleased to give his wife leave to come and live with him here, which is now at Winnebah, her name is Pickenine Elseebah, which sayes you were pleased to promise she should, when he came from thence. By this I have returned one woman slave named Beshee, no.74, not being fitt for service, haveing lost one hand and the use of [the] other, and desire you would send more. Also the woman named Temawoll, no.106, which you write me word was wanting, was panyard by the Guoffoes fetching of water the 11th of March last, the same time this woman lost her hand.

405. Gerrard Gore Commenda, 6 July 1697

This day with the survayor by the 13 and 7 hand canoe have received 72 deale boards, and [the] canoe being nott good left part behind, two stocklocks, but the slaves which you ordered for this place the survayor could not find at his comeing away, they being not to be found, which desire you would be pleased to send by 1st opportunity, with some iron work to break stones, not having any left fitt for that use, but all broken, which wee shall mightily want, and by this according to your order by the survayor have sent William Woster carpenter,

[136] Marline, house-line: forms of thin rope.

having paid him all his pay due to the 16th of this instant, deducting two pound 10s in part of the five pound which was paid him in England. Also acquainting thatt since my returne, have not been very well. I have not finished my accompts to send by this, but will send them in a day or two by furthest. Also acquainting you on the 1st of this instant two of our slaves runn away from hence, one man by name Tonnee or otherwayes Stiffrump, and one woman his wife named Assebah, but the woman the next day sending to the Dutch found her there, which have received againe, and understand the man you have, which desire you would be pleased to send again, or more in his roome, and also by the 1st some country match and some flints and some spung nailes.

406. Gerrard Gore Commenda, 12 July 1697

By this comes my accompts from May the eight to ultimo June 1697, the ballance amounting to tenn marks three ounces eleaven angles five taccoes and [a] damboy, which I have not sent, having four months pay to our souldiers and slaves to pay the 16th of this instant, which will amount to near that summe. Also what mentioned in my last of the sixth instant, desire you would be pleased to send so soone as posable, with a few boysadoes if good, and a few chints and some sheets, which things here much enquired for.

PS. I had sent my accompt on Thirsday last but could not gett a canoe, by reason all our towns people went to open a salt pond about three miles distance from hence,[137] and returned not before this day.

407. Gerrard Gore Comenda, 17 July 1697

Yours of the 13th instant have received with my accompts, which you were pleased to returne for unreasonable charges, as you were pleased to write, which I have rectyfied and sent per this, the ballance amounting to 4mk 4oz 5a 3ta½, which will transport to my next accompt. Allso you were pleased to write me that I have no occation to spend more powder than is allowed at other factoryes, which have not the occassion or half so much as this has, by reason of the station [= situation] as wee are in at this place, for wee cannot gett wood nor swish without the expence of powder, which I have putt downe the same quantity, tho before had not exprest the uses how it was expent. Allso for palme oyle the same, which am sure expend twice the quantity of any other factory, by reason are forct to burn severall lights every night. My dyett have rectyfied, and corne, mallagetta, salt &ca have charged less, and am sorry you were pleased to write me that such things is not allowed, neither done by any of my predicesors, tho am satisfied to the contrary, which truly think is very hard for slaves to worke all

[137] In order to lower the level of the water, to facilitate the collection of oystershells (cf. no.1122).

day long from sun riseing to sun setting, and have noe time nor liberty to look for any victualls, otherwayes live upon half a chest of corne a month, which will not suffice them but that I allow them a moderate allowance in reason as much as they can eat, which is more than what I have charged, and have not been wastfull of it, tho it is very bad corne. Allso for mallagetta &ca, think it more reason for slaves as work as they doe than for bought slaves, which has cost me more than I have charged, and were they to be stinched [= stinted] of what they now have would not be able to doe halfe the service as they now doe, and the want of such things would soon kill them all, which I hope you will be pleased to take into consideration, and that shall be at more expence till such time as the fort is finished then afterwards will be required, which I will forward as much as possible, and that wee are some way in our foundation but wee shall be at a great want for more slaves, which desire you will be pleased to send with all expedition, or else shall be at great expence, in hireing the townes and John Cabbess's people to help us to digg and fetch our swish, which what slaves wee have here will not be able to fetch it as fast as it will be used, by reason it will be near a mile distance from the fort. Allso what things I last wrote for of the 12 instant we mittily want, especially the iron work to break stones withall, not haveing any fitt for that use, but all broak by reason of their badness, and allso what goods I therewith wrote for, with some perpetuanoes, haveing sold 30 this day, and the same merchants stay for sheetts & some chints and a few boysadoes, and that on Munday or Tuesday next will have more money out of the countrye belonging to the same merchants and more with them, and that beleive trading will be very good here in a little time, and that our towne increase dayly.

PS. I had sent my accompts sooner but expected a canoe with goods.

408. Gerrard Gore Commenda, 28 July 1697

Yours the 22th instant have received with my accompts, which I have rectyfied & sent per this, and humbly begg pardon for my errors which hitherto committed, which I hope you will impute to young begining, not knowing but the allowance for this place and Accra was all one, but for the future shall learn better. I allso humbly begg pardon for my last offence in gieving you the lye, as you were pleased to write me. Allso intelligence of Little Taggees being out I had before,[138] tho am informed he does not designe to come within reach of our gunns, his people haveing some time since felt the featts of our gunns,[139] tho

[138] Cf. NA, T70/11, Chief Merchants, Cape Coast Castle, 30 July 1697: 'Little Taggee [is] prevented by Great Taggee, but succoured by the Dutch, who endeavour to reimbroile the country'.
[139] This probably refers to the fighting which took place at Komenda in Dec. 1696 (see n.117 above).

I am allways provided and keep a good watch night and day, and that wee are mittily put to it for this country match, for want of which wee are forced to burn English match, which desire you would be pleased to order some to be sent the first opportunity, with the iron work to break stones withall, which wee much want, and more slaves & a bricklayer or two & more souldiers, haveing but eight, & half them sick and lame and disordered, and the Dutch near thirty whitemen in their Castle, so that if we should have occattion should mittily want, all which desire you would be pleased to send with all expedition, with the goods formerly wrote for.

409. Gerrard Gore Commenda, 31 July 1697

Yours of the 30th instant per the 13 hand canoe have received, with the severall pe[r]ticulers therein mentioned, but upon opening the boysadoes find them all a little damaged and wormeaten and one much damaged, which will occassion their longer saile. Allsoe per the next will desire you would be pleased to order that they may be better made. Allso according to your orders have told John Cabess, who accompanyes this, he thinking no time so convenient, which is the reason [of] my detaining the canoe till night, which I humbly begg would be please[d] to excuse.

PS. Allso iron greating for the spout of our tanck, which wee mightily want. Desire you will be pleased to order the cooper to make 10 or 12 tubbs with iron hoopes to carry swish and empty sand out of our foundation. Allso per next desire some troweles and stone hamers for the masons, allso canvis which per the 17 May last you pleased to write I should receive but did not, desire per the next.

410. Gerrard Gore Comenda, 2 Aug. 1697

The inclosed is a bill of medicines Mr Robert Smith Chirurgeon has bought since he has been here, which he some time agoe brought to me, who I would not pay before I knew what you where pleased to allow him, and according to your orders of 30th last past informed him that you where pleased to allow him 2a per month, whereupon he desired me to send this bile [= bill], desireing that you would be pleased to alow him as you doe at any other out factory, which for the time he hath been here he says he hath expended twice as much as any outfactory could have occassion to spend, and that since my time am sencible that he has expent severall medicines and cured severall sick and diseased white men and slave, and that this place at present require it as much as any outFactory can doe, and that he is dayly expending medicines and has been since I have been here both upon white and slaves, which hath much need of it, and that to my knowledge since my sickness at this place aboard one ship he lade out 14a, which I saw the Doctor of the shipps bile and received [= receipt] for the same, and by the Fauconburh now

has received medicines from England more. Allso he sayes that what medicines he received from Cabo Corso Castle from Dr Jackson at his first comeing here was not worth one ackey for use, but that which he had received had been in this country 4 or 5 years, which were not fitt for use, which neve[r] expended, which he has showne me, and severall more of his owne which I beleve may be good, and severall people has found the benifitt, all which he humble desire you would be pleased to allow him as you allow any other in his post.

411. Gerrard Gore Commenda, 7 Aug. 1697

Per this accompanyes my July accompt, the ballance being mk2:7:8, which I have not sent, haveing no gold chest nor b[u]oy to venture it,[140] which desire you would be pleased to order one to be made and sent. Also per this accompanyes the estate [of] Phillip Phillipson, who departed this life the 28th May last past, being 4a, & allsoe 10a 6ta stopt in parte of payment for 5£, which desire may be sent as soon as possible, with the bricklayers, haveing now dugg a foundation for them to worke upon, which wee much need, allsoe new iron worke to break stone and some shoveles, both wood and iron, but desire the iron shoveles may be better made and larger and thicker at the topps. Allso concerning the man slave that run away mentioned in my last,[141] found that he was carried away upon a debt of 2a which he owed, and John Cabess was privy to the carrying him away, for that same day he askt Mr Gabb and Serjeant to lett him cary some things into the country, and he often said he knew where he was and that wee should have him againe, which desire you will be pleased to enquire now, John Cabess being there. Slaves wee also mittily want, which desire you will be pleased to send of any sort, now our mason being beginning to work shall want slaves to continue digging stones and bringing them, others to digg swish and bring it to the Castle, others to make morter and serve the masons, and others to continue digging the foundation.

412. Gerrard Gore Commenda, 18 Aug. 1697

Yours of the 3d, 4th, 9th instant per John Cabess I have received, and will observe all that is therin mentioned, to doe according, and that I am forwarding our building as much as possible with what assistance wee have here, & I am sure that since my time people has not stood still when there could have any thing been done, and wee have dugg part of our foundations & some way in building one of our flanckers, which is my dayly care to forward, and shall be if please God to spare my life and health till finisht, tho wee mightily want more help, which you are pleased to write shall have per Cabo Corso Galley, which I desire

[140] The buoy (cf. nos 446, 448) was probably a precaution against a canoe oversetting, to mark the location of the chest, for subsequent recovery.
[141] Not preserved.

may be as soon as possible. Allsoe yours of yesterdays date I have received of Little Tagee['s] designe upon this place, which if come shall be provided I hope to receive him, allways keeping a good watch night and day, and have scouts continually out to watch their motion, & that if he comes it will not be unexpected, because I am dayly in expectation and am in rediness to receive him, tho wee mightily want flints, which I have often wrote for, which desire you would be pleased to send the first opportunity.[142]

PS. The 10a 6ta½ which I sent the 7th instant which I mentioned stopt from William Worster was through mistake, not haveing charged it in my accompt. Allsoe my dyett was from the 30th Aprill, tho through my neglect not mentioned in my accompts.

413. Gerrard Gore Commenda, 21 Aug. 1697

Yours of the 18th instant this day received, with 3 barrells of gunpowder and the provitions formerly mentioned per the 4th instant, but in a very bad condition, being all whett in comeing ashore, and in opening the chese found much damaged, likewis pease and bisquett much whett, allso the number of cask cheese and flower not being as per advise but chese 40 and flower 103, but what I dispose of will be accomptable for. Allso per this received again the man slave which run away from hence, but as to the other can hear nothing off, but hope shall in a little time. I received no more iron work than the addition mentioned in yours 18th instant. All the other which I have not received is much wanted, with all other things formerly wrote for.

[gap in correspondence, Sept. & Oct. 1697]

414. Gerrard Gore Commenda, 4 Nov. 1697

Yours of the first and second instant yesterday I received, with the particulars therein mentioned, also the inclosed.[143] As soone as received sent affter the Generall of the Brandenbergs, who past this place on Tuesday last without stopping. Also am very disapoynted in expectation of some sheets, which [you] are pleased to write me [you] keepe for purchaseing slaves, which is the only thing wanted in this place to bring down traiders, which humbly desire would be pleased to consider, which now being settled and in expectation of trade,[144]

[142] This expectation evidently reflected the conclusion of a treaty between the Dutch & Fante, by which the latter undertook to aid Little Taggee, on 15 Aug. [NS: = 5 Aug. OS] 1697 (chap.VI, n.203); assistance was also expected from Adom & Shama to the west (no.118). In the event, the anticipated attack did not take place, because the promised assistance did not materialize (cf. Bosman 1705, 35–6).
[143] From what follows, this was presumably a letter to the Brandenburg General.
[144] Cf. the statement on 13 Dec. 1697 that there had been 'no disturbances this three months' (no.417), presumably referring to the (temporary) end of the threat of attack by Little Taggee.

which if cannot have goods some such as will bring trade, which is sheets, which [they] can have at other places, and if have none here to sell with other goods cannot be expected can have trade so long as they are to be had any where else, and that cannot take money to defray factory expences for want of some such goods as are wanted to sell with others. I am also in great trouble for want of canoe men, having acquainted you in severall letters of the same, therefore humbly desire you would be pleas'd to send as soone as possible some Cabo Corso canoe men to be here, till such time these palavers are ended,[145] for if would give ever so much could not get any of these canoe men to goe anywhere, no not so much the other day to send off to give the Generall of the Brandenbergs an invitation on shore, nor to goe to Cabo Corso, which I endeavoured severall times since my last, being dayly in expectation of severall things which acquainted you off which wee here much have wanted, especially iron work to break stones, crows and wedges, for want of which have almost stood still in our building; which if had as many as have wanted might have near finished one of our flankers, which since my last have mightily forwarded, with what assistance wee have, with some alteration which have since made. Also nails of all sorts wee much want, or what can be spared of any sort, having been at some charge in employing a blacksmith here in the towne in makeing nails and mending crows and wedges, which has been very usefull unto us. The inclosed are certificates of provitions here damaged, which have through mistake neglected to send before. Also the boysadoes are all some little damaged, and will not sell at 14a, which [you] are pleased to charge, but if are pleased to order abatement of the price beleive they will goe off, which John Cabbess says he acquainted you off when he was at Cabo Corso last, and were pleased to tell him you had ordered me to sell them at 12a, which could have sold some for, and no more, they being all damnified. Also the knives are much damaged by rust, and will not sell at 10 per angle. If are pleased to order them at 12 believe may sell and they will goe off, otherwise will lye and spoyle. The sundry particulars mentioned is much wanted, with the afformentioned, which humbly desire would be pleased to send as soone as possible with all expedition.

415. Gerrard Gore Commenda, 24 Nov. 1697

Yours of the 22^{d} instant by thirteen hand canoe have this day received with the particulars therein mentioned, exept the rumme, which in three casks wanted five or six gallons each of being full, and one neare halfe salt water. By this also according to your orders have sent Thomas Covey carpenter, tho much wanted here, whome humbly desire would not be pleased to detaine. Mr William Gabb surveyor lyes very sick and weak, and has been so this month, or else would

[145] i.e. the dispute with the Dutch over access to the landing place at Komenda.

have sent him per this, but as soon as is able, if are pleased to send for him, will send him. Also Paul Read lyes very sick, and is not expected to recover. By this have returned some broken iron work, not being fitt for use. Also this now received, being so slightly made, will doe us but little service, and are not fitting for that use wee apply them to here, but per the bearer above mentioned, have sent an accompt of iron work much more fiting for breaking of stones for our building and [would] break a great many more (in halfe the time) then such as have received hitherto, and doe a great deale more service, tho' what iron work have already received, if had been well made, would have done much more service then have, and broke stones enough to finish the flanker wee are now about, which for want of stones have been migtily our hinderance, tho' are mightily forward with it, with some part of each curtain walls adjoyning to it, and that if are not hindered as hitherto have been, shall have finished it I hope by Christmas. Therefore humbly desire what iron work have sent an accompt by bearer to be made to order to be made with all expedition, and sent as soone as possible with the bearer, [and] severall other things therein mentioned, advised of by the 4th instant, which is here very much wanted.

PS. According to your orders would have sent my accompts to the last October, but not being very well at the beginning of this month, and having had then taken but little money, and considering having great expences this month, and having had since much trouble otherwise in minding and forwarding the building, have not had time to write them out, which humbly desire would be pleased to excuse, which if had not done would not have been as forward as it is, which the same forwardness shall continue till finished, and that this month being near ended will send my accompts to the end of this month, which hope will be time enough and be as well.

416. Gerrard Gore Commenda, 4 Dec. 1697

Yours of yesterdayes date by two hand canoe have received, with the iron work therein mentioned. Also one of the crows you were pleased to write was according to the directions I sent, tho' much differing, tho' that received much more fitting for our work here then any that have had yett for our service, and according to directions, therefore desire that you would be pleased to order that the next may be made two foot longer, but no thicker, this being thick enough, but wanting in lenght, and that may have them as soone as possible, with the stone axes mentioned in the note sent per Thomas Covey, carpenter. The building shall forward as much as possible, with what assistance have here, and that hope in a fortnights time shall finish this flanker, and had wee had more slaves that flanker fronting the Dutch might a been as forward as that is, which desire would be pleased to send some lusty strong slaves to break stones, and that have imployed all the Black bricklayers this four months in breaking stones,

which if had other slaves might have imployed them otherwise, and that all that are imployed in breaking stones cannot break so many as to keep what white men doe work imployed, which for this six weeks have been but three, Lawrance Brindly having had so long a distemper in his hands, not being able to use them, but almost now well againe, and Joseph Reynor ever since been here has been so sick and weak, has done little or any worke; and that considering what assistance wee have are mightily forward in our building; and that have had great assistance both of John Cabess and towns people in fetching most of the swish wee have used, and that shall mightily want lime to pointe our walls with and build our battelements, which if have not in a fortnights time shall much want it, and stand still for want of it, which if not if have any raine, will much damnifie what have built, which humbly desire would be pleased to consider. Also that [you] would be pleased to send as soone as possible some good gunns, which wee shall much need, and that if would be pleased to send two or three good culverine and two or three dimme [= demi] culverine more,[146] it would be absolutely necessary, it being built and designed so very strong that it is more fitting for some such gunns then any fort upon the Coast beside, and it standing so to the sea that there is not the like contrived Castle, for its biggness, upon the Coast, both for the defence of shiping and against an enemie, had wee gunns accordingly, which humbly desire would be pleased to take into consideration, which if have not some such as before mentioned, our building so strong will be insignificant. Therefore humbly desire that would be pleased to order Capt. Piles shipp hither with lime, and two or three good gunns, one or two of the above mentioned, which wee shall speedily want, which if have not so large will be to no effect, and it would be very convenient and strong against the Dutch, if should have any difference,[147] and that the Dutch Coapeman here sayes when this flanker is finished, and have good gunns mounted there, that the Devill will not be able to stand against it, and that he much dreads it. Therefore humbly desire that [you] would before [you] send Capt. Piles shipp of the Coast, [send it] for this place with the afformentioned, and a flaggstaff and new fflagg, which wee much want, expecting every time these [we] have are made use of, to break downe. Also what things formerly wrote for. Also according to your orders have sent Thomas Murphew, whome desire would be pleased to send againe, with Thomas Covey carpenter, when done with them, they being here much wanted. Also desire would be pleased to send some bricks to arch the roomes have built, and for our tank. Also some timber, what have or can be spared, for to cover the roome left in the flanker for a prison, and gateposts and gates, and severall other

[146] Forms of large cannon.

[147] Alluding to the continuing dispute over access to the landing place: the Chief Merchants wrote to the RAC in London 2 weeks later assuring them that 'Comenda [is] defensible to dispute for the landing with the Dutch' (NA, T70/11, 18 Dec. 1697).

wants, which Thomas Covey can informe what would be fitt for our wants. By this accompanyes my August, September, October, and November accompts, the ballance amounting to 9a 10½ta, which have transferred to next accompt, wherein have charged one perpetuano and 8 sheets given (vizt) to the Mireine [= Mareine][148] of this place, through whose occation have had most of what trade have had, and a man that has many people coming downe, also other Cabbosheers up in the country that were great instigators of trade to this place, and had a great deale of corne and would not send none nor come to bargaine without dashes, and that then wanted corne, having but little in the Castle.

417. Gerrard Gore Commenda, 13 Dec. 1697

Yours of the 3d instant by 2 hand canoe, have this day received, with two barrells gunpowder for forts use. Mr William Gabbs surveyor still continues his sickness and is not able to walk, or else accordingly would have sent him The Dutchman in my last advised of[149] is not for this worke here, but have entertained as a souldier, his name is Christian Timberman. The other two advised formerly off are John Johnson and Christian Christophell. Am sorry that you are pleased to write me in all my advices have been very troublesome and without occation, which humbly begg your pardon for, and for the future shall regulate all my advices accordingly, tho' at this place have had much more occation to advise then have done. Also are pleased to write me your smiths and workmen never saw such crows as have desired to be made for this work, and that this crow is above one hundred weight, which are wrong informed, for this day weighed it, which was not halfe that weight by above a pound. Also for the lenght and service of them, have this [= thus?] formerly experienced them, and that have seen them above four feet longer, and would be much better for our service here, and severall other sorts of iron worke which wish your workmen understood better then doe. I returne humble thanks for your kind invitation at Christmas, which hope the affairs of this country will permitt of my coming. Have had no disturbances this three months, which hope will continue, tho humbly desire would be pleased to send a canoe for my coming, not having here any body that will in a canoe goe anywhere, which will their informe you by word of mouth what things are here wanted, to which shall referr all things, and bring my accompts according to yours with me.

418. William Gabb Commenda, 4 Jan. 1697 [= 1698]

Yours I received, and am sencible of my faults in consenting to sett up the shipps copper, for which I humbly begg your Worshipps pardon, but they did overperswade me the first they came on shore, and then they came againe and

[148] See Glossary.
[149] Not preserved.

used such arguments, that they had all materialls ready, and one man that was a bricklayer by trade, and any man to doe a little and give directions to the other would doe, and it would presently be done, and Joseph Reynor being ill that he could not work, was willing to goe aboard, all perswadeing me, I being had not my reason at command I consented to it, not thinking it would displease your Worshipps. If I had I would not have done it, for any good, it was not six or seaven hours in doeing. I hope your Worshipps will pardon him whose designe is never to offend againe.

419. Gerrard Gore Commenda, 19 Jan. 1697/8

Yours of the 18th have received per the 7 hand canoe, and accordingly have received the Gallyes loading of shells,[150] which are not so much as expected and I am afraid will not be sufficient to finish the tank, therefore humbly desire her loading once againe, which will be sufficient to finish the tank, and to begin poynting our walls, which stand in much need of, and more will be wanting as soone as conveniency offers. I have send downe two Dutchmen by the Gally, and I have likewise two more in irons which have been very mutineers, and have abused me very much, and if you think it convenient I will send them home againe, which I have threatned to doe severall times, which they little regarded, but still gave me more abuse. The canoe I have detained according to your orders, and I have returned the canoemen by the Gally, tho' I believe if I should have occation, it would be very hard to gett canoemen. I desire you'l be pleased to send some beife, with some white pautkies for the flagg per the first opportunity. Sickness still continues and I am very weak.

420. Gerrard Gore Commenda, 9 Feb. 1697/8

Yours of the 4th instant yesterday I received with the inclosed coppy of an agreement made with the Generall of the Mina, which shall observe accordingly,[151] and as for iron barrs, have not such trade for them here, so that not want more at present, but if any sheets desire would be pleased to send some by first oppertunity, which are here much enquired for, and would be a great means of selling a great many other goods with them, and bring traiders downe to the Castle, which have come but very little of late, and that I have not taken money enough to defray the charges [I] shall pay this month. By first desire would be pleased to order some beife to be sent, having but verry little in the Castle, and that our men have nothing else to live upon. By this according to your orders have sent the surveyor, tho shall much want somebody to look affter the workmen and slaves,

[150] i.e. the *Cabo Corso Galley*.

[151] The agreement conceded to the English a 'right to the landing at Komenda' (NA, T70/11, Chief Merchants, Cape Coast Castle, 2/6 April 1698).

being very weak myselfe at present and not able to goe about as have done to look affter them, and that if are pleased to detaine this surveyor, desire you to [send] Thomas Howard here, which will be much more fitting for this place then this. Also desire you to send Thomas Covey carpenter, or some other, haveing here great occation for one, having severall carryages broke and severall other things which must need the help of a carpenter, and desire some trucks for our carryages, both large and small. Not having one in the Castle, I have made severall. Also some some white pautkies or other linnen to make a flagg, this [I] have not being fitting to be made use of any more. And as for things wanting for our building, referr to the surveyor, who can informe of the necessity of all things.

421. Gerrard Gore Commenda, 15 Feb. 1697/8

Since my last of the 10th[?] instant,[152] three days affter the ways was opened againe. The neighbouring croomes which used to send downe corne and palme wine made him open the way,[153] having no palavour against me. Also acquainting that what things wrote for by the 9th instant is here much wanted, with the iron work to break stones and some shovels, not having one to use, which wee very much want, and severall other things which the surveyor took an accompt of with him, which desire may have as soone as possible, with some brass panns of the largest sort, which are here much wanted.

PS. On Sunday last our flagg was blowne in sundery peices from the flagstaff, so that now have none to make use off, which humbly desire you to consider.

422. Gerrard Gore Commenda, 23 Feb. 1697/8

I have received one more loading of the Cabo Corso Gally with oyster shells, but cannot finish our tank without one more barrell tarris, which desire as soone as possible. Also some beife, which we here much need, having but very little in the Castle, and our men nothing else to live upon, which have severall times advised off, with the remaining part of the lime. Affter the tank is finished shall begin poynting the building of the battlements of the flankers now built, but shall want more lime to finish itt, which desire may have two or more of the Gallyes loading with shells, which will be suffitient, and to point part of the curtaine walls now built, which if is not before the rains, will be much damaged. A carpenter wee much need here, and severall other things formerly advised off by the 9th instant.

[152] Not preserved.
[153] It is not clear to whom this refers.

423. John Cabbess[154] Commenda, 26 Feb. 1697/8

These with my most humble service presented unto your Worshipps. These are most humbly to desier your Worshipps to grant me more pay, for this eight angles per month will not buy my people cankey to sustaine nature for anything as is to be done, as fetching of wood, swish &ca. I am always ready and shall to my uttmost, I once advised your Worshipps before. I most humbly desire you'l be pleased to consider me, having formerly suffered much loss by this place.

424. Gerrard Gore Commenda, 5 April 1698

In persuance to your order by Mr Salmon[155] wee have inventored the factory, and signed two inventoryes, and have sent them by Mr Salmon, with my March accompt. The two men slaves runn away advised of by Mr Gabb surveyor of the 29th of the last past[156] have sent up in the country and gott againe, with the expence of some liquor and eight angles of gold. Some English match and country ditto be pleased to send by first.

425. Gerrard Gore Commenda, 16 April 1698

According to your orders have been at Dickes Cove, and accordingly inventored, and [by] Mr William Gabb who goes herewith surveyor, have sent two inventoryes, and ballance of Mr Vincents accompts to the time of the inventory, it being 1mk 3oz 11a ½t gold.[157] Desire would be pleased to send some tallow, and a few nicconeese and blanketts, which if good beleive can vend some here, they being much enquired affter. As to other necessaryes for forts use refer you to the surveyor.

426. John Cabbess Commenda, 17 April 1698

These with my utmost humble service presented unto your Worshipps, these are most humbly to desire that you'l be pleased to allow me the customs as formerly have been, which is five seyes [= says] and four cases spiritts and an anker of other liquor.[158] The people here come are asking of me dayly for it, which here are severall people come with canoes and netts and dayly from the country, and are all building of houses, and I doubt not in a little time butt here will be a considerable towne, and a very good trade, so I humbly desire you'l be pleased

[154] This & no.426 were evidently written for John Cabess by somebody in the English fort, as reported on an earlier occasion (no.282).
[155] Charles Salmon, now chief of the RAC factory at Egya.
[156] Not preserved.
[157] Cf. no.126.
[158] Initiating a dispute over the payment of customs, which continued over the next 3 months (nos 440, 442–3, 450).

to consider the old custome, for I have had the disposeing of it formerly. I have received but one seye from Mr Gore, but with your orders he is very free with the rest. I have received by your orders likewise since I came from Cabo Corso one boysadoe and four gallons rumme, for which I returne you many thanks.

427. Gerrard Gore Commenda, 4 May 1698

Herewith by the 13 hand canoe have sent one Dutchman named John Johnson, nott dareing to keep him here at liberty, being very quarrelsome and abusive, and having attempted severall mischiefe, and that on Fryday last, said he would kill the serjeant for strikeing him, and at night was seen to charge two peices with ball, which I saw my selfe and when I examined him was very impudent, and that [I] told [him] if he did such things must be sent to the Dutch again and they would punnish him, who answered me againe hee wished I would send him there, which was all he desired, he being one of the men formerly advised off by the 19th January past, and the occation of the others confinement, which was for some time, and not having advice from you lett at liberty, upon promisement of their good behaviour. Goods wanting refered to my last of the 16th of the last past. Iron work to break stones wee much want, for want of which is much hinderance to our building.

PS. The above mentioned have not paid him his late two months pay, having had no trade this last month. Our tank holds water very well as yett.

428. Gerrard Gore Commenda, 14 May 1698

Hope have received mine of the 10 instant,[159] wherein informed of necessaryes is here wanting for our building, which desire as soone as can be made, wherein also desired would be pleased to send me one mark of gold, not having any in the Castle to defray factory expences, for which have great occation, our souldiers and trades men not having wherewith to buy provitions. Also am mightily in want of canoe men to unload the sloope of her shells,[160] not but have canoemen enough butt are all ledd away by one fellow which is a great roague, and have a great many new canoe men come from other places to live here and are all spoyled by him, and when they goe any where, will have their owne prices and work but when they please, which have hitherto given them, and that they will have as much for goeing on board the sloope, soe neare, as they will have two leagues off, which am forced to tell will give it them. The Captain sayes he lyes in danger with the sloope, and that when unloaded desine with the advice of John Cabbess, to send him downe in irons, which John Cabbess would a had me aburnt all their houses downe, and turned them all away, they being very unruly fellows, all by reason of one, and that John Cabbess sayes would

[159] Not preserved.
[160] The RAC's sloop based locally in West Africa, Capt. John Wilson.

have them be sent away,[161] tho' would not at present, thinking it might be a hinderance to getting the shells on shore. Also acquainting that the old seaven hand canoe, which some time since were pleased to order me to keep here upon occation, is broke and not fitting for to doe any more service, so have imployed a 7 hand canoe which I bought for my owne use, which have charged to accompt of the Royall Affrican Company. Desire the mark of gold to be sent by returne of Capt. John Wilson, with what other necessaryes is mentioned in my last.

429. Gerrard Gore Commenda, 16 May 1698

Yours of the 13th instant have received, with returne of the certificates which were signed attesting the dammage of the two cases nicconeese, which really think are as much damaged as therein mentioned, espetially at this place, which will not sell so well by ¼ for want of the coulour. Therefore desire by Capt. John Wilson to returne them, beleiving shall not sell them here, and if thought had not been better would not have wrote for them. Also are pleased to write that I furnish interlopers with water out of our tank, wherein I am wronged and you have been misinformed, as have been in severall other things which have been pleased to creditt, of which upon tender of my oath have been inocent of, expetially this. In yours were also pleased to write me of the service the Royal Company is like to have of me, which ever since I have been here have made myselfe a slave to doe them service, tho have had no encouragement for the same, not according as was promised me by the Royall Company, at my departure from England, and wish all men upon the Coast has endeavoured as much for their intrest as I have done, which will continue as farr as I am able, as long as I am in their service, and hope for future would have a better oppinion of me then hitherto have had. By this have sent my accompts for Aprill last, wherein are indebted to me to ballance of factory charges therein mentioned mk4 0a 5t gold, which desire to be sent by the bearer, having great occation for the same, not having any gold in the Castle, and was mightily disappoynted in your Worshipps not sending the mark of gold desired the 10th instant, having then an opportunity of buying severall necessaryes and provitions, which much want here, which humbly desire you'le consider, and that may not want money laid out in the Companyes service for the future.

430. Gerrard Gore Commenda, 17 May 1698

Have putt on board the sloope the two cases niconnese, also all the old broken iron work, which desire may be mended or new ones in their roome, which wee much want, not having any fitt to work withall, and as for the others which in yours ordered for Succondee, the Captain sayes it is more for his conveniency to call for em as he comes up againe, which will then have all ready to putt on board.

[161] i.e. sold as slaves.

PS. The Marreane formerly belonging to this place, a man which has had severall dashes from me and that pretended great kindness for the English, and was alwayes much affraid of the Dutch, and never went there all the time of the palaver, is now building there and desines to live there, which will be hinderance of trade to this fort. I asked his reason for building there, seeing nobody else does but a great many people from the Mina, and all other places build all here, which he sayes he does it by the King of Aguoffoes order,[162] and likewise severall other people which will not build there, and if think fitt to acquaint the King off itt, will be much better to build here.

431. Gerrard Gore Commenda, 27 May 1698

This comes acquainting thatt yesterday passed by this place from the Mina a great nomber of Blacks, goeing as they said to Shuma, and thatt am this day informed by John Cabbess, by intelligence thatt he has, they are gone to fight the Dooms at Succondee, and thatt Little Taggee is with them,[163] which thought convenient to advise your Worshipps of what I heard, tho' beleive nott soe. Also have severall things to acquaint your Worshipps with as to pallavours here, and our building, which humbly desire your advice and order to proceed, and thatt now the pallaver being ended here, and wee live very peaceable,[164] desire to wait upon your Worshipps my selfe if are pleased to grant me thatt liberty, till which time shall refer all things.

432. Gerrard Gore Commenda, 1 June 1698

This comes expressly to advise of the misfortunate news of the loss of Succondee, and severall men wounded and Captain Quo beheaded.[165] The sloope is just now here with whatt escaped, and that desire your speedy advice this night, if shall endeavour to doe them mischeife, if they come this way back againe, and thatt all the people are willing to assist if [you] approve of itt, and are pleased the King of Aguoffoe may doe them much damage in their return if minded. Desire your speedy advice.

433. Gerrard Gore Commenda, 2 June 1698

Yours of yesterdays have this instant received, and will endeavour accordingly, and that have also just now received advice from Succondee, that the Adoomes fought with the people thatt took the Castle last night about five a clock, and beat and routed them away againe, and this morning againe they came to fight

[162] Following a new peace agreement (cf. no.431), Eguafo-Dutch relations were now improving: cf. further references to the diversion of trade to the Dutch fort in nos 438, 440.
[163] Cf. no.261.
[164] Great Taggee had again made peace with the Dutch (Bosman 1705, 37; cf. also no.1038).
[165] Cf. no.128, from Dixcove.

the Adooms, who did them much damage and beat all, and forced them all off in canoes and shipps boats thatt lyes there on board of shipps, and that they say because the Adooms has beaten them, they doe designe to fall upon this place in the night, which will be provided for them, I hope to their much damage, and all the people here are ready, and [I] will encourage and assist them with powder, and thatt have sent up the country for more help, which will come this affternoone. Abram bricklayer is come here without damage, and Affadoe and Quoccoe bricklayers are att Dickes Cove safe.[166] Some match wee much want, not having any in the Castle, either English or country, which desire would be pleased to send with all speed.

PS. Yours of the 20th and 30th of the last past have received with the inclosed accompt of the stewards, wherein have not deducted the loss and damage as by certificates, but will not presume to trouble your Worshipps with that now, but will take another opportunity and send an accompt as disposed.

434. Gerrard Gore Commenda, 3 June 1698

Yours of yesterday have received with the match, and thatt had sentt this morning to know of their further proceedings at Succondee, and that as acquainted yesterday is for confirmation, and thatt what could nott make their escape on board of shipps were forced to fly to the Dutch Castle, where they kept them in, and also the Dutch landing place, thatt none could goe off nor come on shore till this morning, thatt the Adoomes for want of provitions could stay noe longer, butt went home to their owne country, and thatt this night the others designe for the Mina, butt understand the Generall hath ordered them nott to come near here, for feare wee should damage them, which if [they] doe [we] will indeavour the same, as shall acquaint further by next.

PS. Since my writeing have this instant intelligence they are sett out on coming.

435. Gerrard Gore Commenda, 3 June 1698

Nott two hours affter had dispatched the canoe away by my last of this dayes, butt the affore advised of came in sight, about two miles distance, and thatt giveing our blacks notice, encouragement and directions, and they running out in sight of the Mina people, made them to stand still, and to alter their way and goe another, takeing a whing [= wing] round the bushes, and thatt Little Taggee was there himselfe, and thatt sent to frow me acky, and thatt was not our enemie, and thatt was nott coming to hurt us, and desired I would not them, also said thatt he had been to fight the Doomes, and thatt coming to Succondee, the English men fired

[166] i.e. from Sekondi.

att them first, then his men fired and took them, which was nott his designe, neither went he for thatt purpose, and likewise said if you are pleased to send to the Mina to make a pallaver may have Succondee againe. There was of them a very great number, all passing on to the saltpond neere us, butt noe gunn fired of either side, and by the Dutch Castle, and thatt were above two hours in passing by.

436. Gerrard Gore Commenda, 6 June 1698

Yours of the 3d instant received, and thatt in my last of the 3d instant was on purpose to acquaint of the Mina people passing by here from Succondee, and that since their coming away the Doomes came againe to Succondee with a bigger force to fall upon them in the Dutch Castle, and thatt the Dutch men have all left their Castle, carrying all things away to Shuma,[167] and thatt the Adoomes are now at a croome called Umpohoh, staying a little distance from Succondee.[168] Having just received this news thought conveinent to acquaint your Worshipps of itt.

PS. Corne beleive have not enough to serve till the time of new corne, and thatt here is here about's none to be bought, butt can have some from distance from this place for 2a per chest, and fetching which will be something more. If approve of desire would be pleased to send me orders by next.

437. Gerrard Gore Commenda, 8 June 1698

In answer to yours of the 20th of the last past, wherein are pleased to mention some things, and as touching my reputation and in justifiecation of my inocency shall take another opportunity when time shall serve, and nott presume to trouble your worshipps with such things now, butt noe more then is absolutely needfull and necessary, being in great extremity for want of money, nott having one pennyworth in the Castle, nor have had for some time, and thatt our men are much putt to itt to gett provitions for their dayly sustenance. People thatt have trusted them too long will not trust them for any thing more, and that [they] will not take goods by reason cannot dispose of them againe, and thatt [I] cannott defray charges nor provide necessarys for the factorys expending without money. Therefore humbly desire that would be pleased to send by the bearer the ballance of my accompts, which have sent herewith, also an accompt of what provitions have disposed of, which desire would be pleased to deduct itt, being as by the accompt thatt goes herewith mk1 7oz 7a 9½t, tho' there is a great quantity of thatt oweing by the men, and that humbly desire would be

[167] Cf. no.131, from Dixcove.
[168] Cf. 'Impoho' in no.49; i.e. Mpohor, 17 km NW of Sekondi.

pleased to send money to pay the men on the 17th instant, which will amount to about three marks, men and slaves, and then when discharged their debts oweing to the towns people here, will according to your orders send downe what is over and above the complement your Worshipps is pleased to allow here, which if otherways should send them downe indebted to the towne, itt might occation some palaver. Here also inclosed have sent an accompt according to your inclosed of the 20th of the last past, wherein am indebted more to the estate of Mr Ronan,[169] which if you will be pleased to deduct out of the ballance there is due to me one mark seaven ounces ten angles and seaven taccoes, which humbly desire would be pleased to send by the bearer, which send on purpose. Also the money to pay the men, here being very great occation for itt.

PS. Benjamin Hewlett has received his pay due to him here to the 19th instant att canky money.[170]

438. Gerrard Gore Commenda, 21 June 1698

This comes to acquaint you that on Sunday last the King of Aguoffoe sent here some of his men to order all our towns people all to goe over and live with the Dutch, and that they endeavoured much for the same, and also sent to me that what traders comes here to send some to the Dutch, and thatt here has severall times been Dutch Cabbosheers from the Mina to make pallavers with John Cabbess, and that could never understand otherways from him butt were of noe consequence, butt withall desireing him to come to the Mina and be good friends with them, and that [he] would not prejudice them here, and thatt coms to him very offten the Dutch Coapmans boys and brings generally somthing for to eat or to drink, which he alwayes receives, and that he is very much displeased in this, that the King of Aguoffoe should endeavour for them [= the Dutch], and for the hinderance of trade to this Castle, which hope now will bee very good in a little time, having endeavoured very much for the same, and by all returnes which I have sent up in the country there is great likelyhood of itt, and thatt have had some trade since my last, and that our town increases very much of late, and that understand there is none of them will goe and live with the Dutch, exept three or four people which belongs to the King, which he oblidges to goe and live there. Also acquainting that John Cabbess designes to come to Cabo Corso Castle and speak with the King before your Worshipps concerning the aforementioned, which otherways may be of great hinderance to this Castle, and thought it convenient to advise your Worshipps before his comeing, to know if approve of itt. By this have sent my accompts for November and April, which is wanting,

[169] Ronan had died 8 Oct. 1697.
[170] Hewlett was now posted to Tantumkweri (no.1055).

butt [as] for August, September and October, [they] was all there when I was there last, butt if since wanting will send one, butt desire some paper for the same, having none butt this sort, which is soe badd is nott fitting for such uses. Iron work is much wanting to break stones, also gunners stores hereafter mentioned.

PS. Rammer heads from demmee culver[in] to faulcon, spung heads ditto, sheeps skins, spung nailes, cartridge paper, some thread, needles, flints, old canvis for cartridge [ms. 'partridge'], shott.

439. Gerrard Gore Commenda, 25 June 1698

Since my last of the 21st instant have had an indifferent good trade, and that beleive shall have a very good trade here in a little time, and that last night came down out of the country more traders, and more this morning. Therefore would desire would be pleased to send by first two hundred blue perpetuanoes and some Guinea stuffs if have any, being here much enquired for, and if are pleased that may dispose of iron barrs here at 20 per bendy gold, beleive might dispose of some quantity here, and not under, traders saying they can have soe at other places, which if your Worshipps approve of to lett them goe at that rate desire would be pleased to send a hundred, and some sheets if have any, with the Gunners stores mentioned in my last, what of them are pleased to spare, and iron work to break stones, which hope by this time is finished.

440. Gerrard Gore Commenda, 1 July 1698

Yours of the 25th of the last have received, and as to the accompt of provitions which have already sent, can give your Worshipps noe better accompt, and that can justifie as to the severall particulars therein mentioned, and that have to severall things therein mentioned [I] made more disposed then I ever did dispose, to compleat the certificate made upon the severall losses and damaged of the same and testified by other people as well as my selfe as are there subscribed, and as to answering of other things which are pleased to write me that have been pleased to accuse me off in former letters can say noe more as to justification in writeing, but have this to comfort me, that I am inocent of what your Worshipps have been pleased to accuse me with before God Almighty, and that can make appear when time shall serve thatt can come and speak for my selfe, and that noe doubt but such people will not spare, but will say any thing against me or any man, when they see and think its pleasing to your Worshipps and that are pleased to take notice and countenance them in their roaguery and false information, which if your Worshipps are pleased to enquire into the truth of it at other places, to doe me justice and the informers according to their deserts, it would be severe punishments, and hope for

the future that your Worshipps will not be pleased to credit noe more such false storys, and then hope shall not merrit your Worshipps displeasure in any thing, which shall be my endeavour. Had noe sooner dispatched my last away but that came to the Dutch here a great canoe, which brought them 20 chests of sheets, and that I was there yesterday, and see above twenty five chests of sheets, and likewise see his invoice which he had then came of all the goods he had in the Castle, and that the bales of his goods, wherein is charged iron barrs at 1a 6t each and other things cheaper then [you] are pleased to allow here, which makes a great many traders goe from hence thither, and that he has given great gifts to sundry Cabbosheers, which the Coapman told himselfe ordered by the Generall of the Mina. Therefore hope your Worshipps would be pleased to order me to give some dashes, or else it will be a mighty hinderance of trade to this place, severall Cabbosheers stopping the traders coming to the Castle and sending them to the Dutch, saying they have had noe dashes from the English to send traders, which hope your Worshipps will be pleased to take into consideration to allow something, not haveing yet allowed the custome which hath been always allowed for my first coming here, which hope now [you] will be pleased to allow, here being now a great towne and much people. Alsoe acquainting that traders will not give 4a for the tallow last sent, saying they can have the same of your Worshipps for 3a, which if are pleased to lett me sell them soe, could dispose of them a great quantity, traders saying that it is not worth more, it being a great deale smaller then them usually sould for four angles, which if your Worshipps approve to lett them goe at that rate, desire would send me as many as can spare more, and iron cheaper to send some quantity, here being severall traders here that wants more goods, iron and perpetuanoes then [I] have good here. Therefore desire would be pleased to send as by my last with all speed, and twenty iron barrs, John Cabbess saying he will perswade them if can to give more, telling them the difference between Dutch iron and English, but if are pleased to allow them cheaper desire would be pleased to send more.

PS. John Cabbess hath sent he sayes to acquaint your Worshipps of severall matters here, and concerneing the King of Aguoffoe, he [= the King] having sent since my last againe, to know why wee lett such and traders come here which belonged to other places.

[PPS] Since my writeing this, here came men from the King of Aguoffoe to the Dutch Coapman, he being here with me, who brought him five or six bendys gold to buy sheets, and likewise John Cabbess being in company, he sayes that the King have sent for his custome to the Dutch, likewise have given a large sheepe, with severall other things, and likewise [demands] custome of me, which he sayes is one saye and a case of liquors or an anchor of brandy, which if you'l please to allow, may send it by the first.

441. Gerrard Gore Commenda, 5 July 1698

Understanding by Mr Sheldon, who went from hence the last night for Dickes Cove,[171] that your Worshipps hath sent for this place by the Cabo Corso Gally, which is now in sight of this place and hope will fetch here in two or three hours time, the wind being good for her, some blue perpetuanoes but noe iron barrs, if nott desire would bee pleased to send by canoe 30 or 40, but if are pleased to lett them goe under 2a each desire would send 100 or more, which would soone be disposed of here, traders not willing to buy many by reason [I] cannott sell them under 2a each, and likewise the tallow here, which in my last advised off, if are pleased to lett goe at 3a each, desire would be pleased to send more, and not else. This day hope to finish the side of our building now in hand fronting the Dutch, soe that now shall want a carpenter to make centres [= sentries],[172] and some bricks to turne arches for ports in the battlements, and iron work as formerly wrote for to cleave and cut stones, to finish the pavement of the same, there being noe more then one flanker already paved, two of our workmen haveing been sick for above this two months, but now indifferent well againe and fitt for working. Some writeing paper for accompts, desire would be pleased to send some, not haveing noe other then this in the Castle, which is soe bad is not fitting for that use. The men according to your orders will send downe by returne of the canoe, if are pleased to send one, if not by returne of the Cabo Corso Gally from Dickes Cove, tho' the Dutch here have in their Castle above twenty souldiers.

PS. Since wrote this the master by the Cabo Corso Gally is come on shore with yours of twenty eighth of last past with the perpetuanoes therein mentioned, the master also acquainting me he hath some iron barrs aboard, not knowing where to deliver them, hath sent them on shore here.

442. Gerard Gore Commenda, 7 July 1698

Since my last the King of Aguoffoe hath sent againe for his custome, and others which formerly hath received of all Chiefs at first coming here, which by advise received from Mr Edward Searle at Accra was five seys and four cases of spirits, which was the custome that he gave, as your Worships will find in his Commenda accompt, which are distributed as by advice from John Cabbess as followeth, to the King of Aguoffoe one seye and a case of spirits, to the Fettera halfe a sey and a case of spirits, and to Cabbosheers up in the country which sends downe traders halfe a seye and one case spirits, and to the towne Cabbosheers and people here one seye and case of spirits, and to John Cabbess

[171] Richard Sheldon, now appointed chief of the fort at Dixcove.
[172] i.e. sentry boxes.

two seyes and one anchor of brandy, which [to] John Cabess [I] have already paid, and the Fettera part, and that send this on purpose to desire your Worshipps advice and orders what to doe, whither shall pay as above mentioned to the worth in other goods and also the cases of spirits in rumme, if not desire would be pleased to send four cases of spirits, and humbly desire that your Worshipps would be pleased to send as soone as possible your advice and orders what are pleased to allow me to give as by my last. Received by the Cabo Corso Gally one hundred and fifty perpetuanoes and forty iron barrs. The writeing paper in my last desired, with what other things therein mentioned are pleased to spare, desire would be pleased to send by this canoe.

PS. Here are severall of the King's people which oppress the towns people very much, and that John Cabbess desires your Worshipps would send to the King to order them from hence.

[PPS] Since writeing of this have received yours of the 4th instant, and hope before this time the Cabo Corso Gally is at Dickes Cove, or else would a done according to your orders, and also have informed John Cabbess that there is noe custome allowed to the King of Aguoffoe, his men being at his house, and that he says it was ever allowed to Little Taggee,[173] and that the Dutch here has paid him more to my knowledge then the custome mentioned on the other side, and that it will be a very great hinderance to the Royall Companys intrest at this place if the custome that hath always been allowed be not now paid, mentioned on the other side, espetially to the King, and that doe not doubt but from this time but that this place will be as benifitiall to the Royall Company as any other outfactory upon the Coast of Guinea where your Worshipps is pleased to allow double the custome which is mentioned on the other side, and that it will be a very great hinderance to the Royall Companys intrest, and now it being almost finished and in great likelyness of a very good trade, haveing at the latter end of the last month taken above six marks of gold, and had I had goods enough might have sould more, and doe not doubt but what goods have received shall dispose of in a little time, but cannot expect trade if your Worshipps are not pleased to allow customes as well as other factoryes, which are presently paid at every Chiefs first settleing, and [I] have not had trade nor towne till the time to ask for customes, and that your Worshipps I hope will consider the expences of building, and that other factorys are already built, and that I have already been at great expences, and have given severall dashes out of my owne pockett, therefore most humbly desire that your Worshipps will be pleased to take it into consideration, the custome mentioned on the other side, and to allow the same, it being part already paid, and as to my Doctors complaints that are pleased to

[173] Little Taggee had probably held the office of Fetera: the peace between Eguafo & the Dutch in 1696 recognised him as 'second person in the kingdom' (Van Dantzig 1980, 109).

mention, tis' well knowne by severall men in Castle he has not soe much linnen to use it otherways, and that severall men can justifie he has made the Companys sheets into shirts and pillow berrs,[174] and as I am informed six expended in my accompt &ca I gave three blanketts out of the warehouse for burialls and the Doctor more sheets then the rest comes to. By this according to your orders have sent John Long souldier, Dutch man, haveing paid him his two months pay insueing from the 17th June last to the 12th of August next, he being soe very much indebted here, and the rest will send according to your Worshipps orders.

443. Gerrard Gore Commenda, 11 July 1698

The inclosed I received from Dickes Cove by a canoe I sent there, and send this on purpose with the same.[175] Yours of the 9th instant yesterday received, and shall observe and doe accordingly, and that when received your said the King of Aguoffoe his men staying here for the same [i.e. customs], and that John Cabbess being very earnest for payment of the same, which said if [I] did not pay he [i.e. the King] would be a mighty hinderance of trade to this Castle and very troublesome, much against the intrest of the Royall Company at this place, and that [I] shall not give any custome if can otherways help it, and if [you] think it be not to the intrest of the Royall Company. Herewith according to your orders have sent one more souldier, a Dutch man named Lowderick Rynherd, having paid him to the 15 instant ensuing, it being halfe his next two months pay.

444. Gerrard Gore Commenda, 13 July 1698

Yours of yesterdays date have received, and that have neer five feet water in our tank, which is suffitient for a much longer time then your Worshipps are pleased to mention, and am provided suffitient in all things for the time of soe small a seige as two or three weeks, as are pleased to write in yours,[176] but for a longer time am at present very ill provided, and should want severall things as hereafter mentioned. Corne haveing not suffitient for above a month, and that what have laid in [is] most for my owne occations, and that at present cannot gett more, the new corne being not yett ripe enough, nor will not be this seaven or eight dayes, which if your Worshipps think I shall have soe much time allowed me, can provide myselfe as above mentioned, with a provisall your Worshipps are pleased to send me the particulars hereafter mentioned at foot, with three or four

[174] i.e. pillow-cases.
[175] = no.132.
[176] Presumably the threat anticipated was again from Little Taggee; or perhaps more specifically from Denkyira, which in the previous month was reported to have formed an alliance with him (no.915).

more good s[o]uldiers if any [I] have should be killed, most of what have being very weak, and a good Serjeant if have any man your Worshipps approve of that is fitting for that imploy, my Serjeant here being this morning deceased. Gunners stores wanting vizt.

Granadoes fixed, as many as can spare; good fire armes and flints; cartridge paper or chests of cartridges, from faulcon to 6 lb, as many of a sort as can spare, but most high minnion; lead shott; spung nailes; trucks of 16 or 18 inches deamiter; country match and a little more English, what can spare; brass ladles from faulcon to minion; two tun bough [= bouge] barrells;[177] one lind stock [= linstock]; powder and iron shott from faulcon to 6 lb, as many of a sort as are pleased to spare; old canvis for cartridge [ms. 'partridge'] baggs, with some twine; some sheeps skinns.

If your Worshipps thinks wee shall be beseiged, desire would be pleased to send as many of the severall particulars as are mentioned as can spare, or what your Worshipps thinks suffitient, and if your Worshipps thinks it will be in three or four days desire would be pleased to send me 16 or 17 chests of corne, and I will gett what I can here, which doe not question but will be suffitient, and in every thing else with what your Worshipps are pleased to send me. Also if have any beife that could send me one or two casks, nott haveing butt a very little above a barrell left, but with whatt other fresh provitions I have could make a very good shift for provitions for above two months seige, if come to the worst, and will provide my selfe in all things as can gett accordingly. Our new building if should be beseiged might bee very prejuditiall to us, there being noe defence nor gunns thereon, soe that three or four hundred men might lye under the walls, and wee could not doe them damage exept it be by granadoes, therefore desire will be pleased to send as many as can spare, and then shall be very well provided, and fear not the strongest force of Blacks as may come against us.

445. Gerrard Gore Commenda, [18][178] July 1698

Yours of the 14th instant have received, with the particulars therein mentioned, and that would have answered sooner but that ere [= ever] since my last have been very ill with a violent ague and feavour, that I have not been able to sett penn to paper. As for our granadoes [they] are all good, and according to yours shall get in corne. My Serjeant deceased left noe will, but here inclosed have sent an accompt of his things. And as to our building can give you noe better accompt then what already have, but the whole side fronting the Dutch is finished only to battlement, for which shall much need a carpenter to make

[177] i.e. barrels used to contain cowry shells.
[178] '28' in ms., but from its position within the corpus this seems incorrect.

centers [and] to turne the arches for the ports, unless your Worshipps are pleased to have open ports, and that shall want a surveyor to give directions for the same, and to order the other building which is begunn, according to your orders, nott exceeding four feet thick. Our people are forced to lye still for want of tooles to work with, which I have often wrote for, which desire would send by first.

PS. Please to send more iron barrs, haveing money in my hand for all here that's good. Please to send up a Serjeant by first.

446. Gerrard Gore Commenda, 27 July 1698

Hopeing upon the arivall of this ship[179] that your Worshipps have a fresh supply of all those goods and other necessaryes that formerly was wanting, therefore humbly desire your Worshipps would be pleased to remember this place, and that would be pleased to send as many sheets as your Worshipps are pleased to spare, which will be a great means of bringing trade to this Castle, and for the disposall of a great many other goods. Also desire would be pleased to send some Guinea stuffs, if have any come by this shipp, with some iron barrs more, not haveing any left butt all disposed. As for other necessarys, as gunners stores for forts use, as per particulars refer to mine of the 13th instant, with some iron work to break stones, and for our workmens use the particulars wanting as per note inclosed, which hope your Worshipps have some more smiths come over to assist in the makeing thereoff, which wee much need, our workmen almost standing still for want thereof. The building shall be carryed on according to your Worshipps orders, but wee must want a surveyor to advise us a little to proceed [and] to give your Worshipps an accompt how forward wee are, which desire would be pleased to send by first, and will returne him as soone as your Worshipps please by returne of the same canoe.

PS. Lawrance Brindly bricklayer desires what his pay is more then he now received, which is souldiers pay. Also hope your Worshipps have now a good Serjeant that would be pleased to send me one, with some writeing paper that may send my accompts, and your Worshipps orders to send the ballance, but have noe gold chest, therefore desire would be pleased to order one to be made for this place, with a buoy and buoy rope.

447. Gerrard Gore Commenda, 3 Aug. 1698

This comes acquainting your Worshipps that yesterday came downe here severall great Cabbosheers from the Addoome country, for to open the way that traders may come thence to this place, also to settle some of their people to live

[179] The *Prince of Orange*, now at Cape Coast (no.1428).

here, for the same purpose,[180] and that am informed they have a great quantity of money with them, espetially one Cabbosheer named Affen, which John Cabbess sayes your Worshipps knowes very well, and that am affraid shall loose the takeing up of most of their money, by reason have noe sheets and iron, which the Dutch here have great quantityes of, therefore humbly desire your Worshipps would be pleased to send some this night, with some other sort of tallow, if your Worshipps have any that is good come by this shipp, traders finding fault this here is too little for 4as. Also some more rumme for the factory expences, being at present in great expence of rumme, by reason of the nomber of people that is now here belonging to the above mentioned Cabbosheers. Also a serjeant, which much need, being much troubled to look affter our souldiers, they being very negligent of their duty espetially at nights [ms 'hights'], haveing nobody but my selfe to look affter them, which humbly desire your Worshipps be pleased to consider, and that if loose the takeing of this money it will occation their future tradeing with the Dutch here.

PS. Also acquainting that John Cabbess is very much Dutchified, and more for the intrest and advancement of the trade to the Dutch here then to his English Castle, [I] being now bound in duty to acquaint your Worshipps of this, which in some measure have formerly advised your Worshipps of itt, which will more at large by my next. [Send] some paper and by returne of the canoes will send my accompts [for] June and July past with the ballance, if your Worshipps are pleased to order me soe.

448. Gerrard Gore Commenda, 15 Aug. 1698

Yours of the 29th of the last past have received by the Cabo Corso Gally with the sundry particulars therein mentioned, and shall observe and bee extraordinary wa[t]chfull and mindfull over the Royall Companys fort, and to doe according to your Worshipps advice and orders in all things, which hath always been my care, but for the future will have a more then extraordinary care upon me. Mine of the 3d instant to your Worshipps am affraid by some means is miscarryed, and has not reached your Worshipps hands wherein sent to advise your Worshipps of sundry Cabbosheers come out of the country &ca, one in particular which John Cabbess said was a very great Cabbosheer and was a very great trader, and the means of a great deale of trade, who had abundance of people with him, and that your Worshipps well knew him, who came here to open the ways for traders comeing downe to this place, and to settle people to live here, whome I entertained very kindly, and spent and gave in dashes to the vallue of a bendy gold, besides a whole cask of rumme expended upon the great attendance they

[180] The Adoms were presumably seeking an alternative outlet, in the face of the disruption of trade at Sekondi by the destruction of the English fort there in May 1698 (see chap.II), & the subsequent temporary abandonment of the Dutch fort (no.436).

brought with them. Also was informed they had great quantitys of gold, and that was afraid for want of such and such goods as therein acquainted your Worshipps might occation the not takeing the most part of their moneys, and by the management of John Cabbess, who then might have good pretences for his secret dealings with the Dutch here, which hath been my dayly care to tell and advise him of his secret tradeings and dealings with them, also telling him of his great pay he has from the Royall Company, and that if it came to your Worshipps knowledge that your Worshipps would not like it well of him in soe doeing. Also presume your Worshipps may have forgotten to send a serjeant for this place, which humbly desire would be pleased to send by first, and that hope will prove a carefull and understanding man, fiting for that employ, which in particular for this place which wee much need, which then if your Worshipps approve of, the country hereabouts being all very well settled, will wait upon your Worshipps my selfe, desireing your Worshipps advice in sundryes relateing to the intrest of the Royall Company as concerning trade and our building, and will bring a draught of our building of the forwardness wee are in as well as I can. According to your Worshipps orders have sent by this Anthony Farreroe, whome have paid to the 12th instant. Likewise by this an accompt of what the souldiers your Worshipps have been pleased to withdraw from hence are indebted to me of the sundry particulars, with what I have paid other people that they were indebted to at their goeing from hence, and as to their chests or any thing else that belongs to any of them, and most humbly begg your Worshipps pardon for that I never stopped nor knew of any thing that belonged to any of them that was here but what I will send downe by first opportunity. Also further begg your Worshipps pardon, that your Worshipps accuse me of useing of blank weights,[181] the which I profess never used any in my life, nor never since have been in this country have gotten the worth of one penny. By this according to your orders, have sent my accompts to the last past, the ballance amounting to [blank], which have not sent by this, not haveing a gold chest nor buoy and buoy rope &ca, nor your Worshipps orders for sending of itt otherways, butt will bring it with me, if your Worshipps are pleased to admit me that liberty, and what dashes have therein charged hope your Worshipps will not think it given undeservedly, but that itt will tend to the great intrest of the Royall Company at this place, and that humbly desire your Worshipps would be pleased to pardon the badness of two of my accompts now sent, by reason of the badness of our ink and paper, till this now received. Have delivered to the master of the Gally for Dickes Cove the plains according to your Worshipps orders.

[181] Probably this should be 'bank weights', as in Phillips 1732, 198. These were heavier than standard Troy weights, so could be used to cheat Africans in buying gold; cf. reference to 'heavy or bank weight' in Jones 1985, no.59 (Instructions issued by Johan Brouw, Director-General at Gross-Friedrichsburg, to his successor, Johan Nieman, 2 March 1686); also Justesen 2005, i, xxv.

PS. Humbly desire your Worshipps would be pleased to remember a flagg for this Castle.

449. Howsley Freeman Commenda, 20 Aug. 1698

Yesterday Mr Gore, Mr Curtiss and my selfe inventored the Royall Companys fort and factory at Commenda, and according to order have sent two signed by all three of us.[182] By this returne of the canoes have sent downe four men slaves, two women and one boy ditto, one cask containing sundry fragments nicconeese, and one other caske containing about 17 ½ firkins tallow not fit for any use, 17 old musquets, 19 old rusty swords, one halbert, and six broken iron crowes. Here are only tenn musquets left in the Fort, and those very bad, wherefore desire you will please to send by next returne of the great canoe the particulars as underwritten, for here is great want of them at this time. Here is a great quantity of stone already brought up to the fort, and the slaves continue dayly to break more, soe that I doe not doubt but in a short time to make it a place of good defence. I understand there hath been some difference betwixt Mr Gore and John Cabbess, and beleive not without some reasons, but shall refer you to Mr Curtiss, who hath been an eyewitness to some passages which hath happened since he came hither. Be pleased to send up like nomber of slaves as are now returned, or more if you can spare them, here being work enough to employ a great many more then are here at present. I shall forbear to trouble you any longer at this time.

PS.
2 large plate locks
2 small ditto, 24 deale boards
nailes of severall sizes
200 flints
50 muskets
10 cartooch boxes

Gunners stores
lead shott
spung nailes
trucks severall sizes
brass ladles from faulcon to minion
2 tun bouge barrells
2 lanthornes
iron shot from faulcon to 6 pounders
canvas for cartridge [ms. 'partridge'] baggs
sheeps skinns
some twine

[182] Freeman now took over from Gore at Komenda; Benjamin Curtis was chief at Dixcove.

450. Howsly Freeman Commenda, 27 Aug. 1698

Yours of the 25th instant with the particulars therein mentioned have received, but six of the musquets not being serviceable have returned them, and desire the like nomber of the newest armes. Here are neither rammer nor spung heads, soe that what you can conveniently spare, be pleased to send by first conveyance. Yesterday came here severall Dancra traders, and this morning came and bought perpetuanoes and sheets amounting to near two marks. The Chiefe of them goes away tomorrow, and in eight days promiseth to be here againe. In the mean time one of the chapmen[183] abides in John Cabbesses house. They want both English carpetts, knives, Guinea clouts and blanketts, but here being none in the factory (save eighteen damaged blanketts), desire some of all sorts may be sent up the next week against their returne. The Cabbosheers are very pressing for their custome, but their demands being soe large would not give them an answer till I had first advised your Worshipps of what each claims as his due (the particulars I shall underwrite), and that I may have your speedy answer have gott one of the towns men to send his canoe in company with the 15 hand [canoe]. Here is a great need of a serjeant and I cannott chuse one out of these men fitt for the place, therefore wish you to supply me from Cabo Corso.

For custome

To the King one sey, 3 flasks brandy
John Cabbess two seys, one flask ditto
Fettera halfe a seye
Cabbosheers halfe a seye, 3 flasks rumm
merchants halfe a seye

[PS] Be pleased to send me some sealing wax.

[gap in correspondence, Sept. to Dec. 1698][184]

451. Howsley Freeman Commenda, 13 Jan. 1698/9

Yours received and am heartily sorry for Mr Coopers death.[185] I shall take care to have all things in a readiness against another comes to supply my place.[186] In the meane time hope to have the good news of a totall rout of our enemies,

[183] i.e. traders.

[184] During this hiatus, Great Taggee was murdered on a visit to Cape Coast Castle, as related by Bosman (1705, 37); the event is alluded to in a later letter from Winneba (no.1179). Bosman dates this to Nov. 1698 (1705, 161), but it was probably late Oct. OS, since an alliance between the English and the king's brother Little Taggee is already reported in NA, T70/374, Journal, Cape Coast Castle, 26 Oct. 1698.

[185] William Cooper, one of the Chief Merchants at Cape Coast, died 3 Jan. 1699.

[186] Freeman was to take Cooper's place on the Council of Chief Merchants.

understanding thatt Little Tagge &ca are marched towards them.[187] I have fired two or three severall times upon those which resort to the Dutch fort, and doe beleive they will venture noe more soe near us. Most of them thatt went from the towne to the Dutch side of the water are fled to the Mina because noe corne nor wine can now be brought them. The woman slave which I sent downe by Mr Willson, being consared[188] to one thatt now lives under protection of the Dutch fort, [I] thought itt nott propper to keep her here any longer, she useing as I have been lately told to goe to him every night, soe thatt in a short time probably she might have been panyard. Mr Willson left here 30 chests of corne, four small girders & 4 or 5 joysts. The rest he said could nott be come att, being laid under all the bricks thatt went for Cabo Corso.

452. Howsley Freeman Commenda, 20 Feb. 1698/9

My serjeant haveing been very sick this five or six days, and growing every day weaker, was desireous to goe for the recovery of his health to Cabo Corso. I have complyed with his request and have herewith sent him downe. I desire some other may speedily be sent up to supply his place.

[187] The English were now supporting Little Taggee in his bid for the succession to the Eguafo throne, but on this occasion it was Little Taggee's forces that were 'totally routed' (Bosman 1705, 37–8). It was not until 1700, at a 2nd attempt, that he was able to seize control of Eguafo (ibid., 40; Van Dantzig 1980, 112).

[188] See Glossary.

IV

FORT ROYAL

Fort Royal was situated only 1 km east of Cape Coast Castle, within clear sight of the latter, as noted in one letter in this correspondence (no.504). It had originally been the headquarters of the Danish West India and Guinea Company, called Frederixborg, but was acquired by the RAC in 1685. In the correspondence of 1686–8 it was still called 'Fredericksburgh',[1] the name 'Fort Royal' being adopted only from 1689 or 1690. It was also known as 'the Danes' Hill';[2] or simply 'the Hill', as in some of the Rawlinson documents. Although Fort Royal was occupied continuously from the 1680s into the 1690s, correspondence from it in this period is recorded only from June 1691.[3] In early 1694, it had ten cannon, and was judged 'impregnable by its position', if adequately manned.[4] But later in the same year heavy rains caused its partial collapse (nos 503–4), and its cannon were removed (no.506). The correspondence from it peters out in 1695, without explanation. Although not totally abandoned,[5] it was evidently downgraded, and no longer had a resident Factor. The structure itself fell into neglect; as Bosman later observed, 'it lay four years [i.e. 1695–9] more like a desolate country cottage, than a fortress; its shattered walls being mended with clay, and its house within covered with reeds, as those of the Negroes'. Bosman also noted that reconstruction of the fort was undertaken from 1699, but this was evidently after the end of the Rawlinson correspondence in February of that year.[6]

Although Fort Royal did some trade, as recorded in these documents—mainly for gold, but also for corn (no.492) and on one occasion for a slave (no.476)—its principal importance was strategic rather than commercial, since

[1] See vol.ii, chap.IV.
[2] Phillips 1732, 205, 209.
[3] The chief of Fort Royal to 19 June 1691 was John Gregory, who was then transferred to Charles Fort, Anomabu (no.613).
[4] Phillips 1732, 209.
[5] Personnel were listed there in Aug. 1696 & April 1697 (Davies 1957, 248).
[6] Bosman 1705, 52–3; cf. also Lawrence 1963, 76.

it overlooked and thus potentially commanded Cape Coast Castle.[7] The correspondence from Fort Royal is less informative than that from other factories, being largely restricted to orders for goods and acknowledgement of their receipt. This doubtless reflects its proximity to Cape Coast Castle, which meant that more serious and urgent matters were dealt with in face-to-face meetings.

453. Edward Searle Fort Royall, 23 June 1691

If you will be pleased to lett me have on accompt of the Royall African Company of England some perpetuanoes, sheets, one case of fine sletias & one ditto course, I can sell some here. Also powder for forts use. When I know your pleasure shall send the slaves.[8]

454. Edward Searle Fort Royall, 29 July 1691

I have sent downe the slaves, and I desire you would be pleased to send on accompt of the Royall African Company of England some perpetuanoes, sheets, sletias fine and course, Guynia stufes, paper brawles, one pound basons, and powder for forts use, also some firelock musketts, here being not one peice but what is daly in use.

455. Edward Searle Fort Royall, 29 July 1691

Yours of this date have received with twenty five perpetuanoes blew and twenty five perpetuanoes green, twenty sletias fine, and twenty sletias course, one hundred and fifty Guynia stufs, one hundred sixty seaven paper brawles, three hundred and ninety sheets, also two barrels of powder and six firelock musketts for factorys use. I shall be carefull what blacks comes in and what money I take.

456. Edward Searle Fort Royall, 17 Aug. 1691

I desire you will be pleased to send on accompt of the Royall African Company of England some perpetuanoes, a case of sayes, iron barrs, blue long cloaths, two pound pewter basons and narrow nicanees.

457. Edward Searle Fort Royall, 17 Aug. 1691

Yours of this date I have received with twenty five perpetanoes blue, & twenty five ditto green, one hundred iron barrs, one hundred two pound basons, twenty sayes, & fifty halfe peces of blue long cloaths, on accompt of the Royall African Company of England.

[7] As explicitly noted by several contemporary observers (e.g. Tilleman 1994, 23; Bosman 1705, 52).
[8] Probably referring to slaves employed locally, rather than purchased for export.

458. Edward Searle Fort Royall, 2 Sept. 1691

Yours of this date I have received with one hundred English woollen carpetts, on accompt of the Royall African Company of England.

459. Edward Searle Fort Royall, 7 Sept. 1691

I desire you will be pleased to send me some allejars that are not damnified on accompt of the Royall African Company of England.

[PS] I have very good money here for twelve.

460. Edward Searle Fort Royall, 7 Sept. 1691

Yours of this date I have received with fifty allejars on accompt of the Royall African Company of England.

461. Edward Searle Fort Royall, 16 Sept. 1691

I desire you will be pleased to send me two hundred two pound pewter basons, & if any allejars I desire you will send me [a] case, on accompt of the Royall African Company of England.

462. Edward Searle Fort Royall, 16 Sept. 1691

Yours of this date I have received with two hundred two pound pewter basons, on accompt of the Royall African Company of England.

463. Edward Searle Fort Royall, 23 Sept. 1691

I desire you will be pleased to send me two hundred English woollen carpetts, on accompt of the Royall African Company of England.

464. Edward Searle Fort Royall, 23 Sept. 1691

Yours of this date with one hundred English woollen carpetts I have received on accompt of the Royall African Company of England.

465. Edward Searle Fort Royall, 24 Sept. 1691

I desire you will be pleased to send me on accompt of the Royal African Company of England, two cases of broad checkered Guinea stuffs.

466. Edward Searle Fort Royall, 25 Sept. 1691

Yours of yesterdays date I have received with one hundred ninety and half Guinea stuffs on accompt of the Royall African Company of England. In the

chest that came last is fourty two damnified, many of them fitt for nothing but to be thro[w]n away, I desire you will be pleased to order some persons to view them and rate the damnified or order me what I shall doe with them.

467. Edward Searle Fort Royall, 25 Sept. 1691

I desire you will be pleased to send me one baile of boysadoes, and one hundred English woollen carpetts, on accompt of the Royall African Company of England.

PS. Pray if you have any carpetts spaire them, I have very good mony here for most of them.

468. Edward Searle Fort Royall, 8 Oct. 1691

I desire you will be pleased to send me some Guinea stuffs, two or three hundred, on accompt of the Royall African Company of England.

469. Edward Searle Fort Royall, 9 Oct. 1691

Yours of yesterdayes date I have received with two hundred Guinea stuffs on accompt of the Royall African Company of England.

470. Edward Searle Fort Royall, 27 Oct. 1691

Here is Walter Williams, a fellow that has been very refractory & troublesome ever since I have been here. I have lett him severall times when he has come from Cabo Corsoe at verry unseasonable hours, & yesterday he went downe contrary to my knowledge & stayed till the usuall time of his comeing in, and being in drinck went into the midle of the yard, and there kept an [ms. '&'] unsufferable swearing & run[n]ing in a very gross manner. The Serjeant commanding him to his roome he took a stick & resested [= resisted] and gave him severall markes, & when I went downe he was all the same. This has been his practice verry often, so I desire you will be pleased to order him downe, that he may be punished according to his deserts, otherwise here are fellows that will committ any thing to come from the Divills Hill as they dayly terme it.[9] This I thought needfull to acqua[i]nt you with.

471. Edward Searle Fort Royall, 27 Oct. 1691

I desire you will be pleased to send me on accompt of the Royal Affrican Company of England some broad blue baffts.

[9] 'Devil's Hill' was the name of a landmark on the eastern Gold Coast (cf. no.1114), but here applied ironically to Fort Royal.

472. Edward Searle Fort Royall, 29 Oct. 1691

I have received a baill containing twenty five perpetuanoes blue. On opening them I find they are very much damnified, and when rated shall endeavour to dispose of them accordingly.

473. Edward Searle Fort Royall, 4 Dec. 1691

I desire you will be pleased to order some persons to view the carriages of our guns, they being verry much out of order, and tha[t] there may be the former allowance for this country match to be burnt all night. Here are parcell of granodoe sheells which have been a long time filled, the fewsees [= fuses] are spoild and powder damnified within, so that none of them are fitt for use. I have according to your orders sent down John Warrington with his armes.

474. Edward Searle Fort Royall, 9 Dec. 1691

I desire you will be pleased to send me one baile of blue perpetuanoes on accompt of the Royall African Company of England.

475. Edward Searle Fort Royall, 12 Dec. 1691

Yesterday I received one case containing twenty sletias course, one baile containing twenty blue Welch plaines, one case containing one hundred two pound pewter basons, on accompt of the Royall African Company. On opening the baile of plaines I find them verry much damnified, which I suppose are wett by salt water, I desire you will order what I shall doe with them.

476. Edward Searle Fort Royall, 30 Dec. 1691

With the bearer hereof I send you one woman slave on accompt of the Royall African Company of England.[10]

477. Edward Searle Fort Royall, 27 May 1692

I desire you would be pleased to send me on accompt of the Royall African Company of England ten cases spiretts and some long cloths white.

478. Edward Searle Fort Royall, 30 June 1692

I have sent down the slaves, and desire you will be pleased to send me on accompt of the Royall African Company of England 50 perpetuanoes green, 50 half firkins tallow, on[e] case of sletias fine, 100 lead barrs, two or 300 Beenen cloths.

[10] Here the wording implies that this was a slave purchased for export.

479. Edward Searle [Fort Royall], n.d. [end of July 1692]

Being advised of the death of Mr Cross,[11] I humbly desire you will be pleased to favour me with the Factory, who shall be very thankfull.[12]

480. Francis Smith Fort Royall, 1 Aug.1692

According to your orders have inventored all the goods, ammunition, guns, stores &ca belonging to the Royall African Company of England, which comes inclosed signed by us all three. I return you thanks for placeing me here, whoe shall obey your orders when you please to command.

481. Francis Smith Fort Royall, 29 Aug. 1692

James Henderson being very sick and being desireous to go to Cabo Corsoe, haveing granted him leave for the same, for which I crave your pardone.

482. Francis Smith Fort Royall, 2 Sept. 1692

Inclosed is my accompts from primo August to ultimo ditto, and for ballance mks1 4o 15a 6ta, of which in cra cra money 6oz 6 ta, which comes per bearer.

483. Francis Smith Fort Royall, 3 Oct. 1692

I had yours of the 3^{d} past which advises of the receipt of my August accompts with its ballance. Inclosed comes my September accompts and for ballance mk2 1o—6ta of gold which comes per bearer. Please to send me on accompt of the Royall African Company of England 4 or 5 chests sheets, with some powder for Forts use, haveing non left.

484. Francis Smith Fort Royall, 10 Oct. 1692

I had yours of the 7th ditto with 2 whole barrells powder, also adviseing the receipt of my September accompts & ballance. Please to send me on accompt of the Royall African Company of England two or 300 Beneen cloths, if damnified crave the favour youll order me to be stated.[13]

485. Francis Smith Fort Royall, 2 Nov. 1692

Inclosed are my October accompts and for ballance 8s [sic: = oz] 4a, which comes per bearer.

[11] William Cross, chief of Charles Fort, Anomabu, died 29 July 1692 (no.663).
[12] Searle was indeed now appointed to take over at Anomabu (no.665), & was succeeded at Fort Royal by Francis Smith.
[13] i.e. order the discount in price due to the damage to be stated.

486. Francis Smith Fort Royall, 22 Nov. 1692

Here is one Richard Millington who has lyen out of the Castle two nights and last at 12 a clock scaled the walls, which is unsufferable, also in the town abuseing the Company slaves and breaking their potts, for which please to order him down, or elce that he may be punished here, for he is a verry abuseive fellow.

487. Francis Smith Fort Royall, 24 Nov. 1692

Please to send me on accompt of the Royall African Company of England one chest of says. I have some by me but the people don't like the colures.

488. Francis Smith[14] Fort Royall, 31 Dec. 1692

This accompanies my accompts with the remains as per inventory herewith. The ballance due to defray charge of the Factory for two last months is as appe[a]rs per accompt 4oz 15a 4ta, please to order it to be paid.

[PS] Part of the following goods being damnified, which please to order to be viewed, that the damage may be stated as you shall find the same to be.

Remains sent herewith as followeth:

25 Turkie carpetts	18 4lb peuter basons	1 green perpetuano
32 sayes	4 dozen rusty knives	9 broad [sic]
89 lead barrs	19 herba longees	421 paper brawles
3 blue Welch plains	2 course slettias	36 half blwe long cloths
17½ silk longees	1 whole firken tallow	5 flowerd longee[s]
53 half firkens tallow	5 she[e]tts	9 white cloaths
20 ginghams	7 boysadoes	5 blue pautkies
78 birdey[e]d carpetts	126½ chests corne	2 Guinea clouts

489. Francis Smith Fort Royall, 4 Jan. 1692 [= 1693]

Yours of this dayes date with 4oz 15a 4ta have received, being to defray the charges for the last two months, also adviseing of the receipt of the remains as per inventory.

[gap in correspondence, mid-Feb. to July 1693]

[14] The attribution of this & the following letter to Francis Smith is perhaps an error, since he had taken over charge of the Dixcove fort by 30 Nov. 1692 (no.14). However, it is possible that he temporarily returned to Fort Royal to wind up his accounts there, since no letters from him at Dixcove are registered between 29 Dec.1692–7 Jan. 1693; the Chief Merchants at Cape Coast reported that they were initially unable to appoint a replacement to Smith as Factor at Fort Royal (NA, T70/11, 21 Jan. 1693).

490. Nicholas Buckeridge Fort Royall,[15] 4 Aug. 1693

I wish I were able to wait on you [var. 'write to you'] in person with my accompts and balance, but find my indisposition hath rendered me unable. I hope you will receive them from the bearer. The ballance being 12oz 1an 1ta have sent in Arcany [var. 'Arcana'] money.[16]

PS I shall send two coppyes more in the afternoon.

491. Benjamin Loyton [= Layton][17] Fort Royall, 25 Aug. 1693

These few lines are to intreat your sending me 4 chests of sheetes, twelve lead barrs and one quarter cask of rum upon the accompt of the factory here.

492. Benjamin Loyton Fort Royall, 2 Sept. 1693

I have had the opportunity lately of selling some perpetuanoes at 10a each but I rejected it, and shall for the future unless you are pleased to give me leave to sell them so. I suppose the time draws nere for the buying of corne which I believe I am promised a considerable quantity, and for so doing I desire your orders, which shall be carefully observed.

493. Benjamin Loyton Fort Royall, 13 Sept. 1693

My request is that youle be pleased to send imediately twenty one pound basons and as many two pound basins.

494. Benjamin Layton Fort Royall, 9 Oct. 1693

That I may not be without goods when a trades comes I intreat your sending me fifty perpetuanoes, and if you can spare but one chest of sheets pray do, for perhapps I may put of some other goods with them, all which I desire upon the accompt of the Royall African Company of England. I likewise desire your filling with brandy my case [= cask] which I have sent by the bearer.

495. Benjamin Layton Fort Royall, 11 Oct. 1693

The knives I have by grows rusty for want of use, and the reason why they sell not is because they are charged att 9 per angle. [This] is therefore to desire your leave to dispose of them att 10 per angle, and bee pleased to send your advice by this bearer.

[15] 'Anishan Factory' in one copy, but clearly in error.
[16] 'Akani gold', i.e. gold of high purity, so called from being supplied by the Akani traders from the hinterland of the Gold Coast (Bosman 1705, 77).
[17] Replacing Buckeridge, who was sent to open a factory at Winneba (no.1066).

496. Benjamin Layton Fort Royall, 11 Oct. 1693

Desire your pardon for the trouble I give you, but since pure necessity forces mee to itt I hope you will grant it. I have now with me 2 or 3 men that want more knives then I have by me, which obliges me to entreat your sending mee one hundred dozen, and to prevent all the trouble I can, bee pleased to send at the same tyme two hundred one pound pewter basons upon the accompt of the Royall African Company of England.

497. Benjamin Layton Fort Royall, 16 Oct. 1693

This to request your sending mee upon the accompt of the Royall African Company of England this afternoon 1 [or] two bales of perpetuanoes and one cask of knives. Pray fail not.

498. Benjamin Layton Fort Royall, 17 Oct. 1693

I intreate you send me as soon as possible two bales of perpetuanoes, by reason the traders are now here and stay for them, but pray Gentlemen bee pleased to send tite [= tight] bales, for really there has been too many damaged in what I have had, and charge mee with them upon the accompt of the Royall African Company.

499. Benjamin Layton Fort Royall, 9 Nov. 1693

By your orders I sent you some damaged perpetuanoes to the number of 48, and I have eight more by mee all which must bee changed or sold for damaged ones, or elce they must lye & rott, but to my amasement they are all come back, and as one of the slaves say because they are noone of the Companyes. Whether you said soe or noe I cannot tell but this I doe assure you, I have not had a piece here but what I found and that you sent mee, and what I brought of my owne, and them I protest before God Almighty there was not one damaged, all which is true.[18]

500. John Rootsey Fort Royall, 1 May 1694

Please to send this Factory two chests sheets to be disposed of for use of the Royal African Company of England.

501. John Rootsey Fort Royall, 2 May 1694

I request the favour of you to send to this Factory six whole cases & six halfe cases spiritts and one baile blankets.

[18] Although no correspondence is recorded from him after Nov 1693, Layton remained at Fort Royal until he died, some time during Phillips' stay at Cape Coast, 27 Feb.–24 April 1694, when he was replaced by John Rootsey (Phillips 1732, 205, giving the name as 'Klayton').

502. John Rootsey Fort Royall, 10 May 1694

Be pleased to send to this factory two chests sheets.

503. John Rootsey Fort Royall, 16 May 1694

The excessive raines yesterday & the night before hath thrown down the staires, and I fear if the raines continue soe severe the house will be downe also, so thought it my duty to acquaint you of itt. Be pleased to send to this factory one quarter cask rumm.

504. John Rootsey Fort Royall, 22 May 1694

The abundance of rain that fell today hath thrown down the flancker builded with brick and two of the gunns, which you may perceive from Cape Coast.

505. John Rootsey Fort Royall, 7 June 1694

I request you'l be soe kinde to send by the bearer six whole cases & twelve halfe cases spiritts. I have now sold some of them, soe desire you'l send them with all expedition.

506. John Rootsey Forte Royall, 13 Oct. 1694

The gunns you have sent for have good carriges, they want axeltrees and plates for the carriges sides, if the smith and Baston [= Bastian] comes immedately they may finnish them before night. One of the gunns is safe and well in the cannoe, and unless the Gunner or some other goes to gitt them owt that understand it, I question not but they will stove the canno. We must unmount one of the gunns for a carridge for one of them.[19]

507. Richard Jennings Fort Royall, 12 Feb. 1694/5

These are to desire you will be pleased to send me two hundred dozen of knives.

508. Richard Jennings Fort Royall, 22 April 1695

I shall macke myselfe in a readiness and waite on your Worships.[20]

[19] Tilleman says that the cannon were removed from Fort Royal for a projected fort at Beraku, on the eastern Gold Coast (1994, 24); but the Beraku establishment was evidently not proceeded with, & is not mentioned in the Rawlinson correspondence (or any other RAC document traced). Although no further correspondence from him is recorded, Rootsey probably stayed at Fort Royal until the end of Jan. 1695, when he was sent to take charge of Charles Fort, Anomabu (no.782).

[20] Jennings was now transferred to Dixcove (no.74), but stayed there only briefly, owing to illness; he was subsequently reappointed to Fort Royal, but died there soon after (NA, T70/11, Chief Merchants, Cape Coast Castle, 8 Oct. 1695). Evidently, no successor as Factor was appointed, & correspondence from Fort Royal consequently lapsed.

V

ANASHAN

Anashan ('Annishan'), nowadays called Biriwa, is 9 km east of Cape Coast. The RAC had re-established its factory here, following a period of abandonment, in 1687,[1] but it was evacuated in early 1691, shortly before the Rawlinson correspondence resumes.[2] The factory was reoccupied in June 1692, as related in this correspondence, but again abandoned in May 1695. It had again been re-established, however, by the beginning of 1699. The Anashan factory was not fortified, being described in 1694 only as 'a thatch'd house'.[3]

In this period, Anashan was mainly important as a supplier of corn, to provision slave ships; only small amounts of gold seem to have been obtained, and small numbers of slaves. The hinterland traders supplying gold to Anashan in the 1680s had been the Akani ('Arcany'), and they are still mentioned in this role in 1695 (no. 582). Anashan lay within the country of Fante ('Fanteen'); hence the factory paid 'custom' to the 'Braffo', the head of the Fante state, as well as to local 'Cabosheers' (nos 526 etc.).[4] The correspondence from Anashan makes some reference to Fante foreign relations, notably a war against 'Cabess Terra' (Etsi), to the north, in 1693–4 (nos 549 etc.), and the sending of forces to intervene in the Komenda war of 1695 (no. 585). Mention is also made of a projected war between the neighbouring states of Asebu ('Saboe') and Fetu ('Futu'), to the west, in 1692 (no. 530).

509. William Melross — Annishan Factory, 8 June 1692

Aboute 2 hours after my departure from Cabo Corsoe I arrived here, where I was wellcomed by the Cabbosheers of this place with the usuall ceremonies, all seeming well pleased with the resettlement of this place, giveing large promises

[1] See vol.ii, chap.V.
[2] See no. 613, referring to accounts for Anashan for March 1691.
[3] Phillips 1732, 209.
[4] For Fante, see Sanders 1979 (though this deals in detail only with the period after 1700). The Fante capital in this period is assumed to have been Mankessim, 20 km NE of Anashan.

of their fidelity to the English. The house I found in pretty good condition, but wanting locks for all the doors of the house, also hesps [= hasps] and staples for the lower windows, being three, which please to send by the first conveyance, with a stocklock and 3 or 4 padlocks if to spare, that [which] I brought with me [I] fixed to the upper door, the entry being without the house. Likewise crave the assisstance of a carpenter for 2 or 3 dayes, with some deall boards, haveing found nothing here but the bear [= bare] walls. The goods enquired are at the foot hereof, what quantity cannot direct, not knowing as yett what will be most vendable in this place, Mr Gregory can best informe you of each sort,[5] or such as you can spare, send what you shall think convenient on accompt of the Royall African Company of England, and 2 or 3 lusty men and a woman slave. The flag staff here is much to short for the flagg, if you please send that which was made for it. This far in complyance with your orders, the rest and what others do from time to time hereafter receive shall punctualy to the utmost of my power be obayed.

A list of goods

sayes	powder ½ barrell	lead barrs
fine sletias	iron barrs	nickonees broad and narrow
ditto course	sheets	Guinia stuffs
blue perpetuanoes	blue Welch plaines	pewter basons 1, 2, 3 & 4 lb
		rum, tallow

[PS] If you send not a canoe speedily pray send the slaves by land.

510. William Melross Annishan Factory, 14 June 1692

The people here being very impatiant for want of goods [and] myself much in want of the slaves occasions my giveing you this truble, humbly desireing you would be pleased to forward a canoe with the goods &ca formerly [ms. 'fromerly'] advised for, also a pale [= pile] of weights, scal[e]s, blow pans and sifters, with a good touchstone.

511. William Melross Annishan Factory, 1 July 1692

Yours of yesterdays date and its contents per the 13 hand canoe have received, vizt twinty says, fortie corse sletias, fiftie lead barrs, fiftie half firkins tallow, twinty blue plains Welch, fiftie 4 lb pewter basons, and two hundred and sixtie she[e]tts, and for the payment of the custome shall observe your directions. I expected a carpenter by this canoe, I hope you will send him by the next

[5] John Gregory had been the last chief of the Anashan factory, 1690–1.

oppertunity. In the mean time shall secure the Royall Companyes goods the best manner I can. Mr Cross has no corne nor can purchase any.[6]

512. William Melross Annishan Factory, 13 July 1692

Yours of the [11]th instant[7] and its contents by the 13 hand canoe have received, vizt 10 half barrells gunpowder and 2 quarter casks containing 50 gallons rum, with 2 stock locks for the door on accompt of the Royall African Company of England. The powder and rum you have omitted to rate, so that know not how to sell it, please to advise me by the bearer. Corne I have non, neither as yett have had orders for to buy any. Sirs, in opening the balle of plaines received by last canoe found severall of the pieces damaged. If you please may order Mr Cross and Mr Buckeridge[8] to come and view them and rate according as they shall find the damnage to be.

513. William Melross Annishan Factory, 18 July 1692

My last of the 13 gives accompt of the receipt [ms. 'rest'] of yours of the 11th ditto with 10 half barrells gunpowder and two quarter casks rum which you omitted to rate, as also that in opening the bale of plaines severall of them was found damaged. I desired the rates of the first that I might know how to sell, and that you will please to order Mr Cross and Mr Buckeridge to come and veiw the last according as they shall find the damage to be. To neither you gave any answer, which I crave by the bearer. Sirs, the woman slave you sent me, being very bad of a distemper she cannot gett cure for here, and haveing often requested to come to Cabo Corso Castle for it, considering she is not (nor hath been) serviceable to me, have permitted her [ms. 'here'] to come in the great canoe. I hope you will pardone me doeing it without your orders, and if shall think fitt may send another in her place. I designe this day to put on board the Discovery 50 sticks for handspicks, haveing already sent some of.

514. William Melross Annishan Factory, 26 July 1692

I had yours of yesterdays date with a woman slave, in exchainge, for which returne thanks. Your orders this morning comunicated to Mr Cross and Mr Buckeridge, who designes, if their indisposition hinders not, to be here toomorrow to fullfill the same. Sirs, this comes chiefly to advise you of the death of John Bell, who departed this life yesterday about 11 a clock in the fornoon, he being taken ill about 10 dayes agoe, complaining only of a cold, and did goe about although weakly till about 2 days before his desease. When you have

[6] William Cross, chief of Charles Fort, Anomabu, to the east.
[7] '13th' in ms., but '11th' in no. 513.
[8] Thomas Buckeridge, subordinate of Cross at Anomabu.

occasione to send a canoe in these parts send another in his roome, with your orders what I must do with his chest and a few old cloths he hath left, makeing no will.

515. William Melross Annishan Factory, 31 July 1692

I had sight of yours to Mr Buckeridge. In complyance with your orders therein did see the Royall Companies warehouse at Charles Fort, Annimaboe, locked and sealed up with the contents therein, except 60 iron barrs and 4 damaged that remains in the inner court, and Mr William Crosss remains as many as his chest and trunck &c would contain was lockt up therein and his keys delivered to Doctor Smith.[9] His money was found loose in a basone and poringer, which was thought fitt to be weighed and put up in a bulce, all that appeared or could be found, as per note therewith signed by Docter Smith, Mr Buckeridge, Mr Thomas Smith & myself. As for his household goods &ca Mr Buckeridges indisposition hindred the takeing an accompt thereof. What comes not in the canoe you will have an accompt of.

516. William Melross Annashan Factory, 2 Aug. 1692

Inclosed goes my accompts for June and July, the ballance by the bearer being four ounces two angles ten taccoes in cra cra gold, here being no other passing. I formerly advised you of the death of John Bell, desireing another in his roome, whom please to send by the first canoe that comes, with your orders what I must do with the deceaseds chest and cloths. Likewise please to advise me if I must pay Captain Coffee[10] his rent from the time I arrived here (which he demands) or from the time the goods came down, which was the last of June.

517. William Melross Annishan Factory, 5 Aug. 1692

Both yours of the 3^{d} & 4 ditto have received, with Humphrey Lane, and [send] by the 13 hand canoe 13 chests corne and seventy sticks wood, being all the canoe men would take in. The rest with John Bells chest &ca shall send up by the first oppertunity. Shall likewise ob[s]erve your orders as to the payment of Coffee.

[PS] Mr Stephenson not being willing to detaine the canoe sent her hither to the end she might be dispatched, he intending to come by land.[11]

[9] Cf. no. 664. Cross had died 29 July 1692.

[10] The leading chief of Anashan, also mentioned in the 1680s (vol.i, nos 199, 246 etc.; vol.ii, no. 356 etc.).

[11] Stephenson was at Anomabu (no. 666).

518. William Melross Annishan Factory, 22 Aug. 1692

I had yours of the 16th ditto, in complyance therewith on Thursday I went to Agga to wiew the Royall Companies Factory their,[12] which I found to be very much out of repaire, acquainting the Cabbosheers with your intentions to settle that Factory, and that you expected they would give their assistance to the repaireing thereof, who at first insisted on haveing a white man come there first, being some what doubtfull of the truth thereof, but upon the asureance I gave them of your resolutions they soon complyed to give their assistance, requiering only the help of the slaves formerly bellonging to Agga (now at Annimaboe) and some liquor for the people that assiste in the worke, which on the Companies and your behalf I promised them, not doubting but you will allow the same, and as to the quantity of the last if you please to give orders it shall be duely observed. Yesterday I went a second time and found they had made a beginning, haveing cut a quantity of wood for the roofe of the house &ca, which they say will be finished in 3 weeks, and this day Captain Asham the Chief Cabbosheer[13] hath been here to confirme the same, and tell me Mr Searle[14] will not suffer the aforesaid slaves to goe and assiste them, therefor craves your orders for the same, and if you please to send one of the Black carpenters with a few boards and naills to repairre the doors and windoes it will much incourage the people to go on [ms. 'one'] and likewise confirme their belieffe, all which leave your consideration to do therein as shall think most convenient.

[PS] Mr Searle desired me to advise you that corne is scarce. He will acquant, when he hath purchased any.[15]

519. William Melross Annishan Factory, 26 Aug. 1692

I had yours of the 23d ditto. According to order have received 5 Arda slaves, vizt 3 men & 2 women, bellonging to Agga Factory,[16] for whom have given receipts and sent them to assist in repaireing the said Factory. Shall likewise observe your directions in gieving liquors for their use and getting the assistance of the carpenter and bricklayer when they have finished their work at Annimaboe. I can procure no corne here under 2a per chest, at that price purchased 10 chests by [= before] your orders came. Sirs, by the 13 hand canoe have received Thomas Farmer, who informed me came by your orders to releive Humphrey Lowe, whom I have sent by returne of said canoe.

[12] Egya, east of Anomabu. The RAC factory here had been abandoned in 1691, but was now reoccupied (see chap. VII).
[13] i.e. of Egya (cf. nos 938–9).
[14] Edward Searle, successor to Cross as chief of Charles Fort, Anomabu.
[15] Cf. no. 668.
[16] From Anomabu (cf. no. 669).

520. William Melross Annishan Factory, 3 Sept. 1692

I had yours of the 30th last, your orders therein shall be observed. This accompanies my August accompt and ballance, being nine angles eleven taccooes, which you will receive from the bearer, with a certificat past by Cross and Mr Buckeridge on the damage of the plains omitted to be sent to you last month, with some deficulty haveing paid Captain Coffee his rent only for the time the goods came down, as will appeare by my accompts. Sirs, please to take notice that Agga Factory is almost finished so far as the Blacks can go with it, save only a corne roome wanting, which must be built from the ground, the old one being wholy down, and will require a considerable time to do it, and may be done as well and better, if you shall think fitt, when the Factory [omission]. Their is wanting for finishing of the house some lyme for plaistering the walls within, likewise boards for 2 doors and 4 windows, with hookes and hinges for the same, which please to send by the first oppertunity, ordering them for Agga, least Mr Searle make use of them. The bricklayer will have done his bussines at Annimaboe Munday or Teusday next. I will make use of all the lyme they have there.

[PS] You may please send boards for the doors and good cacces [= cases] for the windoes.

521. William Melross Annishan Factory, 7 Sept. 1692

I had yours of the 5th instant notting the receipt of my August accompts and ballance &ca. Have since according to your directions sent to the Braffo and Corrantiers[17] of Fanteen to signify to them your pleasure also [= as to] the ressetling Agga Factory, who as I understand are verie well satisfyed therewith, promiseing to perform your desire, but for your better sattisfaction have sent the bearer, who for want of another was the messinger, that you may have there full answer from his mouth.

[PS] What formerly advised of please to send, [and] naills and a look [= lock], or two if you have any.

522. William Melross Annishan Factory, 10 Sept. 1692

Both yours of the 8th and 9th ditto and their contents have received. With this goes Thomas Farmer, who being sick (and here without a Doctor), on his desire have sent him up to have some blood taken from him if the Doctor shall think fitt, hopeing in a few dayes he will be in a condition to returne again. Please to send me on accompt of the Royall African Company of England one baill of

[17] See Glossary.

blue Welch plaines, and the canoe may be returned with the corne &ca that remains here.

523. William Melross Annishan Factory, 19 Sept. 1692

Being advised that the Cabbosheers of Agga did expect (besides liquors given) payment for repaireing the Royal Company Factory there, and being willing to be satisfyed what their demands would be (as well as for preventing future trouble might be occasioned by their unreasonablenesse after the resetling thereof), I made inquiry of the said Cabbosheers, whose pallavour was that Mr Cross and others his predicessors[18] did alwayes pay for the repaires of the said factory, and that the books at Cabo Corso Castle would shew the same. I asked them how much, they replyed 7 pease, so after some arguments past I told them in short that they [= I] would allowe them no more then what they had received, and that if they were not satisfyed therewith the Factory must remaine unresettled, to which they said they would goe or send to you towards Christmas, and if you will alowe nothing they must be content, in the mean time by my desire it may be settled imediatly, promiseing that the persone you send shall in no wayes be troubled about it, but that they will refere themselves wholy to you, which if you pleas to credit may settle as soon as shall think convenient, it being now or near as much repaired as the neccesaries will alowe. This I thought good to advise you for the reasons before expressed.

524. William Melross Annishan Factory, 10 Oct. 1692

I had yours of the 8th ditto by Mr Thomas Smith, to whom according to your order shall deliver up the Royall Companys Factory and goods here and take his receipt for the same. When done shall come up to Cabo Corso Castle to receive your further commands.[19] By this canoe comes 18 chests corne upon accompt of the said Company.

525. Thomas Smith Annishan Factory, 10 Oct. 1692

This day according to your commands I received from Mr William Mellross the charge of this Factory with the goods and merchandize thereunto belonging on accompt of the Royall African Company of England, as per receipt will appear. Inclosed is a true inventory of the goods. I returne you many thanks for placeing me in this Factory. No care nor pains shall be wanting in me to promote the Royall Company intereast in this place. Pray be pleased to send me down a baill of Welch plains of what couler you have by the first conveyance.

[18] Cross had been the last RAC factor at Egya (1687–91).

[19] Melross now became one of the Chief Merchants at Cape Coast Castle (replacing John Gregory, deceased).

526. Thomas Smith Annishan Factory, 15[20] Oct. 1692

This comes to informe you that the Cabbosheers of this place are very important [= importunate] for their dues (as they call them) at a new Cheifs settling, which I am not willing to give without your orders. They demand the value of goods which Mr Melross gave them. Likewise the Braffo &ca [demand] their dues, you may see by Melross accompt what they were, the same value in goods by me will satisfy them both. Pray send me word what quantity of corne you would have me buy, likewise the prizes of slaves. I could gett much more corne had I the goods they want, which are fine sletias and plains. I desired a baill of plains in my last. If you have any fine sletias pray send one case with the plains and ane iron crow, pickax and a shod shovell[21] and a corne shovell on accompt of the Royall African Company of England and would be very necessary here.

527. Thomas Smith Annishan, 20 Oct. 1692

If you have not sent the goods desired in my last before this comes to hand pray send a baill or cace of boysadoes with the rest on accompt of the Royall African Company of England, and order the canoe to bring away what corne she cane, for the floor of this corne roome is very bad to keep corne, altho I have matted all the bottom over. Mr Melross will informe you I can keep corne for some time with great care. I am not willing to loose any oppertunity of sending it to Cabo Corso where there is better conveniency then what I have. 30 deall boards if they can be spared will make this corne roome as good as any in Guiney of the bignesse.

528. Thomas Smith Annishan Factory, 22 Oct. 1692

Yours I received by the 13 hand canoe with a baill of green Welch plains and a baill of boysados on accompt of the Royall African Company of England, and have returned per the same canoe 20 chests good corne on the Royall Company accompt.

529. Thomas Smith Annishan Factory, 2 Nov. 1692

Inclosed is my October accompt. No trade stirring here, for I have not took one cra cra since Mr Melross left me, and but a little corne, I hope in a little it will be better. When I op[e]ned the boysadoes I found ¾ of them damaged, some more some lesse, likewise a great many of the Welch plains, pray order somebody to view them that the damaged may be valued and be ready for the traders again[st] they come. I am sorrie the corne I sent should not hold measure, when it was

[20] Apparently '21', corrected to '15th'.
[21] i.e. one fitted with an iron end to the blade.

measured by the same chest my predicessors made use of, which I sent to Cabo Corso with the corne, and have of the same size by me, which was not found fault withall in his time, but I am afrayed there was some juggle played by the canoemen, one of them see it measured as they always doe. I hope for the future if any corne to be wanting youll make them make it good, and not me pay twice over. If you please to give the smith leave he will make a shovel, pickaxe and iron crow for the factory, which canot be without, likewise 200 naills to naill the matts round the bottom of the corne room and up against the sides of the wall. I have bought 20 matts more then Mr Melross left me, designe to make it as secure as I can, considering I have no boards.

530. Thomas Smith Annishan Factory, 4 Nov. 1692

The King of Soboe hath sent down to me for 4 barrells powder and about an ounce in lead barrs upon credite, for they intend to go against the Futures tomorrow night.[22] If the bussiness takes good efect they hope to make you full satisfaction, if not they will pay for the powder and barrs. Pray send a possitive answer what I shall do in the bussinese for they tarry till the messenger returns, for they are very earnest and resolve upon the action of revaingeing Mr Gregory's death.[23] Pray dispatch the messinger with what speed you can.

531. Thomas Smith Annishan Factory, 9 Nov. 1692

Yours I received with ten half barrells powder on accompt of the Royall Company. Pray be pleased the next conveniency to send me about 30 blue pautkies and 30 paper brawles, in any old case, on ditto accompt. I have sent 20 chests good corne by the 13 hand canoe. They told me Mr Cooper did not give them canky money,[24] nor would they [omission] without I paid them 13a. Arthur Conner came here last night. According to your orders Mr Farmer will goe to Agga.

[22] Fetu had defeated Asebu in a war 1688–9 (Deffontaine 1993, 185–6; NA, T70/11, Chief Merchants, Cape Coast Castle, 11 Feb. 1689; T70/17, id., 1 Oct. 1690), which left Asebu 'to some extent tributary' to Fetu (Van Dantzig 1978, no. 88: Attestation of Charles Le Petit, 18 Dec. 1690), a dependence which it was perhaps now trying to throw off.

[23] Gregory had been murdered about 4 weeks earlier. But the king of Fetu in fact disclaimed responsibility, & had even executed 2 of his supposed murderers & sent their heads to Cape Coast Castle (NA, T70/11, Chief Merchants, 23 Oct. 1692). It is not clear if the projected war in fact took place.

[24] William Cooper, going to take charge of the reopened factory at Egya (no. 932).

532. Thomas Smith Annishan Factory, 12 Nov. 1692

Pray send the 1st conveniency with the goods I wrotte for in my last, [and] 1 piece red cloth on accompt of the Royall African Company of England.

533. Thomas Smith Annishan Factory, 18 Nov. 1692

Yours I received wherein you informe that the last corne I sent to Cabo Corso wanted one chest measure. I am verry well saisfyed they had such measure of me as would hold out with that at Cabo Corso, the chest being the same size as that which use to give content at Cabo Corso. Both the souldiers and canoemen see it all measured, if they play the rogue among themselves I canot help it. Any of them that have a mind to be a rogue may leave two or 3 basketts at any rogues house when they carry it down to the canoe from the Factory, for I take no further care of it affter I have delivered full measure to them. I hope you will not lett me suffer for there knavery. Pray send the goods wrotte for per the first conveniency.

534. Thomas Smith Annishan Factory, 2 Dec. 1692

Herewith comes my November accompts. The ballance I retain here, which I hope is no predjce [= prejudice], being I am to pay the souldier and slaves in few dayes, very little money comeing here and not much corne. I owe about 60 chests corne upon tally[25] at 2a per chest which I cannot give you ane accompt of till they have goods for them. The Blacks wants Benneen cloaths, as they say. I have sent for severall goods for them and when they come they buy non of them, which makes me unwilling to trouble you, but however if you please you may send 32 for a tryall per the next slave that comes from hence to Cabo Corso.

[PS] Inclosed is the certificat of the damaged gre[e]n plains & boysadoes 8.

535. Thomas Smith Annishan Factory, 8 Jan. 1692/3

Herewith comes my December accompts with the ballance being 4a 10ta. If you do not send for the corne it will be spoyled, lett me take all the care I can. When the hoy[26] comes pray order the measureing chests at Cabo Corso to come down in the hoy, with a case of sayes. Pray send now per the slaves 64 blue pautkies if he can bring them. The Cabbosheers of this place demand for their Christmass dashees on[e] sey, two green Welch plains and eight gallons brandy, they say they had as much in Mr Blooms & Mr Gregorys time.[27] Pray send word what must be given them.

[25] i.e. on credit.
[26] i.e. sloop, referring to the *Alligator Sloop*, Capt. Jeffryes.
[27] John Bloome had been Gregory's predecessor as chief of the Anashan factory, 1687–90.

536. Thomas Smith

Annishan Factory, 1 Feb. 1692/3

Herewith comes my January accompts with the ballance being 8 taccoes in gold. The blue pautkies are half of them damaged, pray order some person or other to view them that the damaged may be valued. I could not possible do other ways with the Braffo and Cabbosheers here then I have done about their Christmass dashees, have transgresed 1a beyond your orders, in both which I hope you will excuse me.

[gap in correspondence, mid-Feb. to July 1693]

537. Thomas Smith

Annishan, 29 July 1693

This day [I] was showne per my boy and Arther Coner the Black man I bought my sheep and lambs off, and accordingly sent for Coffee that he might see him liveing in the town, in hopes I should have some redress. The slave Herentes that liveth at this factory brought that man to me that sold me the sheepe, and he denies that to be the man that Arther Corner and my boy testifies to be the same, he haveing given him some small matter to deny it, and Coffie instead of redressing me was going to knock the boy to the ground with a great stick for justifieing the truth, and [my] indevering to hinder him put him into a great passion against me, that he gave me several blows on the face, which I never expected nor deserved from his hands. He brought all the town about me, and for my satisffaction of demanding right of the man I bought the sheep off [I] was very much beaten and almost hald [= hauled] to peeces amongst them, not suffering me to enter into the factory, but still as I endeavered to goe that way was ma[u]led and beaten by them sufficiently, being all I can expect from them except some other course be taken with them, for Coffee countenances all rogues in whatever action they comit. This town is wholy a herber [= harbour] for them, Coffee being their head is the reason no trade comes to this factory, for they panyar all straingers and others that are not their gang, and brings false pallavers on them, which frightnes all people from coming near this place. They have played so many roguish actions with Saboe people that all goe to Annimaboe, fearing to come here. I have agreed with the people very well ever since I came here, till I came to press upon their franchies [= franchise][28] as being rogues, to have my selfe righted by some honest means, which they are alltogether straingers to, and will no way lose their privelidges to make satisfaction for my wrongs, cheats & abuses done by them, being upheld by Coffee their Captain.

[PS] This was wrott and sealed being before Hanssico came down here, intending to send it tomorrow from Anni[m]aboe, by reason I have no boy to

[28] i.e. privileges.

carry it from hence. Coffee and my selfe should agree very well if it were not for rogues harbouring here. I desire leave till Wednesday or Thirsday next at furthest before I send this months accompts, by which time I hope to give you a full accompt of the corne I am to buy. I hope you will give more credite to me then you will to Hansaco, who is Coffees great friend and will tell you a faire story in his favour, maybe to my prejudice.

538. Thomas Smith Annishan Factory, 3 Aug. 1693

By the bearer have sent you my last months accompts in which are the first of the corne you ordered me to purchase. If you want 40 or 50 chests corne can procure them by Tewesday next, which [if] you have occasion for, pray dispatch the messinger with all convenient speed, that I may have the more time to comply with your desires.

539. Thomas Smith Annishan Factory, 4 Aug. 1693

I makeing a small mistake in my accompts, which I found out as soon as the messinger was gone from me, I sent one after him to bring him againe, which I have now returned by this bearer. I was in hopes by this time to have received orders to propose my selfe for Whydah (haveing a little bussiness to settle at Cabo Corso Castle [&]ca). If I was there I believe I can do as much for the Companys interist as any you can propose to send. It is in your power to do what you please, I again humbly request to be sent there as Chief, hoping you will not place any one over my head, since I desire to goe for Whydah.[29] To my knowledge I never deserved the ill will of any persons in the government, but have endevored to carry my selfe fairly and justly to all persons, whatever bac[k]biters may say of me to the contrary, which they cannot justifie to my face.

540. Thomas Smith Annishan Factory, 7 Aug. 1693

Yours I received on the 4th & 5th instant, and had answered the former but my accompts &c were gone before it came to hand. I have sent by the bearer a sample of corne I have purchased on the Royall Companys accompt, taken this morning as it rises out of the corne roomes. The person that informed you I took in noe corne told you halfe his story, as I believe he did the same concerning the affront and injury done me by Coffee, which you take no more notice off then done to a dog, when I thought you would have branded him for taking part with unjust Negroes when they do injuries to the Royall Companys factors. You are to apt (as doth appear) to give creditt to an notorious lying Negroe, who is

[29] The position of chief of the Whydah factory was vacant, but was given to another man (see chap.XIII).

publicklie known to be such, then to a factor, which is the reason hath made you transffer Abington law to Cape Coast.[30] I have carefully perused the coppy of the letter sent you on the 4th instant, wherein I find nothing worthy of reproofe. I thank God I am my selfe now and was not at that time as much in my senses as usually. I am very sensible who I write to and what I writt. There are no reflections in my last on any perticuler person, not one word tending towards heat or passion (however you may represent it), nothing but what is civill and modest and with submission and would have been so taken by any wise and discreet men, but what can I expect from persons prepossest with an ill opinion of me without any cause or reason?

541. Thomas Smith — Annishan factory, 4 Sept. 1693

By the bearer have sent my August accompts. I have not taken one cra cra since I came from Cabo Corso Castle. Captaine Curtis[31] and Ingerham his trustee liked the corne I had by me on the Companys accompt so well that they both said better corne could no man desire, and if they had no wors[e] desired no better to take aboard ship.

542. Thomas Smith — Annishan factory, 18 Sept. 1693

The wood you ordered me to be cutt is now ready. If you please when you send the canoe for it to send me on accompt of the Royall Affrycan Company of England four or six chests of sheetes with 10 cases speritts. I could sold most of the perpetuanoes at 10an per perpetuano, they will not give any more.

543. Thomas Smith — Anishan factory, 19 Sept. 1693

Yours I received and have according to your order sent you fifty sticks of wood for handspikes on accompt of the Royall Affrican Company of England.

544. Thomas Smith — [Anishan Factory], 2 Oct. 1693

I have by the bearer sent my September accompts, & have delivered the 10 barrels of gunpowder sent here the 29th of the last month according to your orders to the person that brought your note for the same. If you have any blew Welsh plains (the next time you send a canoe down into these parts) pray send one bale on accompt of the Royall African Company of England. Here is no trade nor likely to be any as I see as yet, only for corne, which they are willing to

[30] More correctly, 'Abingdon law', i.e. punishment without trial, alluding to summary executions allegedly carried out by the Governor of Abingdon under the regime of Cromwell's Major-Generals (1655–7).

[31] Commander of the *Katherine*.

part withall for goods & may be had for 1½ an per chest. If you think convenient can purchase what you please to order me.

545. Thomas Smith Annishan factory, 7 Oct. 1693

This morning the people of this town seized 15 peeses perpetuanoes going from Mr Edward Searle, Chiefe of Annimaboe, to Cabo Corso to be sold there on the said Mr Searles private and proper accompt, as I were informed by persons that were carrying of them to Cabo Corso. The perpetuanoes will be keept in the town untill they know your pleasures what shall be done with them, being pretty well assured that they do not belong to the Royall Company. Pray be pleased dispatch some orders about them.[32]

546. Thomas Smith Annishan factory, 9 Oct. 1693

Yours I received of yesterdays date, & had sent an answer last night if I could have gott all the perpetuanoes into my costody, there being two still remaining in the hands of one Quacoone, a surly, doged, morosse, willfull fellow, he demanding 5 peezes in gold before he parts with them, saying that Ambo at Cabo Corso is so much indebted to him, he will keep them for satisfaction of that debt. Coffee underhand perswaids him to it, who is the author, continuer, promoter and upholder of all villanys &c that are acted in this town, thoug[h] he will not be openly seen in any thing, and yet [is] the head of all mischeif, perpetualy brooding and hatching the same, for I have made it part of my business of late to dive into his actions and his canting way of managing intreagues, who wipes his mouth and sayes he does nothing, who is a perfect [word illegible] of villiney. I had 11 perpetuanoes from Coffee, who makes demand of debts owing to him from persons liveing at Cabo Corso, and expects satisfaction before I part with the perpetuanoes, if not he expects the debts to be paid by me. He sayes Quo belonging to Hansicoe owes him a bendy, and one Odi belonging to Amoe 11an, and another 10an but cannot tell me his name. It plainly appears that these perpetuanoes were not seized to serve the Royall Company but their own private ends, which I hope will be converted to the Royall Company advantage thoug[h] not designed so when taken, being done illegally and contrary to the laws and customs of their own countrey to take white mens goods to pay black mens debts, where there is dayly people coming to and through this town from Cabo Corso, and if any such sums of money be owing they are to act accordingly to their own country laws by seizing such persons as come from thence or live at Cabo Corso, and not whit mans goods who owe them nothing, therefore I looke upon this as an intreague of Coffees to gett the best part of the two perpetuanoes for himselfe, and if

[32] Cf. Searle's account, no. 702.

suffered to goe on in their severall illegall wayes and practices without being branded there will be no liveing here for any person, Coffee being more insolent and open [in] his affaires then usually, and tell me to my face the Gentlemen at Cabo Corso do not love me in my souldiers hearing, upon which he presumes to act as he pleases, though I endeavour to carry all faire with him and shall not find fault without a cause. Coffee is not to be perswaided upon any termes to go up to Cabo Corso. If you have a mind to speake with him Hansicoe at Cabo Corso must be the man to perswaid him to go up or nobody. I send the aforementioned not[e] to lett you understand how affaires are managed here, & leave all to your judgement to act as you shall see cause & think convenient, no wayes doubting your kindness.

PS. Searles boy Hansico being now at Cabo Corso, can tell you the persons that were carrying the goods to Cabo Corso.

547. Thomas Smith Annishan Factory, 28 Oct. 1693

I have sent by the bearer a young women slave on accompt of the Royall African Company of England. I have noe conveyniency of keeping her here, or had not sent her till I had sent my accompts.

548. Thomas Smith Annishan, 3 Nov. 1693

I have sent per bearer my October accompts. In the bale of blue plaines you sent last month no.D.244 were two green plaines, which I have charged as such in my accompts. Eight of the blue plaines are damaged, and near 30 blue pautkies damaged, 3 sayes are damaged, with the paper brawles, which goods bee pleased to order some person to look on them that the damage may bee vallued as they deserve, then will bee in rediness for sale when any person desires them.

549. Thomas Smith Annishan, 25 Nov. 1693

Captain Coffee and the Cabbosheers of this town understanding that you have gave the people of Annamaboe powther & lead barres towards their provision for the warr against Cabess Terra,[33] they desire that you would allow them the same quantity for this place, being here are near as many souldiers as are at Annimaboe. I have one slave that hath been of no use to mee this five weeks or more, and believe will hardly be fitt for any service this 2 or 3 months,

[33] Cf. no. 706, from Anomabu. 'Cabess Terra' was the northern neighbour of Fante. It has been suggested that the name is a Portuguese translation (*cabeça terra*, 'head land') of that of Etsi (from Fante *tsi* = 'head'), which occurs in contemporary European sources as 'Ati' etc. (Van Danztig 1980, 129); the identification is confirmed by letters from Egya, which refer to this same war as against 'Attie' (nos 946 etc.).

being blinde of his ey[e]s. If you please to give mee leave to send him up to Cabo Corsoe and send mee downe another in his room, you will much oblige [me].

550. Thomas Smith Annishan Factory, 4 Dec. 1693

Per the bearer have sent my November accompts. The slave you sent demands 2 months pay, if due will pay him. If you can spare 3 or 4 pair of irons, pray send them per the bearer, with six or eight wedges for them. In all probability may have occasion for them in a little tyme and would not willingly bee unprovided.[34] I have very good conveniency for 50 chests of corne more. If you think you may have occasion for, can purchase.

551. Thomas Smith Annishan Factory, 9 Dec. 1693

You will receive per bearer a young man slave on accompt of the Royall African Company of England.

552. Thomas Smith Annishan Factory, 5 Jan. 1693 [= 1694]

With this comes my December accompts. Contrary to my expectations the Fanteeners are most of them come home, and brought noe slaves with them as I have seen or known of.[35] When you think convenient I would desire you to order some person or other to view and rate all the damaged goods I have in my charge.

553. Thomas Smith Annishan, 5 Feb. 1693/4

I have sent per a two hand canoe (which this bearer will come in sight of as much as hee can, betwixt this place and Cabo Corso Castle), two lusty young men slaves, and a woman slave. I could not buy the men, except I bought the woman, and rather than loose two such lusty young fellowes, did buy them all together, though the woman is noe of the youngest, being of a midle age, yet strong, lusty and healthful, and may endure hard labour better and longer then a young girle. I returne you thanks for your ready help in supplying mee with the Doctor. I am but indifferent as yett, hee finding mee almost at deaths door. I hope in two or three dayes more to bee in condition to part with him, and hope you will spare him soe long. If I can doe without his assistance in less tyme shall send him to Cabo Corso Castle. I hope you will give mee leave to charge canoe hire for bringing the slaves to Cabo Corso, I not being willing to part with such slaves out of my sight into any other hands.

[34] Evidently, anticipating slaves for sale from the impending war (cf. no. 711).
[35] Cf. no. 952, from Egya.

PS. If any letters are yett come to your hands for mee from England pray send them per the bearer, & returne the 3 pair of irons which are upon the slaves.[36]

554. John Pinck Annishan Factory, 17 July 1694

This serves to advise you only that Mr Searle together with my self have inventoried the Royall Companys Factory & doe find wanting tenn perpetuanoes, one say, two blue pautkies, & two lead barrs. We have told Cuffee [= Coffee] of it, who sayes he knows the man and will endeavour to gett them againe.[37] Pray be pleased to send on accompt of the Royall African Company one quarter caske of rumme if you have any. I have sent the locks, hopeing that you may find keyes to them. I shall take care of the goods as much as lyes in my power. I give you many thanks for your placeing me here and hope I shall continue still in your favour. I am in great want of paper, therefore humbly desire you will be pleased to send me some, not haveing any to write on whatever occasion may happen.

[PS] The inventory you will receive from Mr Searle.

555. John Pinck Annishan Factory, 24 July 1694

Yours of the 18th instant I have received. This comes only to desire two or three bales of perpetuanoes & two or three chests of sheets on accompt of the Royall African Company of England. If the locks be done I humbly desire I may have them per bearer, being in great want of them. Pray lett the goods be sent tomorrow or next day, traders refuseing to stay or lay out their money because I have not those goods by me.

556. John Pinck Annishan Factory, 28 July 1694

Yours of the 25th instant with seventy five blue perpetuanoes and one hundred ninety five [sheets], as alsoe the lock & keys have received. By the bearer you will receive one lusty man slave on the accompt of the Royall African Company of England. Haveing noe place to keep him in is the occasion of my sending him up.

[36] The hiatus in correspondence from Anashan between 5 Feb.–17 July 1694 was evidently due to the death of Thomas Smith (cf. no. 577). On 17 Feb. the factory was inventoried & 'sealed up' & the key sent to Cape Coast, implying that it was left temporarily unoccupied (no. 720). Capt. Phillips of the *Hannibal*, who was at Anomabu 26 April–2 May 1694, refers to the RAC's factory at Anashan (1732, 209), & received corn from there (nos 726, 729), but he did not visit it, & it was probably still without a Factor.

[37] Cf. Searle's report, no. 739.

[PS] The Cabbosheers have been att me to pay them their customes, soe desire your order therein, alsoe what they must have.

557. John Pinck Annishan Factory, 4 Aug. 1694

With this you will receive a woman slave, as likewise the bearer, whom I have bought, he not knowing of it, being the desire of the Cabbosheer when they sold him. I humbly desire you will please to lett us have a new flagg, this being all to peices, and as rotten as dirt. I have received yours of the 28th past, and shall observe your orders therein.

558. John Pinck Annishan Factory, 10 Aug. 1694

Yours of the 4th instant I received, and shall observe your orders to be more carefull. If the slave had run away, then it had not laid att my door but theirs that sold him to me. This comes only to desire a bale or two of blanquetts on accompt of the Royall African Company of England, and to informe you the Factory is very much out of repaire, occasioned by the raines this year. I have spoke to Coffee to repaire it, but he sayes it is none of his buissiness to doe it, but the slaves, soe if it be, desire I may have two more men slaves to assist therein, the two I have not being able to goe through with it. Likewise two billes[38] for the slaves to cutt wood with, they haveing none to doe it withall.

559. John Pinck Annishan Factory, 12 Aug. 1694

Yours of yesterdays date with one hundred white blanquetts [received]. I shall make the best shift I can with these two slaves I have.

560. John Pinck Annishan Factory, 22 Aug. 1694

Yours of yesterdays date I received, and observe Capt. Buttrams arrivall on the Coast,[39] and shall use my endeavours to gett the corne & slaves ordered, but am afraid not att that rate you mention, they selling great quantities to the Mina Blacks daily, which makes it dear. Pray be pleased to send me some more sheets, these I have being allmost gone.

561. John Pinck Annishan Factory, 25 Aug. 1694

This serves only to desire on accompt of the Royall African Company one hundred perpetuanoes blue, one hundred one pound basons at 3 per a, and a case or two of knives. I humbly desire you would be pleased to send me a pile of

[38] i.e. billhooks.
[39] Commander of the *Fauconberg*.

weights, with two or three blowpans & a sifter, being much in want of them. Our flagg is all to peices, therefore humbly desire you would be pleased to lett us have another. I shall use my endeavours to purchase the corne at 1a½ per chest, and gett it in as fast as I can.

562. John Pinck

Annishan Factory, 27 Aug. 1694

Both yours of the 25th & 27th instant I received, with two hundred sixty sheets, fifty blue perpetuanoes, and one hundred forty five dozen knives. I am very sorry you have noe weights or blowpanns, being in great want of them. In the mean time shall make the best shift I can.

PS. I suppose Coffee never designs to pay for those goods, for when I speak to him about it only laughs at it.

563. John Pinck

Annishan Factory, 4 Sept. 1694

This serves only to give [sic: = desire] on accompt of the Royall African Company one hundred perpetuanoes, one hundred one pound basons, ten cases spiritts, five half & five whole, one case of pautkies. I desire the basons &ca to be sent betimes tomorrow, haveing money in my hands for them. My accompts & ballance shall send in a day or two.

PS. My ballance for the last month accompt being something considerable, desire your orders whether shall send it by land with my accompts or not.

564. John Pinck

Annishan Factory, 8 Sept. 1694

Yours of the 6th instant received, with one hundred perpetuanoes blue. This accompanys my accounts, the ballance have put in the gold chest at Annamaboe according to order,[40] being mk3 7oz 6a 5ta, of which 5oz 5ta cra cra money. I am very sorry that you have had noe spiritts to spare, the[y] being for Abon at the Mina, who is the the cheifest trader I have.[41] The basons I desire may be sent when ashore. I desire you would be pleased to allow of my buying a pile of weights, blowpans &ca for to take money by, haveing none but what must be beholding to Coffee for, and he not over willing to lend them.

565. John Pinck

Annishan Factory, 18 Sept. 1694

This accompanyes my accompts which according to your order of the 11th instant I have corrected & returned. I should have sent them sooner but that

[40] cf. no. 756.
[41] 'Aban', broker of the Dutch WIC at Elmina (cf. chap.III, n.42).

I have been very buisey takeing corne according to order, which I hope to have in a short time.

566. John Pinck Annishan Factory, 29 Sept. 1694

Yours by Capt. Buttrams mate have received. The great canoe has loaded the boate with wood & returnes with 25 cheast of corne according to orders.

567. John Pinck Annishan Factorey, 4 Oct. 1694

This serves onely to advise that with Mr Thomas Buckeridge have inventoried the Royall Companyes concerns, which you will receive from him.[42] In the money that I have sent upp there is 4 large fetechees which are pawned to me, soe humble desier you will be pleased to send or to keep them till the owner comes to redeem them.

568. John Pinck Annishan Factory, 10 Oct. 1694

This serves onely to desier by the first opportunity a baile of blew Welsh plaines. Tomorrow or next day at furthest shall send my accompts.

569. John Pinck Annishan Factory, 12 Oct. 1694

This accompanys my accompts for September, month, alsoe 15a 3ta charged. The Forte being very much out of repaire, that reanes [= rains] that fell yesterday have runn into the corne roome, I doe beleeve hath damaged some of the corne, and if not timely removed may endamage the whole, soe humble desier that you will be pleased to order the next great cannoe that comes to these partes to take some.

570. John Pinck Annishan, 20 Oct. 1694

By the cannoe you will receive tweenty five cheast of corne. Alsoe yours of the 13th instant have received and shall observe your orders theirein. My care shall not be wanting theirein in preserving the corne from the raine as well as weavell.

571. John Pinck Annishan Factory, 6 Nov. 1694

This accompanies my accompts for October. I would desier you to send me some sheets by first opportunity.

[42] Lately retired chief of Dixcove, now at Cape Coast awaiting repatriation to England, sent to inventory the factories at Anashan, Anomabu & Egya (cf. nos 763, 969).

572. John Pinck Annishan Factoy, 16 Nov. 1694

Yours by the Swallow Briga[n]teene I have recevied, and have delivered to Capt. Pepperill one hundred sixteene chea[s]ts of corne, as alsoe seven hundred fivety sticks of wood. He might have had all his wood if had not bin for the lazeness of his cannoemen.

