

THE GOLD COAST REVIEW

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Introductory

HIS Excellency the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Gold Coast has been pleased to sanction an attempt to sustain in the Gold Coast the periodical issue of a journal or review of historical and scientific interest on the lines of the admirable *Bulletin du Comité d'Études Historiques et Scientifiques de l'Afrique Occidentale Française*, or of such publications in parts of the British Empire as, for example, *Sudan Notes and Records*, or of the numerous records of the proceedings of County Archæological Societies in England.

Those coming to the Gold Coast from other parts of the world outside Great Britain have at times thought it a reproach to the Political Service of the Colony in particular that there should be no locally organised publication of studies on points of ethnological, anthropological and archæological interest. Those of us who have spent some years in that Service know something of the difficulties which have militated against such production, but we know better than to attempt to explain them to an unsympathetic world and can content ourselves with taking the lead now in an endeavour to remedy the defect. It is not intended, however, that the pages of the *Gold Coast Review* should be restricted to contributions from members of the Gold Coast Political Service or even Government Officers generally, present or past. This first number is almost entirely composed of articles by members of the Political Service, but that is only with the intention of encouraging the others. It has also seemed most convenient in the present circumstances of the Colony that the *Review* should be published under the auspices of the Government and not as a private enterprise, but it is very much hoped that this will not prevent all educated members of the community from

regarding the *Review* as a possession, which with their support may become something of which we may all be proud. Apart from the contributions on subjects of scientific and general interest that we may hope to receive from those in Europe with a knowledge of things West African, the Gold Coast itself contains a great variety of persons well qualified to write for the *Review*. It is hoped that the Administrative Officers of the Government, whose duties bring them into close touch with the people of the country, will continue to contribute on points connected with the antiquities, traditions, rites, manners and customs of the Gold Coast: that other Government Officers will write on subjects of local interest that may come under their notice either in a general way or from the point of view of their special professional qualifications: that those who are engaged in mining, agricultural, banking or mercantile pursuits will spare time from their engrossing preoccupations either to record for the pages of the *Gold Coast Review* some special aspects of their business as conditioned by local circumstances, or to interest themselves in matters outside their business and, becoming amateurs of science and the arts in accordance with the best traditions of prosperous men of affairs in other communities, give the results of their interest to the world through the pages of the *Gold Coast Review*: and finally that natives of the country will not shun the *Review* as a Government publication or a preserve for Europeans, but will give us the advantage of special studies on matters connected with their own country, such as we see now occasionally and of a very good quality in the all too ephemeral setting of the weekly newspapers. The late Mr. J. M. Sarbah and Mr. A. B. Quartey-Papafio set a good example in contributions of great interest to the *Journal of the African Society*, but it has not been followed, and we make a special appeal now to members of the Gold Coast Bar and other educated Africans to revive the fashion of making investigations in a scientific spirit into the customs and institutions of their own land and people and to put them on record in the *Gold Coast Review*.

We want the Gold Coast to be not merely a country which provides salaries and pensions for its officials and the rewards of commerce and industry for private European enterprise and for the energetic among its own sons, but a land of thought and interest and culture, in which intelligent and scientific attention and investigation are devoted to early origins, traditions, languages, arts and crafts, antiquities, institutions, manners, customs, flora, fauna, entomology, meteorological conditions, geology, ancient works and buildings, and curious unrecorded incidents or traces of that most extraordinary and epoch-making historical course of events, the beginning and growth of the contact of the people of the country with Europeans.

For future numbers it will be much appreciated if articles are accompanied by photographs, diagrams, maps, sketches, etc., in illustration.

To those who are acquainted with the French West African Bulletin mentioned in the opening words of this introduction the reference may well seem presumptuous. That periodical is published in Paris under the auspices of the Government General of the whole of French West Africa and is under the direction of a Committee consisting of many members of eminent distinction. It appears quarterly. In a chance number which is before me as I write, there appear articles on the following subjects, all treated on a high scientific level and all copiously illustrated :

Topographical plan-making by aerial photography.

Circumstances governing the determination of temperature and hydrometrical condition in West Africa.

A contribution to the study of the ornithological fauna of Lower Togo.

Intestinal parasites in French West Africa.

Description and discussion of certain prehistoric weapons and implements found in Mauretania.

A very thorough discussion of the communication of messages by means of drumming and whistling, besides other matter. It is clear, therefore, that it will be long, if ever, before we can hope to approach the high

standard of this most valuable publication, but I have not hesitated to mention it as a model, since it is well to aim high, and, within the limitations of the personnel and the materials at our disposal, we may hope in time to produce something on the same lines worthy of consideration.

The output in our present number is not the best we can do. The sources of information of some of the writers are rather obvious at times in view of conflicting interests of a political or material nature. Our contributors will rise in time to a more scientific treatment of their historical and ethnological subjects. It would be interesting, for example (if it is possible), to have a really scientific discussion of the question whether in certain of the States of the Gold Coast the Paramount Chief is, as it were, a feudal lord and owner of the land with a right to contributions and a proportion of gains made by his sub-chiefs and people, or whether the State is a free association of independent communities, contributing voluntarily to the support of the Paramount Stool and to a fund for common purposes so long as they are content to do so; any one of which may dissociate itself and decline to contribute, if it considers it worth while.

It is necessary to mention that the authors of articles and notes appearing in the *Gold Coast Review* are solely responsible for their statements and expressions of opinion.

It is proposed that the *Review* shall appear half-yearly. The real crux will lie in the collection of sufficient material for the second and subsequent issues. A very strong appeal is therefore made to those readers who are in sympathy with the objects of the publication to commence the preparation of contributions without delay and to submit them to the Editor.

The aim will be to make the *Review* as far as possible self-supporting. While, therefore, a number of copies of the first issue will be distributed free in order to make the project known, it is hoped that all interested will enrol themselves as subscribers. The price of each

number will be based on the cost of production and will, as a rule, be about the same as the price marked on this number.

In future issues there will be a section at the end for correspondence and discussion of points in articles appearing in the previous number or numbers.

As some of the articles in the present number display rather tantalising omissions, there is reprinted as an Appendix to this Introduction a useful outline for the guidance of those contributing general accounts of tribes or regions, showing points on which it is desirable that information should be given. This will be reprinted in future numbers and is intended more for convenient reference as a reminder of what aspects call for investigation than as a questionnaire to be followed methodically. It is, in fact, sincerely hoped that its inclusion will not have the effect of stereotyping contributions in any way. Papers will, of course, very often not attempt to cover the whole ground indicated in the outline, but will select special sections of it for detailed investigation and study.

C. W. WELMAN,

Secretary for Native Affairs.

ACCRA,
GOLD COAST,
August 1925.

APPENDIX TO INTRODUCTION

Outline for guidance of those contributing general accounts of tribes
or regions

PART I

PHYSICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE COUNTRY AND POLITICAL ORGANISATION

SECTION I.—PHYSICAL DISTRIBUTION

Describe the Physical Distribution of the country forming the subject of the Report, giving latitude and longitude, course of rivers, ridges of mountains, etc.

SECTION II.—POLITICAL ORGANISATION

Is the country colony or protectorate? For how long has it been under British rule? Is there one native king or chief over the whole country, or does it include several kingdoms, etc.? Do the kings and chiefs hold their position by hereditary right, or are they appointed by the British Government? Are the kingdoms or districts over which they rule homogeneous, or do they include different tribes with distinct languages and customs? Describe the different tribes with respect to their physical characteristics, numbers and distribution. Is there a tribal organisation? Are all members of the tribe supposed to be descended from a common ancestor? Do men and women both belong to the tribe? Is any initiation or trial customary prior to admission to the tribe? What are the rights and duties of members of the tribe, with respect to mutual defence, payment of fines, surrender of offenders, and blood vengeance? Is English law in force in the country? If so, to what extent? Is it confined to commercial relations, or has it been applied so as to modify Native Customary Law with respect to family relations? To what extent has this been done?

PART II

CIVIL LAW

SECTION III.—FAMILY RELATIONS

Is there any term for family? How does the family stand related to the tribe? What does the family include? Does it exist in a wider and also in a narrower sense? For example, does it include merely the children of a certain individual, or does it include children, grand-children, great-grand-children, etc., of a common ancestor? Is the head of the family generally a man or a woman? Are any besides blood relations regarded as members of the family? Is adoption allowed? Is there anything of the nature of clientship? Is relationship reckoned through males or through females? What are the parent's powers over his children? Is infanticide practised, or was it practised in former days? Has the pledging of children for debt, etc., been customary? Give the native term for as many family relations as possible; for example: "father, mother, brother, sister, uncle, aunt, etc." Is the family system breaking down? If so, what are the causes and effects?

SECTION IV.—MARRIAGE

Does marriage exist as an institution? Are the sexual relations perpetual or temporary? Are different varieties of marriage recognised, and do the ceremonies by which they are entered into vary accordingly? Describe any of these ceremonies. Does polygamy prevail? If so, to what extent has it been customary in the past, and is it on the increase or decrease? Is polyandry permitted? If so, how are the husbands selected? At what age are marriages generally entered into, with regard to both sexes? Has Mahomedan law influenced marriage and family customs to a great extent? Describe how far it has been adopted, and how far primitive native customs inconsistent therewith have survived among professing Mahomedans? Are all wives considered equal or is there generally a head wife? What are her powers? Do wives generally occupy separate houses? Is concubinage permitted? Is the consent of both parties essential to marriage, or are females given in marriage without their consent? How far is this a common practice? Is it customary to constitute a dower, and is it furnished by the man or by the woman? What are the rights and duties of husband and wife towards one another? What is the social and industrial position of the wife? Is the purchase of wives customary? What restrictions are there on marriage? What are the prohibited degrees of relationship and affinity? May a man marry a woman of the same family, of the same name, of the same tribe, of another tribe? Is a religious character considered to attach to marriage? Are women allowed much freedom before marriage? When married are they good wives? May the husband repudiate a wife at will, or are there any restrictions upon his doing so? Can a wife obtain divorce from her husband? If so, how, and under what circumstances? What penal consequences attach to adultery by either spouse? Is seduction of women punishable, and what is the nature of the punishment? Under what circumstances is restitution of dower customary? What are the rules as to the custody of children? Is a distinction made between children born in wedlock and illegitimate children?

SECTION V.—GUARDIANSHIP

Is guardianship in existence as distinct from the authority of the head of the family? What are the powers and duties

of guardians? What persons are subject to guardianship? What is considered the period of puberty in both sexes? Does guardianship terminate on puberty or when? Are women considered to be under perpetual guardianship? What course is adopted with regard to the person and property of lunatics?

SECTION VI.—RIGHTS OF PROPERTY

Indicate generally the ideas of property existing among the natives. Is ownership collective, or individual, or both, according to the nature of the subjects? Is there a distinction between movable and immovable property? What rights does ownership comprise with respect to the taking of fruits, exclusive occupation and enjoyment, etc.? Are rights of the nature of servitudes recognised? Give any instances which you know describing the rights of the parties concerned. Are certain lands or objects of property regarded as belonging to (*a*) the village, (*b*) the tribe, (*c*) the kingdom? What customary rules are in force with regard to such lands? Is the land distributed for cultivation annually according to the size of families? May females hold land? May infants? What remedy is there for encroachments on rights of property? Does the custom of lodging and entertaining stranger-farmers, who cultivate land for the joint benefit of themselves and their landlords, prevail in the country? Is it customary for land to be leased and what sort of rents are paid?

SECTION VII.—SUCCESSION, DONATIONS, AND WILLS

On a man's death, to whom is his property, movable and immovable, held to descend? Do his children inherit, or his ascendants, or his brothers and sisters consanguineal and uterine? Do women inherit, and if so, subject to what conditions? When does the nephew of the deceased inherit? What rights of inheritance are there as between spouses? What rights has the village or tribal community over the property of the deceased? What are the rights and duties of heirs? What are the forms of acceptance or repudiation of an inheritance? What are the liabilities of an heir with respect to the debts of the deceased? Give the principles of distribution of inheritances amongst multiple heirs. What ceremony, feasts, sacrifices, etc., are customary on death, and when does the distribution of the estate commence? What rules are there as to mourning? What are a man's

rights with regard to disposing of his property (a) by *mortis causa* donation? (b) by will? Who may take under a *mortis causa* donation or will? Is there any rule as to the portion of his estate which may be lawfully disposed of by a man in either of these ways? Describe the forms and effects of such donations. Are they revocable? Describe the forms and rules connected with wills. Is the appointment of executors customary? Give rules as to revocation or lapsing of wills.

SECTION VIII.—CONTRACTS

Describe any native contracts. How are contracts entered into? Are special forms requisite? How are contracts extinguished? How is their constitution or extinction proved?

Sale.—What is the nature and form of this contract by native law? Who may buy or sell? What things may be sold? What are the obligations of the seller with respect to delivery, guarantee, etc.? What are the obligations of the buyer?

Exchange.—Is this the most customary mode of effecting business transactions? Mention any special rules connected with it.

Money.—Is the use of money known? Does it play a large part in business transactions? What coins are current in the country?

Labour.—Does native custom permit slavery? the letting of personal services? pledging of persons for debt? Describe the position of slaves, pledgees, etc., under primitive native rule.

Loan.—What varieties of loan (gratuitous, for a consideration, etc.), are recognised by native custom? What are the obligations of the borrower and of the lender in the various forms? Is loan on interest in use? What interest is generally charged?

Agency.—What forms of this contract are common? What are the obligations of the principal and of the agent? How is the agency terminated?

Pledge.—What objects are commonly the subject of pledge? Give rules relating to the contract.

Enforcement of Contracts.—Is personal constraint customary as a means of enforcement? Or what means of execution are there for the recovery of debts?

SECTION IX.—PRESCRIPTION

Is prescription known? What are its periods and rules?

PART III

CRIMINAL LAW

SECTION X.—OFFENCES

Have the natives any classification of offences? What rules are recognised with regard to murder, culpable homicide, suicide, maiming, rape, abduction, seduction, abuse of children, assault, unnatural offences, arson, trespass, theft, fraud, treason, rebellion, sacrilege, dissent from the prevailing religion? Is an attempt to commit a crime or other offence punishable? Describe the civil and criminal responsibilities of (a) parents of offenders, (b) his village or tribe. What defences, justifying or mitigating circumstances, are commonly recognised with regard to offences? Is a distinction drawn between homicide, injuries, etc., caused involuntarily and such as are caused with intent? Enumerate any offences recognised by the customary law of the country in addition to those mentioned above.

SECTION XI.—PENALTIES

Give any general principles as to penalties. Is the penalty based (a) on the idea of punishment or (b) on the idea of damages? What penalties, corporal or pecuniary, are in use for various offences?

Accessories.—To what penalties are these subject?

PART IV

JUDICIAL ORGANISATION

SECTION XII.—NATIVE JURISDICTION

Describe the organisation of justice according to native custom. If no longer existing, give such information as possible with regard to such organisation in former days. Describe the mode of holding and procedure customary at palavers. Where are (or were) they held? Who are (or were) the judges? What are (or were) their qualifications, powers and duties? Is (or was) there any system of appeals from lower to higher authorities? Is (or was) any distinction made between civil and criminal jurisdiction? Is (or was)

there anything analogous to trial by jury? Give any information which you can with regard to native ideas as to limits of jurisdiction; cases, for example, of an offence being committed within the territory of one village by a native of another locality; or, in a civil litigation, of the parties belonging to different tribes, etc., etc.

Procedure.—How are civil or criminal cases brought before the court? What procedure is followed in court? What forms of proof are recognised? acknowledgments? testimonial proof, with or without oath? ordeal? combat? torture?

Is (or was) fetish employed in connection with litigations or criminal proceeding? Is it customary to call persons to testify, not as to the facts of the case, but as to the credibility of witnesses? Are the rules of Mahomedan law followed? If such be generally the case, note any important exceptions. Is justice rendered gratuitously or what charges are made? Are the judges paid? By whom? Does custom admit of their receiving money or presents from parties? What are the forms of judgments? How are they enforced?

PART V

MISCELLANEOUS

How are widows treated? Are they (or were they) or any of them sacrificed at the husband's grave? Do they pass to the husband's brother or to any one else? May they marry again? Do they inherit from the husband, and if so, what portion do they receive?

Mention any causes tending to limit population; such as separation of husband and wife, long continuance of suckling, late marriages on the part of husband or of wife, sterility among women, infanticide, death of children due to severe exertion of mother soon after child-birth, diseases, neglect of children.

Training and domestication of animals.—What animals are kept and in what numbers? Mention any customs or peculiarities in relation to breeding or management of animals. What animals are used for milk and what for food? Are they well-treated? Are any animals trained for particular uses, e.g. ploughing, bearing loads, etc.

Agriculture.—What forms of this prevail? How are lands to be cultivated, selected or divided? Describe landmarks.

Is any rotation of crops observed? Is the use of manure understood?

Nomadic life.—Are there nomad tribes, or what proportion of the population follow a nomadic life? Describe the mode of life of the nomads.

Hunting.—Are there any laws or customs for the preservation of game? How are hunting grounds arranged between neighbouring tribes?

Weights and Measures.—Describe any native weights or measures in use? Are tallies of numbers of articles used, and if so, how?

Magic and Witchcraft.—What forms of this prevail? Is a distinction recognised between “black” and “white” magic? What measures does native custom sanction for the repression of witchcraft?

Oaths, Covenants.—What forms of these are in use, and in what cases are they resorted to?

Does cannibalism exist in the country, or did it do so until recently? What reasons are assigned for its existence, and who are (or were) the victims?

Food.—What is the principal food of the people—fish, flesh, fowl, vegetables, fruit, cereals, bark, pith, etc.?

Mention any prohibitions as to the use of certain articles of diet.

Habitations.—Describe the dwellings of the people, whether tone or mud built, cane huts, cave dwellings, tents, etc.

The Kwahus

By A. J. WALKER

GOLD COAST POLITICAL SERVICE

THE mountainous district of Kwahu is bounded on the west by Ashanti and on the east by the Volta. From the south the mountains of Akim continue into the state—the highest peaks are at Obo and Abetifi, the latter meaning the “top of the hill.” To the north stretch the grassy Afram Plains.

The district is supposed to have obtained its name in the following manner. Long ago two brothers, Osei Twum and Firemping Manso, came from Adanse Dankyera and settled at Dapong in Ashanti Akim. Osei Twum, however, found this town too damp, and his feet got sore, so he emigrated to the top of the Scarp and started to look round for a place to settle with his people. In due course they came to a stream in which there was a stone jar: an omen which was considered auspicious. And so Osei Twum settled down and called the town which sprang up Bokorua, or stone jar. This was the original settlement of the Kwahus.

Now, Osei Twum stayed for many years at this place, and, on one occasion, sent out his nephew and a favourite slave called Kofabra (“go and bring it”) to explore the plateau. Kofabra died suddenly, and on the news reaching Osei Twum, he exclaimed, in his sorrow: “How grieved I am! I shall call this country Akoawu” (“the slave has died here”). Akoawu has in turn merged into Kwahu.

Afterwards a certain Onini came from Fejiase in Ashanti and begged for permission to remain in Kwahu. This

was granted—a slave called Adu being sent to find out a suitable spot for a town. He returned with a favourable report; the people then went to inspect the site, with which they were greatly pleased, and said, “Adu! womoa!” or, “Adu, you have not lied!” This is the present Aduamoia.

Abene was the next place to which the Ashanti emigrants came—this time from Ashanti Mampong. Gradually other settlers came and founded other towns—the Kontanase people founding Atibi; the Apromases, Obo; the Ofenesos, Nkwatia; and the Dankyira Morobems, Mpraeso.

Osei Twum died at an advanced age and was succeeded by his nephew Badu, who enlarged the district by conquering Atara-Finam, the king of Yanebofo. He drove this monarch and his followers into the Volta, where they were all drowned. This victory was accomplished with the aid of the chief of Komawu, who was called Tweneboa Kodia. After the battle he is supposed to have signalled * : “Atara ode mpem mpem agu nsu mu,” or, “Atara has been drowned with thousands of his people.” The lands of the defeated chief, through which flowed the Afram river, were divided up: Badu taking the southern, and Tweneboa Kodia the northern, portion. During Badu’s reign at Bokorua, Abene was the seat of the Jasihene. Later, however, a certain Mampong Adjaye migrated to Abene and conquered Badu, who then became a subordinate chief to Adjaye who assumed the title of Omanhene. Subsequent Amanhene were Adom, Minta Panyin, Mfodjoe Kwame and Kwatche. It is only to be expected that Kwahu, having been founded by Ashantis, was more or less controlled by them: it is mentioned amongst those states over which Osei Bonsu exercised jurisdiction. This would be about 1800. After Sir Garnet Wolseley’s campaign of 1873, the Kwahus broke away from the Ashantis and became an independent kingdom, which was never regained. They had always been staunch allies of this powerful tribe, and only on one occasion was there any

* By drumming, no doubt.—EDITOR.

serious dispute. This happened in 1869, when the Kwahus were invited to Coomassie to prepare for an invasion of the Krepis. En route, the Ashantis attacked them, captured the Bokorua stool and took it to Ashanti Juaben. It was afterwards recovered by Kofi Dankye, who was Adontenhene of Abetifi when Akuamoa Adofo was Omanhene of Kwahu.

In addition to those quoted above, there are many interesting examples as to how the various towns derived their names. Thus Obomen is said to have been founded by a hunter who climbed up the hill and discovered several banana trees, the fruit of which provided him with a welcome meal. He returned with the news to his friends, who in turn went to find the food, saying, "Mebomene" ("I'm going to break them down and eat them").

Nkwatia was built on a site where the bush was not very thick. The appropriate name of "Kwae tia," or "short forest," followed. Similarly with Mpraeso, where a portion of already cleared ground was discovered (Pra-to sweep, so-upon). A hunter figures in the naming of Bepong. He had shot a very large wild boar (ebee pon); and the deed was commemorated by naming the village Bepong. The Kontanases, who founded Atibi, originally fled to Akowudan and Omankyea, two small villages near Nkawkaw. In the course of time, the refugees decided that they would be safer on the plateau, and so climbed the mountain and settled down at Atibi. The Ashantis, it is asserted, sent a messenger to them with permission to return; but the favour was refused, the people saying that they were now Ahofadifo, or independent.

Other places owe their names to their surroundings: there is, for example, the usual Nkwantanang (cross roads). This nomenclature is continued up to the present day, as is shown in the case of Nkawkaw, which derives its name from the neighbouring stream, which becomes very discoloured, or "koko," after rains.

The claim of the Kwahus to the effect that they were always allies of the Ashantis is strengthened by the

fact that probably the most widely observed, of the very numerous, fetishes in the state is "Anotchi"—the history of which worship will be found in *A Vanished Dynasty*, by Sir Francis Fuller, K.B.E.

"Boroku," however, is nearly as extensively cultivated; nor is this strange, considering the partiality of all tribes in ancient times to worship any outstanding natural object. Situated on the top of a small hill on the edge of the Afram plains, Boroku rock presents a notable landmark, some 1,500 feet above the sea-level. Viewed from Abetifi it has the appearance of an old tower; from Nkwatanang it seems to be more oval in shape. The natives have no theory as to how it got there. Formerly all ceremonies were performed in a little village at the foot of the hill on which the rock stands; but now the headquarters of the worship are at Kwahu Tafo, where not only "Boroku" is to be found, but all the attendant fetishes. It is, however, intended to rebuild the village and to transfer "Boroku" back to the rock. Neither "Boroku," nor "Oboagya," his companion, leave Kwahu Tafo, where the natives regard the latter fetish as the wife, though the literal meaning is "father of the rock." All the lesser attendants reside in this town, and are also especially worshipped at certain other places. The names of these fetishes are:

<i>Fetish.</i>	<i>Special place of worship.</i>
Yentumi (we cannot)	At Mpraeso.
Obokumi (small rock)	At Aduamoa and Nkwatia.
Oboyame (stone god)	At Abene (the Omanhene's fetish).
Amoa Kwame ("help the man born on a Saturday"—this being one of the sacred days)	At Asakraka.
Adare	At Nkwatia.

It is claimed that the fetish protects the state, gives good advice and cures illness, with the exception of leprosy. Special medicines must be taken: these are prepared by the fetish priest's children, and certain are taken externally, others internally. Sometimes Boroku

goes to visit his rock, and on these occasions the natives worship one of the smaller deities. The sacred days are Sunday, Wednesday and Saturday—at intervals of forty days—the Saturday being known as “Memeneda dapa,” or the festival of Saturday, when a visit is made to the rock itself and a sheep sacrificed. When the celebration is taking place at Kwahu Tafo, the people come into the town and present the priest with offerings, such as tobacco and money, receiving in return food-stuffs. The money is taken in charge by the priest’s linguist—or Okyeame—who acts as treasurer, while there are also a Gyasehene, Essen and three Okra whose duties are similar to those in the civil constitution. There are three priestesses who wear white garments and dance, while certain attendants swing a weighted string over their heads. Meanwhile, the usual drumming and singing is carried on by the onlooker. One of the monotonous chants is, “Daponna rebō o” (“The celebration is coming to an end”). Both the priest and priestesses are copiously smeared with white clay and powder and palmwine. Eggs are broken and the yolk streams over their heads—and, although there is no indecency, the performers certainly present a filthy appearance to European eyes. The fetish priest carries a white sword on these occasions. The present office-bearer succeeded his uncle. The shrine has the usual appearance: the central image of Boroku being surrounded by the other deities. All are of clay, and covered over with little coins and knives. The fowl which is offered to the fetish, however, is not killed at the shrine but on a special conically-shaped block about twenty yards distant.

Fofie is another of the most important fetishes and is to be found throughout the district. It is said to have been brought from Nkama on the Volta, and is celebrated in much the same manner as other fetishes. The sacred day is Friday, and there are different names for each day, such as Fida fofie, afile mpan, etc. One of the songs is “Okom ye obre,” which really means, “the fetish priest is weariness”—possibly it may be construed as “the duties of a fetish priest are tiring.”

The hunters on the Afram plains look upon Obosum as their protecting fetish, for it shows them how to find and kill big game and also safeguards them. Friday is once more the especial day, and the ceremony calls for no particular comment. "Agya meye bi" ("Father, I am one") is one of the songs on these occasions.

The Bosum Prah is not worshipped to the same extent as the foregoing. The old fetish of Atiwa Yaw has vanished: it used to have its headquarters on a hill near Nkwatia. As for private charms and fetishes, they are to be found in almost every house and in many forms.

Closely allied to such ceremonies is the custom known as Mogome, which formerly always was observed in times of war, and at the present day is used in times of litigation. It is said to have originated during one of the Ashanti campaigns, when an old madwoman decorated herself in white and sang certain songs while the warriors were fighting. The resulting victory was attributed to her action, and the custom is observed to the present day. Women and children, generally the chief's relatives, deck themselves in white and shuffle along the streets, singing and keeping time with white cloths which they slowly wave up and down. They have their own chief, linguist and elders. Like most fetish songs, the chant is most monotonous, and consists of one line repeated over and over again. Some of these are:

"Abuo mme wo," or, "May the fates defeat you!"

"Asemntwa Dwoda," or, "May the case be finished on a Monday," as Monday is a "cool," therefore favourable, day.

"Onni bi nnam kwan nkyen," or, "One who has nothing must pass to the side" (*cf.* "The weakest goes to the wall").

Mention must also be made of the Odum tree, which in former times was a big fetish and supposed to be the haunt of witches. Sometimes, when one of these is felled, a small bowl-shaped pod is to be seen at the roots. The natives allege that this contains the remains of children's fingers, and that the pod, which is regarded as the devil, must be pacified by killing a sheep across the tree.

Though the native is firmly convinced that his fetish can cure illnesses, the native doctor is nevertheless frequently consulted. Most of his medicines are made out of roots or from the barks of trees, the mahogany providing a medicine which is much used for dysentery and is prepared by boiling the bark in water, the resulting mixture then being taken by the patient. Odupong is the native name for this tree; and this word is derived from "aduru," medicine, and "pon," supreme.

Approximate time is arrived at by the sun's position, and when the moon is full there is much drumming and singing. This is merely because the moonlight gives a longer time for amusements.

People reckon in periods of forty days; and there are three seasons, viz.: Ope (Dry), Asusu (Wet) and Adom or Ofupe (the harvest-time). The old names for the months which are not in general use are:

<u>Opepon</u> —January	<u>Kitawonsa</u> —July
<u>Ogyefuo</u> —February	<u>Osana</u> —August
<u>Oforisuo</u> —March	<u>Ebo</u> —September
<u>Obenem</u> —April	<u>Ahinime</u> —October
<u>Kotonima</u> —May	<u>Obubuo</u> —November
<u>Ayewohomumo</u> —June	<u>Openima</u> —December

While dancing and drumming are favourite pastimes, the natives have several games, the most popular being Odame, a species of draughts, Oware, a game played with counters, and Ntew, which consists of any number of people spinning small round stones and trying to knock their opponents' off the board. Hunters are possessed of considerable skill and make much use of traps, while the Kwagyan, or fish-trap, is often met. News is circulated by the well-known gong-gong, dawuru, the initial taps being to call attention and the concluding beats meaning "Well, you have heard. It is your concern now!" Messages are also conveyed by drumming. The tree from which the drum is made is called Tweneboa (*cf.* the town of Twendurase, which means "Under the Twene tree"), and in ancient times only chiefs' drums could be made from it, but nowadays this rule does not apply. The tree is not only durable, but also produces

good sounds. The short drum, Twenesin, is given a special name, resembling the sound, by each chief. A few examples are: Mmepibi, "he dislikes any other"; nkra-wire-afrasen, "let next year meet us"; kyerekyerē wo botom, "show your pocket" (the Omanhene's drum). The use of the short drum is to call the people to meetings; in time of war, however, it denotes their companies. The art of drumming has to be specially learned, and is performed by one of the Nhenkwa.* Atumpan, a small instrument, and Abomma, a large one, are the State drums, and when beaten together produce a sound called "Fontomfrom." These are used on all special occasions. One of the local songs, called "The Battle and Victory," which describes the battle of Dodowah (August 7, 1826), gives the words which the various drums called out to the warriors. It also deals with the war-songs.

Written wills are very infrequent; oral wills sometimes occur, but the general rule is that the private means of the deceased go to the nephew, and if there is more than one, the gifts are shared. In the absence of nephews, nieces obtain the property; and in the absence of both, it goes to the brothers. On the heir would fall the duty of performing the funeral customs and paying off debts, but he would not be allowed to sell family land without permission. No land tax is collected as in Akim Abuakwa, but apart from this the conditions *re* sale and ownership of lands are similar, the parties each visiting the area in question. The sellers explain the cause of the transaction to the departed spirits and assure them it is only to save them from disgrace, and offer up a libation. A tree, the Ntome, is planted at each of the corners of the land to mark the boundaries: it is selected on account of its fast-growing qualities.

Ayi, or funeral custom, is still observed. Upon the death of a person, the family and friends collect and sit round the body, which has been washed by the sons and laid out in the best garments, while all personal effects are displayed. For four days after the death, the young men fire guns, beat drums, and drink, no food being taken.

* Chief's men or servants.—EDITOR.

The mourners smear themselves with red clay and wear Nkobon, or dark clothes. A subsidiary custom takes place forty days afterwards, when the family meet together and mourn. In the case of a very young child, it is buried at once in the cemetery and nobody mourns, but the mother—"to avoid being barren"—smears her breasts with dirt from the grave. A child dying at birth is buried on a dunghill without mourning; but there is no special custom with a woman who dies in childbirth, though "Wasan-Awu" celebration used to be performed. Suicides are buried at the outskirts of the town, but it would appear that the properties are not placed on the grave as in other districts. Nor is a stick with a piece of white cloth drawn through the town to purify it. A stick, however, is placed at the head of the grave. There is a slight difference also with the question of placing food on the grave. With an important person, a sheep is killed, "chop" * prepared and placed on the deceased's grave three days after death; in the case of a person of lesser importance, the food is put on the grave next day.

Marriage customs are faithfully carried out. If the woman accepts the man, he must go to her parents, who question her. Upon her acceptance, the family is notified and the would-be husband "begs for" her, paying dashes † to the parents and Tiade or head money. This is any outstanding debt of the family. "Head rum" must also be paid. A chief sends one of the Nhenkwa, or his servants, to beg for him, and in addition to the above ceremony, slaughters a sheep over the woman's foot.

The birth of a child always gives cause for rejoicing. Prior to the birth, the mother takes medicines to secure a safe delivery, while an old woman is present at the actual birth. On the same day, people come in to congratulate the parents, and the mother remains indoors for a week, after which she goes round the town in her best clothes, thanking people and receiving congratulations. The child receives both Christian and surnames,

* Pidgin English, food.—EDITOR.

† Presents.—EDITOR.

both of which are decided by the family, who generally assign the Christian name according to the day of the week, while the surname may be taken from the grandparents, uncles, or even the parents. Twins, by the way, have the special name of Atta for boy, and Attā for girl. The present tendency is not to cut tribal marks on the face.

Ogwira is the Omanhene's yam custom, the lesser chiefs performing "Afâhye." When the latter custom, which always starts on a Saturday (Memeneda dapa), is at hand, the people on the Friday go to the farms and collect the first crops. They leave a small bundle of sticks and plantains on the path leading to their farms, signifying that they are pleased with the fruits and that the spirits need have no fear but that they are being remembered. The stool is on view and an offering of fresh yam and sheep's blood is put on it. It is guarded by the chief's elders, and the people come up and offer dashes. A specially selected elder offers up thanks to the spirits for their kindnesses during the year. Nobody eats on Saturday, but there is much drinking and crying to show remembrance. Then on the Sunday, everybody wears their best garments and indulges in a feast. Dancing, of course, takes place.

