

and the general friendship continued till the *Akwamu* had become strong and numerous and had learnt that they could raid their neighbours, take captives, and sell these as slaves to European slave-traders. But at the time of *Okakwei* both peoples were peaceable farmers and friendly. The *Akwamu*, through earlier contacts with the Ashanti, knew something of Ashanti methods of warfare, and it was as tutors in warfare, in particular in the magical or stool side of warfare, that they had most influence upon the Gã. All the Gã military organization—the stool, the *mantse*, the *asafo*, the *akwasoŋ*, the *dzase*, the *otsamei*—was copied from the *Akwamu* and dovetailed into the original Gã agricultural theocracy. The *Gã Mafi* learnt this organization in the seventeenth century, and the neighbouring Osu people learnt it almost simultaneously. From there it reached, at the end of the eighteenth century, Temma, Nungwa, and La.

In the days of *Okakwei*, the *Benkumbene* of *Akwamu* had a quarrel with his *Omanbene* about a woman, and the *Benkumbene*, swearing he would not serve him any more, came with some of his followers and joined the *Aseré* people. This man's name was *Ofe Adzeman*, and he was the first *mantse* of the *Otublohū*, or *Akwamu*, quarter of Accra. This quarter consisted entirely of *Akwamu* people and they retained most of their *Akwamu* customs. They never adopted the practice of circumcision, but after one generation they dropped the Akan system of inheritance and succession through the sister's son and adopted the father-to-son system.

Shortly after the death of *Ayi Frimpon*, the first *Aseré mantse* on the seaside site, a party of Akans came from *Denchera* as servants of the Dutch. The head of these *Denchera* people was one *Otu Abia Kwa*, whose name means *Otu* of the Lost Glory. His father had had a stool in *Denchera*, but the son had lost it. These *Denchera* people became friendly with the *Otublohū* people, and *Kwama*, the sister of the *Otublohū mantse*, *Ofe Adzeman*, was given in marriage to one of their relatives in *Denchera*, traders in gold-dust. When the sites were being allocated to the various quarters when the Gã came down from the hill, the *Denchera* people became a part of the *Otublohū* quarter under the *Otublohū mantse*.

The *Otublohū* stool brought up the total of *mantse*'s stools in Accra to five.

Alata or Jamestown

When an English trading company came to Accra and wanted to build Fort James, their representatives approached *Tete*

Kpɛsi who was then *Sɛmpɪ maɲtɛ* and he gave them some *Sɛmpɪ* land for their building. The work of building was carried out by some workers whom the English brought from Lagos, and these were given a site known as *Alata*. The headman of these Lagos workers was *Weitɛ Kodzo*, and he and the people under him helped to staff the fort when it was finished. He was a very capable trustworthy man and became rich and influential. He was still there when *Tɛtɛ Kpɛsi* died and was succeeded by *Kpakpo Brama*. Shortly after this the English left their fort, intending to return later. Wishing to leave it in the charge of their landlord *Kpakpo Brama* they sent a message asking him to come so that they might hand over their keys and equipment to be cared for till their return. *Kpakpo Brama* was in the middle of a festival and sent a message that he was too busy to come. The English could not wait, so they put their fort and all its contents in the care of *Weitɛ Kodzo*. When *Kpakpo Brama* had finished his celebrations and was once more sober he found *Weitɛ Kodzo* in the fort with guns and ammunition, immovably established. The English Company which had placed him there never returned, though a second English company came, and meanwhile he had become the best equipped and most powerful of all the heads of the Accra quarters.

A stool was made for *Weitɛ Kodzo* by *Otu Brafo* of *Otublobũ* who, being an *Akwamu*, 'knew all about how to make stools and put power into them'.¹ He also taught *Weitɛ Kodzo* how to do *Odzra* ceremonial for his stool—which ceremonial only Jamestown and *Otublobũ* do to this day. When he died he was buried with great pomp in the fort itself.

This gives six *maɲtɛ*'s stools in Accra.

'English Accra'

The *Alata* people, who were the English agents, and the *Sɛmpɪ* people, on whose land the English had built their fort, Fort James, put themselves under English patronage and protection. Together with *Akummadzɛi* who joined them later, they became known as English Accra or Jamestown.

The three quarters of English Accra united for military organization. Each one had its own *asafoatɛ*, but they had only one *sipi*, *Saki Tokowe*, for the three. *Weitɛ Kodzo* was succeeded by *Akrasi*, and *Akrasi*'s stool was made the stool of the joint Jamestown army. *Akrasi* was called English *maɲtɛ* (*Dlesɪ maɲtɛ*) or Jamestown *maɲtɛ*. But whenever the Jamestown

¹ *Brafo* means an executioner. The putting of power into a stool involved human sacrifice.

mantse celebrates an *Odzra* festival and goes round firing guns he must go and sit on the knees of the *Sempi mantse* in acknowledgment of the *Sempi* ownership of his land.¹ The Jamestown *mantse*'s leadership is for military purposes only.

When oath cases are tried in Jamestown, the *Alata mantse*, the *Sempi mantse*, and the *Akuymadzei* elder are all on the bench, but it is the *sipi*, not the 'Jamestown *mantse*', who is president.

'Dutch Accra'²

The two main sections of the *Gã Masi*—*Asere* and *Abola*—put themselves under the protection of the Dutch. *Otublohũ* was attached to *Asere*, and *Gbese* was attached to *Abola*. These four quarters became known as 'Dutch Accra'.

Relative Status of the Accra Quarters

To this day when either money or a debt has to be divided between the whole of Accra it is divided into three equal parts. One part goes to *Asere* and *Otublohũ*, one to *Abola* and *Gbese*, and one to *Sempi*, *Alata*, and *Akuymadzei*. Of the *Asere-Otublohũ* portion *Asere* extracts a seniority portion and the rest is divided equally between *Asere* and *Otublohũ*. Of the *Abola-Gbese* portion *Abola* extracts a seniority portion and the rest is divided equally between *Abola* and *Gbese*. Of the *Alata-Sempi-Akuymadzei* portion, *Alata* extracts a seniority portion and the rest is divided equally between *Alata*, *Sempi*, and *Akuymadzei*.

Stools play a more integral part in the constitution of Accra than in the constitution of any other *Gã* town. Nowhere in Accra is a *wulmo* now also a *mantse*. The senior stool in Accra is the *Asere* stool, and the ceremonial head *mantse* of Accra is the *Asere mantse*. We shall later learn why it is that the *Abola mantse* and not the *Asere mantse* is known as the *Gã mantse* and treated as the head of all Accra.

¹ If a *mantse* is carried in a procession it is because he does not own the land. If he owns the land he walks on it.

² Osu, the neighbouring town was under the Danish. In Temma there are some old cannon lying around and the ruins of what may have been a small fort. Outside Nungwa also are ruins of a small fort. Teshi and Labadi have similar ruins. It is possible that every one of the *Gã* towns came into being with European encouragement and with at least a hope of European protection.

§ 2

RELIGIOUS OFFICIALS

Position of the Wulomei

Accra has had a longer career of warfare than have the other towns, and the organization for warfare with the prominence given to the *akwasofe* and the *mantse* has naturally obscured the underlying peace organization with the *wulome* as its head, an organization still dominant in such towns as Temma even to this day.

The *Nai wulome* is still the ceremonial head of Accra, just as he was the active head of both the seaside and hilltop communities in the days of *Okakwei*. At one time he received heavy harbour dues from every European ship that anchored in the harbour, but now has little but a share of fishing rents.

The position of the *Sakumo wulome* is peculiar and needs some explanation.

When the Gā immigrants arrived they found various *Kpese* families with their *Kple* gods on the land, particularly on the hill. They incorporated these families in their own communities, and so far as these families had gods these gods were acknowledged as seniors. Some of the *Kpese* caretakers of gods died out and their gods passed over to the Gā families into which they had married. The *Kpese* family in charge of *Sakumo*, however, seem to have been missing when the Gā arrived, though *Sakumo* had a grove on the hill. Although *Sakumo*, being the chief lagoon god, was recognized as the natural owner of the territory, nobody knew where his worshippers were or how to worship him. But one day an *Aserere* man named *Lomotfokona* was fishing in the lagoon and he caught 'something terrible' in his cast-net. He was frightened and threw it back. Another day he caught it again in another place. This time he went to a *wɔyo* about it. The *wɔyo* became possessed and got into communication with the spirit of the terrible thing and it announced that it was an incarnation of *Sakumo* come to tell the *Aserere* people that *Sakumo* was coming to help *Aserere* and be its god, and it taught the *wɔyo*, while she was still under its influence, everything necessary about *Sakumo's* rites, including the ritual songs.

There was still no *Sakumo wulome*, but there was a *klo* (pot) of holy water, and the man who had caught the 'terrible thing' found that by looking into the pot he was able to 'hear the god talking' without becoming possessed as a *wɔyo* is possessed. He

found that he could ask questions and 'hear' the answers. So he was made 'gbalo'—prophet or foreteller. There was still no *wulomo*.

Sakumo's *gbalo* in years to come became an influential institution. The family of *Amatsewe*, an aboriginal *Kpesi* family, were recognized as the proper family to have charge of *Sakumo*, and the first *wulomo* after the coming of the *Gã* was from that House.

Throughout the further history of Accra, *Sakumo* had a stormy career. The *gbalo* had a *gbatsfu* of his own apart from the usual *gbatsfu* of the gods, and became an important oracle, particularly concerning matters of warfare, in fact *Sakumo* became virtually a war-god. The warriors were always ceremonially purified in front of *Sakumo* before going to war, the *wulomo* 'cooked the battle' before they set out, and *Sakumo* had a war stool which the *wulomo* himself took to war, though never into the actual fight.

The 'cooking of the battle' was a ceremony which every warrior attended. The *wulomo* boiled a special drink and every warrior partook of it. He was also given some leaves of sacred herbs to wear under his clothing. If he partook of the medicine with guilt on his conscience—for instance, if he had seduced his brother's wife—then the medicine instead of protecting him brought destruction on him and he was killed in the fight. But if he first confessed to his family and his family god and paid the pacification dues to the one he had wronged and to the god, then 'the darkness between them was cleared' and the medicine protected rather than destroyed. The protective medicine demanded that no warrior should engage in sexual intercourse on the day before partaking and between partaking and returning home from battle. If this rule was broken the warrior could not hope to return.

At one period it became difficult to find a *wulomo* for *Sakumo*. There was no war at the time, but for some unknown reason three *Sakumo wulomei* in swift succession had died almost as soon as they were appointed. As no one had an inkling of what shortcoming had caused their god to destroy them, none of the eligible men would consent to be made *wulomo*. So the town in despair decided to buy a likely-looking slave and force him to become *wulomo*. So they contributed one thousand head-loads of cowries (cowries were the ancient currency) and bought a man whom they named *Akepei* (thousand) and made him *wulomo*. He turned out a satisfactory *wulomo*, and his descendants became *wulomei* after him.

Attached to the House of *Sakumo* were a great number of

people of miscellaneous pedigrees, for *Sakumo* had become a very popular refuge-house for both escaped slaves and condemned criminals. Anyone, even if sentenced to death, might seek refuge with a god and once he had given himself up to that god no human being might lay hands on him. Such refugees became slaves of the god's household for the rest of their lives, and their children also were bound to serve the god as menials.

Taki Kōmi, the member of *Sakumo*'s household who eventually became *Gā mantse*¹ was one of these obscure people, and when the mysterious voice from the *gbatsfu* ordered that *Taki Kōmi* should lead all the Accra to war, 'it was only because they always obeyed *Sakumo* that they agreed'. The *Asere* people were very proud, and it was a bitter blow to them, but '*Sakumo*', said my informant, 'does not look on faces'.² And he added: 'It is not only to-day that troubles and worries have come to the *Asere* people.'

Taki Kōmi's eldest son, *Lomoko*, was a *gbalo*, and although the *Asere* elders accepted the humiliation prescribed for them by the voice from the *gbatsfu*, some of the younger members comprising a section of the *Asere asafo* called *Asere Asɔno* seem to have felt a more active resentment, for they burnt the *gbalo*'s *gbatsfu* and *Lomoko* ran away. The new *gbatsfu* was built in *Gbese* on a site called *Loma*, and *Asere* never consulted the *Sakumo* oracle again. And '*Sakumo* never punished them for burning the *gbatsfu*'. The *gbatsfu* was rebuilt on its original site in the days of a *gbalo* called *Lomo Ansā*, since whom there has never been another *Sakumo gbalo*.

After the days of warfare the *Sakumo wulomo*'s influence naturally declined and he became more like an ordinary *Kple wulomo*. In this capacity he is still lord of the lagoon and the lagoon villages and has a certain revenue from them.³ He also claims some ferry dues from people crossing the river mouth. And though the *wulomo* is not the apex of such an important block of the townspeople as is a *wulomo* in such a town as *Temma*, his position is still important. A *mantse* in Accra is not, as in most other towns, himself a *wulomo*, but the *Gā mantse* has to act as *Sakumo wulomo* in the interval between the death of one *wulomo* and the appointment of another. He must perform all the *wulomo*'s ceremonial and must sleep every night in the god's *gbatsfu*.

¹ See p. 157.

² Is no respecter of persons.

³ See p. 164.

Annually all the *mantfemei* and *asafo* officials send firewood—the symbol of submission—to the *Sakumo wulomo*.

The *Dantu wulomo*, who belongs to the House of *Lamte Dzanywe* in *Aseré*, has the duty of 'counting the year' and announcing when the time has arrived for the annual festivals. *Dantu's* corn is the first to be planted, then come *Sakumo*, *Kole*, *Gua*, *Na Dede Oyeadu*, and last of all *Nai*. Reaping is done in the same order. The yam-eating war-gods receive their *yelcyeli* ceremonies after the *Kple* gods' corn is reaped. On the day that *Dantu's* corn is reaped all the Accra *mantfemei* and all the military officers must come and wait in *Dantu's* yard till the *wulomo* and his elders return with the new corn on their shoulders.

Other Religious Officials.

Each of the big *Kple* gods of Accra (*Nai*, *Sakumo*, *Kole*, *Dantu*, *Okudzany*, *Na Dede Oyeatu*, and *Gua*) has an *agba* company similar to the *agba* companies of the *Kple* gods of Temma and Nungwa. *Sakumo* has, in addition, a company of seven known as *Fai buloi* (hat-wearers) who wear straw flower-pot hats similar to the *wulomo's*. Five of these *fai buloi* come from *Aseré*, one from *Abola*, and one from *Gbese*. An eighth, known as the '*ymatsfu hiel'*' (corn-incense holder) walks in front of the *wulomo* and waves the smouldering *ymatsfu* heads. On *Homowo* Tuesday, when *Sakumo's* *kepekpei* (ancestors' food) is cooked in *Sakumo's* yard the *Aseré*, *Abola*, and *Gbese mantfemei*, the *Sakumo agba* and *fai buloi*, and the *Kple wulomei* are all present and all dip equally in the dish. Even the small boys of *Sakumo's* yard dip with the *mantfemei* when the food is *Sakumo's* food, for a *mantse* is but a 'small boy' in the eyes of *Sakumo*.

When *Sakumo's* corn is planted the *Gã mantse* must go with the procession, but the *Aseré* and *Gbese mantfemei* wait in *Sakumo's* yard. The hoe for the planting is carried on a wooden dish by the *Tfese tereb*, an official from *Aseré*.

When a new *Sakumo wulomo* is to be chosen he is chosen from among his god's *agba* company. In the past, when many refugees joined *Sakumo's* House they were allowed to join the *agba*, but their descendants were not eligible to be *wulomei*. The head of the *Sakumo agba* (*agbafoatse*) may be chosen from either the refugee side or the pedigree side, and is the oldest man in the company.¹ He performs nearly all the daily ceremonial in the god's yard, except the praying, which only the *wulomo* does, and it is he who installs the *wulomo*.

¹ The present *agbafoatse* is a very old man who went to both the Awuna and Glover campaigns.

Nai has no *fai bulbi* but has an *agba* and an *agbafoatse* who installs the *Nai wulɔmɔ*. When *Nai* plants his corn no *mantse* goes with him.

Kole has an *agba*, but no *fai bulbi*. The *Sempi mantse* must attend *Kole's* corn-planting ceremony, but does not go to the planting ground. When the artificial bank-bursting ceremony (*Fofɔ*) is performed for the *Kole* lagoon a special dance called *Agbale* is performed by *Kolewe* men and women.¹ The heir to the *Sempi* stool is first laid on the ground and dragged three times by the feet from lagoon to sea. Then the *Kole agba* and the *Sempi* elders do the digging work while the dancers dance *Agbale*. After this they dance into the town. Lagoon fishing is allowed immediately afterwards, but is not ceremonially opened, and though strangers come to fish they pay no fee.

§ 3

THE GĀ MADTJE

Position of the Gā Mantse

Until about 1840 Accra remained a confederation of seven independent units, each having its own head, and six of them having a *mantse* apiece. There was no *mantse* of Accra. Then came the Fanti-Ashanti war, and the Fanti, threatened by the Ashanti, invited the Accra to help. The Accra, fearing that they would be the next threatened, agreed to do so.

The seven quarters met before the *gbatɔsu* of Accra *Sakumɔ*² to discuss ways and means. *Sakumɔ* had greatly changed his character since he fell into Gā hands and had become almost a war-god. He not only 'cooked the war' and purified the warriors before they set out, but he had acquired a stool which the *Sakumɔ wulɔmɔ* himself took to war with the army though he did not take it right into the fight.

The seven quarters consulted *Sakumɔ*. They said they were seven bodies and had plenty of stools, but no stool for their united army, and no headquarters for the distribution of ammunition and the issuing of orders.

The obvious stool to be head was the senior stool—that of *Asere*. However, a non-human voice was heard issuing from

¹ When any 'big man' in *Sempi* dies the *Kolewe* people are invited to come and dance *Agbale*.

² Accra *Sakumɔ* is *Sakumɔ fio* (*Sakumɔ* junior), not to be confused with Temma *Sakumɔ* who is *Sakumɔ Onukpa* (*Sakumɔ* senior).

Sakumɔ's *gbatsɔ*¹ saying: 'I, *Sakumɔ*, will not go with you to this war, but you may take my stool to lead you all and the holder of that stool shall be *Taki Kɔmi* of *Sakumɔwe*'. An *Aserɛ* official enquired of the voice: 'With whom shall the stool go, with *Sakumɔ*'s house, or with whose?' The voice answered: 'It shall go with *Abola*, and *Abola* shall be head of the army and *Taki Kɔmi* shall go with *Abola*'. (The *Abola maɲtsɛ* had recently died and a new one had not been appointed.)

Aserɛ people were naturally disappointed and dismayed, but nobody questioned the genuineness of the voice or thought of disobeying it. The voice continued: '*Aserɛ* people, do not worry. You have the real stool of *Okakwei*. Let *Abola* have this other stool and be the *Gã maɲtsɛ* when you all go to war. But you, *Aserɛ*, every year must give the *hewale* (strength, power, authority) of the *maɲtsɛ* to *Taki Kɔmi*. You shall be the father of the *Gã maɲtsɛ*.'

Taki Kɔmi went to war at the head of the Accra force and did so well that he was afterwards made *Abola maɲtsɛ*, thus introducing a third House, *Takikɔmiwe*, into the *Abola* succession. See Diagram X.

The '*hewale*' of the *Gã maɲtsɛ* is still given by *Aserɛ* every year to the *Gã maɲtsɛ* in the shape of a *yɔ* hat.² Every *asafoatsɛ* wears such a hat and the yearly gift of this to the *Gã maɲtsɛ* symbolizes the purely military nature of his seniority.

The *yɔ* hat is made of the entire skin of the tiny duiker antelope, and the four slender little legs with their tiny hooves are left to dangle round the face of the wearer. A *Gã maɲtsɛ* cannot be a true *Gã maɲtsɛ* till he has received this hat from *Aserɛ*. Every year on *Hɔmɔwɔ* Wednesday (New Year's Day) his authority must be renewed with a new hat. The *Aserɛ* stool *wulɔmɔ* takes the hat to the *Gã maɲtsɛ* in the morning saying: 'We are renewing your *hewale*'. The *maɲtsɛ* in return gives him a new white *tekle*, a rich cloth, gunpowder, shot, and flint and steel to enable him to kill next year's duiker.

If the hat does not arrive the *Abola dzasetɛ* must go and enquire of the *Aserɛ maɲtsɛ* what wrong the *Gã maɲtsɛ* had done during the year and must beg his pardon in the name of the *maɲtsɛ* and promise that he shall not offend again. The *Gã maɲtsɛ* has to dance in his duiker hat on *Hɔmɔwɔ* Saturday and is not recognized as *Gã maɲtsɛ* without it. *Aserɛ* is the sole judge of his fitness to wear it.

¹ European readers recalling the device of the Temma *maɲtsɛ* in 1931 may make their guess at the nature of the voice from *Sakumɔ*'s *gbatsɔ*.

² The disturbances of the last ten years have stopped this with so many other customs.

The powder and shot is passed on by the *Asere mantse* to a hunter in the village of *Ofako* at the foot of *Okakwei* hill, and he must furnish a new duiker skin before the next year. The post of hat-provider goes down from father to son.

The old year's hat goes back to the *Asere* stool *wulomo*. He hangs it in the stool-room and the number of hats hanging there is the measure of the years of the *Gā mantse's* 'eating'.¹

When all the *Accra mantsemei* meet together the *Gbese mantse* is their *otsame*, or mouthpiece. The *Asere mantse* is the *Gā mantse's* 'father'. If a *Gā mantse* dies *Asere* is senior, but as 'a father never inherits from his son' he deposes another *mantse*, usually *Gbese*, to act for him. If the *Gā mantse* has offended the others and they meet together to discuss the matter the *Asere mantse* is president and the *Gbese mantse* is *otsame*. If the *Gā mantse* is absent from any meeting he should attend he sends someone to take his place, and the *Gbese mantse* is still *otsame*.