[PS] By my boy have sent six oz tenn angles in redeemtion of the pawn formerly advised on.

573. John Pinck Annishan Factory, 6 Dec. 1694

This accompanies my November accompt and ballance, being one ounce nine angles cra cra money. You where pleased to tell me that when Capt. Buttram had done with his weaights and scales I should have them, so humbl[y] desier you will be pleased to send them per bearer. I should have sent three accompts but I have no paper, so desier you will be pleased to send some.

574. John Pinck Annishan Factory, 12 Dec. 1694

Yours of the 7th instant with the scales & weaights, also paper, I recevied. This serves onely to advise you that the Cabbosheers of the towne are here demanding there custum of a new cheife comeing. They says if I doe not give them they will send me to Cabo Corso. This is not the first nor fourth time of their comeing, but what with them and Cuffee for his custum and Ra [sic: = ?] ground rent I have bin all most tierred [= teared] to death, soe if thinck convenient to let them have it desier you will be pleased to advise how much it is.

575. John Pinck Annishan Forte, 21 Dec. 1694

This you will receive by Captain Hansicoe, and serves to advise you that I alsoe recevied yours of the 12th past. Wee have discoursed the Cabbosheers about the goods lost &c, and they say if those goods had bin given into there custodye, they would have made them good, but otherwise it doth belong to Cuffee as being Captain to make satisffaction for any lost, he receiving groundrent for the same, therefore according to there makeing up of the palavers Cuffe must pay it owt of his ground[rent], he likewise agreeing to it, therefore desier you will be pleased to rec[k]one wit[h] him, he supposeing what is dew to him will pay for the goods lost.

576. John Pinck Annishan Factory, 9 Jan. 1694 [= 1695]

This serves onely to acompaney a young lusty young man slave, which desier you will be pleased to pass to my credett. I desier you will be pleased to send me

the blow panns formerly wrote. Soe given you most harty thanks for your kind entertainment att Christmas.

[PS] Cuffe saith you have ordered him a saye & [word illegible] he woold not let me [word illegible] it.

577. John Pinck Annishan, 17 Jan. 1695

These serve onely to advise you that the Braffoe[s] man is here demanding his custom, which he saith Mr Smith deceased never paid, being at dancing time,[43] rowsawing time and cutting small corne,[44] which if you think convenient to lett them be paid desier you will be pleased to advise me what I must pay them. I desier you will be pleased to send by the bearer fivety perpetuanoes, tenn cases spirritts, five whole and five half, alsoe blow panns and sifters formerly write for, likewise 3 or 4 chest of sheets, also a cask of knives.

578. John Pinck n.d. [Annishan, c.19 Jan. 1695]

Yours of the 18th instant with twenty five blew and tweenty five green perrpetuanoes, tenn whole cases of spirritts, two hundred and sixty sheets, one [hundred] and fivety dozen of knives have received. One of the cases of spirritts has all ha[l]ve bottels in it except four. Being indisposed of a violent feavour [I] was gon to Annimaboe to gett assi[s]tance of the Doctor when the canno came downe, which was the reason of the mistake the canoemen made of loading the canno with corne att Agga.

[PS] Please to send the blowpanns and sifters.

579. John Pinck Annishan Factory, 29 Jan. 1694 [= 1695]

This serves to onely to accompaney one man and one woman slaves, and Mr Former [= Farmer] would desier you be pleased to give him libeerty to goe home in Capt. Piles when he goes.[45]

[PS] If you have any such beads as per the bearer brings desier you will be pleased to send a quantity of them.

580. John Pinck Annishan, 6 Feb. 1694/5

This serves only to desire by bearer ten whole cases spiritts, alsoe another in the roome of that formerly advised of. I desire to know what I must doe with this

[43] The main 'dancing time' in Fante was in June (cf. nos 659 etc., from Anomabu).
[44] i.e. millet, as opposed to maize.
[45] Commander of the *Guinea Galley*. But he did not sail for England until the end of the year (cf. no. 362).

corne I have by me, whither I must ship it aboard of Capt. Zebbet,[46] for I suppose Mr Cooper cannot supply him with his complement, and if it lies here it will spoile.

[PS] With this you will receive the certificate of the damaged perpetuanoes.

581. William Gudge Annishan Factory, 15 Feb. 1694/5

According to your orders I have taken possession of the Royall Company Factory Annishan, for which I returne humble & harty thanks, wherein I promisse to do for the Company interes[t] & your content as much as in me lyes.

PS. Pray excuse me for not writing to you sooner, for I waited to pay my respects to Mr Buckeridge, who imbarqued about 8 & 9 in the morning from Annimaboe.[47] The inventoryes are in possetion of Mr John Rootsey according to order.[48]

582. William Gudge Annishan, 22 Feb. 1694/5

This accompanyes the 3 two hand canoes, and according to order have putt on board them 9 chests corne, being all I have as per inventory will appear. I shall use my endeavour to purchase corne att 1½a per chest if it is to be had.

PS. I have advise from Coffe and other Cabbosheers of Arcanies traders comeing downe,[49] so desire to be provided against their comeing with blowpans & sifters. I desire quills, ink & paper, haveing but one sheet & noe ink.

Cuffoe [sic] has been here this morning with the Cabbosheers of the towne demanding custome for a new Chief setling, I desire to know your plessure.

583. William Gudge Annashan, 26 Feb. 1694/5

This serves to desire for on accompt of the Royall African Company a case of poutkies, haveing bin asked for them. The Cabbosheers tells me I shall have corne brought in at 1½a per chest this weacke. I desire those necessa[r]ies wrote for in the former by the bearer.

[46] Commander of the *John Bonadventure*.
[47] Nicholas Buckeridge, now one of the Chief Merchants at Cape Coast, & proceeding via Anomabu to Winneba (no. 786).
[48] Cf. nos 786–7: Rootsey had succeeded Searle as chief at Anomabu.
[49] This seems to represent the resumption of Akani trade to the coast, following its disruption by the war of 1693–4 (cf. no. 815, with n.147).

584. William Gudge Annishan, 5 March 1694/5

Yours of the 26th I received, in which I find you received but 8 chests corne, which I much wounder att, knowing that they carried nyne chests out of the Factory, which I will prove, lickewise the wheiteman which is with me, we being both by when mesured to the canoe men, who where satisfied there where the said quantity. I belieive the Cabbosheers will faile of their promise, haveing as yet received noe corne, but still in expectation.

PS. Thomas Farmer being desirous to go home, being granted before by you, desire to come up to Cabo Corsoe in order thereunto.

585. William Gudge Annishan Factory, 21 March 1694/5

Not knowing the number of sticks you would have cutt, desire [you] to advise it. I have ordered Cuffee to cutt fifty, which I beleive he may compleat and not above, his people bringing five or six in a day, the diamater being so extrordinary that they are hard to gett.

PS. Most people of this towne and hereabouts are gon to joyn Great Taggee.[50]

586. William Gudge Annishan, 2 April 1695

By the bearer you will receive my accompts & ballance, which is 14 angles 6 taccoes in gold, which please to pass to my creditt. Forty of the sticks are cutt & the best as can be had here; they want some thing of the length & breadth, however they may be serviceable for the smaller ordinance, so if please to send they shall be ready att the water side.

587. William Gudge Annishan Factory, 10 April 1695

Yours of the 4th dato I received and am sorry my accompts should prove so full of errors as you advise of, but for the future shall endevour to amend. By the 11 hand canoe have received 2 quarter caskes rum, & by the same have sent up 20 sticks, the best that can be got here. Sirs, I have been in a verry weak condition for these seven days, in so much that I am not able to stand nor goe.

PS. When please God to enable me to write shall send up on[e] accompt more, so shall for the future alwaies.

[50] King of Eguafo, currently threatened with attack by Twifo (see chap.III). For Fante assistance sent to him, cf. reports from Anomabu (nos 791 etc.); also Bosman 1705, 32.

588. John Rootsey Annishan, 13 April 1695

Pursuant to your orders am at this place, and have taken an inventory of all the goods, merchandize &ca that belongs to the Royall African Company of England, together with Thomas Farmer, and have herewith sent you the inventory & key of the warehouse.[51]

* * * * *

589. Samuell Heartsease Annashan, 9 Jan. 1698 [= 1699][52]

This serves to acquaint your Worshipps that I have not been able to purchase above eight or nine chests corne, the people hereof refuseing to take goods and insist upon selling their corne for money, or they will keep it, by which words your Worshipps may conjecture they have not a mind to dispose of their corne to the Company.

I desire you to send me by first some paper for accompts, not haveing any.

PS. I desire your Worshipps to send me some rume [for] factory use.

590. Samuell Heartsease Annishan, 17 Jan. 1698/9

I wrote you on the 9th instant, since which I have received none from you. I beleive through multiplicity of business your Worshipps have forgott to send me some paper wrote for, the want off which has been the reall occasion of not sending the last months accompt, which I now desire you to send, with some rumme for factory expence.

591. Samuell Heartsease Annishan, 19 Jan. 1698/9

Yours of the 17th instant have received, with some paper and 50 gallons Portugueze rumme, for which shall give the Royall Company creditt.

This accompanys my accompts for December, which if are right shall send duplicates per next.

The particulars as att foot are what paid for customes & Christmas dashes to the Cabbosheers &ca. I had nott the sort of goods they were to have, butt made itt up in other goods, as by the accompt apeares.

[51] Cf. nos 796–7. Gudge had died 10 April 1695, & Rootsey came from Anomabu to bury him on 12 April; he was evidently then sent back to take the inventory. No successor as chief was appointed, & the goods in the factory were withdrawn over the next few weeks (nos 800, 802, 806). In Aug. 1695 a man was again placed at Anashan, to buy corn (no. 825), & corn was still being supplied from there in Dec. 1695 (no. 1004), but evidently the occupation was not sustained.

[52] The factory had presumably been reoccupied during the hiatus in the correspondence in Sept.-Dec. 1698.

1 seye to the Braffoe
½ ditto to the Cabbosheers
2 iron barrs to the Braffoe
1 plane to ditto
8 gallons rumme to ditto
8 ditto to the Cabbosheers

592. [Samuell Heartsease] n.d. [Annishan, c.7 Feb. 1699]

I wrote you on the 19th ultimo, since which have received none from you. I have deferred writeing of late, being loth to trouble you without occation, nothing haveing occurred since my last to your Worshipps.

I hope you have examined my last months accompt, and when you please to notifie as much shall send duplicates with this months also.

593. Samuell Heartsease Annishan, 8 Feb. 1698/9

Yours of the 6th instant have received, and according to your order have by this sent duplicates for December and January accompts, which I hope will prove to your Worshipps sattisfaction.

PS. It was through forgetfullness and not any designe that I subscribed not my name in my last, for which I begg your worshipps pardon, and for the future shall take care not be guilty of the like error.

VI

CHARLES FORT, ANOMABU

Anomabu ('Annimaboe' etc.), 5 km east of Anashan, was the site of one of the principal establishments of the RAC, occupied continuously since the 1670s. The factory was fortified, and known in this period as Charles Fort; it was described in 1694 as 'pretty strong, of about eighteen guns.'[1] The Dutch West India Company also had a fort (Fort Amsterdam) in this area, at Kormantin ('Cormanteen' etc.; nowadays Kormantse), 5 km east of Anomabu, which is referred to in this correspondence. Anomabu was principally important for the supply of corn, for the provisioning of slave ships: in 1689 it was described as 'the principal granary', from which all English slavers drew their corn.[2] It was also a significant source of gold, although it had a reputation for supplying adulterated gold.[3] Moreover, the supply of gold in this period was subject to recurrent disruption. As in the 1680s, the principal traders from the interior who brought gold to Anomabu were still the Akani ('Arcany'), but Akani access to the coast was threatened in the 1690s by disputes with the state of 'Cabess Terra' (i.e. Etsi), in the immediate hinterland of Fante (nos 630, 710). Perhaps in consequence of this poor condition of the gold trade, there are more frequent allusions than in the 1680s to the purchase of slaves through Anomabu.

Bosman referred to the problematic relations of Charles Fort with the local community, its occupants being 'sometimes even confined to their Fort, not being permitted to stir out', and unpopular Governors suffering deportation, 'nor are the English able to oppose or prevent it, but are obliged to make their peace by a present'.[4] The Rawlinson correspondence confirms this picture. During the 1680s, two successive chiefs of the fort had been forced to be removed, in 1686

[1] Phillips 1732, 209. Despite its strength, the fort was destroyed by African attack in 1701. That which presently exists at Anomabu (Fort William) is a totally new construction, erected from 1753 (Lawrence 1963, 221–2).

[2] Van Dantzig 1980, 116.

[3] e.g. Phillips 1732, 209: 'the gold here is accounted the worst, and most mix'd with brass, of any in Guinea'.

[4] Bosman 1705, 56.

and 1687.[5] As related in this correspondence, a third, John Gregory, was likewise recalled by the Company, in May 1692, after a dispute in which he had first taken hostage several leading local traders, and then fired upon the town, killing and wounding several persons (nos 646–8).

Like Anashan (and Kormantin), Anomabu belonged to the state of Fante ('Fanteen'): hence 'groundrent' and 'customs' for the fort were paid to the central authorities of Fante, the 'Braffo and Corrantiers' (nos 612 etc.), and complaints about conditions in Anomabu were addressed to them (nos 594 etc.). The correspondence refers to wars of Fante, against an unnamed enemy (probably Fetu, to the west) in 1691 (nos 610 etc.), and, in alliance with the Akani, against Cabess Terra in 1693–4 (nos 706 etc.). There are also allusions to Fante involvement in the Komenda war of 1695 (nos 790 etc.), and to abortive negotiations for further intervention in Komenda later in the same year (nos 817–19) and again in 1697 (nos 864 etc.), and for Fante support for Akani, this time in a war against Denkyira, in 1698 (nos 903 etc.). The correspondence also documents political divisions within Fante, between the Brafo and other chiefs, which arose in part from differences over these issues of foreign policy, and which led to the deposition of one Brafo in 1697 (nos 871 etc.), and to fighting in which another was wounded in 1699 (nos 929, 931).

594. John Bloome Annimaboe, 3 May 1691

Just now Bonnishee[6] has sent the Marine and some others, to tell me that they'l bring no more corne at 2a a chest, but desire some advance upon itt. They are a pack of rogues, and I beleive you may make them stand to their bargaine, if not I would advise you to gett corne elswhere rather than here. But the Braffo and Corrantiers should be acquainted with itt. I advise you immediatly of itt, because there shall be no fault in me. Be pleased to lett me have your answer so soon as possible.

595. John Bloome Annimaboe, 12 May 1691

By the bearer I have sent my Aprill accompts and for ballance two angles and eight taccoes of gold. I am purchasing corne with all expedition possible.

596. John Bloome Annimaboe, 19 May 1691

Be pleased to send as soon as possible eighty sletias fine on accompt of the Royal African Company of England.

[5] See vol.ii, chap.VI.

[6] A prominent trader-chief of Anomabu, also mentioned in the 1680s (vol.i, nos 293 etc.; ii, nos 463 etc.).

597. John Bloome Annimaboe, 20 May 1691

Yours of the 19th per the nine hand canoe have received, with eighty sletias fine, on accompt of the Royall African Company of England. By returne have sent you 12 chests of corne.

598. John Bloome Annimaboe, 21 May 1691

Capt. Edwards has 550 chests [i.e. of corn] on board,[7] and I shall deliver him the remainder according to your order. The sea runs high, he can take of none today.

599. John Gregory[8] Annimaboe, 26 June 1691

I desire you to send this day or tomorrow one hundred blew perpetuanoes and sixty or eighty fine sletias on accompt of the Royall African Company of England. Wee have inventoryed all the goods &ca bel[ong]ing to this Factory. Tomorrow Mr Bloome designs for Cabo Corso, by him shall write you. The boate is done and wants a line to haulle her off. Pray send me 12 deale boards with some nayles in sorts.

600. John Gregory Annimaboe, 27 June 1691

Inclosed goes the inventory of all the goods belonging to this Factory. Yesterday I wrote you for some goods, desire they may be sent, with the deale boards and some nailes to mend the dores and windows, which are much out of repaire.

601. John Gregory Annimaboe, 28 June 1691

I desire you per first to send some rumm on accompt of the Royall Affrican Company of England, as also some palme oyle for Factoryes use. The seas runn high this day, so cannot gett the boate off.

602. John Gregory Annimaboe, 30 June 1691

Yours by the 13 hand canoe with eighty iron barrs, eighty fine sletias, one hundred blew perpetuanoes, fifty green, and twenty five redd ditto, with one hundred gallons of rumm have received on accompt of the Royall Affrican Company of England. Your order about the perpetuanoes shall observe. By the returne of the canoe have sent up six firelock musquetts, desire they may be mended and send downe againe. The deale boards wrott for I have not received, without which cannot mend the windows nor dores of the Castle, which are all broken in pieces. The man that came downe to bring the boat up borrowed of me

[7] Commander of the *Kendal Frigate*.
[8] Replacing Bloome, who became a member of the Council of Chief Merchants at Cape Coast.

4a to buy provitions [ms. 'provititions'] withall, desire it may be stopt, the mans name Thomas Pine.

603. John Gregory Annimaboe, 7 July 1691

Yours by the 13 hand canoe have received, with twenty four quarter cask of rumm. The canoemen has made away with one whole cask, haveing staved the head out, some of which I found in the canoe in botles, two others are halfe leakt out, which I beleive may be by badness of cask, and ill usage in comeing downe, the chym [= chime][9] hoops being off. I have paid them no mony here, referring them to you, which if you allow of I have desired Mr Upton[10] to pay them upon my accompt. By returne of the canoe have sent up 14 chests corne.

604. John Gregory Annimaboe, 14 July 1691

Yours by Hansicoe have received, & yesterday had a palaver with the Cabusheers & find it is a thing impossible to gett corne from them, they being all of one mind in that they cannot pay what they owe or the least part of it 'till new corne comes. They are soe much put to itt for old corne that they eat yambs [= yams]. I have got but 10 chests since Mr Bloome went, six of which was brought from Laggue.[11] This morneing shall have another palaver with the Cabusheeers, in which I shall use my utmost endeavour to gett corne. At the foot hereof is an accompt of what things are wanting to repaire this fort, desire they may be gott ready & in 3 or 4 days will send for them. Trade begins to mend verry much.

20 foot planck 3 inches thick for the carriages of guns, 100 ditto 3 inch square to make frames for the windowes, 24 iron barrs for the windowes 4 foot 3 inch long, 12 pair of hinges and staples for the windowes, 1 large ditto for the tanck dore, & more nailes.

605. John Gregory Annamaboe, 19 July 1691

I desire youl send me on accompt of the Royall African Company of England one hundred sayes, eight bales perpetuanoes and six chests sheets.

606. John Gregory Annamaboe, 21 July 1691

Yours of yesterdays date have received, with one hundred sayes, seaventy perpetuanoes green, seaventy five perpetuanoes [omission] and three hundred & ninety sheets on accompt of the Royall African Company of England, with

[9] i.e. the projecting rim at the end of a cask.
[10] John Upton, Steward of Cape Coast Castle.
[11] Lagu (Legu), on the coast 30 km east of Anomabu.

twenty four barrs for windowes. The planck for the gunn carriages, staples for windowes and deale boards have not received, desire they may be sent per first.

[PS] Pray lett me know what pay Edward Lillington & Ralph Francklin has.

607. John Gregory Annamaboe, 24 July 1691

Yours of the 22th instant have received, with what [you] mention to have sent me. By this conveyance have sent you tenn chests corne.

[PS] Pray per first send me the deale boards & some lime.

608. John Gregory Annamaboe, 8 Aug. 1691

Yours by the 13 hand canoe with the deale boards & nailes received. By the returne of said canoe goes the two men which Mr Lashly put on shoare here,[12] as also eighteen chests corne. Likewise my July accompt for this place with the ballance of the same, being twelve markes thre ounces, twelve angles and a damboy, whereof fou[r] marks cra cra gold. Pray be pleased to send on accompt of the Royall African Company of England some fine sletias and Guynea stuffs.

609. John Gregory Annamaboe, 13 Aug. 1691

Yours by the 13 hand canoe received with one bale Guynea stuffs, four cases sletias fine & four quarter cask rumm for factoryes use. In one of the cases of fine sletias, no.9, found no more then 17, & they all damnified and refuge sletias. I shall observe your orders for the purchaseing one hundred chest of good corne at 1a 6ta per chest. By returne of the canoe goes twenty chests corne.

[PS] Pray send per the bearer the remainder of the iron work.

610. William Cross[13] Annamaboe, 27 Aug. 1691

The remaines of Agga factory being some time since removed from thence to Annamaboe for better security, and the war not yet ended,[14] I humbly waite your further orders for theire disposall. They are most of them old refuge goods and much damnified.

[12] Commander of the *Supply*.

[13] Formerly chief of the factory at Egya, east of Anomabu, which had been abandoned earlier in 1691.

[14] Cf. further references to the current war in nos 612–4, 616, 619. These do not name the enemy, but a later letter from Cape Coast blamed the disruption of trade on 'making unjust wars with the Fetues', & peace was made with Fetu in 1692 (NA, T70/11, William Cross, 25 Jan. 1692; Chief Merchants, Cape Coast Castle, 22 Aug. 1692).

611. John Gregory Annamaboe, 1 Sept. 1691

Yours of the 31st ultimo received with one hundred fine sletias at 7a on accompt of the Royall African Company of England. By this comes the carpenter. Corne have sent none by reason the cano can carry no more then the remaines of Agga factory.

612. John Gregory Annamaboe, 2 Sept. 1691

This accompanys the Braffo of Fantines man, who wants to be trusted powder for their warrs, & will pay it out of his ground rent.

[PS] The Braffo will have nothing due to him till Christmass, I having trusted him on accompt of his ground rent till that time.

613. John Gregory Annamaboe, 4 Sept. 1691

Inclosed is my August accompts and by the bearer have sent you the ballance of the same, being six markes two ounces seaven angles three taccoes & a damboy of gold, whereof two marks two ounces cra cra gold. Have likewise sent inclosed my accompt for Fort Royall from ultimo May to the 19th June, the ballance of which and my Annishan March accompt have paid to Mr Rice Wight.[15] I have had butt a verry small trade, towards the latter end of last month. These country people are all gon to the wars & as they say will fight verry suddenly. I am verry much troubled with the Corranteirs for theire custome of a new Cheife, which they say is one say & that Mr Elwes & Mr Bloome paid the same,[16] desire to know wither shall pay it or now [= no], they stay here [ms. 'seire'] till know your answer.

[PS] On Tuesday I intend to send the 5 hand canoe with corne & by the returne of her desire youl send the folowing necessaries:

nailes
8 whole deales
8 halfe ditto
lime
2 or 3 padlocks
tarr
buckett for the tanck with a rope.

[15] Gregory had been chief of the RAC factory at Anashan prior to its abandonment earlier in 1691, & then at Fort Royal; Wight was one of the Chief Merchants at Cape Coast.
[16] Robert Elwes had been chief at Anomabu briefly in 1689 (prior to his elevation to the Council of Chief Merchants at Cape Coast).

614. John Gregory Annamaboe, 8 Sept. 1691

This accompanyes the 5 hand canoe with 8 chests corn, and desire you will by the returne of her send me some nescassaryes write for the 4th instant. Thee town Cabbosheers have been with me to give them some powder to help them in theire warrs, Mr Bloome doeing the same, & that they expect now. With much adoe gott them to stay till tomorrow, till have your ansieer.

615. John Gregory Annamaboe, 21 Sept. 1691

Inclosed goes two certificats, vizt one for the three fine sletias wanting in case no.9 [which] formerly wrote you of, the other is concerning a baile of perpetuanoes, no.263, which should be blue but at the opening found them all to be green. I find yellow purpetuanoes amoing the redd & green, some I have disposed of at their price. I desire youl send me tomorrow on accompt of the Royall African Company of England one hundred perpetuanoes blue, fifty perpetuanoes green & fifty perpetuanoes redd.

616. John Gregory Annamaboe, 2 Oct. 1691

Inclosed goes my accompt for the month of September, the ballance of which, being seventeen markes three ounces five angles and two taccoes, I keepe till know your pleasure how I shall send it. I know of noe danger here but that it may be sent by land. Our warrs goe on but very slowly, the Fantiners wanting more mony, the[y] doe their utmost endeavour to bring the English & Dutch to be conserned in the palaver, Bonnishe being a great man on that accompt.

617. John Gregory Annamaboe, 6 Oct. 1691

Inclosed goes my September accompt rectified, and have according to your order sent up the ballance of my accompt in the 5 hand canoe & my Doctor along with it, being eighteen markes five angles & two taccoes whereof in cra cra gold four markes. I desire by the returne of the 5 hand canoe youl send on accompt of the Royall African Company of England six chests of sheets, with some powder for forts use.

618. John Gregory Annamaboe, 23 Oct. 1691

Yours of yesterdays date have received & according to your orders have sent per returne of the 9 hand canoe twenty chests corne, which is as much as shee can well carry.

619. John Gregory Annamaboe, 25 Oct. 1691

I have received yours & shall use my endeavour to purchase three hundred chests corne at 1a 6ta per chest according to your order, tho' I beleive I shall not gett that quantity at that price, corne being very scarse & hard to be gott by reason of these warrs. If you intend to have so much corne here I must give sheets for some of it, for sheets, says & sletias is what the Blacks desire. For the two first I am forc'd to refuse them by reason their mony is cra cra, I haveing seen no other this month, I have a very bad trade.

620. John Gregory Annamaboe, 6 Nov. 1691

Inclosed goes my September [sic: = October] accompt & the ballance thereof have sent by the bearer, being two marks six ounces four angles & eleven taccoes gold, whereof two marks cra cra gold. I understand that George Cole is at Cabo Corsoe. I wanting a Serjeant & he having been here before in that imploy, desire you will be pleased to send him down to me.

621. John Gregory Annamaboe, 12 Nov. 1691

Yours of the 8th instant have received & accordingly have put on board the Alligater sloope one hundred and thirty three chests corn. The sloope nor canoe brings no wood by reason its so verry short & small, so that four sticks will scarcely make one of the usuall bigness, & they insisting to have the same price as formerly, thought it best to lett it alone then take it.

622. John Gregory Annamaboe, 18 Nov. 1691

Yours I received and my 5 hand canoe is so much broke that she cannot swim. I desire by first oppertunity to send me halfe dozen slitt deales.

623. John Gregory Annamaboe, 20 Nov. 1691

Inclosed goes my October accompt rectified, I having in my diett charged 2a to much, which is likewise enclosed, which makes the ballance to be two markes six ounces six angles and eleven taccoes gold. By the 5 hand canoe goes Doctor Samuell Lassar.

624. John Gregory Annamaboe, 24 Nov. 1691

Pray be pleased to send on accompt of the Royall African Company of England, one hundred fine sletias & one hundred iron barrs, with halfe dozen slitt deales & some nailes.

625. John Gregory Annamaboe, 26 Nov. 1691

Yours of the 25th instant received with one hundred twenty one fine sletias on accompt of the Royall African Company of England. Corne I have none, nore cannot gett any, soe have sent a white man with the canoe to Annishan, to see that she goes loaden with wood from thence.

626. John Gregory Annamaboe, 2 Dec. 1691

Inclosed goes my November accompt and by bearer have sent the ballance of the same, being three marks three angles and seaven taccoes of gold, whereof two marks cracra money.

627. John Gregory Annimaboe, 18 Dec. 1691

I haveing according to your orders of the 3d instant endeavoured to get corne at 1a 9ta per chest, but cannot get it at that price, this I thought needfull to advise you.

[PS] Pray per first oppertunity send the slitt deales, with some lime. I have six men, three women slaves by me.

628. John Gregory Annimaboe, 24 Dec. 1691

One Twesday last about ¾ after 6 came Bonnishee to the Castle & knock'd at the gate. Ralph Francklyn, who I imploy as Serjeant, came to tell me he was there, I ordered him to open the gates and let him in, but before he could get the gates open [he] was gon som small way from them, and then would not returne, and the same night sent to know the reason why I did not get the gates open against he came. I answered that he might have come when they were open, or stayed till they could be got open. For this the next morning early they panniard the Arda slaves, beat them and detained them from comeing into the Castle, and afterwards came the Cabbosheers by Bonnishees order, as also the Captain of the Bendifoes[17] and Bonnishee's son Asam, they two makeing a palaver that the gates should be shutt and nothing come in or out of the Castle, and accordingly caused the same to be done. None of the Cabbosheers spoake in this palaver. Now you noe [= know] all, and whither you protect me or protect me not Il not live here, for had I gone out of the Castle, as sometimes I doe to walk, they had served me as they did Nightingall.[18] I have done nothing as yet about the corne. Bonnishee, when I received your orders to give 1a 9ta per chest, being gon up country, I could get none of th[e] Cabbosheers into the Castle to make the palaver, unless I gave 2a per chest as he had ordered.

[17] See Glossary.
[18] James Nightingale, chief at Anomabu in 1686, had been stripped & beaten (vol.ii, no.541).

629. John Gregory Annimaboe, 29 Dec. 1691

Yesterday morning came Quo with two men from the Braffo and Corrantiers, and made a little palavera with these towne Cabbosheers, who will open the gates provided I give them two anchors rum and ½ saye, and that for Bonnishee the Braffo and Corrantiers will give me sattisfaction. I thinke it better to let this dashee alone and send something to the Corrantiers to bring them downe, and make the Cabbosheers pay as well as Bonnishee, who I beleive [I] shall get from the towne. I shall keepe the gates shutt till such time I heare from the Corrantiers. I suppose Quo sends a man along with this, if so twill doe well you speake sharply to him about Bonnishee, for your protection is much.

630. John Gregory Annimaboe, 1 Jan. 1691/2

This accompanys Quo, to whom refaire [= refer] you as to what wee have done about the abuses received. As yet the Corrantiers cannot come downe, for on Munday they are to make the palaver about the Arcanys and Cabbes Terra.[19] If there is any beleife in them & the Braffo, I shall have sattisfaction and Bonnishee to goe from this towne.

631. John Gregory Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 3 Jan. 1691/2

Inclosed goes my December accompt, the ballance of which is six marks four ounces one angle & three taccoes cra cra gold, which I keepe, not thinkin[g] it convenient to send it by land. I desire you to send me on accompt of the Royall African Company of England one hundred fine sletias, as also George Cole or some other to be Serjeant, I much wanting one.

[PS] Lett the canoe be heare early tomorrow.

632. John Gregory Annimaboe, 5 Jan. 1691/2

I received yours with my accompt, & will rectifie the mistake and send it. By the bearer have sent the ballance, being six marks one ounce four angles and three taccoes cra cra gold. I will see to gett the three hundred chests corne ordered as soon as possible. By the canoe I received five cases containing one hundred fine sletias, you mention nothing of them in your letter. By returne of the canoe have sent five men & three women slaves.

[19] Presumably, as in 1682–3 (vol.i, nos 268 etc.), Cabess Terra was obstructing the passage of Akani traders to the coast. As noted in chap.VI (n.33), 'Cabess Terra' was an alternative name for Etsi; cf. reference to an 'Atty [= Etsi] war' a few weeks later (Van Danztig 1978, no.73: Resolutions of Council, Elmina, 18 Feb. 1692).

633. John Gregory Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 11 Jan. 1691/2

I have rectified my December accompt and sent inclosed. Pray be pleased to send me on accompt of the Royall African Company six yards scarlet cloth, 6 yards redd cloth and 9 ditto blue ditto, the same being to pay the Cabbosheers of this towne in part of their Christmas dashes. The Corrantiers are not yet come downe according to their promise about the buisiness of Bonnishee. I have none here that I can trust to send to them, besides you verry well know how little a Cheifs word here is respected with them. I am certain that if you'l forward the buisiness you may get him from the towne, and sattisfaction for the abuses, if not twill be very bad with me here. I much want some lime and slitt deales, which pray send.

634. John Gregory Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 26 Jan. 1691/2

Yours of the 25th instant I have received, and according to your order have sent up [per] the nine hand canoe 20 chests [corn], as also 4 men, 2 women slaves. In ten days I will advice you whether I can gett the quantity of corne you want for Capt. Buttram.[20]

635. John Gregory Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 28 Jan. 1691/2

Pray be pleased to send on accompt of the Royall Affrican Company of England 100 iron barrs and 50 blue perpetuanoes. Last night came to anchor of this roade ane English interloper.

636. John Gregory Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 30 Jan. 1691/2

Yours of the 19 January I received with 100 iron bars and 50 blue perpetuanoes on accompt of the Royall African Company of England, and I have by the canoe sent you up 25 chests corne. The interloper is now as far as Annishan.

637. John Gregory Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 4 Feb. 1691/2

Inclosed goes my January accompt and ballance, being 6 angles and 4 taccoes gold. On Friday I will advice you what corne I have by me, and whither I can gett 600 chests corne by the end of this month. Heir is corne [to] be had, but their rowsawing hinders them much from bringing it in.

638. John Gregory Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 11 Feb. 1691/2

Yours of the 9th January [sic: = February] by the hands of Mr William Cross and Mr Francis Smith have received, and have according to your orders inventoried

[20] Commander of the *Fauconberg*.

all the goods in this Factory and have signed three inventories all of one tenner [= tenor] and date, which goes inclosed, and likewise the accompt of goods disposed to the 9 instant, the balance of which one mark 13 angles and eliven taccoes of gold have sent you by the hands of Mr William Cross. I likewise received two men slaves and will indeavour to gett two other to send in their roome. You will see by the inventories what quantity of corne I have gott. I have given goods for more, which now they have gott they carry it on board,[21] which is the occation it comes in so slowly. By the canoe have sent you 10 chests. I returne you thanks for sending Mr Smith to be my second.

639. John Gregory Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 18[?] Feb.[22] 1691/2

Pray be pleased to send me on accompt of the Royall Company of England 200 lead barrs and two barrels powder for forts use.

640. John Gregory Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 17[?] Feb. 1691/2

I have received yours of yesterdays date with 200 lead barrs, as also two barrells powder for Forts use, on accompt of Royal African Company of England. By the canoe have sent you 20 chests corne.

641. John Gregory Charles Fort, Annimboe, 8 March 1691/2

Your orders of the 25th ultimo I received and accordingly have delivered to Capt. Francis Butteram 108 chest good corne, which is all I have by me.[23] I have detained the canoe some time in expectation of getting corne, but finding it comes in but slouly have sent her up. I shall use my endeavour to gett what more I can.

642. John Gregory Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 12 March 1691/2

Last night about 10 a clock I received yours and shal according to your orders alter the accompt and send them up toomorrow. Here is two English interlopers in the road.

643. John Gregory Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 15 March 1691/2

Inclosed goes my February accompt, the ballance of which, being 1 mark 13 angles and 11 taccoes of gold, sometime since was sent to Cabo Corso Castle by Mr William Cross. I have likewise altred my January accompt according to your

[21] i.e. sell it to ships.
[22] Sic in ms.: but from its contents this letter should evidently precede the following, which is dated 17 Feb.
[23] Cf. no.1385, from Buttram.

order, which goes likewise inclosed. I have used all possible means to gett corne but can gett non. I understand that Capt. Parish has sent down goods to this place to buy corne and slaves,[24] and I do belive that hinders me from getting any.

[PS] Pray be pleased to send [a flag?], this I have is 3 years old and all in pieces.

644. John Gregory Charles Fort, Annimboe, 1 April 1692

Yours of yesterdays date have received with 300 iron shott, 12 collars bandelyers, 12 belts, 6 musquets, six swords, on[e] barrell tarr, 2 ditto powder, match, cartridge paper, 2 red perpetuanoes, 2 white long cloths for Factorys use on accompt of the Royall African Company of England.[25] By the canoe came William Young and Samuel Band. I have sent by returne of the canoe 20 chests corne. Desires you by the bearer to send me 6 pair of irons.

[PS] Pray send me 3 bolts with rivatts.

645. John Gregory Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 10 April 1692

I received yours of yesterdays date by Doctor Douglass. Inclossed goes my March accompts, the ballance being 3ta. Corne you will see by my accompts have but little, and most I have of that expended, which is the reason the canoe returns without corne. I have used my utmost indeavours to procure corne but can gett non, Domminy[26] and others keeping a Factory ashore for interlopers, buys up all and getts what money comes to town, so that I am forced to take the Companys goods to pay Factory charges, and do dayly receive so many abusses and affronts her[e]s no liveing unlese some course or other be taken. I believe I could do it efectually if youl protect me.

646. John Gregory Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 24 April 1692

Haveing received so many unsufferable abusses from Bonnishee and several others belonging to this town, thought it fitt for the intrest and honour of the Company to seize upon him, which accordingly yesterday in the afternoon I did, with Humphrey, Finny, Eggen & Petter Quashi,[27] they all supplying Captains Parish, Bill [= Bell?] & Chantrell with slaves, corne &ca,[28] likewise threatning

[24] Commander of the *Sceptre*, an interloper.

[25] The perpetuanoes & longcloths were evidently to make a flag.

[26] A leading trader of Anomabu, also mentioned in 1687 (vol.ii, nos 503 etc.).

[27] All these are also referred to subsequently, the most prominent being Eggen (or 'Eggin'), mentioned several times in 1697–8 (nos 872 etc.). A man of this name is also referred to at Anomabu in 1686–8 (vol.ii, nos 382 etc.), who in 1688 became Brafo of Fante (ii, no.594), but it seems unlikely that this is the same man.

[28] The second of these is probably the Capt. Bell who was at Little Popo in July 1692 (no.1345); the third may be William Charnell, commander of the *Crown* (Database #21195).

to s[e]ize all goods that is bought out of the Factory, oblidging all to buy of them, insomuch that since the interlopers came here I have not taken one taccoe of gold, Capt. Parish also keeping a white man in Bonnishees house with goods. We have done very well as yett, and don't doubt but to make them comply to our just demands. I have but one months provision in the Fort, but de[s]ires you would ease me of some of the women slaves with their childreen, being about 12 in number. I have burnt all the house[s] about the Fort & am well provided of all amunition, but powder have not above 2 barrells, desires you to supply me with some and hand granadoes. I have relleased Petter Quashee upon promise that he will forward this.

647. John Gregory Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 24 April 1692

The forgoeing is coppie of what I wrotte you about ten a clook this morning by Petter Quashee, to which reffers you, since which I received yours, and as for killing 3 men and wounding 3 more I know nothing off.[29] You will see [from] lynes forgoeing that I have panniard Bonnishee &ca, which after I had I gave other Blacks warning to be gone from the Fort, which instead of goeing they turned their backsides to it, a thing we think not to be taken by any [that] has command of a Fort, especially knowing how sufficiently we have been abussed. There is no white man dares goe into the town, the sentinalls struck [and] abused in the Fort, hats stole of theire heads, threatning to put me in irons if they could gett me into the towne, in short the Fort and all that belonged to it was his [i.e. Bonishee's] and he would sell or do with it as he pleased. If you will stand by me I do not doubt but to make a honourable palavour with them.

648. William Cross Annimabo, 12 May 1692

This accompanies Mr John Gregory, from whom as you have been pleased to order have received into my possessione Charles Fort, Annimaboe. An inventory of all goods, merchandize, stores &ca remaining I have sent inclosed. The place is much altred since I was here last.[30] Pray be pleased to make the pallavera with Bennishee and Fantine Cabbosheers, moste of our people being fearfull the Blacks will do them some mischief if they catch them opertunly out of the Castle, so I find we must be forcied to stand upon our own guard, admitte but few at a time and never trust them as formerly. In a day or two shall writte more at large according as I see occasione.

[PS] There are 3 men killed as some say, others say 5, the town great part of it burnt togither with the peoples goods, besides what has been lost otherwise, and

[29] But the allegation was repeated by Gregory's successor (nos 648, 655).
[30] In Feb. 1692 (no.638).

I think they will come upon us if this pallavera is not compounded upon sure grounds with the Fanteenes at Cape Corse.

649. William Cross Annimaboe, 13 May 1692

Not long after Mr Gregorys departure came Bonnashee[s] brother Quashee[31] and some few Cabbosheers with their usuall complyment, after which I told them I was come to make peace and recomposse all the differances, and for the future no man whatsoever under my command should wrong nor abuse them or any of the Blacks, if they did they must make their complaint to me for satisfaction, and that at present they must take no exception [that] I admitted niether their boyes nor arms as formerly, for it was not the custome at Cape Corse Castle and must be no more here, neverthelesse we would live in peace and amity, and trade should be free and open, upon which they begine to bring in some provisione, and I have ordered our people to take no more custome of fish,[32] and we have it brought in at reasonable rates, and I hope all will come to a right understanding, but they must never be trust[e]d as before, and most of our people to are [blank][33] of being surprized by them out of the Castle. Corne room and yard is unthatched and will be washed down in a weeks time if the rain containow thus, especialy [the] without part built of [blank] only, I expect every hour to fall, which have sett the slaves to thatch it if that will preserve it. Pray be pleased to send the surveyer down, that I may advice with him about the repaires of the Fort, for their is much wanting within as well as without. I have occatione for three cases of fine sletias, 50 blankets, 6 quarter casks rum and six chests of sheets, which I desire you to send on accompt of the Royall African Company of England, togither with what lime you can.

650. Francis Smith & Hugh Douglas Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 16 May 1692

We the undernamed do humble desire that you will take our case into your consideration for our lives is threatned every minutte by the Blacks in the town, also our boyes is threatned to be cut in cra cra pieces,[34] if they goe out of the gates, and he that you have sent downe our Chief is a man that will not protect us, but we are rather suspicious that he setts the Blacks against us, for he

[31] A 'Captain Quashee' was a prominent trader at Anomabu in the 1680s (vol.i, no.258; ii, nos 469 etc.), but this is a very common name, so it cannot be assumed that this was the same person.
[32] Implying that Gregory had levied such a toll. The Dutch levied a toll on fish at Axim, Shama, Elmina & Mouri, but it was explicitly noted that 'no other Europeans have this peculiar prerogative' (Bosman 1705, 55). The English in 1704 asserted a claim to a 20% toll on fish (& corn & yams) in Fetu, but this was evidently not sustained (Deffontaine 1993, 204). Implicitly, such taxes were an assertion of political sovereignty.
[33] Evidently 'afraid' or something equivalent.
[34] Evidently here in the original/literal sense of 'cracra [Fante *kakra*]', i.e. 'little'.

followes the old custome of smoaking and drinking, and fills the Castle full of the greatest rogues in town, so we humbly desire that you would send down others in our places and that we may be removed, otherwise we canot think our lives in safety. This we thought fitt to acquaint you.

[PS] As for my part I will take no affront neither will I give any, but the first Black that asails any white man I will certainly kill him. F.S

651. William Cross Charles Fort, Annimboe, 16 May 1692

Yours of the 14th instant I received and am glade to hear of the surveyours comeing, for we very much want him. I find their is no liveing for Mr Francis Smith and Doctor Dowglas, the Blacks will cut them in pieces if they gett them at an advantage, for a[s] soon as they come to the Castle and see them their quarrell seems to be revived. I desire therefor I desire you would be pleased to remove them, and have adviced that if anything should happen I may not be blamed for it. I cannot denie but they are both of them very fitt to serve the Royall Company, but will do much better in other places.

652. William Cross Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 17 May 1692

Yours of the 16th instant with the inclosed[35] I have received, for which I returne you most heartie thanks. I know their good will now, and wish they were as carefull of themselves as I am of them all and all others the Royall African Company intrest and concernes. I need say no more but reffer you to what I wrote yesterday, which I hope you have been pleased to take into consideration. The inclosed is a pettitione of the soldiers, write and directed amongst themselves, which upon their request occasione my sending now,[36] pray be pleased to remove them all and send others in their roome, and a man or 2 more if you please as soon as possible. The corne roome and wall are a great part washed down and ly open. For our security I have caused an iron chain to be fixed to the Castle gate (that being big and unwildey [= unwieldy] of itself) by which we can keep it open or shutt and non can enter butt under the chain, which we keep locked.

[PS] Pray be pleased to send me a strong padlock.

653. William Cross Charles Fort, Annimaboe, [1]8 May 1692

The rain comeing in as it does, every shower goes through the tarras, I am affrayed it will rot the raft[er]s if it be not prevented in time, so that I desire you

[35] = no.650, from Francis Smith & Hugh Douglas.
[36] Not preserved.

would be pleased to send the surveyour with a workman or two with matterials as soon as you can conveniently spare them, and pray advise when [= whether] you would have the corne room built and thatched as before, if so I must gett the assistance of the Cabbosheer[s], for what slaves are here are not able to gett through with it. I want a window case with barrs and shutters for the warehouse, for the other is pulled down and broak to pieces and the window filled up with swish and bricks, which must be taken away again to give the goods aire. Here is little trade, nor can I expect any as long as these interlopers ly here, so that I shall send no accompt untill the end of this month.

654. William Cross Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 20 May 1692

These accompanies Mr Francis Smith, Doctor Douglas and 6 soldiers, who came [= come] up according [to order], and upon Thomas Willsons desire have sent him up too. By this canoe have received 3 cases fine sletias, 6 chests cheets and 6 quarter cask rum containing 150 gallons rum, all on accompt of the Royall African Company of England.

PS. Pray be pleased to send two more by the first conveyance, to make up the complyment as before.

655. William Cross Charles Fort, Annimboe, 27 May 1692

These are to acquaint you that yesterday morning came all the Cabbosheers of the towne to demand their custome upon a new Chief settling. They had severall other pallavers, as is usuall at such times, of little or no consiquence, the most matteriall was in short this, they told me that 6 men were killed and dead of their wounds and 6 more lay so that they thought they would not recover, and that upon fireing the town severall people lost a great many goods besides what were burnt, and they would know of me how [= who] must pay for all this. I told them I was not here then and could say nothing to it, and thought their pallavour had been made up at Cabo Corsoe Castle, upon which their was a hott debate amongst them for some time till Bonashee stood up and paceifyed them, and after silence they told me what I said was true, and that we were all new men and had done them no harme, and should receive non from them or any of their people, and that they would trouble me no more about this pallavour, and departed very [blank]. I desire you would be pleased to order their custome to be paid, the particullars of which Mr John Gregory left with me as he paid by his accompts, which I hope will confirme all better.

PS. The Cabboosheers desire you to accept of Bonashee for a pawne for [him], and he and they will see his debts paid in gold and corne in a short time, for if he lies at Cape Coast and nobodie to look after his busines he will not be able to pay you.

656. William Cross Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 3 July 1692

By the bearer I have sent my accompts and balance, mk4 6o 10a 4ta in good Fanteen gold.[37] It is most for fine sletias and damniefyed goods, which I think is better to dispose on then to lett them ly and grow worse. Besides here is tallow, snaphancees, musquetts &ca which will never turne to accompt, and the tallow, being some without and some in broken casks, will be eaten quite up by the rates [= rats] if not removed, I desire you will be pleased to send for them up. We find more goods damnified then per last inventory, becaus the warehouse was dark, the windoes being filled, could not so well look over them as we have done since. 3 course sletias I have disposed at 4a each, which were mentioned good but there is never a good man amongst them all, and if you look over all the accompts of Annimaboe you will hardly find any disposed of since they were raised from 4 to 5 angles, which is above two years since. I had no peace nor quiteness with the Cabbosheers before I had paid them their custome at a new Chiefs settling, and I was unwilling to trouble you any further, hearing you were all indesposed, becaus it is no more than what others has paid and been allowed att their first settling.

657. William Cross Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 3 July 1692

I have by the bearer sent you 2 small bulces of Arcania gold, one containing mk3 & [the other] 1oz 14a. The former I am indebted to you 4 quarter cask rum, for the other 15 gallons brandie at my comeing down. I am very sorrie to hear of the losse of Mr Elwes, but Doctor Douglas letter other day was a great comfort when he advised of your recovery, I hope you will keep yourselves as you are. If Mr Bloome comes not up till you hear out of England,[38] if not be pleased to look upon me as oldest factor, for I have been here this last time seven years if I live till October, next Chief of outFactory,[39] and have latly given the Company 1000 pounds security,[40] of which I had advice by Capt. Butteram, but I will trouble you no further.[41]

658. William Cross Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 8 July 1692

Deserning [= discerning] the dust alwayes thi[c]k upon my desk and table, tho often cleansed, this afternoon I took particular notice of it, and examining

[37] Presumably ironic, since gold from Fante was notorious for being adulterated.

[38] Bloome, now chief at Accra, had been offered the succession to Elwes as a member of the Council of Chief Merchants, but declined it (no.1209).

[39] i.e. the next-ranking, in terms of seniority.

[40] The RAC's officers in Africa were required to find persons to put up financial securities, graduated according to rank, for their good behaviour (Davies 1957, 256); by raising his security, Cross qualified for appointment to a more senior position.

[41] Cross was not given the position, which went to William Ronan.

the guirder direct over I found it eaten very neer through with the wormes, as rotten as dirt for about 3 foott and the rafters ready to drop out in so much I am fearfull [of] its falling, which makes me give you this trouble now, desireing you would be pleased to send the surveyour with a new guuirder, which I believe may be fastened in the wall to support this till [it] can more conveniently be taken up, for what is done must be done out of hand one way or other. If I had not seen it as I did it had certainly been down altogether, therefor pray send present help. There is fifteen foot from wall to wall. I have occasione likewise for 2 casks lime and 3 cases fine sletias, if any of [them] are damnified be pleased to value them before they come down & send by this conveniency, and by the returne of the canoe may be sent up these musquets &ca before mentioned. Here will be no corne fitt to take in this fortnight or 3 weeks, as soon as there is shall advise you. I hope these lines will find you in good health.

659. William Cross Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 13 July 1692

Yours by the surveyour I received, and what is further wanting to the repaires of the Fort he will acquaint you. By this canoe I have [sent] up for accompt of the Royall African Company of England 38 Turky carpetts, 27 half firkens tallow, two whole ditto, 59 musquetts, 84 snaphances, one match look [= lock] ditto, 4 white blankets, 18½ silk longees, 16 bird eye carpets, 14 Dutch boysadoes and one English ditto, which here will turn to no accompt, being all very much damnifyed more then per last inventory, but no other then as I received them. Bonnashee and the Cabbosheers are not yet come down from danceing,[42] and those that have corne ay [sic: = ?] here dare not lett me have any, for fear of being apprehended by them before they have pallaverd about the disposall of it, so I can gett non to send by this canoe, but hope by the next conveniency to have some ready.

660. William Cross Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 18 July 1692

By the returne of the 11 hand canoe have sent you 20 chests corne for accompt of the Royall African Company of England at 2a per chest, which is as cheap as it can be purchased at present, much of the corne being spoyled by the great rains fell this year.

661. William Cross Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 23 July 1692

These accompany the Surveyour, who hath left the carpenter and bricklayers to finish what is further to be done about the Forts repaire. Yesterday arrived in this

[42] i.e. at the Fante capital (Mankessim). Most references to 'dancing time' in Fante relate to ceremonies in June/July (cf. nos 808, 914, 917); this was presumably *Ahuba Kuma*, a festival of commemoration for the dead, nowadays held in early June.

road in a sloop from Barbadoes bellonging to Jamica, on[e] Benjamin Rawlings, who gives advise of Capt. Sherlys and Capt. Edwards safe arrivall and that Mr Humphras left the former at Barbados.[43] Mr Upton some time since wrote to me to procure 20 goats or sheep for use of the table, telling me the great want you were in, and [myself] haveing such a stock of the former by me, he may use this oppertunity of my hammock (if you think convenient) to come and see them. I shall have occasion for 20 blue Welch plains, 30 firkins of tallow and 40 course sletias for purchaseing corne, which I desire you to send on accompt of the Royall African Company of England. Be pleased also to order Mr Melross[44] to wiew some sletias which I cannot dispose of as per last inventory, with mentioning the receipt of these damnified goods I sent by the 13 hand canoe.

662. William Cross Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 26 July 1692

Yours I have received with 30 half firkins of tallow on accompt of the Royall African Company of England, and have by returne of the 9 hand canoe sent you 3 chest corne, being all that at present I can purchase, by reasone the Negroes are bussied in cutting small corne and have not time to bring it in, but next week shall be able to supply you with what you please. I humbly desire you excuse my not writting, being very much troubled with the gripes, by reasone of cold which I have taken lying out of my roome.

663. Thomas Buckeridge Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 29 July 1692

This comes with the bad news of Mr Crosses death, who departed this life bettween 1 and 2 a clock this afternoon, haveing made no will nor other settlement of his concerns, which are at present in my custodie, I therefor humbly desire you will please with all expedition signify your pleasure in this disastrous affair, which shall punctually be observed.

664. Thomas Buckeridge Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 31 July 1692

Yours I received, and according to your orders have sent up Mr Cross chest with all the rest of his things, saveing a little rum & suggar which remains in the warehouse, with 2 or 3 nessissarys of little or no value, which I suppose whomsoeever you please to send Chief will buy. I have also sealed up the warehouse & Royal Company concerns in presence of Doctor Smith, Mr Mellross and Mr Smith.[45]

[43] Capts Shirley & Edwards, commanders of the *East India Merchant* & the *Kendal Frigate*; Samuel Humfryes, formerly one of the Chief Merchants at Cape Coast, returning to England.
[44] William Melross, chief of the RAC factory at Anashan.
[45] Cf. no.515, from Melross.

665. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 6 Aug. 1692

According to your order have taken possession of this place, with all the goods and merchandize &ca belonging to the Royall Company, the inventory goes here inclosed. I returne you thanks for placeing me here, who shall be very ready to ob[s]erve your orders.

[PS] I have keept of Mr Crosss about 90 lbs of very broun suggar and half a quarter cask of rum, half a small box of candles, which we have valued at 5 lb [= £5], if you will please to spare me them you will do me a kindnese. The scalles and blowpans &ca which belong to the Company were sent to Caboe Corso with Mr Cross's things, if not sold I humbly desire they may be returned me, being in want of them.

666. Thomas Buckeridge Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 6 Aug. 1692

Yours I received and according to your orders have by Mr Thomas Stephenson[46] sent the deceaseds gold buttons, who dureing his life had severall times promised them me, otherwise I should not have presumed to have detained them, neither did I desire them but by your leave, knowing that if your pleasure were that they should not be given me you would demand them. I have also sent his ring and a bulce of money containing 10ta, which I had from the serjeant, which he sayes and I verryly believe was all he took out of the deceaseds pocketts, which he keeped in hopes you would please as customary to allow him for striping the departed. He has as he reports nothing more then a shirt, old westcote [= waistcoat], pair of stockings, shoees, silver buckles and britches [= breeches], which if you please you may send [for] per the next conveniency. Mr Searle if you please will buy his ½ box of candles, remaining suggar and rum. Some things I thought were his I am told belong to the Company, haveing remained in this Factory a considerable time, so that I know of nothing more then a pair of stillyards and old broken case and candlestick. At the time of his decease and long before, [I] was very ill myself of a violent feavear and ague and loosnesse, insomuch that I could not overlook his concerns with the care I should otherwise have done, but to my knowledge he hath not been defrauded of anything, notwithstanding the malitious censures of peace breaking and ill minded men, but in all things [I] have acted no worse then, should it please God to bring me to the like estate, I desire to be used.

667. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 13 Aug. 1692

Bonishee and the rest of the Cabbosheers of this place have been at me for their customes at the settleing of a Chief, which I thought needfull to advise you off before I pay any. Our corne roome is likewise in very bad condition, and without

[46] Retired chief of the RAC fort at Sekondi, temporarily at Cape Coast, pending return to England.

the help of the free people will not be fitting to receive corne this year. Here is severall blacks demands amongst them all payment for 8 chests corne at 2a per chest and one goat at 4a, which they tell me is due to them by Mr Cross. When I receive your answer shall ob[s]erve your orders.

668. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 23 Aug. 1692

According to your orders have gott above 30 chests corne, which I desire you would be pleased to send for, here being no place to [p]reserve it as yett, but I hope in little time to have the corne roome thatched, and I desire a bricklayer with matterials to floor it. Corne is very hard to be gott and not anything under 2a per chest. We have no great canoe here, that which Mr Cross left not being serviceable, so I hope you will be pleased to order one.

669. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 25 Aug. 1692

Yours of the 23[d] instant have received, and according to your order have delivered the 3 men & 2 women slaves,[47] any one of them was more serviceable then all we have left, I hope you will please to send me two lusty men in their room. As for corne, non can be bought under 2a per chest, and I believe no great quantity att that rate. Also yours of yesterdays date have received by the 13 hand canoe, which overturned just before the landing place, all the bricks you sent were lost, most of the lyme casks was staved and the lyme lost. The bricklayer tells me he will want 1000 bricks. The canoe is staved so as that she cannot returne without mending. The bearer hereof is one of the canoe men, which comes to you for iron work for her. At her returne shall send what corne she can convenientyly carry.

PS. In my last I desired a canoe for use of the place, which we much want. Had we had one might have given the great canoe assistance yesterday.

670. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annimboe, 27 Aug. 1692

Yours by the 5 hand canoe came to hand yesterday. They have mended the canoe and I put on board 20 chests corne, which is what she could conveniently carry. I humbly desire you would be pleased to send me 2 men slaves more, here being but one slave fitting for service, whatever want we have of them. I hope you will send me some more bricks and lyme.

671. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 30 Aug. 1692

This is only to desire some more bricks and lyme, for want of which we cannot finish the corne roome. We have wrotte [= wrought] all the pieces we have

[47] i.e. to Anashan, for forwarding to Egya, where the RAC factory had been reopened (cf. no.519).

about the Fort, and are in want of above 600 bricks more, if you send pieces they will serve. Also desire a pair of strong hinges with the hookes for the corne roome door and 2 pairs small for the windoes, and a carpenter for two or 3 days, a black will serve, being only for the fitting of doors and windoes.

PS. The boy that Mr Gregory had down that cleansed the armes went from hence last night, I supose for Cabo Corso. I have desired Mr Upton to send him back, but being a slave I thought fitt to acquaint you with it.

672. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 2 Sept. 1692

Yours of the 1st instant have received by the 7 hand canoe, with some bricks and lyme. The hinges are not come. Bastian is here, has brought with him only a two foot rule. In the canoe goes a slave, by whom I desire to have the hoocks and hinges, a few naills and some carpenters toolls. According to your order have put on board the canoe 10 chests corne, which is what I had by me before your orders, at 1a 6ta.

673. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 9 Sept. 1692

According to yours of yesterdays date have sent by the 7 hand canoe on accompt of the Royal African Company of England 26 perpetuanoes blue good, 70 green ditto whereof 15¼ damnified and 13⅙ damnified, which is what I have remaining, only 4 green ½ damnified without covers and so much damnified that the salt water will spoil them, which is the reasone I keep them here. I desire a baill of blue Welch plains per first oppertunity.

674. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 19 Sept. 1692

This by Amo on his returne from the Braffo. I sent a man to show him the way according to your orders. I desire if you have any broad listed[48] blue cloth and purple to send me a piece of each by the first canoe on accompt of the Royall Affrican Company of England.

675. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annimboe, 20 Sept. 1692

Yours of yesterdays date have received with one piece violett cullered cloth. I shall use my utmost indeavour to procure the quantity of corne you ordered me to buy, and likewise slaves if any presents, for the purchaseing of which I desire two or 3 cases of sayes, [and] if noe blue plains one baill of green. Here is a parcell of course sletias which I believe are the pickings of many cases and are much damnified, were they rated if good at 4a I believe I might dispose of some of the damnified accordingly, otherwise will lye and rotte here.

[48] i.e. edged.

676. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 11 Oct. 1692

Yours of the 8th instant have received with 3 caces [= cases] says, on[e] cace sletias fine, one case sletias course, one baill green plains, one baill boysadoes, with the gunners stores for Forts use. I shall indeavour the purchaseing of corne with all the speed I can.

677. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 14 Oct. 1692

On [ms. 'one'] the opening of the baill of green plains I find severall of them damnified, I desire if you can spare any more sletias fine either good or damnified that you will please to lett me have them, the negroes being very ready to bring corne for them above all other goods.

678. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 19 Oct. 1692

According to your orders have valued the green plains and inclosed is a certyficat of the same, likewise another of a chest of sheets. Here is John Ladd and Thomas Tunbrige, two very refractory fellows not fitting to be at an outfactory, especialy where we must be so cautious of the natives as here we must be. When I was last at Cabo Corso they were very troublesome and would owe [= own] no supperior. I humbly desire that if the canoe that bring the goods be not gone that I may have two civell men in their places and per returne shall send them up. I desire John Ladd may not goe unpunished, for last Saturday he drew his sword on a fellow here, and uttred such words that is not fitting to be put in paper. I put him in prisone, where he shall containow, and he swears nothing shall serve him but my blood for revainge.

679. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annimboe, 20 Oct. 1692

When I came here I was unacquainted with what belonged to the Fort, but what we could informe ourselves of we put into the inventory. What I find more then what was put into the inventory is one iron gunn not serviceable, a drum, 4 pair irons, one maule, part of a cask tarr, one hand vice. For the green perpetuanoes it was a mistake in the coppying the inventory, for I find in mine 82, and likewise for the great shott and musquett shott I told Mr Platt[49] was made away whith by John Pimm in Mr Cross's time. The serjeant tells me the firelock musquetts were sent to Cabo Corso in Serjeant Willsons time, and I suppose the sword. The old canoe before I saw this place was a good part used and cut in pieces. The iron barrs for the windoes or anything elce that is wanting, I can no way informe myself of them, if I find any I shall take as much care of them as if they were in

[49] Joshua Platt, chairman of the Council of Chief Merchants at Cape Coast.

the inventory. What I have found I have added thereto, what I find wanting is at the foot hereof.

[PS] I humbly desire you will please to remove these two fellows I wrotte you of yesterday by Mr Cooper.

4 granado shells	17 musquett shott	1 firelock musquett
1 coller bandyliers	1 sword	1 ladle
1 pair irons	1 old 5 hand canoe	5 iron bars for windoes

680. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 26 Oct. 1692

According to your order have sent per bearer two of my July accompts for Fort Royall.[50] I have in about 350 chests corne & have promise for more in a few dayes. I desire you will send me per bearer two or 3 shovells for turneing it, here being non, which puts us to a great deall of trouble to keep the corne sweet.

681. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 7 Nov. 1692

Yours of the 3 instant have received, and according to your orders was at Annishan to view the Welch plains and boysadoes and have rated them accordingly, the certificats will be sent you per Mr Smith.[51] I have per bearer sent my accompts from 5th August to ultimo October. I desire you would be pleased to lett me have a flagg, this being all in pieces, and a cask of lime to whitewash the Fort, the walls being very black.

682. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 9 Nov. 1692

Yours of yesterdays date have received by Mr Cooper.[52] I shall alter my accompts according to your orders and returne them per first. Mr Cooper told me it was your orders that I should load the 9 hand canoe with corne, though by your letters I find non. I have put on board her 16 chests on accompt of the Royall African Company of England. Our flagg is all in pieces and not fitting to be wore any more, [if] you please to send me [a] long cloth I have remaining ¾ red perpetuano which will just make a flag. Bonashee inquires of me for a gold pawn that was remaining here for some tapseilles.

683. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 16 Nov. 1692

By the bearer I have returned my accompts corrected according to your orders. I wrotte [= sent] you per the 9 hand canoe sixteen chest corne. I have taken in

[50] Where Searle had served before his transfer to Anomabu.
[51] Thomas Smith, successor to Melross as chief at Anashan.
[52] On his way to take charge of the RAC factory at Egya.

almost 800 chests corne, which is what you formerly ordered me, and do believe I can purchase more if I have your orders. Here is no trade for money, no not so much as defray Factory charges. I send per bearer the gold for the 10 gallons rum not allowed of in my July accompts for the Royal Fort [= Fort Royal].

684. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 25 Nov. 1692

According to yours of yesterdays date was this morning at Agga and have rated the boysadoes, the certificats will be sent you by Mr William Cooper.[53] I have taken above eliven hundred chests corne and shall have the other hundred in a few dayes. I put only 800 chests in the corne roome, the rest lies in the Fort in good roomes where there will be no danger in keeping it a while. That in the corne room, part of it has been in almost 3 months, it will be needfull to spend that first, I shall take all the care I can to keep it from spoyling. By the bearer have returned my accompt rectified. I desire you would be pleased to send me on accompt of the Royall African Company of England 50 half firkens of tallow, pautkies blue, timms and cauldees, paper brawles and white long cloths.

685. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 2 Dec. 1692

By the 13 hand canoe I have received 50 half firkins tallow and have returned herewith 20 chests corne. I desire the other goods formerly wrotte for as soon as oppertunity presents. Mr Buckeridge goes by this conveyance.[54]

[PS] I have taken no money last month and I owe to the natives, so shall make no accompt till the end of this month.

686. Edward Searle [Anomabu],[55] 13 Jan. 1692 [= 1693]

Yours I received of the 10th instant, and shall observe your orders for buying no more corne. I shall use all the means that can be for preserveing what I have already taken in. I take not a damboy of money, which is the reasone I made no accompts, but at the end of this month shall make up all in one. I desire you would be pleased to send me some powder on accompt of the Royall African Company of England. The battlements over our hall, on a gui[r]der which has formerly been supported, is broak and sunck considerably within these few dayes, so that if we have any rains it will damnifie the timbers very much. I desire you will be pleased to order some persones to veiw it if the guirder be of strength to bear the weight thereof, otherwise shall desire a new one before the rains.

[53] Cf. no.936.
[54] Buckeridge was sent to serve as chief at Dixcove a month later (no.35).
[55] 'Annishan Factory' in ms., in error.

687. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annimboe, 19 Jan. 1692/3

Yours by the Alligator sloope came to hand last night, & on sight thereof sent a messenger to Amersa & this morning had the felow here that had the shells, I sent him on board the sloope to veiw the butt & he is aggreed to fill it for 9a, we paying canoe hier. We are to pay for noe more than is received aboard, what is overturned goeing off they stand to the loss thereof, so that if you approve thereof you may send the canoe when you please, the sooner the better. The sloope lies at Annishan & we cannot take the goods sent us without the canoe but in two hand canoes, which may wett & spoile [ms. 'spiole'] the powder. I b[e]leive it will be best to make use of Amersa canoemen, being a bad landing place. In yours you accuse for contemning with your orders, for which you have butt little reason. My not sending accompts was not for self ends or anything like. Itt was the 2d instant when returned from you a[t] Christmas, & have been troubled with people ever since for Christmas dashees, soe thought that, takeing noe mony, att the end of the month might doe as well. A Mondy morning shall send my November & December accompts with coppies of my last. The two slaves I acquainted you off that was Bonnishees goeing on board the Barbados interloper, of which I pinyard one, butt did returne itt him, he has been very troublesome about itt & sent me word he would doe any such thing in spite of me, & that he would send to you & make his complaint. Since I came down he has not been in the fort. This I thought needfull to advise you.

688. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 24 Jan. 1692/3

This accompanies my November and December accompts, with coppies of my last. According to your orders have sent the canoemen by land and have sent my Serjeant down to Amersa to see the shells sent on board. I have promised him an allowance for his expencesse the time he stays, so be pleased to advise what you will be willing to allow him. I have received a piece red cloth sent the 3d instant containing by mark 19½ yards, [it] hardly held out 19 yards. What sent me by the Alligator sloope have received ashore, and the sloope is sailled down to Amersa. When the bricklayer hath done shall returne him.

689. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 3 Feb. 1692/3

This accompanies my January accompts. The Alligator sloope has on board 30 butts of shells, which I suppose is with you before this time. About 10 dayes since went from hence one of our Arda slaves by name Ahunbo very sick to Cabo Corso, whom I am informed is dead, and humbly desire you would be pleased to send me another lusty fellow in his place, for those that are here not able to keep the quantity of corne in good order. Ever since he left this place I have been forceid to make use of one Agga slave which Mr Cooper could verry

ill spare, by reasone he is about his corne roome. I desire youl please to send me another with this bearer, and if you have have any broad listed red cloath I desire one piece. I desire 3 or 4 small hingees for windoees, with 7 or 8 small staples and barr hookes for setting them open. The strong sea breas has broken almost all the windoees we have, I desire I may have [them] as soon as can be made, for want of which many of our windoes are forceid to be unhinged. The bricklayer haveing finished his work went from hence last Saturday.

[PS] One of the slaves I have last from you tells me att Christmass you gave him leave to bring his wife, which without your orders I cannot charge her pay, but the woman I have no need of, its men we want.

690. Edward Searle — Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 3 Feb. 1692/3

Since I wrotte you this morning is brought me by a Cabbosheer at Lague two white men which they had from Winebah,[56] where there is two more which the natives desire a pawne for satisfaction for their trouble, as they pretend they fetched them from the woods and has maintained them a week. The liquors and paper brawls and other things which they demand amounts to about one ounce. The men are willing to serve the Royall Company, and [pay] what is paid the natives for them, so when I have your orders shall observe them, and if you think convenient shall send down for the other two. They came from the interlopers, two from Capt. Hogben[57] and two from the Barbadian. I desire I may detain one of them here and send up one of the fellows I formerly advised you of was so troublesome.

691. Edward Searle — Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 4 Feb. 1692/3

Yours of this instant have received. I have herewith send the two white men that are here and have sent a messinger to Winebah about the others. As soon as they arrive here I shall send them to you.

692. Edward Searle — Charles Fort, Annimboe, 8 Feb. 1692/3

The messinger I advised you I sent to Winebah was pinyard by the natives, and yesterday morning I sent my Serjeant down in a canoe to endeavour to gett the white men from them, but could prevaill nothing, their demands are still as formerly, and the Lague people likewise demands satisfaction for their trouble for releaseing them two which are already with you, without which they will not part with them, so that with the charge of canoe heir [= hire] it will be more then I advised you off, which I woud not agree to till I have your orders. The men are

[56] Winneba, 17 km east of Lagu.
[57] Commander of the *Antelope*.

very willing to pay what is disbursed for them out of their pays, of which all 4 must bear equaly. If the messinger be returned imediatly I may have them here tomorrow.

693. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 11 Feb. 1692/3

According to your orders released the men from the Blacks & have herewith have sent them up to you, who can give accompt of the same. The charge I have is io [= one] ounce and ten angles. The ironwork formerly desired we stand in much need of.

[gap in correspondence, mid-Feb. to July 1693]

694. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 1 Aug. 1693

This accompanys my July accompts. Corne I have not taken in as yet above two hundred chests. Next weeke I doubt not but to have the full quantity you ordered me to purchase. I desire two bailes more of plaines and some sheetes to be sent next opportunity. The knives that are remaining here are so very bad that I was forst to give the Cabbosheers 24 dozen for cuting their small corne, and that would hardly content them. The slave run away is certainly gone to Accra or Quamboo,[58] his brother has the comand of Daines fort as the Blacks inform me,[59] so that if you advise Mr Bloome of him he may gett him or satisfaction for his freedome.

[PS] I desire if you are supplyed with paper to send me a little per bearer I have not two sheetes in the fort, nor any of my neighbours so well stoct as to spare me any.

695. Edward Searle Animaboe, 18 Aug. 1693

Yours of this date I have received. The corne ordered Mr Cooper and myselfe to purchase was all taken in last week. I desired to have all that I have shipped off, a great part of it being old and time it was spent. I desire the goods formerly wrotte for.

696. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Anamaboe, 2 Sept. 1693

According to your orders I have put on bord the Kendall Frigott, Capt. James Funnell Comander, five hundred twenty and one chest of good corne, and have advised Mr Bloome what both shipps hath taken, that he may furnish them with

[58] Akwamu, which currently controlled Accra (cf. chap.XI).
[59] i.e. the Danish fort at Accra, which had been seized by the Akwamu in June 1693, & an Akwamu governor installed.

the remainder part of their complement and take receipts for all. The Katherine has four hundred & three from Mr Cooper and one from Mr Smith.

PS. Herewith goes a man which was put on shore per Capt. Curtis,[60] which he told me was by your orders if his Doctor did not approve carrying him.

697. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Anamaboe, 15 Sept. 1693

This accompanyes my August accompts. The slave which [I] advised you ran away is at Quamboe. I have not discharged myselfe of him in my accompts, but I humbly desire you will be pleased to send me another along with the bearer. I desire on [ms. 'an'] accompt of the Royall Affrycan Company of England ten whole barrels of powder, some blue plaines and some sheetes. I have purchased according to your order one hundred chests of corne at 1oz 6ta per chest.

PS. I desire a few nailes, for want of which many things run to ruine, and a ladder, also six quire of cartridge paper & some smal wyer [= wire] for Gunners stores.

698. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Anamabo, 19 Sept. 1693

Yours of yesterdays date have received by Mr John Pink, also 10 barrels of gunpowder and twenty blew plaines. I humbly desire a few nailes as soon as possibly, the spouts of our tank are very much out of order and many other things here, and not a nail in the Fort.

[PS] Humphry & all others that is indebted to Mr Gregory shall not want pressing to pay me, I believe Humphry may pay his all this season, he gives faire promises.

699. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 25 Sept. 1693

This serves only to advise you that this morning I had a messenger from the Braffo to desire me that I would give you advise that the Anguinas and Quamboes has agreed to assist you in building a fort at Wynebah but neve[r] intends it shall be finished, for the Quamboers are preparing themselves to paniard all the white men and the Royall Companies concernes.[61] Whether he sends this message for selfe ends, that there may not be [a] fort there to hinder his customes here, or whether he be reall, I know not, but rather beleive it selfe

[60] Commander of the *Katherine*.

[61] The RAC had established a factory at Winneba, in Agona, in Aug. 1693. The Winneba correspondence also reports rumours of Akwamu military threats, though no such attack occurred (nos 1066 etc.).

ends then otherwayes, however thought it my duty since I had fresh advise to acquaint you with it.

700. Edward Searle Charles Fort Annamaboe, 2 Oct. 1693

The Swallow, Capt. Richard Bradshaw, is arrived at Amersa & has sent to me to supply him with oystershells, so this is to desire canoes to carry them off. If you send two canoes they will sooner lade him. The canoe must call here to take the butt, and the men shall returne by land, & the Amersa canoemen carry off the shells. Capt. Bradshaw desires to know whether he is to send a man ashore, or to have a man from here to take accompt of the shells, his boatswaine being very ill, for when I have your orders shall gett him loaded with all the speed I can. Here is not a taccoe of gold to be taken, so shall referr my accompt to the end of this month.

701. Edward Searle Charles Fort Anamaboe, 5 Oct. 1693

Yours of yesterdays date I have received. The 5 hand canoe have sent to Amersa, & have sent Thomas Farr from hence to see that they dispatch Capt. Bradshaw as soon as possibly. In yours you order me to tell Thomas Tunbridge go to Anishan to worke for Mr Smith. I desire you not to think I am so ill a neighbour to deny him or any man else so small a kindness, was he not so abusive as you are sensible he is. This same Tunbridge has worked for him at his own house severall dayes together, and [he] was never denyed his worke or any thing I had in the fort, till he had so often abused me to my face in this fort & severall other places. None of our people can go thether but he is degrading me to them, which I think is beneath a factor so to uter his mind to a soldier. He hath often said he will do his utmost to ruine me, if he leave himselfe not worth a groat, which has made me deny myself and all that is under me going to his factory, but all those abuses shall not move me to disobey your orders, although I should be very glad that you would excuse me in this. I should never have troubled you with the difference between us did I not think by yours that he has wrote already against me.[62]

[PS] Since the writing of this I understand he has wrote to my second & the said souldier to come to him without my leave, & that I am ordered not to hinder them. If it be so I cannot perceive I have any comand of my men.

702. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 8 Oct. 1693

This serves to advise you that yesterday sending by Annisham 13 perpetuanoes which I trusted Captain Amo of Cabo Corso to sell for me, here being not any

[62] If Smith did write such a letter against Searle, it was not entered.

trade to defray the charges of the factory, there was 2 stoped by the Annisham people, the other are in the factory[63] as I understand this morning. They was taken from my own slaves who I sent to carry them, so referr my selfe for you to order how I shall gett satisfaction for the affront given to the Royall Company by those rogues. If lett run on shall have nothing pass for them. I suppose if you order Mr Smith he can gett the other two, 11 he has in his possession.[64]

PS. Since I wrote this my boy told me that in the morning when I sent him to Annishan & about it, that Mr Smith told him he thought they were interloper goods & that he had advised you purposely to play the rogue with me,[65] which as he is mistaken, I hope you will take it as a roguish trick, and if that they had been another mans, he would not have medled with them, so I hope you will require them all of his hands.

[PPS] The Kinge of Saboe is now in this fort.[66]

703. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 9 Oct. 1693

Being senceable of the envy & mallice that my neighbour Smith bares me and not knowing how maliciously hee may have writt against me, I humbly desire you to grant mee leave to come up to Cabo Corso, and I doubt not but to cleare myselfe of all his asspertions.

704. Edward Searle Charles Fort Annamaboe, 3 Nov. 1693

According to yours of the 13th October I have received from Mr Thomas Smith the 13 perpetuanoes which was seized by the people of Annishan. The Welch plaines sent the 21st September was very much damnified, as you will finde by the inclosed certificate. The Brigantine, Capt. Bradshaw, has on board eighty butts of shells. The two canoes are here, they may serve to load her once more, which I beleive will bee all, for they are old and not worth sending up to your parts. This accompanyes my accompts for September and October. Here is noe manner of trade nor like to bee any, not soe much as to defray factory charges. The corne ordered mee to purchase I have taken in the best part of itt.

705. Edward Searle Charles Fort Annamaboe, 8 Nov. 1693

I am forced to trouble you with this through the impudence of Humphry Lowe which [you] sent hither Serjeant. Hee has been noe wayes forbearable to mee since he has been here, nor is hee fitting for the place hee is in, but I have

[63] i.e. the RAC factory at Anashan.
[64] Cf. reports from Smith at Anashan, nos 545–6.
[65] Smith had indeed reported that the goods seized 'do not belong to the Royal Company' (no.545).
[66] The presence of the king of Asebu at Anomabu is not explained.

endeavoured to beare with him as much as is possible. Yesterday hee came to mee and told mee hee was inform'd that I had said I would send him to Cabo Corso, and if I dared doe it, hee would have mee doe it then, and that it was more then I had power to doe, hee being placed by you, and that if I would send him up hee would desire noe better sport, for hee is sure you will not give him armes,[67] but preferr him, and that hee would doe my busines, and a great deale more of such impertinent language. I put him in prison till this morning, and hee still continueing in the same minde, with unsufferable dareing language, I have by a two hand canoe sent him up, and humbly desire you will bee pleased to send me a man which may bee fitting for such a place as this is, you being sencible that the Natives are very unruly in these parts, and requires a carefull Serjeant. Had hee not been soe very impertinent, which is an ill example to the souldiers, I should not have sent him up till had your orders. I have paid him his pay to the tenth of this month.

706. Edward Searle — Charles Fort Annamaboe, 22 Nov. 1693

This comes by Boneshees boy, who is sent by him and the Cabesheirs of this place, and is to desire to bee trusted two barrells of powder and six lead barrs to carry on their warr against Cabess Terra, being resolved to fight this month,[68] which if the warr was once ended I doubt not but wee should have had a brisk trade. When they goe from hence I have promised them two leade barrs and some powder as a dashee from myself, and offered them soe fair, that if they would give mee a good gold pawne, I would trust them with what powder they want to carry on their warr. They told mee they had noe pawne to give mee, but very desirous I should acquaint you with it. If I could have pacified them I should not have troubled you with this, soe as you are pleased to order I shall answer them according.

707. Edward Searle — Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 29 Nov. 1693

According to yours of yesterdays date by this canoe I have sent by [sic] Mr John Pinck.[69] Some tyme since I desired a carpenter to make door cases for the doors and other worke which wee are in great want of, and if not soon mended the Fort will want as much tymber as would halfe build of a new. Our prison is so out of repair that wee cannott safely keepe a slave in itt. If you please to send tymber fitt for such uses, with some bricks and lyme, and such tools as are at the foot

[67] i.e. reduce him to the rank of common soldier.
[68] Cf. no.549, from Anashan, & nos 946–7, from Egya, the latter naming the enemy as Etsi ('Attee'), for which 'Cabess Terra' was an alternative name. Cf. also nos 710, 950, which allude to the war as between Akani & Cabess Terra/Etsi, the Fante being evidently involved as allies of Akani.
[69] Transferred to serve as second in the Sekondi fort (no.232).

hereof, I can gett such things done here by a Black fellow, which with directions will doe well enough. And likewise I can have all iron work that is wanting made here if you please to order it, for want of which all things runs to ruine here. Sirs, this morneing the Cabbosheers were here to ask mee what I would give them to goe fight. I told them I would give them two lead barrs and eight cartridges powder. They demanded a barrell and four leade barrs, and because I did not comply with such unreasonable rogues, they went out in a huffe, as they always doe if they are contradicted in their demands. I desire to bee advised if there bee anything allowed them or not, soe that I may give them an answer at once. I think it is unreasonable they should bee complyed with in such demands, except these factoryes made better returnes then for these severall years they have done. I desire once more to have Thomas Tunbridge removed, who is very troublesome and not fitting for a place where there is but six men. I shall not enlarge, but if you please to enquire of Mr Pinck he can satisfye you about him.

PS. I have received the rumm. Send per Brigantine tools: 2 hammers, 2 hand sawes, 3 chisells, 1 hatchit, 1 adds [= adze], 3 a[ug]ers of severall sizes, 6 gimletts, 3 plaines.

708. Edward Searle — Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 2 Dec. 1693

Yours of yesterdays date I have received, and see you doe not allow of any powder or leade barrs to the Cabbosheers. They say they had it the last warr.[70] If anything was allowed to bee given them, I desire there may bee the same allowance now, or here will bee no liveing. I desire on accompt of the Royall African Company of England, twenty barrels gunpowder, ten whole barrills and twenty halves, also one hundred perpetuanoes blue & some sheets. I desire I may have it a Munday, for wee are very bare of powder, I have only a barrell in the Fort that is good.

709. Edward Searle — Charles Fort Annamaboe, 5 Dec. 1693

Yours of yesterdays date by the 11 hand canoe I received, with thirteen barrells powder and one hundred perpetuanoes blew, and Robert Jackson to remaine in the room of Thomas Tunbridge, who goes by this said canoe. Also I have sent you on accompt of the Royall African Company of England five good men slaves. I desire by the returne of this bearer twelve pairs of Negroe irons and two dozen rivetts. I have been ill this 3 or 4 [days], or should have sent my accompts before this tyme.

[70] In Sept. 1691 (no.614).

710. Edward Searle Charles Fort Annimaboe, 9 Dec. 1693

Yours of the 6th instant have received. You advice mee that one of the slaves sent you is bursten [= bursting]. I thought soe myselfe at first, but the Negroes told me it was a worme. However, if hee bee not passible, if you returne him I must take him againe. This accompts [are] for November. I hope in a short time this warr between the Cabess Terra and the Arcanyes will bee at an end, and then I doubt not but wee shall have a good trade.

711. Edward Searle Charles Fort Annimaboe, 11 Dec. 1693

Yours of the 9th instant with my accompts I have received, which you returne by reason of corne charged for the use of the slaves. Three of them I have kept above six weeks and the other two a full month, and I never knew but corne was allowed for them. If I have charged more then you think they may have eaten, I will give the Royall Company credit for as much as you please to order in my next accompts. As for sending slaves by land, is more than ever was or can safely bee done. Mr Smith sends them, because hee hath noe place to keepe them, soe that hee is forsed to doe it, or run the risk of losing them, but here useth to bee irons and all things allowed for their use, till opportunity of a canoe present, and I desire it may bee still the same, and when any canoes comes to these parts, if I have any slaves shall send 'em up. I hope after this warr, if the Arcannes have good success, that more slaves may offer then will bee convenient to send by land.[71]

712. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 14 Dec. 1693

This is to desire on accompt of the Royall African Company of England ten chests of sheets, if you have them. For want of sheets I have lost the buying of severall slaves, which are carried to the Dutch,[72] who have enough to supply them by severall passages[73] as has been here. I am sure that the Dutch are endeavouring to draw the Fetuers and the Cabess people under their protection, to bring the Arcanys and Fanteeners to make up the pallavera to their owne advantage,[74] and if they cannot bring them to comply they will protect the former till they have the Quifferas and Dankeras to their assistance.[75] This

[71] Cf. no.951, from Egya.
[72] i.e. to the Dutch fort at Kormantin.
[73] i.e. of ships.
[74] Cf. the account of Phillips (1732, 224), heard on arrival at Cape Coast in Feb. 1694: 'the Futtoers designing to make a prey of the Arcanys (instigated by our no-friends the Dutch at the Mine-Castle) refused them passage thro' their country to our castles and ships, but would force them to buy the goods from them at their own rates'. The entry of Fetu into the war perhaps represented an extension of the original conflict between Akani (supported by Fante) & Cabess Terra.
[75] Twifo & Denkyira, in the interior to the north-west.

I thought not amiss to informe you of, I being certain it is true. As yet the Arcanies have had good success.[76]

713. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annabamoe, 16 Dec. 1693

Yours of yesterdayes date have received. When I hear farther of the Generall of the Mynees [= Mines] proceedings shall advise you. With this goes a Dutchman that came from Amersa, left out of an interloper, who is desirous to serve the Royall African Company.

714. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 26 Dec. 1693

The Brigantine[77] is at Amersa, and I have sent the canoe to load her.[78] This is to desire nailes and staples to mend the canoes, or they will never halfe load her.

715. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 29 Dec. 1693

Just now I have advice from Capt. Bradshaw that one of the canoes is staved and the other much out of repair, soe desires another canoe, and a considerable quantity of staples, with two or three hundred odd of great nailes.[79]

716. Edward Searle Charles Fort Annamaboe, 1 Jan 1693 [= 1694]

Yours of this date I have just received and per the bearer I have sent five yards violett coulored cloth, which is all I have left. I desire on accompt of the Royall African Company of England two pieces of broad listed red cloth to bee sent mee tomorrow, for the Cabbosheers have beene with mee for there Christmas dashees. My slaves are sick and lame, or should have sent them for itt. I desire a good man slave in the roome of him that runn away, for those that are here are not able to doe the worke of the Fort.

717. Edward Searle Charles Fort Annamaboe, 3 Jan. 1693/4

This is to desire the red cloth desired in my last, for I shall never bee at rest for the Cabbosheers till they have their dashees, and also a man slave in the room of him that ran away. The bearer is all the men slaves I have that is able to doe any work.

[76] Cf. no.950, from Egya. The Chief Merchants at Cape Coast in a letter to London reported 'a battle in December among the natives', & that 'the conquerors' (i.e. the Akani) had requested a further loan (NA, T70/11, 23 Feb. 1694).
[77] i.e. the *Swallow*, Capt. Bradshaw.
[78] i.e. with shells.
[79] Cf. nos 1366–7, from Bradshaw.

718. Edward Searle Charles Fort Annamaboe, 6 Feb. 1693/4

This accompanyes my accompts for December & January. Here is noe trade as yett.[80] The natives gives great promises that wee shall have a free trade from the Arcanyes in a little tyme, but I much doubt the warr will bee another yeares dispute. The bricklayer you sent downe continued can doe noe more worke without the timber that is wanting, with lime and bricks considerable, which I suppose the surveyor satisfyed you at his returne from hence. Here is not a drop of raine but it comes downe into all our roomes. The spout of the tanck is soe that wee catch noe water, and a great many other things which wants to bee repaired aboute the fort, which if not done before the raines a great part of it will fall. When the canoes brings downe bricks &ca I desire the canoe men may bee looked after to load the canoe, for a 11 hand canoe brought downe noe more then five quarter cask lyme and aboute two hundred of bricks, which would have brought twice the quantitie. The first instant I received two women slaves from Mr William Cooper.[81]

719. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 13 Feb. 1693/4

This is onely to desire a man slave in the roome of him that is run to Quamboe. The slaves wee have here are not sufficient to finde[82] the Fort in wood and water, they are soe disabled with wormes &ca and those which are well tell the Serjeant to his face they will run away, their work is soe hard, soe I humbly desire you will be pleased to spare me one more.

720. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 21 Feb. 1693/4

According to yours of the 17th instant I have together with Mr Benjamin Layton[83] inventoryd the Royall Companys concernes and sealed up all the warehouses in the Factory of Annishan, which inventorys will bee delivered you by Mr Layton, and likewise the keys of the warehouses.[84] The tyme the bricklayer have been here, I have made our slaves, with other help, break stones, and have built a spur before our inner gate, which will be a very great safety to us against the natives, and wee are onely in want of a gate to finish it. I desire you will bee pleased to send downe by this canoe the gate case, and in two dayes

[80] Phillips, approaching the Gold Coast, was likewise told on 2 Feb. 1694 that 'the country was all in wars, that there was little gold upon the coast, by reason the negro-traders could not bring it down in safety, the passages and roads being stopt'; & on 13 Feb. received a letter from Cape Coast warning that 'there was no trade or gold, by reason the country was all in wars' (1732, 199, 201).
[81] Cf. no.955.
[82] i.e. supply.
[83] Chief of Fort Royal.
[84] Following the death of Thomas Smith, chief at Anashan (cf. no.726).

it will bee finished. I desire it may be seaven foot high and four foot and a halfe wide.

721. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 3 March 1693/4

This accompanyes my February accompts. Trade is worse here now than ever, and I see but small hopes of better.[85] If the surveyor be come from windward I desire he may be sent downe, with a carpenter and another bricklayer, for the bricklayer that is here I am afried will lose the use of his hands, and if not I am certaine he cannot by himselfe repare the Fort before the raines.

722. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 9 March 1693/4

According to yours of yesterdays date by this canoe goes Humphry Low, and I desire by returne of the same a man that is fitting to officiate in his place.

PS. Humphry Low has received his pay to the 2^{d} instant.

723. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 7 April 1694

This accompanys my March accompts, and is to desire on accompt of the Royall African Company of England twelve chests of sheets, three bailes of blue Welch plains & a case of blue pautkies. If there be any sletias, either fine or course, come in these ships,[86] I desire as many as can be spared, and three good padd locks for the use of the Fort, I have not a lock to either of our gates. I alsoe desire 12 good firelock musketts for the use of the Fort, not having two good of what is here, and when I receive them I will send up those which are here, that they may be mended.

724. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 12 April 1694

Yours of yesterdayes date per the 11 hand canoe I have received, with what goods you sent by her and twelve musketts for the use of the fort, and per returne of the same you will receive five men and four women slaves, also eighteen old fire lock musketts, I desire six of them may be returned when mended.

[85] Cf. similarly pessimistic remarks at Egya, 3 weeks later (no.956). In fact, by early March Asebu had also entered the war on the side of Akani, & a few days later the allies won a decisive victory, expelling the king of Fetu, who took refuge in Elmina, & installing his brother as king in his place, who was then brought to Cape Coast Castle to swear loyalty to the English, & promise the Akani free trade to the coast (Phillips 1732, 208, 224–5; NA, T70/11, Chief Merchants, Cape Coast Castle, 2 & 10 March 1694). However, hostilities between Akani & Cabess Terra continued (cf. nos 1436–7), so that trade remained obstructed (cf. no.766, with n.110).

[86] i.e. the *Hannibal* & the *East India Merchant*, now at Cape Coast.

725. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 26 April 1694

According to yours of yesterdays date, inclosed is the bill of lading therein mentioned. I have delivered on Mr Gregorys accompt forty eight chests of corne, which is what I have received on accompt of his debt.

PS. Capt. Phillips gives you his service.[87]

726. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 7 May 1694

This accompanys my April accompt. According to your orders I have shipped on both shipps three hundred fifty & four chests of corne,[88] vizt two hundred eighty six chests on accompt of the Royall Company, on Mr Gregory's accompt forty eight chests, and on Mr Smiths twenty chests to make good his accompts, the corne att Annishan being noe more than eighty chests, soe I desire I may be paid for the twenty chests out of his estate.

I understand by severall that you are assured of haveing the Danes Fort at Accra,[89] doe humbly begg that you will please to favour me with it, where I doubt not but that I shall give all the satisfaction as may be required and shall endeavour to promote the Royall Companys interest to the utmost of my power, humbly begging you will please to grant my request, for which shall be ever thankfull.

727. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 18 May 1694

Yours of this date per the 11 hand canoe have received, with the particulars therein mentioned. When the Briganteen arrives att Amersa shall send downe the canoes to carry of the shells. The bricks is sufficient for present use, but wee shall want three casks more of lyme, for I shall be forced to make the bricklayer take up the battlements in severall places to stop out the water till you can send carpenters to repaire them, which is much wanted. I desire alsoe with the lyme a small cask tarris. In the inclosed note is the dementions of the door cases, windowes for the prison, and carriage[s] for the guns. The spur is finished, only wants the gate case & gate. Per this canoe have sent Nathan Lathom, and I humbly desire a civill fellow in his roome by the returne of this two hand canoe, alsoe a pair of halliards for the flag, & canvass for to make the heade, and a scaine of twine if any.

728. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 21 May 1694

According to your orders of the 14th instant I have made an inquiry after corne, which I finde as the Blacks pretend very scarse, saying the Mine people has

[87] Commander of the *Hannibal*, who arrived at Anomabu 26 April 1694 (Phillips 1732, 209).
[88] i.e. the *Hannibal* & the *East India Merchant* (cf. no.729).
[89] The report was ungrounded: in fact, the fort was ransomed back to the Danes, in June 1694.

bought all they have, but here is great quantities carryed off by them dayly this severall dayes. I have endeavôured to make a palavera with the Cabbosheers att 1a½ per chest, but cannot prevaile for that price. This morning they told me if I would give 2a per chest I should have the quantity that I desired, under they would sell none, saying the Mine people paid more in ready money. The lime I received shall not be wasted, but spent where necessity forces, which is really almost over all the fort. I desire per first opportunity of faire weather the lime & tarras desired in my last, that I may have what leakes stopt I can, for the timber daily receives damage by the raines. I have received the particulars mentioned in your last of the 18th instant.

729. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 28 May 1694

Yours of the 26th instant I have received. The advice I gave Mr Bloome was according as you ordered. Here each shipp had one hundred seventy & seven chests,[90] att Agga fifty chests each,[91] and att Annishan forty each. I advised Mr Bloome that the Hanniball had five hundered fifty eight chests and the East India Merchant four hundered ninety two chests, and at the foot of his letter an accompt particularly what they had att each place. I humbly desire the lime & tarress, for our battlements are soe leaky that we are forced to sett quarter casks to catch the water. Alsoe I desire twenty cases spirits on accompt of the Royall African Company of England. The forty plaines received in Aprill, one bale was good the other seven of them damaged as per the inclosed certificate. As for corne here is plenty enough, the Mine people carryes of as much in a month at our landing place as we have occasion for, soe that we pay customes to a parcell of rogues for nothing. I humbly desire you will please to send me my sallary to the 24th instant.

730. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 31 May 1694

Yours of yesterdayes date by the 11 hand canoe with twenty cases spirits and the lime & tarress I have received. The Fort shall be repaired as much as can be without timber as soon as we have fair weather. If the raines continues much longer a great part of it will fall. I desire as soone as possible a gate for our spurr as it may be finished. Here is a parcell of loose beads, I desire to be advised how many pounds I may sell for one angle, the Blacks haveing vi[e]wed them severall times and sayes if they can have them reasonable they will buy the best part of them. By this canoe I have sent one man & woman slaves which I received from Mr Cooper on accompt of the Royall African Company.[92]

[90] Cf. Phillips 1732, 209–10, who says 180 chests each.
[91] Cf. no.958.
[92] Cf. nos 958, 960.

731. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 18 June 1694

I am verry sorry for the losse of Royall Companyes concerns at Succondee.[93] I shall be very carefull who I trust into the Fort, for I have been ever mistrustfull of these blacks since I have been here, and I beleave none more ready to doe anything that may tend to their [= the Royal Company's] disadvantage then them, had they but any opportunity. The Dutch has there Fort soe well maned that they never fear. Cormantine, a place that is but little bigger than this, has never less than twenty odd men. I hope, considering that the loss of these three Factories[94] depends on this, and that blacks begin now to surprise Forts, you will be pleased to order me four men more, which may keep the blacks under and cause them to lay such thoughts aside, which otherwise they may attempt to make use of, knowing how weakly we are manned. I hope I shall suddenly have a good gate for our spurr as it may be finished, which will be of great strength to us. Our guns are mightily out of order. Wee are in great want of the carriages, and likewise of the door & window cases formerly desired. I desire a few spunge nailes, c[r]owes for stone, baggs and old junck for the gunners use, alsoe nailes for the use of the Fort, for I have not a naile whatever occasion we have for them. I desire a few granadoes that are well fixed, and fire lock musquets in the roome of them I sent up, three of the twelve I received are good for nothing. Wee have been forced to use more lime about the Fort than we thought for, soe shall be in want of a hogshead more to finish the spur, which I desire with the gate.

732. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 20 June 1694

This is to desire on accompt of the Royall African Company of England one hundred & fifty perpetuanoes blue, with the men & necessaries desired in my last. I desire they may be sent the first opportunity of fare weather.

733. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 22 June 1694

This is to desire that the perpetuanoes I wrote for in my last may be sent to me tomorrow morning.

734. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 26 June 1694

Yours of yesterdays date I with one hundred twenty five perpetuanoes blue I have received. By this canoe I have sent you on accompt of the Royall African Company of England three men & one woman slaves.

[93] The RAC's fort at Sekondi had been attacked & destroyed.
[94] i.e. Anomabu, together with the neighbouring factories at Anashan & Egya.

735. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 28 June 1694

I desire on accompt of the Royall African Company of England twenty screwed juggs if you have any, I desire they may be sent me in the morning.

736. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 30 June 1694

Yours of yesterdays date with twenty screwed juggs I have received.

737. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 5 July 1694

This accompanys my accompts for May & June, and is to desire on accompt of the Royall African Company of England thirty cases spiritts.

738. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 12 July 1694

According to your orders of the 9th instant I have been att Agga and have rated the sayes as you will finde per inclosed certificate.[95] The Briganteen, Capt. Bradshaw, is arrived att Amersa, which will be loaded as soon as the seas be downe.[96] If you please to order him to putt thirty butts of shells on shore here, which may be burnt with little or no charge, the Fort may be repaired as it should be. It is soe farr gone to ruine that it cannot be repaired with the lime sent from Cabo Corso without a great deale more charge. The little tower over the staircase is soe cracked with the raines, being built only with swish, that if it be not covered over with lime & haire it will certainly fall in the latter raines. Besides the hall & the seconds roome must be taken up, which will take a great deale of lime, and many other repairs wanting, which may be soon done if we had materialls, lime is the cheifest. I desire the gate for the spurr.

739. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 17 July 1694

According to your orders of the 13th instant I have been at Annishan and inventoried the Royall Companys concernes, and Mr John Pinck have received the same into his possession. The goods are but little damaged more than before, but the upper warehouse has been broak open, the seale of the window & doore broak, and likewise a great place in the sealing [= ceiling] of the roome. The goods wanting are 10 perpetuanoes, one say, two lead barrs & two pautkies, as you will finde by the inclosed inventories. I told Captain Cuffee what you wrote, he says he will make an inquiry and beleives he may finde the theif.[97] He says he panyard two perpetuanoes from a black who told him he bought them of me, the same are still in his possession and he beleives he shall find that fellow guilty,

[95] These were damaged goods, for which the Egya factor had requested a valuation (no.961).
[96] Cf. no.1371, from Bradshaw.
[97] Cf. no.554; Captain Coffee was the ruler of Anashan.

but I beleive him to be a subtile rogue. Thomas Farmer went in at the place that was broak at the sealing to naile up the window as he told us, which is all I can advise you of it. When Capt. Bradshaw has thirty butts of shells on board he may saile hither & putt them on shore, then fall down and take his loading againe if you please to order it soe. Inclosed is ten angles & four taccoes, being the estate of Robert Knightly deceased, which I charged in my last accompts. His old clothes just satisfied those which he was indebted to.

PS. I desire the spur gate with one hogshead lime to sett it in, as I may have it finished before wee burn the shell.

740. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 19 July 1694

Yours of yesterdays date with the nailes & staples I have received, which I have forwarded to Capt. Bradshaw. Per the 11 hand canoe have sent on accompt of the Royall Company twenty five chests corne.

741. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 26 July 1694

Yours of yesterdayes date I have received, and by the 11 hand canoe I have sent on accompt of the Royall African Company of England twenty one chests of corn & two men & one woman slaves. I have the shells on shore, and the Briganteen will saile downe to Amersa today. I desire the lent [= loan] of ten slaves, either men or women, to assist us in getting wood, and setting our kills to burne the lime for about fortnight, and then I will returne them. Capt. Bradshaw desires more staples, those he received are all used. I desire the carriages for our guns, with the other carpenters worke formerly desired. I have not above 3 gunns that are fitt for service. Alsoe some nailes, I have not a naile in the Fort what occasion soever we have of them.

742. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 30 July 1694

By this two hand canoe I send a woman slave which I received from Mr Cooper, and by returne of the same I desire on accompt of the Royall African Company of England ten redd perpetuanoes and one hundred two pound pewter basons. What pewter is here is soe fowle [= foul] that it will never sell.

743. Edward Searle & William Cooper
Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 2 Aug. 1694

This serves only to advise you that we hear that Tuesday morning before day the second of Cormantine[98] by the Generall of the Mines order went upp secretly to

[98] i.e. of the Dutch fort at Kormantin.

the Braffo of Fantine, under a pretence to goe a fowling, on what intreague we cannot rightly understand. We have heard various reports, some say it was to gett the Fantiners to assist Great Taggee of Aguaffo against the Quifferas,[99] others that it was to tell him that the Generall heard that the English had hired him to take Cormantine Fort and desired him to certifie him of the truth, but rather beleive it to be some designe against us, the Braffo & Currantiers haveing been lately very huffish. This we thought needfull to advise you of.

744. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 7 Aug. 1694

This accompanys my July accompts. The second of Cormantines message to the Braffo was that the Generall had heard that the English had given him and the Currantiers a considerable summe of money to surprise their Fort, which the Braffo assured him was very false. This as farr as I can learn was the reason of his goeing up,[100] but however I shall be very cautious of the Blacks. I desire the spurr gate may be sent downe, with some sparrs and deale boards for scaffolding, and that the great canoe may be loaded with what bricks she can carry, soe that the bricklayer may doe all things about the Fort as can be done without a carpenter. The briganteene is loaded, and the canoes are here. They are very old, if you please to order them up shall send them. I have satisfied the Braffo and Cabbosheers of this place with old knives for their customes of cutting small corne, but the Currantiers would not take any, nor the vallue in other goods, but will have good knives or nothing. Their due is two dozen.

745. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 8 Aug. 1694

Yours of yesterdays date with the gate of our spurr I have received. Corne I have not to load the canoe, soe sent her to Mr Cooper.[101] I have returned in her the four window cases, being of noe service here. The window case desired was for our prison, which should be very strong. I desire the canoe may be returned with bricks &ca as I wrote yesterday, and will endeavour to gett corne to load her up. Here are noe barrs or staples or anything to the gate. I desire an iron barr & staples, and hooks for two wooden barrs. He that made the gate can give the smith the length to make the iron barr.

[PS] Our lime is burning. The bricklayer desires a si[e]ve to sift it as he takes it in, soe desire a sive may be sent by a slave. I have not a slave to send, or would have sent one for it.

[99] A letter from Cape Coast to London also reports that Twifo intended to attack Eguafo (NA, T70/11, Chief Merchants, 2 Aug. 1694).
[100] Cf. no.963, from Egya.
[101] Cf. no.964.

746. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 9 Aug. 1694

Yours of yesterdayes date with the bricks & boards I have received. Inclosed is the dementions of the timber worke we want, and noe more than what we have just necessity for. The guns, none of the five can be fired till we have the carriages. I desire six peices of timber that are fitting for the joyce of a roome, and I have a Black fellow here which will take up the second's roome well enough, and till it be done we cannot fire the gunns that stands on that roome, and for the hall I hope that by that time all the fort is repaired you may have a carpenter to send down and take up that. Corne I am afraid will be at an excessive rate after once it is housed. The neighbouring countrys being at great want, here are continually forty or fifty Mina canoes buying corne. I shall endeavour, as soon as it is fitting to take in, to purchase the quantity ordered.

747. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 15 Aug. 1694

This is to desire on accompt of the Royall African Company of England one hundred & fifty perpetuanoes blue, fifty ditto red, and four hundred one pound pewter basons. I desire I may not faile of them early in the morning.

748. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 16 Aug. 1694

Yours of this date I have just received, with the particulars therein mentioned. This is to desire if you have any more one pound basons, that you would be pleased to send me four hundred more by a two handed canoe. I desire six hundred if you can spare them, for want of which shall loose the takeing of three or four marks of gold, I desire them this night.

749. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 17 Aug. 1694

By the 11 hand canoe I have sent on accompt of the Royall Company twenty five chests corne.

750. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 22 Aug. 1694

Yours of yesterdayes date wee have received. Corne what wee gett att present is very inconsiderable, the Mina people buying such great quantities as well as all other provitions, which will cause a great scarcety. Our endeavours shall not be wanting, but doe fear shall not gett it under 2a per chest. Slaves it cannot be expected wee shall gett (and the ship is in your parts)[102] att the prizes you

[102] i.e. the *Fauconberg*.

formerly ordered, 2oz on board, being better then 2oz 8a ashore, considering the prizes of the goods,[103] but doe believe if wee may give 2oz a man and 7 peaze a woman wee may purchase what are to be had here.

751. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 22 Aug. 1694

By this two hand canoe goes William Reeves, an impertinent mutinous fellow. Last night happened a differance between John Ladd and the Serjeant. Ladd being very troublesome I putt him in prison to keep them quiett. A while after this Reeves & two more of our fellows were designing to take him from thence per force, and told me they would not be kept prisoners, as they say they are, because I order them none shall goe any distance from the Fort, without my knowledge, any further than to gett provitions, for when they had their liberty then all ran out of the fort att a time, and gott drunk with palme wine, that I had noe government amongst them. The other two craveing pardon, pretending they were in drinck, and Reeves being very sawsey [= saucy], I have given him condigne punishment for an example to the rest.

PS. Had not Mr Cooper & Mr Pinck both been here, I doe not know what such rogues might have pretend[ed] to have done, soe thought such a thing unsufferable to pass, and I desire a very civill fellow in his roome, and if you will please spare me more I should be very glad, and then the men might have more liberty with safety.

752. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 24 Aug. 1694

Yours of the 22^{d} instant I have received. Slaves what offers here we buy, but when they can have more on board, they will not offer them to us. Corne the Mina people buyes soe much, that makes them they care not how little they bring us, because of them they have gold, and as they tell me above 2a the chest. I shall endeavour to gett the quantity ordered, if I can bring them to comply at 1a 6ta. If you have any blue plaines I desire them if never soe few, either good or damaged if rated accordin[g]ly. Sayes I cannot put off one, they will not take them at 1oz.

753. Edward Searle Charles Fort. Annamaboe, 27 Aug. 1694

This is only to desire to be advised if I may sell English carpetts for sixteen a bendy, haveing money here for some and cannot sell them for more, the Negroes saying they can have them soe on you.

[103] Ships sold goods at cheaper rates than factories on shore: e.g. Barbot 1992, ii, 560, notes that 'The normal price at the forts is 25% dearer than on board the ships'. He explains that ships sold goods more cheaply in order to expedite their departure; but it is likely that the mark-up of goods on shore also incorporated a commission &/or handling costs (cf. Justesen 2005, i, xxix–xxx).

754. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 29 Aug. 1694

Yours of this date I have just received. Mr Cooper has about six chests corne, Mr Pinck thirty, & myself sixty, which is what we have as yett taken in. If any fine sletias I desire some.

755. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 4 Sept. 1694

According to your orders have shipped on board the Guinea Galley sixty chests corne, and by the great canoe sent twenty chests with seven slaves, vizt four men three women, on accompt of the Royall African Company of England. The carriages for the gunns are all to wide, I desire a carpenter to fitt them. The bricklayer tells me he shall want one thousand of bricks to repaire the Fort, I desire a canoe may be returned with as many as they can bring. One spur is finished, but have noe barrs or staples to fasten the gate withall. I desire four quarters for joyce for the seconds roome, fourteen foot long & seaven inches deep, with a quarter cask tarras, and that will be the first thing repaired, because it will not beare the gunns that stand on it to be fired till it is done. I desire alsoe what men you can spare me, and a surgeon, we being daily att charge sending for the Dutch Doctor. If any blue pautkeys I desire two or three hundred. I desire you will please to order how I shall send the ballance of my accompts and in two or three dayes shall send them. Mr Cooper desires the same likewise.

756. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 7 Sept. 1694

Yours of yesterdays date I have received. If had the timber desired for the seconds roome we could doe that without your carpenter. According to your orders by this canoe goes my accompts & ballance, being seven markes 13 angles & 8 taccoes, of which one marke 13 angles & 8 taccoes cra cra gold, alsoe twenty chests corne, all on the accompt of the Royall African Company of England. Mr Coopers & Mr Pincks gold is likewise in the chest.[104] I desire the dore & window cases as soon as possible, with hooks, barrs & staples convenient, or that you will order me to have the ironworke made here by the Blacks, for we have neither gates nor dores that we can fasten as they should be, which if we should have occasion may finde the want of it. The prison doore & window I desire may be very good timber, & strong barrs putt in them. Corne now they have done worke I finde very plenty. I have taken almost three hundred chests besides what I have alreddy delivered, and have not yett forbidd them bringing in, soe that if you please to have any more purchased now will be the time for this yeare.

[104] Cf. nos 564, 966.

757. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 18 Sept. 1694

Yours of yesterdayes date by the carpenter I have received, with what necessaries you sent, and according your orders have returned the carpenter by the great canoe. What good his comeing downe has done is that now he is able to satisfie you what we are in want of, which is much better to be done here than att Cabo Corso, for what they make there doe not fitt the place they are made for. I desire it may be done out of hand. He can satisfie you how badly we are provided. I desire an iron barr for the prison doore, three more large square staples, & as many hooks for wooden barrs. I desire on accompt of the Royall Company three or four bales of blue plaines, two bales of English woollen carpetts, & one case of half blue long cloths to be sent tomorrow. I shall gett the corne ordered as soon as possible.

PS. The Guiney Gally, Capt. Piles, is in sight of this place. By the great canoe have sent twenty five chests corne.

Just now is brought to me money for knives & 4 lb basons, which I desire may be sent in the morning early, with the goods above desired, one caske knives & one hundred basons. The seas running high the canoemen will not goe, which is the reason I send this by land to desire the goods in another canoe.

758. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 20 Sept. 1694

Yours of yesterdays date with the goods sent by the great canoe I have received, & per returne of her have sent twenty five chests of corne.

759. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 21 Sept. 1694

According to yours of yesterdays date by a 5 hand canoe goes Mr Goreing.[105] The great canoe was gone before I received yours. Mr Goreing goeing from me forces me to desire John Browne to be removed, & a carefull honest man in his roome. I shall not trouble you any further, for I am ashamed that I must soe farr, but Mr Goreing being an eyewitnesse to all his actions can give you a full accompt of him. To trust him with the care of the Fort I dare not.

760. Thomas Buckeridge[106] Annimaboe, 29 Sept. 1694

I understand that the money dew from the Fanteene factorys[107] for ballance of there accompts will amount to 18 or 20 mark, wherefore being to come by land desire to know how the same shall be disposed on.

[105] Now transferred to take charge of the RAC fort at Dixcove (cf. no.55).
[106] Sent from Cape Coast to inventory the factory.
[107] i.e. the RAC's 3 establishments within Fante: Anashan, Anomabu & Egya.

761. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 29[108] Sept. 1694

Both yours of the 27 instant I have received, with 37 deal boardes and 12 joyces, with what other necessaries you sent. Desier the great canoe a Munday next with what bricks they can bring and three quarter cask of tarries, alsoe a long lather [= ladder], for wee cannot doe our worke without one. The carpenter tells me theres one ready made which is to long for your use. I desire the iron worke and nesessaries at the foot hearof, and the forte shall be repaired as soone as possible.

1 iron barr with staples for the prison
2 square staples & 2 hookes for ditto
4 pare of hookes and hinges for doores
6 paire of ditto for windows
a parcell of small round staples
8 boltes & keeyes for the ax[le] trees for our gunns
1 handsaw and one trowell for the carpenter and bricklayers use.

762. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 3 Oct. 1694

Both yours of the 1st instant I received with your bricks and tarris, and according to your order goes the gold dew [= due] to the Royall Company from these three factories. From this place is five marke two ounces foure angles foure tackoes, Mr Cooper six marke five ounces seven tackoes, Mr Pinck eight markes two ounces six angles and five tackoes. Our roomes being open, desier you will spare us the sawyer or send Bastyon [= Bastian], for the carpenter sayes by himselfe he shall not have repared the Forte by Christmas. I desier the iron woorke as soon as possible. The bricklayers have not a trowell to lay tarries with, soe I desier one per bearer and, a handsaw for the carpenter.

[PS] I have likewise sent 20 chest of corne.

763. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annimaboe [4] Oct.[109] 1694

According to order with Mr Thomas Buckeridge I have inventored all the Royall Companeys concerns in this Forte, which inventorey will be delivered you by him by the great cannoe. Yesterday whent the gold dew from the three factorys, likewise twenty cheast of corne and two women slaves from me, the slaves received from Mr Cooper. I desier on accompt of the Royall African Companey of England two hundred perpetuanoes blew, fourty blew plaines & one case of Guiney stuffs, as soon as can be sent, the best parte of the perpetuanoes remaning in the inventory being sence disposed off.

[108] Var. '19', but clearly in error.
[109] '11' in ms., but 4 Oct. by comparison with contents of no.762.

764. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 9 Oct. 1694

Yours of yesterdays date I have received with the goods and stores sent, and per returne of the same have sent 25 chest of corne. I desierd some blew plaines, if you have any desier two or three bailes the first opportunity. The Doctor and Serjeant both layes on the ground for want of cotts, I desier you will be pleased to spare two for the use of the Castle. If they are ready made the bearer will take care to have them brought by land.

[PS] I have bin indisposed or should have sent my accompt, but in a day or two shall send them.

765. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 10 Oct. 1694

This onely to desire nails for the repaire of the fort. The carpenter tells me the least he shall want is four thousand. The bearer have nails of the sorte wee want, which I desire as at the foot hereof.

of the largest sorte	1000
of the midling sorte	2000
of smaller sorte	1000

766. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 12 Oct. 1694

This accompaneys my September accompts. The goods disposed of for [corne] came not to soe maney cheast as was put into inventory, as by my accompts appears. At the end of this month shall charge all I have, which is one hundred cheast, deducting onely what I have delivered this month. The case of Guiney cloutes I received the 8th instant contains noe more then one hundred and thirty eaighte. By the bearer I have sent 01oz 13a gold in exchange of what you returned me for bad money. The gold for my ballance I weighed hear to Mr Buckeridge, and afterwarde a parte by itselfe, 4a which I putt in to make weight, which I thought had bin sufficient for soe small a summ, but sence I must send six angles more I likewise have sent it according to your order. You noe [= know] very well I have noe trade from the up countrys,[110] soe I see I shall not contenue this I have without losse to my selfe. The 3 musketts wanting that [ms. 'the'] I sent to the armorer to mend, which I desier may be returned with the others formerly send upp. I desier to be advised what Serjant Clemmets pay is & Nathanell Howard, and from what time I must pay them.

[110] Cf. report from Winneba, Aug. 1694, that the road from Akani to Cape Coast was still 'stopped' (no.1090). The war between Akani & Cabess Terra continued: letters from Cape Coast to London report further loans to the Akani General Nimpha during the 2nd half of 1694, & fears in Jan.–Feb. 1695 that 'the wars [are] like to continue' (NA, T70/11, Chief Merchants, 2 Aug. & 24 Nov. 1694, 23 Jan. & 1 Feb. 1695). The Akani seem to have resumed trading to Anomabu only in April 1695 (nos 800, 815).

[PS] Thomas Saile [var. 'Seale'] sayes he is in debt noe more then 1a 6ta. He payd 4a 3ta the day before he was sent heather, which was for a cheast, soe have sent you noe more then 1a 6ta for him and 2a 3ta for Voss Jackson, with 2 oz 3a to come per bearer. My ballance is in all 2oz 6a 9ta.

767. Edward Searle — Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 16 Oct. 1694

Yours of yeasterdayes date I have received. The reason their was more corne in the inventorey then in the accompts was that wee mist cast [= miscast] the goods disposed on and in makeing up my accompts I found the error. The Guiney cloutes I opened my selfe, soe can give noe other certificate then my owne. This is to advise you that our hall is open. Wee found another small girder of sixteen foot long decayed, that it will hardly beare its own waite [= weight]. The carpenter desier[s] either Bastien or the white carpenter to assist him for foure or five days to gett upp the gurders and to fitt in the joyces. A gurder I found heare, one which was left in Mr Cross's time. If you please to send Bastian by land, he may returne by land againe a Saterday night. If wee have not some other assistance our hall will be long open, and if raines should happen wee shall receive much damage, our warehouse being underneath. I desier tenn good strong men slaves for two or three dayes. Free people are not used to such woorke, and without help wee cannot gett up the gurders. I desier tomorrow the stores as at the foot hereof, which without wee cannot goe forward with our woorke. Our Gunner being desirous to goe to Cape Coast Castle this day to deliver his discharge of you, he haveing lost the use of both his armes, is desireous to be discharged of his place and to remaine hear till the shipp is ready to saile,[111] soe by the first opportunity I desier a carefull honest man to supply his place.

30 deal boards, of which 6 sleate [= slit]
3 hogsheads tarries
1 cask of tarr to mix with the picth [= pitch]
½ ditto picth to stop the spoutes of the tanck
800 or 1000 bricks
2 iron shovells for the bricklayers use

PS. Thomas Saile sayes still he payed 4a 3ta. As for what trusted the Cabbosheers of Amersa, was in goods, for which when the Factorie was inventoried was made disposed of, therefore I charged in my accompts of charges. When you send for more shells the Company will have credit for it according.

I desier the bearer with the slaves desiered may be sent by land this night.

[111] i.e. the *Fauconberg*.

768. Edward Searle Annimaboe, 19 Oct. 1694

Withowt twenty or thirty deale boards wee cannot cover the hall or goe any further in our woork. Desier that may have them in the morning earley. I hope the tarries may doe. The Forte is so farr runn to ruine that there is not a free place about it but what is damaged. Tomorrow shall inlarge.

769. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 20 Oct. 1694

Yours of the 17th, 19th and this date I have received, and likewise the bricks and tarries &ca by the great cannoe, which shall be husband[ed] as well as possible. One of the 3 handed cannoes was staved in fecthing the bricks ashoore. I perceive you thought I wrote for boords, & [of] those remaining hear which the carpenter brought down, tweenty five used for spoutes for the tanck, which are set togeather, but [have] not put up the rest except two to cover the seconds roome. The old spoutes are pulled to peaces, what are good shall help to cover the hall but all will not doe. It is pitty to put boards that will not [en]dure a yeare over such good timber as is now on the hall. The garders are up and the joyces are layde, soe according to your order I have returned Bastion and all the slaves except 3 which wee cannot be without them, and as soon as possible shall return them all. The old boards about the Forte will not cover our woork, soe humble desire the boards a Munday morning, that the Forte may be repaired at once as it should be, and then it will not want [for] maney years. If not, to put such rotten boards as wee shall be forced to doe will spend the lime and tarries to noe purpose. The roome over the cookroome must likewise be taken up to put in two large joyces which are heare for that purpose, wee hardly dare walk on it. Besides a great maney other places will want boards, to teadious to trouble you, which if I have necessaries the Forte shall be repaired as it ought to be, but if they are not to be had I hope I shall not be blamed heareafter. The carpenter and bricklayers doe not set any time. I told them that you wrote and asked them in what time they judged it would be done, all they told me it would be at the end of the next month, but I will forward them as much as possible. If you cannot possible spare soe maney boards pray send what you can, wee must make the best shift wee can to cover the cookroome.

I hope you will never have any lamer accompts from me and shall esteeme my knowledge never the worse for the last.

[PS] Wee cannot cover the hall withowt more boards. Basteyn can tell you what condition all things are in.

770. Edward Searle Charles Forte, Annimaboe, 8 Nov. 1694

This accompanies my October accompt and ballance, being six marke 4 ounces 3 angles and two taccoes of gold, of which two markes foure ounces three angles

and [blank] taccoes cracra money, the best parte of the other runn [= rum][112] butt I think it is good. I desier on accompt of the Royall African Company of England two hundred 2 lb pewter basons if you have any, alsoe I humble desier a quarter cask more of tarras and some deale boards, if itt be butt six or tenn, which wee stand in great want of. Wee have noe tarris to sett in our spoutes with of [the] tanck, so that if I could have itt this day or tomorrow wee should be the forwarder with woorke.

771. Edward Searle — Charles Forte, Annimaboe, 9 Nov. 1694

According to yours of yesterdayes date by this cannoe goes Doctor Jackson. My accompts and ballance I sent yeasterday by a two hand cannoe, which I hope you received.

772. Edward Searle — Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 17 Nov. 1694

According to your orders of the 12 instant have rated the perpetuanoes damaged at Agga, the certificates are here inclosed.[113] By the bearer have sent oz1 a1[0] 5ta gold, in exchange of [that] which [you] returned me the 9th instant. This morning I received by the 11 hand cannoe two caske of pewter, and per returne of her have sent twenty cheast of corne, presumeing you would not have her returne empty. Also by her goes our Gunner, I desier an honest man to supply his roome.

[PS] The carpenter has bin very ile [= ill] this eaight days.

773. Edward Searle — Charles Forte, Annimaboe, 20 Nov. 1694

By the bearer I have sent money to pay the oz1 10a 5ta, that which I sent, if my weights be goods [= good], was enough for exchange of bad money. I have likewise sent my weaights and desier you will try them. If they are not just I desier they may be changed, being all the weaights in the Forte, and those that are allowed me to receive gold for the Companeys goods. If you find them light I desier more by the bearer.

774. Edward Searle — Charles Forte, Annimaboe, 10 Dec. 1694

According to yours of yeasterdays date I have sent up the carpenter and bricklayer, and hope the Forte is now repaired for severall years. We are onely in want of foure pieces of thick plankes to putt under the trucks of two gunns over the second['s] roome. They lye unmounted, if wee mounte them on the bease

[112] i.e. doubtful.
[113] At the request of the chief at Egya (cf. no.970).

[= base] per tarries it will be brook up. The carpenter can give you the length and breadth. I desier [them] by returne of this canno, as allso a gunner & the musquetts formerly desierd. I have had noe trade, soe shall not amake any accompts tel the end of this month.

[PS] I have sent a jug of cockroe,[114] of which I desier your acceptance.

775. Edward Searle Charles Forte, Annimabo, 14 Dec. 1694

Yours of the 11th and 13th instant I have received with its contents. I desier the other muskets if they are mended, which is eaight. What corne Humphres brings I will receive. I never saw him but I ask for Mr Gregoris corne, but I suppose to excuse his delaying soe long made him aske for an order for me to receive it.

I understand you have possession of Commenda, and humble desier you will be pleased to favour me with it.[115] I shall endeavor as much as lyes in my power to promote the Royal Companis intreast and give you all satisfaction you can desier.

[PS] The gunner desiers

3 tor [= tar] brushes
2 scain of tor marline
2 scaine twine
200 spung nailes
1 s[kein?] threed and some needles
some old puncks[116]

776. [Edward Searle] Charles Forte, Annimabo, 24 Dec. 1694

Yours of this date with its contents I have recevied, and by returne of the canno have sent tweenty five chest corne. Sheates [= sheets] will never sell hear att 7a, being not the sorte as they use to have. The Ducth have so much the same sorte, which they sell for 5a, besides heare are people that says that they have bought them of you at 7a & have not made theire money. At six as I beleeve they will sell.

777. Edward Searle Charles Forte, Annimabo, 7 Jan. 1694 [= 1695]

This is to desier on accompt of the Royall African Companey of England one [bale] of redd perpetuanoes and one ditto green, one English carpett, and two

[114] Cf. no.59, with n.161.
[115] The RAC had reoccupied its factory at Komenda a few days earlier (see chap.III); Searle was transferred to take over there in Feb. 1695.
[116] Punk, i.e. rotten wood, used as tinder.

cases of says. On opening one of the perpetuanoes have found onely foure damaged, which are rated as per the inclosed certificate.

PS. I sent this morning by two great cannoes fivety chest of corne. I am in great want of paper &c.

778. Edward Searle Annimabo, 16 Jan. 1694 [= 1695]

Yours of the 14 instant I have recevied, with a baile containing fivetenn blew plaines, and since recevied I will git the corne if is be to be had, in a few days will advise you. This morning I opened the baile of green perpetuanoes sent me 9th instant, containing noe more then twenty foure peices, as per the inclosed certificate.

779. Edward Searle Annimaboe, 22 Jan. 1694 [= 1695]

This serves only to advise you that I have got noe corne, and am afraid shall nott gitt any, the people being hard imployed at rowsawing they will not hearkin to on 1a 7ta per chest.

780. Edward Searle Charles Forte, Annimaboe, 26 Jan. 1694 [= 1695]

Yours of the 24th instant I have recevied. I have redeemed John Cabbess pawne,[117] which I think is not worthe the gold it was pawned for, which pawn Abon saith is his, the Captain[118] saith was pawned for John Cabess money, therefore would not delever that withowt the other. If the Captain had bin ready to saile I did designe to have taken them both to have prevented any defferance with them at this present intriem [= interim] of time, as I told the Captain before I recevied yours. I beleve he will saile a Munday and hardly before.

781. Edward Searle

Charles Forte, Annimaboe, [c.27/28] Jan. 1694 [= 1695]

According to your orders I have delevered the remaining parte of my corne to Capt. Robinson,[119] which was three hundred eighty six chest, the rest of his complement he recevied from Mr Cooper. Per returne of the great canno I sent the 3 men and 3 women slaves on accompt of the Royal African Companey of England.

[117] The leading merchant at Komenda (cf. no.283).
[118] i.e. the captain with whom the pawn had been lodged, named as Roberts in no.283, but probably this should be 'Robinson', as in no.781.
[119] Max Robinson, commander of the *Averilla*.

782. Edward Searle Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 2 Feb. 1694/5

Your orders of the 28th instant [sic: = past] by Mr John Rootsey I received.[120] This is to desire a gold chest by the bearer to bring the Company gold in, it being considerable.

783. John Rootsey Annimaboe, 5 Feb. 1694/5

Pursuant to your orders I have taken possession of this place, for which give you harty thankes. By Mr Searl you'l receive the inventory of all the goods, stores &ca thereunto belonging.

784. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 7 Feb. 1694/5

Please to send by the first opportunity one hundred blue perpetuanoes & six chests sheets, which I can quickly sell.

785. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 14 Feb. 1694/5

This comes to aquaint you that on the 9th instant received from on board the Guiney Galley, William Piles Commander, three hundred and ninety sheets.

PS. By the canoe received a soldier by name Maurice Davies.

786. Nicholas Buckeridge[121] Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 15 Feb. 1694/5

Yours of yesterdays date I received just now as was prepareing to go for Winneybah, the canoe being ready & haveing finished our bussiness here. The contents of your letter much surprized me, that he should not have made knowne his resolution before now, knowing removalls cannot be made at an houres warneing.[122] I hope to effect my bussiness att Winneybah time enough to be att Accra at inventoring. Here inclosed send you the inventoryes of Agga, Mr Rootsey haveing them of Annishan.

787. John Rootsey Charles Fort, Annimaboe, 16 Feb. 1694/5

According to orders I have with Mr John Pinck & Mr Willam Gudge inventory'd Annishan Factory and herewith send the inventoryes of all the goods, merchandizes &ca thereunto belonging.[123]

[120] Evidently ordering Searle's transfer to Komenda (cf. no.286) & replacement at Anomabu by Rootsey.

[121] Newly appointed one of the Chief Merchants at Cape Coast, sent east to inventory the RAC's forts, & to install a new chief at Winneba (no.1102).

[122] Referring to John Bloome, chief at Accra, who had requested leave to return to Europe (nos 1269–70).

[123] Cf. no.581; Gudge now replaced Pink as chief at Anashan.

788. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 21 Feb. 1694/5

I shall use my utmost endeavour to gett one hundred chests according to your order at 2a per chest, which I beleive will take up some tyme, the blacks here are all a rowsaueing and will not leave that to bring their corne downe, which is the occasion of its being soe dear. I would willingly [ms. 'willing by'] send my five hand canoe to Annishan for the corne, but have already lend her to Mr Cooper to Winneybah,[124] from when she's not yet returned.

PS. I request your order for a green perpetuano to cover the great chair [&?] the table in the hall.

