CHILD TRAINING AT AGOMENYA

IN KROBC.

BY

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A KROBO CHILD
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In this essay I have tried to present the main indigenous features of the Krobo child's world and experiences as they obtain at Agomenya. On these general findings, I presume many will be in agreement though some one or two conclusions may not be wholly acceptable to a few individuals. To this, may I suggest that these slight diversities are a possibility in this pre-literate society in which thought the indigenous cultural institutions have been preserved, there has inevitably been some contact with Western Culture.

Read this essay with an outlook on a people whose initial contact with European Culture was through the Missionary and the then Governor, supported by armed forces of HIS MAJESTY'S Government.

Until quite recently, there had been comparatively little effective contact with Western Culture. The advent of the Catholic CHURCH, and the Methodist Church to a lesser degree, has accelerated formal education on Western lines at Agomenya. On the adult education, MassEducation is now being organized. The only adult education was that given in the churches' Sunday Schools. The people have preserved their native cultural institutions and their young, though they may go away to work in some of the central towns and they may be back a bit changed, yet fall in and participate in the activities of their people.

Money is used at Agomenya; the people buy and trade in European goods, but they have still stuck to their simple life, their tradition being that which can be remembered.

Here in Agomenya, the parent and child relationship is such that feelings of inferiority and insecurity hardly exist. The children as they grow, absorb the traditions, the prohibitions, the values of their elders and become active perpetuators of Krobo culture.
Work is respected and economic success is the measure of a man. Conversation, story telling, music and dancing, friendship and love making play an important part in their lives. Their religion is the spiritualistic cult of dead ancestor worship. These dead ancestors keep eyes on their descendants' economic activities, blessing those who labour and giving sickness and misfortune to those who break sexual laws and also on those who trifle away family capital.

This essay is the result of my observations and my study of the way of living in Krobo. Most of the examples I have given are recent observations.

I have given at the end of the essay a list of the books I used as guides but I wish to take this opportunity in acknowledging the help I received from the many old men, and old women. To Mr. Kanor Caesar I am grateful for introducing me to Mr. Enoch Asu, the author of the books "Adangme History" and also "The Adangme Proverbial and Historical Songs". I thank sincerely Mr. T.T. Kugblenu, my guide and host while I was going round the Husas. I am particularly indebted to Mr. Enoch Asu, Mr. Dawutey, and Mr. T.B. Osacm for help they gave me in discussion and to Mr. J. Ayiku for the help in setting down the work.
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.

The original home of the Adangmes is said to have been at Same, an island South West of the River Niger, locally known as Ogum. After wandering in the YORUBA country and at Dahomey, they eventually crossed the Volta at Hume. In crossing they were helped by "Agorkpa" whom they alleged to be a man but traditional meaning being 'the trunk of the Agor Palm'.

They left for Biakpo where they settled. It is said when on their journey female babies were exposed to death as males were needed for war. When therefore they came to settle at Biakpo, there was scarcity of women for wives. The kidnapping of their women forced them to take refuge in the Hills, originally called Meryna and Paplayo which are on the Shai plains.

On these they were slightly better able to repulse the attacks of their enemies who came to acknowledge their bravery and nicknamed them:

Oku Loloveor. The Killer.
Agbableku Priest of the East.
Akamanor The second son of the braves - in Krobo the second son is said to be braver than the first.
Kpakpamakpa. I shall always rely on you in case of war.

Lolovor nedze-
Lolovor Mueter. People who left Lolovor without bitterness i.e. not driven away by anybody.
However, the fact that their settlement was still being attacked by the hostile tribes, made it necessary for the Krobos to move to the Krobe Hills, which were more suitable for defensive purposes: that is there were no direct paths to the hills, and moreover, as the summits could be inhabited, enemies could be easily seen and attacks more easily repulsed.

In about the sixteenth century the leader of the Krobos, Akro Natebi or Akro Muase, together with Akro Mati and Angmor and their people Dzebi Okulorvor, now the Dzebian Tribe, moved. This clan which now covers Agomanya, the area under study, comprises (1) Namli, the people of Akro Natebi and worshipers of the Fetish "Na". (2) Yoknyonya - people on a small hill - people of Angmor. (3) Agbom - people at the gate.

The Invocation song or prayer to Na by the Dzebian priest seems to indicate that they are the Stool Clan:-

Agba- Bleku-Akamanor
Wo yi, wo fia
Lover dzee Lover mueter
Agba-bii: wor waye nana hlami
Wodzi Nana Hlamlseme
Agba kruku: Agba la!
Waya hie, wo kworli ke Me-no!
Ongnedu nger no se-nose wa
Siada- wema no Ku-ma
Danu-he, ngmaya-he
Niki ke, nickwor nger ledze.

"Oh Djebian - warrior from the East. As the tide comes in with foaming billows, you left Lolover without bitterness.

We the tribe of Djebian that are from olden Leaders, we ever strove ahead. We Djebian alone have hero songs. We got to see the climbers of the sea, who pretended to be possessed. Your father's history will leave its strength for generations.
of you the worshipers of Na. Our glory founded house knows men of bravery. Lo, food and drink abundantly, prominent as well as less prominent things."

When the Krobos were leaving, Nqomsotkpe and Nqomsera with their people were left behind. First they left for Lomodze but they later came to join the Krobos to form Manya Lomodze. Tsaye Lorvorno, leader of the Adas, left for Riia or Biako and there founded Lerkponor near Okor Hwem.

The Krobos on arriving, named the hill 'Akro Yo': that is Akro's mountain. Mernya and Plapayo, the two mountains that were abandoned on the Shai Plains by all the tribes, were re-named Lorlorvor; meaning 'love is finished.'

When the Krobos were leaving Lolovor for their new settlement, the gods Akwa, Okone and Aklu Csele were left and 'Na' a fetish still worshipped by the Dzebian tribe was taken along and placed near Legbatessa, the rock of the idol, at the entrance of the path from the foot of the hill. On the mountain, Nadu, which is referred to as Klo Tu became the national god.

Seeking to obtain fertile land for agriculture, the Krobos were involved in frequent feuds with the Akans; owners of the neighbouring forest lands. As the Krobos gained the right to cultivate the land partly by settlement and partly by purchase, they mixed with the Akans and to ensure a homogeneous society, the five conditions for accepting later refugee settlers were adopted:-

Male children are to be circumcised.
All are to speak Adangne.
Daughters must pass under the dipo custom.
No one is to send a message anywhere without permission.
All children are to be given Krobo names.

In the year 1892, it is alleged that Doruli killed the Breast plate carrier of the Akwasihene. The Akwasus reported
the incident to the Governor. Chief Sackitey, then Konor of the Krobos was held responsible. Dzangmor and Nar with two others elders were arrested and killed before the chief and his people to serve as a warning.

The Krobos were then notified by the governor, governor Griffiths, to abandon their home in the hills. At this stage chief Sackitey died of old age and prince Akuter was installed by the Krobos. Led by Akuter, the Krobos determined not to leave the mountain home. However, another member of the royal family, Prince Nyako, the father of the late Sir NENE Mate Korle, with the support of Odorkor Pisa of Kpong formed a rival party which supported the government order to abandon the hills.

The Barristers Bannerman and Buckle put the party's statement into writing. The Basel Missionaries who were working in the area also backed the idea of a Christian chief who would avert war and bloodshed.

Sir Nene Mate Korle, who was then a teacher at Ada was then nominated by the educated few who invited the Governor to be present at the installation. There were riots. In the third week of July, about the 24th, the Governor came with his armed forces and at a public arbitration, gave decision in favour of Nene Mate Korle.

The Governor needed a representative of the stool house, in order to install the Konor. One Osiekutse Kwaoyo alleged to be of an Ewe father and a Krobo mother, falsely swore to be the son of Odorkor Azu of the royal family.

The late Konor after swearing to maintain Odumase as the Capital instead of the Hills, and also to abolish the Fetishes of Nadu, Kotoklo and the Dipo custom, was proclaimed and installed Konor of the people.

To avert further rioting, blank cannons and guns were fired and the mob were dispersed to the mountains. They were forced down again by armed officers. Each clan moved and settled its farming village at Dorm, in the valley. The idols were demolished.
Odumase was originally the village of Odorkor Azu where he tapped Palm Wine. The people there are mainly from the Dzebian clan, their traditional settlement being Agomanya. The blooded Krobo at Odumase have their traditional family homes at Agomanya. Christian influence had had great effect on life in Odumase. Agomanya on the other hand is comparatively backward and has preserved the tribal traditions.

The result is that children from Agomanya are affected by Christian influences whenever they go to their homes at Odumase. The Methodist and the Catholic Missions are resident at Agomanya.
Acting Huzatse of Odometa and his wife
The people are mainly farmers and the literates who are in salary earning jobs in town are usually absentee landlords of at least one farm.

The desire for fertile land has led the Krobos leaving Agomanya and founding new homes in the mountains. The apparently abandoned homes at Agomanya are visited on festival days about thirteen a year, and on burial and funeral occasions.

The farming system on the Huza is akin to the Manorial system of farming. The Huzatse, the feudal Lord, is the 'Father' of the Huza, the acquired land for farming. He it is who originally carries out the negotiation with the seller, who usually are the Akims. He returns grants plots of it to subscribers who may be kinsfolk or who may be from a neighbouring sub-clan at Agomanya.

After a purchase of a plot of land, the owner has full control over it. He acknowledges the Huzatse only for the smooth running of the Huza. He is the 'final court of appeal' on the Huza. On each parcel of land, a hamlet, big enough for one family or a 'We' - a 'localised clan', is erected. Such hamlets span the Huza at intervals of two to three hundred yards. These are grouped into twenties or thirties under "Dadentse" - 'Fathers Of Cutlass' or Head Farmers. This has been devised for administrative purposes on ONLY the Huza. It is considered a waste of time if the Huzatse will have to walk for two to three miles only to settle a petty dispute which a Head Farmer could easily settle.

The Huzatse who is usually a chief, delegates his authority to the most senior Dadentse so that he is free to take up his duties as a chief at Dome, in the valley.

For a plan of the Huza, my own experience will help to illustrate:-

In the company of a teacher friend, my guide and host
A dance in the market square

The Girls & The Boys roaming the market

A common scene on market days. They are school children.
we set forth from Agomanya and came to Asesewah, thirty three miles up on the hills, a town where young and old, boys and girls, school children on holidays and all, visited on market days not only for trading but also for courting and merry-making. Girls in their fine clothes move about and boys of varying ages, amongst whom are school boys, prowl the nooks. Bands of all sorts move about and life can favourably be compared to life on the fair at Champagne in the Middle Ages.

Houses is supplied by a little brook after the sun goes down, all disperse and go to their hamlets on the various Huza. The distances vary from two to ten miles.

I set off with my host, for the Huza on which we were to lodge. The first cottage was about a mile away from Asesewah. We were in the Huza but not yet to our hamlet. We walked for about two miles, leaving behind some hundred hamlets but had still not come to ours. We continued for a further mile before I was led to a room. My host told me that there were some more cottages ahead stretching for a further mile.

As we walked, I noticed that little streams, the main sources of water supply, traversed the path. The line of demarcation between one Huza and the next is a stream.

On each farm plot is a complete family in a compound house. In this, the only house forming the cottage, are a man and his wife or wives and their children with their grandchildren. As inheritance is by birth-right and by capability in the management of the estate, it happens that brothers of the head and their families stay in the house on the 'Family Land'.

The farm of the head of the family is kept primarily by the head himself and his wives and children but all the others work on it too. As he inherited the right of the land, he demands priority labour on his farm from each individual under his care and protection before
any hires his or her labour or goes to cultivate his own farm for private income. Part of the income derived from the 'family farm' is what the head uses in caring for all in the house. He is responsible for the general welfare of all: and even in marriage, though a son who is financially independent can contract his own, the father must add his share to it in acknowledgement of his labour and for him to feel he is a member of the family. Labour on the Huza is supplied by all and on the cocoa farms it is supplemented by labour hired from Hausas and other Noortheners. Husband, wife and children work on the farm: the women in addition prepare soap and oil from palm nuts. Boys accompany elder brothers or the father to tap palm wine.

The authority of the head over all is exercised until such time that a member feels to procure his own estate and then he moves to another estate, Huza, and founds his new home with his wife and children. Until such time the child remains with his parents in the same house. The father as the head and his wife's and younger children remain at the "NGMOR", an old cocoa farm part of which "FUM" (a fallow land) is cleared for food farming. The bid for virgin forest "WHEM", for the cultivation of cocoa as cash crop has been carrying many young men away from the NGMORNYA homes, coming only on occasions to visit. Lineage members return from their forest homes on festival days and also on burial and funeral occasions. This is a reunion of Ngmornya and Whem kinsfolk and those left at Dorm at Agomanya, mainly school children and their caretakers.

At Agomanya, the family head is the caretaker of all irrespective of where a couple was in the Huza. From funds obtained from the 'family farm', he feeds the members of the house. Foodstuffs, cocoyam, yam, plantain and palm fruits brought from the hills are supplemented with food from the subsistence farm at Agomanya.
At Agomanya, market days are the same as at Asesewah but with the school boys falling out of the picture. Children born are a race of people. If an Asafoatse, a captain of a clan, happens to buy a plot of land on which there is already a Dademantse, he, the Asafoatse, is regarded as a subject of the Dademantse. At Agomanya, this Dademantse who on the Huza was the "boss" becomes a subject under the Asafoatse who takes his right political as the vice-deputy chief in his quarters.

are a potential wealth. They will grow, work and feed me when I am old. They are joy and when I am old.

An old woman also informed us of the system known as the "giving of Te Nine"—Flushy Nine. A man had three children with a girl when they were not lawfully married.

The father of the girl claimed all the children, and the children had reached childhood, the son realized his duty following the woman's father as adopt all the children. He therefore through some of his kinsfolk approached the parents of the girl to be granted "Te Nine"—that is to be given one of the children. He was asked to comply the parents with a live sheep, drink the coffee. When the rest of maintaining the child up to the time was requested, the parents asked to pay, he was then given one of the children, a daughter.

The children having nothing to share and between themselves.

That the woman's body is capable of generating so much children of the same parents they have children for their personal and men of the other com-cause. And among all people, statistics and this was the true real marriage.

The father's attitude is very fatherish, the mother's attitude is more motherly. And it is generous but not the samebody. Which is another topic of the original text.
In Agomanya, the fundamental reason for marriage is for procreation. Children born here are a seal of marriage. the ceremonial rites at birth, the conglutulatory salutation and systems of adoption, all show that the child is a bond between the parents.

These examples will show the attitude of adults towards having children:

One man told me "Do you not know that children are a potential wealth? They will grow, work and feed me when I am old. They are joy and when I am old".

An old woman also informed me of the system known as the granting of "Lo Nine" - Fleshy Hand. A man had three children with a girl when they were not lawfully married.

The father of the girl claimed all the children. When the children had reached childhood, the man realized his folly in allowing the woman's father to adopt all the children. He therefore through some of his kinsfolk approached the parents of the girl to be granted "Lo Nine" - that is, he should be given one of the children. He was asked to pacify the parents with a live sheep, drinks and money. Later the cost of maintaining the child up to the time was reckoned and was asked to pay. He was then given one of the children, a daughter.

The attitude towards having children varies between men and women. The world sees people to fulfill their particular role. That the woman's body is organized for the ungestation is the attitude of many of the women. They must have children for their personal and well as physical completeness. Out shining all damage disfiguring is the idea that she is a real mother.

The pride with which the young mother, clothed in the cloths of bridal nature, carries her baby round the neighbourhood a month or two after birth for thanksgiving is a sure demonstration of the joy in childbirth. Very often much admiration of the baby and congratulatory (words and gifts come from)
words and gifts come from women of the neighbourhood. "Ao! No! Cha wor biyo (binumu), Ayekoo!" : Congratulations! You have given us a female (or a male) is often the expression of joy by them.

Note the use of the word US.

To the man, a child is important for him in his social sphere. A man wants a child as an heir to his name or his business; he often hopes his child will fulfill his ambitions more successfully than he himself was able to do. For these reasons he brings up the child the wife has borne and the product of her body becomes the achievement of his mind.

On one of the rounds I came over an incident. "X" a Christian Minister of religion has refused to put up a two storey building because he has no child to inherit. Even though he has a child (daughter), he complained his wealth and property will be transferred to another family.

This concept of child bearing has its reciprocal influence on childlessness, sterility, the size of the family (and the adoption of children) and the adoption of children and the attitudes of men and women to children born.

LIMITATION OF FAMILY:-

The most striking answer I had to this question was "It is wickedness. Do you not know that God uses some couples to bring into the world some people to fulfil some particular missions? It is only God who will put a check on the expansion of family. I mean when with age sexual intercourse do not result in the women being pregnant." This was the answer of an elderly man with two to three children.

CHILDLESSNESS: is therefore an exasperating affair to women, especially. More often they are the topic of town gossips. The expression "Ya for her owo" (Go and bring forth your own and do not be going for others) from other women when engaged in a feud sends the barren woman home.
weeping. "Ofor ye?":-'have you ever borne a child'-and
the reply "kepi gbenor heor dzi her inger ka mc- 'but for
death, I would be in the same status as you are'-- are
common expressions of pride in children and the sorrow
in the loss of children respectively.

Marriages get strained if pregnancy does not "crown
the head of a girl". The entire Musu is astonished by such
sexual unions.

STERILITY is greatly deplored. Women are often ac-
cused of a 'rough' maiden life-a marriage is not
fruitful. It is at times attributed to "Ghetsi or Musu"-
Mythical Fitch. A girl so suspected is taken to a fetish
priest who washes her clean. She is led to a cross road
by the priest, or priestess followed by two or three rela-
tives. SHE is at times made to carry a bowl of water,
held with the two hands in which are live-chikens. She is
led to a cross road by the priest followed by the two or
three relatives. She disposes of the things there and is
then clean. If still she does not take seed after copula-
tion, she is helped with "cuts of "Kadoba" in which the
black powder "ti" is rubbed. If still these attempts
prove abortive, then it is declared that: "it is how she
came from 'God'." At times it is said that the couple are not
sterile but rather "their floods do not agree"; that is
unequal chemical composition of the semen and the eggs of
the woman.

The marriage of live to sick makes it.

A case was mentioned in which a married couple,
suspecting each other of sterility, each sought other
partners and had children. Though this is rare, it
happens at times to test which of the two is sterile.

SIZE OF THE FAMILY:- When a Krobo child is born
the parents are henceforth designated as the infant's father
or the mother. That is, the father is for instance Kofitse
- Kofi's father- and the mother is Kofinye, Mother of
Kofi.

The economic system has its effect on the size of the
family. Wives range range from three to five.

A man told me "I shall like to have six or eight children but to be increased by my grandchildren".

Since much of the year is spent on the Huza, the family system on these farming plots is the basis of the size of the family in Agomanya. Each hamlet belongs to one "localized clan". The entire Huza is inhabited by such patrilineal localized clans.

The nucleus of each family is the 'father' and his senior wife. With the other co-wives, their children, and grandchildren the family of a hamlet is defined.

Should a married couple choose to procure in their own tract of land, they establish a household of their own but are still a member of the wider family. On the Huza, the husband for such a couple is responsible for the feeding of his family but when at Agomanya, he with his group joins the rest of the family, having their meals from the common pool.

The biological family is truly the father, his wives and children, but the true family in the Krobo sense is a clan localized on a 'family land' on the Huza. The housing system at Agomnya affects still the family structure. Since patrilinear family units inhabit the Huza, they come to inhabit houses in the same quarter of the town. The nearness of five to six houses inhabited by such family units affects the size of the family.

Though on the Huza each family unit on its tract of land exercises some degree of autonomy, yet when at Agomnya, they all owe allegiance to the most elderly head of one of the family units. He plays the role as the "father of all" taking final decisions in rites and in festival celebrations; also in the marital affairs of children. His social standing which affects that of his children is dependant on the size of his 'family'.


It is not therefore strange to find young adolescents
in the other. Here the sex accepts the affection,
throwing in all their lot to have fiances from the 'big'
house in order to maintain the wife until delivery. Brides' 

An old head of one such family boasts of having
in marriage, the man decides whether he will have the
organized: two bands in his house: "I have a vocal band
and a life band, the members of both being 'my' children.
By 'his children', he was referring to the children from
the marriage to the family of the girl as 'the bi',
the houses under his care and protection.
The matter of children being in marriage is
mainly for social well being. He is morally responsible for
the training of the children and is at times financially
implicated if children of same other married couple come
to join his household.

Moreover this family system affects Child Adoption.
Since children are a source of pride and an economic
asset. "Eye for wo pu", "hhas throw off a child into the bush" is the remark often made if one parent allows
the children still misses until the child grows to five of
the other to take away a child born.

The marriage system of the Krobo reflects the pride
and worth of children.

Customarily sex experiment before is allowed if the
girl has undergone the dipe custom. Under such a
circumstance, conception is not a serious offence.
A girl who conceives under these circumstances
inform her parents and the parents of the male partner
are informed. What is normally expected is for the allegation
allegation to be accepted
The wife, however, boasted of her fate as follows:

If however the man refuses the alleged sexual
dealings with the girl, the father of the girl takes up the
daughter and the child born, "pla bi", is his.
If on the other hand the man accepts the allegation, he is asked to maintain the wife until delivery. Hohlem—is feeding of the pregnant womb.