Use of the Term 'Gā Mantse'

The ambiguity in the meaning of the word *Gā* has led to a far-reaching misunderstanding. *Gā* is, firstly, the name of the town which Europeans call *Accra*. The language spoken in the town of *Gā* became known as the *Gā* language, and all the people who spoke that language became known as *Gā* people. The '*Gā Mantse*' was not, until the Native Administration Ordinance made him so, the *mantse* of the *Gā* people: he was merely *mantse* of the town of *Accra*. The other *Gā*-speaking towns were all perfectly independent republics, and though they became allies in times of war, they never had any say in one another's affairs in times of peace, and never had a Paramount Chief²—indeed, they never had chiefs at all in the sense usually attached to the word.

Appointment of the Gā Mantse

Since the days of *Taki Kōmi* the whole of *Accra* has had a say in the appointment of the *Gā mantse*.

As soon as it is known that a *Gā mantse* is dead the elders of the five non-stool Houses of *Asere* send a messenger to the

¹ The *Gā* idiom 'ye *mantse*'—to eat town-fatherhood—is usually translated to reign or to rule, which is misleading. The *mantse* is not a ruler, and only European misunderstanding endows him with this office.

² The nearest approach to paramountcy in *Gā* history is the position of *Nungwa* which used to exact annual tribute from *Teshi* and *Labadi* till those towns paid a lump sum for their freedom from that obligation. The *Gbōbu wulomo* of *Nungwa* sends a representative to put every *mantse* of every *Gā* division into *butrumo* before his installation as *mantse*.

akwasontse saying that they desire a new *Gã mantse*. The *akwasontse* calls the other seven members of the *akwasontse*—one from each of the seven quarters of Accra—and tells them of the need. The *Akwasontse's* *otsame* is then sent to the *Abola dzasetse*. This elder calls his *dzase*, tells them the news and requests the House whose turn it is to supply a *mantse* to select a candidate. When they have done so the *dzasetse* sends to the *akwasontse* appointing a day to 'tell his name'. On this day the *akwasontse* with his seven councillors, all the *sipii*, and all the *asafotsemei* from all the seven quarters meet at the *akwasontse's* house and the *dzasetse* sends them his messenger with the name of the proposed *mantse*. If they approve of the suggestion they send to the *Abola dzasetse* saying, 'the Town agree'. ✓

Any difference of opinion at one of these meetings is settled by majority vote. 'If they disagree nobody outside should know, and they must have one voice when they come out.'

The *Abola dzasetse* then appoints a day for the enstoolment ceremony and notifies the *akwasontse* and all the Accra *mantsemei* or elders of quarters. Notification of *mantsemei* is done through the *Gbese mantse* in his capacity of *otsame* to the Accra *mantsemei*, and he also notifies all neighbouring towns from Obutu on the west to Ada on the east, and northwards into Akwapim and the Odumasi district. This implies no paramountcy over these peoples, it is merely an act of neighbourly courtesy.

The midnight enstoolment ceremony is performed by a group consisting of the *akwasontse* representing the military body of the whole town, the *Sakumo wulomo* representing all the gods, the *Asere mantse* and the *Asere* stool *wulomo* representing the stool of *Okakwei*, the *Gbese mantse* and the *Gbese* stool *wulomo* representing all the other Accra stools, the *dzasetse* and the *osiabene* from *Abola*, and two or three *Abola* elders.

The *Sakumo wulomo* prays for a blessing, and the *dzasetse* and his elders hold the *mantse* three times over the stool. The *Asere* stool *wulomo* then presents the new *mantse* with the duiker hat saying: 'To-day we appoint you *Gã mantse*.'

After this the *Gbese mantse* is instructed to announce to the whole town that on such-and-such a day the new *mantse* will be shown to the people at *Amugina*.¹ At *Amugina* the new *mantse* swears fidelity to his own *dzasetse* and then to the *Gbese mantse* representing all the other stools of Accra, and they swear fidelity to him. Then all the *asafotsemei* and other military officials exchange oaths with their new *mantse*. The oaths are all military,

¹ *Amugina* is a place where the *aklabatse* of the god *Amugi* used to stand in the days of *Boi Tono*. It is a place of oaths.

except the *wulomei*'s, and the swearer holds a sword. The oath to the *wulomō* is taken sitting on the *wulomō*'s knees, and the *manṭse* remains there till the *wulomō* has blessed him. The *wulomei* of *Nai*, *Sakumō*, and *Kōle* then give their blessings.

Before leaving *Amugina* the *manṭse* gives five pounds ten shillings, a bullock, and a case of gin to the *Gbese manṭse* for the whole town. The town gives the *manṭse* a grand cloth, an umbrella, a pair of sandals, a head-dress, and a *wulomō*'s white *Tekle*. Then drumming begins and the proceedings become a dance.

In earlier days every *Gā Masi* youth underwent the *Kromotsu* puberty rites and every girl the corresponding *Tuṅ* rites. But 'the *Kromotsu*' has now become a show-custom and few people do it because few can afford it.¹ 'So many guests have to be invited and it is all so grand that it costs much money.' But it is still regarded as a necessary qualification for the holder of any important office, and in particular the *manṭse*, if he has never undergone it in his youth, must undergo it during the period that elapses between his selection by the *manḃii* and his midnight enstoolment ceremony. In this case it is 'his father the *Asere manṭse*, and not the father who begat him' who is responsible for putting him into *Kromotsu*.

The *Kromotsu* ceremony for a *Gā manṭse*-elect is performed at night. The *Nai*, *Sakumō*, *Kōle*, and *Dantu wulomei* are present. The *Asere manṭse* takes a hoe and hacks the earth three times 'because *Asere* is owner of the soil'. Then assistants do the harder work of digging a large quantity of soil and bringing water to make it into plastic mud. This mud the *Gbese manṭse* then kneads three times with his foot. The *Sempi manṭse* then takes three handfuls of this and gives them to the *Asere manṭse* who makes the beginning of the mud wall of the *Kromotsu* hut. Assistants finish the wall. The next morning the same party visits the *Kōle* lagoon and cuts grass for roofing the hut. This grass is made into three headloads and carried by the *Asere*, *Gbese*, and *Sempi manṭsemei* themselves. The rest of the ceremony is similar to that which I have described elsewhere. The victim has to find crabs in the hut, but there is no cross-country run. Instead of this the victim has to try to bolt out of the hut and get to his own house without being flogged. His enemies are waiting to see that the flogging is adequately done; his relatives try to defend him, and 'it is a great disgrace if there is not a good fight, but nobody must shed any blood'.

¹ A great deal of native ceremonial is dying out simply because it has become so elaborate and costly that no one can afford it. People prefer not to do it at all rather than to do it in a manner which brands them as either poor or mean.



Ayi Anā pouring a libation at the spot where *Okakwēi* died. (See p. 144.)



A *nɔyɔ* possessed. (See p. 152.)

The proceedings include the reviling and insulting of the victim with songs and taunts. 'It is a proud thing to be thus abused. You are pleased even if people say things for which you would sue them at other times.' The object of the ceremony is 'to take all the foolishness and stupidity out of the youth'.

The ceremony closes with a very grand dance to which all the dancing and drumming companies of the town have to be invited. The youth must change into a new velvet cloth for each dance, which means perhaps forty or fifty such cloths. The number of dancers and drummers who must be regaled is enormous. 'Even a *mantse* sometimes cannot afford it', but a rich man will do it for his son just to show his wealth.

§ 4

THE MADKRALO

Absence of Mankralo in Accra

Accra now recognizes, on certain occasions, the *Abola mantse* as *Gã mantse*, that is as *mantse* of the whole town. But it has no corresponding *mankralo* and never has had. Accra and Osu set up their stools and the rest of their military organization at about the same time and neither, in the beginning, had a *mankralo*. Osu subsequently created a *mankralo* for a special reason which we shall examine later, and other towns who were yet a century before they set up their military organizations, copied Osu's ready-made pattern and included a *mankralo*, though they had not Osu's reason for needing one.

Most of the duties performed in other towns by the *mankralo* fall in Accra to the *akwasontse*. He has a stool and a court, but does not, like the *mankralo* of most other towns, act as town *mantse* in the absence of this personage.

There has, however, been at times some dispute in Accra about the matter of a *mankralo* in various quarters. In Jamestown (i.e. the *Alata*, *Sempi*, and *Akuzmadzei* combination) the *Alata mantse* is known as Jamestown *mantse*, and on one occasion he sought to consolidate this position by announcing that the *Sempi mantse* was Jamestown *mankralo*. But *Sempi* objected to this, for its *mantse* is, for certain purposes, the senior of the *Alata mantse*.

Sempi, however, coined a *mankralo* for itself to supplement its *mantse* in 1907. But there seems to be little in this but a name; his position and duties are exactly those of a *dzasetse* whose position he appears to have usurped.

§ 5

ACCRA LAND TENURE

When the *Gā Masi* arrived in the district there were *Kpefi* people on the land, but they were very few, and as most of them gradually died out their gods and their land passed over to the *Gā Masi* with whom they had intermarried. The *Gā Masi*, as we have seen, were at first in two groups, the seaside, or *Sempi* people, and the *Okakwei* Hill people. The land was divided between these two. Later, when *Okakwei*'s people came down from the hill, the *Asere* quarter—*Okakwei*'s descendants—continued to own the hill and all the inland farming territory. *Abola*, which was simply an offshoot of *Okakwei*'s family around a newly-made stool, acquired no land of its own when it broke away, and to this day the '*Gā mantse*' has no land. His quarter (*Abola*) and every other quarter was given the land that it actually occupies in Accra, and may be said to own that. *Otublohū* was given some extra land near Pokuase. Various quarters also own and control various inland villages, but not the land they are built on.

There is no 'stool land' in Accra;¹ there is only '*Asere* land' and 'Jamestown land'. Jamestown land includes *Sempi*, *Akuymadzēi*, and *Alata* land, all under the Jamestown *mantse*, but, as we have seen, the Jamestown *mantse* must sit on the *Sempi mantse*'s knees annually in acknowledgment of the *Sempi* ownership of all *Alata* land in Accra.

In addition to *Sempi* land, *Akuymadzēi* land, and *Asere* land, which had all been either lived upon or cultivated, there were further stretches of land known as hunters' land. In the early days of the *Gā Masi* the land on the inland side of Accra, unlike the open grassland on the inland side of Temma, was dense thicket and dangerous forest² 'full of wild beasts and robbers in hiding'. The Ashanti were forest people and moved more easily in the forest than in open country. 'Only brave men

¹ The late *Asere mantse*, *Ni Boi*, had his only serious 'case' with his people over the question of land. He desired several acres of inland territory as his personal property and approached some of the heads of *Asere* families on the subject. These elders agreed and he started enclosing the land. A storm broke out in *Asere*; the elders were reminded that they were only the representatives of their houses and had no right to part with land, even to their own *mantse*, without consulting their families.

² This is said to be the reason why the Ashanti and Akwamu confined their attacks to the Accra side of the plain—they only knew how to fight in thick concealing forest and were at a great disadvantage out in the open.

Isolated forest trees still standing support the tradition that the land was once forested.

among the Gã could go out hunting in those days.' Families who were fond of dangerous hunting used to make hunters' tracks through this forest and thicket, and the land they hunted over was theirs, for they had 'cleared it for hunting'. If hunters were caught poaching on the tracks made by hunters of other families there were quarrels and killings.

These hunters' territories, though they were extensive areas of land, continued to be the property of the families who originally hunted over them, even after the land had become safe. Three tracts of land inland from Accra are still owned in this way by three families—*Koleve*, whose head is the *Kole wulomo*; *Akut-paine* of *Gbese*, and *Abetsewe* of *Asere*. To the west and north-west of Accra, *Alata* has extensive hunters' land gained by hunting families, though the 'Jamestown land' within Accra is properly *Sempi* land.

Anyone wishing to make a farm or a 'village' on hunters' land approaches the head of the family in question just as if that head were the head of a town. If the family wish to sell parcels of land outright they may do so.

Although there is no stool land in Accra it has recently been recognized that a *mantse* has heavy financial responsibilities, and it has become the rule that where *Asere* land is sold the *Asere mantse* receives one-third of the proceeds and the rest goes to the *manbii* for distribution among the various Houses.

In Jamestown also, the *mantsemei* are now considered. When Jamestown land is sold *Alata*, *Sempi*, and *Akummadzei* each have a third of the total proceeds. Each then subdivides its share, giving the *mantse* or the chief elder one-third and the *manbii* two-thirds for distribution.

Within recent years, of course, a great many plots of land have been sold and now belong to private owners.

Occupation of the Fa Na Villages

The long strip of coast-line in front of the *Sakumo* swamp is known as Fa Na, and a string of grass-built fishing villages stretches along it westwards from Accra. These villages are not always occupied and the conditions under which they may be occupied are peculiar.

I have explained elsewhere that only when a lagoon is greatly swollen with rain does it burst its sandbanks and enter the sea, and that this entering usually has religious ceremonial connected with it. The *Kole* lagoon has an artificial '*Tikimo*'¹ per-

¹ The verb *tiki*—to burst and let out liquid—is applied to the bursting of the lagoon into the sea and to the bursting of boils and blisters.

formed for it by cutting a channel, but *Sakumo* is left to its own devices. This lagoon is capricious in its times and seasons of entering the sea. Sometimes it builds itself a strong sandbank which fails to break down even when heavy rains swell the river, and at other times, even in the dry season, a trickle may unexpectedly break its way through. When the sand barrier is up, 'the old man has closed his mouth and settled himself to sleep and no one may disturb him'. The *Sakumo* lagoon is a male, the *Kole* lagoon is a female. 'We open her mouth for her, but the old man opens his own mouth.' When the old man's mouth is closed nobody may pass along the sand ridge, and the occupants of the Fa Na villages must desert them and come back to Accra. In earlier days the houses were all ruthlessly burnt, but since the firewood demands of Accra denuded the countryside of building-poles, the rebuilding of the burnt houses has meant such great expense in buying building materials and such great labour in carrying them long distances that the payment of a fee to the *Sakumo wulomo* has been substituted for the burning of the houses.

The elders of the Fa Na villages collect the money from the householders. The *Sakumo wulomo*, the *Asere*, *Abola*, and *Gbese mantsemei*, the *Fai bulbi*, and *Agba* of *Sakumo* gather to receive it. The elders of the villages are told by the *wulomo* what is the amount of the year's fee. They say they are poor, haggle a long time till the fee has been much reduced,¹ and then all the village elders go to '*adzina*', from which they emerge with the correct sum of money; the elder of the village of Klei² hands it to the *Sakumo agbafoatse*.

When the Fa Na villages are deserted because of the closing of *Sakumo's* mouth, the minimum period that must elapse before the villagers return to the seaside is six weeks.

The people of the village of Klei have to keep watch on *Sakumo's* mouth. When they see that he is about to close it the elder of Klei, who is an *Asere* man, comes and announces to the *Asere mantse* that 'the old man wants to sit down', and the *Asere mantse* passes on the news to the *Sakumo wulomo*. When the mouth is quite closed they say that 'the old man has

¹ Whenever anyone is fined by any court or any officials the amount first demanded is several times greater than he is expected to pay, but he must 'beg and beg and beg'. To pay without argument the amount first demanded is contempt of court and the court enquires: 'What sort of proud man is this? Does he mean that he has more money than *Sakumo*?' And they punish his arrogance by fining him again.

² There is a god named *Klei* in that village, and there is a *Klei wulomo* in the *Troy* sub-quarter of *Asere*.

come back from the sea and has sat down'. Then the Klei elder and several other old men go and perform a *Flamo* (ceremony of welcome) for him. The *Fai buloi* of *Sakumo* are then notified and they send a message to the Fa Na village people telling them to leave their villages. The *Fai buloi* then make a procession, without anyone else, and perform their *Gbe tsi*, or road-closing ceremony. This used to include the burning of the houses. All the grass was also burnt 'ready for the old man to bring his fresh green grass with him'.

The villages of Klei, Waboman, Greve, and Akotiaman enjoy more freedom than the villages beyond Klei close to the mouth of the lagoon. This region is holy: births and deaths are not allowed there. If a birth or a death unexpectedly occurs, a road-closing ceremony is performed, the villages are evacuated for three weeks, and the 'old man's' pardon is asked. The family of the deceased or newly-born must bring a goat and rum to the *Sakumo wulomo*, and he must send his *Fai buloi* and *agba* to purify both the village and the town. If a corpse be washed ashore at any of the villages beyond Klei, or if anyone be drowned in *Sakumo*, the road is closed, the villages deserted for three weeks. Then purification offerings are made.

Since the *Asere* succession dispute most of this ceremonial has stopped, not because the people have outgrown it—they still voluntarily desert their villages when the lagoon closes its mouth, and they think it gravely detrimental to prosperity to neglect the rites—but because two of the *Fai buloi*—and two only—are on the side of the 'Government's *mantse*', while the rest of the officials¹ support *Ni Ayi Ansa* and refuse to take their tributes to anyone else.

§ 6

JUSTICE

Corresponding to the three main sections of Accra (*Asere-Otublohū*, *Abola-Gbese*, and Jamestown) there were three big courts of justice quite independent of one another.² Each of

¹ About a year ago the *Sakumo wulomo*, who is a younger man than most *wulomei* and takes a more active part in modern politics than most people think any *wulomo* ought, went over to the side of the prosperous 'Government's *mantse*'.

² The Native Administration Ordinance recognizes four tribunals—*Asere*, *Abola*, Jamestown, and *Gbese*. The *Abola* tribunal is now called the *Gā mantse*'s tribunal for the *Abola mantse* is now called the *Gā mantse*, or Paramount Chief. The term *Abola* is now applied to '*Abola Kpatafi*', a community of Fanti fishing 'strangers' established within the original *Abola* and consisting of three Houses—*Abola Kpatafiwe*, *Wenkpakawawe*, and *Amagawe*. This *Abola-Kpatafi* now sends an elder to the *Gā* State Council.

the seven quarters had its own smaller courts in the usual way. The only court on which all seven quarters was represented was the military court of *Modzawe*, for it was in military matters only that Accra was one people.

The court, *Modzawe*, consisted of the seven members of the *Akwafon* (one from each quarter), their leader, the *akwafontse* or supreme military commander, every *sipi* and every *asafoatse*. The *akwafontse*, who came from an *Aserere* House, was the only paramount official in the Accra town confederation, and his jurisdiction was only over military affairs.

In addition to the permanent members of the court of *Modzawe* every 'big man' in the town had the right to attend and give his opinion in the capacity of *anobulo* or listener (literally, 'coverer'). These *anobulo* included the *wulomei*, elders, and *mantse* of every quarter that cared to send representatives.

The court was held in the open place called *Modzawe* and the public had the right to come. There was a large oblong space, the *mantsemei*, and elders lined three sides of it, and in the centre were the *akwafon* members and the *sipime*.

It was a very famous court. Outside towns from Obutu to Ada sometimes paid it the compliment of asking it to judge their military and bloodshed cases for them when they wanted an impartial outside opinion and did not want the responsibility of passing death sentences themselves.¹ Though it was primarily a military court, any case of bloodshed or attempted murder was tried there. Attempted murder of course included attempts to kill by supernatural means and also attempts to bring about abortion by supernatural means. The witchcraft that is common at the present day has only recently been introduced, I am told, from forest country, and this I think quite likely. In earlier days people bought their bad medicines from bad medicine men, and when found guilty at *Modzawe* both the buyer and the seller of the bad medicine were punished by drowning.

The guilty man was given the option of shooting himself at *Modzawe*—the muzzle of the gun was put into his mouth and he himself pulled the trigger. Any braver member of his family might die instead of him: the family then either drove the real offender away or sold him into slavery. After any killing at *Modzawe* the family of the criminal were fined thirty-two shillings, a sheep, and rum, and were made to scoop up the polluting blood of the criminal and replace it by the blood of a goat.

¹ This does not imply that these towns acknowledged any sort of overlordship in Accra. It is simply an example of the common Gā custom of inviting an impartial outsider to judge cases which the local judges either have found difficult or shirk.

I remember being present in a neighbouring town at the public trial in the market-place of a man who had attempted to murder another by supernatural means. The case was first taken to the *mantse*'s registered tribunal, but the District Commissioner, the clerk said, 'drew his pen through everything', saying that the Government did not recognize witchcraft. (Actually the man was not accused of witchcraft but of using a bad medicine.) The town then dealt with the matter in its own way on a Saturday afternoon when all tribunals and offices were closed and all Europeans off duty. That was the sort of case, I was told, that in earlier days would have been tried at *Modzawe*, and the sort of criminal who would have been shot.

Cases of incest, which crime was also deemed to merit death, were taken to *Modzawe* for the sentence to be passed and executed there. Either the family of the incestuous man were driven away entirely, or none of them were allowed to occupy any public position till a new generation had grown up.

Towards the end of its career *Modzawe* became not only unnecessarily bloody, but corrupt. It was closed by order of the British Government in 1910. It is closed, however, only in the sense that Government no longer 'recognize' it or allow it to impose death sentences. Like many native institutions which Government does not recognize it still functions in an unrecognized capacity. For instance, in 1925 it tried a sensational case of grave-robbing, and imposed a heavy fine on the culprit. In earlier days the culprit would certainly have been killed.

The *Akwafon*'s court—the *akwafontse*, the seven *akwafon* members, the *sipime*, and *asafotfemei*—is now usually held, not at *Modzawe*, but under '*Tsitsiwatsi*', and they deal mostly with 'oath cases', i.e. conditional curses. The registered tribunals often very wisely recognize this and other unregistered courts to the extent of calling them in as witnesses when they hear that cases brought to themselves have already appeared before the unregistered court.¹

The seven ordinary members of the *Akwafon* are elected, each by his own quarter, and each succeeds a member of his own House in the usual *Gã* manner. For instance, the *Abola akwafon* member

¹ Courts registered by Government are generally made use of only by people who want to spite their adversaries by inflicting on them the heavier fines that registered courts are authorized to inflict. People do, however, admit the value of the written records which the registered courts have to keep, and also the advantage of being able to force an unwilling adversary to submit to arbitration. The carefulness and justice of the unregistered courts is generally considered greater than that of the registered.

comes from *Wenykplatsawe*,¹ and the members of that House alone select him. Usually a grandson succeeds his grandfather, but this is not invariable.