789. John Rootsey Annomaboe, 2 March 1694/5

Yesterday came downe here an interloper, a Briganteene, who as I am told by the Blacks offers 4a per chest for corne, soe fear shall gett none whilst he is here. Bonyshee & Humphry both promissed me some on Munday next, on the latter I depend but the other I fear will not comply with his word. I can make noe accompt for this last month, haveing taken but verry little money. I have here six women slaves, five of them being bought by William Cooper,[125] the other by my selfe.

PS. I have forst the above mentioned interlooper out of road by firing 2 shott att him, but that will not fright him quite away, he now la[y]ing out of shot of the Castle.

790. John Rootsey Annimaboe, 13 March 1694/5

Yesterday Bonnishee informed me that the Dutch had been tampering with the Curanteers and sent them severall bendys gold and some cases liquor to side with them against Taggee.[126] The Curanteers have not only refused their mony &ca but have with the Braffoe's[127] made a palaver that the Dutch or Mina canoes for future shall not be supplyed with corne, or any sent to the Castles. They have also opened the way that the people may bring their corne to our Castle, for which they demand of me two cases spirrits, for which must waite your orders. I hope now to supply you with corne enough. I have sent up five

[124] William Cooper, now appointed chief at Winneba.

[125] When he was chief of Egya, prior to his transfer to Winneba (cf. no.803).

[126] Great Taggee, king of Eguafo, against whom the Dutch were preparing war, with forces hired from Twifo. This account contradicts Bosman (1705, 33), who criticized the WIC Director-General Johan Staphorst for not trying to 'bribe' Fante (& Asebu) not to aid Eguafo.

[127] This apparently plural form is probably a copying error, since generally the Rawlinson correspondence refers only to a single 'Braffo' of Fante. However, the title Brafo was sometimes applied to the chiefs of the component quarters of the Fante capital Mankessim, as well as the paramount.

pieces slaves irons which are broake, and desire that the bomboy may be ordered to send others in their roome, with soome spare rivetts.

PS. By this canoe have sent 10 chest corne.

791. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 15 March 1694/5

The Cabbosheers told me this morning that they canot send their people to assist Taggee for want of powder and desire you will supply them, for the payment of which they will give gold pawne. They alsoe expect youle give them some for a dashe before they goe, which as they say will be on Sunday next, I understand they designe by the way of Saboe.[128] Tho they talke soe much of going I as much doubt it, by reason they say Taggee has given them nothing, but if you please to send downe powder it will be ready here for them or what other use you please to order it.

792. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 19 March 1694/5

According to your desire have sent my five hand canoe and am glad I have her to serve you. The Blacks at Cormantyne have deserted the towne that lyed about the Castle and say noe blacks shall come in nor noe Dutch men come out of the Castle. This morning came downe one of their [i.e. Dutch] ships, as I suppose landed their Chiefe.

793. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 22 March 1694/5

I understand you have gott the two great canoes from the Dutch againe,[129] therfore desire you'l be so kind to order mine downe againe, & if any tyme you want, she shall be at your service.

794. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 3 April 1695

With this you'l receive my accompts for the last two months, by which you'l see I have had a verry bad trade. I wish the next two months may have better, but I much doubt it, by reason the people are all gorne to the warrs.[130] If must buy any more corne desire you'l renue your order, the last being near compleated, wherein you gave me power to give two angles a chest, and its not easely procured at that rate. I have sent per the bearer one ounce gold, which stopt from Serjeant Clements in part of 2 months sallary advanced him in England, the rest he will pay the next pay day. He complains that he has been short paid 2a 2½ ta

[128] Cf. no.319, n.71.
[129] These were canoes from Cape Coast panyarred by the Mina people, now restored (see nos 1443–4).
[130] i.e. to assist Eguafo against the Twifo; forces also went from Anashan (no.585).

each pay day since his arrivall, he haveing received but 1oz 8a 10½ta & his due is 1oz 12a 1ta, which is 2 months att £40 per anno.[131]

795. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 8 April 1695

By the bearer have sent my accompts for February & March & the ballance, which is 4oz 3½ta. The Curenteers demand of me 1oz 8a for thre months pay, if you allow of it please to order it & it shall be paid.

796. John Rootsey Annemaboe, 11 April 1695

This comes to acquaint you of Mr Willam Gudges death, at the hour of 7 last night. I am going [i.e. to Anashan] to see him intered, and shall take care to see the warehouse secur'd and Mr Gudges owne goods till receive orders from you.

797. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 12 April 1695

After I had seen Mr Gudge inter'd, seal'd the warehouse dore, & have herewith sent the key. I draw'd out of one of the quarter casks four flagons rum to give the Cabbosheers, the Blacks that fired, and the grave diggers. I have sent an accompt of his cloathes &ca. I found noe more gold then 12a 4ta, which I weigh'd & seal'd up, our Serjeant and Thomas Farmer being present, and have sent it by the bearer with a fuzee & silver headed cane, which would not goe into his chist. Mr Gudge sold me a woman slave for six peaz, the money is still due to him, except 10a which he is indepted to me, being mony lent him when he first took possestion of Annishan Factory. What I have done is without order, but I hope you'l not disaprove of it.[132]

PS. I took 1 sheet out of the warehouse to bury him in. The 2 Cabbosheers that used to supply me with corne [have] been with me this morning, and say they will have 3a per chest, or else they will not bring corne in, because they tell me can make 4a per chest & sell itt per the taccoe to the Cabo Corso people. If you allow of that price please to advise. I have had a long palaver with them about their asking so extravagant a rate but it signifies little, they knowing your necessity and they will have their own price and what goods they please.

798. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 15 April 1695

This comes to acquaint you that I canot gett corne, not soe much as will feed the slaves here, haveing already feed them with English peese three days, which I bought of Mr Salmon,[133] therfore desire you will be pleased to send for them.

[131] Wages were paid in Africa in gold at the rate of 1oz. = £3 16s. [£3.75] (cf. no.957).
[132] Rootsey was evidently told to go back to Anashan to take an inventory (cf. no.588).
[133] Charles Salmon, successor to Upton as Steward of Cape Coast Castle.

Three of the women have been sick of the flux, which hath made them verry thinn. If you please to order me to give 3 angles per chest, I beleive can gett some small quantity more (but not much). Bonnyshee tells me that [ms. 'to'] those men that have corne are gone to the camp, but my opinion is they have sold most of their corne, and will want them selves if the rain doth come not suddenly to produce their other sort of provitions.[134] I waite your orders.

PS. I desire to know if you have any slaves that are runn away. I hear of an Arda slave taken up about Ammessa and have sent for him.

799. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 16 April 1695

Yours by Cabbosheer Hansicoe have received, and according to your order will assist him in the palavra for corne as much as I can, and when we have done what we can, the Cabbosheers of this towne have not any corne but what they buy for themselves, except one man who demands 3a per chest, who is at his croome in the country, but have sent for him, that Hansicoe may ask his reason why he demands so extravagant a rate. I hartily wish could supply you, I assure you I have used my endeavours, and could I attaine them it would be to my reputation. You will receive by this canoe 9 women and 2 men slaves, 5 of which bought by Mr Cooper and the rest by me, as apears by my last accompt.

800. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 18 April 1695

Here are some traders come downe with money.[135] They want blue perpetuanoes, sheetts and powder, therfore desire you'l please to send of each sort to this factory, as soone as this comes to hand, the people now staying for them. I desire may have them blue perpetuanoes out of Annishan Factory.

PS. Hansicoe has been verry sick but is now better.

801. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 21 April 1695

This is to acquaint you that have received from on board the Guiney Galley three hundred and ninety sheets.

802. John Rootsey Annimaboe, 23 April 1695

With this have sent two men & one boy slaves, the boy at 1oz 4a. The man slave which I wrote you of that was taken up about Amessa have sent for, and as soon

[134] Presumably yams, which were the main non-cereal crop on the Gold Coast.
[135] i.e. from Akani (cf. no.815).

as the messenger came into the towne he (I beleive) was conveyed away, tho they say he made his escape. The place where he was taken up is a days journy to leaward of this. I suppose Hensicoe told you of 20 chests, 10 of great & 10 small corne,[136] which I was promised should be brought in next Thursday at 3a per chest, soe desire you order I shall take it or not.

PS. I have taken all the spirritts, being 8 cases, & the blue perpetuanoes from Annishan, being 27¾, & desire you'l be pleased to sent me 200 blue perpetuanoes more.

803. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 24 Aprill 1695

Three of the 4 women slaves you return'd belong to Mr William Cooper, which I have sent downe to him.[137] Mr Searle told me when I received any slaves from Agga it was to secure them, this being a garrison, and I am not oblig'd to make them good if not merchandable. I presume Mr Cooper would have taken it verry ill of me if I had told him (when he sent them) they were not merchandable, of which you are the only judges. Besides the slaves were sent here before Mr Searle left the place, which cann prove by Mr Coopers notes to him, and he did not deliver command of the factory to me till he tooke his leave at the gates, so that damage lies rather more on him then me. I give you a more particular accompt because Mr Searle told our Doctor that since they were left in my custody, [I] was oblig'd to macke them good, but that in my judgment is an error. Had they all died I presume it is on the Companys accompt & not mine. In the roome of the slaves you return'd belonging to me have sent another woman that I bought of Mr Gudge, because I would not be at the trouble of altring my accompts, haveing already entred them in my books. I hope Mr Cooper will do the like without any further trouble, haveing also given him credit in my accompts for five women. I received by the canoe one hundred perpetuanoes. Just as the canoe came to shoare the seas run so high that fill'd her with water and the perpetuanoes were verry wett. I have opened & dried them all, so hope they'l sell for not less. We want a canoe for this place verry much, soe desire your order whether shall charge this five hand canoe that I have to the Company in my next accompt at 3oz 4a, being less then she cost me, she being employed in the Companys service altogether. Mr Searle told me alsoe that you allowe of a canoe for this place, which is the reason I mention it, soe hope you'l grant it.

[136] i.e. maize & millet, respectively: normally, it was mainly the former that Europeans bought for slaves' subsistence (e.g. Phillips 1732, 208, Barbot 1992, ii, 682,781, both referring to 'Indian corn/ wheat').

[137] Cf. no.1111, from Cooper at Winneba.

804. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 29 April 1695

The enclosed I broke open (unawares), thinking it had been for me, which error I hope you'l excuse.[138] The man that was employed to cutt the 20 sticks wood which lately was sent from Annashan hath been with me severall tymes for his money. He demanded 5 angles, but have brought him to four, which if you'l please to order will pay. I have taken in yet butt 5 chests corne, which I thinck is too little to send you by the five hand canoe. Tomorrow I expect the other 15 chests which I write you is promissed.

805. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 1 May 1695

According to your orders have sent five chest corne in a two hand canoe. I doubt the man that promised will not be so good as his word to bring in small corne. I am verry lame with the gout in my right hand, and what herein you find amiss please to excuse.

PS. Please to send per first opportunity a baile blue pautkies.

806. John Rootsey Annimaboe, 27 May 1695

According to your orders have removed all the goods of Annishan factory, & desire you will be pleased to send me the inventory that was taken when Mr Gudge first went there, that may know what damage is sett on them. Most of the tallow which came from thence is very bad, the casks standing soe long on one head that they are rotten & some of them much eaten by the ratts. I was forsed to be att a great expence when the Cufferoes were routed,[139] the town people breinging me between 2 & 300 heads (as near as I can judge), & with abundance of alacrity told me they fought not only for their one [= own] intrest but ours alsoe, soe hope you'l allow me to charge in my accompt for it. Some days since the Fanteniers pinjard some of the Saboe people on Little Tagee[140] for a Fanteen man which he keeps off. The Saboers did the like on the Cape Coast people, & [the latter] sent them here to redeem them, & as one of them was comeing by our Castle [she] run in for refuge, on which the Cabbosheers came all in & demanded her but I peacefied them & have sent the woman by the bearer. They desire you'l please to order Taggee to deliver him in their case.

[PS] One of the musketts which was att Annishan Captain Cofee owns, soe left itt because would have noe trouble with him when removed the things.

[138] Presumably, a letter from one of the factories further east (Winneba or Accra).
[139] Referring to the defeat of the Twifo by Great Taggee of Eguafo, at the end of April 1695 (chap.III, n.78).
[140] The younger brother of the king of Eguafo, at this time still allied with him.

807. John Rootsey Annimaboe, 28 May 1695

This morning stood into our road a large shipp which showed both Dutch & English collors & put the interloper into a consternation, judgeing her to be a French man of warr, on which he came under our Castle & desired protection. The merchant of her is come on shoar & with him two trunks & a deske. What is in them I know not, but pursuant to your orders shall secure both him & them till hear from you. I doe belive the shipp to be a Dutch interloper.

808. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 18 June 1695

I have sent one of our gunns, which by accident the gunner broake the priming irons in its vent. Its one of corner guns, which on occasion must clear the front part of the Fort, and we have no other gunn small enough to put in its place. Have also sent up nine musquetts which are unservicable, and desire they may either be refitted or exchang'd. I have sent Serjeant Clements with them, he desireing it, haveing a litle business at Cabo Corso Castle as he says, that he may forward the smith to dispatch them. We want severall other things for the forts use which have undermentioned. I shall observe your orders to suply Edward Barter with what goods he wants, he hath already had three chests sheets.[141] Least I should want, I desire youl please to send per the canoe six chests sheets, & when the Serjeant returnes 4 quarther cask rum for to pay the danceing custome & for factory use. I have been verry much indisposed with the gout both in feet & hands. I am not yet quite recovered; which you may see by my handwriting, thats the reason have not sent my accompts for Aprill & May; but hope you shall suddanly have them.

PS. Belts for the soldiers, flints, hooks, hinges, staples & hasps for the windows, tarras for the uper floor, 2 quire cartridge paper, 200 spunge nails, spunge heads faulk[on] in size, 2 scains match, t[h]red, canva[s] to make baggs, a worme to clear small arms.

809. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 21 June 1695

I have sent in two 2 hand canoes seventy two blue perpetuanoess. The 5 hand canoe is att Cabo Corso Castle with the Serjeant. I desire when she returns, you'l please to send in her & these two canoes ten chests sheets. If it had not rain'd you would have received the perpetuanoes by day lig[h]t.

PS. The perpetuanoes are putt up into six white blanketts.

[141] Barter was at Quansa's Croom, Amisa (cf. no.1045, which however mentions only 2 chests).

810. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 4 July 1695

I have sent two of my Aprill & May accompts, being what could finish. I supose you are not unsensable of my indisposition, first the gout & now a feavour & ague, attended with a verry sharp tumor in my rig[h]t eye, which alsoe is the reason you have not my June accompts. If could sett to make them you may be assured should have them now and the ballance, which I supose would be 4 marques att least. I have sold all the blue perpetuanoes that are good, and some red. I desire you'l please to send me some more red perpetuanoes, sheets, and a baile of blue pautkies by Mr Ronans boy Hector.[142] When he returnes will send a women slave in the roome of that you return'd. The other three belong'd to Mr Cooper, which I sent him, and he promised to send others for them.

811. Richard Brigham Annamaboe, 9 July 1695

Att our Mr Rootseys request, I presume to write to informe your worships that he did not forgett stopping the serjeants arrears but has it already in his hands, & design'd to have sent it with [h]is last accompts, had not indisposition soe totally subverted all his facultys as scarce to remember anything when he was forced to write last. I hope now the violence both of his tartian [= tertian] ague[143] & feaver & the deplun [= deplume],[144] which has been so troublesome in his eyes as since his last writing to your worships to quite deprive him of his sight, is gone of & doubt not God willing in a weaks time may recover. Our garrison have been every man indisposed with feavour except myselfe & Thomas Seale.

812. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 15 July 1695

I desire you'l please to send by returne of this canoe two bailes red perpetuanoes, & a baile of green.

813. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 18 July 1695

The messenger you sent about the corne palaver [I] have assisted to my utmost, & have made the Cabbosheers promise to bring in their corn at 2a per chests. They proposed that the towne Cabboshees should have 2a 4ta per chests, & I should buy of the boores[145] as cheap as I could, by which meanes all the corn in

[142] Ronan had now succeeded Platt as Chairman of the Council of Chief Merchants at Cape Coast.
[143] i.e. recurring every other day.
[144] Deplumation, a tumour on the eyelid, causing loss of the lashes.
[145] i.e. country people.

the country would belong to them. Bonyshee demands on Taggees accompts, which I formerly advised you of,[146] nine ounces gold in sayes & iron, & one case of spirritts. The bearer will give you a more particuler accompt per word of mouth.

814. John Rootsey Annimaboe, 22 July 1695

By the last returne of the five hand canoe I received in three bails, fifty green & twenty five red perpetuanoes. She now comes with sixteen chests corne.

815. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 29 July 1695

I have sent the 5 hand canoe with ten chests corn. The reason of my now sending of her is [I] have the Arcany's at present weighing mony for red perpetuanoes, they will buy no more green at present, because they say have not sold what they bought the last time they came downe,[147] therfore desire you'l please to send me three bailes of red perpetuanoes by the canoe as soon as she can be dispatcht. Also please to send me some corrall & knives. I have no more to add but that if you find anything herein irregular impute it to the noyes [= noise] of the traders, & excuse [me].

PS. Please send a chest for Mr Brownes[148] and my ballance of June & July. I have near 8mk & I beleive he has more.

816. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 30 July 1695

This minute Bonnishee is goeing (as I am informed) to Cormantyne, where he meets his brother Cabbosheers and the Generall of the Mina, I believe rogues all together. I t[h]ought it my duty to lett you know it, and that the Generall came downe yesterday in the shipp that past by this place (privately).

PS. The Mina people have paid the Cabbosheers seven says and two cases corne brandy (yesterday) to be admitted to buy corne.

[146] i.e. Little Taggee, referring to his holding captive a Fante man, as reported in no.806.

[147] The previous occasion was in April 1695 (no.800). Cf. reports of Akani traders at Anashan in Feb. 1695 (no.582), & Egya in June/July (nos 977, 979, 981); & a letter of the Chief Merchants at Cape Coast to London later in the year, announcing that 'trade [is] opened' (NA, T70/11, 8 Oct. 1695). This probably reflected a lull or truce in the war between Akani & Cabess Terra, perhaps due to the death of the Akani general Nimpha, reported in Jan. 1695 (NA, T70/11, Chief Merchants, Cape Coast Castle, 23 Jan. 1695) &/or the distraction of Cabess Terra by its involvement in the war at Komenda (no.293). However, Cabess Terra did not formally submit to Fante, & promise free trade to the Akani, until 1696 (no.1017).

[148] John Brown, now chief of Egya factory.

817. William Ronan[149] Annamaboe, 2 Aug. 1695

I expect this day to bind the Cabbosheers of this country by fiteshees to be true to our interest and to stand by the King of Aguaffo. His treating to take the Dutch forts and stop all trade from them has made them [= the Dutch] mad & putt them upon takeing these people off,[150] but hope they will miss their aime. The Kings men being urgent to goe away, & that you thincke good may lett them have the two barrell powder, since it is to give his friends thancks. I hear there is another messenger from the Mina come to Saboe last night. I exept [= expect] the Kings brother here at the takeing the fitechees, and then know his arrant [= errand]. Tomorrow hope to see you.

818. Willam Ronan Annamaboe, 2 Aug. 1695

Since my last came downe a messenger from the King of Saboe, intreating me to waite for the King, who will dye [sic],[151] & Captain Ahen of Fatue [ms. 'Tatue'],[152] who will be here tomorrow in company of the Saboers. Betwixt the later and the Fanteners I find there's some grudge,[153] which hope hapily to accomodate, with all other affairs here, haveing now the Captain of Abra,[154] Quomona[155] & old Bonnyshee, on whom depends the whole mannagement of this country, and who riadey [= ready] promise to do anything for our nation. The Dutch contriveing to ruine the King of Aguaffo, have offered them considerabily to stand neuter, but they refused it, and as soon as they heard of my being there, came away from them. The Copeman of the Mina with Ackim[156] are still at Cormanteen, the latter I may chance [to] trapan tomorrow.

[149] Still Chairman of Council at Cape Coast, but come to Anomabu to negotiate with the Fante authorities.

[150] No such threat is reported in the Komenda correspondence; but in the aftermath of the Dutch attempt to murder the leading Komenda merchant John Cabess, on 26 June 1695 (no.342), it is not improbable. The Dutch were now seeking allies to renew the war against Eguafo (nos 84, 337).

[151] Text evidently garbled: the sense requires something like 'come shortly'—perhaps '... by and by' in original?

[152] 'Ahen [*ahene*]' was a title rather than a personal name, applied to a category of subordinate chiefs in Fetu (Deffontaine 1993, 72–4). This is not the 'Ahen' mentioned in the Rawlinson correspondence in 1687–8, called 'Ahen Comenda', who had died in 1689 (vol.ii, no.566, n.82); but perhaps 'Ahin Domine', who became 'Dey' of Fetu, the 2nd-ranking office in the kingdom, in 1688 (Van Dantzig 1980, 105).

[153] Presumably, arising from the panyarring of Asebu people by the Fante, reported in no.806.

[154] Abora, the northernmost of the component states of the Fante confederacy, 20 km inland from Anomabu. Abora was later the capital of Fante, but at this period the 'Captain of Abora' was distinct from the Brafo of Fante (e.g. no. 871), the latter presumably still residing at Mankessim (see further no.924, with n.269).

[155] Probably this means 'the Captain [of] Quomona', i.e. Kwaman, as in no.852 below.

[156] Elsewhere 'Akim': broker to the WIC at Elmina, later notorious as the 'favourite' of the Director-General Jan van Sevenhuysen (1696–1702) (Bosman 1705, 38–9).

The Generall hath promised the King of Saboe to send him the Copeman of Morea for a pawne, if he would send his two sons for a pledge to stand neuter, but that King I hope is a better fri[e]nd to us.[157] They tell the Natives they have Cabes Terra & Danckaras to deale with the King of Aguaffo,[158] but I realy believe the intrest they are makeing is to divert them from sideing with the King of Aguaffo from takeing their Forts. However if it should be true, these people ressolving to stand by the King of Aguaffo will discouradge the Danckaras & all others from making any more warrs this way. Pray send me another flask brandy, & two or 3 bootles of wine; here is not a drap left, & were it not by good chance that Mr Rootsey had soome rumm, know not what I should have done.

819. William Ronan Annamaboe, 3 Aug. 1695

I have this morning ended the palaver, all the Coranteers & Cabbosheers haveing taken fitechees to content. I wayt only for the Fetuers and Saboers, tho have already done their bussiness, however if they come will be so much the better. I hope now & upon good grounds we need not any longer stand in fear of our neigbours indeavours.[159] I t[h]ought conveinent as well to encouradge the trade here, being much importuned thereunto, as well as in consideration of iron, tallow & b[l]anquetts, I say the great quantity of each sort we have by us, to lo[w]er the first at 20 per bendy, the 2[nd] att 3½, the 3d at 3a each. If you think good of it pray give the factors here the needfull orders, & send Mr Browne iron as soon as possible. On sight hereof desire you to send about 50 or 60 silk longees & as many single painted carpetts, & charge this factory with them. If they come in times I shall kiss your hands this night, being quite tired with palavers.

820. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 6 Aug. 1695

Please to send three bailes sayes, & two hundred iron barrs.

821. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 7 Aug. 1695

Please to send by the 5 hand canoe (which have sent with corne to the Steward) two hundred weight of smallest brass panns, and two bailes of English woolen carpetts.

[157] Bosman also alludes (vaguely) to this unsuccessful approach to Fante & Asebu (1705, 33).
[158] This claim was probably wishful thinking: Cabess Terra had supplied forces to attack Eguafo earlier in 1695 (no.293), while Denkyira had been solicited for assistance but provided none (nos 284, 320), but neither afforded any aid to the Dutch in their 2nd attack on Eguafo in 1696.
[159] The Dutch evidently did now shelve the project of renewing the war—though it was again revived in Jan. 1696 (nos 365 etc.).

PS. With this you'l receive my accompt and ballance for June & July, being mk9 4oz 4a 8½t. I have sent the 6 gunns & 2 pattereroes, please to order the others in their roomes.

822. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 9 Aug. 1695

By the 5 hand canoe I received three cases sayes, one hundred iron barrs and two hundred English woolen carpetts.

823. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 19 Aug. 1695

By the 7 and 5 hand canoe received two saker gunns & have mounted them. We want spunge staves, rammer heads, spunge heads, and shott. Was forced to take downe some of the inner curtaine wall over the prison to gett the gunns on the flancker, therefore desire you please to send 500 bricks to rebuild it. Have sent the 5 hand canoe with corne, that she may bring them down.

824. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 21 Aug. 1695

I expect the Arcannians down to trade next Munday and Tuesday, [they] being willing to have enough of all sorts goods, desire you please to send me one hundred iron barrs & two cask pewter, one 2 lb & the other 4 lb basons. Here is pewter in the warehouse, but is laine so long, and is so rusty the traders will not buy it. Since you abated of the price the blacks takes little else for corne but barrs. The bearer brings with him a stick, on which the Braffo desires you'l put a silver head & his name, which is "Aprebe Aquae".[160]

PS. I have green perpetuanoes in the warehouse but the traders like not the collour of some of them. Please to send me another baile.

825. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 22 Aug. 1695

I thought fitt to lett you know that on Captain Coffee of Annishan['s] promise to lett me have corn there, have put one of our men to see it measur'd for me. I advise you of it least should be supriz'd to hear of a whitemen liveing there without your order, and if you approve of it shall continue him w[h]ile corn is brought in. What I take in there is so much kept from the Dutch, or Mina canoes, which canoes comes everry day to that pleace to be supplyed with corn. I hope you'l not take it amiss what have done, if have committed an error place [= please] to be favorable.

[160] Cf. 'Aprobi', given as the Brafo's name in a treaty with the Dutch in 1697 (Daaku 1970, 86, n.2).

826. John Rootsey Annamaboe, ** Aug. 1695

I received by the 11 hand canoe one hundred & fifty iron barrs, one baile green perpetuanoes, fifty four pound and one hundred two pound pewter basons. The seas run verry heigh, that when the canoe landed (she being heavy loaden) cract her side, which is the reason did not dispatch her till she was mended.

PS. Per the first conveniency please to send one hundred double painted carpetts.

827. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 2 Sept. 1695

I have yours by the canoe. Here are some traders come downe, they buy nothing but pewter, please to send 200 four pound & 100 two pound basins.

828. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 4 Sept. 1695

The people which lately came downe only came to spie the marketts, and bought no more then 1oz 4a worth of 4 & 2 pound basons, and I tooke not above mk2 before, so that cannot well send accompt for August, because next Friday seven night is the soldiers pay day, & have paid the Braffo & Currenteers 3 months pay, so designe to lett it remaine till ultimo September, & will then send accompt for the 2 months. Be pleased to order 5 or 6 barrells powder for factory use. What is remaining except a ½ barrell is damaged.

829. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 24 Sept. 1695

I received by the 15 hand canoe, which past by this place to Agga, two barrells powder. I could not get the Portuguez to comply with the price you ordered me to give for rum, therfore bought none but a little for my owne use, which is at your service if you have occasion. After he was under saile and gone out of the road he sent me the inclosed letter.[161]

830. John Rootsey Annaamaboe, 24 Sept. 1695

What mony I paid the Portuguez, he see the touch of before he took it. Had he not lik't it he should have refused it, and then he had been paid in other money, but since he took it voluntaryly without compultion or deniall I reckon it no cheat. As soon as the heat of day is over shall waite on you to answer the complaint of the Portuguez.

[161] Not preserved.

831. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 9 Oct. 1695

I have sent my accompts for August en [= and][162] September with the ballance, being 4oz 12a 9½ta, also six quarter cask rum by the cannoe, which returned empty from Winnibah. I have given Capt. Benjamin Rawlings the Company packet,[163] he being bussy could not advise you of the receipt of it this morning, butt will before he departs hence, which will be this night (as he tells me). Be pleased to send me 100 iron barrs, 200 English woollen carpetts and a baile of white pautkies.

832. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 11 Oct. 1695

I received by the canoe one hundred iron barrs, two hundred English woolen carpetts, and a case of white pautkies, and have return'd in her thirteen quarts rum. Have inclosed sent a letter from Capt. Benjamin Rawlings.[164]

833. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 26 Oct. 1695

Yours of yesterdays date have received, and shall use my utmost endeavours to accomplish your orders therein mentioned.[165] Heare is a seaven hand cannoe to be had. She is not new, neither is she much the worse for w[e]areing, and with little trouble may be made servisable for long time. They damand 4oz for her and say they will not take less. If you have occation please to advise me and will use my endeavour to gett her as cheape as I can.

834. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 26 Oct. 1695

I have in my costody the second of Cormantyne, and waite your orders.

835. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 27 Oct. 1695

The Copeman of Cormantyne will not venture himself at Annamaboe, by reason of some affronts he hath given the blacks, and it is a great wonder that he would trust his second here. I thought fit to secure his second because was shure he would not come. The gentleman now in my custody shall receive sivell [= civil]

[162] A lapse into Dutch.
[163] Cf. no.1403, from Rawlings, commander of the *Thomas & Elizabeth*.
[164] Not preserved.
[165] Evidently, the orders were to panyar the chief of the Dutch fort at Kormantin: Rootsey's response was to panyar the second of Kormantin, & to explain why he could not secure the chief himself (nos 834–5). Similar orders were sent to Accra (no.1292). This was done to force the release of RAC officers held captive at Elmina, as mentioned in no.835.

entertainment, tho am told by the blackes that came from the Mina last neight that our [ms. 'out'] Lieftenant &a are put into their prison,[166] but must follow your orders.

PS. The Copeman of Mowree[167] some of there slaves examined the bearer where he was goeing, or if he had letter from you, and searched him but not finding any about him permitted him to passe. His dillegence makes me trust the b[e]arer again by land with this.

836. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 27 Oct. 1695

Since my last off this date, I had messenger from the Braffo & Currenters (who as I suppose received a dashee from the Chief at Cormantyne) to demand the Dutchmen now in my custody, but after a small palavera with them, wherein I made them to understand that it was the Generall that always, particularly this time, had first broake the league of friendschap[168] betwixt us, & which they immediately went away satisfied they would be true to the English &a, and tomorrow I shall hear again from them. I have sent liquor to the Captain [of] Abbra & Quamba[169] this nig[h]t and desire them both to come downe, and as I have done before the said Dutchmen & Curranteers messenger soe I will display [them] in their owne collors before them two also. After the sealing of my last letter the Dutch Copeman of Mowree, as I understand by the slave that brought yours, se[a]rched and examined him for letters, for which reason I have delaid the Dutchmen from writeing whilst he is here. I have send [t]his by water, not thinking it safe to send by land.

837. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 30 Oct. 1695

Pursuant to your orders have discharged the Dutch gentleman that was in my costody.[170]

838. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 2 Nov. 1695

Be please to send to this factory one hundred iron barrs and a baile blue bafts. I refferr makeing any accompts for October, haveing had noe other trade then corne. When this month is ended will send accompts for both.

[166] i.e. Lieut. Keck & William Puplett (cf. no.1446).
[167] i.e. of the Dutch fort at Mouri (Fort Nassau), between Anashan & Cape Coast.
[168] Again a Dutch-influenced form—*vriendschap*.
[169] Probably this also is the 'Captain [of] Quamba', & refers to Kwaman (cf. no.852).
[170] Following release of Keck & Puplett from Elmina, on 29 Oct. 1695 (no.1449).

839. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 4 Nov. 1695

I received by the 15 hand canoe one hundred and fifty iron barrs, and a case constaining [= containing] one hundred and thirty halfe pieces of black bafts.

840. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 12 Nov. 1695

I am sorry that am forst to send you the bearer on these accompts he comes on, which is this, he's a man that not only breads sedition amongst the officers & souldiers in this factory, but also carrys such unhea[r]d of stories from one factory to the other that if we did not know the man it would bread distaraction [= distraction], and as I hope to be saved, I believe Doctor Brigham will never (whilst in this country) deserve a better carracter then I have above given him. I hope youl not take amiss what I have don, and excuse [me].

PS. Be pleased to send by the 5 hand canoe when he returnes 2 cases sayes.

841. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 13 Nov. 1695

I understand by soome blacks that the Dutch buy corne for 1½[a] per chest, on which I have refused taking any more corne till can bring them to the same prise or hear from you, thinking is verry dishonist and unjust in them to demand more of us then of them. How true it is I know not, but thought it my duty to informe you, and alsoe that you have att [t]his and Annishan factorys about 1400 chests corne, tho shall not bring them all to accompt because I have not paid the blackes for all, and know not what goods will be taken.

842. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 29 Nov. 1695

Please to send to this factory two hundred iron barrs and fifty lead barrs. The people begin to [ms. 'the'] offer this corne at 1a 6ta per chest, therefore desire to know if shall take it in or refuse it.

PS. Please to advise me what you allow Serjeant Seares the 2 months, haveing paid him at the rate of £40 per annum, which I want to know, before [I do] I cannot finish my accompts for this & the last month. [If] I have paid him more then is due must deduct it the next pay day.

843. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 2 Dec. 1695

Yours have received with two hundred iron barrs, and fifty lead barrs on accompt of the Royall African Company of England, and pursuant to your orders have with William Pupplet begin to measure the corne, & shall proceed with what expedition possible.[171]

[171] Book-keeper at Cape Coast Castle, sent to measure corn at Anashan, Anomabu & Egya (cf. no.1004).

844. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 16 Dec. 1695

Yours of the 11 instant I have, wherein you mention should charge 116 chests corne but 1½a, at which rate I have not purchased one chest, as you may see by my letter to you of the 29th November, wherein I desired you order whit[h]er should taken any or not at the price, for want of which I refus'd corne that was offred at Annashan, and since you order that I should desist from buying I have not received one chest, and the reason why I wrote you that had 1400 chest corne is this, have[ing] been often sick in the time of takeing it could not keep an exact accompt, therfore was forst to guess, and to be sure I chose to do it rather under then over, therfore hope you [ms. 'yor'] not suffer [me] to be a looser, butt let me charge the corne as I bought it for the Company. I have herewith sent my accompts & ballance for October & November, being 2oz 7a 1ta.

845. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 9 Jan. 1695/6

Please to send to this factory four hundred English woolen carpetts and two hundred iron barrs.

846. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 11 Jan. 1695/6

I received on accompt of the Royall African Company of England 200 iron barrs. The goods you ordered for Agga could not send by land, the slaves being sicke, so sent them in a 5 hand canoe.[172] Please to send some brass pans of the same sort those sent yesterday to Agga, & corrall. What I have is so verry pale that it will not sell, if you have any other that is better collored can dispose of it. I have return'd the 15 hand canoe with 56 chests corne.

PS. Be please to send a baile of boysadoes.

847. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 26 Jan. 1695/6

The country being in peace and noe palavera made me the forwarder to accept of Mr Coopers invitation downe to Winniba, not thinking of soe sudden an allteration,[173] but am returned againe, and thought fitt to acquaint you that the fort is in good order. We want nothing but match & ca[r]tridg[e] paper, the last of which I know you have little of at Cape Coast, and if we should have occasion must be forst to use sletias or some other cloth. Please to supply me with the other by the returne of this canoe. I received your letter about me not paying

[172] Cf. no.1008.

[173] The same news was sent to Winneba (no.1136): probably referring to the renewal of war at Komenda, & in particular the panyarring of Cape Coast canoes by the Mina there, on the morning of 26 Jan. 1696 (no.368).

t[h]e fisherman Christmas dashees. By the accompt I have from Mr Searle there was never anything allowed them, but shall follow your orders.

848. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 28 Jan. 1695/6

I received fifty pounds small shott, six musketts & six bundles country match.

849. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 6 Feb. 1695/6

Please to send one hundred iron bars, also 10 chests of cheets [= sheets], and 10 bailes of perpetuanoes, if [any have] come on shoare, traders being here waiting with there money, therefore desire you'll dispatch a canoe with them.

850. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 8 Feb. 1695/6

Yours of this date with two and a halfe barrells powder I received. When sent for shall be delivered according to order.

851. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 8 Feb. 1695/6

I received per the 15 hand canoe two hundred and fifty iron bars. One hundred and fourty of them I delivered to a black po^{r}der [sic: = ?] per name Peperill.[174]

852. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 11 Feb. 1695/6

Yesterday came downe the Captain of Quamon[175] with severall traders, who hath bought all the iron bars I had that was marked, their remaines not above forty. He hath left in my hands 12 bendys odd money, for knives oz6, one pound basons, oz1 4a, 8 bendys powder if you have any to sell, 2 bendys in 4 lb basons, the rest in blue perpetuanoes. If no powder he is to take the money out in perpetuanoes or what else he pleaseth. He waites here till I have the goods. I observed yours wherein you mention I should be supplyed with goods when the ship returnes againe (which hope will be speedily),[176] [which] was the reason I would not refuse his money when offered. Please to send also 200 iron bars, haveing money here for some of them already. Herewith comes my accompts for December & January last, the ballance shall keep till you order itt to be sent up. It hath been sealed and ready this 5 days.

[174] The doubtful word is evidently an abbreviation, but no suitable expansion suggests itself (unless Portuguese *provedor*, 'supplier'); the sense required seems to be 'trader'. 'Peperill' is presumably the same as 'Pepper' in no.926; also 'Peperell', who had an agent in Eguafo in 1703, described as 'an Akani king', but perhaps rather a merchant (Kea 1982, 268).

[175] Kwaman, one of the component states of Fante, NE of Anomabu.

[176] i.e. the *Fauconberg*, which after arriving at Cape Coast had initially gone back west to Komenda (no.371).

853. John Rootsey [Anomabu], 16 Feb. 1695/6

A little to leward of this lies a Dutch interloper, who when last here on the Coast, carried a packett home from you to the Company, and hath sent me word that if you please instruct him againe, will be willing & ready to serve you, therefore have dispatched this to informe you.

854. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 17 Feb. 1695/6

Yesterday came two Englishmen on shore from on board the Dutch interloper. They formerly belonged to one Capt. William Reves,[177] a hired ship by the Company[178] as they tell mee, & bound to the Bite [= Bight],[179] where they were loaded with slaves, & in their way to Barbadoes was taken by a French privateer, haveing on board 360 slaves. They also give an accompt of an English interloper that came to the Bite one day after them either in the month of February or March, they cannot exactlly tell because they are but saylers and keept no accompt. One of them by name Edward Baily hath agreed with mee and entred himselfe in the Companys service for soldiers pay, and if any service for him in ships on the Coast he doth rely on you for further advancement. Enoch Checkery the other desires to goe home in the Fauconberg. What I have done I hope you'l not mislike, and I desire you'l please to lett him continue here in the roome of Henry Underhill, who is almost blind with both eyes with age, and not able to doe duty. The Dutch interloper waites for your packett, which only [= alone] delays him as he pretends, but am told he waites also for the Mine pakett.

855. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 26 Feb. 1695/6

I spoke [ms 'spose'] to Bonnyshee about the Dankra mans slave, and told him he was in possession of one of his blacksmiths, [he] flue [= flew] into a passion and told me I should have desired him to look for him, and also you should have sent one [of] your boys with your cane to make a pallaver, and thereby he would have gott somthing, and so have made himself igniorant of the matter, which is the old rogues common practice, because I told him where he was entertained. He says he will not come againe into the Castle and if he be as good as his word it will be both for the good of the Company and our selves that live here. Our white men and the Companys slaves particularly have been abused and beaten by the blacks severall times. I bare it all on accompt of the war,[180] or els would

[177] Commander of the *Return* (Database #15016).
[178] The RAC often hired ships from other owners, as well as using its own (Davies 1957, 196–201).
[179] i.e. the Bight of Guinea (in later usage, of Biafra), corresponding to modern south-eastern Nigeria, Cameroun & Gabon. Reeves traded at (New) Calabar, in Nigeria.
[180] i.e. the renewed war in Eguafo (cf. no.859), the implication being that the English needed to remain friends with the Fante, as potential allies.

have some of them in irons ere this time, and if it were not for the 2 factorys,[181] would immediately serve them the same as Mr Grigory did.[182] If it were not for those reasons noe man could bare the affronts which I have had, but must pass all by, and waite with patience for better times.

PS. The traders come downe daily and inquire for perpetuanoes, sheets, knives, basons, blue plaine, painted carpetts, therfore please to supply mee by first opportunity.

856. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 3 March 1695/6

When the Fauconberg comes downe be pleased to send in her for this factory five hundred iron barrs.

857. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 11 March 1695/6

I received on board the Fauconberg five hundred iron barrs and six quarter cask of rumm. The halfe thereof, as you have ordered mee, shall be delivered to Mr John Browne at Agga. I shall observe your orders to supply Capt. Browne with what corne he wants, he hath already taken 340 chests.[183] If you think fitt, please to send 200 iron barrs, & 100 blue perpetuanoes, 400 one pound basons. It may be dangerous for Cabo Corso canoe men to pass Morea Castle, but if you pleas[e] will send 2 5 hand canoes with fourteen men & those the Mine people dare not panyar.[184]

858. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 14 March 1695/6

I have received by the 15 hand canoe two hundred & fifty iron barrs, and have return'd her loaden with 50 chest of corn according to your orders.

859. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 25 March 1696

Yours of the 23 and 24 instant have received, and am glad that the King of Aguaffo hath defeated his enemie, which am sure (as you mention) your news is not welcome news to some in those parts, by reason their solders were not there to assist, that thereby they might had the glory of the action &c.[185] I desire you would not believe every black that runns up with a story, tho am fool enough

[181] i.e. Anomabu & Egya (Anashan having now been abandoned).

[182] Gregory, when chief at Anomabu in 1691, had panyarred Bonnishee & other leading traders, & burnt part of the town, killing several persons (nos 646–8, 655).

[183] Cf. no.1412, from Capt. Brown (which however says 240 chests).

[184] Retaliation was presumably feared for the panyarring of canoes from Mina at Beraku in Feb. (nos 1137–8).

[185] Referring to the war between Great Taggee & his brother Little Taggee (no.378). The Fante, despite having reaffirmed their alliance with Eguafo in Aug. 1695 (no.818), remained neutral in this 2nd war.

somtimes, yett my folly was never so great as to tell anyone that I heed your orders unless it were true, and I have been so far from threatning the blacks (lately) to doe by them as Mr Grigory did, that I have not thought of it, but Bonnyshees guilty conscience accuses him, and to find out if any such thing was designed I suppose sent to learn what he could. I am sure he deserves that and more. I have had one of the Companys slaves run away, an [ms. 'and'] Arda woman, one of the 10 which have charged in my accompts. She cannot speak this countrey language, nor doth she know the countrey, therefore am sure she must be stole or privately keept by some of the townes people. I have used my endeavours with them to gett her againe, but all is in vaine, for they doe what they please, because they are and think dare not be called to an accompt for them. I shall take care to be so wise as not to neglect the Companys bussiness, all false[hoods] as what the blacks has informed you, shall not trouble me, knowing what sort of people they are in this place. I shall follow your orders as to Captain Quo. As it has been alwayes my endeavour to live peaceably amongst the natives, soe you shall not find me only to promote it, but to continue it if it lies in my power. I have not else to add but beg your excuse for my bad scribling, haveing the gout in my right thumb, that I cannot hold a pen fast.

860. John Rootsey Annamaboe, 28 March 1696

I have herewith sent you mks20 of gold, which I suppose may be near the ballance of the last 4 monthly accompts. I am not at present in a condition to make them up, but as soon as I can sett pen to paper shall adjust them with you.

PS. The inclosed is the key of the gold chest. Corne and slaves delivered to Capt. Abraham Browne on accompt of the Royall Affrican Company of England:

578 chests corn
6 men slaves
8 women slaves

[gap in correspondence, April 1696 to March 1697]

861. John Browne[186] Annamaboe, 12 April 1697

I have yours of the 10 instant, and according to your orders together with Mr Thomas Buckeridge have taken an inventory of all the goods, merchandizes &c that are remaining in the factory of Agga, as you will find by the two inclosed signed by us both. The doors and windows of the factory are locked and sealed up and the key remaines in my custody untill further orders. Mr Henry Vincent goes herewith by the 5 hand canoe. Mr Thomas Buckeridge designes this night

[186] Formerly chief at Egya, but now successor at Anomabu to Rootsey, who was transferred to Komenda.

or tomorrow morning for Winneba, his hands at present being weak is unable to wright but designes to send you his accompts and ballance with Thomas Allney[s] money by Mr William Cooper.[187] With yours came John Collenger Gunner to remaine here as Gunner in the roome of Robert Wright, who being very desirous to serve at Cabo Corso I have sent him herewith. I shall send Bastian to cut you some hand spikes, and after which shall send him up. Pray send me some sheets and pewter.

PS. Pray send for the halfe door of the spur an iron plate sett with spikes two inch distant from one another, the plate must be 4½ foot long and 2 inches broad.

862. John Browne Annamaboe, 20 April 1697

I have yours of the 19 instant and accordingly have sent to know of Bonnyshee, if their be shell at Amersa. He tells me there is [ms. 'his'], and the others therein concerned have of late been imployed in planting of small corne, which together with his indisposition is the reason they are not provided. He promiseth to procure you a great quantity with all speed that can. It will be tomorrow or next day ere he can resolve upon the time they'l be ready, when shall further advise.

863. John Browne Annamaboe, 22 April 1697

This is to advise you that Bonnyshee tells me that his people are still busied in weeding and planting of corne, soe that it will be 20 or fifteen dayes at soonest, ere he can sett them to digg shell. Others tell me this is not really the cause of their want, but that their is difference between Bonnyshee and one Quashee at Amersa,[188] who has been hitherto concerned, soe it is like there can be none procured till the disputes are ended. Bonnyshee alledges he [= Quashee] has no right, and wants to engross them all into his own hands.

864. John Browne Annamaboe, 24 April 1697

I have yours of the 24 instant, and shall be as pressing as I can upon Bonnyshee for to sett his people to digg shells. This comes chiefly to advise you that I am informed by one Dickie, who is newly made Captain of Great Cormantee[n],[189] that the Generall of the Mine is expected at Cormanteen Fort by Munday next, it

[187] Cf. no.1146, from Buckeridge, who was on his way to take over as chief at Winneba, replacing Cooper, who now joined the Council of Chief Merchants at Cape Coast; Vincent, formerly chief at Egya, was now transferred to Dixcove.

[188] Chief of 'Quashee's Croom' (cf. chap.VIII).

[189] i.e. the indigenous town, east of the village where the Dutch fort was situated, the latter being known as 'Little Kormantin' (Bosman 1705, 58). 'Dickie' was an Akani trader (no.1017); a 'Captain Dick' is also attested at Anomabu in the 1680s (vol.i, no.258; vol.ii, nos 470, 496), who may the same person (cf. Kea 1982, 267).

is thought he designes once more to try if he can prevaile with the natives to take money for carrying on a warr against the King of Aguoffo.[190] It is also come to my ears what was reported this morning by an Arcany man to severall in the town, vizt that Cuthequa, the King of the Arcaneys,[191] intends to the assistance of Little Taggee, that he is on martch and almost as far as Abramboe,[192] with a party of soldiers. It is said their designe is first to fall upon Fattue,[193] and that there are two women who upon pretence of selling tobacco there [who] are only sent to observe in what posture of deffence the Fatures remaine at present, and what watches they keep in the night. If their night watches are not kept strongly they designe to surprize them suddenly, they haveing now the advantage of the moon shine for almost the whole night together.[194]

PS. I have sent you 4 white pautkies

I have sent my boy to the Captain of Abra to acquaint him with what I have heard and to know further from him.

865. John Browne Annamaboe, 28 April 1697

I have yours of the 26 instant, with Andrew Chinwell Serjeant in the roome of Edward Lillingstone, who goes herewith. I have sent two cases spiritts to the Captain of Abra, to be given the Cabbess Terra Cabbasheers, who came down to acquaint him with the Arcaneys designes and refuse to be concerned.[195]

[190] The Dutch were again attempting to organize a coalition in support of the king's brother Little Taggee (Bosman 1705, 35–6). Earlier in 1697, a letter of the Chief Merchants at Cape Coast to London (quoted in Davenant 1771, 198–9) reported that the Dutch General had expended 'a large sum of money' to 'corrupt' the Brafo of Fante to assist Little Taggee, to counter which they themselves had incurred 'considerable expense' to encourage the Captain of Abora, together with the kings of Eguafo, Fetu & Asebu, to depose the Brafo, & replace him with the Captain of Abora; the letter as copied is undated, but may be identified with one of 25 Feb. 1697, summarized in NA, T70/11, (in part) as 'Dutch attempting to make a new war'. The approach reported here was evidently a 2nd attempt to secure Fante assistance. Cf. subsequent references to intrigues by the Captain of Abora to depose the Brafo, in nos 871, 875, 877.

[191] 'Cuttrecoe', in 1698 (no.1159), is probably the same person; as also 'Cuttrequa', an 'Arcany Cabasheere' mentioned in records of Cape Coast Castle in 1696, cited by Kea 1982, 268. Kea identifies the latter with Jan Clasen Cutterique, Captain of the Akani at Cape Coast, but the latter seems otherwise not to be documented after 1680; more likely, the reference here is to a chief of the 'Akani' homeland, i.e. Assin. There was probably not a single 'king' of Assin, which in recent times has comprised 2 states, Attandansu & Apemenim (Daaku 1970, 146); cf. reference to a 2nd caboceer/king of Akani, Agyensam, in no.915 (with n.254).

[192] Abrem, the immediate northern neighbour of Eguafo & Fetu.

[193] Fetu was presumably allied to Eguafo, as reported later (Bosman 1705, 39; Van Dantzig 1975–84, pt 1, 203).

[194] Bosman 1705, 36, says the Akani entered into a 'contract' to assist the Dutch against Eguafo (but he wrongly places this after the collapse of Dutch negotiations for assistance from Fante—in Sept. 1697: see n.205).

[195] Contrast no.872, which implies that the Cabess people as well as the Akanis were potential allies for the Dutch; also Bosman 1705, 36, who says Cabess Terra joined the Akani in promising assistance.

PS. I cannot hear where the great canoa you writt of was bound.

Pray send iron bolts and six staples for doors, with the iron spikes formerly desired for the hatch.

866. John Browne Annamaboe, 11 May 1697

This accompanyes my May accompts and ballance, being five marks four ounces fifteen angles and one taccoe Arcany gold. Pray send me some perpetuanoes, and rume for factory use.

PS. Pray send me some writing paper. Duplicates of my accompts you shall have by next.

867. John Browne Annamaboe, 27 May 1697

Pray send me some perpetuanoes blew, and thirty cases spirritts, and be pleased to order some damaged perpetuanoes that are here to be veiwed and rated, that may vend them.

868. John Browne Annamaboe, [30?][196] May 1697

I have yours of the 27 instant with the 30 cases spirritts by the seven hand canoa. Shall dispose of the perpetuanoes for the most I can.

869. John Browne Annamaboe, 3 June 1697

Nathinell Haywood and James Joanes soldiers here, being much indisposed, and haveing desired to be at Cabo Corso, where they may have the help of the Doctor, I have sent them by this two hand canoa.

870. John Browne Annamaboe, 7 June 1697

This accompanyes my May accompts and ballance, being five markes and thirteen angles Arcany gold. Shipps being arrived,[197] be pleased to supply me with knives, pewter, sheets, long cloths and pautkies, white and blew, paper brawles, Guinea clouts, boysadoes, blew Welch plaines, and perpetuanoes if any.

PS. Pray send me the iron bolts and staples &c formerly wrote for.

871. John Browne Annamaboe, 15 June 1697

I have yours of the 14th instant with 75 perpetuanoes, one hundred ninety five sheets, and six barrells powder. It is certain whatt you advise, thatt the Braffoe is like to be the instrument of more broyles and confusions in this and other

[196] '20' in ms., but the letter is a response to one of the '27 instant'.
[197] i.e. the *Fauconberg* & the *Prince George* (cf. no.1306).

countryes, he being resolved to the assistance of Little Taggee and Captain Dickee,[198] which will doubtless be carried on and occation much troubles if the Captain of Abra, who is already begun to oppose him, does not put the stopp. His people are all in a readiness to prevent and crush all that may be designed before they arise to a hight, and he knowing that the Braffoe designes to be false to his frequent promises and the fettish he tooke for the English, is resolved to turne him out if he can, beggs your assistance, and declares thatt he does itt puerly out of respect thatt he bears you. He expects you'l assist him with two barrells powder for his souldiers, and four cases spiritts to be given to his Cabbosheers, whatt [= which] if you pleas[e] order, I shall give him. Whatt happens you may expect to be advised soe soone as itt comes to my hearing. I have withdrawne the white man and all the goods in the warehouse of Agga. There is some corne in the corn roome there, which if you please shall secure here also if you send me canoes to carry itt.

PS. The bearer brings you one cource sletia.

872. John Browne Annamaboe, 16 June 1697

This is to advise thatt by a messenger from the Captain of Abra I understand thatt he hath placed all his souldiers round the Dutch foart att Cormanteene, where they lye to stopp all the wayes, thatt Captain Dickee nor none of his confederates, nor none in Cormanteen fort may find their way through this country to Cabes Terras nor Arcanes, to create a new warr and confusions all over the countryes.[199] He hath panyard two of the white men thatt belongs to the shipp thatt brought them from the Mine, and if there is any thing wanting towards the settlement of the country he desires thatt one of you may be here, thatt things may not happen otherwise nor be hindred through delay. Egine goes herewith, who will give you an accompt att large of all proceedings here.

873. John Browne [Annamaboe], n.d.

Be pleased upon sight hereoff to send the contents of the inclosed by Bastian the Black Carpenter. Doe expect the Captain of Abra here this night.

PS. Having supplyed the Captain of Abra already with three barrells powder and six cases spiritts, be pleased to send four barrells powder more.

Mr William Ronan is just now come on shore, and gives you his service.[200]

[198] The chief of Kormantin (cf. no.864).

[199] This correspondence makes no further reference to projected assistance against Eguafo from Akani & Cabess Terra, but the treaty which the Dutch made with Fante in Aug. 1697 still assumed their participation (n.203).

[200] Presumably, Ronan had come to urge the Captain of Abora to carry out his promise to depose the Brafo.

874. John Browne Annamaboe, 4 July 1697

I have yours of primo instant, with one thousand and fourty sheets, two hundred one pound pewter basons, one hundred 3 lb ditto, one cask knives no.128 containing 90 dozen and one cask ditto no.38 containing 89 doz. knives. The two English interlopers that were lately to the offen of this road being now gone downe to Whidah, I hope to have some traid, and to returne the effects by the latter end of the month.

The Captain of Abra hath sent to make intrest with the Cabbosheers of Accroome, that the Dutch may not settle Apom, as was designed.[201] If you want corne, I can procure some hundreds of chests in a few weeks, att 1½a per chest.

875. John Browne Annamaboe, 12 July 1697

Att present doe vend but little of any thing else than pewter, with which be pleased to supply me, as also with brass panns, and screwed juggs if any.

This comes to advise that the Captain of Abra sends me word he hath not as yett found a convenient opportunity for displaceing the Braffoe, but does watch an occation, which he hopes will not be long. He hath already so lessened his power by sundry occations, he sayes, to his charge of a secrett underhand correspondance he hath kept with Little Taggee, for advancing that intrest and carrying on of warr, that the country in generall are much insenced against him, and doe but little notice or regard him, the consequence whereof, he is very apprehensive to be dangerous,[202] and suspects so mightily the ill treatment he is likely to meet with, through the means of the Captain [of] Abra, that he begins to studdy new methods to regain his creditt amongst the people, and to save himself from being quite outplaced. He frequently tell them in his publick pallavers that since the quarrell Little Taggee hath undertaken is inconsistant with the wellfare and constitution of this country, he therefore disowns and avoues never to be concerned therein, and taking notice that a great many of his people harbour jealousies to the contrary, and that upon accompt of his being related to Little Taggee, by consaring a sister of his, itt is not to be expected but that he will privately favour his intrest so far as he can, but to put an end to this suspition he hath turned her from him [ms. 'his'], disallowing her as his wife.

PS. Pray send one redd perpetuanoe to make a flagg.

[201] Apam, in Akron, east of Fante (cf. no.1149).
[202] i.e. in danger.

876. John Browne Annamaboe, 15 July 1697

Yours of the 14th instant with the goods therein mentioned I received per 13 hand canoe.[203]

877. John Browne Annamaboe, 3 Sept. 1697

I have yours of the 1st instant with nine blew perpetuanoes, six cases of spirritts, two barrells gunpowder and silver headed cane for the Captain [of] Abra, which have sent hime by the slave, [and] the three yard redd cloth to be given to his Cheif Cabbosheer for a dashee.[204] I have received four barrells gunpowder for use of this fort. My accompts and ballance shall send you in a few days. When I hear of the Captain [of] Abras proceedings with the Braffo shall advise you, and shall do what I can to persuade him to hasten to dispatch him.[205]

PS. The bearer hereof have been forced to detaine till now for the help of sick men that are here.

[gap in correspondence, Sept. & Oct. 1697]

878. Richard Sheldon[206] Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 9 Nov. 1697

Yesterday morning the Braffo sent to advise me that he is resolved to fight Captain Dominy,[207] the reason [is] he would not deliver up the money that the Dutch had gave the said Captain to helpe Little Taggee,[208] likewise the slaves that runn to him being the late Braffoes. The bearer Edward Bayly, being very sick, desired leave to come up, which I have presumed to give, I hope with no offence.

879. Richard Sheldon Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 9 Nov. 1697

According to your orders I sent my boy to Amersa to deliver the message you gave me, and they told him you should have the shells at the usuall price, but

[203] It is not clear why Brown sent no letters between 15 July–3 Sept. 1697. During this gap, on 15 Aug. [NS: = 5 Aug. OS] 1697 the Brafo made a treaty with the Dutch to join Akani & Cabess Terra to attack Eguafo in support of Little Taggee (Daaku 1970, 86, with n.2; cf. Bosman 1705, 35).
[204] Cf. NA, T70/374, Journal, Cape Coast Castle, 31 Aug. & 11Sept. 1697; Daaku 1970, 87.
[205] Bosman confirms that 'they soon dispatch'd him out of the way, substituting another in his room' (1705, 35); the original Dutch text makes explicit that the Brafo was killed (Van Dantzig 1975–84, pt 1, 202). Cf. the allusion to 'the late Braffoe' in no.878. The Captain of Abora now succeeded to the office of Brafo (NA, T70/374, Journal, Cape Coast Castle, 20 March 1698). This ended Dutch hopes of aid from Fante.
[206] Replacing John Brown, who in Oct. 1697 became one of the Chief Merchants at Cape Coast.
[207] Captain of Kwaman (cf. no.885).
[208] Presumably referring to the treaty of Aug. 1697, which provided for payment to the Fante. The Captain of Kwaman had also been associated with the then Brafo in taking money from the Dutch in Feb. 1697 (Chief Merchants, Cape Coast Castle, n.d., in Davenant 1771, 198–9).

when Mr White[209] went downe to take the shells aboard, they would not lett him have any under 1½a per but, being bigger then usually used to be. Sirs, if you order him to goe further to leward for shells, I desire to know whither the seaven hand canoe must be sent up or proceed with him. The Braffoe sent this morning to acquaint me that Captain Dominee will deliver up the money and slaves, so the palaver is made up.

880. Richard Sheldon Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 25 Nov. 1697

Yours of the 19th instant I received, and according to your orders I delivered to Mr Charles Salmon, Cheife at Agga, the goods mentioned as at foot, which were at Agga remaines,[210] and as they were rated as per inventory.

PS. By the violent thunder and lightening wee lost our flagg staff, and our towers much shattered. Want bricklayer, carpenter, bricks, tarris, deale boards to repair the fort.
49 perpetuanoes blue, 115 halfe pieces broad black baffts, 28¼ sayes, 18 white pautkies, 48½ boysadoes, 29 lead barrs, 5 birdseye carpetts, 1 silk longee, 20 lb brass, 47 halfe firkins tallow, 30 ounces corrall, 6 casks knives no.123 containing 176 dozen.

881. Charles Salmon[211] Charles Fort Annamaboe, 5 Dec. 1697

According to your orders I am now at Annamaboe fort, the warehouse here being sealed up. I have likewise taken what care I can to secure Agga Factory, and the Royall Companyes goods there. I have this day sent my boy to the Braffoe, to desire to send a party of men downe to secure Quoman to him, for fear he should meet with a rescue by the way. At my boys returnes I will give your Worshipps a further accompt, in the meane time I will secure him here from makeing an escape.[212]

882. Charles Salmon Annamaboe, 8 Dec. 1697

This evening here came Finnee and the Braffoes man, who informed me that Quanso[213] is come from Laggoe to the Braffoe, which will cause his stay at Abra

[209] Thomas White, commander of the *Cabo Corso Galley*.
[210] i.e. goods evacuated from the Egya factory when it was closed in June 1697 (no.871), now returned there as the factory had been re-established (cf. no.1024, from Salmon).
[211] Chief at Egya, who took over briefly at Anomabu, for reasons not specified—perhaps Sheldon was temporarily incapacitated by illness.
[212] A chief or trader of Kormantin, who had been arrested & held in Anomabu fort, but was to be taken to the Fante capital to swear a 'fetish' oath (no.1025). He was later sent back to Anomabu, to be deported into custody in Cape Coast Castle (no.883). The reason for his arrest is not recorded.
[213] The chief of Tantumkweri, which was also known as 'Quansa's Croom' (cf. chap.IX).

till Fryday. I have hired this canoe to carry Finnee up with the Braffoes man, the Braffoe desireing it, for fear he might be panyard in goeing near Mowree by land. Finnee can informe you of the Braffoes message, therefore think it needless to express it here. This evening here came two Dutch interlopers to anchor.

883. Richard Sheldon Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 11 Dec. 1697

Yours of the 14th [sic] instant I received, and according to your orders have sent by Capt. Piles[214] Quamon and six of his people, two of his wives and one boy,[215] likewise one man, seaven women slaves for the Royall Company.

884. Richard Sheldon Annamaboe, 16 Dec. 1697

This accompanyes my accompts from the 20th ultimo to the 1st December, with the ballance due to the Royall Company. The mark of gold paid Capt. William Piles I have not mentioned.

885. Richard Sheldon Charles Fort Annamaboe, 18 Dec. 1697

This instant the Braffoes man came to advise me that the pallaver still continues betwixt him and Dominy, Captain of Quoman. The Braffoe desires a mark of perpetuanoes, to give the Fantiners to help and assist him. I told the Braffoes man I could not lett him have any, having no orders. One of the Braffoes men continues here till I receive your orders. I was informed by Eggin that the new Captain of Abra[216] sent to Quashadoe, Captain of the towne, to know whose side he was for, and his answer was for the English.[217] All the Cabbosheers of the towne declare they will help and assist the Braffoe to the utmost of their power. They hope your Worshipps will give them some dashe to drink the Royall Companyes health and good prosperity.

PS. Excuse my foule writeing.

886. Richard Sheldon Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 31 Dec. 1697

Yours of the 27th instant have received, and according to your orders have delivered to the Braffoes man four bendyes of goods, which I will take care to deduct out of the ground rent, when due, and what else is indebted to the Royall Company. The King of Sabboe continues still at Abra with the Cabbosheers of our towne, to make up the pallaver betwixt the Braffoe and Captain [of] Quoman, but they not agreeing the Braffo has been very eager this two days and

[214] Now commander of the *Sally Rose*.
[215] He was released & repatriated in Jan. 1698 (no.1030).
[216] Cf. no.1028: the former Captain of Abora having now been made Brafo (n.205 above).
[217] The Captain of Abora was also opposing the new Brafo, as reported more explicitly in no.1028.

has had his owne men in armes ready to fight him, but the King and the rest of the Cabbosheers does advise him to forbeare longer, they indeavouring to make up the difference.

887. Richard Sheldon Annamaboe, 6 Jan. 1697 [= 1698]

If you have any red cloath pray send some downe, I having not enough to pay the custome, and likewise the four sayes, having none that's good. The Cabbosheers was with me this morning, I shewed the best I had, which they refused.

888. Richard Sheldon Annamaboe, 19 Jan. 1697/8

Yours of this instant I received, and thought it convenient to acquaint you that the Braffoe is not yett come, but canott tell how soone he may. When he comes you shall know. I have received the flaggstaff, shall be fixed with all speed as possible, and when done returne the carpenter.

889. Richard Sheldon Annamaboe, 19 Jan. 1697/8

This accompanyes my December accompt with its ballance due to the Royall Company. I desire my six months sallary due from the 7th July to the 7th January, from the Royall Company.

890. Richard Sheldon Annamaboe, 22 Jan. 1697/8

I have sent up the carpenter, the bearer hereof. The Braffoe as soone as he comes, I shall be sure to dispatch a messenger with all expedition to your worshipps.

891. Richard Sheldon Annamaboe, 11 Feb. 1697/8

This accompanyes my accompts and its ballance due to the Royall Company. Inclosed is the inventory, which haveing perused find some mistakes, which you will perceive by my accompts. Thomas Fawk deceased the 7th instant; I have sent up his will.

892. Richard Sheldon Annamaboe, 11 Feb. 1697/8

Yours of the 10th instant received, likewise four barrells gunpowder. I have sent by the 2 hand canoe the loose beads. Francis Winington is willing to goe with Mr Pearson,[218] I could not send him by this canoe, shee being so deep loaded.

[218] Josiah Pearson, chief of RAC factory at Whydah, was currently visiting Cape Coast Castle, but due to return to Whydah.

He is in debt about four ounces, which I hope your worshipps will take into consideration, before he goes.

893. Richard Sheldon Annamaboe, 15 Feb. 1697/8

Yours of the 14th instant I received, and am heartily sorry that I have disoblidged your Worshipps. I hope it will be imputed to my ignorance, but shall for the future be more mindfull and carefull to observe and follow your orders, humbly begging your Worshipps pardon for my offences.

PS. I have sent the remaining part of the beads. I humbly begg that I may be admited to the speech of your Worshipps.

894. Richard Sheldon Annamaboe, 15 Feb. 1697/8

Mr Salmon and myselfe went to Quashee, Captain of Amersa, who affter severall arguments used promised to furnish your Worshipps with what quantity of shells you have occasion for at 1a per but, and is now getting what he can ready against the sloope comes downe.[219] I sent my boy this morning to see what store they have ready at the water side.

895. Richard Sheldon Annamaboe, 2 March 1697/8

Yours of the first instant have received, and according to your orders have sent two of the interlopers men, which are desireous to serve the Royall Company.

896. Richard Sheldon Annamaboe, 10 March 1697/8

This accompanyes my accompts with its ballance due to the Royall Company, made up from the 1st January to the 1st March 1697/8.

897. Richard Sheldon Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 21 March 1697/8

According to your orders of the 17th instant [I] sent my boy twice to Quashee at Amersa. He will not yett give his consent to have the shells at 1a per butt. He will in three or four dayes time send a possitive answer, which when I have received shall acquaint your worshipps.

898. Richard Sheldon Annamaboe, 27 March 1698

Yours of the 24th instant I received and observe what you mentioned. The quantity of corne I have, besides the 20 chests sent up, is 82. There is plenty of it

[219] The RAC's sloop, based at Cape Coast.

but the people are now rowsawing, which is the occasion of their slowness in bringing it in. Inclosed is my accompt made up according to the inventory.

PS. Desire some cartridge paper, having none.

899. Richard Sheldon Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 7 April 1698

This accompanyes my accompt with its ballance due to the Royall Company.

900. Richard Sheldon Annamaboe, 16 April 1698

The bearer of this, being very sick and weak, have presumed to send him up to have some of Doctor Jacksons helpe.

901. Edward Bayley Annamaboe, 22 April 1698

With humble submission I have presumed to give your Worshipps the trouble of this scrawle, which is to lett you understand that Mr Sheldon has very much mangled my flesh with a sword, so that I beleive I have lost the use of some of my fingers, if not my whole hand. I have asked his leave to come up to the Doctor, and he will not grant me, so I humbly begg that your Worshipps will grant me that favour, where I shall relate the whole circumstance of the matter to your Worshipps, as you find it so proved, which being all, begging your Worshipps pardon for this my scribble.

902. Richard Sheldon Charles Fort Annamaboe, 25 April 1698

This day I sent the Gunner up to have his hand drest, which I cut in my owne defence, as the inclosed will make appeare.

PS. I am informed by the Blacks that one white man has left Winneba and is gone to Apom, where he now continues.[220]

903. Kendall Hutson[221] Annamaboe, 27 April 1698

This is a small accompt of what I heard since my arivall here, that affter enquiry from severall of the Blacks could not find the Cabbosheers were anywayes designed against the Braffoe.[222] This morning after the intreaty gott the Captain of the Towne in, and affter drinking a sneaker of punch with him, he arose of

[220] Cf. no.1164.

[221] An officer of the military garrison of Cape Coast Castle, evidently sent to investigate the situation at Anomabu; the chief Sheldon having been criticized for 'not advising the affairs of the country' (NA, T70/11, Chief Merchants, Cape Coast Castle, 28 May 1698).

[222] As made clear later in this letter (& nos 904, 1039), the division within Fante was over whether to assist Akani in its war with Denkyira, which the Brafo opposed.

his own accord and called me aside to know what news from Cabo Corso. I answered as that there was no more then that the Gentlemen frowed him and the rest ackey, and ordered me to be kind to him, and hope that he would be true to the Braffoe &ca. He told me that the Braffoes heart and his were all as one. I told him that I had heard from Cabo Corso amongst the Blacks that there was some ill designe amongst them against the Braffoe, but if so they had better lett it alone. I find that the generous Coapman[223] has been feeing[224] of the Blacks to stand by him here, and that Mr Newman is a very great assistant to him for news out of the accompting house.[225] It is a thing I had without enquiery from the Serjeant. I also gott out of Eggin last night that there was severall of the Fantiners gone already to assist the Arcanyes, and that they was all for the same cause save the Braffoe, so that I feare there is some ill in hand. The Cabbosheers are I feare guilty, by their slyness of coming to the fort. Worthy Sirs, this is what I thought my duty to advise.

PS. Since the sealing up of this the Captain of the interloper sent his mate ashore to me for protection. I sent him word I would do what I could, having but 2 gunns that would beare upon him, but if he would send his gold on shore I would take care of itt.

904. Kendall Hutson Annamaboe, 28 April 1698

Affter a small conferrance with Peter Quashee last night, found that tis' too sure that the Blacks will have the Braffoes head off, if they can, and that before the Dankeryes and Arcanyes fight if possible, that they may be all as one to assist the Arcanyes if they runn to their parts. The Dutch, who seldome lye idle in such cases, has certainly a hand in this, for their Coapman of Cormantine had been up about a fortnight agoe at Quaman. The Captain of Annamaboe Bentifoes and Banbeiree[226] as I am informed is both the Braffoes cozens, and informes him of all pallavers from this towne. At my first coming here the blacks seemed to be much for Mr Sheldon, but since his departure from hense I find that they doe but laugh at all his liberallityes which he bestowed on them, and that another man may be respected here as well as he.[227] The Braffoes cozen is up with the Dankeryes already as I am informed. As yett there is noe men of repute gone to assist the Arcanyes from those parts, save a few poore scoundrell doggs, not any Cabbosheers. They are certainly affraid of the Dankeryes, butt putt the best side outward. Wee are weakly manned here if should have occation. I had but one

[223] i.e. Richard Sheldon.
[224] i.e. bribing.
[225] Presumably, an official in Cape Coast Castle.
[226] Not identified: from the context, a chief or trader of Anomabu.
[227] Sheldon had presumably been summoned to Cape Coast; but was back at Anomabu by 5 May 1698 (no.905).

barrell and a halfe of powder from Mr Sheldon, being all in the fort. I have gott one quire of cartridge paper from Capt. Osborne[228] by much adoe. Captain Hansicoe and Hector is just now come, and as yett not given their hands to the Cabbosheers, therefore cannot as yett give any accompt of what they will say to them. Here is just now a Dutch Company shipp engaged with the interloper that came downe yesterday. He has sent me a note ashore which I understand not, the which have returned by Peter Quashee, and desire him to send by word of mouth.

PS. Pray send me a pen or two and the cartridges I wrote for. The Dutchman is comeing under our protections, which is but small. I wish he is not served like Towres by his men.[229]

905. Charles Salmon — Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 6 May 1698

Yesterday affter you went to Cabo Corso Castle,[230] I went to Agga folowing your Worshipps orders, at which time Mr Sheldon went out here into the towne at Annamaboe, for at my coming back from Agga I missed him. Affter a short time he came into the fort, and at night I nott having any lodging provided, was goeing to Aggah to sleep, charging the Serjeant and the souldiers to keep a good watch, but Mr Sheldon growing very contentious, saying he was then Cheife of the fort, and unless he had the keys and other things usually delivered him, he would sleep in the towne, I told him he had no business in the towne, unless he was goeing to counsell some accomplices, to which he answered what a plague was that to me if he did? I replyed that I would prevent all unjust desines, and commanded the Serjeant to bring him in from the outward gate and imprison him. I have likewise information that he has been broaching some designe with the Cabbosheers, but what it is I cannott yett find out. Nevertheless I doe intend to send him up this morning to Cabo Corso, I being assured there will be no good come of his staying here. I shall make it my business to enquire into all pallavers and give your Worshipps an accompt of them.

906. Charles Salmon — Annamaboe, 7 May 1698

Tomorrow God willing, I will send up two more coppyes of the inventory of Annamaboe, with what news I heard. The Blacks at Agga did a great dayes work

[228] Commander of the *Whidah Frigate*.

[229] Thomas Towers, commander of a ship which was seized by the Dutch at Cape Coast in the previous year (NA, T70/11, Chief Merchants, Cape Coast Castle, 6 April 1697). It is not clear if this is the same man as Thomas Thors, a German commander of Danish ships, prominent in the 1680s (vol.ii, nos 16 etc.); Danish records refer to no activity of Thors after 1693 (Hernaes 1995, 294).

[230] Nicholas Buckeridge, chairman of the Council of Chief Merchants, had gone to Anomabu, to settle the problems there (NA, T70/11, Chief Merchants, Cape Coast Castle, 28 May 1698). He evidently ordered the replacement of Sheldon as chief.

yesterday, by which find that which I thought to have been a round bastian to prove a square one. As soone as the other is cleared I will send your Worshipps the figure and dementions of the ground plott.

907. Charles Salmon Annamaboe, 8 May 1698

Since my last to you by James Elliott, this morning the King of Sabboes man hath been here with a mesage from his master, which is this: when the two Kings of Sabboe and Aguoffoe were at variance, your Worshipps did then compose that difference to a mutuall friendshipp,[231] and now you have sent for him lately to assist the Dankeryes, which he refused to doe, he finding now that you are displeased with him for it, in regard he sent you some palme wine, and you refused it, and sent it back to him againe, he still is resolved to assist the Arcanyes, and all his great reason is, that the gold which comes to the water side is called Arcany gold, not Dankery gold, the Arcanyes keeping their Captain[s] at all places of trade along the Coast, which the Dankeryes doe not,[232] nevertheless he will assist your Worshipps with anything his country affords, he having a greater regard for the English then for the Dutch.

908. Charles Salmon Annamaboe, 8 May 1698

These are to informe your Worshipps that the Blacks which went from this country with an intent to fight the King of Aguoffoe are all returned with silence.[233] I am likewise informed that the Dankeryes and Arcanyes are not in any posture of joyning battle, these late bone dayes[234] being past. There are severall of the Dankeryes runn to the Arcanys, as the report is, for want of food. The King of Sabboe is likewise gone to the assistance of the Arcanyes, who I am told have twenty great gunns from Quamboe, which were taken from the Deans fort at Accra,[235] and likewise some from Labordee,[236] which were lost in a Negro sloope[237] of the Companyes there.[238] All affairs in this towne seeme to be

[231] Perhaps referring to the negotiations conducted by Ronan in 1695 (nos 818–19).

[232] For the Akani 'captaincies' in coastal towns, see Kea 1982, 261–82. The RAC correspondence in the 1680s mentions such captaincies in Komenda, Cape Coast, Anashan, Anomabu & Egya. However, this is the only explicit reference to them in the 1690s, which is perhaps evidence of their declining importance.

[233] Not further explained, & there is no allusion to any such fighting in the Komenda correspondence; maybe the reference to 'Eguafo' is an error, & the troops were those reported earlier to have gone to assist Akani against Denkyira (nos 903–4).

[234] See Glossary.

[235] Christiansborg, Accra, occupied by the Akwamu in 1693–4, presumably stripped of its guns when restored to the Danes.

[236] Labadi, on the coast east of Accra.

[237] i.e. a sloop intended for the slave trade.

[238] The possession of cannon by some African rulers, including the King of Asebu, was noted by Bosman 1705, 187, but he claims that no effective military use was made of them.

very still and quiett. I doe intend this day to send a messenger to the Braffoe, to know how the affairs are carryed on at Fantine, and will then give your Worshipps an accompt of them.

909. Charles Salmon Annamaboe, 8 May 1698

Since my two former of this dayes date this bearer, the Braffos man, informed me that the Arcanyes are routed[239] and fledd to the Aikims country.[240] I therefore desire your speedy advice, what must be done if the Arcanyes should fly here for security.

910. Charles Salmon Annamaboe, 10 May 1698

I have this day had intelligence that the Dankeryes have routed the Arcanyes, it comes by a Black which came this morning from Abra, and that no man can tell what is become of the Captain of Quaman, his sword bearer and kettesall [= kittysol][241] man being both come back, but know not what is become of their master.[242] The Blacks this morning have proffered me two men slaves, and have confessed them to be Arcanyes. There is likewise a[t] Dominees house[243] an Arcany man from the camp, wounded in the thigh by a shott, who confirmed that the Arcanyes are certainly routed. I humbly desire your Worshipps orders what to doe.

PS. There are two white men gone to Quamon from Cormanteen. Your boy Jack was with me this morning, and is gone to Abra. I humbly desire that the irons have been sent may be returned.

911. Charles Salmon Annamaboe, 17 May 1698

I have just now received a message from the Braffoe, who [w]ants two perpetuanoes, and desires your Worshipps to use what intrest you can in the Dankeryes affaires to gett the Captain of Quamon to Cabo Corso Castle and keep him there untill he shall be brought to a fair complyance, on all accompts

[239] Cf. ibid., 77.

[240] Akyem, the eastern neighbour of Akani (for which see Addo-Fening 1997; Affrifah 2000). In the 18th century there were 2 distinct (though usually allied) states, Akyem-Abuakwa & Akyem-Kotoku, & it is sometimes assumed that this was already the case in the 17th century (e.g. Affrifah 2000, 7). However, an alternative view is that Akyem-Kotoku was founded only in the early 18th century, & that in the 17th century there was only one Akyem, the later Akyem-Abuakwa (Addo-Fening 1997, 3–4). References in the Rawlinson correspondence do not suggest the existence of more than one Akyem state.

[241] i.e. umbrella.

[242] As was later confirmed (most explicitly in no.929), he had been captured by the Denkyiras.

[243] Not the Captain of Kwaman of this name, but the merchant of Anomabu, referred to in no.645.

whatsoever.[244] I understand that it is Dominyes mother[245] hath been desireing the Braffoe to make this pallaver for him. Since last night that these two interlopers came into the roade, I have heard nothing of the slaves I had bargained for yesterday, which makes me think I shall purchase butt few, as long as they lye here. The Braffoe desires your speedy answer.

PS. I want two casks of rumme forts use.

912. Charles Salmon Annamaboe, 21 May 1698

By this canoe comes twenty chests of corne, the canoe men being not willing to take in more, by reason the canoes bottome is bad. As for the Cabbosheers here they would not lett me rest, until I had paid their customs. They still seem to be in a consternation concerning the Dankeryes, altho' not all of them are soe, only those who I suppose have reason to fear a requiteall for their clandestine roagery. There are two particular men in this towne who privately tell me it will not be convenient that ever the Captain of Quamon be reduced[246] to this country any more, in regard he will never leave his former projects, butt will undoubtedly be assisted and prompted by the Dutch to his former villanyes, which are like to those who sett him to work. Now these two mens advice is that instead of makeing a pallaver to gett this Captain of Quamon cleare, you make a pallaver to take his head off, and then the greatest enemie to the English intrest in Fantine will be past doeing any more hurt.[247] I have sent to the Braffoe concerning corne but have not yett had answer.

PS. Tomorrow I will send Mr Browne the accompt he hath ordered &ca.[248]

913. Charles Salmon Annamaboe, 27 May 1698

By this bearer comes the inventoryes, and likewise Agga accompts for Aprill, which if itt is not according to method, I desire a speedy returne of itt, thatt this next week I may send up both itt and Annamaboe accompt together. As for gold there is none stiring, nor any other trade butt whatt these interlopers have, for which there is no remedy att present. The news that I hear is that the King of the Dankeryes hath sent word to the King of Sabboe thatt he will come and speak with him. The Cabbess country hath sent to the Braffoe, to desire his aid in the makeing of peace with the Dankeryes, who are in great quantitys in their

[244] i.e. to get him released from captivity, but also to pressurize him to settle his differences with the Brafo.
[245] Here, referring to the Captain of Kwaman.
[246] i.e. restored.
[247] Whether the Brafo continued his efforts for the Kwaman Captain's release is not reported; but he was still held captive in Feb. 1699 (no.929).
[248] i.e. John Brown, one of the Chief Merchants at Cape Coast.

country, takeing what provitions they can find and plundering the people. I hear likewise that the King of Aguoffoe is threatned by the Dankeryes, for a breach of promise,[249] and thatt the Quamboes have desired the Dankeryes to assist them against the Aikims.[250] As for the Captain of Quaman I hear noe talk concerning him. The Braffoe is very well & promiseth to send corne the first fair weather. I stand in great need of the iron work I last wrote for, having nothing to keep the windows fast or the raine out. I have gott the warehouse made as firme from leakes as the present occation requires, and now want some lime to stopp up a few cracks in the tarris above where the raine soaks through and rotts the timber work. If the smiths have nott made the short hooks for the windows lett them be made butt 2 inches shank,[251] and the staples as narrow as possible, that the hooks may nott have two [= too] much play. I pray God send us a Companyes shipp with a recruit of tradesmen, for Annamaboe when strictly searched will find a greate deale of worke to be done.

914. Charles Salmon Annamaboe, 3 June 1698

This day the Fantine dancing beginns, and shall want rumme speedily. If the customes of Agga must be paid, I humbly desire notice of itt. As for the news thatt is now stirring, itt is much as itt was a fortnight since. Here is a Fantine man thatt was taken by the Dankeryes and has made his escape, he sayes that the Dankeryes have a full intent to fight with and ruine the Cabbess country, and then to fight the Fantines, this is all I can at present hear. I doe intend the first fair weather to gett all the corne from Agga, nott intending to take in any more there. Two of the interlopers sailed this morning for Apom, the other stayes here to gett corne, for as farr as I can find that he hath a very bad cargoe for slaves, most of his perpetuanoes being red and green, and his iron all thick square bars, which the Blacks knows not whatt to doe with.

915. Charles Salmon Annamaboe, 4 June 1698

This day I am informed by Dominee thatt the Generall of the Mina hath given the Dankeryes 150 bendyes, and Adampo's mother[252] hath given them two hundred bendyes more, to watch a private opportunity upon the King of Aguoffoe to murther him, any way thatt the opportunity might permitt off, the Dankeryes being to doe itt affter some time of trade with the English, that they

[249] Not further explained: in 1695 Eguafo had promised Denkyira 80 bendas to prevent Twifo attacking it (no.300), so it may be that this payment was still outstanding.
[250] The Accra correspondence reports recurrent rumours of the imminence of war between Akwamu & Akyem, most recently in Dec. 1697 (no.1316), but no such war materialized.
[251] i.e. shaft.
[252] Not identified.

may be the least mistrusting,[253] and likewise am informed thatt Egginsam the Arcany Cabbosheer is a prisoner to the Dankeries, being taken in the fight.[254] Taggee Ancram is to be the great ingineer the Dankeryes are to work with.[255]

PS. I humbly desire some more paper, for none of these shipps can spare me any.

916. Charles Salmon Annamaboe, 7 June 1698

Both yours of the 6th instant I have received, and according to your orders have sent up Eggin and Aqua. As for the news I wrote in my last, I suppose ere this itt is confirmed to your Worshipps, by [ms. 'butt'] a Dankery man taken and brought to Dominees house, this man being sent up to Cabo Corso by Dominee on purpose to declare itt to you in full. I am likewise informed that there is to be a speedy meeting of the King[s] of Aguoffoe, Sabboe & [the] Braffoe to consult what is best to be done, in case the Dankerys should come upon them. I have by the 5 hand canoe sent 50 chests of corne from Agga.

PS. The slave that returned yesterday brought noe writeing paper with him.

917. Charles Salmon Annamaboe, 23 June 1698

By this bearer comes the Annamaboe accompts for May with the ballance. The slaves here complaine thatt Mr Sheldon did not pay them to the 22d of April last, as he wrote me he did, therefore I have sent one of them to recollect Mr Sheldon's memory, and likewise the accompt he sent me. This week I sent a messenger to the Braffoe, who informes me all things are well with him at present, and that he hath a great deale of corne to dispose off, when it shall be fitt to take in. If your Worshipps want any at present I can send up forty chests. I shall have the Braffoe downe here as soone as the Fantine dancing is past. He intends to bring some slaves with him if he can purchase them, therefore

[253] The reported plot is puzzling, since the Dutch had made peace with Eguafo, & the Komenda correspondence shows that relations with them were now improving, to the annoyance of the English (nos 430–1, 438). However, a later Dutch account confirms that, some time after Denkyira's defeat of Akani (May 1698), they made a payment of 100 bendas to Denkyira for assistance 'to extirpate Abé Tekki [i.e. Great Taggee] and the Commanize' (Van Dantzig 1978, no.96: Instruction for David van Nyendael, 9 Oct. 1701). Bosman, who seems to refer to the same payment, implies that it preceded the Dutch-Eguafo peace (1705, 36); but this might be intended to obscure Dutch duplicity.

[254] Presumably the same as 'the Accani chief Akjesim' mentioned in a Dutch document of 1701 (Van Danztig 1978, no.96: Instruction for van Nyendael, 9 Oct. 1701) & 'Agiasam, King of Accania' in an English report of 1704 (Van Dantzig 1980, 171); probably to be identified with Agyensam, an 'Asenhene [i.e. king of Assin]' recalled by tradition to have assisted Asante against Denkyira in 1701 (Reindorf 1966, 57). Bosman (1705, 77) reports that 'all their [Akani] Governing men' were either killed or taken prisoner in the Denkyira war.

[255] An alternative name for 'Little Taggee' (cf. Bosman 1705, 33ff, 'Tecki-Ankan').

I humbly desire that I may have some shakles and bolts sent downe, for I have but one pair in the factory.

918. Charles Salmon Annamaboe, 3 July 1698

The Braffoe is just now here at Annamaboe. Here is come with him the Chiefe Cabbosheer of the Cabbess Country. The occation of their coming hither is this: the Cabbess people, haveing made a contract with the Dancra's for a certaine summe of money not to molest their country, have already paid the Dancra's some of their money, and because the Dancra's wait for the rest, and the Cabbess people being at present unfurnished with goods, therefore this Cabbosheer is come on purpose in behalfe of his country, to desire your Worshipps to trust him with the vallue of a hundred bendys in such goods as he shall want, but if you cannot doe itt then to trust him with the vallue of fifty bendy's. The Braffoe is come on purpose with him, being his cozen, to desire your Worshipps complyance to this proposall. He [the Caboceer of Cabess] hath brought with him for pawns his owne sone and his cozen that is his heir,[256] and will likewise bring Quominah, Quashees sone,[257] and they shall be sent to Cabo Corso Castle, and he sayes that as soone as the Dancra's are gone the trade will open all his part of the country, and he shall be able to pay you in short time, with what slaves you shall think fitt, there being now a great many in the country which he can procure, his croome lyeing just in the center of trade for the Arcany's, Dancras, Akims or any of the up country people, and this the Braffoe confirmes, and likewise that it lyes in his power to stopp all trade that comes into the Fantine country. This Cabbosheer tells me he would have been at Cabo Corsoe, but there are people there that sould a great many of his country men, when they went there for shelter in Mr Humphreys time,[258] but he says that was not your fault, if you please to do him this great kindness he will always keepe friendshipp and good correspondence with the English, and if you doe not think his former pawns suffitient, he will pawne himself, and the Braffoe shall keep him, which the Braffoe hath promised to doe, and desires your Worshipps speedy answer to this pallaver, in regard he hath an intent to make a firme friendship between the English and Cabbess country, and says that now is the time to doe this.

[256] The term 'cousin' here is probably used loosely: succession on the Gold Coast was generally matrilineal, whereby the heir apparent would normally be the king's nephew, son of his sister (cf. also no.1183, with n.10).

[257] Probably referring to the Brafo, named as 'Aquashee' in NA, T70/374, Journal, Cape Coast Castle, 12 Jan. 1698, the same man who had earlier been Captain of Abora (no.1017).

[258] Samuel Humphreys, one of the Chief Merchants at Cape Coast Castle in 1687–91. This may possibly relate to 1688, when refugees from Fetu, under threat of invasion by Denkyira, sought but were refused shelter in Cape Coast Castle, though the account of this incident makes no reference to Cabess Terra (Justesen 2005, no.II.17, Daybook of Governor Fensman, Christiansborg, 14 Oct. & 30 Nov. 1688).

919. Charles Salmon Annamaboe, 6 July 1698

The Braffoe is still here, and desires your Worshipps to trust him with two marks worth of perpetuanoes which he now wants, and in regard it will be troublesome to have them from Cabo Corso Castle he desires to have them from hence. As for the 18 chests of corne his man brought you my receipt for, he expects more then 2a per chest, saying you promised him more. The Braffoes man tells me that if I wrote to desire your presence you would come, but here is noe occation for soe great a trouble, besides I am soe lame that I cannott stirr off my bedd to the hammock without crutches, and then with a great deale of paine. I humbly desire your Worshipps answer to this, that I may dispatch the Braffoe away, who at this time is very troublesome to me.

920. Charles Salmon Annamaboe, 16 July 1698

According to your orders I have dispatched a canoe to the interloper, whome I thought had been in Cabo Corso road, I being not able to look abroad myselfe. He hath returned his answer, which is this, that on the 3d day of April last he left England, at which time it was all peace and quietness at home, and the Royall Company in hopes of getting their charter of the Coast as farr as Ardah, the Bight and Angola left out.[259] The 30th June last he saw a great ship stand in for Cisters, and was then informed by Mr Carter of Barbadoes,[260] who had spoke with the ship, she was on the Companys accompt,[261] and he judged that by this time she might be on this side Cape Palmas.[262] The Commanders name of this interloper is Michaell Mackfarson.[263] He is now coming into this road to purchase some corne, and then to goe to leward with all speed. Hath nothing fit for house keeping on board, as he informed me.

921. Charles Salmon Annamaboe, 16 Aug. 1698

The bearer Moses Gers, haveing a desire to be removed from hence to Cabo Corso Castle, being much afflicted with an ill distemper, and noe Doctor here to cure him, I have granted his request, desireing another man in his roome.

[259] The future of the RAC's monopoly had been under discussion since its political position was undermined by the Revolution of 1688 (Davies 1957, 122–35). The end result was an Act of Parliament, in July 1698, which opened the African trade to all, but on payment to the Company of a 10% duty on goods exported there.

[260] Edward Carter, commander of the *Thomas & John* (Database #15162).

[261] The ship was the *Prince of Orange*, reported at Cestos on 7 July 1698 (no.134).

[262] Around the boundary between the Grain & Ivory Coasts (& between modern Liberia & Côte d'Ivoire).

[263] Commander of the *Society* (Database #21266).

922. Charles Salmon Annamaboe, 27 Aug. 1698

I am informed by Eggin that the man you sent on board Capt. Daniell,[264] to be linguister for his purchaseing of slaves at Alampo[265] is quite unfitt for that negotiation, in regard he can neither speake English nor Portugueze. Eggin hath a desire to goe in that station, haveing been there three times already, which if your Worshipps thinks fitt off, he desires an order to carry [to] Capt. Daniell on that accompt, for his entertainment. Likewise informes me that there is now at Alampo two Dutchmen, which pretend to hinder all trade butt what conduces to their Dutch intrest. The name of the place is Apunnee, where they have taken the land on a bargaine from the Natives, and now pretend to be soule proprietors of itt, butt Eggin tells me he knows a place near itt, all as good, and where water with safety may be had.[266]

923. Charles Salmon Annamaboe, 28 Aug. 1698

Yours of yesterdays date I have received, and according to your orders have dispatched Eggin away to Capt. Daniell. The accompt of canoe hire is what is enclosed, being the second mates accompts he kept of the turns was made both with shipp and boat, which shall be brought to the next accompt I send your Worshipps. I have nothing of news at present.

924. Charles Salmon Annamaboe, 29 Aug. 1698

I have this morning received a letter from Capt. Daniell directed to your Worshipps by Eggins canoemen, that carryed him downe yesterday, therefore dispatched this messenger with itt.[267] Yesterday three of the Curranteers of this country was with me for their ground rent, which I proffered them in any goods that is in the Royall Companys warehouse. They want English sayes and sheets, they will nott take those here, because they are sullyed a little on the outside, therefore they desire your Worshipps to send them some new ones, two seys and four sheets will doe, which I can bring to my accompt, or Mr Gore to his,[268] which you shall think fitt. It is three months rent that is due to them, from ultimo May to ditto August. I have been very importunate with them, to know the reason of this present want of trade. They tell me thatt as long as the Braffoe

[264] Commander of the *Prince of Orange*.
[265] Adangbe, east of Accra (cf. chap.XIII).
[266] Kpone, where the Dutch had established a factory in 1697 (cf. no.1316). The alternative place of trade proposed by Eggin was perhaps Le, further east.
[267] = no.1433.
[268] Gerard Gore, now succeeding Salmon as chief at Anomabu, the latter being transferred back to Egya.

resides at Abra,[269] they cannott consult for the opening of a trade, and thatt he will not remove to his regall seat untill he hath information that the King of Aguoffoe is gone to his.[270]

[gap in correspondence, Sept. to Dec. 1698]

925. Gerrard Gore Annamaboe, 9 Jan. 1698 [= 1699]

Since my returne from Cabo Corso Castle last, our Cabbosheers have been with me for their Christmas customes, but [I] have not red cloath as formerly was given by my predecessor, 21 yards ¾ at 4a per yard, and 18 yards at 3a per yard, which desire would be pleased to send, if not, whither may give to the vallue of other goods. Also desire your Worshipps would be pleased to send down a good Serjeant for this place, this [I] have [I] being very desireous that he may come up to Cabo Corso, he being very impudent and abusive, not fitting for this place. Desire will be pleased to send some writeing paper, ordinary for letters and large for accompts.

926. Gerrard Gore Annamaboe, 10 Jan. 1698/9

By the bearer have sent my December accompts, there being due to me as per accompt oz7 13a 8½t, which I humbly desire your Worshipps would be pleased to pay my boy Quashee, haveing great occation for itt, not haveing any trade or any likelyhood of any, especially if any shipping here or near this place, especially by those who are at present relyes much upon your Worshipps favours to them who is now present att Cabo Corso Castle, it being Pepper [who] the day before he went to Cabo Corso Castle, went on board of Capt. Hust, the 10 per cent man,[271] and laid out about 3 marks gold, and further promised in three or four days more, would come againe and bring a bigger quantity of money with him, if he s[t]ay here or hereabouts, which the Captain came on shore and told me himselfe before severall others, which thought convenient to advise your Worshipps of itt, he [= Pepper] being now with you. By which your Worshipps may conjecture the trade is like to be here, when such as he who pretends soe much fidellity to the Companys intrest and at present soe much depends upon your Worshipps.

PS. I have sent your Worshipps three casks of salt.

[269] This document has been cited to suggest that Abora had become the capital of Fante by 1698 (Kea 1982, 30), but the text implies that the Brafo's residence there was only temporary, while his 'regal seat' was elsewhere, presumably still at Mankessim.

[270] The Fante & Eguafo armies were presumably still mobilized against the threat from Denkyira (nos 915–6).

[271] i.e. a trader from outside the RAC, now permitted (under the Act of 1698) to trade freely in Africa, on payment of a 10% tax to the Company. Perhaps the captain's name should be 'Rust', i.e. Walt Rust, commander of the *Edward & Francis* (Database #20164).

927. Gerrard Gore Annamaboe, 21 Jan. 1698/9

This morning Eggin returned from the Currantiers, who greets your Worshipps, acquainting they designe to be downe here on Monday next, they this day designeing to goe to the Braffoe, to acquaint him of their comeing, & to request his comeing with them here, which if he refuses they will oblidge him to send his souldiers with them,[272] they haveing some business extraordinary to decide before their comeing downe, which occations their longer stay, or else they would have been here tomorrow. One of our Cabbosheers named Towne Auqua has killed an ellephant, and given the Currantiers, which further occations their longer stay, or else they would have been here tomorrow. Our Cabbosheers of this towne are all very willing & ready to send their utmost assistance, onely wait the Currantiers motion, which if consent to or not consent to, itt shall be noe hinderance of their sending, they saying they are servants to the English, from whome they receive their sustenance and protection from, and in whose service they ever will continue, and thatt nothing shall be wanting in me but will to my utmost endeavour encourage them therein, and as occasion shall further advise.

928. Gerrard Gore Annamaboe, 22 Jan. 1698/9

This comes by Bundy, acquainting this morning our Cabbosheers are fully resolved to send according to your Worshipps desire whatt assistance they can by Fryday next, against which time [they] desire you would send Bundy to accompany them to Cabo Corso Castle. In the meane time I shall, according to your order by Eggin, endeavour to gett the Currantiers downe here for their further assistance, which when comes shall duly advise.

PS. Some paper for letters and accompts, which very much need, being all exhausted.

929. Gerrard Gore Annamaboe, 5 Feb. 1698/9

This is to acquaint you that this morning had a messenger come out of the country, acquainting that some of the Corman [= Quaman] people, with some Arcany traders, carrying up goods to redeeme the Captain of Corman, taken by the Dancra's in the late warr with the Arcanys, the Braffoe hearing thereof went and stopped them, whome they resisted and fought their way through, and shot the Braffoe in the head,[273] which have sent to enquire further into the truth, and

[272] i.e. to assist Little Taggee, who was now (following the murder of Great Taggee) being supported by the English in an attempt to seize power in Eguafo (cf. no.451). A later Dutch report (Van Dantzig 1978, no.92: van Sevenhuysen, Elmina, 15 April 1700) recalls that Nicholas Buckeridge came from Cape Coast to Anomabu, to request Fante assistance against Eguafo, but was rebuffed.

[273] Cf. no.1042, from Egya, which however identifies the traders involved as Akyem, rather than Akani.

shall advise of as shall heare, tho' the Braffoes man was here last night for lead and powder, but bringing noe money sent none, but heard nothing of anything of this from him, but with another story, saying the Braffoe was a comeing here, but the Currantiers will not let him, butt he sayes he will come downe here in little time.

PS. If I should have any messenger from the Braffoe for anything desire your Worshipps speedy advise if shall furnish him.

930. Gerrard Gore [Annamaboe], n.d.

By this have sent up my serjeant, he not obeying my lawfull commands and breed a mutany in the Castle, he makeing resistance offered to strike me with his cane, he haveing perswaded some of the souldiers to cide [= side] with him, and told me they should not obey me but him, whome them [sic] I have secured and sent him to your Worshipps to correct; which I hope your Worshipps will give the due correction he deserves and not to lett such villanous actions pass to encourage others in the like, which may prove very fatall against the Royall Companys intrest, and that would be pleased to send downe a good man, that your Worshipps approve off, fitting for a serjeant of this place, with four souldiers, that I may send up these to correct according to their deserts, they being not fitting to continue any longer here, haveing been mutanous, and the occation of this disturbance here, and much against the Companys intrest and hinderance of trade to the Castle, being informed they have ever since they have been here had interlopeing goods, and sould at under prices in the towne, by which your Worshipps may conjecture of money not comeing into the Castle, when traders might have the same sort of goods in the towne cheaper then the Companys prices in the Castle, and this day complaining to the Cabbosheers of this towne that they suffered anybody to entertaine goods in this towne thatt did not belong to the Company, which was very ill of them to suffer that which was soe very much against the Companys intrest, whereupon I perswaded them to search the towne, whome I told belonged to them to doe and for thatt and other things &ca the Company was at soe much charge in paying soe many customes to them, and that this morning they brought money into the Castle for blue perpetuanoes at 8a & 9a each, they carryed their money out againe, saying they could have them soe in the towne, soe that with great importunanance [= importunity] with the Cabbosheers they said they would goe and search the towne and whatever goods they found they would send into the Castle, whereupon they sent in two roles [= rolls] of tobaccoe and a cask of Barbadoes rumme that belonged to Daniell Vanchesterfleet souldier, which was the first house they searched, and as soone as it came into the Castle, the said Daniell Vanchesterflet staved the head of the cask out, and all the rumme runn out, which I asked his reason for thatt, which he very saucily answered what was that to me,

he said he would doe what he would with his owne things, whereupon I struck at him and he runn away. I ordered the serjeant to lay hands on him, and he very impudently replyed I will not, goe and doe it your selfe, at which I struck at him, and he made his resistance and offered to strike at me with his cane againe, and laid his hands on me, which I took hold of and ordered the Guard to seiz[e] him, and he said who dare to touch me am not I your officer, and I speaking 3 or 4 times in the name of the Royall Company to seiz him, none laid their hands on him but to prevent me, saying most of them the serjeant was their Commander and not me, and they would obey him and not me, often abuseing me and threatening me, telling me I had nothing to doe with him nor the souldiers, saying that was none of my business, and that he and them might doe what they pleased, I was to mind the Company goods and nothing else, and that he would turne me out from hence, and soe saucy that the like was never, and that he has been soe for a great while, which I formerly advised your Worshipps off, and that hope your Worshipps will be pleased to correct him accordingly, and not to lett him be an example to others that may occation the like any where else.

931. Gerrard Gore Annamaboe, 7 Feb. 1698/9

Yours of the 6th instant received, and am informed by Mr Salmon he advised your Worshipps since how it was concerning the Braffoes skirmage [= skirmish],[274] and that his wound he received was not mortall, but just a shot graised along his side above his hipp, but not very deep, soe there is noe danger in that wound of his death,[275] and further acquainting that on Sonday last Quamon and Abra people fought, and yesterday the Braffoe sent downe to this towne to come and assist in fighting against the Quamang people, which our Cabbosheers denyed their assistance, and sent him word they would not be concerned in that pallaver on either side, and last night Abra got the best of the Quamangs, and afterwards the Quamangs beat them, and killed of Abra people nine or tenn of their men, makeing shows of their heads. Humbly desire would be pleased to send me a serjeant and four or five souldiers downe with all speed, not thinking my selfe with the Companys Castle secured as wee now here are, three men being in prison, and one or two out that are not fiting to be trusted here any longer at liberty.

PS. If have any pewter basons desire would be pleased to send some, they being here much enquired for.

[274] = no.1042.

[275] The syntax is misleading, seeming to suggest that this is what Salmon had reported, but in fact it is a correction of Salmon's report that the Brafo was likely to die of his wound.

VII

EGYA

Egya ('Agga') is 1 km east of Anomabu. The RAC factory here had been abandoned in early 1691, the goods in it being evacuated to Charles Fort, Anomabu (no.610). As is reported elsewhere in the Rawlinson correspondence (nos 518–21, 523), in September 1692 the chief of the RAC's factory at Anashan visited Egya to arrange the reconstruction of the factory there with a view to its reoccupation, and in November a factor was sent to take up residence. The factory was occupied continuously thereafter, apart from intermissions in June–November 1697 and June–August 1698. It was not fortified, being described in 1694 as 'a small thatch'd house ... having little or no defense, except a few muskets'.[1] Like Anashan, Egya supplied mainly corn, and also gold, but only small numbers of slaves. The principal traders from the interior bringing gold there, as in the 1680s, were the Akani (nos 960 etc.); but by 1699 the Akyem ('Aikims') are also mentioned (no.1042).

Egya was situated within the state of Fante, hence the factory paid 'custom' to the 'Braffo and Corrantiers' of the latter (nos 936 etc.). The Egya correspondence provides further documentation of Fante's foreign relations, notably its war, in alliance with Akani, against Etsi ('Attie', 'Attee') in 1693–4 (nos 946–7, 950) and the formal submission of 'Cabess Terra' (i.e. Etsi) to Fante in 1696 (no.1017); and also of internal divisions within Fante, including disagreements over whether to assist Akani in its war against Denkyira in 1698 (nos 1035, 1039), and fighting between the Brafo and his opponents in 1699 (no.1042).

932. William Cooper — Agga Factory, 9 Nov. 1692

This only to advise of my arrivall and to render thanks for your kindnesse. I have not had any demands of customes yett, so cannot advise what they will have, but presume per next may satisfie.

[PS] A receipt of goods I will send per next oppertunity.

[1] Phillips 1732, 209.

933. William Cooper Agga Factory, 13 Nov. 1692

My last only advised of my arrival, and have but little at present to advise of save that the Cabbosheers &ca demand the same custome as is paid at Annishan, which hope you will aprove of. I have received a small quantity of corne and have the promise of a considerable quantity more, which I have agreed for but I have no conveniency of keeping it, so desire [you] as shall have occasione to order it from hence. I am in great want of 3 locks, 4 bolts for windows [and] a hammer, without the former I cannot well secure things.

934. William Cooper Agga Factory, 16 Nov. 1692

Yours of the 14 instant have received, since which have taken in much corne. I know not what I shall do for lookes [= locks]. I am forwarding the corne roome, which in 2 or 3 dayes will be ready for thatch. Here is a great demand for Benneen cloths, therefore I desire I may have 100 cloths (if you have them) as soon as possible.

[PS] I have paid the Cabbosheers their custome. My hands are still very weak.

935. William Cooper Agga Factory, 23 Nov. 1692

I received yours of the 17 instant with advices of your intentions of sending the sloope hither,[2] which I heartily wish were here. I have now neer 500 chests of corne, and unlesse some be taken off my hands know not where to put more. They ask here much for Cape de Verd cloaths against their danceing,[3] so if you please to send down a few they will vend. I want a sword, musquett and bandyliers for the souldier, haveing non to secure us upon any accompt. Large windoes with iron barrs for the corne roome I desire may be made, for what the Blacks have put up are to small and very unsecure.

[PS] The canoemen demand for custome one sletia and two flasks brandy. The Agga men demand pay for thatching the Factory, fenceing &ca.

Yesterday I opned the baill of boysadoes, whereof 7 are damaged, and a cours sletia mentioned in the [blank] two cascs to contain 41, the other being opened before contains 20, this find contains but 20 & a half.

936. William Cooper Agga Factory, 30 Nov. 1692

Both yours dated the 24th and 26 instant are now before me. I had when your last arrived, that ordered my forbearance of buying any more corne except at 1½ a

[2] i.e. the *Alligator Sloop*, commander Leonard Jeffryes.

[3] This 'dancing' was in Dec. (no.939). It is not clear what ceremony this refers to; all other references in the Rawlinson correspondence to 'dancing time'in Fante refer to June/July.

per chest, gott in with much adoe to the quantity of 550 chests, since which have seized [= ceased] buying, endeavouring to break the price, which at present they will not come to, but I beleive in a little time they will comply. I long for the comeing down of the sloope, for I am much incommoded, haveing one little rome for all of us to stirr in. Pray lett me have the Benneen cloaths per first opportunity, Cape de Verd cloths you advise there is non. Musquet, sword and bandylyars have received. Per bearer have sent the measure of the corne roome. Windoes, lett the barrs be mad[e] to naill on. The canoe men have left of their demands, but I am verry much pestred with the Agga men aboute fenceing and thatching the Factory, they say they will be paid and demand 3o 8a for their work, they denie they ever made such promisess you writte of. [As] for comeing to Cabo Corso at Christmass they never thought of it, and often tell me I keep the money in my hands. What to do with them I know not. Mr Searle & I according to your orders have viewed the boysadoes, and find 2 ¼ damaged and 5 ⅐ damaged, as appears per inclosed certificat.[4] As for the ½ piece sletia have done as you bid me, have made 40½ received. The Braffo & Corrantiers have sent down to demand their customes as Mr Cross paid them,[5] have told them must first know if you will allow it, an answer of which they wait for. I have not elce at present to trouble you, only thanks for your reiterated kindnessese.

[PS] Pray let there be made two or 3 [word illegible] barrs, 11 or 12 in all, and some nails. I hope, Sirs, you'll dispence with me for rendering my accompts this month, writting being at present very troublesome to me. Per next month hope to render them more fair then now I can. My pain in my armes and leggs are gone, and begine to recover strength.

937. William Cooper Agga Factory, 4 Dec. 1692

This advises the sloope comeing, on board of whom I shall put what corne she can take in. Here is the inquirie for Bennen cloaths. The Agga men still hold their demands, and threaten to carry away the fenceing aboute the Factory. Per next will send a receipt for what goods have received.

938. William Cooper Agga Factory, 10 Dec. 1692

Yours of the 5th instant have received, since which I have been much troubled with the Agga men about thatching and fenceing the Factory. They have not been so rude to take away any of the fence, but Captain Sham [= Asham][6] has made it his bussines to stope the trade, biding the Agga men and rest of the Cabbosheers not to come here with any corne or gold, but they tell me they will

[4] Edward Searle, chief of Charles Fort, Anomabu (cf. no.684).
[5] William Cross had been the last chief of the Egya factory, 1687–91.
[6] The leading chief of Egya, also mentioned in the 1680s (vol.i, nos 158, etc.).

not obey his commands. He has troubled me much every day, and I perceive he is my chief desturber and could I gett rid [ms 'aid'] of him I believe might live much more quitley here. The Corrantiers have been to me also, demanding their custome as formerly paid them in a very rude manner (I am apt to think sett on by Asham). After I had told them you knew nothing of their customes, so could not allow, they told me they would either have a say or they would not goe out of the Factory till they had seen me in a canoe. They stayed here till neer 10 a clock at night, haveing many souldiers neer the Factory, much perplexeing me, I being then much troubled with the toothache, so was forceid to deliver to them one sey. I am senceable that I am to blame to exceed your order, but hope youl feavourably censure me when you know how they dealt with me, which Mr Jeffreys being then present can declaire unto you. I have put on board Mr Jefferys sloope some 160 chests corne, being as much as she can well carry in the condition she is in, which wish well to Cabo Corso. Inclosed is a receipt of the goods I brought with me.

[PS] The Braffo has not yett sent for his custome, but I suppose it will not be long ere he does. If Bonashee once clears his pawne there will be hardly any liveing here or att Annimaboe.[7] This also incloses Mr Jeffreys receipt for the corne.

Received from on board the 13 hand canoe on accompt of the Royall African Company of England 41½ sletias course, 26 fine ditto, 20 Welch plains damnified ¼, 50 half firkens tallow, 100 lead barrs, 10 half barrells gunpowder, 60 seys, 21 boysadoes, 240 blue pautkies, received per William Cooper.

939. William Cooper n.d. [Dec. 1692]

Yours dated the 13 instant this morning have received, wherein you seem displeased [at me] for not adviseing whither or not the Agga men excepted the 6 or 7 peeze for both house and corne roome. I thought I had mentioned in my last but one of their hold to their demands, but to exprese it more plainly they demand 7 peeze for the fence which incompases the Factory and 7 peeze more for thatching the house, without the corne roome, which they will not medle with unlesse well paid, but I have forwarded it as much as possible with the slaves I have and help of other men, not without expence to myself. Asham and rest are now at a generall dancing, we cannot at present advise further what they will do. The say disposed of to the Corrantiers, since you will not allow of it, shall not charge it in my accompts. I have put on board the Alligator sloope 160 chest corne more, and per the 13 hand canoe have sent 25 chests ditto, which togither makes 185 chests, I wish them well att Cabo Corso.

[7] Bonnishee, a leading trader of Anomabu; referring to a pawn given for compensation which he owed to the English factory, following a clash earlier in 1692 (no.655).

940. William Cooper Agga Factory, 20 Dec. 1692

Yours of yesterdays date have received, and shall endeavour to finish the corne roome with all speed. Mr Searle has promised me the help of his two slaves, which he can hardly spare, becaus they are every other day imployed in turneing his corne. I have put on board the sloope, which is now under saill (but makes but little way), 170 chests corne, and per the 13 hand canoe have sent 25 chests ditto, togither makes 195, which is all I had remaining. I hope the same may come well to Cabo Corso Castle.

941. William Cooper Agga Factory, 24 Jan. 1692/3

Yours of the 10th instant which orders me to buy no more corne till further orders, & that of the 16th instant wherein you require my accompts, with the 100 gallons rum sent me att 9ta per gallon on accompt of the Royall African Company of England, have received, & accordingly per the bearer have sent my November and December accompts. The ballance being only on[e] angle, needlesse I think to send you, shall carry to next accompts.

[PS] Other day one of the women slaves run away from me, and as I hear since is at Cabo Corso. I desire you will give orders to remitt her unto me, but pray lett her 1st have the lash. She is verry self willed, for I can hardly gett her to do the least thing necissarie.

942. William Cooper Agga Factory, 6 Feb. 1692/3

Yours of the 25th January last (wherein you advise of your receiveing my November and December accompts), with the woman slave, have received. This serves to accompany my January accompt, which only mentions the yearly customes allowed by the Royall African Company of England, which I have paid, [and] the charge of thatching and fenceing the Factory to the Agga men amounteing to 7 peeze, which you were pleased to order me to offer them, which they have at last (after much trouble) complyed with. I have had no trade since I returned from Cabo Corsoe.[8]

[PS] I have sent but one accompt, for which I hope may be excused, my weakness in my hands that I can hardly writte.

943. William Cooper Agga Factory, 8 Feb. 1692/3

Yours of yesterdays date is now before me with my last accompt, which you returned to be corrected, which accordingly have done and send by bearer.

[8] i.e. from visiting at Christmas, as usual.

The gripes does very much indispose me, therefor hope the same accompt may satisfie.

[gap in correspondence, mid-Feb. to July 1693]

944. William Cooper Agga, 1 Aug. 1693

Yours of the 15th instant have received, and have endevored according to order to purchase what corne possible, but have not as yett gott in more then what my accompts (which came with this) mentions, viz 71½ chests. The Blacks haveing been so busie in takeing their small corne, and the Abras pinyaring the Alta people,[9] near which place most of the corne was fetched, hath very much delayed the bringing it heither, though they promise me now I shall have itt with all expedition, and here is considerable lyes to be measured, so that I believe that by the latter end of the next week I may have the whole complyment you order me to buy. The Blacks ask very much for blue and green Welch plaines, fine and course sletias, blue long cloths, knives, paper brawles, brass pans, which goods they chiefly demand for their corne, which I desire I may be speedyly supplyed with. I have received of Mr Edward Searle 1¼ pieces of whit long cloth for the flag, but want rope for the halyards and ratlings [= ratlines],[10] with some canvas, which pray send by the bearer.

945. William Cooper Agga, 13 Sept. 1693

This I send with my August accompts. According to your orders have shipped on bord the Katherine, Capt. Edward Curtis Commander, three hundred chests of corne. I have taken no more money then to bear the factory expenses this moneth. Perpetuanoes and says I might have sold severall were they not rated so high, 10an a perpetuano & 15an a say they are willing to give and not more, which price if you please to approve of may hope to sell them at.

946. William Cooper Agga, 3 Oct. 1693

I received yours of the 16th past which advised of the receiving my August accompts, wherein you seem very much displeased at my writing about the price of says & perpetuanoes. I cannot perceive (nor do I know) what cause I have given you to doubt the least of my endeavours for our Masters interest. The small returnes this factory has made (am sure) is not my fault, and know no reason why you should impute it to me. I wish I were in a place where the trade might make it appeare whether I minded their interest or not, though I doubt not

[9] i.e. Abora, in the north of Fante; the 2nd name should perhaps be 'Atta', i.e. 'Attie [Etsi]', as in nos 946 etc.
[10] i.e. lines fastened between ropes, to form a ladder.

were all things fairely accomodated here for a free trade [I] should soon make it appeare where I am. I honour the Royall Company as an other, & whilst I serve them shall be ready to my utmost to advance their interest. This month I have not taken enough to defray factory charges, so must defer my accompts till next month, though I expect no trade, being they are all preparing for the warr, being resolved (as I hear from every mouth) to fight the Attiees this month.[11]

947. William Cooper Agga, 2 Nov. 1693

This comes to accompany my September & October accompts, wherein I have bought seaventy seaven chests corne in part of the hundred chests you were pleased to order mee on the 13th past to purchase. I have not taken money, as appears by this accompt, to defray the charge of the factory these two months, and whilst the country doe continue this intended warr with the Attees wee can expect no other then a very miserable trade. I heartly wish all differences were made up between them, for a trade [which] might answer the Royall Companys expectation.

948. William Cooper Agga Factory, 29 Nov. 1693

Yours of the 28th instant have received, with the two quarter casks rumm of Mr Edward Searle. The Cabbosheers of this place have been sev[er]all tymes with mee, and demanded two lead barrs and one halfe barrill powder for a dashee against their goeing to fight. I have offered them one lead barr and powder suitable, but they are not saysfyed, soe this is to desire to know your pleasure whether or noe I shall give them what they demand soe unreasonably, especially considering what little profitt this factory has been to the Royall Company.

949. William Cooper Agga, 5 Dec. 1693

Yours of the 1st instant I received, concerning the Cabbosheers demands, but though I told them you would not allow it they would not lett mee bee at rest till I gave them at my owne charge. I have likewise received yours of yesterdays date, with Robert Sutton, and acccording to your order have sent Thomas Farmer by the canoe. In two or three dayes I shall send up my accompts.

950. William Cooper Agga Factory, 9 Dec. 1693

Yours of the 6th instant I have received. This comes with my November accompt. The ballance being but 4a, I have passed to next accompt. The corne

[11] Etsi, the northern neighbour of Fante. Cf. no.950 below, which makes clear that Etsi was at war with Akani, further inland, with the Fante by implication allied to the latter. Reports from Anashan (no.549) & Anomabu (no. 706) name the enemy as 'Cabess Terra', an alternative name for Etsi.

haveing according to your order bought one hundred chests, I hope in a little tyme this Factory may make better returns to the Company then hitherto it hath done. The Arcanyes hath had the better upon the Attees as yett, and have sent downe severall heads.[12] The Braffo [ms. 'Draffo'] is gone [i.e. to the war], and likewise Bonashee with his people, and this day marches all the Annamaboes and tomorrow all the people of Agga.

951. William Cooper Agga Factory, 13 Dec. 1693

Yours of the 9th instant advising of the receipt of my November accompts have received. This conveyance happening have made use of itt onely to know your order whether I may purchase any slaves, it being likely that in a very little tyme many slaves will present,[13] and also how I may dispose of them, it being dangerous to send them up by land.

952. William Cooper Agga, 3 Jan. 1693/4

Yours of the 13th December last ordering mee to purchase slaves have received, but as yet none have offered.[14] I humbly desire you will excuse my accompts this month, haveing had noe trade to defray factory expence, though by all appearance in a little tyme may expect a trade very considerable.

953. William Cooper Agga Factory, 8 Jan. 1693/4

Yours of the 5th instant I have received. I would willingly render you my accompts every month, but I cannot see how I can possibly doe it, when I have not taken a cra cra to defray charges. The Cabbosheers hath been with mee for their yearly custome and I intended to write for cloth, but Mr Searle adviseing you have none, desire to know if I shall satisfy them with such goods as I have.

954. William Cooper Agga Factory, 14 Jan. 1693/4

Yours of the 8th instant I received. Per bearer have sent one man and woman slaves, which if you like them shall charge the Royall Company with in my next accompts.

955. William Cooper Agga Factory, 5 Feb. 1693/4

Per bearer hereof I have sent my December & January accompts, and have satisfied the Braffo and Cabbosheers &ca as per the accompts appear. On the

[12] Cf. no.712, from Anomabu.
[13] Cf. no.711.
[14] Cf. no.552, from Anashan.

first instant I bought two women slaves, and according to your orders of the 15 January last have put them into Anna[ma]boe Fort.[15] I am out of pautkies, blue Welch plaines, cases of spirits, which I desire you will send per first opportunity.

956. William Cooper Agga Factory, 26 March 1693/4

This only att present conducts my February accompts, bv which appears what a trade there is, and when a better will be I can not foresee.[16]

957. William Cooper Agga Factory, 7 April 1694

This accompanyes my March accompts. Noe trade yett offers. Sirs, I desire you will please to send per bearer what sallary is due to me here from the Royal African Company of England from March ultimo 1693 to March ultimo 1694, my last being paid me at that time.

[PS] My sallary for 12 months after the rate of $^{2}/_{3}{}^{ds}$ of 50£ per annum in gold at £3.16s per oz, 1mk 0oz 12a 4ta.

958. William Cooper Agga Factory, 10 [var. '7'] May 1694

Per bearer comes my Aprill accompts, wherein appears that according to your order have shipped on board Capt. Shirley and Capt. Phillips each fiftie chests corne, in all one hundred chests, on the Royall Affrican Companyes accompt.[17] On Saturday last the fifth instant I bought a man slave, which have putt into Annamaboe Fort to Mr Edward Searles custody.[18] I wish trade would come in (as I hope it may now quickly),[19] that thereby I might be capable not only to pay myselfe my sallary but to render the Royall African Company more satisfactory returns. I desire therefore you will please to furnish me with six chests blue Welch plaines, pautkies, cases of spiritts, as you were pleased to write I should have.

959. William Cooper Agga Factory, 25 May 1694

Yours of the 8th of this month I received with your goods then sent, vizt three hundred & ninety sheets, twenty blue plaines, two of which were damaged, and tenn cases of spiritts for the purchaseing of corne you ordered. I have beene

[15] Cf. no.718.
[16] Cf. no.721, from Anomabu.
[17] Commanders of the *East India Merchant* & the *Hannibal*, who were at Anomabu 26 April–2 May, & also dealt with Cooper at Egya (Phillips 1732, 209–10; cf. also no.729).
[18] Cf. no.730.
[19] Cf. no.960, with n.21.

treating very hard with the Cabbosheers about the price, but they will spare none under two angles per chest, though there is enough here to be had. The reason is the Mine people which come here takes off great quantities at the price they now hold, soe I desire to know your pleasure therein what I must doe, tho I beleive as their new corne opens they incline to abate.

960. William Cooper Agga Factory, 7 June 1694

Yours of the 26th of May past I received, ordering me to follow the orders sent Mr Edward Searle, which I will doe. Severall people have been with me and would glad[l]y bring it [i.e. corn] in at 1½ per chest, but the Cabbosheers of the towne will not lett [var. 'suffer'] them. Per bearer have sent my May accompts wherein is mentioned one woman slave bought on the 10th of said month and putt into Annamaboe, which I forgott to mention in my last letter.[20] Here is some Arcany men come, who want among other things about six ounces worth of bouges,[21] therefore desire you will send per this 2 hand canoe, which have sent on purpose, what quantity it can well carry.

961. William Cooper Agga Factory, 5 July 1694

Yours of the 8 June last I received. This comes to conduct my June accompts. The ballance being only 1a 1ta have passed to my next. I have according to your order paid my self my sallary due from the Royall Company from ultimo March 1693 to ultimo June 1694 out of what have the last month received, as appears by the accompts, as alsoe one man slave bought the 27th past and sent to Mr Searle at Annamaboe. Yesterday I bought one woman slave, which have likewise sent him. I desire that I may have a supply of one hundred perpetuanoes more per first opportunity, severall of those remaining by me being a little broak, which hinders the sale of them. The Cabbosheers are now fallen to 1½a per chest for their corne.

PS. In oppening the bale of sayes I find most of them considerably damaged, which hope you will please to order they may be viewed.[22]

[20] Cf. no.730.

[21] Contrast reports from Anomabu, which indicate that trade from the interior remained blocked through 1694, & Akani traders resumed coming there only in 1695 (nos 766, 800, 815). This was perhaps only an isolated instance, since no further references to Akani at Egya occur before June 1695 (nos 977 etc.). It is also possible that these traders had come by a devious route, by-passing Etsi, via Akron to the east; this might explain their need for cowry shells, to pay local expenses, since cowries were used as currency as far west as Apam, in Akron (at least a century later: Hogendorn & Johnson 1986, 106), but not in Fante. Cf. reference to Akani traders opening a new route to Winneba, in Agona, east of Akron, from April 1694 (nos 1083, 1090).

[22] As was done, by Searle from Anomabu (no.738).

962. William Cooper Agga Factory, 14 July 1694

Yours of yesterdays date with the one hundred blue perpetuanoes on accompt of the Royall African Company of England per the 11 hand canoe I received.

963. William Cooper Agga Factory, 7 Aug. 1694

This is chiefly to accompany my July accompts. The ballance being soe little, vizt 2a 8ta, have passed to my next month, but since the makeing up of my accompts have sold the greater part of the perpetuanoes last sent me, and am in hopes of a very good trade, soe doe desire you'd please to send me one hundred perpetuanoes more, and one baile or two of Welsh plaines per first oppertunity. I have made further inquiry about the visit the second of Cormanteen made to the Braffo of Fanteen, and all that I can learn is that he went to know if the English had hired him to take the Fort, which is affirmed to me to be the only cause of his goeing.[23] However shall be carefull still to enquire, and if finde any other intreague shall advise you.

964. William Cooper Agga Factory, 8 Aug. 1694

Mr Searle haveing noe corne att present by him to load the 11 hand canoe, hath sent her hither,[24] and [I] have accordingly sent by the canoe twenty five chests corne. I bought one man slave the 4th instant and put him into Annamaboe Fort, which I forgott to mention in mine of yesterdays date.

965. William Cooper Agga Factory, 9 Aug. 1694

Yours of yesterdays date with the one hundred blue perpetuanoes on accompt of the Royall African Company of England I have received, and per returne of the canoe have sent twenty five chests corne, which with the 25 chests I sent yesterday makes fifty chests on the Royall Companys accompt.

966. William Cooper Agga Factory, ** Sept 1694

Yours dated of the 1st instant per Capt. Bradshaw received, and according to your orders have shippt on board the Swallow Briganteen eighty chests of corne on the Royall Companys accompt. This comes with my August accompts wherein what slaves I bought, vizt three men, three women, were delivered to Mr Edward Searle at Annamaboe Fort. The ballance (factory charges deducted) is six marks nine angles & 6 taccoes, have sent per the great canoe (put into the gold chest at Annamaboe).[25] The Blacks bring in their corne now very fast, but

[23] Cf. nos 743–4, from Anomabu.
[24] Cf. no.745.
[25] Cf. no.756.

what goods I have now by me they will not take unless I pay them in sheets & perpetuanoes. What sayes I have by me they will not look on, being most very bad colours, therefore request you will send per first opportunity a baile or two of blue plains, pautkies, fine & course sletias (if there be any), Guinea clouts, a case of says, a baile of carpetts, all which I desire you will lett me have.

By the long continuance of the last raines the Factory is very much out of repaire, especially the fence, which is quite fallen downe (being very rotten), soe that the Factory lyes quite open, therefore hope you will order it to be repaired.

967. William Cooper Agga Factory, 11 Sept. 1694

Since my last that accompanied my August accompts &ca have disposed of a good quantity of perpetuanoes, and am in expectation of more trade, soe I desire you will by first opportunity send me one hundred & fifty perpetuanoes and what goods I have alreaddy writt for. I have gott my full complement of corne you ordered me, besides what have delivered on the Royall Companys accompt, which have presumed to doe because the Blacks are willing to spare what they can before they stow their corne in their houses, which after will be hard to gett of them att a greater rate. If you thinck fitt to order more (pray pardon my sentiment) I thinck now would be a very good time.

PS. They will not be paid for the corne with what goods have now by me.

968. William Cooper Agga Factory, 12 Sept. 1694

Yours of yesterdays date I received, with one hundred & sixty Guiney stuffs, twenty sayes, one hundred & fifty blue perpetuanoes, forty blue plaines, and fifty English woolen carpetts on accompt of the Royall Company, and according to your orders have returned the canoe with twenty five chests of corne. I shall endeavour to repaire the Factory, but for the fence with what slaves I have [it] cannot be done in severall months.

PS. The factory fence used to be repaired in Mr Crosses time by the Agga men.

