

Year
1926

The Government of
the Gold Coast.

Vol. II. No. 2.
July—December

THE GOLD COAST REVIEW

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Printed for the Gold Coast Government by
THE GOVERNMENT PRINTER, ACCRA, GOLD COAST.

Price of this Number—5 Shillings.

Copies of this Review are on sale at the Office of the Colonial Secretary, Accra, the Crown Agents for the Colonies, 4, Millbank, Westminster, London, S.W.1., and the Gold Coast Commercial Intelligence Bureau, Abbey House, Westminster, London, S.W.1.

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Editorial.

This third number of the *Gold Coast Review* marks a distinct advance in the range from which the material is derived. Out of ten contributors four are Africans and of those four two are outside the Government Service. Attention is specially invited to the first instalment of a History of the Adangme People, a contribution of rare ethnological interest, the writer of which was trained from boyhood as a fetish priest and afterwards educated by the Basel Missionaries. This history was written in the Adangme language and has been translated by one of the author's sons. Publication will be completed in three instalments and an edition will then be available in book form.

Authors of articles and notes appearing in the *Gold Coast Review* are solely responsible for their statements and expressions of opinion.

C. W. WELMAN,
Secretary for Native Affairs.

At sea, the day before Plymouth, homeward.
December, 1926.

OUTLINE FOR GUIDANCE OF THOSE CONTRIBUTING GENERAL ACCOUNTS OF TRIBES OR REGIONS.

PART I.

PHYSICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE COUNTRY AND POLITICAL ORGANISATION.

SECTION I.—PHYSICAL DISTRIBUTION.

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

SECTION II.—POLITICAL ORGANISATION.

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

PART II.

CIVIL LAW.

SECTION III.—FAMILY RELATIONS.

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

SECTION IV.—MARRIAGE.

Does marriage exist as an institution? Are the sexual relations perpetual or temporary? Are different varieties of marriage recognised, and do the ceremonies by which they are entered into vary accordingly? Describe any of these ceremonies. Does polygamy prevail? If so, to what extent has it been customary in the past, and is it on the increase or decrease? Is polyandry permitted? If so, how are the husbands selected? At what age are marriages generally entered into, with regard to both sexes? Has Mahommedan law influenced marriage and family customs to a great extent? Describe how far it has been adopted, and how far primitive native customs inconsistent therewith have survived among professing Mahommedans? Are all wives considered equal or is there generally a head wife? What are her powers? Do wives generally occupy separate houses? Is concubinage permitted? Is the consent of both parties

essential to marriage, or are females given in marriage without their consent? How far is this a common practice? Is it customary to constitute a dower, and is it furnished by the man or by the woman? What are the rights and duties of husband and wife towards one another? What is the social and industrial position of the wife? Is the purchase of wives customary? What restrictions are there on marriage? What are the prohibited degrees of relationship and affinity? May a man marry a woman of the same family, of the same name, of the same tribe, of another tribe? Is a religious character considered to attach to marriage? Are women allowed much freedom before marriage? When married are they good wives? May the husband repudiate a wife at will, or are there any restrictions upon his doing so? Can a wife obtain divorce from her husband? If so, how, and under what circumstances? What penal consequences attach to adultery by either spouse? Is seduction of women punishable, and what is the nature of the punishment? Under what circumstances is restitution of dower customary? What are the rules as to the custody of children? Is a distinction made between children born in wedlock and illegitimate children?

SECTION V.—GUARDIANSHIP.

Is guardianship in existence as distinct from the authority of the head of the family? What are the powers and duties of guardians? What persons are subject to guardianship? What is considered the period of puberty in both sexes? Does guardianship terminate on puberty or when? Are women considered to be under perpetual guardianship? What course is adopted with regard to the person and property of lunatics?

SECTION VI.—RIGHTS OF PROPERTY.

Indicate generally the ideas of property existing among the natives. Is ownership collective, or individual, or both, according to the nature of the subjects? Is there a distinction between movable and immovable property? What rights does ownership comprise with respect to the taking of fruits, exclusive occupation and enjoyment, etc.? Are rights of the nature of servitudes

recognised? Give any instances which you know describing the rights of the parties concerned. Are certain lands or objects of property regarded as belonging to (a) the village, (b) the tribe, (c) the kingdom? What customary rules are in force with regard to such lands? Is the land distributed for cultivation annually according to the size of families? May females hold land? May infants? What remedy is there for encroachments on rights of property? Does the custom of lodging and entertaining stranger-farmers, who cultivate land for the joint benefit of themselves and their landlords, prevail in the country? Is it customary for land to be leased and what sort of rents are paid?