Character bears an important part in the election of a chief. The deceased chief's brother—if of good character—is generally elected, otherwise the descent is based on the eldest sister's son, and so on. In the absence of nephews, nieces succeed, but never the late chief's children; and, in all cases, good character is a necessity. When a chief is about to die, messages are sent to the chiefs with the news that "he is going to his village." The chiefs come in to his town, and after the death the funeral custom of Doteyie is performed—a ceremony very similar to Ayi but on an exaggerated scale. The body is buried secretly at night in the royal cemetery; the Omanhene of Kwahu's cemetery is at Akankoase, the seat of the Banmuhene, or keeper of the royal cemetery.

A messenger now comes from the paramount chief

and tells the people that it is their duty to elect a new chief. It is generally known who the candidate will be, and a secret meeting of the Oman is held at the outskirts of the town in the early morning. The candidate does not go to this meeting, which is opened by the paramount chief's messenger, who tells the meeting why they have assembled. The Oman then make their choice and afterwards return to the street and summon the newly elected chief, who is informed of their decision. He is then seized, smeared with white clay and carried through the town, the people singing and dancing as they follow. Women join in the procession, which proceeds to the chief's house, where the new chief is allowed to sit on a sheepskin. A sheep is slaughtered and the blood allowed to flow on the ground. The elders and the chief then go to the room where the royal stool is kept. Here the chief dons the royal sandals and pays some money for his cloth, though it is his own. He turns his back and is then pushed three times towards the royal stool. Another sheep is slaughtered and the blood goes on to the stool. The chief now comes back to the people and swears loyalty to the stool, while they swear to obey him. Dashes (Aseda) are exchanged and congratulations received.

Destoolments are generally due to bad conduct and are usually preceded by warnings, which are frequently given by the superior chief. When a caution is to be administered, the Oman assemble, and through one of their elders inform the chief of his behaviour. The chief's linguist then tells him the charge. Should the chief plead guilty, he pacifies the Oman with a dash, and a sheep is killed. The dash will be fixed by the people. If his plea is "Not Guilty," he is tried by the Oman: witnesses being called and examined. Women may attend as witnesses or in official capacities, *e.g.* the queen mother. After trial, if the chief is found guilty, he must pacify the Oman and in addition swear the oath in use in his tribunal that he will not offend again. No fetish oath is to be used. Proceedings are reported to the paramount chief.

But if a destoolment is decided upon, a secret meeting of the Oman is held, at which an elder is appointed to tell the chief of the decision. The people go up drumming and dancing and send for the chief and his elders, who are informed, through the linguist and the elders, of the people's decision. It is the usual thing for the chief to accept his fate quietly. The common stool is drawn from under him, his sandals taken off, and he is struck with them three times. His royal gown is also taken from him. The people then shout out, "We don't want you," a sheep is killed in the street, and the chief is expelled from the town. The idea is that his bad influence must no longer continue, though he is not expelled from the division.

The military formation of the Kwahus is based on that of the Ashantis, which is fully described in Sir F. C. Fuller's book. The Adontenhene of Abetifi is the actual commander-in-chief. Litigation is very popular and the native tribunals have many cases to deal with. The chief presides over his court and is seated on the common stool in the midst of his elders and councillors. His linguist, who bears a stick of silver or gold, is generally on the right and is addressed by the parties, who open their case by the words, "Okyeame, fwe m'anim" ("Linguist, look at my face"). Evidence is given on oath and cross-examination permitted. Judgment is given by the council through the linguist, and in any grave case a sheep is slaughtered. From time to time the criers, who have a head dress with a flat silver top from which hang long hairs, enforce discipline in the court, uttering such cries as "mutie," "ampa," "ose," etc. When the chief speaks, these officials rise. The stool-bearers have no cap and sit around the stool. The state sword (Nfona) and elephant tail (Somena) are borne by the Nhenkwa. Behind the chief sits one of the Okraguarefo, who has an oval-shaped breastplate suspended from his neck. As the duties of the Okraguarefo are not generally so well known as those of the linguist, a more detailed description may be of interest. The meaning is, "the people who wash the soul of a chief,"

and so it is claimed that part of a chief's soul is in his Okraguarefo.

The origin is unknown: but the natives explain that in order to become such an official, the person must be very popular with the chief. He takes an oath of allegiance to support his chief on all occasions. On the chief's birthday the Okraguarefo go and wash in cold water and smear themselves with the sign of purity—white. The number of these servants is unknown, as they are elected at every festival, no record being kept. They also act as treasurers and financial advisers and all attend the tribunal and festivals. The head and shoulders are always smeared with white clay. They must not swear oaths or put themselves into fetish. At the death of one of the Okraguarefo the chief would perform ceremonies in order to transfer the okra to another person of the same family.

A good general description of the oath is to be found in the late Mr. Crowther's book, *Hints to District Commissioners*. It may be regarded as a species of summons to attend the tribunal, and to swear it one says, "Meka . . ." ("I speak . . ."). Formerly it used to be "Mekae . . ." ("I remember . . ."). When the oath is sworn on a person, he should take the oath also to show his innocence. Both parties having sworn the oath they are arrested by a passer-by and taken up to the court. Each has to pay "Apasobode"—generally fixed at eight shillings. A date is then fixed for the case. The "Ntamkese" of the Kwahus is "Asase aban." Long ago, the Kwahus were at war with the people of Togoland. Their Omanhene, Akuamoa Panyin, the Adontenhene, Korante Agyeman, and the Chidomhene, Mumu, were all killed. The oath commemorates the disaster, and as the battle took place in a hilly country, it was termed "Asase aban"—asase meaning "country," aban, "high." (This word is commonly used to mean "upstairs house," and in turn, "Government," which is, "above all.")

The Nifahene of Obo's oath is "Wukuda ne Ntwuma," or, "Wednesday and red clay." In ancient times, the man appointed to be Nifahene was living at Kwahu Tafo,

and when his people went to fetch him on a certain Wednesday they found him plastering a room with red clay. And so the oath was formed.

The Obomen oath of Yawda originated in the following manner: There was once a certain Ohene of Obomen whose name was Nyako Kyerefo. He had a war with the Omanhene of Kwahu. Both parties suffered considerably, and Abene shrank from a large into a small town. The disaster took place on a Thursday, which was adopted as the oath.

Finally, mention might be made of the message sticks (Aфона), which denote that the bearers, or "Afonosofo," have come from the chief. They are generally about three feet in length and are made of hard wood over which is goldleaf, the wood joining a blunt, oval-shaped sword which is of metal. On the top of the stick is some emblem. Thus one consists of an anthill in which are three small and one large mushrooms, representing the Omanhene and his wing chiefs. Doubtless the selection of these articles is due to the fact that when there is an anthill and there are no mushrooms, the land is of no use. Or, as the native saying aptly puts it, "Esie anuonyam ne mire" ("The glory of an anthill is the mushroom"). Other "Aфона" have a castle and a monkey, a tortoise and a snail, and there is one which denotes that though the Kwahus are peaceful people, they are always ready for war. For this a dove bearing a keg of powder in its mouth between two cannons was selected. In addition to this emblem the linguist can always be recognised by strings which are worn over his shoulder like a Sam Browne belt.

The Kpando Division

By P. D. LE LIEVRE

GOLD COAST POLITICAL SERVICE

General

IN that portion of the Ho District of the British Mandated Zone of Togoland which lies between the river Volta and the range of hills running north-east from the Peki country, as far north as the Nkunya and Akpafu hills, by far the most important political division is that of Kpando, holding, as it does, a position utterly disproportionate to the size and richness of its territory, the numbers of its people or the importance of its trade.

Past history is the prime reason for this state of affairs, and although, about 1903, the German Administration dealt a deadly blow to the power and prestige of the division by setting up as independent a number of tribes formally subservient to the stool of Kpando, the effect of this move is at the moment partially discounted by the outstanding personality of the head chief.

As I shall endeavour to show, all the peoples occupying the territory I have indicated were at one time or another either subservient to or at least under the influence of Kpando, and in dealing with this division, therefore, the key to a knowledge of the inhabitants of a comparatively wide stretch of country is obtained when the decentralising policy of the late administration is taken into consideration.

The division as at present constituted occupies a stretch of territory situated on the left bank of the river Volta of some 75 square miles in extent; it is composed chiefly of open grassy orchard country studded with small hills, although the northern portion abuts on the

richer forest country. The Kpandos, who claim to have been the first people of consequence to discover this stretch of country and were therefore in a position to choose whatever land they pleased, do not appear to have been wisely led; they rejected the richer and better-watered country to the north and now find themselves unable to grow commercial produce, and during the dry season experience some difficulty in obtaining adequate water supplies.

The total population amounts to some 5,000 souls, contained in fifteen towns, and numerous small farming and fishing villages. The capital is Gabi, also the headquarters of the Government political sub-district.

History

The original home of all the Eve-speaking peoples in Togoland was Nigeria, whence they migrated westwards to settle eventually at Noatsa near Lome. At this time all were united under the leadership of one Agor Koli, who, however, soon proved himself to be a tyrant of the worst order. Tradition, neither reliable nor informative at this early date (about A.D. 1750), varies as to the occurrences at Noatsa; but the Kpandos tell how King Agor Koli commanded all the tribes to make a wall round the town, and caused the piles of swish* at night to be filled with thorns, much to the discomfort of the workmen next day. This proved the last straw to the burden of oppression, and all the tribes, with the exception of that of the King himself, escaped through the uncompleted parts of the wall and scattered westward. It is from this point that the history of the Kpando nation (at that time called the Akpini tribe) as a separate entity commences.

Under the leadership of one Asianu the Kpandos proceeded north-west, crossed the range of hills at Amedjope called Eveto, and eventually reached the river Dayi, where they halted for a while on the site of the present village of Kudjia. After a short rest, the journey west-

* Puddled clay.—EDITOR.

ward was resumed until the river Volta barred further progress somewhere near the site of the present village of Dukludja. From here reconnoitring expeditions were sent out to the north and south. That to the north penetrated as far as Kwamikrum, where a boundary tree called Anya was planted as a claim to the land; up to this time, no strangers had been encountered, but on their return this expedition met some Wumpong people, who said they lived on the Nkuya hills; apparently the proceedings were of a friendly nature, the interests of the two parties not being opposed.

In the meantime an expedition to the south had set up another Anya tree at Tongor near Anum, and had also encountered inhabitants of the country, namely, the Avates; in respect of this meeting tradition tells how the smoke of this people's fires was seen in the distance, but on arrival at the encampment it was found deserted. The Kpandos accordingly took fire, and extinguished the remainder. The Avates on their return, therefore, were compelled to come to the Kpandos for fire, which was granted on the condition that the Avates should serve them and supply them with the head, legs and skin of any animal they killed with their bows and arrows. The Avates shaved their heads in token of subservience, and this incident, therefore, can be regarded as the commencement of the dominance of Kpando. Up to this time the use of bows and arrows had been unknown to the Kpandos, and it is plain, therefore, that the Avates must have been considerably outnumbered for the encounter to have had this result.

Shortly afterwards, the Kpandos, finding themselves unpursued by Agor Koi, decided to move eastwards again; the site of their encampment on the banks of the river had proved unsatisfactory owing to the many accidents that had occurred to their women and children. Crossing the hills on which the present Government station stands, they encountered the encampment of a man, Kperi, near Agiave; approving of this site, they drove him and his people away and settled on it. The place was then named Kperi fe do—"the empty place of

Kperi"; it is from this phrase that the name of Kpando is derived.

Settled at last on a site to their liking, the people were now able to turn to peaceful farming, and under these happy circumstances their leader Asianu died, to be succeeded by one Asianu Dedji.

Development now proceeded apace, and villages were established at Fessi and Djigbely, the leaders of the van and the left wing respectively, while Asianu Dedji himself founded the present head chief's town of Gabi.

During this period, further Eve-speaking tribes from Noatsa made their appearance headed by the Sovies of which the present division of Alavanyo is an off-shoot. The Kpandos had by this time firmly consolidated their position in the neighbourhood of Aziave, and though they claim by virtue of the boundary trees they had erected that all the tribes now living in the country indicated (*i.e.* Aveme, Tschome, Anfoi, Wusuta, Bokku, Dsocho, Avate, Sovie and Nkunya) were compelled to approach them for permission to settle, and therefore owed allegiance to them, I cannot think that at this early stage the Kpandos were strong enough adequately to control so large a piece of territory; certain it is that such power as they possessed was limited by the river Dayi in the south and the Nkunya hills in the north.

Adja Ga now succeeded Asianu Dedji, and almost at once this period of peace, prosperity and development ended with the first-coming of the Ashantis. The Kpandos surrendered without fighting and were compelled to give up 160 men as slaves.

The next incident recorded is the first of many attacks made on the Pekis by the Ashantis under their famous leader Yawo Setchre, in alliance with the Akwamus. The King of the Pekis, Kodjo Deh, called upon all the Eve tribes for assistance, with the happy result that after a stern struggle the invaders were driven back. It was realised that the perils of further invasion had not definitely been scotched, and an offensive and defensive alliance was therefore concluded between all the Eve tribes, under the leadership of Kpando, and the people of

Peki. This arrangement naturally marked a great step forward in the position of the Kpando people, and from this date their over-lordship was tacitly recognised to extend as far as the Eveto in the east and the hilly Nkunya and Buem country in the north.

From this point onward for a period that cannot have been less than sixty years, the Ashantis waged continuous guerilla warfare against the Eve tribes, their raids being always made in the early part of the year, when the river Volta was at its lowest. These raids seem chiefly to have been directed against the Pekis, but owing to the difficult nature of the country the raids do not appear ever to have been likely to develop into serious invasions, and there is no record of the Kpandos having been called in to assist in conformity with the terms of the alliance concluded under Adja Ga.

In any event no serious disturbance was caused during the reigns of the next two head chiefs, Bisiaku and Dra, and it can be presumed that much progress was made by the people, who owing to their proximity to the river were able to establish trading relations with the Danes, and barter rubber and palm fruit for guns (Dane guns), powder and beads. The reign of the next head chief, Dagadu I, who ascended the stool about 1850, saw the Kpandos engaged in a disastrous defensive war which had its origin in operations by the Ashantis against Chief Dompere of Akim Kotoku. The Ashantis drove him across the river Volta, and although the Pekis attempted to bar their path, carried all before them, and advanced as far as the Eveto, almost before the Kpandos were aware of the invasion. Dompere and the Pekis fled northward, but the Kpandos succeeded in checking the Ashanti advance northward in a battle fought at Have Kpegeme. The Ashantis thereupon ascended the Eveto and penetrated as far as Logba, where the Eve blacksmiths' primitive forging arrangements were destroyed. Finding their flank turned, the Kpandos fell back on to the line of the river Sayi, where they remained facing an active enemy for several weeks. Dompere, who was at Kolenu, was invited to advance and roll up the Ashanti

right wing while a strong frontal attack was delivered by the Kpandos; but he was suspicious and refused. The opportunity of catching the Ashantis, who were short of gunpowder at the time, was lost, and with the desertion of Aveme and Wusuta, the passage of the Sayi was forced and the Kpandos were driven northwards to Alavanyo, and later to Evhti and Gikpa, leaving the whole country to be ravaged by the enemy. Shortly afterwards, however, the Ashantis retired and the Pekis and Kpandos were able to return to restore their ruined villages.

Dagadu I, however, had not done with fighting, and soon after he assisted the Pekis in a further war against the Akwamus in the vicinity of Bator. At the conclusion of the fighting he paid a visit to the chief of Addah, Dosoo I, in connection with the Adidome war, and while at Big Addah succumbed to an attack of small-pox.

The reign of Dagadu II was comparatively uneventful, marking the end of the Ashanti peril and the coming of European administration, the only occurrence of note being a punitive expedition directed against the people of Peki Pori, owing to the murder of a Kpando man during the celebration of a funeral custom at Hohoe in 1890.

The present head chief was installed in 1897, and in a few years the division began very much to dislike the rule of the Germans; in 1900 the Government station was erected on the site of their fetish Fiadjei; about 1903 the tribes owing allegiance to Kpando were made independent, and the head chief found himself in a position hardly corresponding in importance to that of a sub-chief in the neighbouring British colony; finally, about 1910 a sleeping sickness isolation camp was opened at Kluto, where all those suffering or suspected to be suffering from the disease were posted, and from which it was noticed few returned. These grievances caused the head chief to do all in his power, short of open defiance, to oppose the Government and to identify himself with attempts to interest the Gold Coast Government in this portion of Togoland. For his conduct the head chief

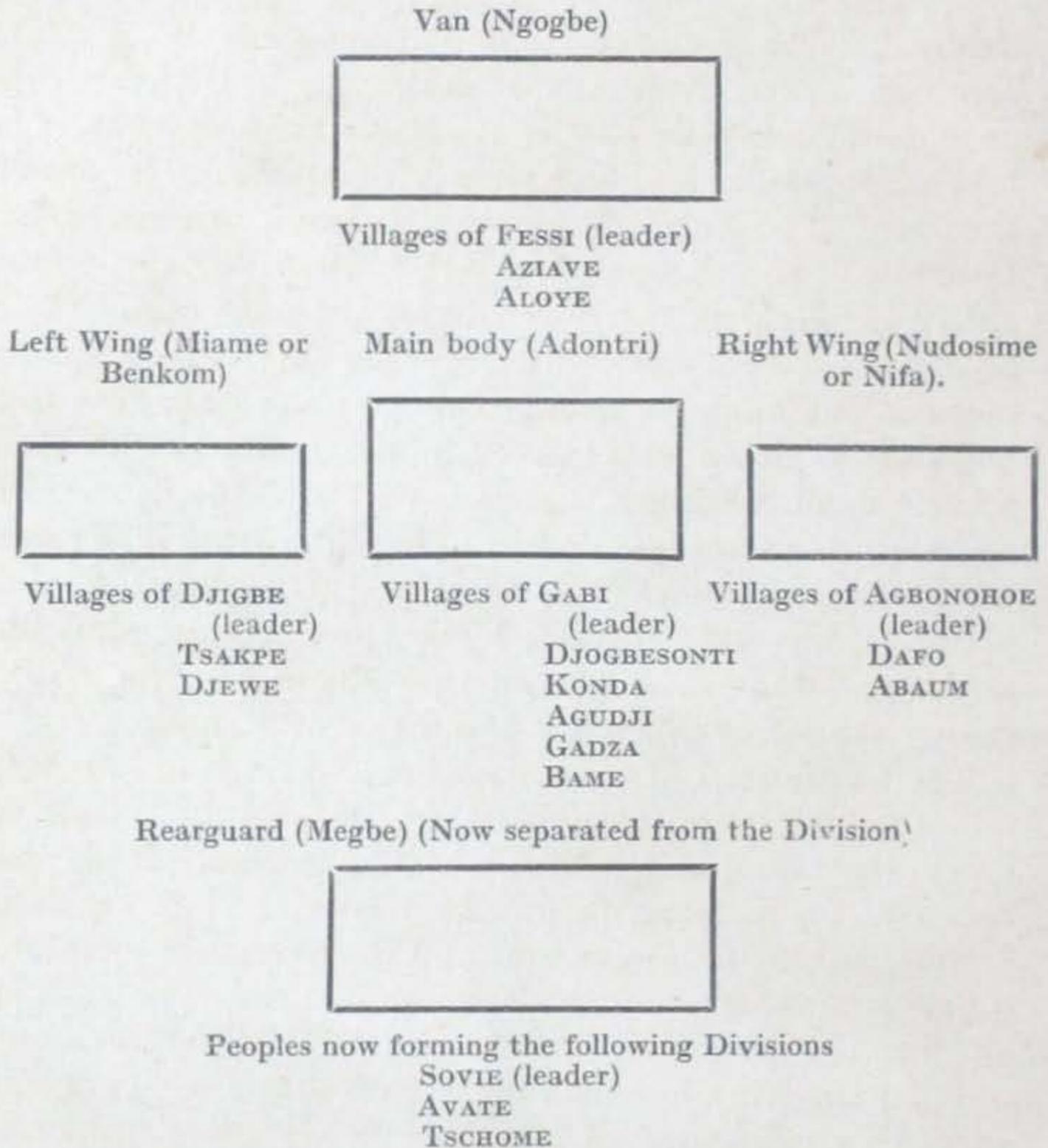
in 1911 was banished to the Cameroons, whence he was brought back by the British Authorities to Kpando shortly after their occupation of both colonies in 1914-15.

Military Constitution

The Eves are a peace-loving and tractable people, whose only wars have been forced upon them by the aggression of others. It is not surprising to find, therefore, that such military organisation as the Kpandos possess is a direct copy of Ashanti methods adopted by necessity in self-defence during the period when invasion of their territory was a constant menace. This is well demonstrated by the fact that even to this day the various positions in the battle order are better known by their Twi names, the only purely Eve terms used being the word for the van and its leader (Ngogbe towo and Fiangogbe). It can, I consider, safely be assumed that prior to the coming of the Ashantis, the Kpandos would advance to battle in a confused body with an advance guard and a rear-guard only. Even to-day the more complicated formation is almost unknown to the present generation, and is only called to mind with difficulty by the older men, who had actually taken part in the Ashanti fighting.

In each village the fighting men are under the command of a captain (Asafohene) who is responsible to the chief of the village. When the whole of the division move out to war the contingents from each village are formed into four main bodies, namely the van, main body, left and right wings, each of these bodies being under the command of the chief of the leading village. The full battle order is arranged as on p. 36.

The main body is commanded by the Asafohene to the head chief, who is thus free to direct operations. The other tribes subservient to Kpando during the Ashanti wars operated as separate formations with the exception of those shown below, who were an integral part of the Kpando battle order itself. It is curious that there is



no Ewe name for the main body,* and I have been unable to find any adequate explanation for this.

Most of the serious fighting done by the division took place in the reign of Dagadu I, and it is not surprising, therefore, that the various war drums and horns, which are now carefully preserved as state properties, date from his time.

The war drums, three in number, were used by the division to encourage and spur the fighters on to their best efforts in battle. The first dates from the time of Bisiaku, the manner of playing of which is supposed to form the words "Kingi Kededje," "A man is supported by a

* Awadada is the Ewe name, possibly unknown to the Kpandos.—
EDITOR.

ladder." The head chief is supposed to be a man climbing a tree by means of a ladder—if, therefore, his people run away in battle, it means that the ladder is taken from under him and he is left helpless at the top of the tree. The note of the second drum, originated by Dadadu I, is "Kreme Kuku," "Queen of the white ants;" as long as the queen lives, the ants retain their organisation and can work together for their common purpose, but if she is killed, then they are leaderless and helpless; if this note is played in the middle of a battle, therefore, all can know that it is well with the head chief and they must not lose heart. The third drum is of more recent origin, dating from the time of Dagadu II, and plays "Gblo gble djro," "They are saying this for nothing;" that is to say, all the talk and boasts of the enemy cannot avail against the might of Kpando.

The war horns of the Division are also three in number, all of which were originated by Dagadu I; made of ivory, they are hung with the jaws of Ashanti dead, and can sound a piercing, far-reaching note. They are used to summon the nation to war, and their message therefore differs somewhat from those of the drums. The note of the first is "Kwadjoe, Asembi Nio," "Kodjo (the name of chief Dagadu), here is a matter;" this is self-explanatory; but the note of the second is more difficult, "Kwadjoe nunu djidje apapa," "Kodjo, you entice people too much;" the most reasonable explanation of this seems to be that the head chief is always trying to get his people to make war and (understood) it is really for their own advantage in spite of what they may think. The third horn plays "Otuo ye Barima," "A gun is a man," that is to say, let every man come with a gun. It will be remembered in connection with this phrase that we ourselves have the habit of describing the strength of a body of troops as "so many bayonets."

The third of these horns has always remained in the possession of the division, but the first two were confiscated by the German authorities at the time of the banishment of the present head chief. On complaint being made to the English Administration, however, the

whereabouts of the first horn was traced and it was eventually restored in 1916; the second horn, however, has now found its way to a museum in Berlin.

Civil Constitution and Administration of Native Law

The civil constitution of the division is of the very simplest, due no doubt to the fact that European (and especially German) administration discourages exchanges between neighbouring divisions and exercises a strict control over matters important enough to engage the attention of the whole division. These considerations greatly assist the tendency to make the village the recognised unit, and it is to its internal administration, therefore, that we must turn to investigate the basic principles of the constitution.

The sub-chief of the village is the central figure, and in the ruling of his village he is probably subject to less control either by the head chief or Government with regard to matters concerning purely the welfare of his own people than is any other native official. He is assisted in his executive and administrative capacity by a council composed of the Asafohene, the linguist and the heads of those families which do not produce any of the above named. Subject to the several control of the head chief and Government, the power of this council is absolute, matters being carried through by a majority, while the chief has a casting vote. To explain the foregoing it is necessary to add that each village is divided into a number of families who are, of course, the descendants of the various original founders of the village; the office of chief, Asafohene and chief linguist are always filled from the same tribe without reference to the rest of the division, unless the position also carries with it authority over other villages, as in the case of the chief of Fessi, who is also Fiangogbe or that of the chief of Gabi, who is ex-officio head chief of the division. In the absence of the chief, Asafohene or linguist, for whatever reason, the vacant place in the council is filled by the head of the family concerned. The chief may appoint such assistant

linguists as he desires, but those have no voice in the council.

The system described applies equally, *mutatis mutandis*, to the head chief's town with the exception that another official is there found on the council called a Mankrado, whose function is to lighten the duties of the head chief by supervising matters of routine in the town; also in the absence of the head chief, the chief of Fessi acts as head chief and the Mankrado as chief of Gabi. Except in cases of importance or urgency, the head chief should always be approached through the Mankrado.

Matters which concern the division as a whole, are dealt with by the national council, which consists of the head chief, the Mankrado, the Asafohene of Gabi, the head linguist and the fourteen chiefs; this council operates within its own sphere on precisely similar lines to that of the village council. There are only four families in Gabi, and therefore no elders appear on this council, except in case of illness or absence of the regular members.

Destoolments and enstoolments are carried through by the council concerned, and are extremely simple in character. There is no ceremony of destoolment, and enstoolment with its two separate components, election and installation, is carried out in one day, provided there is no hitch in the proceedings. The ceremony is of the simplest, no fetish rites being carried out. The essentials are the placing of the candidate on the stool by the proper elders, the carrying of him round the town by the young men, and the swearing of the allegiance oath, Kwasia, by the candidate and members of the council.

Prior to the advent of European administration, the chiefs exercised little, if any, judicial authority. Minor disputes were settled by the heads of the families concerned, and reference was rarely made to the chief. In these cases judgments usually took the form of pacification by the passing of sheep or palm wine, the court expenses being paid in the same currency.

More important disputes, and offences of a criminal nature, were tried by an old man or several old men appointed for the purpose by the head chief and selected

by him for their wisdom and knowledge of affairs. This tribunal was responsible to the head chief alone and was empowered by him to try any cases whatever that might be brought before them. No distinction was drawn between civil and criminal cases. Serious wrongs were punished by a money fine, which could rarely be paid off, the offender in most cases becoming to all intents and purposes a slave to the head chief.

The death penalty was inflicted in cases of murder or adultery with the head chief's wife; the penalty was carried out by a permanent executioner, appointed by the head chief, in the following fashion: the offender was stretched face downwards on the ground and a heavy baulk of wood placed on the nape of his neck, his arms were then secured at right angles to the body, and the trunk raised sharply and bent over the head, thus breaking the neck.

The present judicial system, as originated by the German administration, changes all this, and allows only for a head chief's tribunal and under it sub-chiefs' tribunals. The conduct of these is so minutely regulated by a comprehensive set of rules that little remains of native procedure, and in consequence frequent references have to be made to the authorities for guidance and support. Except that native custom is respected these courts are run on European lines adapted to the requirements of the country, and do not therefore come within the scope of this essay.

Fetishes

The percentage of Christians throughout the division, but more particularly in the towns of Tsakpe, Gabi, Aloye and Fessi, is extremely high, owing to the energy of the Bremen and Catholic missions; but even were it not for this fact, fetish worship does not appear to play a great part in the public life of the division, nor do the priests wield either an open or secret influence on the conduct of affairs.

Each village has its own particular guardian spirit,

but in addition to these, several fetishes are worshipped by the whole division. They are looked upon as belonging to certain villages, whose special duty it is to make the necessary sacrifices to the spirit, and to appease him when occasion requires. The fetish priest invariably comes from the village to whom the spirit is said to belong.

The most important of those general fetishes is Gbonnga or Ngongodjami—the Leopard fetish. It belongs to the village of Fessi, and is the spirit which led the division through the bush from Noatsa in their wanderings until their settlement on the present site. As with all the other general fetishes its festival is celebrated every third year on the proper day appointed by the priest. A pilgrimage is made to the grove by all the division and an offering of sheep, goats, and fowls is made, while the priest thanks the spirit for its goodness in the past, and prays for its protection in the future. Singing, dancing, and drumming then take place, and some of the sacrifice is eaten together with part of the palm wine which has been brought for libations. The proceedings last throughout the day until the evening, when the priest again prays to the spirit, and the worshippers then disperse. In the case of this particular fetish rice forms the most important part of the offering, a portion of which must have been hand cleaned and prepared by the Soxies in remembrance of the time when they followed and settled close to the Kpandos, shortly after their arrival.

The Kpoekotsu fetish belongs to the people of Djigbe. This spirit is reputed to have been the protection of the rear of the immigration from Noatsa, and the usual festival is made in its honour every third year. Women, however, must not mention this fetish, nor can they eat any of the sacrificial offerings; the reason for this is that in the course of the migration the spirit appeared in the form of a man covered with a yaws to a woman as she was drawing water and asked her for a drink from her calabash. The woman refused, but a hunter came and compelled the woman to give the man to drink; the fetish therefore has hated women ever since. A third fetish called Abo Sayi belongs to the village of Djogbesanti; this spirit lives in

the river Sayi and is now worshipped for its goodness in showing the nation a safe spot to cross the river during their migration. The exact site is marked by a large stone placed in the fork of a tree, and is visited by the whole division on the appointed festival day every third year, which must also be a market day at Kpando. The usual ceremonies are carried out, and on their completion people dive into the stream and bring up handfuls of mud from the bed of the stream. This mud is distributed and much valued by the recipients as a charm; usually it is wrapped in a leather casing and attached to the arm with a thong.

The village of Aloye also possesses a fetish called Gbenyi-gbenyi, which lives in a swamp near the small village of Addofe. It was discovered by two hunters, one of whom fell in and lost his life, when approaching to drink the water.

The stool of the head chief (Torgboe Kpando or Zikpui) is also worshipped every year; offerings of sheep and palm wine are made, but there is no priest to direct the rites, and the festival is held not so much as a religious ceremony as in remembrance and veneration of the ancestors and founders of the division. Although no traces can be found of the practice of actual deification and worship of ancestors as gods or spirits, a feeling of the greatest respect is manifested not only in this stool ceremony, but also by the fact that the skulls and jaws of the seven elders who brought the people from Noatsa are carefully preserved in a calabash, which must be taken by the division wherever they go. At the present time this calabash is buried under the head chief's house in Gabi town, which is therefore known as Afetohō (the house of the head of the family).

Originally there was another general fetish in the division called Fiadjei, which belonged to the town of Tsakpe, but the worship of this spirit has largely died out. It used to inhabit the hill on which the Government station now stands, but it is now generally believed that the spirit has left the site, although several stories are current in the station that it has been seen and its presence

felt. It was on account of this fetish that the Kpandos made as much opposition as they dared to the establishment of the station on its present site, as it meant that the special grove, to be visited by the priest only, was desecrated and built on. This was the first of several reasons which caused the tremendous unpopularity of the German regime with the Kpandos, which is not to be observed in other divisions.

Apart from these general fetishes, each village possesses its own special fetish, inhabiting a stone, tree, hill, or simply the surrounding bush. It is these fetishes which are usually invoked whenever it is desired to put anyone, known or unknown, in fetich, to make a solemn statement on oath. A grove is used for the purpose of making offerings and worshipping, and in some cases a small image is made in swish and embedded with cowries, which is supposed to protect the village at night. The chief festival of these fetishes occurs at the beginning of the yam harvest some time about August; this ceremony is divided into two parts. The first part has to be carried out before any of the yam crop can be brought into the village; the town is swept and a procession is made round to the accompaniment of the usual dancing and drumming. Next morning there is a ceremonial entry into the town of all the farmers, each bringing yams from each of their farms. The second, and more important, part of the festival is not carried out until some three weeks later. The priest rises early in the morning and robes himself in white with his grass hat, and summons the people. With one knife in his hand and another in his mouth, he dances to the playing of the drums. He then leads the people under the arch, which will have been erected outside the village, to the fetish grove into which only the persons of importance are allowed to enter, while the others remain outside. Offerings of yam and fowls are made and the priest offers up the customary thanks and prayers. Palm wine is then circulated after a libation has been poured out and drumming commences. This may or may not be kept up till nightfall, but a return must in any case be made at that time for the final prayers.

Priests of all fetishes, who may be either men or women and can be distinguished by the strings of cowrie shells they wear, are not elected but "called." The office is held for life, and at the holding of the funeral custom of a priest, prayer is offered up after a libation of palm wine, and the spirit then descends and takes possession of the successor. Priests of importance may have one or more assistants, chosen by themselves.

Charms are much used in the division, and usually consist of black powder or earth put up in a leather case and secured by the bark of a tree called Botsi. Many come from the Abo-Dayi fetish, but there is also some trade in these articles, which are procurable from any medicine man at a cost of anything from five to twelve shillings. Some of the older charms, passed down from father to son, are said to have been obtained originally from gorillas, and are popularly supposed to endow the owner with the strength of that animal; no price can of course be put to this type of charm, as they are naturally most jealously guarded by their fortunate owners. Although hardly relevant to this subject, it may be best here to describe the oaths of the division. Originally there were three lawful oaths belonging respectively to the head chief and the chiefs of Fessi and Djigbe. The use of the latter two have, however, recently been suppressed by common consent, and the head chief's oath, Kwasida (Sunday), is now universally sworn. The significance of this oath is derived from the fact that the migration from Noatsa took place on a Sunday, that the man Kperi was driven away from the land on the same day, and that the eldest son of Asianu himself died on that day also.