969. William Cooper Agg[a] Factory, 10 Oct. 1694

Yours of the 5th instant advising of the recept of the inventory of Agga Factorey and the money I sent by the great canoe &c I received. Per bearer I have sent my September accompts, the ballance of which agrees with the inventory and money sent, m6 5oz 00 a7ta. I have sent 12a 5ta good money in leiu of [that] which [you] returned, & 4a which you where pleased to write was wanting in [ms. 'is'] weaight. The money was weaghed before returne of Mr Buckeridge,[26]

[26] Sent from Cape Coast to inventory the factories at Anashan, Anomabu & Egya (cf. nos 567, 763).

who saw 7a putt in apon the two draughts, vizt 3a on one and 4a on the other, which I thought really had bin enough, and from whence I have my trade I cannot get such weaght as to countervale the loss thereof. I desier you would per first opportunity send fourty blew plaines, they are much in demand and what I had remaining in the inventorey are now disposed of. I want a case of one pound and two pound basons, pautkies if there be any, paper brawles.

PS. Pray if possible lett me have the plaines.

970. William Cooper Agga Factory, 10 Nov. 1694

Yours of the 12th and 15th last past I receivied. This to accompaney my October accompt, the ballance of which being all charges deducted mk1: 6: 1: 9ta have sent per this 2 hand cannoe, and allsoe Captain Aquaes pay to the end of October. Of Mr Gregoreys debt[27] I should have sent in my accompts sooner butt that I have bin indisposed. In the opening of a baile of perpetuanoes I found most of them extraordinarely damaged, which made me open all the rest and doe finde aboundance soe, wherefore request that you will order them to be viewed.[28]

PS. In my August accompts I should [have] charged eight angles in the accompt of the two men and three women slaves bought, which have now passed to my accompt and crave your excuses.

971. William Cooper Agga, 17 Jan. 1694 [= 1695]

This is to advise that I have inquiered for corne but as yett can gett none, they say the Mine people carr[y]ing of such great quantitys that they cannot afford itt under 2a per chest. Tomorrow I shall know what prize [ms. 'przie'] they will have. They are now takeing in there new cropp,[29] soe am in hopes they will come to an 1a½ per chest. They all aske for blew plaines, soe if you possible [can] supplye me with any will much forwarding their bringing of it. A case of good coll[or]ed sayes they likewise aske, for what I have by me are very bad, that they will not looke on any of them.

972. William Cooper Agga, 18 Jan. 1694 [= 1695]

Yours of this date per the 11 hand canno I have received, with twenty pieces of says on accompt of the Royal African Company of England. Per returne of the canno have sent twenty five chest of corne on ditto accompt.

[27] John Gregory, chief of Charles Fort, Anomabu, in 1691–2.
[28] As was again done by Searle from Anomabu (no.772).
[29] i.e. the 2nd (lesser) harvest.

973. William Cooper Agga Factory, 24 Jan. 1694 [= 1695]

I have indeavoured all that in me lyes to [bring] the Blacks to an 1a½ per chest for there corne, butt to noe purpose, for under two this day they told me they would not measure one chest, soe that unless you will please to give soe it is impossible to purchase any these parts. I want some carpetts and Guiney clouts, which pray send per first opportunity. The cases of sayes last sent me, most of them where extremely damaged.

974. William Cooper Agga Factory, 2 Feb. 1694/5

Yours of the 28th January past have received, & according to your order therein, have told the Cabbosheers &c that they should have 2a per chest for their corne, and am dayly verry urgent to have them bring it in, but as yet I find them verry slack, which they say is per reason they are shelling of it, and that in few days shall have all I want. I have but few goods by me and they ask much for carpetts, Guinea cloaths, pautkies & brawles for their corne, therfore desire I may be well supplyed with each sorts, if so be you have of the last, per first oppertunity.[30]

975. John Browne Agga, 27 May 1695

As your orders of the 14th instant inpowerd me I have taken into poss[ess]ion the Royall Companys of Engelands Factory of Agga, for which return thanks, inventorys whereof you will here recive. Please to send me up on accompt of the Royall African Company of Engeland 10 chest sheets, 200 blue pautkies, & 100 iron barrs. Upon my arrivall here Robert Sutton souldier makeing his complaint to me told me upon oath he is ready to declair that upon the 8th of Aprill last being intended for Annimaboe did lock & bolt the doores & windoes & left one of the Company slaves to keep a watchfull eye over the factory, but that upon return he found the slave absent, a breach in the fence towards the back gate. They easily drew the bolt, broack open his chest & seazed upon his mony, which was the vallue of 7oz 7a gold. After I had received this accompt & heard the blacks affirme that their fetisch had told them that mony had been stole out of the Company factory I did not forbear urging the Cabbosheers to goe make a pallaver & with all speed to find out the roguery that had been commited in the Companys factory, telling them if they did not take care least they might be called to question for allowing such rogueries & without notice taken by them they suffering the Companys factory to sustain the least damage, upon which they unanimously made answer that they would search into the matter as much as they could, & after much debate & examination among them according to their coustome made all such as they

[30] Later in Feb. 1695, Cooper was transferred to Winneba (no.1102). As is clear from no.975, the factory was not abandoned, but was left without a resident Factor until the arrival of John Brown, in May 1695.

suspected to take fetiesches & [at] last brought me into the factory one Sam Paine, a black, as guilty, & for satisfaction delivered him up unto me for a slave untill such time as he paid what he hath stole, upon which I sent him to Annimaboe to secure him for satisfaction to the said Robert Sutton for the losse of his mony. The Cabbosheers doe all jointly protest they will be very riguorus to all such as shall hereafter or be found to cause anything to the predju[di]ce of the Companys factory att this place. They are suspitious that one Guy, an old Companys slave, had a hand in itt, wish therefore youl please to send another in his roome.

PS. The flagg belonging to the factory is quite worne out & not fitting to be any more hoisted, please therefore to order me a new one.

976. John Browne Agga, 3 June 1695

I received yours this day with the contents, and have used my endeavours to purchase corn but cannot. I advised in my last that the flagg for the factory is so much tore that it is not fitt any more to be hoisted, pray please to order me a white longcloth and red perpetuano to make another.

977. John Brown Agga, 14 June 1695

That I may not let opportuniteys slip of takeing gold upon accompt of the Royall Company I desire youl'd please to send me by first 1 case of good says, knives, & small brass pans.

PS. I am inform'd per some Cabbosheers of this towne, that there will be some Arcany traders here upon Monday next.[31]

978. John Browne Agga, 15 June 1695

I have yours of this date with its contents upon accompt of the Royall African Company of England.

979. John Brown Agga, 1 July 1695

Just now are come from the country some Arcany traders. They are here with me at present, and have gott mony for knives, sheets & perpetuanoes blue. If you have gott none that are blue, I doe suppose they will be sattisfied with red, please then to send me one or two bailes, for a tryall, with six che[s]ts sheets, & 1 cask knives, upon accompt of the Royall African Company of England. The knives you sent me are all disposed.

PS. As soon as I can shall send you my accompts & ballance. I want 1 pair stilliards to weigh the brass.

[31] Cf. no.815, with n.147.

980. John Browne Agga, 9 July 1695

Yours by the 2 hand canoe of 1st instant I received, with one baile containing 25 red & one ditto containing 25 green perpetuanoes upon accompt of the Royall African Company, as also yours of theis days date adviseing that Edward Barter is proffer'd corn at Amersa for 2a per chest.[32] I wish I could prevaill with the bleaks [= blacks] here to sell it at that price, for as yet they doe absolutely refuse to sell it under 3a, but doe believe they would be satisfied with 2½, [and] if it is possible to bring them to 2a, I shall not fail tomorrow to call the Cabbosheers, to see at what price they will be willing to sell it for, of which will advise per first.

PS. I had sent my accompts & ballance ere now but my indisposition does hinder.

981. John Browne Agga, 11 July 1695

By the 2 hand canoe I have sent you my accompt & ballance, being 4mk 4o 8a 5ta gold, as also two chest corne at 2a per chest, upon accompt of the Royall Company. The blak had sold it me bids me not to tell the Cabbosheers that I bougt his corne at so cheap a rate, least they bringt a pallaver upon him for his selling it soe before that the Cabbosheers have concluded the price, which do beleive will do quickly. However, knowing they will say & use what methods they can to heighten the prices now in these scarce times, I do seem to them to be but verry indifferent whether I have their corne or not if not at 2. The Arcanys & Fanteeners are much conserned that [I] have not the goods they inquire for, and most of their trade is like to be carried to the Dutch.[33] Please to send me 100 iron barrs, with a few phota longees. The barrs you formerly send me are now [ms. 'new'] all disposed.

982. John Browne Agga, 12 July 1695

Yours of yesterdays date with what therein mentioned I received per the 11 hand canoe. The error which through mistake did make in my accompts, by overchargeing the Royall Company 8a 9t in my allowance for dyett, I shall correct & send in a [ms. 'or'] day or two. Yesterday the Cabbosheers were here to make an agreement with me for the price of their corn, and gave out that they'l dispose it at 2a per chest, so that hope hereafter I shall be able to supply you with corn enough for the subsistance of the Royall Company slaves. What corn I was able to purchase in the small time the 11 hand canoe hath been here, I have sent per her returne, which is 4 chests

[32] Cf. no.1048.
[33] i.e. to the Dutch fort at Kormantin, 4 km east of Egya.

983. John Browne Agga, 15 July 1695

Pray send me on accompt of the Royall Company one baile of red, and one ditto green perpetuanoes. If you send per a 5 hand canoe she shall presently be returned with a leading [= lading] of corn, which have just now take in att 2a per chest. I had sent some now by a two hand canoe, but cannot gett canoemen, they being all att sea a fishing.

984. John Browne Agga, 17 July 1695

I have yours of yesterdays date with its contents on accompt of the Royall African Company of England, per a 5 hand canoe. Per her returne I have sent you 12 chests corn. I have gott about 18 chests more in the corne roome ready to be sent you upon occasion, and shall still be provideing.

985. John Browne Agga, 18 July 1695

I have sent you per a 5 hand canoe 14 chests corn on accompt of the Royall African Company of England. I have eight chests more remaining in the corne roome, & that is all. My endeavours shall not be wanting to provide a better stock to be ready to serve you upon occasion.

PS. Severall enquire for corrall red, if any please send me about 70 lb.

986. John Browne Agga, 23 July 1695

I have yours of the 19th instant, with its contents, & have sent you by a 5 hand canoe twelve chests of good corne, & doe desire that per her returne you'l please to send me twenty sayes & forty lead barrs, on accompt of the Royall African Company of England.

987. John Browne Agga, 29 July 1695

Yours of the 25th instant with forty sayes and fifteene lead barrs I received. I have had a pretty good trade this month, doe believe that my ballance will amount to mk14 gold if not more, and I expect more traders in a day or two, and here is but a few iron barrs and one red perpetuano remaining in the warehouse, please then to supply me with two hundred iron barrs, fifty English carpetts, three bales of red and one of green perpetuanoes. The tallow that I have here is soe bad that I can hardly dispose of any, but if you please to send me twenty half firkins of that that is right good it will oblige traders, and be a means to hinder them from going to the Dutch, which at all times I shall endeavour to prevent

PS. I understand the gunner of the Mina is att Cormanteene.

988. John Browne Agga, 1 Aug. 1695

Please to returne the 11 hand canoe that comes with corn, with the rest of the iron barrs I wrote for. By the 2 5 hand canoes I have received 40 cask tallow, 50 iron barrs, 2 bailes carpetts, & a baile green perpetuanoes.

989. John Browne Agga, 7 Aug. 1695

I have yours of yesterdayes date with the two hundred iron barrs therein mentioned. This accompanyes my July accompt and ballance, being fifteen markes, one ounce fourteen angles and one tacckoe gold, which please to pass to my credit. I shall observe your orders and for the future dispose of iron barrs and tallow &ca at the affixed prices.

990. John Browne Agga, 12 Aug. 1695

Please to send me one baile blanketts, one hundred iron barrs, & forty half firkins tallow. Twelve of the last half firkins that were sent me extrem[ely] bad, & much damaged, but such as proved good I have disposed. Pray then lett what you send me now be all good & white, for damaged tallow is not vendable at this place for the present.

991. John Browne Agga, 14 Aug. 1695

I received yours of yesterdays date with the goods therein mentioned, and take notice of your orders & shall not upon any accompt open any of the Company cask tallow to the negroes, but if they will take them upon trust they shall have them.

992. John Browne Agga, 30 Aug. 1695

This serves only to desire you'ld please to send me two or three bailes English carpets, two ditto green perpetuanoes, with a few two, three & four pound pewter basons.

993. John Browne Agga, 2 Sept. 1695

I have yours by the 11 hand canoe dated the 30th of the last, with the goods therein mentioned, and have returne'd the canoe, with as much corn as she can conveniently carry.

994. John Browne Agga, 7 Sept. 1695

This accompanys my August accompts and ballance, being 7 marques two oz one angle & two taccoes, and to desire youl'd please to send me 40 sayes.

995. John Browne Agga, 13 Sept. 1695

By the 5 hand canoe I received yours with the eigty sayes therein mentioned. After I have perused my accompts shall draw out duplicates, and send them per the first. I have returned the 5 hand canoe with corn.

996. John Browne Agga, 24 Sept. 1695

Yours of the 23d instant have received, with the 200 iron barrs therein mentioned I received by the 15 hand canoe, whom I have returned with as much corn as she can well carry. Please to send me 200 English woolen carpetts, & 200 two pound pewter basons.

PS. When you send up the carpets & pewter shall supply you with more corn, for at present the corn roome here is almost so full as it can well hold.

997. John Browne Agga, 27 Sept. 1695

I received you[rs] by the 15 hand canoe of yesterdays date with one hundred iron barrs, two hundred English woolen carpetts, & sixty narrow black bafts. I take notitie [= notice][34] of your instructions, and shall try what price I can bring the natives to give for the black bafts you have sent me, and shall not fayle upon all occasions to performe my utmost endeavour for the interest of the Royall African Company. The canoe have returned with corn.

998. John Browne Agga, 8 Oct. 1695

I have yours of the 28th last past with one man slave to assist in turning of the corne &ca, on accompt of the Royall African Company of England, and have as you have ordered received of Mr John Rootsey[35] three quarter casks rum for use of the factory. You will herewith receive duplicates of my August accompts with my September accompts & ballance, being mk3: 4: 6: 2ta gold. The narrow black bafts you sent me (of whose receipt I did advise you in my last) will be approved of by the Natives as a good commodity, at 8a 6ta each, which is the price that I have now setled, and do designe to dispose at.

PS. Upon opening one of case of sayes that were last sent me I found them to be much damaged, upon which I have taken attestations which comes herewith.

999. John Browne Agga, 11 Oct. 1695

This serves to advise that the late violent rains, together with the great weight of corn that bears upon the walls of the corn roome, w[h]ich are only

[34] A lapse into Dutch.
[35] Successor to Searle as chief of Charles Fort, Anomabu.

swich [= swish], does greatly endanger it's falling &ca, it being already cract and tore in severall places, which hath occasioned me to remove as much corn from thence into the factory as can secure from the weather, which shall keep in good case untill the arrivall of ships. I have taken as much care as I can to prevent the worst, and desire you'l be pleas'd to send for the rest, which is about 300 chests corn, that I may refitt & repair the corn roome, which cannot be done while the corn is therein.

1000. John Browne Agga, 15 Oct. 1695

Yours with the goods therein mentioned I received per the 15 hand cannoe, whom I have returned to you with corn. The blacks inquires much for brass kettles that hold about 4, 5 or six gallons, for to boile their salt &ca, if any please to send me a few when you send for corn.

1001. John Browne Agga, 5 Nov. 1695

This accompanys my October accompts & ballance, being five marks three ounces seven angles & three taccoes gold, with attestations for one case of damaged sayes.

1002. John Browne Agga, 6 Dec. 1695

I have yours of the 8th November last, and shall observe for the future when I find occasione to make attestationes for goods damaged to rate the damaged according to the Companys directions. Youl herewith receive my November accompts & ballance, being four marques five ounces eleven angles eleven taccoes Arkany gold. Please to send me one case Guiney stuffs, two hundred pewter basons, two hundred iron barrs and fifty lead barrs.

1003. John Browne Agga, 10 Dec. 1695

I have yours of the 9th instant with two hundred iron bars and fifty lead barrs [by] the 15 hand canoe, whom I have returned with corne. This morning came here Mr William Pupplett with order to measure &ca what corne have remaining in the factory, which shall be done with all expedition, and afterwards I shall take notice to purchase as much corne as I can gett att 1½a per chest.

1004. William Pupplett Agga, 10 Dec. 1695

According to your order I have measured all the corn att Annamaboe & Annashan,[36] & am now effecting the same at [t]his place, which shall take care

[36] Cf. no.843.

to performe with as much expedition & fidelity as possible, esteaming it my greatest happiness to please and fait[h]fully to obey such good & worthy masters as you[r] worships. Mr Rootsey contin[u]es verry bad of the gout both in hands & feett, which makes him uncapable of any bussiness & oblige him to request your order for my continuance with him till he is recover'd. Humbly desiring your answer by Mr Brownes servant.

1005. John Browne Agga, 16 Dec. 1695

I have yours of this instant, and find that you expect that what corne I have over and above the ballance of my last accompt must be brought in at 1½ per chest, but I assure you that what corne I have was all bought at 2a, and that at the time there was not soe much as one chest of corne that could be purschased under that price, and therfore I hope you will allowe me the same. I know that it was reported and that Mr Rootsey did advice that the Dutch at Cormanteen had take in some corne at 1½a per corne [= chest], upon which we left of buying, untill had you[r] order or could bring them to take 1½a.[37] The reason likewise that I did not charge all my corne last month was because I have gott severall chests upon tallies that they owe before I have satisfyed the blacks or at lest untill such time as I know w[h]at goods they will require, soe I hope that because all my corne was not charged last month you will not suffer me to be a looser, but that I might not be found wanting to satisfy you so farr as I can that w[h]at corne I have was bought at 2a. After that I had received you[rs] I sent for all the Cabbosheers of this town and in presence of Mr Pupplett I told him [= them] that I would buy their corne if they would allowe it for 1½a, but their was not one of him that would give his concent, but told me that they expected to sell their corne as formerly at 2a per chest, and that they must first send up to the Braffoe about it before they could resolve me any furder although [ms. 'alsto'] I doubt not but when that they are better satisfyed of the agreements that you have lately made with the other Cabbosheers to have it at 1½ but that they will readily comply. I shall observe to purchase noe more corne then I can preserve untill the arrivall of shipps.

1006. John Browne Agga, 27 Dec. 1695

This is to advise that upon the 25th instant the blacks in the neight did break through the t[h]atch over the warehouse off the Company factory, where they took up a deale board and soe made to them selves enterance off near two foots broad & 8 foots long reight down upon the goods, upon which I examined the goods remaining with my accompts of what disposed, and found that they had

[37] Cf. no.841.

take along with [them] two green perpetuanoes, and indeed I wonder much that they were content to take so little, since the broak that they had made was so large, but it seems that they had been disturbed, or else satisfyed they had layed all things so ready for their the first designes against the night following, for before they left the please [= place] they had soe stopt up the hole that they had made through the thatch that it was verry hardily [= hardly] discoverable. I have called togither all the Cabbosheers of the town and have showed them where the factory is broack and the damage that is done the Company, and have told him [= them] to make search for the rogues that have broak the Company factory, or else expect that they and [ms. 'ane'] others will be called to ane accompt, and beforsaid to make full satisfaction. They tell me they will find out who't was that robed the factory and deliver him up to my hands, which I wish may prove true also [= although] I can but little probability [sic]. What is necessary further to be done please to advise me and I shall be carefull to performe.

1007. John Browne Agga, 7 Jan. 1695/6

This serves to advise that the Cabbosheers of this place are verry deligent in makeing search for the blacks that broak open the Companys warehouse &ca, and promise that if they cannot in 2 or 3 days discover to me the persones that have presumed to wrong and disturbe the Companys interest that they themselves will make full satisfaction to the Company for the losse they have sustained. Pray send me one baill of boysadoes and some brasse pans. My last month trade being but verry little, I shall not send my accompts and ballance untill the begining of February next.

1008. John Browne Agga, 11 Jan. 1695/6

I have yours of the 10th instant with 330 lb brass & 21 boysadoes therein mentioned.

1009. John Browne Agga, 13 Jan. 1695/6

This serves to desire you'ld be pleased to send me two hundred English woollen carpetts by the first conveniency.

PS. I have re examined the brass pans that you send me upon the 10th instant & find that they hold 336 lbs, their number likewise 154 pans.

1010. John Browne Agga, 20 Jan. 1695/6

I have yours of the 18th instant with 250 iron barrs therein mentioned per the 15 hand canoe, which I have returned with corne.

1011. John Browne Agga, 22 Jan. 1695/6

This is to advise that I have disposed of the better part of the iron barrs that you sent me upon the 18th instant, and desire you'l please to send me 250 more, that so that may not be found unprovided to serve upon all occasions so far as can for the interest of the Royall Company.

1012. John Browne Agga, 24 Jan. 1695/6

I have yours of the 23 instant per the 15 hand canoe with the 250 iron bars therein mentioned, and have sent her to Annamaboe, where she is to take in her loading of corne.

1013. John Browne Agga, 11 Feb. 1695/6

I have yours of the 10th instant & according to your orders when I send my accompts, which will be in a day or two, shall not venture my ballance therewith, but shall seale it up and secure it in Annamaboe Fort untill further orders. Pray send me some iron bars, perpettuanoes, sheets, pewter & knives.

1014. John Browne Agga, 13 Feb. 1695/6

You will receive herewith my December & January accompts. My ballance, which [is] mk15 2 5 5½ Arcany gold, I have according to yours of the 10th instant seal'd up and deliverd into the hands of Mr John Rootsey, Cheif of Annamaboe, to keep and secure there untill further orders. Haveing received sufficient gold pawns from the countrey for the two green perpetuanoes stole out of the Companys factory, as by advice of the 27 December last, and for all the expense I have been at in pursute of the pallaver, I have charged them in my accompt as disposed for gold.

1015. John Browne Agga, 3 March 1695/6

I received yours of the 28th last. The goods therein mentioned were landed att Anamaboe, where I shall send for them as I shall find occasion. I shall according to your orders as often as their comes any quantity of money to hand deliver the same unto Mr John Rootsey, Cheife att Annamaboe, where I shall send for them as I shall find occasion, I shall according to your orders to secure them their untill further orders from you. My indisposition this 2 weeks past has been such that I am not in a condition att present to draw out my accompts of what disposed in February last for to send you, and therefore must defer itt untill I am better recovered. What you mention in my December & January accompts I shall take care to alter.

PS. Pray send me some writing paper.

1016. John Browne Agga, 4 March 1695/6

Here are traders that enquire much for goods. The perpetuanoes and pewter you sent are all disposed for gold, and according to your orders I have secured it in the fort att Annamaboe. Pray send mee per the first conveyance 250 iron barrs, 2 or 300 perpetuanoes blue, 600 1 lb & 300 2 lb basons.

1017. John Browne Agga, 14 March 1695/6

This is to advise that upon the 12 instant in the foornoon there came from Abra & Quomong severall blacks armed, who panyard all the Mine blacks that they could catch there and att all other townes & places of the country towards the waterside. About the evening of the same day came hither Aquashee, the Captain of Abra, who gave strickt orders to all the waterside people for panyaring, but the poorer sort of people gave in their complaints, that if the Mine people were not suffered to come hither, they should loose a vent for the corne, and that they could not tell how or which way to dispose of it, without a free correspondence with the Mine, upon which the Captain of Abra made answer that what he did was by consent & order of Braffoe and country, and that therfore they must have patience a little, and consider what injuries and abuses the Mine blacks had commited upon the English, their friends, who had never given them the least occasion of offence,[38] and for whom they had taken & received feitichees. I am credibly informed by the said Captain that the Fanteeners have allowed of and agreed upon a peace with the Cabess Terra people, and that upon very honourable terms granted to them by the Cabess Terras. The terms and way of agreement was thus: upon the 11th instant all the Cabbasheers of the Cabess country came to Great Fanteen,[39] where they (in presence of the Fanteen Braffo & Cabbasheers) did most humbly intreat a pardon might be granted to them for all the insolenceys and injuries that they had formerly commited, & that peace and friendship might be concluded upon betwixt them for the future, wherupon the Fanteeners did consider upon what articles it was fitting for them to consent unto a peace with the Cabess Terras, which being proposed it was at last agreed upon by both sides that for the future the Cabess Terras should be solely and wholly governed by the Fanteen Braffo and Cabessys, and that as they received them in their protection they were to do nothing without their consent, and that they would not att any time to offer to make war upon those they were with peace [= at peace with], and that when called they alwaies should be ready to help them against their enemies, and lastly that they should not any more for the future presume to mollest nor hinder

[38] Referring probably to the Mina panyarring of Cape Coast canoes at Komenda in Jan. 1696 (no.368).
[39] i.e. the Fante capital, Mankessim.

the Arcanys nor any other blacks from passing through their countrey about there lawfull affaires and traffique with the whitemen towards the water side. If anything else happens here that is worth taking notice of comes to my knowledge shall not faile to advise you.

PS. It is said that all the Arcaneys, who love to trade better then warr (excepting Captain Dickie and his party),[40] are very well satisfied with the peace, and that their enemes are brought to such unexpected subjection.[41]

1018. John Browne Agga, 28 March 1696

According to yours of the 4th instant I have sent you mks15 2 oz 5a 5ta½ gold, being the ballance of my December & January accompts. I have likewise yours of the 19th instant, and have signified to the Captain of Abra and Cabbosheers, that you will allow them 1a 6ta for the corne, but this they refuse to take, finding a vent for itt at 2a, the Morea blacks & others comes daily and take it of your hands.

PS. Please to send me 6 chests of sheets.

[gap in correspondence, April 1696 to March 1697]

1019. Henry Vincent Agga, 2 April 1697

According to your orders sent to Mr Browne,[42] am come to Agga, haveing received the key of the warehouse of Mr Buckeridge att Annamaboe as he was goeing to Cabo Corso, soe the warehouse is not inventoryed, but shall dispose of anything I can till your worshipps order, and take all the care I can of the Royall Companys things in this factory.[43]

1020. Gerrard Gore Agga, 3 May 1697

According to your orders dated of the 30 last past I have received into my possession the Royall African Company Factory of Agga, with all goods that are therein remaineing, as will appear per the two inventoryes that comes herewith, and that I desire you would be pleased to send me 200 perpetuanoes, and six chests sheets, which things are very much inquired after here.

[40] Presumably the 'Dickie' who became Captain of Great Kormantin in 1697 (no.864).

[41] Cabess Terra was still aligned with Fante in 1698 (cf. nos 913, 918). This did not, however, represent the definitive subjection of Cabess Terra, against which a further war had to be fought in 1708 (Sanders 1979, 352).

[42] John Brown, now chief of Charles Fort, Anomabu.

[43] Vincent replaced Thomas Buckeridge as chief at Egya, but was himself then recalled after only a few days (12 April 1697: see no.861) & sent to take charge at Dixcove (cf. no.110).

1021. William Pupplett Agga, 6 May 1697

Persuant to your orders I have taken the Royall Companys Factory at Agga with all the goods &c into my possession, according to the inventoryes signed by Mr John Browne and Mr Gerrard Gore, for which have given said Mr Gerrard Gore a receipt on said inventory,[44] and as you have been pleased to favour me with this Factory (for which returne humble thanks) shall make it my only care to meritt the trust reposed in me by an industry and fathfull service to the Royle Companyes interest, and give content to your worships, which shall allwayes be performed by [me].

PS. Here is a prospect of a good trade, therefore desire 100 blue perpetuanoes, 6 chests sheets and 100 English woollen carpets.

1022. William Pupplett Agga, 10 May 1697

Haveing disposed of most of the perpetuanoes, desire 100 soe soone as possible, with two quarter casks rumme, one case sayes, one case narrow black bafts, one baile of English woollen carpetts, and one baile of blanketts.[45]

* * * * *

1023. Charles Salmon Agga Factory, 20 Nov. 1697

These are to informe you that last night I safe arrived at Annamaboe with the Royall Companyes goods. I did think to have got to Agga, but it was past sunsett before I could by any possibility gett to Agga. I have this day had the Cabbosheers of Agga into the Factory, and am now settleing the Companyes affaires with all convenient speede. I have sent up by this canoe 50 chests of corne.

1024. Charles Salmon Agga Factory, 25 Nov. 1697

According to your orders directed to Mr Sheldon[46] I have received the goods therein specified in quantity and quality, and now only request the favour of you to lett me have a carpenter, to mend the doors and windows of the factory, which is all very much out of order, especially the gate, which is of from its hinges, and must have new ones. Here is a prospect of a good trade in a short time, if the people of the country doe not spoyle it by quarreling one with another. I will this

[44] Gore was thus in turn superseded after only a week at Egya, & was now transferred to Komenda (no.390).
[45] The factory was withdrawn shortly afterwards, in June 1697 (no.871).
[46] Richard Sheldon, now chief of Charles Fort, Anomabu.

day send my boy to the Braffoe, to hear what news he can, off which as soone as he returnes I will informe your Worships.

PS. I would desire your Worshipps to send me some paper and quills.

1025. Charles Salmon Agga, 1 Dec. 1697

Yours of the 29th November I have received, but the Braffoe took his leave of me that day, and he is fully resolved that Quamon shall never goe any more to Cormantine. The Cabbosheers of Great Cormantine, and likewise of Annamaboe, had two pallavers with the Braffoe concerning him. They proffered to be bound for his future fidelity, but to prevent the Braffoes consenting to it, I called him into my roome, and there told him the great danger of letting Quamon goe upon any security. The Braffoe liked my counsell very well, and is now fully resolved to have him up in the country with him, and there give him a severe fetish.[47] Four of the Braffoes men have been with me this day, to whom I did communicate your Worshipps desire,[48] they imediately went away to acquaint their master of it. Here hath been severall people to buy perpetuanoes, but will not give eleaven angles. They tell me they can buy them cheaper at Cabo Corso, and as for the damaged goods I received from Mr Sheldon, I know not how to rate them if anyone should want them, therefore desire your worshipps advice therein. Here will be Arcany traders in one week more, as the Braffoes men did this day informe me. I am now in great want for a carpenter, for the factory is so open, for want of doores and windows, that here is no security for the Royall Companys goods, the doore being off its hinges and the upper leafe of the back doore being quite gone, so that wee lye open all night. If the carpenter comes he must bring two pair of good hooks and hinges, and two small pair ditto for the present. The Braffoe bid his men tell me he would be downe againe here with the traiders, at which time an exact accompt shall be given of all proceedings.

1026. Charles Salmon Agga factory, 14 Dec. 1697

This day one of the Braffoes men hath been with me, and tells me that his master hath been in the uper part of the country since Fryday last at three great towns, to settle all in peace and quietness, and to see how the towns people there stand effected to him, he being expected back today or tomorrow at furthest. Captain Aqua is this morning gone to Abra, the Braffoe sending for him before he took his journey. I have ordered Captain Equa [sic] to enquire very strictly how the

[47] Quamon had been arrested & held in Anomabu fort (cf. no.881): the cause of the dispute is not recorded.

[48] Probably for the sending of Quamon into custody at Cape Coast Castle, as was done a few days later (no.883).

palavers goes, and how the Braffoe and the up country people do agree,[49] off which as soone as he returnes I shall give your worshipps a full accompt. The Cabbosheers here are very importunate for their customs, and in regard that Christmas is nigh, they desire that all may be send downe together, without any more trouble, which I most humbly desire may be done by first opportunity, they being every day very troublesome to me, and whereas I understand that Capt. Piles will saile on next Sunday,[50] I humbly crave the liberty of coming to Cabo Corso Castle, to speak with him before he departs this Coast. I sent up last night a very good woman slave, by Edward Barter. I bought her from the Braffoes man, and gave them one ounce twelve angles for her.

1027. Charles Salmon Agga Factory, 8 Jan. 1697 [= 1698]

According to your orders have by this Gambia slave sent seaven white pautkies, they being all that are sound, besides those six I keep for a new flagg for the factory. I would desire your worshipps to send me two quarter casks rumme for the use of the factory, and as soone as I hear how the Braffoes palaver goes with the Annamaboe Cabbosheers, who are now with him,[51] I will give your worshipps an accompt.

1028. Charles Salmon Agga Factory, 12 Jan. 1697 [= 1698]

The carpenter Bastian hath seen what the present necessities of the Factory are, and therefore I thought fitt to send him to Cabo Corso againe to chuse what boards and nayles may be convenient for the present occation. The Braffoes man hath been with me from his master, and tells me that this new Captain of Abra is turned roague, having sett some of his people to waylay the Braffoe, one of which the Braffoes men took. He [= the Captain of Abra] would have detained Aqua for Quamon,[52] but found it could not be done to his minde. The Braffoe will turne him out as soone as he hath settled other affairs.[53] As for goods I only want fifty iron barrs, the Blacks buying nothing else at present. When I want anything else I will give your worshipps timely notice.

1029. Charles Salmon Agga Factory, 16 Jan. 1697/8

Whereas in my former letter I wrote for fifty iron barrs, I now desire your worshipps to send 100 barrs, for nothing else goes off at present. I intended to

[49] Cf. no.885, from Anomabu, referring more specifically to the Brafo's dispute with the Captain of Kwaman.
[50] Commander of the *Sally Rose*, now at Cape Coast, due to sail for the West Indies & England.
[51] At Abora (cf. no.886).
[52] i.e. panyar him, to exchange him for Quamon's release.
[53] But it is not recorded whether he in fact did so.

have sent up my accompts to the last of December, but have been so ill ever since I came from Cabo Corso that I could not sitt to any business, but hope it will goe off in a short time, and this month being so farr spent, if you think fitt I will make up my accompts to the last of this instant. I have not sould many sorts of goods, but heartily wish I could. I have no news at present worth mentioning, but when I have I will informe your Worshipps of itt.

1030. Charles Salmon Agga, 29 Jan. 1697/8

This is to informe your Worshipps that the Braffoe is come, and desires to have Mr Buckeridge come downe with all possible speed,[54] and to take Quamon out of irons and to bring him downe with him.[55]

1031. Charles Salmon Agga Factory, 9 Feb. 1697/8

By this messenger comes the ballance [of] my accompts in gold and likewise my accompt, in which if there be any error or mistake desire your worshipps that it may be sent back by the same messenger, with information where the fault is. Our Blacks here pretend they want crows and pittaxes to goe to work about riding away[56] the rubbish of the old Castle ruings [= ruins],[57] I doe beleive two or three of each will be suffitient to keep as many to work as wee shall at any time find willing. The boy and girle slaves complaine to me that their pay at three taccoes per month is so small that it will not buy them cankey, therefore they humbly petition your worshipps in this missive to take it into consideration about advancing their pay. The boy is able to doe as much as most ordinary slaves, and the girle may now be recconed a woman, for she does as much as any of the other three. As for trade, it is so small that I cannot take any money, they all goe on board the interlopers to buy what they want. The Blacks come to me to know if I will buy corne of them, I tell them when I have an order for itt I will doe itt. As for the corne that is here in the cornroome, itt is fitt for nothing, therefore desire your Worshipps advice what to doe with it.

1032. Charles Salmon Agga, 12 Feb. 1697/8

I have sent my accompts rectified, but as for the black bafts I received no more then 113. T'is true Mr Sheldon did tell me there should be 115 and that he would

[54] Nicholas Buckeridge, now Chairman of the Council of Chief Merchants at Cape Coast.
[55] The request was evidently granted, Quamon being referred to as again active locally in no.1039.
[56] i.e. getting rid of.
[57] Presumably referring to the former Dutch fort at Egya, destroyed by the English in 1664 (Van Danztig 1978, no.3: Heerman Abramsz, 23 Nov. 1679; Barbot 1992, ii, 417).

send two more, but I never received them. I am sure that no traiders hath enquired for any, therefore they cannot be sould, and there was noe more then 113 when the factory was inventored, untill which time they had not been medled with or stired from the time they were brought from Annamaboe. I have spoke to severall Blacks concerning the buying of corne for damnified goods, and they have told me they will furnish me. I am now mending the topp of the corneroome, which is defective, but in five days more shall be ready to take corne in, therefore I humbly desire to know what must be done with the rotten corne that is here, for it is full of vermin and will spoile what good corne wee take in. The Blacks have begun to rowsay the grass from about the old fort, and trouble me very much for dramms, telling me that you promised them liquor when they were at work, therefore desire to know your will in that respect.

1033. Charles Salmon Agga, 8 March 1697/8

I have here sent you my February accompts, and have[ing] taken in but little corne, have omitted it in this accompt, and intend to charge it to this month of March. I am promised a great deale, but I find our great talkers is the least doers. Edward Barter is this Monday gone up to the Braffoe, intending to returne this night if possible. Our people here are very backward in opening the ground about the old fort, but noe men more forward to drink up the Companyes liquors. As for news here is none stiring worth takeing notice off, only talk of a great trade speedily, it being very little at present. The ballance of this accompt I have likewise sent, which is 15a 11t. I hope the next will prove better for the good of the Royall Company, whose interest here shall be carefully dealt with by [me].

PS. I want some thread to make the flagg. I cannot gett none here, therefore desire some.

1034. Charles Salmon Agga, 27 March 1698

I have according to your order sent the duplicates of my accompts, but as for corne, it comes in very slowly. I have taken in at this present noe more then twenty five chests, but the people tell me in a short time they will bring what I want, which cannot be done at present, they being all soe busie clearing the ground and planting their corne, that here is noe trade stiring for anything, exept some slaves, which are carryed aboard interlopers and there sould for goods, which they have at very low rates. Capt. Kempthorne informes me that he hath two great gunns to dispose off, they are about 1200 lbs each, and carry a five pound shott, which if your Worshipps will buy he desires your answer to it.

1035. Charles Salmon Agga, 10 April 1698

According to your orders have sent to the Braffoe, where I understand hath been a messenger from your Worshipps. Nevertheless I may know something more then your messenger has heard. The Dankeryes are every day skirmadging with the Arcanyes,[58] [the latter] have given the Cabbess country one hundred bendyes to assist them, which money they have taken, but doe not at all make any show of assistance to the Arcanyes, who now grow very dubious the case will be hard with them. They have sent messengers to the Braffoe for assistance, which he hath refused to give, telling them they were enemies to the King of Aguoffoe,[59] therefore he would not help them, and with that answer sent the messenger back. The Braffoe has likewise sent me word to gett some new goods in the factory, for the people of a place called Bramang should be with me very speedily to trade.[60]

1036. Charles Salmon Agga, 12 April 1698

According to your orders sent a messenger yesterday to the Braffoe, which messenger returned about 10 a night, with an answer that the Braffoe would be coming from Abra at the crowing of the cock. I hourly expect him. Doe believe it would be better to send that canoe I had at Commenda[61] for those of Abra,[62] and here is noe five hand canoe (but at Annamaboe there is). If your Worshipps think fitt of it I desire a quarter cask of rumme may be sent in her, for I am in great want of it.

1037. Charles Salmon Agga, 15 April 1698

By this messenger comes my accompts for March with its ballance due [and] duplicates. Desireing your Worshipps that the rumme you last sent may be changed, for the canoe men have quite spoiled it, by putting so much salt water in it that it's not fitt to drink. I heard a great many gunns this morning from Cabo Corso, which puts me in mind your Worshipps have some good news.[63] I have not sent any messenger to the Braffoe since his two men were here that went to Cabo Corso Castle, all things here being very quiett and silent at present. The interlopers are all sayled from hence this morning, exept Capt. Kempthorne, who will in a short time be ready to depart this road, he having almost his cargoe of slaves on board him.

[58] Cf. reports from Anomabu (nos 903 etc.).
[59] The Akani had been allied with the Dutch against Eguafo in 1697 (no.864, with n.194).
[60] Cf. no.1052, 'Bremon'; i.e. Breman-Esikuma, 40 km north of Egya. This attempt to open trade to Egya may reflect the disruption of routes further west by the Denkyira invasion of Akani.
[61] Salmon had visited Komenda, to inventory the RAC factory there, earlier in April 1698 (no.424).
[62] i.e. to take them to Cape Coast.
[63] Not explained.

1038. Charles Salmon Agga, 18 April 1698

Hopeing that by this time your great troubles about this makeing peace between the King of Aguoffoe and the Generall of the Mina is almost over,[64] I come to lett your worshipps know of Mr Sheldons ill behaviour. When I came downe from Commenda Mr Jackson gave me a book of letters to deliver to Mr Sheldon, telling me that he had left it behind him when he was last at Cabo Corso about his accompts. I gave him the book of letters, since which time he has been dayly drunk, and told not only all the Commanders of the shipps here that I stole this book of letters out of his roome and carryed it to Cabo Corso Castle to show it your Worshipps on purpose to doe him a diskindness, but hath also reported it to all the Blacks, makeing me as infamous as possible he can among them, and will not allow my servants to come to the fort with any message, but he is alwayes abuseing both me and them, soe that I cannot consult anything to secure the Companyes intrest here at this juncture of affairs, there being two potent armies not farr from us, and noe man knows what the conqueror may doe. The Braffoe stands on his defence, getting what men he can together in the feild, and if he bee doubtfull wee ought to be carefull, and not always drunk and abusive when wee should be upon business of such great consequence. In the next place he withholds slaves from coming to cutt wood according to your Worshipps orders for the burning of lime, they being here but one day, and then he sent but four. Thirdly, he had the impudence to break open the letter Mr Browne sent me,[65] concerning the Serjeant at Annamaboe, and read it, and then brought it to me himselfe, with that bare excuse he did it before he was mindfull of what he was doeing. Fourthly, he has feed the Cabbosheers of Annamaboe with abundance of liquor to stand by him, if he should be turned out of his present employ. Fifthly, he buyes all the silver he can, and hath agreed with a Black man in Annamaboe knowne by the name of Bruntue, to make silver and copper money for him,[66] which the said Bruntue hath already done, and by relation some quantityes. This the Serjeant of Annamaboe will make oath off that Eggin told him of it,[67] and that the said Eggin was at Bruntues house, and saw him make some, and then asked Bruntue who that bad money was for, Bruntue replyed it was for Mr Sheldon. I am sorry that I am forced to give this accompt of Mr Sheldon, for I doe assure your Worshipps it is more out of respect to the government I live

[64] Cf. NA, T70/374, Journal, Cape Coast Castle, 6 April 1698, recording an advance of goods to the King of Eguafo 'at his goeing to meet the Generall of the Mina to treat of peace'. Bosman's published account (1705, 37) does not mention any English mediation (& indeed, suggests that the English were 'disgusted' by the peace); but an earlier report by himself confirms that it was done 'not without the consent of the English, who had their own representatives attending the negotiations' (Van Dantzig 1978, no.86: Resolutions of Council, Elmina, 10 March 1700).

[65] John Brown, now one of the Chief Merchants at Cape Coast Castle.

[66] i.e. to adulterate gold with these metals.

[67] A leading trader of Anomabu.

under then it is out of any regard I have to Mr Sheldon, that I had not taken a severe revenge of him for his contumilies, for I know nott what impression it may make upon the Blacks. As for the book of letters, I hope your Worshipps and Mr Jackson [omission] that I am innocent of any such action, and hope your worshipps will doe both of us justice.

1039. Charles Salmon Agga, 21 April 1698

Last night was informed that the mobile[68] of Fantine, misledd by some of the great men, are very backward of showing themselves in the feild, being most of them for takeing the Arcanyes part, and impeaching the Braffoe of being an assistant to the Dankeryes,[69] and that the Dutch there are very busie with the Captain of Quoman, that Quaman is still following his former projecktions. As for the affairs of Annamaboe, they are carryed on with such rediculous actions that it is more a place of discredit to the Company then anything else, there being nothing but drunkenness and quarrelling. Last night Mr Sheldon and his Gunner fell out about a whore, the Gunner being cut very dangerously in one of his hands.[70] The men make dayly complaints of the misery they endure, by being beaten, and Mr Newman hath informed Mr Sheldon of all I wrote to your Worshipps of him in my last to you, which I am ready to verifie to their faces on both sides. As soone as the messenger returns I sent to Cabo Corso on Monday last, I will send him to the Braffoe.[71]

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1040. Charles Salmon Agga, 10 Jan. 1698/9

By this bearer comes my duplicates for November last, butt cannot gett paper for my December accompts, in raegard I never received what was sent me by the Fauconberge. If Capt. John Luke[72] wants more corne I can supply him with about 40 chests. I am promised tenn more tomorrow, butt it is a black mans word I must take for it, and as for gold I see none stiring unless it be silver, brass & coopper. I am of opinnion the Dutch have enveigled the Curranteers not to come to Cabo Corso Castle, or some of the King of Aguoffoes friends, of which there are some in this country, which pretend to be otherwise inclined.[73]

[68] i.e. the common people, or mob (Latin *mobile vulgus*, 'fickle crowd').
[69] Cf. no.903, from Anomabu.
[70] Cf. nos 901–2.
[71] In early May 1698 Salmon was transferred to be chief at Anomabu (no.905), & the Egya factory was abandoned (no.914); but he was replaced at Anomabu in Aug. 1698 (no.924), & evidently returned to Egya.
[72] Commander of the *Fauconberg*.
[73] The English were seeking Fante assistance for Little Taggee in his bid for the Eguafo throne (cf. nos 927–8), following the murder of Great Taggee in Oct. 1698; the 'king' mentioned being the latter's successor.

1041. Charles Salmon Agga, 17 Jan. 1698/9

Our Cabbosheers have been very importunate with me concerning their customes, they refuseing to take whatt Mr Brownes advice to me specifies, which is three boysadoes instead of five ginghams, and two Welch plaines. They tell me they are noe women to wear boysadoes, I tell them againe that though they doe nott wear itt yett they doe sell itt, being a vendable commodity of this country, and likewise the trade of either money or corne is nott soe great or soe much furthered by any of them, thatt they should be soe scrupleous of takeing their customes. All that I can say of them is this, if any money be stiring tis carryed aboard shipp, and if have any soe badd thatt the shipps will nott take itt, tis brought to the factory, and as for corne they bring just as much as they cannot help bringing when there is noe ship here, and thatt they want goods as may bee seen by my accompt. Besides an affront I lately received by one belonging to Aqua, which I will not now trouble your Worshipps with untill I see thatt justice shall be done me here. I understand they have sent a messenger with a goat privately to you, therefore I have thought fitt to give an accompt of this.

1042. Charles Salmon [Agga], n.d. [5/6 Feb. 1699]

Mr Gore haveing given your Worshipps an accompt of a skirmish between the Braffoe and the people of Quaman,[74] on which relation here went soe many reports, and one not agreeing with the other, thought it might bee needless likewise to trouble your Worshipps with any imperfect message, but now I am informed of the truth, by the Currranteers messenger, which is this: the traders goeing from hence, which is most of them Aikims,[75] the Braffoe intended to stopp them for seaven bendys they owed him, which the people of Quamon understanding thay sent out a party to rescue and convoy these traders through the country, and meeting the Braffoe and his party they had a small dispute, which lasted not long, but very unfortunate to the Braffoe, he being shot in the belly and through the upper part of his thigh about six inches above his knee, and likewise the glance of a shot on the fore part of his head, and is in soe ill a condition that he cannot live,[76] therefore I humbly desire to know if there be anything in this case for me to doe here.

[74] = no.929, from Gerard Gore, now chief of Charles Fort, Anomabu.

[75] Gore in no.929 identifies the traders involved as Akani; but since they had come from Egya, Salmon seems more likely to be correct on this.

[76] Contradicted by a later report from Gore at Anomabu, that the wound was 'not mortal' (no.931).

VIII

QUASHE'S CROOM (AMISA)

Amisa ('Amersa', 'Amasa') is the name of a lagoon, with an outlet to the sea, 9 km east of Egya;[1] but in the seventeenth century it was also applied to a village in the vicinity. In the 1690s this village was also known as 'Quashe's Croom [Kwasikrom]', after the name of its ruler. Although frequently mentioned in the Rawlinson correspondence in the 1680s and 1690s, Amisa was not the site of any RAC factory.[2] However, in June–July 1695, the Company's agent Edward Barter spent several weeks at 'Quashe's Croom', from where he sent the seven letters included here. Amisa is usually mentioned in the Rawlinson correspondence in relation to the collection of oystershells (which were burned to make lime for building work);[3] and on a couple of occasions in the 1680s as a site for trade in slaves.[4] Barter's mission in 1695, however, was to buy corn. Like Anashan, Anomabu and Egya, Amisa belonged to the state of Fante; hence, while Barter was there, its chief Quashe visited the Fante capital inland for his brother's burial (no.1048).

1043. Edward Barter Amasa, att Quashe's Croome, n.d. [early June 1695]

These serves only to advise your worships of my proceedings. At my arrivall I delivered my message according to your worships order, and gave [the] Cabbosheers rum, & then began my palaver for corn, & find here is corn enough, but verry dear. The Portuguez gave them 3as 6t for a chest, and that said chest is cutt almost half way downe, that it does not come to two thirds of a chest, & we could not agree about [ms. 'above'] the price of that chest, but [with] much adoe I brought them to a right sheet chest full for 4a, & under they will not sell a graine they say,

[1] Called by Europeans the 'River of Amisa', as in no.1116.

[2] In 1687, when the French attempted to settle at Amisa, the RAC intervened to prevent it (vol.ii, nos 578–81).

[3] This was done at an 'oystershell bank' (vol.i, no.224), probably the bar at the mouth of the River Amisa.

[4] Vol.i, nos 212, 604 (by interlopers, not the RAC).

but that is a great deal better than the other chest for 3½a, but they will not heap it up, so desire your worships further order, & if pleased to send the canoe [with] the bagges as soon as your worships please, for I have 20 chest already by me.

PS. The ship that sayld yesterday was the great English enterloper.

1044. Edward Barter Amasa, Quashes Croome, 8 June 1695

Yours of the 7th instant have received, & find here is corne enough to be gott for mony. I have been almost as low as Quansa's croome,[5] & cal'd at every croome & found considerable quantitys of corn at most of their croomes, & have engag'd them to bring it to Quashes crome, by reason there is no ladeing a canoe thereabouts, & [they are] verry well satisfied to bring it to Quashes crome, but not a corn without mony, they canot endure to hear of goods by no means. I have already by me 200 chests ready measur'd,[6] & stay for nothing but payment, so desire your worships answer, or if you please to send mony, Quashee has sent one of his men on purpose to guard my men with the mony. The 5 hand canoe is come safe on shoare, & as soon as have your answer shall load her & send her up.

1045. Edward Barter Quashes Croome, 14 June 1695

Yours of the 11th instant I received, with six ounces gold, which I shall endeavour to lay it out at the best advantage, but before I received your worships, I sent to Annamaboe for two chests sheets,[7] which I have disposed of for mony, & have paid for all the corne that I have bought, which is 29 chests, & yesterday finding the sea to be verry well, loaded the 5 hand [canoe] with 14 chests, all in basketts, & in goeing of was overset & all the corne lost, every corne in the canoe [omission?] staved, meerly t[h]rough the canoemens means, & if Captain Peter had pickt all Cabo Corso he never could have pickt out worse canoe men, for there is not one good canoe man amongst them, and they deserve to pay for all the corn that was lost. This place is a place that the best canoemen upon the Coast should be pickt out for, & Captain Peter knows that verry well, soe [I] thought fit to hire the canoemen of this place, Quashes 5 hand canoe have sent 7 chests in her, and if your worships think fitting t'is best to hire the bearer hereof, to bring all the rest of the corn that I shall buy here. Sirs, the people here desires me to send for some silk longees, & they will bring corn for them, so if your worships think fitting desire to send some.

1046. Edward Barter Quashes Croome, 16 June 1695

Yours of the 15th instant have received, and am hartly sorry your worships should be so much misinform'd of your servant by those fellows, & Captain

[5] i.e. Tantumkweri, 18 km east of Amisa (cf. chap.IX).
[6] Sic, but from comparison with no.1045, this should probably be '20'.
[7] Cf. no.808, from Anomabu (but this says 3 chests).

Peter should offer to say that I was the reason of their goeing off, for where I am of buying of the corne is as far from the water side as from Cabo Corso to Winneybah or the saltpond head,[8] nay more then all that. I have been so well use'd to those & other canoemen that if I am sent uppon any such theing as I am upon now, always to give them their own time, if they have but an empty canoe that was good for any thing, and [I] do say yet that when your worships comes to be rightly enformed that you will make them pay for the corn yet, for the sea went hire [= higher] for two or three days, and they were verry uneasy, & that times when they oversett the seas were verry good, & that they would go of, so I went downe with [ms. 'whit'] them the second time, which was the same day they went up to the croom & told me that the seas was verry good, & that there was a 5 hand canoe goeing of with them, & that they would goe of, & that canoe was Quashes canoe, [the] same that came up with the corn, she was going on board the Portuguez that were goeing by us, so I went downe with them, & gave the other canoe men three taccoes to take som of the corne in & to go of before them & show them the way, so they went of together. Quashes canoe whent throw [= through] verry well, not so much as shipt any water in her. They also followed them, & when they came just in the place where the sea broake, they all lay'd their padles downe, & lay there a considerable time, till the sea came & fill'd them full, nay if they had jumpt over board & supported the canoe of each side she had never oversett, butt they all sett [= sat] still till she turned over upon their heads, & when they came ashore [I] askt them what [omission]. The reason of my beating one of them was because he would not help to carry the corn up to the croome that was wett with the waeter, he told me he came to paddle & not to carry corne, & I could not gett them to carry corne at all. As for my desireing the people to carry corne to Annimaboe, I have done my endeavour with Quashee, but they will not comply with me by no means, & I have defered buying any more corn till I have your worships orders. I have now 20 chests by me, & shall obey your orders in sending up the corn with all necessary speed.

1047. Edward Barter

Quashes Croome, 16 June 1695

By this canoe comes 10 chests corn in 22 basketts. Lickewise 12 chests remaining, which shall endeavour to send up by the next canoe. Here is corn to be gott, butt with taken [= taking] much pains, I not begrutching [= begrudging] my labour of the least. Here is hardly a chest of corn but I am forc'd to pay for it before they will bring it here. I go at least everay day 7 or 8 miles, & gett here & there a chest, some places 4 or 5 chests, & pay for it, & then they bring it to my croome with me. I have with Quashes done what we could to gett them to bring it to Annimaboe, but they

[8] Presumably the saltpond near Winneba (nos 1081 etc.). The distance from Cape Coast to Winneba is over 60 km; Barter surely exaggerates the distance to wherever he had been.

will not comply to my desire. Have almost a whole chest of sheets by me and am promised corn for them.

PS. These canoemen, the bearers hereof, goes of verry well, so desire to know whether I shall send any corn of in the Companys canoe. They say your worships ordered them to ley of, & me to hire 2 hand canoes to bring the corn to them, which will come to more than comeing to Cabo Corso.

1048. Edward Barter Quashes Croome, 4 July 1695

Yours of the 1st I received on the 2d, being up at Fanteen[9] buying of corne, by reason of Quashes goeing with most of the people thither to bury his deceased brother, & so told me I might gett corne there, where I gott 5 chests, & should have come upon sight [of your letter], but was desireous to see the 5 chests corne goe with me. I have gott a verry violent feavour upon me at this present, else should have come up at this present time. Tomorrow shall desire the doctor of Annimaboe to come & bleed me. The people here are verry slack to bring old corne in, so desire to know whither I may buy new corne at 2[a] per chests, for that is as cheap as I can gett it for, I have tryed all the ways immaginable. Not advieseing your worships before the 11 hand canoe was because I observed your worships orders of the letter dated the 18 June, so have sent the 11 hand canoe with 7 chests, haveing no more by me. The 11 hand canoe would no[t] come ashore, so sent it in 2 hand canoes.

1049. Edward Barter Quashes Croome, 21 July 1695

By the 5 hand canoe comes 11 chests corne. The reason of not sending before was in getting the corne in the canoe, being verry new, my self makeing the best of my way upp by land according to order, have engaged a good many people to bring corne to Annamaboe as soon as dry.

[9] i.e. the Fante capital, Mankessim.

IX

TANTUMKWERI/QUANSA'S CROOME

Tantumkweri ('Tantum Querry' etc., nowadays Tantum), is 27 km east of Egya (18 km east of Amisa); in the 1690s it was also known as 'Quansa's Croom [Kwansakrom]', after the name of the local ruler. An agent of the RAC did some trade at Tantumkweri in 1682, and left goods there, perhaps with the intention of establishing a factory, but these were evacuated shortly afterwards.[1] However, a claim to the place was maintained; in 1687, when it was reported that the French might try to settle at Tantumkweri, it was claimed that it 'belong[ed] to the Royal Company'.[2] A factory was established there in June 1693, during one of the gaps in the Rawlinson correspondence.[3] Five letters from the factory are recorded from August to October 1693, but it was then abandoned, evidently owing to the disappointing level of trade. During this hiatus in the English presence, in 1697 the Dutch established a factory (Fort Leydsaemheyt) at Apam ('Apom'), 9 km east of Tantumkweri,[4] and this served to revive the RAC's interest in the area. In December 1697 Quansa himself went to Cape Coast to request the re-establishment of the RAC factory in his town (no.1155), but elicited no immediate response. In July 1698, however, an agent of the RAC was posted to 'Quansa's Croom', initially apparently for purposes of intelligence rather than trade, and the factory was formally re-established in the following month; it was still occupied when the Rawlinson correspondence terminates in February 1699.[5] In 1693 trade at Tantumkweri seems to have been anticipated

[1] Vol.i, nos 191 etc. (Aug.–Nov. 1682); an earlier (Feb. 1682) reference implies that a factory at Tantumkweri was being contemplated (no.425).

[2] Vol.ii, no.577.

[3] NA, T70/11, Edward Barter, Cape Coast Castle, 11 June 1693.

[4] Bosman 1705, 60: cf. reports from Anomabu (no.874) & Winneba (no.1149).

[5] Bosman (not naming Tantumkweri, but referring to the English establishment there 'two years past') reports that in 1701 ('at present') the English were 'endeavouring' to evacuate the factory, but the local ruler had so far prevented their withdrawal (1705, 58). It was in fact evacuated in 1705, as being unprofitable, but again occupied from 1708 (Davies 1957, 248–9).

mainly in gold, though little was in fact obtained; but in 1698 it was initially envisaged rather as a source of corn.

Tantumkweri was situated within the state of Fante.[6] In 1693, however, the authorities in Fante (or some of them) opposed the opening of trade there (no.1053), presumably in order to protect the established places of trade in Fante (Anomabu, Kormantin etc.) to the west. Trade in 1693 seems to have been anticipated rather towards the east, beyond Fante territory; it is suggested that the establishment of the RAC factory at Winneba, east of Tantumkweri, in August 1693 diverted business which had been expected to come to the latter (nos 1053–4). In 1699, however, when there were again hopes of trade in gold, it was traders from Akani, to the north-west, who were expected to bring it (nos 1062–3).

1050. Thomas Buckeridge Tantum Querry, 1 Aug. 1693

Inclosed are my July accompts, the balance of which, being 3oz 11an 4ta, have sent you per bearer.

1051. Thomas Buckeridge Tantum Query, 13 Aug. 1693

This morning Quansoe brought me a fetish weighing 9oz 6an, which I have taken in pawne for 35 English carpetts, wherefore desire to know how you approve thereof, for my future government in such cases. He also desires you will please to deduct one angle from the price of your perpetuanoes, for that severall people here carried away their money which have come with an intent to buy them, by reason they have thought them to dear. The trade I do not find to answer his large promises, haveing scarse taken any money this month, wherefore haveing this opportunity I thought proper to advise, and have inclosed sent you 3oz 4ta of gold in observance of your last.

1052. Thomas Buckeridge Tantum Quirry Factory, 4 Sept. 1693

Inclosed I have sent you my August [accompt] & ballance, being 2 ounces tenn angles and eight taccoes, per bearer, with one woman slave. On the 18th ultimo came to this croome a Bremon Captain with severall of his people, who with Quansoe and the neighbouring Blacks had been taking fetishes from thence concerning trade, and is againe returned, promising to be back in less then a month.[7] Quanso tells me that [t]his Captain hath been sent by severall great men

[6] Bosman 1705, 58, describes it as 'at the end of Fantyn'.

[7] Also mentioned in the Egya correspondence (no.1035, 'Bramang'); i.e. Breman-Esikuma, 40 km north of Tantumkweri. This attempt to open trade to Tantumkweri was perhaps a response to the blocking of paths to the Fante ports further west (Anashan, Anomabu, Egya) by the dispute with Cabess Terra, which led to war in the following month (cf. nos 549, 706, 946).

of that countrey, some of whose boyes came with him to palaver concerning a trade with this factory, which is now ended, and that on his second arrivall he designes to inhabitt this place for the better conveniency of traders. Both Quansoe, whose endeavours are not wanting, and also the strainger hath given me great hopes of a trade, but what will be the effects I know not, nevertheless thought it not improper to advise.

[PS] Upon opening of this bale of Turky carpetts I find twenty of them to be damaged.

1053. Thomas Buckeridge Tantum Querry, 30 Sept. 1693

Not finding the trade to answer either Quansoes promises or my expectations, these are therefore to excuse the want of my accompts, haveing not taken sufficient to defray the factory expense. All the palavers I have been told are false & of noe effect. I believe Quansoes intentions of bringing a trade to this place hath been obstructed by the severall great Cabbosheers of Fanteen & Acroome,[8] which he seems to acknowledge, & that he doth not desire a continuance of this factory since his endeavours have been frustrated, his greatest dependancyes (since Whinebah hath been setling) being upon the people mentioned in my last, who are not likely to returne, or the Companyes goods to vend. I have lately been importuned for dashees by some of these people, which without your orders I could do nothing in. Capt. Richard Bradshaw,[9] by reason of strong currants and bad we[a]ther being severall times forced to anchor within sight of this place, was necessitated for wood and water, which rather then he should loos [= lose] ground & be driven east I procured it him, though not without trouble & charges, also two chests corne, hopeing you will allow thereof. I have by this canoe sent one woman slave on accompt of the Royall Affrican Company of England.

1054. Thomas Buckeridge Tantum Quirrey, 4 Oct. 1693

Haveing received yours of the 2d instant I presume to advise that Quansoe (since my last) has been urgent to have the Companyes concernes removed from hence, telling me that he has done what he can to procure a trade, but all to no purpose, wherefore he does not desire the goods should lye & damage through his means, but is willing to have them withdrawn, when I shall have your orders, so that if upon Capt. Bradshaws returne to leeward you shall cause him to anchor here [I]

[8] Akron, the immediate eastern neighbour of Fante; cf. mention of 'skirmishes' between Akron & Tantumkweri in no.1054. The king of Akron was among local rulers who supported the establishment of the RAC factory at Winneba (in Agona, further east) in Aug. 1693 (nos 1065 etc.), so he may have opposed the Tantumkweri factory as a potential rival.

[9] Commanding the *Swallow Brigantine*.

shall be able (without any great trouble) to put them with my self on board him. He seems much discontented at the settlement of Wynebah, to which & the great prices of goods he wholy imputes our discouragment, but what to think thereof I know not, for I do not find any one of his palavers to be true, I believe he does what he can to obstruct them, & he does not want [i.e. lack] some to do as much for him, which with the skirmishes his people and the Accrooms have of late, wherein there is one or other killd, occasions the country people not to come down, as fearing to have their money or goods paniard, and for them near the water side they are poore & therefore no traders, except with interloopers & for dashees, as there is no trade. Quansoe himself doth not seem to desire neither have his people made any certain demands, but have given me to understand that, [I] haveing been here upwards of 4 months, they did expect something as customary at the settlement of any factory, so that they leave it to your pleasure, but I do not think the encouraging them therein will be any means of trade.

PS. Quanso sayes there are great designes in hand to disturb my cousen,[10] and that the Accrooms Cabbosheers have taken 7 bendyes from the Quamboers to assisting therein,[11] wherefore your expedition in sending of gunns [i.e. to Winneba] may be a means to secure their footing in dispight of any opposition. Here are at Lagoe[12] two very good 5 hand canoes to be sold, but not under 2oz 3an each.[13]

* * * * *

1055. Benjamin Hewlett Quansaw's Croome, 10 July 1698

As it is my duty to acquaint your Worshipps with all bad designes that the Dutch hath against us, which one being acted on Satterday the 2^{d} of this month, by the Dutch at Apom. Mr Thomas Buckeridge,[14] haveing a little business at Quansaws Croome, sent one of the Companys slaves, which was sett upon by the Dutch and killed,[15] which has been so much a discontent to Quansaw, that he have strove ever since to lay wait, to gett the murderer of the slave, which he have performed at last, and have in irons at his croome. The Cabbosheers at Accrom would humbly begg your Worshipps to give them the priviledge for to turne

[10] i.e. Nicholas Buckeridge, chief of the RAC factory at Winneba.

[11] Akwamu, which currently controlled Accra. The Winneba correspondence (no.1070) also alludes to fears at this time of an alliance between Akron & Akwamu to attack the factory there, but no such attack took place.

[12] Lagu, 1.5 km east of Tantumkweri.

[13] The factory was withdrawn soon after (NA, T70/11, Chief Merchants, Cape Coast Castle, 10 Nov. 1693).

[14] Now chief of the RAC factory at Winneba.

[15] Cf. no.1170.

the Dutch out from settleing at Apom, they saying [ms. 'say in'] that your Worshipps are sencible the Cabbosheers of Accrom and Quansaw took a fetish that if the Dutch should anyways molest our boys that they would be both as one, and moreover for to right us, which they [= the Dutch] have now done by killing our slave. They have not only done soe, but they have sent money to all the Cabbosheers hereabout for nott lett us settle here, but they would not take it. Then they sent that money to the Quambores, but they would not take it. Befor they send to Quamboe, Quansoe would desire your Worshipps to send him a little liquor for to give the Quamboes, and if that your Worshipps would have them for to molest the Dutch, for to send him a little liquor for to make a pallaver for to know who will assist him against the Dutch. Soe noe more, but dayly endeavouring for to find out the mallice of the Dutch.

1056. Benjamin Hewlett Quansaw's Croome, 13 July 1698

Itt is the desire of Quansaw for to acquaint your Worshipps that the Dutch are building their fort at Apom, but it is contrary to all their desires that live hereabouts, therefore they would desire you for to send some white men for to stay here, and they will turne the Dutch out from settleing [t]here,[16] for they [= the Dutch] make very sure pallavers till that they can gett their gunns there. Quansaw came this night from Apomm, from makeing a pallaver about the slave the Dutch Copeman did sett his boy for to kill.[17] Therefore the Fantines and Accron and Mumford[18] people would desire your Worshipps for to send them something as encouragement, and they will be sure for to doe as your Worshipps please, for they say that if your Worshipps doe not take this opportunity your Worshipps will not have the like againe.

PS. But they cannot make any pallaver without a 100 bendys, by reason that they want the Dutch out from that place.

1057. Benjamin Hewlett Tantumquerry, 5 Aug. 1698

As I have continually found your Worshipps my friends, soe I hope your Worshipps will continue, which makes me for to trouble your Worshipps for those things which I want, which are as follows, I being forced for to borrow some money of Quanza, which I hope your Worshipps will please for to send me some, for to pay that, and for to serve me till I sell that liquor which it was your Worshipps pleasure for to send me, and if that your Worshipps servant may find soe much favour in the eyes of your Worshipps, for to send me a little beife and some cheese, to the quantity of 8a, by reason that things is soe dear here

[16] Ms. has 'here', but the sense requires 'there' (i.e. at Apam): cf. no.1171, from Winneba.
[17] Cf. no.1171.
[18] On the coast between Tantumkweri & Apam, also belonging to Akron.

that there is noe buying of anything, and their weights soe unreasonable that it is uncredible to speak of them, and I would humbly begg your Worshipps to send me a little palme oyle, for to burne at night, for wee have not any in the croome for to buy, and Quansaw would desire your Worshipps to send him six ounces of tappseils.

PS. Quansa would desire your Worshipps to send him four ounces worth of armes.

1058. Benjamin Hewlett Quanza's Croome, 8 Aug. 1698

Yours I received the 5th, and with the greatest express I could I have sattisfied your Worshipps, which according[ly] I have accomplished, and you may have itt [i.e. corn] according to your Worshipps desire. Sirs, Quanza was again for to buy four roles of tobaccoe, whereof he weighed three ounces [i.e. of gold], which I seing I caused him for to remaine and told him that if he would take tobaccoe, that your Worshipps would lett him have tobaccoe at that price, and [he] soe lett us have corne for itt, which accordingly he will, and for the other goods he wants Dutch armes, and perpetuanoes, and sheets and tapseels. He would desire your Worshipps for to hasten away downe, as soone as your Worshipps can.

PS. Quanza would begg your Worshipps for to send him some beife and some shugar.

I would desire your Worshipps for to send me a little writeing paper, for upon the greatest occation that may bee I have not one bitt for to write to your Worshipps, [and] a little sealing wax.

1059. Samuell Lawson Quanza's Croome, 24 Aug. 1698

Since my arivall here on the 19th instant, did by a great deale of care gett all my goods ashore without any damage.

I had according to your orders advised by first what condition the factory house here was in, had not the dayly expextation of a pallaver about Appom with the King of Accroomes cozen prevented itt,[19] which was putt off untill this day, soe that I now I make bold to give you a full relation of them. As for the house it's ruined, and is nothing butt a heap of loose stones, and as for the other house that I lodge in, there is neither doore nor lock in it, butt what is upon my owne chests, except a low roome where the goods lyes, and that lock and door is soe

[19] As explained later in this letter, the 'palaver' was about expelling the Dutch from Apam. The man called here the king of Akron's 'cousin' is evidently to be identified with his 'nephew and General', who according to Bosman (1705, 61), was responsible for 'all the differences we [Dutch] have had, and the opposition we have met with [at Apam]'. The Winneba correspondence (nos 1169, 1171) names the Akron chief expected to assist in expelling the Dutch as 'Accoon', who is presumably also the same man.

mean, had I not such an honest Cabbosheer should be mightily affraid the goods would be purloin'd.

With submission I think if you designe for to build a house for a factor here, with warehouse and other conveniencys for laying up of corne, it's best the house be raised by the water side. Now as to the pallaver wee have had with the King of Accrooms cozen, about pushing the Hollanders from Apom, [it is] as followeth, that he hath sinceerly promised to effect it, provided you will butt order downe four of the Companys slaves to Wishue, where George Devonport is,[20] and there lett them reside purposely to lett the Blacks see you designe to settle a factory there. After that he will block them up, that they shall gett no manner of provitions into their fort, soe that he will force them to leave itt, soe that when all is accomplished he refers himselfe as well as Quanza to your usuall generossity. They both of them resent ill the Hollanders, and doe think it is [omission] to have them in this parts amongst them. For my owne part I have omited nothing that might contribute or forward the thing, as well by presents as by necessary treats [which] I have given purposely to oblidge them, I have made a shift to gett quitt already of a whole case of Barbadoes rumme. Pray be pleased to send me recruits of the same sort, by returne of this canoe, for I am like to be at a large expence yett, by gratifieing the Cabbosheers that comes downe from the country, to oblidg[e] them in order to send downe traders here. As yett there is none come. What goods I have disposed off are for corne, for Capt. Daniells ships use, who this instant arived here.[21] There is 115 chests corne in since I have been here, and Quanza hath promised me the rest in eight days. He desires you to send me two bendy's worth of long gunns called snaphanses, two chests more of sheets, two bendys worth of the inclosed stuff. Pray lett me know whither I may buy any slaves or nott, for Company's use, and what the prices of men, women, boyes and girles are.

PS. Three perpetuanoes and two says has gott much damage in the shipp, I shall never be able to dispose of them.

Capt. Daniell writes me from aboard that he will take noe more corne in then about 100 chests. I suppose you will order the rest to Cabo Corso.

[gap in correspondence, Sept. to Dec. 1698]

1060. Samuell Lawson Tanntumquerry, 22 Jan. 1698/9

I have yours of the 7th instant, and for answer did putt aboard of Capt. Luke,[22] when here last, for use of the Royall Company, two hundred & nineteen chests

[20] Not identified, but Devonport was sent earlier in Aug. 1698 to join the Akron chief Accoon, 'near Apom' (no.1173).
[21] Commander of the *Prince of Orange*.
[22] Commander of the *Fauconberg*.

of corne, and according to your order have gave him a quick dispatch, which I doubt not but he did me soe much justice as to make you acquainted with itt. Whatt corne the Blacks bring in (tho' it is very inconsiderable), [I] keep buying of itt yett, untill I have your contrary orders. I think itt would be best if you send away the sloop[23] to fetch the fifty odd chests of old corne which lyes here, for I find itt decays much by lying longer. I am swishing[24] the corne roome floore, shall get itt done soe hard that when the corne is turned itt will not gather dirt.

Knives are of noe repute here, altho' I have offered 12 of them for 1a. Have paid Quanza his ground rent from the time I have been here, to the 19th instant. Shall likewise for the time to come pay him 8a per month.

I take notice you will send me also what goods I have formerly wrote for, which is well, butt since Capt. Luke spared me 20 barrs of iron for the Companys use when here, you need nott send butt 20 more.

PS. Pay noe canoe hire if the fellows demand itt, for they came from your place this way upon their owne occasions, and offered their service to me in bringing this.

1061. Samuell Lawson Tantumquirry, 25 Jan. 1698/9

My last to you was of the 22d instant, since I have not been favoured with any from you. These are chiefly to cover the inclosed,[25] which came to my hands about 5 a clock this morning and in complyance to his request doe send itt you by Occome, who is the expeditious man about me. I am at this instant loading of two canoes with corne for Winneba, which shall goe from hence quickly and God willing be there against noone.

PS. I have lately sent twice your boy Occame to Hurry Jaco of Accroome, who [= Occame] will sattisfie you about thatt affair with his answer. He [= Hurry Jaco] concludes always he will doe itt, but when God knowes.

1062. Samuell Lawson Tantumquerry, 26 Jan. 1698/9

I wrote to you yesterday by Occame, who brought you a letter sent to me by Mr Thomas Buckeridge of Winneba, intimateing the Blacks designes upon him there, and of his apprehensions how they would storme his fort, whereupon by his order I dispatched instantly away two canoes with corne from hence, which I hope gott safe to his hands, tho' as yett have not heard further from him, since which I have gott Arcanya traiders down hither (which occations this last). Quanza tells me they have gott a pretty considerable quantity of money along

[23] The RAC's sloop based locally in West Africa, now commanded by George Harvey.
[24] i.e. coating with swish (mud).
[25] = no.1179, from Winneba.

with them, they want brass panns of the largest sort, if you have any of them pray send me six bendys worth, [and] pewter basons of four pounds, 2 lb, 3 lb weight to the vallue of eight or tenn bendys, six chests of sheets, one bale of Welsh plaines, and twenty iron barrs. Please to advise how I must sell my pewter now. If you have nott a canoe ready thatt can bring all these goods by first then I intreat you to send me as many sheets and pewter by returne of the bearer and by thatt canoe as Occome went up in as you can, and lett the others be sent as oppertunity serves. If you should exceed the quantity of goods I writt for, itt will not be detrimentall for I am assured there is a good parsell of money comeing downe by other traders, who will have occation for the same sort of goods.

Pray if you can spare Occame lett him come downe againe. My next shall bring you my monthly accompts. I send you herewith a man and a woman slave, which please to note in conformity with me.

PS. I cannot send the woman slave which is mentioned by this conveyance, for when I came to take her away Quanza had carryed her out to rowsaw.

1063. Samuell Lawson Tantumquerry, 19 Feb. 1698/9

I have before me yours of the 24th and the 27th past, which please to pardon they were soe long unanswered, occasioned through inflameation which fell into my arme, that hindered me as well from answering your letter as sending you my accompts for the last month in course, which these now accompany, hopeing after you have found them right you will be pleased to pas[s] them in conformity with me.

The fifty barrs of iron you mention I received from Capt. Luke when he was first here, you will find in my December accompts last. I have made the factory debtor for them, as well as I have done in these accompts for 20 barrs more received of him when last here.

I received two chests of sheets, one pack of Welch plaines and fifty iron barrs by the sloope as she was agoeing downe, and as shee came back I put aboard her fifty three chests of corne for accompt of the Royall Company, which I hope came safe to your hands.

I likewise received by the nine hand canoe four chests of sheets and five casks of pewter. The two souldiers and cask of granadoes I dispatched to Winneba with all expedition.

Wee have had here not long since a discourse current that Affra Accushee was certainly kill'd by a Dancra man.[26] I was with Quanza when the news was first brought to him, his means [= mien] demonstrated, as well as his expressions, that he was very well sattisfied with itt, for he said he deserved it long. He [= Quanza] has been very busie with the Arcany people who has been

[26] Not identified.

here some time since, butt they brought then noe money with them, for feare he should have taken it from them, upon which he gave them all assurances imaginable, that if at any time they came downe here to trade, they should not in any manner be molested in body or purse, by himselfe or any one else, the offender soe doeing should forfeit his head. Thereupon they exchanged fettishes together, and with such assureances they returned home in order to fetch downe money. He assures me there will be in a short time here a small trade, which God grant.

Corne grows now scarce here, and I find by their mumbling they designe if they can to highten the price of itt. They will take now noe Companys perpetuanoes in barter for it, pretending they are to deare, and the iron trade is now all over,[27] soe if you give me not liberty to lett them have sheets, or what goods else I have by me in lieu of it, I am affraid shall not be able to purchase the 400 chests. I have now about 140 chests at Laggoe and here. I could dispose of 20 or 30 blankets for corne if had them, soe if you please may send me them by returne of the canoe.

1064. Samuell Lawson Tantumquerry, 20 Feb. 1698/9

These are chiefly to accompany George Harvey, and to advise that I have put aboard his sloope for the use of the Royall Company, 53 chests of corne, which I wish safe in your hands. I hear noe further from Winneba, soe that I hope there is peace.

[27] The demand for iron bars was seasonal, reflecting their use as a raw material for the manufacture of agricultural implements, being greatest early in the year, when land was cleared for planting (Law 1991, 200–1, citing references from Whydah).

X

WINNEBA

Winneba ('Winnebah' etc.) is 20 km east of Tantumkweri, 62 km east of Cape Coast. The RAC had an establishment here in the 1670s, but this was abandoned in 1679; an attempt to reoccupy it in 1681 was abortive.[1] However, the English claim to the place was maintained: in 1682, when it was thought that the French might attempt to settle there, it was asserted that Winneba was a 'privileged place' for the RAC, and again in 1687 that it 'belong[ed] to the Royall Company'.[2] A factory was re-established in August 1693. References to trade at Winneba in the Rawlinson correspondence in the 1680s relate only to the purchase of slaves, but in the 1690s gold and corn as well as slaves were traded there. The principal hinterland suppliers of gold to Winneba were the Akyem ('Accim', 'Achim' etc.), on whom it was said the factory's trade 'depend[ed] wholly' (no.1127). From 1694, however, trade was also opened with the Akani ('Arcany') (nos 1083, 1090).

Winneba belonged to the kingdom of Agona ('Anguina' etc.). This was at this time ruled by a Queen, named Tituba ('Tettuba', 'Tutuba', etc.). She is said to have been the widow of the preceding king, and ruled as regent for her son, the heir apparent;[3] by the 1690s, however, the son was evidently himself adult, and is mentioned as sharing authority with her, with the title 'Prince'.[4] The situation at Winneba was complicated by the competing claims of Agona's neighbours. To the west was the kingdom of Akron ('Acronne' etc.),[5] which had fought wars against Agona in the 1680s, but by 1693 was reconciled with it and

[1] See vol.i, chap.VI.
[2] Vol.i, no.54; vol.ii, no.577.
[3] Van Danztig 1978, no.88 (Attestation of C. le Petit, 18 Dec. 1690).
[4] Not named in this correspondence, but presumably the same as 'Prince, alias Auricoo', who in 1703 was based at Beraku, east of Winneba, & supported the establishment of a Dutch factory there (Sir Dalby Thomas, Cape Coast Castle, 23 March 1703, in Davenant 1771, 208–9; also 'Wireko', in Daaku 1970, 93).
[5] Nowadays Gomoa.

joined in soliciting the English re-establishment at Winneba. An even more powerful player was the kingdom of Akwamu ('Quamboe' etc.), to the north-east, which also controlled Accra. Akwamu had defeated Agona and captured its Queen in 1689;[6] although she was evidently free again by 1693, Akwamu apparently continued to claim authority over Agona. At any rate, it asserted an interest in the Winneba settlement, and was involved in the negotiations with Agona, Akron and the English about it. Akwamu was generally understood to be opposed to the English establishment, presumably because it might divert trade from Accra. There were recurrent fears that it might send forces to destroy the English factory, but in the event no such attack took place. The Winneba correspondence also reports on events in neighbouring countries, including recurrent tensions between Akyem and Akwamu; the Komenda wars of 1695–6, in which forces from Akron took part (no.1106); and the Akani-Denkyira war of 1698, in which forces from Agona participated (no.1165).

1065. Leonard Jefferyes[7] Winnebah, 16 Aug. 1693

The Queen has sent up a canoe upon her accompt desireing you to send down the surveyer & people to worke to build the fort, for if you do not, so far [ms. 'for'] as I understand, she will goe up againe to Anganna, then there will be nothing done, for there is nothing done but she must be with them, and her people lye att her to goe up againe, perswaiding her that you will send nobody down to build, & for these [they] are such a lazy sort of people that they do not care for working, for the great palavering that the Accrongs and they had is come to nothing, for they would have a pawne from the Queen for the bringing oyster shells to the place where we intend to build. They pretended great matters at first, so long as rumm held, they brought down not above 4 or 5 boats of shells, and the Queen had such a parsell, if you do not send people to fetch them you will have none brought down. The shells lay a great way off,[8] they w[o]uld doe nothing without the Queen doth goe along with them, she can do nothing by compulsion. The rum is spent, and if you do not send more here will [be] nothing done. We have about 5 sloops full of stones and about 9 boats of shells. I did think to come up to acquaint you about all these concerns, but the Queen told me that if I came up to Cape Coast she would goe up to Anguanna, and if she doth it will be hard getting her down again.

[6] Justesen 2005, no.II.17 (Daybook of Governor Fensman, Christiansborg, 6 Feb. 1689).

[7] Formerly commander of the *Alligator Sloop* (cf. chap.XIV), but apparently no longer so; when he finally returned from Winneba to Cape Coast in March 1694, this was in a canoe purchased locally (no.1083). Jeffryes was evidently charged only with preparations for construction of the fort, a Factor arriving a few days later.

[8] Over 3 miles away (no.1067), to the west (in Akron).

1066. Nicholas Buckeridge Winnebah, 30 Aug. 1693

Meeting with an oppertunity of sending to Quansoes Croome,[9] and supposing my cosen[10] would send up a canoe about the latter end of the month, thought fitt to lett you understand of our arrivall on the 25th instant, where the people was very glad to se us and imediatly dispatched messengers up into the country to call down the people to come and worke, for by our long stay[11] they began to be dead hearted, fearing we only kept a white man here to keep the possession, as the Queen told me when I went to give her my hand. She and the Kinge of Acroome, who came two dayes after, give large assurances of their assistances so soone as the rest of their associates come down, which they say will be in a day or two. In the mean time the Queen employes them few she hath in bringing stones, which worke she undertakes to performe herself with her Anguina people, the Acrooms for shells, and the Prince with the Winnebah people for wood, so that hope in my next to give you a faire accompt of our proceedings. In the mean time shall use my utmost diligence in uniting the people, there haveing been long feuds between the Anguinnas & Acrooms,[12] but their greatest diferences are accomodated, fitishes taken on both sides. Here is but one palaver to be decided, and till that be done the Kinge of Acroome will not sett his people to worke, which I hope will be effected this day or tomorrow, the Queen haveing given the Kinge the reason, and staid only for the offender to make satisffaction, who is just now come down. I am forced to be present at all their talks, so that I have not had time to make such diligent enquiries as I would about canoes. Here is a man has undertaken to make me a 5 hand, 7 hand & 9 hand canoes.[13] I could wish the people were all so forward as the Queen to promote the worke, then here would be no fear of wanting anything. Here is a fine parcell of stones ready & about 9 butts of shells, so that if they work but one day at shells we shall have enough to make a little kilne for a beginning.[14] We shall have ocasion for more axes and some small things which shall advise at the foot of this. Captain Bradshaw sailed from hence on Sunday morning by break of day,[15] and out of the 35 dales you were pleased to order me could find but 8, the rest being all expended as he tells me, which have already made use of for 2 dores, one for a roome for my stores, the other for the house, so that hope you will be pleased to

[9] i.e. Tantumkweri, on the coast to the west (cf. chap.IX).
[10] i.e. Thomas Buckeridge, chief of the RAC factory at Tantumkweri.
[11] i.e. delay.
[12] There had been wars between the two in 1681–2 & 1686–7 (vol.i, nos 385–8, 506; vol.ii, nos 491, 869, 884).
[13] Cf. further references to the purchase of canoes, in nos 1076, 1080, 1093, 1105, 1112, 1174 (also Phillips 1732, 210). As noted in no.1071, there were 'good woods' with 'very large trees' nearby, which evidently provided the raw materials for canoe manufacture.
[14] i.e. in burning shells, to make lime.
[15] Commander of the *Swallow Brigantine*.

order me some more per first oppertunity. In a talk had with the Queen yesterday she told me that when my goods came she would order her people not to goe aborde interlopers, but that I should have all the trade. This she offered on her own accord, on my refusing to buy a slave from one of her people, telling him that where he laid out his gold he might likewise sell his slave, which he had done abord a Dutch interloper which lay in the road, & brought up the goods before my face. Yesterday in the morning came to an anchor another Dutch interloper, who fireing some guns but no canoe goeing off, he weighed againe in the afternoon. About beginning of next weeke shall send a canoe up to advise you of progress we have made, hopeing by that time to be settled to our worke. In the mean time desire you would be pleased to lett the flagg be made, the Queen haveing asked me once or twice about it. I find they are suspitious of the Kinge of Quamboes molesting us in our building, wherefore if you think it convenient may send your stick up to complement him, by which means you will heare how he is affected.[16] Here is just now come downe one of the B[r]affoese of Fanteene,[17] he came and gave me his hand but hath not as yett told his business, Quo saith he is only come down to throw me ackee.[18] Pray pardon my rude writing and pass by all tautologies, being in hast.

3 or 4 long crows, some axes such as we brought down, anchors to fetch water for our lime, 2 maules, a door case 3½ foot wide & 7 high from inside for the gate, an hour glass or 2 houre ditto, a sive for the lime.

1067. Nicholas Buckeridge Winnebah, 8 Sept. 1693

I wrote to you by way of Quansoes Croome, desireing my cousen to forward it. Afterwards gave you the needfull in one to Mr Platt, but was then so strained for time with the p[a]lavers we had here that must beg your pardon for the rudeness, as also the tautologies therein, hopeing Mr Platt has been so favourable to me that after the perusall [he] commited it to the flames.[19] I have now a little more leasure to compose myself, although yesterday had a very sharp plavers with the Kinge of Acroms and some of the Anguina Cabbosheers, who sent Quo to me to demand a hundred bendys, without which they said their people should not assist us, which did not a little startle me, to se their fair promises comes to these termes, but finding the Queen was not among them [I] went imediaty to acquaint her therewith, who I found lying upon a matt and as she said indisposed (which the more readily belived because she had been cupped that day). There was with

[16] Rumours of an impending Akwamu attack are also reported in no 1067, but none in fact occurred.
[17] Presumably meaning 'one of the Brafo of Fante's men' (but cf. no.790, with n.127).
[18] The question is never clarified; but cf. no.699, from Anomabu, which suggests the Brafo of Fante was concerned 'that there may not be a fort [at Winneba] to hinder his customs here'.
[19] Joshua Platt, Chairman of the Council of Chief Merchants at Cape Coast: perhaps he did destroy the letter, as it was not copied.

her three of the prime Cabbosheers, to whome I had no sooner made known the cause of my coming, puting them in mind of their promises both to yourselves by their mesingers as also to me in their many talks, telling them withall you had by reason they were soe pressing to you to settle here taken of the people from other places where the inhabitants would give money for your protection, but they would not give me leave to proceed in what I had to say, the Cabboshers rising from their seats said they were ashamed to hear any further, the Queen bad[e] me not molest my selfe, and that what she had promised should be performed, whereupon she sent one of the Cabbosheers which were with her to ask the Anguinas by whose instigation she had sent so many messengers to Cabo Corso to fetch the whit men, and if they were not ashamed to comence such a plaver now. They would have shuffled it off upon the Kinge of Acroome, but he denyed it as well as they, saying he never desired any thing but a cloth, to which the Queens messenger made answer it was not a time now to speake of that, but when the fort was up and gunns planted thereon, the which I ashured him he need not doubt of, so that one plaver vanished. The Kinge of Acrome rising up gave me his hand that he would speak no more of it, telling me that it was gone wi[th] the wind, to which I replyed that such gusts were able to blow down forts, whereupon all was turned into a laughter, & he promised before all the Cabbosheers that his people should goe to work on Munday to dig the shells and gett them in a readyness, and that on Tuesday I should have them brought to the fort, beging withall a flask of rum to drink with them, the which I readyly consented to, but with this proviso, that they should have no more till such time they settled to worke, which was agreed on by all so that I hope all rubbs[20] are over, and that our worke will goe on smoothly, for if we can but settle this I reckon the hardest of our worke is compleated. The shells lying at so vast a distance from us, being upwards of three miles, makes the people shun the worke as much as they can. The Queen spares no paines to forward the worke, and is therefore gone this day to the oyster bank, with a resolution as she tells me not to return till she hath accomodated all things, which so soon as is effected and that they bring us shells [I] shall send a canoe with advice. They say it will be on Tuesday, but I have been so often deluded with fair promises that I know not how to trust them. As for wood and stone it lyes nearer to us, so that we shall not want workin[g] on the latter, of which we have a considerable quantity ready at hand and they are bringing dayly, but in a short time we must be forced to goe to the rocks to breack them, for which worke we have not one capable, wherefore the surveyor desires you will let him have Hary the Bomboy, with 5 or 6 slaves which are at Dickes Cove, which said Harry knows are fitting for that work, that we may have some ready broken by such time these are worked up which we find up and down in heaps, so not to have any delay we are resolved to

[20] Rubs, i.e. impediments.

run up two flankers with all expedition to secure the footing we have, and the rather by reason the Queen informes me the Quamboes are gathering men together, she hath sent out her spyes to hear news. The surveyor thinks it convenient (with your approbation), both for ornament as also for expedition, to turne the corners and make the windows and doors of brick, for the stone takes them up a great deale of time in picking them out and preparing them, wherefore if you like of it would have 50 or sixty thousand sent down with all expedition, for he begins tomorrow to lay the stones, and hopes by next Saterday night to have one flanker three foot above the foundation. He is likewise at a loss for somebody to temper his morter, being forced to put one of the white men to doe it, wherefore desire he may [have] a fellow which they call Guner sent who is at Cabo Corso. Here is a couple of black bricklayers come to offer their servis, one of them was at building of Annamaboe and they say is a good workman, it was them two built Captain Quansoes house.[21] I have not as yet made any bargaine with them, refering them to the surveyor for his approbation and your order for their entertainment. We have lime enough for 5 or 6 dayes ready burnt, and if the Acrooms keep their words we shall be able to sett another small kilne on fire either Frid[a]y or Saterday, so that the bricklayers we have will give the more dispatch. I hope in 2 or 3 weeks time to have a flanker capable to bear guns, which makes me desire you will be pleased to order some in a readyness against that time, for it will be both an incouragment to the people here & also a terror to any one who hath a mind to oppose our building. We do not think to run it up to the top but to the first story, that it may be defencable. We shall be extreamly put to it for deal bords, haveing expended the eight Capt. Bradshaw put ashore for a dore, a table and a levell. The necessaryes I wrott for in my last desire you will send per first opportunity, as also 3 iron barrs to make cuntrey hatchets for the people to cutt wood for the burning our shells, some being more desireous of them then our axes here. Here is a smith can gett them made.

PS, 11 Sept. Be pleased to lett the smith make 4 small trowells, 4 small hammers, some small wedges to fasten our axes handles, 3 or 4 wedges for breaking stone, a flag stafe which Capt. Bradshaw may spare if he please, he haveing one on board which though he pretends is for a top mast will not serve for use and besides [he] hath a spare top mast. This was intended by the Briganteen,[22] but she went out of the road before could send a canoe on bord, but this oppertunity presenting & haveing it writt thought it fitt to expose it to your view, humbly begging pardon for all faults. I shall send a canoe tomorrow, being the 12th instant, which should have sent sooner, but stay to se whether the Acrooms will performe their promise, tomorrow being the day limited, so shall not trouble you farther at present, but beg pardon for being so prolix.

[21] Quanso (or Quansa), the chief of Tantumkweri.
[22] i.e. the *Swallow*.

[PPS] I have sent Quo to the oyster bank with the Queens messenger to stay there to come along with the people. I wish you could lett the stick remaine a little longer or send one of the old ones down in liew of it, by reason I dayly use it sending about, but if I know you had more urgent occasion for it and desire to have it no occasion whatever should hinder me from sending of it, which your first advice shall command.

1068. Nicholas Buckeridge Winnebah, 12 Sept. 1693

Mr Bloomes canoe[23] touching here gave me this oppertunity of sending one to you I had wrot some dayes before, being designed by the Swallow Brigantene, but prevented as gave you to understand, which might very well have stoped this canoes coming were it not for the small things wrote to you for, haveing little or no fresh advises to give you. We began our worke on Saterday, I mean to say in morter, haveing before laid a very good foundation, and have run one flancer three foot high. The two black bricklayers advised of, the surveyor hath tryed, & one whereof he finds to be a better hand for this touch [= tough?] worke then any he hath, white or black, both for worke and quick dispatch, the other he sayes is but indifferent, but we must have either both or none, for they will not worke one without another, which will be no great loss, for we can make him serviceable for one worke or other. I have not as yett made any agreement with them, staying for your orders, as also to have a little more tryall of them. We are very much in want of trowells & hammers for bricklayers, wherefore desire you would if possible send 3 of each by this canoe and give order for the makeing 3 more to be sent by the first oppertunity. What crows, axes or any of the rest of the necessaryes advised of are in a readyness or will be in a day or two, be pleased likewise to send us, for our workmen begin to come in very well, every one showing themselves forward but the Kinge of Acroome, who hath faild us againe this day, but if he doth not come tomorrow, the Queen is resolved to goe on Thursday with her own people, so that I hope the disapoyntment will not be much. We are very much putt to it for water, being forced to fetch it a good way up the river,[24] but so soon as our people are all come in we must separate a gange [= gang] for that worke, for which would desire you would furnish us with what anchors [= ankers] you can. I shall be in want of liquor in a little time although have bought two quarter cask of rumm, the which do not thinke to charge the Company. At my coming first ashore was forced to send messengers round about the countreys to bring down the Cabbosheers, most of which carried a flask with them, and besides visitts from the great men of the adjacent countreys, who came as they pretend to settle the countrey, that traders may

[23] John Bloome, chief of James Fort, Accra, to the east.
[24] The watering place was about 1 mile east of Winneba (Phillips 1732, 211), i.e. the River Ayensu.

come down, of which they give me great hopes, and are dayly pressing me to send for some goods, these visitts are very expensive and distroy liquor, for a man must seeme a little generous to them at first, besides the dayly expense amongst the worke people. The three quarter cask[s] I brought down with me, either by long lying or ill practices of the coopers, wanted much, two of them being halfe out and the other wanted above a third, as both Capt. Jefferyes and the surveyor can satisfie, so that of them I had not two full. I should not have troubled you with this relation but to lett you understand I have been as frugall in my expenses as possible, according to the old proverb of loosing a hog for a halfepenny worth of tarr.[25] I have sent you up the carpenter, being lame of his hand, which as soon as is recovered be pleased to returne me, being in great want of him.

PS. Pray fail not to send an hour glass, for we have dayly palavers with the white men.

1069. Nicholas Buckeridge Wynebah, 21 Sept. 1693

Yours of the 18th instant I received, accompanied with a parcell of necessaryes have received [sic], and should not have troubled you so suddainly but that am forced to it by the Queen, who I can with no argument diswaid from the following demands, viz a piece of saye for a cloth, with somthing for a bre[a]st cloth, with 3 or 4 strings of rangoes to come round her wa[i]st, and a string or two of corrall to hang round her neck, a good cl[o]ath for the Prince, as also for her Braffo and the Kinge of Acroome, with 10 other inferior cloths for Cabbosheers of Barricue,[26] Mumford,[27] Anguina, Wynnebah & Acroonne. I have done my endeavour to perswaid them to lett it alone till the fort had been up, but all is to no purpose. They promise me if that complyd with this there should be no other demands. The 10 may be ordinary ones either of pintadoes, perpetuanoes or what you think fitt, but the Prince and other two if that [you] have so much red cloth to spare and wold please to give them thereof, I know not but that it might help us very much, for they are the principall men on whom our business depends, the Accrooms for shells, it lying in their country, and although as formerly advised the Kinge of Accroome had promised to send his people for shells yett to this day he delayes, referring us from day to day, and may be plaineley perceived [waiting] for his cloth, he haveing told me so once in a palaver when [he] demanded 100 bendys. The reason the Queen is so pressing to have these things is because she must goe up to Anguina to adjust some matters

[25] More usually 'losing a sheep for a halfpennyworth of tar', tar being used to daub animals with a mark of identification or ownership.

[26] Beraku (nowadays Senya Beraku), on the coast 12 km east of Winneba, & also belonging to Agona.

[27] On the coast 14 km west of Winneba, in Akron.

between the Accims & her, which as am informed is concerning trade. She hath sent the Prince to tell the young men to come to worke,[28] which she leaves to him and her Braffo, to be imployed as I shall direct, & hath desired me to lett Jack goe along with her,[29] that he may hear what palavers she hath. The cloths for the Anguina Cabbosheers she takes along with her to distribute to them there, but the rest she is resolved give away before she goes, and then will appoint everyone their worke. The Barricu people are imployed at present for shells & the Mumfords will be here in a day or two, the women and children being already come, they designe to remove at once. We goe on prity shorly [= surely] with our worke, haveing one flanker within 3 foot of our first story, it being already above 8 high, wherefore desire you would send down by the briganteen 4 wall plates. 2 of 20 foot and two of 12 foot, with 6 peeces for joyces, which the surveyor would have sent of their full length, that he might fitt them here. If we stay not for those things in 10 dayes or a fortnight at farthest we may be able to mount our guns, which will be very wellcome to the countrey people, for they are very apprehensive of some disturbance, although I cannot hear they have any fresh advises or any cause of fear from the Quamboes, the Queens nephew being lately come from thence.[30] The two black bricklayers which formerly advised of will not worke unless you will allow them 3½an per month each, I mean the 4 weeks, wherefore pray lett me have your advise. I am forced to make use of them at present by reason 2 of the whites have every other day a feavour & ague. The Queen will not stay above 10 dayes, and doth promise to bringe down a considerable quantity of money with her. Here is 6 or 8 bendys already down, most of which for powder, which most [ms. 'must'] crave after, but the Queen will be for sundry sorts. So soon as I can gett the flancers covered shall keep a continuall fire in it to dry the walls, designing to lay the most part of my goods in it, although have made up a store roome in the thatched house I live in.[31] There are 2 peeces of planks at the Hill, which the surveyor designed for the guard roome, they if you would be pleased to spare them would do us a great kindness in makeing a platforme for the guns.

PS. We are in great want of all materialls for scaffolding, wherefore pray afford us what assistance you can. We had but 8 deale boards at first, and never a door nor table, & for ropes we have not an inch if it were to hang ourselves. When the goods come pray send some Welch plains, for they are much inquired

[28] For further reference to 'young men', see nos 1073, 1083: referring to the associations (called *asafo*) of 'youngmen', organized under their own chiefs, which supplied military forces & labour for public works (as described e.g, by Bosman 1705, 164–5, 176–80; see also Kea 1982, 131–3).

[29] Evidently an emissary of the RAC; perhaps the same as 'your boy Jack' no.910.

[30] Cf. further references to negotiations with Akwamu in nos 1070–2, resulting in Nov. 1693 in a peaceful settlement (nos 1075–7).

[31] Evidently at a different site from that where the fort was being built, which is referred to later as 'our new town', to which Buckeridge moved in Jan. 1694 (no.1079).

after. Pray send likewise a little hare [= hair] for covering the flancers. I have made an enquiry about the bell but can hear nothing of it neither by Capt. Jefferyes nor canoe men.[32]

1070. Nicolas Buckeridge Whinebah, 2 Oct. 1693

I have nothing of novelty to informe you of, expecting Captain Quo down from Quamboe in a day or 2, who I hear was very well received & hath made a good palaver. This is cheefly designed to accompany one of our white men, who is taken so dangerously ill that I know not what to do with him. He is all the carpenters we have, if it suits with your conveniency desire another in roome, although a black, it would be to the Companyes interest, for I am in hopes to suply the fort with most of the timber that we have occasion for, designing tomorrow to goe my selfe into the woods. By said Quo you shall have a better accompt. In the meane time would desire you to cast away all suspicion of the Acrooms & Quamboers joyning to cutt us off, being well certified that if any mischeef is designed it comes another way & not from the Acrooms, they haveing lived slaves so long to other nations are very desireous to have a fort built,[33] & for what I can find will not be wanting with their assistance. We have gott us one flanker ready for them I wrote you for, & had not the raines prevented should have had another above ground. Here is above twenty bendyes of money ready in the town against goods come down, the which they would deposite in my hands, nine whereof I am forced to take, belonging to the Prince, it is most for pouder and matchlock musquets, but sheets, perpetuanoes, sayes, blanketts and others are required, but for pouder & armes had I never so much could dispose of them. The Queen her self wants a 100 matchlocks.

PS. Pray send per this canoe some bale ropes for scafolding & deales by first oppertunity with the rest of the necessaryes desired.

1071. Nicholas Buckeridge Whynebah, 6 Oct. 1693

I shall not trouble you with an accompt of the Kinge of Quamboes palaver, his man accompanying this, whose anger I hope your wisdome will find an expedient to appease, or by the stickes sending to and fro gaine so much time as to gett guns upon two flankers, one whereof hath been ready for three peeces I wrott for ever since Saterday last, the other goes up with all expedition and in

[32] Cf. nos 1071–2, & no.1221, from Accra: the bell had been sent by canoe from Accra via Winneba, but had gone missing en route.

[33] This may allude to the subjection of Akron to Fante, which in 1687 was described as 'protecting' it against the threat of attack by Agona (vol.ii, no.491; cf. Bosman 1705, 61); the implication would be that, having now made peace with Agona (no.1066), Akron was seeking to assert its independence from Fante. The establishment of a fort at Winneba, to the east, would not protect Akron against Fante, to the west, but would give it independent access to trade, & thereby to supplies of arms.

tenn dayes doubt not but to have it to its hight. The Anguinas, whether out of fear of Quomboers or the desire they have to have a fort, work very willingly and I believe they will do their utmost endeavors to proffit us. They bid me not fear, for if the Quamboers doth [come], they are strong enough to encounter them, by reason they are at present devided amongst themselves, which if it be true the King of Quomboe will be the easier accomodated.[34] These people here buy all the pouder and armes they can lay their hands on. There is not a ship any where nigh them but that they send off, which I do what in me lies to hinder, but till we have force can do nothing. The Queen promises that when my goods come none shall go off. I am unwilling as yett to have any differance with them, not knowing upon what grounds we stand. If you are designed to withdraw us pray lett me have secrett notice, for I fear they will be unwilling to lett us go and may play the rogue, so that I would send the best of my things away before the Briganteen comes, if that goes forward and [you] can spare the Briganteen to let her lye here 3 or 4 weeks time, it would be for the safegard of the goods you send by her, for by that time I shall find whether their promises be reall or feigned, and whether the money they brag of will come down. I have no rum left to give them that carry stones, therefore if you go forward must send some speedily, for drames must be given to encourage the workmen. They worke with great eagerness since Quo come down, so that if you can make up the breach between Quamboe and Anguina you will have nothing to fear. The Queen presses me to send for more bricklayers, which if they continue as they begin we could employ. I have by the surveyors advise entertained those two Black bricklayers, but cannot gett them under what formerly advised, if that go forward and [you] can spare any workmen for a month or six weeks it may forward the building, for I am afraid in a short time they will have expended that provision they brough[t] with them and then will be returning to fetch more, they say they have enough for 2 or 3 months. A carpenter or two would be very necessary, but the young fellow I sent up knowes no more how to handle an ax then I do. Here is good woods about five miles off where they say there is very large trees, which so soon as have any time intend to go survey, but we must be forced to cutt them to their sizes and square [them] there, for the better bringing them down. In the mean time we shall want them which I wrote for, for the more expeditious covering our first flanker, for the rest shall do my endeavors to provide them here. The Queen was intended to have sent up a Cabbosheer, but afterwards desired to lett Jack go, because he had heard all palavers, and deferrs her going up into the country till such time he comes down againe. This news of Quamboe makes her very vigorous to forward the building. They sent to me just now to intreat you to lett her have more bricklayers, she will see they shall not

[34] Alluding to tension between the 2 co-rulers of Akwamu, Basua & Ado (cf. no.1080; & nos 1222–4, from Accra).

want stones nor shells. I wish yould spare us 10 more slaves for fetching water, for the country people will go but once a day. We shall want those slaves from Dickies Cove, for if we go on as we have done shall quickly gett all the stones that are broaken to our worke, so that the Anguinas will have a pretence to be gone. They worke both night and day, when one Cabbosheers men leave off anothers begin. As for the bell I can hear nothing of it. Capt. Jefferyes saith he never sent any canoe thether, and neither he nor Quo knows anythinge of it so, that Mr Bloom must send some better directions.

PS. Jack is sent up by our Queen and is able to give you a perfect accompt of all transactions here, as also whether the King of Quamboes man gives the same palaver to you as he did here.

[PPS] We want 100 the larges[t] spikes that are in the store.

1072. Nicholas Buckeridge Wynnebah, 20 Oct. 1693

Meeting with soe convenient an opportunity thought fitt to lett you understand of our pr[oc]eedings, which altho' is not according as I could wish must trouble you with it, or being come almost to a full stop without your assistance, for the stones which Capt. Jefferyes & Quo advised you of, after haveing taken of the top, finde them to be soe small and such trash that the surveyor cannott make use of them for the outside of his work, so that we have been forced to pick up stones here and there where wee could finde them, which hath been a great hinderance to us, and wee haveing noe other remedy left but to go to the breakeing, the hardnesse of which and the few or noe hands wee have which understand the said worke makes it very tedious, wherefore to give you the more expedition desire you would hasten down those stone breakers which I formerly wrote for, as also the bricks, that wee may bee running up the Fort (I mean onely caseing it) till such tyme wee have stones broake to proceed with our curtaine walls, which I fear will take some tyme to effect by the progresse our slaves make, but indeede they are all novices, which makes mee hope when the old experienced slaves come wee shall make a better hand of it. You may assure yourselves wee will bee as saveing of the bricks as possible, and if stone bee to bee had will not use a brick. I should have given you this advise sooner but that was in hopes to have found at the bottome of the heaps of stones fitting for our worke, and also rangeing the woods found that which they call the Old Castle,[35] where wee were advised should find vast quantitys, but after clearing of it was very much frustrated, there being nothing but a pittifull wall of about 2½ foote high and 2 thick, and this but on one side, the other being encompassed with a deep dry

[35] i.e. the earlier English fort, abandoned in 1679; the one now under construction being on a different site.

ditch, which you are very sensible could not afford us much stuffe. Wee have gott up two of our flankers and two of the curtaine walls almost to the first story, and the foundation layd quite round, soe that had wee had stone should have wanted the door cases, which at the foote of this shall have the dementions, that they may come down with the other necessaries, which the sooner you supply us with will bee the better for expedition. I have & will make itt my utmost endeavor to give you as little trouble as possible, and should bee glad were I able to procure all things here, but when necessity requires hope you will excuse if wee continue breaking of stones. Wee cannott bee without a smith, for this hard stone makes both crows and wedges unservisable without they are new sharpened. I hope our palaver with the King of Quamboe may be near a period, for Captain Hansico and Amo had everything granted them by the Queen which you desired, and hath carried up one of her cozens to take fetiches. Wee hope may bee satysfactory. Shee gave a very fair palaver, and told the Kings man that when the Fort was up she would bee contented with what part of the ground rent his master shold allott her, hee being her uncle,[36] shee would put herselfe wholy into his hands, the which she desired him to acquaint him, but withall desired hee would hasten downe those supply of men which hee promised and that they might bee put into my hands.[37] I fear they will bee a more trouble to us then assistance, by reason that in 5 or 6 day's after they come there victualls will be expended, and then if you would have them stay must find them corne. The country people grumbles very much that I have not drams to give them, in the roome whereof I am forced to give them palme wine. Wee had very bad sickness with our white men, all of them haveing had sicknesse, and I feare shall loose Nevison, hee was taken the day before yesterday with a fever, yesterday was pritty well againe, but this night is taken speechlesse. I wish you would send down some person to lett them blood, for they all linger extreamly, as also Capt Jeffryes, who is troubled with such a giddinesse in his head cannott hardly stand. Mr Bloome sent his linguister hither about the bell, and with much adoe wee found out the person that brought it up, his name is Coffee Ariboy and lives at Lagoos.[38] Quo knows the man, but John Le Grand[39] being present when was enquireing after it, told mee the canoe was oversett and the bell lost, which if the man come hither shall not take as a sufficient answer. I asked John why hee had not told Capt. Jeffereyes of it before, his answer was hee thought the canoe men had done itt, but I finde they neither acquainted Quo nor Capt. Jeffryes with it.

[36] But cf. no.1232, from Accra, which says that she was the mother of a son of the late king of Akwamu, Ansa, who was the current king's brother; with discussion of this contradiction there, n.73.
[37] But no reference is made to labour from Akwamu in subsequent letters.
[38] Lagu, 18 km west of Winneba.
[39] Later identified as 'the Captain of the town', i.e. of Winneba (no.1119); presumably the same as 'John Grandy', mentioned in 1681 (vol.i, nos 385–6).

PS. A door case 3½ foot wide and 7 high from inside, as formerly advised, foure window cases two foot eight inches within square, two ditto two foot eight inches high and 1&½ foot broade. These must have iron barrs fixed in them, being for the warehouse and the rest of the ground roomes.

1073. Nicholas Buckeridge Wynnebah, 26 Oct. 1693

This day I had advice from Captain Hansicoe and Amo by one of their canoemen which came to mee from Barricu for cankie money that they had finished the palavera, but would not bee here till Tuesday next, which made me send away. This comes to informe you that all the people wee can make are not able to breake stone for our workmen, soe that wee stand still four dayes in a weeke. The country people are ready enough to bring them to us, but cannott bee brought to breake them. I am loath to loose soe much tyme, wherefore apply myselfe to you for a remedy, which hope that [you] will speedily afford, that I may not tire out the country peoples patience. Wee have now our 3^{d} curtain wall up within a small matter of our first tiear [= tier] of rooms, and had not these letts hindred us,[40] should have begun our front. Wee are forced to leave gaps for our window cases, which makes our work show mighty irregular. Pray if that [you] can by any means send mee down some rumm, for the expense that I am at in palme wine almost distracts mee, as Capt. Jefferyes who is the bearer hereof can sufficiently informe you, and how to remedy it I know not, for the young men will not touch a stone till such tyme as they are sure of some thing to drink. I hope if you think it not convenient to send downe goods if [you] will supply mee with some money, for am forced to supply the white men with some money, as also the slaves, and knowes not what wages they have nor how their accompts stands, which should be glad to hear. Nevison departed this life on Fryday last, and the other two are infirme, and much want the advice of a chirurgeon. His remaines are so inconsiderable that I look upon the whole not to bee worth twenty shillings, here wee have them secured till your further order. Wee have had two of our slaves run away, but the Queen sent out after them and hath taken one and brought him downe, but for their encouragement, as also they claime a custome, [I] was forced to giv[e] them that tooke him 4a. The other shall have tomorrow. I have turned him [i.e. the one recaptured] to work amongst the rest of them, by reason hee suffered soe much this time I beleive hee hardly will adventure a second, for hee had lost himselfe in the woods, and had hee not luckily been mett with might there have beene famished. I shall give you the advices more at large by Captain Hansicoe, in the interim referr you to the bearer.

[40] Lets, i.e. stoppages.

Surveyors advice
Six girders for immediate use, of 19 foot long, of the smallest timber sticks you have of that length

2 small plates of 20 each	)
2 ditto 17 ----	)
2 ditto 12 ----	) one of the thickest pieces cut in quarters
2 ditto 10 -----	)

Pray send me a pair or two of Negro irons
3 maules
3 large crowes
3 shovells
10 wedges for breaking stone
100 of the biggest spikes, with other sort of nailes
A canky women,[41] and other slaves to fetch water.

[PS] Since the writeing the aforesaid the Mumfords, whose turne it was to work, came to take their leaves, and promised to bee downe by that time wee had stone for them.

1074. Nicholas Buckeridge Wynnebah, 27 Oct. 1693

I here send you our two fugitives, being fearfull of them attempting the like againe, that which I had given his liberty haveing been gott lurking in the woods this day.

[PS] Pray send mee a pair or two of Negro irons, for fear of the like occasion.

1075. Nicholas Buckeridge Wynnabah, 1 Nov. 1693

Yours of the 30th ultimo came to my hands, and the same day Captain Hansicoe and Amo, but they have brought downe a fetieche along with them to bee taken by the Great Men of these parts, and are obliged by the King of Quamboe to see it taken, wherefore I cannott dispatch the great canoe soe soon as you desire and may expect, and besides they are obliged by the aforesaid promise to the said King to tarry here till Monday next, to receive one of the Quamboe Cabbosheers who is comeing downe to throw you acke, and likewise to see that these ceremonyes are performed. Our Queen stayed here till Munday last, and then was forced to goe up, and as ill luck would have it was not gone above four houres before the arrivall of Captain Hansicoe and Amo. I have sent Jack after her to bring her downe, [or] if shee cannot come to send down those men the King of Quamboe hath nam'd to take the fetichs, but have given him order if

[41] See Glossary.

possible to bring her downe. I expect an answer this night or tomorrow, but [the] canoemen pressing mee for their cankey money, I obliged them to goe up to you, telling them that I had nothing of the Companyes in my hands, soe that thereby had opportunity of giveing you these advices. I have given them 1oz already, soe that Mr Salmon[42] may see what is behinde. Here is 15 in all, Prince and them that here are willing to take it [i.e. the fetish], and hope the rest may bee the same. You are very sensible these fetiches will not bee taken without the expence of liquor, and how to come at it I know not, for it is very unproble [= improbable] Portuguezes should come hither,[43] when you that have guns to protect them,[44] and where money is plenty cannot get it, besides it's very hard I must lend the Company more money for towards their building, which I hope you will take into your serious considerations, and if soe bee you cannott spare a quarter cask, let me have a case to make an end of these palavers. For the workmen I can put them of with palme wine, although I fear the expence will be greater then if had greater [sic], but they will not touch a stone or any other work without a pott of wine. The surveyor tells me the white men are resolved either by night or by day to run away and goe up to Cabo Corso except they have their money at pay day, wherefor pray lett me know what their wages are and whether they owe anything out of it. I am already considerably out of pockett, [it] lying wholy upon [my] expence, and can take my oath I have not gained one cra cra since my arrivall. My accompts you shall have up by Captain Hansico & Amo. In the meanwhile if you would bee pleas'd to send me any money downe you would oblige mee. I have not at present any advices to give you more then that what have already done

PS. All our maules, wedges &ca are much our of kelter [= kilter].

1076. Nicholas Buckeridge Wynnebah, 6 Nov. 1693

This day came here the Quamboe Cabbosheers with a great train, as also the chiefe man of Accroom,[45] but I have noe liquor to entertaine them but palme wine. Some of the Anguin[a]s are come and the rest wee hourly expect. Soe soon as they are all come wee shall proceed in takeing the fetiches, and then shall dispatch Captain Hansicoe and Amo with all speede. You may believe it is not my desire to keepe them here, it being very expensive to mee. The great canoe,

[42] Steward of Cape Coast Castle.

[43] Portuguese ships would be expected to carry rum, from Brazil (cf. nos 16, 829).

[44] Against the threat of arrest by the Dutch (cf. no.15, n.55).

[45] Cf. no. 1077, describing him as 'one who hath more power then the King'. Probably identical with the king's 'nephew and General' mentioned by Bosman, on whom 'the whole council turns and centres' (1705, 61). The same man seems to be referred to later (nos 1104 etc.) by the name 'Acong', 'Accoon'.

launching her yesterday to fetch said Cabbosheers of Quamboe,[46] was unluckily split upon the rocks, and without a carpenter be sent to mend her is made uncapeable of swimmeing up. I was forced to hire small canoes to goe in her roome, and shall be forced to doe the like to send them to you. Captain Ball[47] hath bought a 7 hand one which will much help us in sending up the people. This canoe putting ashore thought fitt to give you this advice, as also to desire your acceptance of 10 Guinea hens.

PS. Here is a ship come into the road just now, the Commander advised desired [sic] mee to advise you that in six dayes hee should bee ready to depart for Holland. Hee sent his boate on purpose, and says he gave his promise to Franck[48] that hee would give you advice.

1077. Nicholas Buckeridge Wynnebah, 16 Nov. 1693

Wee have at last finished our palavers and the fetishe taken, which I hope will bee satisfactory both to you and the King of Quamboe. It was not delayed through any unwillingness of the Anguinas, but that the Queen and Cabbosheers were makeing up a difference which happened in the country wherein was some blood shed. Captain Hansicoe & Amoe, who departed from hence this morning, can informe you of the whole, to whome referr. Though they were detarded some tyme it was not wholy mispent, for I sent for the chiefe Cabbosheer of Accroom, one who hath more power then the King, and made up all palavers with him, who hath promised to bee down on Munday with his people to bring shells. I shall not trouble you with any further advices, expecting the Briggantyne down dayly with those necessaries formerly wrote for, which are what wee have occasion for. I hope our building will now goe on to your content, which shall bee my utmost care to forward. The aforesaid Cabbosheers will tell you how high wee are and the wants wee are in, especially of timber worck. The Mumfords are at last come, & worke well either for shell or stone, but am forced to give them every day 8 taccoes for palm wine, which they rather chuse then two flasks rum. The white men here have their healths very ill, one of them which is the best workman haveing kept his house this ten days, and the other ever[y] now and then troubled with a fever and ague. I should have sent the former up, but that expect the Brigantine, whose chirurgeon may give them some ease. If you can spare any others in their rooms, should bee glad, for wee have never a good hand now left to work.

[46] From Beraku (cf.no.1073).
[47] Later called 'Cabbosheer Ball' (no.1173), so an African employee of the RAC, not a European ship's captain.
[48] The butler of Cape Coast Castle (cf. no.24, with n.73).

1078. Nicholas Buckeridge Wynneybah, 7 Dec. 1693

This serves chiefly to accompany the bearer, William Johnson bricklayer, who hath been almost for these two months troubled with a lazey distemper, or to speake more plainely sick of the work. It seems it is of a distemper hee used to bee troubled with both at Cabo Corso Castle as also in his apprenticeshipp, and whether his long dissembling with God Almighty hath provoked him at last to afflict him, or that it is a fitt of the old not well carried of, I know not, but am apt to beleive the latter by reason it takes him at such sett tymes. All Sundayes and dayes which wee cannot gett stone to work hee is abroade, and at his sickest tymes eats heartily and will swill palme wine till he splitts. I could insist upon many other tokens of his dissimulation, but am not willing to trouble your serious cogitations with such importunityes. The other man I have is at present lame, but will in a short tyme bee able to goe worke againe. In the mean time wee goe on with our blacks, who are more then able to keepe all our stone breakers imployed, but you must needs think wee goe on very slowly, haveing but seaven men slaves left for all manner of works, haveing had the misfortune to loose one in breakeing stone, a piece of the rock falling downe upon him. Capt. Bradshaw arrived here on Munday was a fortnight, by whom received the necessaryes you advised of, but finde the brickes to come out much short, not exceeding 7500 whole ones and 1500 or two thousand batts at most. There was one bale of blankitts very much damag'd, 28th [sic] of them being fitt for nothing, likewise one case of sayes very ill colours and damnified in the folds by long lying. The rest of the goods as much as have opened proves very well and hope will finde a markitt, but at present can sell little or nothing, they haveing layd out their moneys in guns and powder and other Dutch goods, which as yett they cannot dispose of. Since my comeing downe here hath gone of above 100 bendys, most being for armes and powder. Soe soon as you will allow mee guns shall prevent it[49] in a great matter with disgusting the country people, Prince and one or two more Cabbosheers are willing to joyne with mee in it. I shall not trouble you with any further advice, you well knowing what our wants are, the which I hope you will afford to the utmost of your abilityes, for it is pitty to have work dayly [= dally] and the dry times wast[e] a great pace. I wish I had the happinesse of a days discourse with you, which I hope you will grant at Christmas.

PS. By the returne of the canoe bee pleased to send mee 10 or 20 iron barrs, for the country begins to build their houses aboute [the] fort and wants iron for their work.[50]

[49] i.e. trading with the Dutch.
[50] i.e. to make tools.

I have spared this man 14a 6ta on accompt of his wages, which bee pleased to stopp for mee. I could not even with him, not knowing what sallary he hath. I am soe miserably afflicted with the gout that must begg your pardon for my rude writing.

1079. Nicholas Buckeridge Winnebah, 14 Jan. 1693/4

I am sorry must trouble you with soe unexpected a palaver, but as must intreate your assistance therein am forced to itt. Prince no sooner came on shore but hee secured three Cabo Corso men under pretence of an affront received from Occubah Braffo,[51] who hee says seized one of his people with two leopard skinns and sword. As farr as I can understand hee is a Cabo Corso man who run to him [i.e. Prince] some tyme since, I mean to Great Ata his cozen,[52] who hee hired, and is a pawne to said Occubah Braffo. I sent for him presently after the action, and would have had him release said man, and promised him would write to you and see him have justice herein, but could by noe means bring him to an accommodation, altho I told him how ill you would resent it that hee did not make you acquainted before hee came downe. Hee sayes Captain Amo would not lett him, and told him you would not concerne yourselves with Negro palavras. Hee talked with very high at first, and nothing under 70 bendys would content him, but since hee hears I have sent to make the Queen acquainted with it, and that shee is comeing downe, hee begins to bee asham'd of himselfe, wherefore I hope that shal make it up easily, but I desire you would bee pleased to lett the man be secured with the two skinns and sword. Hee stands much upon the afront, being his sword bearer, and complaines of his usage by Hansicoe and Amo, who he sayes was against him in his palavra with said Occabah, but I believe it to bee nothing but a pretence in some manner to excuse himselfe. Ataboy,[53] whose turne it is to come to worke, hath sent downe to mee to acquainte mee hee will bee here in 2 or 3 dayes with his people. The Mumfords I expect some time next weeke. In the meane tyme am removeing to our new towne.[54]

PS. This should have gone by a Cabo Corso canoe, but hee went away and never called for it, since which Prince hath been with mee very submissive, and hath sent to release the Cheife of them 3, that hee may goe to Cabo Corso about the palavra.

[51] Cf. no.116, n.261.

[52] 'Ata Senior', perhaps the same as 'Atta Barba', a chief of Agona prominent in the 1680s (vol.i, nos 386 etc.; vol.ii, nos 869, 873).

[53] Often referred to subsequently, apparently the leading chief of Agona.

[54] But he did not yet occupy the fort. In May 1694 he was living in 'a little thatched house with mud walls, without any defence' (Phillips 1732, 210); the fort was not fully occupied until Dec. 1694 (no.1101).

1080. Nicholas Buckeridge Winnebah, 23 Jan. 1693/4

Yours of the 19th instant have received, but have done nothing in the palaver, Prince being gone up under pretence of bringing downe his people to work. Jack is come this day from the Queen, who sayes shee will bee here in a daye or two with great numbers of Anguinna's, soe that by the next hope may give you an accompt of our proceedings in the work. Here are messengers from the Accrooms, Fantine and Quanso, who waite her comeing to goe fetch their masters, to make an end of takeing feiteches. I wish it were once over, for I find it will be a vast charge expence for the Company to have all them great people downe, but it is a thing can no wayes bee avoyded. The Queen would have beene here before this but that shee is makeing a cry for the Arcany Cabbosheer, who was to marry her.[55] She hath sent to mee for my hammock, and likewise for a case of rumme, both which I have complyed with. Yesterday came hither a Quamboe Cabbosheer who calls himselfe King Bonnisherrees brother, and saith the palaver between him [= Bonnisherree] and Addo is made up,[56] and that the Cabbosheers which was with you will bee here on Munday next, but that as yett they cannott deliver the Danes Fort,[57] they haveing soe much goods in it, which they know not what to doe with. The canoe I told you off, they have brought downe, shee is a very good one and strong, but they ask such a price for her that I dare not medle without your advice. Their first price was 5 bendas, since which they are come to 5oz. I here send you both her length and breadth, by which you may judge shee is as tite [= tight] as a cup, and I cannott see any defect in her. They would have money, but I beleive may gett them to take halfe goods, which is all at present, the canoemen being in hast to be gone.

PS. I sent the Company stick by the man that went with Princes palaver, which I hear you have received. The Queen hath sent to mee for 10 or 12 iron barrs, and saith shee will bring downe the money with her, wherefore if any opportunity presents supply mee with a few.

1081. Nicholas Buckeridge Wynnebah, 1 March 1693/4

This serves only to accompany the bearer John Braittaine [= Brittaine], who is taken very ill. I have paid him his pay here. I hope you will be able now to give

[55] 'Cry' presumably in the sense of 'proclamation'. Marriage was probably a means to diplomatic/commercial links: in 1688 King Ansa of Akwamu had also proposed marriage with the Queen of Agona (Justesen 2005, no.II.17, Daybook of Governor Fensman, 6 Nov. 1688). The marriage to the Akani chief evidently did not take place, Bosman noting later that the Queen still 'lives unmarried' (1705, 63); but Akani traders began coming to Winneba 3 months later (no.1083).

[56] i.e. Basua, King of Akwamu, & his co-ruler Ado: but the Accra correspondence reports that the disagreement was already settled by Nov. 1693 (nos 1223–4).

[57] The Danish fort at Accra (Christiansborg) had been seized by the Akwamu in June 1693, & the English were negotiating to obtain it (nos 1220–1).

me a supply of workemen & necessaries for the more speedy settleing this place. I am in great want of the garders the surveyor laid out, having brought our worke up to the first story quite round. I have not time to enlarge att present, being newly come from Acrome, where I was forced to goe to make up the differences there was between these people & them, as alsoe to provide shall [= shells], the salt pond being soe filled with water here that they are very hard to come at.[58] I shall not troble you more at present, here being a canoe to depart tomorrow, by whom if possible shall send my accompts with what else is needfull.

PS. You must send downe canoe men to fetch the great canoe, as alsoe boards to make seats. Here are no men will undertake to paddle her [ms. 'here'] up.