SECTION VII.—SUCCESSIONS, DONATIONS, AND WILLS.

On a man's death, to whom is his property, movable and immovable, held to descend? Do his children inherit, or his ascendants, or his brothers and sisters consanguineal and uterine? Do women inherit, and if so, subject to what conditions? When does the nephew of the deceased inherit? What rights of inheritance are there as between spouses? What rights has the village or tribal community over the property of the deceased? What are the rights and duties of heirs? What are the forms of acceptance or repudiation of an inheritance? What are the liabilities of an heir with respect to the debts of the deceased? Give the principles of distribution of inheritances amongst multiple heirs. What ceremony, feasts, sacrifices, etc., are customary on death, and when does the distribution of the estate commence? What rules are there as to mourning? What are a man's rights with regard to disposing of his property (a) by *mortis causa* donation? (b) by will? Who may take under a *mortis causa* donation or will? Is there any rule as to the portion of his estate which may be lawfully disposed of by a man in either of these ways? Describe the forms and effects of such donations. Are they revocable? Describe the forms and rules connected with wills. Is the appointment of executors customary? Give rules as to revocation or lapsing of wills.

SECTION VIII.—CONTRACTS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SECTION IX.—PRESCRIPTION.

Is prescription known? What are its periods and rules?

PART. III.

CRIMINAL LAW.

SECTION X.—OFFENCES.

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

SECTION XI.—PENALTIES.

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

Accessories.—To what penalties are these subject?

PART IV.

JUDICIAL ORGANISATION.

SECTION XII.—NATIVE JURISDICTION.

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

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

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

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

PART V.

MISCELLANEOUS.

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

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

Training and domestication of animals.—What animals are kept and in what numbers? Mention any customs or peculiarities in relation to breeding or

management of animals. What animals are used for milk and what for food? Are they well-treated? Are any animals trained for particular uses, e.g., ploughing, bearing loads, etc.

Agriculture.—What forms of this prevail? How are lands to be cultivated, selected or divided? Describe landmarks. Is any rotation of crops observed? Is the use of manure understood?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

AFFAIRS IN WASSAW.

BY THE LATE F. G. CROWTHER, SECRETARY FOR NATIVE
AFFAIRS, 1909 to 1917.

(The following article is taken from one of the valuable Memoranda prepared by the late Mr. Crowther, when, as Secretary for Native Affairs, he was commissioned by the Governor from time to time to enquire into various political situations in certain of the States of the Gold Coast, in accordance with the practice of those days. This Memorandum is dated 9th January, 1914 *Editor*).

GENERAL.

1. The country of Wassaw comprises two Head-Chiefs' Divisions, Wassaw Amenfi or Upper Wassaw and Wassaw Fiase or Lower Wassaw. Speaking broadly Wassaw Amenfi lies north westward of the Mansi River, being bounded on the north by the villages of the Upper Denkeras who occupy the right bank of the Ofin River and on the north west by Sefwi Bekwai. Wassaw Fiase lies between the lower reaches of the Pra and the Ankobra, four stools of importance being situated east of the former and two west of the latter river.

2. The Wassaw Fiasas state that the Wassaw Amenfis are an offshoot of Wassaw Fiase while the Wassaw Amenfis claim independence from time immemorial. The weight of testimony as to the early movements of the peoples favours the assertion of the Wassaw Fiase, at least so far as what may be called the pure Wassaws are concerned, but the fact that a land dispute between the two divisions is pending in the Courts tends to cloud the evidence on this point. The division of Wassaw Fiase includes in its constitution peoples of a slightly different origin. The Apintos near the junction of the Huni and Ankobra Rivers and the Adums which include the Pepisas south of the Bonsa. The distinction does not appear to involve