Customs

The unsatisfactory nature of the principles of marriage and divorce is an outstanding feature in this as in other Eve divisions and is productive of numberless disputes, besides being conducive to an almost universal moral laxity. In other respects there is little that calls for general comment in this subject, with the possible

exception of the fact that relatively far more attention is paid to the celebration of funeral rites than might be expected.

Dealing with the question of birth, it is found that only the coming of the first child is attended with ceremonial. The duties of midwife are usually carried out by two female relations of mature years. After the birth the services of a medicine man are secured, usually by payment of a fee of 5s. for the purpose of making sacrifice; he is also required to produce a special black thread on which he invokes spirits before attaching it to the hair of the child. The husband is required to provide rum for the women who have acted as midwives and for the medicine man. A period of eight days should then be allowed to elapse, during which it is essential that the infant be kept inside the room in which it was born. After this time a thanksgiving party is held, to which all the nearer relations are invited, and the husband then presents the mother with the various personal articles the child will require. Naturally the extent of these gifts and the scope of hospitality shown varies in accordance with the status of the parents. A man of substance will provide a lavish entertainment, and present his child with a complete outfit, which should include basin, bucket, mosquito net, cover cloths, comb, toilet soap and powder.

Subsequent children must be kept inside the room for the period of eight days, and the personal outfit is of course provided, but no ceremony is made. The sex of the children is not a matter of much concern, but generally the mother prefers to have a girl and the father a boy, for the obvious reason that in time to come the child will become of more assistance to the parent to whose particular sex it belongs.

The first menstruation of a girl is regarded as an event of some importance in her life, chiefly because it is usually at this time that her marriage takes place. As also is the case on subsequent occasions, the girl, when menstruation commences, is required to sleep outside the house in company with several girl friends or relations of the same age for two nights. On the third day a family

party is held and palm wine is passed round. If the girl is already betrothed, which is usually the case, the prospective husband should provide the wine and also some yams for the consumption of the party. Drum is played, and the companions of the girl sing in chorus to the song sung by the girl herself; the burden of the song is to the effect that after a long time of waiting she can at last take a husband. It is on this occasion also that the prospective husband, if there is one, should pay rum and the dowry to the parents. After which he is allowed to take away his bride without further ceremony, after she has passed one more night outside the house.

Marriage itself can be accomplished in a number of ways, but the most usual is for a girl to be betrothed prior to her first menstruation; normally it is the father who looks for a suitable husband for his daughter and promises the girl to a husband, in order to ensure that when her time comes, she does not indulge in promiscuous intercourse.

It is the custom, if possible, for the father to promise his daughter in this way to his sister's son, but the wishes of the girl herself, provided she has made a definite choice, are usually respected either at this stage or when the time comes for the promise to be redeemed. The dowry is paid as has been described above, and the girl receives one-third, while the parents take the remainder. The total amount varies from £3 to £5. Occasionally it may happen that a father will promise his child in exchange for a loan, but as this is mere borrowing on the security of the dowry, it cannot be regarded as a separate form of marriage.

If the girl is not married at the time of her first menstruation, it is usually the man who makes the first advance, and obtains her consent. He should then approach the parents, and if they agree, the marriage is completed by the usual payment of rum and the dowry. In some cases only does the girl marry the man in defiance of her parents' wishes. If both parents are dead, the brother or uncle is looked upon as the guardian.

Marriage can also be effected through divorce. In practically every case the divorce of a woman is due to

unfaithfulness, and if her expenses are paid by the man with whom she has been associated, he is looked upon as being really married to her.

A widow should always, if possible, marry the inheritor to her husband's estate in order to remain in the same house and look after the children. Such a marriage is effected by declaration before a gathering of the relations, when the man should produce palm wine, and prayer be made by the eldest male relation present to the spirit of the dead man.

It is perfectly safe to assume that every unmarried girl of marriageable age lives in a state of concubinage either promiscuously or continuously with the same man. If the latter is the case for a considerable period, the length of which is not expressly defined, the girl is looked upon as being properly married, especially if she has been living in the same house with the man.

Except in the case of the richer men, it is not usual to have more than one wife living in a man's house, chiefly because the houses are rarely large enough. The house is kept by the first wife while the subsequent wives live with their parents, and are merely visited by their husbands. The average man does not marry a second wife until his first has become relatively unattractive.

The question of marriage is sufficiently complicated—that of divorce more so: many of its provisions are unsatisfactory, and the proceedings are of so unformed a nature that it can easily be understood why disputes are of frequent occurrence.

The usual grounds for divorce are, in the case of a husband, failure to pay subsistence or ill treatment; in that of a wife, adultery on two or more occasions.

Where divorce is sought for on the score of misconduct a husband returns his wife to her parents, explains the circumstances of the case, and demands the return of the dowry he paid. If this is refused, recourse has to be made to the chief, who then, on receiving the usual gift of palm wine from the husband, makes the final decision. If the divorce is refused the man must either have the woman back or else compensate her suitably; more

likely than not, however, it is the woman who will refuse to return to her husband on the ground that he does not want her any more; in this case disobedience of the court orders to return is punished by a fine.

Divorce can similarly be arranged by the parents of the woman, if the man has been at fault, but in this case the husband loses the dowry he has paid. Recourse is made to the chief in the same way, if such an arrangement cannot be framed.

A husband can divorce his wife without reason, if he renounces all claim to the dowry, but a wife cannot divorce her husband unless he gives her due cause, and it is only in rare instances that she desires to do this. Occasionally it may happen that she meets a man she prefers to her husband; but in theory at any rate, even if she deserts him, she cannot obtain a divorce if subsistence is still offered to her.

Children born prior to divorce belong invariably to the original husband, unless the woman is a concubine, who has not qualified for the position of true wife. This custom is the cause of endless disputes and much real injustice, because although a newly born baby is allowed to remain with its mother until weaned, it may happen, as it often does, that a woman who has deserted her husband for another man, may bear a child to this other man before divorce actually takes place, with the result that the child has eventually to be given to her original husband, unless he has failed to provide the proper subsistence for it; in such circumstances as these, a case by no means fantastic, the real parents find themselves totally deprived of their own flesh and blood.

Divorces rarely take place when the couple are absent from the division, as the matter cannot either be brought to the parents or before a chief who is conversant with their customs.

A couple living in concubinage that has not yet been recognised by native custom as a binding marriage, may part without payment on either side, and this practice also applies to the case of a widow who has married her husband's inheritor.

Death and burial furnish the occasion for more ceremonial than takes place at any other occurrence; the death of a man of position may involve proceedings stretching over several days and possibly state visits from neighbouring divisions. The ceremony is divided into two parts, which may be separated by an interval of many weeks or even months.

The actual interment takes place in the afternoon following death. The deceased is dressed in his finest clothes, and laid on his bed, where he lies in state, surrounded by lamenting women, until the actual time of burial. All the relations should place on the public street outside their houses pieces of dark cloth as a sign of lamentation. The parents, uncle, or nearest relative provide a coffin of odum wood, and a grave is dug in the cemetery outside the village. At the appointed time, usually 5 p.m., relatives bring the coffin to the house, and a funeral procession is made thence to the grave, where the interment takes place without further ceremonial.

What is known as the funeral custom, which can best be termed the celebration of the passing of the deceased, takes place on an appointed day after an indefinite interval; the most important part of the proceedings is the regular firing of guns throughout the day, which is spent in drumming, dancing, and the drinking of palm wine supplied by the relatives, while the women keep up an incessant lamentation.

The practice of wearing mourning is common, and takes the form of black or dark blue cloth. A widower is required to confine himself to his room for about two weeks, while a widow in addition must shave her head and wear no head covering; her period of confinement should moreover last six months, after which time she should be sacrificially washed before making a public appearance. After this she is free to marry whom she pleases, but she is expected to marry her husband's inheritor, if it can be arranged.

The whole estate of the deceased passes to one inheritor only. In the case of a man the order of inheritance is, father's son by another mother, own brother, uncle, or son;

in the case of a woman, the parents, uncle, or son. If, however, a widow does not elect to marry the inheritor, a proportion of the estate, to be decided by the relations or chief, should be made over to her. Debts owing to the estate are paid to the inheritor, who also makes himself responsible for debts owed by the deceased, provided these do not exceed the value of the total estate after the widow's portion, if any, has been deducted.

In conclusion to this brief consideration of the more important customs prevailing in the division, the following sayings, with their English equivalents, where one exists, are given below. It is not pretended that the list can have any pretensions to being comprehensive, as an intimate knowledge of this subject must require years of close study and experience, but by this list an indication is afforded that some at any rate of the better known English proverbs have their counterparts in this as in other languages :

“ Notso Notso medo adjoble o.”

Literally, “ Going here and going there does not catch the morning mist.” Every one knows the morning mist only lasts an hour or two ; a person, therefore, who is always changing direction or altering his mind will soon find the mist (symbolic of his object) has disappeared. This proverb can therefore be taken to mean that a man who vacillates will also find his opportunities slip from him before he can avail himself of them.

“ Nuvi namela menye djodoameto.”

Literally, “ A giver of a small thing is not a person who kills people by juju.” This is to say, a man, just because his gift is small, is not necessarily a wicked (*i.e.* mean) person. It is better to give a small gift to assist another, when he specially requires it, rather than a large gift when more prosperous times come for both. “ Every little helps.”

“ Azonli gagla tsa kudeme.”

Literally, “ Obscure walking meets with death.” *I.e.* A man who works and behaves in an underhand way is

sure to meet with misfortune. "Hoist with his own petard."

"Agbletogbe mesie fao."

Literally, "A farm with weeds on it does not escape a snake." This is a farming saw, and means that farms should be kept clean, otherwise they will be infested with snakes.

"Kayi mediana do enyo wu adadja."

Literally, "An undyed cloth is better than nakedness." This is of course self-explanatory. "Half a loaf is better than none."

Trade

The land of the division, although fertile enough for the growing of food crops, does not favour the cultivation of cocoa. At the present time, therefore, when trade in oil palm products is unremunerative, the head chief's town as a trading centre is rapidly diminishing in importance. Cocoa passes through in small quantities from the north, and large herds of cattle are also driven through on their way to Accra; but inside the division itself, apart from the large food market, little trading is done except in the manufacture of black native pottery found near the banks of the river Volta. The land, however, is suitable for cotton and coffee growing, and if trade in these commodities can be developed and the oil palm industry rehabilitated, it may be possible for the division yet to achieve a fair measure of prosperity.

At the present time, however, there is little money in the division, and this fact is responsible for a state of affairs without mention of which no essay on this division could be complete. I refer to the incidence of venereal disease, which is so prevalent in the division as to be almost universal among adults; in part this may be ascribed to the unmoral and incontinent natures of the people, but it cannot be doubted that the main reason is the constant visiting of the trading centres of the Eastern Province of the Gold Coast by women of all ages and

conditions, ostensibly for the purpose of trade, but in reality to practise prostitution in order to obtain articles of personal adornment. I cannot explain why this practice should be more or less confined to this section of the country, but certain it is nine-tenths of the prostitutes found at Koforidua and elsewhere are natives of Togoland, and of these a good proportion come from the Kpando division. Unfortunately these women invariably return to their native towns, and the results, plain to the most superficial observer, are of so serious and widespread a nature that the natives themselves have become thoroughly alarmed and are continually begging Government to allow them to take drastic steps to put an end to this undesirable practice.

Akim-Abuakwa

A Brief Note on its Constitution and Customs

BY J. V. SHAW

GOLD COAST POLITICAL SERVICE

THE territory occupied by the division or tribe of Akim-Abuakwa is a part of the administrative area known as the Birrim District within the Eastern Province of the Gold Coast Colony.

The division extends to an area of approximately 1,870 square miles with an African population, according to the census returns of 1921, of 90,306.

The political boundaries of Akim-Abuakwa are roughly as follows :

To the north	Kwahu,
„ north-east	Krobo,
„ east	New Juaben,
„ south-east	Akwapim,
„ south	Accra,
„ west	Akim-Kotoku.

Certain portions of Akim-Abuakwa stool lands are contained within the administrative districts of Accra and Western Akim (Akim-Kotoku), but it is unnecessary to refer to these in detail. Towns of the size and importance of Adeiso and Akyease furnish examples of the case in point.

The Akan dialect of the Twi language is spoken throughout the division.

The capital town and residence of the paramount chief of Akim-Abuakwa is Kibi. It is also the headquarters of the administrative district.

The principal industry of the population is the cultiva-

tion of cocoa, which is carried out on a very large scale. The climate and soil of the country, entirely covered as it is in its natural state by dense tropical forest and jungle, is eminently suited to this kind of agriculture.

The paramount chief of Akim-Abuakwa is known as the Omanhene or Okyimhene. Next to him in rank follow the five "wing chiefs" as they are commonly called. They are the Adontenhene of Kokorantumi, whose subjects in war would form the centre of the Akim army; the Nifahene (or -hema, the present occupant of the stool being a woman) of Asiakwa (right wing); the Benkumhene of Begoro (left wing); the Gyasihene of Kwaben (rearguard); and the Oseawuhene of Wankyi. The title of the last-named literally means the "leader of the orphans."

Of the five wing chiefs the Adontenhene is the senior. The other four are regarded as equal in rank.

The Adontenhene, also termed "Osamanyawa," is considered to support the "foot" of the division whilst the Omanhene bears the "head."

In addition to the wing chiefs, there are eight other chiefs who are entitled to the rank of Ohene. These thirteen chiefs are known as the "Apakanfo," *i.e.* those who travel in palanquins or hammocks. In colloquial English they are frequently called the "palanquin chiefs."

Each of the eight Ahenfo referred to above is regarded as directly subordinate to one or other of the wing chiefs.

Thus, subordinate to the Adontenhene are the Ahenfo of Tafo and Asuom; to the Nifahema, the Ohene of Akyease; to the Benkumhene, the Ahenfo of Osenase and Apiramang; to the Gyasihene, the Abontendomhene or chief of the town of Kibi; and to the Oseawuhene, the Ahenfo of Abommosu and Asamankese.

The chief or headman of every other town and village in the division is called the Odekro. Every Odekro is immediately subordinate to one or other of the palanquin chiefs. A few of the Adekurofo hold a place of special importance in the constitution and a

correspondingly appropriate title: for example, the Odekro of Akropong is the Tuafohene and his subjects compose the vanguard of the Adonten (centre) in battle. The towns of Apapam, Tetteh, and Apedwa, all in the immediate vicinity of Kibi, compose the "Amantum-miensa" or "three supporters of the division." To these further reference will be made.

The complimentary title of the Omanhene is Nana (grandfather), *e.g.* Nana Ofori Atta, Omanhene of Akim-Abuakwa. The palanquin chiefs are addressed as Barima, which literally means "man," *e.g.* Barima Kwabena Nyako II, Ohene of Wankyi and Oseawuhene of Akim-Abuakwa. Occasionally a chief other than the Omanhene is referred to as Nana. This is possibly due to the age and character of the individual which merit special respect. For instance, the Adontenhene is often called Nana Kwabena Kana, but he is more than seventy years of age and has occupied the stool for thirty years.

The Odauhene of Osenase appears to be in the somewhat paradoxical position of one who is the equal in rank of a wing chief but subordinate to the Benkumhene. The stool is not rich and possesses very little land.

The ownership of all land in the division is vested primarily in the paramount stool unless it has actually been disposed of by sale. In the latter event the Omanhene exercises his suzerainty over the land in question, but he does not participate financially in the profits accruing from the sale of agricultural or mineral products. Examples of this are seen in the Asuboi and Suhum neighbourhoods, where considerable tracts of land have been sold to Akwapim cocoa farmers.

Subordinate chiefs have certain lands attached to their stools.

Any Akim man has the right to cultivate land in the division. He is regarded as the servant, in the feudal sense, of the paramount stool, and, as a reward for his obligation to serve in time of war, he is entitled to the fruits of his cultivation.

No land can be sold or otherwise alienated without the consent of the Omanhene. In the event of the grant

of concessions to European or other strangers for the purpose of extracting minerals or other products from the land, the usual arrangement is for one-third of the concessions rents to be paid to the Omanhene and the remaining two-thirds to the immediate possessor.

The wing chiefs compose, as it were, the "executive council" of the Oman with the paramount chief as chairman. In matters of considerable importance, however, all the Apakanfo would be consulted. Such a council is called the "Okyeman."

A wing chief has no power to summon the Ahenfo or Adekurofo of the villages subordinate to him to his headquarters. But in the event of important meetings at Kibi the Omanhene can summon to council any Ohene or Odekro whom he may wish to consult. On an occasion of this kind those subordinate to a particular wing chief would sit near him in council.

At meetings of the "executive council" the wing chiefs are supposed to have ascertained and to represent the views of their subordinates.

The wing chief's own particular council does not materially differ in composition from that of his least-important Odekro; that is to say, his council is composed of the elders and notables of his own town only and does not include chiefs or representatives of other towns who may be his subordinates in the division. Thus, the "political unit" of Akim-Abuakwa is the "village" as described by the late Mr. Crowther in his *Hints to District Commissioners*.

In case of sickness or other unavoidable cause of absence, a chief may be represented at a meeting of the Okyeman by his okyeame (spokesman) or one of his elders. If for any reason a town is temporarily without a chief, the Mankrado acts for him.

The Omanhene consults the Okyeman upon all matters of importance connected with his management of the affairs of the division.

Brief reference has been previously made to the Amantummiensa. The Adekurofo of Apapam, Tetteh, and Apedwa rank in seniority, *inter se*, in the order stated.

They form the guardians or police of the honour and welfare of the paramount stool. In battle they compose the bodyguard of the stool and are sworn to die in its defence if necessary. This naturally involves the defence of the person of the Omanhene as being synonymous with the stool, though it is the safety of the latter and not of the former which is the primary object of their solicitude.

They are the representatives of the "Asafo" community, which is commonly defined as the men available for military service.

The Amantummiensa play some part as advisers of the Omanhene. Of late their influence has somewhat declined owing to the policy of the leading chiefs, assisted by the Administration as represented by the District Commissioner, to reduce the power of the asafo which was not always exercised in a desirable direction. A few years ago the Amantummiensa conspired to destool the present Omanhene and actually invaded Kibi in force with the idea of carrying out their intention. They were frustrated by the prompt action of the Administration, and many of them paid the price of their temerity in criminal convictions.

In the first instance the Amantummiensa are constitutionally prime movers in the destoolment of a paramount chief. They may take the initiative in destoolment proceedings without the previous concurrence of the Ahenfo, but the latter would hold an inquiry into the whole matter, and final approval or disapproval would rest with them. Similarly, and in accordance with the approved custom, the Amantummiensa would bring forward their selected candidate for the stool and offer him to the Okyeman for approval. If approved, he is accepted by the Ahenfo and Adekurofo of the whole division. The last word, however, rests with the Okyeman, and the Amantummiensa could hardly succeed in enstooling an individual who was repugnant to the wing chiefs.

The "oath" of the Okyimhene is "Wukuda and Kwanyako," commemorating the disastrous defeat inflicted upon the Akims by the Ashantis at Kwanyako

on a certain Wednesday. The date is uncertain. The whole procedure following the invocation of the oath is so well known that it is unnecessary to describe it.

It may not be common knowledge, however, that each of the wing chiefs possesses his own personal oath. This is very rarely used, but if sworn and agreed to by both parties to the dispute the case may be heard and determined by the wing chief concerned. Either disputant has the option of appearing before the Omanhene if he so desires.

Enstoolments naturally fall into two classes: those arising from the death of a chief, and those arising from his destoolment.

When a chief dies or is obviously unlikely to recover from the sickness from which he is suffering, his subordinate chiefs receive messages summoning them to the headquarters town. These messages do not necessarily contain the information that the chief is dead or in imminent danger of death. On receipt of the summons which the message contains, the subordinate chiefs hasten to obey by travelling to the town of their superior.

After his death, the body is laid out in state on the bed and his personal property and stool insignia placed beside it. His former subjects, male and female, pass by to view the body. The Omanhene is informed of the death.

The first funeral custom (*doteyie*) is performed, continuing until burial. The usual accompaniment of funeral customs, such as drinking, drumming, dancing, and smearing the bodies of the celebrants with red clay, is observed. Strict abstention from all food, but not from drink, is enjoined.

Burial usually takes place after about four days and is carried out by the elders in the royal cemetery secretly and at night. The grave is of course afterwards known to the people.

The Omanhene despatches a messenger to the Oman or council of the deceased chief's town informing its members of their duty with regard to the election of his successor. The council meet secretly in the small hours

of the morning. It is generally tacitly understood upon whom their choice is likely to fall, and this man and his family take care not to attend the meeting. If the town possesses an organised asafu company its members often take charge of the proceedings. Some villages have no such company.

The meeting is addressed by the Omanhene's messenger and a summons to attend is then despatched to the chief-designate and his family. The members of the Oman state that they have by mutual consent elected this man. He is carried through the town by the people, who smear his body with white clay. On reaching the Ahenfie (palace) the new chief is allowed to sit upon the common stool. A sheep is slaughtered, its blood flowing upon the ground. The chief is then handed the royal sandals and cloth, for which he must pay. He is pushed backwards three times in the direction of the royal stool, but he must not actually touch it. Another sheep is slaughtered, the blood flowing over the stool. The chief then takes an oath of allegiance to the stool and the people swear their loyalty to him and congratulate him. He is then expected to distribute aseda (largesse), receiving gifts in return, mainly from his more intimate friends.

If his predecessor has not died, but has been destooled, the secret meeting of the Oman is held and the procedure detailed above is followed in exactly the same way.

Destoolments are usually the result of the misbehaviour of the chief after he has received several warnings and the opportunity to change his mode of life. The Oman meet at his house, and through one of the elders (usually the Asafuakye, if there is an organised asafu in the town) and his own Okyeame, the erring chief is made aware of the charges preferred against him. If he admits his guilt, he may "pacify" the Oman by the slaughter of a sheep and the disbursement of aseda. The amount of the latter is fixed by the Oman.

If he denies the charge, he is tried by the Oman. Witnesses are called and cross-examination is permitted. Witnesses may be of either sex, but no women would attend the proceedings in any other capacity except

specially privileged persons by virtue of their official positions, such as the Ohema (queen-mother). The Oman is the judge and, if found guilty, the chief must pay the same penalty as previously described. He swears the great oath of Wukuda and Kwanyako that this shall be his last offence.

In parentheses, it may be interesting to record that chiefs and certain elders, *e.g.* akyeame (spokesmen), are never allowed to swear by fetish in court or elsewhere; they must always use the stool oath. As is well known the invocation used when swearing by fetish is in the following form; "I call upon Anokye (or other fetish) that he must kill me if I do not speak the truth!"

Chiefs and elders are persons of value and it is considered that they would run too great a risk of early death if they were in the habit of using such an oath. The inference is obvious!

After his trial the chief may be merely cautioned, or destooled, if the offence is of a serious nature. In either case the Omanhene would be notified of the action taken.

A secret meeting is convened by night, from which the chief is absent, and the Oman decide to remove him from office. The people proceed to his house in the town with much drumming and dancing, and the offender and his immediate supporters are summoned to the street. He brings his insignia of office with him.

He is informed, via the spokesman of the Oman and his own okyeame, of the decision, which he may accept or reject. In the latter event he is tried by the Oman. The result is a foregone conclusion. The common stool is then drawn from under him, the sandals are removed, tied together, and he is struck thrice upon the head with them. The people shout that he is no longer wanted as their chief. A sheep is slaughtered in the street and the ex-chief is expelled from the town under escort.

It is customary for a destooled chief to remove his place of residence entirely from the town over which he has reigned. Especially in the case of minor chiefs, however, this practice is not always strictly observed.

If possible, a representative of the paramount chief

always attends destoolment proceedings; but if this cannot be arranged he is at once informed by messenger of what has taken place.

Other things being equal, upon the chief-designate's personal character his election absolutely depends. The female or matrilineal line of descent is followed. Provided that the late chief's administration has given satisfaction, his eldest surviving brother, always presuming his good character, would ordinarily be chosen as his successor. Otherwise another branch of the family would become eligible, namely the eldest sister's eldest son, and so on. If there are no surviving nephews the eldest living niece may be selected. Thus in certain eventualities the occupant of any stool in the division may be a woman. The Nifahema of Asiakwa and the Odekro of Kankang are both women.

Neither the children of the deceased chief nor his brother's children can ever be elected.

The general custom with regard to inheritance is that the nephews succeed in equal shares to the personal property of the deceased. In default of nephews, his nieces are the heirs. Failing both nephews and nieces, the brothers inherit. The heir is responsible for the proper performance of the funeral custom and for the satisfaction of all debts contracted by the deceased. He may not dispose of family lands without the concurrence of the surviving members of the family.

Native tribunals or courts of justice are held *ex officio* by the Omanhene and the thirteen Apakanfo. They are regulated and controlled by the Administration through the provisions of the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance.

Of late years the Omanhene has given authority to certain selected minor chiefs to hold properly constituted tribunals in their towns. This step was necessary on account of the rapid development of the country and the consequent increase in population and trade. Anyinam and Osino, both situated on the line of the Accra-Kumasi railway, are cases in point.

In practice the Odekro of every small village sits in his own tribunal for determination of minor disputes. He

collects small fees and fines which assist to maintain the stool. As glaring instances of oppression or injustice are very soon brought to light through the medium of the ubiquitous "complaint," the system cannot be said to be opposed to the general welfare of the community. Indeed these small tribunals fulfil a very definite purpose in the administration of the division, for without them the time required to be given by the representatives of Government to the determination of domestic and other disputes, whose complication and length is usually in inverse ratio to their importance, could not be spared without detriment to the performance of other duties.

The procedure during the hearing of a case before the native tribunal does not materially differ from that obtaining in a British court of justice. The chief is supported on the bench by his principal elders and counsellors, of whose advice he has the benefit when forming his conclusions.

No notes on this division would be complete without some reference to the "funeral custom" or ayi, which plays such an important and, as many consider, undesirable part in the life of the people. The similarity of the ayi to an Irish "wake" is remarkable.

When a man or woman dies the family and friends and the local chief are informed. The body is washed, enveloped as far as the armpits in fine cloths, and laid out on the bed. Personal property is conspicuously displayed. The family group themselves about the body and friends come to view it. Burial is usually performed on the following day. The young men fire guns day and night, play drums, and drink.

Ordinarily this revelry lasts for four days and is the cause of much drunkenness and debt, contracted by the relatives of the deceased, who bear all expenses. The firing of guns is supposed to scare away death. Food is not eaten until after burial, and the body of the widow or widower of the deceased is smeared with red clay.

The chief causes a drum to be beaten, the size of the drum being in proportion to the rank and importance of the deceased.

A subsidiary custom is kept by the family forty days after the death. It consists of fasting, drinking, and weeping, and is supposed to show remembrance.

Mention has already been made of the Doteyie custom on the death of a chief. The dead chief's principal custom is celebrated after the election of his successor. Its features are drumming, firing, and drinking. In the case of the Omanhene this custom may cover a period of three weeks, other important chiefs two weeks, and persons of lower rank proportionately less.

In religion the Akim-Abuakwas are animists and ancestor-worshippers. This cult is well-known, and nothing can be added by me to the writings of such authorities as Mr. Crowther and Captain Rattray on the subject.

"Anokye" is the name of the "obosum" which is universally acknowledged throughout the division. The word "fetish" is purposely avoided; it is now generally accepted as misleading and objectionable. Most families possess their own private obosum in addition.

Marriages, other than Christian marriages, which are controlled by law, may be celebrated by "native custom" as follows.

The suitor makes his offer to the woman of his choice, and, if she accepts him, gives her a present. He then solicits the consent of the parents and family.

If they disapprove, he can proceed no further. If he is acceptable to them, he is so informed and signifies his gratitude with gifts of liquor and money. He presents the bride-elect with clothing, money, and other suitable gifts. He must discharge any debts owing by the bride or her family. This payment is called "tiade," which is usually translated "head-rum" or "head-money," and is often misunderstood.

The couple are then man and wife. If the bride and her family are free from debt, no tiade is payable. If the tiade is not paid within a reasonable time, the bride may be recalled to her parents.

The number of wives possessed by one man is limited only by his capacity adequately to support them.

Girls approaching marriageable age are called upon to perform a certain ceremony upon attaining puberty. Until this custom has been performed a girl is not eligible for marriage.

The birth of twins is not a source of gratification, and a chief's wife who is so afflicted may not share his house afterwards.

A child invariably receives as its "Christian" name one of seven names corresponding with the day of the week upon which it was born. The "surname" is usually that of the grandfather or grandmother, but may be that of the parent or uncle.

The practice of cutting tribal marks upon the children of Akim-Abuakwa is rapidly disappearing. It used to be considered ornamental, but fashions change in Africa as in other less primitive parts of the world.

The principal yearly ceremonies observed in the division are "Ohum" and "Ogwira." The former is the people's custom to celebrate the first fruits of the yam or food crop. It usually falls upon a Tuesday. Ogwira is the chief's custom performed on a Friday. Its chief feature is the purification of the stool with rum and the blood of sheep.

The Akims are a pleasure-loving people whose superfluous spirits generally find their outlet in dancing and drumming.

The only games played by them are "oware," several examples of which were exhibited at the Wembley Exhibition; draughts; and "ntew," which can best be described briefly by stating that it possesses some of the features of roulette.

With the establishment of law and order throughout the country and the cessation of war, litigation of every description has become, if not an amusement, at least a pastime.

The women are the hardest workers in the food farms. On this account the Akims are regarded with some contempt by their neighbours of Akwapim and Krobo. The men, however, perform their share in the cultivation of cocoa.

Despite a penchant for expensive and fruitless litigation, the Akim-Abuakwas, with the assistance of improved educational facilities and communications, are steadily progressing towards a condition of civilisation and prosperity which must be a continual source of astonishment to those who knew the country little more than a decade ago.

The Osu and Kindred Peoples

By R. E. PAGE

GOLD COAST POLITICAL SERVICE

THE Osu people are supposed to have migrated many years ago from Osudoku, a place lying between Akuse and Prampram. This migration was brought about by the advance of their formidable neighbours the Akwamus.

The Osu people came in two detachments led by two brothers or cousins, the elder Nortey and the younger Norteye. On the way they stopped at a place called Lagon. At this place there was a dispute between Nortey and Norteye, and in consequence Norteye started out first with his followers and settled by the lagoon in Christiansborg. A little later Nortey followed with the remainder of the people.

It is uncertain whether there were any people living there before the arrival of the Osu people. The Labadi people claim that they were already settled there, and call the Osu people "Osu Kadiwegbor," *i.e.* stranger of Kadi, explaining that it was one Kadi, a Labadi hunter, who showed the Osus where they might settle. However, it seems more probable that this title was first only applied to one household in Osu after the coming of the Osu people to Christiansborg, and was later applied to all the Osus.

On their arrival at Osu there was some dispute as to whether Nortey or Norteye should be chief. Nortey is supposed to have pressed the kingship on his younger but richer brother, but for a long time Norteye refused to accept it. Later, on account of trouble between the two factions residing in Ashanti-blohun and Kinkawe,

the former favouring Norteye and the latter Nortey, the then Government intervened and Nortey was declared king. Since that time the descendants of Nortey have been the chiefs—the office passing from father to son—and have retained the hat of feathers, the emblem of sovereignty, while Norteye's descendants have been Mankrados.

Although the Labadi, Teshi, Nungua, and Tema people used to serve under the Osu king during the time of war, this may have been due more to the fact that the Osu people living in Christiansborg came into contact with the Europeans, and thus could obtain precious commodities such as powder for their neighbours, than to any real idea of allegiance.

The Labadi people are supposed to have come from Labonne,* either brought, like the Jamestown people, as canoemen for the Dutch, or more probably driven out of their own country during some war.

Teshie was founded by a Labadi man named Okan, owing to his having had a dispute in his own town, and is thus known as the daughter of Labadi.

The Mankrado of Labadi is always chosen from the people living at Anahor, which lies within the Osu boundary. This settlement of Labadi people was founded by a Mankrado, who was given this piece of land by the chief of Osu on account of his being employed as a ferryman at Christiansborg. There is also the story that this Mankrado ran away from Labadi after having seduced his own daughter; but as he was allowed to remain Mankrado, this story seems improbable.

The Mankrado of Labadi may reside at Labadi or Anahor. The late Mankrado lived entirely at Anahor or Teimang, of which place he was called chief.

The Nungua people are probably connected with the Gas, with whom they join in celebrating the Homowo festival, the Asere people celebrating the festival alone, and the Osu, Labadi, Teshi, Nungua, and Tema people together.

* They came from Bonny in Southern Nigeria and amalgamated with the Las. (H. S. Newlands, Acting Commissioner, Eastern Province.)

There is an interesting legend by which an attempt is made to explain why Nungua, independent of the other towns, has never increased in size or importance.

It is said that once when Labadi and Nungua were at war with each other both sides were tired and all except the two leaders wanted peace. At last the two towns agreed to stop the war without consulting their leaders, and they decided that the right hand of each of the leaders should be struck off to prevent their stirring up trouble in the future. The Nungua people, as the older, first cut off the right hand of their leader in the presence of the Labadi people. Thereupon the Labadi leader seized his bow and sent an arrow among the Nungua people, and the fighting started afresh. The Nungua handless leader cursed his people for having maimed him and for having tried to make a dishonourable peace with their enemies, and prophesied that Nungua would never prosper or increase. He then ran straight down into the sea and disappeared. A clearly marked track running into the sea is still pointed out as the path which the man took, and which it is said will never be obliterated although never used before or since that day.