1082. Nicholas Buckeridge Wynnebah, 6 March 1693/4

The bearer hereof Capt. Jeffryes is able to informe you how our building goes forward, and alsoe the troble I have had since I came downe with the country people, who would not give any assistance unless they had something to drinck, neither would they give me time to send up a canoe to you, the whole country of Anguina being mett togather, as alsoe the Acroms, [I] was forced to make it up with them rather than lett them goe up into their own country, and I beleive have done it cheaper than if you had sent them cloths from thence, for with this I have both contented the Cabbosheers, as also the soldiers,[59] both of Acrome, Anguina, [and] Wynnebah, soe that I doubt not but to have great assistance. I am sorry you have had such ill success with your bricklayers, but since it is soe we must shift with our Blacks. For Johnson, he is taken ill of his lazey distemper againe, and comes not on the scaffolds in a day or two's time, and when he is there cannot put any trust in him, for my back is no sooner turned but his tools are out of his hands, which shows the Blacks an ill example. These things very much streightens [= straitens] me for time and gives me much troble, as I hope said Capt. Jeffryes will doe to me the justice as to acquaint you, that I may have either a carefull workman down or somebody to oversee the work, otherwayes must beg your pardone if am not soe punctuall in advices as would be and as you may require. My endeavours shall not be wanting neither in forwarding the building or in promoting a trade. I have sold, as will appear by accompts, upwards of four marks of goods, most of which hath been since my comeing downe after Christmas. The Queen brought down some Achims with her, who tooke away with her upwards of five bendees, and causes [them] to be here in a little time againe with a greater summe. She hath sent a boy up to stay for them, wherefore be pleased to lett me have a supply of sayes, for I have not pieces

[58] This 'salt pond' was 1 mile from Winneba (no.1098), apparently inland, where there were 'divers large lakes or ponds of water' (Phillips 1732, 211).
[59] Probably referring to the association of 'youngmen' (*asafo*), as in no.1069 (with n.28).

vendable, especially now here are soe many Dutch interlopers on the Coast, as also another bale of blanketts, for although I have some quantity by me the greatest part of them are damaged & the rest bespooke by the Queen, who stayes only for the aforesaid Achims. You may likewise send, haveing soe good an opportunity, some sheets, course sletias, tallow, knives, with a few 1 lb pewter basons, and hope by next shall be able to send you some of the fruite of the country. Perpetuanoes I have enough by me, they being not much enquired after, had I had sayes should not have disposed of soe many as I have. The Queen formerly sent me down four women slaves, and told me I might employ them as I did the Companys, and if they run away it should be on her accompt. Now since her comeing down she hath taken up goods for them,[60] but since they forward our worke in fetching water, which we fetch a great way, [I] doe not send them [i.e. to Cape Coast]. The abundance of raine which we have had up in the country hath soe overflown our salt pond that shell was very deficult to come att, but as God hath shutt on[e] part he hath opened another, for haveing made up the palavers with the Acromes, am supplyed with shell from them, who bring them to Apom,[61] where I finde canoes to fetch them, which is as cheap to the Company as fetching them by the country people, the expence of liquor being very great, it employing soe many people, and besides through their neglect we have been forced to lye idle many dayes, which more than ballances canoe hire. If you [have] any old broken great canoes be pleased to order me one for said work. The Queen was very much displeased you did not send her a mourning cloth, her husband being killed att the warrs,[62] which I excused as well as I could, but was forced to give her a piece of sayes to pacify her. We must keep in with her, for here is nothing done without her. She keeps her people hard to worke, and is resolved not to goe up into the country till she sees the Fort capable for to lodge us in. She is very pressing to have guns,[63] which pray if possible comply with, for it will be a great while before the Briganteen will come againe. She hath told me often she ventures her life for the Company, and you will not send her any thing to defend her. She I must needs owne doth her endeavour, therefore if you think it convenient to send her in your names a good cloth with a screwed jugge with brandy, for she drinks no rumme, now it would very much encourage her. She doth not care to see Princes screwed jugg, and was very angry with me [that] I suffered you to give it him, she says it makes him too proud, soe that what ever you send lett it be to her, and though you promised Prince and the other Cabbosheers a cloth lett it alone. He works very

[60] i.e. sold them.

[61] Apam, 10 km west of Winneba, in Akron.

[62] Her husband the late king had been killed in battle against Akwamu (Van Danztig 1978, no.88: Attestation of C. le Petit, 18 Dec. 1690). But this had occurred several years before, so presumably this relates to a commemorative ceremony, rather than his actual funeral.

[63] i.e. to have cannon installed in the fort.

hard & cuts all the wood for the kilne, but the Queen & he are greatt difference about the former palaver, with an addition of one or two more hath made here, which she letts alone till she goes up. I have not further to enlarge att present.

PS. We shall want the following necessaries: haire, a sheet of lead, nailes, deale boards both for scaffolds & flooring, some bricks, the stones breaking soe irregular we are forced to turne the peers [= piers][64] with them. I have sent up two crows & 1 wedge, which be pleased to order to be mended & sent downe. Pray dispatch the canoemen immediately, for they all worke.

1083. Nicholas Buckeridge Wynnebah, 12 April 1694

Yours of the 17th ultimo by the Briganteen have received, with the goods & necessaryes therein mentioned, and ane addition of three guns, in such a condition [they] are almost unserviceable, [they] want both smiths & carpenters work, which I am ill provided to supply them, besides there is neither shott, powder nor any thing belonging to a gun, which makes me presume the press of business diverted them out of your memory, not having any advice of them in your letter. I was in expectation by said conveyance to have received some deal boards for scaffolding, haveing informed you soe largely of my wants, but I find you are not pleased to give any encouragement to the worke, otherwise you would not have suffered me to be here soe long without a board. Pardon me that I am thus plaine in expressing myself, but it is come now to that push that I cannot avoyd it, being forced to lett the worke stand still, and only provide [blank] shells and stone against such time you can supply me. On Saturday last I had like to have spoiled two of the Companys slaves through the weakness of our scaffolds, being for the most part say case boards, with old rotten canoes, with which I have run the worke to that height, being now in the lowest place up to the first story, and all the back near six foot higher. So soon as deals come that I can cover any flankers, I shall have sufficient lodging for my white men in them, and doe intend to reserve one for my goods, being timorous of having soe great concernes under a thatch cover, for which work must desire you to supply me with some bricks. The bomboy was much to blame to reckon 5000 more than he sent, which the surveyor & all the workemen can testifie to be true, with which now I could [have] made shift for the present. If you could spare the surveyor and with him what carpenters you have to come downe & lay the beams and fix the joices, you might have them returned in a small time, and then we might carry up our worke regular, and besides would forward us very much, for in a small time wee shall worke as farr as we can goe till this be done, soe that the bricklayers must stand still and look on the carpenters. Be pleased to consider, at whatsoever time it is done, must have a carpenter or two from you,

[64] i.e. solid masonry between windows.

and hope it may suite with your conveniences to spare them now. Will is a very willing fellow, and when is well doth not grumble at his worke, but he must have somebody to direct him. He is now laid up with wormes, as also five or six slaves more. By the great canoe wherein went Capt. Jeffreyes went up Grande Quacou, he haveing been sick ever since I brought him downe. I had told Abraham he should goe up by the first opportunity, which made him put him in without further acquainting me, by which means I did not advise you sooner, which I hope you will excuse. If he is not in a condition to come downe I desire might have Tom in his roome, who I left behind, [he] being gone with Captain Hansicoe. His woman is here, who importunes me every day to write to you for him. I have had all the Anguina Cabbosheers downe here for these twenty days, which hath putt me to a great expence of liquor, all my rumme being expended, and what is more could not content them, their demands being soe unreasonable. They brought downe with them three quarteirs of young men of between 30 or 40 each,[65] which worked very well for 10 dayes, but when I came to press the Cabbosheers to hasten downe the next quarteires they told me they must see what I would doe, and before any of them should come downe they expected every one a cloth, which were upwards of twenty, telling me what I had already given was too little for all Anguina. I find if we have any assistance from them it will cost more than it is worth, neither can I give any thing with safety, having had large promises when I gave the last money that noe more should be demanded, now they pretend that was only to one division, which is 3 quarteirs. When they found I would not comply with them they endeavoured what they could to persuade the Queen to goe up, but instead of prevailing with her she rise up in a passion, and told them if they had noe shame she had, and since she had sent & fetcht downe white men [she] would not leave the place till she had performed what promised, and sworne by her fathers head [she] would eate new corne & yamms here, and to show it was her intention hired the Winnebah to roasar for her, which they have done considerably, and with that left them, who imediately departed to their habitations in the country. What the event of this will be I know not. I have been with her since to know what we shall doe, she bids me let it alone to her and I shall see she will bring them downe, and in the mean time hath sent her own slaves to come with all expedition, with whom, the Barricus & Mamfords [= Mumfords] I shall make shift, having some stone left, but must desire you to send me 2 or 3 quarter casks of rumme, as also some brandy for the Queen, who drinks noe rumme. I wish it were once at an end, for every day brings a new charge with itt. The King of Acrom hath likewise plaied the rogue with me, putting a fetech upon the shell,[66] for what reason I know not.

[65] Cf. also no.1098. The associations of 'youngmen' (*asafo*) were organized in 'companies' recruited from the component 'quarters' of towns (Kea 1982, 131).
[66] i.e. as an embargo (as described more explicitly in vol.ii, no.498).

The Queen hath sent to know the meaning, and suspecting it is for some more dashees hath taken the cloth you gave Prince at Christmas and sent him, soe hope we shall accommodate that bussiness, and in the meane time have some by me, enough to goe to worke when you send me scaffolding. By these their unjust dealing you may perceive what troble I have with them, they not being like the rest of the Negroes, who after they have once made up a palaver stands to what they have done. In Anguina I am plagued with the Cabbosheers, in Acrom the Cabbosheers are all friends and the King only plagues me.[67] By my next I hope may give you a better accompt of affairs here. The Queen harps much upon her cloth, and indeed I doe beleive it would not be ill given considering, how firme [var. 'farr'] she stands for the Companys interest and the great expence she is att. She claims it as a promise made her man att Christmas, as also a silver headed cane when the shipps come.[68] The say she sayes was a custome, being for a mourning cloth, which leave to your serious considerations, assureing you there shall be nothing wanting in me to bring the expence off as easy as possible, acting for the Company as if it were my owne relations concernes. We have had both the Achims & Arcanyes, the latter are most for English goods, the other requiring powder & arms, but the Dutch interlopers lying soe constantly in the road doth much hinder me. By my accompts, which at the latter end of the month shall send, you will see what have disposed. In the meane time if any oppertunity presents lett me have a bale of Welch plaines. I shall not be more large at present, fearing I have presumed too farr upon your patience.

PS. Pray lett me have these following necessaries: nails of all sorts, some tarras, deale boards, bricks if possible. I have sent up to be mended or changed 3 crows, 3 wedges, 1 maull, 1 pick axe, 1 ades [= adze], 1 axe. Our axes are most of them very much worne, wherefore be pleased to lett us have 3 or 4 new ones.

1084. Nicholas Buckeridge Wynnebah, 26 May 1694

Meeting with this opportunity of a canoe bound up, thought it convenient to advise I have received all things you sent both by Capt. Phillips,[69] as alsoe the Briganteene, who the weather detained her[e] some time, the raines being soe violent and the seas running at that height noe canoe would venture off. I hope my worke hath not received much damadge, only one flanker, which I fear [I]

[67] Bosman 1705, 61, also alludes to internal divisions in Akron, between the king & 'his nephew and General', but Bosman found the king friendly, his nephew obstructive, evidently reflecting that the former was pro-Dutch, the latter pro-English.

[68] i.e. the *East India Merchant* & the *Hannibal*, currently at Cape Coast. They did not, however, deliver the requested items, Capt. Phillips of the *Hannibal* reporting later that 'she complained that our agents at Cape Coast did neglect her in not sending her a cane, and a piece of silk for a cloth, according to promise' (1732, 211). A cane was finally delivered in March 1696 (no.1143).

[69] Phillips was at Winneba 4–9 May 1694 (1732, 210–11).

must be forced to pull downe, the water having made a passage clear through the foundation. I have secured as well as I could the tops of the walls by thatching, which I doe not think to pull off till I see the weather settled.[70] In the mean time goe to provide stones, wood & shell against wee can worke, of all which doubt not to have sufficient quantities, having made up the palavers with the Acroms and [they] taken the fetich of the shell. Were the weather better, I could not worke, my whitemen being both sick, and the two black bricklayers lame with wormes, with eight other slaves. The Quamboers are up in arms, and we are advised intend to come this way, the Queen hath sent up to know the certainty, whose messenger we expect daily, the raines haveing detarded him, there is soe much water in the way that for these 14 dayes nobody could pass from Anguina to this place. I hope it may [be] but only these peoples fears,[71] however if any oppertunity presents desire you would send me downe some shott, both for the great guns as alsoe small arms, with some thr[e]ad and twine to make carthriadges. The canoe pressing to be gone, crave leave to subscribe.

PS. By this conveyance goes one of Capt. Bradshaws men, who he turned on shore for his refractorynesse. I would have had him take him on board againe, but he tells me he goes in danger of his life with him. I suppose he [= Bradshaw] hath given you his crimes at large by this conveyance, wherefore shall not trouble, only acquaint he is the same fellow made disturbance here on shore when they came with the last bricks.[72]

1085. Nicholas Buckeridge Wynnebah, 31 May 1694

This serves only to accompany William Johnson, bricklayer, who being soe extreemly ill & lame thought fitt to send him to see if you can afford him any assistance. Here is a canoe bound up in two or three dayes, by whom shall send my accompts with what small ballance I have, which I hope will every day augment, when it please God to open the weather and keep Dutch interlopers from hence. The Queens messenger sent to Quamboe is not yett returned. Wee keep watch every night, wherefore pray send some shott for the gunns, as alsoe twine & threed for to make carthrages. I am now very bussie in providing shell, and am forced for the encouragement of the country people to goe myself to the oyster banke, where I beleive we have gathered above fifty butts. Pardon my abruptness and boldness of stile.

[70] Phillips also recalls this emergency thatching work (ibid., 210).
[71] Likewise Phillips, while at Winneba earlier in May, reported 'a rumour that the Quamboers were on their march towards the town', which however proved to be 'a causeless report' (ibid., 210). Cf. also further reference to such fears in no.1086; but again, in June 1694, the Akwamu king disclaimed any such intention (no.1087).
[72] Cf. Bradshaw's letter, no.1370.

[PS] Capt. Phillips sent this paper of [= about] keys with his humble service to you all, which keys he writes me word he forgott. Pray if possible spare me a little paper, being put to very hard shifts.

1086. Nicholas Buckeridge Wynnebah, 20 June 1694

I have nothing of novelties to advise you, having no certaine accompt of the Aquamboers. The fear which these people are in of them furthers me much in providing shell & stone, of both which I hope to have a large stock, that soe soon as the weather breaks up may regaine this lost time, but wish you could lett me have a carpenter if it were but only for a month, both to direct as alsoe to assist this black fellow, who is willing to worke but hath not that forecast[73] in him to lay the beams and contrive the staircase. For bricklayers, considering your necessities, shall not press, only desire that when the dry times come in you would lett one that is a workeman come downe for 10 dayes to looke upon the flankers, which I formerly advised you was afraid had received damage. As for Johnson whome I sent up, being lame, he may doe very well where there is other workemen, but wants as much directions as any blackman here, wherefore cannot rely on his judgement, and if I had my desire should rather have his roome than his company, he being such a quarrelsome fellow [to] both whites & blacks. By this conveyance you will receive my accompts, which I have moderated as much as in me lyes, but doubt not in two months or three to bring them lower, for which reason I have discharged one of the free bricklayers, being but one indifferent workeman and very lazy. I assure you it would be much to my satisfaction could I find out any way to lessen the Company charge, knowing very well it would redound to my creditt, which in this world is the cheif staff I rely on, but the many countrys I have to please and withall the ill principalls [= principles] of the inhabitants considered, may I hope be a sufficient reason of my non abillity. It hath and doth give me noe small trouble to keep a union amongst them, for should they fall out and the Acroms joyne with the Aquomboers, which said [i.e. Aquomboe] King hath tryed all ways to effect, the Aquomboers would attempt to beate us from hence. The Anguina & Wynnebah Cabbosheers are prepareing to go up to Acrom to take their fetich to be true to them and assist one another against all enimies. The Acromes have been here and taken theirs. They are desirous I should goe along with them, but I have putt it off and shall only send Captain Quo and one anchor of rumm. Soe soon as I can gett the carpenters worke finished shall runne up the front and two flankers and cover them with all expedition, which being effected shall not fear any of their palavers, it affording sufficient lodging for all our white men,

[73] i.e. foresight.

were we twenty, and with one or two carpenters more may be finished in two months. You may have your carpenters againe in less time, for after they have laid the first floor this black fellow with their directions I hope may be able to lay the roofe. I have been to see some trees which are to bigg to bring down whole, but would make good joices had I a two hand saw, and are not soe farr off but that may gett them downe without much trouble or charge. Soe soon as I have the saw shall sett the sawyers to worke, the weather beginning now to open. I have not a naile in the Factory upon what occasion soever, which pray supply me with by the first opportunity, of severall sorts.

The ballance, being 4oz 8a 4t, I send not up by this conveyance, it being a strange canoe, and besides am so plagued with interlopers since the Danes being at Accra,[74] who they say brings a commission to take all interlopers of what nation soever, that I know not whether shall take one cra cra of money before pay day. They sell their sheets to the Negroes att 12 & 13 for 8 angles, and the rest of their goods much att this rate. If any opportunity offers of sending downe hither you may supply me with four bales of perpetuanoes more, they being goods they have not aboard, but I am in no hast of them, by reason have one bale by me not opened, besides loose ones.

PS I am heartily sorry to hear of Mr Platts & Mr Ronans indisposition but hope the worst is past.[75]

Be pleased to send by the canoe Johnson went up in some shott, threed & twine.

By the aforegoing have given you an accompt of my wants, which if possible supply me with, for the bricklayers will have rune themselves out of worke before I can gett the joices laid. Since have received yours of the 13th & 17th instant, the contents of which I shall be very carefull to observe, makeing it my cheifest care to keep a fair correspondence with the blacks. Am heartily sorry for Mr Johnsons misfortune.[76] I humbly thank you for the proffer of your assistance, but my malady is of that nature that at soe great a distance I fear can reap noe benefitt except it be in ane emetick, which I shall be obliged to you for sending. I am almost in the same condition I was in att the Hill[77] with the dry gripes but only (thanks be to God) I retaine the use of my limbs, although but weakly. For these four nights I have not had one hours rest, and find myself rather worse than better. If I am able, by returne of this canoe shall be more large.

[PS] The Queen animates me very much, and bids me not feare the Aquomboers.

[74] i.e. the ships *Christiansborg & Gyldenløves Våben* (cf. no.1240).
[75] William Ronan, also one of the Chief Merchants at Cape Coast.
[76] Thomas Johnson, chief of the RAC fort at Sekondi, had been killed & the fort taken (see chap.II).
[77] Fort Royal, where Buckeridge had been chief before being transferred to Winneba.

1087. Nicholas Buckeridge Wynnebah, 23 June 1694

Since my last to you the messengers who the Queen sent to Quamboe are returned, being detained soe long [by] the waters being soe high. The news they bring is very good, her nephew comeing downe with them, who assures her the King of Quamboe hath noe designe on this place, soe hope wee shall meet with no molestation. The Cabbosheers of this place, Anguina & Acrome I doe not much fear, they being all very desirous of having a Fort here. The Ackims begin to be cloyed with powder and armes, and now run upon other goods. I sold two pieces perpetuanoes to one yesterday, who was only sent downe to see the goods, who says in six dayes time here will be a great many traders, wherefore desire you would supply me by the canoe I have att Cabo Corso one bale of perpetuanoes, for this last bale doth not prove soe well as the others I had, severall being motheaten, and I would willingly have goods to please them, being the first time of their comeing. My gripes are very much abated but have left me soe weake of my hands that I have much trouble to write, wherefore be pleased to excuse my rudeness.

1088. Nicholas Buckeridge Wynnebah, 27 July 1694

Meeting with this canoe bound up have sent the crows &ca which want mending, desireing the smiths may goe about them immediately, that they may be in readiness against a canoe [I] intend up about the beginning of next week, by which shall send the duplicates you desire with my accompts & ballance. I have had a very long and tedious sicknesse and am not yett able to goe the length of my house without help, but God be praised my feavour is much abated.

4 crowes, 1 shovell. 1 woodaxe. 2 wedges.

1089. Nicholas Buckeridge Wynnebah, 31 July 1694

My long indisposition hath rendered me soe weake that I am not able to answer yours by Mr Barter, neither give you the needfull, wherefore have sent up the Serjeant, who can informe you how the building goes forward, as alsoe what I want for immediate use. By him likewise you will receive my accompts and ballance, being mk3 4oz 7a 8ta. Had I been able you should have had my June accompts in their course, but the ballance would have been small. My head swims, soe that I must begg your pardon.

[PS] If you think it convenient may send downe a bale of perpetuanoes by the canoe the two slaves came in. I have sent another Negroe slave.

1090. Nicholas Buckeridge Winnebah, 16 Aug. 1694

This is cheifly intended to accompany the bearer att the request of our Queen, who sends him up to recovery with your assistance of [i.e. from] a canoeman

named Aquiessau, cozen to Doctor Griffin[78] and now belonging to Peter, 1oz 4a in money and a woman slave, [which] she sent up by him to lay out for her, and either bring or send her the effects, but since he hath had the money, she never hath heard from him. She is unwilling to make fast about it,[79] wherefore hath hired this canoe to see if she can gett it by faire meanes, which I hope you will be able to effect, that we may have noe further pallaver, and likewise she would be much oblidged. In one of yours you write me word the expences are soe very great that they cannot be allowed. I assure you I moderate them much as in me lyes, but our wood, stone & shells lye at such a distance that it employs a great many people to bring them to our worke, to all which am forced to give liquor, otherwise must be forced to doe all with our own slaves, which will be very tedious, for all that they can gett together in a month wee can work up in a fortnight or lesse. I hope my last accompts are to your content. For deducting the eight gallons per month allowed att all Forts where there is noe building, you cannot I thinck look upon it to be lavish, if I have any assistance at all from the country people, and as to the powder you object against I can safely take my oath I have expended more only in answering salutes of shipps comeing into the road. They all knew I had gunns, and [I] know not how in civillity to deny their salutes, unles I would appear some pitifull rascally fellow placed here only as overseer over the workmen. I hope you will not be soe hard with me as to make it come out of my pockett, the place affording both trouble & expence sufficient. Our Queen there is not a month goes over her head but drinks me out near two anchors of corne brandy. In my last accompts you will finde the slaves pay to come to one angle shorter than formerly, by reason of the death of a Negroe woman slave who dyed some dayes before, being one of them I bought of the Queen. She miscarried about two months before, and never was well after, I cannot hear it was occasioned by any blows, but course of nature. Since which have had a worse misfortune, one of the Gambia slaves named Chacuta, suspecting his womans honesty, after they had left work tooke a knife & stabbed himself in two places in the belly, and would have done the same to her, had he not been prevented by the rest of the slaves. I sent for Capt. Towres Doctor,[80] who told me he lookt upon them [i.e. the wounds] to be mortal, for the undigested victualls issued out with the blood. However the Winnebah Cabbosheers undertooke the cure, but the next night after (what frenzy I know not possest him) left his house & never hath been heard of since. I had another Gambia here who was sick att that time, and soe continued till about ten dayes agoe, when he gott up & worked with the rest of the slaves, but Friday night last

[78] A prominent African employee of the RAC, who had died in 1689 (see vol.ii, no.151, n.16).
[79] 'Make fast' presumably in the sense of 'secure'; i.e. to panyar him.
[80] An 'interloper' currently at Winneba (cf. no.1092); probably the same as Thomas Towers, who was on the coast in 1697 (nos 904, 1417).

he ran away, and was taken up at Quanso's croome. Soe soone as he [= Quanso] sends to me shall send him up. I beleive the occasion of his running was cheifly to gett to his consorts[81] att Cabo Corso, haveing noebody to converse with. Yesterday came downe some Arcany men, one of which I knew, haveing traded with him when I lived att the Hill, he was a constant customer to Cabo Corsoe, he hath bought 20 peices perpetuanoes. He tells me they are trying to open a trade down hither, the way being stopped to Cabo Corso.[82] He desired me to send for more perpetuanoes, and tells me in 10 dayes they will be down again. I have 27 pieces by me, but they are most of them of that bale I formerly advised you of, wherefore if any oppertunity offers may send me downe two or three bales. I have not above 8 or 9 but what I don't fear of putting off, soe that I am in noe great haste. Here is a generall complaint that the iron & tallow are too deare, they say that they can have barrs at Accra at 2a per barr, and for tallow I cannot gett them to exceed 3a½, att which price I beleive I could putt off a score. I am still soe weake am not able to goe out of my house.

PS. I have sent up two women slaves.

1091. Nicholas Buckeridge Winnebah, 30 Aug. 1694

This serves only to accompany 2 women slaves. In a day or two shall send my accompts & ballance.

1092. Nicholas Buckeridge Wynnebah, 3 Sept. 1694

I have received yours, but cannot apprehend for what reason you should tax me with putting the Company to unnecessary charges, when I can take my oath on it have been more frugall than if it had been my owne concerne. If soe be you have a minde I should build the Fort only with our owne slaves, I am reddy to obey your commands, but if you thinck convenient (for the quicker dispatch) I should have the assistance of the country people, it is past my skill to make them touch either stones or shell without liquors. The expence which the Queen putts me to, which is considerable, I doe not charge the Company, knowing the lesser the charge the more repute shall gaine with the Royall Company, whose favour & esteem hath been my endeavour to attaine ever since first came into their service, and would not now willingly loose for soe triviall a matter as what is in debate. As for the powder you mention, 'tis nothing but what was allowed Dickies Cove when in no greater posture of defence than this place. 'Tis true their gunns were mounted on their flankers, which I could have done upwards of two months ago, haveing had one flanker finished and covered with bricks, and two more on which I could have putt gunns which are covered att their first story

[81] In the original sense, of 'comrades'.
[82] By the war between Akani & Cabess Terra (cf. no.766, with n.110).

and were done long before the raines. If the Anguinas comes downe to bring stone according to my expectation & their promise I hope in six weeks to have the Fort fitt to lodge in and secure all the Companyes concernes, but when I have gott the walls to their full height must desire you to lett a bricklayer come downe to cover it, for the Blacks have not the agillity with them to cast the water as it should be, & Browne if he would worke is little better, but since the last pay day by no persuations [var. 'means'] can gett him to take a trouell in hand. His first demands before he heard the arrivall of the shipps was 8a the pay day, and to be paid from the time you sent him downe, but since he is come more moderatt and desires but 6a, & doth not talke of the past time. I cannot give him any great charecter but that am willing to have one whiteman about the worke, his being here will not excuse your sending downe one to cover the worke. By the bearer you will receive my accompts, which I hope will be to your content both as to the charges as alsoe about the Ardah slaves. The ballance, being mks3 0oz 15a 6ta I have likewise sent you up. Capt. Towers & another interlooper lyeing in the road hindered me much, but the Dutch row frigatt[83] comeing among them I hope hath cleared the Coast of them. I have spoake to the Acroms about corne, they promise to bring me what I please. There is great plenty in the country, and if you have occasion for some old corne you may have it, giveing me timely notice. I am makeing a corne roome, which I hope to have finished in tenn days, for which desire you would send me 6 paire of hooks & hinges, small ones for windows and one larger paire for the doore.

[PS] September 5th. Yesterday I received out of the Briganteen 100 blue perpetuanoes for accompt of the Royall African Company.

1093. Nicholas Buckeridge Winnebah, 8 Sept. 1694

This is att the request of Prince, & serves to accompany a five hand canoe he sends up to you for sale. I profered him six pez for her but he expects mountains. I desire whatever price you make with him you would take the goods as they are rated to the Factory, by reason he hath reported here that I overrate everything and that att Cabo Corso they are much cheaper, which occasioned many words with the Queen. I beleive the cheif end of sending her up is to try the markett. By this send you a man & woman slave.

1094. Nicholas Buckeridge Winnebah, 17 Sept. 1694

I have nothing of news to advise you only I had this former part of the month a pretty good trade and hope it will continue, haveing taken upwards of six markes, and doe expect a company of Arcanas downe on Wednesday or

[83] i.e. rowing frigate, elsewhere referred to as 'the Dutch galley' (i.e. the *Beschermer*).

Thursday. They are now att the Queens croome, wherefore desire you would by the first opportunity send a supply of perpetuanoes, sheets, 1 lb & 2 lb pewter basons, with a bale or two [of] Welch plaines, and if you have any tapseiles, brawles or corrall lett me have a small quantity of each, being much enquired after here. Pray send the hooks & hinges desired in my last, as alsoe some nailes with about 3 dozen of staples for a canoe.

PS. I have sent the 2oz 10a.

1095. Nicholas Buckeridge[84] Winnebah, 6 Oct. 1694

Yours of the 24th ultimo by the Guiney Galley, Capt. William Piles, have received, accompanied with a parcell of goods, which for quantity come owt[85] according to advice, butt suspecting one of the bailes of perpetuanoes opened it before Mr Rootsey[86] & said Captain, wherein found but one good thereof, the rest being extreemly damaged, [we] valued them according to the best of our judgement, as will apear by the inventories in Mr Rootseys hands, who is gon to Accra.[87] I wish you had sent me another bale of Welch plaines, for I beleeve these will be gone before Satterday night, which if any oppertunity offers be pleased to supplye me with, as alsoe some iron, for I had noe sooner lowered the said commodity but it was all taken off. If you will allow me to take cra cra money or corne for said perpetuanoes damaged, as alsoe for sayes and tallow, I doubt not but to dispose of some quantity to the Arcaneys, being sought for after by them, but [they] have noe Arcaney money to purchase them with.

By this conveyance you will received my accompts and ballance, being m12 5oz 0a 10ta, as alsoe another coppye of my August accompts which hope may be to your content, haveing endevoured to follow the methord you perscribed [= prescribed].

Wee have had very troublesome palavers hear, but as they noe way concern to the Companey business hear but the trouble they give me and expences upon the Castle, shall not trouble you with them, butt what cheifly detared the connoe with my accompts [was] as followeth. About three weeks agoe I had a hole cutt in my thacht of my house, & lost six halfe firkins of tallow, apon which I called the Winnebah Cabbosheers and Queen, demanding satisfaction. The Queen proposed to send up to Anguina for a fetche to be taken by foure boys, one for Anguina, one for Acroomes, one for Winnebah, and one for Fanteene,[88] on which it fell the countrye to make satisfaction both for these tallow as allsoe some goates and sheep I had lost. In the meane time [she] desierd me not to

[84] 'Edward Searle' in one copy, but (from the contents) evidently in error.
[85] In one copy 'not', but the sense requires the alternative reading preferred.
[86] John Rootsey, chief of Fort Royal, sent to inventory the factory.
[87] Cf. no.1252.
[88] From what follows, this refers to Tantumkweri specifically, rather than to Fante as a whole.

write to you [ms. 'y^{t}'] According[ly] [she] dispachted a boy, at whose returne the Winnebahs woold have had her brought [= bring] his said fetches owt into the markett place, but she desierd to make experiment thereof first herselfe privately, which weather she did or not (and found it to fall on the Anguinas, as is suspected) I know not, butt [she] would never bring it owt, tho prest [= pressed] to by the Winnebah, excuseing it that she exspected Quansoe and the Accroomes Cabbosheers hear to meet the Anguana who she had sent for down to woorke, and at there comeing it should be tried before them all, in which time I happened to have two ewes more stollen owt of the Forte where I had locked them upp, and being a raine[y] night traced the footings of them halfe way to Anguina, soe that it was the Anguinas that did it. The Winnebah, Accroomes [and] Quansoe being likewise come, whent to her and told her it lay now apon her to look owt the theives and make the white men satisfaction. Her answer was she had sent to Anguina about it, and if she could not heare of them she would goe up and let the white men returne to Cabo Corso Castle, [by] which answer you may perceive I am not likely to have satisfaction withowt the theives are found out or force be used, which latter course as it can be taken at any time shall at presant let alone, for fear of putting a stop to the woorke. Quansoe was very plaine with, her and told her it was a revenge apon the Anguinas but noe satisfaction to the white men, and as she had sent for them she ought to protect them and see noe harme came to them. They are now expecting the return of them sent in search; who if bring noe news, and that she holds her resolution of goeing up, shall accomodate the business as well as I can, & dissemble my intention untell such time as I have force able to compell them to a compliance, for if she goes up through sham[e] of looseing her good name and esteem amongst the whitemen, which is her pretence, though I beleve it is the least occasion, the truth being to prevent makeing satisfaction, all concurring she ought to doe, what will not shame and revenge prompt that sex to do or act? I desier your speedy advice in the matter, and if you think fitt a more rougher course best, desier to you would sent down Captain Hansicoe immediatly to demand satisfaction in your names. If she comes away on Munday wee may gett her before the Cabbosheers parte, most of whome are against the Queen & Anguinas. Hear is and will be by Munday night most of the great men of Acroome and Anguina to meet Quansoe. I shall not trouble you further at present, if any novellitye happens shall advise.

PS, I have sent two negroe men slaves. Pray order the Bomboy to send downe the Negroes irons I sent with the former men slaves.

1096. Nicholas Butteridge Winnebah, 15 Oct. 1694

At the request of Captain Quansoe I trouble you [ms. 'y^{t}'] with these few lines to accompanye two Negroe men whom he is desirous you would secure for him,

which if theire friends doe not speedily come to redeeme them [he] will take up goods for. He helped me in the palaver I had with Anguina, which is all accomodated and satisfaction promised and likewise promoted the building, soe could not deny his request, the perticular shall give you at large in a day or two.

1097. Nicholas Buckeridge Whinnebah, 3 Nov. 1694

Meeting with an oppertunity of a cannoe bound up with a corpes of a boy pawned by Occubah to William the carpenter, and wanting both perpetuanoes & sheets, thought fitt to give you advice, that noe opportunity may be slipt of supplying me, hear being two parcells of marchants already come and the third expected on Tuesday next, besides other small traders. I shall send up my accompts and ballance on [ms. 'one'] Munday or Tuesday next, with the money wanting in my last, as alsoe a man slave, and should have done itt sooner butt that I am in a hurry, whatt with the traders and Muffords [= Mumfords] have not time to write. I am not quite owt of neather [i.e. perpetuanoes and sheets], butt am come to my last bales of perpetuanoes, which is bespooke, and hath proffers to laye down two bendyes in my hand, which he will forfitt if he doth not take them away in two or 3 dayes att furthest. You may likewise send some pintadoes, for Capt. Piles haveing sould some heare the people begin to incle after them,[89] as alsoe a few lead barrs, with what powder you can spare. The connoes sudding [= sudden] departure and reason aforesaid will not admitt me inlarge, but in hast.

[PS] Bee pleased to send by the first opportunity the two crows and a maule I sent by my boy, as alsoe nailes.

[PPS] Gentlemen, sence the seailing of this there are traders come downe, who are ready to tere [= tear] him in peases for perpetuanoes, sheets and powder, wherefore if noe ship comes downe pray dispacth in a connoe and lett not the connoe come away empty.

1098. Nicholas Buckeridge Whinnebah, 3 Nov. 1694

I have recevied severall of yours, the last being accompaned with 100 iron barrs. As nothing of novelty to informe you I deferred puttin[g] the Companey to charges of cannoe hier, the mony being soe neer expired. The defferance I had with the Queen and the country of Anguina have made up, said Queen & Cheife Cabbosheers havein[g] takein itt upon theire selves, and promised in 14 dayes I should be sati[s]fied. After we had adjusted the matter I desiered they would consider of the Forte, and after some small debate they agrede the Muffords

[89] 'Incle' (or 'inkle') means to suspect or hint (as in the still current phrase 'to have an inkling'), but the intended meaning here seems to be 'to be inclined' (cf. no.1299).

should be sent for to comindeal [= commandeer],[90] being 4 quarters, each to be hear seven day[s], then to be released by the Anguinas, and them by the Aqua[n]soe people,[91] and them by the Accoromes [= Accromes], which if they performe I doubt butt once round will finnish the Forte. One quarter hath bin heer and have woorked the seven dayes very well, the second came yesterday and this day fell to woorke, soe that I have and shall have a good parcell of shells and stone beforehand, sence my bricklayers are come to this disaster. Antony Brown I am forced to send up to gitt cured, and Quasso by an accidentiall fall brook his armes, soe that now I have onely the Black I hiered here and the oldman which I can say are anything of woorkemen, vaggamonions[92] serving onely to fill in, and that with good looking after, to which make butt small redanse [= riddance][93] in these thick walls, whereof if possible pray supply me with two in there roomes, for I feare these country people, seeing such a quantity of shells & stones ready as there will be in a little time I shall have, will be neglectfull of there woorke, and to bring downe the Cabbosheers againe will create a new charge, which be pleased to take into consideration. This meeting of the Cabbosheeers have put me to a great expense, which I shall give you in a role [= roll][94] aparte before I bring it into my accompts, to see what you are pleased to allow, being unwilling to have any more dispute. They all whent away highly contented, and swore to me I should not want stone or shells to finnish the woork, which I am the more induced to beleeve by reason Quonso [= Quanso] and they Anguinas have already sent some corne heather to be in a readyness against theire people comes. Likewise I am informed that the Anguinas have allotted which quarters shall come first. If you can help me at this push I doubt not butt to have it finnished by next month a[t] least. You may withdraw some of your woorkmen if these accidents had [not?] happended. I must desierd you to send one downe to instruct these I had in laying the bricks to cover the roof, that I might not have it to do over againe. I could have had a good part of the forte ready to cover, butt I left of woorking on those thine [sic: = thick?] walls, which took soe much lime, and [there are] few stone to goe apon the front flanker, which devours more stone, to have as littell lye in f[ull] view of the Maneford [= Mumford], who are afetching stone, as possible can. The carpenter was taken sick two days sence and still keeps his house, complaineing of great paines, soe that now I am quete distitute, and where he in perfect health he is not able to keep t[r]acke with the brick[layers], besides wants derections to fite the starecase. His azds [= adze], ax and sow [= saw] is as much owt of order as himselfe, wherefore I have sent the two latter up that you

[90] i.e. to [be] conscript[ed].
[91] Presumably 'Quanso's people', i.e. Tantumkweri.
[92] Perhaps a garbled version of 'vagabonds', in the secondary sense of idle & worthless persons.
[93] In modern usage, 'good riddance', i.e. he would be better off without them.
[94] i.e. a list.

may see I complaine not withowt a cause. By this convenience you will receive my accompts and ballance, being mk9: 6: 1: 8. You will finde my exspence to be great, but in consideration of the woorke that have bin done I referr to Mr Rotsey and Capt. Piles to relate, and the extrordinary expence on the Cabbosheers. I hope you [ms. 'y^{ts}'] will not think amiss that the coon[try] people conteniew their assistance. I hope in a month or six weeks to have stone [&] shells enough to finnish the Fortt. Sence my first comeing downe I have never soe much beforehand, wherefore I am the more conserned to see these accidents that [have] befallen my woorkmen. I fear the carpenter will not be able to woorke in a small time, which will be a great disapointement withowt you can supply me with another in his roome. By Satterday night shall have my third flanker ready to cover.

The Queen is gone up into her one [= own] countrye. Att her departure I thought she would have quarrell with me because I would not satisffye her greedy averice. She sent to acquainte me of her jorney, and withall to know with what I would take my leave of her, whereupon I sent her a piece of perpetuanoe & 3 sheets for her cheife boys, which at the present she seemed to accept very kindly, but at night, I noe [= know] not what possesed her, [she] returned [them], saying it was to littell, which so aggravated me that I took them and locked them up, and swore she should have noething more. To afront me stripped her selfe of the cloath she wore, which was that you sent her, and sent it by one of her women, her Cheife boy refuseing to bring itt, with this message that if she had the rest of the things the English had given her [she] would returne them, but when she came into the country would send satisfaction. Judge, Gentlemen, weather this and what she told me was not provocation suffecient, that she would goe up in her countrey and lett the Engtons [= English] returne to Cabo Corso Castle, and I beleeve [I] had sent her some bruterer [sic: = more brutal?] answer had not the Town Cabbosheers, both Whinnebah and Anguinas, come and desiered me to lett all things alone tell the next day, for that she was in drink. Its seemes she had bound herselfe by an o[a]th not to drink palme wine for such time, which this day was expired. The next day [I] asked her [omission] weather she remembers what she had done to me, or that the Cabbosheers had made herselfe sensable of what affronts she had put apon me I know not, butt she sent her boy, who I sent back with this answer, that I was none of her boy[s], wherefore she sent the foresaid Cabbosheers to take me by forst [= force], with whome I whent, where after she had begged parding [= pardon] and owned her faulte she gave me t[w]o potts of wine as an acknowledgement, which I proffered to the Cabbosheers. I thought fitt to give you an accompt, not that I fear any quarrell will insue, butt that you might see what a perplexety I live in, and that if any quarrell happens you may not attribute to any rasheness of mine but some great provocation, as alsoe to incite [you] to afford me what assistance can of woorkemens, that now I have shells and stones

may putt myselfe in a posture of defense. My couzen is able to informe you how fare I have gon with the Forte,[95] and how soon that if I had butt woorkmen to make itt fitt for men to lodging [= lodge in] and defensable. I have had two or three such drunken palavers as which they have ended withowt any harme, shall desi[s]te troubleing you with them, butt I am shure its neather safe nor eais [= easy] lieving amongst people of this nature, who is [in] theire drinke more like Bachaneils [= Bacchanals] then people of sense and reason.

The way between this place and Accra & Quamboe is stopped by Accroomes and Fanteeners apon a murder committed upon a[n] Accroomes. His head and right hand they presented to Addoo,[96] which makes beleeve the Acquamboes had a hand. They are a makeing of it up as fast as they can, the Aquambo have sent for the person to Accra that did itt. In the mean time it hinders a littell of our trade, said souldiers lyeing up and downe makes traders somewhat cautiousm, the Accroomes haveing sent very sharp message to them that if they doe not speedily make satisfaction they would assist [ms. 'assites'] the Accroomes [sic] against them [ms. apparently 'mt'']. By the next shall give you a[n] accompt whow [= how] it goes, hopeing by that time that it will be accomodated. I will not suffer them [to] plunder here in the Whinnebah country, because the King of Aquamboe shall have noe pretence of a quarrell against this place, butt att the salte ponds which is about a mile from us theire have bin Aquamboe people plundered, and I beleeve if satisfacton be not speedyly made will be eaither killed or sould.

The 100 blew perpetuanoes and 300 sheets you sent by Capt. Piles have received, as alsoe the iron woorke and 1000 of nailes, butt the lead barrs 50 can hear noe newes of them, Capt. Piles telling me he noes nothing of them, therefore pray enquier of the Bomboy which way they whent, supposting they may be left behinde.

Pray supply me with caske or two of knives, 10 or 20 cheast of sheets and a baile or two of green perpetuanoes. I have a prospect this month will exceed the last in trade.

[PS] I have sent two men slaves by Capt. Piles for that you returned the other. Be pleased to give me credit for, as alsoe for a woman this cannoe carries who was runn away.

PS. I have sent up to be mended the following things, 2 iron crows, carpenters adzes and saw & wood axes, 2 maules, they being to light may make two into one, a wedge.

[95] Thomas Buckeridge had come from Cape Coast to inventory the factories at Anashan, Anomabu & Egya in Oct. 1694 (nos 567, 763, 969), & had perhaps also visited Winneba.

[96] 'Addoomes' in ms., but clearly (from the reference to 'Quamboe' following) Ado, the co-ruler of Akwamu, is meant.

1099. Nicholas Buckeridge Winnebah, 19 Nov. 1694

Yours of the 16 by the 11 hand cannoe, accompained with two hundred and fortie five dozen of knives att 10 per angle, seventy five green perpetuanoess att 9a each, three hundred and ninety sheets at 10a each, and 10 lead barrs [received]. As soon as an oppertunity presents shall write to Mr Bloome about them, not thinking convenient to putt the Company to charge of cannoe hire, butt I desiered the maules to be made heavier, which you have not observed, the lightness of them occations much more labour to the poor slaves, wherefore I have returned two, eaither both to be made into one or to put more iron to the other, for as they are they will doe us noe good, and stones are soe very hard to cutt. The carpenters saw came not, wherefore I desier you would supply me with one by first opportunity, William beging to come on board [ms. 'broad']. Not long sence supplyed Mr Bloome per order with some iron tooles or woorke, the particulars shall give you at the bottom, which att your leashure pray returne me. The 2 brick axes & the rest are taken in my inventory, the 2 brick axes shall have occation for im[e]deately to cover my roome, which in a day or two will be ready. If Antony Brown be in a condition to woork pray hasten him downe, for have a great desier to gitt the Companeys consernes into the [omission],[97] to effect [which] shall want six paire of hinges for doors and as maney for windows, with lock for some of the doors and bolts for the others, and if you cannot supply me with locks lett me have some staples and hasps for said locks. I am sorry your stock of woorkemen is soe small, and your occation as great, wherefore shall desist [ms. 'desits'] pressing any further, onely if you can with conveniensy spare me the old man the carpenter to instruct Will about the starecase and some other small things wee are a goeing about, in tenn days or a fortenight shall returne them againe.

[PS] I have sent by this cannoe two men slaves I received from our Queen just now.

6 trowells, 2 brick axes, 2 pairs line pines, 3 brick hammers.

1100. Nicholas Buckeridge Winnebah, 27 Nov. 1694

Meeting with this opportunity of a cannoe bound up thought fitt to advise you that I had disposed of twelve pieces of the pintadoes you sent and expecte a man daily to take a bendyes worth, wherefore if Capt. Piles comes this way desier you would supply me with some more, as alsoe some rumm.

1101. Nicholas Buckeridge Winnebah, 10 Dec. 1694

By this convenance you will receive my accompts and ballance, being mk11: 0: 0: 4t. The great ring I was forced to take of the Queen, but as she took some

[97] Evidently, 'fort'.

tallow I hope you will not returne it on [ms. 'one'] my hands. To make her change it will occations words. The 40 lead barrs which by mistake where sent to Accra, although have not as yet received them, [h]as charged my selfe, not doubting of their return ife delevered to Mr Bloome. I have nothing of novelty to informe you, and as to the building my Serjant is able to give you an accompt, as alsoe some small necessaries that I want for the plosturing [= plastering] of those roomes that got ready, which pray supply me with, that I may git my goods in to the Forte before Christmastime. Sence the makeing up of my accompts have sould above thirty pieces of perpetuanoes and allmost all my 2 lb basons, wherefore pray let me have by this cannoe one baile of blew perpetuanoes and by the first oppertunity some pewter and sheets.

1102. William Cooper Winneybah, 25 Feb. 1694/5

Yours of the 13 February I received, and according to your orders therein have inventoryed the Factory of Agga, & delivered the same with the keyes into the possession by Mr Buckeridge, and at our arrivall have taken inventory of this Factory, which have taken into my possession. By Mr Buckeridge have sent my Agga accompts & ballance, which amounts to, all charges deducted, mk10 6oz 8a 1ta.[98]

Understanding Mr Bloome is going for England doe humbly request you will favour me with Accra, but if Mr Searle should desire it & you should designe it him, that you will grant me Commenda, in either of which that you shall please to place me, shall do my utmost for the Royall Company interest & your satisfaction.[99]

1103. William Cooper Winneybah, 4 March 1694/5

This only advises that since my [ms. 'may'] last the Cabbosheers have been with me and demanded a perpetuano and 8 gallons rumm for custome at [ms. 'as'] a new Chief coming, whithout which they will not give the least assistance more towards fetching of stones & shells &ca. I have put them of with faire words till I know your orders therein. The Queene of Anguina I expect downe in 3 or 4 days, & as I understand will demand custome & ground rent, I desire to know your pleasure what I shall do about it per first opportunity. We are in want of nailes of all sorts, and bricks what you can spare.

[98] Cooper was transferred from Egya to replace Buckeridge at Winneba, the latter now joining the Council of Chief Merchants at Cape Coast Castle.

[99] Edward Searle was currently chief at Komenda; but neither he nor Cooper was appointed to the Accra vacancy.

1104. William Cooper Winnebah, 18 March 1694/5

I have received yours of the 14th instant. As to the Cabbosheers demands they require no more for the custome of a new chief, but they and the Queen (who is since come down) ask dashes for their generall danceings (being now at this tym),[100] vizt two pintadoes, six sheets, & eight gallons rumm, which they say was used to be given when this place was formerly setled. The Queen likewise demands for her selfe a say and longee for a new Cheifs custome, and for the ground rent she asked Quo whither or noe it was time to demand it, who told her she could not expect any till the gunns were all mounted, and he assures me she will not till then desire it.

As soon as I received yours, I sent away Quo up to Captain Acong, the Leiutenant &ca,[101] & the rest of the Cabbosheers of that country [i.e. Accron], who promise they will not supply the Mina people with one chest of corne, but on the contrary will panjar all that comes to Apom or thereabouts,[102] they being encouraged thereto by the Captain Domine of Quamou,[103] who hat[h] sent Captain Acong a verry rich cloth for that end, and Bonnishe of Annimaboe hath sent & given him a boy slave to reincourage him thereto, & to see it done is gon himselfe, who Quo left on his way thither.[104] He and the rest desires you will send them a small dashee. I have already given them five sheets, but for their corne they say they will not bring it hither, but iff I will have it I must fetch it from thence. I have agreed with the Cabbosheers of Anguina to bring what corne they can at 1a 6ta per chest, who promises great quantityes, but as yet have brought none downe.

The mistake about the Guiney stuffs is in the letter that came downe with them to Agga, which makes mention but of three hundred.[105] That of the man slave I found a while after I had sent up my accompts, which being past correcting I shall creditt in my next accompts. The 6 boysadoes were each $^1/_7$ damaged.

PS. I desire you will send me accompts of the soldiers pay. We want ½ dozen bolts & staples, ½ dozen hasps & staples, a quire or two cartridge paper & cartridge thored [= thread], 7 linstocks, boards for to make a gate, an iron barr 4 foot 4 inches long, with staples for the same, an halbart for the Serjant.

[100] It is unclear what ceremony is referred to: nowadays, the principal festival of Agona, *Akwamboi* ('Path clearing'), is held in August.

[101] Frequently referred to subsequently, also in the spelling 'Accon' or 'Accoone' (nos 1169 etc.); probably identical with the 'chief Cabbosheer' of Akron referred to in nos 1076–7.

[102] Presumably in retaliation for the panyarring of Cape Coast canoes by the Mina, a couple of days earlier (no.1443).

[103] Kwaman, in Fante.

[104] Bonnishee, the leading trader of Anomabu (see chap.VI).

[105] Relating to Cooper's accounts for his period as chief at Egya.

Per bearer have sent a man slave on accompt of the Royall African Compagnie of England. I just now received advise that Captain Acong hath panyard some Mina people. Just now Quansa of Tantumquerry has sent his boy to ask for powder and shott for his people to assist the Fanteners.[106] I crave your answer.

1105. William Cooper Winneybah, 31 March 1695

Yours of the 22d instant I have received, and have given the Queen & Cabbosheers their demands, but as yet have not seen the Accrom Cabbosheers, but intend in a day or two to meet them att Apom, & see if I can perswade them to bring their corne to this place (for I find their will be no security at Apom), and to that end have sent my boy to invite them thither. They send word they can lett me have a good qantity, as the Anguina Cabbosheers before have done, but as yet find them verry slack, the which I presume may be by reason of their rowasawing. I have bought two five hand canoes, & have bespocke one 15 hand, 9 hand & 7 hand canoes, which am promised shall have in little tyme. I desire to know how I shall send them upp, being most of the canoe men (the rains coming on) have left this place. Pray lett the iron work & nails be sent per first opportunity.

PS. Just now Quansa of Tantumquerry arrived here, and in his way panjard a Dutch canoe with one molletto man, who he has brought hither with him on suspition of going to bribe the Aquamboers to fall on the back of the Fanteners & Acromes.[107] He has left him with me, whom I shall detaine till I know your orders how I shall disposoe [sic] of him.

1106. William Cooper Wineybah, 6 April 1695

This serves to accompany accompt from February 15th to March ultimo 1695, with 2 men slaves bought on the Royall Companys accompt. Since I have been here have had noe trade so much to defray the whole Factory charge.

Tomorrow I expect the Accrom Cabbosheers, who have promissed to come hither to treat about their corne, and as I understand are inclined to bring it here. I yet have noe corne from Anguinna, can receive only their promises. Within day or two I expect them [= the Accron Cabbosheers] downe with their bendifoes in order to march & joyne with Taggees camp.[108] They have sent already to me to give them some powder & shott, as Quanza also has done. I desire to know your pleasure if it shall be allowed them.

[106] In their intervention in support of Eguafo against attack by the Twifo (cf. nos 585, 791, 794).
[107] Evidently, to divert them from aiding Eguafo.
[108] i.e. Great Taggee, King of Eguafo.

PS. Since my last, Quanza intending to send up the three canoe men which he paniard with the moletto into to [sic] the country to sell, att the canoe mens desire I bought them of him for four ounces fo[u]r angles & a halfe, who promisse in 10 days I shall be repaid. To that end have lett one of them passe. There is a canoe gone for that purpose. The rest remaine here for my security for his returne, & on payment to lett them all pass free. Quanza demands custome for a new Chief.

We are in great want of halfe a score crews for the slaves to carry shells in, some hoocks &ca for the windowes, & the iron I formerly wrote for, iron barrs or gratings for the prison, & a barr for a door for the same, 3½ foot long, & expecially nails. Our hour glass is brocke, & desire may have a two hour glass, & one half hour glass. Just after the ensealing of this Ataboy arrived, who says unless I will give 2a per chest will lett none be brought downe, soe that I perceive there will be noe lickelyhood of getting any corne here. Acroom Cabbosheers are not yet come.

1107. William Cooper Winneybah, 13 April 1695

This is to accompany Roger Pinson, who being verry sick, & noe doctor here to assist him, desired to came up to Cabo Corso & heath [= hath] hired him self a canoe. I desire you will lett me have another in his stead, & if you cou'd spare 2 or 3 more men, the other two being ill lickwise. Yours of the 10th instant I received. The Queen & Cabbosheers &ca being out of towne, have not yett spoke to them of corne what you write of, but shall as soone as they returne. As yett have not corne enough to load the canoe, but shall in a day or two.

PS. I have 3 men slaves on accompt of the Royall Company, which haveing conveniency of a prison shall keep them here, & what else I buy, except you order me to the contrary & fitt opportunity present of sending them upp. The slaves are in great want of crews to carry shells with. I have paid of Roger Pinson last months pay 12a 11ta, which shall pass in my next accompt.

1108. William Cooper Winneybah, 15 April 1695

This only comes to accompany one five hand canoe, aboard of which I have sent butt six chests of corne, on the Royall Companys accompt. As yett I have not corne to load the other canoe, nor men to carry it up. The Queen and Cabbosheers are not yet returned, soe as yett cannot advise farther.

1109. William Cooper Winneybah, 23 April 1695

This comes with James Badham souldier, being verry ill of a viollent feavour & flux, haveing here noe assistance of a Doctor or medicines, desired to be sent up. Pray lett me have one in the roome of him, and him I last sent, and if you can to

lett me have one or two men more. I have bought 2 slaves & one women more, & if I had long irons in keeping them here they might be a help to carry stones &ca.

1110. William Cooper Winneybah, 25 April 1695

Yours of the 23th instant have received, but I have not yet three chests corne to send the canoes with. Ataboy has been here, with whom (not whithout considerable expence) I made an agreement att 2a per chest to send downe what corne possibly he or others could with expedition, and went away in haste, as he pretended to dispatch it downe, but on the contrary as soone as he arrived there stoped the ways & will suffer noe corne to be brought here. The Queen is not yett come from Queens croome, soe tomorrow shall send Quo to Anguinna to know the meaning of it, and to make the palaver. The King of Accrome has also been here, who promissed to send his corne to this place, but has since sent word that he will not doe it, and I find noe possibility of secureing it at Apom, tho' there were a house there. There are so many canoes from Cabo Corso &ca for corne that this day were few Blacks haveing a little corne which I could have had. They will not sell it me unless I will give them three angles per chest, so that I know not what to doe to answer your expectations.

PS. There is noe yams to be had.

Per next opportunity pray lett me have 10 chests of sheets.

1111. William Cooper Winneybah, 3 May 1695

Yours of the 25th past I received, & the three slaves returned me by Mr Rootsey,[109] but not like as they were when I bought them (when as Mr Rootsey was pleased him self to tell me were good). I beleive the scarcity & want of corne brought them soe low, but now they begin to grow & look verry well. However I shall sent three more in roome of them, haveing already 2 more by me. Here is palaver upon palaver about corne. I cannot get it, I beleive, if you would give 2½[a] per chest. The Cabbosheers of Anguinna have had a differance & kill'd severall men, soe seeing noe lickelyhood of corne here, I went my self to Acrom and agreed with Acong &ca the Cabbosheers at 2a 3ta per chest (who expects you will give him a perpetuano), to supply me with what corne they can at Apom, from whence I must fetch it in canoes, there being noe lickelyhood of securing it, there is such a pack of rogues harbouring the place. Tomorrow shall send the other canoe & dispatch her from thence if possible, there being so many canoes there for corne makes me afraid they will not performe their promisse. I have this day turned away seven or eight canoes which came hither for corne & offerd 3a per chest.

[109] Now chief of Charles Fort, Anomabu (cf. no.803).

Since my last the Queen arrived (who has sent to make up the palaver), whom I acquainted with what you ordered me about money being carried of to interlopers. She say[s] she will stand by me (and lickwise the Cabbosheers) if you will begin to allow her monthly ground rent from this tyme, like as is paid at Accra, and the Cabbosheers some allowance besides, so as noe canoes shall be suffer'd to goe aboard of ships with money, which I think much better then to be as now it is.

PS. In 3 or 4 days intend to send my accompts.

1112. William Cooper Winneybah, 7 May 1695

This only comes with the new five hand canoe, empty (bought for the Royall Companys accompt), for I cannot get corn to load, the Acroomes falling from their words. Pray lett me have what sheets I wrote for the first opportunity, and some large nails for the gate.

PS. T'other day a French ship took off of Tantumquerry the Dutch Briganteene & passed per this road to leaward. Prince desires to know what you will please to have for a woman slave with you (which says is his sister), and he will pay you & send a canoe for her. He tells me hee has already spoke about her, her name is Aducaraba. The carpenter has broke his chisell, desire you will send another per first opportunity.

1113. William Cooper Winnebah, 16 May 1695

This is to conduct my Aprill accompt, which should have been with you before but that have been indisposed with the flux & a violent pain in my head. I have little to add but that the Queen is urgent to know what you'l allow &ca for ground rent, which she says when it is agreed on no canoes shall be suffered to go off to interlopers. Here is a Cabbosheer not far from hence has stopped a man slave, which on examination is found to run away from Cabo Corso Castle. He demands a say & a blue perpetuano. I have offer'd him the usuall allowance, but for les[s] than his demands says he will not deliver him, so request to know your plaesure whether or no shall act further in it. I suppose he is one of the slaves which Capt. Piples [= Piles] brought upp. He says hunger made him run away. I have been often asked for sheets, & desire you to send send at leest ten or dozen chasts [= chests] per first opportunity.

PS. The Braffo of Fanteene is come into the Acrom country, & offer them money to assist him to fight the Fantenes,[110] & has likewise sent to the Winnbeybahs &

[110] Cf. further references to the Brafo's attempts to obtain support in nos 1114–7; but the cause of the division within Fante is not explained.

Anguinnas people to help him, & last night passed per a messenger here to Bonnishee to gett the aid of the Aquamboes.[111] As yet I do not find the Winneybahs at all inclined, how the rest stand affected I cannot tell, but as soon as I understand shall advise, if so be you will thinck convenient I should send a canoe purposely. Large nails we want to make the gates to secure the slaves. Last night the 2 women slaves I wrote off, leaving them out to grind cankey, broak through the gate & run away

1114. William Cooper Winnebah, 24 May 1695

Yours of the 21 instant I received, with three hundred & ninty sheets on accompt of the Royall African Company. The Queen being gone up to Anguinas to interr the corps of Ahenninia Bondÿ, her brother, whoe is latly deceased, cannot give answer concerning what contract she may be willing to assent to [ms. 'so'] till her returne, which I expect will be in a few days, but this much I may presume to say. Tho this place may exceed Accra in expinces, yet is far short of what are yearly & such times as danceing &ca given away att Annimaboe, & I believe, by what I have seen, were the fort once finished & in good condition would make as good returns to the Company as that or perhaps some other. Winnebah people promise not to middle [= meddle] whith the Braffos pallaver, & I have sent to Anguinna to perswade them to the same, & shall also send [to] Acrom, Quansa &ca, & as I hear shall advise you. The Cabbosheer that has taken up the Royall Company slave lives this side the Devills Hill.[112] Have sent Quo severall times to demand him, & att last has plainly told him that he sold the slave to a Quamboe man, whoe hath carried him away. The walls of the fort are all finished, so [am] raiseing the battlements & tower, & have sent the sawyers to [ms. 'so'] see if there were trees fitt for board, whoe says they will doe well but lye very far distant. The Anguinnas demand severall peas gold before they goe to work for use of the place, & when the trees are felled all the Companys slaves here will not be enough to gett them to the sau [= saw] pitt, & the Anguinnaas not will [= will not] help except some thing be allowed them. What stones we are able to breake in a month will not I am sure finish what remains to be done. The sawyers want a driss [sic: = ?] for the whipsau, & if possible to lett him have another whipsau, this being as they say not near long or big enough, & two files. Please to send the chizells & nails per first oppertunity.

PS. Pray let me have a little paper. I am forced to tare [= tear] one of my books to write this on, or otherwise shall not have wherewithall to wright my accompts. I cannott gett corne except you will give 3as per cheist. The Apom people have

[111] i.e. 'Bonnisherree [Basua]', King of Akwamu (as in no.1080), not 'Bonnishee' of Anomabu.
[112] Devil's Mount, between Apam & Winneba (Bosman 1705, 62–3), nowadays Mankwadi Hill.

provided 50 chests for the interloper, whoe has sent down to them & promised 3a per chest, & the blacks themselves give that rate that comes from Cabo Corsoe.

I have sent up Roger Pimsons chest. He ows nothing here.

1115. William Cooper Winnebah, 7 June 1695

This is cheifly to advise that I have sent to the Accromes, Anguinna's & Quansa's in your names to desire them not to meddle with the Braffo's palaver. Acong & the Acrome Cabbosheers promisse they will not assist him. As yet have had no answer from Quansa, nor Anguinna, but Winnebah's assure me the Anguinna's will not medle in it. Yesterday the Braffo him selfe sent to me his son & some other messengers that I would be his friend, & that I would lett nobody abuse his people if he sent any of them this way, & also to meet him half way between the croom he is now come to & this pleace, but I have told them I was sent here only to mind the Royall Company bussiness, & not to involve my selve in blacks palavers, & for meeting of him that I could not leave the factory. Quansa by all appearance is concern'd with him. I have at last agreed with the Anguinna's people for six pease to let the Royall Companys slaves work in their woods, & have set the sawyers & carpenters to work, who have cutt downe severall trees, & the slaves are now building a house to lodg[e] in. In squaring of the timber the carpenter has broak his axe, which with four crows, one maule & two wedges, being in the like condition, have sent up per this canoe to be mended, which I desire you will returne per this canoe, with the chizell I formerly sent & nails wrote for, & to send another broad axe, these I have being to small, and another whipsaw and driss, & two or three bills to lop the boughs of the trees, without all which they can make no dispatch.

PS. Just now the Braffo's son told me if I would not meet him, when the Queen is return'd he & Quansa will come hither, which shows plainly Quansa is concern'd with him. Pray lett me have some paper, else I cannot send more letters or accompts. Pray if you can let me have two good locks, one for the prison, one for the gate, & I desire you will suply me with two or three barells powder for the fort use.

1116. William Cooper Winnebah, 21 June 1695

All yours dated May the 17th, June 1st 12th & 17th, have received, & shall follow your orders to get what corne I can, but your letter came to late to disapoint the English interloper, he being at Apom a weak before yours came to hand, but I have hinder'd his getting any from this place, & truly I believe there is verry little in this country, els they would bring greater quantitys hither at the price, for as yet I have not above 3 or 4 chests. Upon the receipt of yours by Atta,[113]

[113] Not the 'Great Ata' of no.1079: probably an employee of the RAC.

I sent my boy to Quanza to demand the canoemen, who [= Quanza] went with my boy to the man that panyard them, he liveing near the river of Amessa, in the country of Fanteen far from hence, & made him deliver them. Quanza told my boy it was done without his knowledge, and I know not unless I could have devined, how I could advise of the palaver when [neither] I nor the Cabbosheers, nor any els of this place heard of word of it till Atta arrived, & the panyaring the canoe men so farr of hence was not through any default in me, for want of good correspondence with my neighbour[s] the natives, which I beleive I do as fairly keep with them, & do endeavor it as much as any that have lived in this place before me. Atta has been with the Queen of Anguinna, who is not yet return'd, and yesterday I sent Atta & my boy to Quanzas to perswade him not to assist the Braffo, which he has promised them he will not. He had sent for the Anguinna bendifoes, who are now here, to have them assist him, but I have perswaded [them], as likwise the Winnebahs, & also Acong (who will not suffer them to pass through his country) to returne. The iron work you sent with the whipsaw & nails have received, butt the nails are much to bigg for our use. Have sent a naile by Atta to show what size we want both for the gate & to floer [= floor] the rooms with. The sawyers are at work in cutting boards, & hope shall quickly dispatch them, therfore desire may have a good supply of nails by first conveyance. I have finished another flanker (haveing no bricks) with stones, & want tarras to finish the other two. I shall endeavor when the Queen arrive, to gett the ground rentt &ca as cheap as I can, but I beleive she will not abate of what I writt, she & the Cabbosheer[s] haveing learn'd too much what is yearly & monthly allowd in Fanteen.

PS. Pray lett me have the chizell, & two files to sharpen the whips sawes. Acong has sent to me to desire you will send him a dashee for refuseing to assist the Braffo, who offer'd him six bendys. I told him I t[h]ought you did him a kindness in advyseing him to the contrary, without any dashee, but he still makes his sutte [= suit]. I sent to Apom & Acong &ca but to no purpose, for I understand the interloper will have corne tho' he gives 4a per chest. I have sent 3 women slaves per returne of the great canoe comeing from Accra in lieu of the 3 slaves return'd me. Pray let me have 2 or 3 barrells powder for the fort use, what I have being most expended. I have would have sent corne now what I have, but neither canoe can take it in.

1117. William Cooper Winnebah, 25 June 1695

This only advises that I have received the three hundred twenty five she[e]ts on the Royall African Companys accompt, for which shall doe my endeavour in the disposeing of them. I desire you will not fayl to supply me with the necessarys under writt per this conveyance.

PS. Just now a messenger arrived from Quanza to me to advise that he has turn'd the Braffo from his party, & that the Braffo designs for Accrom.

1118. William Cooper Winnebah, 29 June 1695

This only accompanys two chests of corne which I send by this on accompt of the Royall African Company of England. At present have not more to advise of, the Queen being not yet arrived, who as I understand is gone to meet the King of Akims, is the cause of her stay.

PS. This morning I heard from severall blaks that the Dutch Galley mett off of the Little Devills Hill[114] two days ago a French ship, with whom she made a running fight till she came within 2 leagues of Accra.

1119. William Cooper Winneybah, 13 July 1695

This serves to conduct my May & June accompt, wherein I have bought on the Royall Companys accompt four men slaves, which with the rest formerly bought remaine here. As yett have had but little trade, being the blacks cheifely ask for perpetuanoes & powder. If there be any herba longee gold I desire may have one case of them, two or three caske of two pound pewter basons, & 5 lb if there be any, some brass basons, a case of good pintadoes, powder especially for the forts use, & if can spare any to sell, & tarras, tarr &ca, nails.

I should have sent my accompt sooner, but have delay'd them that I might advise of the contract with the Queen, with whom I have agreed to pay her five peze per month, & custome at a new Cheifs comeing and a[t] danceing as already I have paid, and at cutting her corn a phota longee or any thing else to that value & a case of liquor, and at Christmas time a say & longee & a case of spirits, & with John Le Grand (the Captain of the towne) I have agreed to pay him four angles per month, & a red cloth at Christmas & other dashes as already paid the Cabbosheers, but Prince, Ataquo & Abarraco I cannot come to an aggrement with, so Ataquoe comes up with these to know what you will please to allow them. The two latter ask 4a per month each, & I offer'd them 2a each, which I thought was verry sufficient, but Prince would not tell me how [much] he would have, but as far as I can gather he expect half as much as the Queen. I desire to know your pleasure per returne of this canoe, & instructions what they must sign to. The Queen & John Le Grand say they will take a fetish in the open market place that none shall be suffered to goe of to interlopers, & if any should gett off will seize on their goods at their returne, and the other three promise the same when you agree with them.

[114] Distinct from the Devil's Hill mentioned in no.1114. The second/lesser 'Devil's Mount' was further west (Barbot 1992, ii, 426): i.e. Ejisimanku Hill.

1120. William Cooper Winneybah, 20 July 1695

Both yours of the 13th & 18th instant have received, with 200 two pound pewter basons, 150 caddy chints, one barrell powder, 100 silck longees, & one cask tarr, but no brushes, which desire may be sent per next. I have detaind the bricklayer[s] (for which I begg your pardon), being already suply'd with a good quantity of stones & lime, & their going would be a great hindrance to the building. B[e]sides the Queen so ill resented it when she heard of it, that she said if you took away the workmen, she would returne into Anguinna, & the Cabbosheers that they would leave of their assistance, so hope you will not take it as any contempt from me in not obeying your orders. I have alsoo received the articles of agreement of Dickies Cove and Commenda, & when I have finished the same with the Queen & Cabbosheers (which shall endeavour to do as much as in me lies to the Royall Company intrest) shall returne them to you. Since my last with my accompt to you, have disposed of all the carpets I had (saveing 3 or 4 damaged ones), therfore request you will send as soon as possible 300 carpets, here being traders that stay purposely for them, & one cask knives, bras pans &ca. Powder & blue perpetuanoes are verry much wanted, which later at present must be contented withowt. I have per returne of the canoe sent 325 sheets (being as much as the canoemen say they can carry), tho' believe shall soon be in want of them, being in expectation of a verry good trade. The axle trees shall be sent up as soon as can be gott ready. If you please to send a cask shall send up lime, haveing a considerable quantity already burnt.

1121. William Cooper Winnebah, 26 July 1695

Yours by the 11 hand canoe of the 13th instant have received, with three hundred woollen carpetts & seven hundred eighty six pound brass & a quarter cask tarras, but no more then one tarr brusch on accompt of the Royall African Company of England, & have per the returne of the canoe sent as much lime as he can carry. The bricklayers I have send downe to Mr Searle.[115] If there be any nails already made desire you will send them per first opportunity, & likewise to send twenty pair of hinges for windowes & six pair of hinges for doers, with hoocks suitable, and ten pair of bolts for windows.

We have rumor here that the King of Aquamboe designes to take the fort, & destroy all the blaks of the towne.[116] I am at present but in an ill posture to make any defence, therfore desire you will send some hand granadoes, some muskett schott & some musketts, that I may be in a condition not to be affrighted with such reports, & if you could to spare a Gunner I have now gott all the gunns I

[115] Edward Searle, now chief of James Fort, Accra; but Searle himself claimed to have received no bricklayers from Cooper (no.1289).

[116] Cf. similar reports in nos 1124, 1126; but once again, no such attack occurred, & in Nov. 1695 it was reported that there was a 'fair correspondence' between Agona & Akwamu (nos 1130, 1132).

have up, but want carriges, & the carpenter being employed to square the timbers for the sawyers cannot without you'l please to lett me have another as yet make any. Adossa have sent up per this canoe, shall be in want of another in his place.

PS. When I telld Prince that you would not allow him more then 4a per month he said if you gave him not what he demanded, [he] would stop all merchants from comeing hither, & would carry them to & fro to Barracu towne, so to prevent disturbance after many words have promised he should have a cloath of scarlett broad cloth or to the value at Christmas time yearely, an iron barr att rowsawing time. When they have signed the articles shall send them up. Adossa is indepted to me 3a, which begg the favor, being he is willing, [to be] paid me at pay day.

1122. William Cooper Winnebah, 24 Aug. 1695

Yours of the 16th instant per the 7 hand canoe I received. Being out of lyme have stayed the canoe till I could gett some burnt, per returne of which have sent as much as she can carry without casks (of which I have none). I cannot supply you with any more lime, the salt pond stopped so can come at no shells, and all the perswasions I can make cannot gett the Winnebah people's consent to breake it open, and all because they want to make salt.[117] I shall be verry much at a loss if I can find no other way to gett some. Per this canoe have also sent two quarter cask rum, on the Royall Company accompt, and inclosed have sent the articles of agreement made with the Queen of Anguinna and Cabbosheers of Winnebah (& returned the coppy of Commenda & Dickies Cove articles). At their takeing fetechees they would have a perpetuano & half anchor of rum. Since my last have had but little trade, by reason of differance happenning betweene the Queen & Prince, which has runn so heigh that all the Anguinna's sieding with Prinse have threeatned to kill the Queen, & have stopped the ways. It has created me a great deall of trouble in endeavouring to make it up, and yesterday I sent Abaracu, Quo & my boy to pracifye [= pacify] the Anguinnas Cabbosheers & to bring downe Ataboy to end the palaver, which hope at last will end well. I am in great want of nailes, hinges & locks [ms. 'kocks'], as have formerly writt. Another carpenter would verry much help forward our timber work.

1123. William Cooper Winnebah, 30 Aug. 1695

This accompanys Ataquo, who is sent by Ataboy & Anguinna's Cabbosheers to request you if possible to spare them two or three barrells powder, they haveing appointed to meet the Ackims in a few days.[118] The palaver of the Queen is not

[117] i.e. the pond was blocked so that the sun would evaporate the water, leaving salt deposits at the edge.

[118] Presumably, to fight Akwamu, as in 1697 (no.1153); for the threat of war by Akyem against Akwamu at this time, cf. no.1288, from Accra.

yet made up, and untill it is can expect no trade. I am daily endeavouring to bring them to a fair complyance. It is occasioned chiefly through the Queens folly, as Ataquo can advise you. Pray order if the nails & hinges be done to be sent by Attaquo's returne, being verry much in want of them, and if you please to send a kask [= cask] of knives, what I had being the greatest part disposed, the remainder being something rousty [= rusty] will not readily go of.

1124. William Cooper Winnebah, 17 Sept. 1695

Yours the 7th instant I received, with the nails & hinges therein mentioned. This comes cheifly to accompany my July & August accompts & ballance, which (all factory charges deducted) amounts to five marques two ounces gold, which by bearer you will recieve on the Royall African Company accompt. I am daily getting the Fort in a posture of defence, and if I had but carriges for the guns [ms. 'gains'] & any supply of men & amunition might not be afraid of any black enemies, which I request you will hasten, with a barrell or two of powder, granadoes, cartridge paper (if so be any can be possibly spared), and the iron work remaining, for the Ackims a few days since haveing fallen upon severall Aquamboers a goeing to trade to their part, have killed & cutt of the heads of about forty people, and taken severall,[119] and whe have now strong reports that in revenge of it, the Aquamboers are resoluted to fall in this place, & I beleve the Winnebahs on the least approach will all runn away.[120] Prince is come from Anguinna, and desire[s] me to write for what men you can spare, & is verry urgent with me to send to you for more powder, but I have acquainted him with what you wrote me last. The pallaver with the Queen is almost done. The woman slave that is wanting must be Captain Peters fault in not delivering her, for I delivered him three women slaves and I had no more then three returned me, which the bearer & sundry others can testifye.

PS. I desire you will by first opportunity supply me with a new flagg, this I have being quite blowne in peices and unfitt any more to be hoisted.

1125. William Cooper Winnebah, ** Sept. 1695

I since the sending up my accompt and ballance, ove[r]looking my accompt, find that the three hundred fifty sheets I returned by your order July 20th past, (through haste) not then examining the same, passed them disposed for gold, so that thereby I have overpaid two marks four ounces five angles gold, which request, my accompt being passed, you will please to give me creditt for in my

[119] Cf. no.1289, from Accra.

[120] Presumably, an attack on Winneba would damage Akyem by disrupting its trade there. Rumours of an imminent Akwamu attack are repeated in no.1126; but once again, no attack occurred.

next accompts in part of ballance, and my selfe shall doe the same, on accompt of the Royall African Company of England.

PS. Since my last what sheets remained are all disposed, and most of the green perpetuanoes. Desire you to send three or four bales of green perpetuanoes, & a baile of red, if any left, per first opportunity.

1126. William Cooper Winnebah, 25 Sept. 1695

Yours of the 21st instant have received with three whitemen, but as yet no more then nine blak soldiers are arrived. I shall take care to stop the debts you order before any others. The two barrells gunpowder & iron work have received. The noise of the Aquamboes comeing still continues, & severall people for fear have left the towne. I have now about twenty plank already cutt. I judge what more they are now sawing will be sufficient, so that Bastian will be a greatt help when he comes. The green perpetuanoes are all disposed save one, so desire what I wrote for in my last may be sent, & some ca[r]tridge paper, haveing not enough for one cartridge.

1127. William Cooper Winnibah, 5 Oct. 1695

Yours of the 3d instant per Bastian & the three quarter casks rum on the Royall Companys accompt, and the two quarter cask in the roome of those I sent up, I received by the 5 hand canoe, and shall forward the carpenter in his worck with all expedition. The reason my sending up a messenger to the King of Akim country was for no other designe then meerly that he would encourage traders [t]his way, the trade of this place (as you are sensibly) depending wholly upon that country, and not for the hurting of the King of Aquamboe or any else.[121] In my last forgott to mention of the death of one of the men slaves, which dyed the 24 of September past. Inclosed have sent four certificates, two whereof for the slave, the other for the four carpets found wanting in a baile, no.239. I also forgott to mention that in the last chest of sheets I opened I found wanting nine, there being really no more then fifty six sheets. I should be hartly glad if any of the Company ships where arrived, want of goods being a great hindrance to this trade.

PS. I have lost allmost three marks worth of goods out of the warehouse, stollen away [ms. 'alway'] and carryed all to Prince, who was the author of it. As yet I have made no stirr about it, being desirous to know your minds therein, for if I use any forcible means will I am afraid hinder the saweyers work and put a stop to traders. The man that took the goods to deliver Prince, being his Chief man, was ketched in the action by one of the slaves, who since that has not been seen

[121] Cf. no.1290, from Accra: the king of Akwamu had evidently complained about Cooper's action.

here. Bastian wants by first opportunity 12 iron bolts eighteen inches long, 12 ditto twelve inches long, 12 ditto nine inches long, 8 ditto foureteen inches long. We want also staples for the windows to fasten the bolts, with 24 trucks [ms. 'turcks'] for the gunns.

1128. William Cooper Winnibah, 18 Oct. 1695

This conveyance presenting is only to desire you to hasten the iron barrs &a last writt for, being the carriages are almost all done, & likewise some musquets, swords & bandilears for the souldiers.

1129. William Cooper Winneba, 8 Nov. 1695

This is only to desire, that you will send up per returne of this conveyance three dozen lins pins [= linchpins] for carriage trucks, & three or [ms. 'our'] four thousand nailes of the sizes inclosed, being to flour the roomes. I desire you will not fayle, being Bastian stayes & cannot goe forward without them. Here is Atabo and all the Cabbosheers of Anguinna, Quansa & his people, & Lagues, the later carry stones, & Accroomes to make up the differance between the Queen & Anguinna's, & also to make the palaver about what I have lost, & likewise other differances, butt as yett cannot give accompt of the issue of anything. They are all continually with me, so that as yet I can hardly attend any other bussiness, which will delay my accompts.

1130. William Cooper Winnibah, 18 Nov. 1695

This comes purposely to acquaint you that one Mr Huymme, a Dutchman, is come hither for refuge, haveing fled from Axim, whereof he was chief, on what accompts I certainly know not. He desire admittance to stay here till he meets with an opportunity to gett of the Coast. I have give him entertainment till I know your orders whether or no may longer protect him, which request you will advise me. The Cabbosheers that are mett here sent to the king of Quamboe, where messengers are returned with one from the king, so hope quickly shall make a reight understanding betwixt Quamboe and here. Per bearer have returned the whipsaw, being broak, and desire you will send another in the roome, else cannot goe forward in sawing the boards, axle trees or any thing else. What axle trees we sawed before have used in the carriage[s], of which we have not yett enough, which when done shall returne Bastian and endeavor to supply Mr Searle.

1131. William Cooper Winnibah, 19 Nov. 1695

This day since the letter that accompanys this was writt the Cabbosheers of Anguinna have opened to me an unexpected palaver after their differance was

made up with the Queen, which was ended principaly by my means, that they have a bendy per month paid to the Queen, of which they have made her promise they shall mont[h]ly have one half part, and if you will not allow it they say noe trade or mony shall come here, but if you will allow the same they promise that they will unanimously take a fatish that no mony shall be carryed aboard. The Queen hath openly confessed to them that she hath already made an agreement for five peez per month &a, but she is afraid of contradicting them, for fear of [ms. 'or'] any further palaver that may prove worse. I think there cannot be worse rogues then the[y] are upon the coast. They have promised I shall have satisfaction for what I have lost, which is butt a poor security, but must at present rest content. I desire to know you[r] orders about it, and if you thinck fitt to grant their demands to returne the articles already made, otherwise to send downe a Cabbosheer that may end that palaver, for the Cabbosheers say I put the rest of the money in my pocket.

1132. William Cooper Winnebah, 30 Nov. 1695

Yours of the 23 instant I received, and according to your order have agreed with the Anguinna Cabbosheers to pay one bendy per month ground rent from the time the Queene first signed the articles. I have paid them four bendys eight angles in hand for the time past to the time of their signing and takeing fetiches to the articles, vizt 25 instant, which they would not be content without a[t] first demanding from the time I first came here, which was long ere I could beat them of from. For the future they will have it [ms. 'to'] paid to the Queene, who is to give them one halfe. They would not take the fetiches without I gave them an ounce and four gallons rumm, being they said their lives depended on it if they broak the fetich, which they published by their Chitchee in the market place that they will punish all offenders. They likewise would not take the fetishee without I paid them 12 angles more for the sawyers workeing in their woods, six peize they said was not enough for all Anguinna, soe was forced to comply with [ms. 'whit'] that as well as the rest off their innreasonable demands.

The Cabbosheers both of Anguinna and this place all assure me there is a faire correspondance between them and Aquamboe, and the messengers from Aquamboe have told me the same, who are now along with Quansa att Tamtumquerry, soe shall have noe more allarums from thence. The Accroomes are the only people now that are likely to breed disturbance. The fetiches have been newly taken that they should not trouble this place. Two of the slaves I bought being makeing of swish, through the bomboys carelessness, who whent away and left them to themselves, they broak of their irons and run away, whom since have heard are in the Accrom country, who [= the Accroms] will in noe wise lett me have them, tho' have offerd 10a for each. The Dutchman went from hence on board a interloper before I received yours, haveing perswaded him

thereto, seeing he hath a great deall of money with him, which he would often shew to the blacks, I told him I did believe you could not protect any under his circumstances, which made him hasten away. This comes with Bastian, whome request you will lett come againe in a little time, who must forward the saweyer and carpenter work both as he had already done, they being soe faine of haveing none to overlook them, they will take their leisure time if they have none to overlook them, they will not gett boards enough for 7 or 8 months for the fort, which Bastian sayes he would gett enough for 3 or 4 weakes. We are in want of lace pins[122] and nails, & some pitch and oackim. This also inclosed the articles. I have this day newes that the Akim war with Aquamboe is done, they haveing made up palavera, but cannot affirm it.

1133. William Cooper Winnebah, 9 Dec. 1695

My last to you was per Bastian, which advised of the palavera I made with the Anguinna's. This comes only to accompanye my September, October and November accompts. The ballance, being 3oz 5a 4½ta, have transferred to the next [ms. 'neas'] accom[pt]s. I have nothing else momentary to advise you saves that the news I heard of the Akim warr with Aquamboe being made up is utterly false.[123] I have sent per bearer four iron crowes, four wood axes and two wedges, one trowell and one hammer, desireing they may be mended and returned per first opportunity.

1134. William Cooper Winnibah, 17 Dec. 1695

Both yours of the 9th & 14 instant have received, & also the mended iron worck & nailes. I shall furnish Mr Searle with a peice for a flagg staff & canky stones[124] as soon as can gett them ready for him, haveing already sent him planks & axle trees. Per the 15 hand canoe have sent up twenty axle trees, being what we have in readiness. I have sent to the Accroomes (as likewise the Cabbosheers the same) about the slaves, but to no purpose, for they will not returne them by any means, unless the country custome be put in practice.[125] With this comes one of the whipsaux, being broak, desireing it may be mended by first oppertunity.

1135. William Cooper Winnebah, 24 Jan. 1695/6

Your I received of the 13 instant, with the bricks & tarras, and desire if you can possible [send] downe one or two canoe more load[ed] with bricks to cover with

[122] Probably this should be 'line pins'.
[123] For uncertainty about the Akwamu/Akyem dispute, cf. no.1294, from Accra.
[124] See Glossary.
[125] i.e. that they should be paid (cf. no.1073).

what [ms. 'wath'] speed wee can the upper roomes, else shall lye lyable to a great deale of damage the raines and tennadoes [= tornadoes] may bring. Last [ms. 'lest'] night the goods in the warehouse received a great deale of wett in a travadoe[126] which came suddenly upon us. Per bearer have sent the other whipsaw, broak, which request may be mended with all speed & send downe with the other saw per returne of the canoe. I request you will likewise sent two or three barrells of powder for the forts use, one sett of bolt pins &a the bolts 17 incles [= inches] & 10 incles long each, & hasps and staples, one hundred iron bars, white or blue pautkies &a.

1136. William Cooper Winnibah, 29 Jan. 1695/6

Yours per the 15 hand canoe of the 27 instant I have received, with the two hundred iron barrs, one hundred lead bars, two hundred white pautkies, and one barrell of powder on accompt of the Royall African Company of England. Per returne of the canoe, that she might not goe up empty, have sent up forty chests corne on the Royall Company accompt. I desire the bricks and sawes and other ironworck may be forwarded. I am really sorry for the alterations of affaires you write of.[127] As yet all here verry quiet, only the Accroomes still detained the fugitive slaves and will in noe wise release them.

1137. William Cooper Winnebah, 6 Feb. 1695/6

Yours of the 4th instant I yesterday received, & immediately on sight sent away the canoemen for Accra, who are just now returned & bring news that three great canoes are now at a grapling at Barracu, & came with them from Accra. I have given the Cabbasheers & people of the towne powder and shott, & shall presently, so soon as can muster the men together, which are but few here, here being but four canoes, to send them off to panyar them.[128] I have likewise sent powder and shott & liquor to the Cabbasheers of [ms. 'to'] Barracu to give their assistance, that if any be ashoar to panyar them, so if the enterprise take effect shall suddenly advise you. I send the canoe away in case we miss of them here, to advise you timely of their comeing. According to your orders, I sent yesterday to Acong, as also to the rest of Acrom Cabbasheers, and sent them liquor. They have sent there solders to Apom & promise their assistance and to panyar all the Mine canoes they meet with. They desired each a cloth, so have sent them each a cloth to encourage them. I have sent powder & liquor to Apom people.

[126] i.e. a line squall (advancing in a definite line), as distinct from a 'tornado' (characterized by rotary motion).

[127] Referring to the renewal of conflict at Komenda, & more particularly the panyarring of Cape Coast canoes there (no.368); a similar message was sent to Anomabu (no.847).

[128] Cf. no.1297: the canoes were thought to be those earlier panyarred from the English at Komenda.

1138. William Cooper Winnebah, 7 Feb. 1695/6

This is to acquaint you that the people I sent of have panyard the 3 Mina canoes I yesterday wrote of. One is a 13 hand canoe, the other two 11 hand & a 7 hand canoes, the men in all thirty two [ms. 'tow'], six whereof are wounded. They are loaden with empty sheet chests, but cannot as yet tell how many. The canoes as yett lie att a grapling. The men I have in the fort, but am att a great loss to secure them, haveing not one paire of irons to putt them in, soe request you will send twenty or thirty paire as soon as you receive this, else it will be very dangerous either to lett them lye here or send them up, which if you soe doe pray lett the canoe men you send be very well armed. The people that panyard the canoes doe expect some considerable reward, also Acuma, who went in person, one of the Cabbosheers, to gett the Cabbosheers of Barracu assistance their, who sent off their canoes on their approach to assist them, who I presume expect likewise some gratuity. The bussiness is very expensive to me in liquor, which hope may be allowed to be charged, as likewise other expenses. Mr Searles canoe putting in here on her way up, have delivered [to] the canoemen to take this with them, and also have sent the December and January accompts, duplicates whereof will send by next opportunity. I have not taken enough this two las[t] months to defray fort charges, as per accompt appeares, for want of vendable goods, which now, the Fauconberg being arrived, hope may be supplyed with goods following per first opportunity, blue perpetuanoes, sheets, Welch plaines, powder, knives 1 lb basons, herba longees, fine sletias, & ca, a good quantity of each.

PS. I desire you would send irons for the forts use. Pray lett me have brick per first opportunity, with six [or] seaven white souldiers and a Gunner. I have the Copeman of Accra's letter to the Mine and one other. Yesterday died one of the men slaves.

1139. William Cooper Winnebah, 11 Feb. 1695/6

Yours of the 8th instant I received, with twenty pairs of irons, with which [ms. 'which with'] I have secured the prisoners panyard, and have secured what was in each canoe. The black[s] that panyard them would never lett me be at rest till I had satisfied them, & hardly could make them stay till the arrivall of your canoe. They would have no less then 2o a man, which with [ms. 'with which'] the Barracues made in all 50 men, so I distributed to the value of three bendys amongst them, which I thought I had better doe, that they might be willing to goe on any occasion another time, so that with the other expenses of liquor & powder &c the charge will amount to about a mark of gold. I should be glad to hear of a good issue between both Taggees.[129]

[129] Alluding to the civil war in Eguafo, between the king Great Taggee & his brother Little Taggee (nos 365 etc.).

PS. Just upon sealing of this came to anchor off the road out of gunnshott a Portuguze & a Flemish shipp, I beleive belong[ing] to the Dutch, to trappan the canoes of this place, & others that pase by. I have ordered that none should goe to them, they have both canoes & boats after them. I have ordered the canoe men to sinck the letters if they meet with canoes that offer to panyar them.

1140. William Cooper Winnebah, 15 Feb. 1695/6

This conveyance presenting comes to conduct the duplicates of my last December and January accompts, and to acquaint you of the death of one of the wounded men that were panyard in great canoes. Here is nothing momentory since my last, save only that wee are in great want of bricks &ca, and if you could spare a carpenter would much secure the fort against the raines, the black carpenter I have being not able to forward what is to be done without assistance.

1141. William Cooper Winnebah, 5 March 1695/6

This comes on sight to bring the enclosed from Mr Searle at Accra,[130] adviseing of the bribe of Anguinnas except [= accepted] from the Generall of the Mine to gett the Mine canoe men from me, so request you will order them from hence on sight hereof, to prevent any disturbance here with the natives, being att present soe ill provided for them.

PS. I desire if you think conveinent to order some dashee to Attabo and the Anguinnas to draw off their designe.

1142. William Cooper Winnebah, 6 March 1695/6

I wrote you yesterday express, about Atabo (at the Dutch instigation) his designe to force me to deliver up the Mine canoemen, but as yett cannott learne the truth of it no otherwise then as Mr Searles letter notif[i]es, tho have made exact inquiry into itt. I presume the thing was carried on by Prince and Attabo very privately, unknown to the rest of the Anguinas.

This comes to accompany my January accompt, haveing not hade a trade to defray the Factory charges more than by the accompt appears. This likewise accompany Serjeant Laird, who being desirous to goe home by the Fauconberg, and fearing to loose opportunity, desired leave to come up to be discharg'd, soe request per returne of the canoe you will supply mee with another in his rooome. I desire you will send by first opportunity, with what else already writt for, 3 or 4 bailes of carpetts, those I have remaining being most of them considerably damaged. The [omission] I have most of the cask are flown in pieces, and the sayes lie and spoyl in the cases, so hope you will please to order what is left

[130] = no.1299.

[what is] to be done with them. What tarris came last most of it is used, desire when you send brick &c to send 3 or 4 hogsheads of tarris. The whipsaws lately mended are almost spoiled, that the sawers can hardly work with them, if you have any new ones come over desire you will send one or two, and likewise two or three stock locks. I have received the six iron hooks, 40 line pins, and one halfe round file.

PS. I payd the Serjeant to last pay day, February 28th 1695/6.

1143. William Cooper Winneba, 14 March 1695/6

All yours dated the 4th, 7th & 9th instant have received, & according to that per Capt. Browne[131] I have received on the Royall Affrican Companys accompt three hundred twenty five sheets, one hundred blew perpetuanoes, ten cases of spirritts, twenty blew Welch plaines, twenty red & twenty yellow ditto, four hundred one pound pewter basons, & 74 gallons of rum. I have not yet put aboard the slaves, Capt. Brown promising to take them aboard att his returne from Accra, but I have put aboard all the Mine canoe men to prevent disturbance.[132] The canoe men sent downe to carry up the 13 hand canoe panyard [I] do keep here till the returne of the ship, Capt. Browne promising to carry up the canoe & the canoemen with him, the canoe being very heavy to paddle, and putting aboard the Mine men make a great noise, I am fearfull to venture her up, and the canoe men are all afraid, hearing the Dutch Galley waites att sea for her. By the ship will likewise return the 5 hand canoe.

Att Ata's arrivall I sent for Attabo to mak the pallaver here, who immediately came downe, to whom I laid the palaver Mr Searle acquainted me with, in presence of Capt. Browne, but he utterly denied that ever he had correspondence with the Dutch Copeman of Accra, or that ever he thought of such a thing, but says that he has heard that three or four of the Cabbasheerrs (who he has lately had difference with) hath carried on this intrigue, and to settle a factory in his name, and if they will not desist from it he will fight them. He hath againe taken a fetish to be true to the English Company, and also Prince, who says that the same was utterly unknown to him. I have given Atabo the cloth and case of spiritts, with which he was very well pleased, and Prince one case of spiritts, who will come quickly to Cabo Corso. The Queen is not yett come from Tantum Queery, so have not yett given her the cane &a. Two days since a messenger arrived from the Mine att Mumford, who came with accompanyed with those Cabbasheers to the salt pond, where they sent for the Cabbasheers of this towne to meet them, who before they went acquainted me with itt, and att there return they told me the Mine Cabbasheers had sent to know

[131] Commander of the *Fauconberg*.
[132] Cf. no.1412, from Capt. Brown.

why they panyard the Mine canoes, and offered them money if they would deliver them up againe, but the Cabbasheers told them the pallaver was not theirs, and that if ever they expected to have them they must make their adress to you, and that if the Mine people panyard any of their canoes on that accompt, they would kill all the Mine people they could meet with. This I thought needfull to acquaint you with, tho the canoemen are safe aboard. I have not any lime to spare, haveing none but the Mine canoemen to fetch shells these five weeks, and what they have fetched are all used, except enough for one small kiln unburnt, and cannot expect any quantity till the raines have broke open the salt pond. The girder and joice I will gett ready by first opportunity. I keep Atta, in expectation of the four Cabbasheers above mentioned, hoping to make all well up with them.

1144. William Cooper Winneba, 23 March 1695/6

Yours of the 19th instant I have received, and according to your orders therein, shall use my utmost endeavours to keep the Dutch from ever settling in these parts. Since my last, I sent Atta to Anguinna, who brought downe all the Cabbasheers with him, whom I examined about the pall[a]ver the Dutch hath been tampering with. They own'd the Copeman of Accra had sent to them concerning the Mine canoe men and also setling of a factory, but said withall they returned him answer that the Dutch were strangers to them, and that the English were settled already, and would suffer no other to settle in this countrey. They likewise confessed they was to blame in not acquainting me of it themselves, and promised for the future if the Dutch send any more errands to them, they will immediately acquaint me of it. With much adoe I made up the breach between Attabo and them, who are all returned friends. They would not be satisfied till I gave them a blue plaine, and ten gallons of rumm I expended amongst them. I have assured them that if they prove true to the English they should not on any occasion want what assistance you can give them, with which they were satisfied. Wee are in great want of bricks and tarris, which request you will send per first opportunity.

PS. This day a Portuguese by name Francis Gonsolous, haveing deserted a Portuguze ship, came hither and desired to be entred for a solder to serve the Royall Company as a souldier for three years, and desires to remaine here in this place, whom I have entertained att 8a 4ta per month, presuming you would not disaprove of itt, here being so few men.

I have sent up by this conveyance eight wood axes to be mended, and desire if you have any new and larger you will send some, these being to small.

There is now a ship to windward towards Apom which I believe is the Fauconberg. If it be I am disappointed both in sending the slaves, timber and canoe.

1145. William Cooper Winnaba, 24 March 1695/6

Since the other of yesterdays date Capt. Browne arrived here, aboard of whom I have put on accompt of the Royall Company four men & two women slaves (one woman remaining, being sick), and also the 13 hand canoe &c. He being in hast to gett up could not stay to take in the timber, which is not yett brought from the woods.

PS. Pray per first opportunity send two or three quires of cartridge paper.

[gap in correspondence, April 1696 to March 1697]

1146. Thomas Buckeridge[133] Winneba, 14 April 1697

This by an Accra canoa is to advise that according to your orders, haveing inventoryed Agga Factory and delivered the same to Mr Browne,[134] I proceeded to this place, where last night arrived, Mr Cooper not being returned from Accra. The Doctor hath been very ill, but I hope is upon recovery. My hands being very lame could not make up my accompts, but now shall goe about them as well as I can, haveing left 12 mark at Anamaboe, which suppose will be near the ballance, which therewith intend to send by Mr Cooper. Also Thomas Allners money have left there, 12 ounces. Therefore I returne you many thanks for your late kindness, especially for the employ you have been pleased to give me, which is mightily to my content, and hope in God shall behave myself therein according to your pleasure and interest of the Royall Company. Being much out of order desire you will give me leave.

1147. Thomas Buckeridge Winneba, 20 April 1697

This accompaneys Mr William Cooper, from whom I have received the Royall Companyes Fort and Factory of Winneba, inventoryes whereof he brings with him. Also my Agga accompts, with one mark three ounces fifteen angles five taccoes gold I have left with Mr Browne, desireing him to put the same in his gold chest and send by the Sally Rose or other good oppertunity for Cabo Corso. Here are severall things wanting in the Fort, especially nailes and Gunners stores for supply, I referr you to Mr Cooper. I am much out of order and soe lame in my hands I cannot help myself.

1148. Thomas Buckeridge Winebah, 2 July 1697

Yours of the 16th and 26th ultimo came to hand, the former whereof have fulfilled, soe farr as I could, and delivered to Capt. Piles[135] what he was willing

[133] Transferred from Egya to take over at Winneba from Cooper, who was now appointed one of the Chief Merchants at Cape Coast.
[134] John Brown, now chief of Charles Fort, Anomabu.
[135] Now commanding the *Sally Rose*.

to take on board, vizt eighty seaven broad chints, or pintadoes, haveing received them for such, and shall endeavour to comply with your latter, haveing sent to Accroome, where the Negroes are now, and [I] have for a considerable time since been working them, having been here disturbed by the Anguinas, who have lately destroyed Barracue, for what reason I cannot be rightly advised,[136] the fear whereof hath occasioned our women to leave the towne, and beleive before they returne our Cabbosheers will be at considerable expence. I want goods (vizt) perpetuanoes, powder, sheets &ca for some Arkim traiders who are here. Your linguist Quo I beleive does the Company more harme than good by his rouguish pallavours, also corrupts my servants and devotes them more to his owne service than mine, which being very ill and weak cannott hinder. My Serjeant, Gunner and two souldiers are ill of a feavour and ague, and for my self, have not been well one hour since my being here, but almost continually lightheaded, that am many times unsenceable of what I doe, wherefore desire you will take me for Cape Coast, or send some person to be a second or assistant, while I am in this condition, for am not able to take care my self as I ought neither of the Companyes nor my own concerns.

PS. Our souldiers trouble me much for their two months pay, which have not for them.

Wee want spung nailes, English and country match, some tarr and tarbrush, granadoes, twine, and a block for the flaggstaff, also thread for the cartridges.

1149. Thomas Buckeridge Winneba, 20 July 1697

Yours of the 16th instant came to hand, with 4 chests mentioned to containe 360 sheetts, 100 blew perpetuanoes, one caske mentioned to containe 150 dozen knives, allso Mr Anderson to remaine as second. Sirs, when I wrote my last all matters semed indiferently well, but since the Dutch have been dealing with the Blacks about us and by their gold have corupted severall of them, by which means [and] allso the want of vendible goods have drawne the traders (mentioned in my last) to their factory of Apung.[137] Wherefore desire you will please to send money for the payment of our soldiers, who are in great want thereof, haveing four months pay due to them, and have been extreamly importunate with me therfore. In my last wrote you concerning the knavish tricks of your linguaster, which you were not pleased to notice. I did not think proper to send you the slaves you wrote for until I had acquainted you with the present affaires, it being now the time to fetch shell to build our spurr and finish the fort, the men being allso needfull as times are for the preservation therof,

[136] Cf. further reference to internal strife within Agona over Beraku in nos 1149, 1153.
[137] Apam, where the Dutch had now established a factory (cf. no.874).

should there be occasion. Nevertheless per returne of the sloop[138] if your pleasure shall send them. Sirs, I am in want of powder, haveing but little in the Castle, also some good armes, some hand granadoes, spunge nailes, sheepskins and a block for the flagstaff. The Anguines have great differance amongst themselves about panyaring the Barracoe people, insomuch I am this morning advised they are embroyled in civill warrs, and will shortly have a fight. I suppose the Dutch gold has been amongst them allso. When he was downe here Attabo, at the time of Mr Coopers goeing, offered for tenn bendys to drive the Dutch from Apung, which by reason of my sickness forgott to advise till now. Inclosed goes a petition from Richard Hearding.[139]

PS. Here is some corne belonging to the Company received from Mr Cooper, which unless disposed will be in a short time good for nothing. Per the canoe I have sent you one [ms. 'owne'] crowe, four malls, two axes, one shovell, also one muskitt out of order.

I am much lightheaded, which makes me desire to come for Cabo Corso, where if you please shall serve you the remainder of my time.

1150. Thomas Buckeridge Winnebah, 16 Aug. 1697

This comes to desire a supply of the ammunition allready wrote for, allso money to pay our souldiers, haveing near six months due to them, the want thereof occasions them to grow troublesome and mutinous to that degree I cannot bear, and as times are it very much encourages the Companyes eneimies to execute all sin[i]ster designes they may consceive against your interest, wherof by reason of what eledged [= alleged] in my last I fear to many are on foott, and wee in but a bad condition to withstand them. I suffered soe much for Dickies Cove, I desire, allso resolve not to undergoe the same here.[140] Mr Anderson by reason of sickness hath not nor is in condition to support the troubles of this, which referr to your consideration.

1151. Thomas Buckeridge Winnebah, 26 Aug. 1697

Yours of the 22^{d} ultimo I received, but no money to defray the factory charge, which how should maintaine it self cannot understand, when your Dutch neighbours are so open handed to your blacks about us that they may obstruct our trade &ca, and doe us mischeif, being fearfull whereof in our last wrote for amunition &ca, that wee might be in a condition to defend ourselves should any disorder happen, which not haveing received I trouble you againe therefore.

[138] From Accra (cf. nos 1310–11): the RAC's sloop based locally at Cape Coast.
[139] Sic: but 'Horning' in nos 1153, 1169.
[140] Buckeridge was chief of Dixcove fort, when it was attacked in Aug. 1696 (chap.I, n.234).

The other day our centinell had liked to have been stabd at the gate for denying entrance to a number of Blacks when ordred to the contrary, whose part our Serjeant took and with his cane forct to drive them off. I beleive he has received a dose therfore,[141] being taken with a vomitting and strange paines of which he is now very ill. Our Gunner allso. The souldiers are extreamly importunate for their pay, wherfore again desire it may be sent. The Winnebah Cabbosheers refuse to bring shells, putting me off with idle excuses, which beleve may be till such time the season be gon. Have not sent the slaves you wrote for, being very apprehencive of enshuing trouble, who being present may on occasion assist to defend us & the Companyes interest against our eneimies. I hear they are settling a factory upon the hill where our first house was, but what nation know not, tho may guess hard.[142] Allso that suddenly the Queen comes down.

1152. Thomas Buckeridge Winnebah, 28 Aug. 1697

Yours of the 26th instant (with three marks gold) came to hand, wherein I notice your Honors pleasure concerning the canoe hire, which mus[t] submitt to, tho conceive my usagge therein to be very hard, since both the other canoe and this to come may be employed to bring no more than what was necessary for the Royall Company Fort here, and therefore the charge no greater then had they at first been sent againe. Since I had a powerfull and sufficient reason for what I did, I have advised you that I am not in a condition to continue in this employ, which you please not to notice, and I further give you to understand that two of my security is broke, and therefore am unfitting to be trusted. You are pleased to think my correspondence with the Blacks is not as it ought to be. Since you are the only judges in that respect, shall only alledge my indisposition for my excuse, tho to my knowledge I have not been guilty of any offence to them, unless in not giveing them that little I have, wherefore humbly desire may come for Cape Coast, if not to remaine at least to gett some remedy for my illnes, when shall satisfie you what part of my Agga ballance remains unpaid, allsoe concerning the provitions from Captain Pepperell,[143] which [I] left Mr Haleywell, whose estate should pay it,[144] save a small quantity expent before my comeing away, which in reason ought to be allowed in, being on the souldiers.

[gap in correspondence, Sept. & Oct. 1697]

[141] i.e. of poison.

[142] Presumably the Dutch; but whoever it was, clearly no settlement was made on this occasion. 'Our first house' was presumably that originally occupied by the RAC's factor in 1693–4, before the fort was built (no.1069).

[143] Now commander of the *Swallow Brigantine*.

[144] Halliwell had been Buckeridge's successor as chief at Dixcove, in Aug. 1696, but died soon after arrival (NA, T70/11, Chief Merchants, Cape Coast Castle, 8 Aug. & 19 Sept. 1696).

1153. Thomas Buckeridge Winneba, 14 Nov. 1697

Yours of the 20th ultimo I received, and notice it's contents, which occasions me to advise that dureing the time I am yet oblidged to serve the Royall Company shall not faile to take what care I can of your concerns, hoping your assistance thereto will not be wanting, having not yet to my knowledge neglected my duty therein, which doubt not when convenient to make appeare, tho' my encouragement has not been as was promised and agreed for. The reason I trouble you herewith is to desire you will please to send the goods last wrote for as soone as possible, the want whereof (last pay day) forced me to disburst considerable of my owne towards payment of our people. Accroon [= Accoon][145] and the Accroome Cabbosheers hath been with me to offer you a settlement at Apong, and desire your answer. Attabo and the Winneba's have ended their Barracoe pallavers, and are now friends, he having been with me to desire the Anguinnas may be supplyed with powder, gunns and lead barrs, they being with the Aikims in armes against Quambo and expect shortly to fight.[146] I have been forced to spare him and Tettuba [ms. 'ffetuba'] some of the powder you last sent, which could not avoid unless I had fallen out with him, they aledging upon settleing this place your agreement was to procure them powder when they shall need. I have 130 butts shells by me, which thought propper to acquaint you. You were pleased to grant Richard Hornings petition, and he expected to have gone home, for which he is much discontented. I formerly wrote you for carpenters tooles, mawls &c, which wee much want, also an hour glass.

PS. Pray please to let me come to Cabo Corso three or four dayes, being much indisposed.

1154. Thomas Buckeridge Winneba, 24 Nov. 1697

I received both yours of the 18th and 20th instant, with the goods therein mentioned. The Dutch have withdrawne the Factory at Apom, and I beleive are gone to settle at Alampo.[147]

PS. Have by the canoe sent three slaves on accompt of the Royall Affrican Company (vizt) one man and two women slaves.

[145] So spelled in subsequent letters (nos 1169 etc.); a chief of Akron, presumably the same as 'Acong' mentioned earlier (nos 1104 etc.).

[146] Cf. no.1316, from Accra; but the anticipated war did not in fact occur.

[147] Adangme, east of Accra, referring to the Dutch settlement at Kpone (cf. no. 1316); but the factory at Apam was in fact maintained.

1155. Thomas Buckeridge Winneba, 2 Dec. 1697

This accompanyes Captain Quanso, from whose importunityes could not be freed, untill he optained this, being to desire a settlement may be made for the Royall Company at his croome. You may be further sattisfied from himselfe.

1156. Thomas Buckeridge Winneba, 8 Dec. 1697

I have received one hundred iron barrs and four casks rumme. The latter is of little use, our negroes here will not drink thereof. Sirs, being not well, and having no one to assist, cannot make my accompts while [= until] Christmas.

1157. Thomas Buckeridge Winneba, 15 Dec. 1697

I received yours of the 13th instant by Mr White in the Cabo Corso Gally, whome had loaded with shell could I have procured canoes, having no great ones here, and the Negroes unwilling to imploy, therefore desire you will please to send one for that purpose. Sirs, you have not so offten writt for accompts as I have desired to be freed from this charge, which by reason of sickness I have been scarce able to beare. My excuses have been suffitiently warrantable, which to my imployers can make appeare. It shows your service very meane when persons find it harder to be discharged then to optaine preferment. I will assure you, Sirs, that I find my selfe (through sickness) unable to manage my business as I ought, wherefore I pray remove me, and shall never desire anything more in this service. Sirs, what I write and begg of you is not through any disrespect, for to the utmost of my power, shall serve you.

PS. I have by this canoe sent a woman slave. Also on the 20th ultimo by the great canoe did send one man, two women.

1158. Thomas Buckeridge Winneba, 15 Jan. 1697 [= 1698]

This accompanyes Capt. White, whome have loaded with shell. The red cloath you mention have received also have put on board the said White, and two Black sawyers. Being indisposed with my voyage[148] doe not enlarge, refering to next for accompts &ca, with many thanks for my late good entertainment.

1159. Thomas Buckeridge Winneba, 30 Jan. 1697/8

This accompanyes my accompts for Winneba to ultimo this instant, the ballance whereof is three marks four ounces fifteen angles due to factory charge. The Blacks here report that the Dankeryes and Arcanyes will fight these boone dayes,

[148] From visiting Cape Coast Castle, for Christmas.

whereof next Monday will be the farthest.[149] They [= the Arcanyes] have brought a large fettish from Cuttrecoe to pawne for gunns,[150] which have not for them. Here is no trade stiring, and our perpetuanoes at 11a will hardly pass for ten angles. The powder if in halfe or quarter barrells would be good, but as it is does not sell. I have no penknife nor paper by me, wherefore must begg it of you before I send duplicates of my accompts.

PS. The red cloath I brought downe is hardly twenty and a halfe yards as measured by myselfe and Serjeant when opened, neither is it marked more on the buckram.[151]

1160. Thomas Buckleridge Winneba, 11 Feb. 1697/8

I received yours of the 8th instant; your orders wherein to utmost of my power shall observe, but how to make twenty and a halfe yards of cloath hold out for twenty three and a halfe I know not, unless you will please that I make a certificate therefore. I have not received the writeing paper you mention, neither doe you take notice of what is due to factory charge by my accompts, so that pay day being againe at hand know not how to sattisfie the souldiers and slaves. Here is little trade for the sorts of goods I have, wherefore desire you to supply me with sheets and basons.

1161. Thomas Buckeridge Winneba, 9 March 1697/8

This accompanyes Doctor Gervis Jackson, bringing inclosed an inventory of this factory, taken by him and Mr Josiah Pearson[152] according to order, duplycates whereof could not write, having then noe more then this sheet paper you now receive in the fort, therefore hope you will excuse me, and shall observe your pleasure therein. Intending speedily to send a two hand canoe.

PS. I know not what shift to make for a pennknife.

1162. Thomas Buckeridge Winneba, 12 March 1697/8

Yours of the 5th ultimo came to hand, with two marks two oz seaven angles six taccoes gold towards ballance of my accompts to ultimo January, the receipt whereof did not by Doctor Jackson advise. I perceive you have stopped the money due to Agga factory, for which returne you thanks and am well sattisfied, tho' believe there was no necessity for the reflection [on] me therefore, when alwayes imagined and if not much mistaken desired my sallery might pay itt, but

[149] Cf. further reference to this dispute in nos 1162, 1165; also nos 904 etc., from Anomabu.
[150] Cf. no.864, with n.191.
[151] A form of coarse linen cloth, presumably here the wrapping.
[152] Chief of the Whydah factory, on his way back there after a visit to Cape Coast.

since otherwise, please to send it me, being for 18 months from the 2d August 1696 to 2d last instant, and is I presume £50 sterling. I observe you stopp 1oz 1a for hire of a 13 hand canoe, which thought had sattisfied you about it, however it is both unreasonable and unjust that I should pay for bringing downe the Companyes powder, granadoe shells, stores &ca which came by her, wherefore hope you will allow me for that. I have once before writt you the red cloath was noe more then 20½ yards, and that I offered two and a halfe to each Cabbosheer, but would not be accepted, wherefore since I must be appeached [= impeached] to the Company, as will not be the first time, shall take certificates for my defence, and beleive if I am an offender shall not be the only one in Guinea. Duplicates of my accompts will send so soone as possible, having been hindered hitherto by Attaboe, who hath been here a considerable time much to my expence, and is now gone to Accroome to settle matters, for fear of the Dankeryes, who are reported to be in armes against the Arcanyes. According to yours of the 1st instant, sent up the Galley with shells. Also by this canoe a woman slave, who has been a long time sick and unserviceable.

1163. Thomas Buckeridge Winneba, 16 April 1698

Yours of the 16th ultimo came to hand, the contents whereof I observe, and am heartily sorry for so generall a decay of trade, also the Companyes neglect of supplyeing with such goods as are vendable, wherefore desire you will please to send me some knives and tallow by first opportunity. Our business is so small cannot defray the charge of the factory, which makes me very uneasie, being dayly importuned by the souldiers &ca, if not paid at their due times, insomuch that I shall not know what to doe, having not wherewithall of my owne therfore, and indeed if anybody ought to disburst for the Company, such as have received extraordinary favours should not be wanting, wherein doe not beleive my selfe to be concerned.

PS. In the coppy of my accompts to ultimo January (through mistake) have omited the corrall, wherefore desire to know whither in that at Cabo Corso, it is mentioned.

1164. Thomas Buckeridge Winneba, 19 April 1698

James Debow yesterday in the evening did absent himselfe from the fort and was not to be found in the towne or bushes adjoyning, wherefore somwhat affter the usuall time shutt our gates, defering our search till this morning, which appearing sent one of my boys to Appom, to enquire of him there, who being denyed by the Copeman[153] was casually seen of the boy, but not returned, wherefore have sent

[153] i.e. of the Dutch factory at Apam.

this purposely to advise, and know your worshipps pleasure therein. He has been a very troublesome fellow, and not fitt to live in an outfactory.

1165. Thomas Buckeridge Winneba, 25 April 1698

I received yours of the 21st instant, wherein according to your custome (through some ill minded grudge) I find you much harpe on my duty, without any neglect to my knowledge, wherefore cannot perceive your reason, unless to buggbeare me, for I presume have not omited any thereof, by demanding my sallery, which expected before (or at least by this time), according to yours of the 16th ultimo, and thereby should have been better [en]abled to have bore the factory charge untill accompts made, which fear not you shall speedily have, wherefore it is my sallery [omission] I did then mention concerning the Company is true, and no reflection as you tearme it.

I doe not boast to have done them extraordinary service, neither have I received any favour to encourage me thereto, nor even what I agreed with them for, and I doe not think its worth my labour to apply my selfe to them therefore, or when my time expired worth my acceptance. Nott long since you sent me about sixty gallons of rumme, which to please you was forced to accompt for a hundred, although am oblidged to purchase brandy to give the Negroes for quiettness sake, which refuse and will not drink the other, whereby my sallery being much diminished, also not paid when required, and having no profitt can scarce live, yett notwithstanding I am dayly taunted and abused when I offer my just demands, for which reason affter Christmas intend home, God willing, which occasions me to trouble you so much herein, that with my sallery I may partly discharge my debts, that thereby I may not be abstructed [= obstructed]. In my last I wrote you that Debow was with the Dutch at Apom, and refused my message, who [I] desire, if sent back, may not remaine here, being not to be governed at an out factory. Attaboe and the Anguinnas are already gone to assist the Arcanyes.[154]

PS. Pray, Sirs, advise whether in my last accompt have omited the corrall.

1166. Thomas Buckeridge Winneba, 31 May 1698

I received yours of the 16th instant, with one to Capt. Martin,[155] which delivered, and herewith have sent accompts to the present date, the ballance being 1a 3t due to factory charges. I had nott money for our souldiers &ca further then 25th Febbruary, and pay day being againe att hand they will have four months due to them, which desire you will send by returne of this canoe, or know nott how they may be sattisfied, for att present they dayly trouble me therefore. I shall nott dispute your actions nor designes, whither partiall or noe, which time to

[154] Against Denkyira.
[155] Francis Martin, commander of the *Delight Galley* (Database #15132).

uninterested persons will shortly make appear. The grant you give Thomas Tunnbridge, a private souldier and in health, who comes herewith, more for his intrest in tradeing then other respects, and the many denialls wherewith my requests of coming to Cabo Corso have been offten repulsed att times when I might have offten been spared, notwithstanding they were forced and back'd with the most urgent and necessitious reasons, of violent and extraordinary sickness, may I beleive, in every judicious man's opinion, savour somthing of partiallity.

1167. Thomas Buckeridge Winneba, 9 [June] 1698[156]

I have received yours of the 7th instant, and perceive the error in my accompts, which not being sent desire you will please to add two ounces corrall to the debtor side and the remains thereof, makeing the same 107 and 62, which shall notice in my next accordingly. You should not faile of monthly accompts were there trade, or anything to accompt off. I perseive that you have little reason to fear my running out, and less of any other dealings, as the times att present are. Sirs, this comes, in complyance to your order, for money to pay your souldiers &ca, which will have four months due to them, wherefore shall refer to your wisdome and my accompts for what will be needfull. Both my temper and custome is undoubtedly like other men's, when abused to endeavour my justification, and when ill used to complaine, untill by some means may have redress, which doubt not one way or other in short time to obtaine, if some extraordinary preventions doe nott intervene. I am noe judge of your dealings, nor can I censure you in a matter relateing to my selfe. However can be sencible of my ill usage, and know noe reason therefore. I have offten desired my sallery, which doe once more, for having perused my agreement with the Company, find my selfe under noe obligation of duty or service unless paid yearly, wherefore if it must still be unpaid desire liberty to goe off the Coast by first conveyance in order to returne home, tho' am desireous to serve the Royall Company, yett still unwillingly continue to be soe grossly abused as hitherto by their Cheifs.

PS. I have herewith sent you a man slave for accompt Company.

The man you sent lately hither hears his companions have sould his chest and cloaths, wherefore desires your favor therein, being much necessitated for want of them.

1168. Thomas Buckeridge Winneba, 17 June 1698

The bearer hereof was the other day putt on shore from a small West Country bark, commanded by one Charles Ellard,[157] who being desireous to serve the

[156] 'May' in ms., but from its position within the corpus, this should be June.
[157] The *Betty of Exon*, from Exeter (Database #16002).

Royall Company hath procured his passage to Cabo Corso in order for his application to you therefore.

1169. Thomas Buckeridge Winnebah, 30 June 1698

I received yours of the 21st instant with two marks three angles and seaven taccoes gold to pay the souldiers to 17th ditto, also one mark five ounces two angles and six taccoes for eighteen months sallery from the 2d August 1696 to the 2d Febbuary last 1697/8, haveing once before been paid for halfe a year, soe that the 2d August next shall have six months further due to me, at which time two years a halfe will be expired since my arivall in this country. Yesterday Accon sent one of his wives &ca to acquaint me that he would put the Dutch from Apom, haveing been thereby required by a messenger you lately sent from Cabo Corso, wherefore thought necessary to advise you, tho' doubt his performance. Sirs, this morning opening a bale perpetuanoes, number 8, find some of them to be much damaged. I notice what you sent me concerning the Cabbosheers &ca. I have by this canoe sent you two men and one woman slaves for accompt Company, also Richard Horning, being much troubled with sickness &ca, goe[s] herewith, in whose roome desire another.

1170. Thomas Buckeridge Winneba, 9 July 1698

This comes to desire fifty blue perpetuanoes for accompt of the Royall Company, for whose ditto have sent two men, one woman slaves. If concerning my sallery I have made a mistake, extraordinary sickness has been the occation, by which my memory has been and is soe shortned, I am almost uncapable of business, wherefore therein doe refer my selfe, trusting I shall not be injured. Sirs, one of our slaves named Coffe, the day affter being paid, goeing to Mumford to buy corne with some knives he had received, was between that and Apom sett upon by one of the Dutch boys and two of their slaves, who killed him with more then 25 stabbs in his body, also cutting his neck round to the bone. I sent the Winneba's &ca to bury him there, and demand sattisfaction. Quanso and Tutuba also doe the same, which I hope and beleive may put them from thence, if you will give any thing therefore, without which Blacks palavers are faust [sic: = false?], and little worth.[158]

1171. Thomas Buckeridge Winneba, 18 July 1698

Have both yours of the 13th and 15th instant, the former whereof arived somewhat too late. Quanso and Accoone, who three or four dayes did lye before

[158] The Chief Merchants at Cape Coast wrote to the Director-General of the WIC at Elmina to complain about the murder, & demand 'exemplary justice' on those responsible (letter of 16 July 1698, in Davenant 1771, 204).

Apom, not hearing from you, had delivered the murderer of Cuffee to the Dutch Coapman, haveing received six bendyes therefore, as I am informed. However, sent Linguister Quo to the latter [= Accoone] with your pallaver, which told him the business was not then ended, notwithstanding what they had received, but that he intended to execute his promise in turning them off, provided he could be secure of your settleing there when done, which would help to excuse his action with the Accrong Cabbosheers, espetially such as had pawnes at the Mina, wherefore he required that in order thereto you would send some white men to Quansaws Croome, the better to dispose the people, untill it should be effected.[159] Haveing received the above mentioned answer, I sent him with some liquor to sollicitt Tutteba &ca, who seemed to be well pleased and promised to comply with your desires, demanding three perpetuanoes and a halfe barrell powder, which have just delivered to Prince and her messengers, who are this night to returne, and make preparation therefore, which being ended tenn bendyes will very well thank them. They send for Accoone, with whome they intend to confederate herein, and intend in the next week, the boon dayes beginning then. I much want some brandy for this affair or cases of spirits, which desire by returne of my canoe. The latter being offten required will sell, or if none can purchase of Mr John Davis, in a sloope from Barbadoes[160] what will bee needfull, if you please to allow it. He is now a little to leward of this road with the company.[161] Also a Dutch interloper advises that on the Graine Coast he spoke with a great English Companys shipp. I have sent you two men, one woman slaves for ditto accompt on accompt of ditto.

PS. I have related to you all particulars, but leave the judgement of it's reall[i]ty to your wisdome, haveing been offten deceived in Blacks pallavers, but am of opinion it may have it's desired effect.

1172. Thomas Buckeridge Winneba, 25 July 1698

Have received both yours of the 17th and 22d instant, with eight pair Negro irons. Also hearing that some Arkim traders are arived, and others suddenly expected at Unguinna [= Anguinna], desire (in complyance to your orders) to be supplyed by first opportunity with goods mentioned as at foot hereof, or such of them as you have or can spare, for accompt of the Royall Affrican Company of England. I hear Prince hath offered himselfe to remaine at Apom affter the business shall be compleated, untill you send there to settle. Attaquo the other day brought downe fettishes, and put in the ground, demanding for the fettisher half a perpetuanoe, which being delivered he returned, haveing first assured me they

[159] Cf. no.1056.
[160] The *Happy Return* (Database #20372).
[161] i.e. a group of ships travelling together.

had received encouragement therefrom. I have by this canoe sent you one man, two women slaves, also four pair of shakles unserviceable.

PS. Goods: 12 chests sheets, 2 three pounds pewter basons, screwed juggs, quarter barrells powder if any, cases of spirits, tapseils, nicconeese and woollen carpets, red perpetuanoes, pintadoes and paper brawles, blue plaines, pautkies white and blue Guinea clouts, some more iron barrs, white blanketts, a piece of blue cloath for Cabbosheers and long cloath for a flagg.

Sirs, I must desire you will please to use the corne here for the first occations, or in a small time if not already it will be good for little or nothing. I want ink, paper and penknife.

I have sent the coppyes of my accompts. I desire if any letters for me you will please to give them my canoemen, one mentioned to be sent being not come.

1173. Thomas Buckeridge Winneba, 3 Aug. 1698

I wrote you on the first instant by Cabbosheer Ball, who with George Devonport the last night went to Accoone, neare Apom,[162] to assure them of their realty in the ensuing affair, and the latter to remaine with him as a pledge, therefore I presume it now is or will suddenly reach your hands, to which, for further advice I must at this time refer you. Quansaw is at present with me and intends for Accron tomorrow. The occation herefore to desire the goods wrote for soe soon as possible, more particularly the sheets and some powder, of which have not one barrell in the fort, and much wanted. I have herewith sent you a man and a woman slaves, for Companys accompt, and desire a white man instead of the above mentioned.

PS. I hope wee shall have a considerable trade. I have severall slaves, which by first shall send you.

1174. Thomas Buckeridge Winneba, 5 Aug. 1698

Yours of the 3^{d} instant I received and notice, in complyance wherewith shall endeavor what I can to procure a canoe for Whidah voyage of the Prince of Orange,[163] butt fear too little effect, unless you please to spare that I bought for the Royall Company, and remains here for the use of this factory, which Capt. Daniells carpenter has seen and very well likes. She is somewhat damaged by a splitt she received near her head, in carrying of shell when the seas ran high, but may well be mended, and is far better as he sayes then any at Cabo Corso.

[162] Cf. no.1059, which says that Devonport was at 'Wishue'.

[163] Ships trading at Whydah commonly took canoes (& canoemen) with them from the Gold Coast, to land goods & embark slaves, as the local people there did not venture onto the sea (Law 1989, 224–8).

Your last to me was the 30th ultimo, since which have wrote you the 1st, 3d, 4th and this the 5th instant, to which refer you.[164]

Serjeant Sutton hath wrote a petition to goe home, which upon his request have here inclosed.

1175. Thomas Buckeridge Winneba, 14 Aug. 1698

Haveing sent you four letters which are unanswered, with six men and six women slaves by the last two hand and great canoe, the 3d and 5th instant, for accompt of the Royall African Company of England, and which you have not yett noticed, also being in want of the goods I have desired, with some tallow, is the occation hereof, to desire your dispatch herein, as soone as possible. Accoone hath sent twice he will be suddenly with the white man, near Appom.[165]

PS. I have some good slaves by me, and loth to send untill I hear from you.

1176. Thomas Buckeridge Winneba, 23 Aug. 1698

I received yours of the 17th instant, with the goods therein mentioned, and as per contents, save one halfe case spirits, being forced to fill up the other (that had been opened and stole) therewith, I presume [stolen] in their passage from Cabo Corso here, as two chests of your sheets and some iron barrs would also a been had I not much stirred therein, for they were denyed by the sloops master, who I suppose intended them for himselfe, or next Barbadoes interloper. Sirs, by reason of the many pallavers and much business have not been able to finish my accompts, but the latter end of this month if you please, shall send them. I presume you have new Factors suffitient for your occations, therefore if you shall send one to discharge me this employ, shall be much oblidged to you, for in a little time I designe home, and after the 2d February next will nott stay in this service.

PS. Since writeing the afforegoeing, haveing some occation to open casks pewter, found them to be both one pound basons, wherefore desire by this canoe some of two pounds.

1177. Thomas Buckeridge Winneba, 27 Aug. 1698

I received yours of the 23d and 24th instant, wherein I notice your orders concerning the spiritts, which shall comply with in the cases [that] remains, being noe more then three of the large sort, but am sorry for the mistake that has happened. This comes to desire a larger supply of tallow, which is now wanted,

[164] But the letters of 1 & 4 Aug. are not preserved.
[165] i.e. George Devonport (cf. no.1173).

the former being disposed, with some more of the halfe cases spiritts and the musquets you mention, which are not yett come.

I observe your pleasure in the business of Appom, and shall doe my utmost as well to serve my masters as to reveng[e] the unspeakable injurys have received from those villaines.[166] I dare beleive Anguinna will performe their parts, and if not as you would have itt, Quanza, who have highly treated therefore, and Accoone will be the only hinderance, wherefore beleive itt necessary for you to deale with them. I have by this canoe sent a man and woman slave for Companys accompt, and have some others by me which if you please will putt on board the Prince Orrange, to whome have sent your great canoe, and is yett to windward takeing of corne.[167] I beleive shall have money to ballance my accompts at end of this month, which if soe desire if I shall send itt by a two hand canoe herewith, or wait your orders, by reason the seas are dangerous, and my canoe had like lately to have been robbed.

PS. Pray send me paper to write.

I shall now be glad of your discharge, for my present being here is by force and against my will much.

[gap in correspondence, Sept. to Dec. 1698]

1178. Thomas Buckeridge Winneba, 11 Jan. 1698/9

I sent you by the Fauconberge nine men with two women Gold Coast, allso two men, eight women Ardah slaves, the receipt off which you did not notice. However have made my accompts accordingly to ultimo December, which comes inclosed. Also have sent herewith one woman slave, to compleat the ballance of the slaves therein mentioned.

The ballance of gold due to the Royall Company amounts to mks8 5oz 9a 9t, which have sealed up and remaines for your order. The Fauconberge sailed before had oppertunity of putting it on board.

I earnestly desire you will supply us soe soone as possible with men and armes, the former being partly ill, some of them nott and others hardly able to doe their duty, the latter have none fitt for service, whereby tho' in a fort shall nott be able to defend either the Companys intrest or ourselves.

I am sorry for the death of Mr William Cooper.