The *akwasontse*, the head of this *akwason* body, is an eighth member chosen by the other seven from an *Asere* House. In former days they chose him for his military talent alone, for he was supreme military commander. These days they choose him largely for his money, since he is responsible for their rum and their travelling expenses and the pomp of their turn-out, but they are careful to add that 'he must also have sense'.

The *akwasontse*'s stool is one of the two first war-stools prepared on *Okakwei* Hill.

§ 7

THE ASAFO

The organization of the *Asafo*, or military body, was copied in the first instance mainly from the Fanti, and the terms used and the songs sung are Fanti. Other towns copied from Accra, and it is interesting to compare side by side some of the variations on the same theme which were produced.

The Asere Asafo

In the grouping for peace-time 'play' there are five companies—the *Akpadzasofo*, the *Asonsofo*, the *Atuasofoi*, the *Amslefoi*, and the *Akɔnsodi*. Each company has its own drums, flags, and songs. Each company is an age-grade. The lowest grade consists of youths from fifteen upwards, the highest of old men who are too old to go to war. As soon as a man's son is old enough to join his father's grade the father leaves it for the next, for it is *infra dig.* for a father to train with his son. Each of the five groups has a *sipi* and three *asafoatsemei*, and the whole body is under one *akwason*. The officers, unlike the ranks, are permanently attached to one group and do not move up as they grow older. Their positions are hereditary. An *asafoatsese* may be all his official life in, say, *Akɔnsodi*, and will see many under him come and go. When he dies his grandson will take his place. A very young *asafoatsese* may thus be in command of old men and *vice versa*.

¹ *Wenykplatsawe* is of Fanti origin, but the three Fanti Houses of *Abola* have been there from the early days when the Gā were on *Okakwei* Hill. They gave the Gā much help in organizing themselves for warfare, particularly in the organization of the *asafo*, which is based on the Fanti pattern. All the war songs and most of the stool songs are in Fanti.

For the war-time grouping the age-grades break up and six family (or sub-quarter) groups are formed. The same men are officers as in the play groups, but they now go with their own Houses. The sub-quarter *Trɔŋ* has two *asafoatsɛmei*, *Dzɔsi* has three, the four *dzase* Houses two between them, *Tsokona* and *Sɔɣmese* one between them, *Abetsɛwe* and *Awirimona* three between them, *Kpakpatsɛwe* and *Lamte Dzaywe* four between them. All five *sipimei* come from the *Tsokona-Sɔɣmese* sub-quarter.

The Jamestown Asafo

The peace-time 'play' formation consists of four groups, originally age-grades, but hardly to be so described now. When the *asafo* was formed the oldest men were in the section commanded by the *sipi*, in the second section were the eldest sons of the men in the top section. In the third section were the second sons of the men in the top section, and in the fourth all the third, fourth, fifth, and subsequent sons of the men in the top section. When an old top-grade man died his eldest son moved up a grade and took his place, the second took the first's, and the third the second's. Obviously, each group after a few years of deaths and promotions, would come to consist of men of a wide range of age.

The *sipi* is from *Alata*, one *asafoatsɛ* is from *Sɛmpi*, one from *Alata*, and one from *Akwɛmadzɛi*. Thus a number of brothers are trained under officers of different quarters.

The fighting formation is a grouping by kinship as in *Asere*.

One feature of the Jamestown *asafo* should be specially mentioned. The *Alata* war groups contain a number of little private stools set up by men with a large number of slaves. A stool, as the Gã know it, is simply the strongest possible war-medicine, and as such can be procured by anyone who is rich enough to have it prepared with the proper human sacrifices and is able to maintain it.¹ *Alata* was composed of people who came in the first instance without pedigrees, but they were the agents of the English traders and included many wealthy dealers engaged in that most lucrative of West African trades—slave-trading. Many of these wealthy men set up their own stools and surrounded them with a fighting bodyguard of their own slaves. Possessors of such stools are often spoken of as *tsokuan bii*—those who sit on bits of wood. But their stools in themselves were no different, and they came by them not differently, from the stools of *manɛtsɛmei*.

¹ *Oɔnlobũ*, like Jamestown, has several rich men's stools. Such a stool is that of the *Ankra* family which is at present the centre of some dispute in *Oɔnlobũ*.

Asafo Usages

When any member of the *asafo* dies the family send to the *sipi* of the dead man's 'play company' with one bottle of rum, one yard of cloth, and the message: 'One of your flesh is spoilt'. The *sipi* takes the gifts at once to the dead man before any of the crying and mourning has begun. He stands beside the corpse with a half-full¹ bottle of rum—and pours it out saying: 'It is not in war that you have been killed. If your death is a natural death, drink all this rum. If not, leave half for the man who killed you.² If you fail to do this you are no man. I swear by all the old men (i.e. the dead) that you are no man if you do not show a sign.'

After this the mourning may begin, and the *asafo* bring their drums and 'dance *asafo*' till the burial, when they follow the coffin with drums and firing of guns.³

When a youth is 'going into *Kromotsu*' he sends seven-and-sixpence⁴ to every *sipi*. This money is paid into *asafo* funds. When the lad's father provides him with his first gun and equipment so that he can join the *asafo*, he goes round firing his gun outside the houses of all the big men to whom he wishes to pay his respects and by whom he wishes his new manhood to be recognized.

Once a year every *asafoatsɛ* and every *sipi* in Accra sends a bundle of firewood to *Sakumo's* yard.⁵ This ceremony is called *Lai Tfoke*. The *Asere* force gathers first and marches to Jamestown, where it meets the three Jamestown forces and exchanges rum and greetings. Then the Jamestown forces join on to the tail of the *Asere* procession and they go to *Otoblohū*, where more rum and greetings are exchanged. Here *Otublohū* joins the march to *Gbese*, thence the procession goes to *Sakumo's* yard.

On ceremonial occasions, such as *Lai Tfoke*, every warrior wears his war-medicines. These medicines are his private property and go down from grandfather to grandson and are designed chiefly to make him brave. Others are to make him invulnerable, but these usually require bravery as a condition of their efficacy. Truthfulness and honesty are also among the requirements of the stronger medicines. If the owner of a medicine

¹ Half quantities of everything are given to the dead.

² This simply means 'kill the man who killed you'. On most other occasions it is expressed, 'Let you (the dead) and he (the murderer) make one'.

³ The firing is to announce to the already dead that an important person is arriving.

⁴ The odd sixpence is for the messenger who is witness of the transaction.

⁵ Firewood is the symbol of submission and is also ceremonially sent by women to their mothers-in-law.

deceives or lies, his medicine 'spoils' and will fail him in time of need. We have seen that the community at peace was organized entirely to promote increase. Death and famine were felt to be the direct result of wrongdoing. Tribal wrongdoing brought wholesale death, individual wrongdoing brought family death. When the orientation was towards war ideas swung on exactly the same pivot—life was to him who was good and upright, death to the wrongdoer.¹ In peace the individual is part of a large group, and most of his material prosperity is bound up with that group. The great tribal gods are the fount of this prosperity and they are worshipped by the community *en masse*. But in war, though victory or defeat is the experience of the community as a whole, death or life is the experience of the individual and is not determined by the success or failure of the whole campaign. It is an individual fate, and the individual feels that it is his own personal affair. He therefore has his own personal supernatural safeguards. Medicines therefore are an important part of every warrior's equipment, and much of his personal morality is bound up with them.

Asafo Disputes

Many Accra quarrels and brawls—of the kind that lead British administrators to forbid the celebration of religious festivals—are between the *asafo* bodies of different quarters. They often seem to be simply the result of insufficient outlet for the pugnacious energies of the youths, and no doubt this is their immediate cause; but they all go back to ancient rivalries between the very different peoples who were driven by common dangers into what has been, on the whole, the astonishingly successful confederation called Accra.²

A memorable one occurred in 1884 between *Gbese* and *Abola* on the one side, and Jamestown on the other. It was known as the War of the Skewer (*Agbwytsota*), and there was so much bloodshed that the British Government intervened. It arose, as nearly every *asafo* quarrel arises, through one party of dancers jeering boastfully at another in a specially devised dance. The symbolism used in these dances is always highly obscure, sometimes it is based on a proverb, sometimes not. It always appears

¹ This, I have become deeply convinced, is the kernel of tribal morality. All tribal religion and social organization is aimed at the increase of life: death is the result of wrongdoing. The greatest forces of both tribal cohesion and individual morality lie in the fear of death and the belief that life itself as well as prosperity is dependent on personal goodness.

² That confederations formed only for purposes of war should, under the Pax Britannica, tend to break up, is not astonishing. The increasing unity for which administrators look in the Gold Coast exists only in their own desires.

to a European entirely inoffensive till its subtle implications are explained. In the War of the Skewer, *Gbere* danced a kind of ballet with a fish-hook, the meaning of which was, 'This is very shallow water', which in turn had to be interpreted, 'These Jamestown people are valueless and negligible'. The Jamestown people responded with a dance involving a bell, which being interpreted meant, 'You left your bell in the war, and your power is now our power'.

Another example of an *asafo* dispute occurred a few years ago. It is etiquette for *Asere* to send a gift of rum to the *sipi* of every quarter 'to prick his ears' before the *Sakumo* firewood ceremony. On the occasion in point the rum sent to *Akummadzei* miscarried, and when the procession arrived in *Akummadzei* it was not allowed to pass through. A brawl arose and the affair finally came to the *akwason's* court to have the rights of it sorted out.

Now, *Sipi Kodzo* of *Akummadzei* had a 'big medicine' and he misused it to prevent the proper hearing of the case. When the *Asere* elders who had brought the charge of assault against *Akummadzei* rose in court one after another to speak, one after another they were smitten dumb and none of them could utter a sound. Then a young *asafoatsfe* of *Akpadza* rose and begged that the meeting might adjourn till the following Tuesday when the fishermen would be free to attend. This was granted, and when the hearing was resumed another young *asafoatsfe*, one *Lamte*, had been recalled from his village at Fa Na and attended, bringing a yet more powerful medicine of his own called *Ekpeku*. On the strength of this he rose and gave his evidence and no dumbness smote him. But when *Sipi Kodzo* rose it was he who was stricken dumb. He was taken home, and three days after, still dumb, he died.

When a *sipi* dies all the other *sipimeis* come and swear beside the corpse and urge the dead man to avenge any foul play that has brought about his death. But *Lamte* stood beside the corpse and said boldly: 'You did wrong. You used your medicine against *Asere*. Therefore you are lying down.' Whereupon hostilities were redoubled.

It must be noticed that though the medicines greatly add to the dramatic value of the incident, there is nothing essentially 'African' about the plain human rivalry between Jamestown and *Asere* that initiated the quarrel. Although it is only too true that concepts of the supernatural often do give to Africans ruling motives which escape casual European scrutiny¹; on the other

¹ For instance, the incident of the *Asere* stool succession, p. 174.

hand, a dramatic intrusion of the 'supernatural' into a conflict of plain human passions may often blind the European to issues which are not inherently beyond his ken.

§ 8

STOOL HISTORY OF ASERE

(See Diagram IX)

Early History of the Asere Stool

Ayi Frimpon, the first *Asere mantse* after the *Gã Mafi* had left *Okakwei Hill*, had two 'younger brothers', *Ni Ama* and *Ayi Kwao*. Each of the three brothers founded a House, and the three Houses took it in turn to provide a *mantse*.

Ayi Frimpon's son and successor, *Teiko Akotia Awosika*, is said to have been *mantse* 'for more than a hundred years'. At any rate, he lived a very long time, had about six hundred grandchildren, and his descendants form the bulk of the present *Asere*.

Teiko Akotia Awosika was succeeded by *Asere Ayite*, the younger son of his brother *Ni Amã*, but his House was named after another brother who was never *mantse*—*Teiko Diŋ*. After *Asere Ayite* came *Teiko Ansã*, the son of *Ayi Kwao*, and his House was named after him.

The interesting position of *Akrama*, the fifth *mantse*, has already been discussed.¹ Another interesting point about *Akrama's* succession is that in appointing him his House supplied the *mantse* out of its turn. *Akrama* had already been to war and so distinguished himself that he was made *mantse* in response to popular demand, and *Teiko Akotia Awosika-we* was only too glad to waive its own right—or rather be rid of what was in those days an irksome obligation.

The case of *Ni Boi* who succeeded *Akrama* has already been cited as an example of the right of the *manbii* to reject the nomination of the *ɔxase*.²

Recent Stool History of Asere.

With the death of *Ni Boi*, who reigned a long time and was much beloved, we come to the modern history of *Asere*; an astonishing interplay of strangely assorted ideas and motives.

When *Ni Boi* was on his death-bed, gravely ill and in great

¹ See chapter on succession.² See p. 24.

suffering, all the *manbii*, much distressed, consulted one *Krama*, a Mohammedan soothsayer of Adeiso, concerning the cause of the illness. *Krama* consulted an oracle involving the use of cowries and the Koran and pronounced the *mantse* to be under the spell of an unusually powerful bad medicine which would kill not only him, but his successors to the number of three very shortly after their accession. It would make no difference, he said, whether they were actually enstooled, or whether they were merely acting as *mantse* (*se kwelo*). He also said that the life of the sick *mantse* had been put into sympathy with the life of an alligator which, tied up and deprived of food and drink, was dying of slow torment in the sun; when it died, he said, the *mantse* would die. Such an alligator was, in fact, subsequently discovered in the cemetery, but no one dared to interfere with it, and the *mantse* did in truth die on the day that the alligator died.

The *dzase* then held a meeting and, in view of the threat to the life of the next *mantse*, neither *Kwetia* nor *Teiko* of the House of *Teiko Ansawe*, which House was now due to supply a *mantse*, was willing to submit to what was felt to be certain death of an unpleasant kind. Nor were there any volunteers from the other two Houses. At last the *dzase* appealed to *Ni Ayi Ansã* of *Teiko-Akotia-Awosikawe*, a middle-aged man of courage, character, and great intelligence. *Ayi Ansã* was loth to accept the post, partly because of the danger and partly because he was very happy in Government service with the Survey Department. However, in the end he consented, saying: 'If it were money that you offered me and it were not my turn to take it, I would take it. Therefore, though it is danger that you offer me, I must take it, because our Old Men who are gone would wish it so.'

Ayi Ansã was a wealthy man and had several big cement houses built during the 'boom years' when he made money. These and all his other property he sold in order to buy the strongest medicines obtainable in the length and breadth of West Africa to counteract the effect of the medicine that threatened him and his successors. He spent in all about a thousand pounds.

In 1930, when he had acted as *mantse* for eight years without being enstooled, the *dzase* held another meeting and concluded that the counter-medicines had been successful, the danger was past, and it was high time they enstooled a *mantse*. The right House to provide a *mantse* was *Teiko Ansawe*; but *Kwetia* and *Teiko* of that House, when offered the post, both said that as they had been unwilling to accept it when death was threatening

they could not in decency do so now, and they wished to give up their turn to *Ayi Ansã*. So it was settled that *Ayi Ansã* would be *mantse* and there were no dissentient voices. He was therefore enstooled with the approval and gratitude of every official in *Aseré*.

Shortly after, it occurred to one, *Kwao Thompson*, a son of old *Aseré Ayite's* daughter by a man whose father had fled from Labadi and lodged with a rich man of Jamestown, to put in a claim to be *mantse*. He was a man of means and had already applied for an official post in *Alata*, and been rejected on account of his father's lack of pedigree. His claim to be a member of *Aseré* at all was on his mother's side only and was not valid. Nor was it, in any case, the turn of *Teiko Dinwe* to supply the *mantse*, but was the turn of *Teiko Ansawe*. This new claimant had but two supporters—an *otsame* of *Aseré* and *Ayite* the grandson of *Teiko Dinj*. *Ayite* afterwards withdrew his support and confessed to the rest of the *dzase* that he and the *otsame* had been bribed.¹ Both the claimant and his two supporters had been present at the *dzase* meeting when the resolution was passed to enstool *Ayi Ansã* and had taken part in the unanimous decision. Afterwards they put in their claim, not to the *dzase*, but to the District Commissioner. The claimant was a handsome, pleasant-spoken young literate, which was all the Commissioner had to guide him except the good character given him by his European employer whom he asked to help him. The District Commissioner referred the matter to the State Council, who 'enquired into it'. The enquiry was of the Council's usual type, and lasted about a year. The State Council returned a verdict in favour of the young literate.

He was accordingly 'gazetted' and recognized as *Aseré mantse* by the British Administration, but by none of the officials of *Aseré*. Of course they sent to the Commissioner and then to the Governor the usual futile petitions signed by *wulomei*, *akwasontse*, *dzasetse*, *sippi*, *asafotsemei*, stool officials, and the heads of the thirteen *Aseré* villages. The British Administration upheld the decision of the State Council. One can only add that the overworked British officials, snowed under with lawyers' petitions, were ignorant of the traditions and customs of *Aseré*, and that the titles attached by the signatures conveyed little to them. The petition itself—which I have read—conveyed no more than the usual extravagantly worded petitions of Gold Coast politics.

¹ This old man *Ayite* was taken ill and has ever since been an invalid. He associated his illness with his wrongdoing and made a clean breast of everything.

The gazetted *mantse* has of course never sat upon his stool nor received any customary recognition from his own people. The stool of *Ayi Frimpon*, and the five others that are with it in the stool-room, have their rites and ceremonies performed for them by the *mantse* whom the *Asere* officials recognize—the impoverished *Ayi Ansā*. He performs also the annual ceremonies on *Okakwei* Hill.

§ 9

STOOL CUSTOMS OF ASERE

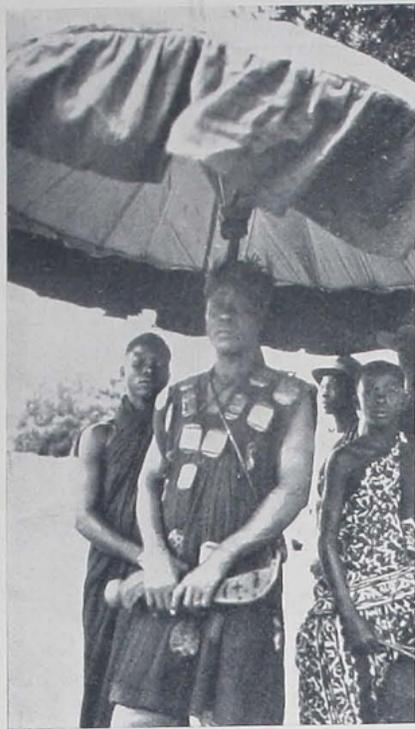
General

Ever since the Gā left *Okakwei* Hill the stool has been a more integral part of their organization than it has ever become in the other Gā towns, for warfare or the threat of it was always with them, and the stool is a part of the organization for warfare.

The *Gā Mafi* have only recently begun to use the word *dzase*—and that because the literate lawyers who have become so active among them, know more about Akan institutions than about Gā. The Gā often say they ‘have no *dzase* and no *dzasetse*’, but are thereby in the position of a man who denies that he keeps a dog, but admits that he keeps a hound. They have the institutions corresponding to the *dzase* and the *dzasetse*, though they often decline to call them so and call them the *mantsebii*¹ and the *mantsebiiatse*. What the institutions were called would matter little were not confusion about names often deliberately exploited in these days to bring about the confusion of affairs—as though the man with the hound denied that he kept a dog in order to escape paying a dog licence. Every Gā stool has a *dzase* and a *dzasetse*, always with the same rights and duties; and I am using the terms *dzase* and *dzasetse* throughout these chapters.

In *Asere* the *mantse* comes from three Houses in turn. The senior members of these three Houses constitute the *dzase*. The *dzasetse* comes from a single House from among these three. The *Asere dzasetse* does not, as does many a *dzasetse*, perform the enstooling ceremony. This is done by a priestly official known as the Stool *wulomo*, for the *Asere* stool is so big a medicine that it is practically a god. As I heard it put, ‘it is bigger than a *wony*; it is nearly a *dzenmawony*’. The stool *wulomo* has charge of the stool itself and performs most of its ceremonial. He is appointed from each House in turn, as is the *mantse*, but if, as

¹ Sometimes the term *Sei-be-bii*—the people about the stool—is used.



An *asafoatse* in a procession. (The rectangular objects on his chest are leather receptacles containing magical 'medicines'. On his head is a cap of porcupine quills, also of magical significance.) (See p. 170.)



They spend most of the day by the tree . . . singing and praying to *Okakwei*.
(See p. 180.)

often happened in the case of the *mantse* in earlier days and still happens when officials have no emoluments attached to their offices, the chosen candidate runs away,¹ the new official is chosen from whichever House can produce a member both able and willing.

Appointment of the Asere Mantse.

As soon as the old *mantse* is dead the *sipi* calls a meeting of the *manbii*. The *manbii* consists of four elders of each of the six sub-quarters of *Asere*.² These twenty-four elders include all the *asafoatsfemei* and other military officers. He announces the death, and the meeting resolves to ask for a new *mantse*. They accordingly appoint messengers to go to the *akwasontse* and make the request. The *akwasontse* adds two of his own messengers to the others and sends them to the *dzasetse*. Within three hours the officials call a meeting of the *dzase* and tell them which House has now to find a candidate. This House is instructed to go immediately and have a private *adzina* meeting; the *dzasetse* goes with them, whether he is a member of their House or not. They emerge from their meeting, saying: 'The old lady says his name is So-and-so.'³ The candidate is then seized and put into the care of someone who must see that he does not run away—a less necessary precaution in these than in earlier days. The *dzasetse* then sends to the *sipi*, saying: 'To-morrow we will show you his name.' He duly 'shows the name', and the *sipi* takes it to the *manbii*. If the *manbii* object to the man offered to them they may decline him, and then the whole process is repeated till they are offered one whom they can accept. Having approved, the *sipi* takes the message to the *akwasontse*, and the *akwasontse* to the *dzasetse*.