The great Osu fetish is called Dade and was brought by them when they came to settle in Christiansborg. Every Wednesday is kept as the fetish day, on which no gun may be fired, nor any farm work undertaken, nor even drum beaten within the quarters. Before the Homowo festival in August the chief is consecrated and shut into a room for one week. On the expiration of this week there are general drinking and drumming and the fetish priest goes all round the town with guns firing before him. On this day the priests and chief see the fetish, otherwise only the Dade and Klote priests may see the fetish on some very special occasion.

The Klote priest is the priest of the lagoon in Christiansborg. He is always chosen from Ashanti-blohun and is called Noye-Wulomo.

There is also Kumi, the war fetish brought by Norteye to Christiansborg.

The great Labadi fetish is called Lakpa. It is supposed

that once every year between December and February the fetish goes out in the form of a man. It appears as a rich man, changing into the form of a poor beggar on reaching a village. It then begs at some house; and according to the treatment it receives there, so it deals with the inhabitants of the place, blessing them if it is kindly received, and cursing them with disease and want if it is not satisfied.

If a woman died in child-birth, it was customary not to bury the body, but to throw it upon an ant-hill. None of the deceased woman's property might be inherited by her relations, but it was handed over to the Lakpa, and the Lakpa priest came and consecrated the house in which the woman had died. Thus the evil spirit which had doubtless caused the woman's shameful death was exorcised.

If a slave, ill-treated by his master, ran to Lakpa, his master could not take him back again, but the slave had then to serve the Lakpa priest.

The female descendants of Nortey and Norteye have the duty of performing the Ofofo custom.* This is a custom in which girls as yet unmarried, but of a marriageable age, take part. The girls are shut up in a room for a considerable length of time, sometimes as long as three months, during which period their food consists only of "Fotoli"—corn freshly mashed and cooked—palm oil, and eggs. After their release from the room they are presented to the chief and then dance, lightly clad and with their bodies oiled, through the different quarters of Osu. They are then deemed fit for marriage.

The Osu chief does not consider himself subordinate to the Ga Mantse, but treats him with respect as an elder, but brother, chief. Appeals from the Osu tribunal go, however, to the tribunal of the Ga Mantse.

The tribunals of Osu, Labadi, Teshi, Nungua, and Tema

* The Ofofo custom appears to be identical with the custom of "the fattening house," as it is termed, which exists not only at Bonny, but over practically the whole coast area between the Niger and the Cross River. The object is to fatten girls prior to marriage, fatness being a mark of beauty. Bonny, it may be mentioned, is an English corruption, the original name of the people in that part being Oboni. (Sir James Crawford Maxwell, Colonial Secretary.)

are quite separate. The Osu tribunal is made up of the Mantse, the Mankralo, the Klote-priest, the elder who put the Mantse on the stool or Shipi, the chief councillor, the linguist from Amantra, the Mankralo's elders—the elder who put the Mankralo on the stool or Oshiahene, the Alata Mantse, the headman of Anahor, and some members of various houses in the four quarters.

The Mantse is elected alternately from one of the two houses of Kinkawe and Amantra of the Kinkawe quarter. There are five houses in the Ashanti-blohun quarter which take turns in electing the Mankralo, *i.e.* Adumoa-we, Ako-we, Manko-we, Noi Tchuru-we, and another.

All the land is deemed to belong to the town and the Mantse cannot sell without the consent of the other quarters. The money obtained by the sale is divided into five parts, one going to the stool, one to Kinkawe quarter, one to Ashanti quarter, one to Alata, and one to Anahor. Small plots of building land may, however, be disposed of with the consent of the headman of the respective quarter only.

Ga or Accra is the only language spoken by the Osu people. Below are given a few proverbs commonly used, literally translated with the rough English equivalents.

Literal meaning	English equivalent
1. If the back of the hand claims any sweetness, it will never be like the palm.	A stepson receives but Esau's blessing.
2. No kite ever remains in the sky.	A marked man has little chance of escape.
3. The prince does not run to look at a head.	A great office demands great dignity.
(This refers to the custom of cutting off an enemy's head and bringing it home in triumph, when those in the houses would rush out to see it and congratulate the victor.)	
4. If the eye spoils, it goes into the head.	What my brother gains is no loss to me.
5. Look at it for me would not be as if you were present.	If you want a thing done well, do it yourself.

Denationalisation

BY THE REVEREND A. G. FRASER

ONE of the chief educational questions in the Gold Coast is the question of denationalisation. How are we to educate the African and yet see to it that we do not take him clean away from his people? It must be remembered that the schools are not the only, nor are they the main, factor in educating and in denationalising the African here to-day. Unless this is clearly remembered our school policy is sure to go wrong. In 1905 the cocoa exports of the Gold Coast were seven thousand tons. In 1910 twenty-two thousand, in 1915 seventy-eight thousand, in 1920 one hundred and twenty-five thousand. Last year two hundred and twenty-three thousand. But the whole of that cocoa is grown by African farmers. In 1913 the total exports were of a value of one hundred and eighty-one thousand pounds sterling, in 1918 one hundred and forty-nine thousand, in 1924 five hundred and one thousand. It is obvious how much that means in increased purchasing power. And this power is scattered over large country districts and over an ever-increasing area. It means new standards of social importance, new contacts between distant districts, new ideas of livelihood.

Again, the old society was largely held together by the need of preparedness for war and by religious sanctions. With the Pax Britannica the first cement has gone. And the faith in the old Ju Ju religion is sorely shaken. It remains in part, but the presence of strangers who have no fear of Ju Ju and are unaffected by it, the mixing with travelled Africans who pay it scant respect, have so weakened its power that it no longer commands the

dread which made it powerful as a safeguard of the morals of the village or tribe. Much of the old was bound to go, and the sooner it went the better. But there is more than a tendency to fling away the whole of the heritage of the past and to despise it. And those who do so are infinitely the poorer for so doing.

The schools have done little to help the African in this difficulty, and much to make things harder for him. To begin with, they were often started with a view to turning out clerks. It was their primary object. Accordingly their curricula were drawn up to that end. English was early and rapidly introduced. Vernacular work was neglected, and so were matters of tribal and village interest. Clerks were quickly turned out, and soon there was a glut on the market. But the rejected would not return to village life, for they did not understand it and despised it. But criticism of those who worked without experience is easy. What can we do to make the schools useful to the African now ?

Well, quite obviously, the schools cannot nationalise the African. We cannot remake the African in his own image. But we can try to see that he understands the new factors that are coming into his country so rapidly, the meaning of the changes they are effecting, and the nature of the traditional laws, customs, and lore threatened. We can show him parallels elsewhere and help him to study them and think on them. We can get him keenly interested in and thinking over the life of his village. But the adaptation of the new to the old, the synthesis, we must leave him to make. We can show him that no one can be a true leader or friend of his people unless he sees from their point of view, standing in line with them. But he must find out where they stand and get there for himself. And he should begin to do so at school, and it is our job to see that the environment is favourable for his doing so.

Our task is not to give rules and lay down lines and make moulds, but to develop the powers of insight and initiative of our pupils, to get them to try and ask questions, and to try and suggest further thinking. We are

not there to make fellows do right or to tell them what is right, but to try and rouse in them a keen desire for the right, and a capacity to judge rightly. We are training pupils for a rapidly moving society, nothing like so static a society as that of England. There any fool should be able to paddle a canoe in the almost quiet waters. Here there are eddies, rapids, lots of rocks. No chart can be drawn up, but a keen eye to recognise eddies, currents, and rocks, and a strong arm to paddle consistently can be trained.

It is essential, of course, that all teaching should have Africa in mind, and the home of the pupil. All should be rooted in the vernaculars, even though it may be impracticable to use the vernaculars far up the school. But the teachers must know the vernaculars, and be really interested in the life of the community from which their pupils spring.

To get reverence for the things that are passing, to show the students the true and good in them, and much more to get them to look for and find them, there is a great part of the way to success in training true leaders. Without that respect for their traditions the young are largely cut off from sympathy with the older folk. A separative barrier is raised. The young are homeless in mind and spirit, and the old die. And it is death to the tribe. Continuity, aim, force are lost to the tribe when the old and young are thus separated. The tribe is no more an entity; it is like a bisected snake. Both parts can wriggle, but steady advance, ordered life are beyond them.

But to reverence the past the students must know something of it. How is it to be taught? At Achimota we must, I think, look forward to bringing out books for the purpose. History as taught in most non-English-speaking schools in the Empire is a waste of time. It becomes a learning of names and dates, and it is scarcely possible it can be more, for the life it depicts is of a tribe in such a distant epoch, in so strange a climate and with such an unrealisable outlook on life that imagination is scarcely touched.

But we might start in with the old folk-tales for the children, then with the legends of tribal origins and history. Then the history of the land since Europeans first visited it. Lastly, there should be the study of laws, customs, and constitution, showing how society was preserved, and how the country stood together in crises. Much of the material is already to be had from Captain Rattray, who is a mine of wealth on these subjects. More can be got through encouraging students by means of prizes to study village lore and customs. There is no reason why with our staff we should not have built up a really good school in local history in the next fifteen years, a school good enough for university recognition.

Another line of advance is almost as important. Science will be taught in the school, so will mathematics, and much else new to the pupils. These subjects must be taught in relation to the life around. Science will begin with the observation of ants, seeing mosquitoes breed, getting to know the flowers and plants. It will go on to destroying mosquitoes, preventing the inroads of ants, improving the flowers and trees, and studying soils. Mathematics will come in in making at first small model houses, only big enough for the maker and a friend to merely creep into. But soon knowledge of mathematics and hygiene will be employed to help actual housing conditions, and to get rid of such foes as hookworm.

Of course I should add that I think instruction in European subjects should be thoroughly efficient if the pupils are to be able to make the synthesis I have spoken of. The range of knowledge need not be great, but the quality must be such that the student can use it as an instrument for clear thinking. There is a great tendency to lower the standard in European subjects to what is thought the local capacity. It is here that I think in the early stages it is good to have an English test. In some places this is best done by bringing trained English examiners out from England; but where the educational system is as widespread as it is in the Gold Coast, I think it is better just to take an examination like an English school leaving certificate or the examinations of London

University as tests. It is usually quite easy to get London to adapt their syllabus in these examinations to local needs, if the local subjects are brought up to the required standards.

If I were to define denationalisation, I should say it was irreverence for and ignorance of one's own nation and culture and of the things chiefly now affecting it. To save pupils from that, education should teach them how their people came to be what they are, and what the new factors in their present situation are and their probable effects.

Sefwi and its People

By F. P. HOLTSBAUM

GOLD COAST POLITICAL SERVICE

SITUATED in the north-west corner of the Gold Coast Colony, with the ancient kingdom of Ashanti as its northern boundary and the French Ivory Coast to the west, lies the large tract of unopened country which was at one time the hunting preserve of the Ashanti kings and which to-day is known as Sefwi. It is one of the largest district administrative areas in the Colony, and is, with the exception of Aowin, the most unchanged by outside influences. It is a rich area agriculturally and has great potential wealth in timber and minerals. Cocoa-growing is the chief industry, and the Sefwi crop has long enjoyed a reputation for its quality, which is partly due to the fact that extensive forest belts have been allowed to remain between the cultivated areas, and partly to the fact that the Sefwi farmer takes a good deal of trouble in preparing his crop for the market.

Progress and trade have been hampered in the past by lack of transport, everything coming into or leaving the district having to be carried by head-load, which has the disadvantages of being both slow and costly. At the moment, however, the position is considerably improved by the rapid progress which has been made in the construction of the Dunkwa-Wioso motor road. It is proposed to continue this road on to the western frontier. A branch road is also under construction from Diaso to Bibiani, which will tap a rich cocoa area and possibly cause the gold mines in that neighbourhood to be re-opened.

It is true that these roads will merely penetrate the outer edge of Sefwi, but they will pass through the richest areas both from an agricultural and mineral point of view, and they will also place the more important towns in direct communication with administrative and commercial headquarters.

In addition to the motor roads it is proposed to construct a railway line through Sefwi, which will give direct communication with the coast. One of the drawbacks to this proposal is the scanty population, for Sefwi and the neighbouring districts are thinly populated. But it is hoped that the opening up of that part of the country would have the effect of bringing back many hundreds of young men who have in the past been in the habit of going further afield to seek their fortune, and also of inducing many Sefwi people now resident in the French Ivory Coast to return to their original homes. But the advantages of such a railway would be enormous, for it would open up many thousands of square miles of timber country which would otherwise remain for ever closed. The Tano River flows through this area, but it is, although a very large river, useless to the Sefwi people commercially owing to rapids, which render it impossible to float logs down.

The people of Sefwi have not escaped the love of litigation common to all the tribes of the Colony; as a result they are poor and the more important stools are deeply in debt. But they are a very cheerful people and look with confidence to the future for prosperity.

Back to Bumankama

Whatever the division of Sefwi land may have been in the ancient times, it is at present split up into three divisions or states, mutually independent and each having its own paramount chief, or Omanhene. These divisions are, in the order of territorial importance, Sefwi-Wioso, Sefwi-Anwhiaso, and Sefwi-Bekwai.

The name of Wioso is a contraction, the original form being Wiawoso. Wia = sun; wo = to be; so = on. The story

is told of some people who went in the misty days of long ago to a hill-top to plant some ground nuts. Having worked all day they looked up to see if the position of the sun justified them in returning home. To their surprise they found it shining brightly all round them, although the valley beneath was bathed in shadow.

That is the hill on which the present town of Wioso, or Wiawoso, now stands.

At that time the paramount chief of the Wiosos was called Bumankama and he lived with the stool at Esaman, not far from the present village of Busumoiso and on the banks of the Subrae River. The Wioso tradition says, that one day one of the inhabitants of Esaman was walking to his farm, when suddenly the god of Subrae made himself manifest. The god declared that he liked the people of Sefwi and would in future safeguard them. If they were in any difficulty or danger, they were to consult him, when they would get a good answer. He stipulated that Saturday was to be set aside as his special day, when a dog was to be offered to him, and he further told the man that the people were to move from Esaman, which was situated too close to the river, as he feared they might violate his rights.

All this was told to Bumankama, who took the stool and made his village on the top of the Wioso hill, where the native seat of Government has since remained.

No trace of old Esaman now remains, save an old silk cotton tree, which was sacred to the Subrae god. Bumankama planted a similar tree in the centre of Wioso town and this still exists, and it is believed that the god comes each night and sits in it, watching over the Sefwi people. A space is fenced off at the base of this tree and into it food is placed for the use of the god. The stool paramount of Anwhiaso has not enjoyed the same rest as that of Wioso. Tradition speaks of it as having been at the village of Wankyi, or Wenchi, from time immemorial until it was moved to Subire by the Omanhene Onipa Penin something like one hundred years or so ago. Wankyi was situated on stony ground about twenty minutes' walk from the hammock road leading from

Wioso to Chirano, on the right-hand side. No trace of it now remains. The reason for this move is said to have been that the land round Wankyi was poor and yielded no gold. Subire was scarcely more satisfactory, however, for during the reign of Kwow Onipa, who succeeded Onipa Penin, the Anwhiasos had the misfortune to receive a visit from the Ashanti army, on its way south to fight with the Apollonians. This visit was altogether unsatisfactory to the Anwhiasos, who had all their movable property looted. The stool was then taken to the original town of Anwhiaso, which was at a point on the Bibiani hammock road, now marked by a Survey Pillar, No. 15, and no trace of it remains. This place was sandy, hence the name : Anwhia = sand ; so = on. During the years that followed the stool was moved to Pataboso, back to Subire, back again to Anwhiaso, to Ntakum, and finally to the village of Brahabobom.

This village was founded by the father of the present Omanhene, who left his own village in consequence of a dispute which he had with his family. The name he chose for his new home was unfortunate, Bra = come ; ha = here ; bo = to strike ; m' = me. The village still exists as the oldest part of the town, but the name was recently changed to Anwhiaso by the present Omanhene, who saw no sense in perpetuating the memory of an old quarrel, and considered, rightly, that the large new town he had built was worthy of a better name.

The Bekwais are said to have come from the Wassaw area during the reign of Ajaye Penin at Wankyi. This the Bekwais do not admit, but both the Anwhiaso and Wioso traditions are agreed on the point. In any case the Bekwais at one time occupied land in the neighbourhood of the Subrae River and had their stool at a village called Ewumasu. A dispute arose between the Wiosos and Bekwais through a gambling debt which was not paid. According to the Bekwais one of their men lost a large sum to a Wioso man, which he paid. Later the same two played again for a similar stake, when the Bekwai man won, whereupon the Wioso man refused to pay. The Wiosos reverse the details of this story, showing that

it was the Bekwai man who finally refused to pay. But whichever side was right, the most simple of all means was resorted to of settling the dispute. The Bekwais and Wiosos fought and the latter being the stronger, the Bekwais were driven out. They are then said to have gone to the King of Ashanti to ask for land, and he is supposed to have sent them to the Omanhene of Anwhiaso, who allowed them to live on the land in the neighbourhood of the present town of Bekwai. This name was given to the place owing to the number of palm trees which grew there. Abe = palm ; kwai = forest. It is not easy to discover what relationship existed originally between the three states which to-day comprise Sefwi. From what one can gather, the Anwhiasos would appear to be the oldest inhabitants of the land, a significant point in favour of this theory being that neither the Wiosos, nor Bekwais can offer any suggestion as to where the Anwhiasos came from. In any official document which I have seen no mention is made of any particular Omanhene until quite recent times. In all early dealings with the Ashantis the general term King of Sefwi is found and it is not easy to discover whether this ruler held sway over all three divisions or whether he was of one state having jurisdiction over the other two. Naturally all three divisions maintain that they were the original inhabitants of Sefwi, and that the King of Sefwi was of their particular tribe. The Anwhiasos claim that Ajai Penin was known as the King of Sefwi, and that it was he who gave the Bekwais Ewumasu to live at, and also that they in return had to serve him. Their tradition also speaks of the Wiosos as a powerful people who came from Ashanti, Tekyiman area, via Wassaw, and of their receiving Esaman from the Wankyihene. But whatever the connection between the three tribes may have been, it must have been fairly close and would seem to be of long standing, as their customs are very similar, their principal fetishes identical, and their language, Sefwi, common to all, yet distinct from the dialects spoken by the neighbouring tribes. Indeed, the Sefwi language is very similar to that spoken in Western Ashanti, but

has several differences, and would not appear to have passed through the same stages of evolution. The constitution of the three states is different, which points to different origins. In Wioso the people are divided into companies similar to the coast tribes, whilst the Anwhiasos follow the Ashanti custom of family division. The Bekwais are also divided into families, but these are very loosely observed.

Sefwi during the Ashanti Ascendancy

I have said that at one time Sefwi was the hunting preserve for the Kings of Ashanti, or to be more correct, for the King of Kumasi. This came about through the temerity of Ebirim Moro, Omanhene of Sefwi-Wioso. Sir Francis Fuller refers to him as King of Sefwi, and as he probably drew his information from an Ashanti source, it seems indicated that by then, some time between 1731 and 1742, the Wiosos had adopted the title of King of Sefwi for their paramount chief. Ebirim Moro invaded the capital of Ashanti, Kumasi, during the absence of the Ashanti army, who had gone off to Eastern Akyim to fight. Finding little opposition, he destroyed the town, killed the Queen Mother and all the women of the royal family save two, and broke open the royal graves, from which he is said to have taken the gold ornaments. Neither Ebirim Moro nor his followers profited very much by the expedition, for they were pursued by the King of Bantama and overtaken before they could re-cross the Tano River. Here a battle was fought in which the Wiosos were utterly defeated and Ebirim Moro slain. From that date the Wiosos and Bekwais served the King of Kumasi through Bantama. This would indicate that at the time of the Ashanti invasion the Bekwais served the Wioso Omanhene to some extent. But it would seem to show that the Anwhiasos kept themselves apart, as they never served through the King of Bantama. They say that they were independent until the reign of Osai Tutu in Ashanti. At that period it is stated that the Anwhiasos made an

expedition to the northern territories, under Ajaye Penin, their Omanhene. Whilst they were away the Denkeras came and destroyed their property and forced them to serve the King of Denkera, who afterwards fought with the Kumasi army and was defeated, whereupon the Anwhiasos transferred their allegiance, serving Kumasi through Asafo. Had Eberim Moro, as King of Sefwi, exercised jurisdiction over the Anwhiasos, they would have formed part of his expedition to Kumasi, and as a result would have served Kumasi through Bantama.

The piece of land that came under the sway of Kumasi after the defeat of Eberim Moro extended west to the Bia River, near Krokosua. Beyond that the land belonged to the Aowins. But the Wiosos fought with them and drove them out, thus adding to their possessions the land from the Bia River to Dadiaso.

In 1873 the whole of the Sefwi people, with the exception of one section of the Anwhiasos who served the Siwua family, formed part of the Ashanti army that crossed the Pra River under Amankwa Tia, King of Bantama. This was the last occasion on which the King of Kumasi was supported by the kings and chiefs of the neighbouring tribes. The defeat of Amankwa Tia on that occasion seems to have shown the people that further resistance against the British was useless, and in the following year, 1874, the Sefwis, in common with many other tribes, broke away from Ashanti and have since retained their independence.

The Royal Family of Wioso

In the Wioso Division the name of the royal family is Asankera. To this family there are two sides, a junior and senior, both descended from a lady named Koka Adjuah, whose son, Nkuah Penin, sat upon the Wioso stool at least from 1742 to 1752. This man was a great fighter and seems to have feared that he might die, or get killed, and so leave the stool vacant at a time when a leader would be urgently required. He therefore adopted

a plan to overcome this. He had two sisters named Sarlie and Edua respectively. Sarlie, the elder, had a son named Ekyir Kudjo, and Nkuah Penin appointed him to sit behind the stool giving him the title of Niakyire. Nia = he who (is); ekyire = behind. This appointment made Ekyir Kudjoe heir apparent to the stool paramount. A stool was made specially for the holder of the appointment and is still used at Wioso. Ekyir Kudjo predeceased Nkuah Penin and the stool of the Niakyire was given to Eduhin, grandson of Edua. It was then arranged that in future the Niakyire should be appointed alternately from Sarlie's and Edua's sides of the family, thereby ensuring that both sides would have their turn in occupying the stool paramount. I attach a family tree to make this clear.

There are two family stools, Asafo and Bichiamwere, which are reserved for members of the Asankera family on Sarlie's and Edua's sides respectively. Usually the Niakyire occupies one or other of these stools, but it is not necessary that he should. If he does, the Niakyire's stool is sent to him at his own village and remains there with him; whilst if he does not happen to be a sub-chief he takes up his residence at Wioso. The chiefs of Bodi, Bonzan, and Kessikrom are the three important Safohene whose duty it is to place a new Omanhene on the stool of the division. These belong to the Asafo company.

The Royal Family of Anwhiaso

The divisional stool of Anwhiaso is in the hands of the Odum family, but the Ohene of Chirano, who is of the Siwua family, claims that the Siwuas should occupy it. His story is that when Onipa Penin died the proper person to succeed was Mme Kwow, but he being too old and no other Siwua being available, he gave the stool to his *son* Kwow Onipa, born to him of an Odum woman. Since then there have been ten Amanhin of the Odum family on the stool without interruption. This dispute was taken to the King of Kumasi, who decided in favour

of the Odums because, say the Siwuas, the Odums fought for Ashanti against the English. Supporters are equally divided in this dispute, which has the unhappy effect of dividing the state in two and rendering the Omanhene's task of opening up his territory very difficult. It is, however, satisfactory to be able to say that the present Omanhene is such an excellent man that the Siwuas have no palaver with him personally.

Villages supporting Odums

Asanwinso
 Fahiakobo
 Awoso
 Chichiwere
 Ntakum
 Subire
 Muano
 Prahsu
 Pataboso *
 Asemboni
 Nyetsina
 Edukrom

Villages supporting Siwuas

Banamobo
 Mraden
 Akasu
 Kabinsiri
 Kantanwirabo
 Adeambra
 Anyinasiea
 Bontain

In addition to these there are small villages in the "bush" that serve one or other of the bigger villages, which bring the numbers up to fourteen and thirteen respectively. According to the Odums the following are the important Safohene who appoint the Omanhene: Asanwinso, Kojina, Awoso, Chichiwere, Prahsu, Pataboso, Asamboni, and Chirano. The Siwuas say that they do not know what the present procedure is, but that in the ancient times the stool, when vacant, was taken to the ancestors of Ampomenin, who chose the next Omanhene.

Sefwi Inter-Divisional Disputes

Disputes concerning Sefwi land exist between all three divisions and have thrown the stools of each into considerable debt. That between the Wioso and Bekwai divisions has for the past few years occupied the position

of greatest importance, passing from Court to Court until in October, 1924, the Court of Appeal at Accra gave judgment in favour of Wioso. This decision struck a severe blow at Bekwai, giving all the land as far as the Chira River, within a mile of Bekwai town, to the Wiosos. It is understood that the Elders of Bekwai intend to carry the dispute to the Privy Council. The Wiosos have a dispute with the Anwhiasos concerning the land in the neighbourhood of the old town of Wankyi, but as these two divisions have been on good terms during the past few years it seems possible that a settlement may be made without dragging the matter into the Courts.

The most vital of all, for Bekwai, will be the claim made by the Anwhiasos to the land lived upon by the Bekwai people, when that case comes up for settlement. This, if decided in favour of the Anwhiaso people, would leave nothing to Bekwai save a few acres in the extreme south-east corner of Sefwi.

Other Land Disputes

Lest the position of Bekwai was not sufficiently difficult, the remaining acres left to them by Wioso and Anwhiaso are claimed by one of the chiefs of Wassaw.

The Anwhiasos claim that their boundary to the east is the Dia River. But the Ohene of Jukwa, Cape Coast District, claims that this land is his. The position is rendered more complicated by the fact that at least two other chiefs claim the land as their own. At a meeting of the contending parties held at Diaso on December 19, 1924, by the Deputy Provincial Commissioner, Mr. Jones, all save one of the claimants agreed to have the matter heard and decided by the Honourable Commissioner of the Western Province and signed a bond to abide by his decision.

A minor dispute exists between the Chief of Bodi, Wioso Division, and the people of Dadiaso, Aowin Division, concerning the land between the Bia River and Dadiaso. It is claimed by the Wiosos that during the reign of Nkuah Penin they fought with the Aowins and

drove them off this land. I do not think the people of Dadiaso dispute this, but claim that, having occupied the land for a great many years, it is now their own. As I have said, it is not a matter of great importance and seems likely to settle itself, more particularly as the two parties concerned are very good friends.

Last Traces of the Good Old Times

After the war between Kumasi and Juaben in 1875 many hundreds of Juabens fell into the hands of the Kumasi king. These were sent to Sefwi en route for the French Ivory Coast where they were to be sold into slavery. The Juabenhene sent to the King of Sefwi and asked him to hold these people until they could be redeemed. This was done and most of the Juabens eventually returned home. But some small remnant of these people, and of other people who had a similar fate, remains in Sefwi, and it is no uncommon thing to meet a man or woman with a family who consider that they are slaves still. They certainly do not appear to have a very strenuous time and come and go as they please, often absenting themselves from the division for many years. From the very first they appear to have been treated as ordinary members of the community, receiving land to farm and wives to marry. They know perfectly well that they are not slaves and that they can stop where they are or remove, just as they please.

A terrific code of politeness exists and is rigidly observed by the people of Sefwi, and a breach of one of its rules quickly leads to a fine, which is light or heavy according to the nature of the offence. If a man, being a stranger, enters a village, he first greets the people in his immediate neighbourhood by walking round and shaking hands with them. He then seats himself and they in turn come and return the greeting. Failure to observe this little act of courtesy would probably lead to action before the chief, and might be followed by a fine of some small amount, together with the drinking of rum, by way of pacification. This and other similar customs may sound

very childish to-day, but they are probably survivals of a procedure which was found extremely useful in earlier times, when a stranger entering a village might mean war!

Fetish "Worship"

I have mentioned the god of the Subrae River as being a most powerful fetish in Sefwi, particularly in the Wioso Division. On Saturday a dog is offered to him, and on that day no drums may be beaten, nor does the Omanhene put on one of his fine cloths or wear his stool jewels, nor does he leave his own compound save on some important occasion. Should it be necessary for the Omanhene to go abroad on Saturday, he leaves his house by a side entrance, as he may not walk in the open street. Whilst the land dispute between Wioso and Bekwai was before the Court, the latter stated that the Subrae River flowed on their land. The Wiosos at once went and consulted the god of Subrae, and received an answer which would have done credit to a diplomat: "I flow on Sefwi land, wait and you will see."

Before holding the annual yam custom the Omanhene of Wioso asks the god of Subrae to give him strength to perform it and to find favour with his ancestors. Strips of white cloth are at such a time attached to the cotton tree in Wioso town and food is placed beside it for the use of the god.

It may be well here to point out that this respect paid to the god of Subrae has nothing whatever to do with religion. This god is a spirit with limited powers to help or hinder people. He can be of great use if so inclined, and it is with the idea of keeping him in a proper frame of mind that offerings are made on the day he has chosen. Strictly speaking, a fetish is not worshipped at all. The spirit is of the wandering variety and has never occupied a human form. Ordinarily such a spirit is more likely to hurt people than to help them, unless they are careful not to annoy him. He may occupy a tree or river or almost anything, and to interfere with his chosen resting place would be the greatest possible folly.

These spirits may be very powerful, like that of Subrae, or may be of little importance and exercise control only over one particular matter. But it is always in matters between man and man that such a spirit's power lies. He does not control the harvest, but he may have tremendous influence over the outcome of a war.

Every fetish has its priest, or set of priests. Through these the god concerned is consulted and through them he sends his answer. When things go wrong the individual concerned is told what to do to put matters right, which may be the offering of a chicken to the fetish or paying some pacification to an individual and thus pacifying that individual's fetish. From this it will be seen that the fetish priest occupies a position of no small importance in the native state.

Another very powerful fetish amongst the Wiosos is that of the Tano River god. This river abounds with fish, which are the children of the god. One of these is of very great size, and is said to be distinguished from the others by a plate of gold which he wears on his head. Three roads lead from Wioso to the Western Frontier and at the points where these cross the Tano River it is not lawful to catch fish. The fish at these spots are very tame and will take food practically from a man's hand.

They are fed regularly by priests attached to the fetish, and before and after the yam custom the Omanhene of Wioso sends them special food.

In addition to fetishes which have power all over the country, there are others which are without honour outside a single village, or even a single family.

Sometimes it is seen that a particular fetish has not been very successful. He is then considered to have grown weak and will become neglected and perhaps forgotten altogether.

Medicine Men or "Doctors"

One hears a good deal about native doctors and the wonders they perform. The fact is that very few of

them pretend to be able to cope with more than a few diseases. Most, but not all, of them work in conjunction with a fetish. Usually the patient has to go in the first instance to a fetish priest, who will direct him to a particular medicine man.

Such ancient remedies as "bleeding" are frequently resorted to, and much curious medicine is used, which chiefly consists of a brew made from herbs mixed with chopped leaves, blood, or anything to disguise it.

Charms and Mascots

Distinct from fetish are the charms and mascots which children and others wear for luck, just as we do in England. These are not ordinarily retailed by professional dealers and may consist of a shell, a small bottle, or some other object with which good luck is associated. To lose one of these charms would be a great misfortune, as the luck would be broken and could not again be caught.

Other charms are worn to ward off the evil eye, or to prevent sickness. These, however, are usually obtained from a fetish man of some sort, usually connected with one of the modern fetishes, imported from the French Ivory Coast mostly. Quite recently a small boy came and told me that 4s. had been taken from him by a man who promised to give him a charm that would enable him to fight everybody. That evening the boy had a quarrel with a big man and got soundly beaten, whereupon he went to the vendor of charms and asked for his money back. He was told that he must bring 1s. to open the man's heart. This he did, but received nothing. Incidents of this kind are not very common in Sefwi, but they happen occasionally.

Witchcraft and Devils

As might be expected in a backward place like Sefwi, a firm belief in devils exists. These devils are evil spirits

who have never been born, either as men or animals. They never do anybody any good but are always on the look-out for a chance to do harm. Some men are born with a devil, others acquire one later. The most common way to become possessed is to cut your foot whilst walking through the forest. The devil has placed the stone or stick there so that you would cut yourself and he himself is waiting to enter your blood through the wound. For this reason a native is very careful to put a green leaf, a special leaf of course, over such a wound at once, and as soon as possible he puts a devil-proof medicine on. I have found Zam-Buk very popular with the Wioso carriers for this purpose. In Sefwi-Bekwai there was a good deal of trouble about Christmas, 1923, with devils. I interviewed three men, all of whom admitted that they had devils. One old man said he kept his in the bush and that he used him to obtain meat. Unfortunately he had a dispute with a woman and so sent his devil to her during the night. This devil met her spirit walking abroad, whilst she slept.

Taking a knife, he cut the spirit, which then returned to the woman, who wakened up to find herself ill. Four days later she died. This man was sent to a medicine man, who made seven little cuts on either arm and on his chest and commanded the devil to come out. This satisfied everybody.

Ancestor Worship

Ancestor worship has been called the religion of the people of the Gold Coast Colony. Personally, so far as Sefwi is concerned, I do not think it is more than the most important rite in the worship of the Supreme Being.

When a man dies he goes to the place reserved for the departed and is considered to have access to the Supreme God. To a people who love display and ceremony, it is obvious that the more important the man is, or the more important he is made to appear, the louder he will be able to speak when he goes to his own place. For this

reason we find the funeral custom strictly observed. The idea of this is to give the man a good send-off. This not infrequently involves his relatives in great expense. Mourners sing of his good qualities and everybody dances to the music of drums; guns are fired off until the stock of powder is exhausted, and throughout the whole celebration much rum is consumed. I do not think it at all unlikely that in the good old days, when the funeral custom was being kept for a man of importance, human sacrifices were made, in order that his spirit should not go unaccompanied to the next world.