On delivery, the man decides whether he will have the girl as wife or not.

If he refuses marriage, there is litigation and a fine ranging from twenty to fifty pounds is imposed. The child then is taken into the family of the girl as "pla bi". The mother and child are the man's if he agrees to marriage and pays the necessary customary fees.

During the period of pregnancy there is no litigation and no claiming of extra money apart from Hohlem Sika (main- tinance fee). It is believed any such act makes the child in the womb feel insecure and may die before being brought forth.

Orphans:— Complete orphans of legitimately married couples are members of the family of the father where they stay and work on the "Huza" of the family having full rights.

Should the male partner of a lawfully married pair die, the wife stays with the family of the husband. She is given over to the younger brother of the husband who also takes charge of the children.

If however the wife, after the funeral rites, chooses to marry another man outside the late husband's family, it is the younger brother of the late husband who claims the dowry and takes the children. If the child is still young, the mother still nurses until the child comes to five or six. When he is taken back by the father's family.

ADOPTION OF ORPHANS:—

Afi about eighteen years and her younger brother Kwesi were the step children of a widowed woman Taikoyo Kwekutse, the younger brother of the deceased husband inherited him, the care of his wife, who he called his wife, and the guardianship of his children. Afi who was of marriageable age was betrothed and it was Kwekutse who claimed the bridal fee.

The widow who was still young was the centre of attraction in town. Many men sought her hand. She was suspected of illicit copulation with a man in the next neighbourhood. The woman however posed to be fond of her new husband.

Who was however indifferent. He was only a foster husband much to the sorrow of the rest of the kinsfolk. The widow finally took a daring step. She got pregnant with her suitor. And all that Kwekutse could do wasted claim from the man the betrothal.
payments of his late elder brother. Kwesi was taken away from her mother and was adopted by one of Kwekutse's wives. She had no issue. The mother who was now a member of another family had no legal claims on the child. Her relation with him is consanguineous expressed by casual visits to her by him and her little gifts, in money or clothes, to him.

Though the household regrets the loss of a worker when a widow is thus remarried, this levirate system is utilized in reclaiming the head charge paid originally from the "new" husband.

The custom akin to sororate is practised. Where there are several sisters in a family they are addressed as junior or senior wife, as the rank may be, of the man who marries one of them. It is one of these such wives who becomes the foster mother of a widower's children. The children come to their father's family when of age but are allowed to visit their mother's home regularly. Care is taken and they are not told of their dead mother.

Illegitimate children are members of the girl's father's family. In deciding who should care for the children the soul of a dead parent is prayed to. This is done so that the child will live. Great care is taken of orphans lest they should be killed by the Ghost of the dead parent who does not like the child to suffer. Children born are never forsaken. The fear of public ridicule coupled with moral obligation makes each grandfather responsible for the general welfare of his children and grandchildren, whether they are orphans, illegitimate or otherwise.
THE security which expectant mothers are confident of for their babies makes them less troubled. However, the physiological changes have their effect on the attitude of a pregnant woman.

An old lady remarked:— "Oh, pregnancy and childbirth are quite normal things with mothers who have had the experience once or twice; but otherwise with mothers with maiden experience."

The fear of the mother's death at childbirth is expressed in the words "Obich wo wabior he high"—(your child has infected our daughter with disease)—when girls are first found pregnant; moreover, the girl falling from her maiden age and play mates, all have their profound effect on her mental state.

Apart from the cessation of the menstrual flow, the pregnant woman feels drowsy. In the first few weeks she is prone to vomit at the sight of filth and upon sniffing things, the scent of which is "fresh." She later develops a keen appetite, especially for sweets and becomes quick-tempered. She resents most any remarks of the husband. Her answers to questions get saucy.

There is the general feeling of frustration in that she does not take part in all household activities and is moreover easily tired and strained over the least activity. She at times gets worried about her health. In this state, the pregnant woman gets attached to her own kin more than to the kin of their child to be born.

She therefore reports any least pain or movement in the womb to the mother or the grandmother.

She gets worried about security from her husband if these remarks about him by her kinsfolk are not pleasing. Though she will be cared for by the parents, if the man forsakes her, she gets nervous about her future life as all of them (the women) feel proud of good husbands. The new songs sang during the Dipo ceremonies are warning given about the need for care and patience in finding good husbands in future.

Changes in the mode of life:— The idea that the chance of survival of both the mother and the child at childbirth depends on the health of the mother, which in turn depends on her careful life when pregnant, necessitates some changes in the life of a pregnant woman.
Pregnancy means entry into womanhood which is characterised by the plaiting of the hair, the use of headkerchief and the use of an extra cover-cloth on the normal ones for dressing. The pregnant woman does these things if she had not been doing so; that is if her getting pregnant is her first experience.

In diet and in work, there are many restrictions. Mango, sugar-cane and the excessive use of sugar are forbidden. She is not allowed, at least for the first three months, to work near excessive heat. All these are to guard against mis-carriage.

The pregnant woman who desires copulation is allowed marital intercourse up to the sixth month.

Early precautions are taken to ensure safe and easy delivery.

There is first HOKPA or EMINOH KPA FOM (that is, preparation and tying of the conception cord. A special kind of cord called AGUNIGMA KPA, RAFFIA (lorwe), and locally spun cotton are used. This is attached loosely round the neck and is allowed to lie on the belly, or, the cord is tied round the neck and is allowed to run down the spinal chord and is then tied round the waist. Small cuts are made at the forehead and the waist into which a black powder, TI, is rubbed. This cord has to be taken off before delivery.

Another way is the use of the herbs AMAYI, GBOR, AGBLAZO, and DAMBE are put into a pot which has been bought purposely for that, and water is poured in for drinking and bathing.

KAPLER DEWEMHI is still yet another method that is used. A penny is blessed and is used in buying food from the market for the pregnant mother. Another way out is that a blessed amount of money is used in buying bits of the different kinds of condiments sold in the market. These are used in preparing food for the pregnant woman. These are all done to protect the mother and the child from witch-craft and malicious prayers and gossips.

The pregnant woman is expected to be in good terms with all inmates of the house. She must never refuse any food from the husband. She is not permitted to see any corpse, serious wounds, ugly objects and suicide cases. Shaking.
Shaking of hands is restricted as someone may have six fingers which is a sign of bad luck. She must always keep the belly covered against witchcrafts and charmers.

KADODA—cuts are made at the back and on the forehead and the black powder, TI is rubbed in. This ensures fore and hind protection from evil spirits.

The alleged failure of these precautions and frequent deaths at childbirth have been inducing pregnant women to contact medical officers at Akuse and Kotoridus; MIDWIVES, and the maternity clinics at Agomanya, Otrokpe and Asasewa.
The pregnant woman gets more attached to the mother. At a month before birth, the place of birth is decided. Formerly expectant mothers were sent back to their kin for delivery. The practice now is for them to be sent to either the Government Certificated Midwife at Agomanya, Otrokpe, and Aseesaw, or to the Catholic Maternity clinic at Agomanya, or to the medical officer at Akuse. A few still go to the native midwife.

From the moment labour begins, all women experienced in nursing break off all other engagements and tend the expectant mother. In the clinic, they sit outside and rush immediately birth is announced to congratulate. Here, the baby is separated from the mother and placed in a cot. The mother and the child go home after a week's stay. Birth at the native midwife's presents another picture. An elderly woman or both Counting from the last menstruation, the women expect birth within ten months. They date is kept and a few days to the time of delivery, the expectant mother is either sent to stay with the midwife or the midwife is run for if the time is missed and labour begins unexpectedly.

The preparation of the Horkpa, mentioned in the previous chapter, is to ensure the safe and easy birth. At the tying of the cord, the pregnant woman is made to confess and to call out the names of all men she had sexual connection with.

Only women who have borne children are present at the delivery. An elderly man is invited in case of a difficulty at birth. Other than that all men, as well as children are excluded.

The woman is said to squat and she is supported on the shoulders by a woman, or by a man if the woman is in difficulties. Usually when she calls out the name of the husband, delivery is easy. It is alleged the Horkpa
enables a pregnant woman to deliver on her own. Difficulty at birth is at times attributed to the woman’s insincerity at her confession and she is told to confess if there are any more men she has not called.

The cords are cut and the baby’s lips are touched thrice with 'it' while the following words are recited:—

Nobi nya kuku merteh
Ke ona, one.
Ke oke kpieng
Casi madze lunguyenor nger
loko omadze enyo nger yinor.

"A child’s mouth is sticky. When you see, you have not seen when you sneeze, you shall have two teeth in your lower jaw before having two in the upper."

The implication is that a Child is not talkative about everything he sees: that is a child is not to be officious.

The child is washed by the older women of both the mother’s or the father’s kin. It is then presented thrice to the mother with the words "Have your child" and the mother responds "ihe" - 'I have it' and she receives the baby. She puts her breast into the child’s mouth to signify she it is who is responsible for the feeding of the child.

These are followed with the 'Storm' ceremony to acknowledge the day of birth.

The mother and her child never sleep in the dark. The storm is present whenever it cries. Thus, notwithstanding the mother sits down at night or has nothing else to do, her baby is on the breast nursing or may be just playing with the breast with thumb and fingers. It is difficult to know as long as it is dark. The darkens or lack of illumination, sleep with lower animals and are often called to sleep with another in the mouth. Feeding as often as he eats the same mother do same thing.

If the mother’s side eats meat and is not washed, would
School children feeding on yam and pepper.
Krobo babies are the centre of attraction of the entire family. Looking after the baby is everybody's job: grandmothers, older brothers and sisters, mother, co-wives, and the father, but the most important of all is the mother.

Babies are always nursed. Feeding starts just after birth.

Though from birth and for the first four to five months the baby is wholly dependent on the breast for nourishment, it is fed for at least the first forty-eight hours on sugar solution which it sucks from cotton wool. However, on the first day, just after the first bath, the mother's breast is put into its mouth. This is done not necessarily for the child to feed on but as an initiation ceremony, introducing the mother's breast to the baby, and also for milk to flow into the breast.

This then is followed by the "SHOH MI" ceremony. It is performed in the evening if birth was in the morning and on the next day in the morning if birth was in the evening. NEMA (millet), GBOH (a leaf), and the tender leaves of the Palm (ta kuom) are put into "Puikorkam" - a native dish, and water is poured on. For three times the druid dips his or her hand into the water and then gives it to the child to suck. This is an acknowledgement of the day of birth; that is if for instance a child is born on Monday evening and the ceremony is performed in the morning of Tuesday, the child is said to be ABLA or KWALMA, a Tuesday born.

Breast feeding starts on the third day after birth. The child held horizontally on the mother's breast is given the breast to suck. The baby is nursed whenever it cries, frets, or whenever the mother feels inclined to nurse it. Whenever the mother sits down to rest or has nothing else to do, her babe is at her breast sucking or may be just playing with the breast with mouth and fingers. It is allowed to nurse as long as it wishes. No attempt is made at regularity. Babies sleep with their mothers and are often lulled to sleep with breast in the mouth. Feeding at night is at any time the child wakes up from sleep.

If the mother's milk fails a wet nurse is sought among the
kinsfolk. If the mother is away another woman of the household, usually the grandmother or a sister of the father or a co-wife, will put it to breast for comfort when it cries.

When a baby refuses food or has a temporary loss of appetite, the mother as well as the grandmother and other kinsfolk get nervous and start insisting on feeding. If for a whole day a child refuses to take food, it is thought to have "Kpokpo, or Asara" (fever). Formerly, a native herbalist was consulted but now the baby is taken to any of the maternity clinics at Akuse, Agomanya, or at Otrokpe for treatment.

If the child has got to the stage where it can take porridge, it is coaxed usually by the grandmother who then takes over the feeding. Taking a spoonful of the porridge, she thrusts it first into her mouth licks up part with sounds to show that the food is good to taste. It is then given to the child who may take it or not. If there is refusal, then the child is said to be in bad health, and treatment is sought.

A child is at times forced to eat. The mother holding the child on the laps, puts the porridge into the mouth of the child and then pinches its nose. As it gaps for breath, the porridge is swallowed.

The mother usually curious about her new baby, generally allows it to nurse until it gives up on its own. When, however, the child could take other food apart from the mother's milk, it is cut off from breast feeding if the mother wishes to attend to other duties.

When I asked about arrangements concerning marital intercourse during the period of nursing, an old native mid-wife replied: - "We, in our time refrained from it till about the eighth month but now the girls are so fast that they go to the man the moment they feel well enough." Many husbands being polygamous, excuse their wives from sexual union until after some twelve months after birth.

Weaning is started at an age when the mother considers the child grown enough for other food as supplementary to breast feeding.
It is said that a baby shows its desire to 'eat'—that is, its desire to take other food—through its actions. When held while the mother is eating, it stretches its hand in attempt to grasp the mother's hand. It at times cries. Realizing this the initiation ceremony "srom" is performed. That is he is introduced to solid food.

"Fia"—young fishes are used in preparing soup. This soup which is boiled so that it gets thick is taken in small doses thrice and put into the child's mouth on the grandma's finger. The child then is allowed to feed on solid food.

The baby's diet is regularly supplemented with totes of porridge. It is gradually and usually painlessly weaned by increasing its solid food until it is eating the same food as the adults.

The child is first introduced to porridge which is given either from a tea spoon or directly from small dishes and bowls. "Kafa"—a special kind of food prepared from corn from which the husk has been removed is next introduced. It is mashed and given on her finger by the mother. Cassava is also given. It is first mashed or chewed first by the mother and given to the child by the mother.

Boiled corn and cocoyam are said to be too hard and are therefore not given to the children not until they are about 12 to 16 months old.

As the child is introduced to these other kinds of food he is not suddenly prevented from sucking the mother's breast. From about the age of ten months a carved piece of ivory with a knob at the head is tied round the wrist of the child—for sucking. This is provided to discourage thumb sucking or sucking of other objects.

Though breast feeding still continues, it is mainly supplementary to food and is used occasionally to avert crying of the child. This continues for a while. Until the child can walk.

Attempts to stop the child from sucking the mother's breast, are made. It is now expected to live without sucking.
for an hour or so. The mother leaves the child with the grand-
mother, or a nursemaid or the father or any other relative and
goes to the farm for firewood. She returns often to a disgruntled
and crying baby. Repentant and desirous of appeasing it, she sits
down and suckles it for a while. This hour's absence, followed
by suckling, develops into longer periods gradually until the
child is three when other kinds of food supplement breast sucking
and the child learns to play on its own with the others.

Usually the polygamous system of marriage makes it possible
for children to be completely weaned before the mother is preg-
nant again. However women have to wean off their babies abruptly
if they become pregnant through lack of self control during the
nursing period. And this often occurs with women who bring forth
out of wedlock.

The fear that premature deprivation of its mother's milk
prevents the child from growing and also disfigures it, makes the
parents to allow the child to still cling to the mother for at
least the first two months.

If still the child persists it is forcibly weaned. Bitter
herbs "Agbatso and Dawa Gor" are rubbed on the nipple. The
child is prevented from sucking the mother's milk because of the
bitter taste. The mother asks the nurse maid to take him away on
stroll. At times

Food: Children being introduced to solid food from the age
of about 5 to 6 months, are spoon-fed by either the mother or
grandmother. This continues (with liquid food) up to about ten
months when solid food as Kafa or mashed yam is put into the
child's own hand for self-feeding.

A girl Abla is said to have started eating when about four
months old and tried to eat alone when about twelve months old.
Another started late at eight months and was ready to eat when
eighteen months old.

The ages vary and parents only have the patience to move
on with the children.
Regardless of sex, children feed from a common dish.
In the first week of self-feeding, the spilling of food is overlooked by the mother. This continues up to about two years of age when slight reprimands are made while the soiled clothing is held up. There is however no punishment. As the child gets over two years of age, better behaviour is expected.

Regardless of sex children are made to eat together from a common dish. Each is expected to swallow the morsel in the mouth are another is taken. Fast eaters are held up for a while as the others go on. Breaking wind is strongly prohibited at table and a fellow who breaks wind carries the food while the others eat. Belching on the other hand is an expression of enjoyment of the dish.

Times of feeding vary with age. The young of three to six years who cannot wait for the late breakfast usually at about half past nine in the morning, toast cocoyam or plantain which are greedily eaten. Children between three years and four years are fed profusely. After eating at home, they roam to neighbouring houses for extra food.

Older children have to stop eating and leave the last morsels for the younger ones. If however they happen to eat to the finish, these tots can continue their meal at the adults' table. Fish consumption is in proportion to ages: the most senior having the biggest whilst the junior gets the least. Children who do not get any piece of fish are sometimes given some from the adults' dish.

If a young child eating with adults is found out to have stealthily taken in fish with a morsel of food, his share is denied him.

Male children of over ten years of age eat with the male adults and the girls with the women.

From the time a child can feed on adult food, his main daily menu is chosen from cocoyam, plantain, and the different species of yam. Usually any one of these is pounded into fufu and taken with palm or light soup in the evenings. Lumps of these, toasted or boiled, form the main diet during the day.
The Restaurant for "boiled" yam and cocoyam.

School children cue for future.
Fufu remnants are not disposed of but are heated together with the soup and preserved overnight for morning breakfast for only the girls and the women. Male children are forbidden to take this as it weakens them and renders them useless in sex relations.

Most of the school children cater for themselves when at Agomenya. Their food is therefore poor.

Angnor for one week took for daily breakfast fried cocoyam and pepper which he bought from the roadside. The lunch was boiled yam and pepper and a little piece of seasoned fish. In the evening fufu was pounded and taken with either plain or palm soup with usually one dried herring as the only piece of fish.

The striking feature about the feeding of these children is the way "my child, the scholar" (the usual term by which school children are called) is lavishly served with food when back on holidays with their parents on the Huzas.

Ask Angnor why he will not take at least his lunch from one of the market restaurants where comparatively better dishes are served. The answer is "if I pull out even sixpence, the food served will not satisfy me. Moreover, I have not the money for it."

These children who are given meagre subsistence fees, complemented with a bag of cocoyam, plantain and yam have their schooling very much interrupted when they are acutely short of food and have to run back to the Huzas for foodstuff.

Some, however delegate an elderly sister to cater for a group of children at Agomenya. Wives too go at times in rotation.

The school children enjoy full feeding as on the Huzas only when the kinsfolk are at Agomenya for festivals or funeral rites.
Toilet training begins after about the seventh or eighth month after birth. It is considered that the child is by that time old enough that his neck and back will not be disfigured.

Prior to this stage the baby lies on the laps of the mother to evacuate the bowels or to urinate. At the age of six to seven months, the child's desire to evacuate the bowels is preceded by signs. It wriggles and grunts. It puts its hands on its genitals or shows slight tension in the legs. With male babbies, the scrotum contracts. On seeing these signs the mother makes a hollow with her feet and seats the baby on. She employs the sound "akuu" to convey the idea to evacuate the bowels to it. Evacuation of the bladder is not so easily treated. The child is quickly jerked up from the mother's laps to a side to prevent soiling her own person if it starts to urinate; if in bed, it is allowed and later the beddings are changed.

This way of holding the child continues until the child is old enough to squat on its own.

When the child can walk it is expected to evacuate the bowels at a special place. The children from the age of three can be seen running out to defecate, usually just behind the house. This is later removed by either the mother or an elder sister. At night the child asks to be taken outside.

The Krobo child acquires cleanliness as a gradual process of its physical as well as its social growth: that is according to ability to speak, its general self control and its ability to move about.
If a child evacuates the bowels when at meal he is hastily removed and stopped from continuing his meal. Subsequent meals are slightly reduced. Beating when a child is on bowel elimination is "Gu" (defiling) and it is strongly forbidden. But if a child already accustomed to a running out to eliminate, has by accident done it somewhere else, it is rebuked by one of the adults.

Mate, a child of about two years of age went to evacuate the bowels at a wrong place and these were the words of the mother in reprimanding the boy: "you who have a chamber pot which you have been using always have gone to evacuate outside the house - O! O! O! O! you disgraceful fellow".

I asked how old Mate was and the answer was, "Oh! Mate is trying to be naughty".

However, there was no beating and the mother uttered these words after she had dressed up the boy and has removed the faeces discharged.

By the age of three or four children follow their mothers to public houses and evacuate outside while the mother is in. They are expected to visit the houses on their own from the age of five upwards.

Mothers are particular about quantity and frequency of discharge. If a child discharges more than what is thought average, the leaves "No" and "Su" are boiled and given to the child to take.

"TODUE", a disease which makes the faeces white is the most dreaded. (I think it is when worms are traced in the faeces). Roots of the pepper plant and the roots of the lime tree are boiled and drank.
Kokoo (pila) is another disease. The leaves of the plant known as Bellu are boiled and the child is smoked with it.

The maternity clinics provide treatment for those who desire to visit.

Bladder training begins at about two years after birth. The child's sleep is disturbed and it is seated on a chamber pot and the sound "s a s a" induces the child to urinate. Bed wetting by children between the ages of four or five is often attributed to over-eating in the evenings. A child found with such a weakness has his evening meals regulated.

If a child of six or seven years of age continues with bed wetting, he is warned to stop. If still he continues, a cold morning is selected and the child not given any previous warning is caught, smeared with charcoal, and wrapped in his wet mat. Some of his kin carry him out of town while children in the neighbourhood shout and jeer at him. If it is during the rainy season, he is cast into any nearby stagnant water. This is said frightens his "kla" (soul), and he stops the undesired habit.