¹ I have come across several cases of men running away from positions to which their friends sought to appoint them. The most striking came to my notice one day when I was driving back from a remote bush place along a lonely road and, rounding a bend, came upon a naked man struggling in the grip of what seemed to be four assassins. I stopped the car and hastened to see what it was all about. 'It's all right', explained the assassins, 'we don't want to kill him, we only want to make him a *mankrabo*, and he does not agree.' A few seconds later the victim struggled free and bolted into a patch of forest. His pursuers soon gave up the hunt, saying: 'Never mind, we will watch his mother's house at night. At night he will go to his mother for some food, and we shall catch him then'.

² The sub-quarters of *Asere* are:

1. The House of *Dzofifi*.
2. The House of *Troy*.
3. The Houses of *Frimponwe*, *Amatsewe*, *Anumsa*, and *Agboŋ*.
4. *Tfokuna* and *Soŋmese*.
5. *Awirimona* and *Abetsewe*.
6. *Kpakpatsewe* and *Lamtedzanywe*.

³ There are no women present at the meeting, but 'to go to *adzina*' is often alternatively called 'consulting the old lady'.

The midnight enstoolment ceremony is carried out by the stool *wulomo*, the *akwasɔntse*, and the *dzasetsɛ*. Several of the *Kple wulomei* are also present, but only as witnesses, and they give their blessing one by one, with rum.

The Asere Stool Yeleyeli.

This yam-eating festival is performed annually. As I have explained elsewhere, yam is a forest crop and formerly was never—and now is but seldom—grown in Gã country. The true Gã and *Kpefi* gods are worshipped with millet-dumplings—*fotolii*; only stools, war-gods, and small fetishes imported from Ashanti and Fanti country receive yam. The yam has to be fetched from inland.

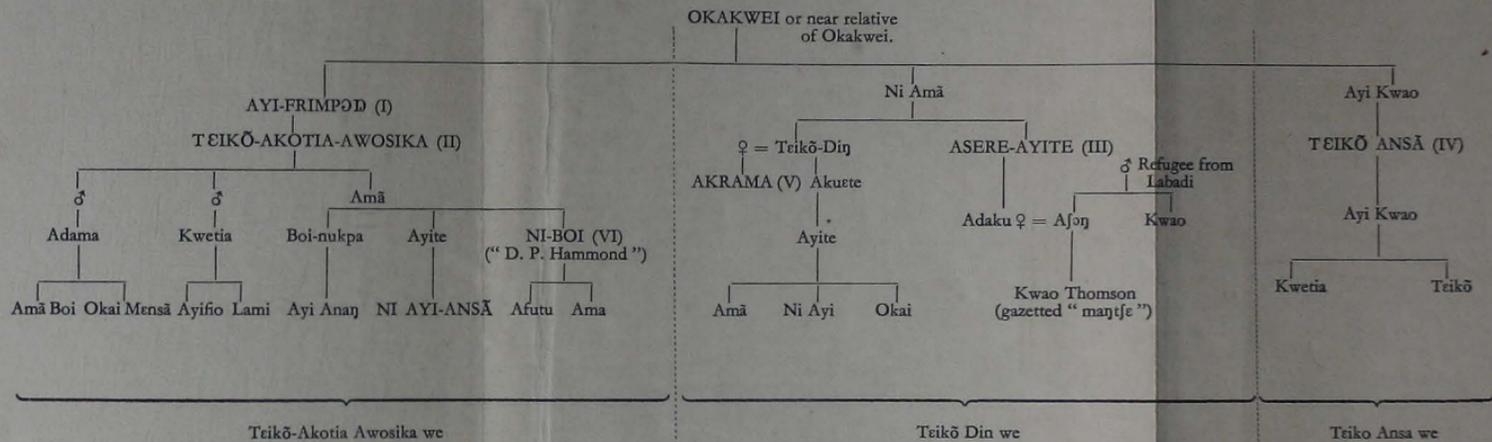
The festival which I witnessed was performed very quietly,¹ but with an intense sincerity. The sense of persecution under which the performers laboured gave them a totally different air from the perfunctory casualness with which most private ceremonial is performed.

Early in the morning the stool-room was opened to the sound of horns and a little gentle drumming 'to call the spirits of the dead'. The six black stools were uncovered, a little rum was poured out, and the stools were told briefly 'why we had come'.² A brass pan was then set on the ground and filled with sea-water—sea-water being pure and holy (*krɔŋkrɔŋ*). The stool *wulomo* then took up the stools one by one and set them in the pan, and the stool women (*seiabeyei*) washed them first with sea-water and then with ordinary soap and fresh water, rubbed them with cut limes, and dried them with drying sponge in exactly the same way as a Gold Coast person takes his bath. They were then striped with *krɔbo*—a sweet-smelling paste made of ground leaves—and set in their places again by the stool *wulomo*.

¹ No night drumming or singing even for an ordinary funeral is permitted in Accra or Osu without a permit from the District Commissioner. Such permits can be obtained only through the gazetted *mantse*. This means that the *Asere* stool officials would have to approach the young usurper for permission to drum for their stools—to which crowning humiliation they have never brought themselves to submit. The stools themselves are still in the possession of their rightful custodians. The usurper has to be content with Government recognition and has had the sense not to try to interfere with the stools, but he is not prepared to help their owners to worship them by procuring a Government permit for them.

² It has never before been permitted that a European or any person other than the *Asere* officials should either enter the stool-room or witness any of the stool ritual. The privilege was granted to me not on personal grounds, but because it was hoped—and this was explained, with rum, to the stool itself—that by letting me see all I wanted I might be enabled to help other Europeans to understand the truth of Gã affairs.

DIAGRAM IX.—THE ASERE STOOL



[To face page 178.]

There are six stools in the stool-room. The original stool of *Okakwei* and *Ayi Frimpon*, which is the magical stool from which each *mantse* receives his 'medicine', stands in the centre. Right and left and behind stand the personal stools of *Teiko Akotia*, *Asere Ayite*, *Teiko Ansã*, *Akrama*, and *Ni Boi*, all of whom either went to war and won, or otherwise distinguished themselves.

When the washing was over and all the stools replaced, the water was taken to the *mantse's* bathing-place and he bathed in it. The stool *wulomo* did the same. When they had bathed they returned to the stool-room and the senior old woman rubbed them all over with *kröbo* as she had done the stools. The sponge used to wash the stools was divided between the *mantse* and the stool *wulomo* for their ordinary use.¹

Then a white ram was brought. The *mantse* held it on his shoulders, the hind legs in one hand, the forelegs in the other, and approached the stools. Three times he swung it from his shoulders to the ground before the stools, saying: 'O, my fathers, to-day is your day. I hold my ram, *Odzeni*, to give you. Come and take him' (putting the ram down and up again). 'He who says I must not give to you, may killing kill his head.'

Then he poured rum on the stools, saying: 'Your servant, your child, holds rum to give you that you may bless me.'

Then he poured rum on the swords, saying: 'Why have you still not brought anything. A child who is not good has been born already. Come and take this wine and drink.'

Then the assistants cut the ram's throat and let the blood drip on every stool. Blood was also run into a wooden bowl and then poured on every stool and sprinkled all over the house. The ram was then flayed and cut up.

Meanwhile, all the relatives from the bush farms had arrived bringing presents of yam which were laid outside the stool-room. *Oto* (a yam-and-egg food) was cooked and some of this, together with some of the ram's meat, was put on every stool. Money was also put on every stool.

Then there was an interval till the evening, when the company assembled in the room outside the stool-room. The stool-women sat inside the stool-room singing and beating an iron gong-gong. Then the *mantse*, to the accompaniment of drums and horns, went into the stool-room and again gave rum to the stools. Singing was kept up, quietly, all night. The songs

¹ A washing sponge contains much of the spirit of the person who uses it. A person may be injured or killed by performing 'bad medicine' upon his sponge.

were all in Fanti,¹ and included the first song learnt when the first stool was procured.

Okakwei Hill Custom.

This is a part of *Asere Homɔwɔ*. *Homɔwɔ* is the time of the remembrance of the dead, and all their ancient haunts are visited and they are given food there. *Asere* therefore visits *Okakwei* Hill—now covered with rough grass and some straggling thicket—to pay their respects to their forefathers who lived and died there.

A week before the event the elders of the *Asere* villages of *Kukuasi*, *Ofako*, *Asofa*, and *Ayivasu* clear a path from *Okakwei*'s baobab tree on the hill, down to the now disused Accra-Nsawam road. On *Homɔwɔ* Thursday seven *Asere* elders and the stool *wulɔmɔ* go and join the village elders and make a procession to the *aklabatsa*, called *Opobina*, on the hill. There they kill two fowls and cook *fotolii* and *kpekepei*. Then they go up to the *sadzɔ* tree, sprinkling food and rum at all important places. They spend most of the day by the tree, killing and cooking the sheep, blowing on the elephant-horn, singing, and praying to *Okakwei*. Then the whole procession comes back to Accra, and the Accra people should welcome it on the outskirts and all enter the town with drumming and singing. The drumming is an essential part of the proceedings, for 'it is the drumming that calls the dead. If we do not drum we are walking without *Okakwei* and the other Old Men whom we are greeting and welcoming into the town'.²

§ 10

STOOL HISTORY OF *ABOLA*

(See Diagram X)

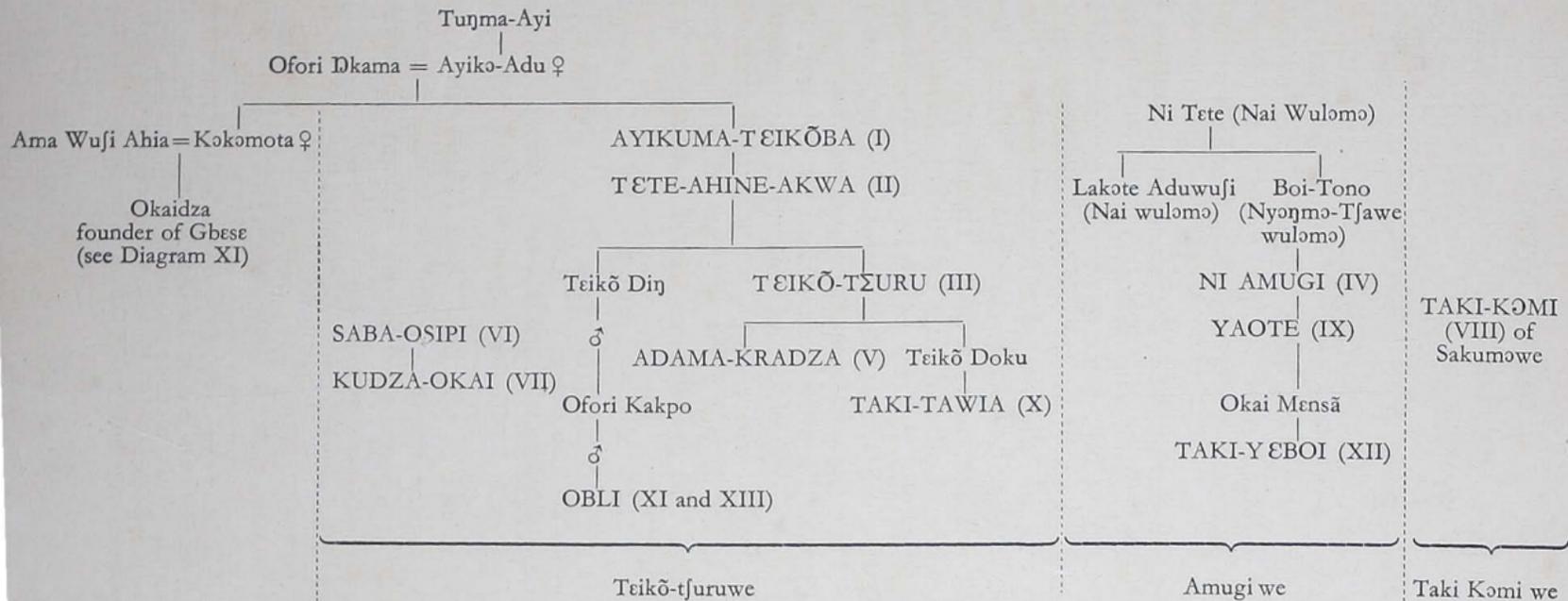
We have already learnt how *Ofori Dkama*, an Ashanti, made a stool for *Tuɔɔma Ayi* during the last stormy years on *Okakwei* Hill, and how, when the Gā left the hill and joined their seaside brethren, this stool became the *Abola* stool.

The first *Abola manɔse* after the Gā had settled by the sea was *Ayikuma Tiekuba*, the son of *Tuɔɔma Ayi*'s daughter; for the Ashanti introduced with their stool the Ashanti principle of

¹ I have already said that much of the Gā warfare business was taught by the Fanti, though the first stool making was done by the *Akwamu*.

² Last time this part of the custom was attempted the gazetted '*manɔse*' interfered with it on the ground that permission to form a procession had not been obtained, and the worshippers were fined and spoken of as 'certain unauthorized persons'.

DIAGRAM X.—THE ABOLA STOOL



succession in the female line. But after one generation the *Abola* people wished to revert to their own system of succession in the male line and did so. Controversy about this led to the splitting off of the supporters of *Okaidza*, the heir in the female line, and the founding of *Gbese*.

The House of *Ayikuma Tiekuba* succeeded for the next three generations and then, probably through a shortage of candidates, *Ni Amugi*, a member of the House of *Boi Tono*, always closely associated with the *Abola* people, succeeded. Probably *Ni Amugi* was a son of a sister of an *Abola mantse* and volunteered to take the stool to war in the old age of his uncle and 'in his uncle's name', and, being victorious, was placed upon the stool on his uncle's death. Such a situation is common in Gā history and, as was noted in the chapter on succession, whenever a new House becomes associated with a stool in this way, that House acquires a permanent right (or duty) to take its turn in supplying the *mantse*. At any rate, the House of *Amugiwe* entered the *Abola dzase* on the death of *Teiku Tsuru*, and there were thus two stool Houses, *Teiku Tsuruwe* and *Amugiwe*.

On the death of *Ni Amugi* the stool went back to *Teiku Tsuruwe*, and one *Adam Kradza* became *mantse*.

After him came *Saba Osipi* and then his son *Kudza Okai*. I am uncertain of their position in the tree so have left them out. Some informants say that they were never enstooled but were only 'acting *mantse*' (*se kwelo*), but as *Saba Osipi*'s personal stool was added to those in the stool-room it is probably that he at least was enstooled.

Kudza Okai, however, was probably not enstooled, and before the next enstoolment there was a great shortage of candidates and an interregnum. There was certainly no *Abola mantse* at the time of the Fanti-Ashanti war, and after the episode at *Sakumona* already described¹ the stool was taken to war by *Taki Komi* of *Sakumowe*. Thereafter the House of which *Taki Komi* was a member became a third stool House.

By custom this House should have succeeded again after two more successions and I do not know why it did not. Its position as a Stool House, however, has never been disputed, and its members attend all the meetings of the *dzase* and supply two out of the seven women who wash and cook for the *Abola* stool.

Recent Stool History of Abola

In 1904 *Mantse Obli Taki* of *Teikutsuruwe* was gazetted under the now obsolete Native Jurisdiction Ordinance of 1883. In

¹ See p. 157.

1918 he was destooled by his own people for a number of offences, chief of which was the selling of Gã land in the name of the Gã people without consulting the owners of that land, and the pledging of the stool itself as a security on a loan.

He was replaced in 1919 by *Taki Yaoboi* of *Amugwe*. *Taki Yaoboi* was a man of character and intelligence, a 'scholar', and was employed in Germany, whence he was recalled in order to be made *mantse*. In 1924 an attempt was made to destool him for exactly the same offence that brought the Labadi *mantse*'s destoolment, namely, for negotiating with the British Government without the knowledge and consent of his people.¹ His opposers declared him destooled, his supporters declared him not destooled. An enquiry into the matter was held by the Secretary for Native Affairs in 1925, and he gave the opinion that the destoolment was 'not in accordance with native custom'.² *Taki Yaoboi* therefore continued as *mantse*. In 1927 the new Native Administration Ordinance came into force, and by this the Gã *mantse* was made 'Paramount Chief'. The Gã have no chiefs in the autocratic sense implied by the Native Administration Ordinance, and certainly no paramount chiefs.³ And when *Taki Yeboi* began to act in what he conceived to be the manner of a paramount chief,⁴ no doubt thinking that the Government would held him as they had helped him before, the movement to destool him was renewed. His opposers accordingly declared him destooled and declared *Taki Obli* reinstated, his supporters declared him *not* destooled and *Taki Obli* not reinstated. The

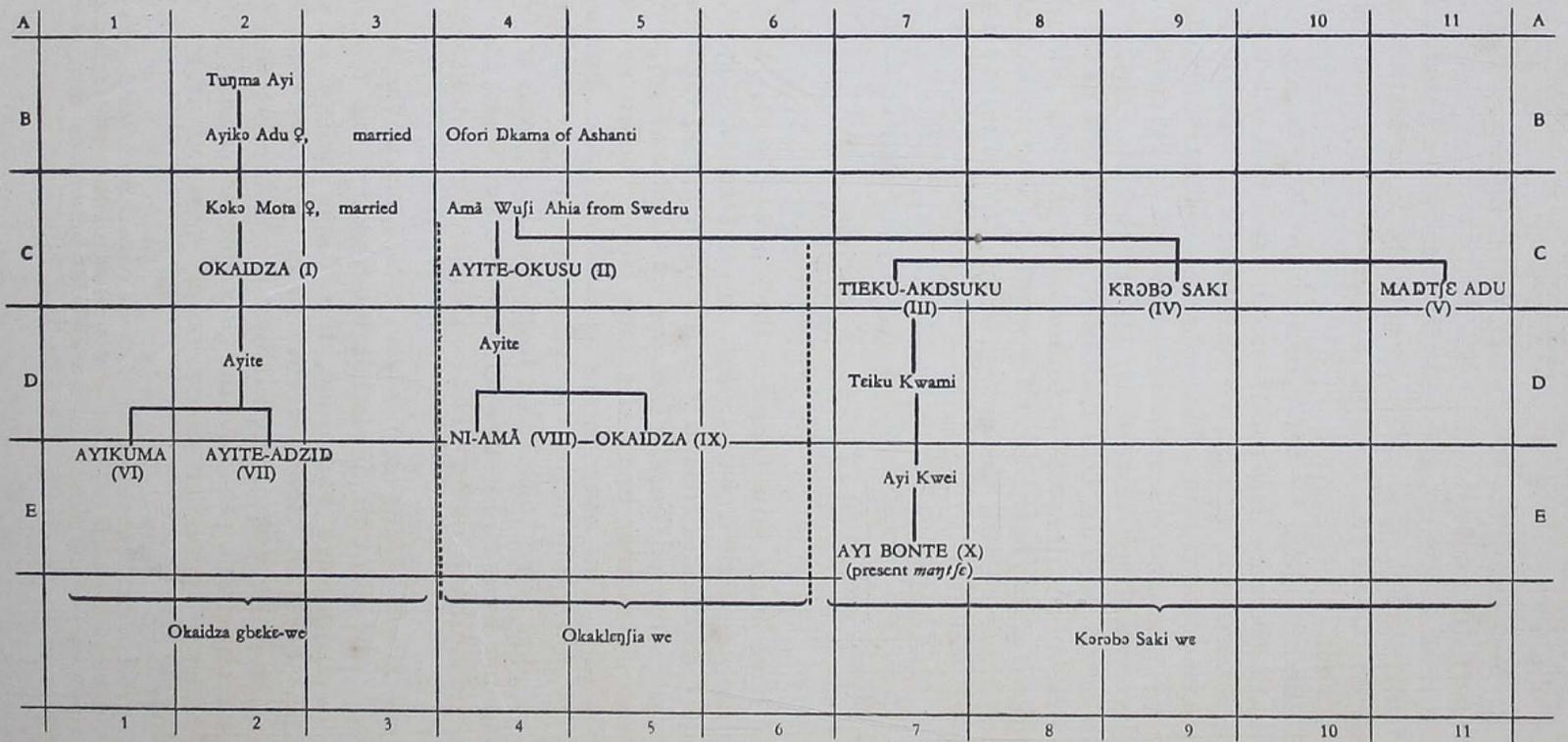
¹ The matter in which *Taki Yaoboi* united with the British Government against his own people was in the preparation of the provisions of the Municipal Corporations Ordinance. The Labadi *mantse*'s negotiations were in connection with the Labadi water supply. In both cases the people's anger was not with the provisions themselves but because the *mantse* usurped other people's rights in agreeing to them.

² The decision of the Secretary for Native Affairs was quite right: the destoolment was not in accordance with native custom, but the reasons given for the decision were wrong. There is no native custom with regard to destoolments, though of recent years people have occasionally agreed together that their *mantse* should be regarded as destooled.

³ In the compilation of the 1927 Ordinance the Eastern Province was represented by certain chiefs of the Aborigines Society. I have a list of them. There was only one Gã, namely, *Taki Yaoboi*, and he was withdrawn from this committee in 1925 when his destoolment was under discussion. As no Gã remained on this committee the principle of paramountcy went through unchallenged. The Gã have never had a paramount chief, and though they have entered into alliances in time of war the towns have always been perfectly independent of one another. The only one which enjoyed anything like overlordship of others in the past was Nungwa, which exacted an annual tribute of salt, a sheep, rum, and fish from Teshi and Labadi.

⁴ For example, he sent some of his officers and arrested some men who were in Osu without asking the permission of the Osu *mantse*.