1179. Thomas Buckeridge Winneba, [20?][168] Jan. 1698/9

I wrote you on the 11th instant, with which sent my accompts to ultimo December, the ballance whereof, amounting to eight marks five ounces nine

[166] Referring to the murder of the Company's slave Coffee at Apam, reported in no.1170.
[167] At Tantumkweri (cf. no.1433).
[168] '30' in ms., but the preceding & following letters are dated 19 & 21 Jan. 1699.

angles nine taccoes, remains for your order. My canoe nott being yett returned with your answer occasions me to advise hereof by this, which is chiefely to acquaint you on the 17th instant came hither the Queen and Attaboe, who yesterday opened their pallaver, and desired (as I once before wrote) you would trust them twelve bendys, to be stopped from the former untill repaid by her monthly rent, which nott haveing a power to consent to, she was extravigantly pationate, telling me the English had killed Great Taggee,[169] caused the Dancra's to panyar Attaboe,[170] had allmost brought them on her country,[171] and that wee desired to loose our trade, however in the end was pretty well pacified when I promised to write and intreat you therefore, for which reasons I earnestly desire, as I have before done, thatt you will supply us with men and armes (of which there are butt three can doe duty) soe spedily as you can, for should anything be offered wee are nott in a condition of defence. Pray send your resolution in the above written affair, and accordingly lett us be prepared for any accident thatt may happen, for I verily beleive if her demands are refused she will offer violence to the Companys concerns here.

1180. Thomas Buckeridge Winneba, 6 Feb. 1698 [= 1699]

Yours of the 24th and 27th ultimo came safe to hand, and your orders therein (to the utmost of my power) were complyed with, for accordingly thereto have sent to Unguina Queen the six bendys you allow of, with which shee seemed reasonably well sattisfied, and has promised to repay it with the first six months rent that shall become due to her, from the 27th last instant, as by her inclosed receipt you may perceive.

Attaboe &ca hath been busie with me for small lone [= loan] (which, haveing noe power therefore, could not comply with). He is now gone to Accroone, intending to returne in 7 or eight dayes, and build a habbitation near Winneba, being very much dissatisfied with severall of the country people, for sundry abuses they have offered to his concernes there the time he was absent.[172]

I have received your six musquets and twelve granadoes. The four white men you mention are also arived here with their two musquets.

I have waited for the returne of the slope from Accra, but I presume she is past by or not come from thence, wherefore have not as yett had a conveniency of sending up the Companys money thereby according your orders. However if shee should not be come up, and calls on me therefore in her returne, shall be sure to put it on board.

[169] The King of Eguafo, murdered at Cape Coast Castle in Oct. 1698 (see chap.III, n.184).
[170] Atabo had led forces from Agona to assist the Akani in their war against Denkyira (no.1165), so had presumably been taken prisoner in the defeat of the Akani in May 1698.
[171] After defeating Akani, the Denkyira forces had overrun Cabess Terra (nos 913, 918), so an attack on Agona also may well have been feared.
[172] Presumably during his captivity in Denkyira.

The time I contracted to serve the Royall Affrican Company of England was expired on Thirsday last, being the 2d of this instant, and my selfe (by reason of sickness and want of necessary remedys) being very unable to continue any longer in this imploy, also some affaires requireing my returne for England, I desire you will please to discharge me thereof, and give me liberty to come for Cabo Corso in order to have my passage home by the first good opportunity.

[Ps] Herewith you will receive nine musquetts which is out of order.

1181. Thomas Buckeridge Winneba, 15 Feb. 1698/9

I received your base and injurious letter of the 11th instant this morning, and must tell you (tho' contrary to my inclination) I have [a letter] from under your hands for lone of six bendys the Queen had, and other suffitient proofes therefore, which will undoubtedly discharge me.

However cannot butt notice your fraudulent indeavours therein, which being correspondent with your other abuses, as I can make appeare, must tell you that I at this instant am not oblidged, neither will I serve to be abused nor endeavour to give you any further sattisfaction therein then receipt from under hers, Apparaco['s], Quo['s], and my Serjeants hands may give to any reasonable person, more especially when their order has been therefore.

I must tell you that my usage has been most meane and unworthy since my being upon this Coast of late, which I can in divers manners make appeare, and shall not fear standing to, wherefore I doe here declare and protest that by reason of the unaccomptable and manyfold abuses, and likewise your consistance therein, when especially soe civilly my discharge was desired, I am fearfull your designes are to prejudice of my life, and that little estate God has been pleased to bestow on me, which the almighty providence I hope may protect, and send me clear from such villany shall be both the endeavour and prayers of [myself].

[PS] You take noe notice of the receipts I sent you in my last, inclosed, nor any thing that makes against your humour. It is suffitient my care has been to procure her agreement as by my last, but for renewing it is yours. You keep my canoes soe unreasonable long before you will vouchsafe to answer the Companys business that [I] can hardly procure any to serve you.

1182. Thomas Buckeridge Winneba, 23 Feb. 1698/9

This accompanys John Gonsolvus, who some time since had the mischance to hurt his foot, which for want of necessary means for its cure is in a very bad condition, wherefore on his request have permited him to come to Cabo Corso, that it may the better be healed

XI

JAMES FORT, ACCRA

Accra, nowadays the capital of Ghana, is 110 km east of Cape Coast. The RAC's establishment here, James Fort, had been founded in the 1670s and occupied continuously since then. Accra had been conquered by the inland kingdom of Akwamu ('Quamboe', etc.) in 1680, and remained subject to the latter through the 1690s.[1] The king who had effected this conquest, Ansa Sasraku ('Ahenisah'), had died in 1689, and Akwamu was now ruled jointly by his brother, called 'Basua' or 'Bansiar' in Dutch and Danish sources (this name occurring in the correspondence from James Fort in the form 'Bonisha' or 'Bonishee'),[2] and his heir apparent, Ado ('Addo').[3] There were also a Dutch fort (Fort Crèvecoeur) and a Danish fort (Christiansborg) in Accra, to which reference is made in this correspondence. The Danish fort was seized by Akwamu forces in 1693, but ransomed back to the Danes a year later; the seizure occurred during a hiatus in the Rawlinson correspondence, but its restoration to the Danes (in June 1694) is noted (no.1243).

Accra supplied both gold and slaves (and also corn and oystershells). In the early 1680s, the main supply of gold to Accra came from Akani and Akyem ('Akim' etc.), in the interior beyond Akwamu, but by the 1690s Akani traders were no longer coming to Accra,[4] and trade from Akyem was also frequently disrupted by disputes with Akwamu.[5] The supply of slaves, on the other hand, derived mainly from Akwamu's own military operations, and was therefore more secure; in this period Accra was thought to be supplying as many slaves

[1] For Akwamu power in this period, see Wilks 2001.

[2] Also 'Bonnisherree' in a report from Winneba (no.1080).

[3] Wilks 2001, 22–7. Ado acceded to sole authority only on Basua's death in 1699 (after the Rawlinson correspondence concludes).

[4] In 1688 the Akani offered presents to Akwamu 'to [get] the roads opened', & later contemplated 'opening the roads by force', but this did not occur (Justesen 2005, no.II.17, Daybook of Governor Fensman, Christiansborg, 26 June & 28 July 1688). Wilks (2001, 20) interprets references to 'Akani' in this document as relating to Akyem; but in the RAC correspondence the two are clearly distinct (cf. no.1227, with n.69).

[5] As noted by Bosman 1705, 69.

as the rest of the Gold Coast combined.[6] However, the operation of the trade was subject to the vicissitudes of King Basua's policy, with frequent interdictions of dealings with the European forts.[7] The correspondence alludes to internal tensions within Akwamu, between its two co-rulers, which on one occasion, in 1693, came to the brink of civil war (no.1222). It also refers to Akwamu's continuing military enterprises against neighbouring countries. Repeatedly during the 1690s, forces were dispatched to fight 'to leeward', i.e. along the coast to the east. Most of these campaigns seem to have been directed against the Adangme ('Allampo'), between Accra and the River Volta;[8] but on other occasions Akwamu forces operated east of the Volta, in alliance with the rising power of 'Little Popo', in 1692–3 against Whydah (nos 1205 etc.), and in 1695 apparently against Anlo (no.1294). The correspondence also documents a campaign against Kyerepon ('Accrippoone'), in the interior to the east of Akwamu in 1697 (no.1317). There were also persistent tensions with Akyem, with repeated rumours of the imminence of attack by the latter between 1694–7, though no serious fighting occurred during the period of this correspondence.[9]

1183. M.B. Whiteing James Fort, Accra, Tuesday, 12 May 1691

Yours of the 6th instant per the Aligator Sloope with all the perticulars therein mentioned came safe to my hand, except the bayle no.273 which you say should containe 29 green plaines made out but 20 pieces. I must also informe you that amongst some of the bayles of blue perpetuanoes, with the blues wee have found severall redd, how to rectifie that I know not. The knives will not goe at 8 per 1a but at 10, as you directed per the first supply of the sloope, neither will they give 5a per umbanees and 12a per peice of long cloth, as to the other goods I have brought them to compliance. Corne here is none to be had, neither good nor bad, I am forced to send my Bumboy to waylay the Quambooers, to force them to bring the litle that comes downe to supply my occations. Our trade is at present stopt, by reason our best traders under the command of Aheni[s]ah[s] cousin Ado[10] are gon to fight to leeward, which occationed a stoppage also to the leeward trade.[11] I wrote to you in my last for severall materialls wanting,

[6] Ibid., 70.

[7] As also noted by Bosman, ibid., 65.

[8] For Adangme, see chap.XI; Bosman refers to frequent 'chastisement' inflicted on it by Akwamu (1705, 327).

[9] Fighting eventually broke out in 1699–1700 (Wilks 2001, 27).

[10] Ado is also described as Ansa's 'cousin' in Justesen 2005, no.II.17 (Day Book of Governor Fensman, 16 Nov. 1688); but other contemporary sources call him a son of the late king (Tilleman 1994, 28; Bosman 1705, 65). The latter, however, is surely an error; in a matrilineal society, the king's heir would normally be a nephew (son of a sister).

[11] i.e. the trade along the coast to the east, with/through the Adangme ('Alampo') country: imports from Alampo included cattle (nos 1211, 1221, 1255) & also slaves (no.1317).

I received nothing in answer. This was intended you some days agoe, but my indisposition which hath held me this nine dayes with a violent feavor hindered my intent. Inclosed goes my Aprill accompt and ballance amounting to 14mk 3oz 3a, which you will receive per bearer. Inclosed is a petition from one John Edwards, who hath served the Royall African Company as a souldier upwards of 5 yeares, the major part of itt at this place, is desireous to returne home, especially haveing a wife and children which desire his returne.

1184. M.B. Whiteing Accra Fort, Thursday, 20 May 1691[12]

Per the Aligator Sloope you will receive sixteen butts of shells.

1185. M.B. Whiteing Accra Fort, Wednesday, 3 June 1691

In my last per the sloope I acknowledged the receipt of the goods you sent by her. This is no more then to accompany my May accompt with its ballance, amounting to 12mk 5oz 7a 4ta of gold, which goes per bearer and is on accompt of the Royall African Company of England. Pray per returne of this send us some cartheridge paper, and match, we have not any of each if occation should require itt.

1186. M.B. Whiteing James Fort, Accra, Munday, 14 June 1691[13]

Yours of the 10th instant came to me this morning. I am sorry you cannot furnish us with match, neither can wee supply our selves with any from these parts, here being none made, so humbly desire you will sattisfye our wants from windward. This I hope will come to your hand before the departure of the new shipps,[14] that so by them you may send us some whight [= white] long cloths, one pound pewter basons, half pieces long cloths or black bafts, pautkies whight. You may also send us some sheets, which now goes of apace, not forgetting some striped Turkey carpitts. Trade is now on a mending hand. I am sorry to informe you that Mr William Cooper is in such a condition, his senses being taken away, I feare will not live untill next day. Our Doctor is also taken ill of a violent feaver. Times are verry sickly in these parts amongst the Negroes as well as the whights. If the shipps should be come away please to dispatch the sloope with the above particulars and send a good quantity of each.

1187. M.B. Whiteing Accra, Wednesday, 24 June 1691

Yours of the 18th instant came safe to hand with box of books and accompts, which according to your direction I put on board the Kendall Friggott, as per

[12] Actually, 20 May 1691 was a Wednesday. In 2 other cases also (nos 1186, 1189) the days & dates given do not correspond, presumably as a result of miscopying.
[13] Actually, 14 June 1691 was a Sunday.
[14] i.e. the *Kendal* & the *East India Merchant*.

inclosed receipt appeares. I wrot you some time past for a supply of goods, since which per yours of the 22[d] ditto I find that you will send up per the Supply, which I hope may not be long. If you have any powder in halfe or quarter barrells pray dispatch them downe. Wee shall want also some knives. This you will receive per returne of your Braffo,[15] and may signifye that Mr William Cooper, who after haveing given over allmost for dead, is now on a mending hand. Mr Samuell Humfryes went hence yesterday morning.[16] Wee are extreemly in want of mawles, iron wedges, pick axes, and iron crow, to break stones to finish the plattforms towards the sea, which will be a great security to the Fort when done. The matterials formerly sent [ms. 'some'] are all broacken. Wee want also some palme oyle. Negroes are scarce, advise what quantity you will have me purchase and in what time.

1188. Marcus Bedford Whiteing James Fort, Accraa, 4 July 1691

This is no more than to accompany Mr Lang by the 2 hand canoe you sent downe expressly for him. I suppose you have by this time notiss that Mr Niccolis Pepperell was forced to this place for want of water and provitions, which now he hath sufficient to bring him up.[17] I have also put on board him 16 butts of oystershells for ballase [=ballast]. This night he intends to make the best of his way to your parts. On board him goes also one Bryan, who left the Portugueeze which the East India Merchant brought downe. In liew of him I have taken ashoare Phillip Holland souldier, to supply the place of the departed John Edwards. Pray per next advise what is due to him, and from whatt time, and if indebted give us notice, that wee may stop it out of his wages. Wee are dayly in expectation and in great want of the goods wrote for in my last [which] I wrote you some days past per returne of your Braffo to that intent. Wee want also more blue, redd and green perpetuanoes, with the matterialls wrote you formerly. Mr William Cooper is much amended.

1189. Mark Bedford Whiting James Fort, Accraa, Munday, 4 July 1691[18]

This accompanys the Discovery, Mr Nicolas Peperell master, who was forced to this place for want of watter and other provitions for his men. By him goes 16 butts of shells, which I putt on board for ballase. I have already wroute you the needfull.

[15] Evidently, here this title is applied to an African employee of the RAC (as also in vol.ii, no.821).
[16] Formerly one of the Chief Merchants at Cape Coast, returning home on the *East India Merchant*.
[17] Commander of the *Discovery* (cf. no.1356).
[18] Actually, 4 July was a Saturday.

1190. M.B. Whiteing Accra Fort, Satterday, 11 July 1691

Yours of the 17th [sic: = 7th?] instent came safe to hand per the Allegator Sloope, master Leoneird Jefferyes. The supply of goods sent by him I am now takeing ashoare. I wrott you last for more blue, redd and green perpetuanoes, which pray send per the shipp Supply. If any saccorguntes, pray send per ditto conveyance, but noe allijars. The quantity of Negroes you advised for the said vessell I feare cannot be hadd, verry few presenting at present. By the bearer you will receive 47m 6o 1a 8ta for ballance of my June accompt as per inclosed. Since my last to you Master Niccolis Pepperell made sundrey motions to gett up to your parts, but all in vain, he is driven as low as the Danes Fort.[19] God knowes when he will gett up, it may be by Christmass he may fulfill his voyage.

1191. Mark Bedford Whiting Accraa, 16 July 1691

This is sent you expressly to know weather you have any double flowred silke longees and herba ditto. The latter must be of the redd sort, those we have by us will never reach a vend because they are not so. Hear is also much inquiring for broad pintadoes, which if any by you send us a good quantity per the shipp Supply, with the blew, redd and green perpetuanoes wroute you before. Lett this signifie the reciept of all the goods you sent per the Alligater Sloop. Mr Nicholas Peperell in the Discovery is almost out of sight to windward of us.

1192. M.B. Whiteing Accraa, 5 Aug. 1691

This accompanyes the Alligater Sloope, Mr Leonard Jefferys master, by whom goes eighteen butts of oyster shells for ballace. If you will have me procure a quantity of shells pray advise timely, here being no more remayning.

1193. Mark Bedford Whiting Accraa, Tuesday, 11 Aug. 1691

Yours of the 31st past came to hand by the shipp Supply, Capt. James Lashly, by whome I have received all the Company's effects you mentioned in the said letter. Slaves I have none. The scarcity of corne in these leward parts prevented my answering what you directed. What elce you ordered, I shall be asured to follow. This had been with you sooner had not I been much out of order with the gripes. By the bearer have sent you 11mk 2oz 3a 3ta. Our trade has been much decreased of late, by reason our best traderes are gone down to fight a place on this side the River of Vulter.[20] The aforesaid summe is the ballance of July

[19] Christiansborg is 3 km east of James Fort.

[20] i.e. the Volta. Cf. further reference to this campaign in no.1196. It was probably against the Adangme country: cf. a later report of the destruction of Le ('Laay'), the coastal commercial centre of Adangme (Van Dantzig 1978, no. 73: Resolutions of Council, Elmina, 18 Feb. 1692).

accompt, as per ditto inclosed accompt appears. The iron work sent downe last being not work[ed] well togeather, is broken in peces especially, neither where they halfe bigg enought for our use, wee have had little or no service out of them, as also the iron wedges.

[PS] Mr Jefereyes in the Alligater sloop is now at Lague.

1194. M.B. Whiting James Fort, Accraa, 3 Sept. 1691

This comes on purpose to desire a supply of sheets, perpetuanoes blue & read, some seyes, lead barrs, and saccerguntes. The herba longees that came last are not good collours, sundreys worme eaten, which came by the ship Supply, James Lashly Commander, who whent from hence for Arda the 14th past.[21] I am sorry my accompts cannot be made up to accompany this canoe, the cause is being retar[d]ed by extream sickness & gripeings, which has taken away the use of both my hands, my right especially. Wee are extreamly in whant of a carpenter, which makes things run very much to ruin, formerly you writt I might be suplied with such a man from you when desired. The iron work sent last is all broken to peices, so that wee are at present in as much want as before.

Postscript. I had allmost forgott to informe you that Serjeant Cole was left behind in a miserable condition, but now I hope he may doe well. This may also advice you that John Sherwin, souldier, through misery of the French pox,[22] which continually attended him, through his daly debauchery, though our Doctor often warned him to the contrary, hanged himself in his bed to end his miserable life.

1195. M.B. Whiting Accraa, 17 Sept. 1691

This accompanyes the Allegator Sloop, Mr Leonared Jeffereys master, by whome I received all the goods you sent by her. By the same conveyance goes no oyster shells, by reason could not gett any in a readiness, you may expect some per the next.

1196. M.B. Whiting James Fort, Accraa, 10 Oct. 1691

Yours of the 9th instant came safe to hand with the inclosed coppy from the Royall African Company, both which I have perused. This per returne of the same canoe, & in complyance of your orders my endeavor shall not be wanting to purchase what slaves presents that are good. Wee are in dayly expectation of the returne of the Quamboers which went downe to fight to leeward, & that slaves may be then more plently then now. By this conveyance you will receive

[21] i.e. Allada; but the name was often used loosely, to include the neighbouring kingdom of Whydah, where the RAC's factory was situated, & where the *Supply* in fact did its trade (cf. no.1383).
[22] i.e. syphilis.

what irons and rings for long irons wee have that are out of order for want of bolts, which I desire may be fixt & sent per the sloope. If we should meet with slaves, we should want them, the good ones wee have are but few. I wrote you last Tuesday expresly for some goods & materials.[23] I must also desire you send what is neccessary for a strong doare case for the plattforme. I am sorry for the lose of the Guinea Friggatt & lose of the accompts sent by her,[24] and then it is out of my power at present to writt over my accompts again, being so disabled by the weakness of my hands, the right espetially, and Mr William Cooper verry ill of the gripes which came upon him yesterday, that so I am at present without assistance and unable to answer the Companys orders as to that matter, unless you can spaire me sombody from your parts that can writte a passable hand, I shall not be wanting to give him direction. Our place is destitute of such a man, unless it be Serjeant Cole, whos at present not much better in his limbs then my self. My last two months accompts are finished, but want some person to writt them faire, as for my part I am ashamed to put pen to paper, & doubt much if you can make any thing of this letter, which I hope you will impute to my weakness.

[PS] Wee shall want mallagata and palm oyle for slaves use. The rings for other irons and long irons are in all 54, send us also some reveets [=rivets] & forelocks,[25] we have none for the irons. Omitted in my last some paper brawles, which pray send also.

1197. M.B. Whiting

Accraa, 17 Oct. 1691

Yours of the 15th instant came safe to hand per the Allegater sloope, Mr Leonard Jefferyes master. The goods sent by him are not as yett ashoare, per next shall acknowledge the receipt. This was intended you yesterday, but the said sloope appearing in the evening prevented me. This also accompanies the ballance of my August & September accompts amounting 56mk 0oz 5a 2ta, which you will receive per bearer. The accompts by reason of Mr William Cooper[s] indisposition, who is now in a mending hand, shall I hope in a few dayes be written faire in order to be sent to you. I am also I thank God much better then I was, haveing recovered more strength in my limbs within this 8 dayes then a month before, as to my health I never was better. Pray advise per next wither I must pay any wages to Coale, if any how much & from what time. I wrote you for some nailes of all sorts, I understand not any to be sent per the sloop, nor revetts or forelocks for the irons. As soon as the goods are landed the said vessell

[23] i.e. 6 Oct. 1691: not preserved.

[24] The *Guinea Frigate* had been sent to West Africa in 1689 (NA, T70/61, Instructions for Captains), & presumably employed locally since then.

[25] i.e. wedges put through holes in bolts to secure them in place.

shall returne to you with oystershells. You have also omitted a strong lock for the platforme doore.

[PS] Send us a few trowells for the brickla[y]ers &ca. There is no tooles worth anything for carpenters use, nor no nailes.

1198. M.B. Whiting James Fort, Accraa, 30 Oct. 1691

Yours of the 27th instant I have before me and have received the carpenters tooles, nailes, hammers, trowells &ca. This accompanys my August & September accompts, which had been with you some days before had I not met the hard fortune againe on Munday last to be taken with my late distemper insomuch that I am in the same condition & disabled as before. The 26th instant went hence the Allegater sloope, Mr Leonard Jefferyes commander, by whome have returned you cases containing fourty damaged sayes of which I formerly advised you came downe in that condition per the same conveyance. By her have sent no oyestershells, by reason tha[t] the Negroes not complying to measure them with the butt you sent last for that use, neither would they be sattisfied to the contrary that the sloope would not goe without them, since her departure have complyed, & wee are now measuring them against next oppertunity. George Cole went in the sloope.

1199. M.B. Whiting James Fort, Accra, 16 Nov. 1691

I have had none from you to answere, no more then yours of the 15 past which come per the Allegater sloope with all the goods therein mentioned. This per express is to accompany 30mk of gold, the ballance of my October accompt, being at present unfinished by reason of the loss of the use of my hands, and Mr Cooper sick of the gripes, that I am present destitute of assistance, being forced to make use of the Doctor to write you this letter, yet thank God I never was better in health. The carpinter sent down last per ditto sloope died the last Satterday of a feavour & flux. We have here a Deans souldier, who is a verry good workman that can supply the vacancy if you please to allow him carpinters pay, wee cannot be supplyed with a better. The iron mawles you sent, by reason of their smallnesse & the iron not well worked together, are all broken, with some of the wedges, so that wee want others in their roome, not forgetting two or three iron shovells which wee want much. The quantity of sheets sent last are all disposed, you may supply us with more, as also iron barrs, brawles, pautkies green, blue Welch plaines & green perpetuanoes. As to the other goods wanting, not knowing what sorts are remayning by you I can say nothing to it at present. The sattins received last are much damaged & bad coulours in [ms. 'is'] somuch that they will not vend, one of the 20 peices proved to be but half made, being no more then 4 fatham whereas it should be 8. I wrote you last for strong lock for

the platforme doore, which I hope you will send per next. By the sloop went two cases containing 40 damaged sayes. The negers have complyed with the measure, so that the oystershells are ready for the sloope.

1200. M.B. Whiting James Fort, Accra, * Dec. 1691

Yours of the 24th past per the Alligator Sloop I have received with all the goods therein mentioned. I perceive that you have not paper brawles nor iron barrs, by reason none was sent per the same conveyance, neither did wee receive any iron shovels, the want of which has made us something tedious in lading the sloope, the Negroes being forced to tak up the shells with their hands, and likewise the white men from the canoe aboard the sloope. I humbly desire that three or four may be sent per returne of this canoe, as also 3 or 4 iron mawles & wedges, with as many deale boards as will fix a new five hand canoe.[26] Wee are also much in want of a grapling & rope for the canoes upon occation. The lock for the platfforme dore we have received, but no staples to hang it on. According to your orders I have inspected my last August accompt, wherein I find the error of the 6 chests corne, which I will make good in the October accompt. As to the error of the ninety sheets as you say in September, I find no such thing in the accompt remayning by me, so humbly desire that the same accompt may be sent per bearer, that so if not right I may rectifye it, you may be assured shall be returned per first with the accompts and ballance, not as yett finished by reason of my lameness, which makes me still uncapable to put my pen to paper. The Company slave the blacksmith by name Odan is now at Aquamboe under the protection of Bonisha, to whome I have sent expressly to demand him, but by reason that the Braffo of Fanteen haveing received two men slaves from the smiths brother for his freedome Bonisha will not deliver him, but desires you to send to the Braffo to know the certainty of this buisiness. The other smith is at Anguina. Advise me what to doe about them.

1201. M.B. Whiting James Fort, Accra, 18 Dec. 1691

This by a canoe bound to Annamaboe is to advise you that the Alligater sloope went from hence this morning with 35 butts of oystershells. In my last I wrote you for a grapling and rope for the canoes upon occation, which if any you may send per returne of this conveyance. Mr William Cooper is still sick of the gripes, and my self as yet uncapable of putting pen to paper, so that occations my accompt to be behind hand.

1202. M.B. Whiting James Fort, Accraa, 18 Dec. 1691

By the sloope goes thirty five butts of shells.

[26] Canoes from the Gold Coast were fitted with weatherboards for use in the heavier sees on the Slave Coast to the east (Law 1989, 227–8).

1203. M.B. Whiting James Fort, Accra, 18 Jan. 1691/2

This is to informe you that this morning I received from the Royall African Company of England a letter dated the 20th of October 1691 directed to my self, which came per the shipp Fauconbergh, Capt. Francis Butteram, the coppy whereof comes to you here inclosed for your perusall. In complyance to the said letter I intend God willing to embarque in a seaven hand canoe tomorrow, in order to be present at the opening of the said pacquet.[27]

1204. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 16 March 1691/2

Inclosed is inventory of all the goods, merchandize, ammunition, stores &ca received from Mr Mark Bedford Whiting and remaining in this Fort and Factory per month instant, to which reffer you. I have since received by the Aligator sloope 100 perpetuanoes blue, 153 Guinea stuffs, 55 phota longgees, 309½ ounces corall, 1300 sheetts, 40 Walsh plains blue and 260 half pieces black baffts on accompt of the Royall Affrican Company of England by the said ship, and for the said accompt I have shipt 4 men and seven women slaves. Of the 40 chests of corne sent by her I have left 10 on board her for use of the slaves. If you have any red perpetuanoes I desire you to send us some, and if no store as much as will make a new flagg.

1205. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 3 May 1692

Yours of the 7th and 14th I received. As for slaves here are non to be had, and as little corne, therefor shall not meddle therein. By the Aligator sloope I have received 190 gallons rum on accompt of the Royall African Company of England. Their are 10 gallons marked [=leaked?] out of one of the casks, as Mr Jeffryes can witnesse. Charles Andersone, one of our men, is dead, his concerns will not pay his debts. By this 2 hand canoe I have sent my March and Aprill accompts, and for ballance of the former mk1 2oz 11a 4ta, and for the latter mk9 2o 3a 1½ ta on accompt of the Royall Company of England. Most of our trade is for sheets, therefor I desire you to send us per first oppertunity 40 chests and some perpetuanoes green and some blanketts by returne of the canoe. Be pleased to send us 2 padlocks, 8 or 10 deall boards and 500 sixpenie naills for Factory use. The late turnadoes haveing blown half the sloops mainsaill away, which Mr Jeffrys does patch up as well as he can, and will sail per first opportunity, we have ladden 30 butts of shells in her. No news but that Affere and part

[27] Evidently, the letter announced the reorganization of the RAC's government in West Africa, with the arrival of Joshua Platt as permanent chairman of the Council of Chief Merchants at Cape Coast Castle, and the appointment of Whiting to the Council in place of John Bloome, who took over command of the Accra fort.

of the Quambures are going to fight to leeward.[28] If Captain Quo remaine at Cabo Corso, here is John Brafoy who desires he may be intertained in the Companies service, he is a very necissarie man in the absence of Captain Quo.[29]

1206. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 1 June 1692

I received yours of the 10th ultimo by the Discovery, Mr Charles Sallmon, with 2600 sheets, 10 iron barrs and 500 naills on accompt of the Royall African Company of England. We have laden 24 butts oyster shells by the said ship, which are all we have at present. As soon as possible I shall purchase 100 butt shells, but I am informed we cannot have them this 2 or 3 months yett, because the freshes[30] are very high. Their was 9 pair long irons sent by the sloope which are not yett returned.

[PS] Be pleased to send up per first 50 or 60 cases spiretts.

1207. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 9 June 1692

Just now haveing advice of a canoe goeing to Cape Co[a]st I thought fitt to advise you that Robine, the man that formerly lived with Doctor Griffen, is come from Arda, he tells me the King of Whydah has sent Mr Wortley of in ane interloper for some quarell he had with the French that were there.[31] Mr Jackline has sent no letters for you or any elce that I can hear of.[32] This Robine in a few dayes will be worth [= with] you. Capt. Buttram gott all his slaves at Poppo and had a quick dispatch.[33] We have little trade at present.

1208. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 14 June 1692

Some dayes agoe the Deans sent a Factor with goods to Barracow, of which I have notice. I sent Mr David Gualtier to claime the right due to the Royall African Company of England.[34] The natives are werry well satisfyed therewith and desire they may be furnished with some goods such as their occasions do require and in such cace no other nation shall come there, and the Dean is since departed, theirfor I shall send some small matter to supply them at the easiest charge possible. This morning arrived a Deans ship, in which Monsieur Fensman

[28] Referring to Ofori, king of Little Popo, the projected attack being against Whydah (cf. nos 1211, 1214, 1345).
[29] The name is given as 'Brabay', 'Braboe' in nos 1214, 1285; 'Brabo' is also recorded in 1703, as 'gold-taker' on an RAC ship (Daaku 1970, 104).
[30] i.e. floods caused by heavy rains.
[31] John Wortley, chief of the RAC factory at Whydah (cf. no.1344).
[32] Edward Jacklin, subordinate & now successor of Wortley as chief at Whydah.
[33] Commander of the *Fauconberg* (cf. no.1386).
[34] Beraku, west of Accra: likewise described as 'belonging to the Royall Company' in 1687 (vol. ii, no.577).

the late Generall is come, I suppose to supply the office he formerly had.[35] As yett I hear no news of affaires in Europe.

1209. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 27 June 1692

By yours of the 5th instant I have received the surprizing news of Mr Robert Elwes,[36] and that you are very much indisposed. As for me I have been a fortnight with an extraorrdinary cold, which still containows, so that I am not in a condition to wait upon you at Cabo Corso Castle, therefor desires you would be pleased to supply the vacancy by some other, for as you may judge by sad experience health is to be preferd before honour.[37] I have sent to the Dean to desire him to spare some medicenes, but I suppos he is very ill provided and sent me word he has non. Our Doctor has sent what he can spare. The King of Quambo has stop all trade from the 3 forts. I sent to him to know the reasone, and for answer he said he would have all sorts of goods at the same rates as were sould in King Ahenneshans time. I have represented to him the great charge the Company is at in send[ing] of goods to Guinea, but he wont understand it. I hope in a few dayes we shall put an end to his unreasonable demands. I am heartily sorry that you are both so ill, I pray God give you health, for a man has but little comfort while he labours under sicknese. By this conveyance I have sent my May accompts and for balance mk3 0o 4a 2ta, for which please give me credite.

[PS] We shall have little or no ballance this month.

1210. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 3 Aug. 1692

This goes by a canoe bound to the Mina, and is only to advise you that I have had a feaver 20 dayes which is not yett gone, but not so violent now as it has been. I hope to gett quite [=quit] of it with the lose of my flesh and strength, which are gone already. As soone as I recrute a little shall send you my June and July accompts with the balance, which will be but small. The Dane has all the trade, he sells cheaper then we can do and is dispatching a ship for Europe. Fensman himself stayes for a great ship he expects in two months, and as he sayes designs to gett home in her.[38] If you have any letters to send pray dispatch,

[35] The ship was the *Gyldenløves Våben* (Justesen 2005, no.II.27: H. Meyer, An account of Fort Christiansborg 1659–1698). Nikolay Fensman had been Governor of the Danish fort at Accra in 1687–91; but on this occasion (as Bloome later realized, no.1210), he had come only to trade.

[36] i.e. of his death.

[37] Referring to the succession to Elwes' place on the Council of Chief Merchants at Cape Coast, which was in fact filled by William Ronan.

[38] The reference to an expected second ship may be a misunderstanding: Danish records imply that Fensman went home on the ship on which he arrived, the *Gyldenløves Våben*, departing 8 Sept. 1697 (Justesen 2005, no.II.27: Meyer, Account of Fort Christiansborg).

for the ship will saill in 15 dayes time. I hope you are upon the recovery, which I shall be glade to hear.

1211. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 30 Aug. 1692

Yours of the 25th instant I have received per Mr Thomas Stephenson, the Dean in which he intends to take his passage will part very speedily.[39] By this canoe have sent you my June and July accompts, and for ballance of the former mk3 6o 1a 8ta, for the latter mk2 0 15a 6ta, together mk5 7o 1a 3ta on accompt of the Royall African Company of England. Our leeward ways have been stoopt a long time, Offree and the Quambous haveing for a long time had a designe to fight the King of Whydah, so that here is no cattle to be had, for we have non but what comes from the leeward. If any happens to come I shall buy them and advise you by the first conveniency. I desire you would be pleased to send us as much plank or timber as will make 6 guns carriages, sundry of ours being rotten and our guns dismounted.

1212. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 6 Sept. 1692

By this 2 hand canoe have sent my August accompts and for ballance 3–1ta of gold. Here is no trade at present, we hear that their are broills in the country which stops the trade.[40]

1213. William Cooper James Fort, Accra, 26 Sept. 1692

In humble wise I petition your Honours mutuall consideration for my advancement to the first vacant Factory. For upwards of these two years have I remained a second in this place, much longer then any before me have, and my 3 years contract with the Royall African Company draues neer end, which makes me thus desireous of removeall. May your Honours please to grant this request, I shall ever pray for your Honours health and prosperity.

1214. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 10 Oct. 1692

I have herewith sent you my August accompt, wherein I have entred Captain Brabay in liew of Captain Quo. We have no ballance for our September accompt last, nor have we any trade, all this country people being gone to fight the King of Whydah.[41] I have had a verie severe relaps of a feaver, which has weakned me and reduced me to a shadow. Mr Cooper has had the gripes, but now on recovery.

[39] Retired chief of Dixcove, now on his way home (cf. nos 1387–9).
[40] 'In the country', i.e. inland: probably referring to disputes with Akyem, which are frequently blamed for disruption of trade in subsequent reports (nos 1239, 1281, 1288–9, 1315–16).
[41] Cf. no.1345.

1215. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 15 Oct. 1692

By this conveyance Mr William Cooper has taken his passage according to your orders.[42]

1216. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 9 Nov. 1692

Herewith I send my September & October accompts, and for ballance of the latter 2o 8a 10ta of gold, for the former there is no ballance. I am as sorry as you can be that our trade is so bade, but what is yett worse its like to containow so as long as the warr holds. I hope you don't impute it a fault in me for I do asure you I had no hand in the warrs, nor shall I have more for makeing peace, for the King of Quamboe is resolved to go through with it. A little patiance may bring great things to pass, but what [blank] me in the meanwhill is that our neighbours[43] to participate in the same misfortune.

1217. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 11 Dec. 1692

This goes by Monsieur Gasper Martenan, per whom I have sent my November accompts and for ballance mk3 2oz 15a 5ta gold. Here is little trade, and the Quambores have sent more men to fight Whydah,[44] so that in all likelyhood the warrs will still containow.

1218. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 10 Jan. 1692/3

My last was per Monsieur Martenan the 11th ultimo, per whome I sent my November accompts and for ballance mk3 2oz 15a 5ta gold. This is for conveyance of my December accompts and balance, being mk4–12a 6ta gold. I suppose you have heard of the disorders at Whydah, and since we are informed that the Quamboers and confederats have taken the King of Whydah prisoner, but that will want a confirmation.[45] However there are no slaves to be bought at Whydah, and therefor the Dutch do designe to slave their great ship with Gold Coast Negroes, and for that purpose they do buy all they can att Accra and elcewhere.[46] If you judge it necissary we may buy some also, for in all probability Negroes will be scarce in all places.

[42] Cooper was now appointed chief of the RAC factory at Egya.
[43] i.e. the Dutch & Danish forts in Accra.
[44] Cf. no. 1346.
[45] The report was false. It may involve confusion with the governor of Offra, the port of Allada, east of Whydah, who had escaped from the destruction of his country at the beginning of 1692 by flight to Whydah, but was eventually captured, probably in the subsequent attack on the latter (Van Dantzig 1978, no.72: Resolutions of Council, Elmina, 18 Feb. 1692; Bosman 1705, 332).
[46] The ship was the *Kroonvogel*, which the day before had been sent from Elmina to get slaves at 'Laay [=Le] and other places in that area' (Van Dantzig 1978, no.77: Resolutions of Council, Elmina, 19 Jan. 1693).

1219. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 9 Feb. 1692/3

By the bearer I have sent my January accompt & for ballance mk3 1o 14a of gold. We hear that there are 2 or 3 of the Royall Company ships arrived, therefor I desire you to send us as soon as possible a quantity of sheets, alejars, tapseils, brawles, one pound pewter basons, iron barrs, pautkies white, knives, perpetuanoes blue and green, powder.

[gap in correspondence, mid-Feb. to July 1693][47]

1220. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 3 Aug. 1693

This accompanys my July accompt and ballance, being six marks six ounces twelve angles and one taccoe of gold, which please to pass to my credit. I have also sent you a bulce containing 3oz 7an of gold, the estate of John Webb deceased. I have sent sundry times to the King of Quamboe about the delivery of the Danes fort, and he has allwayes sent me fair promises, but of late the Dutch second hath been there to solicite for their releasement[48] and to contract for the Castle, he carried great presents with him, and gott the two Danes which were there.[49] The General [i.e. of the Danes] and the rest are yet at the Danes Town,[50] and I have sent also to remember him of his promise and to desire him to come to capitulation[51] about the Castle. When I have his answer shall advise you. I shall gett in 300 chests corne but I cant tell as yett whether or no I may procure any more. Be pleased to lett us have a speedy supply of sheets, brawles & some cases of sperritts as soon as you can, after that the shipps may bring what cant be sent at present.

1221. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 9 Sept. 1693

Your sundry letters in August last I received in due time. By the returne of the canoe which brought yours of the 13 June I sent the bell which I charged in my accompts, and since I find the canoe was sent from Winnebah with the said litter [= letter], therefore I judge that the bell is [in] custody of the party that sent it.[52] By Capt. Bradshaw[53] I received the sundry goods sent me as per your letter 21st August, and he made the best of his way to Amersa for shells, for we have none

[47] During this gap, in June 1693, the Danish fort in Accra was seized by Akwamu forces. An account of this event supplied by John Bloome is included in Barbot 1992, ii, 436–7; cf. also Phillips 1732, 211–12; Bosman 1705, 67–8; Justesen 2005, no.II.27: Meyer, Account of Fort Christiansborg.
[48] i.e. of the Danes taken prisoner at the capture of the fort.
[49] Dutch records also record these negotiations (Daaku 1970, 112–3).
[50] i.e. Osu, or 'Danish Accra', the section of the town associated with the Danish fort.
[51] i.e. agreement.
[52] The bell had gone missing in transit to Cape Coast (cf. reports from Winneba, nos 1069,1071–2).
[53] Commander of the *Swallow Brigantine*.

here. Inclosed you have receipts for the corne &c, and 24 men, 20 women shipped per Capt. Funnell and Capt. Curtis.[54] They would not give me bills of lading for the slaves, therefore was forced to take receipts, one of each I have forwarded according to your orders. Capt. Funnel has taken no corne here, he haveing provisions enough as he told me. The Kinge of Quamboa will not dispose of the Danes fort yet, but himself and [the] Cabbosheer the black Governor of the fort[55] and all the people of the Danes Towne do promise that [it] shall never fall into other hands but the English, and I doe realy believe them, but how long it may be first I doe not know.[56] They have a great trade with Dutch interlopers, which they find so profitable that I doubt they will not easily part with the fort, in a few months we shall see what they resolve upon. If they keep the fort it will be a notable prejudice to our factory. The Kinge of Quamboe sent his cosen some time agoe to deliver me three of the Danes, and the black copeman was comeing to deliver me the Generall and three men more, but approaching the Dutch fort they [= the Dutch] sent at least 30 shott to wellcome him. He was wounded in the foot, and some of the solders elsewhere, but his men had their revenge also, for they wounded a Dutch soulder in both the thighs and another in the foot as they were managing their guns. This caused a great animosity between them, & the Dutch begin to be affraid of their Towns people.[57] The Generall of the Danes, haveing mist the opportunity of comeing heither, 2 or 3 days after found an opportunity to make his escape and happily gott off to the Dutch fort, which I was glad to hear. The other 3 men I hope will be delivered me ere long. The messenger I sent so long agoe to Whydah is not yett returned, we here there are quarells between Offery and other countryes, which stops the passage both for man and beasts.[58] Inclosed goes my August accompt and ballance, being 3mk 7oz 12an of gold, which please to pass to my creditt. I was in hopes you would have ordered our pautkies white to have been sent to Whydah. They will never sell for 2an, it may be they may sell for one and a halfe, also they may lye and damage. If you can supply us with paper brawles [they] will doe very well.

1222. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 2 Oct. 1693

The 9th ultimo per returne of the two hand canoe I sent my August accompt and ballance, and herewith you will receive my September accompt and ballance,

[54] Commanders of the *Kendal* & the *Katherine*.

[55] The Akwamu official appointed in charge of the Danish fort, also referred to later as 'the black copeman'; named as 'Asameni' in other sources (see no.1288, with n.104).

[56] But in Aug. 1693 the king had promised the Dutch that it would not be sold 'to any other European nation other than the Danes and the Dutch' (Daaku 1970, 113).

[57] Presumably, the townspeople were disaffected because they had suffered from the Dutch bombardment: cf. later (no.1223) reference to their losses by fire, presumably on this occasion.

[58] Perhaps referring to tensions with Anlo, to the west, which Ofori attacked later in 1693 (no.1349).

being 3mk 4oz 2an 9ta of gold. For very nigh a month there has been great difference between the Kinge of Quamboe & Addo[59] about priviledges, so that they were upon the poynt to decide it by a battle but were interposed by the Cabbosheers, where they are about an accomodation, which I wish may happen, for as long as they are at variance all trade will be prohibited.[60] I desire you to furnish me if possible with paper braules, umbanees & long cloths white for purchasing of slaves, also send us the gun carriages, for we have extreme occasion for them. The Dutch town people do dayly come over to us, & our new Town is now pritty full and will augment dayly. We have no corispondency with the Dutch, they thinke we do to much in protecting the people which come to live with us.[61] The leeward passages, the man I sent to Whydah is not returned yett. Inclosed is a letter which I received from the Generall of the Danes,[62] he complaines he has not necessaryes allowed him from the Dutch, and indeed they treat him more like an Negroe then a Generall. I have excused my selfe to furnish him with anything so long as he is with a pack of rascalls, who abuse us as well as him and his nation, & who by their evill councell have been the cause of his misfortunes, for he confessed they councelled him to quarell with the Negroes, which advise has ruined him, but I have wrot to him that I would send his letter to your perusall, that you might see what would be necessary for him. In 2 or 3 dayes he goes in a Briganteen from here to the Mine.[63]

1223. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 14 Oct. 1693

Yours of the 6th instant I received. It was an omission in my September accompt, for the 100 Turky carpetts are yett remaining. Of late the Dutch have gott a new Copeman, who is to do mighty matters. The Generall of the Mine has sent sundry blacks to accompany him, who are altogether by a multitude of faire

[59] 'Atido' in ms., but this should clearly be 'Addo', as in nos 1223–4.

[60] This episode marks Ado's forcible seizure of a share of power, from which he had initially been excluded by his uncle Basua (as recorded by Bosman, in Van Danztig 1975–84, pt 2, 93; material omitted in the English version, Bosman 1705).

[61] Cf. further reference to the defection of people from Dutch Accra to the protection of the English in nos 1223–4. Also Bloome's Memoirs, in Barbot 1992, ii, 436, report that between 1692–3 Soko (English Accra) had been 'much increased in buildings and inhabitants', by the settlement of 'a large number of families' who had moved there from Dutch Accra. Bloome explains this movement as a response to 'the devastations of the Aquamboes', but also notes that the inhabitants were 'much dissatisfied at the Dutch proceedings towards them'. This probably refers to the foundation of Sempe & Akanmaji quarters in English Accra, according to tradition by people who left Dutch Accra after a quarrel (Parker 2000, 12).

[62] Not preserved.

[63] He was later met at Cape Coast by Phillips, who gave him passage in his ship back to Accra, where he transferred to a Danish ship (1732, 211–12).

promises of large immunityes & restitut[i]on for the damages which they sustained by fire to perswade our new Cabbosheers to returne to the place where they received so great injury, but I hope they labour in vain, and do not doubt to maintain them here, altho the Dutch have offered to advance them 100 bendies over and above their losse by fire. They have now got their new tower built, upon which they designe to place 12 gunns, & [I] hope wee shall receive the gunn carriages per first, and [as] to the goods I wrote for, I desire you to add 40 or 60 fine sletias. We heare that the differance betweene the King and Addo is almost agreed, and then I hope we shall have some trade.

1224. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 5 Nov. 1693

Yours of the 21st ultimo I received in due time. Herewith goes my October accompt & ballance, being mk5 7oz -a of gold. Our new Cabbosheers have taken fetych to abide with us, which I am glad off, for if they should returne it would make worse for this Factory then if they had never [ms. 'new'] come. I have often solicited the blacks to release the 3 Danes which remaine with them, but I find they wo'not do it upon any termes, for they keep them to write letters aboard interlopers with whom they have a great trade. I cannot sell perpetuanoes for more than 10a, the country is soe much supplyed by the blacks from the Danes Fort at easy rates that they outdoe us, besides the Dutch sell them for 10a. If the brigantine bee not parted,[64] I desire you would bee pleased to send us a good quantity of sheets, for wee expect a trade as soon as Addo has done his new custome, the King and hee haveing reconciled their annimosities.

1225. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 15 Nov. 1693

By a Black lately come from Whydah I am informed that Mr Smith, Mr Pearson and another whiteman are dead, which I thought fitt to advise, and also that Doctor Douglass is deceased.[65] The said man tells mee that the shipps sailed from thence aboute 3 weeks agoe.[66] In March 169$^1/_2$ there went from hence in the Allegator Sloop nine paire of long irons, which I desire may bee returned per first opportunity

[PS] The man I sent from hence stays for a letter.

[64] i.e. the *Swallow*.

[65] John Smith & Thomas Pearson, subordinate officers of the RAC's factory at Whydah. For mortality & sickness at Whydah, cf. no.1348, which mentions the deaths of Smith & the Doctor; but the report of Pearson's death was false.

[66] i.e. the *Kendal & Katherine*, which left Whydah on 18 Oct. 1693 (no.1348).

1226. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 9 Dec. 1693

Yours of the 19th ultimo I received per Capt. Bradshaw, with one hundred eighty umbanees, seventy five gallons rumm, and the gunn carriadges on accompt of the Royall African Company of England. No[n]e of the carriages was big enough for two of our greatest gunns. Our gunner being indisposed, has desired leave to goe to Cabo Corso to consult about his distemper, hee knowes the dementions of the great gunns. Herewith I have sent my November accompt and ballance, being five marks, four angles, nyne taccoes of gold, which please to passe to my credit. By first opportunity I desire you will please to send us some halfe pieces blue long cloths, pautkies blue, and plaines green. I can't sell iron barrs for more then 2a. Wee have now about a hundred slaves, I wish you would send for some, for our prisons are too full.

[PS] Mr Bradshaw will sail on Munday.

1227. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 6 Jan. 1693/4

Herewith you will receive my December accompts and ballance, being mk1 1oz 6a 10ta, which please to passe to my credit. The King of Quamboe is gone 7 or 8 leagues up the country towards Anguinas, what his designe is I do not know.[67] They say the Akims are prepairing for warr, some say against Quamboe,[68] and others against the Arcanyes.[69] If they warr against any country, will put a stop to all trade. I desire you to send us the 9 paire of long irons, for our slaves are very much incommoded for want of them.

1228. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 11 Jan. 1693/4

When Capt. Bradshaw comes, I desire you will bee pleased to send us some wood for the burneing of shells, and also to order the surveyor to come for a day or two, to contrive a convenient spurr to the Fort, which I conceive will strengthen and bee a great ornament to the place.

1229. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 16 Jan. 1693/4

Yours of the twelfth instant with 6 paire of short irons are come to hand. I perceive you are informed that the Quamboers had a designe to surprize us as they did the Danes, for what reason I know not, but must think them very

[67] There had been apprehensions of an Akwamu attack on Winneba earlier, but the dispute was settled in Nov. 1693 (nos 1066 etc.), & there are no allusions in the Winneba correspondence to any such threat in Jan. 94.

[68] The rumour recurred in May 1694 (no.1239), but no actual fighting occurred.

[69] Earlier in the 17th century, Akyem seems to have been considered part of Akani (& was itself referred to as 'Great Akani') (Addo-Fening 1997, 2–3), but by the late 17th century they were distinct, & sometimes hostile: an earlier war between them was reported in 1687 (vol.ii, no.670).

malicious and unreasonable to attempt it, without any provocation. I desire you will be pleased to let mee know who it was that reported it, that I may bee the better able to judge of the probability of such a designe. By myne of the 11th instant, I desired you to send us some wood to burne shells, and also to order the surveyor to come for a day or two to contrive a convenient spurr, which will strengthen the Fort very much. The gunn carriages I shall expect, which will serve us in great steade, in case the French should come upon the Coast.

PS. There are three Portuguezes whose shipp was gone before their arrivall, they haveing a desire to goe to Cabo Corso, have promised to pay the canoe men on arrivall.

1230. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 25 Feb. 1693/4

Yours of yesterdayes date I received. According to your former advice I shall take all care possible that the blacks doe us noe injury. Wee have but a few men, and I desire you to lett us have a speedy supply, for if they doe us any injury it will bee for want of hands to defend us. John Yoargin I shall send up by the next canoe.[70] The Dutch are well supplyed with men and are resolved to have constantly upwards of thirty souldiers. As for gold wee shall have little or none these two months. There is nothing goes forward now in Quamboe but preparations for warrs. The King has sent a great party already downe to fight to leeward, and most of Accra will follow ere long. As for slaves wee have sixty men and fifty two women. Wee have had diverse deade these two months of the gripes &ca. As soon as possible, I shall send you my January and February accompts. When the briganteen comes, I desire you would [send] us some sheets, perpetuanoes blue, paper brawles, parpetuanoes & Walch plaines green, allejars & tapseills if you have any.

[PS] By one accident of a great gun, which had not been discharged for seaven years before, I have hurt my hand and as yett is not cured.

1231. John Bloome James Fort, Accra Factory, 3 March[71] 1693/4

My last to you was of the 25th ultimo. This is to accompany my January & February accompts and the ballance, being mk1 2oz 9a 7ta gold. If you have occasion for 3 or 400 chests of good corne I can procure it to be shipt by the first oppertunity.

[70] Cf. nos 1240, 1245, which indicate that he was a Dane, & owed money to the English: probably he was one of those captured by the Akwamu in their seizure of the Danish fort, liberated through the intervention of the English (no.1221).

[71] '13 May' in one copy, clearly in error.

1232. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 5 March 1693/4

The bearer hereof is called Boubee, one of King Ahennisa his sons,[72] his mother is the present Queen of Anguinna.[73] He is lately come from Quamboe with a designe to reccide [=reside] at this place, he desires to be entertained in the Companys service. When the ways are open, I belieive he may be very instrumental to induce a trade, soe leaveing it to your judgement.

1233. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 6 March 1693/4

Sundry of our slaves being lately dead and others falling sick dayly makes me apt to think that they are too much crowded in their lodging, and besides have not the benefitt of the air, therefore have thought fit to send by the five handed canoe 12 men, and desire you will be pleased to send by returne of the same plains & perpetuanoes green, tapsells and allejars or what you may have of these sorts to make up a leading.

1234. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 8 March 1693/4

I wrot you the 6th instant that I had sent 12 men slaves by the 5 hand canoe, but it seems they returned 4 of them, the canoe being too much loden. Our slaves have gott a disease amongst them which first seizes them in the belly & thence in the stomack, and altho lusty strong slaves kills them immediately. What it is I don't know, but the Blacks say it is a catching disease, therefore I have sent by the 3 hand canoe 6 men, and would send all those who are not attackt if I had canoes to do it. If you please to send some goods by returne of the canoe, that she may not come empty.

1235. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 18 March 1693/4

My last was the 15th instant per the 5 hand canoe,[74] whereby I sent 8 men slaves, and now by this 3 hand canoe I have sent 6 men slaves, and desire you to send by returne of the same as many sheets as she can take.

[72] Also mentioned in the 1680s, when he acted spokesman for King Ansa in dealings with the European forts at Accra (vol.i, nos 406 etc.; ii, no.797; Justesen 2005, no.II.17: Daybook of Governor Fensman, 6 July 1688 etc.).

[73] The details of the relationship between Akwamu & Agona royalty are unclear; a letter from Winneba (no.1072) reports the Queen of Agona as describing the current king of Akwamu (Basua, who was brother to Ansa) as her 'uncle'. Note, however, that Ansa had proposed marriage to the Queen in 1688 (Chap.X, n.55); although she then refused, it is possible that the marriage was enforced after her defeat & capture by Akwamu in the following year, which would indeed have made her step-mother (or classificatory mother) to Boubee.

[74] Not preserved.

1236. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 4 April 1694

Yours of the 17th & 24th ultimo I received in due time. The sundry goods sent last month per the Briganteen & canoes I have inserted in my accompt. When the shipps come downe[75] I desire you to send us a good quantity of sheets, pautkies blue, long cloths blue, half pieces long cloths white, paper brawls & a few English tapsails for a tryal. Pray send us alsoe some deale boards to make cots, windows &ca for Factory use. Herewith you will receive my March accompts and ballance, being mk7 4oz 2a 3ta of gold, which pass to my creditt. We shall get some shells for the Briganteen.

1237. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, [1]5 April 1694

Yours of the 11th instant is come to hand. According your order I shall purchase 400 chests of corne more, which I doubt not will be ready against the shipps come downe. I shall neglect no oppertunity, for I know it requires expedition. The slaves we buy here are not all Quamboers, but I know they are natives not far from thence, although they speak another lingua,[76] however they doe not cost the Company £4 sterling per head which the Captains are allowed for Whydah Negroes.[77] As soon as the Briganteen has gott the shell on board, which now lay ready, she shall depart, but she cannot take the slaves, being voyd of convenience for that purpose.

[PS] We are building of a spur, for which I desire you to send us a gale steed [= gate stead?][78] and door per first. We have sent 8 pairs short irons to be mended.

1238. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 20 April 1694

By the Briganteen I have shipped forty five butts of shells. Robert Wright our Gunner, being very sick & weak, has desired leave to goe to Cabo Corso, which I have granted him, seeing is not able to officiate. In his roome I have placed Roger Beamont, who is the fittingest man we have for that imploy.

[75] i.e. the *East India Merchant* & the *Hannibal*, currently at Cape Coast.

[76] Probably alluding to the 'Allampo' (Adangme), on the coast east of Accra, who spoke a language related to Ga of Accra, as distinct from Akwamu, which was a dialect of Akan. It is odd that they are not identified more explictly, but this coyness may reflect the poor reputation of Allampo slaves: e.g. Phillips, commander of the *Hannibal*, one of the ships for whom slaves were sought on this occasion, noted that they 'are esteemed the worst and most washy [i.e. feeble] of any that are brought to the West Indies, and yield the least price' (1732, 214). For an earlier complaint from Barbados of attempts to pass off 'Allampos' as 'Gold Coast Negroes', cf. vol.ii, no.973.

[77] This was the standard price assumed in RAC calculations of cargoes for Whydah at this time (Law 1991, 173).

[78] i.e. frame.

1239. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 2 May 1694

Yours 19th ultimo I received. As yett the East India Merchant is not arrived. Herewith you will receive my Aprill accompts & ballance, being mk1 6oz 13a 7ta of gold, which please to passe to my creditt. Since the 15th we have had noe trade at all. The Quamboers are threatened by the Akims with fire & sword, and the Black Governor at the Danes Fort has bought a considerable quantity of gunns & powder for the King, out of two Dutch interlopers. Except they buy an accord we shall be utterly destitute of trade, and yett it is to be wished that the Akims may beat them & force a trade through their country, which they greatly desire. Inclosed is a letter of what is wanting in our store, which I desire you will please to supply, and more especially with bandeliers & cartouch boxes, that our men may look like soldiers as our neighbours doe. I am sorry to see two of our best guns ly as they do, if possible I desire you to send two carriages that they may be mounted.

1240. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 25 May 1694

The sundry goods you sent per the East India Merchant I have received, and have shipt by her 160 chests of corne, and 200 chests by the Hanniball.[79] The King of Quamboe for more then a months time has suffered noe corne to come downe, soe that I can provide none for the Briganteen. The 12th instant Capt. Shirley deceased, and the 13th was interred in this place.[80] For more than 15 dayes past we have had much violent raines that since the memory of man the like has not been knowne. They have brought downe our [blank] flancker,[81] and most of the other worke looks very suspitious, they are built of nothing but stone & red earth, which cements no more then the sand on the sea shore, but I rebuild, I am resolved shall be more substantiall, with good mortar. We have but one bricklayer, I desire if you can spare us some, and the surveyors advice would be very necessary. I would have sent up Mr Gilois[82] if the season had permitted but now I have not a canoe, for the East India Merchant having lost her canoe I was forced to spare mine, and shall see to gett another for the factory. I take notice of what you write about the Danes, as yett they have done nothing with the Blacks.[83] Ere long I shall write more about that matter, and of the debts due from

[79] These ships were at Accra 12–18 May 1694 (Phillips 1732, 211–14).
[80] Commander of the *East India Merchant* (cf. no.1394).
[81] The missing word should be 'south-east', as in no.1241. This collapse is also reported by Phillips, who refers to 'the south flanker' (1732, 213).
[82] Julian Gillois, surgeon.
[83] The Danish ships *Christiansborg* & *Gyldenløves Våben* were at Accra, & negotiating for the recovery of the Danish fort (Justesen 2005, no.II.27: Meyer, Account of Fort Christiansborg; Phillips 1732, 212).

Yorgen. Have lost 2 of our new men, and diverse others are sick. The raines still continue.

1241. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 31 May 1694

By the 5 hand canoe goes Mr Gilois. Bad weather has detaind him sundry dayes. Our South East flanker is sunk very much, and the wall on the inside is broke downe, all which must be repared first, for our great gunns are upon it. Three of the Dutch flankers are fallen, and the other if it dont fall must be pulled downe. I desire you will send us some cases of spiritts.

1242. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 6 June 1694

My last was the 31 May, when Mr Gilois was ready to parte, but the weather haveing been extreame bad he has not been able untill this day, since which time the raines have washed downe our North West flanker and the souldiers houses under the west curtaine walls, soe that now we have vast things in hand and but one black bricklayer. How we shall goe through I cannot well conceive. I beleive we shall have some of the other worke downe ere long.

PS. We have now noe lodging for our women slaves.[84]

1243. John Bloome James Fort, Accra 20 June 1694

My last was of the 6th instant per Mr Gilois, to which referr you, since which the [blank] of our tower has been like to fall, but we hope to secure it for this season. The Danes have gott their Fort, paying one hundred & twenty bendys for the same.[85] Herewith you will receive my May accompts & ballance, being 5 ounces 10 angles gold. Att present I am very indisposed and have gott a weakness in my hands in soe much that I am not able to help myself. We are like to have no trade. We hear that the AQuamboers are going to fight to the leeward.

[PS] This was designed the 16th instant, but bad weather forced the canoe back againe.

[PPS] I have just now received yours of the 17th instant, with the bad news of the loss of Succondee Fort & the misfortune arrived to Mr Johnson and diverse other white men.[86] Here is a Dutch interloper in the road, who I suppose may saile tomorrow, per whome I shall not faile to give notice of this misfortune to the

[84] The women's prison was evidently under the NW flanker, that of the men being under the SW (no.1247).

[85] Cf. Justesen 2005, no.II.27: Meyer, Account of Fort Christiansborg (giving the ransom as $3,000, equivalent to 125 bendas); Phillips 1732, 212 (50 marks, i.e. 200 bendas).

[86] The RAC's fort at Sekondi had been captured & its personnel massacred on the night of 14/15 June 1694.

Royall Company. Wee shall take what possible care wee can to secure ourselves here, being not in any ill circumstances with the Negroes.

1244. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 21 June 1694

My last was of yesterdays date, wherein I advised of a Dutch interloper that lay in this road, by whom I designed to write to the Royall Company, but he went off in the night, soe that I have not made use of that opportunity. I desire you'ld send me the iron worke by the returne of the canoe.

1245. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 5 July 1694

Yours of the 25th ultimo with the ironworke we received. I am very sorry to understand of your indisposition, I pray God you may recover your health. This accompanyes my June accompts & ballance, being 3 marke two angles 8 taccoes & one damboy gold, which please pass to my creditt. We are makeing what hast we can to rebuild our flankers &c. The wood to burne shells will cost us somewhat dear. I desire soe soon as you can to supply us with sheets, Welsh plaines blue, powder & cases of spiritts. Of the last twenty plaines that was sent fourteen were damaged. Pray what you send lett them be good, for we have a great many damaged. If you want a ladeing of shells for the Briganteen, they ly reddy, but have noe canoe to carry them off. Inclosed is a letter from the Dane touching John Yoargen's debt, to which referr you.[87] The man that wrote the letter abuses the English nation in generall very much, and that because the King of Quamboe told him that the English would give a great kettle full of gold for their Fort.

1246. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 17 July 1694

Yours of the 10th & 13th July I have received, & the note you inclosed upon the late Generall of the Danes, I shall demand & lett you have their answer. By the 11 hand canoe we have received twenty five chests of sheets & four barrells of gunpowder, which I shall keep for Fort use, for the Blacks have supply enough from Dutch interlopers. I am informed the Quamboers want another plunder; we shall take what care we can to secure our selves. The Blacks overawe the Danes severely and alreddy don't fear to say that they'l be revenged of them when the ships are gone for some penurious actions they have done the Cabbosheers which went with them to Quamboe about the recovery of their Fort. John Britlover [= Brithower], one of our men, layes stone very well and can doe as much worke as two Blacks. For some consideration per month he is willing to worke, and indeed furthers the work extraordinarily, I am glad we have such a man.

[87] Not preserved.

1247. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 2 Aug. 1694

This accompanys my July accompts & ballance, mk2 15a 7ta of gold. The Akims have been at Quamboe these 15 dayes with good store of gold, but the King won't suffer them to buy anything, untill they have taken a fetish to be true to Quamboe, but they being only traders it seems can't doe it, that being a matter of great concernement, and the prerogative power being in their King & Cabbosheers. I am afraid it will never be well soe long as the old man reigns att Quamboe, for he has continually new projects in his head, he has stopt the way soe that wee have neither corne nor other provisions. We have secured our north west flancker and have begun our north east, which will be very substantiall, eight foot thick & five thereof with limes, but wee shall be a long time to finish all, haveing a vast work in hand. The Dutch make their flanckers all with solid stone. Our south west flanker, under which is our prison for men, I thinck won't stand long, however it must be new laid with coconutt. When you have an opportunity I desire you to send us some brick, & forelocks &ca to keep our guns firm in their carriages, for when we fire 'em they leap out and break our flankers.

1248. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 28 Aug. 1694

By yours of the 21th [var. '11th'] instant I perceive the arrival of Capt. Piles & Capt. Buttram to windward.[88] What slaves present I shall endeavour to procure, but they are not very plenty. Inclosed you will receive the accompts of whats due from the Danes, who will pay nothing but ill words. Ere long wee shall want bricks, alsoe forelocks formerly wrott for, and nailes, and we are extreemly in want of a long ladder to mend our tower, which is very faulty in [s]undry places. The Quambores & Akins are not yett agreed, but they say there are hopes of an accomodation ere long. The Blacks are very tedious in their resolutions, I wish it may prove well in the end.

1249. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 4 Sept. 1694

My last was the 28th ultimo. Herewith I have sent my August accompts and ballance, being mks2 1oz 15a 3ta, which please to place to my creditt. The King of Quamboe & the Akins can't agree, and therefore the Akins are gone home. If you have any umbanees, paper brawles, long cloth white & blue, allejeires, spiritts & sheets I desire you will please to furnish us per first, for if any slaves to be had wee shall have occasion of such goods. I can purchase some corn, if you have occasion please to advise.

[88] Commanders of the *Guinea Galley* & the *Fauconberg*.

1250. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 8 Sept. 1694

This day Capt. Bradshaw is come ashore extreemly sick of a feaver. He desires me to acquaint you that he can't take charge of your vessell,[89] therefore desires you to send downe a man for that purpose.

1251. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 15 Sept. 1694

Yours of the 12th instant I received per Capt. Pepperell, and accordingly he tooke possession of the Briganteen, Capt. Bradshaw being deceased the 10th instant, and the morning he sayled to leeward. Inclosed is his receipt for the goods. By the 11 hand canoe have received seaventeen chest containing 1105 sheets, fifty half long clothes blue, forty umbanees & fifty three pautkies white on accompt of the Royall African Company of England. I desire you to send us some irons, all we have are in use. Capt. Buttram had 9 long paire of irons the last voyage, which were upon the slaves which went from hence in the sloop, if we can have them they will be very serviceable to the Factory. Edward Barter has sent some cows & bulls,[90] the canoe men have taken 11 bulls. Here are some cows larger, which they would not take. They say Edward Barter will be here tomorrow. Our bricklayer wants tools according to the inclosed.

1252. John Rootsey[91] Accra, 5 Oct. 1694

I thought fitt to acquainte you of my being heare, and have inventored both Forts.[92] I waite now onely for the convenient opportunity to returne. Wee heare that Capt. Pepperell hath near quite his complement of slaves, and that the Blackes have keept a great many slaves for Capt. Piles against his comeing downe, soe it may be supposed as she will be upp as soon as Capt. Pepperell, considering his saileing. I am well in health, and my goute leggs are much better. Ile trouble you no further at present.

1253. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 5 Oct. 1694

Hearewith I have sent my September accompts & ballance, m8 00oz 10a 00ta in gold, which please to pawne [=pass] to my accompts as creditt. By first opportunity I desier you to send us some sheets, blew plaines, correll, reed and blew cloths for Cabbosheers. Mr Rootsey tell us that the tooles which were designed for us were putt on shoore att Winnebah, which is an ill bussiness, for wee are in wante of them.

[89] i.e. continue in charge of it, referring to the *Swallow*.
[90] Barter was at 'Allampo', east of Accra (see nos 1255, 1340–1).
[91] Chief of Fort Royal, sent to inventory the Accra fort.
[92] i.e. Winneba (cf. no.1095) & Accra.

1254. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 20 Oct. 1694

By Mr John Rootsey you will receive the inventory of this Factory, which you will find agreeable to the ballance of my September accompts, it being takein per month instant.

1255. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 22 Oct. 1694

Yours of the 16th & 19th instant I received in dew time. By the former I perceive my mistake in the amount of the perpetuanoes, which I have corrected, and heareby sent you 10oz to satisfye the same. By the 11 hand cannoe wee have received 2621/4; ounces of correll & 14 cheast of sheets containing 910. I have returned one cheast of damaged sheets which are not vendeable. By this conveniance have sent 6 cows & 2 bulls which remained of them that Edward Barter formerly sent from Allampo, and at the foot hereof the charges I have paid about them. Mr Rootsey sailed from hence in the Brigganteene the 20th instant, per whom you will receive the inventory of this Factory.

To 1 anchor of brandy furnished Edward Barter on his going downe	7a
To driveing the cows up	5
To cankey money paid ditto Barter cannoe	2
To cords to tie the cows in the cannoe	1
	13

1256. John Bloome James Forte, Accra, 2 Nov. 1694

Before yours came to hand Capt. Piles was gon to windward. By this convenience I have sent my October accompts and ballance, being mk8: 2: 7: 6ta of gold, which please to pass to my creditt. Pray lett the vessell you send for our slaves be provided with water, and I desier you to send by her sheets and green perpetuanoes.

Three of our flankers being sufficently strong, wee now designe to strengthen our South West flanker by joyning a substantill wall of 4 or 5 foot thick, which wall will be a great security to the mens prison which is under itt. The old flankers where built withowt any foundatyon, and itt is a very easie thing for the slaves to breake their prison. Wee want six great maules to break stones, tar and a tarpowling [= tarpaulin] for factory use.

1257. John Bloome James Forte, Accra, 11 Nov. 1694

By the Guiney Galley I recevied one hundred and fivety perpetuanoes green, seven hundred and fivetenn sheets. This morning she sailed to windward & [according to] orders have shipped 40 men and 44 women on accompt of the Royal Affrican Companey. The Quamboes are goeing to fight to leeward.

6 shovells
3 crows, 12 wedges
6 cheisells to cutt stones
a squar[e]

1258. John Bloome James Forte, Accra, 24 Nov. 1694

I haveing sent this cannoe express to desier you will be pleased to send us per first convenience sheets, English carepets, powder, one and 3 lb basons, alsoe nailes of all sortes and some deale boards, with the tooles for breaking stones &ca formerly wrote for. Wee are at woorke as hard as may be, butt the want of tooles doth somewhat hinder. The Quamboes and Accras are gone to fight to leeward.

1259. John Bloome James Forte, Accra, 8 Dec. 1694

By the Guiney Galley I recevied the sundry goods sent me and two small maules, which are not halfe heavie enough. All the nailes where putt on shoore att Whinnebah, and wee are in extrodinary want of them, and of the other tooles to break stone and squ[a]re stone, by returne of the cannoe I hope wee shall recevie all or parte of them. Hearwith I have sent my November accompts and ballance, being mk7 6 1 4ta of gold, which please to pass to my credit.

1260. John Bloome James Forte, Accra, 17 Dec. 1694

Yours the 13 instant I recevied, with 4 large maules and 1000 of mailes. Inclossed is a note of what tooles we want. Wee never received any tooles from Whinneboh more then 6 trowels, 3 hammers & 2 brickaxes, and lines pines, which Capt. Piles left there the other voodge [= voyage] when he whent to leeward. If you have any plaines blew or reds, & pewter, all sortes yellow beeds, long cloths white and blew, but at least as much of white as will make a flagg, I desier to be supplyed as soon as you can

1261. John Bloome James Forte, Accra, 23 Dec. 1694

By the 11 hand canno wee have recevied three hundred 4 lb pewter basons, one hundred 3 lb ditto, three hundred eaighty five 2 lb ditto, as you will perceive as per inclosed certificates, alsoe twenty nine plaines received & one long cloth white to make a flagg, which will be to shorte. The tooles wee doe expect.

1262. John Bloome James Forte, Accra, 31 Dec. 1694

By the bearer I have sent this months accompt and ballance, being mk11 5 11 10ta, which please to pass to my credit. I desier you per next convenience to send

us some perpetuanoes blew, and sheets, and one redd perpetuano to make a flagg off, if you have any. I hartily wish you a prosperous year and many more to follow.

1263. John Bloome James Forte, Accra, 1 Jan. 1694 [= 1695]

The bearer John Brithower, a Hambourger, being ernestly desiered by his relations [ms. 'realatations'] to returne home, he has desiered a passage in Capt. Piles in order to his imbarquement.

1264. John Bloome James Forte, Accra, 15 Jan. 1694 [= 1695]

I hear that some of the Companies shipps are arrived, wherefore I desier you to supply per first shipp powder, perpetuanoes, plaines blew and redd, paper brawls, long cloaths white and blew.

[PS] I desier youl send up some cases of brandy.

1265. John Bloome James Forte, Accra, 24 Jan. 1694 [= 1695]

Yours the 21st per Capt. Piles I recevied, with the sundrey goods therein mentioned. Since your the 22d is come to hand, wherein you order the buying of 300 chest of corne, which I shall do my endeavour to procure. I shall inst[ant]ley send to the King of Quomboe about it, and hope it may be done by the time you have occasion. I am verry sorrey to heare that Mr Platt is deceased.

[PS] Mr Platt is indebted to me for 6 cows at oz1 2a each. If you be conserned in his will I desier you will be pleased to discharge it.

1266. John Bloome James Forte, Accra, 26 Jan. 1694 [= 1695]

By the Guiney Galley I have shipt 48 butts of shells. I suppose wee shall have a speedy saile of our goods, of our perpetuanoes, there[fore] I desier you to supply this per first, and alsoe plaines green, umbanees, iron barrs and one pound basons.

1267. John Bloome Accra, 30 Jan. 1694/5

Capt. Robinson[93] would not take our slaves except I would lett him have two men for one woman, which I would not allow. There [h]as bin some quarrell in the countrey that hinders the people from bringing of corne, soe that if Capt. Zebbett[94] come downe speedily I shall not be able to procure more then 140 chest, which I thought fitt to advise you.

[93] Commander of the *Averilla*.
[94] Commander of the *John Bonadventure*.

1268. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 11 Feb. 1694/5

Yours of the 6th instant I have received, and accordingly shall tender our slaves to Capt. Zebbett when he comes. Herewith I have sent my January account & ballance, being mk18 2oz 11a 2ta of gold, which please to pass to my creditt.

1269. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 12 Feb. 1694/5

Haveing understood that the Windhound, a Dutch ship bound from the Mine to Europe, wont part yet of 15 or 18 days, I have resolved to take my passage by the said ship, the[re]fore desire you to send a Factor to take possession of this fort and factory per first, that I may not be deprived of this opportunity.

1270. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 13 Feb. 1694/5

Yesterday I wrote you of my designe to take my passage in the Windhound, which I now confirme, & earnestly intreat you to dispatch a factor to take possession of the fort and factory, which I hope you will please to doe speedily. If you want any good cows I can furnish [ms. 'funnish'] you. Soe hoping shortly to kiss your hands.

1271. John Bloome James Fort, Accra, 15 Feb. 1694/5

By the Guiney Galley I received 500 iron barrs. The forty sayes you sent by her [ms. 'hear] prove much damaged, therfore I have returned them. I have shipt by said vessell forty eight but shells.

1272. John Browne James Fort, Accra, 24 Feb. 1694/5

By the inventorys you will receive of Mr John Bloome of the 23 instant you may perceive that according to your orders of the 14th ditto I have received into charge the Royall African Company of England fort and factory of Accra, with all the goods &ca that were found therein remaining. Shall be deligent in the manageing of their Royal Company concerns.

1273. John Browne James Fort, Accra, 23 March 1694/5

This serves to advise that at present have but few sheets remaining that are good, as also that perpetuanoes & long cloath blue are much caled for, therfore if you have gott any please to send per the first. I thought fitt likwise to advise you that the needfull repairations of this fort will be finished in a few days. Least therfore you might have occasion elswhere to imploy Daniell Wright bricklayer, shall make use of the first opportenity of sending him to Cabo Corso. There is one Christian Malchais that came from on board a Dutch interloper lying in this road, he has been formerly in the Dutch Companys service, has got

his discharge, and is now willing to be entertained as a soldjer in the Royall Company fort here, which have presumed to grant till further order. I have inclosed sent you an accompt of what is wanting in the Gunners store.

1274. John Browne James Fort, Accra, 30 March 1695

Yours of the 25th instant with the shotts & guners stores therein mentioned I have received by the Guiney Galley, Capt. Piles, whom have returned you loaden with fifty butts shells, haveing lickwise sent you Mr John Pinck, & Daniell Wright the bricklayer to attend your orders.

[PS] From on board of Capt. Piles did likwise receive John Brithauer Soldier.

1275. John Browne James Fort, Accra, 5 April 1695

By returne of the Guiney Galley I have sent you sixty butt shells.

1276. John Browne James Fort, Accra, 6 April 1695

This accompanis my March accompts and ballance, being mk5 2oz 9a 10½ta gold.

1277. John Browne James Fort, Accra, 20 April 1695

I have yours of the 10th instant with orders to purchase 3 or 400 chests corne on accompt of the Royall Company, of which doe take notitie [= notice][95] & shall macke use of what opportunitys may hereaffter present for that purpose. Please by the next to send some sheets & pewter juggs if any upon the accompt of the Royall Company.

1278. Edward Searle James Fort. Accra, 27 April 1695

This goes per Capt. Piles. I have according to your order taken charge of the Royall Company concerns in this place. The inventorys will be delivered you by Mr John Browne, who will be with you in few days.[96] I desire on accompt of the Royall African Company of England fivety chests sheets, two or 3 cases good sayes, ten barrells powder for the forts use, here being only three & a half barrells remaining, also some screw'd juggs, & twelve bolts for the soldiers use. You have all the shells per the Galley, only a few which will be used for our use here.

PS. I desire a small cask of tarras for to mend the tanck per first before the raines.

[95] A Dutch spelling.
[96] Brown now became chief of the RAC's factory at Egya.

1279. Edward Searle James Fort, Accra 1 May 1695

This is to desire the goods wrote for the 27th Aprill as soon as possible, also some firelock musketts for the forts use, here is not every man a good muskett, and some nailes & small hooks & hinges for windowes, alsoe one pair charge [= hinges?] for a door.

1280. Edward Searle James Fort Accra, 12 May 1695

Yours of the 6th instant with five hundred & twenty sheets have received, & desire the other with the rest of the goods desired as soone as opportunity of weather presents. Corne here is no probability of getting any, hardly [even] for the use of this place. I have sent three messengers to the king of Quamboe, but have as yett gott noe corne from thence, the way being stoped before I came hither, & as he sends me word is because of the Dutch sending corne in their Briganteene to the Mina. I have now a messenger there, & hope to have go[o]d news at his returne. I doubt shall be forced to exced 2a per chest, & at noe rate gett any more than what will be expended here, till the new corne comes in, notwithstanding my endeavours shall not be wanting. Passed by this road a ship of vast great burthen with English collours, & in her company a Briganteen with Dutch collours, which I beleive was the Dutch briganteene that took corne here & bound to the Mina. I hear since the great one was a French ship.

PS. I desire the iron worck wrote for, with some barr hoocks & small staples for wind[o]wes, here being not one that is good in all the fort. Here is a fresh leak broak in our tanck, that it holds but 3 foot water, therfore desire the tarras may not be forgott, this canoe may bring it.

1281. Edward Searle Accra, 5 June 1695

Yours of the 3d instant have received with what sent in her, only the sheets want three in every chest, & the last sent seven chests wanted each four, which is more then I have ever heard before. Some of them where ingeniously packed, so that it could not easily be perceived, others were perfectly taken of the top without any repacking. The canoe men all saw these opened this day. Three chests where verry fair, one had three taken of the top ranck, so that for the future I desire the chests may be opened at Cabo Corso, & where it seems hollow, tho' never so well a top, they may be examined, for I belive it is rogury aboard the ships, & doubtless you have more of the same. The pewter you mention to be 1 lb are 3 lb basons. The white longcloths are all di[s]posed of, if any I desire two cases. The certificates for the sheets goes here inclosed. You should have had my accompts before this time but am not able to write them if I might gaine the world, being brought exceding low with feavor, flux & gripes, of which am afraid shall never recover. Trade is verry dull here at

present, what we have is only from the Quamboers them selves. They say the Accims will certainly fight them & not make up the differance, which will stop trade here if soe.

PS. I have return'd four of the musketts you sent, the serjant telling me they are good for nothing, two the springs broake & two will make noe fire. Desier four per next.

1282. Edward Searle James Fort, Accra, 9 June 1695

This is to desire on accompt of the Royall Company a good quantity knives, some brass diglins & small brass panns if any, also some white long cloths, to be sent as soon as possible. By this canoe have sent Samuell Moore, who has been lame a long time, & our doctor haveing spent all the medicines he can suply himself with, am forc'd to grant him leave to goe up, or he must perish here, soe desire per returne of the canoe another man in his roome.

1283. Edward Searle James Fort, Accra, 20 June 1695

Yours of the 17 by 11 hand canoe with the goods sent by her have received, & by returne of her have sent three of our Arda men slaves, & desire three in exchange of them. Mr Bloome gott four of them from the bleaks [= blacks], they are Beneen slaves,[97] they came ashore here with a great canoe from some ship, so I putt them to work, & last weak one of them run away, and the Serjeant told me that the other Ardas told him that these intended to run after him, therfore to preventt that I have sent them you, for if they run to Quamboe it is hard getting them. As yet there is noe news of him that is gone, but shall endeavour to gett him if possible. I desire those you send may not be Allampo's.[98] On opening the sayes formerly sent found one short, as per the inclosed certificate. If you can spare any powder pray send twenty barrells in halves, I have been often sent to by the Cabbosheers of Quamboe for some.

1284. Edward Searle James Fort, Accra, 7 July 1695

This accompanys my accompts for May & June, with i[t]s ballance, being three marques, seven ounces, one angle & seven taccoes. Alsoe a certificate left me by Mr Browne, by which the ground rent of the pleace apears to be paid to the first of August next. The King of Quamboes man Affomadoe has been

[97] i.e. from Benin. The application to these men of the term 'Arda [Allada]' shows that this was already used in a looser geographical sense, to include persons from other communities east of the Gold Coast, rather than referring to a specific ethnicity. By the 19th century in Accra the term 'Alata [Allada]' was understood to mean Yoruba people, from modern south-western Nigeria (Parker 2000, 39–40, n.53).

[98] For the poor reputation of Allampo slaves, cf. n.76 above.

here, & demands five month ground rent, four being due at Mr Bloomes departure from hence. I could give him no other answer then what this certificate derected, only telling him I would advise you of it, & if any thing was due to the King it should be paid. He went away contented with that answer, but as soon as he arrived at Aquamboe, came messengers sent by the King to stop all trade or provitions from us, saying that I was come to cheat him, and I should have no trade before he had his money, but I agreed with the fellowes that they should not put their fetish up,[99] hearing [ms. 'hareing'] how chargeable it had been in Mr Whitings time, till I had sent to Quamboe. The Kings answer was that I cheated him, and that he would make noe pallaver unless I came my selfe, soe was forced to returne the messenger again with a dashee of a broad sattin & a case of spirrits. They bring me word he is contented with till this canoe return, but I am certaine he will be paid it againe, tho' without doubt Mr Bloome has already paid him, but doe believe is cheated by his servant Affoemadoe, who I have already found a great rouge. Mr Browne can tell you the most of this of any body. Pray consider what you will doe in it. I have used all the arguments I can, but he is fully directed by his messenger, & to be sure now Mr Bloome is absent they will never owne the payment. I desire on accompt of the Royall Company a good quantity of sheets, one caske or more of knives, if you have them. The King of Quamboe sent me word I should take care w[h]at I did, for he could take our fort when he pleased, that I might see how he served the Deans. I wish wee had a spurr before our gate, being verry open too the negroes. Here is a verry good gate, for it, & I have stone broake & belive the shells will make lime enough to build it, & presume at present for want of lime you have little to doe for your bricklayers, if you please to send two or three hither with what is here already may raise a spurr in a verry short time, which will be great safeguard to us against the blacks, & as soone as done they may returne

1285. Edward Searle James Fort, Accra, 24 July 1695

Yours of the 13[d] instant have received. Captain Quo & Braboe has been at Quamboe, who both accompanys this. The King if you require it is contented to loose the four bendyes he says due before Mr Bloome departure & that I pay him from the time Mr Bloome left this place. Quo carried him as from you a case of spirrits, a sattin & a longee, & Adoe a case spirrits, and about 2 days since he sent to me for two iron barrs to rowsaw, which I sent, supposeing it customary or he would not have sent to me for them.

Mr Cooper cannot spare his bricklayers.[100] Beseides blaks I have here, I want white[s], & they shall returne in a short time, that it may be done as

[99] i.e. as an embargo (as in no.1083).
[100] William Cooper, now chief of the Winneba factory.

it should be. Besides I want the tower to be surveyed, that we may contrive if possible to secure it before the latter rayns, for if it falls you have not men to build it at present, & here is no other place for the Companys effects or a Cheif to be in, & if secured it may stand for of [= aught] I knows three or four years more, but I desire not your bricklayers to stay any longer then raiseing the spurr and directing the bleaks here how to secure the tower, which I will se shall be done after they are gone. I desire Thomas Howard may be one of them you send. The walls al[l] round the fort are of a good thickness, only that which is next the towne, which is not above a foot & a half thick and build with swish, which I designe if you thinck convenient after the spurr is built, to make two foott thicker of good stuff, it laying just open to the Dutch fort. I believe Polonia [= Poland] linnen may sell here, the Dutch sell a sort of sletias much like it, if you plaese to send a case, if they goe of shall send for more, and pray load the canoe with bricks to turne the arch over the spur [ms. 'spurg'] gate. Lime I have not any burnt. If you will have any shells gott here more than for use of the fort, now is the season, and when I have your order, will employ the free people to gett what quantity you will have. I can heare nothing of the blak taylor.[101] The mallato is willing to serve for soldiers pay, he is as I hear as good carpenter, & when any thing is be done here he will worke. He has served at the Dutch fort many years, & have now gott discharge from the Generall of the Mina. The Dutch Copeman give a good caracter of him, so I believe he may deserve the pay of a soldier, if you thinck convenient.

PS. We have not any saws in the fort. I desire by this canoe a hand saw. The certificate goes here inclosed.

1286. Edward Searle James Fort, Accra, 10 Aug. 1695

This accompanys my July accompts & ballance, being mk9 4oz 9a 8t good gold. I expect the king of Aquamboe[s] man here a Tuesday, & then shall pay him from ultimo February, which I hope will end all disputes. Sayes I believe if you ordered them to be sold at 14a, would vend here, the Dutch sell att 1oz 2a, and their says are vallued above a peez better then ours. Here is the half of the two cases sent me lost for bad collours, which if they were cheaper may sell, otherwise will lay & damage, here [being] a great quantity already. I desire with the sletias two cases says on accompt of the Royall African Company of England, also brass pans, twenty narrow satins, fifty charcolees & fifty pintadoes broad if you have any, as soon as possible, alsoe three slaves in the roome of them sent you, which we cannot shift without, wanting them to look after our iron slaves,[102] & doe the work of the fort. Corne has been verry dear here, the English interloper give 4a

[101] Who had run away from Fort Royal (cf. no.1296).
[102] i.e. slaves held in shackles (destined for export).

per chest for all the corne he could gett, but now is turned to windward, I hope to bring them to 2a per chest shortly. The Dutch are ordered to buy all the corne & slaves they can gett. I desire the necessarys at the foot hereof.

1287. Edward Searle James Fort, Accra, 19 Aug. 1695

Yours of the 15th instant per the 11 hand canoe with the goods sent by her I have received. The sletias are much of a sort, the best or worst will never yeild above 6a, and the chints no more then 5a at this place. I have paid the King of Aquamboe five bendys ground rent from ultimo February.

1288. Edward Searle James Fort Accra, 12 Sept. 1695

This accompanys my August accompt. The canoe has been of this four nights, by w[h]ich I had sent the ballance, but the weather proveing bad, that she could not goe, & the breese still continuing strong, have kept it till another opportunity. I desire on accompt of the Royall African Company of England sixty sayes, & that the cases may be opened & the [w]rappers ripped to see they are not damaged, & that they are of good collers, for here is many of these last sent that are much damaged and bad collers. The people all hereabout are goeing to wars to leaward of the River Vulter,[103] and here is Ashamannee[104] and all our Cabbosheers are verry earnest with me to supply them with a little powder. If you can possible spare any I desire that I may have ten barrells, and I will keep as much of it for the use of the fort as I can. The Akims threaten the Quamboers again, which I fear will put a stop to trade in these parts.[105] Pray send the ironworck formerly desired, also some slaves irons, long or short.

PS. The English interloper Capt. Sherrings[106] slaves rise & has kill'd his doctor, boatswine & 2 men more, & of the slaves were killed about 100 before they could make them yeild, they takeing an opportunity when the boate was ashore awatering, was like to have had the ship to them selves, the same day he left this coast.

1289. Edward Searle James Fort, Accra, 24 Sept. 1695

Yours of the 20th instant with the sayes sent by the 11 hand canoe have received, also the ironworke. In takeing the baile[s] out of the case today I perceived att one side of a baile to be rotted by salt water, also another [in] opening some

[103] For further reference to this campaign, cf. no.1294.
[104] The man who had carried out the capture of the Danish fort, & served as its governor during the Akwamu occupation of it, 1693–4 (cf. Bosman 1705, 68, 'Asameni'; Justesen 2005, no.III.5: Governor Thrane, Christiansborg, 19 Jan. 1700, 'Ahsemonie'). For his later career, cf. Wilks 2001, 25.
[105] On this occasion the rumours of impending war were sustained through several weeks (nos 1289, 1291–2), but still no large-scale fighting was reported.
[106] Commander of the *Adventure*.

to sell, not one free from the worme, both w[h]ich I have by the canoe returned, not haveing any body here to judge of the damage, and so many damaged here already. The case I opened could not put them all in again, but have sent three in [w]rapper. I hope the others may prove good. The spurr is almost finished. The briklayers have been sick. We must do something to the tower or it cannot stand. I will sent your briklayers up by next opportunity, & from Mr Cooper I had not any.[107] The Arcims have panyard a great quantity of goods and traders and some are killed, which hath put a stop to trade here, and I doubt it will not be good any more till they have fought.[108] Capt. Laurensa de Souza, a Portuguez, brought a man hither which he sayd was indepted at St Thoma, that he dares not returne, who was desirous to serve the Royall Company at this place, and he [= de Souza] giveing me his word that he knows him to be an honest man, I have entertained him from pay day last. I have sent all the broaken mauls, pickaxes, wedges &ca, an [ms. 'on'] accompt of which is inclosed, and we are in great want of new in their rooms, not having any left, I desire they may be made out of hand, & 3 slaves in the roome of them sent you, these here not being able to do the work of the fort.

PS. 9 mauls
24 wedges
5 pickaxes
1 axe
1 crow

1290. Edward Searle James Fort, Accra, 22 Oct. 1695

Yours of the 19 instant I have received with the powder &ca sent per the 5 hand canoe. I shall doe what I can to satisfie the King of Aquamboe, I expect a messenger this day from him purposely [with] your answer, per next I shall advise you what he says.[109]

PS. I desier the ironwork may be ready by the end of this month which formerly write for, with two axes, we had but one left, & that was broake about two day since.

1291. Edward Searle James Fort, Accra, 23 Oct. 1695

Yours of the 3^{d} instant by land from Alampo have received.[110] The king of Quemboe never sent a messenger on purpose to me about Mr Coopers boy going

[107] But Cooper claimed to have sent them almost a month earlier (no.1121).
[108] Cf. no.1124, from Winneba.
[109] From the following letter, it appears that the King had complained about a message sent by Cooper, chief at Winneba, to Akyem (cf. no.1127).
[110] Presumably, whoever carried the message had by-passed Accra & landed in the Adangme country to the east.

up to the Arcims country, but he spoke of it once to me, & I told him it might be that he had sent a boy thither, but if he had, the king might assure him self it was nothing of any palaver concerning him, but that the English was & would continue friends to him, that it must be to encourage traders to his factory, as it was the custome of all whitemen to doe, on which accompt to be sure it was & nothing else. This comes expressly by the king of Quamboe desire to acquaint you that the Arcims are certainly comeing to fight him, and earnestly request you to assist him with fivety barrells pouder, that he doe require no assistance of any else but the English, who alwais stood their friends in all their words. I know he asked some of the Deane, but his answer was if he had a thousand barrells he would not spare him one. Whither the Dutch supply him with any or not I cannot tell, but he mightily pretends he relyes on you. I have advised how scarce powder is on the Coast, he sayes he knows you are never so short but that you have to supply your friends, so what you send for [ms. 'four] him or what answer you send I will give, and keep as fair a correspondence as possible, not giving an opportunity in the l[e]ast to any to do us damage. The Acra's are mightily afraid the Quamboe will come on them before they fight the Arcims. Addoe has been daily expected here, but now I hope he will not come, for Peter Pasop[111] was goeing up to fetch him, and some blacks informed the Dutch Copeman that it was with an intent to surprise their fort, which I believe has put a stop to his comeing. When the people heard of his comeing they were all at me to sell them a barrell powder, to watch their towne. I putt them off, telling them that when they know he would realy come they should not want powder nor any assistance if he offer'd to molest them, but it was really that I had not in the fort enough to spare any out, therefore I desire that whatever you send for the king of Quamboe that you will send me a good supply for the fort, with 100 lb small shott, for we have few or none, nor any conveniency here to make any, and being at [ms. 'ad'] such a distance if any thing happened cannot presently have supply.

PS. I suppose he designes to give either mony or pawns for his powder. Haveing no trade is the reason I send noe accompts, at the end of this month shall make up all together.

1292. Edward Searle James Fort, Accra, 28 Oct. 1695

Yours of the 25th instant I have received, & accordingly gave the Dutch Copeman an invitation hither, which he excused, saying that he was not able, being ill.[112] Whether he have had some notice from the Mine or not of the Generalls intent

[111] Pieter Pasop, *alias* Otu Ahiakwa, broker to the Dutch, & Akwamu governor of Accra (Wilks 2001, 136–9).

[112] The letter evidently instructed Searle to panyar the Dutch chief: similar orders were sent to Anomabu (nos 833–4).

I know not, but I have not seen him above this two months, & since I have been here wee have had but verry little correspondance together. The Arkims & Aquamboes palavera is now verry hott, they say the Arkims are on their march to Quamboe.

1293. Edward Searle James Fort, Accra, 7 Nov. 1695

This accompanys my accompts for September & October with the ballance, being seven markes three angles & five taccoes, also the ballance of my August accompts, being ten markes four onces fourteen angles and five taccoes good gold, together is seventeen marks four ounces and fourteen angles & seven taccoes. I desiere to know what Doctor Hayes sallary is, & what you allow him for expence of medicines, & from what time his sallary is due, also what his allowance for his diet is, he desireing to be paid. Also I desire white long cloths to make a flagg for the fort, this here being all to pieces, & the iron worck if done.

PS. Inclosed is a petition of John Brethore. I desire axle trees for the gunns per the canoe, what s[h]e can take in.

1294. Edward Searle James Fort, Accra, 7 Dec. 1695

This accompanys my November accompts. I have at present noe trade, want of goods is partly the reason. I know not what to make [of] the Quamboe & Akim palavera.[113] The Quamboes comes now verry little to the waterside downe & is very troublesome to the Accras, in soe much that they are almost ready to leave the place. He[114] putt them to abundance of charge more than was usuall in Ahenesas time, every months or two stops the corne from comeing downe & then must have his demands before they can gett any. The Accras that are to leaward of the River Volta[115] has killed a Cabbosheer called Aucutto, who for some years past has hindred the way by land to Arda,[116] soe now hope to have the leaward way open in a little time. Here is a great stiere [= stir] about him, Addo haveing taken a feteech to him that he should not be molested, therefore threttens to kill all that live here, though is his owne people that assist the Accras & without there help [they] could not have conquered him.[117] I judge the reason of the slaves dying soe fast is chieftly the faughlt of the cankey stones grinding

[113] For contradictory reports, cf. Winneba correspondence, nos 1132–3.

[114] Evidently Basua, the king of Akwamu.

[115] i.e. at Little Popo, which was a settlement of refugees from the Akwamu conquest of Accra.

[116] Probably he was a chief of Anlo, which controlled the port of Keta, west of Little Popo (for which see Greene 1996), & which had been at war with Little Popo earlier in 1695 (no.1352); Bosman, who visited Keta in 1698, noted that its wars with Popo had been going on 'for some years successively' (1705, 329).

[117] This division within Akwamu reflected the rivalry between its two co-rulers Basua & Ado, the former supporting Little Popo but the latter Anlo-Keta (Bosman 1705, 329).

away amongst the corne. I never heard till now that the free people here buy their stones from other places, these being only in a manner sand, therefore desire eight large stones from your parts. If the canoe cannot bring them pray send another with her, & I doubt not but we shall have an alteration, for here is lusty good slaves taken with the gripe [ms. 'guye'] one day & dead the next, others fall dead at once, & noe other reason can I thinck of them than that. Our flagg stafe is broake, if you have ever a peice of old mast or large sparr about tenn foot long to putt to the battune [= batten?][118] that may still serve, which I desier may likewise be sent, with hoopes & large nails fitt for the worke, also a little canvess for the head of the flagg. If you have any iron I desier your great canoe with her loading. John Burton has left £8 a yeare in England & has not had a letter thence this seaven yeares, therefore humbly beggs [ms. 'baggs'] that you will be pleased to grant him his whole pay here, soe that none may be paid there, which will doe him a great kindness, his pay here being verry small. I cannot have stone ready presently to case a wall of the fort, soe have sent up your other bricklayer, I have paid him to the last pay day.

1295. Edward Searle James Fort, Accra, 15 Dec. 1695

Yours of the 12 instant, with two hundred & fifty iron barrs, have received, and per returne of the canoe have sent two bunches of corrall containing one hundred & six ounces & a half, it being so verry pale it will never sell here, the Dutch haveing a large supply [of] goods come downe by their slave ship soome days since. There is likewise a great quantity of sad collour pautkies which will never yeild a taccoe in these parts, and I beleive may sell in Fanteene, here being no blew and here is blue both at Dutch and Deanes. They are most of the goods, so by next opportunity shall [send] them up. The 10th instant came ashoare here a Portuguez knowne by one which hath served the Company here severall years, and he desireing to be entertained in the Royall Company service [I] have entertained him as a soldier for 3 years.

PS. The inclosed is John Burtons petition.

1296. Edward Searle James Fort, Accra, 6 Jan. 1695/6

This accompanys my December accompts, as also the black taylor that run from the Hill, you must secure him, for if he gett into these parts any more he will be kept cleare of me. I panyard all the Eshue Cabbosheers[119] about him and thretned to send some of them to you before they would confess they knew he was in there towne, and after they brought him I gave them more than the usuall custome to content them, that they might not take it ill being panjard, as you will

[118] i.e. to splice it, 'battens' being pieces of wood used for clamping timbers together.
[119] Presumably Osu, the indigenous name of Danish Accra.

see by my accompts, but here is no other way to deale with the people in these parts that live out off our commands. I shall raise the narrow baf[t]s if I can, but 2a 6ta has been the usuall rate here, soe beleive it will be hard.

1297. Edward Searle James Fort, Accra, 6 Feb. 1695/6[120]

Yours of the 4 instant came to hand last night about nine a clock, just as the canoes came from the Mine were gone out of the bay.[121] About three days agoe came down three, all loaden with shells and says. I detained not your canoe a minuite, but sent her away to Mr Cooper, she having three padlers, with a small note, which doubt not but was with him long before the great canoes could pass Winnebah, soe hope he has seized them.[122] Whether they was our canoes or not I cannot tell, but one hath a broken head much like to your old canoe.[123] I will purchase what slaves offers, men are verry scarce here, but if you can buy men, I can in a short time gett what quantity of women you please, but to buy a man & a woman[124] I shall not get many, so pray lett mee have your orders. I am heartily glad of the arrivall of the Fauconberg, & hope that the report of the negroes that there is come in company with her three shipps more may be true. This is to desire on accompt of the Royall African Company of England the following goods of what sort you have, vizt five hundred perpetuanoes blue, two hundred ditto green, sheets at least one hundred chests, six cases of knives, fivety narrow sattins, fivety silke longees, fifty cases spirritts, one pound, two pound & three pound pewter basons a good quantity, one pound as many as you can, brass panns, paper brawles, Guinea stuffs, halfe blew long cloths, white long cloths, Dutch ambanees, blew plaines, blew pautkes, small painted carpetts, & corrall, of each a good quantity. The King of Quambo has lately had severall dashees from the Dutch. Now if you please to send a scarlett cloth, a case of spirits and halfe a barrell of powder for each of them,[125] I believe it will be very acceptable, and cause them to encourage trade, for the Dutch supplyed them with powder when they would have had it of you, and gave them liquor, & halfe a barrell each. If you cannot presently supply me with the goods above mentioned, I desire I may have a canoe full for the purchasing of slaves, not haveing vendible goods here, but shall bee heartily glad if you have a small vessell to send down, for it is not above 3 days since the Dutch [received] one hundred chests of sheets, and if I had any, it would much sp[o]yl their trade.

[120] The first half of this document appears at C.746, f.48; the second at f.142v.
[121] From what follows, the letter instructed Searle to panyar these canoes.
[122] Cooper, chief at Winneba, did indeed seize the canoes (nos 1137–8).
[123] Referring to canoes from Cape Coast panyarred by the Mina people at Komenda, 26 Jan. 1696 (no.368).
[124] i.e. 50% men, 50% women.
[125] i.e. the 2 co-rulers of Akwamu, Basua & Ado.

1298. Edward Searle James Fort, Accra, 22 Feb. 1695/6

This serves only to advise you that what few slaves offers I cannot purchase, not haveing goods in the fort[126] that is wanted here. I desire if you send any vessells with goods that you would order me to send you these slaves, our prison now being very full, & hope when I have more goods shall get more slaves then I thought for. Also I desire a good quantity of slaves irons. If I had white long cloths or blew ditto, would be a great meanes. This day I have discharged John Brithere, & sent him on board the Dutch interloper, & inclosed is the petition of William Coller, who being sick desires to goe home, soe desire you would be pleased to send two men more in their roome, if you discharge them, and more if you can spare them, the fort being the weakest man'd of the three. I desire a cask of terress, our tank has leeked out almost [all] our water, and a caske of tar. Pray lett me have the terris the first.

1299. Edward Searle

James Fort, Accra, 3 March 1695/6 [to William Cooper, chief of the RAC fort at Winneba]

This comes express on accompt of the Royal Company to advise you that the Dutch Copeman per order of the Generall of the Mine has sent to Attabo, your Cabbosheer att Anguinna, four flask of corne brandy, to know of him for what reason he suffers the people to be panyard in his country, & that [if] he will by force make you deliver them, he shall have what he will demand. On Sunday the messenger returned with a boy of the said Attaboies with three potts of palme wine, with two sheep, and brought the following answer, as I am informed [by] Captain Yaboy,[127] who I dare believe, that if he will send six perpetuanoes, two says & two barrells of powder, that the Anguinnas will march to the waterside & force you to deliver them the said people. This I have from severall hands that Attaboes boy is certainly now in the Dutch town, but theres from none but Yabo the answer he brings.[128] The message the Dutchman sent is confirmed by all, and noe doubt of the truth of itt, soe I think itt convenient that you give the Dutchmen immediate advise thereof, that no difference happen betweene you and the negroes till you are better provided, for to be sure they will think of some way to fetch the Mine people to Cabo Corso, and then the Negroes will not think of troubleing you. Last night I heard of [a] dasshee from the Anguinas, and did mistrust somthing to this effect, or [that] the Dutch were incling [= inclining] to settle att Winibah, so went to Yabo [margin: seven a clock at

[126] In ms. 'of', struck out & replaced by 'in'; perhaps the originally intended meaning was 'of the sort'.

[127] A 'Captain Yaboy' is mentioned in the 1680s (vol.i, nos 255 etc.; vol.ii, nos 451 etc.), but was a prominent trader at Anomabu & Egya, so is probably not same man.

[128] For investigation of this allegation at Winneba, see nos 1142–4.

night] & desired him to inform himself of the truth thereof, what [= which] is above, not having furthe[r] to enlarge.

1300. Edward Searle James Fort, Accra, 9 March 1695/6

This accompanys my accompts for January and February, and is to desire with the goods formerly wrote for, some iron barrs. Also I desire, if you have any locke come over, send me two or three. I have never a one to the spurgate, & the [= that] which is to the inner gate is as good as none. If you have not any come, pray lett your armourer make two large flatt paddlocks for the gates.

PS. I forgott to desire diglings, if you have any send some.

1301. Edward Searle James Fort, Accra, 21 March 1696

Yours of the 14th instant per Capt. Browne,[129] with its contents, I have received, only I find broak in the cases of spirits, eight bottles, and not a drop of liquor in them. I am sorry I could not have a larger supply of sheets, which is a commodity that never failes here. Perpetuanoes the Quambores as yett will not come to 11a, but hope will in a day or two. I have sent on board the Fauconberg, on accompt of the Royall African Company of England, ninety five slaves, vizt fourty four men and fifty one women, all well and lusty. I have kept five men and six women that are sick, which the Captain was unwilling to take. Three women has died this month. So soon as received yours, I ordered a kiln of lime to be burnt, and have sent you seaventeen caske small and large, and likewise have supplyed Capt. Browne to sett up his furnace. If I had more cask you should have had more lime. I shall purchase what slaves offers, which if the negroes report is true will be considerable, the leward people as they say are comeing up with great quantity.

PS. I have likewise sent 715 sad coller pautkies, 480 of them in two cases, as per inventory. I have just now purchased one man slave more, which have sent on board.

1302. Edward Searle James Fort,Accra, 25 March 1696

I wrote you at large per Capt. Abraham Browne of the 21st instant, wherein I mentioned I shipt on board the Fauconberg ninety five slaves, & in a postscript on the backside of my letter, just as the Captain was going, one man more, and since I have sent him by the canoe which carried your letter to Winnibah after him two women and one man, and now by this canoe one man and one woman,

[129] Now commander of the *Fauconberg*.

which is all I have since purchased, soe that together I have put on board one hundred and one slaves, vizt. forty seven men, & fifty four women.

[gap in correspondence, April 1696 to March 1697]

1303. Edward Searle Accra, 21 April 1697

Both yours of the 10 and 17 instant have received, and accordingly Mr Gerrard Gore went from hence last night with the Sally Rose, Capt. William Piles,[130] and likewise on accompt of the Royall African Company of England fifty five good lusty slaves, vizt thirty one men and twenty four women. He has his loading of shells. This accompaneys my February and March accompts with the ballance, being ten marks five ounces and four angles and five taccoes gold. One of the men slaves sent is that which run away at my first comeing hither, it cost me an ounce to gett him, as you will see by my accompts, I thought it better to be at the charge then to loose him, was it only for example for the rest. I have now sent the estate of Richard Noakes, being one ounce six angles. I desire by return of this canoa some sheet lead for spouts, and shott for the use of the Fort, and nailes of severall sorts, not haveing one in the Fort, was forced to gett one hundred of Capt. Piles, to use about the canoas. I desire some Guinea stuffs if you have any, and not dearer then 1a 6ta, and I am forced to desire a good Gunner in the roome of him now here, he is such a sottish drunken fellow it is not fitting he should be trusted with the employ. If you have not men to spare send me one and I will send him up. The differences between these two townes[131] are not att an end, and know not but it may be suddenly renewed, and the Dutch have two good Gunners in their Fort, one sent purposely on the pallaver, and I have only a sott, that has been already three times Gunner of the Fort and still displaced for his drunkenness. I desire to know what John Brittoes pay is and from what time he must be paid.

1304. Edward Searle Accra, 29 April 1697

Yours of the 27 instant by Mr Richard Sheldon and William Young have received. In few days you shall have my April accompts. Inclosed is accompt of what stores is wanting here for the Gunner. If my canoa is not come away believe she may bring them well enough, leaving the chest sheet lead to be put on board Capt. Piles or Pepperell when they come down.

1305. Edward Searle James Fortt, Accra, 8 May 1697

Yours of the 27th past by my canoa with the lead & nailes I received. This accompanyes my April accompts. Here is no manner of trade.

[130] Gore was now sent to take charge of the RAC's factory at Komenda.
[131] i.e. English & Dutch Accra.

1306. Edward Searle James Foart, Accra, 10 June 1697

This accompanyes my May accompts. I am glad to hear of the arrivall of the Fauconberg and Prince George, and hope you can supply me with the goods as followeth, vizt perpetuanoes blue two hundred, green ditto one hundred, blew plaines one hundred, one pound 2 lb, 3 lb, & 4 lb pewter basons a good quantity, paper brawls and whatt other East India goods you have whatt you can spare, sheets a good quantity.

PS. I also desire some iron and screwed juggs if any.

1307. Edward Searle James Fort, Accra, 22 June 1697

This serves onely to inclose a letter I just received from Capt. Piles from leward.[132] I desire with the goods wrote for in my last, one hundred white blanketts, some Pelonia linnen and three or four bunches of currall, if you have any thatt is good redd, whatt was here I have sold this month.

PS. Gonsoll Rodrigus [ms. 'Brodrigus'], a Portugueze, is very desireous to be discharged, desire another in his roome.

1308. Edward Searle James Fort, Accra, 12 July 1697

This accompanyes my accompts for June, and incloses a letter from Capt. Piles.[133] Mr Sheldon desires to be paid his sallary, and [I] desires to know from what time I must pay him, and how much per annum.

PS. My people are so sickly, and the fort so unequally mann'd to my neighbours, cannot discharge the Portuguze till I have another mann in his roome.

Desire canvas to make two cotts for forts use.

1309. Edward Searle James Fort, Accra, 19 July 1697

Yours of the 15th instant is just come to hand. You order me to put what slaves I have on board the vessell,[134] which is not in a condition to receive them, nor can they conveniently take the half of what I have here, being near seventy, and I fear if I put them on board they will be spoyled, it being the fogg times, that there is noe land breeses.[135] She will be a great while a comeing up, soe

[132] = no.1378.

[133] = no.1379.

[134] i.e. that commanded by Henry Pinson, mentioned in the PS: this was the longboat of the *Hannibal* (of which Pinson had been mate, & which had been taken over by a mutiny of its crew), which had been fitted with a deck, & employed for local use (NA, T70/11, Chief Merchants, Cape Coast Castle, 30 July 1697).

[135] Morning mists, heaviest in July-Aug.: in accordance with the contemporary 'miasmic' theory of disease, these were thought to cause illness (especially malaria, whence the name, 'bad air'), hence the concern for the slaves' health (cf. Bosman 1705, 105).

think it better if you please that Captaine Piles in his returne doe call and take them. I had a letter from him two days since, he is very ill. He wrote me he had ninety odd slaves, & beleved he might stay till latter end of August before as many more, therefore presume he will not want roome enough for them. I shall weight your answer and doe as you shall order, and endeavour to gett all good slaves I cann. William Young Gunner desceased 15th instant, I want another in his roome. I desire per first shipp a supply of sheett, plaines and pewter, if you have blew,[136] it being what is demanded here both for slaves and gold. Mr Sheldon hopes you will allow him for the time he hath been here the usuall sallary [a] second useth to have here.

PS. I have this day discharged the Portugueze and sent him on board a briga[n]teen in the road. We are hardly ever cleare of Portugueze vessels, which much hinders Capt. Piles & myselfe from getting slaves.

Capt. Pinson desire me to acquaint you that one of his men is ashoare here sick and beleves he will dye.

1310. Edward Searle Accra, 25 July 1697

I have received yours the 22d instant and what goods you sent per the sloop,[137] only in the chest of sheetts no.156 was two wanting, as per inclosed certificates. I have ordered the sloop for Winnebah. I will gett all the slaves I can, for which I keep the sheetts and pewter you sent. I will try Roger Beaumont [ms. 'Raymt'] once more to be Gunner, and hope he may now be sencible of his errors.

1311. Edward Searle James Fort, Accra, 29 July 1697

I wrote you the 25th instant per return of the sloop, which hope will not be long before it comes to your hands. This comes express for slaves irons, not haveing a piece in the Castle but what is in use. I have a hundred good slaves, and if may trust to blacks promiss expect considerable more. My sheets is all gone and says what is good is allmost gone, so have not anything that will goe for slaves, perpetuanoes being not in demand where they trade, and the dullest comodity here at present. I desire some small supply speedily, and when the shipps come for Whidah what you please of blew plaines, sheetts, pewter bason & juggs & says, if any good. If you have not irons mad[e] presume the Fauconburg have for her voyage, soe if you send off them they will goe from hence againe with the slaves, for I must keep what men I buy out of irons till returne of the canoe.

PS. I desire a large staple and wooden barr for our prison, and some large nailes.
Also canvas for two cotts.

[136] The phrase obviously applies to the plains, rather than the pewter.
[137] A sloop of the RAC based locally at Cape Coast.

1312. Natt Juice Accra, 3 Aug. 1697

Att my arrivall here I found Mr Hays had no inclination to leave this place, telling me that he never designed to goe with Capt. Pepperell, seeming to be surprized at yours to Mr Searle, in which you mentioned his departure, so I proceed the voyage according to your orders, but when I came to receive my money of Mr Searle I was startled to find I was to receive only 6 months 6 days sallary at 40£ per annum, without any allowance of medicine money or dyett, when I layed out two ounces for medicines which still are to be used in the Companyes service, att leas[t] 3 ounces in the time of my sickness, which thing when you have considered I hope you will make allowance for. What is your pleasure to alow pray pay to Mr Richard Serjeant, to be repaid at Barbadoes.

1313. Edward Searle Accra, 5 Aug. 1697

Yours per the Swallow with twenty chest sheetts have received, & of the 3^{d} instant with the Negroes irons &ca, which shall be returned with the slaves. I have delivered one 100 paper sletias to Capt. Pepperell to compleat his leward cargoe, and allso have consigned ninety nine ditto to Mr Josiah Pearson.[138] Inclosed is a receipt for them, with the bougees and rangoes. According as your orders I have inclosed one receipt to Mr Pearson. I have paid Natt Juice his six months and six dayes sallary according to order, and he proceed the voyage with the Swallow, which they sailed hence yesterday, with a Dutch ship. I have likewise supplyed Capt. Pepperell with two chests of salt.

1314. Edward Searle Accra, 18 Aug. 1697

Yours of the 14th instant have received. Capt. Piles is arrived in the roade, and this day shall put on board what slaves have, and beleve he may saile tomorrow morning. In a day or two shall send my July accompts, when shall enlarge in.

PS. I have sent the fifty pair of irons received on board Capt. Piles.

1315. Edward Searle James Fort, Accra, 21 Aug. 1697

I have sent you by the Sally Rose, Capt. William Piles, who sailed hence the 19th instant in the morning, one hundred and [twenty] two good lusty young slaves, vizt. sixty one men sixty one women, on accompt of the Royall African Company of England. I have not one left. The woman dead in my accompts is the woman left sick when [I] sent you slaves formerly. Of these none have dyed, and think all went well aboard. At present here is not any offers. If the traiders returnes in time I will gett all I possible can to forward the Fauconberg and Sally

[138] Chief of the RAC factory at Whydah.

Rose dispatch. If you please to advise how long you think they will stay, what I do gett will send by that time, if you order me so to doe. This accompanyes my July accompts. What traders have been of late is for slaves, the Arkinns and Quamboes still being at difference. The Dean hath so much corne brandy that spiritts will not sell [ms. 'seele'] here for above 4a. I desire to know what [is] the mans pay that was left heer out of the sloop, he wanting something to buy provitions.

PS. Just now offered two [ms. 'two'] good women, which have sent per this canoe, and have ordered them if they meett with Capt. Piles to put them aboard him.

[gap in correspondence, Sept. & Oct. 1697]

1316. Edward Searle James Fort, Accra, 5 Nov. 1697

Yours of the 27th past I received. I will use all the means I can to get slaves. Want of good[s] suteable is a great hinderance. I sent severall messengers to Quambo, which are returned, and give me some hopes, but am not sure till I have received them. I have ten already. If the Sally Rose stayes,[139] maybe [in] twenty dayes hope may get a quantity. At the returne of this canoe, with which goes my September and October accompts, please to advise in what time I shall send them up, or whither you will send for them, if you send for them please to send some powder, for forts use. The difference between the Kings of Quamboe will I believe in few dayes be made up, but believe the Dutch settleing at Poney will againe renew it, for Bonishee says he will turne them out,[140] which I shall be very glad off, for it will be a great hinderance to this place if they remaine there. Now there is a new talk of the Aikims comeing on the Quamboes, and till they once fight, or clearly make up all palavers, here will be but small trade. I omited to advise you that James Mason made a will, and left his estate in the hands of William Sessons.

Of the sayes I have disposed of since my being here, I have had at least five hundred turned by reason of the wormholes. I have had it done by two Blacks, for which I promised them payment, and I thinck if you please to alow them they deserve a damaged saye each. I put on board the Sally Rose the 24th October 12 men and 13 women slaves on accompt of the Royall Company. She did not anchor, or I should have wrote you by Capt. Piles.

PS. Wee are in want of ½ hour, hourr and two hours glasses to keep the hours of the day.

[139] The *Sally Rose* was at Cape Coast, due to be dispatched for the West Indies (no.1026).
[140] Kpone, 30 km east of Accra. Dutch sources confirm that Ado supported the Dutch settlement here, while Basua was opposed (Bosman 1705, 66; Van Dantzig 1978, no.90: Van Sevenhuysen, Elmina, 8 May 1699).

1317. Edward Searle James Fort, Accra, 24 Nov. 1697

Yours of the 10th instant with two barrells gunpowder and an hour glass have received. I have used all the indeavours possible to purchase slaves. Shipps follows so fast one affter another that the Alampores brings not one up, I have not had a slave from thence this six months. Adoe of Quamboe with all his towne is gone to fight Accrippoone,[141] which likewise hinders. I have thirty odd, presume you will send your great canoe for them, by which time hope may have fifty. What perpetuanoes I barter am forced to let goe at 10a blue, and 9a green, and if I must not sell them so for gold, shall not take money to defray factory charges. I have sett the negroes to gett oyster shells.

I desire by the great canoe a good flagstaff, block and halliards. The 19th instant at night happened here a very great turnado, with which was violent thundering and lightening. It broke our flaggstaff all in pieces, and indangered the whole fort by a clapp that broke in at the topp of the tower downe into the little gold roome, where was but a foot wall between it and the powder. It carryed such violent fire with it that it melted me two pewter dishes alone as if they had been put over a flame of fire, and God be praised done me no further damage.[142] I desire likewise bunting for a flagg, this being all in peices.

1318. Edward Searle Accra, 7 Dec. 1697

Yours of the 3d instant by Mr Lancelott Anderson have received, with one hundred gallons rumme on accompt of the Royall Company. The canoe brought no flagstaff. Wee are in want of as much plank as will make six gunn carryages, large, and a cask of tarr if you have any. Desire it may be sent with the flagg staff. The goods you advised were the Braffoes[143] had been delivered long since, but the wayes are so stoped that as much as a boy cannot pass Bonishees Towne that belongs to Adoes, which is the reason that nobody has been to desire them, they belonging to Adoes Towns people.[144] The first messenger that demands them, I assure you shall have them. I only take them to keep the Blacks in subjection, that they should not make a common practice landing goods just under our walls. I took them one morning, being upon the flanker, [they] came just before me, therefore could not well lett them pass. By the 15 and 13 hand canoe have sent on accompt of the Royall African Company of England 13 men and 14 women slaves, which was putt ashore by

[141] Bosman also refers to Ado's absence on a campaign at this point (1705, 66). The same place had been attacked by Akwamu in 1686 (vol.ii, nos 727 etc., 'Occrepon'); i.e. Kyerepon, east of Akwamu (later part of the state of Akuapem). For Ado's 'town', cf. n.144 below.

[142] This incident is also recalled by Bosman (1705, 114).

[143] Presumably, the Brafo of Fante.

[144] Basua & Ado lived in separate quarters of the Akwamu capital, the former 'in the middle of it' & the latter 'a good half-mile [= 2 English miles] north-north-west of him' (Tilleman 1994, 29).

Capt. Piles. One of the men dyed the next day affter the sloop sailed hence. Also have sent fifty slaves that I have purchased (vizt) twenty four, men 24 women, one boy and one girle, which is all I could possibly gett, for which as I wrote you in my last have bartered perpetuanoes at 10a and 9 angles, which if you doe not alow of must stand to the loss my selfe. I will dispose of none for gold, till you order it.

1319. Edward Searle James Fort, Accra, 10 Dec. 1697

Having this opportunity by a canoe bound for your parts, desire you will please to send me on accompt of the Royall African Company of England some iron barrs, perpetuanoes blue, and powder, for forts use, with which please to send the flagg staff I desired in mine the 7th instant.

1320. Edward Searle Accra, 16 Dec. 1697

This accompanyes two men, two women slaves, which is all that have offered since my last. This comes express, the Deanes expecting suddenly to deliver their fort over to a new Company, and their men all being to have their liberty to goe home, or serve who they please.[145] The Chiefe tells me that all except three or four, which resolves home, will serve the Royall Company, if you please to entertaine them, amongst which are two bricklayers, one of them as good a workman I beleive as any in Guinea, by what I have seen my selfe. The Dutch Coapman has offered him 12a per month. Likewise there is to dispose of thirty six timber peices of nineteen feet long, nine inches broad, and seaven inches thick, with two girders longer and thicker, presumeing those things may be wanted to forward your buildings may be sent, that before I sett forward for Cabo Corso, I may gett them hither, least the shipps come in my absence,[146] and then the Chiefe may not have liberty to dispose of them. There is likewise six gunns now aboard the shipp, four six pounders, two four pounders in the shipps hole, to be sould. The Chiefe sayes if you have occation for them, he will order them to be sold you at the shipps returne, shee being to make a windward voyage.[147]

PS. The timber is 4a each peice.

[145] The commercial monopoly of the Danish West India & Guinea Company had been transferred to Nikolaj Jansen Arf in 1689, but in Sept. 1697 was restored to the Company under a new charter (Nørregård 1966, 20–1). The news was brought by the ship *Mynten* (or *Københavns Mynt*), which arrived at Accra 6 Dec. 1697 (Justesen 2005, no.II.27: Meyer, Account of Fort Christiansborg).

[146] Referring to ships expected to be sent by the West India & Guinea Company under its new charter. (The *Københavns Børs*, with Erick Tilleman as factor, arrived at Accra 6 Feb. 1698, but its presence is not registered in this correspondence.)

[147] i.e. the *Mynten*, whose departure is noted in no.1322, later reported to be on 'the Upper Coast' (Justesen 2005, no.II.23: Erick Tilleman, Christiansborg, 28 Feb. 1698).

1321. Edward Searle James Fort, Accra, 18 Dec. 1697

Yours of the 15th instant with the particulars therein mentioned have received. I wrote you of the 16th instant, by a two hand canoe, by which sent two men, two women slaves; which is all that have offered.

PS. Since the writeing of the above bought two men, two women slaves which goes herewith.

1322. Edward Searle James Fort, Accra, 21 Dec. 1697

Yours of the 19th instant have received. Accordingly have bought from the Deane forty two pieces timber at 4a each. The gunns you may depend on. The shipp sayled from our parts this morning. The men cannot leave the fort till the arrivall of shipping, and then doe presume there is twelve will serve the Royall Company. Them and their things I can send up, when they come. The Chiefe does not know but he may deliver the slaves to the other Company, if not shall have them. I have loaded the sloop with shells, and this night she will saile hence.

PS. James Steward souldier deceased the 16th instant.

There is not any thing more to be disposed of that will be serviceable to you, only three peices of plank for gunn carriages, about 50 foot long, for which they demand 2oz 8a. Doe not know the worth of it, therefore shall waight your orders. It is much wanted in this fort.

1323. Edward Searle James Fort, Accra, 24 Jan. 1697/8

Yours of the 21st instant by the Cabo Corso Gally have received, also the goods mentioned therein, and have returned her loading with shells. The plank I will gett as cheap as I can. The 9th instant deceased John Newell serjeant, he made a verball will before severall of our people, and left what he has here in Guinea to Mr Richard Sheldon.[148] The 8th instant deseased Roger Beaumont Gunner, he made no will. Next pay day you shall have his estate, with James Howard. I know you are in great want of men, but loosing these two know not what shall doe without others in their roomes. At present have given the charge of this guard to John Burton, who shall make Serjeant if you please, and if he does not mind his business [I] may change him, when you have a fresh supply of men, but a Gunner I desire you will send downe as soone as this comes to hands.

[148] Now chief of Charles Fort, Anomabu.

1324. Edward Searle James Fort, Accra, 9 Feb. 1697/8

This accompanyes my accompts from ultimo October to ultimo January. Here is no manner of trade either for gold or slaves. I have bought the plank of the Deane for 1oz 8a.

1325. Josiah Pearson[149] James Fort, Accra, 26 Feb. 1697/8

According to your orders I have with Mr Gervis Jackson inventored the Royall Companyes Fort and factory at Winneba and Accra, which inventoryes accompanyes this, since which I have received your letter by the Merchants Goodwill, Capt. Charles Cotterrell Commander, with bill of ladeing inclosed for sundry goods, amounting to £545 16s 3d sterling as by invoice, consined to my selfe for the accompt of the Royall Affrican Company of England, and for what you ordered me in your letter shall observe with carefulness, hopeing to act those things, when come there to Whidah, as may conduce (as much as in me lyes) to the Royall Companyes intrest, most humbly desireing that you would be pleased to try the experiment of sending one small shipp downe there for slaves, wholy consigneing her to me,[150] giveing me timely notice, and likewise to write to the Company, and acquaint them of the necessity of oblidging the Commanders to comply with the charter partyes.[151]

I believe there is an error commited in the brass, for I suppose one cask cannot containe 25cwt 2qrs 25lb of brass, which hope your worshipps will take notice off.

1326. Edward Searle Accra, 8 March 1697/8

According to your orders have with Mr Josiah Pearson and Mr Gervis Jackson inventored the Royall Companyes fort and factory now in my charge. Two inventoryes goes with Mr Jarvis Jackson, whose illness occasions his stay here. Also with this two hand canoe goes my February accompts. The 5th instant deceased Mr Lancelott Anderson. I have made an outcry[152] of his things, when have received his money shall send it you. Inclosed is an instrument attested by those men which are wittness to John Newells will. Also a note of what stores our Gunner wants, desire this canoe may bring what shee can.

1327. Edward Searle James Fort, Accra, 27 March 1698

Yours of the 24th instant came to hand last night. The Deane is ready to saile, but stayes (as they are obliged) to see the fort in the new Company possession

[149] Chief of the RAC factory at Whydah, on his way back there from visiting Cape Coast.
[150] At Whydah, cargoes were normally consigned to the ships' captains rather than to the chief of the factory, the latter acting as 'a kind of consul', rather than a trader (Davies 1957, 229–30).
[151] i.e the agreements made by the RAC with the owners of ships which it hired (ibid., 197).
[152] i.e. a public sale.

the first of Aprill, when God willing they intend to saile,[153] by which time presume may have your letter, if nott shall desire their stay a day longer. Pray be as speedy as you can, for they are impatient to be gone, finding here not the least trade. I have prevailed with them for their cooper, tho' their new Chiefe told them he would protest against them, he belonging to the fort formerly, wherefore they are forced to give him another man in his roome. He will be wanted aboard till they saile, and then [I] shall have him, and shall by first send him to you. The Gunners stores wrote for in my last, wee are in great want off.

1328. Edward Searle James Fort, Accra, 5 April 1698

Both yours of the ultimo March and 2^{d} Aprill have received, and have delivered your packquett according to your orders, and the sloope has her loading of shells, which will saile hence this night, with the land wind. I am sorry must advise you that I was disappointed of the cooper. I had him here ashore, and the Generall, Captain of the shipp and my selfe used all the perswations possible with him to stay, but would not, but desired to goe to their owne fort, where he was before, so that since he has made them to be worse then their promise to you, they have given another man to their Chiefe in his roome, and has carryed him off the Coast, contrary to his expectation. They desire that you will not take it amiss of them, for they thought the man would be as ready to serve the Company, as they was to lett him.