On being left, the child runs about wildly trying to touch as many friends as he can. It is believed that whoever is touched acquires the habit too whereas the child himself stops.

From the age of five, children are expected to carry out elimination privately. In the latrines children and adults mix up.

Breaking wind:— Normally breaking of wind by children up to two years of age is no offence. Adults laugh at it and the expression "kuku" with the waving of the hand at the tip of the nose makes even the child to laugh. From the age of four, the children
knowing that the breaking of wind before adults is not decent, run to the backyard, break it noisily and return to the house laughing. Young adolescents break wind if they within their age group, but on formal occasions, as in the presence of elders, it is not allowed. At table, it is indecent.

HICCUPS:- These are treated with grave concern: prompt attempts are made to control any occurrence. A wet piece of rag is put on the child's scalp. At times, a piece of broom stick is put into the hair of the child. If still the hiccup continues, water is given to the child in sips for seven times.

BELCHING is never an offence. Most often it is an expression of satisfaction and it is at times exaggerated just for fun.
The child on the mother's laps has his head supported.
MOTOR DEVELOPMENT

The child is said to have delicate bones during the first two months. Its care is mainly the duty of the grand mother or an elderly woman. Experienced mothers are co-caretakers but mothers with first child-birth experience are regarded as inexperienced in baby carrying and are often released of this duty.

The child at this tender stage is allowed to lie down with a folded cloth placed on it to keep it warm. If held to sit on the mother's laps, it is usually made to lie with a straight back with a hand placed at the back of the head to support it. In sitting, its head is not allowed to fall back.

I asked a grand mother why she pulled the cloth right up to the back of the child's head while carrying it astraddling on her back. The answer I had was "it is not grown yet for its hands to be out."

It is usually when the child is carried on the back that clothing restrains its movements. The cloth is tied right up to the back of the head and its hands are not allowed to move. It is said that if the cloth is pulled just below the child's shoulder level, its spine will be disfigured.

In the first month after birth, the child is rarely carried on the back of anyone with her trunk bent over. When the mother or the grandmother is to wash any soiled napkin, the child is handed over to another caretaker or is put to bed. Carrying the child astraddling on the hip is strongly objected to during this first month.

When about three months old, the hands are left free from the cloth when being carried on the mother's or the nurse's back. From about the fourth to the fifth month, it is taught how to sit.

The child is seated with its legs drawn slightly
Matured enough for the hands to be out.
apart and folded cloths are placed just chest high between the legs and the baby broods over it. A special kind of seat is at times provided. This seat is stuffed with cloths and the child is made to sit in it. When about nine or ten months old, the child begins to crawl. It is encouraged by adults who throw line or orange off to a distance for the child to go for. Sometimes, it attracted by its elder brothers or sisters banging tins.

From the age of ten or eleven months, it is encouraged to stand. The child is held up to stand; sometimes it is left alone and resupported when about to fall.

The housing system of this town limits the child to the house. As the compounds are enclosed, the baby crawls about in the house. Before teething, it is not allowed to sit on the ground or to crawl about at night. It is a taboo.

At the age of thirteen to fourteen months, the child is encouraged to walk. A tri-wheeled-push frame is provided to encourage walking. The child's first attempt to walk on its own is hailed by adults who call it with names.

"Alibor" is the name given to a child who at the age of say eighteen months is still unable to stand on its own and to walk. There are three ways of treating such a child:

(a) The knees of the child are said to be weak. At dawn, without talking to anybody, a piece of the mother's loin-cloth (subue) is tied round the knees. The child is left and it is able to walk a month or so later.

(b) Suspecting that it is the waist of the child that is weak, a special kind of drug is bought from Fentiland and is used as enema on the child.

(c) With the third alternative, nothing is applied. The child is left on its own until it is able to walk. As it was told me, "it walks when it likes".
The baby crawls about.

Sporadic running.

They have gathered for "lorry" ride.
AS the child crawls about or toddles about exploring the house, baby language is used to warn it from danger: "Hai" is used for fire, "kuku" is for faeces, "Subui" is for animals and "ape" is used in warning the child when tempering with a knife. "Apo" is the speech for abbreviated form of "ema po mo o", meaning 'it will cut you'.

On the Huzas where most of the children are trained when young, are isolated hamlets; the intervals in between them vary from hundred to two hundred yards. A small village may therefore extend for four or five miles. And note that each Huza is settled by kinsfolk. This plays an active part in determining the spatial limits of the child of three or more years of age.

From babyhood to the toddling stage, the child is limited to his family's cottage and its immediate neighbourhood. As it grows from three years on, the space changes with his physical and social development. Tei, a three year old, cried and induced his mother to allow him to accompany his six and nine year old brothers to run an errand to next hamlet.

Boi about four years of age walked with his 'driving' company from a cottage about four hundred yards away to join the other party for the morning "lorry driving".

Girls of four, five and six years of age walk to the next two or three villages to play at "selling in the market".

It is also quite usual to see incidents such as this; a woman is going for a day's supply of food from a farm about a hundred yards away. As she walks away, her infant child totters along calling out for her. She woman appears to take no notice for awhile and allows the child to struggle on for about fifty to sixty yards. She then halts and the child walks up to her. She swings the infant up to straddle on the hip and off she goes. If she were not in a hurry, she might allow the infant to walk behind slowly while she
Play at Building

Mining and carrying mud balls

They are "builders" too.
throws encouraging remarks to it.

A favourite amusement of the women is to let children dance. The child, barely able to maintain an upright position for about ten minutes, is set up on its legs and made to dance. A couple of women, who may be idle then, call out the child to dance. They sing and clap. The child bumps and falls. Krobo children respond to such incentives with pleasure and when about four, have so advanced that they can travel and partake in real dancing.

The crude toys for sports and games do not only help the children in running errands but helps them also in their motor development.

Asare had two passengers on his "lorry" when running an errand. The old cylindrical rim of a cycle being the lorry with a stick in as the steering rod, Asare had his passengers on by just holding one of the boy's right hand with his left leaving the right free for driving. The boy in turn held the right hand of the other with his left. All being ready, Asare pushed on his "lorry" and as they all ran hand in hand, with only Asare at the wheel, a lorry with its passengers was speeding along. The shout of "pol" from one of the passengers was the blow of a horn to warn off pedestrians.

A ride on a motor cycle was just pushing a cut-off part of one arm of a coconut tree. The lid of a cigarette tin nailed on, provided the motor engine. A ride could be had by another if only the one could clutch the branch tightly with his knees and arms and hand loosely while the 'driver' pashes the branch on.

Krobo children receive their training not only from the adults but also from older children and adolescents who transmit what they know to the children. The children wander about in small groups playing all sorts of games. Alarmd parents can be heard occasionally shouting to the next hamlet: "Is Kwable therewith the others?". Usually he is there.
Many of the dances demand motor co-ordination.
The children and adolescents share economic tasks in accordance with their skill and maturity.

Up to the age of four or five, the small children run and leap about in a totally unorganized way. Any of these activities is performed for the pleasure of it. The small child who goes with the mother or the sister to the stream for water and is given a small pot to carry is making a contribution in relation to a real need of the house. It is the same with the child who, upon seeing an adult sweeping, gets a broom and drags it up and down. The children summoned to carry balls of swish for the men building are contributing valuable labour.

A child who falls out of these activities is usually the sick child. There are times when a child gets crossed with another and gets so upset that he stops and leaves the company for a quiet corner. He is at times coaxed to rejoin and is at times left alone and he rejoins on his own.

Most of the games in which the children take part demand motor co-ordination.

KEATS is dance in which both boys and girls partake. In this four to six dancers get into the circle and dance with knees full bend they spring and hop about, within the circle, to the rhythm of the music and the clapping of hands.

ANOTHERS is a game played with stones. About ten to fifteen children have each handy pieces of stones. They sit in a circle and the stones are gathered by one fellow. When the song starts, the player commences passing on of the stones to the player on his right hand and by the time the last stone leaves his hand, the first and subsequent ones have each been on the move and fellow just on the left has the first stone which he hands back to the starter and the game continues. Each is expected to keep on singing while at the same time passing on each
Must learn riding early to help running of errands.

The boys become carpenters.
successive stone to the rhythm. Whoever misses the time gets too late to send off his stone and all subsequent ones are heaped on. Usually he runs away to avoid the beating from his neighbours.

Still another is this. Any number of girls, up to say twenty, stand in a circle. They start singing, and rhythmical clapping of the hands with colleagues on each girls left and right ensues at the same time. They start when for instance "A" has her right palm facing upwards with "B's" left facing downward in it; at the same time "A's" left is facing down in "C" right palm upwards. And as the play goes on, the hand position changes alternately.

As a supplement to their economic duties, women learn mat, hat, and the boys basket weaving. Young adolescent girls are apprenticed to seamstresses whereas they learn sewing and stitching. The boys learn to ride on bicycles.

When at Agomanya, the young children wander about in the lanes while toddlers are confined to the home. The tots are not allowed to get near the street. Mothers can be heard trying to keep the children in the house by frightening them with "lorry is coming" or "an animal will catch you".

I lodged a house where this incident occurred: A young child Kodjowas frightened by a cat. He shouted and the mother ran for him. There upon she narrated this story: A woman who feared earth worms was shown one rather unexpectedly by a friend. She had a shock and fainted. She died in hospital later.

The child who had hitherto been playing with the cat got frightened when the creature was furiously rushing for a lizard.

From the incident and the story, the mother drew her own conclusion, warned that her child feared cats and should therefore not be frightened with any.

In the afternoon the mother wanted to use the cat in keeping him indoors. When the child was trying to go out she told him "the cat is coming". The boy on turning saw the cat and
rather ran to it, grasped it in play and even struggled over it with another child.
The baby sleeps at any moment when on mother's lap.
Time of sleeping varies with age and parental authority in relation to time of going to time of going to sleep in the evenings is administered only on children of one year of age to six.

Although babies spent most of their first few months in sleep, some even at a very early age get a bit reluctant in going to sleep.

The parents' desire for a child to go to sleep varies with the socioeconomic status of the mother and also the part of the day in which the sleep is desired.

During at least the first two months the young or "new" mother's time is devoted solely to nursing of the child. The child sleeps at any moment when on the laps of the mother or other kinsfolk. It is then put to bed, usually the mother's, and is taken for breast feeding or bath as it is decided, immediately he cries out of sleep. It goes to sleep again while breast feeding or immediately after bath. The mother in the evening is more or less a watch "dog" Sleeping with the baby in the same bed and in the same room with the grandmother. She sleeps when the baby sleeps and wakes up to nurse immediately the child is up. If she feels reluctant, the howling at her "will you not get up to breast feed your baby as it is weeping?" is not uncommon.

As the child grows, his time of sleep lessens. It is then that he is coaxed to sleep to leave the mother or the nursemaid free for other activity.

When a child wakes up from sleep at a time inconvenient for the mother or the nursemaid he is lulled back to sleep by being given the breast to suck. The mother may either lie by him or hold him up on her laps while seated. The child is at times bathed and patted at the back gently until he sleeps and is put back to bed.

A nursemaid at times may carry the baby with the head
on her shoulder and sing or rock her gently to sleep. When for one reason or the other the mother is absent when the child wakes up and begins to cry, it is the duty of either the maidservant or an elderly sister to carry the baby, pace up and down while it is being sung to sleep.

"Dze Ma ho?"  "Where is mother gone to?"
"Ma ho baba ya."
Mother is off for water.

Mini ma yape?
What is she going to do.

"Ma yayeh nyu keba-
She is gone for water to-
neh wano."
us to drink.

"Yaa a wisi o"
Congratulations "Awisi"

"Baba" - is a baby language for water.  "Awisi" is the name given to children born on Sundays. The appropriate name is fitted in according to the day on which the child is born. If the child is found to be a fellow who sleeps intermittently at night, disturbing the mother's sleep, he is not allowed to sleep early in the evenings. He is tickled and kept awake till about eight o'clock.

Children between two to six years of age have no definite time for retiring to bed at night. After the evening meal they gather round the grandmother for story telling or for sorting out of palm nuts. As individuals doze and sleep, they are taken away to sleep by the mothers. Those that are able to keep up are told to retire to their sleeping places at about nine when it is said the star known as "Hue" appears. They are not necessarily to sleep but should be under shelter, away from the dew which is said to be unhealthy for children in the evening.

Children from eight to adolescence have their times of retiring varying on moonless and moonlight nights. Drums...
Drums and songs can be heard as late as eleven o'clock on nights with bright moonlight. On the other hand days of peach darkness find almost all retiring at about eight o'clock.

All children have to be indoors whenever there is an outbreak of the disease "Kpate" - (Small Pox.) They are made to go to bed between seven and eight o'clock. The belief is that this disease becomes personified and whoever is met at night by him, contracts the disease.

As the system of marriage is mainly polygamous, the husband has a room to himself and each wife has a room to herself. Children sleep with their mothers in the same room, the youngest, from babyhood to about two years of age, with the mother in the same bed whilst the rest up to about four, sleep on mats on the floor.

From five years on the children irrespective of sex sleep in the enclosed hall, an inevitable part of a Krobo housing system. If the plan is the "L" plan with an open parlour, then the children grouped according to sex are allotted rooms.

Adolescent boys and girls are granted separate rooms: the boys two or three to a room and the girls sharing the room with the mother but usually being allowed to pass the night with a fiancée or friend, termed "Plawe".

Sleeping rooms are usually illventilated. The maximum number of windows to a room measuring twelve feet by fifteen is two. Some have none at all. The gaps between the walls and the rafters of the roof are sufficient to be channels of ventilation. With others, it can be seen that windows which were originally designed have been blocked and closed up with sundried mud bricks.
The officer in charge of sanitation with his helpers.
The giving of the requisite attention to secure bodily fitness, starts right from the Pre-Natal period. The changes in the mode of life introduced during pregnancy in relation to diet and to work, and the taboos and prescriptions, are all to ensure the well being of the mother whose health inevitably affects the child.

This concern about health is heightened at the time of birth. Whether birth is at a maternity clinic or at in a native-midwife's home, it is only experienced women who, from the very moment of labour pains, give up all work and take charge of the expectant mother. This is done because such effects of birth, as paralysis or indentations of the skull, or other difficulties such as the child's head being pressed out of shape, occur. It sometimes happens that for some hours after birth, the general mental and physical condition of the baby becomes like that of an older person who has undergone a major surgical operation, and especially when labour has been delayed or difficult, or when forceps have been used, several days may elapse before recovery is complete. However normal a birth may be, care is needed over the new born child. Great care is therefore to be taken in judging an infant on the basis of its behaviour immediately after birth. Since the length that elapses before complete recovery from the minor injuries of birth varies from child to child, the first two weeks are best considered and great care is taken over both the child and the mother by the mid-wife, helped by these experienced women.

After the first two weeks, the care of the child is mainly the concern of the mother who is helped by other experienced women.
Should a baby be continuously indifferent to jokes from its admirers or be too solemn, it is suspected to be ill. There is the frequent feeling of its temperature by feeling with the hands, how warm the body is. Those women, who are experienced, are often successful in their guesses and suggest treatment to be given.

The baby in a pensive mood whose head is a bit warm is said to have headache. If the hair is over-grown, it is cut down. Hot water is made and the head is gently bathed with it. Mentholatum or any glowing ointment is rubbed on the forehead. Ginger is at times used.

If on the other hand the stomach is felt to be warm, gastric troubles are suspected. If the baby is too young, the stomach is bathed with hot water. Children who are a year or more old are given effective treatment. The leaves of the nim tree are boiled and the water is poured into a bucket or a pot. The child is seated by and is covered with thick cloths and is made to inhale the vapour at a minute or two's interval. He is released after some ten to fifteen minutes and is then clothed in thick cloths and made to rest. The body is kept covered.

This is the treatment given when a child is suffering from "Kpolpo" (fever).

At times, a spoonful of castor oil is given to babies and about four times that much is given to children who are two years or more.

The following precautions are also taken to safeguard health but are said to be taboos and their origin is wrapped in mystery.

Before teething a young baby is not allowed to sit on the ground or floor or crawl about at night. It must be in bed or at the mother's or nursemaid's back.

Children up to six must remain in the open up to about
eight o'clock in the evening. After this time the moist atmosphere is said to be bad for children.

Even children to about nine are not allowed to eat fleshy fruits, especially pawpaw and also a local fruit "Agor" outdoors or about in the neighbourhood. It is believed the red colour appeals very much to witches and sorcerers and a child will become ill when seen eating some by them.

All children must be at home by eight o'clock in the evening when there is an outbreak of Akate: a disease similar to Small Pox. Akate personifies itself and walks about in the night. Whoever is met contracts the disease.

The maternity clinics provide treatment for the minor ailments of babies. Serious cases are sent to the hospital.

Native cures are also used. In such cases either the herbalist comes to the home and the curing is carried out by him in supernatural terms, either by placating the spirits or by recitation of charms. Heat is applied to cuts and bruises.

Malaria fever is a constant drain upon the health of children. In some cases this develops into cerebral malaria and in many cases pneumonia sets in. Yellow fever, Tuberculosis of the lungs, Typhoid Fever are diseases common to both young and old.

All these diseases are attributed to witchcraft and therefore treatment is started from the native doctor. There is the general move from Agomanya back to the villages to consult doctors.

I was told of two cases of Tuberculosis which were sent to the villages. The patients had cuts made on the chests and "ti" the black powder and talisman hung on their necks. When the cases became worse they were brought back to Agomanya where they died.

There was still another case of Tuberculosis. After all attempts by the native doctor had proved abortive, the patient was put on M & B (known locally as "Ami"). This was tried for a while and there was a change over to Ephedrine Hydrochloride
This drug which is actually sold at three shillings and sixpence a tube of hundred tablets was bought at ten and sixpence a tablet from a roving drug seller. The patient died.

On my rounds, I came in contact with a young girl having whooping cough. On her neck was a talisman and the chest was black with the "ti" rubbed into the cuts. (Kadoba). The girl was sitting chest bare in the shade of a tree. She had been ill for just a week and had grown rather lean. Nothing could convince them to send her even to the dispensary in town. I recommended Pineate Cough Syrup which was easily obtained from a nearby chemist-shop. A week later when I returned, an additional bottle of the drug had helped her recover her health.

The following practice is becoming prevalent in the town as a result of the advent of the Catholic Church with its dispensary which has done much to save infants' lives. Not all the women who take seed consult the sisters. Some come in the seventh or eighth month of pregnancy. Others too are brought when in labour pains.

Some of the children born are so frail that Sisters baptized them (to wash away original sin before any death occurs). Usually if any of these children dies, he or she is given a Christian burial.

Unfortunately, this has had an adverse effect on especially the illiterate parents' attitude towards the health of the young. Many keep the sick at home and when they realize that the situation is becoming helpless, they send for the sisters to start giving treatment at home with the ultimate aim of receiving baptism before any death occurs.

This real story will help illustrate. A young girl of about eighteen months had bronchial troubles. She was kept in the village until the disease developed. She was brought down to Agomanya and was sent to the Sisters for treatment. On the following day the parents started to lose hope. The girl was sent for baptism. The ceremony was performed. All was then set: if the girl could survive, all well and good: if not then it was her fate.
The next day saw the father with his other wife off for the village, leaving the sick child with her mother and a maidservant. She had been given up. The young mother also became frightened and gave up the child. An inmate of the house took over and sent the child over to Akuse for effective treatment but it was too late and the child died.

Ignorant about the cause and danger about the diseases mentioned above, great attention is paid to these.

(a) Dodue - the faeces of the child becomes somewhat white. (This may be traces of worms). It is said to be fatal and so prompt action is taken.

Roots of a special species of pepper known as "Tormgor" and the root of the Lime tree are boiled together. The water is drained off and given to the patient.

Convulsions - The child is held on the laps of an elderly woman and is gradually heated from the feet. Hot water is applied to the joints.

Vomiting is attributed to a sore stomach. After applying enema, the child is put on porridge to which pepper has been added.

The child's health becomes a household concern when a baby. Up to the time he begins to sit down on his own, he enjoys the loving care of the mother and from the other care-takers. From the moment he begins to sit, he is always under observation; his wet clothings are constantly changed. Warm days find the child naked, whereas on cold days, he is thickly clothed. Turbans keep the head warm. Should a child urinate while sitting or crawling about, he is immediately moved to a dry spot. Children are often prevented from going to draughty areas, especially during the cold season. If through oversight a child makes himself dirty by playing in a muddy area, he is washed and allowed to continue with his play on a dry spot. Though the children roam about taking intermediary meals, they are restricted the moment any signs of illness are
noticed. The child may lose appetite or may be constipated; he may develop slight dysentery or suffer from gastritis. All these are attributed to over-eating, and these are signs that induce regulation of a child's meals.

The meals are reduced and all inmates of the house are warned against giving of any extra food. The mother realizing herself that intervals between meals may be too long, sustains the child with such light meals as "Kafa" - a type of food prepared from corn, or "Akasa" (porridge). He is prevented from eating any hard food such as toasted cocoyam or plantain. Fruits such as oranges and pineapples are often given.

If a child is found scratching himself, he is bathed. If rashes appear, a native germicide soap is used in bathing the child.