DIAGRAM XI.—STOOL OF THE *GBESE* QUARTER OF *ACCRA*



dzasetse was among his supporters, so his opposers also declared the *dzasetse* 'destooled'.

This time it was not the Secretary for Native Affairs, but the Eastern Provincial Council of Chiefs (which the Native Administration Ordinance had brought to birth in 1927) that dealt with *Taki Yaoboi*.

The enquiry held by the Secretary for Native Affairs on the alleged destoolment had pronounced that it had not been carried out in accordance with native custom and so was invalid. The Provincial Council, on which were no Gã members, now pronounced that the reinstatement had not been carried out in accordance with native custom! They also pronounced that the reinstatement of *Taki Obli* had been carried out in accordance with native custom, and recommended that the Government should recognize *Taki Obli* as *Gã mantse*. This was done. *Taki Yaoboi*, however, still has charge of his stools and is known as 'people's *mantse*'.

§ II

GBESE STOOL HISTORY¹

(See Diagram XI)

We have learnt how *Okaidza*, the son of *Tunyma Ayi*'s granddaughter, quarrelled with *Abola*, took *Okakwei*'s sword from the stool-room, and around it gathered the supporters who made the new quarter of *Gbese*. *Okaidza* was the first *Gbese mantse*.

Okaidza's mother married a man from Swedru named *Amã Wufi Abia*. This name means *Amã Wufi*'s posthumous child. *Amã Wufi* sounds like a Gã name, and it is quite likely that though *Amã Wufi Abia* came from Swedru he was of Gã birth and simply went to Swedru with his mother when she married a second husband there. His son's names also indicate that he was a Gã.

Amã Wufi Abia's son *Ayite Okasu*, however, succeeded *Okaidza* not through his father but through his mother, just as *Okaidza* himself had done, this Akan method of descent still prevailing in *Gbese* at that time. But on the death of *Ayite Okusu* he was succeeded by his half-brother, his father's son, thereby starting in *Gbese* the Gã system of succession through the father. Thereafter *Gbese* never departed from the Gã system.

¹ The part of the *Gbese* tree dealing with the successors of *Okaidza* was given to me by the present *mantse* and some of his elders. I have not cross-checked it, as I usually cross-check such tables, against other information from independent sources.

Okaidza's male descendants became one stool House, *Ayite Okusu's* male descendants became another, and the male descendants of *Amā Wufi Abia* by another wife became a third. Thus there were three stool Houses in *Gbese*—*Okaidzagbekewe*, *Oka-klenjiakwe*, and *Krobo Sakive*.

The *Gbese* table very beautifully illustrates what I find to be a general rule whenever there is rotating succession.¹ This is, if a *mantse* has a full-brother able and willing to succeed him, this brother does succeed, and only when all such brothers are used up does the succession pass to the next House in the circle.

§ 12

SEMPI STOOL HISTORY

(See Diagram XII)

Sempi people are all descendants of one House and have but one batch of family names. The family god is *Oyeni*, and the *Oyeni wulomo*, *Ni Moi*, was head of the *Sempi* people when they first came from *Tetetutu* and settled on the Accra beach at the time when their *Aserɛ* brethren settled on *Okakwei* Hill. After *Ni Moi* came several *Oyeni* priests and then one called *Ni Tete Kpɛsi*, under whom the *Sempi* removed to *Kole Gɔnɔ*, and later, when the English came, moved back to their present site.

After their return *Tete Kpɛsi*, the *Oyeni wulomo* and *Sempi* ruler, made himself a stool and became the first *Sempi mantse*. Shortly after this, partly because a 'big' *wulomo* could not go to war, and partly because the English were always demanding that the *wulomo* should do business with them or for them on days when he was busy with sacred ceremonial, the ceremonial part of *Tete Kpɛsi's* work was relegated to another official who became known as the *Oyeni wulomo*, and *Tete Kpɛsi* himself remained *mantse*. But to this day the *mantse* has to officiate as *Oyeni wulomo* if the latter is dead or sick.²

Tete Kpɛsi, the first *mantse*, was succeeded by his half-brother, *Kpakpo Brama*, who founded a second stool House called *Sanjsifi*.

¹ This rule comes to light only when many tables are written down and examined. If questions are asked about the system of succession one is told only that when a *mantse* dies his successor must come from another House. Apparent departures from this rule are brought into line by remembering that in certain matters a man is identified with his full-brothers. Therefore when a man is succeeded by a full-brother this is hardly counted as a succession, but as the continuation of the dead man's own regime.

² In most Gā towns one of the lesser *wulomei* was made *mantse* and continues to hold the two positions concurrently. But whenever the *mantse* is not concurrently a *wulomo* we find that he has to officiate as such whenever the senior *wulomo* of the town is dead or sick.

DIAGRAM XII.—THE SEMPI STOOL

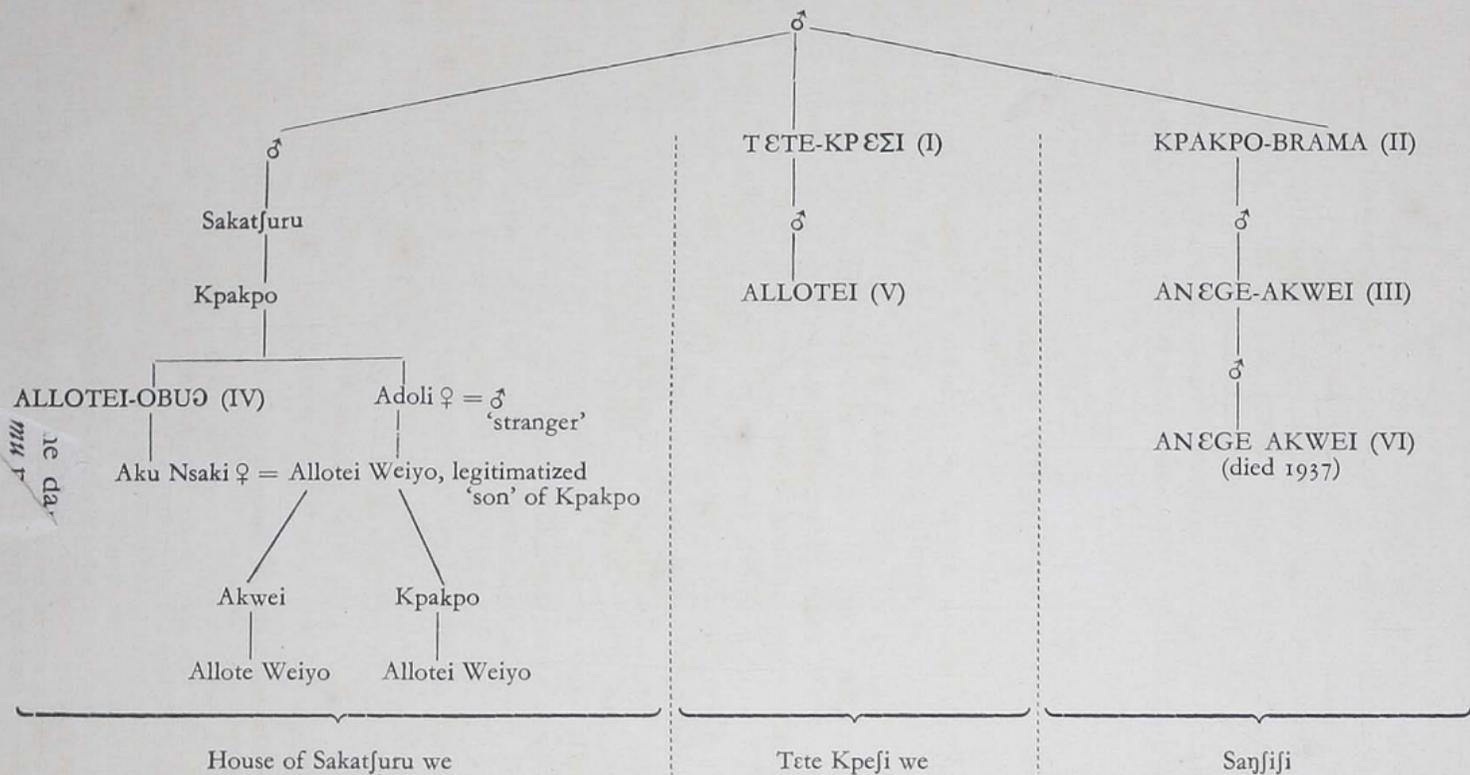
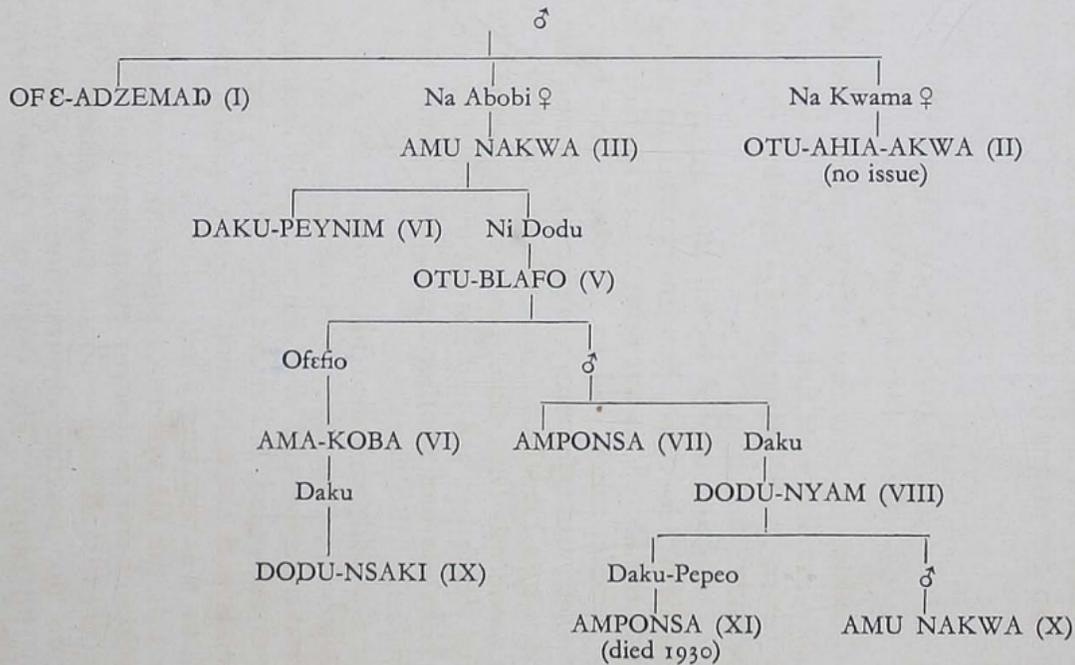


DIAGRAM XIII.—THE OTUBLOHŪ STOOL



After him came *Anege Akwei* of the same House. Then came *Allotei Obuo*, the great-grandson of yet another half-brother of *Kpakpo Brama*. *Allotei Obuo* was the first *mantse* supplied by the House of *Sakatsuruwe*. After him came *Allotei* of *Tete-Kpesiwe*, and after him *Anege Akwei* of *Sanfisi*.

Anege Akwei died in 1937, and the elders are still hesitating between two grandsons of *Allotei-Weiyo* of *Sakatsuruwe*.

§ 13

OTUBLOHŪ STOOL HISTORY

(See Diagram XIII)

The *Otublohū*, or *Akwamu* quarter, as we have already seen, was established under its first *mantse*, *Ofe Adzeman*, as a part of the new town, Accra, when the Gã first left the hill and settled on the seaside site.

Otublohū was augmented by another group of Akan people from Denchera, who came, according to various versions, either as servants of the Dutch, as war refugees, or as traders in gold-dust.

These people, while still in Denchera, had become friendly with *Otublohū*, and *Ofei Adzeman*'s sister, *Kwama*, had been given in marriage to a Denchera man. She had a son by this husband and his name was *Otu Abia Akwa*, which means *Otu* of the lost glory, for the father had had a stool in Denchera and had lost it.

Ofei Adzeman had another sister, *Na Abobi*. She had a son, *Amu Nakwa*.

When *Ofe Adzeman* died his sister's son, *Otu Abia Akwa*, took the stool in accordance with the Akan system of succession. Some traditions have it that he was only 'acting *mantse*' and was never enstooled, but at any rate he took the stool to war at Kommenda and there he died. *Amu Nakwa*, the son of the other sister, was then enstooled.

After this the Gã system of succession through the male line was instituted and was never again departed from. This was because of the difficulty about circumcision. The *Otublohū* people do not practise circumcision, and a circumcised man may not be *mantse*. The sisters of *Otublohū mantse*'s usually married Gã men of other quarters, and their sons were circumcised, thus becoming ineligible for succession in *Otublohū*.

Otu Abia Akwa left no sons, and thereafter the succession was confined to the descendants, in the male line, of *Amu Nakwa*.

Only this one Stool House was established in *Otublohū*, and the succession was uneventful till the days of the Gã *mantse*, *Taki Komi*. At this time the *Akwamu* people beyond the Volta

applied to Accra for help. *Taki Komi* said to *Otublobū*: 'You are of *Akwamu* blood. These other *Akwamu* people need help: it is you who should help them'. *Otublobū* agreed, but the *Otublobū manɔtɛ*, *Dodu Nyam*, was stricken in years, so he deputed one *Ankra*, of the Denchera settlement, one of the owners of the numerous 'rich men's stools' which so many wealthy slave dealers had set up for themselves in Accra at that time, to go instead of him.

When *Ankra* returned from war *Dodu Nyam* was dead, and *Ankra* acted as *Otublobū manɔtɛ* till his own death six years later. Whether *Ankra* was ever enstooled on the *Otublobū* stool is disputed.

Ankra was succeeded on the *Ankra* private stool by his brother *Okanta*. *Dodu Nsaki* was enstooled on the *Otublobū* stool.

Recent Stool History of Otublobū

About 1928, *Kwansa Solomon*, was elected to the private stool of the *Ankra* family, and caused an outcry by assuming the title of *Ni Otu Abia Akwa*—that is, by claiming descent from *Otu Abia Akwa*. There is little doubt that this claim had no foundation. Not only did *Otu Abia Akwa* leave no issue, but the antecedents of the *Ankra* family and the genesis of their stool were well known. Both the *Ankra* family and the *Ankra* stool were founded by the wealthy slave-dealer, *Ankra*, who was the son of a *Gbese* man, *Okanta Tsuru*. *Okanta's* two wives were *Otublobū* women, and *Ankra* was brought up in *Otublobū*, and afterwards, mainly through close association with his half-sister *Na Ayikali Asamiso*, who lived in *Otublobū*, he set up his own establishment there.

There was some dispute around the matter of this title; the District Commissioner, the acting *Gā manɔtɛ*, and the *Jamestown manɔtɛ* participated in an enquiry, and upheld the *Otublobū manɔtɛ's* refusal to recognize *Solomon* as the occupant of the *Ankra* stool unless he dropped the title of *Otu Abia Akwa*. In August, 1930, *Solomon* agreed to drop the title and was recognized as the holder of the *Ankra* private stool.

At the end of 1930 the *Otublobū manɔtɛ*, *Amponsa*, died, and the *Ankra* family again revived their claim to be descended from *Otu Abia Akwa*, and on this alleged descent based a claim to the *Otublobū* stool. Even if they had been able to establish this descent it could not have given them any claim to be regarded by 'native custom' as in the line *Otublobū* succession. *Otublobū* abandoned the *Akan* system of succession several centuries ago at the time when *Otublobū* itself came into being, and if native

custom *is* what native custom *does*, one glance at the table of *Otublohū* succession will show that it is *Otublohū* custom to select a *mantse* from among the descendants in the male line of *Amu Nakwa*.

An additional and quite preposterous claim was invented by the *Ankra* family at this time. In this connection it must first be explained that the women whose duty it is to carry out the ceremonial washing of a *mantse*'s stool are known as 'stool mothers', and there are several of these attached to each stool. The offices come down from mother to daughter, but as a daughter belongs to her father's family, and not to her mother's this means that a woman may be the rightful washer of a stool that belongs to a family and quarter other than her own. In this way it happened that a woman, *Kai Nka*, of the *Ankra* House, was a stool washer, or stool mother, of the *Otublohū* stool. This woman started calling herself, in English, 'queen-mother', trading on the general ignorance of Gã custom and the widespread knowledge of the Ashanti custom (popularized by the work of Captain Rattray) whereby a 'queen-mother' is the mother of the stool heir. There is no such queen-mother among the Gã.

However, *Kai Nka* claimed that, being a queen-mother, her son was the rightful heir; and one night in December, 1930, she burgled the stool-room, broke the door and stole the stool, carrying it off to *Ankra*'s house.

The officials and electors of *Otublohū*, who had not then—and still have not—nominated a candidate, summoned her for criminal burglary; but on the advice of British officials, had the case transferred from the police court to the Gã State Council, on the grounds that it was a 'stool affair', and police cases around stool affairs were undesirable.

The question before the State Council was whether the woman had had any right to burgle the house and remove the stool, and was brought up under Sec. 32 of the N.A.O. concerning usurpation of rights. The State Council, however, ignored the issue before them, substituted an enquiry under Sec. 8, and proceeded to investigate the right of *Kai Nka*'s son, *Amu Nakwa Ankra*, to be recognized as *mantse*.

These enquiries, complicated by a side case before the Supreme Court on the question of the State Council's right to demand a fifty-pound hearing fee from each side, lasted till 1936, when the State Council announced that they had decided that *Amu Nakwa Ankra* was the rightful successor.

The *Otublohū* officials, in a petition to the Governor, protested against the substitution by the State Council of an enquiry other

than the one that had been brought before them. Their objection was upheld, and the Governor directed the rehearing of the original case.

This brings us to October, 1936. But meanwhile, in May, 1936, the District Commissioner had given permission to the *Ankra* party to 'show out' their new *mantse* to the town, and this had been done.

From October, 1936, till the time of writing (1938) the enquiry before the State Council has gone on.

Afterword

The enquiry is still going on in 1940.

§ 13

ALATA STOOL HISTORY

(See Diagram XIV)

It is not possible to claim for the *Alata* table of succession that it conforms with any system whatever.

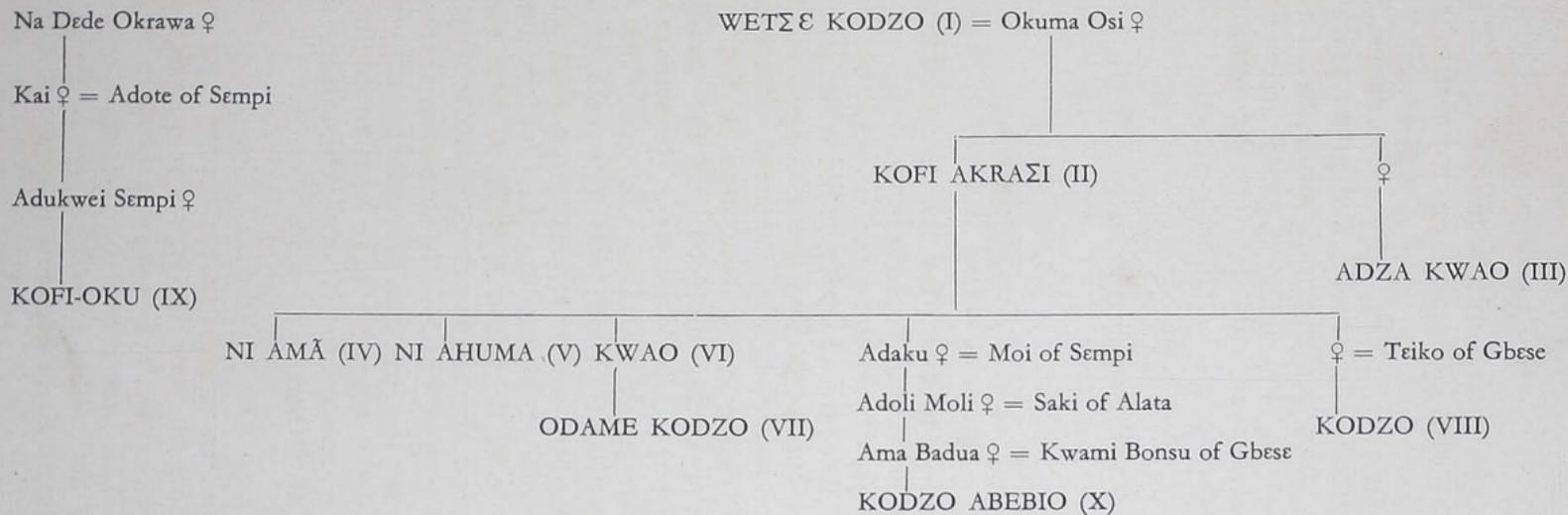
The first *mantse*, *Wetse Kodzo*, had no sons, but had a step-son and a step-daughter, the children of his wife *Okuma Osi*. *Kofi Akraasi*, the step-son, succeeded *Wetse Kodzo*, and the son of the step-daughter succeeded *Kofi Akraasi*. Thereafter, various descendants of *Kofi Akraasi*, sometimes in the male line and sometimes in the female, succeeded till the ninth *mantse* was reached. This *mantse*, *Kofi Oku*, was a descendant in the female line of a woman named *Na Dede Okrawa*. This woman, like all the earliest *Alata* officials, was a woman of no pedigree, and was purchased at the time when the first *Alata* stool was made to be the principal stool-washer. In time she became greatly respected, and from her close association with the stool came to be regarded as noble and her descendants as *mantse*'s relatives.

The only 'rule' that can be laid down concerning the *Alata* succession is that the rightful successor is he who is chosen by the electors from among a large body of eligible candidates. This indeed is true of every Gā stool, though the fact has been sadly lost sight of in these latter years.