1329. Edward Searle Accra, 11 May 1698

Yours of the 16th instant have received, and accordingly have putt on board the Whidah Frigott, Capt. John Osborne commander, one chest fire lock musquets, and consined them to Mr Josiah Peirson. The sloope, Mr John Wilson Commander, sailed hence this morning, with his loading of shell. He was five dayes getting downe, by reason he had wind and currant contrary, and lay here four dayes before the canoes could work, the seas running high, which is the reason of his long stay. I have nott messured what he carryes, but have bought six hundred butts, and will buy noe more till these are gone. The vessell you mentioned pased by this place shewing no collours, butt anchored at Tesha[154] under English coulers, where he panyar'd twelve people, one of which he released for two ounces gold, the rest he carryed away.

The 8th instant deceased Mr James Hayes Chyrurgeon. He made a will, a coppy goes herewith inclosed. I desire that as soone as this comes to your hands, that you will send me one to supply his place, such as you have till better comes,

[153] i.e. the *Mynten*, now returned to Accra (Justesen 2005, no.II.26: Olsen Lygaard, Christiansborg, 13 Nov. 1698).
[154] Teshi, 10 km east of Accra (between Labadi & Kpone).

my men being very sickly and I beleive this att this time to be the sicklyest place on the Coast, and if should be taken ill my selfe it would be very hard, having none butt souldiers in the fort, and in case of death, know not what may become of the Companyes concerns and my owne. Should be very glad in case shipping do not arive if you could take three or four men from factoryes that are well manned, and send me here, being hardly well men to keep open the Castle gates. Here is no trade. At the end of this month shall make up my accompts.

1330. Edward Searle James Fort, Accra, 28 May 1698

This serves to acquaint you thatt I am in great want of a carefull sober Serjeant, and desire that you will be pleased to send me one express. John Burton yesterday morning att some dispute he had on the guard with the men, threw away his sword and cane and swore he would be Serjeant no longer, which I chanced to see, and having found him before, affter a short tryall, to be very unfiting for the place, I discharged him off itt, and putt him to his old station. I shall nott goe without the fort gate before you send me one to supply his place.

Inclosed is a note againe of whatt stores our Gunner wants, which desire may be sent, or whatt part of itt you have to spare, being much wanted. Also the iron work as att foot, the vast raines wee have here having throwne our platforme next the sea down, and other part of the fort is in great danger, soe shall want itt as soone as possible, to break stones.

2 crowes
4 pickaxes
2 trowells
6 large wedges
3 large mauls
2 walling hammers.

1331. Edward Searle James Fort, Accra, 7 June 1698

I write you of the 11th May, and since by a canoe bound to your parts of the 28th ditto. With this goes my accompts for March, Aprill and May, also the estates of the following men, vizt Mr Lancelott Anderson one mark three ounces thirteen angles and three taccoes, Roger Beaumont one mark one angle and five taccoes, and James Steward five angles five taccoes and a damboy, which is their whole estates. Also with the canoe goes a messenger from the King of Quambo to you, I presume about the Dankaras warrs.[155]

[155] Perhaps referring to the war with Asante, which eventually defeated Denkyira in 1701; a report of March 1699 states that Denkyira had been at war with Asante since June 1698 (Fynn 1971, 39). However, Asante is not mentioned by name in the Rawlinson correspondence.

1332. Edward Searle James Fort, Accra, 9 July 1698

I have put on board the sloope forty two timber peices which I bought of the Deane, and the remain[d]er of her loading with shells. I will gett what slaves I can. If the Companys shipps doe come before wee have any shipping here to buy up slaves, and you give me a supply of goods imediately, I question not to gett a good part of one shipps complement in a month or 5 weeks time. I have received the wedges and one mawle, and desire the remainder of what wrote for, by first opportunity, as I may repair the fort before the latter rains, or a great part of it will fall. Desire the other mawles may be large.

[PS] The sloops canoe in bad weather broke from her sterne, and was taken up by a Dutch interloper, who has left her at Allampoe. I have sent for her. If she doe not come whilst the sloope is in sight, shall keep her till she returnes.

1333. Edward Searle James Fort, Accra, 22 July 1698

Yours of the 17th instant have received, and am heartily gladd to heare of the arrivall of shipping, and hope the Prince of Orange is not alone. Nott knowing what goods you may have to supply me with, have at foot hereof sett a list of what goods are vendable here, of which please to send such a quantity as your supplyes will afford, with one hundred pieces Polonia linnen or sletias for forts use, tenn barrells gunpowder, 20 striped sattins, 200 English woollen carppets, 100 white blankets. The trade is open here, butt the road is never cleare of Dutch interlopers, who sell their perpetuanoes at 4a 6t each, which makes me not write for any, haveing already a quantity here, what cannot put off for gold or slaves, without other goods. Pray supply me with sheets and cases spirits as many as can possible spare.

PS. I hope the sloope is near your parts ere this. She sayled hence the 13th instant, in the morning, by which wrote you.

East India tapseils; ditto nicconeese; paper brawles; white long cloaths; ditto blue; 1 lb, 2 lb, 3 lb, 4 lb pewter basons; screwed juggs; brass digglins; sheets; blue plaines; cases spirits; seyes; broad chints; corrall if good red; Guinea stuffs

1334. Edward Searle James Fort, Accra, 25 July 1698

I wrote you of the 22d instant an accompt of what goods are wanting here. This comes express to advise that about Fryday last fell in with Ningoe at Alampoe[156] an English Companys ship, as they reported to the Negroes, and that they was driven from the Graine Coast thither, and that they came in company with another great ship, presume the Prince of Orange. I sent as soone as I had

[156] Nowadays 'Old Ningo', 37 km east of Accra (7 km east of Kpone) (not Nungowa, west of Kpone, as suggested in vol.i, chap.VII, n.11; vol.ii, chap.X, n.46).

the advise a canoe and a white man, but she was gone off to sea, to goe to Cabo Corso as they said, and have not heard any news of her since. You may know by what shipping you expect, whither it be true or not, but she was certainly an English shipp. I beleive the sloope will be a long time getting up there, she is still at Winneba. I wish I could have a supply of goods some other way, slaves being plenty here, and I have not goods to buy them.

1335. Edward Searle James Fort, Accra, 3 Aug. 1698

Yours of the 27th, 29th and 30th July have received, as also 21 chests sheets on accompt of the Royall Affrican Company of England. The shipp which was att Allampoe, if a Companyes shipp, will fall in to windward of your parts, for she must certainly make a voyage round,[157] the currant makeing soe strong to leward. There was a white man belonging to the Dutch factory there[158] on board, and he gave the same accompt as the natives, and that the Captain purchased about tenn slaves, and that he asked particularly for me by my name, which is all the accompt I can give. I hope ere this the sloope is arived in your parts, goods being in great want. Hope you have a supply off, for wee are in great want. In few dayes shall send my accompts.

PS. The Royall Companys packett came too late, Capt. John Sevoyce and Beaudwin Jacobe being the day before sailed for Allampo. I sent a canoe and a white man thither soe soone as I received yours, but it was too late, soe shall wait the next oppertunity.

1336. Edward Searle James Fort, Accra, 5 Aug. 1698

This accompanys my accompts for June & July. Desire the canoe may be presently returned, with as many slaves irons as she can well bring, haveing none but what are in use.

1337. Edward Searle James Fort, Accra, 17 Aug. 1698

Yours of the 13th instant have received. Am glad the sloope is arived in your road. According to your orders I have made enquiery affter corne, but find old corne very scarce, and my expence at present is above a chest a day, wherefore cannot give any assurance of supplying you here. I will get what I possible can, and when the ship taketh the slaves shall put every chest I have aboard, but I beleive that will be very little, for I am dayly in hopes of more slaves. I have been hindered a few dayes by a small interloper English who is at Allampo,

[157] i.e. east to Gabon, then west through the open sea, & north to strike land west of the Gold Coast; rather than directly west up the coast, against the prevailing currents & winds.
[158] i.e. at Kpone (cf. no.1316).

which hath stoped the traders comeing hither. There he has his complement, and sailes this day or tomorrow. I omited in my last to advise you that six seys rated per inventory $^1/_3$ damaged was sould for noe more then the vallue of 3oz 2a, as presume you have found in exammineing my accompts, which I notice now, that it might not be taken for an error, haveing sould all the refuged seys except them, and the best being all picked away, thought it better to take that then to lett them lye in the warehouse, as they have done already this severall years, which hope you will not disprove of.

This serves likewise to give you an accompt that some time since, haveing been to give a visit to my Dutch neighbour, whilst [I] was there happened a difference between a black belonging to the Dutch Towne and one of my boys, insomuch that the Dutch Black threatned what he would doe as I passed home, which my boy came and told me off, and I made it knowne to the Dutch Coapman, who sent for the man into the Castle. When he came he begged pardon, and said it was only words between boyes. However the Coapman confined him to the Castle, till I should be gone home, at which a mollotta named Brinee armed himselfe and tenn of his slaves, with one Amba, resolving to waylay me goeing home, and murder me, butt Briny by perswations and force of a Cabbosheer went home with his slaves. Nevertheless Amba still resolved on his bloody designe, which [I] knew nothing on till I was got about halfe way home, where in a cross path, the grass as high almost as himselfe, I met the villaine, which plainly appears had he not been frusterated of his consort, they would have endeavoured to have effected their designe, and nevertheless would this Amba [have done so], had not I had four armes with me, for there he stood with his peice ready, cartooch box by his side and a shot in his mouth. When I saw him I bid my boys ask him what he did there. He gave some cross words in Blacks,[159] and asked for what the Dutch Coapman panniared his consort, and staying a little while, a Black belonging to the same Towne came to him and got away his gunn, soe I went on my way. I am apt to beleive that it was a designed thing to fall out with my boy, to cover their roaguery, haveing never had a sillable of difference with either of these fellows, or any in the towne, which makes me think they were set on by some Peter Passop, a cheife actor in Succondee tragedy,[160] being then there, who acknowledged he was told of it, but he was drunk and gone to sleep, which was his excuse to me the next day. This narrow escape of my life [I] was forced to be content with, as well for want of souldiers as officers, which was our garrison well supplyed with the natives durst never offer such affronts, and commit murders as they dayly doe, tho' ever

[159] i.e. the local African language (here either Ga, the language of Accra, or possibly Fante, which was widely spoken along the coast).

[160] i.e. the capture of the RAC fort at Sekondi, June 1694; cf. no.142, which confirms that Pasop was at Butri shortly after this event.

so much prompted to our by our barbarous neighbours,[161] watching and waiting with patience to come up with these villaines. I have got Amba from aboard a Dutch interloper. When I sent to the Captain, desireing him to paniar the roague, and acquainted him of the action, he presently replyed should it be the loss of his shipp and cargoe if he came aboard I should have him, and it happened that he imediately came, soe I had him sent me by the same canoe I sent aboard, now I have him in possession. I desire you to order what shall be done with him. My time, if please God, being but short here, am not willing to act any thing as may give occation for any to say after I am gone, that I prejudiced the intrest of the Royall Company or my successor, wherefore doe advise you that the Cabbosheers of the towns of Ningo, Bony, Tesha and Labbordee,[162] as well as of the Deans, Dutch and my owne [towns], has been with me, and offers that they will take fetishes that never any affront shall be given to the English in any of these parts any more, but will paniar anyone that shall any ways committ the least affront and deliver him up. My answer to them was my full designe was to make him a slave or putt him to death, but that if they had effected their designe it relyed on you to seek revenge, wherefore should doe nothing but what you would order, and that I beleived they would have a very hard matter to get him clear, on which accompt goeth this canoe and the bearer at their charge.

PS. If you have any brass kettles to spare please to send one caske.

[gap in correspondence, Sept. to Dec. 1698]

1338. Edward Searle — James Fort, Accra, 22 Dec. 1698

Yours of the 20th instant with tenn chests of sheets have received, as allso two souldiers, butt hope you will supply me with more sheets and men when another oppertunity offers.

1339. Edward Searle — James Fort, Accra, 7 Feb. 1698/9

Yours of the 25th January with its perticulars have received, and according to order have inventored all the Royall Companys concernes in this factory. Three inventorys goeth, and likewise this per Mr Samuell Wallis. Hurry of business has hindered my makeing up December and January accompts, but in few days you have them. By returne of the five hand canoe which carryeth Mr Wallis please to send one cask of 2 lb & one ditto 3 lb pewter basons, also one cask of screwed juggs if you have them to spare. The sloope hath her loading of sheels [= shells] and will saile hence this night.

[161] i.e. the Dutch.

[162] Places on the coast east of Accra, evidently listed in order from east to west, so 'Bony' is Kpone.

The 13th January was entertained eight Deanes souldiers, and according to your order you gave me when I came from Cabo Corso I sent two to Winneba, and now by the sloope have sent up five, and have kept one here, [he] desireing to stay. The 5 sent you and the two to Winneba have received 8a 4½t each, which shall charge in February accompt. Their names are at foot hereof.

Mattias Johnson) to Winneba
Peter Seroder)

Dominicus van Jerusalem
Casper Laurson
Hance Cournson
Arvres Caperson
Christen Christenson

PS. The sloopes compas being out of order, the mate made his address to me for one, which I got Capt. Warrner[163] to spare for four angles. The old canoe belonging to the factory is broke all in pieces, I was forced to get a new one to load the sloope.

[163] Also on the coast in 1697 (no.1417), but not further identified.

XII

ALLAMPO (ADANGME)

'Allampo' (nowadays usually rendered 'Adangme') was the name of a people occupying the coastal area between Accra and the River Volta, 90 km to the east. In the seventeenth century, they formed a kingdom, with its capital at Ladoku.[1] Allampo is frequently mentioned in the Rawlinson correspondence as a site of trade. Kpone, 30 km east of Accra, where the Dutch established a factory in 1697, served as a base for trade with it (no.922). According to other contemporary evidence, however, the main place of trade in Allampo was a town called Le ('Lay' etc.), nowadays Leponguno, 25 km further east;[2] this name does not occur in the Rawlinson corpus, but it is presumed that references to 'Allampo' as a coastal port relate to it.

There was no RAC factory in Allampo in this period. But the Company's agent Edward Barter traveled from Accra to spend several weeks there in August–September 1694, as reported in these two letters, and received proposals for the establishment of a factory, though these were evidently not proceeded with.[3] Allampo was mainly important as a source of slaves, but it was also noted for the raising of cattle, which were traded west to the Gold Coast.[4] Barter, in fact, went there specifically to purchase cattle. However, he also reported on its commercial potential more generally, including the possibility of trading for gold, as well as slaves.

Allampo in this period was dominated by Akwamu ('Quamboe'), which also controlled Accra; hence Barter in 1694 negotiated about the projected factory with Ado ('Addoe'), the co-ruler of Akwamu, as well as with the local authorities.

[1] See esp. Wilks 2001, 16–19.
[2] Barbot 1992, ii, 438–40; Bosman 1705, 327.
[3] A factory was maintained there briefly later, 1701–6 (Davies 1957, 248).
[4] Bosman 1705, 327.

1340. Edward Barter Allampo, n.d. [early Aug. 1694]

These serves only to advise your Worshipps that the King & natives here are very desireous for your Worshipps to settle a Factory here, and have been dunning me ever since I have been here, and would never lett me be att quietness, soe thought fitting to acquaint your Worships therewith. As for trade, here is very good trade for slaves & money, particularly slaves. Had I been only to bought [= buy] slaves, I might [have] bought 3 or 4 hundred since I have been here, and I am certaine if I had but good goods I might have taken above one hundred bendeys, for here is a country that lyes near here, between this & Quamboe, that trades with money & has it plenty, but cannot goe to Accra by reason of the Quamboers, and they correspond with noe country nor Cabbosheers without it be with Addoe of Quamboe or their people, and Addoe hath sent here to me twice & has promised to give pawns with the King of this place which is considerable, either their sons or two hundred bendys, and has promised as soon as answer comes from your Worships he will come down himself. Upon the perusall your Worships will send a flagg by the bearer & a little brandy for a sirrup, if it be but a pint. Here are oyster shells in abundance within half a quarter of a mile of this place, and stones & wood in abundance. They promise they will fetch shells, stones & wood, and help to doe anything the white man your Worships shall please to send will command. The people here are very civill, for you may lett your things lye anywhere [blank], for they worship a white man more than they doe their feteeches. As for cows I am forct to send over the River of Vulter for, and am informed by the Cormanteen people here[5] that it is not a usuall custome to doe.[6] My people is not yett come hither as yett, should [have] sent your Worships word else. The Dutch has been [at]tempting much since I came for to settle a flagg here, but the aforementioned Addoe advised them not to lett them come there, but rather the Portuguizes first, and according as your Worships thinck fitting and send a flagg, they will send up pawns by me when I come, which will be about three weeks or under. I have had great trouble with the goods to putt them off, by reason of their being soe much damaged. The names of the countryes where the trade comes from are as followeth [blank].[7]

The reason that Addoe as aforementioned corresponds with these people, is because he (whenever your Worships build a Fort here) is to have half the sallary

[5] As made explicit in no.1341, these were traders who came by sea, to purchase cattle.

[6] However, another contemporary source says that cattle at Accra were 'mostly' brought from Allada, east of the Volta (Tilleman 1994, 30).

[7] Presumably the names were unfamiliar to the copyist. The main country involved was probably Kwahu, in the interior east of Akwamu, which is attested in other evidence of this period to have supplied gold to the coast east of Kpone, although most of its trade went through Akwamu to Accra (Bosman 1705, 326, 'Quahoe').

& customs, for the three forts at Accra belongs to the King of Quamboe.[8] Shall advise your worshipps further when I gett more paper or come my self.

PS. I desire your Worships to send me a little paper by return, for all my paper was wett & I had but one sheet when I came on shore. Here is a very good landing place. The Blacks here are at charge of canoe hire themselves.

1341. Edward Barter Allampo, 24 Aug. 1694

Yours of the 21th I received, and according to your Worshipps order I have sent what sorts of goods are best here for purchase of slaves is bouges, brawles, tapseles, white long clothes, blanketts, iron barrs, white potkeys, powder, blew bafts of a deep blue, Turkey carpetts blue, all the aforementioned goods if good mixt one with another, but if the least hole in them they will not have them. As for slaves here are enough, for here was a Dutch interloper commanded by Francis Johnson, who came to an anchor here on the $^{10}/_{13}$ instant[9] at evening and purchased 120 slaves with blue baffts, carbines & bouges, had his choyce of slaves & sayled the 15th instant about 5 of the clock in the evening. Your Worships of the 21th should have mett me upon my return,[10] which your servant is very sorry he did not answer your Worships expectation. The reason is the cowes I sent to b[u]y over the river cannot pas over for the great quantity of raine which hath lately fell here, but expect them every day. As soon as come shall deliver them to Mr John Bloome att Accra, and make the best of my way up to your Worshipps according to order.[11] As for the flagg [sent] to me according to the request of the Blacks here, has not as yet been lett fly, for just as I received it here came a canoe from Cormanteen to bye cowes, which they frequently doe, and the Captain of the canoe named Amesanee informed the natives here that if the white men once gott footing here that they would use them very hard, and debarr them from all priveleidges, and send them off the Coast upon any small account.[12] They being very fearfull people, refused then to have it, and their joy was turned then to greife. I informed them otherwise, that pallaver then was over, then came Capt. Francis Johnson, & Peater that padled his canoe told them that if they did suffer the Englishmen to settle there, that they must not expect to sell any more slaves aboard of any ships but English. He little knows I have heard of it. He comes in company of the bearer hereof.

[8] Like his later sponsorship of the Dutch settlement at Kpone (cf. no.1316), Ado's attempt to persuade the English to settle at Allampo was by implication related to his power struggle with his co-ruler Basua.

[9] Sic, but in error. Presumably, this was intended to give the dates according to both Old & New Styles, as was common practice; but the difference between the two was in fact currently 10 days.

[10] i.e. to Accra.

[11] Barter returned to Accra on 16 Sept. 1694 (cf. no.1251). The cattle were apparently driven up to Accra overland, & sent from there to Cape Coast by canoe (cf. no.1255).

[12] i.e. sell them as slaves.

XIII

WHYDAH

The section of the coast east of the River Volta, comprising the Bight of Benin, was often called the 'Slave Coast', although this term was perhaps not yet established in English usage, since it does not occur in the Rawlinson correspondence.[1] The RAC's factory in this region was in the kingdom of Hueda, or 'Whydah' (also 'Widah' etc.), in the modern Republic of Bénin; it was situated at the coastal village of Glehue (modern Ouidah), rather than the royal capital Savi (referred to in these documents as 'the King's town'), 11 km inland.[2] In 1687 the RAC had contracted the Whydah factory out to a former interloper called Petley Wyborne, but after the latter died in 1690 it was again brought under the direct control of the Company.[3] As the name 'Slave Coast' implies, this region was solely important for trade in slaves; Whydah was indeed at this period the main centre of English slave-trading, accounting in the 1690s for over a third of all English purchases.[4] Although the Whydah factory was occupied continuously through the 1690s, relatively few letters from it were recorded at Cape Coast, only fourteen surviving in the Rawlinson corpus for 1691–9. This reflected difficulties of communication, due to the prevailing winds and currents, which meant that European ships calling at Whydah regularly proceeded east along the coast, rather than back westwards to the Gold Coast.[5] Voyages directly

[1] The term is used in Danish, Brandenburg & Dutch accounts relating to the 1690s (Tilleman 1994, 32, 34; Justesen 2005, nos III.1 etc.: Governor Thrane, Christiansborg, 26 Jan. 1699 etc.; Jones 1985, no.91: Minutes of Board of Directors of Brandenburg African Company, 9 Aug. 1699; Bosman 1705, Letters XVIII–XX).

[2] See Law 2004; & for the wider regional context, Law 1991.

[3] Davies 1957, 229.

[4] Eltis 1995, 620 (Table IV): these figures are for the Bight of Benin as a whole, but English slaving in this region was overwhelmingly concentrated at Whydah.

[5] Ships from Whydah returning to the Gold Coast went first to Gabon, then west through the open sea (along the line of the Equator), & north to strike the coast to the west of the Gold Coast, as e.g. did Bosman in 1698 (1705, 398, 419). Hence nos 1347 & 1349, transmitted by Brandenburg factors, reached Cape Coast from the west, via Cape Three Points & Akwida (cf. nos 28, 44).

up the coast could be made in African canoes,[6] but these normally made the journey only on a seasonal basis, during the harmattan season (December to January), when winds and currents were more favourable to a westward journey.[7]

The Dutch WIC had a factory at Offra, in the neighbouring kingdom of Allada ('Arda'), 30 km east of Whydah; when this was destroyed in a local war early in 1692, they initially attempted to relocate to Whydah, but withdrew soon afterwards (nos 1343, 1345–6). The French Guinea Company had a factory in Whydah itself, but this was also destroyed later in 1692, after which the French presence lapsed, leaving the English for a few years as the only European nation with a local establishment.[8] The Dutch WIC, however, established a factory at Whydah in 1698, as recorded in this correspondence (no.1354). French trade at Whydah had also resumed by 1698 (ibid.), although a permanent factory was not re-established until a few years later.[9] Relations among Europeans in Whydah were complicated by the war in Europe between 1689–97, leading the English fort to fire on the French in 1692, which in turn provoked the seizure of the chief of the English factory by the French, and his deportation by the local authorities (nos 1343–4). This clash also occasioned the fortification of the Whydah factory, which was henceforth regarded as a 'fort'.[10]

The operation of European trade was also affected by local African conflicts which are recorded in this correspondence. During 1690–1 trade had been disrupted by the rebellion of Offra, supported by Whydah, against its overlord Allada, leading to the closure of roads from the interior to the coast.[11] The situation was further complicated by the rise of the new state of Genyi (called 'Little Popo' by Europeans), on the coast 50 km west of Whydah, founded by refugees from the Akwamu conquest of Accra, on which the Rawlinson correspondence provides invaluable documentation.[12] It was forces from Popo, operating in alliance with Allada, which destroyed Offra at the beginning of 1692, and attacked Whydah later in the same year (nos 1343, 1346). The correspondence also records subsequent wars between Little Popo and the Adangme ('Allampo'), settled in the Anlo region, further west on the coast, in 1693–5 (nos 1349, 1352), and between Whydah and Great Popo, east of Little

[6] As e.g. did Bosman in 1699 (1705, 329); cf. also e.g. nos 1348, 1352, carried by canoes.
[7] See vol.ii, no.814.
[8] See n.52 below.
[9] The French obtained permission for a factory at the capital Savi in 1701; their fort in Ouidah itself (Fort Saint-Louis) was built in 1704 (Law 2004, 31).
[10] It was later called William's Fort, but this name does not occur in the Rawlinson correspondence.
[11] Law 1991, 241–2.
[12] For Genyi, see Gayibor 1990; for an evaluation of the evidence on it from the Rawlinson correspondence & other contemporary English sources, see Law 2001b. The coastal port of 'Little Popo' was modern Aného, its royal capital Glidji, on the northern bank of the coastal lagoon (both in modern Togo).

Popo, in 1694 (no.1349). During this period, the disorders at Whydah, combined with the availability of captives from these wars further west, recurrently diverted European trade from Whydah to Little Popo, but Whydah remained the most important place of trade.

1342. John Wortley Whydah, 5 Jan. 1691/2

This is to acquaint your Worships of the arrivall of Capt. Thomas Sherley and Capt. John Edwards, Commanders of the East India Merchant and Kendle Frigatt, who came to anchor the 28th June. Likewise the Supply, Capt. James Lashley, came here the 17th August, with Mr Edward Jackline as second,[13] and a cargoe amounting to 200lb:03:04 [= £200.03.04] consigned to me for your Worships. They carried off in all from hence 1150 merchantable slaves, where of 124 men was shipped aboard the Supply,[14] and departed this road in company togither the 7th September, without the losse [of] any men but one, which was one of Capt. Edwards men, the boat being put of from the ship went a great way from the ship to the leeward & rowing up to windward againe was drove ashore by bad weather and soe was drounded. Mr Humphries departed from hence in good health,[15] but have understood since by a Portiguize shipp he was verey dangerously sick and vomited neer 2 quarts of blood the time he was ashore at St Thomas. All pallavors that we had formerly with the country is done, and now doe leave [= live] very peaceably with the King and country, without any more pallaveroes.[16] We are all in good health at this present, which I pray God to containow soe. I hope your Worships will be pleased to consider the cargoe you sent consigned per Capt. Lashley will but little more then pay every man his sallery, besides the expence of Factory &ca, which is not verie small, and goe as neer as possible I can. Before you sent me these goods down, here was but a verie little left in the Factory, which have sent your Worshipps the coppie as we were apprasid by Capt. James Lashley, Mr Thomas Mead, Mr Benjamin Sherley, Mr William Jones and Mr Christopher Price. Besides was forcied by the request of James Lashley to disburse 33 iron barrs and 32 pautkies out of the cargoe you sent me, for to deffray charge of canoe hier and other expence, by reasone of his cargoe falling short, which he hath given me recipt for under his hand and witnessed by Christopher Price and Benjamin Sherley for

[13] i.e. to serve as such in the Whydah factory.

[14] '124 men' is an error, since in a letter to London Wortley reported that the *Supply* loaded 79 male slaves & 45 females (Law 1990a, no.39: Wortley to RAC, 6 Sept. 1691).

[15] Formerly one of the Chief Merchants at Cape Coast, returning to England on the *East India Merchant*.

[16] Perhaps referring to a dispute arising from an attempt by the Dutch at Offra to buy slaves from Whydah, to which the English objected (Van Dantzig 1978, no.32:Valentyn Gros, Whydah, 7 Aug. 1691). But, given the reference later in this letter to continuing Dutch intrigues to settle at Whydah, the claim that this 'palaver' was over seems disingenuous.

the delivery of the goods, and shall place it to the Royall Companies accompt.[17] I desire your Worships to send me ane accompt how I shall pay the white men here their sallary, which must be in goods, for your Worships do verie well know that there is no gold to be had to pay them worth [= with] all, they say if they take goods they do expect them at prime coast.[18] Sirs, what news we hear is that the Dutch is doeing their indeavour to put the English out of these parts, by makeing their pallaviros with the King of Whydah to come and settle here, and that they designe to take [the] Factory that was formerly Capt. Whybornes for to live in,[19] which I have after his dec[e]ase rebuilt, a pritty large house, by reasone the Blacks in the country did pull the old house all downe, therefore [I] did do this for to put a Black that is one of Offrys great Cabboosheers, an Accra man,[20] into it and to pay him 4ac per month to stand by me on all occasions or pallaveroes, he is a man very honest and true to his trust to the English att all times. I am now almost able to defend ourselves against the Dutch and French if they should oppose us, for have placed two flanckers, which will clear the walls round the Factory, that no enimey can come to hurt us, and as for Capt. Whybornes old house, if the Dutch come to live there I can soon beat them out with the guns we have in the Factory, which is 7 in all, vizt 3 great guns and 2 patereroes and 2 drakes,[21] but do wish much that your Honours will be pleased to send 3 or 4 of your great guns, about three or 4 hundred weight, likewise shott answerable for them, which will be a great safeguard to the Royall Companies Factory. The French have been about building flanckers in their house just over against us, which I seing did soon hinder him and made him pull it all down again. Have had a great many pallaviroes with him, but now pretty well qua[i]led him, and do much expect when a French ship comes here that we shall have a great many pallavroes with them. Gentlemen, as you have containowed me in my place as Cheife in the Royall African Companies service in Whydah, and likewise have sent down Mr Edward Jackline to be my assistant, for which, Sirs, I doe give you all many thanks, I shall be ever bound to pray for your health and prosperity, and do hope that the Royall Company my masters will confirme it to me. I question not but most of you Gentlemen do know my ability, therefor shall do nothing that may cause my Royall masters hindrance of the confirmation, but shall to the utmost of my power serve them with all faithfulness and honesty, as a servant ought to serve his master. Sirs, I desire you [if] there be any ships English on the coast to advice

[17] Cf. no.1383, from Capt. Lashley.
[18] i.e. the cost of goods in England, as opposed to their exchange value in Africa, the latter being conventionally reckoned at twice the prime cost.
[19] i.e. that used by Wyborne when he traded at Whydah as an interloper, in 1681–6.
[20] i.e. from Little Popo, of which Ofori was ruler.
[21] Types of small cannon.

the Commander to dispose of the goods that are not vendable hear to windward which are vizt.

goods not vendable
trouncks [= trunks]
Sayes
Knives
rangoes if pail [= pale]

ditto vendable
Booges
reed perpetuanoes or blew if a few
iron barrs
brass neptunes large
linnine [= linen]all sorts
paper braules a few
Giinea clouts a few
rangoes if a deep reed
beads purple and what is large and round
flowerd silks
corall if large
guns and powder

We are much in want of paper, ink and quills, likewise a paper book to keep the accompt for we are very bear [= bare] at this time, and do hope that your Worships will consider to send them by the first oppertunity.

Likewise a man or two more for to be hear. We have at present 4 white men with my self, and 2 of them but small help to me in bissiness, so shall leave it to your Worships consideration.

1343. John Wortley Whydah Factory, 17 Jan. 1691/2

Since my last to you, which [was] on the 5th instant, the Dutch Chief with 2 white men more came from Offra in a ship under pretence of buying slaves only, but his designe is likewise to settle here, which I indeavour to hinder as much as I can.[22] They are now at the French Factory and intend to bring goods to their house. I sent to the Dutch man and told him he should neither buy slaves for his ship nor settle in the country, he sent me word that he would not ask my leave. Likewise I desired the French to turne him out of his Factory, or els I would fire into his house, but he presently histed his flagg and said he would send people to break downe our wall, upon which answer I fired severall great shott into ther factory, upon which severall Blacks they hired came towards our Factory, but I soon sent them back againe. The French formerly was building a flancker against us, but I soon made them pull it downe again, but now they are at work containualy to build on, but I have not powder nor shott to hinder them. We expect Offry every day upon this country, for not long since he sending

[22] Cf. Van Dantzig 1978, no.74 (Resolutions of Council, Elmina, 31 May 1692), reporting the withdrawal of the WIC's agents from Offra to Whydah (in the face of Ofori's attack on the former, mentioned later in this letter).

some of his people from Offra, which place he had destroyed,[23] these people sett upon them and cut most of them off.[24]

1344. Edward Jackline Widah, 10 May 1692[25]

This accompanies Mr John Anshworth,[26] and is to acquaint your Worships of the strange revolutions that have hapned in these parts, for on the 21 Aprill last about 11 aclock at night Mr Wortly, goeing out to the French Factory here, was by the French men pinnyaird and keept prisoner in their house, and presently all the Gold Coast Negroes here[27] gott up in armes, so that we thought they were comeing to take the Factory, for Mr Wortly had panyaird 4 of them some time before and keept them in irons. The next day Mr Worthly sends me ane order to deliver the French men 2 marks gold, the value of 10 slaves in goods and six musquets. I sent him word again that for the gold and goods I would deliver, but I did not think it convenient to deliver the armes to an enemie that threatned to take the Factory, for by that means he might accomplish his desire. He [i.e. the French factor] said he would not have the goods except [= without] the armes, and that he would have them or Factory, so I immediatly acquainted the King what the French had done and what they designed, who sent me word again that I need not fear them, for they should not hurt the Factory, and I knew that without his assistance they could not. Sometime after the King askt him whither Mr Worthly owed him anything, he said no, but he had been at great charge to gett people to watch and look after his Factory for fear of us, and withall told me what need I trouble myself so long as I had Mr Worthlys order, for it was non of mine, for at last they would have taken the 2 mark of gold and 10 slaves in goods without the gunns, but then I would not give it them, I told them so long as he [= Wortley] was his prisoner he could make him notice what he pleased. I told the King if he would force me to give it I would, but I told him withall if he suffred the French to do so he must not expect us to stay long in his country, so the King told him he should have nothing. The French, seing they could gett nothing out of me, said I would not give the things becaus I would have him

[23] Cf. ibid., no.72 (Resolutions of Council, Elmina, 18 Feb. 1692); Bosman 1705, 332.

[24] Bosman gives a different explanation of Ofori's attack on Whydah, that he did it at the request of the King of Allada (1705, 332). Note also the allegation in no.1344 that he was incited to it by Wortley himself; the Chief Merchants at Cape Coast evidently believed that Wortley was suppressing information, complaining that his account of the war between Whydah & Ofori was 'imperfect' (Law 1990a, no.41: 6 April 1692).

[25] This letter was evidently copied to London from Cape Coast, an abstract of it being preserved in NA, T70/11 (Law 1990a, no.42).

[26] Jan Ainsworth, factor of the WIC at Accra, had been sent with the ship *St Clara* to trade for slaves between Accra & Whydah (Van Dantzig 1978, no.73: Resolutions of Council, Elmina, 18 Feb. 1692), & was evidently now returning to the Gold Coast.

[27] There were many immigrants from the Gold Coast settled in Whydah, serving especially as canoemen (Law 2004, 39–40).

[= Wortley] keep there. Mr Answorth can acquaint your worships what I did, who spook very much for Mr Worthly against the French. I told the King he did not do well to suffer the French to do so. At the same time I askt the King why he suffred the French to pinnyair Mr Worthly, he said it was by [ms. 'be'] his order, because he had correspondence with Offree, his enimie, and threatned him that Offree should come and take his country, and for pinnyairing the interlopers canoe and canoemen, and severall other things, and that he would have [had] Mr Worthly out of his house by force before that time if it had not been for fear the rable should have plundred the Factory. Yet I indeavoured as much as I could for his inlargement, but all in wain, for they would not suffer me to see him. At last I desired the King to remove him to some other place, which he did, and sett him aboard an interloper, Capt. James Bruser,[28] then lying at anchor in this road. I askt the Captain how he could answer carrieing the Companys Factors out of the country, he said the King forced him to do it. I know Mr Worthly and the Captain had a falling out sometime before, which was the reason I believe he was so willing to carry him off. Whille Mr Worthly lay at the French house he wrotte a letter to the King promiseing him a great dashee if he would end the pallavour, which he [= the King] forcied me to give him. I askt him why he would take it, seeing he would not suffer Mr Worthly to stay, he said the Dutchmen that are pinnyaird at Offra had given a great deall more and was neer the better,[29] so I was forcied to comply unlesse I would accompany Mr Worthly. I see the letter he wrotte to the King (and I believe Mr Answorth did), wherein he promised him 5 slaves, and 2 of them [i.e. 2 more] I was forcied to give him to remove him from the Frenchmans, for that he was keept in irons in a nesty place, so they have had 7 slaves already, and the Cabbosheers are now at me for something, and then I believe this bussines will be ended. Sometime before this bussinese Mr Worthly had pinnyaird a Gold Coast mans canoe for a debt which another owed, which canoe was brock bringing up to the Factory, so that they would be paid for it and will not take lesse then 2 slaves, and [there was also] one of the interlopers canoemens hire, for which he [= Wortley] received gold and left me to pay them with goods. Perhaps may be some expencesse about this unlooky [= unlucky] bussines to gett people to look after the Factory (for we did expect the French were comeing to take the Factory), and yett as little as possible could be. The King is resolved to have our flanckers [ms. 'planckers'] down, and becaus I desired him to stay till we had a shipp here he told me if I did not resolve upon it I should accompany Mr Worthly, but he said at the same time if I broak doun ours the French should break down theirs,

[28] Commander of the *Caesar* (Database, #21086).

[29] Presumably the Dutch at Offra had to pay a ransom for permission to leave after the conquest of the country by Ofori.

who had built one spite of Mr Wortly, who resisted him very much.[30] They [= the Whydah people?] only waite for a French ship and its thought the Chief [sc. of the French factory] will be sent away likewise. They [= the French] have not had a ship for these 2 years and they are alwayes quar[e]ling amongst themselves, especially the Chief and 2^{d}, who pretends he is equall with the Chief. The 26 April Capt. Butterams mate came here from Little Popo with letters for Mr Wortly,[31] but not your Worships letter, so I desired the King to lett me send up to Popo by the river,[32] but by no means would he suffer me, for he was affrayed I should send to Offree to come upon the country for what they had done to Mr Wortly, and the mate told me he could not tell me whither the ship would come doun or no. Slaves are very plenty here, for the 2 interlopers were dispatched in a month and carried of bettween them 1000 slaves, they departed hence the 3^{d} instant, by whom I have wrotte to the Company concerning the affairs here.[33] After Mr Worthly went off I had liberty to goe to him and carry him his books and papers, which I did, and the inventory, which he well approved of, that on the back side he acknowledged it contained all the goods of the Factory which he could well tell by his accompts. The coppie of the inventory coms inclosed, which you will find not taken presently, for we were forcied to stand on our guaird till the bussines was pretty well ended, yet in the mean time nothing was imbazeiled [= embezzled], as he himself accknowledgeth, but in the 1st night in presence of all the white men here I opened his chair [= chest?] and weighed his gold, of which he sayes 2 mark is wanting, but his boy that keept his key is fleed, and I could not gett him again till the ships were gone. Mr Wortly according to his desire took all his things with him, and I understand Mr Wortly has left more [orders] with the French for me to deliver goods, if he has it will creat a great dale of trouble, but all I ever could gett sight of I gott. The King [blank] the Factory here and the concerns thereof are safe, and my industry shall not be wanting to keep them so. Here is no resisting the country, which was Mr Wortleys ruine, for he depending for Offrees sending him people so could never comply with them. The King sayes that if the white men correspond not with his enemies nor pinnyair his people non shall wrong them, but if they doe he is resolved to serve them the same trick. This country is exterordinarie fearfull of Offrees comeing, which he will certainly do, for he has gott a great dale amunition out of a Dutchman for the same purpose. Our King is

[30] The fortifications of the English factory were not in the event demolished, & were described by Phillips in 1694, as comprising 'two small flankers of mud, with a few pop-guns and harquebusses, which serve more to terrify the poor ignorant negroes than to do any execution'; however, while Phillips was there, they were strengthened by the addition of a moat, after which he judged it 'now pretty secure' (1732, 215).

[31] Commander of the *Fauconberg* (cf. no.1386).

[32] i.e. the lagoon, which runs parallel to the coast in this region.

[33] Not preserved in the RAC's records in the NA.

very angry becaus Capt. Butteram stays at Popo, and yett will not lett me send to him but by sea, which requires so much time, it being again[st] wind and currant, yett I do intend to send to him that way, for I am afrayed he will not come down here, becaus he stays so long. Here is but 2 white men besides my self, and the French has eight, but most of our slaves can handle armes, so there is no fear of the French doeing us any harme. I suppose Capt. Butterams canoe will be goeing from hence in a little time, by them shall inlarge.[34] In the mean time shall be carefull of the Royall Companies concerns here.

1345. Edward Jacklin Whydah [ms. 'Whyadh'], 13 Oct. 1692

Yours of the first September last have received, and accordingly I acquainted the King that if he suffred us to be affronted by the French or any other, that your Worshipps would withdraw the Factory, upon which he seemed very much troubled, and promised me [I] should not be molested for the future. Capt. Butteram sailled from Little Po Po the 14 May last directly for Barbadoes, which made the King extream angry, he askt why we keept a Factory and our ships slaves at another place. The interlopers when here last told the King the Company was broack, & that no more Companys shipps would come upon the Coast, which the King does believe. When 1st I heard of Capt. Butteram comeing to Po Po, with what vendable goods was in the Factory I purchased 25 slaves for him, but he not comeing I was forced to keep them till ane oppertunity presented to dispose of them. I understand Capt. Butteram carryed [away] a great many goods, the remains of his cargoe, which would have done very well here, and if the Commanders look no more upon the Factory then they have done its needlesse to keep it. July the 3d arrived here the Pondare, Capt. Compree, a French ship of 36 guns.[35] At Ashenee he took a small Dutch interloper,[36] and at Po Po he meet Capt. Bell & after 7 houers dispute took him, most of Bells men being ashore and took [= taken], but the French minding the plunder more then minding the ship lett her run ashore so soon as they had taken her, it being night.[37] Severall of the Englishmen that were left aboard were drounded. He brought the Captain and 16 men here, 7 of which were put ashore, whom I was forced to intertain, or elce they might have been starved. Heres not been a ship here except the French ship since Mr Wortly went away, all staying at Po Po. Offree put tricks upon all of them, for when Capt. Bell came to anchor there he promis'd to slave him in 10 dayes, but after Offree had got some goods and

[34] Buttram's canoemen did proceed to Whydah (no.1386), but if any letter was sent by them to Cape Coast it is not preserved.
[35] *Le Pont d'Or*, Capt. Compère, on which Tibierge was factor, which left Assinie on 8 July 1692 [NS = 28 June OS], bound for Whydah (Tibierge 1935, 69).
[36] Cf. ibid., 68.
[37] Cf. Donnan 1930–5, i, no.156 (William Hardinge & Nicolas Prideaux, Barbados, 11 Feb. 1693).

white men ashoree he lay there 3 weeks without getting on[e] slave, if he had come down hee had been dispatched before the French came, and when Capt. Parish[38] came he did the same with him, for after he had gott a sedane and some other things which Parish had brought for the King,[39] he made him pay 30 slaves for the diet of some of Capt. Bells men, and Parish fearing he might do him more mischeife went off with 100 slaves short of his compliment. There was but a small quantity of goods left by Mr Wortly, and no ship has been here to make any advantage of it, and it is a great charge to maintain this Factory, here being nigh 50 slaves belonging to the house, and if I should dispose of any of them it might endeavour the [ms. 'there'] running away of the rest, neither can they be well spared, for the rains has been here so extream that it has washed doun great part of the Factory, which wants tha[t]ching very much, and it will require cost and time to repair it again. The 2 white men here have had no wages this 13 months, for which they are very troublesome. They say when they served Captain Whyburne they had their wages constantly paid them,[40] but now they are in the Companys service they can have nothing, and here is no gold to pay them, nor goods neither excepting a few bowges, all the rest is worth nothing, most part of it being here when Whyburne was interlopeing, so I desire your Worships to take it into consideration, for it will be very hard to stay till the Companys ships come if they come not sooner then they us[ed] to do, besides here is no man will stay if they have not their wages, the two here having 32s per month each. Offrey is now upon his march towards Whydah, and what will be the esue [= issue] of it I can't tell. The King makes very little of it, but his dependancy is upon the Quamboars, to whom he has given a wast [= vast] sum in agree [= aggrey], couecumber [= cowcumber][41] and corall, and Offrey has given them as much, so that they are divided one part for Offree and the other part for the King of Whydah, in a short time we shall see the conclusion.[42] The Dutch are up in the Kings town, and [we] are in a great dale of fear they do intend to build a Factory about half a mille from ours.[43] Here is a report that Offree intends to destroy all the white men here, but that is raised by the King of Whydah, so that there is no fear of any such thing. The only goods in esteeme

[38] Commander of the *Sceptre*.

[39] Presumably, the king of Whydah, where Parish by implication originally intended to trade.

[40] i.e. when Wyburne was chief of the factory, 1688–90.

[41] A variant form of 'cucumber'; from its association here with aggrey & coral, presumably also a form of bead, resembling the fruit.

[42] These divisions in Akwamu probably reflected the tension between the king Basua & the heir apparent Ado, the former supporting Little Popo & the latter its enemies, as noted later in the 1690s (no.1294, with n.117). Forces were in fact sent to assist Ofori against Whydah (no.1214).

[43] Although the Dutch factors were evacuated soon afterwards (no.1346), some of their African employees apparently continued to maintain an establishment: in 1694 there was a 'croom' of Mina men about half a mile from the English factory in Ouidah, who assisted Dutch ships trading there (Phillips 1732, 228).

here is bougees, [iron] barrs, corrall, long cloths, rangoes if good, pintadoes, p[l]attilloes, red perpetuanoes or silks. If ships hath other there best way is to dispose of them for gold.[44] Here they give two says or two boysadoes for a woman or 3 blue perpetuanoes, which is worth a great dale more to windward. If your Worshipps please to send doun a canoe with something, the same will serve to slave next shipp that comes, slaves being plenty enough here and likely to containow so. Lett how [= who] will get the day,[45] it will goe verry hard for us to stay 3 or 5 months longer.

[PS] Inclosed is an accompt from 1st Aprill to ultimo September 92.

1346. Edward Jackline Whydah, 25 Dec. 1692

This accompanies Monsieur Van-Vechlein,[46] and is cheifly to acquaint your Worshipps of the affairs in these parts since my last, which was of 13 October by land. Offerry has been here and hath layed waste great part of this country, especially this place where our Factory stands.[47] He lay here about 25 days, and [we] had much adoe to keep him from plundering the Factory, for the Quamboers and others that came to help him was very desireous to knook us all on the head and burne the Factory, to defend which I have been at great charge & trouble. About the latter end of November Offrey went to Offra and so up the country to gett people to help him,[48] and now with new assistance has taken the country within a mille of the Kings town, so I believe it will not be long ere he comes to us.[49] His new allies are men eaters,[50] for which reasone all Europians are desireous to go off, but the King will suffer non but the Dutch to goe off,[51] having pinyaird the French already,[52] and would me to if he could gett me, by

[44] i.e. on the Gold Coast, before proceeding to Whydah.
[45] i.e. whoever wins the impending war.
[46] Hendrik van Uchelen, a factor of the WIC, sent to Whydah in Sept. 1692 (Van Dantzig 1978, no.75: Resolutions of Council, Elmina, 16 Sept. 1692), now returning to the Gold Coast.
[47] i.e. the coastal town of Glehue, as opposed to the capital Savi, which is mentioned later.
[48] Cf. report of reinforcements being sent from Akwamu in no.1217.
[49] But in fact the campaign ended inconclusively, when Ofori had to withdraw after the Whydahs intercepted his supplies of gunpowder (Bosman 1705, 332–3).
[50] Europeans sometimes reported allegations of cannibalism in the interior from Whydah (e.g. Bosman 1705, 365). Later the charge was made specifically against the people of Dahomey (inland from Allada), who might conceivably be the allies referred to here (Snelgrave 1734, 41–2). This appears, however, to be a local stereotype of inhumanity rather than a genuine indigenous practice.
[51] Cf. Van Dantzig 1978, no.77 (Resolutions of Council, Elmina, 19 Jan. 1693), reporting the evacuation of the WIC's servants from Whydah, in the face of Ofori's attack.
[52] The French factory at Glehue had been destroyed in the Popo attack (Law 1991, 132); 2 French factors were still in Whydah in 1694, now residing at the capital Savi, but not doing any trade & dependent on the king for their subsistence (Phillips 1732, 222).

which you may imagine what a condition we are in here. Sirs, I hope to gett away myself in a little time.[53]

[gap in correspondence, mid-Feb. to July 1693][54]

1347. Francis Smith[55] Whydah Factory, 20 Sept. 1693

This comes by a Brandenburgh factor, who slaves one of their shipps of in 26 dayes, her complement being seaven hundred and thirty,[56] and is to advise you that of the fourteenth instant wee arrived here, where wee finde this factory very much out of repaire, and like to have a great deal of trouble upon Mr Jacklins accompt, hee given [= giving] sev[er]all of the Company house slaves free[dom], disposeing of others to the King, and takeing some with him.[57] As for the affaires of the country cannott at present give you a satisffactory accompt, haveing not tyme to enquire in that affair no further then slaves, which are very plenty, and presume the shippe may be slaved of in a month or five weekes.[58] The Captain would have slaved at Offeres,[59] but could not git any, lying there four days without purchaseing a slave, wherein with referring you to my next is the needfull.

1348. Francis Smith Whydah Factory, 11 Dec. 1693

This accompanyes Bogue, Captain James Funnell[s] canoeman, which serves to acquaint your Worships that the ships Kendall and Katherine arrived here the 14th day of September and sailed from hence the 18th day of October following with their full complement of slaves, excepting Capt. Curties, who wanted two, which was occasioned through mortality before the shipps departure.[60] Did receive from Capt. Funnill the following goods (vizt), being the remaines of his Negroe cargoe,[61] 170 double chints, forty four single chints, two thousand eight hundred rango beads, hundred nynety one iron barrs, one silk longee, and one allejar, likewise from Capt. Edward Curtie[s], being the remaines of his Negro cargoe, three thousand one hundred & nynety rango beads, thirty fiv[e] caddey

[53] Jacklin later did leave Whydah, & a new chief for the factory, John Pratt, was sent from Cape Coast (NA, T70/11, Chief Merchants, Cape Coast Castle, 18 March 1693).

[54] During this hiatus in the correspondence, the Brandenburg ship *Friedrich Wilhelm*, with Oettinger as surgeon, traded at Whydah, 13 March–4 April 1693: see Oettinger's account (1985, 190–6).

[55] Sent to replace John Pratt, who had died (NA, T70/11, Chief Merchants, Cape Coast Castle, 28 Aug. 1693).

[56] i.e. the *Friedrich III* (cf. Jones 1985, no.82: Memorandum of the slaves delivered by three Brandenburg ships to St Thomas, 11 June 1696).

[57] For further reference to slaves missing from the factory, see no.1351.

[58] i.e. the *Kendal*, on which Smith had come to Whydah.

[59] Ofori's, i.e. Little Popo.

[60] Funnell & Curtis were commanders, respectively, of the *Kendal* & the *Katherine*.

[61] i.e. cargo for the purchase of slaves.

chints, six allijares, four hundred iron barrs and two whole barrells powder, which have placed for the Royall African Companys credit. Inclosed is a coppie of the inventory sent home to the Royall Company of what goods, stores &ca did finde in the Royall Companyes Factory at Whydah att my arrivall here. Since the ships departure have been dangerously ill of a distemper called the flux and gripes, which yet continues and makes me keepe my roome, and God knows when may find ease, our Doctor being deade,[62] can expect no remedy till it hath run its course. Likewise since my arrivall John Smith is deade, and Charles Wearne dangerously sick, ill of the flux and gripes, and all of us haveing had a small seasoning to the country. Slaves are very plenty in these parts, as doth appear by the quick dispatches of the aforesaid ships.

PS. It's very hard to bee so farr from your parts and to have never [ms. 'new'] a Doctor, therefore take it into consideration and send us some body that understands chirurgery.

1349. Josiah Pearson Whydah Factory, 3 April 1694

This comes by a Brandenburgh Factor, who slaved off one of their shipps in one month, which tooke in six hundred slaves,[63] and is to advise your Worships of the death of Mr Francis Smith, for a small time after our ships departure the Kendall & Katherine he was taken very ill of the flux and gripes, which continued very violent upon him for the space of two months, and then it turned to a swalling [= swelling] in his belly and sometimes removeing on his side, which brought him to a very low and weake condition, he not being able to help himselfe before his death, which was the 8th day of February last about four a clock in the morning,[64] but before his death a considerable time I did by his order inventory the Royall African Companys Factory here at Whydah, which inventory is now inclosed, he intending att that time to goe to Cape Coast Castle in Capt. Funnels canoe, but the wind proveing very contrary was forced to returne back againe.

Offery goeing to fight the Alampoe people, was unfortunatly killed the 29th of December last,[65] since which the Alampoes have burnt his crume, the Accras

[62] i.e. Hugh Douglas (cf. no.1225).

[63] Probably the *Ceur-Princesse*, although this is recorded in Brandenburg sources to have loaded only 484 slaves (Jones 1985, no.82).

[64] For another account of Smith's death, obtained orally from Pearson a few weeks later, cf. Phillips 1732, 226.

[65] This campaign was not against the Adangme homeland west of the Volta, but against Anlo, east of the Volta, where many Adangme refugees had settled, following Akwamu invasions of Adangme in the 1680s (Greene 1995, 25–8), & which consequently was itself also called 'Allampo' at this time (Phillips 1732, 214; Bosman 1705, 329). Bosman confirms Ofori's death in this campaign (1705, 333); but a different account of his death was heard at Whydah later in 1694, that he had been poisoned by some of his own soldiers who were bribed by the king of Whydah (Phillips 1732, 220).

being all run to Great Arda.[66] The Alampoes likewise did come down to help the King of Whydah to fight Great Popoe, but all to noe purpose, they being forced to returne back againe after they had beseidged Popoe upwards of a month,[67] all which time the whole army received their provision from the country, which has occasioned great scarcity of provision but more especially corne.

1350. Josiah Pearson Whydah Factory, 22 April 1694

This accompanys Mr Anysworth, who slaved off one of [their][68] shipps in eighteen dayes, which took in five hundred & ninety slaves. I know nothing more as touching the affairs of the country than what I did satisfy your Worships in my last by the Brandenbrough, onely that slaves are very plenty in these parts. I understand by Mr Anysworth that Capt. Shirley and Capt. Phillips is to the windward with two great shipps bound for slaves, if they come down here they will not lye six weeks before they take in fifteen hundred Negroes, if they want so many, on condition their cargo is vendable.[69] Their cargoes ought to be two-thirds boogs, if be soe will not fail of a quick dispatch.[70]

1351. Josiah P[e]arson Widah Factory, 24 Nov. 1694

This comes by a Ducth [= Dutch], a factor, who slaved of their shipp in 24 days, which took in 6 hundred and odd slaves, and is to advise your Worships of the receipt of the deatd [= dated] the 25th of Aprill 94 by the E[a]st India Merchant directed to Mr Smith likewise dated, with yours to my self the 27 of Aprill by the Hannibal, butt as to yours dated the 10 of February which you mentioned sent by the Brandinbergh to advise of our shipps arrival [I] did not receive, neaither had I any notice of our ships being to windward till Mr Answorth came here, and then he could not or would not sati[s]ffie me weather they was really bound heather or not, soe that I did not make any provision for those ships, which fell owt very well, for those four slaves which I had by me the Commanders they would not take off my hands according to [their][71] charter parter [= party],

[66] i.e. the capital of the Allada kingdom.

[67] Great Popo (nowadays Grand-Popo), on the coast between Little Popo & Whydah. For this campaign, cf. Bosman 1705, 335–6. Bosman does not mention any Adangme/Anlo involvement, but says that the Whydahs were assisted by some French ships which were then lying at Whydah; this may refer to the French ship reported to have gone to Whydah in no.1391.

[68] 'Your' in ms., but this must be a mistake, since Ainsworth was employed by the Dutch WIC.

[69] i.e. the *East India Merchant* & the *Hannibal*; but in fact, it took them 9 weeks (21 May to 27 July) to collect 1300 slaves (Phillips 1732, 214, 230).

[70] Phillips offered the more moderate estimate that 'near half the cargoe value must be cowries or booges, and brass basons ... for if a cabbasheir sells five slaves, he will have two of them paid in cowries, and one in brass' (1732, 243–4).

[71] 'yor [your]' in ms., but presumably miscopied.

which have advise the Company of,[72] so that I did not dispose of any to them, I being myselfe forced to give within a very small matter as much as they for those slaves which I do purchase,[73] for although slaves are very plenty in these parts it is best when ships are here, the shipps opening the way, but as soon as the ships are gone the ways are shutt up and nothing but warr,[74] so that I purchase of only some four slaves to dispose to ships that come hear for bugees to defray factory charges, for without bowges in these parts there is noe liveing for a whiteman.[75] I notice in yours that in exam[in]ing Mr Jackleys last accompts with Mr Smith[s] inventorey you find a mistake in the slaves, which you say may be found out by comparing what Mr Smith found when [omission][76] the inventory left by Capt. Bradshaw,[77] which inventorey I have not, but if your Worships please to perruse the following accompts [you] shall find what is become of those 3 men and 3 women which is wanting, and the girl which is not mentioned in Mr Jacklins accompts, but as to the goods wanting of [those] which was left by Mr Jacklin [I] can give no satisfactory accompt, John Williams being gone to England in the ship Katherine, Capt. Edward Curtis Commander. By the next convenience, which will be by shipps cannos, and that will be very shortly, shall give your worshipps accompt of how affairs stand in these parts. Likewise shall send my accompts, I being not very well at this instant.

The remaine[s] of Mr Persons leved[78]

	m[en]	w[omen]	b[oys]	
left by Mr Jacklin	23	20	4	
carried off per Capt. Bradshaw	[4][79]	6	–	
should remaine	19	14	4	
	m	wo	b	g[irls]
Mr Smith mak[e] found	16	11	4	1
per inventory after which inventory [I] gott		2	0	

[72] Not preserved in the NA.

[73] Implying that normally the factory would expect to pay lower prices than ships: cf. no.750, with n.103.

[74] A state of war still existed between Whydah & Allada, its principal source of slaves, as noted by Phillips (1732, 220).

[75] Cowries were the local currency. Wages & subsistence allowances to the factory's personnel were paid in cowries; & also (as noted by Phillips, ibid., 228) purchases in the market at Whydah had to be made in cash, rather than by barter.

[76] Evidently the omitted words were to the effect of 'he came here, with'.

[77] Commander of the *Swallow Brigantine*, who had been sent to Whydah in 1693 for slaves, also delivering John Pratt as new chief of the factory (NA, T70/11, Chief Merchants, Cape Coast Castle, 18 March & 28 Aug. 1693).

[78] Sic: but this should presumably be 'Mr Jacklin'.

[79] '-' in ms, but clearly in error.

	m	wo	b	g	
so that will find my inventory to be	16	13	4	1	which girle must be a mistake in Jaclin, for said girle [is one of the Companys slaves child about 8 years old][80]
after which inventory have	1	1			found which were owt of the Factory under pretence of freedome
since which doe understand	1				was killed by the Mina people here about a palaver Mr Jacklin had about said people
since ditto	1				dead
	m 19	wo 14	b 4	g 1	

1352. Josiah Pearsons Whidah Factory, 8 April 1695

This accompanys our ships canoes, and serves to advise your Worships of the receipt of yours date the 24th January per Capt. Max Robinson, Commander of the Averilla, who arrived here the 30th of ditto with an interloper, Capt. Perry,[81] and sail'd from hence the 24th March following with 598 slaves, the enterloper sailing nine days before with 700 slaves, his chargoe much exceeding Capt. Robinsons both in quantity and quality, but however Capt. Robinson and I did endeavour to hinder him, or leastwise strive to sayle with him, going up to the King and useing all the arguements and perswations as possibly could be given, but found all to noe purpose,[82] he considering nothing but his present interest, neither has he any more kindness or respect for the Royall Company then enterlopers or any other nation, for doe find those that brings the most & best goods shall have the most & best slaves (as for example this enterloper). The cheifest reason that makes him and the Cabbosheers soe proud is because all ships comes here to Whidah, haveing had since the 14th February 169$^3/_4$ to this instant 13 ships which took of slaves, the road hardly being free twenty days together.

I understand Capt. Zebbett[83] has slaved of Paccaheny,[84] he arriveing there about the 19th February and sail'd about the 18th March following, for as I advised your Worships beforre of the death of Offerry and routall of his country,

[80] In ms., the phrase within square brackets is actually higher up the page, but from the sense of the text this must be a misplaced addition.
[81] William Perry, commander of the *William* (Database #21091).
[82] Cf. no.1401, from Robinson.
[83] Commander of the *John Bonadventure*.
[84] This name also occurs, as 'Paohkanee' in no.1386, & clearly refers to Little Popo.

they have since rallied and are returned, and have conquered the Alampo people & took abondance of prisoners just before the arrivall of Capt. Zebbett, which presume has occasioned soe quick a dispatch.[85] But if the Accras can keep their country of Paccahenny, doe suppose that will be a good place to slave a single ship off some times, & per that meanes the King of Whidah will find thatt our ships can gett slaves in other parts, for now he perswades him self on the contrary.

I doe hear a verry good caracter of Offery Bembeneen, the successor of Offerry Pinccaniny,[86] that he is a fair trader and mightily ambitious of a correspondence with whitemen, but more expecially the English, butt presume you will better be sattisfied per Capt. Zebbett, who have had the provall of him, who whithout doubt hath write you per his canoemen, which he has left at Paccahenny.[87] Comes with these a coppy of my accompts to primo December, which have sent home to the Royall African Company.

[gap in correspondence, April 1696 to March 1697]

1353. Josiah Pearson Whidah, 15 April 1697

In my last I advised you of my departure and delivery of the factory to Serjeant Clemett, since which by contrary winds I am returned to Whidah, and was once more wholly designed to try once more by way of canoa, having fitted my canoa in order thereunto, but in the mean time down comes a Dutch ship, with one Bosman a merchant, and hired the Mine blacks to seize Henry Clemett and the factory. His person they did [seize], as he was coming from town, and almost killed him.[88] Now, he being very sick of his bru[i]ses which he received, and [I] not knowing but he may die, here being no body to secure the Royall Companyes fort and factory but a few old Companyes slaves, have taken the fort, slaves &c into my possession againe, not intending to come to the windward any more, since [I] have been so often crost [= crossed], but to accept of the Royall Companyes proffer, humbly begging your worships confirmation, and [to] send by my canoa whom this accompaneys men, armes and a few goods

[85] Fighting between the two continued for several years (cf. no.1294), until the Popo forces conquered Anlo itself in 1700 (Bosman 1705, 329–30, 333).

[86] i.e. 'Little Ofori [Portuguese *pequeneno*]': so called in distinction from 'Offerry Grandy [Great Ofori]', the former king of Accra, who led the original migration of Accra refugees to settle at Little Popo. In 1687, when the latter was still alive, 'Little Ofori' held the office of 'General' (vol.ii, no.825); but he evidently succeeded to the kingship himself subsequently. The new king 'Ofori Bembeneen' is remembered in local tradition as 'Foli Bebe', & regarded as the founder of Little Popo, ignoring both 'Great Ofori' & 'Little Ofori' (Gayibor 1990, 44, 56–66).

[87] If he did his letter is not preserved.

[88] Bosman's own account confirms that he visited Whydah in 1697 (1705, 334), but makes no reference to this incident.

with all speed, because [I] hear of two Dutch shipps more to windward and bound hither, and their intention know not.

Likewise this is to advise your Worships [of] the rogueryes of the Cabo Corso canoamen that comes hither, they combine with the blacks of the Mine against the factory and to steal the Commanders goods &c. Capt. Sallaways[89] canoaman by name Tom lent his canoa to the Mine blacks to goe to Jacking[90] to take a Portuguze shipp, which they did and brought the shipp up hither. This Tom did take a canoaman from me which I had hired and paid in part to paddle me up to windward. Capt. Soanes[91] canoaman threw three caskes bouges into the sea, and gott them out afterwards in the night, one belonging to the Company, which you sent to me, the other[s] received by Henry Clemett. I hear they consulted with the Mine blacks to deliver me up at Popoe, as they formerly served Mr Jacklin,[92] they not knowing but I intended to goe along with them. These are not the only rogues which come hither, but all the Cabo Corso canoamen in generall, they valuing not the English nor the Companyes fort in these parts, but continually side with the Mine blacks,[93] but the way to make them be true is to send downe a Cabo Corso canoaman to live here and be head over them, allowing him a small maintenance, and to build a croome under the fort, which would be little or no charge, here being Companyes slaves enough. Serjeant Clemett desires your worships would be pleased to send him down his eigh[t] months pay and a half which is due to him the 9 instant, I not being able, haveing no goods to pay myself.

PS. Discovering this plot made me dubious of my canoamen, but [= otherwise] would have given the Cabo Corso canoamen my canoa to carry up, leaving there own here, notwithstanding my canoa is worth two of theirs.

[gap in correspondence, Sept. & Oct. 1697]

1354. Josiah Pearson, Whidah Factory, 25 April 1698

This is to advise you that at my arival at Whidah[94] found four shipps, since which are all sayled, and also to advise of a Dutch ship ariveing here, and that

[89] Also referred to in no.1417 (at São Tomé), but not otherwise identified.
[90] Jakin (modern Godomey), 30 km east of Whydah, which had replaced Offra as the coastal port of Allada.
[91] John Soanes, Commander of the *Success*.
[92] Presumably when Jacklin left the Whydah factory, in 1693.
[93] An earlier RAC chief at Whydah, in 1686, also referred to the influence which the Mina canoemen exercised over those from Cape Coast, which they used to subvert the latter's loyalty to the RAC (vol.ii, nos 821–2).
[94] From visiting Cape Coast, where he had gone to convalesce from illness (NA, T70/11, Chief Merchants, Cape Coast Castle, 2/6 April 1698). He called at Winneba & Accra en route (nos 1161, 1325).

the Dutch Cheife has agreed with the king to settle a factory, in order whereunto hath laid out the ground.[95] Capt. Devonport, being one of the four, sailed with four hundred and fifty slaves, also Capt. Holland with two hundred and twenty, having raised the prices, given [= giving] two slaves for one in powder, two hundred twenty four pound per slave, thirty iron barrs and four hundred and fifty rangoe beads per slave.[96] The great Portuguese which was at Cabo Corso sailed with two hundred slaves, and a French man with three hundred and fifty. Also Capt. Piles, now Commander of the Merchants Good Will,[97] sailed with three hundred forty six slaves, Capt. Charles Cotterell with his pursor, second mate and gunner dyeing here.

If any Companyes shipps should bring the afforementioned goods pray advise them to dispose of them to windward, and not only them, butt brandy, blue perpetuanoes, seyes, sheets, knives, pewter basons, nests of trunks, and corrall if not large and good red. Vendable goods at present is bouges, paper sletias, long cloaths, salampores, sletia lawns or any sort of fine linnen, neptunes, carrabines or light fuzes [= fusils], pintadoes and small beads. Francis Winnington is dead, and Thomas Hughes almost, that I am forced to keep Edward Lillingstone here against his will. I humbly begg that you would be pleased to send me eight or ten men, considering the mortality of this place. In my last gave you an accompt that I did not receive the chest of fuzees, which by next hope you'l send with another. Also gave you an accompt of an error which supposed to be commited in the brass, being charged by invoice 25cwt 2qrs 25 lbs, and when opened here before wittness found it to contain 2cwt 2qrs 17 lbs and noe more.[98]

There is none of the goods I brought with me vends, exepting the bouges, pintadoes and sletia lawns. The beads proves to be of the wrong sort, being glass which is worth nothing. I thought they had been a small round white beade, with blue and green, but find to the contrary, exepting some few that are loose, which is a great disappoyntment.

[gap in correspondence, Sept. to Dec. 1698]

[95] The Dutch factor who established this factory was again Bosman, the ship on which he came to Whydah being the *Catharina*: see his own account in 1705, 365a, & more extendedly in Van Dantzig 1975–84, pt 6: 285–6 [material omitted in the English edition]. This factory was at the Hueda capital Savi, rather than at Ouidah, where the English factory was situated. It was also not permanently occupied: when Bosman returned in 1699 he found that possession of it had been usurped by the French, whom he had to evict (ibid., 288–9). A permanent Dutch lodge in Whydah was established (again at Savi) only in 1703 (Van Danztig 1980, 75–6).

[96] Compare the prices paid by Phillips in 1694: 14 iron bars, 300 rangoes (1732, 227).

[97] Thomas Piles, formerly mate of the ship.

[98] = no.1325, written at Accra (but this does not, as copied, mention the missing fusils).

1355. Josiah Pearson, Whidah Factory, 1 Jan. 1698/9

Since my last yours of the 24th of November by the Mary and Margaret Gally, Capt. Samuell Kally [= Kelly] Commander, with two casks of bouges and 3 cases of paper sletias, as also one hundred thirty one pounds of loose bouges according to invoice, have received on accompt of the Royall African Company of England, but noe men, which I am heartily sorry for, but more particularly an Assistant, which your Worshipps can confide in and that shall be able to take charge of the Royall Companys concerns in case of mortallity, the which person if you cannot supply me with, I desire that you should send me noe more goods, for now shall be obliged to live here continually, having noe second to deliver the Companys effects to in case my time was come to goe to England, which hope now shall not be long. Captain Samuell Kally acquainted me that he supposes his cargoe will fall short, which if prove soe, intend to ship as many slaves aboard him on the Royall Companys accompt as shall complete his complyment, consigneing them to the Royal Companys agents at Jamacoe. He hath now the major part of his slaves on board. Notwithstanding here are now four shipps more in the road besides himselfe, question not but to dispatch him very speedily, for here want not slaves, onely very deare by reason of the vast nomber of shipps that resort to this plaice now.[99]

PS. I am in great streight [= strait] for want of paper.

[99] One of the other ships currently at Whydah was that of the French captain Damon, who was there 11 Dec. 1698 to 31 Jan. 1699 [NS = 1 Dec.–21 Jan. OS]. He reported seeing 2,300 slaves traded in the course of 6 weeks, at a price of 50 fr. [= £4.3s.4d.] each (1935, 82–4).

XIV

SHIPS

A small number of the letters copied into the Cape Coast letter-books in the 1690s (75 of 1457) were received from ships operating along the coast, rather than from the RAC's factories and agents onshore. Some of these were from vessels based locally at Cape Coast, engaged in coasting voyages. The majority, however, come from ships engaged in trans-Atlantic voyages, which originated in England and would continue to the Americas.[1] This distinction is not in practice clearcut, since some vessels after a period based in Africa were dispatched on trans-Atlantic voyages (as with the *Guinea Galley*, the *Swallow Brigantine* and the *Sally Rose* in this period); and indeed, ships arriving from England often engaged in coasting trade, turning back up the coast to 'windward [west]' after arrival at Cape Coast, before proceeding to the Americas.

COASTING VOYAGES

The ships based locally in West Africa were characteristically smaller craft, two of those in this period being 'sloops' and one a 'brigantine', while two others were 'galleys'.[2] They were mainly employed to carry goods and stores among the RAC's factories, but also did some trade, including on sections of the coast where the Company currently had no factories, for example to the west of the Gold Coast and in the 'Allampo' country east of Accra.

[1] In one case (no.1403), the ship sailed from the West Indies, rather than England.

[2] Technically a 'sloop' is a single-masted, a 'brigantine' a two-masted vessel; a 'galley' has oars as well as sails for propulsion (useful for navigation against prevailing winds & currents).

The *Discovery*, Commander Nicholas Pepperell, then Charles Salmon

[The *Discovery* was in origin an interloping ship, which was captured by the RAC, appropriated & renamed in 1688, & initially commanded by Richard Bradshaw.[3] By 1691, Bradshaw was back in England, & the ship was commanded by Pepperell.]

1356. Nicholas Pepperell

From on board the shipp Discovery in Accra roade, 6 July 1691

My last was 30th of June,[4] which gave your Worshipps accompt of my comeing to Accra, for want of corne and water, and according to your Worshipps order have sent Mr Lang up in the canoe, and shall endeavour with all oppertunity to gett up to Cabo Corsoe.[5] I humbly desire your Worshipps to send three men in the liew of them which went home, without them we cannot weigh our anchors. Corne is scarce and verry bad, if any good, I shall endeavor to purchase comeing up.

[Pepperell proceeded up the coast, with difficulty, against the current (nos 1190–1). He later sailed west from Cape Coast, being reported off Sekondi on 9 Sept. & at Cape Apollonia about 7 Oct., but had come back east to Cape Three Points by 12 Nov. 1691 (nos 156, 160, 164).]

1357. Nicholas Pepperell & Thomas Johnson

From on board the Discovery about a league to leward of Dickescove, 15 Nov. 1691

Yours of the 13th instant have received, & were then under saile a comeing downe to Succondee. Wee have by Mr Stephensons boy sent you on accompt of the Royall African Company of England four marks, four ounces, seaven angles & eight taccoes.[6] In our last dated the 9th October from Cape Appalonia by a Portugueez vessell,[7] gave you an accompt of our proceeding, meeting with severall shipps, the [ms. 'to'] which hath been a great hindrance to our trade. At our comeing downe wee were forced into Cape Tres Pointes for water, where our canoe comeing aboard with water oversett with Edward Pike the carpenter, who was then drownded.

[PS] Just now came to anchor in Dickescove road a Dutch interloper who was with us att Assinee & Cape Appolonia, & spoiled our trade.

[3] NA, T70/11, Chief Merchants, Cape Coast Castle, 12 Feb. 1689.
[4] Not preserved.
[5] Cf. nos 1188–9.
[6] Thomas Stephenson, chief of the RAC factory at Sekondi (cf. no.165).
[7] Not preserved.

1358. Nicholas Pepperell & Thomas Johnson
in Dickescove Road, 23 Nov. 1691

Yours of 21st instant have received, & your orders therein shall be punctually observed. With our last of the 15th instant, according to your order, we sent you on accompt of the Royall African Company of England, four marks four ounces seaven angles & eight taccoes, which you have not advised of the receipt.

1359. Nicholas Pepperell from Dickescove, 3 Dec. 1691

According to your orders I have lay as neare as possible I could to secure the towne,[8] but finding foul ground I was forced to goe of againe, haveing done a great deale of damage to our cables, and where I lye now our gunns will not command the towne, but upon notice given mee will goe in again, tho' we receive a farther damage. I have made a proposall to them about putting two or three gunns with three white men ashoare under the flagg, provided that they would give me a pledge that I should have them off when I demanded them, for which I have not had an answer. No news of any ships to windward.

[In Jan. 1692 Pepperell evacuated the RAC's personnel from Dixcove, landing them at Sekondi (no.171). In Feb. 1692 he was sent east, for corn, as follows.]

1360. Nicholas Pepperell Laggue, 15 Feb. 1691/2

I have been ashore att Laggue and Mumford, and at the toun about 2 milles to windward of Laggue,[9] and have endeavoured to gett corne at your price but cannot. The enterloper corned here and paid 3 angles per chest, and they say they will have the same of me. I told them your prices, their answer to me before my comeing off was that I should have it at 2 angles per chest and not under, and that I shall be supplyd with corne. I thought it my duty to acquaint your worships. I understand I may buy some slaves here, their prices are for a man 2o and for a women 7 pease. Here lyeth a small vessell tradeing belonging to the Brandenburgs.

1361. Nicholas Pepperell Laggue, 17 Feb. 1691/2

Yours 16 instant came to my hands, and since have been ashore, and they have promised me that I shall have corne at 2a per chest. I am ready to receive it as soon as they bring the corne aboard.

[8] Dixcove (where the RAC had recently established a factory) was under military attack (cf. no.167).
[9] Probably Tantumkweri, actually about 1 mile west of Lagu.

[In early March 1692, he was at Anomabu, repairing leaks in his vessel & supplying corn to the ship *Fauconberg* (no.1385).]

1362. Nicholas Pepperell On Board the Discovery, 30 March 1692

I have been at Laggue and Mumford and from thence above 14 milles up in the Atrong [= Acrong] country[10] at the corne cromes, and used all means possible I could in purchaceing corne but could not gett any. I believe corne is very scarce, by reasone Dommine hath gott about 10 chests in 19 dayes.[11] I thought good to advice your Worships by our canoe men.

[In May 1692, the *Discovery*, now commanded by Charles Salmon, was sent to Accra, to deliver goods & collect shells (no.1206).]

1363. [Charles Salmon][12]

from aboard the Discovery, below Amuisa, 10 June 1692

This is to informe you that I sailld from Accra the 1st of this month, and haveing a windward currant I gott up in 2 days a league to windward of Laggue, where the currant failled us, since which time by all the dilligence I can use I canot reach Amersa, therefor I thought it convenient to send my canoe with your letters to Annimaboe. I have on board about 18 butts of oystershells,[13] and the vessell is the same for l[e]akeing as she use to be.

[In July 1692 the *Discovery* was at Anashan, loading wood (no.513), but by Jan. 1693 it was reported to have 'fallen into pieces', so was presumably scrapped.[14]]

The *Alligator Sloop*, Commander Leonard Jeffryes

[The *Alligator Sloop* was already in West Africa in 1687–8, commanded initially by Nicholas Pepperell, then by Leonard Jeffryes (vol.ii, nos 892–7). Between May 1691–March 1692, still (or again) commanded by Jeffryes, it made several voyages to Accra, to deliver goods & collect shells (nos 1183–4, 1190, 1192–3, 1195, 1197–8, 1200–1, 1204), & also west to Sekondi, to collect gold from the RAC factory (no.160) & to

[10] Akron, the kingdom in which Mumford was situated.
[11] A leading trader at Anomabu (cf. no.645).
[12] 'John Bloome' in ms., evidently in error.
[13] Cf. no.1206, from Accra, which says 24 butts.
[14] NA, T70/11, Chief Merchants, Cape Coast Castle, 21 Jan. 1693.

Anomabu, for corn (no.621). In April 1692, Jeffryes went again to Accra, to deliver goods & collect shells (no.1205).]

1364. Leonard Jeffrys [Accra], 3 May 1692

The cause of my writting is to acquaint you that comeing down to Accra I mett with very bad weather that torr [= tore] my main saill almost to pieces, and the 2 pieces of hessing [= hessian][15] that I had at Cape Co[a]st I have spent to mend it, but that is not enough, but I am loaden. I would venture up if wind present, but here is strong leward currants, that I cannot gett up. In case you please to send one piece hessing more, I think to make the saill good again, and if I be come away it is but liveing [= leaving] it at Morree.

[In Sept.–Oct. 1692 he made voyages to the west, delivering building materials to Sekondi (nos 195, 199) & goods to Dixcove (no.5). He was again at Dixcove in early Nov. 1692, & was delayed there by necessary repairs to his vessel (nos 9–10).]

1365. Leonard Jeffryes Dickies Cove, 20 Nov. 1692

These are to acquaint your Worshipps I have as yett done nothing to the sloope but shall with all possibility proceed in the dispatching of her, I haveing been at Cape Trees Pointas and the General[16] hath spared aboute 21 pounds of pitch, he presents his service to you. The smith here is about work of makeing sheeving naills, which when they are made shall goe down to Succondee and do what I have occasion for there, which will not be long adoeing, and then I shall with all speed come down. I have not provision, and non here to be gott for money, so hopeing these will satisfy your Worshipps.

[Jeffryes was still at Dixcove 23 Nov. 1692 (no.12), but returned to Cape Coast soon after. Between Dec. 1692–Feb. 1693, he made voyages to Egya for corn (nos 937–9), to Amisa, for shells (nos 687–9), & to Dixcove, to deliver stores & collect wood (no.25). By this time, the sloop was in poor condition, expected to fall to pieces, as the *Discovery* had,[17] & it was probably also decommissioned. Jeffryes later made 2 or more visits to Winneba, between Aug. 1693–March 1694, but it does not appear that he was still commanding the *Alligator* (nos 1065 etc.).]

[15] Strong coarse hemp or jute cloth.
[16] The Director-General of the Brandenburg African Company, at Gross-Friedrichsburg, west of Cape Three Points.
[17] NA, T70/11, Chief Merchants, Cape Coast Castle, 21 Jan. 1693.

The *Swallow Brigantine* (1st tour of service),
Commander Richard Bradshaw, then Nicholas Pepperell

[Bradshaw was sent in the *Swallow* to Cape Coast in 1692, with instructions to remain there at the disposal of the Chief Merchants, & to return to England within 2 years; as reported in 1694, he was 'chiefly employed to carry stores and merchandize &c., to the other factories on the coast'.[18] He arrived at Dixcove on 7 Feb. 1693, en route to Cape Coast (no.24). During the hiatus in the correspondence between Feb.-July 1693 he made a voyage to Whydah (no.1351). During Aug.-Nov. 1693 he made 3 separate voyages east, to deliver goods & supplies to Winneba & Accra (nos 1066–8, 1078, 1221), & to collect oystershells from Amisa (nos 700–1, 1221). He was back at Amisa for shells in late Dec. 1693 (nos 714–15).]

1366. Richard Bradshaw Amersa, 29 Dec. 1693

I have forboare with great patience, and wish I could have continued it longer, till I came myselfe to Cabo Corso Castle, but the insolency of some of our men has soe perplexed mee with denying the ships worke that I have suffered more abuses with these raskalls then ever I did since I was borne, and except there bee some course taken with them, I cannott think myselfe secure nor the vessell safe. This morning I being in the whole [= hold] aworking and [there] proving little winde, [I] ordered the slack of the cable to bee halled in, and before I came upon deck found the ship had drove very neare the shore. I being much surprized, being affraide wee could not carry it off, orders our men immediately to hawle up the boate. Some of them makeing but slow hast, and seing this Frenchman sitt on the shipps gunnell,[19] I asked him why hee did not make hast and step in the boate. I seeing hee did not care to stirr, I told him, if he did not make more hast, I would give him a slap on the face, and in that occasion of time it would have urged any man, but hee replyed if I struck him hee would strike mee againe, upon which, a shovell being by mee, I hot [= hit] him a blow or two with the flatt side of it, which if I had not defended myselfe, [he] would have gave mee as much or more. Soe hee told mee hee would goe ashore, and I promised hee should when hee pleased, soe have lett him goe in my canoa to Agga. This Frenchman is one of the rascalls that reffused to carry the bricks ashore at Wynnebah till Mr Buckeridge had drassed [= dressed] him.[20] I hope,

[18] NA, T70/61, Instructions for Richard Bradshaw, 25 Oct. 1692; Phillips 1732, 208.
[19] i.e. gunwhale, the upper edge of the ship's side.
[20] Nicholas Buckeridge, chief of the RAC factory at Winneba. 'Dressed' perhaps in the sense of 'dressed down', i.e. thrashed, or scolded. The incident must have occurred when Bradshaw delivered bricks to Winneba in Nov. 1693, but it is not referred to in the Winneba correspondence (no.1078).

Gentlemen, you will bee pleased to make an example of him, that others may take warneing. Hee has 50s per month, and will justify it. Hee is not the 3^{d} part of a sailer, but great lauber [= lubber],[21] and one that is continually grumbling with anything that is to bee done. If I had but 3 or 4 slaves on board [they] would doe the Company more service then some white men I have aboard, soe will not insist any more till I come to Cabo Corsoe, onely shall trouble you with a line or two, which is this, one 5 hand canoes is broake soe much that I have not wherewith to refitt her, and the other soe leaky [ms. 'lealy'] that she can hardly swym. The weather now is good, and if I had but canoes should bee soon dispatched.

[PS] I have but sixteen butts aboard as yett.

1367. Richard Bradshaw Amersa, 30 Dec. 1693

I have just now received on board the 5 hand canoe, and shall take all the care possible of her. Tomorrow they will not worke, however if the weather holds faire I hope in a short tyme to be laden. Staples and nailes wee shall dayly want, therefore the sooner they are sent the better. Let the sizes bee 10 or 12^{d} nailes.

[In Jan. 1694, he went to Dixcove, to deliver goods, returning to Cape Coast 27 Feb. (nos 37–9).]

1368. Richard Bradshaw Cabo Corso Road, 12 March 1693/4

I hope you will excuse my being soe troblesome, for if necessity did not force me, or that I could any wayes make a shift without a supply, should think my selfe very negligent to put the Royal Company to any unnecessary charge. In the [ms. 'q^{r}'] first place at Dickies Cove, in that hard turnadoe, my best bower cable[22] was rubed soe much & drove into foule ground that [I] was forced to cutt off 12 foot, soe now 2 tornadoes in Cabo Corso Road, which strained him twice, the first time cutt off 5 fathoms and the second time 1½ fathoms. I have only now my short cable to trust to, which I now ride by, the weather being soe uncertaine, and the strength of the wind now in turnadoes comes generally at 10,[23] which is right on the shoar, that if anything should give way the vessell is in danger of being lost. Capt. Shirley[24] as I am informed has three cables to dispose off of 7 and 7½ inch, which may serve [to] use for a small bower. I have

[21] i.e. lout; but perhaps specifically in the sense of 'landlubber', i.e. a poor seaman.
[22] The 'best bower' & 'small bower' were anchors carried at the ship's bow.
[23] Presumably referring to a scale of wind strength, such as the 'Table of Degrees' cited by Daniel Defoe in 1704, in which the 10th degree (of 12) was defined as 'a fret of wind', intermediate between a 'hard gale' and a 'storm' (Defoe 2005, 24).
[24] Commander of the *East India Merchant*, currently also at Cape Coast.

alsoe but one foretopsayle on board, and my maynestay sayle is soe short that it gives our shipp no way, which I can impute only to the sayle makers fault. Canvace [= canvas] I have none aboard but Hollands duck,[25] that is not fitt for our use, therefore, Gentlemen, desire you will be pleased to spare me one of the old sailes which is in your Castle to repaire ours.

[In March 1694 he sailed again to Winneba & Accra, to deliver goods & supplies (nos 1083, 1236), & in April again to Accra, for shells (nos 1237–8).]

1369. Richard Bradshaw Annamaboe, 23 April 1694

This morning about 9 of the clock I arrived in Annamaboe Road, & came from Accra on Saturday at 10 in the morning. I have on board forty five butts of oyster shells. Desire to know whether I may take any here att Emersa [= Amersa], if not shall make the best of my way for Caboe Corsoe.

[He was expected to go back to Amisa for shells in mid-May 1694 (no.727); & later in May delivered goods to Winneba (no.1084).]

1370. Richard Bradshaw Wynnebah, 26 May 1694

I am ashamed to be soe troublesome to you with these continuall complaints, where I have found noe other remedy but patience, and have bore it soe much that it's not in my power to containe there abuses any longer, where I find civillity will not availe anything nor make my life happy amongst them.[26] I hope, Gentlemen, you will consider that except you beare me out in my commands as a master ought to be, and not heare the mens complaints before mine, I shall neither be able to serve the Company nor keep the vessell as it ought to bee. There is severall things daily gone to ruine, for they care not what they spoile or what they lose, and if a man tells them they begin to curse & sweare, & then they are for going ashore, and there is never a time I have carried bricks but still wee have these differences, which I am sure if they were aboard of any shipp that comes on the Coast, they would doe more worke in a weeks time than they doe here in a quarter of a yeare. I have now left one of our Dutchmen ashore at Wynnebah for abuseing of me & denying goeing aboard, and telling me he did not come to be a slave to carry bricks ashore, which I bid him tell that att Cabo Corso, and he swore sacraments that he could doe as well as I. In fine the canoe was split the second day in peices, that I see there was noe other remedy but my boat. I tould them they should make but one turne a day, and that in the morning, by reason the weather was soe uncertaine, and I know if I should be putt to any

[25] A form of coarse linen sailcloth.
[26] One copy has 'not happy', but the sense seems better without the negative.

straite, my boat being absent, I could neither gett my anchor up nor saile our vessell, and withall said if any of them had any bussiness they might goe ashore in my canoe. As this fellow which abused me had been two or three days drinking with some men belonging to an interloper, never minde to doe the ships worke, soe one day they keept our boat ashore from morning till evening, and this Brawke being ashore, I asked him why he did not goe aboard, but put me to this trouble to come ashore for them, upon which he said they staid for William Crisp, who was setting the bricklayers leg that was out of joint. I bad them goe downe to the boate, and I would goe & call him, but found him drunck, and by much perswations gott him downe to the boate. I had noe sooner turned about but spied this Dutchman Brawk, I think with a stick in his hand, then I could not gett him to goe on board. Not perceiveing him in drink, told him he should goe on board, and pushed him to goe, upon which he comes driving at me with a short truncheon, that if I had not catched severall of his blows on my left arme I believe he would [have] cutt me to the scull. From my elboe to my wrist he did sufficiently maule me, and I did endeavour to doe the same with him with my cane, but a man had as good beat upon a block as his skin. I am sure my arme was in that condition that I could hardly hold it to my head the next day, as our cooke can testifie, who helped me to dress it when I came on board. This is not the first, second nor third time he has abused me, once at Accra, where Mr Bloome put him in irons for 3 or 4 dayes together.[27] To tell the truth he is not a fellow fitt to be on board of a small ship, for he makes the same disturbances with the rest of the men, has 50s per month, and in the night one may as well make a poast [= post] stirr as himself, for I never knew him keep a watch as he should doe since his being on board. I could insist a great deale more but I think it is not worthwhile. He has since, as I understand, threatened my life, nay he told me to my face if I had struck him he would kill me, and the other day when our boate was ashore with bricks he borrowed the Frenchmans knife of him, it may be for the same intent, for the other Dutchman said in my boys hearing that that his consort valued me not one pinn if he had but a good knife, soe I did not come upon him in the night. Nay, these two consorts at Cabo Corso tooke the boate ashore unknown to me, and the Frenchman to fight, and as soon as the one drawed his knife the other (which is the fellow who struck me) gott up a great stone and letts drive att his head, almost beat his braines out, which marke he carried for severall weeks afterwards. Gentlemen, I hope you will excuse me if I have wrought anything amiss, for to tell the truth I sleep in fear and live a most disatisfied life, more than ever did since I was borne, with this crew I have on board.[28]

[27] John Bloome, chief of James Fort, Accra. The incident presumably occurred on one of Bradshaw's visits to Accra in March/April 1694, but is not referred to in the Accra correspondence.
[28] The man was then sent up to Cape Coast by the chief of the Winneba factory (no.1084).

PS. Tomorrow designe, God willing, to saile, and must be forced to goe for Agga, for we can gett noe corne here for myselfe nor men.

[In July 1694, Bradshaw sailed to Amisa (no.738), for shells.]

1371. Richard Bradshaw Amersa, 16 July 1694

I have laine here att Amersa these eight dayes, and have nott as yett any shells putt on board of me, by reason the seas runing so high. I am unprovided both with staples & nailes if any of the canoes should chance to be splitt, therefore desire, Gentlemen, you will please to order the smith to make some for us, for doubtless wee shall have occasion for both.[29] I wish I could made a quicker dispatch up, but such uncertaine weather I never knew since my being on the Coast. The Mine briganteen has been worse putt to it than us, for after she had gott as farr as Barracue was forced to goe to Accra againe for wood & water.

[A few days later, he delivered shells to Anomabu, & returned to Amisa 26 July, for a second loading (no.739, 741).]

1372. Richard Bradshaw Amersa. 28 July 1694

I have nothing but continuall troubles to acquaint you with, and till you take some speedy course to prevent farther dangers I know not but this night they designe to murther me and runne away with the Companyes vessell, for 3 of them are gone ashore betimes this morning without my leave or any provocation, and tell me betimes tomorrow they will be aboard againe with more hands, soe I suppose for noe good designe. I have none aboard but the cooke and my white boy, Marcus being ashore takeing accompt of the shells, besides a few slaves. I have been soe horrably abused amongst them all that I am almost out of my witts. I desire, Gentlemen, you will be pleased to send this night two or three honest fellows aboard me, that may secure the vessell.

1373. Richard Bradshaw Amersa, 28 July 1694

For fear my former should not come to your hand I have wrott to the same forme per this, which I send by land, that three of our men this morning are gone ashore without my leave, and to prevent further dangers, which I know not but this night they designe to murther me and runn away with the Companys vessell, I have none aboard but my self, cooke & boy, besides some few slaves, and they tell me betimes in the morning they will be with me againe with more men,

[29] Nails & staples were forwarded to him via Anomabu 3 days later (no.740).

I suppose for noe good designe. I desire that two or three men may be sent downe with all speed, to secure the Companys vessell.

1374. Richard Bradshaw Amersa, 28 July 1694

I received yours about 11 a clock this night, with the three white men, for which I returne you all many thanks, and shall follow your advice according to order if possible, and will rather take abuse than give any, soe that I can but live quiett amongst them, and as for putting any ashore it was not with my consent, for I told them that went this day if the vessell came to any damage it should be upon their perrill, for I had gave them noe cause in the least, but only a maggot tooke in their heads. I wish, Gentlemen, you knew but the reall truth how they have used me, and what falce lyes they have reported against me every place where they come, which has made me gaine one ill name undeserved, and till some of them be severely punished to make an example for the rest it will never be otherwise, however will endeavour to make it the best. The weather is now pretty good, and hope shall have a quick dispatch, which I shall further as much as I can, to gett up to Cabo Corso.

[In early Sept. 1694, Bradshaw again sailed east, to Egya & Winneba (nos 966, 1092). He reached Accra 8 Sept., but died 2 days later, & Nicholas Pepperell was sent to take over command of the *Swallow* (nos 1250–1). Pepperell went east of Accra to collect slaves, returned to Accra, & sailed from there for Cape Coast 20 Oct. 1694 (nos 1252, 1255). He then took the *Swallow* from West Africa with a cargo of slaves to Barbados,[30] taking in corn & wood at Anashan in Nov. 1694 (no.572). From Barbados, he went to England, news of his arrival there being reported to Africa in Dec. 1695 (no.97). In 1696, he returned to West Africa (see no.1380).

The *Guinea Galley*, Commander William Piles

[Piles in the *Guinea Galley* was sent to West Africa in 1694, with instructions to serve there & return within 2 years;[31] his arrival was reported in Aug. 1694 (no.1248). Thereafter he is regularly reported plying among the RAC's factories, from Dixcove in the west to Accra in the east, carrying corn, oystershells & other building materials, as well as trade goods & slaves. But only this single letter from him is recorded.]

[30] Database, #20124.
[31] NA, T70/61, Instructions for William Piles, 5 April 1694.

1375. William Piles

From on board the Guinney Galley, lyeing in Mina Roade, 15 April 1695

This is to certifye you that I have binn and paid my respects to the Generall, and he tells me that I shall have all the assistance imaginable,[32] and he would have me send downe to you for a man that can specke Dutch and bring him along with me when I have occasion for any thing, that he may understand me. Sirs, here hath been the master of the small ship aboard of that ship to windward, and he does wear English collors, and he will not acquaint him weather he be an interlooper or noe, but told the master he know he was a Dutch man & I am an English man, and so bid him begone about his bussiness. She is an English ship. He knows not how many guns he have nor men, but they have sent welcome after him.[33] Sirs, if you could but spare me four gallons rum, for I have none to give my people, and I would desire you for to lett me have a gallon of brandy and I will pay what price you please.

[At the end of 1695, Piles was scheduled to take the *Guinea Galley* back to England (no.362), but it did not arrive there, being reported 'taken', i.e. by the French (no.97). In 1696/7 Piles commanded a different ship in a voyage back to Africa, as follows.]

The *Sally Rose*, Commander William Piles

[Piles in the *Sally Rose* was sent to Africa in 1696, again with instructions to remain there up to 2 years.[34] On arrival at Cape Coast in Jan. 1697, he was sent to São Tomé in pursuit of the *Hannibal*, which had been taken over by a mutiny of its crew (no.1417, with n.132). After return to Cape Coast, in April 1697 he was sent to Accra, to collect slaves & shells (no.1303); he then went back up to Cape Coast, & on to Komenda, to deliver goods (nos 390–1), & via Dixcove to Cape Three Points, to cut timber, as follows.]

1376. William Piles Cape Tres Pointas, 14 May 1697

This is to certifie you that I received your letter the 13 of this instant, and Capt. Pepperell arrived the 12 of the said instant,[35] whereof you write for Mr Gabb to returne in this canoa,[36] but wee must have some body else to come and give them

[32] It is not explained what Piles required assistance in.
[33] i.e. fired at him?
[34] NA, T70/61, Instructions for William Piles, 8 Sept. 1696.
[35] Cf. no.1380.
[36] William Gabb, surveyor, sent from Komenda to assist in cutting timber (cf. no.393).

directions how to cutt it, for they have felled six trees of about fifty feet long and about two feet through when they are squared, and wee cannot gett them out of the woods without more help, and have but one cross hand saw and the two axes that came from Cape Coast, for they must be sawed in boards, or else there is no bringing them off, for they will sink like iron. The weather proves so bad that wee are not able to work, and believe by that time I gett my water and wood on board it will be near June, and shall strive to gett two sides of fifty feet long, and two for a ladder, and fifty peices for hand spikes. My deck is but a spare deck, and cannot venture too great a waite [= weight] upon itt. Mr Vincent spared us six slaves,[37] but gave the slaves no corne with them, that they doe make a sad complainte for victualls. The corne that I delivered at Dickies Cove proves about sixteen chests to short, according to their measure.[38] Here is a great deale of flower to be had, it is very good, it came over in the last shipp that arrived here, but they ask eight angles a hundred weight, I desire to know whether your Worships would be pleased to have any. My men make a sad complainte that they should doe other shipps work, for they have enough of their own.

1377. William Piles Cape Tres Pointas, 25 May 1697

I seeing a shipp about evening lye off of Axim, I made bold to send my mate aboard to see from whence he came, and finding her to be a Dutch interloper that came out of England about two months agoe, but he would hardly speak to my mate, my mate enquiring of him whether he meet with any shipps to windward, he told my mate that he saw an English shipp the 23 and 24 day, it being a pretty grate shipp, and two Portuguze of at Ash[i]nee, and he believes the Englishman may be at Cape Tres Pointas within this two days. I have all my water and wood, but now trying to gett the timber that I have sawed out for you downe, which I find it a great deale of trouble. Capt. Pepperell has but 12 butts full as yett, and belive it will be the latter end of July if he has not more help to assist him, for here is no canoa nor men to be had, and I am sorry that I must stay here for him, for I find I must take all that is here for the Castle in.

[In June 1697 he sailed east, collecting goods from Winneba (no.1148), to trade on the coast east of Accra.]

1378. William Piles Tersee,[39] 22 June 1697

I make bold to trouble you with a few lines concerning my bouges. Without I am alowed more, I shall bring them upp again, for as soone as I gave them seaventy

[37] Henry Vincent, chief of the RAC factory at Dixcove (cf. no.113).
[38] Cf. nos 113–4, 116.
[39] Teshi, 10 km east of Accra.

pound for a man, they imediately fell a telling[40] them, and return'd them back again. I have offered them eighty pound for a man, and they will not take them.[41] I have had about twenty women slaves along side this day, and would nott buy them because they had noe men. I desire your answer how many pound of bouges you will allow me for a man, and likewise for a woman. The Alampoes have been att warr to leward, and I beleive in a weeks time I shall have them back with their slaves.[42]

1379. William Piles From Pono,[43] 30 June 1697

I received your letter this same instant, whereof you write me word to give as I think fitt. They not now ask for any [i.e. bouges], for they sell them now one amongst another for a thousand [per] 1a.[44] I have not sold one peice of chint, nor one Guinea stuff, for they tell me they can buy Guinea stuffs in the Castle for 1½a and pintadoes at 4½a and blue bafts at 3a, whereof I have disposed of none as yett, nor no iron barrs, nor silk longees, nor sletia lawnes. I am forced to keepe my sheets and perpetuanoes and basons for men when they present. I have made shift to dispose of all my boysadoes but two, and my sayes is disposed off but six, but forced to take women for them. I have now 25 men, 31 women, 5 boyes, 2 girles, which is sixty three slaves in all. I expect some slaves from Quambo,[45] for perpetuanoes which I have preserved by me. I have refused about thirty women because there is no men, but I shall not lett a man pass, if he be anything good. I was up at the kings towne,[46] and he tells me I shall have slaves very suddenly, but I see no likelyhood of itt. I beleive I may lye a month longer before I shall have sixty more slaves, and doe wish I had some two pound basons, and more carpetts. My sayes fall one short in the number, and are very much moatheaten, and my boysadoes is likewise.

[In July 1697, Piles was still east of Accra, buying slaves (no.1309); but returned to Accra in mid-Aug., collecting further slaves, en route to Cape Coast (nos 1314–15). In early Dec. he went to Anomabu, then back to

[40] i.e. counting.

[41] The complaint was evidently that the cowries were too large (cf. vol.ii, nos 814, 822, 921). As explained by Phillips (1732, 227), although cowries were sold by Europeans 'by measure or weight', they were paid out in the local economy 'by tale, the smallest being as valuable as the biggest'; smaller cowries were preferred, because they would yield more shells (& hence greater value) per pound weight.

[42] Adangme, further east along the coast.

[43] Kpone, 20 km east of Teshi, in Adangme.

[44] Giving 16,000 cowries to the ounce of gold, which was by implication more than the normal exchange rate (making cowries less attractive to purchase); at Whydah in the 1710s cowries were rated at 12,800 to the ounce, though they fell in value subsequently (Law 1990b).

[45] Akwamu, which controlled Accra to the west, & also dominated Adangme at this time.

[46] i.e. the Adangme capital, Ladoku.

Cape Coast (nos 883–4). Later in Dec. 1697 he was despatched on a trans-Atlantic voyage (see no.1425).

The *Swallow* (2nd tour), Commander Nicholas Pepperell

[As noted above, Pepperell had taken the *Swallow*, after a period based in Africa, to England via the West Indies in 1694/5. In 1696, he returned to Africa, again with instructions to remain there for up to 2 years.[47] In Aug.–Sept. 1686 he made 2 visits to Dixcove (nos 112, 1152). In April 1697 he again went west from Cape Coast, delivering shells & bricks to Komenda (no.386), & arriving at Cape Three Points 12 May 1697, to join William Piles in the *Sally Rose*, to cut timber (nos 393, 1376–7).]

1380. Nicholas Pepperell Cape Tres Pointas, 2 June 1697

I have been very tedious about our wood & water, the weather being very bad and great seas, and being weakely maned. Captain Piles hath left a good part of his timber behind for me to take in, which I cannot doe for want of ropes to bring it of. I hope the next week to fill all our water and gett wood for the use of the vessell. I would willingly take in the timber that is here, which I cannot doe without you will be pleased to send me ropes. Our boat will hardly swim, I being forc'd to putt her on shore every time to land our men. Our cabbells [= cables] are very bad and break every time wee weigh. Sirs, expecting your orders about the timber.

[In July he went east to Dixcove, & thence on down the coast (no.116). Later in 1697, he was again dispatched on a trans-Atlantic voyage;[48] in early Aug. he was at Accra, collecting goods, & intending for Whydah (nos 1312–13).]

The *Cabo Corso Galley*, Commander Thomas White, then William Hippsly

[The *Cabo Corso Galley* is recorded from Aug. 1697, plying among the RAC's factories, from Dixcove to Accra,[49] commanded by Thomas White (no.1157). In early Nov. 1697 White was at Amisa, collecting shells (no.879), & came from there to Anomabu, where he wrote the single letter which is recorded.]

[47] NA, T70/61, Instructions for Nicholas Pepperell, 3 Sept. 31 Dec. 1695, 21 Jan. 1696; cf. no.1404.
[48] Database, #20145.
[49] There is no record of the dispatch of this ship from England in NA, T70/61 (Instructions for Captains), so presumably (like the *Discovery* earlier), it was acquired by the RAC in West Africa.

1381. Thomas White Charles Fort, Annamaboe, 9 Nov. 1697

I humbly crave the favour of your Worshipps as to send me sombody to bleed me, being violent ill of a feavour, and let him bring some medicines with him.

[In May 1698 White was removed from command of the Galley (cf. no.1430); it was later commanded by William Hippsly (no.137).]

Unnamed sloop, Commander John Wilson, then George Harvey

[An unnamed sloop is recorded from July 1697, plying among the RAC factories on the coast. This had been purchased locally, from Capt. Lourenço de Souza Rego of São Tomé, & by early 1698 was commanded by John Wilson.[50] In May 1698 Wilson made a voyage to Komenda (nos 428–30), & on to Sekondi, where the RAC was building a fort, which he reached 21 May 1698 (no.260), & from where he wrote the single letter recorded from him.]

1382. John Willson Succondee, 22 May 1698

I stoped at Commenda, and could not gett the rope that I spoke for to carene with, butt shall doe the best I can. I want some piks and a piece of cable that I was speaking off to make a maine stay, for mine is parted, eleaven fathoms will doe. The gunns are all up and not mounted as yett.[51] Two days more I hope to have all the shells ashore. The Gally sailed from this a Sunday morning about one a clock,[52] but not out of sight, she proves leaky. The canoe men are gone affter him. This place, at itt there is a great swell, but hope that time I am ready to find it otherwayes.

[In 1699, command of the sloop passed to George Harvey (no.1064).]

TRANS-ATLANTIC VOYAGES

The ships engaged in trans-Atlantic voyages which corresponded with Cape Coast were mostly the RAC's own ships, or in one case (the *Merchant's Good*

[50] NA, T70/11, Chief Merchants, Cape Coast Castle, 9 Sept. 1697, 2/6 April 1698.
[51] i.e. on the Sekondi fort.
[52] i.e. the *Cabo Corso Galley*, which arrived at Sekondi together with the sloop, but was sent on to Dixcove (no.260).

Will in 1698) operating under licence from the Company, but at least one was an interloper, the *Adventure* in 1695. Also included here are letters from two retiring agents of the RAC, Thomas Stephenson in 1692 and William Melross in 1697, who took their passage home on Danish ships.

The *Supply*, Commander James Lashley[53]

[The *Supply* was in origin a captured French ship, appropriated by the RAC & placed under Lashley's command in 1690.[54] In May 1691 he went to Sekondi, to deliver goods 1691 (no.149), but in Aug. 1691 was dispatched on a trans-Atlantic voyage, calling at Anomabu (no.608) & Accra (nos 1193–4), & arriving at Whydah 17 Aug. 1691 (no.1342).]

1383. James Lashley Whydah Road, 6 Sept. 1691

These are to informe your Worships I haveing purchased my complyment of slaves and having not goods sufficient to defray my charges was forcied to intreat Mr John Worthley to give me credite for the following goods, being 32 pieces pautkies.[55] I shall saill toomorrow in company with Capt. Sherely and Capt. Edwards,[56] not doubting by Gods assistance to make a good voyage.

[On arrival in Barbados, the *Supply* was judged 'crazy' & sold off.[57]]

The *Fauconberg* (1st voyage), Commander Francis Buttram[58]

1384. Francis Buttram
From on board the Royal African Company ship the Fauconborgh, 14 Jan. 1691/2

These are to acquaint you that I am now goeing in to Dickiescove, and hope verry suddaintly to wait upon you at Cabo Corsoe Castle. I should be verry glad to hear from you, and to know the price of severall sorts of goods.

[53] Database, #9812.
[54] NA, T70/11, Chief Merchants, Cape Coast Castle, 20 Nov. 1690. Lashley had originally commanded a different RAC ship, the *Benjamin*, which had been taken over by a mutiny of its crew after arrival in Africa.
[55] John Wortley, chief of the RAC factory at Whydah: cf. no.1342 (but this says 33 iron bars & 32 pautkies).
[56] Commanders of the *East India Merchant* & the *Kendal*.
[57] NA, T70/12, Edwyn Stede et al., Barbados, 15 Dec. 1691.
[58] Database, #9710.

1385. Francis Butteram

On board the Fauconborgh, Annimaboe Road, 7 March 1691/2

According to your order will make all the dispatch I can to take the corne out of Mr Pepperell,[59] and will assiste him what I can in stoping his leaks. I have gott on board as much wood as I have occasione for and all the corne but what Mr Gregory has bought since last Wedensay.[60] Slaves are not so plenty as I expected, if you think convenient we may do as well in Cabo Corso Road as here.

1386. Francis Butteram

From Paokahnee,[61] Ship Fauconburgh, 14 May 1692

Wee have[ing] ane oppertunity this day of a moderat currant have made use of it, although wee cannot sume up our compliment of slaves, as you will find by the bill of ladeing. Corne we have gott but very little since we parted from you. The next day after we came here I sent to Whydah by my matte Pilles but had [ms. 'heard'] no answer in writting, but heard that Mr Wortly was pynard by the French but with the Kings order,[62] and we had news of 4 ships [i.e. at Whydah], which caused me not to hasten down there, and our incouragment by Offree here being very great,[63] for he told he would dispatch us in a week or 10 dayes, and I believe in a forthnight had been dispatched had we had good weather. Also we hear Mr Wortly is sent a prisoner on board Capt. Bruar[64] by the Kings order, and Offree does say he will give him battle in a short time for it. The canoe men has been very earnest for their pay, but I have left [only] 74 cowreis,[65] which I profred them, but they were for all that was due to them or non, so I have paid them nothing. They have done there duty, and gone to Whydah with the two canoes.

[Buttram sailed from Little Popo 14 May 1692, for Barbados (no.1345). He returned with the *Fauconberg* on a 2nd voyage to Africa in 1694–5 (see nos 1398–9).]

Thomas Stephenson

[Stephenson was former chief of the RAC's fort at Sekondi (see chap.II), now returning to England.]

[59] Commander of the *Discovery*, currently collecting corn in the Lagu/Mumford area to the east (no.1362).
[60] John Gregory, chief of Charles Fort, Anomabu (cf. no.641).
[61] Cf. 'Paccahenny' in no.1352; i.e. Little Popo.
[62] John Wortley, chief of the RAC factory at Whydah (cf. no.1344).
[63] Ofori, ruler of Little Popo.
[64] 'Bruser' in no.1344: commander of the *Caesar*.
[65] Sic: but probably this should be '74 lbs'.

1387. Thomas Stephenson Cabo Corsoe Castle, 16 Aug. 1692

My time being expired according to my agreement with the Royall African Company of England, and hopes that all my accompts with the said Company are right, and I finding myself indisposed in body, do humbly request your Worships to grant me the liberty to go home along with the Dains [= Danes] ship now ridding at Accra and now bound for Europe,[66] and in so doeing you will for ever oblidge [me].

1388. Thomas Stephenson James Fort, Accra, 30 Aug. 1692

This accompanies the returne of the canoe, and returnes you my most humble and hearty thanks for this last and all other kindnessese received. The Companys pauckett I have delivered to Mr Fensman, who goeth home along with this ship and doth intend to saill.[67] I have agreed to goe with him, paying one mark for my passage and 5a per mark.[68] Soe wishing you all health and prosperity, with an oppertunity whereby I may be able to serve you.

1389. Thomas Stephenson [Accra], n.d. [7 Sept. 1692]

Haveing this opportunity thought my self oblidged to present my humble service to you once more before I go, which will be toomorrow as Monsieur Fensman doth informe me,[69] and what letters you have sent me shall be carefully delivered, soe wishing you all health and prosperity is the hearty desire of him who shall alwayes seek oppertunities to serve you.

The *Kendal*, Commander James Funnell[70]

[The *Kendal* had made a voyage to Africa in 1691, commanded by John Edwards (nos 598, 661, 1187, 1342), but no correspondence is registered from this earlier voyage. In 1693, commanded by Funnell, she arrived in Africa during the hiatus in the correspondence between Feb.–July 1693.]

[66] The *Gyldenløves Våben* (Justesen 2005, no.II.27: H. Meyer, An Account of Fort Christiansborg 1659–1698).
[67] Nikolay Fensman, who had come to Accra on the *Gyldenløves Våben* (cf. nos 1208, 1210).
[68] Presumably this should be 'per week'.
[69] Fensman left Accra 8 Sept. 1692 (Justesen 2005, no.II.27, Meyer, Account of Fort Christiansborg).
[70] Database, #9702.

1390. Francis Smith[71]

James Fort, Accra, 6 Sept. 1693

This comes only but to advise you that this day the Captain designe to saile to leward, but am not certaine that they will goe to Whydah. Mr Bloome hears that slaves are plenty there, which is good encouragement for them to goe there directly, & [I] dont doubt but that it may prove much to the Royall Companys inter[est], as also a great encouragement to the Kinge and people, which with the tender of my respects and thanks for all the favours received from you all.

1391. James Funnell

from on board the Kendall Frigatt in Accra Road, 7 Sept. 1693

I am heartily sorry that I have no other wayes to retaliate the many favours I have received from you, but only my bare humble and hearty thanks, assureing you, if you please to lay any commands upon me in any thinge can serve you, shall be more ready to serve then you will be to command me. Thank be God we are all well on bord, and designed to saile this evening from this place. I tooke in at Anamaboe 520 chests of corne,[72] and I do find we have rather more provision for Negroes then had last voyage, which is the reason have not taken the remainder of the 600 chests. I have given a receipt according to your order. I have received of Mr Bloome 22 slaves, and have paid him out of the Whydah cargoe, as doubtless he will give you an accompt,[73] and have bought severall besides. I shall by [ms. 'buy'] my canoe, when I have done, give you an accompt of my future proceedings. I can here of no more but one French man on the Coast, and he is gone down long since to Whydah,[74] so hope to meet with no molestation. Sirs, looking over my accompts last night I missed a case of sayes, and do find by my boatswaines accompt that it was put ashore at Cape Coast through a mistake, you haveing one case more then your complement, which humbly desire to dispose of it, if possible. It came ashore with other goods mentioned on the other side, it is no.324, which will see by the invoyce of my Windward cargoe, not belonging to the Castle cargoe.[75] I am very glad you have it because I could not dispose of it myselfe, but as for the rest of my Windward cargoe it is almost all gone. As for news I have little at present. If you have any conveyance before you here further

[71] On his way to take charge of the RAC factory at Whydah.
[72] Cf. no.696.
[73] Cf. no.1221.
[74] Bosman alludes to 'some French ships' which were at Whydah in early 1694 (1705, 335). This is seemingly contradicted by a report later in 1694, that there had been no French ships at Whydah 'in three or four years' (Phillips 1732, 238), but this perhaps means specifically merchant vessels, as opposed to warships.
[75] i.e. cargos intended for sale on the 'Windward Coast' (from Cape Mount to Cape Three Points) & for Cape Coast Castle (Davies 1957, 200, 221–2).

from me pray lett me begg of you to advise Mr Cradock[76] that we are all well so farr, and that I shall endeavour to gett of the Coast as soon as possible. I have little else at present to trouble you with, only desireing you to except of my humble thanks for the favours I received from you.

[Funnell called first at Little Popo, but was unable to get slaves there, so went on to Whydah, where he arrived 14 Sept., & departed 18 Oct. 1693 (nos 1347–8). The *Kendal* returned to Africa in 1695/6 (no.1404), under a different captain,[77] but no correspondence is preserved from this later voyage.]

The *East India Merchant*, Commander Thomas Shirley, then George Clay[78]

[Shirley commanded the *East India Merchant* on a voyage to Africa in 1691 (nos 661, 1188, 1342), but no correspondence survives from this voyage. He again left England in Oct. 1693, this time in company with the *Hannibal*, commander Thomas Phillips, & other ships (no.1395), but the vessels were separated by bad weather, & Shirley arrived at Cape Mesurado alone, as follows.]

1392. Thomas Shirley
From on board the East Indea Merchant, riding at Cape Mountsarrado, 29 Dec. 1693

Haveing this opportunity thought it convenient to acquaint you with my arrivall here on the 16th of this instant, at which tyme came to a great disaster by a clapp of thunder and lightning which splitt my foremast and foretopp mast, but have cutt two more and hope in few dayes to finish them, and then shall not fail to make hast the best of way downe, haveing a large supply of goods, provisions, and passengers on board. I would have sent downe the letters and packett, but am not certaine whether these might come safe to your hands or not, being an interloper.[79]

[He was joined at Cape Mesurado by Phillips in the *Hannibal* on 23 Dec. 1693 (no.1395), & the two ships sailed east together.]

[76] Richard Craddock, a member of the Court of Assistants, the governing body of the RAC in England.
[77] Viz. John Child (Database #9725).
[78] Database, #9713.
[79] i.e. the ship by which the letter was sent, the *Supply*, Capt. Gubbins (cf. nos 437, 1395).

1393. Thomas Shirley

The East India Merchant, [Brandenburg Fort], 16 Feb. 1693/4

Just now received yours of the 26th ultimo, and accordingly by the bearer have sent the Company packett, and what private letters I have. As for trade have not mett with any the whole Coast along, and I have on board 3000£ windward cargoe and cannot dispose of any,[80] soe shall make the best of my way downe.

[Shirley's passage down the coast, in company with the *Hannibal*, is noted in this correspondence at Sekondi (no.241), Cape Coast (no.1368), & Anomabu & Egya, where they took in corn (nos 729, 958), arriving at Accra 12 May 1694.]

1394. George Clay

Accra, 20 May 1694[81]

These are to acquaint you of the death of Capt. Thomas Shirley who deceased the 12th instant.[82] Inclosed have sent the accompt current of goods sold to the day he died, and for the rest of the remaines fear shall not dispose of any, trade being very dull in these parts. The raines has been a great hinderance to our getting of[f] the corne, but shall make the best dispatch can for Whydah, and shall not faile to use my uttmost endeavours to gett our slaves as soon as possible.

[Having taken in corn at Accra (no.1240), the two ships proceeded to Whydah (no.1351).]

The *Hannibal*, Commander Thomas Phillips[83]

[Phillips himself wrote an extended account of this voyage, published in 1732, which is frequently cited in the annotation to this volume.]

1395. Thomas Phillips

From on board the Hanniball at Cape Mountserrado, 5 Jan. 1693/4

This comes to kiss your hands, and to advise you that the ship Hanniball whereof I am Commander, now in the service of the Royall African Company, is safely arrived at Montserrado the 23d past, in one month and twentie seaven dayes

[80] Cf. no.1396, with n.92.
[81] Sic in ms.; but Phillips (1732, 214) says that he & Clay left Accra 17 May, & reached Whydah 20 May 1694.
[82] Cf. no.1240; Phillips 1732, 212–13.
[83] Database, #9714.

from England, whence sailed in company of the East India Marchant, Capt. Shirley, the Mediterranean, Capt. Daniel, the Jeffery, Capt. Joanes [= Soanes], Capt. Perry and Capt. Hereford,[84] all in the African Companys service. Wee were all separated by bad weather, and the first I mett againe was Capt. Shirley in this place, refitting his foremast, which was carried away with a thunder bolt.[85] Hee has almost done and expect in two or three dayes to sett saile for the Coast.[86] Haveing an opportunity by a Barbadoes interloper, one Mr Gubbins Commander,[87] who sailed hence before us, and may probably bee with you before us, I have thought it convenient to advise you that wee have agreed with the Company to receive from you seaven hundred Negroes, but in case you could not supply us with that number, if you could in any competent tyme supply mee with 550 Negroes, my owners[88] have agreed to bee satisfied with 550 and to proceed directly for Barbadoes, rather then to goe down to Whidah or Ardah to compleat the number of seaven hundred. Wee had when wee sett saile from England thirty three souldiers for your Castle, but it was our misfortune of off the Island Tenereefe,[89] to meete with a French man of warr of betweene forty and fifty gunns, whome wee engaged six houres, at which tyme hee was pleased to leave us. In the fight three of your souldiers and two of my seamen were killed outright, and I had aboute 20 men wounded. Hee has shattered our mast and rigging very much, but am very glad 'tis so well, and that wee have been able to defend our own and the Companys interest against him.[90]

[From Cape Mesurado, Phillips sailed down the coast with the *East India Merchant*, arriving at Gross-Friedrichsburg 15 Feb. 1694.]

1396. Thomas Phillips

Off the Brandenburgh Fort, from on board the Hanniball, 16 Feb. 1693/4

I have the favor of yours of the 26th past, wherein you give mee but little encouragement to hope for my complyment of slaves at your Castle,[91] and less

[84] These last two were commanders of the *Eagle* & the *Fortune* (Phillips 1732, 174).
[85] Cf. no.1392.
[86] 'The Coast' in the usage of this correspondence evidently means not the West African coast as a whole, but the eastern section of it (from Cape Mount or Sierra Leone), sometimes called 'South Guinea' or 'Guinea proper' (Barbot 1992, i, 233).
[87] The *Supply* (cf. no.37).
[88] The *Hannibal* was owned by a consortium headed by the brothers Sir Jeffrey & John Jeffreys (Phillips 1732, 173), & hired from them by the RAC.
[89] Tenerife, one of the Canary Islands.
[90] Cf. Phillips 1732, 180–1, which however gives the ship's casualties as 5 killed & about 32 wounded.
[91] Cf. ibid., 201, recording receiving a message from Cape Coast when he was at Axim, 13 Feb. 1694, advising that 'there was no probability of procuring any number of slaves upon the Gold Coast'.

of any probability of a good trade for my Windward cargoe, which amounts to £3070-9s-7d of which as yet have not disposed of above £100,[92] tho doe really beleive noe ships endeavored it more, by keepeing close to the shoare and stopping at all places where wee could imagine any trade, but they have noe gold, the Dutch interlopers (of which wee saw 4)[93] having pickt up that little they had. I hope wee shall meet with a better trade between this and your Castle.

[PS] I have delivered the bearer your packet, together with what other letters I had for your Castle.

[His passage down the coast is noted in this correspondence at Sekondi (no.241), Anomabu & Egya, where he took in corn (nos 725, 729, 958), Winneba (nos 1084–5), Accra, where he took in more corn (no.1240), & Whydah (no.1351), where he arrived 20 May 1694.]

1397. [Thomas Phillips]

from on board of the Hannibball, St Thomas, 25Aug. 1694

I can slip noe occasion withowt send you my heartiy respects. This comes by the hands of Capt. Lorrome [= Lorrence], who has bin very civill and needful to me hear,[94] and designes in a fortenights times for the Coast. He and I have verry often wished your healthe in a good cup of punch, which is the onely drink we can gitt hear. I left a letter for you att Whidah with Mr Person adviseing the needful, which hope ere this you have recevied.[95] I sailed with the E[a]st India Marchant from Whidue [= Whidah] July the 27th, haveing bought our complement of Negroes, and I arrived hear the 11th of August, & the Est India Merchant arrived 4 days after me. This day with the help of God I do intend to set saile to Barbadoes without said shipp, she being not able to gett ready this 5 or 6 dayes. I have lost in all every way 56 negroes. I question not but God send m[e] well to Barbadoes to deliver 600 negroes, have had maney sike [= sick] of the smallpox butt [only] four dead of itt, the flux is the ruening [= ruining]

[92] Cf. ibid., 202: on reaching Takoradi, 19 Feb. 1694, Phillips noted that it was 'the last place upon the Gold Coast assigned us by the Royal African Company in our charter-parties to dispose of our windward cargoes', but 'each of us had 3000 pounds windward cargoes, and had not sold to the value of 200 pounds apiece at our arrival here'.

[93] In his published account, Phillips states that there were 'above a dozen Dutch interlopers at this time trading upon the coast', but this seems to relate to his voyage along the entire coast, rather than west of the Gold Coast only (ibid., 199).

[94] Lourenço de Souza, a locally based ship's captain. Phillips' published account notes that 'he was very obliging and assistant to us in our business, and testify'd a great deal of affection to us and desire to serve us, for which we gratefully requited him' (ibid., 224).

[95] Josiah Pearson, chief of the RAC's factory at Whydah: but the letter is not preserved.

distemper.[96] I have had a feavour, a toach [= touch] of a fevour and ague hear, but thank God its over.

[PS] Please to advise the necessaries to England per first occasion that offers.

[Phillips completed his voyage to Barbados, & thence back to England, his ship's arrival there being reported to Africa in Dec. 1695 (no.97). The *Hannibal* returned to Africa under a different captain, William Hill, in 1697 (nos 1417, 1425), but no correspondence survives from that voyage.]

The *Fauconberg* (2nd voyage), Commander Francis Buttram[97]

1398. Francis Buttram Tabbo,[98] 12 Aug. 1694

I put in here to wood & water. Wee are all very well, and intend to be with you with what speed wee can, only touch at some particular places as wee come along. I hope I shall find a quick dispatch for slaves, which is very much desired by the Royall African Company. I have a great many letters for severall persons, but thought it not convenient to send them by Capt. Piles.[99] I have 22 passengers on board, vizt 2 doctors, a writer, a serjeant & 18 souldiers.

[Later in Aug. Buttram called at Dixcove on his way to Cape Coast (no.53). In Sept. 1694 his mate visited Anashan, to collect corn & wood (no.566). This final letter seems to have been written off or near Cape Coast.]

1399. Francis Buttram Fauconberg, 3 Oct, 1694

Pray be pleased to lett the bearer have 4 blew perpetuanoes, being on accompt of slaves bought on board.[100]

[Buttram's arrival in England was reported to Africa in Dec. 1695 (no.97). The *Fauconberg* returned to Africa in 1696, under a different captain, Abraham Brown (nos 1404–15).]

[96] In fact, he delivered only 372 slaves alive to Barbados, having lost 320 in the passage, mainly by the flux (Phillips 1732, 226–7).
[97] Database, #9712.
[98] Tabou, on the Ivory Coast (in modern Côte d'Ivoire).
[99] William Piles, commanding the *Guinea Galley*, who had arrived together with Buttram (no.1248).
[100] Cf. other references to trade apparently conducted while anchored off Cape Coast in nos 1408–11, 1414–5, 1421–2). Davies 1957, 224–5, states that trade on the Gold Coast was normally done in the factories on shore rather than on board ships; but cf. Phillips 1732, 206, for shipboard trade while at Cape Coast.

The *John Bonadventure*, Commander John Zebbett[101]

1400. John Zebbett Dickies Cove, 9 Jan. 1694 [= 1695]

These are to signifie my arrivall att this place. This night designe to sayle to Taggeradoe, and tomorrow I will send downe my long boote with the Companys souldiers and letters. I desier cons[ider] the favour, if itt suiets [= suits] with your convenience, to send me line or two how trade governs and sell sorts [sic], that I may not doe noe prejudise in underselling the markett.

[Zebbett sailed east from Cape Coast in Feb. 1695, & was expected to call at Anashan (no.580), & Accra (nos 1267–8), though it is not clear if he in fact visited either place. He took in slaves at Little Popo, arriving there about 19 Feb. & departing about 18 March 1695 (no.1352).]

The *Averilla*, Commander Max Robinson[102]

[Robinson took in corn at Anomabu & Egya, Jan. 1695 (no.781), called at Accra (no.1267), arrived at Whydah 30 Jan., & left 24 March 1695 (no.1352).]

1401. Max Robinson St Thoma, 14 April 1695

These comes per Captain Lawrenco [i.e. de Souza], who designes suddenly for you[r] parts. I presume before this may come to hand, you may hear from Mr Parsons, who will write to you of my procedings there.[103] When came from thence was so sick did not think should have lived hither, but (praysd the Lord) am now verry well recovered. It was my ill fortune a little before gott to Whidah, to meet with the English interloper bound to the same place.[104] He also slaved there, he haveing a much more sortable[105] cargoe, and almost as much again. They took little notice of me, so that I was hard put to it to gett my slaves. I brought of 598, have since lost about 20, the rest are pretty well, am in hopes shall not loose many more. I design, God willing, from hence tomorrow. Have bin but here four days. Shall add no more but harthy thanks for all your favours, wishing you all the happiness your harts can desire.

[101] Database, #9716.
[102] Database, #14915.
[103] i.e. at Whydah, where Pearson was chief of the RAC factory (cf. no.1352).
[104] i.e. William Perry, commanding the *William*.
[105] i.e. well-sorted, having the right combination of goods.

PS. Capt. Lawrenco has bin extrordinary civill to me, but his countrymen are great rogues in nature.

[The *Averilla* reached Barbados in June 1695, but was taken by French privateers on its passage from there to England.[106]]

The *Adventure*, Commander Samuel Shering[107]

[Shering was an interloper (nos 74, 1288), who was at Dixcove, headed down the coast, in April 1695, when he became involved with the RAC's factors there.]

1402. Samuell Shering On board the Adventure, 2 May 1695

I make bold [to] trouble you with these lines to acquaint you of the great insensibility of your servant Mr Pinck, who told me that he being Cheif of the Royall African Companys Fort at Dickies Cove, did most impudently send on board my ship your factor Mr Jordan without my knowledge, alt[h]ough he being in so lamentable a condition with his flux & his most loathsome sores, yet the man was welcome to me as in his condition being a man to my opinion not for this world, and for me to be so inhumane as I may say Mr Pinck was, to turn him onto the sea in a canoe in such weather and in such condition, which I would not [have] sent the worst of my slaves, I do thinck it not a Christians part. Sirs, this is the very truth.[108]

Memorandum of what Mr Jordan deceased left on board the Adventure

1 old gownd & jacket, 2 shirts, 1 pair of britches, 1 trunck, 2 pair old shoes, 1 old hat, 1 sword brasshaft with silver twist, 1 flock bead [= bed] and pillow, 2 small barrells of Portuguize soop [= soap], about 12 lb sugar, 1 mild [= milled] half crowne.[109] To my knowledge this is all of Mr Jordan goods &ca. I am your humble servant here in possestion of Mr Jordans goods.