One interesting aspect in the use of this germicide soap, Ngemenu Dzale, is this: the ordinary native soap, Klo dzale, which has an itching effect when used, is not used at night. It is used strictly from morning till sunset. Immediately it is dark, it becomes offensive to a double tailed lizard, "Ve". When any person uses the Klo dzale at night, the lizard strikes a part of the fellow's shadow with its tail. The part so struck becomes swollen a day or two later. If however Ngemenu dzale is used, then no lizard interrupts.

(Personally I think this use of the germicide soap at night is to avoid scratching of the body at night thus ensuring sound sleep).
Two "mothers" feeding their babies: the milky juice from the milk bush provided milk.
A child of Krobo is never neglected in early stages of its life. It is handled with extreme care and while it is young, only adult women with experience in nursing are allowed to interfere with it. When the child cries, it is rocked very gently to and fro, with its face pressed gently against the woman's cheeks, while she makes soft noises with the lips to soothe it. Whenever it is lifted, its head is carefully supported with the nurse's left hand while she raises it up with the right hand, its leg being held against her forearm and breast.

The mother plays the principal part in the nursing and feeding of the babe, but other members of the household share the labour with her.

Persistent crying or coughing of the baby is usually followed by an attempt at feeding, and it is either given the breast by the mother, or fed artificially by her or an assistant nurse. If the child cries constantly and disturbs the family, it is taken out, if old enough, by some female relative who walks up and down to pacify it. At the mother's instance, a sister of the father, unmarried and therefore still residing in the house, may take on many of the duties of nurse, or the mother may request one or other own sisters to come and live with the family for some time and assist her with the tending of the child.

The father is also expected to take his turn at looking after the child. He does not take the child in its very earliest days, but later he is found holding it in his arms. When the infant is laid in his laps, he acts very gingerly and with the greatest caution, the wife and other female relatives watching him and giving instructions and criticism. He is told to put his arms further beneath it and not to let its head droop back. He shifts his hands accordingly. When the baby feels sleepy, the father taps his finger lightly on the side with a slow soothing
"psh - psh" sounded and the child yawns once or twice and goes to sleep.

Formal and conscious masturbation is rare in Agomanya. The freedom enjoyed in love life of the young makes the practice of it unnecessary.

"It is not done by the elder brother, since he has the chance of copulating with his wife if married or with his girl friend if not married." was a statement made.

Sexual interest of a child is a matter for laughter by elder children and the adults ignore it. From early childhood the baby explores everything within his reach. First he discovers his hands and plays with them. In the same purely playful manner, he discovers the genital regions and deriving passing pleasure in them, touches and rubs them. Sometimes acidity in urine irritates these parts and causes the child to handle himself. Should this induce for instance erection in baby boys, it is ignored and at times joking remarks are made by adults.

A common expression was that "If ever masturbation is practised it is by children in solitude, and is hard to find. Girls consciously or unconsciously, by rocking movements, get themselves into this state. It is noticeable more among the school girls."

A mother bathing a child pays special attention to the genitals and sensuous parts. There is thorough cleaning of these parts which are also well powdered.

Children from two to three years of age indulge in such games as the married couple, or family life at home with the girl preparing food for "her husband", or the girls alone play attending their babies.

It is said that when old a little, from the age of seven on, the children get acquainted with the broad facts of sex. By simply listening to the conversation of the young men, they learn a great deal. These young children do not formally attempt - - to put this knowledge into actual practice, but occasionally
they do try to imitate what they hear. In their sex plays, they have chance sexual intercourse.

In the evenings sex discussions provide material for humour.

It is common to see a group of adolescent boys relaxing by the street. If one of their number strolls to join up the group, they greet him with a shower of questions and comments:—

"You, where did you sleep last night? O, he has been to Pla We – his girl's; your waist must be strong for such regular visits".

I sat a whole afternoon watching a group of young men idling in the shade of a tree. As they sat, they passed remarks on each girl that passed by. I heard them portioning out a group of girls who were approaching. "It would be a good idea to have connection with them tonight": one remarked, and on he went to allot the girls among them.

As the girls passed by, two boys rushed out, one stretching out his hand and tapping gently the head belt of the girl he chose, whilst the other also stretched out his hand, jerked up the cloth of "his" girl, to look at her genitals.

Though the girls resented this horse play, they never took it as a serious offence. "O, take this foolishness away from me." "O, I do not like this" were the rebuffing remarks made rather with laughter.

There was an uproar in which all participated. All kinds of jokes, some quite obscenity were used.

A visitor may be surprised to see young men and women mixed up and indulging in calling out genitals of the opposite sex for the purpose of raising laughter.
Note the beads.

The use of cloth is optional.
CLOTHING AND SELF-EXPOSURE

Regardless of sex, infants are clothed in rompers to keep them warm. Beads are tied round the knees, the waists and the wrists. These are tied to help mark out the curves of the self and the fundamental, two fundamental developments towards beauty.

Before school age, neither boys nor girls wear any clothing. Though they may have a cloth or two, these are rarely used at home except on cold days. Boys of three or four could walk about naked but girls of that same age have at least to use the "T" bandage to cover the vulva.

Girls in this beaded belt with the bandage and boys naked or in drawers can run short errands within the neighbourhood. In running errands outside, a piece of cloth, the wearing of which is optional, is part of a girl's clothing.

Children of all ages are not allowed to walk about naked whenever there is an "in-law" visitor or any other visitors of repute in the house. Mothers quickly pull their children off the sight of such a visitor or visitors and clothe them before allowing them to walk about. Children who can dress up on their own are howled at to go for their clothes.

The wearing of clothes at all times varies with the status and sex of a child.

Boys and girls who attend school do not walk about naked whether at home or in town. The girls have a frock on or at least a loin cloth well on. The boys put on their underwears.

On the other hand a non-school going girl of seven or eight years of age could freely move about so long as the vulva is covered. A boy of this category, from the age of four has shouts of "go for drawers" if he walks about naked. If he insists on walking about naked, the use of bad language in describing his genitals makes him to go for his undergarment.

Even among adolescent literate girls, there is a much more inclination to the use of the traditional: cover shirt and cloth. This is therefore characteristic in dressing of even toddlers, when for state or ceremonial occasions.
The girls put on shirt & cloth; the boys use cloth suspended from the neck.

Cloth suspended breast-high or to waist-level is used by girls in their 'home' duties.

Use of single cloth is reflected in the Digo custom.
The girls are clothed in a fashion similar to adult women whilst the boys put on a tunic open neck shirt with a pair of shorts. Some put on clothes tied loosely round the neck and allowed to hang down. Adolescents dress like adults.

There is comparatively a better regard for girls keeping themselves clothed right from the age of one. Parents are particular and provide good beaded belts and a few yards of the bandage, kept in reserve. Boys keep on with their drawers until about ten years of age.

With the exception of the girls who are helped in dressing, even up to puberty, boys are left on their own from about four years of age. Mothers pull the clothes of girls into position if they are carelessly dressed. They at times criticise and instruct, when a girl comes out of a room badly dressed. The only help given boys is the fixing of the belt in the undergarment and the putting right of the tunic shirt which is at times wrongly worn.

Before the period of any noticeable changes on the body, girls put on just a single cloth, suspended waist high or to breast level, for the performance of everyday home duties.

When changes are noticed; that is when the breast develops and hair grows around the private parts, a girl is expected to put on a cover shirt and an undercloth fastened to the waist with a belt. (Haler) Apart from going to the bath, or walking casually out to answer a short call, girls in the developed stage are noticed to be fond of moving about in a single cloth without the belt are very often harassed by boys of their play group: a boy, induced by the other colleagues rushes on the girl and in a playful manner tries to pull off her cloth while the others shout 'you must learn to put on belt.'

It must in passing be remarked that these changes in clothing with age is reflected in the order of events in the "cipo custom" - girls' puberty ceremony.

If there are any differences in clothing of children, it is among those going to school. At home the girls put on frocks
Dressing for a Sunday morning worship.

Mother and her children ready for the Sunday Service.
whilst the boys move about in drawers or in cloth. On ceremonial occasions the boys put on shirt and shorts with a coat on at times and the girls choose one of the two: the traditional cover shirt and cloth or the frock on "Western" pattern.

Complete sex exposure does not occur among adults. But in bathing and micturition, there is a display of slight imprudence. Men bathe more openly than women. A man can stand in the corner of a yard, shielding his private parts in between his thighs, and have his bath. On seeing women or adolescent girls passing, he shouts to them to get out of the way. Usually the women receive this with laughter, pass joking remarks, and pass off without the slightest interest shown and the man also not being embarrassed.

This is only when there are in-laws present.

Women are somewhat more particular about exposure. When a woman bathes, she keeps herself cut off from sight with her cloth. If she bathes naked and a man or young men approach, she wraps her cloth round her, she does not simply cover her genitals as a man does.

This comparatively better care shown by women in matters of exposure, is extended into bodily functions. The public latrines show this clearly. The women's is situated further away and in a more concealed place than the men's. Men micturate without much restraint in the domestic circle.

I noticed Kwaku, in the presence of his brother, his wife and children go a few yards to one side, and urinate without anyone else displaying the slightest interest or embarrassment.

The children pick up this trend of behaviour as they grow up. Children micturate in public at the side of the path. From the age of about seven, girls become more particular about exposure in such functions.
Graceful dances are for both sexes.
The adults emphasize sex differences from birth in their speech: a boy is "bi nyum"; That is, male child and a girl is "bi yo", a female child. These terms are frequently used by the women who talk of "a boy of mine" or "a girl of mine".

Though all have headbelts on the knee, waist, and wrists, the boys have theirs cut off by the age of two. Before this, no other distinctions are made. The father treats his young children with slight regard for differences in sex. Girls or boys, they sleep in their father's arms, and ride on his back.

After the age of three, sex distinction in children is mainly for social and economic purposes. Owing to the lack of concealment of the sex organs for the first four or five years, children become perfectly familiar with the differences in sex.

In so far as a girl has her vulva covered, she is not forced to put on cloth. Not until the age of eight or nine is the sense of shame at being uncovered developed. A girl who before this age is shy at her nakedness is said to "have known men".

From the age of four when the little girl dresses identically with her slightly older sisters, she begins to turn more and to them. The boys too move with older boys when going out for dancing. From the time of this early differentiation, the sex groups draw apart a little. There is however no parental ban upon their playing together nor is there any deep separation between the groups themselves. The line is drawn more in terms of activities.

Such graceful games and dances as Kpatsa, Klama and Gbangban are played by both sexes together. On moonlight nights boys and girls race shrinking over the compounds. But fist fights and wrestling are mainly boys' affair.

As they grow up the warning from parents and other relatives emphasize the distinction more strongly. As the girls draw near
adolescence, they are drawn more and more into the activities of the household and are nominally warned to keep away from groups of men, especially in the evenings.

A girl who persistently keeps the company of boys and lodges her work at home is often branded as notorious in copulation. If however an adolescent girl chooses to play after her domestic duties, that is permissible. This is in conflict with the school demands that girls are to stay home and not to be found outside at night.

The boy on the other hand enjoys more freedom. In the company of older boys, his experiences are many. He enjoys some chance sexual intercourse if free mixing with girls is allowed at this age. The adolescent boy becomes "Yo subue" (a woman's cloth for covering her vulva) when he falls into the company of girls unknown to his group.

Boys and girl are styled sissies and tomboys only when they weep for possessions which are not for their sex group.

A boy weeping for a doll or a girl weeping because she has been dragged out of boys playing at "Lorry " is so described.

The indigenous native life does not insist on any formal separation save for social and economic purposes. This experience here in Agomanya will illustrate the distinctions placed on sex groups in schools.

A manager of a school visiting the school found that in some of the classes, boys are made to sit with grown up girls in the desks. Calling the teachers, he instructed that the girls sitting with boys should be discontinued. He added that their sittig together afforded bodily contacts which were tempting.

With the child's increased consciousness of belonging to a sex group and greater identification with adults of the same sex comes a rearrangement of the family picture.

Up to the time a little girl is four or five, she accompanies her father as freely as would her brother. She at times sleeps in his room. From the age of five, more and more, the father tends to leave the girl with the women at home.
Girls help in food preparation.

The boys help in farming.
ome while he goes about his business with the boys. Gradually 
asserted by her father, she comes to identify herself either 
with the mother or with the sisters and shares in their 
activities.

The parent-child relationship makes it unnecessary 
for children to be coerced to take their right share in 
the economic and social organizations. After the age of six, 
the sex distinction makes the children adopt the cultural 
roles of the sex groups. Thus girls with the mothers or 
grandmothers gather firewood, fetch water, string beads and later 
go for food from the farm. It is the girls who help with house 
keeping. Boys become miniature carpenters, farmers, 
blacksmiths and masons.

Adolescent girls are expected to attend the calls of men. 
A girl passing in the street will be termed rude and uncultured 
if she refuses to attend the call of a boy of her own or slightly 
older. It is highly immodest if a girl or a woman be should 
insult a man "You useless fellow". In the same way a male or 
a younger female cannot address an elderly female "Ochefu"- 
you have an unpleasant scent on you.
The Baby's early relations are the grandmother, the mother, the sisters and the co-wives of its mother, in this order of frequency.
EARLY RELATIONS.

The indigenous household and family system contributes, positively towards the personal relations of a child born into the Krobo family circle.

Nothing in the universe of adult behaviour is hidden from Krobo children or barred to them. They are actively and responsibly part of the social structure, of the economic and the ritual systems. The child therefore is oriented towards the same reality as its parents. The interests, motives and purposes of children are identical with those of or of the adults but at simpler levels.

In Krobo an infant remains confined to the house for the first eight or nine months. During this period its social relations are the mother, the grandmother the co-wives of its mother, and the older siblings a half sibling and its father in this order of frequency and intensity. At the age of three or four, when it is beginning to talk fluently and can run about, its effective range of contacts includes all the members of the joint family, and those of closely neighbouring related families. It is beginning to associate with groups of other children belonging to its immediate surroundings. It is by this age being taken on visits to the mother's parent's house and by six or seven begins to incorporate into the life and relations of his mother's people too. With adolescence, a great increase in mobility ensues and a new interest emerges: the opposite sex. This coincides with the beginning of the real economic responsibility. When a child reaches adulthood, then he is capable of appropriate behaviour in any social situation, which may confront a normal Krobo.

What is more, it is talk about sex that is prevalent in Krobo homes.

I was present when a girl of five, engaged in a quarrel with an adolescent girl, went to the extent of ridicule her with the weak qualities of the man who often came to court her.
What most non-Kroboos think of as a bit odd about family life in Krobo, is the way in which vocabulary about sex is used. Regardless of the presence of children, adults break into conversation about their sexual relations with the other sex. In their sex groups, all sorts of gossips and remarks ensue, each bringing in his or her experience just to add to the mirth.

A man having five wives, noticed some sort of jealousy amongst them and in an informal meeting he had with them expressed these words:— "I have my penis and I know I can marry all of you; I do not see any reason why you should be discontented. If I like I shall give it to you and if I choose to stay off, it is mine." Oddly enough this was expressed with ease and audibly enough that the children in the house heard all the words.

One other common practice is for mothers or other women kinsfolk to address young boys as "ye pla" or "ye jelly" that is my fiancee. The men also address young girls "ye yoor", my wife.

These talks and remarks are at times playful, yet they have their profound effect on the children.

Relation with Brothers and Sisters: The filial sentiment being the pivot around which the system of kinship is woven affords an easy approach to solutions of problems of a child's curiosity and his attitude towards other members of the family.

It is a common experience, if a child is familiar with someone, for the child to walk up to the fellow to report innocently the birth of a baby by the mother in the home.

Though children are not present at birth and are neither formally informed when a new baby is expected, they get to know it when there is the change in activities of the house. When a child is born, the usual hurrying up and down by the women, and the many pots of water brought in by the neighbouring kinsfolk, and especially the day after
the birth’s flock of women to "Na fon tsu" that is, to congratulate on safe delivery, are all informal announcements to the child. When at last he or she can no more harbour the anxiety within and therefore asks a co-wife or an elderly woman, what all these are about, the blunt answer given is "mother has brought forth a baby for you".

One characteristic prevalent amongst children of indigenous homes is their filial attitude towards babies born. Eager enough to see THEIR baby, the children disturb the sleep of babies very much when put to rest. The hand is held up, coddled and huddled. Usually they are warned away lest they should damage its fragility.

I think this attitude may be an advantage in Polygamy. The father having a range of choice for satisfaction, loves his children to grow to three or four before new babies are born. At this age they might have been completely weaned and their interests diverted.

This attitude is not present with all children. Those born in homes of parents who have adopted the christian form of marriage show signs of petty jealousies. However the presence of a grandmother or other kinsfolk save the situation. They take care of he child when he tries to be jealous. Fathers also play their part if all other hands are not free.

The children at times get disfigured. Some become slim whereas others develop big tommaies. These are said to be due to the child’s "kla" soul deserting him.

A case was sighted where a mother in the first month of pregnancy left her eighteen months old child with the grandmother. The child grew sick and fainted one day. In the fit a sorcerer suggested the child should be sent to the mother. This was done and the child’s health improved.

Some however do well with their substitutes. Teyeyoyo and his father present another illustriou
picture. About two years old, Teye had his mother occupied by a new baby. Though the shift was not without unhappiness, the constant taking him off from the mother made him to become a companion of his father. He followed his father everywhere. If he woke to find his father gone to farm without him, his weeping rang through the neighbourhood. If the father went out at night, Teye went with him and fell asleep at his feet. When the conversation was over Teye was brought home by his father on his shoulder still sleeping, to rest by him.

Should it be a girl who suffers this maternal deprivation, though the father remains still in the picture, yet his sister, unmarried and therefore still in the house plays the role of the mother.

Their embracing the Christian religion does not debar their free talks about sex. The children have their sex questions answered and their curiosity satisfied by listening to these talks.

The third in the picture and perhaps the worst is the child from the literate Christian home. To him talks about sex are strongly prohibited. He cannot even ask any questions about sex. He is however a bit fortunate to be in a homogeneous society where he learns a little from his colleagues.

On the whole, children are fond of babies and the brother- and- sister relationship in this area is pleasant.

The parental preference to the sexes is one of emphasis and not of essence. There is the general tendency of a younger child being regarded with more affection than an elder. The affection of a parent for a child is not indiscriminate, but is directed towards the objective of the individual. It is a personal attitude which is dependent on the individuals and his status. The man prefers a first born to be a male child to be a successor to his estate. The woman prefers the daughter be
because she will assist her in marketing her goods. Fetish Priests have a slight preference to males whilst the priestesses prefer female children to succeed them. But the general notion that children are an economic asset makes both father and the mother to be well disposed to their children regardless of sex.

A native statement on this makes interesting reading:— "The married couple with many children have great affection for the youngest. The mother shows the greatest concern for her "bi nakutso", the knee child; and the father to his first son whom he instructs in the household responsibilities and other economic activities. They however love all of them because they supply the labour on the farm and also raise their social status in the neighbourhood."

If there is any advantage enjoyed according to age or status, then it is enjoyed by the new baby and the first son of a lawfully married couple.

BABIES are the darling of the household; they are greatly cared for. The mother's sole duty is the nursing of the baby and this she even shares with nursemaids and co-wives who get idle at times.

During its early childhood, the Krobo child is never far from someone's arm. Its life is a very warm and happy one: comforting human voices are always beside it. Both little boys and little girls get enthusiastic about babies. This warm rhythm of the baby's life changes when the child begins to walk. It is now too heavy for the mother to carry about with her on her trips to the farm for food and to the well for water; and furthermore it is expected to live without suckling for an hour or so. The mother leaves the child with the grandmother, or a nursemaid or any other relative and goes to the farm for food or for firewood. She returns often to a disgruntled and crying child. Desirous of appeasing it, she sits down and suckles it for a while. This hour's absence followed
by suckling develops into longer periods gradually until the child is three and other kinds of food can be taken instead of the mother's breast and the child could play on its own, and with others too.

The knee child enjoying a high measure of the mother's love, has her as a solicitor. The father is there, often humble before the son's demands through the mother and waiting to give all that is asked. These are the children who get back home crying for sympathy at the least difficulty. Very little work is demanded from them.

The first son who is the heir to his father's status as the head of the family, enjoys the confidence of the father. His name is often used in designating the parents. Female first-borns also enjoy this but have no claim to inheriting family headship if a male child is born.

This is an example to illustrate: A man engaged in sexual dealings with a woman, had a child with her before they were lawfully married. This first daughter was claimed by the parents of the woman. After the marriage, they had another daughter, then a son. Even though this girl is married, she has come to acknowledge the man as her father because the mother is still married to the man. She comes often to the house and does many things in common with her siblings. I asked the father what her status was in the house and the answer I had was, "If even she were to be a male child, once 'he' was born out of wed-lock, 'he' has no claim on my things. She is for the mother's father's household. They even gave off her hand for marriage".

"What of your next daughter?" And the answer was, "Once the brother is there, he is to inherit".

Tettey or Lartey, as the first-born is often referred to as "Odumangler po", that is 'you have stealthily cut the bell'. He is taken as the child who washed the mother's womb, and he as the forerunner is not
expected to be necessarily endowed with all the virtues and wisdom of the parents. It is not therefore odd if the child grows not so bold as the others. This expected stupidity is expressed in the name Tettey being used as an insult to others who show slight signs of foolishness. "Oo Tettey kwashia", 'Tettey the fool' is a common saying.