Sometimes a young man returns to Sefwi after an absence of many years, bringing with him some of his savings, with which he performs the funeral custom of a relative long departed. For it is considered a terrible disgrace to fail to do this.

In Sefwi the whole tribe keeps the funeral custom for all the tribal ancestors annually, on the day preceding the yam custom. On this day food is prepared by the people and set aside for the ancestral spirits. Guns are fired off all day long and great quantities of rum are consumed. The drums are kept very busy and everybody dances until exhausted.

The Yam Custom

The following day the yam custom proper is held. On this day, at Wioso, the Omanhene is taken to the water at the bottom of Wioso hill and is shaved and washed. The Black Stools accompany him, together with the Stool Treasure, and these are sprinkled with water as a sign of purity.

After this the Omanhene is dressed in one of his lovely silk cloths and decorated with his jewels. He is then placed in a palanquin and carried back to the town, where a procession is formed, which moves round the town three times. Representatives of the Subrae and Tano fetishes, together with those attached personally to the Omanhene, form part of this procession, as do the stools attached to them, which may be distinguished by

the fact that they are washed with white clay. Elders and chiefs from all parts of the division have their special places, the Omanhene coming last of all.

At the conclusion of this parade the Omanhene retires to his court, where he takes his seat on a raised platform, his elders seating themselves round him. A sheep is brought forward and when all is ready, the Omanhene and the principal chiefs and elders enter the Stool House, where the sacrifice is made. This sacrifice is to the spirits of all the departed Amanhin and is made through the stool, which is the habitat of the spirit of the whole tribe.

The blood is sprinkled on the stools which have been made for the various Amanhin and their names are called. They are then thanked, by the Omanhene, for the harvest which they have given to their people and for all the blessings of the past year. They are asked to continue their favour and to increase the tribe, to give long life to the Omanhene, to give many children to the women, and to prevent trouble from coming to the people. The meat from this offering is taken and cooked and the family of the Omanhene and those who have assisted at the ceremony partake of it.

One frequently hears of human sacrifice in connection with the yam custom. I do not think human sacrifices can ever have been made at that, but it is not at all unlikely that they were at the funeral custom on the preceding day.

After this there is an interval of two weeks, when the whole ceremony is repeated.

After that the Omanhene of Wioso goes to Anwhiam, close to Wioso, where he sacrifices a sheep to his own ancestors.

This concludes the annual funeral custom and yam custom. It will be seen that the idea of the former is to keep the ancestors of the tribe reminded of their relatives and to show them that they are not forgotten, whilst the latter ceremony is very similar in idea to our own harvest thanksgiving. To my mind ancestor "worship" is to the native of Sefwi very much what the

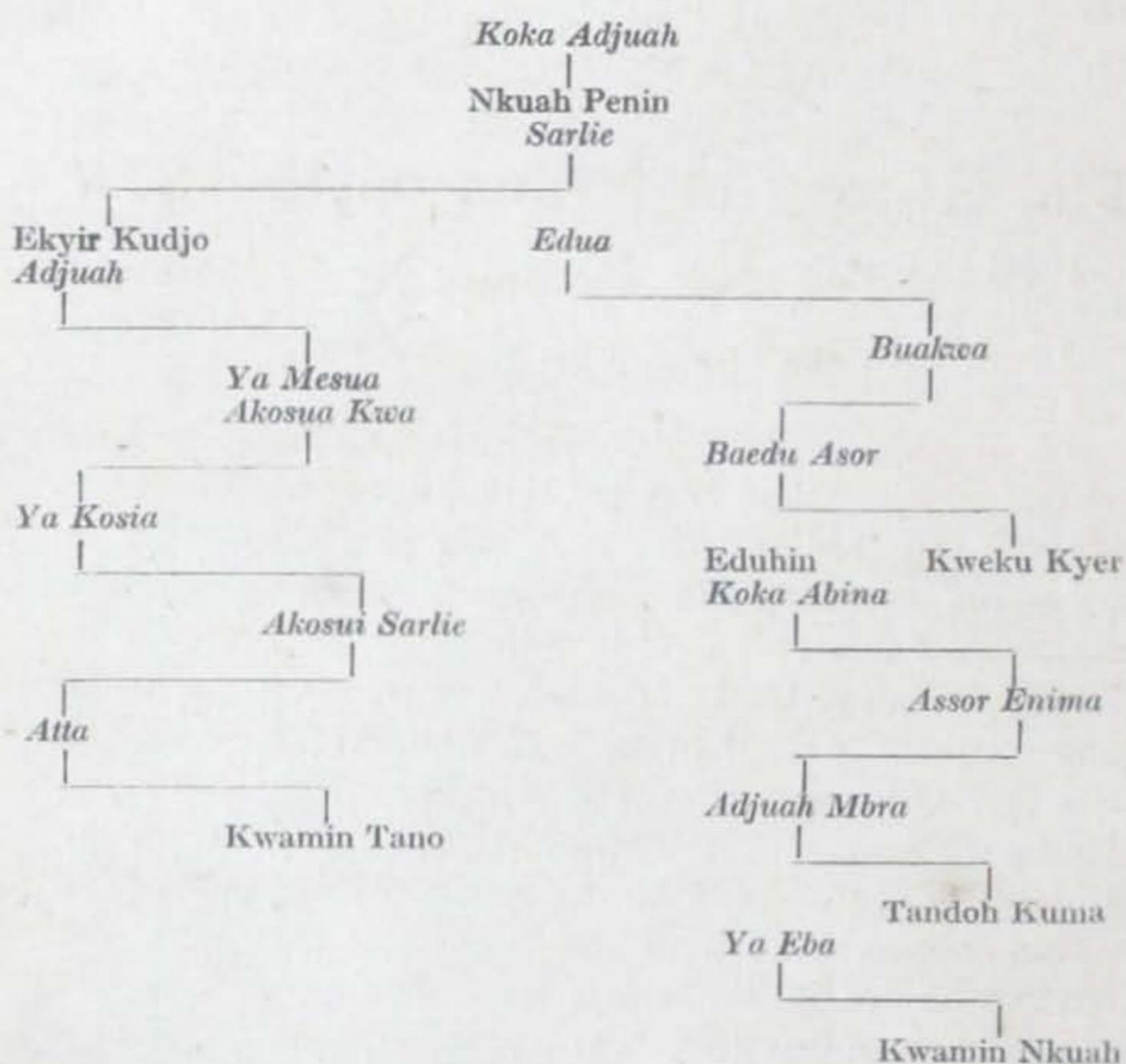
worship of saints is to an Irish Roman Catholic. Certainly it occupies a more important place in the mind of the Sefwi man, but it occupies an exceedingly logical place. Knowing that his ancestors have lived the same life that he is living, it is reasonable for him to suppose that they will know all about his wants and his troubles. Being members of the same family and tribe, it is but natural to suppose that they will be willing to help him. Having gone to the next world, he believes them to be in touch with the Supreme God.

The Supreme God

For the Sefwi man knows there is a Supreme Being who created the world. He has no very clear idea of what, or where this God is, and he does not waste time trying to find out. Indeed, I am quite sure that he does not consider himself under any obligation to thank his God for the fruits of the earth. He considers God to be benevolent and therefore not likely to harm him. But he looks upon the Supreme Being as so great that it would be nothing short of impertinence to make a request direct. Like the Greeks of old he raises his modest monument to The Unknown God, and is, I think, considerably amazed when the missionary comes along to declare and explain Him.

But the Sefwi man does not altogether neglect the Supreme God. Outside many houses, or in the compounds, may be seen a forked stick supporting a clay pot. This is known as Nyami Dua, God's Tree. Into this pot the owner of the house puts an occasional offering of eggs and fruit. I have never seen meat of any sort placed here, although I am told it is done. No special day is set aside for this offering, and it is done quietly and without ostentation, as befits a man who worships he knows not What.

ASANKERA FAMILY TREE
WIOSO DIVISION



Kwamin Tano is the present Omanhene.

Tandoh Kuma occupied the Niakyire stool until early in 1924, when he was de-stooled and Kwamin Nkuah chosen in his place.

Females have their names printed in italics.

The History of Nzima up to 1874

By R. W. SANDERSON.

GOLD COAST POLITICAL SERVICE

NZIMA, known to the European as Appolonia, is that portion of the Axim District lying between the rivers Ankobra (Sinyan) on the east and the Tano and its lagoons on the west. It comprises an area of approximately 1000 square miles, but the vast majority of its inhabitants, some thirty thousand in number, are to be found south of a line drawn from Alenda Wharf on the Tano to Anibil Wharf on the Ankobra, that is to say, within a distance of slightly more than ten miles from the sea. Out of some eighty towns on the muster rolls of the Amanhinfu not more than ten lie outside this area, and of the remainder by far the larger number are on the coast itself. North of this line there are isolated camps, mainly connected with the timber industry, which are liable to movement at any time. The villages on the banks of the Ankobra and Tano are, although politically part of Nzima, mainly of Gwira and Awowin stock respectively. The history is then that of a comparatively small area.

Tradition places the original abode of the Gold Coast tribes somewhere in the east of the Northern Sudan. One of the Nzima accounts goes so far as to say that the Nile was their first home. Be that as it may, it may be assumed with some certainty that some time in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when Mohammedan aggression was strong in Africa, there was a succession of waves of emigration of the comely Ethiopians westwards. Some of these, driven by Arab slave hunters, drifted to the Guinea Coast, where until the advent of the European they were safe from the danger of foreign

captivity, and formed the nucleus of the agglomeration of tribes now co-existing in the Gold Coast and adjoining lands. Whether they found it necessary to conquer their new territory we shall never know, but the Nzima tradition is that they at least were the first inhabitants of their adopted country.

One of these waves of emigration consisted of the forebears of what have become the Ahantas (Nyantas), the Awowins and the Nzimas.

At that time, it may be supposed, they had the same language and customs. They are not so very different now. They settled for some time in what is now Ashanti, but which was then, we are told, uninhabited. Thence they were driven southwards to the coast by a following and stronger wave, which we may reasonably suppose was formed of the ancestors of the Akan races who now form the majority of the population of the colony. In the confusion which would naturally ensue upon their expulsion smaller groups were formed; one of these pushed down the Tano and settling on its lower reaches became the Awowins; another following the Ankobra became the Gwiras; while yet another pressed on to the coast and are the original Nzimas.

The history of these patriarchs is much the same as that of any other tribal ancestors, with the proviso that they are placed at a much more recent date than such ancestors usually are. Their names are known and revered by the present-day illiterates, though the advent of education and progress (however slow) will naturally tend, in the absence of written records, to obliterate their memory. One Annor Blay is said to have been the first occupant of the stool in the country of their adoption. The group was small. Reduced by the struggle to the coast and the years in the wilderness, they were only sufficient to fill one village. This was Erwhomasu, the site of which was near the present Beyin. Several moves followed and the stool was finally brought to rest at Atwabo (Tuani=a shade tree, bu=under). Annor Blay was of the Parrot Family (Nvavily; Fanti, Ewiriw), as were all the succeeding members of his dynasty.

If the account of the traditional history which follows is found to differ from that contained in the opening paragraphs of the Report of the late Mr. Crowther, it must be remembered that the Nzima of to-day is no different from his brothers further east in his tendency to mould his version of verbal history in accordance with the possibility of advantage to himself. The evidence given to Mr. Crowther was quite frankly that of people who are the last to deny that they wished the findings to take a certain line, and at any rate we must give the parties whose desires were not fulfilled the credit of being sportsmen enough to accept what was laid down with a fairly good grace. In making the inquiries which formed the basis of this essay, I as far as possible gave no indication of their purpose, and the results will, I trust, at least have the merit of originality.

We now have, then, the Nzimas settled in what was to be their permanent home. It was a Golden Age, such as is common to all accounts of primitive history. There was no war and no slave trade to worry them. They wove their own cloths from the fibre of the bamboo leaf (Suwa), they were fortunate in having been able to lead a few of their cattle through the forest belt and in settling in a place where the tsetse fly was innocuous, and the sea and land provided them with food at the cost of a minimum of trouble.

Hence, like another race, they waxed fat and multiplied, and, as one chief naively remarked, "The conditions of life were too easy in those days; they were neither richer nor poorer and they lived to a great age."

Annor Blay and his descendants ruled for 140 years, and then the Golden Age came to an end, in a catastrophe, as Golden Ages have a habit of doing. The ruling Nvavily family had become of considerable size, and a family quarrel led to the secession of a large number of young men, who we hear formed a family of their own, the Awia (Fanti, Ntwia=dog). They could not be retained in the old family and this showed them that they could go further. They set up a claim to the stool itself, and after a lengthy struggle the old royal family saw that

they were outweighed, and like other and more well-known outworn clans decided to depart in a blaze of glory.

Again to quote an informant, they decided to die away as they "could no further resist such worriedness, which they did." All were buried in one big grave dug by themselves at Mowasu near Atwabo. Thus ended the race of founders. Their tomb is still supposed to be visible, but I was unable to get any information as to its location. This act of self-immolation is reported to have taken place in 1517, with a somewhat remarkable definiteness as to the date.

The first occupant of the new stool was one Annor Blay Aka, from whom all the succeeding kings of Nzima trace their descent, down to Kwaku Aka. The ancient stool which had accompanied the tribe in their wanderings had been destroyed by its former occupants and shared their grave, a fate to which the new stool made by Annor Blay Aka was to be an heir, 332 years later.

The new king seems to have departed from the old policy of isolation. Wassaws, Awowins, and even Fantis were encouraged to settle in the still largely empty gaps between Atwabo and the Ankobra, and to assimilate themselves with the tribe. This policy was followed by his successors, with the result that new arts were learnt and the immigrant Fantis brought in knowledge learned from Europeans, and probably introduced the dried fish trade, which now is the staple product of the district. It was this contact with the Europeans which was the cause of the feud between Nzima and Axim which lasted until the middle years of last century. The slave trade was the prime object of the white men. The Portuguese and their dispossessors, the Dutch, in Axim realised that it did not pay to recruit from the vicinity. Their native agents could quite easily, aided by the weapons at their disposal, fill the fort. The Nzimas suffered from raids for many years until at last they were able, armed in their turn with the white man's weapons, to drive the raiders back. This happened on several occasions, till at last the Dutch saw that they must take a hand themselves.

1763 Mar - Apr.

About 1700 they sent a mixed force across the Ankobra on what they doubtless considered a punitive expedition. They were routed and their guns captured.

At this time the stool was occupied by Amihere Payin, the most successful of the kings of Nzima. The stool family had grown wealthy. Amihere is said to have had over 300 slaves of his own and many cattle. While he had no rooted objection to his people being carried away, he saw no reason why the financial benefit should be confined to Axim. After the débâcle inflicted on the Dutch he issued orders that any Axim man found on the west side of the Ankobra was to be disposed of in the usual unpleasant manner, by staking him out on the beach at low tide after various important portions of his body had been removed. The instructions were carried out to the letter, and the Axims were not slow to retaliate.

Amihere was something of a diplomatist. He recognised that his chances of repeating his success over the Dutch were remote and that the Axims, whose pockets were affected no less than their family feelings, would lose no effort to induce the Dutch to return with a stronger force. The remedy was an obvious one, and the English at Dixcove were invited to build a fort and factory at Beyin. They came and the present fort was built in 1725 (*circ.*). All was well for Amihere. Protected by the guns at Beyin, if his people were to become restive at the wholesale shipments of their relatives, he increased in wealth and power. The number of his wives grew by the simple practice of selling the menfolk and exercising his rights of "protection" to their women. It was over one of these women that Nzima first became involved in war with her neighbours apart from European instigation.

A member of the stool family of Gwira while staying with Amihere transgressed the bounds of hospitality, and having barely escaped was followed in hot pursuit by the outraged monarch. Hostilities lasted for some years until Amihere won a victory which satisfied his sense of honour. A curious story is related of him. In spite of the numbers of his wives he was only successful in

begetting three deaf mutes. In any other family than that of the king these would have quickly been removed; but being of an inquiring turn of mind he visited a noted fetish and learnt that the deficiencies of his offspring were due to his cruelty, and that if he did not reform he would himself lose his faculties. He reformed; subsequent children were normal, but there is no record of any diminution in the export of slaves. He died and was gathered to his fathers after a long and successful reign.

The next two names of which there is mention are those of Annor Bromma and Nyanzu Aka. Their reigns were fortunate in having no history, and prosperity abounded. The slave traffic was still the principal business, and vast numbers of Nzimas were exported. Six large villages are stated to have entirely vanished. The fort at Beyin was never empty, and, as the Ohin of Essiama quaintly but meaningly put it, "it was understood that the human beings had to be shipped in the same way as shipping cocoa now." But a rift in the lute was to appear. The abolition of the slave trade in the British possessions meant the beginning of the end for Nzima prosperity. A century of dealing in slaves was not to be lightly forgotten. If the English had reformed, the Dutch had not as yet. Parties were sent north into Wassaw and Awowin and the results shipped from Axim. The Nzima was laying up a store of hatred for himself for which he was to pay with interest.

At this time the stool family became extinct but for a minor. For many years the division was administered by elders and it must have been one of these who marked the treaty of 1831 with the Ashantis. It is in fact very doubtful if the Nzimas had anything to do with this. Most probably their names were inserted at a later date. At last the young king came to full age and took over the reins of government. He is the most well-known of Nzima kings to the European, as he was of an enterprising and independent disposition. He took the name of Kwaku Aka, and almost from the start made himself felt. His policy seems to have been a return to the old isolation, and such was his personality that only now are

his people beginning to welcome progress once more. His first act was to order the English factor to remove from the fort at Beyin, which rapidly began to decay. But he kept up the feud with the Axims and, inventing new methods of disposing of them, disclosed a fertile brain. He does not seem at first to have been the blood-thirsty despot he no doubt was later, when his mind began to go, and had the support of his people. It is highly probable that he was encouraged in his policy by the Ashantis. He raided Wassaw and Awowin and there being now no commercial value for his prisoners he did not take many. Recognising that reprisals were bound to come, he established certain frontier garrison towns, Sanhuma at Ankobra Mouth against the Axims and Fantis, Awiani (Half Assini) against the Awowins, and Bassakeh against the Wassaws.

Maclean was now at Cape Coast and, anxious to restore the previously profitable trade in Appolonia, sent letter after letter of remonstrance. They were returned unopened and Maclean was invited to visit Kwaku Aka and share the fate of the Axims and others. In addition • Kwaku Aka captured and ill-treated ships' captains and traders, with the result that in 1835 Maclean could no longer remain inactive and proceeded to Dixcove. There he raised a force of 180 Fantis and crossed the Ankobra. No sooner, however, had he done so than his troops deserted and he had to seek the hospitality of the Dutch in Axim. He succeeded in instilling some degree of confidence into his Fantis and, recrossing, forced his way along the beach, aided by H.M.S. *Britomart* from the sea, and slept the night in the fort at Beyin. Kwaku Aka had retired to the bush, whence he refused to come in. Maclean, in the way which was typical of him, proceeded the following morning, with only a corporal's guard to protect him, to the king and, assisted by the surprise of his advent, drew up a treaty in which Kwaku agreed to refrain from interfering with trade and to deposit a large sum of gold in the castle at Cape Coast as security. This latter was done and for some time all went well. But about this time the king's brain began

to go and he broke out into all manner of cruelties, which even included his own subjects. Maclean was not allowed to lead another expedition and had to content himself with estreating the gold in the castle. Kwaku went from bad to worse, encouraged by this inaction, and finally offered a reward of two ounces of gold for every head not that of a Nzima or Ashanti. He raided the Axim villages and murdered the French Commandant of Assinie. A message was received from him at Cape Coast threatening to raze the town and castle. At last it was clear that something had to be done, and Governor Hill got together a force of four or five thousand men and left his headquarters on March 24, 1848. He advanced to the Ankobra, the passage of which he forced, and after a second forced crossing at the Twin Rivers, near where is now the village of Sanzurey, offered a reward of 100 ounces for the king, who had again withdrawn to his fastness in the bush. But he was now in a very different position. His popularity had gone when he began to include his own people in his bloodthirsty orgies and he was given up at the instance of one Bayini, of whom we shall hear later. He was taken to Cape Coast and sentenced to death; but when it was seen he was insane the sentence was commuted to one of imprisonment for life. He died, a violent maniac, on December 28, 1851.

Bayini, who had had a somewhat chequered career, was to continue to do so. He was more or less of a *rara avis* in those days, a chief with leanings towards trade. His propensities had led him to earn the jealousy of Kwaku Aka, and he had been forced to fly the country. His house had been burnt down, his male relations made the subject of the king's physiological researches, and his women taken into the royal household. Not regarding this latter as the favour it was meant to be he had complained at Cape Coast, and so had brought himself to the notice of the authorities. When therefore he was elected to the vacant stool the English did not oppose it, even if they had not suggested it. There were no heirs known of the old family. All those who were known had been removed in the usual way. It has

since transpired that the clean up was not quite as thorough as had been thought. Bayini, then, was the founder of a new dynasty. He also was its last member.

Before the capture of Kwaku Aka the Ahinfu had agreed to pay the cost of the expedition against him. This amounted to 326 ounces. By January, 1849, only 34 ounces had been paid, and Mr. Fitzpatrick, the Judicial Assessor, was sent to collect the balance from Bayini. Bayini, thinking he was secure, changed his attitude, first insulted and then threatened Fitzpatrick, who arrested him, an act daring but rash and impossible to sustain. There was something of a riot and he was forced to release the prisoner. On ascending the stool Bayini had received a Union Jack. This Fitzpatrick now demanded back. The rest of the chiefs had now come in and headed by one Amakye, who had done his best to keep order before, begged that the flag should not be taken away. There was a pause for thought on both sides, at the end of which Bayini and the ringleaders surrendered. They were taken to Cape Coast, where Bayini was given two years' imprisonment and the rest flogged, an example which had a most excellent moral effect. Amakye then was placed on the stool and became the first of the present line of Amanhinfu residing at Beyin. His territory was shortly to be curtailed considerably.

In 1867 came the fatuous arrangement by which the Dutch took over all the forts west of the Sweet River. This was the immediate cause of the splitting of Nzima into its present divisions. The Beyins had from the first refused to fly the Dutch flag; the Atwabos accepted it, with the result that Nzima was racked with civil war. The underlying cause of it all was the jealousy entertained towards Amakye by Affu, one of his Asafahinfu. He had, while the country was still under the English, revolted, but after intervention he was sent to Cape Coast out of the way. When the Dutch took over, he was released and promptly revolted again, with Atwabo as his headquarters. The Dutch naturally did not interfere, as he was apparently fighting their battles against Amakye

and the Beyins. However, their anticipations were disappointed, as, after driving Amakye into French territory, he drove the Dutch Commandant from Beyin and burnt the town. He was preparing to follow Amakye, when he was assassinated by one of his rival's people. Amakye now returned to Beyin but found that, far from his troubles being over, Affu's younger brother Blay had taken up the quarrel and established himself at Atwabo. The Dutch, who had bombarded Beyin in 1867 without doing any damage except to their own property, the fort, were thoroughly tired with their new acquisitions and in 1872 the English purchased the whole of the Dutch possessions on the coast. Nzima was in a state of chaos. Neither party was strong enough to annihilate the other, and the country was waste for miles. It was the disasters of these years which formed the origin of both the great oaths of the present divisions (see Appendix).

But if the Nzimas could not overcome their own feuds, they were strong enough to ensure that only Nzimas should, among natives, have control of their country. In 1870 the Axims, taking advantage of Blay's preoccupation with Amakye, invaded what is now Eastern Nzima. They succeeded in crossing the Twin Rivers and then were caught with their backs to the river, and very few saw Axim again. This was the last time they were to attempt to enter Nzima country in a hostile manner. Henceforth they confined themselves to a policy of pinpricks. Soon after the return to English rule Governor Ussher had sent his Stick to Blay and Amakye, with the formal announcement that he had taken them under his protection. Little as either felt the need of this, the Stick was received courteously and escorted from Atwabo to Axim by one of Blay's companies. The opportunity was too good to be wasted by the Axims, and the escort was attacked and a number of them killed.

Blay immediately prepared to carry his so far successful hostilities into the Axim territories. The authorities at Cape Coast, however, feeling the imminence of a far greater trouble with the Ashantis, decided to attempt a settlement of all these quarrels. Special messengers

were sent to Axim, Blay, and Amakye, and after meetings at Axim all agreed to keep the Assini road open, and the Axims agreed to recognise the Ankobra as their boundary with Nzima, and undertook to refrain from further hostile action. There still remained the dispute between the Nzimas themselves. The fact (undoubtedly true) that Blay was a rebel against Amakye was insisted on by the latter. It was pointed out to him that the English could not undertake to intervene actively on behalf of a chief whose loyalty in the past had been by no means unquestionable, and it was suggested that both disputants should send envoys to Cape Coast, where the Governor would himself decide the matter. They agreed to abide by the result of the arbitration. It is difficult to know how the Government would have acted in the much more likely event of a flat refusal of their offices, especially as Adwienpon, the envoy of Ashanti, was all this time in Half Assini fomenting disaffection, and paving a way for a flank attack, when the inevitable hostilities should begin.

However, the envoys went to the capital, where it was decided that Blay should be recognised as the chief of that part of Nzima east of Atwabo but should take rank below Amakye. This staved off the problem for the present, but clearly the whole matter had not been disposed of. The root of the dispute was Blay's claim to complete independence, and it seems this was not touched on at all. However, Amakye was satisfied for the time being, and Blay had gained his first point.

The war broke out in 1873, and Blay promptly offered his services to the English. Amakye was annoyed, in the first place, that this offer had not passed through himself, and in the second at the immediate acceptance of the offer. Moreover, the Commissioner at Axim supplied Blay with ammunition and guns and, the Beyins say, placed him in charge of the defence of the frontier. Amakye had very reasonable suspicions that this war material was destined to be used against himself, and sought for some alliance to set off this acquisition of strength on the part of Blay. Adwienpon had been

removed from Half Assini, but his influence remained. The Assinis, then as now, were ready to seize any opportunity to create trouble, and in addition Edusuasu, which in those days was the most important town in that section of Nzima, had espoused the cause of Blay. Amakye was induced, by the then bright prospects of yet another Ashanti success, to throw in his lot with them.

The immediate balance of power was therefore heavily against Blay, and there was nothing for him to do but to abandon Atwabo and withdraw behind the Twin Rivers where the stockade, which has given its name to the great oath of Eastern Nzima, was built. The Ashantis advanced, but were held by Blay. It appears they did not press their attack with their usual vigour, but were content to tie up a section of the colonial forces while the real issue was being fought out on the Cape Coast-Kumasi road between the main bodies. This was fortunate for the Nzimas, as, considering the difficulties and hardships they say that they had to undergo, they would have had not the slightest chance of withstanding the full strength of an Ashanti Army.

As it was they held the gates of Axim until the disaster of Amoaful, when all the Ashanti forces were withdrawn to Kumasi. For his services, which were undoubtedly of the greatest value, Blay received a resplendent uniform, which is still to be seen on state occasions. More important still he was able to assert his complete independence of Amakye, who was in no case to dispute it. His main endeavours were engaged in maintaining himself on the stool at Beyin, where naturally he had lost most of his prestige by his choosing the wrong side. No action was taken against him, as it was thought he had learned his lesson.

We have now seen the rise of the tribe from the earliest beginnings to a position of considerable affluence and then to a state of internal chaos brought about by the civil war. We have seen the chaos take some form by the division of the state into halves, and here for the present we may pause. It is sufficient to note that political change, at least in the writer's opinion, is not yet over.

Already there are signs that reunion under a representative of the old stool family would not be unwelcome, and with the access of wealth which will come when the district is opened out, the signs may develop into a cloud of some magnitude.

APPENDIX A

Origins of the Great Oaths of Eastern and Western Nzima

I. EASTERN. *Erhanu* (erhanu= \rightarrow a fence; erhanu= \rightarrow inside the fence).

When the Ashantis were trying a flank attack along the beach to Axim in 1873-74 Blay built a stockade of cotton-wood trees along the eastern bank of the eastern branch of the Twin Rivers, running from Aiyensini to Essiama. The hardships endured by the occupants were said to have been so great that the fence was made the object of the great oath.

II. WESTERN. *Bia Aluana na Kranwiabo*. Bia is the river of that name in the Ivory Coast. Kranwiabo= \rightarrow Krinjabo; Aluanu= \rightarrow mouth. There are two versions of this: (1) that of the Eastern Nzimas: that Kwaku Aka sent Amakye on a raid against the Awowins, and that he was heavily defeated, so much so that of all their men only two boat loads escaped to the river Bia, and these sank in the middle and none were saved; (2) that of the Western Nzimas: that during the revolt of Blay against Amakye the latter was driven over the Bia into French land.

On the whole I prefer the first version.

APPENDIX B

Divisions of Nzima

- i. Assani. From Asanta to Essiama.
- ii. Aittilay. From Ezuranuanu to Aiyensini.
- iii. Ellempilli. From Sanzure to Anokye.
- iv. Dwomoro. From Atwabo to Afrenu (Newtown).
- v. Akumu. The political division of Nkroful.
- vi. Tripu. All the inland villages of Eastern Nzima except Nkroful.
- vii. Mpim. All the inland villages of Western Nzima. There are stated to be slight variations of dialect in these divisions.

A Short History of the Nkonya* Division in the Ho District

By C. C. LILLEY

GOLD COAST POLITICAL SERVICE

At the outset I would point out that there is a great deal of ill feeling between two parts of the Nkonya Division. It is difficult to say when the trouble started, but it was brought before the British Authorities immediately after the occupation.

The trouble is concerning the head stool of the division. The chief of what to-day is called Nkonya Ahenkro claims his to be paramount, while the chief of Nkonya Wurupon claims that he is the head chief.

A visitor to the division would be told two different stories regarding the history, one at Ahenkro and another at Wurupon.

About two years ago I had an opportunity of studying the problem rather closely as I was asked to decide the ownership of a tract of country north of Wurupon which

* The Nkonyas form a part of the once important division of Fetu (Efutu), originally settled at Cape Coast, but driven eastwards by the Akan invasion which took place probably about the seventeenth century. Portions of Fetu lie scattered about the Gold Coast from Winnebah, where the Efutus live, through Akwapim, where the Cherepongs were left behind, north to the Peki Division with its Guangs, and so on to Nkonya. The Guang language in a variety of dialects is common to all these four peoples, and it appears also to have been the original language spoken in parts of the Kete Kratchi and Yendi Districts. The Nkonyas, therefore, are a part of probably the only tribe (the Guangs) which can properly be called an aboriginal tribe in the Gold Coast. The others—such as the Fantis, the Gas, the Awunas, all the various Twi-speaking peoples, etc.—are comparative new-comers; some of them, in fact, had not even arrived when the first Europeans came to this country. It would be of great interest if other Assistant District Commissioners would write Essays on the other sections of the tribe. (H. S. Newlands, Acting Commissioner, Eastern Province.)

was claimed on the one side by the small village of Tepo and on the other by Wurupon.

The former village was heavily supported by the head chief at Ahenkro, who was unable to give a connected story of the history of the Nkonyas, and who, upon cross-examination, admitted several facts given by the Wurupons and found himself in difficulties concerning statements he had made.

I therefore propose to rely upon the account given me by the Wurupons and bring out, where I consider it necessary to do so, any points which are in direct conflict with the story told me by the Ahenkros.

General Description of the Division

The division of Nkonya is situated due north of Kpando and comprises an area of about 154 square miles.

The last census revealed a population of 5,034. The largest town is Wurupon comprising, including villages on its land serving the stool of Wurupon, 419 houses.

On the north the division is bounded by the Bowiri Division, on the west by the river Volta, on the east by the divisions of Akpafu and Santrokofi, on the south by the Kpando Division, and on the south-west by the division of Alavanyo.

Geographically the most interesting feature is the range of hills which is known as the Nkonya Plateau, the highest point being Owarebo, which rises to a height of 2,756 feet.

Near the town of Wurupon these hills rise almost vertically from the plain, and amongst them are the sources of the various small streams which cause such trouble to the road maker in this region.

The principal rivers are the Wia Wia, Api and Adjamansu, all rising in the hills which form the eastern boundary of the division and running westwards into the river Volta.

The main crops are yams, cassada and maize, while the chief products are Palm kernels and cocoa.

The main cocoa-growing area is around Wurupon and to the north of it. The market town is Ntchmuru where,

in conjunction with Kpando, Dakludja and Anfoe, market is held every fifth day.

The chief roads in the division are the Kratchi road leading from Kpando through Nkonya-Akloba, Ahonkro (Wurubito), Ntchumuru, Kadjabi, Tepo, and Wurupon westwards, and one from Ntchumuru to Alavanyo-Kpeme, a distance of $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles.

The language spoken by the inhabitants is Guan, while most of the men, and a certain portion of the women, speak Twi.

Ewe is taught in the schools provided by the former Bremen Mission (now allied to the Scottish Mission) and the Catholic Mission.

The only industry is pot making, and is carried out by the women.

History

In the earliest recorded times the Nkonyas used to live at a place called Nyenyam near Sekum, between Accra and Cape Coast.

It is said that there were seventeen villages with Wurupon the head town.

The Nkonyas are closely related to the Nyanyawos, Afutus and Brekus, who speak the same language, though it is probable that the present language of the Nkonyas differs slightly owing to the long separation and mixing with other tribes, to whom I shall refer later. The word "Nkonya" means "will never get."

Move to Nyanawasie

Owing to frequent wars with the Portuguese, Fantis, and Accras the Nkonyas decided to move, and accordingly, led by Ansah Sessaku as their chief and Asafoache Akpatasi of Wurubito, they migrated, and working their way in a north-easterly direction reached Nyanawasi, a large town situated in the Akwapim District.