Afterword

Mantse Kodzo Ababio died in 1938, after forty-seven years as *mantse*, during which time his personal qualities did much to build up that respect for the post of *mantse* which the Gā State sorely needs. This was easier for him than for the ordinary *mantse*, for the first *Alata mantse*, *Wetse Kodso*, was a man in authority and the mediator between his people and the Europeans

DIAGRAM XIV.—THE ALATA STOOL OF JAMESTOWN



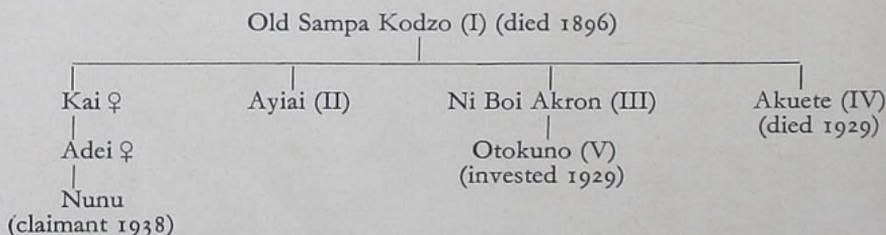
before ever he acquired a stool; his successors, unlike the holders of all other Gā stools, have been chiefs in fact, and not merely in European parlance.

Before *Kodzō Ababio* died he set his house in order, and in 1929 sent the Government a careful list of the elders entitled to elect his successor and an account of the customary procedure. This, he thought, was fool-proof and knave-proof.

But no sooner was he in the grave than a party of adventurers had created an alleged *mantse*. They were quelled by the production of the document. Without it they would no doubt have taken their 'claim' to the District Commissioner, who would have referred it to the Gā State Council, who would probably have upheld it. However, dispute about the *mantse* being fruitless, they shifted the dispute to the electors and began disputing the identity of one elector *Sampa Kodzō*.

Now '*Sampa Kodzō*' is the name always given to 'the man who holds the sword' at the enstoolment ceremony. Every holder of this office drops his own name and is called '*Sampa Kodzō*'. The *Sampa Kodzō* in question was ceremonially given his name and his sword in 1929, when he dropped his own name (*Otokuno*). He was photographed with his sword and his fellow elders after the ceremony, and was thenceforward (for nine years) called nothing but *Sampa Kodzō*, no one disputing his right or interfering with his privileges.

However, after the death of the *mantse*, one *Nunu*, a literate, arose and claimed to be *Sampa Kodzō*. *Nunu* was the descendant of a former *Sampa Kodzō*'s daughter. *Otokuno* was the same *Sampa Kodzō*'s grandson in the male line. Whatever anomalies of succession may be in the *Alata mantse*'s tree there are none concerning the *Alata* elders' heirs. These follow strictly the Gā system of succession through the sons. So even if *Otokuno* had never received ceremonial investiture, his right to be a candidate for it, and *Nunu*'s lack of right, were not open to dispute.



However, *Nunu* suddenly announced himself *Sampa Kodzō*. *Otokuno* arose in his indignation and swore four solemn 'oaths' simultaneously before the Gā *mantse*, killed the necessary goat,

and demanded to have his case (usurpation of right) heard at once.

Now it is in the nature of an 'oath case' that it must be heard—or begin to be heard—on the day that it is sworn. The *Gã mantse*, however, transferred it to the State Council (under Sec. 91 of the N.A.O.). Then an old woman, *Akua*, a relative of both parties, persuaded them to withdraw it and submit to private arbitration. They agreed, *Otokuno* making the condition that the case be tried by the *Gã mantse*—before whom he had sworn his four oaths—as a private case, not before the *mantse*'s registered tribunal. This was arranged, but when the time came *Nunu* failed to appear. *Otokuno* then renewed his oaths before the *Gã mantse*—an oath has the force of a summons, the only form of summons known to 'unregistered' tribunals—and matters were again as they had been weeks before.

However, *Alata* elders persuaded both parties to submit again to private arbitration, and this time they called in as arbitrator *Ni Ayi Ansã* of *Aserɛ*,¹ justly famed as a man of encyclopædic knowledge of Accra history and custom and deeply respected as an impartial arbitrator.

Ayi Ansã ruled that both *Nunu* and *Otokuno* were in the wrong. *Nunu* was not *Sampa Kodzo* and, on account of his parentage, could never be even an eligible candidate for the post. *Otokuno* was eligible, but though he had been ceremonially invested with the insignia of office, that investiture was not valid, for it should have been preceded by formal recognition of *Otokuno* as head of the *Alata* village of *Dom*. It was the custom, he pointed out, that only the head of this village should be made *Sampa Kodzo*. Though *Otokuno* was acting as head of this village, and had done so for years, he had never been ceremonially appointed. *Dom* must therefore be asked to appoint a head ceremonially. If they appointed *Otokuno* he would then be eligible to receive a valid investiture as *Sampa Kodzo*.

Both parties were satisfied with this ruling, for it takes much of the sting out of defeat to know that one's adversary is defeated also.

Thus far had *Alata* affairs proceeded up to the time when I lost touch with them through leaving the district. However, I hear (in 1940) that further dispute has arisen and the settlement is as far off as ever.

¹ This is the *Ayi Ansã* whose position as *Aserɛ mantse* has been usurped with the acquiescence of the Government, who were of course unwitting of the injustice done him. He continues to care more for the preservation of "customs" than for his own position, and remains one of those pillars of decency in native affairs to which the Government owes more than it knows, and whose help the Government cannot afford to lose.

CHAPTER V

OSU

§ 1

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

OSU has a long tradition of Christianity and literacy, and even the old men are frequently literate. These old men have lost all the illiterate's pride in remembering a richly detailed verbal tradition and carry in their heads only garbled and impoverished fragments of book history—mostly culled in the first place from Reindorf, whom I could often wish had never existed.

Though I obtained some information about Osu from illiterate old men in other towns I could get little of value in Osu itself, except from Mr. G. J. Coleman, an exceptionally active-minded literate and Government pensioner. In his youth he not only read avidly all the available Gold Coast history, but collected oral traditions also. It was he who gave me the Osu stool history, on condition that I printed his name. I gladly do so and record my indebtedness, but at the same time regret that it is impossible to record the names of all the old illiterate men in other towns who gave me far more of their time and freely gave me of their stores of knowledge impelled only by friendliness and the desire 'to help the Europeans to know what is true so that they may not spoil our customs'.

§ 2

THE MAKING OF OSU

The Osu site, the Nungwa people say, was a part of the stretch of land overrun by *Odai Koto's* hunters from Nungwa. Their territory extended as far west as a gully near what is now the Accra rifle range, and it was from one of the *Odai Koto's* that the Portuguese, Brandenburgers, and Danes in turn obtained leave to make the fortified settlements culminating in Christiansborg Castle. The *Gbobu wulomo* of Nungwa still has to come and assist in some of the Osu ceremonial 'because he is *fitse*'.

The Osu people came from Osudoku, in the Krobo district, and *Odai Koto* gave them a site to the north of the present Osu. They were skilful potters and traded their pots to the Accra people who were still on *Okakwei* Hill, and they had a famous

pot-market in Osu.¹ They arrived at Osu under the leadership of *Note Doku*,² the *wulomo* of their chief god *Nadu*. They found some *Kpɛsi* worshippers of the lagoon, *Klote*, still in possession, but these people soon departed and handed over the worship of *Klote* to the newcomers. Though an *Osudoku* family thereafter supplied the *Klote wulomo*, *Klote*, like most lagoon gods, remained the landowner, and the *Klote wulomo* is to this day the nominal owner of all Osu land and has still a special share of town revenues.

After two successors of *Note Doku*, one *Teino* became *Nadu wulomo*. He committed some offence and was no longer allowed to enter the god's yard. However, he had already set up a *manɔse*'s stool on Akwamu lines, and he continued to hold this and to negotiate with Europeans as Osu 'chief'. Another *wulomo* was appointed, and thenceforward the *wulomo* and the *manɔse* were two people. About the same time those of *Teino*'s people who held him to be unfitted to be a *manɔse* set up a second stool, the *manɔkralo*'s stool, and informed the Danes at the Castle that the *manɔkralo* was their representative in all negotiations.³ The Europeans, however, refused to recognize the new 'chief' and continued to deal with *Teino*.⁴ But the two stools remained, and the people divided into two sets, one around the *manɔse* and called the *Kinɔkawe* quarter, the other round the *manɔkralo* and called the Ashanti quarter.⁵ When the town-crier gives out notices in the town he still does so in the name of both *manɔse* and *manɔkralo*.

Later still the *Anobo* and *Alata* quarters joined the town. The former were a part of the *Anobo* party who settled in Labadi, and they still join Labadi *Anobo* for the worship of their god *Okumaga*.

¹ The Krobo district is still famous for its pottery and in earlier days was more famous still. When the *Krobo* people fortified the *Krobo Hill* they stored water in earthen pots 'so big that a man could stand inside and not be seen'.

² They set out from *Osudoku* under *Noi Kpenuku* who died when the party reached *Osuyokpo* near the *Laloi* lagoon. *Noi Kpenuku*'s sister, the *wɔyo* of the god *Bake*, took over the leadership and brought her people to *Adzamanti* near *Aburi* and then to *Osuko* near *Kwao Blenya*, where she died and was succeeded by *Note Doku*.

³ *Osu* was the first town to make a *manɔkralo*, and he was virtually a second *manɔse*. *Accra* has never had a *manɔkralo*, and the other towns which set up their military organization much later copied the *Osu* pattern and made a *manɔkralo* as well as a *manɔse*, though they had not *Osu*'s reason for doing so.

⁴ It is interesting to note that the acute complication of stool situations by the factor of European partonage is by no means new. According to native custom a *manɔse* cannot be destooled and if unsatisfactory without meriting death he can only be deserted or ignored. But if Europeans still continue to recognize and support him it is in vain that his own people try to keep him in his place. The creation of a *manɔkralo* in *Osu* was an unsuccessful attempt to deal with a situation which is constantly recurring in increasingly difficult and destructive forms.

⁵ So-called because some Ashanti hostages stayed there.

The *Alata* people were originally servants of the Europeans in the Christiansborg fort.

§ 3

OSU STOOL SUCCESSION¹

- | | | |
|-------------------------|--|--|
| Nadu <i>Wulomei</i> | { | (1) <i>Noi Kpenuku</i> or <i>Noi Sekan</i> (about 1590). |
| | | (2) <i>Na Mole</i> , sister of (1). |
| | | (3) <i>Notei Doku</i> , son of <i>Tete Naku</i> , brother of (1). |
| | | (4) <i>Noi Sekan II</i> , son of <i>Note</i> , another brother of (1). |
| | | (5) <i>Tete Naku</i> , brother of (4). |
| | | Here <i>wulomo</i> and <i>mantse</i> became two persons. |
| House of <i>Amantra</i> | { | (6) <i>Teino</i> , grandson of (3), name of father uncertain, 1657-93. |
| | | (7) <i>Noi Sekan III</i> , grandson of (4). |
| | | (8) <i>Naku Eidam</i> , younger brother of (7). |
| | | (9) <i>Notei Sa</i> , son of either (7) or (8), 1730. |
| | | (10) <i>Naku I</i> , son of (9). |
| | | (11) <i>Odam</i> , a 'gbobalo', father's name unknown. |
| | | (12) <i>Noi Sekan IV</i> , grandson of (7). |
| | | (13) <i>Naku II</i> , grandson of (10). |
| | | (14) <i>Noi Owuo</i> (<i>gbobalo</i>), father's name unknown, 1800-24. |
| House of <i>Kinjawe</i> | (15) <i>Notei Dowuona I</i> . | |
| ,, ,, <i>Amantra</i> | (16) <i>Notei Ababio</i> , grandson of (14). | |
| ,, ,, <i>Kinjawe</i> | (17) <i>Noi Dowuona</i> ('Frederick Noi'), grandson of (15). | |
| ,, ,, <i>Amantra</i> | (18) <i>Naku III</i> . | |
| ,, ,, <i>Kinjawe</i> | (19) <i>Akima</i> , relative of (17), 1887-98. | |
| ,, ,, <i>Amantra</i> | (20) <i>Notei Ababio II</i> (<i>Ammon</i>), adopted son of (16). | |
| ,, ,, <i>Kinjawe</i> | (21) <i>Dowuona III</i> , son of <i>Akuste</i> , younger brother of (17). | |
| ,, ,, <i>Amantra</i> | (22) <i>Noi Owuo</i> , grand-nephew of (18) (son of sister's daughter. Sister married in <i>Ancho</i> , sister's daughter married in <i>Amantra</i> , 1931). | |

The stool succession shows no unusual features except its length. After the separation of *wulomo* and *mantse* the stool was passed on down the generations of the same family nine times till it reached *Noi Owuo* at about the time when most of the other towns were setting up stools for the first time. Towards the end of *Noi Owuo*'s life he had occasion to go to war, but being old and infirm, he sent *Notei Dowuona*—probably a sister's son—in his place. *Dowuona*'s conduct in the war was satisfactory and he was made *mantse* on the death of *Noi Owuo*. Thereafter his House, *Kinjawe*, provided the *mantse* in alternation with *Amantra*.

We find another typically Gā situation in that of *Notei Abebio*

¹ Unfortunately I have insufficient exact information regarding the parentage of many of these people to enable me to construct a genealogical table of the type that I have been able to construct on the fuller information available in the illiterate towns. This list, including the dates, is Mr. Colman's.

the twentieth member of the list. The sixteenth member had a lawfully married wife who went astray at Teshi and bore a son *Amon*, not begotten by her lawful husband. But the child was 'named' by the lawful husband, and quite legally was claimed as his own son. In due time he was made *mantse*, taking the name of *Notei Ababio II*.

CHAPTER VI

LABADI

§ 1

THE MAKING OF LABADI

THE people of La or Labadi were the *Gã Boni*,¹ one of the Gã-speaking companies which fled from Nigeria, probably all about the same time. They came, they say, from Bonni on the Niger delta, and most likely walked along the beach as so many travellers did and do. Some of the *Gã Boni* are said to have stopped and settled at *Ancho*² (now in mandated French Togoland).

Before settling on their present site the *Gã Boni* settled temporarily at *Ladoku* on the banks of the *Laloi* lagoon, at *Podokus* near Temma, and the hill *Adzanyote* to the north of the Accra plain. Accounts differ as to the order in which these sites were occupied, and I think it more than likely that the people scattered and occupied several sites simultaneously. The *Adzanyote* sojourn seems to have been the briefest, and it is said that no houses were built there.

There was rather more violence associated with the settlement of the La in their present district than with most of the farming immigrants exhibited. We have already noted something of the La dealings with the Nungwa people and the *Kpɛsi* salt-winners. They also fought with the Berekusu people and with some people of Abese near Mayara. We shall note shortly the bullying attitude which they took up towards the 'fitse' of a part of the Labadi site. But in spite of some violence their social organization had no military basis till much later, and in common with other Gã immigrant communities as well as with the aboriginal *Kpɛsi*, their only rulers were the heads of extended families who were also the priests of the gods of those families.

The first such leader of the La of whom there is a well-estab-

¹ See p. 142.

² I have not followed up and confirmed this.

³ This is the same *Podoku* from which old *Adzeite*'s people of Temma came. Either the two peoples shared *Podoku*, or else they were one people and divided later, a part going to Temma and a part to Labadi. I incline to the latter view which is supported by the similarity of Labadi and *Afariman* names (*Adzei*, *Adzeite*, *Odai*), by the fact that Temma speaks Gã, and by the possession by the *Podoku*-Temma people of the god *Tfade*, worshipped also by the *Gã Mafi* and *Gã Boni* under the masculinized name of *Tfawe*. The other god of *Afariman*—*Anudu*—is said to have 'come in from the bush to Temma' later on by the command of a possessed *woyo*. It had probably been 'in the bush' from pre-Gã times.

lished tradition was *Oko* the *wulomo* of the god *La Kpã*, which god, together with *Nyonyo Tjawe*, the La brought from Nigeria.

This *wulomo Oko* had seven wives, and founded seven important Houses, each with an eldest son named *Odoi*. These seven sons were named *Odoi Obledzuma*, *Odoi Pobi* (who had a younger brother, *Sowa Boite*), *Odoi Malei*, *Odoi Asuman*, *Odoi Frimpon*, *Odoi Abimakò*, and *Odoi Otu Abo*. Their seven Houses were well established before the La arrived on their present site. *Odoi Obledzuma* had a son, *Odote Kakrasi*, and two grandsons, *Odoi Atsem* and *Adzei Onano*. This *Adzei Onano* was *La Kpã wulomo* and leader of the La when they arrived on their present site.

The seven Houses founded by *wulomo Oko* formed the quarter known as *Kowe*.

With this *Kowe* group of immigrants came other families of the same stock. These founded the quarters of *Lefi*, *Dmati-Dzrase*, and *Abafu*.

Another quarter, *Abese*, seems to owe its origin to the ungentle measures which the La sometimes used. In advancing on the *Adzanote* district they came upon a place near Mayara called *Abese*—to-day in ruins. There they fell upon the little family group of one *Anyete Okobua*, a hunter, and promised not to kill them if *Anyete* would work for the La as scout, spying out the land in front of them. *Anyete* consented and joined the La, and his descendants comprise the *Abese* quarter. When the military organization was set up *Anyete* or his successor was made *Odonten*, or commander of the advance guard of the force.

Later there came from *Anobo* a party of Ewe people with their god *Okumaga* and founded a sixth quarter called *Anobo*, which to-day provides the *mankrabo*. Each of these six quarters became augmented, some from the very first, by other families. For instance, to *Lefi* was attached the aboriginal lagoon-worshipping family *Afiwe* (with their *Kpesi* names *Afite*, *Kamoa*, *Trebi*, etc.), and to *Lefi* also came from Accra some worshippers of *Klan* with the same names as the *Dzosi* people who worship *Klan* in *Aseré*. To *Abafu* came another *Aseré* family founding the House of *Ayiwe* and having the same names as *Ayifrimponwe* in *Aseré*, and bringing the worship of *Ofila* from *Okakwei Hill*.

To *Dmate Dzrase* were attached three families known collectively as *Dmati Abonasi*. Of the origin of *Dmati Abonasi* there are two versions. According to one, the first La person to arrive in the district was a hunter named *Adzei Kofe* of *Dmati Dzrase*: he encountered a family from Nungwa worshipping the Nungwa *Gbòbu* and living, not in a house, but in very primitive style on the beach 'under a rock' and calling themselves *sitse*

(landowner). After an exchange of fish for 'bush-meat' the Nungwa family instructed *Adzei Kofe* in the worship of *Gbobu*, and then, leaving *Gbobu*'s shrine, they fled in the night to Nungwa and were never seen again near Labadi. *Adzei Kofe* became *Dzobu wulomɔ* and *sitse* in their place.

The other version has it that *Adzei Kofe* captured the Nungwa man and dragged him to the La to be killed. He begged for his life and was given it on condition that he became interpreter and guide to the La, and ambassador (*otsame*) to neighbouring towns. His descendants continue to hold the post of *Dzobu wulomɔ*, *sitse*, and *otsame* in Labadi.

In any case, whether the *Dzobu wulomɔ*'s family in Labadi are in unbroken continuity with the pre-La worshippers of *Dzobu*, or whether their god and their position was handed over to the immigrants, *Dzobu* and his *wulomɔ* remain privileged, and the *Dzobu wulomɔ* is present at the midnight enstoolment of the *La mantse*,² in two capacities; first in the capacity of *sitse*, the nominal owner of part of the territory which the townspeople occupy, and secondly in the capacity of *otsame* to the *akwasɔŋ* before which body he has to testify that the enstoolment has been carried out.

The *Afi* family, the *Kpɛsi* aborigines, are still the owners of the *Kpɛsi* lagoon, perform its rites, and gather its salt.

§ 2

LABADI LAND TENURE

Labadi land is not divided between the quarters, but is all town land, and every part is owned by all the quarters equally.

Any townsman who wishes to build a house gives rum to the head of his quarter, and this elder sends it to the *mantse*, and the *mantse* sends a part of it to the *La Kpā wulomɔ* and the building proceeds without further fee.

A townsman who wants to make a farm or dig a well can do so anywhere without any fee, so long as he interferes with no farm already established. Strangers must first get permission to farm as must townsmen to build.

¹ The Nungwa *Gbobu* in Labadi is called *Dzobu*.

² This does not imply that the *Dzobu wulomɔ* has any say in selecting the *mantse*, but merely that the La people, having selected their *mantse* in customary military manner, take him to their *sitse* for a blessing. The *Dzobu wulomɔ* in Labadi is sometimes known as *sikiteli*. This is a term used in some towns which have had European contacts, and is a corruption of the word 'secretary', and has passed into general use. In Labadi I believe the common word *sikiteli* is carelessly used for the similar-sounding Gā word *sitse* (landowner) which is historically apt.

A townsman who wishes to found a 'village' (*akrowa*)—that is, a farming colony with dwellings, goes first to the *mantse* and the *mantse* informs the *akwasoŋ* and the *wulomei*. This applies only to the founder of the village. Subsequent comers to the village approach the founder of the village or his heirs. Certain villages were founded by the *mantse* and provide him with yam and other materials for his festivals. *La Kpã* and other gods have villages which have to supply corn and other produce for the religious festivals. The villagers in return come and ask the gods for rain when they need it, but the gods, including *La Kpã*, usually pass on the request to the god *Akotia Adu Mleku*.¹

Any moneys paid by strangers buying land outright are divided into seven parts, one of which goes to the *mantse* for the expenses of his stool ceremonial, and one to each of the six quarters. The *wulomei* of each quarter receive a special share when the money is subdivided between the elders of the various Houses. Every quarter must consent before any land can be sold.

When taxes are levied each quarter supplies a sixth of the whole, and the heads of quarters send messengers to the villages for contributions due from the villagers.