I think this may be the outcome of too critical an outlook on the first son's life because of his right to inherit.

TETTEH, the second is often described as 'Ogbetey', that is the wolf and is further referred to as "Akpa ne aha" - 'throw it down and let us struggle for it'. Tettehs are often regarded to be brave, wild, and audacious. Should he show more sagacity than Tettey, the first born, the saying is "No momo hisi ne afor mukortoma" - "the old stays and still a 'senior' is born.

SIRS. The little girls and the little boys paying not much attention to self exposure get to know and accept the physiological differences without any shame or embarrassment.

These small children are not required to behave differently to children of their own sex and those of the opposite sex. Three or four year olds can roll and tumble on the floor together without anyone worrying as to how much bodily contact they have. Thus within the family, the children develop an easy happy-go-lucky familiarity, a familiarity that extends into adolescence.

It is a common evening scene to see young adolescents, regardless of sex, lying on mats and taking breeze ere they retire to their respective rooms to sleep.

QUARRELS. Little children are allowed to play together as long as they do not quarrel. The moment there is the slightest dispute, an adult sets in. The children are dragged off the scene and held firmly. The angry child is allowed to scream and roll on the ground or to kick about,
but he is not allowed to touch the other child. When at play and any gets annoyed, the little child is allowed a free expression of his anger but the expression should harm nobody but himself.

In the discharge of their domestic duties, brother and sister co-operate. In the handling of food they meet in the kitchen. It is here that comments and orders fly from one to the other in an attempt at enforcing subordination.

Either party shows a sturdy independence of thought and action; and it is common to hear a sister call her brother a fool.

Koryo was in the kitchen preparing food. Getting almost through, she called Tettah to get the plates washed. Tettah went about his work sluggishly. Disliking the way in which Tettah was washing the plates, and eager to come out of the smoky kitchen, Koryo angrily and audibly said these over to Tettah: "Look at that fool washing the plates. No one took any notice of her remark which was a normal kind of criticism.

These temper displays are common amongst siblings. Occasional fist fights ensue but parental disapproval of fighting is expressed by rebukes worded in terms of relation: "Would you the younger brother hit your elder sister first?" "It is not right for cousins to struggle with one another."

In love affairs, the sister keeps her eyes outside the purview of the brother. The brother is the guardian of the sister's morals. Aware of this himself, he tries to keep clear of his sister's sweetheartening and refrains from taking any notice of what he may accidentally see. Hemay discourage his sister's dealing with a boy only if he disapproves of the boy's moral standards.

Sooi walked returned home one evening and found his friend Lucas in the backyard with a girl by his side. "Who is that?" he asked; but he received only a giggle in reply. Recognizing his sister's voice, he casually and jokingly remarked "Look at her nasty face." and he withdrew.
The sister on the other hand plays an important role in the brother's love affairs. She is the intermediary whose help is solicited if the brother has any difficulty in wooing a girl he loves. She must keep the brother's girl in company, usually as a watchdog, reporting on her movements.

RELATION WITH PARENTS AND OTHERS:— The care of a child is a household affair and parents as well as others who live in the house play their part. Actual kinship is immaterial: it is rather the residential situation which dictates the care an adult other than the kin will give to a baby.

Naturally, the care of the child rests principally on the kin. The child born is cared for and tended by the older women of both the mother as well as the father's kin. After the ceremonies, the mother takes over the nursing of the child, assisted by these women who are experienced in nursing.

At the mother's bid, a sister of the father, unmarried and therefore in the house, may take on some of the duties of a nurse; or the mother may request one of her own sisters to come and live with them for a while in order to take up and assist in the tending of the child.

The father does not take charge of the baby in its earliest days but later as the child grows, he may be called on to mind it in the absence of the mother or the nurse-maid. When the baby can crawl or walk freely about, the mother resumes her domestic responsibilities and it becomes the duty of the father to tend the child while the mother may be in the kitchen with the maid. The man plays with the child: he tosses it in the air, and tickles it under the armpits.

At this stage, the child is carried about also in the arms of other women of the household, its elder sisters and brothers.
It is common to find a child with his brothers and sister in the shade of a tree. The child is handed from one person to another as individuals are called to run errands or called to some other domestic duties. Young men as well as young women take their turn in the care of a baby.

The child is no more confined to its parents only. Children are lent about. An aunt may come on a visit and take the four-year-old home for a day or two's stay.

With the Parents: The family system and the father's rank in it plays an important role in the bringing up of the child, be it on the Hwase or on the farm at Agomanya. Properly speaking, it is the father who exercises authority over a child.

In the house, the child is the father's and it is under its care and protection. He watches the mother and scolds her if she allows the baby to cry. During this tender stage, the child is mainly in the care of the mother but as soon as it can run about, the father becomes the disciplinarian. A mother does not often thrash her child for misbehaving, she scolds and reprimands it. The father on the other hand has the strength to do so. He can cope with the five-year-old in running.

In this early period of childhood, the father enjoys the full support of the mother in matters of discipline. From pubescence to adolescence, their authority begins to loom largely and the children get more attached to their mother.

The father because of his status as the financial backstay of the family, assumes the most important role in the house; he orders mother about and at times hits her if she does not "hear his word." His taking part in the household rituals and other activities, all around the father and the ancestors, makes him to be submissive to the father's authority. Moreover, though the mother gets more concerned with the needs of the child, the father provides such major needs as the payment of
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ceremonial and marriage fees. These undoubtedly made the child to be well behaved to the parents. Even adults rarely defy a parent's authority.

The parents do not cease to be loving and indulgent. In the teaching of morals and skills, the family structure and the relationships make it possible for the children to pick up the command and the teachings of the parents and to accept their control and authority as a natural thing.

Amongst the children, bullying of children by adults and adolescents is rare. Disciplinary punishments are however administered on children for stealing or for the neglect of duty which may cause an economic loss or damage. Execution of such punishments is immediate. Males act more as the weapon of chastisement, the women threatening beatings which are never materialised. With the women, threats to strike are held out as warnings and when emotions are aroused to an explosive point, the punishment is inflicted: A hit or two or a smack on the back sends the child screaming away. The men do some real beating.

On the whole promises of punishments are more than the act itself. Deprivation of food and restriction of movement are often promised but rarely practised.

It is with adolescent children that there is the real display of the parent's affection and indulgence. There is the general idea that children must be controlled at all times but what is meant is not so much corporal punishment as that constant supervision which is necessary in the training of children. I never was told of a father thrashing his adolescent child but had many descriptions of punishments received by children when they were young.

The friendly relationship of parent and child, makes the child to regard the occasional outbursts of rage as pragmatic reprimands. A child reciprocates at times in a boisterous way, but usually conciliatory measures follow; the child through an elder of the household or the neighbourhood approaches the offended parent and craves pardon. The mother may act as the mediator.
mediator if the father is involved; another head of a family can be invited.

Since adolescence coincides with economic responsibility, fines are imposed. The fines vary with the gravity of the offence done;

@ Failure to run an errand brings in a fine of a bottle of the locally distilled Gin or two "pots" of beer. It is of interest to know that when a Krobo talks of a "Da Buer Kake", 'a pot of drink, ' he is referring to 'a bottle'. The native receptacle for holding drink is the pot, hence with the coming of the bottle the name was given to it.

(b) Insults are punished by claiming of a live-sheep with a bottle of gin.

(Though mitigates as a child grows towards adulthood)

Though parental authority mitigates as a child grows towards adulthood, it is a life long affair: so long as a child parent lives, he or she is responsible for the child. A child does not break his or her relation with the family, and the parent's care over a child does not cease even when the child is married or moves to stay on another Huza.

This is demonstrated in the way offences of a child are treated: if a child commits an offence, be it married or not, the parents are first informed and they see to the peaceful settlement of it. Parents continue advising on conduct and on offences.

The life long parental care is expressed in this saying connected with the fingers:- the literal meaning is

@ This says "ager ager"- a baby's cry.
(b) This says what is wrong with it?
(c) This says it is hungry.
(d) This says let us steal to eat.
(e) This comes in warning:- If you do, I shall report to mother when she comes.

The thumb which gives the warning represents the life
long parental responsibility over children. It is symbolized in the fact that the thumb can bend and touch any of the fingers whereas none can bend to touch the thumb. They can only touch the palm. They can however touch it when the thumb bends slightly forward.

This signifies the lower status of the child in the family. It is only when a child approaches his parents in a courteous, submissive mood that he or she gets the co-operation from a parent.

It is worth noting that the relation between grandmother and grandchild is one of equality and partisanship. It is characterized by jokes.

This statement from an old man illustrates parental influence over a child. The heading is "Toomr worksheet" - that is, "feeding through the ear." I think it is the native conception of the training of a child that is contained in it.

"When a baby is born, if it cries, it is suckled, and as it grows it is fed not only through the mouth but also through the ear.

A baby born cries and its parents know it will eat. Because of this, the pre-natal period is a time for preparations against the new comer - the baby. Maid servants and nurse-maids enter the family.

The child born is fed not only through the mouth but also through the ear. The child goes wrong and his brother or sister gives a smack and it begins to cry. The mother who has hitherto been suckling the child at the breast whispering now desires some freedom as the child can play on his own. She therefore breaks in at the least beating with the words "do not beat him - he is not grown - he will get to know."

Not knowing feeding through the mouth alone spoils the child, that is continued with little or no regard to that through the ear. The child grows robust and he is admired when he passes: "This is a human-being." Yes, food is necessary for life but should that be all?
No, the child must learn through the ways of his people; he must learn their language and their wisdom. He must be fed through the ear. That is why in the evening, after meal, the children gather round the old lady or a selected story teller. These are people with clear voices who can narrate the story in such a logical sequence that no doubts are left in the minds of the children.

With the stories, he or she teaches the children about good and evil; patience or bravery which leads to success and about cowardice and wickedness that lead to failure. Songs are used side by side with these stories. But meanings are not taught. The children are left to ask their parents later.

This gives the parents the chance of knowing their ambitious children. In replying to their questions of the children, the parents warn them not to be talkative about the things told them. :- (This is present in the outdoor ceremony when a child is born: "No bi nya meter")

The explanation is given in bits to afford an opportunity in testing the reliability of the child. By the age of thirteen the child is taken in to confidence and is initiated into dancing and leading in songs.

THE CHILD WITH ITS PARENTS AND OTHERS AND WHAT THEY OWE TO EACH OTHER:— The household in Krobo includes all who live for any length of time under the authority and protection of a head of a family. These households are composed of not only the parent-child families but also all who are related to the family head or to his wife by bloody marriage or adoption. Through many of such household come together in one living area, yet some scatter over the village in two or three houses.

One day it is the wife's brother who comes to spend a day or two; the next day, it is the father's who goes.

Within each household, it is age that gives disciplinary authority. The head of the family exercises his over
authority over all, and even over the old grandmothers. Nieces and nephews or cousins of destitute parents come to swell the ranks of the family.

The young baby is the darling of all in the household. As it grows, they all have the right to demand personal services and have the right to criticise its conduct and to interfere with its affairs.

The child can therefore wander safely and can be sure of food and protection. Any small children who are missing when night falls, are found among their kinsfolk.

Relatives having their claims have their obligations too. From a relative, a child may demand food, shelter or medical assistance in feud and may even demand clothing. Refusal of such demands brand one as lacking in kindness.

In conclusion, let it be remarked that an important relationship within a Krobo house is the relationship between boys and girls who call each "MY brother, or sister; OUR brother or sister; and YOUR brother or sister"—identifying him or herself with the kin.
The socio-economic organisation of the Krobos plays an important part in the type of possessions of the people. The children co-operate in the ordinary social and particularly in the economic activities. Members of the same sex are the model by which the child determines his social and economic activities which undoubtedly affect his possessions.

Regardless of sex, all infants, from the time of birth are given rompers and bead-belts. From the moment the child can walk, difference in sex determines the possessions to be had. All children possess one or two cloths but the boy gets his additional tunic shirt and underwear, having the beads cut off; the girl gets gowns, the cover-shirt and cloth. With the exception of the girl's constant use of the loincloth at home, children's use of clothing at home is optional. The cloths and clothings are used mainly on ceremonial occasions.

Before the age of two, the only property given the child is a native kind of jingle which it tosses about in play. From the age of one, the child may be given some European-made toys such as the balloon or a toy flute.

It is from the age of three that the child tries to acquire things of his own. Spinning tops are made from the spools of the sewing thread and empty sardine tins and other small cylindrical tins kept in the bush near the home are the 'store houses' that provide the chassis for toy lorries for the carrying of 'loads'. The seed of the sandbox tree and the rig, providing tyres are highly treasured possessions of boys. Discarded rims of bicycles are 'lorries' that aid the running of errands.

The girls' cooking utensils at this stage are pieces of broken pots and plates, as well as the empty tins from the 'bush store house' of the boys. These are possessions which are often discarded after an hour's play.
The period of early childhood is a period of no marked possessions but the articles of clothing and the cutlass which often is of communal use. Puberescence and adolescence bring with them more possessions: articles of clothing increase for both boys and girls. The boys at later stage have the right of being granted the ownership of a piece of land and a gun. He must have a wife too.

Should a boy's right over these things be unduly delayed, he can approach the father for them but his contact is through an elderly kin.

From childhood to preadolescence, parents try not to enlist their children's interest in things that entail finance. Apart from their crude playing things, the children depend solely on their parents for all their possessions. It is a common practice to see the children sharing the same clothing boxes with their parents. In this property world the child's clothing are his or hers alone, but all other things are practically of communal use. A string of beads will pass from a child to child as gift. There are occasional quarrels over property but timely adult inquiries end them. It is a common thing to hear each child claiming the property in question.

I noticed a group of four children at play. Teye and his younger brother came to the spot with their 'push lorry'. They were joined by Kwabla and Kwesi. Kwesi being the biggest of them all wanted to have more rides. Teye the elder of the true owners grasped their 'lorry' and was about to run home with it when Kwesi gave him a smack at the back. He fell down weeping and his younger brother joined. When an elderly woman came from the house to enquire of the cause, Kwesi, sobbing, perhaps worried in conscience, narrated first his version of the story: "We were playing and Teye wanted to get away with the lorry and ....... (he breaks into tears). The woman comforted Teye and then came to Kwesi who though he stopped weeping, felt so much affronted that he went home. After some five minutes stay, Kwesi came out again. He
was in a fix and did not know the way and manner in which he could rejoin. The clue came at last. Kwesi volunteered to push all the three of them successively. This offer was quickly rebuffed by Teye with the remarks, "You will spoil our play again". His younger brother however expressed his sympathy and entreated Teye to allow Kwesi to join. This was granted and the play weather became fair again.

This sense of communal ownership continues into adolescence. A lighted stick of cigarette passes at least through two hands. Brothers designate each others wife as "my junior or my senior wife" as the case may be. It is common to hear two males from two different families, who have married two sisters to refer to each other as "yoyo hune" that is "my wife's husband".

This system of communal possession does not debar adults from owning private property. They have, as do their young adolescents. Children are trained to respect the property of others and they develop a strong sense of possessiveness of family property.

Children are rebuked when they injure the property of others and a gentle warning of 'that is your elder brother's, be careful with it'. 'That is old man's, do not break it', makes the child to be careful when exploring the premises. The vigorous remark of "that is not yours" comes in from mothers whose children weep for say a toy which a visitor's child brings to the house.

Apart from these, the child is given anything that it cries for, which often results in its breaking its mother's earring, or unsticking her necklace of beads. If the parents have something which they feel the child may injure, they hide it away so that the child may never see it or come to desire it. This attitude can be seen if a picture is given to a child. A male adult quickly comes in with the words "I will keep it for you". He takes it off and the child sees it no more. Children however
are beaten at times if they temper with some things the loss of which is considered too serious.

It is a common practice to see parents buying a goat or a hen in the name of a child who then becomes the custodian of the animal.

Theft is rare in Agomanya. It is almost absent amongst the non-school going children whereas it is noticeable more amongst their contemporaries attending school. This however is limited to fruits and other kinds of foodstuff. A child who is found to have stolen a penny, receives a severe beating.
The first vocal sound of the child is the cry which is interpreted as "the child will be active or it will be tro-ublesome." The pre-weaning period is devoted mainly to the nursing of the child; any cry is a cry of hunger, and the child is quietened by breast feeding. Even during the period of weaning the breast is supplementary to the type of feeding and is used to appease the child. After feeding, any persistent crying is 'Yaka YA'- a useless cry and the child is not heeded to.

Incessant crying is attributed to ill-health. An old lady or the grandmother takes over the child and feels it. She feels the stomach and the head. From her experience she is often able to suggest the treatment to be given. A child who insensately cries for an object it is not desired to have is not heeded to. If grown enough, it is driven out of the house not to disturb the peace of the inmates of the house, and it is allowed to cry until it is exhausted and it stops.

There is the general attitude of regarding males to restrain more in the expression of pain than is expected of women. A male child of two tumbles and falls down. Just as he is about to cry a near by adult or an adolescent kin comes over with the remarks:- "Do not weep; show it that you are a man." If it is a girl, the remarks express sympathy:-"do not mind it ; I will beat it for you." This is followed by the adult ejecting bits of saliva into the hand and gently slapping the ground or the object with it. The report "I have beaten it for you," ends everything.

Mothers are eager about their children's speech. These women become so fussy about this that young and old all get zealous about the infant's speech. The expressive cries of the child are all hailed as signs of early speech. I noticed a child playing with his younger brother, a baby. The baby just enjoying himself with lip-play happened to make the sound"ba" which in Krobo means 'COME'.
The elder child audibly reported this to the household: "He said I should come." He therefore drew nearer to the baby and spoke to it saying: "I have come, what, what." The reply from the baby was an affective smile.

Women as well as other adults respond to these noises.

Kodzo, a ten year old child shouts at the approach of an aunt. The aunt says it is Kodzo's desire she should "take him."

These cries induce mothers to talk to the children when playing with them or when bathing for them. They talk to the children as if they were grown enough to follow what is being said. The child has many who talk to him and many to "coo" to. He smiles and a joking finger is pointed at him with the words "You this child, you this child." The occasional talks of threat are made in joking mood; however, a child's naughty actions are sometimes despised by harsh remarks. (The actions are naughty from the adult plane.)

Kwabla, another child about eighteen months old was in the arms of the mother when a lorry passed. The child imitated the "zii" sound of the lorry. The mother quickly commented: "Yes 'zii' has passed." The mother after this said 'zii' whenever a lorry passed. The child soon picked it up and whenever he was crawling hastily, 'Zii' was on his lips; any lorry that passed was 'zii'.

A child is being bathed and as the genitals are cleaned, he has an erection. The mother jokingly threatens "I shall cut it for you."

Another child lying on the laps of the mother or the maid, unexpectedly evacuates the bowels or the bladder. He is quickly jerked to one side with the words "Look at his nasty face. I will not take you again."

The children pick the use of indecent language early. The words "your mother" or "your father" which when translated to Krobo are immodest, are easily picked and used. This I think is due to the way some adults joke with children.
An adult, usually a female, passing by a child addresses the child—"Look at his nasty face"; or a child in the nurses arm innocently blinks and the audible reply of "Your mother too", quickly slies back.

Modulating of voices is not normally taught. Children are expected to pick up desirable patterns of behaviour as they grow; and as long as they do not offend any of the accepted standards of behaviour of speech, there is no talk about it.

If a child goes to talk to an adult and talks rather above the normal tone, a deaf ear is turned to his words and he is shouted down. A child may, go to talk to an elder sib in an ostentations way; the adults shout him down saying:—"Do you not know that you are talking to your elder brother."

Instruction about modulating of voices is given if children shouted down become morose. The mother or more often the grandmother, calling such a child, points out the fault:—"You are wrong. You do not talk to your elder brother like that. Lower your tone next time." When a boy who is noted to saucy is being sent, the warning:—"Know how you talk when you go" is given.

Grammatical correctness is not insisted upon. Children are listened to when they give their winding statements about things. They converse on their own and have occasional adult audience. They can narrate their stories amongst themselves or to elder sibs in so long an adult conversation is not disturbed. If the story is within the age group or an age group slightly above the age, the child after the lengthy story is ridiculed with the words:—"Coo d"—that is "you have coined this yourself." This rather adds to the mirth.

Children's fantastic narratives amuse adults very much and they are listened to. It is a common thing to hear a child of four telling his story to adults who sit about some four to five yards away. The story is interposed with laughter and scorn at points which are too.
fanatic. It is often interesting to see a child trying to make his story a bit more real after the laughter in which he took part.

Adults break this friendly speech relationship with children and become stern on the child of five when dealing with such cases of chance sexual intercourse which has been detected. Precise answers are demanded more often under the use of cane. These observations about speech are picked up by the children and carried into adulthood.

A child bringing the report to an adult who is engaged in a talk with someone else, walks up, kneels by the side of the adult and whispers the report into his ear.

As a rule, a child or a junior member of the household will be highly immodest if he or she greets an elderly fellow first. What is expected of a child is, when up in the morning or when an elderly fellow is met, the child should tell the senior "Ndem ko." - 'Tell me as to how I am'. The senior replies "Onguor" - , that is ' in your sleep, how did you feel? ' To this the reply is "INGUOR HI", meaning 'my sleep was sound - I am sound in health.' From adolescence a child can add "Ongu wayi baa" - 'You are caring for us.'