The war which led to their migration appears to have been owing to some Kadjabi Dankyira men having gone into a Fanti town to take part in some native play, which resulted in a riot accompanied by stone throwing and

club fighting. This was reported to Ansah Sessaku, who determined to punish the Fanti inhabitants, with the result that he attacked them and got the worst of the struggle.

The Fantis were assisted by the Accras and Kotokus, and the result of the battle was a severe defeat of the Nkonyas.

At Nyanawasi they remained awhile, but there Ansah appears to have desired to exercise control over the Akwapims.

A certain Nkonya man paid too much attention to the wife of a well-known Accra man, and this action resulted in another war, in which the Nkonyas were again defeated, their king Ansah being slain in the battle.

Stay at Larteh

He was succeeded by his eldest son Asiakwa, who decided on a further move, and accordingly led his people to Larteh.

Their stay here appears to have been none too peaceful, and apart from the Wurupons, who remained at Larteh, all the other Nkonya towns removed to Asseseso in the neighbourhood.

Whilst in this vicinity Asiakwa followed in the footsteps of his father and endeavoured to exercise dominion over the inhabitants thereabouts.

War with Akims

Consequently the Eastern Akims and Akwapims joined forces and attacked the Wurupons, who were once again defeated and fled.

It would appear that other Nkonya villages took no part in this struggle and hearing of the proposed attack by the Akims and Akwapims, left Asseseso hurriedly and moving still eastwards came to the river Volta.

They crossed the river near the present Senchi ferry, which is alleged to have derived its name in the following manner.

On arrival at the river bank a hunter, removing his clothing, proceeded into the water to see if the river was fordable at this point.

As he advanced the water got deeper and the people on the bank who were watching him, fearing for him, called out, "Senchi, Senchi," which means, "Return, come back."

At Akwamu

Having crossed the Volta somewhere in this neighbourhood, these remaining Nkonya villages came to Akwamu, where they settled for a while.

It is here that the Nkonya nation became divided. As we have seen, the other Nkonya towns had migrated across the river, but the Wurupons, once more defeated, retreated in a north-westerly direction.

It is at this point that the native historians differ in their accounts. Some say that the Wurupons also were at Akwamu, whilst others state they were not, and myself I am inclined to the latter opinion.

Later on, in following the wanderings of the Wurupons, we shall see where they crossed the Volta, and had they resided at Akwamu, it would have meant first crossing again to the west side into hostile country and then crossing again at Nkorumfenda.

The movements of the people of Ntamedas are not at all clear. They themselves hold that they resided at Akwamu with the other Nkonyas, but state definitely that they followed the Wurupons in their northerly trek along the river bank.

I think it possible that the Ntamedas lived with the Wurupons at Larteh and did not move to Asseseso and consequently were not at Akwamu.

Let us now follow in the first place the wanderings of those Nkonyas who had settled at Akwamu.

War leads to a Further Move

Once again interference with the wives of other men led to their being forced to leave. As in the previous

instance, it was a Kadjebi man whose action brought down the wrath of the Akims, who attacked the Nkonyas and drove them away.

But little is known of their wanderings from Akwamu and they appear to have made no halt of any great length till they reached the present site of Kpando Station. Where they crossed the range of hills running from Akwamu through Kpeve and right up north into Western Akposso (French Togoland) is not known, but it seems probable that they followed these hills on the north side most of the way, as we know that some of them anyhow reached Blenti, now called Gbelde and situated in the Liati Division. At this place some of the descendants of the Chief of Ahenkro's family live to-day.

From Blenti they appear to have moved in a westerly direction, reaching the neighbourhood of the present Kpando. They were led by Akpatasi and from this it is evident that their move from Sekum to the neighbourhood about which they are now permanently settled was not spread over a great number of years.

From the neighbourhood of the present Kpando hunters were sent out, and one of them, Okuma, found a suitable place near the present site of Ahenkro.

A move was again made, this time northwards, and the various villages settled as follows :

Wurubito, Tepo, Akloba (Betense), and Tayi at Misibiri, the place found by Okuma the hunter.

Ntchumuru at Okasu in the direction of Alavanyo.

Papransi kept to the south and remained at their present site.

Kadjabi on a hill also in the direction of Alavanyo.

Movements of the Wurupons

At this point we will turn our attention to the other part of this nation who had been disastrously defeated at Larteh.

From here they proceeded in a northerly direction and keeping on the right bank of the river Volta, crossed the Afram River and settled for a while between Kodiabe

and Asabie. Here they remained for a while and finding the country unproductive moved on again northwards. A halt was made near Obusumano, and it was here that the Ntamedas crossed the Volta and made their way eastwards.

They actually settled quite close to the present site of their village.

The Wurupons, however, kept on till they came opposite the present site of Korumfenda. The story given as to the crossing of the river Volta belongs rather to fairy-tale books than to an historical narrative. As, however, it is firmly believed by the Wurupons, I propose to describe it.

Crossing the Volta

One Atampo, a fetish priest of Shia fetish, informed the Wurupons that if they desired to do so they could cross the river. The people accordingly approved of this suggestion, and informed Atampo that they were desirous of so doing.

The priest then went down to the water's edge and offered a long prayer to Shia, who immediately caused numbers of water tortoises to appear in the river. One Kotoku, having provided himself with a forked stick, then proceeded to cross the stream on the back of one of the tortoises. In this manner the remainder of the people followed.

I find myself unable to imagine what this story is intended to describe. That it is believed will be shown later when we make further reference to the fetish Shia.

Having got safely across, they then settled at Krovenna, somewhere in the forest between the Volta and the range of hills now known as the Nkonya Scarp.

From here they could see Owarebo and the range of steep hills, and it was decided to send out hunters to prospect.

Accordingly one Akpoa, a captain and hunter, went out and returned with a report that the country at the base of the hills was eminently suitable for settling on.

A move was decided on, but here a division of opinion

took place. Some said they would go on northwards, which they did.

The remainder called them "Paefo," meaning dissenters. These people settled at Pai or Apai in the Kratchi district, where their descendants are to the present day.

Fight with the People on the Hills

When king Asiakwa and his people arrived at the foot of the hills, they met some people already on the land. It at once appeared that they had villages on the hills, and as the Wurupons had decided to stay and settle on the land they had reached, they deemed it advisable to attack these people and drive them away. These people had a strange language which the Wurupons could not understand. They appear to have classed them into five different categories and called them Adjantufo, Atuntudjafo, Alilofo, Akpofo, and Akentiafo.

It was discovered that the capital town of these people was situated on the top of Owarebo, and accordingly a plan of campaign was drawn up to attack this stronghold. However, after further consideration it was deemed advisable to overcome the smaller villages first, and having accomplished the destruction of these, the decisive attack was launched on the capital.

Death of King Oware

When the invaders had reached a point just below the town, King Oware's men rolled down stones upon them, with the result that King Asiakwa's son was hit, and in order to prevent his giving warning to their enemies and disheartening the attackers, the Wurupons killed him on the spot.

The final assault was lodged, the town entered, most of the inhabitants killed and captured.

The stone remains of the village are to be seen to this day. King Oware was slain and his skull is fixed at present to a drum in possession of the Wurupons, while the jaw of one of his captains is similarly fixed to a horn.

Many of these inhabitants must have escaped, and as no pursuit took place we may, I think, conclude that the direction of the escape was eastwards farther into the hills. To this I shall refer at a later stage in this story.

Having then captured the head town and remained up there for some little time, King Asiakwa saw that one village still remained on the top of Nkebu hill.

Re-union of the Nkonya Division

He had heard, presumably from hunter scouts, that the rest of the Nkonyas had reached the neighbourhood of the country now known as Kpando, so a message was sent to Akpatasi telling him that the Wurupons were here and that they were endeavouring to destroy some people, and that he should come and help.

Contact was established between the Nkonyas and Akpatasi came up with a force of Nkonyas.

The village was stormed and captured and Akpatasi was wounded. He was taken to a spot at the foot of Nkebu hill for treatment. This place was called Dzebe-teihoe which is the name of a certain kind of medicine.

This last and combined effort finally overcame all resistance on the part of the former inhabitants, and Asiakwa remained for a while with the Wurupons on the top of Nkebu, whilst the other Nkonya villages were distributed along the base of the hills southwards.

After hearing of the exploits of the Wurupons, Akpatasi gave his daughter Ama Tentema to King Asiakwa as a thanksgiving for all his gallant deeds. This woman was given to Otibo, grandson of Asiakwa for marriage.

From now onwards there appears to have been peace for a while and time for development.

The Wurupons moved down to their present site and gradually the other villages moved to their present positions except Tepo, who moved to Kromo, between the present main road and the river Volta and about half way between Wurupon and Ntamedia.

The Wurubitos had established a fetish near the present Rest House at Wurupon.

The captives made during the war were taken down to Wurupon and by intermarriage became absorbed in the Nkonya nation.

This ends the first part of the story : it takes us from Sekum to the final settlement of the Nkonyas in their present abode.

Here I must refer briefly to two other divisions, those of Kpando and Akpafu.

Reference to Kpando Division

The historians of the former tribe will tell how during their emigration from Nuatja they settled on the Volta side near the present site of Dukludja, and that from here they sent out reconnoitring expeditions which penetrated as far north as what is now known as Kwamikrom, a village founded by Kwami, a native doctor of Buem Aka, and also called Abu-Karimu, a settlement having been made there by a Hausa trader.

On their way the hunters of Kpando met no one, but on their return, probably at the base of the hills, they met some Wurupons, who said they were living on the hills.

This would point to the fact that the Nkonyas were established here before the Kpandos arrived at their present site, and further that at the time of the arrival of the Kpandos the Wurupons anyhow were living on the hills after the defeat of their enemies.

I wish to emphasise this point as the alleged historians of Wurubito, or Ahenkro as it has been named, state that after their arrival in the neighbourhood of Misimbri, their leader Akpatasi went hunting as far as Wurupon, where he came across some people who could not understand his language and who in trying to kill him wounded him.

Akpatasi returned and reported the matter, with the result that an expedition was organised and war was made on the Wurupons. The latter were defeated, their children seized and placed in the hands of selected Nkonya teachers for instruction. The so-called historians will

go on and tell you that the descendants of these instructors are at present in Wurupon, and that after the victory Wurupon came under Akpatasi and it has been until the present day.

It will be observed, therefore, that the present alleged head chief of Nkonya claims that Wurupon as an entity did not exist before this date on which instructors and captives settled there, and that the Wurupons really are descendants of the people on the hill.

The other point on which I desire to touch before proceeding will be a short history of the Nkonya nation after their amalgamation, summed up in the question, "Who were the people on the hills, the Adjantufo, Atuntudjafo, etc.?"

Personally I place no reliance whatever on the doctrine that they were the Wurupons.

The People on the Hills

Let us take ourselves from the west of the Nkonya plateau to the other side, where we find the division of Akpafu, which has a language entirely different to any other in these parts. The historians of these people will tell that formerly they used to live on a hill called Maukuba.

You will ask, "Yes, but that hill isn't far away. How did you get there?" And they will reply, "We came there from heaven."

This does not satisfy a seeker after the truth who presses the matter, and speaking for myself I came to the conclusion that they knew of no history beyond that.

There is not a shadow of doubt that the Akpafus lived on the Nkonya plateau. To this day they have many small hamlets scattered over it and one large village called Osibri.

Go on to the Nkonya plateau and you will find remains of their iron ore pits, as you can also find near Akpafu town.

Look at the houses of Akpafu to this day with flat mud

roofs. On being asked why they build them so, they will tell you that they do so because their ancestors used to do so on the hill Maukube. You press the matter, and they will tell you that on the hills, owing to the strong winds, grass roofs would be hopeless, and further that they would catch fire from the sparks if you attempted to do blacksmith's work inside. Hence they build them with swish.

So here you have proof that the Akpafus, whose descendants were blacksmiths, lived on the Nkonya hills and talked a strange language.

We have no evidence of any other inhabitants having lived there. The Akpafus say they never fought any one for the possession of these hills, and are to-day unable to give an account as to how they got there.

The inference is, therefore, that the people on the hills were the Akpafus who lived scattered over them. Might it not be that, having been defeated on Owārebo, they scattered and eventually settled on Maukube mountain, and in course of time left the plateau altogether and settled on their present site?

Further, I find traces in the eastern part of the Peki Division of "people on the hills," on the range which extends past Tschito to Kpeve right on through Baglo to the north, which leads me to suspect that in those by-gone days a definite race was in possession of the land all living on the hills. No more am I prepared to write on this till I have followed up the trail, and it is, further, quite outside the province of my present story.

Before this digression we had followed the wanderings of the Nkonyas as far as their final settlement in Togoland.

War with Kwahus

Some years of more or less peaceful and slow development followed. Though for a few years there was no war, troubles visited the Tepos at Kromo.

The Tapas in the north had cut a path from Tapa to Tepo, and used to make descents on the people of the latter town and carry them away.

This resulted in the people of Wurupon and Ntameda moving Tepo to its present site.

The next war arose during the reign of Kwasi Pru between the Nkonyas and Kodiabes (Kwahus). The reason for the war was that a certain Kodiabe woman, by name Nyamiwa, was pledged to a Wurupon elder called Boaten. This woman was a witch and one night was caught about midnight by one Otibo, one of the king's sons, practising her art. Otibo stabbed her in the stomach and she died immediately. This was reported to the king of the Kodiabes, who sent a force under Adjapong Kwami to avenge the woman's death. It is said that the Kodiabes were defeated, and that some form of a fetish treaty was made between the two parties.

First Ashanti Invasion

The next occasion on which war troubled the Nkonyas was in King Adja Adu's reign, when part of an Ashanti army, under command of Yao Sechiri, entered the Nkonya country and settled between the towns of Ntameda and Tayi.

Here the Nkonyas it would appear did not fight, but each village, under orders from Adja Adu, sent a certain number of men as slaves.

Yao Sechiri retired back to the Volta, showed his captives and reported that no fighting had taken place. This apparently did not please the supreme command of the Ashanti army, who sent him back to fight.

On his return he found all the Nkonyas had bolted with the exception of Wurupons, Tayi, and the Alavanyos, who, acting in conjunction with the scheme further south, drove this part of the Ashanti army back.

Long before this Ewe tribes had settled south of Nkonya, and the latter formed the right wing of the force which attacked in the neighbourhood of Kpando.

The next coming of the Ashantis into this division was during the invasion of Togoland in King Karikari's reign.

From all accounts the Ashantis were invited here

by the Chief of Tepo, Tene Kwabina, and the matter arose in the following manner.

There is a custom called Werempe between Wurupon and Tepo that when a chief died in one village, the people of the other village should go into the town, plunder sheep and fowls and assist to make the funeral custom. When King Asiedu died, the Tepos came and made this custom, and not long after Ntim Jakari of Tepo died and the Wurupons went to Tepo to make the requisite custom. However, on arrival they made the custom with a one-eyed sheep and a lame fowl, and then returned to Wurupon.

Trouble between Tepos and Wurupons

A week after the custom was to be completed the Wurupons went to Tepo and performed a native play called "Bekoanko." During this a quarrel arose which ended with street fighting. On hearing of this, groups of young men from Wurupon went to Tepo and, having soundly thrashed the Tepos, burnt their village down.

The Tepos then sought the help of the other Nkonya towns, who were driven back to their villages by the Wurupons. The net result of this was that Tene Kwabina, the Chief of Tepo, sought the assistance of the Ashantis, and this led to the second Ashanti invasion.

Second Ashanti Invasion

The leadership of the Ashantis was entrusted to Yao Bofour (Baffo), who, finding the other Nkonya towns deserted, camped on the old path from Wurupon to Tayi.

King Adja Adu selected his bravest men, who met the Ashantis at this spot. Tene Kwabina was with the Ashantis and was slain, as were, it would appear, many on both sides. The Ashantis retired, and the Wurupons claim the battle as theirs. I regard this as more of a punitive expedition than anything else, as I cannot see any reason for an attack in any great strength, seeing that the country between here and the river Asuokoko is practically devoid of population even now.

King Adja Adu afterwards sent for all the Nkonya towns to return, which they did.

For a time after this it is probable that small fights took place, but none of any importance.

Internal Troubles

There appears to have been a certain amount of internal strife, however, in Adja Adu's reign.

The first of these disputes ended in a fight between the Ntchumurus and Kadjabis. The former were driven from their town and ran to Okasa near Alavanyo. King Adja Adu went to Ntchumuru and sent for the people, who came back. The king with Adom the fetish priest of Shia settled the matter.

In the previous reign, that of Assiedu, the same fetish priest with the king settled another matter of some minor importance.

A dispute arose between the Wurubitos and Alavanyos. After being refused by King Asiedu permission to declare war on the Alavanyos, the Wurubitos, led by one Afeku, did so and were beaten. Afeku bolted to the Volta and the Wurubitos to a hill near Paprawusi. Afeku took with him his wife Denyawa, a sister of Denteteh of Kadjabi.

The latter, not knowing the whereabouts of his sister, sent to the Wurubitos for information. Nothing was done, so the Kadjabis attacked them and drove them to a hill between Ntchumuru and Paprawusi, from where they were brought back by the king and the fetish priest.

After this it was decided to place a man in charge of these two villages to represent them at the annual festivals of the Shia fetish, when summoned by the head chief, and to settle small palavers. A man called Okoto Kofi was appointed as Chief of Wurubito. A native drum was ordered to be made for him.

After the death of Adja Adu his son Djanti Kwadjo succeeded him, and it was during his reign that Mr. Glover, an English officer, passed through the town of Wurupon and told the people of the defeat of Ashantis.

Arrival of the Germans

Some time after four German and two English officers came to Wurupon. A meeting was held and King Djanti told them that as he was more or less under Ashanti control and that it now appeared the Ashantis were under control of the English, he would rather be under the English. The Europeans then departed. Later a German officer passing through to Kratchi gave the chief of Wurubito a flag and stopped to do the same at Wurupon. This was refused on the ground that they were under the English. This brought about the inevitable result, namely, that a large number of German soldiers came to Wurupon, fired live ammunition over the town and forced a flag on the chief.

I think that most of what I have attempted to set forth concerning the ancient history of these people contains a semblance of the truth, but it is concerning the events which happened during the last three decades that I find myself in difficulties.

It is clear that the German administration did a deal of good for the Nkonya nation as a whole. The country was opened up and stores were built at Ahenkro, which is only nine miles from the Administrative headquarters at Kpando.

The building of the railway from Palime and the making of that town provided a selling place for their kernels. It was not till towards the close of the German administration that cocoa was introduced into the division.

In 1912 a large tract of Wurupon land was purchased by a German named Burbulla and though the sale was resented by the Wurupons, the gradual development of this plantation would have in later years, I feel sure, proved beneficial to the Nkonya agriculturists.

Dispute regarding the Head Stool

The fact that German administration recognised the chief at Ahenkro as the head chief is, I do not doubt,

correct ; but the date from which this recognition took place I cannot say.

Their first dealings with the Nkonyas, when Okoto Kofi, chief of Ahenkro, accepted the German flag without demur, and the Wurupons so violently opposed it that a large body of troops were sent to compel acceptance, cannot have produced a very favourable impression concerning the Wurupons.

The chief of Wurupon, Djanti Kwadjo, was an old man and blind and used to send the chief of Ahenkro with messages to the German Commissioner at Kapando, and it is alleged that owing to this the administration came to regard Okoto Kofi as the head chief.

I have heard that the Germans did not use the same methods or care when dealing with these affairs as the British administration and seeing Ahenkro is so much nearer to Kpando, the local headquarters, than Wurupon, there may be a grain of truth in this argument.

That the Nkonyas were far more primitive than the Ewe tribes cannot be doubted, and one hears stories of dark events taking place and duly sanctioned by the chief of Wurupon.

The English authorities have had no opportunity of studying the problem in such a way that one might hope to get at the truth, as immediately on their arrival the question was brought up ; parties took sides and each man had made up his mind what he was going to say. Dagadu, Head Chief of Kpando, might be able to tell something when the matter comes up for settlement, as he was alive before the German occupation.

I recall one incident which comes to my mind in this connection. Dagadu desired to visit the chief of Wurupon, and wrote to Okoto Kofi at Ahenkro informing him of his intention. The latter informed Dagadu that he refused him permission to pass through Nkonya country !

During the German administration a land dispute involving the Nkonya and other divisions was settled. In 1923, however, this decision brought about a riot, which, had it occurred prior to European occupation,

must have resulted in war. The fighting was localised to the divisions of Nkonya and Alavanyo.

The state of affairs to-day is that Wurupon still refuses to recognise the head chief at Ahenkro.

Before concluding this essay I should like to mention the Nkonya fetishes. These are so numerous that to treat the subject adequately one would require a treatise approximately the same length as this historical narrative.

The Fetish Shia

However, suffice it that I refer to one only, the principal fetish, that of Shia.

I have referred to this fetish when attempting a description of the crossing of the Volta at Korumfenda.

The earliest mention of Shia is at Larteh, and I cannot say whether it originated there, or was worshipped before. Ancient Larteh seems to have been a great place for fetishes, as it is from there the famous Dente fetish is supposed to have originated.

However, this may or may not be, but from here onwards it plays a great part in the life of the Nkonyas, and led the Wurupons during their wanderings to their present site. I have elsewhere described the prominent part taken by Shia in the crossing of the Volta. The forked stick used by Kotoku is still in possession of this man's descendants, and is used whenever the fetish celebration takes place each year on the occasion of the yam festival.

When occasion for its celebration arises, all the Nkonya towns are represented, and many outside people as well. The village leaders come to Wurupon with a potful of palm wine and a male goat on their necks. All go to the abode of the fetish just outside the town and perform the necessary rites, which include the killing of the goats.

The important leaders of the villages are not permitted to leave the town for a week, after which the celebration is finished.

Such is the history of the Nkonyas. It is immensely difficult to separate truth from fiction when dealing

with a subject of this kind in a country where all history is handed down by word of mouth, and facts therefore are liable to be exaggerated and distorted.

However, I hope my attempt may be of some interest to anyone who takes an interest in the various emigrations which took place 200 to 300 years ago, and which resulted in populating the country known as Togoland.

Historical Survey of the Shai People

BY LIEUTENANT-COMMANDER S. W. SAXTON, R.N.

GOLD COAST POLITICAL SERVICE

1. The name **Shai** is a corruption of Tshayi or Charyi.

CHARYI is also stated to be the name of the chief captain of the High Priest Manya (Adangbe tribes). Later, as a result of a dispute between the tribes (Krobos and Shais) they separated at Tagulogo near the Lolovo Hill. Charyi also seceded from Manya and became Head of Adas. It appears that during one of the Akwamu and Ada wars, his thumb was cut off by traitors in his own camp. He then quitted Ada for the Shai Hills, there to found many towns: Lekpedse, Manya, Lenodse, Kpofu, Asinodse, Salom, Bonase, Mampong, Dobo, Ladoku, Yoma, Abotia, Klekpe, Nagala, Magbiem, Mla, Drawe, Laga, Kayikpo, Gblaka, Hiowe, Suowe, (Shuawe).

The capital was Klekpe.

Charyi was also referred to as a high priest, but I believe there is little foundation for this except, it will be seen, that Sodse, descendant of Charyi, was made high priest and general.

The Akans called the Shais "Siade." The origin of the name being: when the Hiowes built Klekpe they found the site on the hills unsuitable for extensive towns and called the place Se—"unfit"; this was corrupted to "Shai" in English and "Siade" in Twi.

The Accras misinterpreted the word as "Regret."

The division of the towns is given as follows: Hiowe or Suoyi built to the westward of the hill: Salom, Bonase, Nangala, Laga, Kayikpon, Gblaka, Drawe, and Minawe; to the eastward the Kpeshi (Kpedse) or Mlas

built Yoma, Abotia, Lekpedse, Lenodse, Kpofu, Asinidse, Manya, and Magbiem.

A further note concerning Charyi is that one Lanimu, descendant of Manya, became first king of the Krobos, and he joined Shais and Krobos (presumably after the breach at Lolovo) into one kingdom with Sodse, a descendant of Charyi, as his high priest and general. In the Akwamu War, 1726, Sodse was wounded and the tribes routed: they crossed the Volta to Godsei, hence Shai-Godsei (Segodsei), where it is alleged their descendants still live.

2. Notes on Towns.

LEKPODSE, meaning "Emigrants town."

WEDOKUM. The Mlas, Hiowes, and Wedokums quarrelled and the Wedokums separated to re-build their old town, and they were styled "Wedokumli," or "inhabitants of the ruins."

ABOTIA, is the small hill where it is customary for the Mlas and Hiowes to sleep for three days before going to war. They proceed and return there separately.

LA-DOKU. The Labade settlement.

SASABE. The place where Captain Ansah and Chief Nagai were rescued from the Danish soldiers by the Mlas after the murder of one Twitwerebo.

MAGBETE. Big rock on Shai Hills where the Shais met on momentous occasions and also to hang felons. Last time meeting was held there was in 1892, when Shais were ordered to quit the hills by Government.

MAMPONG (Akwapim) boasts of the unique Shai fetish Lamte (Damete).

3. Notes on Personalities and Tribes.

MANYA was high priest and king of all Adangbe tribes; at the time of separation at Lolovo Hill he went to Akrade and thence to Krobo Hill.

OSUDOKU separated at Lolovo to go to Osudoku Hill, others to Asutchware (Asutguare), Ada, Ga, and Anula.

LANIMO, as already stated, descendant of Manya and was the first king of the Krobos, presumably as distinct from Manya's kingship over all the Adangbe people. He re-united the Shais and Krobos with Sodse as the high priest and general.

SEDSE and CHARYI—already recorded.

LADOKUS, went to La or Labade, Prampram and Krobo: some remained on Shai Hills, some to Larteh: others to Mampong (Akwapim) via Apedwa (Eastern Akyem).

NAGAI and ANSA. Mla king and captain of advance guard respectively, both were hanged at Christiansborg as punishment by the Danes for murdering one Lano Twitwerebo.*

4. The Hiowe or Suoyi tribe is known to the Akans as Ntotoam with the pseudonym of Aguenoma-Gogloto.

Hiowe is variously interpreted as "Law-givers" or "Westward," though the occident is translated by another word. But the Hiowes built to the west of Shai and the Mlas to the east, and these positions are maintained at the meeting place Magbete. Their place of origin is Some in Nigeria, where they lived with Krobos, Osudokus, and Adas. The Hiowe tribe wandered and established themselves at Huatse-Tumo (Hume also according to another account), and also at Lolovo (Tagalogo), stated to be near Sasabe. All versions seem to agree that Manya was king's chief priest of Adangbes (except Mla).

This brings us to the first separation of Krobos and Shais at the time of Manya. Lanimo succeeded him and was able to effect a re-union of the Adangbe tribe with Sodse, a descendant of Charyi, as chief captain. Charyi, it will be remembered, went to Ada and subsequently, after being maimed, returned to settle on the Shai Hills.

An alliance was entered into by the Las, Kpeshis, and

* With the above details the following account may be easier to read though some of the names and incidents will be recorded again as chronologically as is possible in a very confused mass of detail and scanty dates.

Agotins. A war then broke out between the Labades and Adangbes, and the latter were driven eastward.

During this fight Lanimo discovered the site on which Shai was built (? around the Shai Hills). The Labade chronicle of this event is chanted as follows :—

“ Shai Lumo ni yeo dsidsi otsole kpeshi otsole La Lo ” ; meaning, “ Shai King living on dry, ground casada made into food called Abete, thou reposedst on Kpeshi, couldst thou repose on La ? ”

There appears to be no tradition as to the cause of this war, but it seems to be quite separate from the later débâcle between the Shais and Labades over the beautiful women of Labade. The origin of the saying may have a special significance which I have not as yet had time to investigate.

5. **Mla or Kpetse tribe** (*Akan* - omankesem or large town).

The meaning of the word Mla I find in my notes as “ Watchers or Emigrants.” The people are referred to disparagingly by Akwapims as “ Kodiabe ” ; “ Go and enjoy your palm nuts.” Tradition goes far afield for the original stock and whispers Soudan, from whence the tribe was ousted by the Moors to settle at Lanmashi (Cooks’ Loaf) behind the river Sakum (Densu), where they allied themselves to the Osabus.

A quarrel arose and the Mlas were again ousted and wandered to curry favour with the Accras, but the then Queen Adole Akali would have none of their advances for naturalisation. The popular song of the day appears to phrase thus :—

“ Kpeshi *Ano* mintre wo ya nye ya bo ba a nye ba a ” ; meaning, “ When *Ano* the King of Kpeshi was questioned as to when he would go away with his people, reluctantly he replied each time asked : ‘ To-morrow I am starting.’ ”

A few years later a war broke out between the Accras and the Akwamus, and the Las, apparently finding themselves between the devil and the blue sea, ran to Lanimo

on the Shai Hills. A site was given them and they built a town called La-Doku. According to one account the Labades were victims of this war. It is difficult to piece together the events, so I follow the effect caused on Shai affairs by the settlement at La-Doku. The eternal woman here creeps in, and I have only one version to quote.

It appears that the Labade women were more than averagely beautiful, and the Hiowes finding themselves in a garden of Eden, promptly fell willingly to the allurements of the "La" Eve. Matters came to such a pass that the Labades objected to the mass seduction of their wives. Odoi Akyem I, Manche of Labade, discussed the state of affairs with Lanimo, and it was decreed that the seduction penalty should be death; to be applied irrespective of tribes. The first transgressor, a Labadian, was hanged (probably at Magbete, the big rock and meeting place on the Shai Hills). This apparently did not deter Adsate (of Hiowe Shai), who had intercourse with a damsel called Ometse of Labade. Now Adsate was a scion of the house of Lanimo and a royal prince. The Shais took a very definite stand and refused to deliver up the offender: his escape was made easy to Plawe, where he hid himself in a cave (probably the caves now the home of hyenas, which abound in Shai). The dissatisfied Labadians declared war, and called upon the Akwamus to assist. The combination was too strong for the Shais, and fearing extinction, they fled over the Volta to the banks of the river Godse near Popo; hence the name of Shai-Godsei or Se-Godsei. This section was composed of the Lanimo and Hiowe tribe. They settled there. The Kpeshis and Mlas were driven to be captured by the Manche of Agome at Abome.

There, among other doings, they became acquainted with "palm soup," which originated the mocking words "Kodiabe" (Twi saying). The derision of the Akans is recorded in another two sayings.

"*Siade Akotokpa wabi wali wana lasu wa nu tui,*" and "*Ke atsi kwe afi Te te kpa.*"

This relates to the flight from Labade and Akwamu. When asked "Why they did not join battle?" the reply comes, "We saw only smoke, but heard no sound of guns." A second saying of Akwapim relates to the scarcity of food on the Shai Hills:

"That they (the Shais) bind their children with cords whilst preparing chop for fear they might devour it beforehand."

The disaster which befell the Shais seems to have been fairly complete; both the tribes were scattered, and the only remnant remaining on the Hills tradition places at eight persons, and they were the followers of the party that caused all the trouble. One version gives the names of the survivors as Adjartey Konor, grandfather of Opata, his brother Adjarnor, and his sister Adjarki Nene, all members of Teidse quarters in Hiowe. Another version gives Adsatse son of Lanimo and his sister Adsake Mayidso.

As a sidelight we trace the Shai influence (from the rout which took place) in Ningo and Prampram.

Another section, Shai-Makpon, scattered to Apedwa (Eastern Akyem) and from thence back to Mampong with the Shai fetish Lamte (Damete), now a landmark in the main street of Mampong and a danger to motorists.

6. From 1734 the Shais became subjects to the Ofori stool of Akwapim. From this period events can be followed more closely. Esa Fori, alias Fori Kuma, was the first Omanhene to control the Adangbe tribes.

7. **Adsatse Konor** succeeded his father Lanimo, and it appears that in his time the first batch of emigrants from Eastern Akyem arrived, and he ruled over them as well as the Shais.

Adjartey Konor is another version of the name, but I have no reason to believe that there are two distinct persons. Nagai Otwesa of Wedukum was his Mankralo. The Omanhene of Akropong, Fianko-Betuafo, assigned to Adsatse the Akan stool, but he refused to accept it, being ignorant of Akan customs and preferring the fetish

symbols of the Shai stool, to wit "the neck-bone of an elephant and its skull."

Adsanor (or Adjarnor another version, probably same names) followed, but the Omanhene insisted he should use the stool assigned to him. The Akropongs were becoming stronger.

8. The Danish Government called on Obuobi Atiemo to march against the Awunas. He commanded his own people, the Shais, Adas, Krobos, and Osudokus. In this war the Kpeshies or Mlas, nicknamed Kodiabe, were released from Agome (Abome) and brought back to the Shai Hills—to found Mla.*

9. Up to 1824 the Mlas had no headman and recognised the fetish priest as their leader. Here comes an interesting point which has a bearing on the relation of Mlas and Hiowe. It is clear that the fetish priest could not go to war, especially at certain seasons (harvest). It is also said that at such times he could not take part in any public affairs; but I could not elucidate the fact whether the election of a chief (say of the Mlas) was also a barred event. However, the 1824 Asona or Mankrata war (Governor M'Carthy) precipitated a solution of this difficulty and the need of a military head. The Shais were required to assist, so Omanhene Ado Dankwa designed a stool for one Nagai of the Mla tribe, and he was installed at Akropong. Dorh Kakaba, the fetish priest "king" (?), agreed to this proposal, and Nagai took charge of the Shais in the war.

This is admitted as far as Ado Dankwa and the creation of a stool are concerned in paragraph 1 of a Mla petition of 1913. The opposition petition from Hiowe, dated May 30, 1913, claims a tradition from Lanimo and two hundred years of succession.