§ 3

LABADI STOOL HISTORY

(See Diagram XV)

The seven *Kowe* Houses that came to Labadi with *Adzei Onano* clustered inside an enclosure around the *gbatsui* of *Nyɔŋmo Tsawe* and *La Kpã*. After *Adzei Onano*, who seems to have been the first *mantse* after the new military pattern introduced about that time, only four of the original seven *Kowe* Houses remained as stool Houses. These were *Obledzunawe*, *Pobine*, *Maleine*, and *Asumanywe*. Of the other three, *Frimponwe* became a House to provide a *sipi* and one *otsame*, and so dropped out of the stool succession; *Abimakowe* similarly provided another *sipi* and two *otsamei*, and the children of *Odoi Otu Abo* left the district altogether.

In the days of *Adzei Onano*'s son and successor, *Wetse Odoi Kpoti*, the *La Kpã* priesthood was separated from the *mantse*-ship. It had been found that *La Kpã* was 'killing a great many people' in his enclosure, and this was deemed to be due to his irritation at the commotion and general pre-occupation with

¹ *Mleku* = *Bleku* of the *Kple* anthem = rain.

warfare and secular matters in the enclosure, and the *wulomo's* lack of leisure to attend to his rites properly. So *La Kpā* was given a new *ghatsu* in a quiet place on what was then the outskirts of the town, and a man named *Odoi* from *Obledzuma* was sent with him as a whole-time *wulomo*. *Nyonyo Tsave*, however, did not leave the *mantse's* enclosure, and the *mantse* thereafter was both *mantse* and *Nyonyo Tsave wulomo*. But the *mantse* still has to act as *La Kpā wulomo* and sleep with *La Kpā* if the *wulomo* dies or is sick.

After *Wetse Odoi Kpoti* came his son *Sowa Obladzuma*, and after him the three other Houses took turns till the time of *Saki*, who was *mantse* at the time of *Katamansu*. In *Saki's* old age he was called upon to go to war again, and being infirm he sent his nephew *Anyete Krakranya* of Abese quarter, who went 'in his uncle's name'. *Krakranya* was successful, and on his uncle's death the same thing happened which happened in the case of the *Abola* stool which *Taki Komi* took to war, and the *Osu* stool which *Notei Dowuona* took to war; *Krakranya* was made *mantse*, and his House, *Anyete-Krakranyawe*, entered the circle of Houses which provide the *mantse*.

§ 4

RECENT STOOL HISTORY OF LABADI

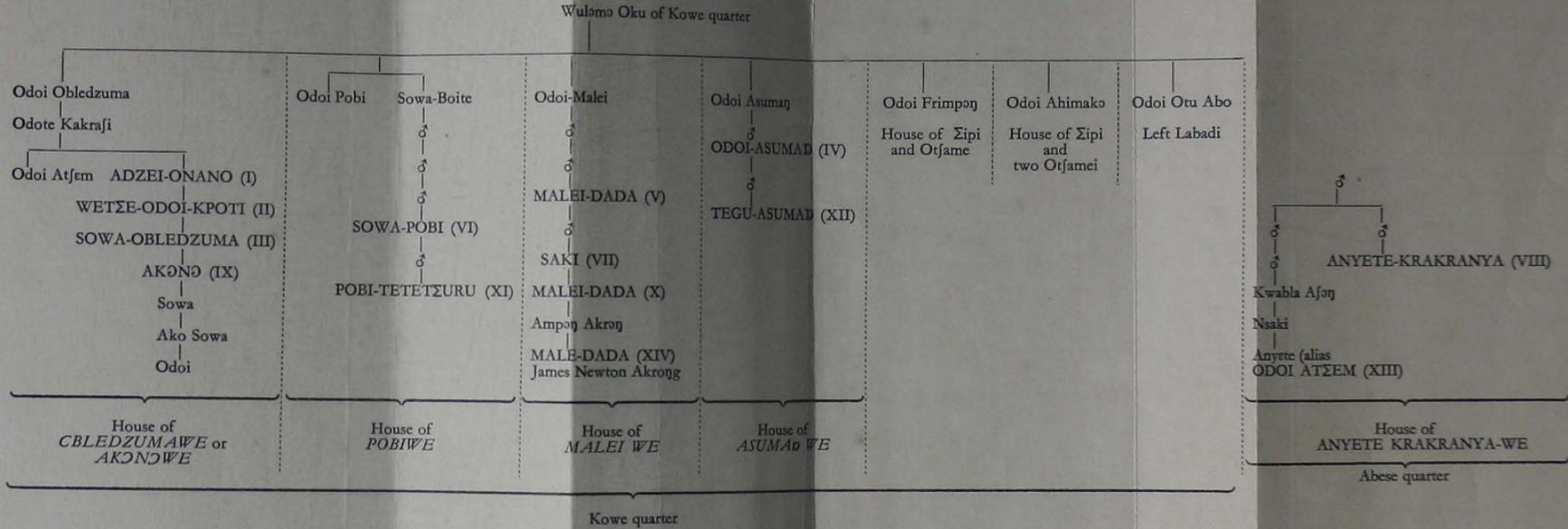
After *Krakranya* the stool came to each of the other four Houses in turn, and in 1912 was again vacant.¹ A dispute arose concerning the successor. It turned upon the question whether *Krakranyawe* of the Abese quarter had or had not a permanent place among the stool Houses. An enquiry was held by the Secretary for Native Affairs (the late Mr. Francis Crowther) and judgment was quite justly given in favour of the *Krakranyawe* candidate, one *Anyete*, who assumed the stool name of *Odoi Atsem II*.²

Odoi Atsem II, however, was never enstooled. In the first place his immediate predecessor was still alive and, though he had abdicated, he was still the repository of the magical influence of the stool, which could be given to no other till after his death.

¹ This vacancy was through the abdication of *mantse Tegu Asuman*, who was a Christian. The Labadi *mantse* is primarily the *wulomo* of *Nyonyo Tsave*, and is also deputy *La Kpā wulomo*, and in those capacities has to take an integral part in the *Homowo* and other religious festivals and perform many rites condemned by the Christians as heathen fetish customs. He therefore wished to be *mantse*, but to omit this part of his *mantse's* duties. His elders maintained that this could not be, so he gave up the stool.

² It is fashionable among modern *mantsemei* on their accession to take the name of some illustrious predecessor.

DIAGRAM XV.—THE LABADI STOOL



But though he could not properly be enstooled the officials, whose duty it was to perform the ceremony, said they were willing to do so, as they had accepted Crowther's ruling. But *Odoi Atsem* sulked and said he was content with British recognition, his position was secure, and he could dispense with sitting on the stool. He is said to have procured a private stool from *Asamanjese*, but, be that as it may, he never sat on the *mantse*'s stool.

In 1918 *Odoi Atsem II* was 'destooled' for the offence common among *mantsemei* who have received British help—that of making negotiations with the British without the consent of their people. Never was any official in the world so devoid of freedom and power as a *mantse*.¹

Odoi Atsem II was replaced by James Newton Akrong, who, on his accession, took the name of *Malei Dada III*. He died in 1936.

On the death of *Malei Dada* the *dzase* nominated *Ako Sowa*, the grandson of *Akono*. *Ako Sowa* was a Christian and a presbyter, and his Church forbade him to be both *mantse* and a church member; so he withdrew in favour of his son *Odoi*, which youth was dragged unwillingly from school and 'put into *Butruwo*'. Meanwhile another faction had arisen, wishing to reinstate *Odoi Atsem II*.

Labadi had just begun negotiating with the British concerning the sale of some Labadi land for the new airport. In Labadi, when land is sold, one-seventh of the proceeds goes to the *mantse*, and one-seventh to each of the six quarters. Whoever becomes the next *mantse* will have the handling of some thousands of pounds, a more substantial sum than has ever come to any *mantse* before. *Odoi Atsem*'s party, with the help of sundry literates, therefore devised a 'stool history' which I, personally, believe to be the purest fabrication.

According to this tale, Labadi has 'an ivory stool like the first Accra stool'. It was hidden by the first *Adzei Onano*'s brother, *Sowa*. It is claimed that there are but two *mantses*' Houses in Labadi, namely, *Kowe* and *Abese* (everyone else calls these quarters, for they contain many Houses each), and it is claimed that every alternate *mantse* in Labadi has always based his claim on descent through *Abese*. The *Odoi Atsem II*, concerning whom Crowther held his enquiry in 1913, is held to have based his claim, not on the

¹ But it need hardly be added that if the *mantse* be a 'scholar' and a hard-working conscientious man, his people are only too willing to pile on to his shoulders the great weight of uninteresting drudgery associated with British administration and to give him responsibility without power.

incident in the reign of *Saki*, but on direct descent from the first *Adzei Onano*'s brother. It is claimed also, that there are two stools in Labadi, an *Abese* stool and a *Kowe* (ivory) stool, and that past *mantfemei* sat on these alternately.¹ Nothing of this tale was told at the 1913 enquiry, though *Abese* had every invitation to produce every claim it was able. Neither has anyone else in Labadi, nor anyone in any neighbouring town with Labadi connection, ever heard anything of this 'history' before. Nor have I, who have been greedily collecting Labadi history for years.² I believe it to be pure fiction, and an excellent example of what can be done when a large sum of money depends on an ingenious tale. But I should not be at all surprised if the Gā State Council were to give it their approval.

Afterword

The town is still, in 1940, in the throes of dispute.

¹ If this *Kowe* 'ivory stool' is like the Accra ivory stool certainly no one ever sat on it, and it cannot be a *mantse*'s stool.

² The situation of a town having *two* stools which are sat upon alternately would surely be unique in the world's history of kingship and would have attracted the attention of Reindorf, Crowther, and others.

CHAPTER V

TESHI

§ 1

THE MAKING OF TESHI

TESHI as a town was first organized by a party of colonists from Labadi in the days of *Odai Koto* of Nungwa. The Labadi *manḡralo*, who was simultaneously *Osabu wulomo* in the *Omati Džrase* quarter, had had a quarrel¹ with the Labadi *manḡse*, and a *La Kpā woyo* became possessed by her god and ordered the *manḡralo* and his family to remove themselves from the town. So he handed over *Osabu* to someone else and looked for another home.

Bokete Lawei and *Odai Koto* of Nungwa still held most of the land between Nungwa and Accra, though the La people had possession of the Labadi site,² and the *Kpɛsi* people were still in possession of the *Kpɛsi* lagoon, though handing over most of their salt to *Bokete* and *Odai*. Some Fanti fishermen from Akobli (near Sekondi) had already gained permission from *Odai* to settle at Teshi, where there were ideal fishing beaches and plenty of flat rock shelves on which to spread their drying fish. A party of Gbugbla people³ also had gained *Odai's* permission to settle there, and so had a party of Accra people (from *Abɛsfewe* and *Džɔfisi* in *Aserɛ*). So when the fugitive Labadi *manḡralo* asked for a place to settle, *Odai Koto* said: 'My place for strangers is where Akobli people are at Teshi. You may join them.'

This the Teshi party did, and at the same time the various colonists united with them and the aboriginal *Kpɛsi* to make one town organized for warfare.

They chose as their first *manḡse Ni Kamo*, the *wulomo* of *Odame Kpɛsi*,⁴ the head of the *Kpɛsi* people of the Teshi settlement,

¹ The *manḡse's* sons and the *manḡralo's* sons were playing a game called *ɲme* with a spinning palm-nut. One boy was accused of cheating and stabbed his accuser.

² The Labadi people continued to send an annual tribute of a sheep, rum, and fish to the Nungwa *Kpɛdzo* festival right up to the time of *manḡse Oklei* who fought at Katamanso. They ended their obligations to Nungwa with the payment of a lump sum of money.

³ These people are said to have been mainly captives from Lagos on a Danish ship, which ship was driven ashore by the English at Gbugbla and its captives released.

⁴ *Odame Kpɛsi* seems to be a female place god of the *Kpɛsi* lagoon and *Odame's* pot contains lagoon water. She was closely associated with, if not identical with, the widely worshipped *Kpɛsi* goddess *Afiyei*, who was worshipped in groves.

and the obvious senior. Old *Ni Trebi*, *Kamoa's* predecessor, had had a 'village' on the Teshi site long before ever the Nungwa started sending 'strangers' to settle there, and though the Teshi *Kpɛsi's* headquarters seem to have been at *Lafibi*, *Ni Trebi's* relatives had had their 'village' at Teshi in unbroken continuity from pre-Gā days.

Shortly after becoming *manɥɛ* the *Odame wulomɔ* divorced his *manɥɛ's* duties from his *wulomɔ's* duties, and handed over the latter to a deputy who became known as *Odame wulomɔ*; but the *manɥɛ* still has to perform for the lagoon a *Fɔɔ* ceremony similar to that performed by the *Sempi* people for the *Kole* lagoon, and it is the *manɥɛ* who drags an *Ajiwe* girl from Labadi by the feet three times from lagoon to sea.¹

It was unusual for immigrants to give the *Kpɛsi* aborigines a prominent place in the military scheme. As a rule the *Kpɛsi* remained nominal landowners, the *wulomɔ* of the senior *Kpɛsi* god becoming head of the increase ritual (i.e. the religious organization) and the immigrants taking charge of the war-magic and military organization. The *Odame wulomɔ* of Teshi suffered loss of religious status in being made *manɥɛ*, and the *wulomɔ* of the god *Ayiku* became senior *wulomɔ*.

Ayiku is the *Me*-singing Adangme god brought by the Adangme section of the town. *Ayiku's* seaward sympathies, betrayed in some of his songs, probably account for his dominance in an essentially fishing town. A typical song of *Ayiku* runs (in a mixture of Gā and Adangme):

Ayiku dze wuoyi ke woso.

Ayiku came out of the sea and the mud.

Nevertheless, we find that *Ayiku* was unable to become the dominant god without absorbing a good deal of *Odame's* *Kpɛ* worship. For example, we find a song of his running:

Mleku aya no amanyie aba bawɔ, Amanyie dzi wo no

May *Mleku* (*Bleku*, the *Kpɛsi* rain-god) fetch blessing for us, blessing is upon us.

Female children born in answer to prayers to *Odame Kpɛsi* are named *Afiyei*, as are *Afiyei's* children, and male children are named *Odame*. *Odame's* old pathway to the sea, down which *Ni Trebi* and his people used to walk when they performed *Odame's* rites can still be discerned in the dry season when the grass dies down.

¹ I stated in *Religion and Medicine of the Gā People* that the Teshi *manɥɛ* was *Nyɔɔmɔ Tsawe wulomɔ*. This is not quite correct; the *manɥɛ's* *otsame* is *Nyɔɔmɔ Tsawe wulomɔ*, but the *manɥɛ* has to attend *Nyɔɔmɔ Tsawe's* festival and perform some of *Nyɔɔmɔ Tsawe's* rites just as if he were *wulomɔ*.

§ 2

TESHI TOWN ORGANIZATION

There are five 'quarters' in Teshi, namely, *Lesi*, *Agbawe*, *Kle Musuŋ*, *Kle Krɔbɔ*, and *Gbugbla*.

Lesi is the *manɔse*'s quarter, and consists of *Kpɛsi* people with the familiar *Kpɛsi* names—*Afite*, *Trebi*, *Kamoa*, etc.

Agbawe is the progeny of the Labadi colonists. Though they left the headquarters of *Osabu* in Labadi they set up a new centre of *Osabu* worship in Teshi. They also brought the worship of *Nyɔŋmɔ Tsawe*, whose *wulɔmɔ* became the *manɔse*'s *otsame*.

Kle Musuŋ was formed round *Akɔble*, the group of Fanti fishermen. The *Gua* and *Klaŋ* worshippers from *Abɛtsɛwe* and *Dzɔsifi* in *Asere* joined them, and later other 'strangers' added their Houses and gods. These include *Ayiku*, whose *wulɔmɔ* is head of the town. This quarter supplies the *akwafɔntɛ*.

Kle Krɔbɔ grew up round a nucleus of *Adanme* people from Shai, and to-day contains eight large Houses, including *Otsɛŋmawe* which supplies the *manɔkralɔ*.

Gbugbla grew up round the shipload of refugees whom *Odai Koto* invited from *Gbugbla*, and was supplemented by other 'strangers'.

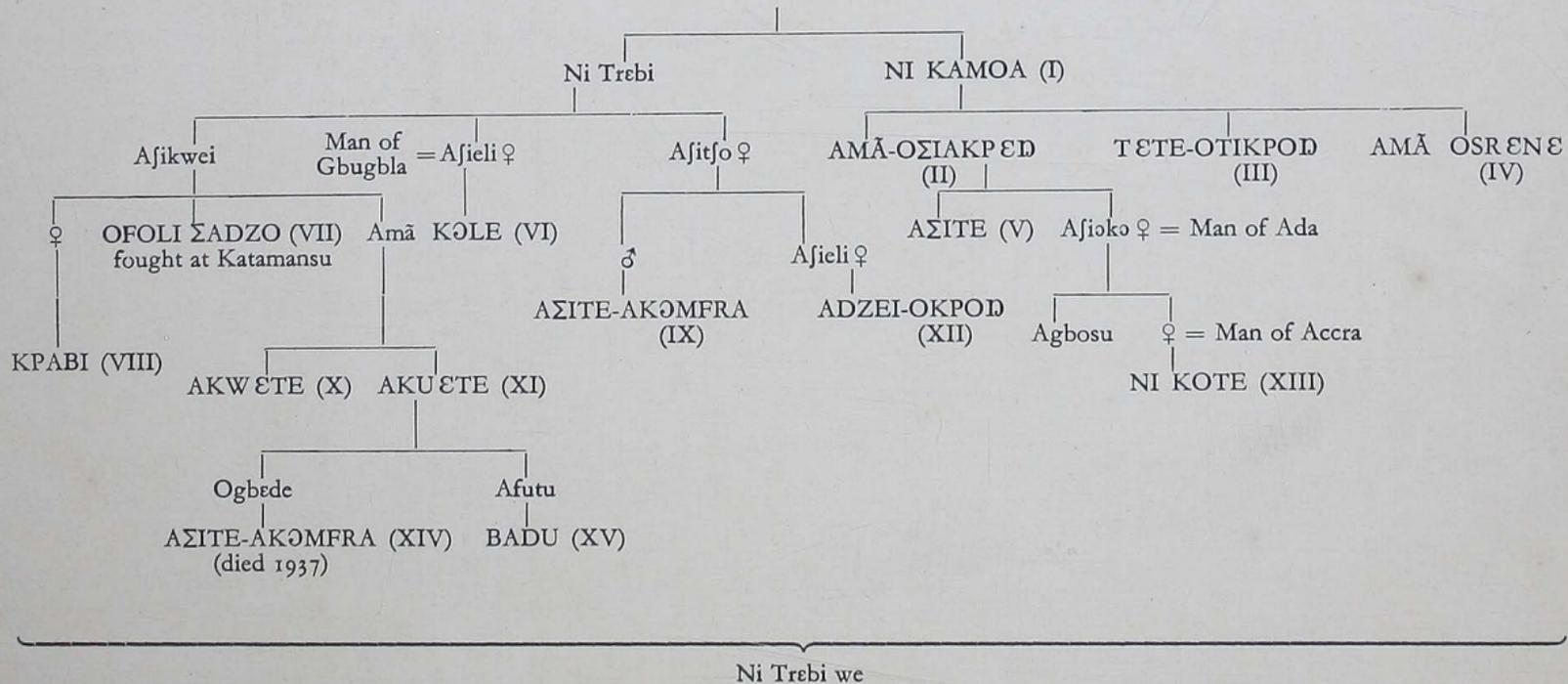
A 'quarter' of a Gã town is essentially a military unit, the town itself being a military confederation of peoples who would never have united but for military ends. Teshi made up five units, and then by curious reasoning decided that it needed seven. It resolved that it wanted a military court called *Modzawe* exactly like the Accra *Modzawe*, which had seven members. So it created two additional small quarters, each within one of the large quarters—*Akɔble* in *Kle musuŋ* and *Nyɔŋmɔ-tsawena* in *Kle musuŋ*, each supplying an *akwafɔŋ* member to sit on *Modzawe*.

For all other purposes the organization of Teshi is consistent with that of a five-quarter town.

There is one *sipi* for the whole town, and he is head of the *asafoatsɛmei*, of which there are fourteen. These have another senior member called the *amlugu*, whose position is hereditary. His duty is 'to keep order when they are all playing'.

There are three peace-time military companies—*Asɔŋɔ*, *Tsili*, and *Akɔŋfodi*—the youths, the men in their prime, and the old men. The war-time grouping is by families and quarters.

DIAGRAM XVI.—THE TESHİ STOOL



§ 3

STOOL HISTORY OF TESHİ

(See Diagram XVI)

There is but one stool House in Teshi, *Ni Trebiwe*.

Referring to the table of succession, it will be seen that the sixth, seventh, and twelfth *manɽse*'s—*Kole*, *Kpabi*, and *Adzei Okpon*—succeeded through their mothers, and were named by their own, and not by their mothers' fathers. They were, nevertheless, not deemed to have brought in new Houses to the stool succession (as happened, for example, in Temma), and the descendants of *Kole*, *Kpabi*, and *Adzei Okpon* never succeeded. It is quite likely that it was a *Kpɛsi* custom that, in the lack of a male heir, the sister of the lacking heir might put her son or grandson in the place she would have taken had she been a male. That the descendants in the male line of the woman's son should retain the right to succeed, and so bring in an additional House, was possibly the custom of the immigrants. The Teshi stool is the only *Gã* stool occupied by an aboriginal *Kpɛsi* family. The other *Gã* stools are all held by immigrants.

Ni Kotei, the thirteenth *manɽse*, I am told, took the stool as the representative of his mother's brother who was old and unwilling. If *Agbosu* had had a younger brother he would have given the stool to him,¹ but, having only a sister, he gave it to her son. But the son definitely held it 'for *Agbosu*'.

Afterword.

Since I wrote this chapter the usual wearisome 'stool dispute' has broken out in Teshi. The old *manɽse*, *Afite Akomfra*, died in 1937, and the proper officials appointed their new *manɽse*, *Badu*, and enstooled him. Another would-be *manɽse* has arisen and taken his claim to the State Council. The dispute is still going on.