The implication is that "your father as a guardian of you is the right fellow to ask you about your health.

On my rounds, I met Mateko, a girl in Primary Four. I greeted her first but she never replied. I asked her why she laughed and the answer was "This is not said, you should ask me 'how are you'." I did and there was a reply.

This attitude is carried to school by the children. Though they change over, it takes some time. 'Do not be surprised when on a visit, especially in the Primary School, there is no formal greeting on entering a classroom. The children will respond well to 'how do you do.'
A school on the Huza. The teacher, a S.U.D. 5. scholar came to continue after two years teaching.
The age at which school education should begin is a difficult problem in Krobo. The present political changes in the Gold Coast, aided by local conditions have affected not only parents' zeal for their children's education, but also the place. Accra, the present political capital, was a government-missionary town. The early contact with Western systems of Education and religions was in it. The first schools, the State's and the Presbyterian, were built there. The next station was Bana near Manyakpongur. Oduase is about a mile away while Bana and Kpongur are about two and a half and two miles respectively from Agomenya.

These factors affected the progress of Agomenya. For their "church" activities they had to walk to either Oduase or to Kpongur, the two and only Presbyterian posts. Many could not afford it. Many too feared to have their children walking the long distances to either Oduase or Kpongur to attend school. The situation was worsened by an alleged dissatisfaction with the system of local government with the result that many abandoned their homes at Agomenya and went on to their Huzas, where there were no schools. The few who stayed behind and afforded sending their children to the then junior school had some difficulties in coping with Bana the only boys' senior school which was and is a boarding school. The few who afforded to send their children to the senior school had their children to "black coated" jobs. This induced many to send their children up, but the school could not cope with it. The founding of the Akro School, a private school which was later taken over by the State, saved the situation.

This condition of affairs continued until 1952 when the Methodist Mission came to Agomenya. They founded an Infant School. Christian sects did not fail to play its role in the development of the school. The school which started well lost, habitually a proportion of its pupils
to the other institutions at stages where the children were too developed enough and could walk over to these institutions founded by the mission of the parents. The teachers brought by the Methodist aided the abandoning of the school.

Though the school has developed only up to Primary III up to the present day, I think it had played its part in the education of children at Agomenya. Apart from adding to the number of schools in the area, its being in town made many more to send their children to school.

In the early forties, the Roman Catholics came into the educational as well as the evangelical field in Krobo. The spread of their evangelical work into the remotest village on the Huzas, necessitated the founding of schools to serve the needs of their converts and also the general public. A school was founded at Agomenya and other primary schools were founded in the villages. The Agomenya school grew steadily and is now in double stream middle school.

The educational field is now set. Each of the schools aspires to have as many pupils as possible. This has increased rivalry amongst the Christian Churches and has increased also propaganda in teaching circles. The parents are thus faced with the problem of choice.

With the exception of the Methodists, the Anglicans and the Catholics who are each independent, and are still struggling to gain firm stand, there is a friendly alliance between the Presbyterian Schools and the State Schools, the teachers of which are mainly Presbyterians.

These two occurrences will help illustrate the point.

"X" a well to do pharmacist in Agomenya: a Presbyterian, had his children in the Catholic Primary School. The children were there for only the first school term. They were brought into the school because of its nearness to their house. Oddly enough in the second school term they were removed to the Presbyterian Primary at Kumase, a distance of nearly two miles off. These children after three months in the Catholic school had been found matured enough to travel to Kumase,
regardless of the type of lunch the children would have since they could not get home in the afternoon.

The incidence in the Methodist School presents still yet another side of the picture. At the start of the year 1953, the Methodist School being in Agomenya was able to draft all the infant children in. This had its adverse effects on enrolment in Kpongonor, a Presbyterian stronghold, just about a mile away. Series of the announcements were made from the pulpit.

One Monday morning in the middle of the term I found nearly ninety percent of the children of the Methodist School in the Kpongonor School. This rather sudden and unexpected fall coincided with the visit to the school by the Assistant Education Officer and but for the timely intervention by the Church Authorities, the school would have been closed down. When asked why this happened, the headteacher replied that the parents complained they did not like the idea that a pupil teacher should teach their children in Primary two, the class out of the two that was badly affected. Strangely enough the teacher in the Kpongonor School was also a pupil teacher.

Announcements were started in the Methodist camp too. A visit to the school at the latter part of the year showed that Methodist parents have removed their children from other schools and had sent them to their Mission school. The different uniforms of the girls proved this.

This background picture indicates the distance travelled by children of Agomenya, of varying from six to eight, to start their education. Parents from Agomenya, who are resident on the Hurm are not so placed. Though the other denominational units have some schools in the villages the Catholics have been able to found schools in many more villages. Most of the children choose their schools according to the residential situation.
The effects of this state of affairs are profound on the diet of the children and the place of the teachers in the community.

Apart from the problem of lunch in the Primary schools, the children after the initial uncertainty as to where to start, settle and go through the Primary course.

THE SENIOR SCHOOL COURSE:— This rather unsatisfactory state of affairs is revived each year as the children come to find their places in the middle school.

Apart from the introduction of free-primary education, local conditions have increased the bid for education and consequently the parents' attitude to the environtment.

I have in the early part of this chapter mentioned the political relationship between Odumase, Agomenya with its neighbouring towns. Mention has also been made of the alleged illfeeling suppressed in the people of Agomenya and the other towns. In the socio-economic organisation of the Krobos, A Dademantcher (headfarmer), is the head of even an Asafoatcher, (a Captain of a Company in the Political Organisation), if they are on the Huzza. This is reversed when they are at Agomenya for the festivals: the Dademantcher becomes a layman under the Asafoatcher.

Fortunately or unfortunately the present political and constitutional changes have enhanced the position of the Dademantcher. Many of these "headfarmers" contested and gained seats in the Local Council.

I have mentioned earlier the early missionary and educational activities of Odumase; there was also the problem of people of Agomenya not having access to the early Senior Schools and therefore had to be content with the then junior school education. Moreover many who went to the senior schools and failed in the passing out examinations together with the rest who could not complete their senior school course had to go back to the farms with the result that the little they had is lost.
A Domestic Science Class: Agomany Catholic Middle School

The Domestic Science Class is an integral part of the education at Agomany Catholic Middle School. It aims to teach students essential life skills and practical knowledge that will help them in their daily lives. The class covers various topics such as cooking, sewing, and household management, preparing students for a real-life situation. The class is conducted in a well-organized manner, providing a conducive environment for learning. The students are encouraged to participate actively and learn from each other. The class is conducted by qualified teachers who have years of experience in teaching Domestic Science. The students enjoy learning in this class and appreciate the practical aspects taught.
The offices of the Old Native Authority had been manned by the comparatively better educated Ciumase borns. The discontented majority being semi-educated illiterates or illiterates, felt it was time they put things right. There was first reshuffling of officers and clerks, which came to affect staffing.

Most of these men gaining a firstrate insight into the real state government found the need for education. This attitude soon spread like a prairie prairie fire.

The literates became aware of the necessity for further education; the semi-educated and the illiterates needed ones who could be their personal secretaries. There was the general complain that the environment on the Huza was not good for sound and adequate education. Consequently there was a big rush on the middle schools at Ciumase and Agomenya.

This clamour for education has mitigated the denominational preference; has thus improved the stand of the teacher in the community; but has cut many of the children from parental care and central. Increase in the roll of girls led to a domestic science teacher being appointed to the Catholic Mixed Middle School. Thus parents who could not afford the cost of maintaining the daughters in the Girls' Boarding School have a choice between the Akro Girls' and the Catholic Middle School.

The teachers are looked upon as the leaders of the people. The fact that many of the children leave their parents some fifty to seventy miles away makes the teachers responsible for the children both in and out of school. The teachers' influence extends to the homes where he is the guide and adviser to either the sister or the grandmother caring for the children.

Through the I interviewed a number of pupils about what they thought of the education they are receiving—One answer was typical: "We have been weaving and weeding in our farms before we came to school. Our time is therefore
wasted with those lessons. We want to go to the secondary schools too."

This was clearly demonstrated when the came for the Common Entrance Examination and the Trade School examination. When the Common Entrance was announced, there was a good response.

Though there is the emphasis on literary education, there seems to be some desire for agriculture. Children's attitude towards teachers varies with the interest a teacher shows in them. They get on well with teachers whose demands do not tell much on their nerves, and rather cross with the others.

There is this cordial cordial school and home relationship in ordinary disciplinary affairs as truancy and refusal to participate in everyday domestic duties; but when it comes to problems concerning the child's morals and sexual life, the teacher is not so helped. The parents despise the children's sexual relations with the opposite sex. But there is no follow up action on the part of parents to check such acts and they just sly the actions.

This I think is due to the difference in standards demanded in the school and that in the home. The young child in the house is a miniature clerk from whom little service is demanded. As he grows his freedom increases. The freedom he enjoys is little disturbed in so long as he performs the petty duties expected of him. The teacher with his Christian teaching expects the children to go to bed early, maintain their sex differences and be chaste. He expects them to be meek and submissive. The parents come in only occasionally when on ceremonial visits.

For a greater part of the year they have no contact with their children. Their main aim is to see their children through the school course.

With the rather steady increase in the number of teachers who are 'natives', co-operation between the schools and homes on the Huzas is being established. The teachers who go on holidays with the children get the parents' co-operation.
It is surprising how Krobo children claim to be brothers one of another. It is easy to say they come from different quarters of the town, but the children can correctly tell "you" of their genealogy and thus claim to be one. It is rather unfortunate that there is a slight break in the inter-school relationships. Competitions, which are mainly football and athletics tend to be hostile. This cannot be attributed to the children but rather to their supporters who provoke each other and more than often break into feuds. In games and sports, the people of Agomenya, backing the Catholic School, oppose vehemently either people from Odumase or Kpongur who back The Akro State School or The Bana School as the case may be. If there is any break up in relations, it is with inter-school relations but this is not noticeable amongst the children after school.

Sex differences affect friendship from the two top classes of the primary school. The children are clever in maintaining their relationships purely as that of school-mates.
A Band playing around the market square.

A 'Kenhka' (Good) Band.
GAMES, SONGS & STORIES.

The Krobos are fond of music and dancing, and songs play an important part in the life of the community as a whole, as well as for the individual.

The games which are mainly dances help in maintaining the solidarity of groups as well as affording social contacts. At wedding ceremonies and at all transition rites, there are dance-games in which both young and old partake. Even at funeral ceremonies, dancing is organized. The songs are the most enjoyed.

"Why has Kwabla not been here for play today? Why did you not come to play with us today? Will there be any dancing today?" are petty queries and enquiries from adults and among children.

From the time the Krobe child can walk about, his play activities follow the pattern as for all other children.

The child of two runs about for the mere pleasure of it: dragging brooms and throwing tins about. It is common to see two of such toddlers, regardless of their sex, struggling over an object. As the child grows and passes from the 'self-centered' plays, he is usually seen in the company of other children, engaged in plays which depict adult economic and social life. This continues up to about the age of five.

Some odd objects chosen are agreed upon to represent commodities of adult life and these are used in play situations which to the children are real.

On a morning when I was going round, I came to see a group of children who were starting a play of 'trade in the market.' They chose for the market a stony area where the pieces of stones and the shells supplied the money that was required. Just by the market was a thicket which was designated as the 'wholesale for fish.' The most elderly girl, aged about five, took upon herself
The fish mongers in market

A toy lorry constructed with sand box & sticks
herself to organise the play. Styling herself "I am your mummy", she broke the group into 'sellers' and 'buyers'. Trade was in full swing.

With some broken baskets and pots, the girl sellers ran to the bush and plucked and filled their receptacles with leaves, the fishes to be sold. It was of interest to watch the children filling their baskets. As they plucked the leaves, they talked to the plants bidding for prices. The prices ranged from two pounds to five pounds. I however never noticed any payment being made.

While the fish mongers were bargaining for their merchandise, the others were gathering stones and shells, the money.

The fishes were brought to the market. As they arrived, the others hailed and welcomed them. The buyers ran to individuals from whom they desired to buy. Soon trade and sales were in earnest.

Prices were bargained and the stone-money was lavishly exchanged for the leaf-fishes. With some, one fairly big piece of stone paid for Ten shillings' worth of fish. Others paid the same amount with a handful of gravel. More fishes were run for from the bush and the market was brisk with activities and shouting for about ten minutes.

Their attention was attracted by another group marching. The market was abandoned and all went and joined the "kenka" band. It was no more selling and buying; they were members of a Vocal Band.

I noticed still yet another market scene. Palm Kernels were sold as 'atsomo'- twisted cakes, and pieces of broken plate were used as the money.

In early childhood, playtime and games are organised by the children themselves and they take the form of running about, of songs, marching round and of tapping out a rhythm on toy drums, of dances and of imitation of adult activities. The toys that are used are those the children make.
It is from the age of three that the child tries to acquire playthings of his own. Spinning tops are eagerly made from the spools of the sewing thread, "Akuao Tso". Empty sardine tins and other cylindrical tins kept in the bush near the house are the 'store houses' that provide the chassis for the toy lorries that are used in carrying 'loads.' The sand-box and the rig are tyres for the push trucks. Discarded cycle rims are 'lorries' used for play and for the running of errands as well.

The girls' cooking utensils at this stage are pieces of broken pots and plates.

Children between the ages of ten and twelve years are often to go about in groups practising shooting. They at times break into squadrons and have mock battles. Guns and artillery are obtained from different sources.

The catapult is used in killing game birds. For their mimic wars, guns and explosives are made by the children themselves.

The tender straight stems of the milk bush (ngmor kor tso) are cut. The bark is injured round the middle of the stem and it is carefully moved so that its hollow is not damaged. Piths from the 'Kwahidi' are obtained and cut into pieces which fit the hollow of the bark of the milk bush stick. As each piece is put into the hollow of the bark, the stem is besmeared with saliva and is inserted into it. The bark slices on and the pith is forced with the sound "Pom." It is interesting to watch the skill and the rapidity with which the children fire their guns' in these 'wars'. Death casualties are obtained and prisoners are taken.

Lombe (juice) is obtained from the sap of the 'kwahidi'. The juice is collected in shells or pieces of broken pots or plates. A hollow tube is prepared from 'Zana', a type of grass. This four or six inch tube is dipped into the juice and bubbles are blown into the air.

Though these are played with great zest and
A pupil of Middle Form One.

The same girl ready for the traditional Koma dance - at school for pleasure.
earnestness, yet they never forget it is play. Commands and orders, rally-out, struggles ensue at times but they are all in the game.

At this stage too, the children indulge in clay modelling. Idols are made and used in play: 'adaokwani; human figures, lorries, sheep and goats are the objects usually made. The boys are found with these while the girls gather pieces of cloth and make them into dolls for play. Alongside this, some boys have the talent and erect small huts just for fun. Later this skill is developed and the children cooperate in the putting up of buildings.

PLAY FROM LATE CHILDHOOD TO ADOLESCENCE:— This stage is the time when the child gets more absorbed into the economic and social structure of his people. Girls are getting to the marriageable age and the boys are miniature adults. Their play now is mainly dances and dressing up and going to the market to gossip and to flirt. Sex discussions provide material for humour.

Kpata, Oglodzo, Agba, and Kenka are ordinary dances, organized by unmarried adolescents for recreational purposes on moonlight nights and on market days and other occasions. In these both young and old participate. Beside these there are the traditional dances built around such cultural institutions as marriage, fetishes, friendship, initiation rites and also in relation to death. The children play these for the pleasure of collective singing and the joy in the physical activities.

In the moonlight dances, the married do not join up the unmarried. A married may join to lead in a song or two; but if his presence becomes too frequent, he does so at the risk of being sneered and suspected of loose character. The common remark is "he has come to follow the girls."

Young men, women, boys and girls mix up freely and no suspicion is cast. They take their own decisions as to whether
The real traditional attire for the Krama dance just after the Dipe custom can be anything sustained and appropriate for the occasion. The same applies to other traditional dances or ceremonies. The gowns, costumes, and headwear are all part of the cultural and traditional clothing. The photos illustrate this, showing different attire and accessories that are worn during these events.

Additionally, the photos show the traditional clothing being worn on the streets and during the week of celebrations. These images provide a glimpse into the local culture and traditions.
they shall dance, or sit and talk in the moonlight.

It is in these activities that the males get the golden opportunity of having sex approaches and experience. Imaginative plays become more elaborate in late childhood. The push lorries are those on which real rides could be had.; bigger buildings can be put up and some real cooking is done by girls to boys "with whom they are playing", that is their boy friends. Sex plays as those mentioned under the chapter on 'Physical Contacts and Sex play', are common.

Though formal organized athletic sports are conspicuously absent save in the schools, the sporadic ones by the children are very much encouraged by adults. The children are promised rewards if they run errands quickly. Moreover the 'lorries' encourage running.

Differences in games due to sex Differences are marked in childhood. Play at 'house keeping' and amuse are much for the girls whereas the the games that demand vigorous physical movement are played by the boys. As they grow towards adolescence, differences in games get vague and more often male and females combine to organize the dances.

Since the children get absorbed into adult games and dances, the songs are the same as for the adults. The only special children's songs are rhymes used by the adults and adolescents when playing with children; and also the rhymes the children use on their in their games.

1. Dae maa ho, Maa ho baba ya She is gone for water Maa jayer baba ke What is she gone to do ba ne wa nuc o She is gone to fetch water for us to drink Yaa Awisic c. Congratulations Awisic.
(2) Tata te e
Ye ye ye
Maa bior ma o kho namp
Yaa Awisio.

Mother's child is coming
Congratulations.

This used in encouraging a young child who is about to
start walking. The child's hands are held and it is
effected to walk while this is said.

(3) Pupuu— Ngamgmaa

Tini tini lala wodze woryo mle
Pase hi loko, Layo hi loko!

Tseli ma ne Layo bime
Tseli ma ne puser kera. Timo ne ne mera.

Koo adza koo

Kooadza koo

Leader

Adza kulemi keyahe nko kor.

In this game, a number of children sit down and stretch
forward their legs. The leader in the game stands before
them and while reciting the rhyme she touches the legs in
turns. Whoever has the saying ending on his or her leg
bends that in . If the rhyme ends on the other leg, the
fellow is out of the game. Whoever has his leg to be the
last to be folded or bent in is the fellow who loses in
the game.

This fellow lies face down and the leader pats
him or her at the back and says:

Kpokpo o kpo
Mme ne i?
Ami ana ni ki nye
Mini oya pe?
Iya dze la
Ke oya dzela a minicia pe
I am the mother of Ananiki. (Reply given)

Q. What are you going to do?
R. I am going for fire.
Q. What are going to do with the fire?
R. I am going to boil an egg.

Statement. If you boil the egg, bring me the parts that are red and white.

As the end is reached, the leader begins to tickle the one lying under the armpit and at the sides and as the sensation cannot be withstood, running ensues as the one tries to escape.

(4) Singe

R. Sa
R. Kpakpana, Rigene
R. Sa
R. Etuban, etu etu
R. Tuban, etu
e
R. Ekponor
R. Kpom Brandon

IT is a game in which both boys and girls partake. Any number of children take part. They all squat and as the leader starts with the saying, the rest respond and the fellow at the end starts to jump over the others squatting. As one is jumped over, one gets up and starts to jump over too. If one gets to the front, one squats and the jumping continues. Whoever is last in getting up when
the saying intended is; so jeered, laughed, at and hooted at that one requires much courage to take part in this game.

(5) Inyamue ghamue
R. Inyamue ghamue tsitsi
Tsai tsai yaa buete
R. Atenyaso bile
Bile nyaakor bo
R. Korbo detsi ma detsi
Detsi krong krong kor (3)
R. Kor or.

In this game all join in the response to the leader who has a knot tied at the end of his cloth. The last response is said by only the brave: the fellow who responds must be ready to if he is not so bold as to oppose the leader who rushes on whoever responds to beat him or her.

(6) Dipa fumi ke manye ke
ke manye ke
ke manye ke

Thave guinea worm on my leg.

How am I going to walk?

This is a game in which the group in which the members can hold up their breath for a longer duration, win the game. Two

The players break up into groups and stand about ten yards apart. They take the decision as to which group should start. There upon one from the group starts. The fellow who starts must be able to recite the piece and keep on with the last line until he or she has gone round the other group and has joined up his or her group without breaking. Whoever fails
becomes a captive of the opposing group. A captive can be redeemed by any who can go round without mist breaking.

A fellow chooses his or her own style of moving: a fellow can hop or walk as is chosen.

STORIES:— Stories telling has dual purpose in Krobo; there are the comic stories told by children themselves to their age group or by elders to children for pleasure; these are usually told re-told by the children themselves. The old men and women narrate stories through which children derive their instruction.

The stories told by the aged are of the history and the traditions of the Krobo, and they are led with songs.

The stories are told regardless of age of the children and many are those that used to teach proper manners and deportment in formal meetings. Some of these stories emphasise the success of virtue, the defeat in vice and implant in the children pride in their tribe.

Riddles, 'Amano' as well as proverbs are at times used.

Apart from the schools, there is no reading and writing. In the schools, literary work is confined to school books only. Reading outside is mainly reading of news-sheets. Pupils in the middle school are fond of books on sex.
Returning from the well whilst the mother waits, chats with the man talking by the road, in the morning. This idling of the men when at Agomenga induces the men to live more on the hoo. 