The reason of this stool was, that it was necessary to have a head for the Shais, since the fetish chief (Hiowe) could not take part in the war for fear of offending the

* I question the foundation of Mla, since Adsate and the followers founded Mla, Hiowe, and Wedokum. This refers to a later date when Mla had been founded, unless it refers to the foundation of the Mla tribe as we know it.

fetish Kru. The importance of fetish rule one hundred years ago must be given its proper proportion, and the reason for the innovation can readily be understood. The Akan view alone admits the consent of Kakaba.

10. Two years later came the Akatamanso war. Nagai again took charge, as the outbreak of hostilities occurred during harvest time, and the fetish king could not attend.

A separate version is given me that the Mlas had no Manche, and they approached Adjartey Konor from Hiowe to give a Manche and the selection of Nagai Kasa as descendant from Charyi from Hiowe quarter in Mla ensued. Mama Aperko from Lekpedse was appointed as chief captain and Korabor of Manya as Mankralo. It is also stated that the appointment of the Lekpedse man was irregular and due to favouritism. The Lekpedses, it appears, owing to tribal quarrels, removed from Krobo to Shai as guests to Manche Nagai Kasa of Hiowe in Mla: they were strangers and not of any royal blood, either Krobo or Shai. This view is agreed as far as my inquiries go.

It will be seen that this version of Nagai's appointment varies. The Akan view is that Dorh Kakaba permitted the election of Nagai. The Mla petition does not mention any application to Hiowe. The present version gives indication of the request being submitted to Adjartey Konor.

The predominating view is that the Hiowe fetish chief or king was consulted; but it should be recorded, however, that according to Doryume of Mahem, Dorh Kakaba was not actually in occupancy of the fetish stool and only acted as caretaker.

11. In 1835 the Krobos rebelled against Ado Dankwa of Akropong. Governor Mock marched against the former. The Shais, feeling they had proved themselves powerful allies, and now with a definite head, turned against the Omanhene and joined with the Krobos. A traditional view is that during the war the Krobos and Shais killed Dorh Kakaba, the fetish priest (Hiowe), under the Krobo Hill. It is not clear whether this was a mere accident of warfare or a considered agreement to

seize the power from the Hiowes by destroying the fetish head.

Mla records the incident in the song :

“Dorh we male dsi dse otse yi ne ne Kloyo o he ?”
meaning, “Male son of Dorh where is your father’s skull on the Krobo Hill ?”

The breach between Hiowe and Mla became complete. The fall of Dorh Kakaba * became a tribal oath of the Hiowes in the same way as the “Obomotem Cave,” where Adsate secreted himself, had become an oath.

12. **Dorh Kakaba** was followed by his nephew Adsate Agbonyase. At this time Akropong was torn by internal strife owing to the two claimants Owusu Akyem and Adum. So the murderer of Dorh Kakaba went unpunished, and the Mlas seized the opportunity of breaking away from Akropong.

13. In 1847 the Mlas became very aggressive. One Odoi Ansa of the Mla advance guard ordered one Lano Twitweribo to be put to death on the suspicion that he had poisoned one Oghi Adsei Dsata. The matter was reported to the Danish Government, and soldiers were sent to arrest Manche Nagai and Captain Ansa : they were forcibly rescued by the Mlas at Sasabe.

A punitive expedition was sent against them, and they asked Hiowe to intercede.

The following captains : Aboano-Susumiem of the Rearguard, Mama Aperko, Advance guard, and Akotia of the Main-guard, escaped. However, Nagai and Ansa were discovered in their hiding place, taken to X’borg and there hanged. This event, known as the Gbebe war (Serpent war), became the tribal oath of the Mlas.†

This event is related by Mr. Crowther, but he omits the punishment meted out, Here I find a variation of

* The Mahem disclaimer of Dorh Kakaba as a properly installed fetish priest is interesting in view of the violent death meted out, but the oath is evidence that Dorh Kakaba was more than a caretaker (?). His successor Adjartey Konor is also referred to as caretaker, but the next one, Opata, was properly elected.

† The escape of the captains, especially Aperko, has a significance later.

importance, for, as far as I have been able to inquire from other sources, Nagai is supposed to have lived to a very old age at Apese near Agomeda. The idea is implied that he retired from affairs.

14. He was succeeded by Akweletse Ago, who was poisoned and became demented, but lived on for many years. After his death the Mla royal family were afraid to ascend the stool on account of Akweletse's fate. It was offered to one Dadebo, a relative of Akweletse; but the sense of fear was too great and he refused, resorting to baptism and Christianity as a way of escape. It would seem that the Hiowe fetish power was reasserting itself. The murder of Kakaba followed by the hanging (?) of Nagai and the madness of Akweletse Ago were coincidences much too vividly realistic to be ignored.

Again Mlas were without a head, and the captains appear to have seized a semblance of power, the effect of which I will deal with later.

15. In 1865 the Ada subjects of Akropong called upon Akwapim to assist against the Awunas. Omanhene Kwadade set out and called at Shai. I take it that the fetish ban still kept Hiowe a sleeping partner in war; however, it is mentioned that Kwadade called upon Manche Adsatse Agbonyasi (of Hiowe), thus following precedent by informing the Hiowe fetish priest of the election of a new captain and chief to Mla tribe. Akumieni was selected and enstooled. This chief only reigned six years, after which with interference of the British Government Akropong lost control over Shai affairs.

16. In 1873-74, during Sir Garnet Wolseley's war, the Mla tribe was again without a chief. Agbonyasi of Hiowe was very old, so Tettey Opata was selected to represent him, and he succeeded to the position shortly after the war, when the old chief died.

As far as Mla is concerned the versions vary slightly.

(a) Chartey, a fetish man, was selected to act as the head of the Mla advance guard in succession to Mama Aperko.

(b) The successor of Mama Aperko (Lekpedje) was one Codjo (of the same blood), and he is referred to as chief

captain or Sipi. This Codjo was the father of Awah I. Codjo was succeeded by Chartey (Dsatey).

17. A more detailed account gives the following details.

After the Ashanti war 1874 it appears Sakitey, the son of one Odonkor Azu of Krobo Odumase, was made head chief of the Manyas in Krobo. Awah I, son of Captain Codjo (Lekpedje) and successor of Mama Aperko, was serving him as sword bearer. Some years later he returned from Krobo and met at Aprimsi (Mla village) a Mulatto called Joseph from X'borg, who advised Awah I to usurp the Mla stool.

He was afraid, but by dint of much persuasion and the usual resort to a mocking phrase he agreed. The phrase referred to is

“Awah ke owura Joseph ke otano o mo tano gu”; meaning, “Awah if Mr. Joseph tells you to sit (ascend) on the stool, you must just sit on it.”

It is said Mr. Joseph put him on the throne as successor to Akweletse Ago, but that he was not of the royal family, nor did the Mlas support the election.

Then follow :—

Codjoe Wayo.

Awah II the present Manche.

The Hiowe line shows :—

Adjartey Konor.

Adjarnor.

Opata.

Lanimo Doryumu.

18. The Hiowe list (Twi inquiries) gives the succession as :—

Lanimo.

Konor Lanimo II.

Adsate Konor.

Adsanor.

Dorh Kakaba.

Adsate Agbonyisi.

Tetteh Opata.

Lanimo.

And Mla :—

Naga.
 Abuano Opesa.
 Nagai Kasa (alias Akumieni).
 Tsatey (? Chartey).
 Awah I.
 Kwadjo Wayo.
 Awah II.

19. Both tribes meet on momentous occasions at a common meeting place, Magbete, a rock in the Shai Hills. The last meeting held was in 1892 to discuss the Government decision to move them from the Shai Hills. Looking into the ceremonial adopted at the meeting, and expecting to find something similar to the complicated Akwapim decorum or etiquette, I was disappointed. The meeting appears to have been casually convened, and I do not think much can be gleaned from this. The Mlas sat to the east and the Hiowes to the west. I propose to probe the details of this event more closely, as it is the time when custom was evident as far as both tribes are concerned. It has an importance. Leaving the question of procedure, we find the linguist of each side went to Accra to interview the Honourable Colonial Secretary, and they were sent back to inform their chiefs that no delay in executing the order would be countenanced. The linguists returned to their respective tribes and not to Magbete to announce the result of the personal appeal to Government. A helter-skelter ensued.

The drums used on this occasion were the "Cherem" (Hiowe), "Asafo" (Mla) (cf. Akropong influence over the tribes).

20. According to a Hiowe view this tribe was allowed the use of gold ornaments, whereas Mla was not. It is interesting to compare this with the charges against Teye Djangma (Ningo), one of which was wearing gold sandals; yet there is evidence of common stock and traditions, possibly through Ada or direct from Shai. Old Ningo is friendly to Mahem; New Ningo (Teye Djangma) is not.

(Gold may be evidence of Akropong influence.)

21. In war Mlas proceed to Abotia Hill, sleep there for three days and then proceed to camp. The Hiowes follow, and then, after sleeping at Abotia, proceed to their camp separate from Mlas. After battle they return separately to Abotia before proceeding to their towns. The Hiowe view is that they do not fight as one unit. The Akropong version places them on the left wing, with the Mlas on the right wing, the head of Mla centre. (A military formation possibly designed to meet the needs of Akropong.)

22. There are other interesting customs but of no importance to the present summary; for instance, capital punishment was carried out at Magbete, and each tribe was asked to witness the sentence of hanging inflicted by the other. Common adultery fee 2*s.* 6*d.*, when money was scarce. The claim to the title of Konor as paramount chief is not insisted on, and there appears to be independency now in the matter of election. Agomeda is mentioned as a common meeting place, as one District Commissioner held a joint palaver there (Mla view).

APPENDIX I

APPENDIX TO HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE SHAI PEOPLE,
GIVING THE MLA (AGOMEDA) VIEW: BY AN OLD MAN OF
SHAI THROUGH LINGUIST OF MANCHE AWAH II: TO BE
READ IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE ABOVE.

Paras. 1, 2, and 3, Shais came from the place the Accras came from, the origin of the name not known, nor is there anything known of a man called Charyi. One Charyidan was a captain to Awah, and he is not the same person as Chartey.

As far as Manya is concerned, he was a captain (Asonko?) to Abobi.

The twenty-two towns were founded by Mate Abobi of Lekpedje.

SODJE belonged to Lenodje, where he was headman. At this time there was no powerful man in Shai, so he being a warrior was put in charge; after having fought the Asante-

Ada war (all Akwamu wars are referred to as Ashanti wars), his thumb was cut off and he removed to Se Godsei.

Some people stayed in the Hills. The Ga Manche then came to Mla, the biggest town, and gave one Abobi as chief.

MANYA was founded by Krabo.

Agbotia founded HIOME.

Asafo Adjei founded WEKPEETE.

LEKPEDJE LETE was the Mankrado's town.

MAGBIEM is the Sipi's town, and was founded by Alimo Konur.

WEDOKUM was founded by Twesa; he was of Kotowe and came from Hiowe; at this time Abobi was head of all Shais.

ABOTIA was founded by half of Sekodje, but since they left no town has been built there. It is visited before battle; the Mankralo proceeds first, then Manya, then Hiome, and Hiowe follows. The Shai hosts congregate there. (This version differs from Hiowe version.)

SESABE is only known in connection with Katamansu War. On cross-examination Ansah and Nagai were admitted to be captains.

MAGBETE (agreed), but new meeting place Agomeda since a District Commissioner held a meeting there; quite willing to gather at Magbete.

MANYA. Nothing known of.

LANIMO. During the Akwamu war a section was driven into the river and were drowned; this section was called Lanimo; it was from Lekpedje (Agbladse's family).

4. The Hiowe nickname Owunuma Gogloto is known.

The Shais came from the Hills, or rather where the Gas came from, they were never part of Krobo, but marriage occurred between the tribes. The principal authority was the Ga Manche. The Labade war was not known nor was the saying in § 4. The war over Labade women was also not known. "Kodiabe" is an admitted nickname, but its origin is not known.

LANMASHI is recognised as a name and the Sakumo River, but the connection with Shai is unknown, nor can it be remembered if the Shais ever went there. The Ga saying is not known.*

There was a war with Labade over women—the wife of

* On the second day of the investigation (the above being the sum total of several hours' talk) I was able to receive the recollections of the Mlas.

an old man from Ladoku was seduced, and as a result a war occurred. The song wording the event is :

“ Labade woman on account of you war overpowered us.”

I could not obtain information as to the name of the seducer, but it is quite clear he refused to submit to arbitration. The details are very vague, but it is interesting to add another saying which is current in Shai and came to light accidentally. I have forgotten the actual words, but the interpretation is :

“ If Lanimo had been with us we should not have spoiled.”

I am therefore convinced that Lanimo was not only a fetish priest, but a powerful general also.

The Mla version states that as a result of this war the Shais were driven to Se Godsei—“ but they did not reach there, for on the way Mate Abobi persuaded Sodse to return.”

It is obvious that this is history invented for the benefit of the Mla view, just in the same way as the Lanimos were all drowned in the Volta. The high priest at this time was Gbete, and Aboba Nyashie was an elder over Hiowe who was serving Mate.

5. As already stated, no origin can be assigned to the nickname Kodiabe, and the sayings recorded in this paragraph are not known, but “ might be mocking sayings.”

Adjartey Konor was only identified as Adjartey Samansre (Hiowe), and he was referred to as grandfather of Opata. It is strange, however, that Adjarke Nene (quoted as a survivor of the war) is known to the Mlas in a song :

“ Adjarki Nene gbla suon_o ” ; meaning, “ Adjarki Nene lover of her husband,” but I could obtain no information as to her position in the Shai tradition, though it is admitted that these survivors were from “ Mla ” and Hiowe.*

6. Esa Fori of Akwapim had been heard of.

7. Nothing admitted except that Nagai Otvesa was elder of Wedokum ; and the Mla stool is a wooden stool, and after a lengthy discussion the reply came : “ If there is an elephant stool, it has not been shown to us.”

8. Obuobi Atiemo not known ; only one Manche known—Mate Abobi.

9. *It is not custom for Shai fetish priest to go to war.*

Ado Dankwa known.

* Here the linguist said he was not satisfied with the replies of the old man and would like to bring another.

Nagai at first was not known, and then it was admitted he came from Hiowe, but ancestry or any other information impossible to obtain.

Dorh Kakaba was known as a Hiowe man, but his history is not known. The version of Ado Dankwa founding the Shai stool denied.

10. Abobi was Manche at time of Katamansu war (it might be added, where in doubt quote Mate Abobi).

11. Dorh Kakaba was killed under Krobo Hill: he was from Teidje, but did not occupy the "stool of Hiowe."

13. Lano Twitwerebo undoubtedly killed his brother Tettey and he was killed by Ansa ("It is an old story I heard about"). The fate of Ansa and Nagai was not known, but there is an oath "Aperko clay." A further oath is "That one Sunday whilst in war the enemies caught them and passed over them." The drummer oath is "Cherefoi Sunday (Hogba) Asonkofoi nka abom." "The Asonkofo went into a garden and dew fell on them, and when dew fell on them the enemy killed them all."

Akotia was gonggong-beater as well as captain.

Mama Aperko was captain.

14. Akweletse Ago (after a lengthy discussion) was stated to come from Hiome and Dadebo likewise; it was specially emphasised that Hiome, not Hiowe, was meant.

15. The war with Awunas in Kwadade's time was known, but the Shais fought under Codjoe Yino.

Adsatse Agbonyisa was Mankralo to Codjoe.

Akumani or Akumenie was known as Hiome elder.

16. Tettey Opata was linguist to Abobi and then to Codjoe. Codjoe followed Aperko.

17. Sakitey was chief of Krobo (Manya). Awah was son of Codjoe (Lekpedje); but if Awah went to Krobo to trade "nothing was known of it." (There is no question that he did go to Krobo.)

Joseph (Josepho, after lengthy deliberation) was known. He was a Mulatto, but had nothing to do with the stool.

List of chiefs (Mla):

Mate Abobi (Martey).

Codjoe.

Chartey.

Awah I.

Kwadjo Wayo.

Awah II.

Hiowe

Opaya (was only an elder then).
Doryumu.

Mla

Nagai (not known).
Opesa (not known).
Nagai Kasa or Akumenie (heard his name).
Tsatey (Chartey).

NOTE.—There is, I think, a similarity with the Gomoa Division inasmuch as the "state sword" was taken off the black stool and handed over to the captains. After war when the reigning power required the symbol of authority to be returned, the request was met with a direct refusal. After this the creation of a black stool is a small matter, and then a new kingship with attendant claims.

APPENDIX II

CHIEF TETTEH OPATA—HIOWE (SHAI)

In January, 1891, he was elected chief of Heowe in succession to the late Chief Adjanor. In July, 1892, his application to be supplied with a pair of handcuffs was not complied with.

In August, 1893, a complaint was lodged against him for illegally arresting the wife of Tei of Abor Kwalo, and he was warned to refrain from doing so in future, as no authority had been conferred on him to exercise such powers under the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance, he being a subordinate chief under the King of Shai. In October of the same year King Awah of Shai suggested that Chief Opata may be empowered to settle cases under the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance.

In 1895 he was deposed in consequence of the trouble which followed upon the action which he took in recommending the appointment of Nagai to be King of Shai in order to arrange for the re-establishment of the customs in which he was formerly one of the principal fetish priests, and because of his conduct at the conferences which were held in connection with the various claims to the Shai stool.

APPENDIX III

*Extracts from Old Notes found in Mampong on Shai
Affairs*

PRAMPAM DISTRICT

KWADJOE WAYO—SHAI

On January 31, 1895, a meeting was held at the Colonial Secretary's Office for the purpose of considering the claims of the three persons who disputed the succession to the Shai stool, rendered vacant by the death of the late King Awah. The three claimants are :

- (1) Kwadjoe Wayo—heir to King Awah.
- (2) Ocla Amponsah—claiming the right of previous occupancy by his family, which was ended by the election of Awah's predecessor.
- (3) Nagai—of the same family as Ocla Amponsah and claiming on the same grounds.

From the evidence given during the course of inquiring it became clear and advisable to select Kwadjoe Wayo for election, he being considered to be the fit and proper person, and because he succeeded to the sword and message stick presented by the Government either to King Awah or his predecessor, and as the recipient of those marks of honour was evidently recognised as a king properly elected. It was considered that it would be impolitic to reverse the opinion publicly expressed by those gifts, and he was therefore selected. On February 2nd the stool of Shai was handed to Kwadjo Wayo, and subsequently after their return to Shai he was unanimously elected as king of that country according to native custom. The stool of Ocla Amponsa was retained as a pledge for good behaviour by him and his people.

On February 18, 1898, he was supplied with a copy of the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance, the cost of which was collected from him by the D.C. Prampram.

On October 21, 1898, during an interview held by the D.C. Prampram with him and his people as regards his complaints against them for disloyalty and disobedience of orders, it was found that the cause of the dissatisfaction between the king and his people was the detention of the stool of Ocla Amponsa at Accra. The conduct of the king

in connection with this stool question in the case *Tei Ahumeni v. Narteh Kurabu* before his Court was another case. In order that peace may be restored in the Shai District, the king as well as his chiefs and captains were strongly warned by the D.C. Prampram against allowing the feeling of dissatisfaction amongst them to drag its way to an unpleasant end, and that if they brought about any riot or disturbance they will be severely punished by the Government. It was further impressed upon the king and his people that the detention of Ocla Amponsa's stool was a matter that concerned the Government, and that the king should never have anything further to say with the people on any matter relating to it without the authority of the Government.

On February 8, 1899, the D.C. reported that since his last warnings to King Kwadjoe Wayo, he had refrained from meddling any further with the matter, and satisfaction prevailed between him and his people.

Native Affairs in French Togoland

THE following translations from the *Official Journal* of the Territory of Togo placed under the Mandate of France, will be of interest to readers of *The Gold Coast Review* as showing the way in which the French, in adjoining territory and in conditions similar to those existing in the Gold Coast, are dealing with situations affecting the welfare of the inhabitants and of the great Republic as a whole.

Circular of the 31st October, 1924, relative to the protection of native labourers.

SUBJECT : Protection of Native Labourers.

Circular to District Commandants.

When I transmitted to you some weeks ago Ministerial Circular No. 2202 of the 22nd July last on the subject of protective sanitary measures to be applied to native labourers, I requested you immediately to visit the various works and to send me a report on your inspections.

I am now in possession of your reports, and I am glad to note that they do not contain any disquieting criticism. The sanitary situation is everywhere described as excellent; nowhere have the labourers made any complaints, and their appearance is manifestly that of individuals contented with their lot. Only the dwellings have in some cases appeared to you inadequate; I expect to receive from you in due course more reassuring reports as to the measures taken by the employers concerned to remedy this state of things.

As a matter of fact, the optimistic conclusions at which you arrive in your reports have not caused me any surprise, since they corroborate my own observations; I have often while travelling been impressed by the high spirits and good humour of the Cabrais employed on the roads or on private works.

This happy situation is due to a certain extent to the loyal

observance by employers of the terms of contract laid down in the Order of the 25th May, 1923, but it must be recognised that the underlying principal cause is to be found in the existence of a particularly plentiful labour supply, due to limited requirements and a comparatively dense population. The Cabrais-Lossos group in the Sokode District in particular shows an average density of 40 inhabitants per square kilometre and is the healthiest and most vigorous element in the population of the Territory. It is because individuals picked in this already superior field of choice constitute the greater part of the labour employed in Lower Togo that the physical condition of the labourers met with on works both public and private is so excellent.

These exceptionally favourable conditions must not, however, lead you to relax the vigilance of which the French Administration has made a rule in other territories in our colonial dominions where the sparser population renders the labour problem more complicated.

In the first place, the protection of the native labourers is the prime duty of an Administration which has undertaken the mission of bringing to those under its protection material well-being, conceiving that to be the foundation of social and moral progress.

Secondly, the economic development which is taking place in Togo and the progressive extension of native plantations and of individual ownership, combined with the actual example of the Gold Coast, enable us to imagine what, in the years to come, will be the curve of the upward flight of Togo and the parallel curve of the requirements in labour.

Finally, the natives of the overpopulated regions in the north will leave their country the more willingly for knowing that well-being awaits them in a new abode. If they are properly treated, we can hope to see the Cabrais and the Lossos settle in the parts where they are employed, bring their families thither and improve the unexploited lands of Lower and Middle Togo on their own account. Thus will be created that movement of immigration within the territory which we have been striving to encourage for several years, and which aims at nothing less than the colonisation of Togo by the Togolandese.

These considerations, both practical and moral, impose upon us an imperative duty to apply strictly to the Territory the ministerial instructions contained in Circular No. 2202 referred to above. I have therefore decided to complete the local

regulation of contracts of service set up by the Order of the 25th May by a new text, to which is annexed a specimen contract of a more precise kind, the clauses of which follow closely the arrangement prescribed by the Colonial Department.

I have the honour to enclose a copy of this Order, which is dated 27th October, and also of the contract of service which it prescribes. The detailed notes which accompany the text of the new contract make it unnecessary for me to comment upon it at any length.

You will observe that the contract is in the form of a small book. I have considered this arrangement far more practical than the loose sheets used up till now, which, when the native succeeded in preserving them at all, quickly became soiled and illegible. The Government will in future supply these books to the employer in return for a payment to cover the cost of printing. The employer will have charge of the book during the period of the engagement of the employed, but he will be required to return it to him on the expiration of the contract, and to hold it ready at all times for production on the demand of the Administration.

In practice the engagement of labourers will involve the following formalities.

A

BEFORE DEPARTURE

1. Issue of the contract books to the employer, or person authorised by him, by the Administrative Officer at the place where the labourer is recruited.

2. Contract to be read and interpreted to the parties by the Administrative Officer and signed by the parties.

3. Inspection by the Medical Officer of Health, who, in the event of the labourer engaged being fit for the work he is to do, hands him a numbered certificate detached from a counterfoil book. Contract book to be countersigned by the Medical Officer of Health.

4. Registration of the contract in the special Register of the station and countersignature by the Administrative Officer in charge of the Sub-division of the District.

B

ON ARRIVAL

1. Labourers engaged to be brought to the headquarters of the Administration for the place where they are to work

and there entered by the Administrative Officer in the special Register provided for that purpose.

2. Inspection by the Station Medical Officer; vaccination if necessary, and entry by him in the Register of Incorporation.

Contract book to be countersigned by the Administrative Officer and the Medical Officer.

C

ON TERMINATION OF THE ENGAGEMENT

1. Inspection by the Medical Officer, countersignature of the book and issue to the labourer, if the case permits, of a Sanitary Pass.

2. Book to be countersigned by the Administrative Officer and departure of the labourer to be entered in the special Register.

I invite your attention most especially to the obligation imposed on Commandants of Districts or Sub-divisions (Article 7) to visit at least once a quarter with the Medical Officer of Health the labourers employed in the various undertakings within their boundaries. The reports drawn up as a result of these inspections will be expected to bear particularly on the following points:

State of health of the labourers; appearance; disease; mortality; medical treatment.

State of mind as gathered from their attitude, their disposition to work, and from questions addressed to them.

Housing.—I am inclined to think that the native hut of the local type, but made a little loftier and well laid out and ventilated, will combine the most suitable conditions from the point of view of health and of the comfort of the labourers.

Sanitary installations (drinking and washing water).

Food.—What does it consist of? Does it appear wholesome and sufficient? Is there a good supply of native food-stuffs?

In a general way in Togo the labourer is not fed by his employer, and this system does not seem up till now to have had any prejudicial effect on the health of the employees, nor to have given rise to any complaints on their side. Owing, on the other hand, to the exceptionally plentiful food supplies commonly met with in the territory, it has not appeared necessary to introduce into the specimen contract a clause making it obligatory to provide a ration in kind. You will observe,

however, that a ration in money has been provided for separately from the wages properly so called. The object of this distinction is to protect the native against his natural improvidence, which leads him to squander the money he receives immediately in futile purchases, even though his subsistence be thereby compromised for several days.

If, then, the employer does not undertake the feeding of his labourers, the ration will be represented by an allocation in money of an amount approximately equivalent to the cost of living in the locality, which will assure to the native the minimum indispensable to his existence, it being understood that under no circumstances must this money be withheld and that it shall be paid in as small fractions as possible, say every four days, or at most weekly.

If in the course of your visits you came to the conclusion that the feeding of the labourers left something to be desired, whether because of the smallness in relation to the cost of living of the ration in money, or because of the insufficiency of the ration in kind, or because of a shortage of supply in the local markets, it would be your duty to make immediate representations to the employer and, if necessary, to bring the complaint of those affected before the Board of Arbitration.

Do not overlook, moreover, that when he is engaged, the labourer must be given his choice between the two systems : ration in money or in kind.

As regards wages, I see no objection to their being paid monthly, but it is highly desirable from all points of view that at the termination of his engagement the labourer should return to his village with some savings. For this purpose I desire that you will make it clear to the native that it is in his own interest to content himself with half-wage during the period of his engagement. In that case the contract would stipulate that the other half should be paid him either by the employer himself at the time of the labourer's departure, or by the employer's agent when the labourer has got back to the station in control of which is the village from which he came.

A space has been reserved in the contract book for the entry of decisions of the Board of Arbitration. I must emphasise that all disputes, individual or collective, between the native employees and their employers regarding the carrying out of the terms of the contract must be submitted to this jurisdiction. I take the opportunity of reminding you that this Board has

cognisance also of such labour disputes as may arise outside contracts of the kind now under consideration. You will not, therefore, under any pretext substitute for this body any other jurisdiction or any method whatsoever of conciliation.

Articles 5 and 8 prescribe the sending by the station at which the recruiting takes place to the station of destination and *vice versa* of lists of the labourers engaged and concluding their engagements. This formality is essential, since on it depends the efficaciousness of the measures of control which have just been enjoined ; you will be so good as to see that it is punctually performed.

Such are the essential instructions that I have considered it desirable to address to you regarding the conditions of labour in the Territory. Of course I am not oblivious of the fact that the question of labour does not assume here the same importance as in other countries where the development of industrial exploitations and the execution of important works demand a very large number of labourers, but in spite of this, for the reasons set out above, it is a question which must from henceforth take rank as a matter of prime concern for you.

The care that you habitually display for the well-being of those under our protection is, moreover, a sure guarantee that you will not fail to accord to native labourers of all categories, free or under contract, all the solicitude that they are entitled to expect.

BONNECARRERE.

Lome, 31st October, 1924.

Order No. 246, instituting books for labour contracts and regulating the sanitary inspection of labourers in public and private works in the Territory of Togo placed under the mandate of France.

The Governor of the Colonies,
Chevalier of the Legion of Honour,
Commissary of the Republic,

Having regard to the Decree of the 23rd March, 1921, determining the duties and powers of the Commissary of the Republic in Togo ;

Having regard to the decree of the 29th December, 1922, for the regulation of native labour in Togo ;

Having regard to the Order of the 25th May, 1923, instituting

contracts of labour, labour books and control of labourers in Togo ;

Having regard to the Ministerial Circular No. 2202 of the 22nd July, 1924, prescribing the measures of sanitary protection to be applied to all public and private works on which native labourers are employed in all the Colonies ;

HEREBY ORDERS :

Article 1.—The Order of the 25th May above referred to is hereby repealed in so far as it relates to contracts of labour.

Article 2.—Labour contract books in accordance with the annexed model are instituted in the Territory of Togo placed under the mandate of France in conformity with the conditions fixed in the first article of the decree of the 29th December, 1922.

Article 3.—These books will be furnished to the employee by the local administration at the price of production.

Article 4.—The labour contract books shall bear the visas of the Head of the Administrative District or Sub-division and of a Medical Officer of Health :

- (a) when the employee is recruited,
- (b) on his arrival in the region where he is called upon to work,
- (c) on the termination of his engagement, when he leaves for his country of origin.

Article 5.—Labour contracts are to be registered in a special register kept at each administrative station.

An extract from this register is to be sent :

- (a) At the time of engagement : to the administrative station (Headquarters of District or Sub-division) under which are the works or the plantation of the employer.
- (b) Monthly : to the Commissary of the Republic.

Article 6.—Besides the visas prescribed in Article 4 the inspections of the Medical Officer of Health will entail the following formalities :

- (a) On departure from the place of recruiting : delivery of a numbered certificate detached from a counter-foil book ;
- (b) On arrival at the place of labour : registration of the above-named certificate in a register of incorporation, in which shall also be precisely recorded the state of health of the employee, his physical aptitude and also any vaccination that may have been performed.

(c) On the termination of the engagement: record of the result of the inspection in the register of incorporation and delivery of a sanitary pass, if the labourer is found not to be suffering from any contagious disease and to be fit to go back to his village of origin.

Article 7.—The labourers engaged are to be visited in the places where they are employed at least four times a year by the Administrator of the region accompanied by the Medical Officer of Health. A detailed report on this inspection is to be drawn up by each of these officers and sent to the Commissary of the Republic, who will transmit it to the Head of the Sanitary Service.

A record of the inspection is, moreover, to be entered in the labour contract book of each of the employees of the undertaking which has been the subject of the Administrative and Sanitary inspection.

Article 8.—A list of the labourers who have come to the end of the term of their engagement is to be sent, immediately on the expiration of their contract, by the Head of the District or Sub-division concerned to the administrative station where the labourers were recruited.

Article 9.—The Head of the Sanitary Service and District Commandants are responsible for the due carrying out of the present Order, which shall be registered, communicated, and published wherever necessary.

BONNECARRERE.

Lome, the 27th day of October, 1924.

Order No. 227, fixing a price for the supply to labourers of labour contract books.

The Governor of the Colonies,
Chevalier of the Legion of Honour,
Commissary of the Republic,

Having regard to the Decree of the 23rd March, 1921, defining the duties and powers of the Commissary of the Republic in Togo;

Having regard to the Decree of the 29th December, 1922, regulating native labour in Togo;

Having regard to the Order of the 27th October, 1924, instituting labour contract books and regulating the sanitary inspection of labourers employed on public and private works in the Territory of Togo placed under the mandate of France;

HEREBY ORDERS :

Article 1.—The sale of labour contract books is authorised to any individual who makes application for one to the District Commandants at the price of 1 franc 05.

Article 2.—The proceeds of these sales will be entered under Head IV, Sub-head 5 (1), Unclassified Contingent Receipts.

Article 3.—The Head of the General Secretariat and the District Commandants are responsible for the due carrying out of the present Order, which shall be registered and communicated wherever necessary and published in the Official Journal of the Territory.

BONNECARRERE.

Lome, the 30th day of October, 1924.

Councils of Native Notables

Order No. 257, reorganising the Councils of Native Notables in the Territory of Togo placed under the mandate of France.

The Governor of the Colonies,
Chevalier of the Legion of Honour,
Commissary of the Republic,

Having regard to the Decree of the 23rd March, 1921, defining the duties and powers of the Commissary of the Republic in Togo ;

Having regard to the Order of the 17th February, 1922, instituting Councils of Native Notables in Togo ;

Having regard to the approval of the Minister for the Colonies ;

HEREBY ORDERS :

COMPOSITION

Article 1.—The Councils of Notables created by Order of the 17th February, 1922, are composed of members elected for three years by two panels of electors comprising, in the one case Chiefs of Cantons and Chiefs of Villages in the District, and in the other case Chiefs of Quarters and Chiefs of Families in the urban centres of Lome, Anecho, Kluto, Atakpame.

The Councils of Notables of Sokode and Bassari are elected

by a single panel of electors composed of Chiefs of Cantons and Chiefs of Villages coming under these two administrative centres respectively.

ELECTORAL LIST

Article 2.—In the first fortnight of the month of January in the year of the election the electoral list, divided into two parts as indicated above in Article 1, shall be drawn up by a Committee composed of the District Commandant or his delegate, as President, and of four members from the Council of Notables, of whom two must be Chiefs of Quarters for the Districts of Lome, Anecho, Kluto, and Atakpame.

These four members shall be designated by a vote of the existing Council of Notables.