any difference of political rank. It will be convenient for present purposes to describe the stools of Wassaw as of 3 classes, the Omanhene's, or paramount stool as A: the sub-chiefs as B and the village chiefs as C. An account of the relative political position of these stools will be given later. The Apintos of Wassaw Fiase are represented by the stool of Apinto now at Awudua, and the Adums of the same Division include the stools of Adum Bansa, Domenase, Trebuom, Dompim, Simpa and Nsuaem. The three last named are Pepisas and have a language of their own (akin to that of Gwira, a small independent Division on the Ankobra river immediately north of Axim) though it is not commonly used. To the section of the Adums the Mpohors formerly belonged. Their severance from Wassaw Fiase was effected some forty years ago. Whatever be the place of their earliest origin there can be no doubt that the paramount stool of the Wassaws at a not very remote date came from the south to the lands which they at present occupy. The first known capital of Wassaw Fiase was Abrade situated at or near Agona in Eguafo (near Elmina), from whence they moved to Amantin, between Manso and their present capital Benso, about 1823. The ancient capital of the Wassaw Amenfis was Nsamangkao, which lay some four or five miles east of Amantin. It was from this town during the reign of the Omanhene Kwasi Nyako Ampim of Wassaw Amenfi that Sir Charles Macarthy marched northward to Bonsaso, the place of his defeat and death in 1824. It is probable that a condition of disorder obtained in Wassaw until after the overthrow of the Ashantis at Katamansu (1826), but it is clear that Nsamangkao was destroyed and that eventually the capital of Wassaw Amenfi was transferred to Nirabahei, the site of which was near Akyekyere on the road between Akropong and Asankrangwa, from whence it was removed to Asamang, thence to Adansi-Akropong and finally to its present site. The language spoken by the Wassaws is a dialect of Twi bearing a close resemblance to Fanti. As has been said, however, certain sections have their own tongues, as Pepisa: while Gwira, a tongue belonging to the Apollonian and Ahanta groups, is spoken by some of the Wassaw Fiascs. The traditional movements of the paramount stools and the distinction of language suggest that both divisions comprise people of Fanti descent—possibly the descendants of an emigration which took place prior to the time when the present type of Ashanti constitution was formulated—and an aboriginal people related to the Ahantas and Apollonians. But this opinion is only conjectural and while there is no direct evidence to

support it, there is certainly no tradition which leads one to think that the fusion was the result of conquest. It is however plain that the paramount stools belonging to families of the Akan type and the presence of the Akan family system—the division into groups within the confines of which marriage is prohibited—is indicative of a strong leaven of Akan blood. The political constitution of the Wassaws however is widely different to that of the peoples of purer, or, it might be wiser to say, later, Ashanti descent and bears as does their religion a closer relationship to that of Ahanta.

3. The division of Wassaw Amenfi or Upper Wassaw comprises under the paramount stool of Akropong thirty-eight stools of the rank classified as B. These are divided into two groups, twenty-six belonging to the sub-division of the Adonten, the chief of whom is Jukwa, and twelve to the sub-division of the Gyase, of whom the head is the stool of Amuni. The division of Wassaw Fiase or Lower Wassaw comprises under the paramount stool of Benso twenty-five stools of the rank classified as B. Seventeen of these are grouped under the Adonten. The principal stool of this sub-division is that of Sekyere-Hemang in the Cape Coast District. And eight under the Gyase, of whom the head is the stool of Adansi. The political position of the various stools can be better realized if an understanding of the theory of the land tenure is grasped, for the former is moulded by the principles which govern the latter. While in the Divisions of the pure Akan type, such as Western or Eastern Akyem, Kwahu or Agona, the land tenure in its inception at least, is vested in the village communities, a confederation of which constitutes a Division, in Wassaw the land is held primarily by the paramount stool (A), the subordinate stools (B) occupying it only as it were as fiefs of the paramount stool and rendering actual tribute in respect of sales in connexion therewith.

4. The relationship therefore between the paramount and sub-chiefs' stools is based on a footing different to that common amongst the Twi-speaking people, the lesser chief being amongst the Wassaws in a greater degree of subordination.

5. It has been said that the stools may be divided into three classes (A) the Omanhene's (B) the Ohene's or Asafohene's, and (C) the Odikro's or Koranti's. Of these the Omanhene's stool exercises a strong influence over those of the class (B) and chiefs of this class, though selected from specified families, and though their confirmation requires the assent