Bringing home food.

Off to farm.
WORK

If the Krobo child is ever free from work, it is during its first three years of its life. It spends most of the time in free play and in roaming around the neighbourhood. The child hangs around the mother in the kitchen or the father resting in the shade of a tree. He sees and hears discussions that go on in the house.

From the moment the child can run swiftly about, it begins to participate in the activities of the house. It follows its elder kin when they are about their household duties. From the age of five the child is formally expected to contribute to the life of the family. Work, discipline, and authority enter the child's world.

Though much of the time of the child is spent in free play, the child of five or six begins to participate in the activities of adult life and becomes more involved in it as it grows. The child begins by being given the simplest household tasks. In the mornings, the child sees that the poultry and other livestock are released for food; in the evening, he rounds them up and sees that they retire to their pens and roost. The child helps in the running of errands and in the sweeping of the house. A very common task for both boys and girls at this stage is acting as nurses of babies; they meet in the handling of common household work as the preparation of food in the kitchen; the boy washes the plates and the girl helps in the handling of food.

By the age of seven and on, the children begin to adopt to a greater degree, the sexual division of labour. The boys, getting more skillful at the use of the cutlass, accompany the father or an elder brother to the farm. They become more useful in weeding, in building and other mechanical work as carpentry and metal work. By the age of twelve, a boy in addition to working with the father in a common farm has his own vegetable or cassava farm. He may
Boys help in carpentry, masonry, etc.

Girls help in the preparation of food, and cleaning.

Seamstressing is increasing, becoming the work of the half-educated and the illiterate spinster.
He may be granted the ownership of a goat or a sheep, in which case the care of it is his sole responsibility.

A girl of the same age assumes more the responsibility of a mother. She learns how to cook by helping the mother in the kitchen and learns the plastering of the hearth. In addition to these, she it is who rises up early in the morning to sweep the compound, run to the food farm for the day's supply, or go to the farm for firewood. In short she learns how to carry out her routine work as a housewife.

The girl assumes more the role of a nursemaid caring for the younger children. By the age of twelve or thirteen she is already adept in feminine skills and her mother going away can leave the house in her charge, for a day or two. She goes to the market to buy or sell with the mother or by herself. She accompanies older girls for firewood.

In the farm the boy is with the men weeding whilst the girl is with the women gathering the weeds and sowing. The boy in the house is a full participant in the slaughtering of a sheep or goat in carrying out a sacrifice.

In the discharge for some domestic duties, brother and sister co-operate. They meet in such household work as pounding of fufu and handling of food in the kitchen.
Initiation: cultural determinant

Success
Passing through childhood free comparatively from grave psychological difficulties, the child's period from puberty to adolescence brings with it a wider outlook and its set of problems. There a change in outlook and appearance: mental and physical.

With the physiological development, the problem of sex comes to the foreground. Furthermore, as the child passes through the latter part of childhood on to adolescence, he gets increasingly aware of and conscious of opinions and remarks of his age group as well as the community as a whole. Consequently, the problem of adjustment of personality to house and to contemporaries shows itself predominantly in this period. The degree and ease of success in this self-adjustment or the failure to accomplish this is the determining factor in directing the child's attitude to constituted authority.

Traditional Krobo way of living provides a solution to these problems: the cordial parent-child relationship together with the initiation ceremonies help the child. However, the acceptance of this way of life varies with the degree of contact of individual members with formal education on the Western Pattern.

The indigenous pagan parents accept wholly this way of living, whereas it is accepted in parts by the parent with a literate child. The literate parent despises it. Home and community demands and standards vary with these groups of parents and their children's attitude towards constituted authority varies accordingly.

The Pagan Home: The parent-child relationship is one of master and disciple. Adolescence brings along changes in degree rather than of kind in a child's relation to its parents.

Originally there was a break and ceremonial
The boy must own 12 acres
and must marry.

Rites can be performed
at any age.
rites marked the transition from childhood to adolescence. These rites bore relation to physiological maturity as well as the change from one social status to the other of the individual. Modern trend of life has affected the significance of these rites. While they still bear some relation to the physical growth, they are not necessarily bound to it. The emphasis is on the change from one social status to the other; most important is the economic and social bearing of the rites. There is therefore no fixed time at which the ceremony is performed in the child's life; it can be at any age. Many parents choose to initiate their children when they are not matured.

These children go to the initiation as children and come out in a sense as men and women of the community.

As the boy grows, he acquires skills and becomes more efficient; he knows more about farming, hunting, and building to play his part as a young adult of the society. The child learns more about life with years' experience and responsibility. He becomes an active participant in activities of the clan and in the arrangement of the family.

The adolescent boy identifies himself more with his father. As they work side by side on the farm, or at a building, the father teaches his son about the work and about the history of the family. When he performs his religious sacrifices at home, his son is his assistant. He learns about his father's kin as well as the mother's as they come to take part in the rites.

The son who has the right to inherit is taken into confidence and is called occasionally by the father who tells him about the family property and farms, about ancestors and the history of the family. The wives and daughters are not told of these. A youth of about fifteen years or more can represent his father in ceremonial affairs that demand the personal presence of the father. With his mother he
becomes affectionate. When he marries, he brings his wife to
er and places her in her care.

**THE ADOLESCENT GIRL:** With growth, the girl gets more
attached to the mother than to the father, mainly because of sex
differences in regard to social and economic activities. The
only significant break for a girl is with her marriage when she
gets more close to the husband's kin.

A girl of thirteen assists in domestic tasks, helps to clean the house, fetches water, cooks, and cares for
the younger children.

Being skillful in women's activities, her mother
going away can leave the house in her charge for a day or
two. She goes to the market to sell for the mother or to
buy things for her. She is by this age well versed in the gossips
of women. As the boy, she may visit the market to show her
beauty and flirt.

**SEX:** In matters of sex, the parents teach the child all
that he requires.

Since the boys' ceremonial rites have fallen into
abeyance, there are no marked stages when a boy is formally
given instruction in sex. He picks it up casually in the day
to day talks in the house. From puberty, his answers are
frank and straightforward. It is in this period that his childish acts are disapproved of with the words
"know you are growing". Though he had hitherto been enjoying a
some freedom in sex experiments, he is from this stage encour-
aged by the sisters especially and to a lesser degree by the mother,
to take a girl friend. The sisters more often are the mediators.
This he does and thus enters into a loose marriage, "pla". MOST
often early childbirth is prevalent and these boys become fathers
rather early.

As the girls' rites are still observed and as many
of the initiates are often on the immature side, the appearance
of the breast is the girls' development towards and also towards
marriage. This is signified by the adoption of a new name of
The beginning of the end

Sex intercourse is smuggling.
ZaRo"ma yo"-that is a girl of bluffing age, the counter part of the boys' name "nihe yo"- a man of the bluffing age.

When these girls go to be initiated, in their confinement, they are given instructions about sex and about the duties of a house-wife.

When the breast is budding, a girl may have suitors and thus may indulge in sexual intercourse.

A girl who has already been initiated may have two or three boys. A girl who has not undergone the DIPC rites signifies that with the hair dress-"Smuggling". Though she may indulge in sex experiments, she is 'smuggling' at the risk of being banished from home and family should she be pregnant in this unprepared state. Fear of missing a useful worker and the fear of public ridicule force the parents to see that their daughters are initiated.

When the suitors come, it is the mother who knows which of them her daughter likes most. Even in marriage the mother-daughter affection is kept by the many frequent visits and gifts that are exchanged. The father's love does not fade away.

The father mitigates his authority but his responsibility over her daughter increases. He sees that the girl gets a good partner for marriage; he at times refunds monies that are claimed by suitors whose appointments the daughter might have failed to keep up.

Parental control is mitigated and the relationship between parent and child is one of partnership. This does not mean that all is a bed of roses. There are occasional reprimands which the children often accept as pragmatic guides. True, some children at times reciprocate in a boisterous way, but conciliatory measures quickly follow and the child craves the pardon of the parent offended. The child's taking part in the household rituals, all around the father and the ancestors, makes him submissive to their authority.

Adamant flouting of authority and defying of adults in the neighbourhood is rare. The mystic air around incest taboos and other tribal laws makes the children to comply with and live up to the standards of their community.
On the whole the life of the pagan adolescent child has less conflicts and frustrations. In the home, economic co-operation is the basis of relationship between parent and child. "All who work to supply the needs of the family are entitled to a share in the products of the common labour and that fruits of the individuals labour belong to the individual."

In such a homogeneous society, perhaps not so fortunate is the child in school with Christian illiterate parents or with pagan parents. Authority is exercised not only by the kinsfolk but also by the church, through its agents, the ministers and the school teachers. The differences in standards of value of the church on one hand and the home on the other, place the child in an awkward position and heighten the problems of adjustment of personality.

In the home, the parents as well as the community as a whole, acknowledge the native rites and the corresponding latitude for adolescents. Boys are miniature men and girls are marriageable. Both enjoy some freedom in sex as the pagan child. The period just after the initiation ceremonies is for finery and parents eke out their financial resources to make their children look their best. Relation between children and the ceremonial tutors, parents and immediate adults is cordial and one of discipleship.

This native attitude is in precise contrast with the attitude of the missionary and his school. Chastity is a prerequisite for church membership as well as enrolment in school. Boys and girls are subjected to rigid school discipline and censure. Letters are censored if suspected. Pupils are to teachers as servants to tyrants and to both, the minister of religion is a super-sac sacred representative of God before whom they must be humble and submissive. All rites and customs are heathen and the children are to abstain from their observance.

The glorious aim to postpone sex experience and to produce better cultured children is often not achieved. The children
Pagan Finery after initiation

The Christian Confirmant.
First occasion of using the

coming back home.
become insolent to adults. While they condemn the initiation rites, they accept the principles and participate in the dances. They become notorious sex offenders to both church and native laws. Shyness characterises their activities. At times, when the church regulations are too binding they are defied.

These examples will help illustrate:--

The Christian confirmation ceremony was formerly performed to pupils of Middle Form Four but is now done to the pupils of Middle three. The significance of the ceremony to the church is acceptance of the children into full membership; an idea akin to that of the native Dipo custom of the girls and the recognition given to adolescent boys. There is in many respects a fusion of the church and the pagan principles.

Much to the dislike of the church authorities, parents incur heavy debts to clothe their children during this period. There is the law that the children should appear in their school uniforms for the ceremony. This is obeyed in the churchyard.

With pious and solemn faces the children enter and leave the churchyard. But immediately they are out, they change over and put on their best. To the boys it is the first chance of putting on ties. After the parading through the town with singing and merry making, the girls are usually found in the arms of their boys.

Children's indulgence in finery during time is a part of the ceremony. There is the usual ritual slaughtering of sheep for thanksgiving. It is no strange spectacular scene to see a girl being welcomed home and she is seated on the laps of an elderly man and told "You have successfully passed through the ceremony; it is with you now to find a good husband."

A girl of Middle two got pregnant and had to stop attending the school. The manager of the school, a Christian minister, went to make enquiries about the girl's condition from the parents. The reply was this:-- "Our daughter has undergone the Dipo custom already. Moreover she is going to
A DIPO INITIATE

But still in school

The child, in spite of his tender years, was a born student and was interested in education. He attended school regularly and studied hard. His parents were proud of him and supported his education. He was determined to make something of himself and to contribute to society.

Unfortunately, due to financial constraints, he was forced to drop out of school at a young age. Despite this, he continued to learn and educate himself through books and other means.

He became a successful entrepreneur and made a significant impact on his community. His story serves as an inspiration to many others who face similar challenges.

In conclusion, education is key to personal and societal growth. It empowers individuals and enables them to overcome obstacles. We should always strive to provide quality education to our children, regardless of their circumstances.
bring forth a human being and so there is nothing wrong."

Many of these girls have undergone the Dipocustom before coming to the middle school and therefore they know much about sex.

The children find it easy to indulge in activities detrimental to their status in the church and care little or not if they offend church regulations. Church membership is to them a paper-record affair.

The church authorities thought the children have adopted this attitude because the ceremony was performed when they were in the last year of their school career and so changed it over to be performed in middle three. Yet the situation is not changed. Children become very irregular in attendance. The first week after the ceremonial Sunday is a week of holiday and finery.

What of the Christian school children from the literate home? It is in this category that we find the child who is often branded as taking foolish risks in life and trusting against authority. It is in this period of the development of the child that the parental authority is intensified. Violent outbursts of wrath, reprimands are frequent. Disciplinary measures are prolonged.

The parents who had been differently socialized expect their children to live standards they deem necessary. Preference is given to the boy who is quiet, speaks softly and "treads lightly." A few of the children try to live to their parents' desire but have difficulty and fall in easily with their other colleagues.

A boy from one of such houses was expelled from school for having been found to have a girl friend despite the several warnings from the parents.

This boy who had been teaching until the government regulation that pupils/teachers should not teach if they had no Primary School Certificate, came to complete his Primary school course. Having made several reports about the
Back in school after two years teaching. Expelled for sex because of a girl.

Visit in the backyard. See back picture on Page 82. Long wood box in background. He has left for Kumase with a canoe. No clear cut aim.
boy being found in the company of girls, walked once to
the manager of the boy's school, complained about the boy's
behaviour and demanded his expulsion. The boy was
dismissed.

This is still another case of interest. According to
traditional way of living, the Krobo adolescent child is an
active participant of the family's activities. It is part of the
child's duty if he is called upon to serve drink ina meeting.
The school at Agomanya went to keep wake when one of the pupils
died. There, the normal drink was presented to the school.
One of the children, a school pupil, was instructed to serve the
drink. He served and came on to serve the teachers; the teachers
refused to take the drink. The boy served and took his share.

When school was resumed the next day, the boy was
punished for "drinking at wake keeping and for serving a
teacher with drink in public." The boy refused the punishment
and was therefore dismissed.
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Madeline Manoukian.

Enoch Azu,
R. Benedict.
1. Successfully bale from Tekpete.
2. The Hal signifies blooded Krobo.
3. The Calico denotes success.

2. Traditional Dress for the Kluwa Dance.

3. Dressing during the week of finery.
THE INITIATION CEREMONIES

DIPO

DIPO is an initiation ceremony for girls who are the future mothers of the children and are the future priestess of the tribe.

Originally, the initiates were confined for years under the tutelage of an old priestess who was over forty years of age. This age was insisted upon as it was desired the tutor should be someone whose monthly menstrual flows had ceased.

A week before the confinement, the girls had some tinkling bells put on their legs and their hair was shaved off. The bell was fixed so that they would be heard of if they walked about in the night; the hair was shaved so that the hat could fit. Moreover, during the period of confinement, they put on single cloths to signify their immaturity. Chastity was a strict prerequisite for a girl to be accepted for confinement.

During this period of confinement, great care was taken about their morals. Anecdotes as well as their moral teachings were all incorporated in the songs taught them. In the evenings they were kept on ceilings from which the ladder which provided a channel in was removed. The idea was to preserve them chaste until the time that they passed and were then marriageable. Pottery making, net and hat weaving, and basketry were compulsory subjects in this time. Instructions about house wifery and sex were given. Moreover the initiates were fed mainly on corn products, ale, yams and water. Cocoyam, cassava and plantain were excluded because they are said to be food crops that are foreign to Krobo land.

It is said that during this time the children
grew fresh and bloomy because they were given special
ointments to use. The period of confinement lasted as
long as the parents' or the guarantee's purse could afford.

At the end of the period, the girls with only
the loin cloth on and veiled with fat of a castrated goat
were led to Tekpete where their virginity and chastity was
were tested. When going, the few relatives who followed
sang these songs as a warning and as encouragement
to the girls on the way to be tested:-

(1) Dipoi yane hbo nye hiorwe pu. (three times)

(2) Yebi kake lea mope nehi, yebi kake lea mope nehi.
nehio bame. Only kake er together in chaka.
English: "By one child try and do your best."
from which the women fetched water. Moreover, there is no

(3) Mayo malua ihe o, maya mengo so.
English: "Mother I shall do my best to be successful."

When at the stone the bare buttocks of each girl
is set thrice on the stone. This is done to signify that
it is the traditional stone that has "known" the girl first;
that is, the stone has been the first to break the virginity
of the girl. After the ceremony, the girls' feet were not
to touch the ground; they were carried home by men. At home
each was set on the hide of a sheep and was clothed in white
calico and a hat similar to the Priests'. This showed success
and acceptance into Krobo.

The period after this was for finery and the giving of alms and gifts.
There has been some slight modifications for
this ceremony to suit modern trend. A week to the period
of confinement, the girls have the bell fixed on their
legs but their hair is no more shaved; they have the Dipo
'hair dress' "Dipo a hwe"
The forehead was shaved and the girls who had the hair already plaited have it re-plaited on the dipo style to show "they are young." The initiates are confined for only a week after which they are led to Tekpate.

Some points worthy of observation:

(1) The carrying of the girls back home by men has a historical significance expressed in this song;

"Kunyenya amla ne be tubor;
Itu keker inor amla mi."

"Skipping on the banks of Kunyenya is bad;
I skipped and fell into the skipping rope."

Tradition has it that when the Adangmes were on their move to their present homes, they stayed on together at Biakpo. On the plains, water was scarce. They had water holes from which the women fetched water. Moreover there was scarcity of women for wives as baby girls were exposed to die and men were prepared for because of war.

Once the women went to Kunyenya for water but there was not much water in the hole. They had to wait; they took to skipping to while away the time. Some warrior bandits fell on them, bound them with skipping ropes and carried them away.

Fiancées and men relatives follow their girls to Tekpate and carry them back home.

(b) The men who carry the girls back express their jealousy at the stones breaking of the girls' virginity in this song:

"Itro loku - Ayimangor;
Wor ne etetse - Ayimangor."

This says, "While I carry the fleshy buttocks of the girl this day, her virginity has been broken by a stone, a stone that has no father; hence left here; at times I do not care if you have my girl first."
A great day for the four young men just out of school.
(2) Though chastity is still a requisite, this modification has been made. An initiate is required to be free from all sexual dealings the moment the bell is fixed on the leg: that is a week before confinement. The bell is fixed so that any girl who walks about is heard of. During this week, the girls are expected to confess all their misdoings to the priest or priestess in charge. It is to ask for atonement that the castrated goat which is slaughtered. 

Ere the goat is slaughtered, it held and presented thrice to the girl as a cleansing ceremony. It is killed and it is its fat that is used as the veil.

(3) Hat weaving has been a compulsory subject because it was used in the olden days for burial and it was the duty of the wife to provide for the burial of the members of the family. Each was expected to weave her own ceremonial hat.

BOY'S RITES

Though the boy's rite is now obsolete, its significance still holds. Formerly boys coming to age was realized by hair growing round the private parts. The boy was circumcised so that he could participate in all religious and ritual ceremonies. He was accepted into manhood.

Circumcision is now in the early part of the child's life but it is necessary if a Krobo child is to be regarded as a true breed and he is to take part in all rites.

THE SCHOOL CHILD'S 'GREAT DAY'

Though the school child, male or female, does not accept this rite, he has the celebration of the 'great day'. On this day there is eating, drinking, and merry making to acknowledge the end of the Elementary school course. Donation at times rise up to about thirty pounds. This is given to the child to start life with.
SPEcIMENs OF INITIATION SONGS

(1) Kadoki yoseba le e
Kadoki yoseba!
Kadoki yose ba o o !
Yose ba o o !

Leaves of Kadoki are used as money for marrying.

"Kadoki" is a shrub and its leaves are used in medicines. It is therefore planted round houses and is well cared for. The reason why this leaf is mentioned in the song is that "medicine men" in the olden days took as wives sick girls who were cured with the leaf. This was done with the belief that the soul of the sick had taken refuge in the medicine man.

In this song, the would be husbands of the Dipo girls are encouraged: if Kadoki a leaf has the power of giving the medicine man a wife, then they must be proud of their labour and contribution towards the training of their fiancées.

(2) Kabu ke ! Yo nger La
Ometse! Yo nger La o o !
Yo nger La o o
Ometse! Yo nger La o o!

"There is a woman at LA," said Kabu
Tell Ometse: "There is a woman in La.

Ometse is the wife of Kabu. It is said that she worried her husband much and made his life miserable. The wife deserted the man one day and took another suitor. Everyone expected Kabu to take a serious view of the case but his reply to even his kin was: "Tell Ometse that there is a woman at LA."

This song is used in advising Young men Who have fiancées among the Dipo girls to follow the steps of Kabu. It is a warning to the girls too.
SONG 4.

Iya Lete Obo we, da deo mi!
Muene iya Lete Obo we da deo mi!
Obo we da deo mi o o!
Da deo mi o o!

English

I am going into the house of Lete Obo
Where drink intoxicates me,
To-day.

N.B.-

"Lete Obo" is a name of a certain rich man in the
olden days, who spent an enormous sum of money
on entertaining the public while performing the
Dipo ceremonial custom for his daughters. His
guests were unable to consume the food and drink
served to them. Thus his uncommon generosity gave
him the title of "Lete" which means literally
"Feeder of the first born or more freely" "entertainer of great men" this song is sung by the
singers while they are entering into the houses
of the parents of each candidate, as an inducement
to the concerned, for a supply of more drink.

SONG 11.

Angaletse gasowe taromi yo!
Gazowe taromi yo.
Gazowe taromi yo o o
Taromi yo o o!