¹ The younger brother would have held the stool on behalf of his brother as a younger brother sometimes holds it on behalf of a deceased brother without its being considered to have changed hands. See p. 186.

CHAPTER VIII
FUTURE PROBLEMS OF ADMINISTRATION

§ 1

THE INDEPENDENCE OF SMALL UNITS

IT has been said that people are incapable of combining together in large numbers except under the influence of either fear or hate. Whether this is universally true I do not know, but I believe it to be true of the present-day Gold Coast Africans. Even the Akan States, not purely military though formed out of fear of military attack, are now tending to break up, and though they are of such convenience to administration that Government would like to preserve them, it is doubtful whether this will be possible. The wish being father to the thought, most officials assume not only that it will be possible but that larger and larger groups may be formed.

The Gã towns, as I have already explained, have never been part of a native State nor had a paramount chief, and the attempt to give them one has been a failure. Unless an entirely new and direct rule is to be set up it seems to me that to recognize the independence of each town and to allow no other towns to have a say in its affairs is the only practicable course. A State Council consisting of the chiefs of five towns to decide who ought to be chosen as the chief of a sixth is as reasonable as appointing the mayors of Brighton, Bournemouth, Folkestone, Portsmouth, and Poole to decide who is the rightful mayor of Swanage. Periodic meetings of the elders of all the Gã-speaking towns to discuss matters of common interest would not be out of place, but such gatherings should not have judicial powers. It is of no use to blink the fact that an impartial love of abstract justice is not yet a part of the average elder's or chief's equipment, however well he may behave when exposed to the automatic sanctions which operate in his own little community.

§ 2

CHIEF OR ELDERS?

It would clearly be convenient for the Government if the rulership of each town could be condensed into one person. This, however, is not the Gã way and, as the foregoing pages

have I hope shown, the European assumption that it *is* the Gã way has made trouble, from the days of the Portuguese to modern times. From the very first Europeans have failed to realize that they were dealing with African democracies and not absolute monarchies, or, if they realized it, have striven for their own convenience to alter it. Some towns in the old days even created a *manjse* or a *mankralo* for the sole purpose of negotiating with Europeans, but having done so, promptly began to quarrel with him for taking too much upon himself.

One thing is certain. If indirect rule requires—as some people think it does—chiefs who are monarchs of a bluer blood than their people's and who are accustomed to being obeyed, then indirect rule is not applicable, for there are not, never have been and never can be, any such chiefs in this part of Africa.

There is no 'blue blood' in the Gold Coast. The 'chiefs' are of the people, and the problem is essentially the same as that existing between two African employees with a European master. There is no jealousy and distrust greater than that existing between two such rival candidates for European favour. For example, a teacher said to me 'They have transferred me to a new school as head teacher. I am not glad, because one of the assistant teachers is my old friend and classmate. Now that Europeans have set me above him he will try to pull me down, will write anonymous letters about me and will try to poison my food'.

It is nevertheless held by some Europeans that it is high time Government itself did the appointing of chiefs and endowed them with authority to rule. Most of the Gã trouble is precisely because it appears to the elders that the Government has already done one or both of these things. Either it has (through its newly invented State Council whose iniquities are, incidentally, all regarded as Government's iniquities) imposed upon them a Government's *manjse* whom they would never have chosen for themselves, or it has caused their *manjse* to behave as if he were a ruler and a monarch. They feel, in fact, that rule is already 'direct'.

And this kind of direct rule the people will not tolerate. Direct rule by Europeans they would accept, but direct rule by men of their own kind artificially endowed with a European status they will not accept.

Many an African has said to me, 'When native custom gives a man a position we obey him and respect him because it is our own custom, but when Europeans give him a position over us we hate him and want to kill him, for he will always work against

us to get promotion for himself'. And many a time have I heard Africans say, 'We are willing to be ruled by Europeans for they are now our masters, but we cannot bear to see our own brothers set among those masters'.

It seems that real prestige between Gã and Gã cannot be artificially conferred from above, but can only be created from below in return for services rendered. Such prestige appears to be maintained by the *interchange* of what the Gã call 'respect'. I have heard the saying, 'If the big man does not respect, the small man will not respect'. I have often heard it said of a certain 'Government's *manɔse*', 'We don't respect him *because* he is *only* a Government's *manɔse*. He doesn't respect us because we didn't appoint him, so we don't respect him either. If he sends for us we don't come, unless it is a tribunal summons and there are police handcuffs to force us'. And indeed the wretched *manɔse* in question sits in lonely misery in his empty house, ignored and despised, and in abject fear of poison.

Indirect rule through a body of elders would not, of course, be easy. Gold Coast Government cannot hope to be easy. It might even happen that the substitution of twenty elders for one 'chief' would begin with twenty succession disputes instead of one. A District Commissioner (in another district) said to me, 'I do not know who is really the headman of that village. There is an old man whom they all seem to accept in all their own affairs, but if he were seen coming into my office he would be mobbed'. The problem of jealous distrust will crop up in some form wherever Europeans are the ultimate controllers of African affairs and have African intermediaries.

The European tends to reply, 'Administration has no time for humouring petty jealousy. They must just get over it'. But petty though the jealousy may be, it is not a petty factor, and getting over it is the greatest problem, not only of administration but all co-operation between Africans and Europeans.

One thing is, I think, certain. Only if the people were convinced that the elders' position carried—as it did in the old days—only hard obligations and no hope of material rewards, would rule through a body of elders be possible.

The question of money must now be discussed.

§ 3

MONEY AND THE FORCES OF MORALITY

'It is money that is spoiling our towns', is a remark that elders often make. And before discussing some of the special

aspects of money in relation to future administrative policy it might be well to go back and consider the impact of money on tribal life, the general attitude towards it, and its effect on law and order.

In the simpler of the Gã communities, such as Temma, we can still discern what are the forces of social cohesion and general morality. We can see there, also, the beginning of the weakening of those forces and along what lines slackening begins.

The early community was engaged in getting a living from the earth, and the whole of its religious ritual and its social organization was directed to one end—the increase of life.¹ The family, governmental, and religious organizations were one, the head of the family was the priest, and his ritual was all designed to gain the approval of the gods so that the earth might bring forth, and the family increase and be fed.

But getting life meant more than merely winning a living. It meant the warding off of death. Disease and death were always lurking round the corner. Any European living among primitive people is constantly being shocked by the startlingly unexpected deaths of hale and hearty people. Europeans do not expect such deaths: the primitive community does. The annual festival is a time of explicit and heartfelt thanksgiving on the part of every man, woman, and child that he or she has marvelously survived to see another feast. Sheltered civilized people can hardly believe how very present to the simpler people is the fear of death, and how frequent is the speculation as to why death has smitten such and such a young man in his prime, has swept away another man's dozen children, or has stricken another's wife in childbed.

And the answer to this speculation is always the same one—that these victims of death must have done wrong. The wages of sin is death, the reward of goodness is life and prosperity.

And what is goodness? It is two things. It is that which keeps the peace in the family, or between the families, and enables the members to hold together against misfortune; it is, therefore, truth-telling, honesty, generosity, industry, and obedience to authority. It is also the performance of that ritual which the gods and the dead demand before they will send their gifts; in short, it is the keeping of custom.

¹ I think it was Eliot Smith, though I am uncertain, who first said that all ritual had but one aim—the increase of life. I have not only become gradually convinced of the truth of this, but have come to regard it as a generalization of great genius.

'What is the difference', I once asked, 'between a law and a custom?'¹

'A law', was the answer, 'is something you break if you can do so without being found out. But nobody *wants* to break a custom. If you break a custom you will die.'

'What happens to people who neglect to come home from their villages for the big festival?'

'They wouldn't neglect it. But if they did they would no longer be members of their families, and their families would not help them in trouble or want.'

'What happens to the man who enters the New Year without confessing the guilt and hate concealed in his heart?'

'His guilt will make him ill. If he be very guilty he will die.'

Life, health, and prosperity are the reward of goodness, and goodness is attention to family obligations and family ritual. As the family grows into a big community and joins with others to make a town, the sense of the corporateness of people and the solidarity or togetherness of happenings is what keeps individual persons doing the right thing. As my friend *Afua* said in his homily to the *wɔyɔ* who had misused a herb: 'It was a small wrong, but you were right to report it, for small wrongs help to break down custom, and the breaking down of custom breaks down the town'. Few, perhaps, have so thought-out and articulate an idea of social cohesion as this old man, but I am certain that 'solidarity' is more than an anthropologist's abstraction, and that most of the simpler people have a profound sense of the *togetherness*² of all the customs and usages of the community, and a deep conviction that life, health, prosperity, and happiness depend on obedience to them.

We have seen, also, that when warfare came upon the community, ideas were not essentially changed. The man killed in the war was believed to be the man who had done wrong to his brother or to his family god, or the man who by cowardice had spoilt his protective medicine.

I do not believe that mere 'culture contact', or even a deep

¹ *Amra*, a law or decree, is a word rarely used except in connection with the police and other European institutions. The word for the Governor is *Amralɔ*—the one who decrees, and all other Government officials are spoken of as the *Amralɔfoi*—the people who decree.

² The word 'togetherness' is not mine. I first heard it at a memorable lecture by Professor A. N. Whitehead about twenty years ago. He said that a belief in the togetherness of natural phenomena or a belief in the 'fundamental decency of things' was the basis of science. An analogous belief, on the part of the elders, in the interdependence of all their different institutions seems to me to exist. As one of them put it, 'All Custom is one', by 'custom' meaning tribal institutions as distinct from new European institutions.

intravenous culture injection into a community, necessarily breaks up the structure of the community. I do not believe that even universal literacy would in itself do this. Literacy in itself does not alter either people or their motives: it merely puts another tool at their command. Of the older men, those who are literate, or have travelled and worked away from home, are far more useful pillars of their society than the others, so long, and only so long, as they retain, which some of them do, a sense of the togetherness of all tribal doings, and do not feel that their literacy, erudition, and money is a back-stairs by which they can escape from the consequences of their own actions. In a small circumscribed community the path by which the consequences of a man's actions turn back upon himself is plain, but, where economics and politics are on a huge impersonal scale, the point of application of any dishonest or antisocial act is so far away from the point where its consequences are felt as to make it appear that there are no consequences.

The first step in the loss of the sense of togetherness was the coming of money. Money could buy you food and make you independent of the yearly gifts of the earth and the help of relatives. Its possession did not depend on your goodness—rather was it the contrary.

But the Gã are not yet entirely dependent on money for a living. To most of them money is a great excitement, not a necessity. Even those who live on wages by serving those strange gods, the Europeans, still go back to their farming relatives whenever they lose their jobs; there to live without money on the fruits of the earth. Money is not essential to life as in completely civilized communities, and it is therefore not bound up with morality. To ordinary people in Europe, respectability and an honourable place among one's fellows are bound up with trustworthiness in matters of money. Money is doled out as the reward of work; it must be carefully tended and carefully spent, because so much depends on it. It is sacred: there are more reticences connected with money than with almost anything. Open dishonesty with money is an unforgivable offence. So closely is money bound up with the honesty and morality of ordinary respectable Europeans that they find it difficult to grasp that to the Gã it is the one thing essentially *not* bound up with careful morality. European officials are constantly being astonished when an otherwise trustworthy African clerk gives away a sum of his employer's money to a relative in need, as thoughtlessly as the proverbial English cook gives a cup of tea to the proverbial policeman. When Europeans cheat with money

they never do so innocently, but most Gā men mishandle money quite innocently, quite without conscience, and with the wildest wastefulness. Money is a marvellous thing: it is to be seized and wasted as Londoners pluck red clover out of farmers' hay because it looks like a wild flower. It is nobody's, it is everybody's; it is not property, it is a miracle.

The women, however, always less adventurous and more conserving than men, have much more idea of taking care of money, partly because they come by it through unremitting daily effort and planning, and partly because it gives them a bulwark they have never had before. As the Temma men said in the Temma latrine dispute: 'The women do not respect us; they have more money than we have. Money always spoils respect'.

But to men and women alike, money is certainly no part of the togetherness of things on which life, prosperity, and safety used to depend. It is not yet a steadying influence, for it is not yet a necessity.

My first Gā teacher wrote me an essay on money. It began, 'Money is a most wonderful thing'. Though mission-trained, he had not yet ceased to marvel at the irrelevant miraculousness of money. But he had less vision than an old man in Temma who said: 'It is money that is breaking things down'.

It would be surprising if there were no associations in the people's minds between money and the supernatural, and this mostly among the men. I was once staying, in pursuit of some facts about witchcraft, in a forest-country village where most of the people did some cocoa-farming and cocoa-trading. Every one of them had an *aye* (non-killing witchcraft)¹ for making money. It worked thus. A man who had this power might meet a stranger and notice him to be wearing twenty pounds' worth of gold ornaments. By his witchcraft he would then 'suck' out the essence (*eyō emli nii*) of the stranger's gold. When the stranger reached his own town he would find twenty pounds' worth of expenses or fines waiting for him, or would in some other manner be forced to part with twenty pounds. The *aye* in the other town would find a windfall of twenty pounds coming to him from some surprising direction. He must not 'eat' (enjoy or spend) any of this windfall, but must treat it as capital and

¹ A witchcraft is not a mere bad medicine directed against a fellow creature. It is a bad medicine which operates without tangible medicines and apparatus and without spoken words. It is projected by the silent, invisible action of the witch's will alone. The seat of the 'medicine' is in the witch not in anything external to him. A money-making witchcraft is not a mere charm for good luck in trading. It works only by the deliberate projection of harm at somebody else, so causing him to lose money equal to the witch's gain.

invest it or trade with it. With its profits he must be generous and must give away to anyone in need an amount equal to that originally 'sucked' from the stranger. If he were to 'eat' any of the original twenty pounds 'sucked' from the stranger, he would become an *obeyefo* (a killer-witch who cannot stop killing) and would have to join flesh-feasting bands of other wicked killers.

In striving to associate itself with decency in government, the British administration starts with the heavy handicap of being associated in the minds of the people with wealth. The Government is thought of primarily as an inexhaustible source of miraculous wealth. It is therefore difficult for the people to associate the patronage of government with the ancient, law-abiding, moral order of things, rather than with the unstable, irresponsible, monetary order of things.¹

To come to the concrete matter of registered tribunals, it seems to me that until money has become less of a wild irrelevancy and more of an associate of steadiness, it is a mistake to allow native courts to inflict fines and the councillors to share in these pickings.

In England, magistrates, town councillors, county councillors, and other helpers in local government freely give of their time and experience in the public service partly because they enjoy such business, partly because it gives them status among respected people, and partly because they wish to help to maintain law and order and promote public welfare. For exactly the same three reasons Gã town officials in the past have been proud to give their services freely. The worthier among them still are. But to withhold official British recognition from all but those who are empowered by British legislation to make money for themselves seems to me a great mistake. Councillors and magistrates are nearly all, as in England, elderly men who have retired from strenuous work and have time on their hands which they are proud to use in an interesting, honoured way.

In every Gã town where there is at present either a 'Government's *mantse*' completely out of touch with his people or an interregnum with no recognized *mantse* and no European supervision,

¹ Many of the old-fashioned Victorian missions did little in the matter of breaking up tribal standards of morality because of the poverty and simplicity of their material equipment and the slightness of the alteration which they wrought upon people's idea of the sources of prosperity and happiness. They did not deeply alter people by having them read and write, attend church every Sunday, have only one wife instead of three, and acknowledge one God instead of many. I know plenty of old men trained by these missions who are among the real pillars of the ancient order in their towns.

the ancient town councils are still being carried on, the unofficial courts are hearing cases, and law and order is being maintained by the admirable efforts of honourable old men asking no reward but the respect of other honourable people. These are the men who deserve the help and encouragement of the Government in their uphill fight, these are the men whose help the Government needs and, unknown to itself, has always had in its own uphill fight, and these are the men whose help the Government cannot afford to lose.

The suggestion has often been made that 'chiefs' should be paid salaries to make them more honest. I am convinced that among the Gã it would make them more dishonest. It would encourage the dishonest type of chief even more than present conditions encourage him, and would greatly dishearten the honest type of unpaid official who has always been the mainstay of decency. To give more power and support to the respected, unpaid officials, and to dissociate money as far as possible from native administration, is one way in which law and order could be strengthened and the British Government regarded as the friend rather than the enemy of the ancient forces of law and order. I have talked with many of the elders on this subject of willingness to assist in government without pay, and they are unanimous that the honourable men would always be willing and the others best left out. They add: 'It is money that has spoilt our town'.

§ 4

THE FUTURE OF THE *MANTSE*

Strongly as the Gã object to a *mantse* who takes too much upon himself or accepts too much of the greatness which Europeans tend to thrust upon him, they would nevertheless not like to see him abolished or unrecognized. There is a good deal of glamour and romantic sentiment around him and they have as much affection for his office as have the British for the British monarchy. What place is there for him in the future development of local self-government?

The line of future development for the post of *mantse* will, I think, have to be similar to that of an English mayor. The *mantse* should be a man of substance and leisure, willing as the four old men I have mentioned were willing, and as an English mayor is willing, to spend his substance and leisure in the service of his town, rewarded only by the respect of honourable people and the consciousness of that respect—a reward there is no doubt

many people in both Africa and England do find satisfying. But if the *mantse*'s post were to become an even more coveted source of income than it now is, then, it is certain, would the wrong type of *mantse* be pushed into office by the wrong type of supporter, even more often than happens now.

Respect for the office of *mantse* can be built up only by a series of excellent and respected men, and excellent men can be assured only by imposing tests which none but excellent men can withstand.

There is no sharper test of anyone's interest in his work than his willingness to do it without pay. There is no sharper test of a literate's freedom from the all too common desire to use his literacy to exploit his illiterate townsmen for his own enrichment than his willingness to spend his own money in the service of his town.

These are severe tests, but not more severe than these dangerous days of literate adventurers demand, and not more severe than the tests which a few *mantse*s were beginning to impose on themselves before the Ordinance introduced a baser type of *mantse*.

Before the coming of the Ordinance and the conversion of the *mantse*'s post into a coveted source of income from Tribunal and State Council, there were four *mantse*s who seemed to be developing their office along useful lines. These were the late *Nii Boi* of Asere, the late *Ashite Akomfra* of Teshi, the late *Kodzo Abebio* of Jamestown, and the late *Dowuona* of Osu. These were all enstooled and established well before the coming of the ordinance. They have all recently died, and the consequent succession scimmages have undone most of their good work. Only one of their successors, the present Osu *mantse*, an elderly man who escaped being dealt with by the State Council, is carrying on the same kind of work. Teshi and Jamestown are each without a *mantse*, being in the throes of dispute.

These four *mantse*s were all wealthy, hard-working, upright men, rewarded for many years only by the well-deserved respect and trust of their people. This respect was not accorded to them by virtue of their office—which is not a highly respected office—but was won by their personal qualities. They were all literates, and their literacy also helped them to acquire real usefulness as trustworthy mediators between the Government and their people's affairs. Literacy, like other tools, is not in itself either good or bad.

A reliable, hard-working, literate *mantse*, like the Osu *mantse*, can also do much to gain the gratitude and respect of his town by relieving the elders of a great mass of the irksome detail

involved in British supervision. This they are only too willing to turn over to him. Almost the last time I saw my friend the late Teshi *mantse* he was patiently dealing with a letter from the sanitary authorities on the topic of night-soil disposal. Nobody grudged him this honour. The Osu *mantse* spends many tedious hours in the patient hearing of petty disputes between the domestic servants of Europeans on the Ridge (the Ridge is on Osu territory). His people know that he treats these strangers justly and patiently, and it becomes clear to them that he is not self-seeking. Their growing respect for him is slowly building up a sorely-needed respect for his office.

Given men of this type, I do not see why there should not be a useful future for the *mantse*. There are such men. The right ordinance would bring them to the fore.

To remove all lure of money from the *mantse*'s post as well as from the elders' posts would not only give the baser man no inducement to take part in government, but the *mantse* and his elders would then be working on equal terms. This would go far to put and keep them in sympathy.

§ 5

STOOL DISPUTES

Stool disputes, as we have seen, are of two kinds: succession disputes and destoolment disputes.

Competition for the post of *mantse* is inevitable so long as the post is a coveted one. Under the present ordinance the disputes take years to settle, are grossly destructive of law and order, and are never settled satisfactorily. This again is inevitable so long as the synthetic State Council is allowed to handle them. They could easily be avoided if Government recognized native election procedure and saw that each step was constitutionally carried out. The steps are:

1. Meeting of the *manbii* to demand a *mantse*.
2. Meeting of the *dzase* to nominate a candidate, differences of opinion being put to the vote.
3. Meeting of the *manbii* to accept or reject the proffered candidate.
4. Meeting of the *dzase* to hear the decision of the *manbii* and, if the first candidate be not accepted, to nominate another.
5. Private enstoolment ceremony.
6. Public 'showing out' ceremony.

It should also be firmly stressed that no candidate has any inherent *right* to succeed and that no external body of judges can decide who is the rightful successor. If the rightful electors choose to dismiss the claim of a candidate whose birth gives him every hope of election they may do so and they may make, as they have often made in the past, an unexpected choice. The only help which the Government can give is to supervise the election.

The 'destoolment' problem need not be hard to settle. At present there is no native custom for destoolment, but even those die-hard elders who refuse to allow that the magical process of enstoolment can be annulled are agreed that an unsatisfactory *mantse* must be 'deserted' and not recognized by Government after such desertion by his people.

They are also agreed that 'you must climb down a tree by the same path that you climbed up', that is, a *mantse* can only be deposed by the same people who elected him.

§ 6

CONCLUSION

The Gā people have shown themselves, in the past, capable of astonishing self-organization and initiative in adapting their governments to changing conditions, and if these flexible governments with their traditions of courageous effort are freed from the present destructive Ordinance, I believe they will in the future prove themselves as capable of growth and change as they have done in the past.

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