of the people serving the stool which they occupy, are subject to the formal approval of the Omanhene before their installation is complete and they are actually enstooled by the linguists of the paramount stool. The ceremonies attending their installation indicate that their office is military in its inception and the term Asafohene commonly given to them is one of military origin. The land which they occupy is said to be held by the "gift" of the paramount stool, that is to say that it was given traditionally to the forerunners of its present various occupants in custody for their people by the paramount stool, but the paramount stool still exercises very clear rights over it. Thus in theory it receives one third of the rents or proceeds of the sale of land under the guardianship of the stools of the Adonten and one half of the proceeds in respect of land so alienated by the stools of the Gyase. In each case the residue is divided into equal parts between the stool involved and its subjects. The relationship between the stools of the (B) & (C) class is in degree precisely similar, the stools of the (B) class holding the land immediately from the paramount stool and of the (C) class mediately. The titles employed are for the paramount Chief (A) Omanhene: a chief of the second rank (B) is called by the Omanhene his "Asafohene" but is commonly called by the people "Ohene". The term Ohene is, however, somewhat misleading, as in the normal Twi-speaking division it implies a greater measure of independence than is enjoyed by the subordinate chief in Wassaw, and the term Asafohene seems to be more appropriate. In like manner the Chief of the rank indicated as (C) is locally known as an Odikro but sometimes as Koranti. This latter term is commonly used in Ahanta, but though the term "Odikro" in a normal Twi-speaking division implies perhaps an office of greater magnitude, the difference does not appear to be sufficient to warrant the drawing of a distinction. It has been shown that both the Wassaws are sub-divided into two sections the Adonten and the Gyase, that the chief Adonten stool of Wassaw Amenfi is that of Jukwa and of Wassaw Fiase, Hemang-Sekyere: that the principal Gyase stool of Wassaw Amenfi is Amuni and of Wassaw Fiase Adansi, but it is plain that these stools do not stand in any degree of superiority to the other stools of their respective wings save in that of a seniority of precedence. That is to say that all other stools of the particular wing or section communicate direct with the Omanhene and not through the senior stool and an appeal from their tribunal lies direct to that of the paramount stool. The chief of Wuratrem in Wassaw Amenfi and the chief of

Bosomtwi (Huni Valley) in Wassaw Fiase are the Bangmuheno or keepers of the cemetery of their respective paramount chiefs. The stool of Bosomtwi is peculiar in that it is not hereditary and the office of Bangmuhene in Wassaw Fiase is filled by appointment.

6. Each village is a recognizable unit in the state and its constitution is similar to that of the normal village of the Akan speaking type. The principal authority in the village is the chief occupying the stool. He is supported by the Aidzikyir ("the one who stands behind") who is usually the heir apparent. The linguist (Ochyme) or linguists are men of considerable influence and in Wassaw the office is hereditary. Subject to the chief are the stooled elders (Mpenyinfo), who exercise authority over a distinct quarter of the town and who belong to an aristocratic class, that is to say they are members of families possessing stools which they inherit by right of a defined succession. These, with other persons selected for their personal ability (Apamfo) and whose office is not hereditary, form the village council (Begwafo) and tribunal. The common people, the "youngmen" (mmerante) are represented by the Asafo-Safohene or mmerantehene. He is one of their number chosen for his ability and upon him devolve certain specific duties, amongst which may be instanced the summoning of the people to clean the roads. This is done by beating the long drum known as Asafokyene. The town occupied by the Omanhene is similarly constituted, but his court has a greater number of officials such as the "Okarakumfo" or souls, the "Afuanasafo" (state sword bearers), the "Menetefo" (tail bearers), the "Fofosonafo" (treasurers) and the "Nsemifo" (court criers), some of the lesser chiefs also are entitled to certain of these retainers.

7. All hereditary office passes in the female line, from brother to brother by the same mother or to sister's son, but selection by virtue of merit is made from those eligible. Should the paramount stool become vacant it is the duty of the Adontenhene to summon chiefs of the Oman or division and the Gyasehene is asked to present a person in the right line of succession to fill the vacant office. The chiefs of the Gyase then consult with the family of the paramount stool and having made their selection offer their candidate to the assembled state. If the choice is acceptable the ceremonies of installation then proceed: if not the Gyase are asked to present another candidate. The ceremonies of installation include chalking, the public procession and a week's confinement in the Ahenfi or chief's house. An oath is taken publicly