English

A belled maiden; a cockroach wench
Is an honourable maiden!

N.B.

When the girls are going to dance - I mean those
under training, they wear small bells on their
feet hence they are called belled maidens. They
are called "cockroach wenches," because they are
well trained in singing, dancing, and clapping of
their hands, so that they can dance unaided. When
the cockroach is laying her eggs, she knocks her
lower extremity against the object on which she
is laying - an action which sounds like the beating
of a drum, hence our forefathers' saying runs as
follows: - "The cockroach beats her own drum and
dances at the same time". The meaning of this
song is that any girl who has passed under this
training is sure to be qualified in every thing
and therefore deserves praise and honour. (The
cockroach's noise exactly corresponds to the
beating of the Klama drum. The originator of the
Klama dance learned it from the cockroach).
APPENDIX TWO

ADDIGWE TRADITIONAL ORDERS OF MARRIAGE.

(1) "Lelesi", a girl who the parents have consented to give for marriage if matured; the man so promised maintains the girl from the time of promise and through the Dipo training course, and pays dowry to the parents when the girl is marriageable.

If this girl in the long run refuses to take this man in marriage, he can claim compensation from his rival. Again the issue of this wife can be claimed if the man does not claim any compensation.

(2) "Kabolai Yo", a woman refugee who has been taken as a wife by the landlord. The man claims compensation from any who reduces her. All issues are the man's.

(3) "Klesi or Kleyo or Yalayo" is the wife granted to a brother under the Levirate system of marriage. The brother who succeeds, pays part of the funeral expenses. He gives the woman say one or two shillings called in Adangwe "torkeni", 'meaning money to induce her into your room'. If the woman refuses marriage, the man claims compensation from the man she may take for a lover. He claims the children too.

(4) "Deeye" is a woman neither betrothed nor lawfully married. One has the right to keep her until she willingly deserts; if there are any issues, her brother or relatives can claim the children.
If a young man desires to take as wife a girl he loves, he informs his parents of his intention. The parents seek all information about the girl and her family before giving their consent. Should they agree to their son's proposal, they go to "show themselves up"; that is, they send representatives with two bottles of gin to the girl's parents to inform them of their son's intention and "to beg for the woman". The drink is accepted and it is never refunded should the marriage come on or not.

This approach affords the parents of the girl the chance of getting to know their daughter's fiancee and his family.

A week or two after the presentation of the gin, the ambassadors go "to knock at the door". Their mission is simply to enquire about the reply for their earlier mission. They however go with a bottle of wine and a bottle of schnapps, as it is alleged their going to the house at dawn disturbs the sleep of the parents and they must be compensated. These drinks are presented together with the sum of two pounds. If these are accepted then the engagement is completed. A drink of thanksgiving is then offered.

All being set, the bridegroom to be, decides upon the day of marriage. A system of "trial marriage has developed, whereby a man takes his wife-elect, Pla, to his house for a period before committing himself to any binding marriage contract. Children born under such circumstances are claimed by the lineage of the mother and if even the parent get married, it is the children born later that are the man's.

On the day of wedding, gifts are lavishly exchanged. The bridegroom sends his dowry of two pounds to the family and brings to the bride an air-tight trunk containing three to four kinds of cover cloth, beads, the loin cloth, rings and trinkets. To these he adds a voluntary gift ranging from ten to twenty pounds. Some men ostentatiously send more. Kinsfolk
add their share to the gift, thus augmenting the social standing of their "house" to their in laws.

The bride gets all her utensils too with the help of her kin.

In the evening the bride is led to the man.

'It is finished. But the man has his last gift to offer. He is expected to give money for "tobacco for the old men and women". This money varying from one to two pounds is not really used for tobacco. It is shared amongst all the kinsfolk of theirs. A fellow's share may be three pence or a half-penny but it is essential that each and everyone gets his or her share, as an acknowledgment of giving the daughter's hand off in marriage.

If later marital relations get strained, the girl can go back to her parents. The man by claiming his dowry loses his right over both the wife and children if any.
OUTDOORING

Early in the morning of the eighth day after birth, the parents of the baby with the kin and friends, and the priest who "tied the conception cord" assemble where the baby was born and the ceremony of outdooring is performed.

The priest, with the child in his arms, prays to God and swears by his gods for protection against all malice and evil. With the child still in hand, he walks in and out of the room three times and presents the child with the words "I am selling a child". The mother buys it at a penny and all rejoice at the "safe delivery of the mother from hicm-disease".

The name of the child is announced and drinks are served. Donations and gifts are given.

If the pre-natal period had nothing to do with a fetish priest, the parents with their lineage perform the ceremony.

The most elderly man or woman of the household, takes the child and prays for wealth for its parents, long life and prosperity for the child and she places the child on the ground. Water from a calabash is thrown thrice on the roof. Drops are allowed to fall on the child and as it cries it is removed and kept warm.

The name is announced and drinking and merry-making follow.

The name is given by whoever is responsible for the ceremony: the father does it if the couple are married; otherwise it is the father of the mother who announces.

Prior to this ceremony the baby is not brought out doors.
APENDIX THREE.

PROVERBS.

(1) Sucr enyo hi takum.
Two elephants do not live in the same pool.

(2) Nyangolor tseu pe agberler se pinar asaa.
The liar's house is not burnt, it is demolished.

(3) Ke obe tsuur apewe ngmor nger blorhe.
If you have not the heart, do not have your farm near the road.

(4) Adzi heeduhe ne aba lua he nger tsun.
One does not come from the bath to scratch one's self in room.

(5) Ke obi nya pue ote no, pi ha ne ake poo.
If a child evacuates the bowels upon your laps, you do not use a knife to cut it off.

(6) Gor fufui hi tsom ne ngmlikiti nozi.
A ripe pawpaw does not hang in the tree while the green one falls.

(7) Aleor tsu yiba loko atsu epoku.
The leaves of a tree are known are the root is dug.

(8) Digblor ne ope yayami pi le beom ne mawu mawo mo he hio.
God does not repay wickedness on the day it is done.

(9) Ke ngmomo kewoer, shewe nyu ke tor ke ya ncr.
If the farm is not far from home one does not go to it with water in a flask.

(10) BOBOR yc hi nym ne akpa nyagba.
Be content with the little that is in your mouth.
APPENDIX FOUR

RIDDLES (Amano)

(1) Amano saw phuurn kpestsa
   R. Dzisi ngormggor ku.
   A rat has broken its leg.

(2) Amon sa pumi ke her.
   R. Tatu dze lem.
   An ant is from firewood.

(3) Amon sa kom ka kom
   R. Tute no patafo kuorm.
   A bullet has been swallowed by the Wild pig.

(4) Amono sa kpe lubulubu yaa Ada.
   R. Nomlo kpi yaa adze.
   The dwarf is going home.

(5) Amono saa ketekleiklei
   R. Epops ne pahyli.
   I crossed the riverere it over flooded.

(6) Amon sa yoku he kwada hi somi
   R. Matse yo hi ngormi.

   One can never marry a chief's wife.

(7) AMANO sa maku tso maku beder
   R. Mahuor si mahuor mayo.
   I shall lie down and sleep.

(8) Amon sa kakiski tanyabua
   R. TA kpongomi ke ehi dza hier se tanya bua kowo eho
   The old palm tree told the young that it has once
   been young and so the young should not 'bluff' it.

(9) Amon sa ena ga ne ebuka sokwe ne ena sorkwe ne ebuka ga
   R. Ena Chie Mantse ne ebuka Klo Mantse, Ena Klo mantse
   neebuka Chie Mantse.
   One mistook an Akan chief for an Krobo chief.

(10) Amon sa hie kake ne etor matsuo
    R. Geram alco Nychier.
    The moon.
APPENDIX FIVE

PROVERBIAL SONGS.

(1) Bane aya Asasi - dzua- Aplema!
Asasi- dzue, Dzue ngua.

Let us go unto the marketplace of snakes -Hell
The snakes' market is awful!

Akin to: - "My son if sinners entice thee, consent thou not."

(2) i Amaamaa dzedula- tre! Ke dze nger hu
Dze-yaeelor nger! Dzedula-tre !
ii Nanor- me! Nye, nyeyaledze, dze lor wa!
Olikiti ko mole mi! I dze de memo.

A poor ragged man, unto whom God has given certain offices
must be honoured by his fellow men; and his duties must
not be interfered with.

ii Brave men! Ye nourished this world before it developed.
iii Thou O moth! Don't coax me! I am grown up!

When a moth has seen a lighted candle it will
fly to the light and sing its wings and perish; like
—wise lads and lasses despise the advice of their
elders and fellow that of their companions and
perish.

(3) Otiti BLOTI! Nyingmor bloti!
Ingo bloti! Wango bloti watsa Nyingmo!
Watse Nyingmo! Nyingmo nu!

You utter fool! You born fool!
I accept my foolishness!
Let us call God with foolishness!
We called Him and He heard.

We see two persons in this song, the first seriously insults
who the other does not reply but appeals to God to justify him.
Na loo! Itsre rme ne ihuo mio

Na! I threw one stone at another single stone and it struck two.

N.B. - There is a game played by boys and even men. Single nuts (called Gami in Adangbe) are placed in a line say six inches from one another by a group of boys; the other group places the same number of nuts opposite the former with the distance of about 18 feet between them. Each group will then choose a leader of its own. The game is opened by one company whose leader will throw gently on the floor a nut in hand to strike his opponent's nuts in front of him. The nuts hit are also used as shots by the active company until all the nuts are thrown. The other company will start to throw the nuts in their possession. The conqueror is the company that has been able to hit all the nuts of its opponent. Now during this game any thrower who hits two nuts at a single throw is praised and commended as follows: "Ihuo mio" which means "He has killed two at a blow." In the above song these singers beseech Na not to be jealous of Kotoklo for it is better to receive two things when expecting one only. They also compare themselves to one of the above described gamester, who aims at one yet hits two.
**SONG 14.**

Yo ke pi ebi o o! Yo ke pi ebi o o!
Tsrole wo lo? Nana Asare fo ebi
Yo ke pi ebi! Tsrole wo!

**English**

"The child is not yours" said a wife
Is it the fruit of a tree?
Our fetish has his own child
And a wife says: The child is not yours
Is it the fruit of a tree?

M.B. - Once a husband and his wife fell out, and
the wife in her anger wished to return to her
parents with her child. The husband strenuously
objected to her taking the child with her.

This made the wife to tell her husband: "The
child is not yours" and the husband also replied:
"You are not a tree that can bear fruits alone,
can a wife tell her husband that he is not the
owner of their child?"

**SONG 26.**

Waya-bi oo Tse Nani
Nana Asare bu wo be
Waya-bi oo Tse Nani
Tse Nani ne yo si
Waya-bi oo Tse Nani!

**English**

We are going to consult the Spider,
Our fetish has put to us a proverb,
We are going to consult the Spider,
The Spider is at the foot of the mountain
We are going to consult the Spider.

M.B.- In folk lore, the spider is taken to be the wisest
of all creatures. Now when a serious case is come
and the elders are required or obliged to think
long before they give their opinions, the announce-
ment is simply expressed thus: We are going to
consult the Spider.
Appendix

**Historical Song**

I. Ways po Kabuui-alermo; yo be gbier engo kpa!
II. Ways po Obo-we tso ngnua; yo be gbier engo kpa!

The woman who had no axe, took a rope when we went to fell the silk cotton tree belonging to Kabu and his people.

"Kabu and his people" in this song is an Adagbe, tribe. It was said about them that they were very cruel and murdered or poisoned several people in different ways, which no one could exactly trace. It happened that one day the rest of the people conspired against them and attacked them. Many were killed. Kabu and his people are compared to a silk cotton tree here. The doctrine in this song is "unity."

3. Iwa, Iwer, Mawa Dugbate onyowii-mar awamii!
   Iwa, Iwer, Mawa Nawusenye-mar awami!
   Mawa Dugbate ker Nawusenye mar awami!

I am old yet I am young!
Let me grow up foolishly like Father Dugbata!
I am old yet I am young!
Let me grow up like Mother of Nawuse.
Let me grow up like Father Dugbata and mother of Nawuse!

The two names Dugbata and Nawuse's mother here mentioned were names of persons, who during their lives were fond of jokes and playful with all sorts of people. They were also unmindful and careless to all kinds of abuses and offences directed to them personally. "They led a foolish life" said the world yet after their death their characters were admired and found worthy to be produced.
A FOUR YEAR OLD BOY'S VIEW OF A FELLOW WHOM HE HATES.

I interviewed this boy when he was sitting playing on his own. As I went there, a teacher friend of mine who has been in the house with the boy called him. He just did not mind. I therefore asked him why he refused to answer to the call.

He immediately replied that he does not like the man. "I hate him because he comes to worry me with calls when I am sitting down quietly. Moreover, he does not give me anything. He always hates me."

(2) A three year old girl told me she does not like me to take her older brother as a friend because at this age, he still wets his bedding. He stones us when we try to laugh at him to stop. "He is not good."
I had with me a group of five children - consisting of two males and three girls. Their ages ranged from four to six years. I promised to give three pence worth of fried plantain to any of them who will narrate the best of his or her stories to me. There was a struggle over who should start; all of them started to tell their stories but they all soon stopped and allowed the girl of five to narrate hers. As they all stopped to listen to her, I made her to start all over again. At the end I realized they were all familiar with the story.

The story was re-started with the usual words: "Should I tell you or not", and the reply was, "Tell us".

Once upon a time, a cat and a mouse stayed together in the same house. They once went out on walk in different wards in the forest. The cat on his walk came across a cooking pot and the mouse also saw a piece of seasoned fish. They all brought their finds home and decided to prepare their dinner with them.

Soon the food was ready and its sweet scent got so diffused into the atmosphere that all the animals in the neighbourhood prowled around sniffing the air.

The food was so hot that the two of them decided to go for a short walk for the dish to cool down by the time they came back.

They walked just a few yards away when the mouse intimated that he had left his smoking pipe. The cat consented to wait while the mouse ran back for his pipe. Off ran the mouse, leaving the cat alone on the road. Minutes passed but the mouse was not back. The cat grew impatient and shouted for the mouse to come out. There was no reply, and as the cat grew rather more impatient he started to walk back to the house, calling out the mouse as he went along.

He got to the house and was not only surprised but highly infuriated to see the mouse busy at meal. He tried to pounce on
the mouse but it dodged; he chased it but the mouse slipped into a nearby hole.

The cat stood by panting with anger. He cursed and swore to eat it whenever it came out."

At this juncture all joined to conclude the story: "That is why the cat chases, kills and eats the mouse whenever it sees any."

A four year old boy was the next to take up the floor. For about three minutes we listened to a story, the matter of which was not cohesive and was teemed with "ands" and "eh, ews".

The story was started in the usual way.

"A mouse lived in his house and a dog was in his house. And the mouse went somewhere. And the cat went to the pot for water. They went and slept. The spider was wise and when the mouse came" - At this point a girl of about the same age sighed and the other boy replied: - "I am thinking". Whereupon all broke into laughter.

This attracted another boy of about five years of age into the company, and thus changed the scene.

As he approached, they all shouted "Baby Teye". One girl quickly and audibly told me not to give him any of the plantain and not to allow him to join up the company for he was too wild.

Upon hearing this, Baby Teye ran for a broom in a playful mood, and threatened to strike each of them with it. It was no more story telling but each trying to ward off Teye's attack.

May be Teye saved me of my threepence. As he ran from one to the other, they all ran off and I was left alone.
EXAMPLES OF KPATSA SONGS.

This is a dance in which the songs used are to check the misdoings of members of the community.

(I) Nyehuor adzwama yi a! oq!

Kpatsa bi nye huor adzwama yi
Adzwama wobo ke nana.
"Players of Kpatsa hoot at the prostitutewho has covered her feet with cloth."

(2) Apletai se lole, epeor mi nyakper.

Apletai se lole efor mine ke eyane emaba
Pi! poh!

This is used in describing a friend a fellow saw on a lorry.
"The goat entered a lorry, I am surprised.

He waved me 'I am going to come'."

OGLODZCO.

In this dance, the songs are used in making statements.

(I) Wadobi lee e nye ye manyu ko:

Hiormi nger nger Lodoe nger hiorme.
"Members of our dance, Listen to this:

It is raining but the stars are in the heavens."

(2) Dzole bataemi ne ike ibiyae:

Ke ike mayske, mahi saklino.
"My boy-friend came and called me but I said I would not go:
If I would go, I would ride on a bicycle."
SONG 6.

Idze do ma ne Anyaku-ma pe tse mi

English: From the start of the dance (Anyaku) the fetish father called me by name.

N.B. - The sons of the fetish fervently regard the fetish as their father who will bless them when they present him with the sacrifice of a human skull; therefore if anyone has got a new skull in his hand to dance with, he rejoices that the fetish knows him by name and will call him, and own him forever.

SONG 12.

Kome ke amui oo! Kome ke amui o o!
Kome de o o!

English: Some say they'll not drink
While some are drunk.

N.B. - All men who are dancing are more honoured when they are holding skulls in their hands; and in this they receive their drink. This is therefore sung to ridicule those who have no skulls for they are not allowed to drink from a borrowed skull.

SONG 30.

Akwadi-tso oo! Akwadi-tso oo!
Sanetso!
Nana Asare ke wapo Akwadi-tso oo!
Sane-tso!

English: Jatropha Curcas or physic nut tree,
Is a palaver tree
Our fetish says we must cut physic nut tree.
Jatropha Curcas or physic nut tree
Is a palaver tree.

N.B. - Jatropha Curcas or physic nut tree is used for preparing alkali for making native soap. Now if the leaves and the branches are boiled and a new head is put in the pot, it makes the skin to separate easily from the skull and gives the skull the white colour required.

This is sung to warn the people when an ultimatum is being sent.
As illustrated in the songs preceding, ritual murder was associated with Ndu and the lesser fetishes. This led the government to instal a christian chief who would avert this practice. Though the late Sir Nene Mate Korle could not accomplish that all at once, he did much to lessen it.

The cessation of the observation of the ceremonial rites of Ndu had an indirect effect on life at Agomanya. The yearly celebrations provided the opportunity of all relatives, distant and near, meeting and in their participation in the year's ceremonies, tightened their family bonds. The dying down of these annual rites led to many staying on the Huzas without the desire to come 'home'. Homes were abandoned.

Nene Anu Mate Korle, upon taking over the reins of government in 1941 did not hesitate to see that Krobos come back home at least once or twice a year. Homes can only be temporarily be forsaken. He, therefore, revived and intensified some observations about Child Birth and also Death.

**Birth.** Newly born babies must be blessed by lineage gods, and those born on the Huzas are taken to the lineage home for this purpose.

**Death.** Unless a fellow dies of leprosy or insanity, everyone who dies on the Huza is taken 'home' for burial and other funeral rites.

While the children, especially the school children, are afforded the opportunity of mixing and enjoying the company and fellowship of their parents and kinsmen, they have their schooling very much disturbed. The children are full participants of the funeral rites. Young or old, boy or girl, all have their hair shaved off to denote mourning. A school child so bereaved stays away from school until all rites are over.
The Ngayem Festival - "Millet Eating" festival has been instituted and it is observed in the third week of every October.

Hitherto the yearly observation of Nadu rites saw young adults with fresh human skulls being welcomed into the circle of the braves. (See songs) Bravery was then displayed by adolescents and young adults in the participation in the Nadu Dance. Young children were confined to their homes.

The Ngayem Festival, which can favourably be referred to as a harvest festival has been instituted to resuscitate the reunion of kinsfolk far from home with those near and at home for merry making and their coming together to re-affirm the faith and allegiance to their lineage and their Paramount Chief.

To the children at Agomanya, this festival week is very much welcomed. Should all other possibilities of enjoying the fellowship of their parents and kin fail them, they are sure that they will enjoy a full meal, listen to stories and join up in the kenka and other dances as on the Fusa during the Ngayem week.
Two women carrying babies. The third has fallen.
By a girl of five.

A man in his car.
By a boy aged nine.
Father, Mother and Child having a walk.
By a boy aged 6 six.

A man in his car.
By a class one boy aged nine.
1. A chief carried in a palanquin in a royal procession.
2. A mask: "What I fear most."
3. Two boys fighting.
   By a boy aged eight.

A man in his car.
By a class one boy aged nine.
Ama going for water.

Tsetz with an umbrella going to Accra.

A lorry speedily going to Keta.

By a girl of seven.

A man in his car.

By a class one boy aged nine.
A lady by her house.
A lorry.
By a boy of ten.

A man in his car.
By a class one boy aged nine.
Two men fighting.
A hunter firing at a bird.
A fowl eating from a basket.
A chief in a palanquin.
A man in his car.
By a class one boy aged nine.
They are fighting

By a boy aged eleven

Two men fighting
Out for service with my sister
By a boy of 11.
Hand shaking

Shaking Hands: a man and a woman
By a girl of eleven.

Home
Going for the flower.
By a girl of eleven.

The man is going to take the flower.
Two men about to fight.
By a girl of 10 cen.
Two women hooking at one another
By A girl of ten.
Mr. John is going to see his cocoa farm by a boy of twelve.
Two men having a talk
By a girl of twelve.
Two men quarrelling
by a boy of twelve.
A man and a woman having a talk.
By a boy of twelve.