Article 3.—Natives who have been sentenced by a native tribunal to a punishment classified as Afflictive or Infamous, or to a minor punishment equal to or greater than six months' imprisonment, are not eligible either as Electors or as Members of the Council.

Article 4.—On the 15th January the Electoral List shall be closed and deposited at the Office of the Administrator of the centre where the Council sits. It may be examined by any native during a period of two weeks.

Article 5.—A formal report of the deposit shall be drawn up by the Special Committee designated in Article 2 and notice thereof shall be given to the public by means of posters in the customary places.

Article 6.—Claims to be included in the list and objections to names appearing in the list are to be recorded by those making them in a Register set apart for that purpose in the Office of the Administrator of the District or the Sub-division.

Article 7.—On the expiration of the period of two weeks the Committee above named shall make in the electoral list such rectifications as it shall find justified on consideration of the claims and objections.

The list thus definitely settled shall be posted up at the Office of the principal town.

ELECTIONS

Article 8.—The elections shall take place during the first fortnight of the month of March. An Order of the Commissary of the Republic shall fix the date of the elections and define the composition of each Council.

Article 9.—On the date fixed for the election the Chiefs of Cantons and the Chiefs of Villages on the one part, and the Chiefs of Quarters and of Families on the other part, assembled at the Headquarters of the District or of the Sub-division at the instance of the Administrator, shall elect the number of members fixed by the Commissary of the Republic as provided in Article 8 preceding.

Article 10.—The elections shall take place under the presidency of the Officer in charge of the District or Sub-division assisted by the two youngest and the two oldest of the electors present.

Each panel of electors shall vote separately for its own members.

The Notables shall be elected by an absolute majority. In case of equality of votes the elder or eldest shall be declared elected.

The result of the proceedings shall be recorded in a formal report setting forth the number of electors registered, the number who voted and the number of votes obtained by each candidate.

Article 11.—If in consequence of resignations, deaths, or dismissals the number of the members of the Council of Notables is reduced to three-quarters of the figure fixed, supplementary elections shall take place on a date fixed by the Officer administering the District.

SESSIONS

Article 12.—The Council of Notables shall meet in ordinary session on the summons of its President at least once a quarter, and in extraordinary session whenever the Commissary of the Republic or the Officer administering the District deems it necessary to summon it.

Article 13.—At the first sitting after the elections the Council of Notables, under the presidency of its eldest member, assisted by the two youngest members of the assembly as secretaries, shall choose by secret ballot, by a majority vote, a President, a Vice-President, and a Secretary.

The office-holders shall be elected for three years. They shall be eligible for re-election.

In case of equality in the number of votes obtained by two candidates the elder shall be declared elected.

Article 14.—The secretary shall be responsible, under the control of the President, for the preparation of the minutes

of the sittings, for all correspondence, and for the custody of the archives.

The Council can appoint a second secretary from among its own members for the purpose of assisting the elected secretary.

Article 15.—The Administrator of the District shall be present at all sittings and shall intervene in the debates whenever he shall deem fit.

The Commissary of the Republic shall have the right to be present at meetings of the Council of Notables.

POWERS

Article 16.—The Council of Notables shall be consulted :

(1) On the assessment, the rate, and the manner of collection of the various taxes and contributions.

(2) On the fixing of the rate for commutation of compulsory labour.

(3) On the carrying out of compulsory labour by the natives who have not been able to commute it.

(4) On the plan of campaign and the execution of such works as measures of hygiene and sanitation affecting the district.

(5) On the preparation of the draft estimates for the district.

(6) On all questions on which the Commissary of the Republic or the Administrator of the District or Sub-division specially desires to know its opinion.

Article 17.—The Council of Notables shall choose from its own number the substantive and the supplementary delegates for the Economic and Financial Council.

VARIOUS PROVISIONS

Article 18.—An amount of 30 francs shall be allotted to each Notable by way of travelling expenses for each sitting which he attends.

The elected secretary of each Council of Notables shall receive over and above his travelling expenses an annual payment of 300 francs. The unelected secretary shall receive a payment of equal amount.

Members of the Councils of Notables proceeding to a meeting of Council shall be entitled to a free pass on the railway, Class 1, Category B.

Article 19.—The present Order, which shall come into effect

on the 1st January, 1925, shall be registered, communicated, and published wherever necessary.

BONNECARRERE.

Lome, the 4th day of November, 1924.

Economic and Financial Council

Order No. 258, Creating in the Territory of Togo placed under the mandate of France an Economic and Financial Council.

The Governor of the Colonies,
Chevalier of the Legion of Honour,
Commissary of the Republic,

Having regard to the Decree of the 23rd March, 1921, defining the duties and powers of the Commissary of the Republic in Togo ;

Having regard to the Order of the 4th November, 1924, reorganising the Councils of native Notables ;

Having regard to the approval of the Minister for the Colonies ;

HEREBY ORDERS :

Article 1.—There shall be created in the Territory of Togo placed under the mandate of France a Council responsible for studying economic and financial questions affecting the Territory.

This Council shall sit at Lome.

COMPOSITION

Article 2.—The Economic and Financial Council shall consist of :

(1) The following Officers :

The Head of the General Secretariat,

The Attorney-General,

The Head of the Customs Service,

The Director of Transportation, Public Works and Harbour,

The Head of the Sanitary Service,

The Head of the Lands Department,

The Head of the Agricultural Department,

The District Administrators.

Any other Officer may be summoned to attend a sitting for the purpose of being heard regarding matters falling more

especially within the sphere of his duties, but shall not be entitled to vote.

(2) The Unofficial Members of the Council of Administration.

(3) The Office-holders of the Chamber of Commerce.

(4) Nine members of the Councils of Notables, one designated by each of the Councils of Lome, Anecho, Atakpame, and Palime and one by the Council of Sokode in conformity with Article 17 of the Order of the 4th November, 1924.

The same assemblies shall in addition designate an equal number of supplementary members.

DURATION OF APPOINTMENT

Article 3.—The substantive and supplementary delegates of the Councils of Notables shall be elected by an absolute majority for a period of three years. They shall be eligible for re-election.

Article 4.—The appointments of the delegates to the Economic and Financial Council are unpaid, except for traveling expenses and subsistence allowance for those unofficial delegates who do not reside in Lome. These shall be entitled to a free pass on the railway, Class 1, Category B, and shall receive a payment of 20 francs per day.

SESSIONS

Article 5.—The Economic and Financial Council shall meet in ordinary session once a year in the course of the month of August, and in extraordinary session when summoned by the Commissary of the Republic.

The Commissary of the Republic shall preside at all meetings, ordinary and extraordinary.

The functions of Secretary shall be performed by an officer of the staff of the Commissary of the Republic.

Article 6.—The sitting of the Economic and Financial Council shall be public, unless two-thirds of the assembly demand a secret sitting.

Article 7.—Minutes of every meeting shall be kept and shall be read and approved or corrected at the commencement of the following meeting. The whole of the minutes of each session shall be signed by all the members.

A copy of these minutes shall be transmitted to the Minister for the Colonies.

Article 8.—The Order for the day shall be settled for each meeting by the Commissary of the Republic. It shall be

competent, however, for a member before the meeting to request the inclusion in the Order of the day of a question, provided that it deals with a matter within the powers of the Council defined in Article 10 hereunder.

Article 9.—All discussions, resolutions, and transactions of a political character shall be forbidden and considered as null.

POWERS

Article 10.—The Economic and Financial Council shall be consulted :

(1) On the assessment, the rate and the method of collection of the various taxes and contributions.

(2) On the system of compulsory labour and its application.

(3) On the draft estimates, ordinary, extraordinary, and special.

(4) On the projected loans.

(5) On the programme of public works.

(6) On the measures to be taken for the economic development of the Territory.

(7) On every question concerning native education, health, and medical aid.

Article 11.—The present Order, which shall come into effect on the 1st January, 1925, shall be registered, communicated, and published wherever necessary.

BONNECARRERE.

Lome, the 4th day of November, 1924.

The Appointment of a Chief

Decision No. 492, designating the Chief of the Kotokolis.

The Governor of the Colonies,
Chevalier of the Legion of Honour,
Commissary of the Republic,

Having regard to the Decree of the 23rd March, 1921, defining the duties and powers of the Commissary of the Republic in Togo ;

WHEREAS the Council of Notables of Sokode and also the Chiefs of Cantons and all other Notables assembled have unanimously designated the Notable Agnoro Tiagodemou as Head Chief of the Kotokolis in the place of the Head Chief Diobo deceased ;

On the proposal of the Administrator of the District,

HEREBY DECIDES :

Article 1.—Agnoro Tiagodemou is appointed Head Chief of the Kotokolis.

Article 2.—The Administrator of the District of Sokode is responsible for the carrying out of the present decision, which shall be registered, communicated, and published wherever necessary.

BONNECARRERE.

Lome, the 8th day of November, 1924.

Circular to District Commandants

SUBJECT : Elections of Members of the Councils of Notables
of Togo

No. 130.

By Order of the 5th (*sic*) February of this year I have fixed Wednesday, 1st April next, as the date of the elections of Members of the Councils of Notables of the Territory and defined the composition of each Council.

In order to avoid abstentions I desire you to give the widest publicity to this announcement throughout your respective Districts.

So far as the procedure at the elections is concerned it would be premature to adopt, at any rate for the present, all the details by which it is regulated at home. You will concentrate your attention on endowing the procedure with all possible sincerity. I desire that a clear expression of the wish of each elector should take place and that his choice should be free and unconstrained.

Nevertheless I do not consider it superfluous to give you certain instructions relative to the carrying out of the above-mentioned Order.

Choice of place.—The Court House of the District Tribunal seems to me to be the most appropriate place for the holding of the election.

Committee.—As provided in Article 9 of the Order of the 4th November, 1924, reorganising the Councils of Notables, your first step will be to proceed to the formation of the electoral committee of which you will be the President. You will appoint as Assessors the two youngest and the two eldest of the electors present ; if possible two of the assessors should be able to read and write.

Method of Ballot.—As each panel of electors has to elect

a certain number of Councillors, the ballot will be for a list of names.

Ballot boxes.—Ballot boxes provided with two locks will be forwarded to you from Headquarters in good time. As the Order of the 4th November, 1924, specifies in Article 1 that each panel of electors shall vote separately for its own members, the election room at Lome, Anecho, Atakpame, and Kluto will have to provide two ballot boxes for the electors, the first reserved for the Chiefs of Cantons and the Chiefs of Villages, and the second for the Chiefs of Quarters and the Chiefs of Families.

Voting papers.—With a view to facilitating proceedings I have thought it expedient to have you provided with as many voting papers and envelopes as there are electors in your respective Districts.

These papers will bear :

- (1) the name of the District ;
- (2) as many numbers, placed one below the other, as there are Councillors to be elected.

The electors will be informed before the proceedings commence that they will have to enter as many names as there are numbers on their paper.

Process of voting.—After having opened the ballot boxes and ascertained in the presence of the electors that they are empty, you will fasten them with two locks, the keys of which will be held one by you and the other by the eldest of the assessors.

No one shall be admitted to vote if his name does not appear in the lists specified in Article 2 of the Order of the 4th November. In order to insure the carrying out of this provision each elector whose name appears upon the lists will be given his voting paper in the presence of two witnesses and also the envelope provided for it.

Each elector will enter the room separately, will give his name in a loud voice for the purpose of identification on the electoral rolls, and will deposit in the ballot box the closed envelope containing the paper filled in outside the room.

On the other hand you will have to complete in the presence of the committee the voting papers of illiterate electors in accordance with their indications. They will themselves place in the envelope the paper completed for them by you and will deposit it in the ballot box.

Voting by correspondence will not be permitted.

Counting.—On the conclusion of the ballot the boxes will

be opened and the number of envelopes checked. You will then proceed with the members of the committee to the count. Every paper counted must be read aloud in full. If doubts arise as to the assignment of any voting paper, the decision will rest with the committee.

Papers will be valid even if they bear fewer names than there are Councillors to be elected. Blank or illegible papers or those which do not contain sufficient indication shall not be included in the result of the count, but they shall be attached to the formal report.

As soon as the count is finished you will announce the result.

For the first time the natives of Togo are going to be called upon to vote; in conclusion, therefore, I desire that you will hold a preliminary palaver with the electors, in the course of which you should emphasise the importance of the act they are about to accomplish. Nor should you stint your explanations of even the smallest details of the process of election.

The Commissary of the Republic,

BONNECARRERE.

*Lomé, the 5th day of February, 1924.
(Sic, clearly a misprint for 1925.)*

Order No. 44, Fixing the date of the elections of Members of the Councils of Notables of Togo and defining the composition of each Council.

The Governor of the Colonies,
Chevalier of the Legion of Honour,
Commissary of the Republic,

Having regard to the Decree of the 23rd March, 1921, defining the duties and powers of the Commissary of the Republic in Togo;

Having regard to the Order of the 4th November, 1925 (*sic*, clearly a misprint for 1924), reorganising the Councils of native Notables in the Territory of Togo placed under the French mandate;

Having regard to the proposals of the District Commandants;

HEREBY ORDERS :

Article 1.—The elections of members of the Councils of Notables of the Territory are fixed for the 1st April, 1925.

They shall take place at the Headquarters of each District or Sub-division in the Court House of the District Tribunal with the District or Sub-divisional Commandant presiding,

assisted by the two youngest and the two eldest electors present in the room at the commencement of the ballot.

The ballot will be open from 9 to 11 o'clock a.m.

Article 2.—The composition of each Council of Notables shall be as follows :

Lome	..	..	{	16 Chiefs of Quarters or Families.
			{	14 Chiefs of Cantons.
Anecho	..	..	{	16 Chiefs of Quarters or Families.
			{	14 Chiefs of Cantons
Kluto	..	..	{	8 Chiefs of Quarters or Families.
			{	6 Chiefs of Cantons.
Atakpame	..	..	{	8 Chiefs of Quarters or Families.
			{	8 Chiefs of Cantons.
Sokode	..	..		16 Chiefs of Cantons or Villages
Bassari	..	..		12 Chiefs of Cantons or Villages.

Article 3.—The Administrators of the Districts of Lome, Anecho, Atakpame, and Sokode and the Head of the Sub-division of Bassari are responsible, each in so far as he is concerned, for the carrying out of the present Order, which shall be registered, communicated, and published wherever necessary.

BONNECARRERE.

Lome, the 4th day of February, 1925.

The French have accomplished a very interesting piece of work in codifying the native marriage customs in their part of Togoland.

Circular to District Commandants

SUBJECT : Regulation of Native Marriage

I have the honour to send you herewith two Orders for the regulation of native marriages in Togo. One is applicable to the four Southern Districts and the other to the two Northern Districts.

This regulation, which has been under consideration for over a year, is the outcome of drafts submitted on two different occasions to the Councils of Notables and modified in accordance with the proposals and criticisms of their members. It has only been finally enacted after the complete approval of those assemblies.

My original intention had been to have a distinct customary law settled for each District, with a view to following local

manners as closely as possible, but I have been led to the conclusion, after a deeper study of the situation, that the tangle of tribes in one and the same region and their comparatively recent establishment in their present habitat would render such a detailed regulation illusory.

Accordingly the only distinction adopted is between Upper Togo on the one hand and Lower Togo on the other, because of the very different stage of evolution which characterises the population of the north and that of the south of the Territory. In particular, it has been deemed necessary, owing to the still very primitive condition of the Konkomba group, not for the present to modify the actual practices of these tribes in any way which might have the effect of driving them away from our tribunals.

The regulating enactment is confined therefore to a statement of the fundamental rules of the native customs in use in the north and in the south of Togo, ignoring points of detail. The modifications to which tradition has in certain cases been subjected, in order to bring it to some extent into harmony with our civilisation, have been discussed and approved by the Councils of Notables on the lines laid down in my Circular No. 148 of the 4th February last. The instructions therein contained have made clear to you the principles which have been followed in this codification and also the object in view. It would therefore be superfluous for me to repeat them here.

The new text will provide local jurisdictions with a basis enabling them to give judgment with certainty in matrimonial causes, which occupy a preponderating place in native life.

Moreover, the penalties provided in case of adultery in Article 11 will, it is to be hoped, have a tendency in this country, where morals are unfortunately far too free, to strengthen the unity of the family, which on the coast of Africa more than elsewhere still constitutes the corner stone of social progress.

From information gathered during the last twelve months, among the villagers as well as among the inhabitants of the larger centres, it can be foreseen that the regulation just enacted will be very favourably received among those under our protection.

BONNECARRERE.

Lome, the 17th day of November, 1924.

Order No. 265, regulating native marriages in the Districts of Lome, Anecho, Kluto, and Atakpame.

The Governor of the Colonies,
Chevalier of the Legion of Honour,
Commissary of the Republic,

Having regard to the Decree of the 23rd March, 1921, defining the duties and powers of the Commissary of the Republic in Togo ;

Having regard to the Decree of the 22nd November, 1922, organising Native Jurisdiction in Togo ;

HEREBY ORDERS :

Article 1.—Marriages between fetish-worshipping natives shall be subject, in the Districts of Lome, Anecho, Kluto, and Atakpame, to the following regulations, which shall serve as a basis for the settlement of cases brought before the native tribunals.

MARRIAGEABLE AGE

Article 2.—A woman cannot contract marriage before the age of 15 years. A man cannot contract marriage before the age of 18 years.

DURATION OF BETROTHAL

Article 3.—The duration of a betrothal shall not exceed a period of five years.

Betrothal commences : either from the date of the giving of a present promising marriage by the suitor to the parents of the girl ; or from the first period of days of work devoted by the suitor to the parents of the girl.

BREAKING OFF OF BETROTHAL

Article 4.—If at the expiration of the period of five years afore-mentioned, or of any shorter period agreed between the parties, the marriage does not take place owing to the fault of the girl or of her parents, the latter are bound, according to the circumstances, to repay the presents given or to pay for the days of work furnished. The payment shall not exceed fifty francs per year in the former case or twenty-five francs in the latter.

NECESSARY CONSENT

Article 5.—The consent of the future spouses and of their parents is indispensable for the validity of the marriage. If, however, the suitor is already married, the authorisation of his parents is no longer necessary.

The girl will be presumed to have given her consent, if she has gone without violence to the conjugal domicile, or if, in the presence of witnesses, she has of her own accord placed her right hand in that of her betrothed.

DOWRY

Article 6.—The dowry is fixed by agreement between the suitor and the family of the woman.

The total amount of the dowry shall not exceed a maximum determined as follows :

District of Lome	..	..	600 francs.
District of Anecho	..	..	600 francs.
District of Kluto	..	..	600 francs.
District of Atakpame	..	..	600 francs.

If a widow not yet remarried, but still residing with the family of her deceased husband, has a child by a man not belonging to that family, the child belongs to its father.

If the father of the child is unknown, it shall belong, according to the custom of the tribe, either to the family of the wife or to that of the deceased husband.

In case of divorce the children belong to the husband, whether he has or has not been pronounced in the wrong. The mother, however, has the custody of the child for the first four years. The husband shall always be entitled to go and see his children and they shall be entitled to visit their mother.

Dowry in kind or in goods is paid by the husband, in the presence of the girl, to the head of her family. It must be repaid to the first husband or to his heir, if the intended wife becomes divorced or a widow.

In the District of Anecho, however, if the woman becomes a widow, the dowry must be repaid to her personally.

Three-quarters of the dowry goes to the father or the head of the family of the woman ; one-quarter to the mother of the woman, except in the District of Kluto, where the intended

wife takes three-quarters for herself and leaves one-quarter for her parents.

The payment of the dowry shall be effected before the Chief of the village and four witnesses, two for each party.

FORMALITIES OF THE MARRIAGE

Article 7.—The marriage is not subject to any administrative formality. The parties are, however, recommended to report the marriage to the Chief of the Canton, who must then draw up a deed in writing containing the names of the spouses, the amount of the dowry fixed, the date and the figure of the payment effected, and furnish a copy to the husband and to the head of the family of the woman.

OBLIGATIONS OF THE HUSBAND

Article 8.—The husband is liable to his wife for help, succour, and protection ; he is bound to provide her with food, lodging, and clothing.

When he has more than one wife, he is bound to discharge his conjugal duties towards each of them according to the rules prescribed by each particular custom.

OBLIGATIONS OF THE WIFE

Article 9.—The wife is bound :

- (1) to obey her husband ;
- (2) to cohabit with him except in the event of his being affected with a contagious disease ;
- (3) to follow him wherever he shall wish to take up his abode within the limits of the Territory.

CHILDREN

Article 10.—Children born during the marriage or the ten months after separation or divorce always belong to the husband or to the family of the husband.

Children born before the celebration of the marriage belong to the father.

ADULTERY

A woman convicted of adultery and her accomplice shall on denunciation by the husband be brought before the tribunal of the Sub-division.

DISSOLUTION OF THE MARRIAGE

Article 11.—Dissolution of the marriage is brought about either by the death of one of the spouses or by divorce.

(a) *Death of the husband.*—The widow may marry again, but not until after a lapse of ten months from the death of her husband.

She is not liable to the family of her husband for any reimbursement.

(b) *Death of the wife.*—The death of the wife in no case gives rise to any claim for compensation to the advantage of the husband.

(c) *Divorce.*—Divorce is pronounced by the tribunal of the Sub-division after an attempt at reconciliation has been made by the Chief of the village assisted by the families of the two persons joined in marriage. Divorce can be demanded by the husband on account of :

- (1) Physical defect of the woman duly attested by medical certificate ;
- (2) Adultery by the woman ;
- (3) Sentence of imprisonment on the woman for a period of more than two years ;
- (4) Repeated absences of the woman from the conjugal domicile ;
- (5) Habitual negligence in the household duties.

Divorce can be demanded by the wife on account of :

- (1) Impotence of the husband ;
- (2) Contagious and incurable disease of the husband ;
- (3) Cruelty and bad treatment by the husband ;
- (4) Refusal of the husband to provide for her support ;
- (5) Sentence of imprisonment on the husband for a period of more than two years.

If divorce is pronounced on account of wrongs committed by the husband, he cannot claim repayment of the dowry. If divorce is pronounced on account of wrongs committed by the woman, the husband can always require that the dowry shall be restored to him, a day's work being reckoned at 2 francs, as also cloths, jewels, and other things that he may have given to the woman during the marriage. He cannot, however, claim to be reimbursed for presents given and days of work performed during the betrothal.

If there are children of tender age left in the custody of the mother, the father is bound to contribute to their maintenance.

The woman cannot contract a fresh marriage :

- (1) until divorce has been pronounced ;
- (2) during the ten months after the judgment of the tribunal.

Breach of these two rules will render her and her husband liable to disciplinary penalties.

Article 12.—Marriages between native Mahommedans remain subject to the rules of the law of the Koran.

Article 13.—The provisions herein set out are applicable to natives who are Catholics or Protestants, if they claim to avail themselves of them or declare themselves willing to be subject to them.

Article 14.—The Commandants of the Districts of Lome, Anecho, Kluto, and Atakpame and the Heads of Sub-divisions are responsible for the carrying out of the present Order, which shall be registered, communicated, and published wherever necessary.

BONNECARRERE.

Lome, the 17th day of November, 1924.

Order No. 266, regulating native marriages in the Districts of Sokode and Sansanne-Mango.

The Governor of the Colonies,
Chevalier of the Legion of Honour,
Commissary of the Republic,

Having regard to the Decree of the 23rd March, 1921, defining the duties and powers of the Commissary of the Republic in Togo ;

Having regard to the Decree of the 22nd November, 1922, organising native jurisdiction in Togo ;

HEREBY ORDERS :

Article 1.—Marriages between fetish-worshipping natives shall be subject, in the Districts of Sokode and Sansanne-Mango to the following regulations which shall serve as a basis for the decision of cases brought before the native tribunals.

MARRIAGEABLE AGE

Article 2.—A woman cannot contract marriage before the age of 15 years ; a man cannot contract marriage before the age of 18 years ; with the exception that among the Konkombas a man does not marry until he is 20 years of age and a woman marries as soon as she is past puberty.

DURATION OF BETROTHAL

Article 3.—The duration of betrothal shall not exceed five years, except among the Konkombas, where it may be prolonged for fifteen years.

Betrothal commences :

Among the Konkombas with the acceptance of the two families at the birth of the girl ;

Among the Mobas with the mutual promise to exchange women made in the presence of the Chief of the Canton, each suitor being accompanied by two witnesses ;

In the other tribes, either from the date of the giving of a present promising marriage by the suitor to the parents of the girl, or from the first period of days of work devoted by the suitor to the parents of the girl.

BREAKING OFF THE BETROTHAL

Article 4.—If at the expiration of the period aforementioned or of any shorter period agreed between the parties the marriage does not take place owing to the fault of the girl or of her parents, the latter are bound, according to the circumstances, to repay the presents given or to pay for the days of work furnished.

The repayment shall not exceed fifty francs per year in the former case or twenty-five francs in the latter, nor shall it exceed a total of two hundred francs.

In case of the death of one of the future spouses during the betrothal no reimbursement can be demanded from the family of the girl.

NECESSARY CONSENT

Article 5.—The consent of the future spouses and of their parents is indispensable for the validity of the marriage.

Among the Bassaris and the Konkombas, if the suitor is already married, the authority of his parents is no longer necessary.

Among the Kotokolis, Cabrais, Lossos, Chokossis, and Mobas paternal authorisation is obligatory for the betrothed man unless he is the head of a house.

The girl will be presumed to have given her consent, if she has gone without violence to the conjugal domicile or if in the presence of witnesses she has of her own accord placed her right hand in that of her betrothed.

DOWRY

Article 6.—The dowry is fixed by agreement between the suitor and the family of the woman.

The total amount of the dowry shall not exceed 200 francs in money or a maximum in kind determined as follows :

Among the Cabrais, Lossos and Kotokolis thirty days of work per year ;

In other tribes twenty days of work per year.

Three-quarters of the dowry goes to the father or the Head of the family of the woman, one-quarter to the mother of the woman, except among the Cabrais, Lossos, and Kotokolis, where the days of work performed during the betrothal are for the advantage of the father and the presents in money and kind belong to the mother of the girl.

The dowry in money or in goods is paid by the husband to the Head of the family of the woman, or, if the woman is a widow or divorced, to the first husband or to his heir, except in the tribes in which custom does not provide for any dowry for the marriage of a widow or divorced woman.

The payment of the dowry is to be effected before the Chief of the village and four witnesses, two for each party.

FORMALITIES OF MARRIAGE

Article 7.—Marriage is not subject to any administrative formality. The parties are, however, recommended to report the marriage to the Chief of the Canton, who must then draw up a deed in writing containing the names of the spouses, the amount of the dowry fixed, the date and the figure of the payment effected, and furnish a copy to the husband and to the Head of the family of the woman.

OBLIGATIONS OF THE HUSBAND

Article 8.—The husband is liable to his wife for help, succour, and protection ; he is bound to furnish her with food, lodging, and clothing. When he has more than one wife, he is bound to discharge his conjugal duties towards each of them in accordance with the rules prescribed by each particular custom.

OBLIGATIONS OF THE WIFE

Article 9.—The wife is bound :

(1) to obey her husband ;

- (2) to cohabit with him except in the event of his being affected with a contagious disease;
- (3) to follow him wherever he shall wish to take up his abode within the limits of the Territory.

CHILDREN

Article 10.—Children born during the marriage or the ten months after separation or divorce always belong to the husband or to the family of the husband.

Children born before the celebration of the marriage belong to the betrothed in the custom of the Cabrais and Lossos, to the father in the other customs.

If a widow, not yet remarried, but still residing in the family of her defunct husband, has a child by a man who is not a member of that family, the child belongs to the father in the Kotokoli custom, to the family of the husband in the other customs.

If the child is of an unknown father, it belongs, according as the custom of the tribe may be, to the family of the woman or to the family of the defunct husband.

In case of divorce the children belong to the husband, whether divorce has been pronounced on account of his wrongdoing or not. The mother will, however, have the custody of them during the first four years. The husband can always go and see his children and the children can always visit their mother.

A woman convicted of adultery and her accomplice shall on denunciation by the husband be brought before the tribunal of the Sub-division.

DISSOLUTION OF THE MARRIAGE

Article 11.—Dissolution of the marriage is brought about either by the death of one of the spouses or by divorce or repudiation.

(a) *Death of the husband.*—The widow may marry again :

Among the Kotokolis, Cabrais, and Lossos at the end of forty days, if she is not pregnant; otherwise after the delivery of the child.

In the other tribes after a period of widowhood of ten months.

She is not liable to the family of her husband for any reimbursement.

(b) *Death of the woman.*—The death of the wife does not in

any case give rise to any claim to compensation to the advantage of the husband.

(c) *Divorce*.—Divorce is pronounced by the Tribunal of the Sub-division after an attempt at conciliation by the Chief of the village assisted by the families of the two persons joined together in marriage.

Divorce may be demanded by the man on account of :

- (1) Physical defect of the woman duly attested by medical certificate ;
- (2) Adultery by the woman ;
- (3) Sentence of the woman to imprisonment for more than two years ;
- (4) Repeated absences of the woman from the conjugal domicile ;
- (5) Habitual negligence in the household duties.

Divorce may be demanded by the wife on account of :

- (1) Impotence of the husband ;
- (2) Contagious and incurable disease of the husband ;
- (3) Cruelty and bad treatment by the husband ;
- (4) Refusal of the husband to provide for her support ;
- (5) Sentence of the husband to imprisonment for more than two years.

If the divorce is pronounced on account of the wrongdoing of the husband, he cannot claim reimbursement of the dowry, except among the Cabrais and Lossos, where the husband always has a right to reimbursement of the dowry.

If the divorce is pronounced on account of the wrongdoing of the wife, the husband can always require the restoration of the dowry, a day's work being reckoned at two francs, and also cloths, trinkets, and other things that he may have given the woman during the marriage.

If there are children of tender age left in the custody of the mother, the father is bound to contribute to their support.

The woman cannot contract a fresh marriage :

- (1) Until divorce has been pronounced ;
- (2) For ten months after the judgment of the Tribunals.

If, however, she is of Kotokoli, Cabrais, or Losso race and is not pregnant when the judgment is pronounced, she may marry again at the end of forty days.

Breach of these two rules will render her and her new husband liable to disciplinary penalties.

(d) *Repudiation*.—The husband can always when he wishes repudiate his wife ; but this repudiation once pronounced is

final and deprives him of all claim to reimbursement of the dowry.

Article 12.—Marriages between native Mahommedans remain subject to the rules of the law of the Koran.

Article 13.—The provisions herein set out are applicable to natives who are Catholics or Protestants, if they claim to avail themselves of them or declare themselves willing to be subject to them.

Article 14.—The Commandants of the Districts of Sokode and of Sansanne-Mango and the Heads of Sub-divisions are responsible for the carrying out of the present Order, which shall be registered, communicated, and published wherever necessary.

BONNECARRERE.

Lome, the 17th day of November, 1924.

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(c) *Divorce*.—Divorce is pronounced by the Tribunal of the Sub-division after an attempt at conciliation by the Chief of the village assisted by the families of the two persons joined together in marriage.

Divorce may be demanded by the man on account of :

- (1) Physical defect of the woman duly attested by medical certificate ;
- (2) Adultery by the woman ;
- (3) Sentence of the woman to imprisonment for more than two years ;
- (4) Repeated absences of the woman from the conjugal domicile ;
- (5) Habitual negligence in the household duties.

Divorce may be demanded by the wife on account of :

- (1) Impotence of the husband ;
- (2) Contagious and incurable disease of the husband ;
- (3) Cruelty and bad treatment by the husband ;
- (4) Refusal of the husband to provide for her support ;
- (5) Sentence of the husband to imprisonment for more than two years.

If the divorce is pronounced on account of the wrongdoing of the husband, he cannot claim reimbursement of the dowry, except among the Cabrais and Lossos, where the husband always has a right to reimbursement of the dowry.

If the divorce is pronounced on account of the wrongdoing of the wife, the husband can always require the restoration of the dowry, a day's work being reckoned at two francs, and also cloths, trinkets, and other things that he may have given the woman during the marriage.

If there are children of tender age left in the custody of the mother, the father is bound to contribute to their support.

The woman cannot contract a fresh marriage :

- (1) Until divorce has been pronounced ;
- (2) For ten months after the judgment of the Tribunals.

If, however, she is of Kotokoli, Cabrais, or Losso race and is not pregnant when the judgment is pronounced, she may marry again at the end of forty days.

Breach of these two rules will render her and her new husband liable to disciplinary penalties.

(d) *Repudiation*.—The husband can always when he wishes repudiate his wife ; but this repudiation once pronounced is

final and deprives him of all claim to reimbursement of the dowry.

Article 12.—Marriages between native Mahomedans remain subject to the rules of the law of the Koran.

Article 13.—The provisions herein set out are applicable to natives who are Catholics or Protestants, if they claim to avail themselves of them or declare themselves willing to be subject to them.

Article 14.—The Commandants of the Districts of Sokode and of Sansanne-Mango and the Heads of Sub-divisions are responsible for the carrying out of the present Order, which shall be registered, communicated, and published wherever necessary.

BONNECARRERE.

Lome, the 17th day of November, 1924.

Year
1925

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THE GOLD COAST REVIEW

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Introductory	3
The Kwahus By A. J. WALKER	15
The Kpando Division By P. D. LE LIEVRE	29
A Brief Note on the Constitution and Customs of Akim- Abuakwa By J. V. SHAW	53
The Osu and Kindred Peoples By R. E. PAGE	66
Denationalisation By the Rev. A. G. FRASER	71
Sefwi and its People By F. P. HOLTSBAUM	76
The History of Nzima up to 1874 By R. W. SANDERSON	95
A Short History of the Nkonya Division in the Ho District By C. C. LILLEY	108
Historical Survey of the Shai People By S. W. SAXTON	127
Native Affairs in French Togoland Translated by the EDITOR	146

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