[In Sept. 1695 Shering was at Accra, where he suffered an insurrection of the slaves on board his ship, prior to his departure (no.1288).]

[106] Donnan 1930–5, i, no.160 (The case of the *Averilla*).
[107] Database, #20127.
[108] Cf. Pink's account, no.74.
[109] i.e. a silver coin, value 2s 6d [£0.125].

The *Thomas & Elizabeth*, Commander Benjamin Rawlings[110]

[Rawlings had been in Africa, in a sloop from Barbados, in 1692 (no.661), but no correspondence from this voyage is recorded. The *Thomas & Elizabeth* in 1695 was apparently not an RAC ship, but it is not clear whether it was an interloper, or held a licence from the Company. On the coast, however, Rawlings cooperated with the RAC's local agents.]

1403. Benjamin Rawlings
from on board the Thomas & Elizabeth, in Annamaboe Road, 29 Sept. 1695

After my humble service, these are to informe you that I doe expect to be going of the Coast in 8 or 10 dayes after the date hereof, so that if you have any service to command to Barbadoes or Jamaica, where I am bound, I shall be ready to oblidge you as far as in me lies. In the mean time, when I am certain what day I shall saile, I will give you two days notice.

[He left Anomabu 9 Oct. 1695, taking the RAC mail packet (nos 831–2). He was again in Africa in 1698 (no.126), but again, no correspondence from this voyage is recorded.]

The *Fauconberg* (3rd voyage), Commander Abraham Brown[111]

1404. Abraham Browne Ship Fauconberg, [Dixcove] 30 Jan. 1695/6

The 18th instant wee made Cape Mountsarado, and have had no trade along the Coast, which have bin the occassion of our so suddaine arrivall at Dickies Cove, when thought fitt to advise you thereof, that if our stay to windward of Cabo Corso be needfull you may lett us know, with the prices of your goods, soe soon as possible, my intention being to come down so soon as possible, unless you order the contrary. I have 2 factors, 2 writers, a chyrurgeon, tradesmen and solders on board, and more are in the Kendall friggott, which wee left at Portsmouth the 16th of last instant, also Capt. Seamer [= Soanes] & Kelley att Gravesend, whom if not arrived may soon expect.[112] I hope

[110] Database #20136; but this seems to conflate the 1695 voyage with one which delivered slaves to Barbados in 1697.
[111] Database, #9726.
[112] John Soanes & Samuel Kelly, commanding the *Success* & the *Mary & Margaret Galley* (Database #15021–2).

Capt. Pepperell in the Swallow is with you by this time, from whom you have the latest news.[113]

[After arrival at Cape Coast, Brown was sent back west to Komenda, to support the English fort there, which was under blockade from African forces allied to the Dutch, arriving 10 Feb. 1696 (no.371).]

1405. Abraham Browne Ship Fauconberg, [Komenda], 12 Feb. 1695/6

Tuesday about one a clock [ms. 'colck'] in the afternoon wee came to anchor in five fathom of Commenda, the Castle bearing N. by W. The Dutch Galley passed by us a Monday about two a clock in the afternoon & came to anchor before us off Commenda, and lies nearer the shoar then wee dare goe. As soon as wee came to anchor wee sent the canoes ashoar, with Doctor Jackson &ca, but were forced back again by the Mine canoes, which are in number about 40 or 50.[114] This morning I man'd the pinnace with white men to goe ashoar, but the said canoes stoped them, and searched the pinnaes for powder and provisions, and the admirall black with the Dutch flagg told them that neither whites nor blacks, provisions nor powder should goe ashoar, and obliged them to returne to the shipp, that unless you sent a sufficient number of canoes from Cabo Corso to force their way through it is impossible for us to relieve the Castle, which wee fear is in great want. There are a great number of blacks which wee can easily see walking ashoar between the English and Dutch [forts]. There hath not been a canoe been aboard of us since wee have been here to give us any information, neither will any of those canoes you sent with us venture ashoar. I desire your speedy letter what to doe in this matter, and whether the fight be deferred.[115]

1406. Abraham Browne Ship Fauconberg, [Komenda], 18 Feb. 1695/6

I received two letters from you on Sunday morning & one this morning. I would have advised you of our proceedings before this, but could gett noe canoe to come. The same night I wrote to you last wee had a canoe of from our Castle, in which I sent ashoar halfe a barrell of powder, some match, bread & beefe,[116] & since I putt ashoar some rumm, cheese & corne, but could not putt a white man ashoar, the blacks with their canoes guarding the waterside and not

[113] In fact, Pepperell's departure from England was delayed, & he arrived in West Africa only during the hiatus in the Rawlinson correspondence from April 1696.
[114] Cf. no.371.
[115] i.e. the expected battle between Great Taggee, king of Eguafo, & his brother Little Taggee.
[116] Cf. no.371.

suffering any canoe or boat to goe to or from the shoar, that finding wee could not doe nothing but by force, on Saturday last wee man'd our long boat & pinnace with pattereroes and small armes and endeavoured to goe ashoar,[117] but were repulsed by the said blacks, who fired severall shott at our boats before wee returned any, but fireing our pattereroes mad[e] them bear off. However being many in number and continually fireing, wee had a hot skirmish, and were forced to fire from the ship to preserve our boats. Wee lost not a man in the action, only one wounded. Wee had a canoe came of from the Castle yesterday, which gave as an accompt that they are all well in the Castle, and have received severall provisions from the King of Aguaffo.

[Brown now presumably returned to Cape Coast, where the following 5 letters appear to have been written.]

1407. Abraham Browne Ship Fauconberg, 20 Feb. 1695/6

I shall observe your orders and send the remaining goods ashoar with all expedition. The long boat is now ashoar for water, else would have loaded her with goods for you.

1408. Abraham Browne Ship Pauconberg, 21 Feb. 1695/6

Pray be pleased to send by this bearer sixteen ounces of gold, being to purchase slaves.

1409. Abraham Browne Ship Fauconberg, 24 Feb. 1695/6

Pray be pleased to deliver to the bearer eight carpetts if you sell them at 2a each, & some boysadoes if sell them at 14a.

1410. Abraham Browne Ship Fauconberg, 24 Feb. 1695/6

Pray be pleased to deliver to the bearer one cask of tallow.

1411. Abraham Browne Ship Fauconberg, 26 Feb. 1695/6

Pray be pleased to deliver to the bearer ten caske of the same tallow wee brought with us.

[In March 1696, he proceeded to Anomabu, and on to Winneba, as follows.]

[117] Cf. no.372.

1412. Abraham Browne Ship Fauconberg, [Winneba], 13 March 1695/6

Yours received of the 7th instant, & shall observe your orders & take the Mine canoe men aboard.[118] Wee left Annamaboe the 9th instant, haveing delivered what goods wee had for that factory, & received from thence 240 chests corn.[119] The 10th wee came to anchor in Winneba road, and have indeavoured all possible to gett wood. Mr Cooper[120] is forced to send 8 or 9 miles into the countrey for some wood for X peices and staincients [= stanchions] for plattforms, which this afternoon wee shall be supplied with whatever have occasion for, till wee come up againe, and intend God willing for Accra tomorrow morning.

PS. This morning I have received on board the 30 Mine canoe men, and am now just under saile for Accra.

[He proceeded to Accra, to deliver goods & collect slaves (nos 1301–2), then went back to Winneba, where he collected more slaves (nos 1144–5), & on to Anomabu, for corn & slaves (no.860)].

1413. Abraham Browne Ship Fauconberg, [Anomabu], 26 March 1696

Yours I received, and according to your advice have sent away the two Portuguzes ships lying by us, & wee have on board two hundred & twenty slaves (including the 30 Mine canoemen). I know not what the warrs may produce,[121] finding little encouragement to leward. Tomorrow hope to receive the remainder of corne on board, and then shall make the best of my way for Cabo Corso.

PS. Pray be so kind to gett what yams you can.

[In the following 2 letters, he seems to be back at Cape Coast.]

1414. Abraham Browne Ship Fauconberg, 30 March 1696

Pray be pleased to deliver to the bearer sixteen cask of tallow.

1415. Abraham Browne Ship Fauconberg, 31 March 1696

Pray be pleased to send by the bearer twenty four casks tallow, one baile blew Welch plaines.

[118] Referring to men from 3 canoes panyarred on the orders of the chief of the Winneba factory (cf. no.1143).
[119] Cf. no.857.
[120] William Cooper, chief of the RAC factory at Winneba.
[121] At Komenda, where Great Taggee had just defeated Little Taggee (no.378), the implication being that this was expected to yield slaves for sale.

[Brown completed his voyage during the hiatus in the Rawlinson correspondence from April 1696. The *Fauconberg* returned to Africa in 1697 under a different captain, John Luke (see nos 1418–24).]

The *Success*, Commander John Soanes, then William Churchey[122]

[Soanes had commanded the *Jeffery* on a voyage to Africa in 1693/4 (no.1395), but no correspondence is recorded from this earlier voyage. For this voyage in the *Success*, he was reported to be at Gravesend, ready to depart for Africa, in Dec. 1695 (no.1404); but his departure was delayed, & his arrival in Africa fell during the hiatus in the correspondence between April 1696–March 1697. He was at Whydah in early 1697 (no.1353).]

1416. William Churchy

On board Sucess rideing at Principis,[123] 22 March 1696/7

Haveing soe convenient an oppertunity of giveing you this line, by which gratitude obliges me to return thanks for the civill entertainment which found when present at yours, and having the news of our Commanders death, whom departed this life on the second instant. Then were in our way hither from Whidah, since have mett with a tedious voyage. Hope to be gone hence on the next on our way.

Gentlemen, as to the care am obliged to you for the interest of the Royall Company, I hope shall discharge it to satisfaction. Wee are indiferently in health [as] for our Negroes, but many of our company are downe, however doubt not but shall by the refreshment that have hear soon recover againe.

I shall request a favour of you, which is that when oppertunity offers of sending to England for to give a line or two of to Jeffry Jeffrys Esquire,[124] am certaine will be made knowne to all whome are concerned,[125] for soe doeing shall owne myself further obliged to [you].

William Melross

[Melross was a retiring member of the Council of Chief Merchants at Cape Coast Castle, returning to England, on an unnamed Danish ship.[126]]

[122] Database, #15022.
[123] The island of Príncipe.
[124] A member of the Court of Assistants of the RAC.
[125] i.e. in the ship, meaning its owners & investors in the voyage.
[126] NA, T70/11, Chief Merchants, Cape Coast Castle, 6 April 1697. Probably this ship was either the *Københavns Våben* or the *Castellet*, which both left Denmark for Accra in Oct. 1696 (Nørregård 1966, 60).

1417. William Melross St Thoma, 21 May 1697

I doubt not but you received my letter from Accra,[127] from whence we took our departure the 19th past, and after our endeavours to gett of the Coast directly for Europe where forced to putt in here, which happned the 13th instant, Providence so ordering it that for want of watter we should not perish in the watter. Notwithstanding the Captain had more from Mr Searle then he first required,[128] wee soon found all was not sufficient for the voyage, considering the shipps dull sailing, and the cask he had, great part of them being wooden bound, proved not good, soe that on our arrivall here found as many leaked out as wee dranck all of us in this short passage (I mean short to what the voyage must be). [We] have in some measure suffered, but the poor seamen have most sencibley felt the smart, haveing dranck at allowance[129] from our parting with the land till our arrival here. Pray God wee have seen the worst. Enough of this muddy watter, which I only incert for your caution. Wee are now makeing what provision wee can, haveing emptied the beef and pork to fill the cask with watter.

Capt. William Hill,[130] being sick the most part of the voyage, departed this life about 2 or 3 houres after we anchored here, makeing no will, whose corps next night was buried on shore in the woods, with a great deal of trouble and as much decency as the place and time would afford us (not being suffered to lay him near the Christian Pagans here), whose concerns, which is considerable, I have taken care to secure for the widdow, being inventoryed by the Captain, Merchant, his boy Thomas Nicholls and my self, Capt. Towres[131] and Capt. Lawrence De So[u]za present, his money sealed up with 3 seales, vizt Captains, Merchants and his owne. His cloths he had left (haveing disposed of most at Cape Coast) are sold on board, esteeming it most profitable for the widdow, the produce of which shall be sealed up when gathered in, all which with his pappers if delivered me by the Captain shall faithfully be delivered her, God sending my arrivall in safty to London.

The inclosed letters will advise you of the Hanniballs appearing and anchoring off this place 5 or 6 days after Capt. Pyles departure,[132] and what happned dureing her stay here, to which I referr you.[133] Next day after

[127] Not preserved.
[128] Edward Searle, now Chief of James Fort, Accra.
[129] i.e. rationed.
[130] Formerly commander of the *Hannibal*, which is mentioned later (Database, #15024).
[131] Thomas Towers, whose own ship had been seized by the Dutch at Cape Coast (cf. no.904, with n.229).
[132] The *Hannibal* had been taken over by a mutiny of its crew, who set the commander (William Hill) ashore; William Piles, in the *Sally Rose*, was sent to the 'Portuguese Islands' in pursuit of it in Jan. 1697, but returned 'without news' of it (NA, T70/11, Chief Merchants, Cape Coast Castle, 13 Jan. & 6 April 1697).
[133] Not preserved.

the interment of Capt. Hill I went to the head Governours of a people who I think rather governs them, or at least little regards them, from whom I demanded Mr Finch, allso [= alias?] White, named in the inclosed, to be delivered me in order to be sent to Cape Coast, who was one of the head actors of the tragedy, being for that purpose delivered them by Capt. Perry,[134] but I found they were unwilling, and after waiting 3 days their possitive answer was they should keep him till their new Governor arrived from Lisboa, who is expected dayly, here being a shipp in the road with whom he came in company, and to him [ms. 'thim'] they will deliver him to be disposed of at his pleasure. In the mean time if he can make his escape he will, or rather they will send him off, he being a prisoner at large, and when well (being now sick) went about with his sword, cane and wigg like a Cavallier. By this you may judge what accompt the Royall Company would have had from them had it been their fortune to have taken the shipp. For my part I beleve had not the ship William been in the road, they had bought her whole cargoe, the pyratt offering for much less than cost in England, as some of themselves told me, vizt iron barrs two per a and perpetuanoes at 2 or 3 angles apiece, and not unlikely they had some of it. I had the liberty to see and discourse the rogue White, who would confess nothing of their takeing any vessell on the Coast. All he had to say, which is little more than is contained in the other declareation, he hath sent me in his declareation under his hand, coppy whereof goes inclosed, to which referr.[135] I would have protested against the seven heads (after I found that neither fair words nor threatning would bring them to an allowance), but being discharged the Companys service did not think it proper. This is intended you by Capt. Lawrence d[e] Souza, who thinks to be with you in two months, by whome if you receive not said White you may act as you think convenient. I must acknowledge Capt. Lawrences civilyty dureing my stay here, though I had enough of the country the first day, for I see no difference between it and the Coast, and I think the people worse, considering they are Christians and know or ought to know better than a great many of them acts. I hope my brother Wallter is arrived in England or near it, by whome the Company will have an accompt of all that is past here. Capt. Warner and Capt. Salaway have been both here, but no news of Capt. Soanz, who presume whent to Cape Lopez,[136] and I pray God the Hanniball did not meett with him. Our Captain thinks to saile, God willing, tomorrow. God grant prosperous gales, and crowne the end of this (I fear tedious) voyage with a safe arrival at our desired port, where I wish us all a happy meeting in due time. In the interim with hearty prayers for your healths and prosperitys, and my respects to all my freinds on [ms. 'one'] the Coast in generall.

[134] By implication, commander of the ship *William*, mentioned later; presumably William Perry, who had also commanded the *William* in 1695 (no.1352).
[135] Not preserved.
[136] In modern Gabon. In fact, Soanes' ship had gone to Príncipe, rather than São Tomé (no.1416).

PS. Capt. Towres gives his service to you, to send forward the inclosed to Mr Searle.[137]

The rouge White pretends to be a Roman Catholick, for which he hath this favour shown him. Capt. d Souza will deliver you coppyes of all letters past between Capt. Perry and Darley and allso Webber while here in the road.[138]

The *Fauconberg* (4th voyage), Commander John Luke[139]

[The first 6 of these letters seem to have been written off Cape Coast Castle.]

1418. John Luke — Ship Fauconbergh, 29 May 1697

I have now on board one factor and six soldiers for the Castle. I intend to come on shore soe soone as the shipp is safe at an anchor, and bring what letters I have on board with me.

1419. John Luke — Ship Fauconbergh, 31 May 1697

I have sent by the great canoa twenty barrells powder.

1420. John Luke — Shipp Fauconberg, 4 June 1697

The gunn which we fired was a gunn that was betwixt decks, and not haveing occasion to make use of him, upon cleareing abaft, and removeing him into the gunn roome, found the tomkin to be drove halfe in,[140] which obliged us to fire him off to clear him.

1421. John Luke — Ship Fauconberge, 16 June 1697

The Portuguez Captains are now on board, and desire gold for the slaves wee had from them, and some other slaves are now brought aboard, for whome the persons thatt brought them will have gold also, therefore pray thatt would send me three marks gold by bearer.

1422. John Luke — Shipp Fauconberge, 1 July 1697

Pray be pleased to send by bearer twenty cases spiritts.

[137] Not preserved.
[138] Not preserved; cf. NA, T70/11, Chief Merchants, Cape Coast Castle, 9 Sept. 1697: '[They] send what information they have of the Hannibal by Capt. de Souza Rego of St Thomas'.
[139] Database, #9724.
[140] A wooden bung placed in the mouth of a cannon, to keep out moisture.

[In Aug. 1697, Luke set out west, for Komenda, as follows.]

1423. John Luke Ship Fauconberg, 13 Aug. 1697

Wee have had very bad success hitherto in our Commenda voyage, wee haveing allready lost two anchors, that wee are forced to make use of our best bower, which is a great fateigue to our men, and if wee should lose that it will goe very hard with us, haveing noe other but our sheett anchor. Pray lett me have your directions what I shall doe in this matter.

1424. John Luke Ship Fauconberg, [Komenda], 16 Aug. 1697

Here is little wind and the currant setts stron[g] against us. John Cabess desired me to send him four very good two hand canoes this evening, and he will goe from the ship and keep a good offing and goe ashore at Comenda in the morning.[141] Wee designe to stay here with the ship till tomorrow noon, that there may be no suspition. Pray favour me with your advise in the matter.

[PS] John Cabess craves your secreasy [= secrecy], and that the canoemen may know nothing of the matter till they come on board.

[The rest of this voyage occurred during the hiatus in the correspondence in Sept.-Oct. 1697. Luke returned to West Africa with the *Fauconberg* in 1698/9 (nos 1040, 1060, 1178), but no correspondence from this later voyage is recorded.]

The *Sally Rose*, Commander William Piles[142]

[Piles in the *Sally Rose* had been employed locally in West Africa during 1697 (nos 1376–9). On 14 Dec. 1697 he was at Cape Coast, due to sail for England (no.1026).]

1425. William Piles St Thoma, 30 Dec. 1697

I make bold to sattisfie you that the 27th instant I fell in with the lewardmost part of St Thoma, and have lost five slaves, but hope shall not loose no more in my passage. I have about two thousand yamms left, but was forced to goe in by reason the worme has damaged my butts, and doe find some halfe and others a fourth part out, which I must see to mend them. I doe designe to buy some other

[141] The leading merchant at Komenda: he had been on a visit to Cape Coast (cf. nos 409, 411–2), & had evidently returned in the *Fauconberg*.
[142] Database, #9723.

provitions for the refreshment of my slaves. My shipp continues the same with her leaks, and doe expect in three days to saile from St Thoma. I have spoke to the Governour about John White, the ringleader of the roagues belonging to the Hanniball, but he will not lett me have him by any means.[143] They are the greatest roagues that I have mett with since I have been upon the Coast, and if it be my fortune to meet with any of their shipps upon the Coast I will have sattisfaction from them. So having noe more to enlarge, but desireing to be remembered to all my friends.

The *Merchants Good Will*, Commander Charles Cotterrell, then Thomas Piles[144]

[The *Merchants Goodwill* was a 'permissioned ship' (no.121), i.e. one not belonging to the RAC, but holding a licence to trade from the Company.]

1426. Charles Cotterrell
From on board the Merchants Good Will, now rideing at Dickes Cove, 28 Jan. 1698

I have sent your letters by the bearer, and desire your assistance in helpeing me to what slaves you can, having a very good cargoe aboard to dispose on, and if you please to have any of your iron left at any of your factoryes to windward pray lett me know by a canoe, and I shall be verry willing to serve you, and as soone as I have got my wood and water aboard, I shall make the best of my way downe I can.[145]

1427. Charles Cotterrell
From on board the Merchants Goodwill, now rideing at Accra, 25 Feb. 1697/8

I thought fitt to give you a small accompt of an accident that has happened aboard since our departure from Cabo Corso Castle which is as followeth. On the 19th instant in the morning wee were off of Morea. Being calme, I went downe with my purser to Annamaboe, to gett the corne ready, that I might make what dispatch I could, and when the shipp came downe, I understood that Mr Piles[146] and the boatswaine had tooke a canoe and nett from two fisher men, in exchange for the boatswaines hat which he lost at Cabo Corso. The fisher men jumped over board,

[143] Cf. no.1417.
[144] Database, #15025.
[145] Cf. no.121, from Dixcove.
[146] Thomas Piles, mate of the ship.

and what became of them I cannot tell. The canoe and the nett is still detained, and the boatswaine sayes his wages must make sattisfaction if any thing is amiss. I am very sorry that things should goe as they doe, for it is much against my inclynation. I desire that you would accommidate the business and you will oblidge [me].

[At Accra, Cotterell delivered goods to Joseph Pearson, chief of the Whydah factory, who was visiting there (no.1325), & proceeded to Whydah, presumably carrying Pearson. He died at Whydah, & was succeeded in command by his mate Thomas Piles, who departed in March or April 1698 (no.1354).]

The *Prince of Orange*, Commander Josiah Daniel[147]

[Daniel was reported at Cestos, 7 July 1698 (no.134)]

1428. Josiah Daniell Cabo Corso Road, 27 July 1698

I received yours of yesterdays, and would gladly wait on you, if could be any wayes serviceable, notwithstanding I am not very well. The Commander of the interloper doth but endeavour to excuse himselfe on the accompt of my letters. I sent to enquire when he sayled, and he said in two or three dayes, soe I told him I would give him the trouble of a letter when he sayled, and accordingly as soone as he loosed his foretopsaile this morning I sent my letters on board off him. I have noe other business with him. I will wait on you as soone as possible. Am willing to see our shipp shifted.[148]

1429. Josiah Daniell Prince Orrange, Cabo Corso Road, 10 Aug. 1698

The sea running soe high prevents me comeing on shore to dispatch our business with you. I hope shall have a fair opportunity to wait on you ere long, till then shall be impatient. I desire in the mean time you will get my certificates &ca ready, and be pleased to send me word what you please to have in lieu of the bouges, and for what slaves you are pleased to put on board, that I may gett it to hand, and pray discourse the canoe men if they gett any Cabbosheers to engage for their performance, and if you please to agree with them, and advise me what I must given em in hand, they demand halfe in hand in money.[149] I will wait on you as soone as I dare venture on shore.

[147] Database, #9720.
[148] Perhaps meaning a change in its intended destination, as was later decided (no.1431).
[149] Canoemen recruited on the Gold Coast for service on the Slave Coast were paid half their wages in advance in gold, & the rest in goods on completion of their service (Phillips 1732, 229).

1430. Josiah Daniell Prince Orrange, Cabo Corso Road, 16 Aug. 1698

This instant came on board Mr Thomas White, and produced a certificate from under your hands that he was discharged from the Royall Companys service,[150] likewise a letter that he was shipped on board Capt. Carters sloope,[151] as mate in the roome of him that was lately killed, and remembering you cautioned me not to part with him, I detaine him untill your further orders.

1431. Josiah Daniell Prince Orrange [Anomabu], 21 Aug. 1698

I received your letter of the 20th in the evening. I shall be very glad to purchase our complement of slaves without goeing to Whidah.[152] I designe to wait on you this day either by land or water. I should have come sooner but 3 or four of our unruly fellows attempted to runn away, but was prevented by the Blacks in the towne and are secured in the Castle.

1432. Josiah Daniell Prince Orrange, [Anomabu] 22 Aug. 1698

With my humble service, this is to acquaint you of my safe arivall on board last night, and this morning am on shore at Annamaboe, and desine to saile afternoon for Tantumquerry if have a breake of wind. I have sent up by your seaven hand canoe two of the Chiefe leaders that designed to have surrounded my longboat on the rocks, and affterwards attempted to desert, but was brought back hither, whose names are Thomas Herrington, a tall man, and Paul Deverix, a short man. I request the succour of you to cause them to be secured in your Castle untill my returne, for they are soe refractory they will doe noe service, but corrupt others I like well. I desire you to sattisfie the canoe men, I being a strainger to their affair, and place it to my accompt till my returne. They carried off corne to our longboat three tripps. Pray tell Capt. Barter I have sent the box of trumpets and Mr Pearsons boy by the said canoe.[153] Soe wishing you health and happiness, and returning you humble thanks for your sivility, hopeing to kiss your hands suddenly.

[Daniel arrived at Tantumkweri 24 Aug. 1698, to take in corn (no.1059).]

1433. Josiah Daniell P[rince] O[range], Tantumquerry, 28 Aug. 1698

I received yours of the 27th by Eggin, and observe the contents, and am glad have the oppertunity of exchangeing, for indeed I was nott well sattisfied in the

[150] White had earlier been commander of the RAC's *Cabo Corso Galley* (cf. no.1381), but was dismissed 'as a villainous fellow' (NA, T70/11, Chief Merchants, Cape Coast Castle, 28 May 1698).
[151] Edward Carter, commander of the *Thomas & John*.
[152] Instead, it was now decided that he should trade at Allampo (cf. no.922).
[153] Josiah Pearson, chief at Whydah: presumably his boy was to have gone to Whydah with Daniel, but as the latter was no longer going there, an alternative arrangement was needed to get him back to Whydah.

other, for I beleive he would not have been just to his principalls, and then I could not well understand him, butt thought to have made the drummer linguist, butt I found they would have too well agreed together, I hope this will be more for the good of the board.[154] Here is a very bad landing place, which has caused us to spend a long time here. Wee could nott gett off above forty chests a day, and at length splitt our great 7 hand canoe in two peices fore and afft Fryday last, and have had my carpenter ashore ever since, to patch her up, and shall launch her tomorrow.

The Captain of the Towne, Scentia,[155] was on board this day, and promised they should carry the corne about the next point to leward about a mile or two, where tis better landing, if nott it won't be worth while to tarry here, tis soe uncertaine. The Black that Capt. Barter recommend[ed] would faine goe downe to Alampo, but I doe not think it convenient, beleiving that he may hinder us in our business, soe I designe to putt him on shore here or att Winneba. Soe wishing you health and happiness, hopeing to kiss your hands suddenly.

[He was expected to call at Winneba, to collect slaves (no.1177), but his subsequent voyage fell within the hiatus in the correspondence in Sept.–Dec. 1698.]

[154] Cf. nos 922–3: Eggin was sent to replace the man originally assigned to Daniel as interpreter, the latter being judged unsuitable because he could not speak English or Portuguese.
[155] Sic, but probably miscopied: correspondence from Tantumkweri still names 'Quansa' as the local chief at this time (nos 1059 etc.).

XV

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS

Like that for 1686–8, the correspondence for 1691–9 includes a small number of letters from non-English correspondents. The most substantial and informative series (which is therefore placed first in this chapter) comprises letters received from the local Director-General of the Dutch West India Company (WIC). There are also three letters received from Portuguese correspondents, and a single letter from the Brandenburg African Company. These clearly did not represent the entirety of letters received in Cape Coast from foreigners, but evidently such letters were entered into the Cape Coast letter-books only haphazardly, or at least the instructions relating to their recording were not consistent over time.[1]

The letters from the WIC are mostly in Dutch but three of them are in French, those from Portuguese correspondents are all in Portuguese, but the letter from the Brandenburg Company is recorded in English. For one of the Dutch letters and two of the Portuguese, translations into English are also entered, and in these cases it is the texts of these translations which are included here (with annotations indicating necessary corrections). Letters which appear only in Dutch, French and Portuguese in the original manuscript are presented here in translations prepared by or for the present editor, this newly translated material being distinguished by being put into italics. It should be noted that the dates of these non-English documents appear all to be in 'New Style', currently ten days in advance of the 'Old Style' employed by the English, except that in two cases (nos 1435, 1456) the date is given according to both calendars.

[1] The correspondence from Accra also refers to 2 letters received from the General of the Danish fort there, which were forwarded to Cape Coast, but were not entered into the letter-books (nos 1222, 1245).

DUTCH WEST INDIA COMPANY (ELMINA)

A total of 18 letters were registered as received from the WIC, over the period from January 1694 to February 1696. These were all written from the WIC's headquarters at Elmina,[2] by two successive Directors-General of the Company, the first from Joel Smits (who served 1689–94), and the others from Johan Staphorst (1694–6). Evidently, there were other letters received from Elmina in the period of this correspondence, which were not entered in the Cape Coast letter-books.[3] This was clearly an occasional rather than a regular correspondence, relating to particular matters which arose between the two Companies from time to time; and, given the generally poor relations between the English and Dutch in West Africa at this time,[4] they all relate to disputes, over such questions as competing claims to territorial rights (at Komenda), the 'panyarring' of persons and goods, and the harbouring of deserters. Also included here, for convenience of cross-reference, are two letters from an officer of the RAC itself while he was held hostage by the Dutch in Elmina, in 1695, in the course of one of these disputes (nos 1446, 1448).

1434. Joel Smits Castle of St George d'Elmina, 1 Feb 1694 [in Dutch][5]

It is a matter which is known to all the world, and especially those experienced concerning the events on the Coast of Africa in Guinea, that the Portuguese nation by virtue of the forts and properties [omission?], *which our State and the Company at the cost of goods and blood has conquered in a just war against the Portuguese, and the trade occurring there, to be its own, in the regions granted by the natives, or bought from the same for a sum of gold, to the exclusion of all others, without their having held [any] in reserve for themselves, to sell or grant later to friendly nations. If we should bring up all the violations the English nation has committed on this Coast to the great injury and irreparable damage of the Netherlands Company, we could raise it at length, but to be brief, they set some people to build a fort at Craa, a musket shot from our lodge, watching for*

[2] Usually called in the Rawlinson correspondence by its original/correct Portuguese name 'Mina', but occasionally (as in no.1434) the corrupt (& nowadays current) form 'Elmina' is used.

[3] e.g. no.207 refers to a letter of complaint from the WIC Director-General, which was referred to the RAC's factor at Sekondi in Nov. 1692, but the letter itself is not copied.

[4] Davies 1957, 267–9.

[5] The letter is a statement of the Dutch claim to exclusive rights at Komenda. The English factory there had been withdrawn in 1688, but attempts had been made to re-establish it in 1691–2 (see chap.III), & more were evidently anticipated. Other documents relating to this dispute can be found in NA, T70/169.

the time when we were in dispute with the King of Great Acraa[6] *in the year 1674,*[7] *by which we were also obliged to build a fortress, so as not to be dispossessed one day of the Company's property,*[8] *as also at Zacconde,*[9] *[and] at Dickies Shooff otherwise called Infuma in our directorship,*[10] *and at Commany in the year 1668 in the directorship of the late Mr Dirk Wilree, although he protested at that time against Mr Thomas Pearson agent for the Royal Company,*[11] *which refused to leave the place and afterwards held it in its possession until the Commany war in the year 1688, when they were obliged to abandon the same, therefore it cannot be judged, although the English unrightfully had a lodge at Commany in its possession for twenty years, that the Netherlands West India Company should have lost its right, and are bound to tolerate the English again, because the same was already granted in the year 1641 in the directorship of Mr Jacob Ruyghaver on behalf of the High and Mighty Lords States General of the United Netherlands, and the same General Chartered West India Company,*[12] *and afterwards renewed in the directorship of Jasper van Heussen in the year 1659, since the English nation began to importune the King of Cominay to have a lodge on the shore alongside the Hollanders,*[13] *whence the land from the River Chama to Elmina, as far as the jurisdiction of the King of Great Cominay extends, [was] sold to the Netherlands Company for sixteen bendas gold, with the following condition, that the Commanies should have no power for them or their successors to grant to other nations whoever they may be, any towns or places to conduct trade or commerce there, build houses, lodges or forts, indeed not even to land, or to be permitted to do anything that would break with the*

[6] i.e. the capital of the Accra kingdom, prior to its conquest by Akwamu in 1680, 10 km inland from the coastal town.

[7] Another Dutch source gives the date of the English establishment at Accra as 1673 (Van Dantzig 1978, no.88: Attestation of C. Le Petit, 18 Dec. 1690). It is likely, however, that the date here should be 1679, when the existing English factory was raised to the status of a fort (Davies 1957, 246).

[8] The Dutch fort at Accra in fact dated from the 1640s, but it was 'built anew' in 1679 (Van Dantzig 1978, no.88: Attestation of C. Le Petit, 18 Dec. 1690, '11 years ago'; cf. also no.3: Heerman Abramsz, 23 Nov. 1679).

[9] Sekondi, where the RAC originally established a factory in the 1670s, which was reoccupied, in the face of Dutch protests, in 1683 (vol.i, chap.I).

[10] i.e. Dixcove, whose correct indigenous name was 'Infuma' (Bosman 1705, 14), referring to the English establishment there from 1691 (see chap.I).

[11] Wilree was Director-General of the WIC 1667–74, Pearson was Agent-General of the Company of Royal Adventurers Trading to Africa (the predecessor of the RAC) 1667–72. For the English settlement at Komenda in 1668 & ensuing Dutch protests, see Daaku 1970, 80.

[12] Ruychaver was Director-General 1640–4. For his treaty with Eguafo (which was a response to a French attempt to settle at Komenda), see Chouin 1998, 60–1: under it, the king undertook not to allow 'any foreign nation to erect a house or fortification'.

[13] Van Heusen was Director-General 1658–61. For his treaty with Eguafo, in response to an English attempt to settle at Ampeni, on the coast east of Komenda, see Chouin 1998, 83–5: it 'ceded' to the Dutch the entire coastal zone of Eguafo. An English translation of the treaty is given in NA, T70/169, ff.97–8.

latter, and this right [so] obtained their High & Mightinesses the Lords States General of the United Netherlands and the same Chartered West India Company may proclaim, which they shall be in a position to ordain against anybody who shall wish to prejudice it in such a way, as against that they should be willing to withdraw what is theirs, which they have occupied solely and heritably, to which they vow faithfully to assist and maintain the same, since on our right to the foresaid coast and what is dependent on or of it, granted once and for all, we shall do and announce anything to keep and maintain it against any deliberate or undeliberate means to the prejudice of these acts of cession and grant, from which it is sufficiently established that the whole shore from Elmina westward to the River Chama bordering on the territory of the king of Jabÿ[14] *belongs to the Netherlands Company as its property, therefore we wish by these to warn your Honours in a very friendly and neighbourly way not to make an attempt on this Commany shore, whether by force of arms or surreptitious means to corrupt the natives, as also at all places which the Netherlands Company has conquered by right of arms and have been granted by the natives and bought for gold, whereby the trade or commerce occurring there belongs to the Company as its property, otherwise we shall be forced to take in hand other measures, and since the King of England is united with their High and Mightinesses the Lords States General in a very close alliance with each other, we will not hope that your Honours will* [word illegible] *and disturb the same between the two nations, but as peace-loving persons they will be contented with the places and forts which they presently have in their possession, but in case they happen to undertake the contrary, we protest in the name and on behalf of their High & Mightinesses the Lords States General of the United Netherlands together with the same General Chartered West India Company that we wish to be free of such damages, accidents and inconveniencies which the English and our nation may come to meet by your Honours' unrightful enterprises, as we on our side likewise will behave according to our bounden duty to take care of and maintain that which rightfully belongs to the Netherlands Company in full ownership, and otherwise to behave so as to cultivate the good alliance between both nations.*

1435. John Staphorst

[Mina],15/25 March 1694 [in Dutch & English translation][15]

Your letter I received with a great deall of joy,[16] and if you please to honour me with your company here it will be very acceptable. The Cheife of Shuma ['Sama' in Dutch text] has advised me that he has not forceably taken any of the Royall

[14] Jabi, the western neighbour of Eguafo, inland from the Dutch fort at Shama.

[15] The translation was done by Thomas Johnson, chief of the RAC's factory at Sekondi (no.246).

[16] The English translation here omits a phrase in the Dutch original, expressing '*thanks for the congratulations on the successes therein mentioned*'.

Companyes goods, but interlopers,[17] which the natives brought under the Castle and were conveying them up the river,[18] soe now if you can prove they were the Companyes it's your part to certifie it further, as for our parts[19] we shall never allow itt that such sort of goods shall be brought under our Forts, as you yourselves will seize upon all Dutch goods brought under your forts & factories &ca, and we shall be ready to give the Royall Company our reasons for what we doe,[20] but that on the contrary that all good civility, harmony & correspondency be used between our two nations, and if their be any thing to the contrary lett us know it.[21]

1436. John Staphorst Mina, 3 April 1693/4 [in French]

Up to the present we have not had the means to reconcile the business between the people of Accome and those of Cabes Terra,[22] *my* [word illegible] *of which being to be able to do it with the understanding of our two nations. For that purpose we ask you to send some qualified person here on a fixed day, to take part in a meeting that we will be having with Imufan,*[23] *to put an end to this unfortunate war, which we hope will be of great profit to our two Companies.*

1437. John Staphorst Castle of Mina, 6 April 1694 [in French]

In reply to your kind letter I will tell you that up to the present the people of Cabess Terra have made no proposal for peace, but we hope, if you are pleased to send some deputies on your behalf here, with the General of Accany, on a fixed day which you will be pleased to name, to consult together with the Kings of Comendo, Zaboe, the Fetuers and the Braffo of Fantin,[24] *or else their*

[17] Johnson at Sekondi had complained that the chief of the Dutch fort at Shama had seized persons & goods returning from trading with him (nos 241–2).

[18] The River Shama, or Pra.

[19] Dutch original, rather '*and in any case*'.

[20] Rather, '*we shall be very careful of giving any reasons for offence to the Royal Company*'.

[21] The final phrase is missing from the Dutch original as copied. The letter was referred to Johnson at Sekondi, who dismissed it as 'a mere flam' (no.244); the dispute was also recorded by Phillips (currently at Cape Coast), who noted that despite English protests to Elmina, 'all they have been able to obtain hitherto, was fair promises without the least performance' (1732, 203). See further no.1438.

[22] Referring to the war between Akani & Cabess Terra (Etsi) reported in correspondence from Anomabu & Egya from Dec. 1693 onwards (nos 710, 712, 950), in which Akani had been supported by Fante & the English, & Cabess by Fetu & the Dutch. The Akani had decisively defeated Fetu in March 1694 (see no.721, n.85), but Cabess Terra remained hostile.

[23] The 'General of Akani' mentioned in the following letter, whose name is given in English sources as 'Nimpha' (NA, T70/11, Chief Merchants, Cape Coast Castle, 16 March 1694, etc.; Phillips 1732, 208, 224–5).

[24] Asebu as well as Fante was allied to Akani (Phillips 1732, 208, 225); the king of Komenda, Great Taggee, is not recorded to have been a combatant, but may have been involved as a mediator in negotiations for peace (cf. NA, T70/11, Chief Merchants, Cape Coast Castle, 2 March 1694, reporting an advance of goods to him, 'in hope of a trade by a peace').

deputies, whom we will be causing to come here expressly to put an end to this war, which is so detrimental to our two Companies, that is to say with a lasting peace, or else to put those of Cabess Terra to a fatal rout.[25]

1438. Johan Staphorst Myna, 17 April 1694 [in Dutch]

Have received your Honours' letter, that your factor from Succondee is arrived there, and asserts that it was English goods which were carried to Sama, [which] may well be true, but we say that he is lying, and that they are interloper goods,[26] *and supposing [they are] English Royal Company['s], French, Danes, Swedes, or whatever nation it should be whose goods were brought under the Noble West Indian Company's fortresses, we shall cause the same to be confiscated, without thinking of restoring it in the future.*

1439. Jaan Staphorst Mina, 23 Nov. 1694 [in Dutch]

We send herewith Captain Yan Hendrik Veltkamp and Abram Schepmoes,[27] *together with the ensign of this castle, in order, first, to greet and offer service to your Honours in my name, and second, that the foresaid Captain Veltkamp now has also brought from the fatherland a power of attorney relating to the estate of the deceased Goutsmits Wyhuÿaens,*[28] *and third and most specially, that since a few days ago some fickle persons both from your Honours and also some from our side they had the audacity to move from the service of one of the companies to the other, as only last week a sailor from one of your ships came here and requested employment, to prevent all which disorders and bring things to a good conclusion, we should be very happy that your Honours and also [we] on our side should solemnly promise each time to make amends, for as well as against these people, to send them back again, to which end we send these our delegates there to write an oath in our name and souls to keep no people that come here from your Honours' service, but to turn them away, and accordingly send them back, which we will [also] expect from your side, so that we may live in a good understanding and intelligence between our two nations, or that reasons to the contrary may be given us by your Honours, [and we] to take our own measures accordingly.*

[25] This attempt at mediation was ineffective, since on 25 April [OS: = 5 May NS] 1694 it was still reported that Akani & Cabess were 'not agreed', & the RAC was 'forced to continue lending Nimpha money', evidently to finance the war (NA: T70/11, Chief Merchants, Cape Coast Castle, 25 April 1694). The war & the consequent interruption of trade continued through the rest of 1694 (see nos 766, 1090).

[26] *lorendreyen*, lit. 'pedlar of rubbish', used as an abusive term for interlopers.

[27] Abraham Schepmoes, commander of the *Pynenburg* (Database #10253); J.G. [sic] Veltkamp is also recorded as a ship's captain in the 1680s, but not in 1694.

[28] Not identified, but by implication his property was in the hands of the English.

1440. John Snaphorst Mina, 26 Nov. 1694 [in French]

Capt. Velcompt and his company have given us your kind letter. We find your suggestions one with the other of good unity, by which I desire to maintain on our side in holy faith, with promise of not giving false grounds.[29] *You are pleased to say that the friendship was first broken by us, I do not know what is the offence I have committed.*

I understand from your Mightiness that we have kept here the people from Zacconde.[30] *I promise you that I have no knowledge of all that, but we know very well that a little time ago an English slave from Zacconde who fled here, and we at once brought him back to Cabo Corso, and my servant, who brought the slave, is also the bearer of this letter. If you presume that we, that there are some slaves of the Royal Company here, I have no knowledge of it. I desire that your Bomba come here to see if he recognises anybody here in the blacks' village &ca. I promise to lend a hand to those who will be sent to fetch them.*

1441. Jan Staphorst Mina, 18 Dec. 1694 [in Dutch]

We have received your agreeable letter dated this month, whereby your Honours write to us you have sent a sergeant and some slaves somewhere to maintain the Royal African Company's right, in which he was prevented by one of our factors by cannon fire,[31] *and that we are consequently the aggressors by breaking the peace and good alliance on both sides, without you set down thereby where this affair happened. We make clear that we are unaware of such matters, with request that you will in answer to this let us have where this occurred, thus we are disposed to uphold scrupulously the above-mentioned peace, for which we will then draw up such orders that your Honours shall have no reasons for complaint in that respect.*

1442. Johannes Staphorst Myna, 1 March 1695 [in Dutch]

We are also given to understand that the Quufta [= Quiffa] and Inquira blacks are dispatching an army to Aguoffo, to subject and conquer it,[32] *but whether*

[29] For further reference to the issue of the harbouring of deserters, see nos 1445–50.

[30] The RAC fort at Sekondi had been attacked & destroyed in May 1694, allegedly at the instigation of the Dutch (see chap.II). Soon afterwards, some of the slaves from the fort were reported to be held in the Dutch fort at Butri (no.46); presumably it was thought that some of them were now at Elmina.

[31] Thomas Wilson, who was attempting to reoccupy the RAC's factory at Komenda, & reported that his slaves had been fired upon by the Dutch fort there on 6 Dec. [OS = 16 Dec. NS] 1694 (no.271).

[32] An attack on Eguafo by Twifo was reported as imminent in the RAC's Komenda correspondence from 16 Feb. [OS = 26 Feb. NS] 1695 onwards (nos 290–4). 'Inquira' is Denkyira (a recurrent error in Dutch sources, evidently due to misinterpreting the name as 'd'Inquira', 'the Inquira'), which did not in fact participate in the attack, although the Dutch had solicited its assistance earlier (no.284).

they will also attack your Honours' possession at Commendo is still unknown to me, and in any case we have no knowledge of what they will do to your Honours' Fortress, and I hope also not to ours, for which reason we have sent two capital ships there for the security of our Fortress there.[33] *We on our side wish to maintain scrupulously the friendship between both nations promised to them, so in case any harm befalls your Honours' fortress at Commendo, it is not to be imputed to me. We have taken care of ours as a precaution so well that we already have two ships lying there, as stated. In the event that many marks gold in goods had not been sent by your Honours to the natives, as is still recently said, and which they have now refused [from] them, no war would ever have occurred, because the natives are only merchants who want to have a free access for trade.*[34]

1443. Johan Snaphorst Mina, 27 March 1695 [in Dutch]

I have received your Honours' letter, this serves as answer thereto, that the Mina Cabbezzeers had had some canoes sent to sea in the night, to watch whether any small canoes of Cabo Corso were coming past here, [and] in case they were then to take the canoes and rowers, for the reason that the Mina Cabbezzeers understand that 16 to 17 Mina women and children are held captive at Cabo Corso in your Honours' fortress, without the Cabbezzeers can bring to mind the reasons why your Honours hold so many people captive, so therefore the Cabbezzeers as a matter of duty have thought fit to take retaliatory action, so that thereby the captives at Cabo Corso might be set free, so that your Honours cannot impute to us that we have committed any hostility on our side, which should come to the point of war between our two nations, but on the contrary we have to live in a good understanding with you.

We have this morning given the white man who was in one of the canoes passage to Cabo Corsoe, together with one of our slaves to escort him.[35] *I doubt not they shall be safely arrived there and your Honours shall have a report. Your Honours' canoes are still here, so in case your Honours please to free the Mina captives there, then the Cabbezzeers shall restore your Honours' canoes, together with the rowers. Meanwhile we can assure your Honours we had not*

[33] i.e. warships: their arrival is noted in no.290.

[34] The RAC had sent goods to Twifo & Denkyira on 23 Jan. [OS = 2 Feb. NS] 1695, in an attempt to beg off the intended attack (nos 283–4); but even earlier, when the Dutch first approached Twifo in Dec.1694, they reported that they had been preceded by envoys from Cape Coast & Eguafo, offering money for assistance against the Dutch (Van Dantzig 1980, 108). The argument is evidently that it was the English rather than the Dutch who had initiated the bidding for Twifo intervention. This letter was apparently referred to the RAC's factor at Komenda for comment, who dismissed the Director-General's 'fair promises and false heart' (no.295).

[35] i.e. Charles Jordan (cf. nos 316, 318).

the least knowledge of this business, but on the contrary wish to maintain good neigbourliness.[36]

1444. Johannes Staphorst Mina, 31 March 1695 [in Dutch]

The bearers are the Mina Cabbezzers, the reasons for their going there from here consist in this, to request your Honours that the Mina people who were panyarred at the Fresh River[37] *by the Cabo Corse Blacks may be set free, that is both those who may be kept in your Honours' Fortress, and those who may be outside your Honours' Fort. The Cabezzeers have yesterday released your Honours' canoes and rowers, in the hope that the Mina people also may be freed there, which I am also requesting by these, to remove all misunderstandings.*[38]

1445. Johan Staphorst Mina, 19 Sept. 1695 [in Dutch]

The day before yesterday two persons deserted from here to Cabo Cors, without our knowing the reasons for this. They are a man named Willem Homma, an assistant in rank,[39] *and the other a soldier, wherefore I am requesting by these, if the persons are at Cabo Cors, that your Honours please send them here to give reasons for running away. If you do so, we on our side shall always are prepared to do the same, and not neglect to live in a good harmony between both Companies.*[40]

1446. Lawrence Keck Mina, 26 Oct. [OS = 5 Nov. NS] 1695

After my most humble service to your worship & the other two Gentlemen, these are to acquaint your worships that I and Mr Puplet are here detained by the Generall, who will not let us goe, he sayes, till you return him all the Dutchmen that are lately come from hence & entertain'd there. I have told him that he was the first breaker of the accord or agreement that was formerly betwixt you. As to me I have noe part nor share in it, but if hee keeps me here I must expect satisfaction from him for the damage I shall sustain in the celler at Cabo Corso, which is now in my hands, & have noebody there to manage it but a little boy

[36] The letter seems to have been referred to the RAC factor at Komenda, who described the explanation offered as 'like a Dutch trick' (no.316).

[37] The River Kakum, called by the English the 'Sweet River', between Cape Coast & Elmina.

[38] It is not clear if agreement was reached on this occasion: but a further outbreak of reciprocal panyarring occurred in May 1695 (nos 77, 331–2).

[39] 'Assistant' was the lowest level of commercial personnel of the WIC.

[40] RAC records confirm the entertainment of deserters from the WIC, including Willem Homma, at this time, but claim that this was done in retaliation for the WIC's entertainment of an English deserter called Page, also mentioned in no.1448 (NA, T70/11, Chief Merchants, Cape Coast Castle, 8 Oct. 1695). Homma was evidently not returned, & was still in the RAC's service in 1698 (no.260).

that can neither write nor read, as also for this my false imprisonn[ment]. I have told him also that he takes verry strong measures to think to gett his men, whom he has driven away by his ill usage, by keeping me here. However pray lett him worke his capprice out. He offers me his table here, which I shall not accept of, but am willing to undergoe the greatest severity he deares inflict upon me. Pray, Sirs, let my boy lock up the celler & deliver noe drinck to any body till he hears further from me. Soe desiring your worships to take your owne measures, without any respect at all to me.[41]

1447. Johan Staphorst Mina, 5 Nov. 1695 [in Dutch]

We have received your Honours' pleasant letter of today's date, to which shall only say in answer that we are always excessively willing to live in a good harmony and union between both nations, because we also have such a close alliance in Europe, that [there should be] no difference, even as a man is paired with his wife, however we find that it is not observed in such a way as we expect from your side, because we have recently addressed a civil letter to your Honours on the point of Company servants on both sides, who sometimes through debauchery are desperate to move from one to the other's service, & so may leave and desert their lords and masters, which still happened again a little time ago, but in order that we may have a final end of it, it is our wish that your Honours please hand over the persons recently deserted from here to Cabo Cors into the hands of the Company, on condition that we are ready and willing to hand over the persons that entered themselves into employment here. We shall however still keep under arrest the people who came here yesterday to consult with the surgeon, to treat them according to their merits, we hereby not being able to fail to say that it should be our entire pleasure, as is fitting between neighbours, to live in a good unity, to remove all troubles. Therefore we beg you Gentlemen once more in a wholly friendly manner that your Honours shortly please to decide to send back the Company's servants, which then will also be the only means to put our mutual problem to rest.

1448. Lawrence Keck Mina, 26 Oct. [OS: = 5 Nov. NS] 1695

Yours of the date above is received, & the Generall also has received your worships, & first seem'd inclinable to lett us come away, but upon second thoughts has ordered me to acquaint your worships that if you pl[e]ase to

[41] The Chief Merchants at Cape Coast in response ordered the arrest of officers of the WIC, & later on 26 Oct. the second of the Dutch fort at Kormantin was seized at Anomabu (no.834). The arrest of Keck & Puplett must have occurred (& been reported to Cape Coast) on the previous day, 25 Oct., since the Chief Merchants had already sent instructions for this counter-panyarring on that day (nos 833, 1292).

discharge his people at Cabo Corsoe, he fait[h]fully promises to doe the like here, and all shal be forgotten & forgiven on both sides, & noe punishment, but to receive a generall amnisty or pardon and to enter a firm alliance de novo, that neither side shall for the time to come entertain one anothers people, which he promises inviolably to observe and performe on his part, & to doe all friendly offices that leye in his power, which he sayes if your worships refuse you doe thereby declare that you seeke neither pease not quiett, and further saye[s], if your worships had sent the last time, or demanded in the world, he would not have entertained Page. For my part I see noe end of this affaire, but leave your good worships to take your owne measures & methods, humbly desiering when your worships sent next my boy may send me the things I write for in the margent [= margin].

1449. John Staphorst Mina, 8 Nov. 1695 [in Dutch]

We have thought fit to send herewith Mr Fiscael Schorer, to hand back your Honours' Lieut. Keck and book-keeper, and at the same time to make such a conclusion and firm stand in our name, that no further disagreements between both Companies' servants may occur, and that all those which may run away from either side's service shall be sent back right away, and at the same time that your Honours also then please send here those who are there. Being satisfied, we also hand over the Englishman who recently came here.[42] *By so doing we shall come to and end once and for all and arrive at no further troubles in the future. What we have to say in this we refer to the mouth of our fiscael, who I doubt not shall reach an amicable settlement with your Honours in a good understanding.*

1450. Johan Staphorst Mina, 11 Nov. 1695 [in Dutch]

We allow ourselves to be very pleased at the business which our Fiscael has transacted with your Honours, we promising under solemn oath sincerely to uphold the same, in which your Honours must by no means make difficulties, and likewise in the future for anything that may be for refreshment or other service, please command freely.[43]

1451. Johan Staphorst Castle d'Elmina, 4 Jan. NS 1696 [in Dutch]

We received yesterday your Honours' letter of 23d December 1695 old style by your Honours' Lieutenant Mr Keck, by which your Honours please to note you are informed that the Captain of the English cruiser the Resolution in a friendly manner handed over his commission to one of our ships, to show it, but that the

[42] i.e. the deserter Page, mentioned in no.1448.
[43] For further reference to the issue of deserters, see no.1453.

said Captain with 10 of his people were taken prisoner,[44] *and that your Honours therefore request that they should be sent to you without delay, & likewise satisfaction as to what power or authority we or our subordinates have to arrest them. Yesterday we were not yet in a position to reply to the one or the other, therefore we did not wish to detain the said Mr Keck, because he was inclined to leave, so this now serves as answer, that we cannot disapprove our captain of the ship Beschermer, that he has authority to try to take whatever ships show themselves on this Coast, & not being well able to understand the said cruiser's commission which was shown, in the mean time made sure of handing over this affair from the forementioned persons to our judgement and orders, for which precaution and the freedom of this Coast our forementioned ship was specially sent here by our lords and masters, without our being inclined to do any annoyance or wrong to any of our neighbours or allies, but we can sincerely testify that we have not been able to get any sufficient satisfaction from the said Cruiser to agree to your Honours' request, because although they profess to have come here solely to inflict injury on the common French enemy, yet we cannot understand what advantage they can expect where nobody but Hollanders, English & Brandenburgers are settled, & consequently in this time of war no French merchants will venture to come to trade on this Coast, where we are so strong in Castles and ships, much less understand any benefit for them for which they nevertheless principally come out to look for French privateers or war ships with their small ship, wherein is nothing but striking a blow, without any profit to gain, which consideration gives us reason for apprehension that they have some other secret design in view, all the more so because we have a still fresh example not 5 years past, that a certain English ship also coming here out of the point of New Netherlands,*[45] *set on for piracy, & tried to attack one of the Company's costly ships, which like dangers we are bound to prevent as much as possible, but to show that we are disposed to live with your Honours and your Honours' nation according to our new alliance, we say we are ready to comply with your Honours' request & to let the said eleven persons go to your Honours, provided your Honours send us beforehand a written security or guarantee that the said ship the Resolution with its people will not harm any of our ships ranging on this coast, or that your Honours will make good all such damages, because we presume that your Honours are well able to fulfill this for their own nation, but if your Honours are unwilling to do so, it is our opinion subject to correction that the said ship and people are no concern of your Honours or your Honours' Royal Company, and that we shall behave with them in this matter as we shall think fit for the welfare of all our ships, goods etc. ranging on this Coast.*

[44] Cf. no.98, reporting the arrest of the ship at Cape Three Points; it was a licensed privateer from New England.

[45] The original name of New England, prior to its capture from the Dutch in 1664.

1452. Johan Staphorst Mina, 5 [Feb.][46] 1696 [in Dutch]

We have received your Honours' letter of the 26th January old style by your Honours' Lieutenant Mr Keck, in which your Honours write us of a matter of which we still have no knowledge, and which in our opinion also does not concern us,[47] *however you write that your Honours wish to oblige us not only by threats and protests, but also to warn us about our new agreement that we have made to get involved in issues which your Honours' blacks may have with ours, but we leave that to their decisions, otherwise we should perhaps be able to show that the blacks here have [done] no great wrong, but letting that go, we say only that we on our side will behave towards your Honours' nation as we have promised, however we think we are not bound to preserve your Honours' people and fortresses, which your Honours claim are facing danger, to the prejudice of our own blacks. We have enough to do to preserve our own against all enemies, & to keep watch against all harmful practices, which we now and then learn are contrived against us by our friends and allies.*

1453. John Staphorst Mina, 12 Feb. 1696 [in Dutch]

Today received a letter from Cormantyn by which we were advised that the day before yesterday a Company's servant named Casparus Willigins fled from said Cormantyn to Cabo Cors, wherefore, because we are now living in good alliance, and in conformity with the recently made agreement, we will not doubt that your Honours shall have the goodness to send the Company's servant here, & the same [i.e. the writer] also guarantees to have the expenses which shall fall therein brought in ready money.[48]

PORTUGUESE CORRESPONDENTS

All these three letters were either written or transmitted by Lourenço de Souza Rego, also mentioned elsewhere in the Rawlinson correspondence, who was a

[46] Ms. has 'September' struck out & replaced by 'January'; but from its position in the corpus, & the date given for the letter from Cape Coast to which it replies, this should clearly be Feb.

[47] The letter does not make clear the nature of the English complaint, beyond that it concerned actions of Africans linked to the WIC: probably it alludes to the fleet of Mina canoes which was blockading Komenda, & panyarred canoes belonging to Cape Coast on the morning of 26 Jan. 1696 (no.368).

[48] Whether this individual was returned is not known, but disputes over the issue of deserters recurred later. In 1698 the 2 companies again 'agreed that deserters on both sides be returned' (NA, T70/11, Chief Merchants, Cape Coast Castle, 2/6 April 1698), but Bosman later complained that the English 'have once more broken the articles' (1705, 49).

ship's captain based on the Portuguese island of São Tomé.[49] The first two relate to the seizure of goods from a Portuguese ship by the Dutch at Elmina in 1693;[50] the third is from an otherwise unidentified correspondent in São Tomé in 1696, promising assistance to English ships calling there.

1454. Lourenco de Souza Rego

Acara, 4 Sept. 1693 [in Portuguese & English translation]

With this letter I send your Worships a paper made by [my] Purser,[51] to which wee have all signed, how the Generall of the Mine Joel Smith obliged us to signe a paper made by his fiscall John Teleman, whose language wee understand not, and by word of mouth told us hee had writt how the English had given his people many blowes, which wee swear never hapned, and that it is a lye, but the fear wee was then in made us signe the paper, for which reason wee have made this which goes here inclosed, both to shew our own honesty and to declare the many complaints wee have against the Generall of the Mine, who robbd us, as also of [= against] their ships of which one George Vandique is commander.

1455. Antonio de Andrade, Manoel Afonso Monteiro, Joas de Meytelles Furtado, Lourenco de Souza Rego, Joas Bauptista Crey

Acara Fort, 4 Sept. 1693 [in Portuguese & English translation]

I, Anthony de Andrade, Master of the ship called our Lady of the Clouds and Lady Catherine,[52] and Emanuel Afonso Monteiro, Purser of said ship, and wee here underwritten, say that on the 21st in August in the year 1693, comeing on the Coast of the Mine,[53] the Dutch from the Castle of the Mine took us almost under Cabo Corso to robb us, and at the same tyme the English from the shipps that were at the fortification of Cabo Corso came on board to carry us to their said fortification, seing they would take us under it and under theirs of the Mine, comeing on board to carry us along with them, which was what wee all desired,

[49] Described in 1694 as 'captain of a small Portuguese vessel... with which he uses to go and trade upon the coast of Guiney for gold and slaves, and sometimes to the Brazils for sugars' (Phillips 1732, 242). On other occasions he carried letters from São Tomé to Cape Coast (nos 1397, 1401, 1417), & recommended a man for employment by the RAC at Accra (no.1289).

[50] Although presented as mere robbery, this probably relates to the WIC's exaction of a levy on Portuguese ships, for permission to trade in West Africa (see no.15, n.55).

[51] '*meu escrevao*' in the Portuguese text; though it is unclear why de Souza should so describe him, given that he was not himself the captain of the ship.

[52] This should be 'Saint Catherine', the ship's name in Portuguese being *Nossa Senhora das Neves & Santa Catherina*. Records of slave ships leaving Bahia, Brazil, for West Africa include a Capt. Antonio Andrade in 1693, but the ship's name is given as *S Almas S Catarina*; the *S Catarina NS Neves* is listed as sailing again in March 1694 with a different captain, Francisco Telly (Database #50037, 50045).

[53] '*Costa da Mina*', the usual Portuguese term for the Gold Coast.

for that they treate us with more civility and honesty then them at the Mine. There arose some difference betweene said Dutch and English, at which tyme the English by consent of the Dutch, who were much affraid of them, tooke away some things, which the Generall of Cabo Corso understanding, ordered us to bee paid, and [we] went to the Mine, where the Generall Joel Smith sent his fiscall to robb us of 8 barrells and some anchors of rumme and two feiches of sugar,[54] and 9 rolls of tobacco, this besides what the Dutch seamen belonging to their ships took forcibly from us, for all which they would pay us nothing, but forced us to signe a paper the contents whereof wee knew not, being written in Dutch, which language wee understand nothing of, wherefore both for the defence of the English as also to satisfy our consciencyes wee have made this, which att all tymes wee protest to owne under the oath of the holy Evangellists.

1456. Hironymo de Andrada S[ão] Thome, Jan. 17/7 1696 [in Portuguese]

Your Lordships could not oblige me with a greater gift of support for me more valued than the letter from your hands of 12 September of last year, which I received from the hand of Capt. Lourenco de Souza Rego, who is the bearer of this reply,[55] *because being a messenger he deserves to get the honours he always receives from your Lordships and which also belong to me as being concerned in all your affairs.*

For the gentlemen Generals and Captains of ships I must to do what I can for them, having previously little power [to do so], but now I can do what they deserve, because I have always been attached to the English nation, & every time that anyone whatever arrives at this affiliated house he will find here his shelter[?], *which is or will be also the same [as] from your Lordships, whom God protect.*

BRANDENBURG AFRICAN COMPANY (GROSS-FRIEDRICHSBURG)

The single letter from the Brandenburg African Company was received from its headquarters Gross-Friedrichsburg ('Frederick' in this document) in 1698; its substance is slight, but serves to illustrate the good relations the Brandenburg Company enjoyed with the RAC.

[54] '*feixos*' in Portuguese text: i.e. *fechos*, crates in which sugar was exported (Schwartz 1985, 122).
[55] The letter was apparently delivered to Cape Coast by a member of de Souza's ship's crew, who was forwarded from Dixcove in March 1696 (no.105).

1457. JD [Visser][56] [Fort] Frederick, 30 July 1698

This day, being the 28th instant [sic], received your Honours letter, which your Honours servant [delivered], the same belonging to the deceased Generall Jean Van Leer, who was on the 5th day of Aprill last intered.[57]

Wee cannot forbeare to give your Honours many thanks for your good wishes about the arivall of our shipps, and have not forebore to ask our Captain[s] if they knew of any of your Honours shipps to windward, but they answer me the[y] knew not of any, nor what news there was from England. Wee expect one more of our shipps very suddenly, when shall acquaint your Honours of what news presents, and your Honours may be assured I shall not forbeare to acquaint your Honours of what comes to my hands.

PS. Yesterday passed by one English great shipp, which suppose is one of your Honours Companys shipps.[58]

[56] Garbled in ms., apparently 'Vsisse', but clearly = Jan de Visser, factor at Gross-Friedrichsburg, who took over temporary command there on the death of the Director-General Jan van Laer on 5 April 1698 (Jones 1985, no.91: Minutes of Board of Directors, 9 Aug. 1699).

[57] This was probably the letter to the Brandenburg Director-General which was discovered undelivered in the RAC's fort at Dixcove, & belatedly forwarded on 18 July [OS: = 28 July NS] 1698, as reported in nos 134–5.

[58] Presumably the *Prince of Orange*.

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 where applicable) in the rightmost.

Letter				Rawlinson C.
1	Christopher Clarkson	Dixcove	15/08/92	747: 301v
2	"	"	26/09/92	747: 306v
3	"	"	01/10/92	747: 307v
4	"	"	[10?]/10/92	747: 308v
5	"	"	12/10/92	747: 309
6	"	"	17/10/92	747: 310v
7	"	"	25/10/92	747: 311v
8	"	"	28/10/92	747: 311v
9	Leonard Jeffryes & Christopher Clarkson		07/11/92	747: 314
10	Christopher Clarkson	"	13/11/92	747:316
11	"	"	20/11/92	747: 317v
12	"	"	23/11/92	747: 318v
13	"	"	25/11/92	747: 318v
14	Francis Smith	"	30/11/92	747: 319v
15	"	"	04/12/92	747: 320
16	"	"	11/12/92	747: 321
17	"	"	12/12/92	747: 321
18	"	"	15/12/92	747: 321v
19	"	"	29/12/92	747: 322
20	"	"	07/01/93	747: 322v
21	"	"	14/01/93	747: 323v
22	"	"	20/01/93	747: 324
23	"	"	02/02/93	747: 325
24	"	"	07/02/93	747: 326v
25	"	"	16/02/93	747: 327
26	Thomas Edwards	"	09/08/93	747: 456
27	"	"	22/08/93	747: 457
28	John Rives	"	06/11/93	747: 474v
29	Thomas Pilkington	"	24/11/93	747: 476v
30	"	"	25/11/93	747: 477

31	”	”	02/12/93	747: 478
32	”	”	16/12/93	747: 481
33	Charles Hamilton	”	21/12/93	747: 481
34	”	”	27/12/93	747: 482
35	Thomas Buckeridge	”	03/01/94	747: 484v
36	”	”	09/01/94	747: 485v
37	”	”	25/01/94	747: 490
38	”	”	06/02/94	747: 491
39	”	”	27/02/94	747: 493
40	”	”	16/03/94	747: 358v, 407
41	”	”	23/03/94	747: 360, 408
42	”	”	03/05/94	747: 364, 413
43	”	”	10/05/94	747: 365v, 414
44	”	”	20/05/94	747: 367, 416
45	”	”	15/06/94	747: 371v, 421
46	”	”	21/06/94	747: 374v, 424
47	”	”	25/06/94	747: 376, 425v
48	”	”	03/07/94	747: 376v, 426v
49	”	”	17/07/94	747: 378v, 429
50	”	”	31/07/94	747: 380v, 432
51	”	”	04/08/94	747: 382, 434
52	”	”	11/08/94	747: 383v, 435v
53	”	”	30/08/94	747: 387, 440v
54	”	”	18/09/94	747: 390, 443v
55	Richard Goring	”	25/09/94	747: 391, 444v
56	”	”	29/09/94	747: 391v, 445
57	”	”	11/10/94	747: 394, 448
58	”	”	12/10/94	747: 394v, 448v
59	”	”	14/10/94	747: 395, 449
60	”	”	22/10/94	747: 397, 450v
61	”	”	30/10/94	747: 397v, 451
62	”	”	05/11/94	747: 331v
63	”	”	06/11/94	747: 335v
64	”	”	**/12/94	747: 337v
65	”	”	10/12/94	747: 342v
66	”	”	21/12/94	747: 346
67	”	”	09/01/95	747: 348
68	”	”	21/01/95	747: 349
69	”	”	30/01/95	747: 352
70	”	”	16/02/95	746: 66v
71	George Clunn	”	15/03/95	746: 78
72	John Pink	”	16/04/95	746: 88
73	”	”	19/04/95	746: 88v
74	”	”	24/04/95	746: 92
75	”	”	24/0495	746: 91
76	”	”	08/05/95	746: 95v
77	Richard Jennings	”	14/05/95	746: 95v

78	”	”	31/05/95	746: 100v
79	John Pink	”	12/06/95	746: 104v
80	”	”	15/06/95	746: 105
81	”	”	02/07/95	746: 109
82	”	”	07/07/95	746: 110
83	”	”	20/07/95	746: 113
84	”	”	25/07/95	746: 114v
85	”	”	12/09/95	746: 122
86	”	”	18/09/95	746: 123
87	”	”	20/09/95	746: 123v
88	”	”	11/10/95	746: 126
89	”	”	19/10/95	746: 127v
90	”	”	29/10/95	746: 130v
91	”	”	06/11/95	746: 131v
92	Nathan Lathom	”	13/11/95	746: 132v
93	John Pink	”	23/11/95	746: 133v
94	”	”	29/11/95	746: 133v
95	”	”	13/12/95	746: 135v
96	”	”	**/12/95	746: 136v
97	”	”	21/12/95	746: 137
98	”	”	22/12/95	746: 137
99	”	”	26/12/95	746: 138
100	”	”	21/01/96	746: 139
101	Bastian Ferdinand	”	21/01/96	746: 139v
102	John Pink	”	05/02/96	746: 142
103	”	”	21/02/96	746: 51
104	”	”	24/02/96	746: 52
105	”	”	07/03/96	746: 54
106	Thomas Buckeridge	”	12/03/96	746: 55
107	”	”	24/03/96	746: 58
108	William Puplett	”	02/04/97	746: 214v
109	”	”	06/04/97	746: 216
110	Henry Vincent	”	15/04/97	746: 217
111	”	”	27/04/97	746: 217v
112	”	”	04/05/97	746: 220v
113	”	”	15/05/97	746: 225
114	”	”	04/06/97	746: 235v
115	Thomas Howard	”	02/07/97	746: 239
116	Henry Vincent	”	03/07/97	746: 238v
117	”	”	14/07/97	746: 241v
118	”	”	05/08/97	746: 247
119	”	”	21/08/97	746: 253
120	”	”	06/12/97	747: 513v
121	”	”	28/01/98	747: 518v
122	”	”	28/01/98	747: 518v
123	Thomas Howard	”	22/03/98	747: 524
124	Henry Vincent	”	23/03/98	747: 524

125	”	”	29/03/98	747: 524v
126	”	”	14/04/98	747: 526
127	”	”	01/05/98	747: 530v
128	”	”	31/05/98	747: 540
129	John Hust	”	27/06/98	747: 544
130	Captain Ned	”	28/06/98	747: 545
131	John Hust	”	30/06/98	747: 544
132	Thomas Howard & John Hust	”	09/07/98	747: 548
133	Richard Sheldon	”	15/07/98	747: 550
134	”	”	15/07/98	747: 550v
135	”	”	18/07/98	747: 551v
136	Thomas Howard	”	25/07/98	747: 552v
137	Richard Sheldon	”	25/07/98	747: 553v
138	”	”	26/07/98	747: 552
139	”	”	27/07/98	747: 554
140	”	”	29/07/98	747: 555
141	”	”	30/07/98	747: 554v
142	”	”	21/08/98	747: 561v
143	Benjamin Curtis	”	01/01/99	747: 498v
144	”	”	22/01/99	747: 501v
145	”	”	08/02/99	747: 506
146	William Cobourne	”	08/02/99	747: 506
147	”	”	15/02/99	747: 506v
148	Benjamin Curtis	”	16/02/99	747: 507v
149	Thomas Stephenson	Sekondi	18/05/91	747: 236
150	”	”	25/06/91	747: 237v
151	”	”	06/07/91	747: 239v
152	”	”	09/07/91	747: 240v
153	”	”	02/08/91	747: 242v
154	”	”	08/08/91	747: 243
155	”	”	27/08/91	747: 244
156	”	”	09/09/91	747: 246
157	”	”	12/09/91	747: 246v
158	”	”	17/09/91	747: 247
159	”	”	21/09/91	747: 247v
160	”	”	10/10/91	747: 249
161	”	”	20/10/91	747: 250
162	”	”	26/10/91	747: 251
163	”	”	06/11/91	747: 252
164	”	”	12/11/91	747: 252v
165	”	”	16/11/91	747: 253
166	”	”	24/11/91	747: 254
167	”	”	04/12/91	747: 256
168	”	”	17/12/91	747: 257v
169	”	”	23/12/91	747: 258
170	”	”	01/01/92	747: 258v

171	”	”	07/01/92	747: 259v
172	”	”	14/01/92	747: 260
173	”	”	04/02/92	747: 282v
174	”	”	15/02/92	747: 283v
175	”	”	18/02/92	747: 283v
176	”	”	07/03/92	747: 285v
177	”	”	28/03/92	747: 286v
178	”	”	08/04/92	747: 287
179	”	”	05/05/92	747: 288
180	”	”	16/05/92	747: 290
181	”	”	06/06/92	747: 290v
182	”	”	07/06/92	747: 291v
183	”	”	26/06/92	747: 292v
184	”	[Sekondi]	n.d.	747: 293
185	”	Sekondi	04/07/92	747: 293
186	”	”	13/07/92	747: 293v
187	”	”	**/07/92	747: 294
188	”	”	14/07/92	747: 298
189	Thomas Johnson	”	28/07/92	747: 295
190	”	”	01/08/92	747: 300
191	”	”	15/08/92	747: 301v
192	”	”	[15?]/08/92	747: 302
193	”	”	26/08/92	747: 303
194	”	”	01/09/92	747: 304
195	”	”	02/09/92	747: 304
196	”	”	05/09/92	747: 304v
197	”	”	09/09/92	747: 305
198	”	”	24/09/92	747: 306
199	”	”	27/09/92	747: 307
200	”	”	02/10/92	747: 306v
201	Thomas Edwards	”	06/10/92	747: 308
202	”	”	18/10/92	747: 310
203	[Thomas Edwards] & Thomas Johnson	”	19/10/92	747: 310
204	Thomas Johnson	”	28/10/92	747: 311v
205	”	”	07/11/92	747: 314
206	Thomas Wann	”	08/11/92	747: 314v
207	Thomas Johnson	”	12/11/92	747: 315v
208	”	”	14/11/92	747: 316
209	Samuel Lassar	”	14/11/92	747: 316
210	Thomas Johnson	”	20/11/92	747: 317
211	Samuel Lassar	”	20/11/92	747: 317
212	Thomas Johnson	”	25/11/92	747: 318v
213	”	”	30/11/92	747: 319v
214	”	”	05/12/92	747: 320
215	”	”	09/12/92	747: 320v
216	”	”	22/12/92	747: 321v

217	”	”	08/01/93	747: 322v
218	”	”	23/01/93	747: 324v
219	”	”	02/02/93	747: 325
220	”	”	11/02/93	747: 327
221	”	”	16/08/93	747: 456v
222	”	”	31/08/93	747: 459
223	”	”	28/09/93	747: 466
224	”	”	06/10/93	747: 468
225	”	”	10/10/93	747: 470v
226	”	”	21/10/93	747: 472v
227	”	”	22/10/93	747: 472v
228	”	”	23/10/93	747: 472v
229	”	”	01/11/93	747: 474v
230	”	”	22/11/93	747: 476
231	”	”	25/11/93	747: 477
232	”	”	02/12/93	747: 478
233	”	”	10/12/93	747: 480
234	”	”	12/12/93	747: 480v
235	”	”	21/12/93	747: 481v
236	John Pink	”	09/01/94	747: 485v
237	Thomas Johnson	”	15/01/94	747: 486v
238	”	”	01/02/94	747: 490v
239	”	”	08/02/94	747: 491v
240	”	”	11/02/94	747: 492
241	”	”	25/02/94	747: 492v
242	”	”	10/03/94	747: 357v, 405v
243	”	”	15/03/94	747: 359, 407
244	”	”	22/03/94	747: 359v, 407v
245	”	”	24/03/94	747: 360v, 408v
246	”	”	30/03/94	747: 360v, 409
247	”	”	12/04/94	747: 363, 411
248	John Pink	”	17/04/94	747: 363, 411v
249	”	”	08/05/94	747: 365, 413v
250	”	”	15/05/94	747: 366, 414v
251	”	”	21/05/94	747: 366v, 415v
252	”	”	09/06/94	747: 371, 420
253	”	”	09/06/94	747: 371, 420v
254	Edward Barter	n.p.	10/06/94	747: 373, 422
255	Thomas Johnson	Sekondi	14/06/94	747: 372v, 421v
256	William Gabb	”	24/04/98	747: 528
257	”	”	27/04/98	747: 530
258	”	”	03/05/98	747: 531
259	”	”	10/05/98	747: 534
260	”	”	23/05/98	747: 536v
261	”	”	27/05/98	747: 537v
262	”	”	30/05/98	747: 538v
263	William Ronan	Komenda	30/11/91	747: 255

264	”	”	30/11/91	747: 255v
265	”	”	02/12/91	747: 255v
266	Thomas Wilson	”	30/11/94	747: 336v
267	”	”	01/12/94	747: 336v
268	”	”	02/12/94	747: 337
269	”	”	04/12/94	747: 337v
270	”	”	05/12/94	747: 338
271	”	”	06/12/94	747: 339
272	”	”	08/12/94	747: 340
273	”	”	10/12/94	747: 343v
274	”	”	13/12/94	747: 344
275	”	”	16/12/94	747: 344v
276	”	”	16/12/94	747: 345
277	”	”	17/12/94	747: 345
278	”	”	19/12/94	747: 345v
279	”	”	19/12/94	747: 345v
280	”	”	22/12/94	747: 346
281	”	”	24/12/94	747: 346v
282	”	”	07/01/95	747: 347v
283	”	”	23/01/95	747: 349
284	”	”	24/01/95	747: 349v
285	”	”	31/01/95	747: 351
286	Edward Searle	”	08/02/95	746: 62v
287	”	”	12/02/95	746: 63v
288	”	”	13/02/95	746: 64
289	”	”	14/02/95	746: 64v
290	”	”	16/02/95	746: 65av
291	”	”	17/02/95	746: 65b
292	”	”	18/02/95	746: 65b
293	”	”	18/02/95	746: 65bv
294	”	”	18/02/95	746: 66v
295	”	”	20/02/95	746: 67
296	”	”	21/02/95	746: 68
297	”	”	23/02/95	746: 69
298	”	”	23/02/95	746: 69
299	”	”	23/02/95	746: 69v
300	”	”	24/02/95	746: 69v
301	”	”	25/02/95	746: 70
302	”	”	27/02/95	746: 70
303	”	”	28/02/95	746: 70v
304	”	”	01/03/95	746: 71v
305	”	”	02/03/95	746: 72
306	”	”	03/03/95	746: 72v
307	”	”	04/03/95	747: 73
308	”	”	06/03/95	747: 73v
309	”	”	07/03/95	747: 74
310	Lawrence Keck	”	07/03/95	746: 75

311	Edward Searle	"	08/03/95	746: 75v
312	"	"	09/03/95	746: 75v
313	"	"	12/03/95	746: 76
314	"	"	13/03/95	746: 76v
315	"	"	15/03/95	746: 77v
316	"	"	19/03/95	746: 79v
317	"	"	22/03/95	746: 80v
318	Charles Jordan	"	22/03/95	746: 81
319	Edward Searle	"	25/03/95	746: 81v
320	"	"	01/04/95	746: 82
321	"	"	04/04/95	746: 83
322	"	"	06/04/95	746: 83
323	Howsley Freeman	"	09/04/95	746: 84
324	"	"	11/04/95	746: 85
325	"	"	13/04/95	746: 85v
326	"	"	16/04/95	746: 87v
327	"	"	23/04/95	746: 90
328	"	"	01/05/95	746: 93
329	"	"	04/05/95	746: 94v
330	"	"	07/05/95	746: 95
331	"	"	18/05/95	746: 97
332	"	"	21/05/95	746: 97v
333	"	"	28/05/95	746: 100
334	"	"	01/06/95	746: 100
335	"	"	03/06/95	746: 100v
336	"	"	07/06/95	746: 101v
337	"	"	08/06/95	746: 103
338	"	"	12/06/95	746: 103v
339	"	"	14/06/95	746: 104
340	"	"	16/06/95	746: 105v
341	"	"	21/06/95	746: 107
342	"	"	26/06/95	746: 108v
343	"	"	04/07/95	746: 109
344	"	"	13/07/95	746: 111v
345	"	"	18/07/95	746: 112v
346	"	"	23/07/95	746: 114
347	"	"	07/08/95	746: 117v
348	"	"	15/08/95	746: 118v
349	"	"	18/08/95	746: 119
350	"	"	23/08/95	746: 120
351	"	"	07/09/95	746: 121v
352	"	"	11/09/95	746: 122
353	"	"	18/09/95	746: 122v
354	"	"	26/09/95	746: 124
355	"	"	30/09/95	746: 125
356	"	"	09/10/95	746: 126
357	"	"	15/10/95	746: 126v

358	”	”	23/10/95	746: 128
359	”	”	29/10/95	746: 130
360	”	”	30/10/95	746: 131
361	”	”	01/11/95	746: 131
362	”	”	30/11/95	746: 133v
363	”	”	08/12/95	746: 135
364	Thomas Wilson	”	18/12/95	746: 136v
365	”	”	21/01/96	746: 139v
366	”	”	22/01/96	746: 140
367	”	”	23/01/96	746: 140
368	”	”	26/01/96	746: 141
369	”	”	31/01/96	746: 141v
370	”	”	07/02/96	746: 142
371	”	”	13/02/96	746: 49v
372	”	”	19/02/96	746: 50v
373	”	”	27/02/96	746: 52
374	”	”	03/03/96	746: 52v
375	”	”	10/03/96	746: 54
376	”	”	16/03/96	746: 55v
377	”	”	19/03/96	746: 56v
378	”	”	20/03/96	746: 56v
379	”	”	23/03/96	746: 56v
380	”	”	24/03/96	746: 57
381	”	”	26/03/96	746: 58v
382	”	”	28/03/96	746: 60
383	”	”	31/03/96	746: 60
384	John Rootsey	”	06/04/97	746: 215
385	Paul Read	”	06/04/97	746: 216
386	John Rootsey	”	18/04/97	746: 217
387	Paul Read	”	02/05/97	746: 220
388	Charles Nern, Paul Read & William Gabb	”	02/05/97	746: 220v
389	Gervase Jackson	”	05/05/97	746: 221v
390	Gerard Gore	”	10/05/97	746: 222
391	”	”	13/05/97	746: 223
392	”	”	n.d.	746: 224
393	William Gabb	”	17/05/97	746: 225v
394	Gerard Gore	”	18/05/97	746: 226
395	”	”	20/05/97	746: 226v
396	”	”	20/05/97	746: 227v
397	”	”	25/05/97	746: 229
398	”	”	26/05/97	746: 230
399	”	”	31/05/97	746: 232
400	William Gabb	”	01/06/97	746: 233v
401	Gerard Gore	”	02/06/97	746: 234
402	”	”	n.d.	746: 234v

403	”	”	04/06/97	746: 235
404	”	”	27/06/97	746: 237v
405	”	”	06/07/97	746: 240
406	”	”	12/07/97	746: 240
407	”	”	17/07/97	746: 242v
408	”	”	28/07/97	746: 244v
409	”	”	31/07/97	746: 245v
410	”	”	02/08/97	746: 246v
411	”	”	07/08/97	746: 250
412	”	”	18/08/97	746: 251v
413	”	”	21/08/97	746: 252v
414	”	”	04/11/97	747: 509
415	”	”	24/11/97	747: 511
416	”	”	04/12/97	747: 512v
417	”	”	13/12/97	747: 514v
418	William Gabb	”	04/01/98	747: 516v
419	Gerard Gore	”	19/01/98	747: 517v
420	”	”	09/02/98	747: 519v
421	”	”	15/02/98	747: 521
422	”	”	23/02/98	747: 521v
423	John Cabess	”	26/02/98	747: 520v
424	Gerard Gore	”	05/04/98	747: 525
425	”	”	16/04/98	747: 526v
426	John Cabess	”	17/04/98	747: 526v
427	Gerard Gore	”	04/05/98	747: 531v
428	”	”	14/05/98	747: 535
429	”	”	16/05/98	747: 535v
430	”	”	17/05/98	747: 536
431	”	”	27/05/98	747: 537v
432	”	”	01/06/98	747: 539
433	”	”	02/06/98	747: 542v
434	”	”	03/06/98	747: 539
435	”	”	03/06/98	747: 539v
436	”	”	06/06/98	747: 541
437	”	”	08/06/98	747: 541v
438	”	”	21/06/98	747: 542v
439	”	”	25/06/98	747: 543v
440	”	”	01/07/98	747: 545v
441	”	”	05/07/98	747: 546
442	”	”	07/07/98	747: 547
443	”	”	11/07/98	747: 547v
444	”	”	13/07/98	747: 549
445	”	”	[18?]/07/98	747: 550v
446	”	”	27/07/98	747: 553
447	”	”	03/08/98	747: 555v
448	”	”	15/08/98	747: 557v
449	Howsley Freeman	”	20/08/98	747: 559

450	”	”	27/08/98	747: 563v
451	”	”	13/01/99	747: 502
452	”	”	20/02/99	747: 508
453	Edward Searle	Fort Royal	23/06/91	747: 237v
454	”	”	29/07/91	747: 242
455	”	”	29/07/91	747: 242
456	”	”	17/08/91	747: 243v
457	”	”	17/08/91	747: 243v
458	”	”	02/09/01	747: 245
459	”	”	07/09/91	747: 245v
460	”	”	07/09/91	747: 245v
461	”	”	16/09/91	747: 246v
462	”	”	16/09/91	747: 246v
463	”	”	23/09/91	747: 247v
464	”	”	23/09/91	747: 247v
465	”	”	24/09/91	747: 247v
466	”	”	25/09/91	747: 248
467	”	”	25/09/91	747: 248
468	”	”	08/10/91	747: 248v
469	”	”	09/10/91	747: 248v
470	”	”	27/10/91	747: 251
471	”	”	27/10/91	747: 251v
472	”	”	29/10/91	747: 251v
473	”	”	04/12/91	747: 256v
474	”	”	09/12/91	747: 257
475	”	”	12/12/91	747: 257
476	”	”	30/12/91	747: 258v
477	”	”	27/05/92	747: 290
478	”	”	30/05/92	747: 292v
479	”	[Fort Royal]	n.d.	747: 299
480	Francis Smith	Fort Royal	01/08/92	747: 299v
481	”	”	29/08/92	747: 303v
482	”	”	02/09/92	747: 303v
483	”	”	03/10/92	747: 306v
484	”	”	10/10/92	747: 308
485	”	”	02/11/92	747: 312
486	”	”	22/11/92	747: 317v
487	”	”	24/11/92	747: 318
488	”	”	31/12/92	747: 322
489	”	”	04/01/93	747: 322
490	Nicholas Buckeridge	”	04/08/93	747: 454v, 455v
491	Benjamin Layton	”	25/08/93	747: 457v
492	”	”	02/09/93	747: 457v
493	”	”	13/09/93	747: 462
494	”	”	09/10/93	747: 469v
495	”	”	11/10/93	747: 470
496	”	”	11/10/93	747: 470v

497	”	”	16/10/93	747: 471
498	”	”	17/10/93	747: 471
499	”	”	09/11/93	747: 475v
500	John Rootsey	”	01/05/94	747: 364, 412v
501	”	”	02/05/94	747: 364, 412v
502	”	”	10/05/94	747: 365, 414
503	”	”	16/05/94	747: 365v, 414v
504	”	”	22/05/94	747: 366v, 415v
505	”	”	07/06/94	747: 370, 419
506	”	”	13/10/94	747: 344
507	Richard Jennings	”	12/02/95	746: 63v
508	”	”	22/05/95	746: 89v
509	William Melross	Anashan	08/06/92	747: 290v
510	”	”	14/06/92	747: 292
511	”	”	01/07/92	747: 297
512	”	”	13/07/92	747: 298
513	”	”	18/07/92	747: 294
514	”	”	26/07/92	747: 298v
515	”	”	31/07/92	747: 299v
516	”	”	02/08/92	747: 300
517	”	”	05/08/92	747: 300
518	”	”	22/08/92	747: 302
519	”	”	26/08/92	747: 303
520	”	”	03/09/92	747: 304v
521	”	”	07/09/92	747: 305
522	”	”	10/09/92	747: 305v
523	”	”	19/09/92	747: 305v
524	”	”	10/10/92	747: 308v
525	Thomas Smith	”	10/10/92	747: 308v
526	”	”	15/10/92	747: 309v
527	”	”	20/10/92	747: 310v
528	”	”	22/10/92	747: 311
529	”	”	02/11/92	747: 312
530	”	”	04/11/92	747: 313v
531	”	”	09/11/92	747: 315
532	”	”	12/11/92	747: 315
533	”	”	18/11/92	747: 317
534	”	”	02/12/92	747: 319v
535	”	”	08/01/93	747: 322v
536	”	”	01/02/93	747: 324v
537	”	”	29/07/93	747: 455
538	”	”	03/08/93	747: 454v
539	”	”	04/08/93	747: 455
540	”	”	07/08/93	747: 456
541	”	”	04/09/93	747: 458
542	”	”	18/09/93	747: 464
543	”	”	19/09/93	747: 464v

544	”	[Anashan]	02/10/93	747: 466v
545	”	Anashan	07/10/93	747: 469v
546	”	”	09/10/93	747: 470
547	”	”	28/10/93	747: 473v
548	”	”	03/11/93	747: 473v
549	”	”	25/11/93	747: 476v
550	”	”	04/12/93	747: 478v
551	”	”	09/12/93	747: 479v
552	”	”	05/01/94	747: 485
553	”	”	05/02/94	747: 490v
554	John Pink	”	17/07/94	747: 378, 428v
555	”	”	24/07/94	747: 379v, 430
556	”	”	28/07/94	747: 380, 431
557	”	”	04/08/94	747: 381v, 433
558	”	”	10/08/94	747: 383v, 435v
559	”	”	12/08/94	747: 384, 437
560	”	”	22/08/94	747: 385v, 438v
561	”	”	25/08/94	747: 386, 439
562	”	”	27/08/94	747: 386, 439v
563	”	”	04/09/94	747: 387v, 441
564	”	”	08/09/94	747: 388v, 442
565	”	”	18/09/94	747: 389v, 443v
566	”	”	29/09/94	747: 391, 444v
567	”	”	04/10/94	747: 392, 445v
568	”	”	10/10/94	747: 393v, 447
569	”	”	12/10/94	747: 393v, 447v
570	”	”	20/10/94	747: 397, 450v
571	”	”	06/11/94	747: 331v
572	”	”	16/11/94	747: 334v
573	”	”	06/12/94	747: 338v
574	”	”	12/12/94	747: 343v
575	”	”	21/12/94	747: 345v
576	”	”	09/01/95	747: 347v
577	”	”	17/01/95	747: 348
578	”	[Anashan]	n.d.	747: 348v
579	”	Anashan	29/01/95	747: 350v
580	”	”	06/02/95	746: 62
581	William Gudge	”	15/02/95	746: 65a
582	”	”	22/02/95	746: 69
583	”	”	26/02/95	746: 70
584	”	”	05/03/95	746: 73
585	”	”	21/03/95	746: 80
586	”	”	02/04/95	746: 82v
587	”	”	10/04/95	746: 84v
588	John Rootsey	”	13/04/95	746: 85v
589	Samuel Heartsease	”	09/01/99	747: 498
590	”	”	17/01/99	747: 499v

591	”	”	19/01/99	747: 500v
592	[Samuel Heartsease]	[Anashan]	n.d.	747: 504v
593	Samuel Heartsease	Anashan	08/02/99	747: 505v
594	John Bloome	Anomabu	03/05/91	747: 235
595	”	”	12/05/91	747: 235
596	”	”	19/05/91	747: 236
597	”	”	20/05/91	747: 236
598	”	”	21/05/91	747: 236v
599	John Gregory	”	26/06/91	747: 238
600	”	”	27/06/91	747: 238
601	”	”	28/06/91	747: 238v
602	”	”	30/06/91	747: 238v
603	”	”	07/07/91	747: 239v
604	”	”	14/07/91	747: 241
605	”	”	19/07/91	747: 241v
606	”	”	21/07/91	747: 241v
607	”	”	24/07/91	747: 242
608	”	”	08/08/91	747: 242v
609	”	”	13/08/91	747: 243v
610	William Cross	”	27/08/91	747: 244
611	John Gregory	”	01/09/91	747: 244
612	”	”	02/09/91	747: 244v
613	”	”	04/09/91	747: 245
614	”	”	08/09/91	747: 245v
615	”	”	21/09/91	747: 247
616	”	”	02/10/91	747: 248
617	”	”	06/10/91	747: 248v
618	”	”	23/10/91	747: 248v
619	”	”	25/10/91	747: 250v
620	”	”	06/11/91	747: 252
621	”	”	12/11/91	747: 252v
622	”	”	18/11/91	747: 253v
623	”	”	20/11/91	747: 254
624	”	”	24/11/91	747: 254v
625	”	”	26/11/91	747: 254v
626	”	”	02/12/91	747: 256
627	”	”	18/12/91	747: 257v
628	”	”	24/12/91	747: 258
629	”	”	29/11/91	747: 258v
630	”	”	01/01/92	747: 259
631	”	”	03/01/92	747: 259
632	”	”	05/01/92	747: 259
633	”	”	11/01/92	747: 259v
634	”	”	26/01/92	747: 282v
635	”	”	28/01/92	747: 283v
636	”	”	30/01/92	747: 282v
637	”	”	04/02/92	747: 282v

638	”	”	11/02/02	747: 283
639	”	”	18[?]/02/91	747: 283
640	”	”	17[?]02/91	747: 283
641	”	”	08/03/91	747: 286
642	”	”	12/03/91	747: 285v
643	”	”	15/03/92	747: 286
644	”	”	01/04/92	747: 286v
645	”	”	10/04/02	747: 287
646	”	”	24/04/92	747: 287
647	”	”	24/04/92	747: 287v
648	William Cross	”	12/05/92	747: 289
649	”	”	13/05/92	747: 289
650	Francis Smith & Hugh Douglas	”	16/05/92	747: 288v
651	William Cross	”	16/05/92	747: 289v
652	”	”	17/05/92	747: 289v
653	”	”	[1]8/05/92	747: 291
654	”	”	20/05/92	747: 294v
655	”	”	27/05/92	747: 291
656	”	”	03/07/92	747: 292v
657	”	”	03/07/92	747: 297v
658	”	”	08/07/92	747: 293v
659	”	”	13/07/92	747: 297v
660	”	”	18/07/92	747: 298v
661	”	”	23/07/92	747: 294v
662	”	”	26/07/92	747: 298v
663	”	”	29/07/92	747: 299
664	Thomas Buckeridge	”	31/07/92	747: 299
665	Edward Searle	”	06/08/92	747: 300v
666	Thomas Buckeridge	”	06/08/92	747: 300v
667	Edward Searle	”	13/08/92	747: 301
668	”	”	23/08/92	747: 302v
669	”	”	25/08/92	747: 302v
670	”	”	27/08/92	747: 303
671	”	”	30/08/92	747: 303
672	”	”	02/09/92	747: 304
673	”	”	09/09/92	747: 305v
674	”	”	19/09/92	747: 306
675	”	”	20/09/92	747: 306
676	”	”	11/10/92	747: 308v
677	”	”	14/10/92	747: 309
678	”	”	19/10/92	747: 309v
679	”	”	20/10/92	747: 311
680	”	”	26/10/92	747: 311
681	”	”	07/11/92	747: 314
682	”	”	09/11/92	747: 314v
683	”	”	16/11/92	747: 316v

684	”	”	25/11/92	747: 318
685	”	”	02/12/92	747: 319v
686	”	[Anomabu]	13/01/93	747: 323
687	”	Anomabu	19/01/93	747: 323v
688	”	”	24/01/93	747: 324v
689	”	”	03/02/93	747: 325v
690	”	”	03/02/93	747: 325v
691	”	”	04/02/93	747: 326
692	”	”	08/02/93	747: 326
693	”	”	11/02/93	747: 326v
694	”	”	01/08/93	747: 454
695	”	”	18/08/93	747: 457
696	”	”	02/09/93	747: 457v
697	”	”	15/09/93	747: 464
698	”	”	19/09/93	747: 464v
699	”	”	25/09/93	747: 465v
700	”	”	02/10/93	747: 466
701	”	”	05/10/93	747: 467
702	”	”	08/10/93	747: 469v
703	”	”	09/10/93	747: 470v
704	”	”	03/11/93	747: 473v
705	”	”	08/11/93	747: 475
706	”	”	22/11/93	747: 476
707	”	”	29/11/93	747: 477v
708	”	”	02/12/93	747: 478
709	”	”	05/12/93	747: 478v
710	”	”	09/12/93	747: 479v
711	”	”	11/12/93	747: 480
712	”	”	14/12/93	747: 480v
713	”	”	16/12/93	747: 481
714	”	”	26/12/93	747: 482
715	”	”	29/12/93	747: 482
716	”	”	01/01/94	747: 484
717	”	”	03/01/94	747: 484v
718	”	”	06/02/94	747: 491
719	”	”	13/02/94	747: 492
720	”	”	21/02/94	747: 492v
721	”	”	03/03/94	747: 356, 404
722	”	”	09/03/94	747: 356v, 404v
723	”	”	07/04/94	747: 361, 409v
724	”	”	12/04/94	747: 361v, 410
725	”	”	26/04/94	747: 363v, 412v
726	”	”	07/05/94	747: 364v, 413
727	”	”	18/05/94	747: 366, 415
728	”	”	21/05/94	747: 366, 415
729	”	”	28/05/94	747: 369v, 418v
730	”	”	31/05/94	747: 369v, 418v

731	”	”	18/06/94	747: 373, 422
732	”	”	20/06/94	747: 373v, 422v
733	”	”	22/06/94	747: 373v, 422v
734	”	”	26/06/94	747: 376, 425v
735	”	”	28/06/94	747: 376v, 426
736	”	”	30/06/94	747: 376v, 426
737	”	”	05/07/94	747: 377, 427
738	”	”	12/07/94	747: 377v, 427v
739	”	”	17/07/94	747: 378, 428
740	”	”	19/07/94	747: 379, 429v
741	”	”	26/07/94	747: 379v, 430v
742	”	”	30/07/94	747: 380v, 431v
743	Edward Searle & William Cooper	”	02/08/94	747: 381, 432v
744	Edward Searle	”	07/08/94	747: 382v, 434
745	”	”	08/08/94	747: 383, 434v
746	”	”	09/08/94	747: 383, 435
747	”	”	15/08/94	747: 384v, 437
748	”	”	16/08/94	747: 384v, 437
749	”	”	17/08/94	747: 385v, 438
750	”	”	22/08/94	747: 438v
751	”	”	22/08/94	747: 385v, 438v
752	”	”	24/08/94	747: 386, 439
753	”	”	27/08/94	747: 386, 439v
754	”	”	29/08/94	747: 386v, 439v
755	”	”	04/09/94	747: 387v, 441
756	”	”	07/09/94	747: 389, 442v
757	”	”	18/09/94	747: 390, 443v
758	”	”	20/09/94	747: 390v, 444
759	”	”	21/09/94	747: 390v, 444v
760	”	”	29/09/94	747: 391, 444v
761	”	”	29/09/94	747: 391, 445
762	”	”	03/10/94	747: 392, 445v
763	”	”	[04]/10/94	747: 391v, 445v
764	”	”	09/10/94	747: 393, 447
765	”	”	10/10/94	747: 393, 447
766	”	”	12/10/94	747: 394v, 448
767	”	”	16/10/94	747: 395v, 449v
768	”	”	19/10/94	747: 396
769	”	”	20/10/94	747: 396v, 450
770	”	”	08/11/94	747: 331v
771	”	”	09/11/94	747: 332
772	”	”	17/11/94	747: 334v
773	”	”	20/11/94	747: 334v
774	”	”	10/12/94	747: 342
775	”	”	14/12/94	747: 344v
776	[Edward Searle]	”	24/12/94	747: 346v

777	Edward Searle	”	07/01/95	747: 347v
778	”	”	16/01/95	747: 348
779	”	”	22/01/95	747: 349
780	”	”	26/01/95	747: 350
781	”	”	**/01/95	747: 350v
782	”	”	02/02/95	746: 62
783	John Rootsey	”	05/02/95	746: 62
784	”	”	07/02/95	746: 62v
785	”	”	14/02/95	746: 64
786	Nicholas Buckeridge	”	15/02/95	746: 65a
787	John Rootsey	”	16/02/95	746: 65a
788	”	”	21/02/95	746: 68
789	”	”	02/03/95	746: 72
790	”	”	13/03/95	746: 77
791	”	”	15/03/95	746: 77
792	”	”	19/03/95	746: 79v
793	”	”	22/03/95	746: 81
794	”	”	03/04/95	746: 82v
795	”	”	08/04/95	746: 84
796	”	”	11/04/95	746: 84v
797	”	”	12/04/95	746: 85
798	”	”	15/04/95	746: 86v
799	”	”	16/04/95	746: 87
800	”	”	18/04/95	746: 88
801	”	”	21/04/95	746: 89
802	”	”	23/04/95	746: 89v
803	”	”	24/04/95	746: 90v
804	”	”	29/04/95	746: 91v
805	”	”	01/05/95	746: 93
806	”	”	27/05/95	746: 98v
807	”	”	28/05/95	746: 99v
808	”	”	18/06/95	746: 106v
809	”	”	21/06/95	746: 107
810	”	”	04/07/95	746: 109v
811	Richard Brigham	”	09/07/95	746: 110
812	John Rootsey	”	15/07/95	746: 112
813	”	”	18/07/95	746: 112v
814	”	”	22/07/95	746: 114
815	”	”	29/07/95	746: 116
816	”	”	30/07/95	746: 116
817	William Ronan	”	02/08/95	746: 116v
818	”	”	02/08/95	746: 116v
819	”	”	03/08/95	746: 117
820	John Rootsey	”	06/08/95	746: 117
821	”	”	07/08/95	746: 117v
822	”	”	09/08/95	746: 117v
823	”	”	19/08/95	746: 119

824	”	”	21/08/95	746: 119
825	”	”	22/08/95	746: 119v
826	”	”	**/08/95	746: 120v
827	”	”	02/09/95	746: 121
828	”	”	04/09/95	746: 121
829	”	”	24/09/95	746: 124
830	”	”	24/09/95	746: 124
831	”	”	09/10/95	746: 126
832	”	”	11/10/95	746: 126
833	”	”	26/10/95	746: 128v
834	”	”	26/10/95	746: 128v
835	”	”	27/10/95	746: 129v
836	”	”	27/10/95	746: 129v
837	”	”	30/10/95	746: 131
838	”	”	02/11/95	746: 131v
839	”	”	04/11/95	746: 131v
840	”	”	12/11/95	746: 132v
841	”	”	13/11/95	746: 132v
842	”	”	29/11/95	746: 133v
843	”	”	02/12/95	746: 134
844	”	”	16/12/95	746: 136
845	”	”	09/01/96	746: 138v
846	”	”	11/01/96	746: 139
847	”	”	26/01/96	746: 141
848	”	”	28/01/96	746: 141
849	”	”	06/02/96	746: 142
850	”	”	08/02/96	746: 48v
851	”	”	08/02/96	746: 48v
852	”	”	11/02/96	746: 48v
853	”	[Anomabu]	16/02/96	746: 50v
854	”	Anomabu	17/02/96	746: 50
855	”	”	26/02/96	746: 51v
856	”	”	03/03/96	746: 52v
857	”	”	11/03/96	746: 54v
858	”	”	14/03/96	746: 55
859	”	”	25/03/96	746: 57v
860	”	”	28/03/96	746: 59v
861	John Brown	”	12/04/97	746: 216v
862	”	”	20/04/97	746: 217v
863	”	”	22/04/97	746: 218
864	”	”	24/04/97	746: 219
865	”	”	28/04/97	746: 220
866	”	”	11/05/97	746: 223
867	”	”	27/05/97	746: 229v
868	”	”	[30?]/05/97	746: 231
869	”	”	03/06/97	746: 232
870	”	”	07/06/97	746: 236

871	”	”	15/06/97	746: 236v
872	”	”	16/06/97	746: 236v
873	”	[Anomabu]	n.d.	746: 237
874	”	Anomabu	04/07/97	746: 239v
875	”	”	12/07/97	746: 240v
876	”	”	15/07/97	746: 241v
877	”	”	03/09/97	746: 255
878	Richard Sheldon	”	09/11/97	747: 510
879	”	”	09/11/97	747: 510
880	”	”	25/11/97	747: 511v
881	Charles Salmon	”	05/12/97	747: 513v
882	”	”	08/12/97	747: 513v
883	Richard Sheldon	”	11/12/97	747: 514v
884	”	”	16/11/97	747: 515
885	”	”	18/12/97	747: 515v
886	”	”	31/12/97	747: 516v
887	”	”	06/01/98	747: 517
888	”	”	19/01/98	747: 518
889	”	”	19/01/98	747: 518
890	”	”	22/01/98	747: 518
891	”	”	11/02/98	747: 520
892	”	”	11/02/98	747: 520v
893	”	”	15/02/98	747: 521
894	”	”	15/02/98	727: 521v
895	”	”	02/03/98	727: 521v
896	”	”	10/03/98	727: 522
897	”	”	21/03/98	727: 523v
898	”	”	27/03/98	727: 524v
899	”	”	07/04/98	727: 525
900	”	”	16/04/98	727: 526v
901	Edward Bailey	”	22/04/98	727: 529
902	Richard Sheldon	”	25/04/98	727: 528v
903	Kendall Hutson	”	27/04/98	727: 529v
904	”	”	28/04/98	727: 532
905	Charles Salmon	”	06/05/98	727: 532v
906	”	”	07/05/98	727: 533
907	”	”	08/05/98	727: 533v
908	”	”	08/05/98	727: 533v
909	”	”	08/05/98	727: 534
910	”	”	10/05/98	727: 534v
911	”	”	17/05/98	727: 535v
912	”	”	21/05/98	727: 536
913	”	”	27/05/98	727: 538
914	”	”	03/06/98	727: 539v
915	”	”	04/06/98	727: 540v
916	”	”	07/06/98	727: 541
917	”	”	23/06/98	727: 543

918	”	”	03/07/98	727: 544v
919	”	”	06/07/98	727: 546v
920	”	”	16/07/09	727: 549v
921	”	”	16/08/98	727: 559
922	”	”	27/08/98	727: 562v
923	”	”	28/08/98	727: 562
924	”	”	29/08/98	727: 563
925	Gerard Gore	”	09/01/99	747: 498
926	”	”	10/01/99	747: 499
927	”	”	21/01/99	747: 501
928	”	”	22/01/99	747: 502
929	”	”	05/02/99	747: 503
930	”	[Anomabu]	n.d.	747: 503
931	”	Anomabu	07/02/99	747: 505v
932	William Cooper	Egya	09/11/92	747: 315
933	”	”	13/11/92	747: 316
934	”	”	16/11/92	747: 316v
935	”	”	23/11/92	747: 318
936	”	”	30/11/92	747: 319
937	”	”	04/12/92	747: 320
938	”	”	10/12/92	747: 320v
939	”	[Egya]	n.d.	747: 321
940	”	Egya	20/12/92	747: 321v
941	”	”	24/01/93	747: 324v
942	”	”	06/02/93	747: 326
943	”	”	08/02/93	747: 326v
944	”	”	01/08/93	747: 454
945	”	”	13/09/93	747: 462
946	”	”	03/10/93	747: 466v
947	”	”	02/11/93	747: 473v
948	”	”	29/11/93	747: 478
949	”	”	05/12/93	747: 479
950	”	”	09/12/93	747: 479v
951	”	”	13/12/93	747: 480v
952	”	”	03/01/94	747: 484
953	”	”	08/01/94	747: 485
954	”	”	14/01/94	747: 486v
955	”	”	05/02/94	747: 490v
956	”	”	26/03/94	747: 356, 404
957	”	”	07/04/94	747: 361v, 409v
958	”	”	10/05/94	747: 364v, 413v
959	”	”	25/05/94	747: 368, 416v
960	”	”	07/06/94	747: 370, 419
961	”	”	05/07/94	747: 377, 427
962	”	”	14/07/94	747: 377v, 428
963	”	”	07/08/94	747: 382v, 434v
964	”	”	08/08/94	747: 383, 435

965	”	”	09/08/94	747: 383v, 435
966	”	”	**/09/94	747: 388v, 442
967	”	”	11/09/94	747: 389v, 443
968	”	”	12/09/94	747: 389v, 443
969	”	”	10/10/94	747: 393v, 447
970	”	”	10/11/94	747: 332
971	”	”	17/01/95	747: 348v
972	”	”	18/01/95	747: 348v
973	”	”	24/01/95	747: 350
974	”	”	02/02/95	746: 62
975	John Brown	”	27/05/95	746: 99
976	”	”	03/06/95	746: 101
977	”	”	14/06/95	746: 103v
978	”	”	15/06/95	746: 105
979	”	”	01/07/95	746: 108v
980	”	”	09/07/95	746: 110
981	”	”	11/07/95	746: 111
982	”	”	12/07/95	746: 111
983	”	”	15/07/95	746: 112
984	”	”	17/07/95	746: 112
985	”	”	18/07/95	746: 112
986	”	”	23/07/95	746: 114
987	”	”	29/07/95	746: 116
988	”	”	01/08/95	746: 116v
989	”	”	07/08/95	746: 117v
990	”	”	12/08/95	746: 118
991	”	”	14/08/95	746: 118
992	”	”	30/08/95	746: 120v
993	”	”	02/09/95	746: 121
994	”	”	07/09/95	746: 121
995	”	”	13/09/95	746: 122
996	”	”	24/09/95	746: 123v
997	”	”	27/09/95	746: 124v
998	”	”	08/10/95	746: 125v
999	”	”	11/10/95	746: 126v
1000	”	”	15/10/95	746: 126v
1001	”	”	05/11/95	746: 131v
1002	”	”	06/12/95	746: 134v
1003	William Puplett	”	10/12/95	746: 135
1004	John Brown	”	10/12/95	746: 135
1005	”	”	16/12/95	746: 136
1006	”	”	27/12/95	746: 138
1007	”	”	07/01/96	746: 138v
1008	”	”	11/01/96	746: 138v
1009	”	”	13/01/96	746: 139
1010	”	”	20/01/96	746: 139
1011	”	”	22/01/96	746: 139

1012	”	”	24/01/96	746: 139v
1013	”	”	11/02/96	746: 49
1014	”	”	13/02/96	746: 50
1015	”	”	03/03/96	746: 52v
1016	”	”	04/03/96	746: 52v
1017	”	”	14/03/96	746: 56
1018	”	”	28/03/96	746: 59v
1019	Henry Vincent	”	02/04/97	746: 214
1020	Richard Gore	”	03/05/97	746: 220v
1021	William Pupplett	”	06/05/97	746: 221v
1022	”	”	10/05/97	746: 222
1023	Charles Salmon	”	20/11/97	747: 510v
1024	”	”	25/11/97	747: 511v
1025	”	”	01/12/97	747: 512
1026	”	”	14/12/97	747: 515
1027	”	”	08/01/98	747: 517
1028	”	”	12/01/98	747: 517
1029	”	”	16/01/98	747: 517v
1030	”	”	29/01/98	747: 518
1031	”	”	09/02/98	747: 519v
1032	”	”	12/02/98	747: 520
1033	”	”	08/03/98	747: 522
1034	”	”	27/03/98	747: 524v
1035	”	”	10/04/98	747: 525v
1036	”	”	12/04/98	747: 526
1037	”	”	15/04/98	747: 526
1038	”	”	18/04/98	747: 527
1039	”	”	21/04/98	747: 529
1040	”	”	10/01/99	747: 499
1041	”	”	17/01/99	747: 500
1042	”	[Egya]	n.d.	747: 504v
1043	Edward Barter	Quashe's Croom	n.d.	746: 101
1044	”	”	08/06/95	746: 102v
1045	”	”	14/06/95	746: 104
1046	”	”	16/06/95	746: 105v
1047	”	”	16/06/95	746: 106v
1048	”	”	04/07/95	746: 109v
1049	”	”	21/07/95	746: 113v
1050	Thomas Buckeridge	Tantumkweri	01/08/93	747: 454v
1051	”	”	13/08/93	747: 456v
1052	”	”	04/09/93	747: 459
1053	”	”	30/09/93	747: 466
1054	”	”	04/10/93	747: 468
1055	Benjamin Hewlett	Quansa's Croom	10/07/98	747: 548v
1056	”	”	13/07/98	747: 549v
1057	”	Tantumkweri	05/08/98	747: 556v
1058	”	Quansa's Croom	08/08/98	747: 557v

1059	Samuel Lawson	"	24/08/98	747: 561v
1060	"	Tantumkweri	22/01/99	747: 501v
1061	"	"	25/01/99	747: 502v
1062	"	"	26/01/99	747: 502v
1063	"	"	19/02/99	747: 507v
1064	"	"	20/02/99	747: 508v
1365	Leonard Jeffryes	Winneba	16/08/93	747: 456v
1066	Nicholas Buckeridge	"	30/08/93	747: 458
1067	"	"	08/09/93	747: 459v
1068	"	"	12/09/93	747: 462v
1069	"	"	21/09/93	747: 464v
1070	"	"	02/10/93	747: 466v
1071	"	"	06/10/93	747: 468v
1072	"	"	20/10/93	747: 471
1073	"	"	26/10/93	747: 473
1074	"	"	27/10/93	747: 473v
1075	"	"	01/11/93	747: 474
1076	"	"	06/11/93	747: 475
1077	"	"	16/11/93	747: 475v
1078	"	"	07/12/93	747: 479
1079	"	"	14/01/94	747: 486v
1080	"	"	23/01/94	747: 489
1081	"	"	01/03/94	747: 356, 404
1082	"	"	06/03/94	747: 356v, 404v
1083	"	"	12/04/94	747: 361v, 410
1084	"	"	26/05/94	747: 368v, 417
1085	"	"	31/05/94	747: 370, 419
1086	"	"	20/06/94	747: 373v, 423
1087	"	"	23/06/94	747: 375v, 425
1088	"	"	27/07/94	747: 379v, 430v
1089	"	"	31/07/94	747: 380v, 432
1090	"	"	16/08/94	747: 384v, 437v
1091	"	"	30/08/94	747: 387, 440
1092	"	"	03/09/94	747: 387v, 441
1093	"	"	08/09/94	747: 389, 442v
1094	"	"	17/09/94	747: 390v, 444
1095	"	"	06/10/94	747: 392, 446
1096	"	"	15/10/94	747: 396
1097	"	"	03/11/94	747: 331
1098	"	"	03/11/94	747: 332v
1099	"	"	19/11/94	747: 335
1100	"	"	27/11/94	747: 337
1101	"	"	10/12/94	747: 342
1102	William Cooper	"	25/02/95	746: 71
1103	"	"	04/03/95	746: 73v
1104	"	"	18/03/95	746: 79
1105	"	"	31/03/95	746: 81v

1106	”	”	06/04/95	746: 83v
1107	”	”	13/04/95	746: 86
1108	”	”	15/04/95	746: 86v
1109	”	”	23/04/95	746: 90
1110	”	”	25/04/95	746: 92
1111	”	”	03/05/95	746: 94
1112	”	”	07/05/95	746: 95
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1121	”	”	26/07/95	746: 115v
1122	”	”	24/08/95	746: 119v
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1127	”	”	05/10/95	746: 125v
1128	”	”	18/10/95	746: 127
1129	”	”	08/11/95	746: 132
1130	”	”	18/11/95	746: 133
1131	”	”	19/11/95	746: 133
1132	”	”	30/11/95	746: 134
1133	”	”	09/12/95	746: 135v
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1136	”	”	29/01/96	746: 141v
1137	”	”	06/02/96	746: 142v
1138	”	”	07/02/96	746: 48
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1142	”	”	06/03/96	746: 53v
1143	”	”	14/03/06	746: 56
1144	”	”	23/03/96	746: 59
1145	”	”	24/03/96	746: 59v
1146	Thomas Buckeridge	”	14/04/97	746: 216v
1147	”	”	20/04/97	746: 219v
1148	”	”	02/07/97	746: 238
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1152	”	”	28/08/97	746: 255

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1167	”	”	09/[06]/98	747: 542
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1176	”	”	23/08/98	747: 561
1177	”	”	27/08/98	747: 562v
1178	”	”	11/01/99	747: 499v
1179	”	”	[20?]/01/99	747: 500v
1180	”	”	06/02/99	747: 504
1181	”	”	15/02/99	747: 507
1182	”	”	23/02/99	747: 508v
1183	Mark Bedford Whiting	Accra	12/05/91	747: 235
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1188	”	”	04/07/91	747: 240
1189	”	”	04/07/91	747: 242
1190	”	”	11/07/91	747: 241
1191	”	”	16/07/91	747: 241v
1192	”	”	05/08/91	747: 244
1193	”	”	11/08/91	747: 243
1194	”	”	03/09/91	747: 244v
1195	”	”	17/09/91	747: 247
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1197	”	”	17/10/91	747: 250
1198	”	”	30/10/91	747: 251v

1199	”	”	16/11/91	747: 253v
1200	”	”	**/12/91	747: 256v
1201	”	”	18/12/91	747: 257v
1202	”	”	18/12/91	747: 258v
1203	”	”	18/01/92	747: 260
1204	John Bloome	”	16/03/92	747: 286
1205	”	”	03/05/92	747: 288
1206	”	”	01/06/92	747: 291v
1207	”	”	09/06/92	747: 292
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1210	”	”	03/08/92	747: 301
1211	”	”	30/08/92	747: 303v
1212	”	”	06/09/92	747: 305
1213	William Cooper	”	26/09/92	747: 308
1214	John Bloome	”	10/10/92	747: 309
1215	”	”	15/10/92	747: 309v
1216	”	”	09/11/92	747: 315
1217	”	”	11/12/92	747: 321
1218	”	”	10/01/93	747: 323
1219	”	”	09/02/93	747: 326v
1220	”	”	03/08/93	747: 454v, 455v
1221	”	”	09/09/93	747: 461v
1222	”	”	02/10/93	747: 467
1223	”	”	14/10/93	747: 471
1224	”	”	05/11/93	747: 475
1225	”	”	15/11/93	747: 475v
1226	”	”	09/12/93	747: 480
1227	”	”	06/01/94	747: 485
1228	”	”	11/01/94	747: 486v
1229	”	”	16/01/94	747: 487
1230	”	”	25/02/94	747: 493
1231	”	”	03/03/94	747: 356, 404
1232	”	”	05/03/94	747: 356v, 404v
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1244	”	”	21/06/94	747: 375v, 425
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1246	”	”	17/07/94	747: 379, 430
1247	”	”	02/08/94	747: 381v, 433
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1251	”	”	15/09/94	747: 390, 444
1252	John Rootsey	”	05/10/94	747: 394, 447v
1253	John Bloome	”	05/10/94	747: 394, 447v
1254	”	”	20/10/94	747: 397v, 451
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1272	John Brown	”	24/02/95	746: 71
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1278	Edward Searle	”	27/04/95	746: 92v
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1291	”	”	23/10/95	746: 127
1292	”	”	28/10/95	746: 130

1293	”	”	07/11/95	746: 132
1294	”	”	07/12/95	746: 135
1295	”	”	15/12/95	746: 136v
1296	”	”	06/01/96	746: 138v
1297	”	”	06/02/96	746: 142v, 48
1298	”	”	22/02/96	746: 51v
1299	”	”	03/03/96	746: 53
1300	”	”	09/03/96	746: 54v
1301	”	”	21/03/96	746: 57v
1302	”	”	25/03/96	746: 60
1303	”	”	21/04/97	746: 219
1304	”	”	29/04/97	746: 220
1305	”	”	08/05/97	746: 222
1306	”	”	10/06/97	746: 236
1307	”	”	22/06/97	746: 237
1308	”	”	12/07/97	746: 241
1309	”	”	19/07/97	746: 243v
1310	”	”	25/07/97	746: 245
1311	”	”	29/07/97	746: 246
1312	Natt Juice	”	03/08/97	746: 249v
1313	Edward Searle	”	05/08/97	746: 249v
1314	”	”	18/08/97	746: 252v
1315	”	”	21/08/97	746: 254
1316	”	”	05/11/97	747: 509v
1317	”	”	24/11/97	747: 512
1318	”	”	07/12/97	747: 514
1319	”	”	10/12/97	747: 516
1320	”	”	16/12/97	747: 515v
1321	”	”	18/12/97	747: 516
1322	”	”	21/12/97	747: 516v
1323	”	”	24/01/98	747: 519
1324	”	”	09/02/98	727: 521
1325	”	”	26/02/98	747: 523
1326	”	”	08/03/98	747: 522v
1327	”	”	27/03/98	747: 525
1328	”	”	05/04/98	747: 525v
1329	”	”	11/05/98	747: 534v
1330	”	”	28/05/98	747: 540
1331	”	”	07/06/98	747: 543v
1332	”	”	09/07/98	747: 557
1333	”	”	22/07/98	747: 552
1334	”	”	25/07/98	747: 553
1335	”	”	03/08/98	747: 556
1336	”	”	05/08/98	747: 556
1337	”	”	17/08/98	747: 560
1338	”	”	22/12/98	747: 500
1339	”	”	07/02/99	747: 505

1340	Edward Barter	Allampo	n.d.	747: 381v,433v
1341	"	"	24/08/94	747: 386v,440
1342	John Wortley	Whydah	05/01/92	747: 284
1343	"	"	17/01/92	747: 283v
1344	Edward Jacklin	"	10/05/92	747: 295
1345	"	"	13/10/92	747: 312v
1346	"	"	25/12/92	747: 322
1347	Francis Smith	"	20/09/93	747: 474v
1348	"	"	11/12/93	747: 481v
1349	Josiah Pearson	"	03/04/94	747: 367,416
1350	"	"	22/04/94	747: 365,414
1351	"	"	24/11/94	747: 351
1352	"	"	08/04/95	746: 88v
1353	"	"	15/04/97	746: 218
1354	"	"	25/04/98	747: 532v
1355	"	"	01/01/99	747: 498v
1356	Nicholas Pepperell	*Discovery*	06/07/91	747: 240
1357	Nicholas Pepperell & Thomas Johnson		15/11/91	747: 253
1358	"	Dixcove	23/11/91	747: 254
1359	Nicholas Pepperell	"	03/12/91	747: 256
1360	"	Lagu	15/02/92	747: 285
1361	"	"	17/02/92	747: 283
1362	"	*Discovery*	30/03/92	747: 286v
1363	[Charles Salmon]	"	10/06/92	747: 292
1364	Leonard Jeffryes	n.p.	03/05/92	747: 288v
1365	"	Dixcove	20/11/92	747: 317v
1366	Richard Bradshaw	Amisa	29/12/93	747: 483v
1367	"	"	30/12/93	747: 484
1368	"	Cabo Corso	12/03/94	747: 358, 406
1369	"	Anomabu	23/04/94	747: 363v, 412
1370	"	Winneba	26/05/94	747: 368v, 417v
1371	"	Amisa	16/07/94	747: 378, 428v
1372	"	"	28/07/94	747: 380, 431
1373	"	"	28/07/94	747: 380, 431
1374	"	"	28/07/94	747: 380v, 431v
1375	William Piles	*Guinea Galley*	15/04/95	746: 87
1376	"	Cape Three Points	14/05/97	746: 224
1377	"	"	25/05/97	746: 230
1378	"	Teshi	22/06/97	746: 237v
1379	"	Kpone	30/06/97	746: 241
1380	Nicholas Pepperell	Cape Three Points	02/07/97	746: 234v
1381	Thomas White	Anomabu	09/11/97	747: 510
1382	John Wilson	Sekondi	22/05/98	747: 536v
1383	James Lashley	Whydah	06/11/91	747: 284
1384	Francis Buttram	*Fauconberg*	14/01/92	747: 260
1385	"	"	07/03/92	747: 285v

1386	”	Paohkanee	14/05/92	747: 312v
1387	Thomas Stephenson	Cabo Corso	16/08/92	747: 302v
1388	”	Accra	30/08/92	747: 303v
1389	”	n.p.	n.d.	747: 305
1390	Francis Smith	Accra	06/09/93	747: 459v
1391	James Funnell	*Kendal*	07/09/93	747: 463v
1392	Thomas Shirley	*East India Merchant*	29/12/93	747: 489
1393	”	”	16/02/94	747: 492
1394	George Clay	Accra	20/95/94	747: 370v, 419v
1395	Thomas Phillips	*Hannibal*	05/01/94	747: 489v
1396	”	”	16/01/94	747: 492
1397	[Thomas Phillips]	”	25/08/94	747: 347
1398	Francis Buttram	Tabou	12/08/94	747: 384v, 437v
1399	”	*Fauconberg*	03/10/94	747: 392,446
1400	John Zebbett	Dixcove	09/01/95	747: 348
1401	Max Robinson	São Tomé	14/04/95	746: 120
1402	Samuel Shering	*Adventure*	02/05/95	746: 93v
1403	Benjamin Rawlings	*Thomas & Elizabeth*	29/09/95	747: 125
1404	Abraham Brown	*Fauconberg*	30/01/96	746: 48v
1405	”	”	12/02/96	746: 49
1406	”	”	18/02/96	746: 50v
1407	”	”	20/02/96	746: 51
1408	”	”	21/02/96	746: 51
1409	”	”	24/02/96	746: 51
1410	”	”	24/02/96	746: 51v
1411	”	”	26/02/96	746: 51v
1412	”	”	13/03/96	746: 55v
1413	”	”	26/03/96	746: 58v
1414	”	”	30/03/96	746: 60
1415	”	”	31/03/96	746: 60
1416	William Churchy	*Success*	22/03/97	746: 247v
1417	William Melross	São Tomé	21/05/97	746: 248
1418	John Luke	*Fauconberg*	29/05/97	746: 231v
1419	”	”	31/05/97	746: 231v
1420	”	”	04/06/97	746: 235
1421	”	”	16/06/97	746: 236
1422	”	”	01/07/97	746: 238
1423	”	”	13/08/97	746: 250v
1424	”	”	16/08/97	746: 252
1425	William Piles	São Tomé	30/12/97	747: 522
1426	Charles Cotterrell	*Merchants Goodwill*	28/01/98	747: 518v
1427	”	”	25/02/98	747: 522v
1428	Josiah Daniel	Cabo Corso	27/07/98	747: 556
1429	”	*Prince of Orange*	10/08/98	747: 557
1430	”	”	16/08/98	747: 559
1431	”	”	21/08/98	747: 559v
1432	”	”	22/08/98	747: 561

1433	”	”	28/08/98	747: 563
1434	Joel Smits	Elmina	01/02/94 NS	747: 487v
1435	Johan Staphorst	”	25/03/94 NS	747: 358v/359v, 406v/408
1436	”	”	03/04/94 NS	747: 360v,408v
1437	”	”	06/04/94 NS	747: 360v,409
1438	”	”	17/04/94 NS	747: 361v,410
1439	”	”	23/11/94 NS	747: 340v
1440	”	”	26/11/94 NS	747: 339v
1441	”	”	18/12/94 NS	747: 341
1442	”	”	01/03/95 NS	746: 67v
1443	”	”	27/03/95 NS	746: 78v
1444	”	”	31/03/95 NS	746: 80
1445	”	”	19/09/95 NS	746: 121v
1446	Lawrence Keck	”	26/10/95	746: 128
1447	Johan Staphorst	”	05/11/95 NS	746: 128v
1448	Lawrence Keck	”	26/10/95	746: 129
1449	Johan Staphorst	”	08/11/95 NS	746: 130
1450	”	”	11/11/95 NS	746: 131
1451	”	”	04/01/96 NS	746: 137
1452	”	”	05/[02]/96 NS	746: 140v
1453	”	”	12/02/96 NS	746: 141
1454	Lourenço de Souza Rego	Accra	04/09/93 NS	747: 482v
1455	António de Andrade et al.	”	04/09/93 NS	747: 482v
1456	Hieronymo de Andrade	São Tomé	17/01/96 NS	746: 54
1457	Jan de Visser	Gross-Friedrichsburg	30/07/98	747: 551

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