to the effect that the Omanhene will serve his sub-chiefs and people and come to their summons by day or by night and the various sub-chiefs also take oaths of allegiance to the Omanhene and certain sacrifices are made. The actual enstoolment is conducted in secret and at night and the Omanhene is placed on the stool by the Adontenhene. When the Stool of an Asafohene becomes vacant the Omanhene is informed by the village linguist who returns with the Omanhene's contribution towards the funeral custom. When the funeral custom is completed the Omanhene is again informed and his linguist and another accredited messenger are despatched to the village concerned and discuss with the family as to the succession. The messengers then return to the Omanhene who signifies his acceptance. Should approval not be given negotiations continue until an acceptable name is presented. The linguist again returns and he and the senior subordinate chief of the stool enstool the Asafohene. The ceremonies are generally similar to those in connexion with the enstoolment of an Omanhene. An Omanhene however is carried in a palanquin, an Asafohene being borne on the shoulders of his people in the public procession. The procedure at the election of an Odikro is similar to that of an Asafohene; the duties of the Asafohene replacing those of the Omanhene. The election of an Odikro is not confirmed by the Omanhene, but by his immediate Asafohene alone, and there is no reference to the principal Asafohene of the particular wing. Thus the election of an Odikro of the Adonten is not referred to the Adontenhene. This emphasizes the comparative detachment of the various units in the sub-divisions. An Odikro is not confined to the room and generally the ceremonies of installation are of a similar character to those of an Asafohene.

8. The principle of the right of destoolment is recognised, but, as is natural, the first steps in this direction usually emanate from the subjects of the stool concerned. The Asafohene or representative of the common people would in a normal case be the prime mover in the destoolment, say, of an Asafohene and the movement in its inception might be confined to the immediate village concerned. A destoolment must necessarily be of a revolutionary character and since the actions of the chief primarily concerned are liable to confuse the actions, it would be impossible to define a correct procedure. It may be said however, that if the subjects of a stool are unanimous or nearly unanimous in their desire to effect the removal of its occupant, their weight of numbers justifies them

in approaching the Omanhene who may call upon the Asafohene to satisfy his people with a monetary gift. The refusal to accept such a gift would be tantamount to the total rejection of the chief concerned. It seems clear that the opportunity of explanation and expiation should be given, but it is equally clear that the actions of the Omanhene must be governed by the dictates of political expediency, for his endeavour to force a chief upon an unwilling people must jeopardize his own position, while the power of the people to boycott the unacceptable chief would render his position untenable and the axiom that in the absence of unlimited coercion the ultimate sovereignty is vested in the people is plainly demonstrated.

9. Appendices A and B give tables indicating the relative position of the various stools.

10. Attention has been drawn to the system of land tenure that obtains in Wassaw; to its divergence from the normal Akan type and to its bearing upon the political constitution, but in certain measures the theory must be distinguished from the practice. Illustrations drawn from the records of peoples and lands other than those within the immediate purview are apt to present outlines too rigid and colourings too bright to express with truth the nebulous form and the merging tones of the living phenomenon and if it is said that the practice in Wassaw is akin to the feudal system it can only be said to be so in an approximate sense. Thus it would be safe to say that in theory the full ownership of land was possible only for the paramount stool and that the immediately subordinate stool (B) and the mediately subordinate stool (C) held such portions over which they exercise a degree of authority as custodians. But, in practice, each subordinate stool is a unit of the state representing a community of persons and families united in its service and though it cannot in theory effect a permanent or temporary alienation of the lands within its control without the consent of the paramount stool, its subjects have the common right of farming and of collecting (possibly with certain limitations) the uncultivated fruits and of profiting by the proceeds of the chase thereon. Moreover there can be little doubt that the subordinate stool does in fact effect a defiance of the theory by the leasing of small portions of land, such as sites for trading stores, to individuals outside the community in respect of which no tribute is paid to the paramount stool, although such a proceeding would be impossible in respect of larger concessions.

The tribute due from the subordinate to the paramount stool in respect of lands alienated is, as has been said, in theory one-third of the proceeds from the stools of the Adonten and one-half from the stools of the Gyase. There can be little doubt that changed economic conditions are bringing the paramount and subordinate stools into conflict. Broadly speaking the two Wassaws have industries associated with the four principal economic products, Gold, Rubber, Timber and Cocoa. The relative antiquity of these industries is of importance. That in connexion with the first named is very ancient and has been in operation for some four hundred years: the second, possibly, is not much older than a generation, the third owes its impetus to the construction of the railway little more than a decade ago, while the operations of the fourth are as yet hardly felt. * Questions relative to the rights of various members of the community as to these industries require some explanation. In all these considerations it must be kept clearly in view that the individual member of the community enjoys the free right (which is general to the various inhabitants of this Colony) to farm for his food supplies the lands of the stool which he serves. With regard to gold it appears to be perfectly clear that the normal proportionate division is made in some cases of the rents and royalties payable in respect of lands leased for concessions. It is equally clear, however, that in others a compromise has been made and the paramount stool receives the rents in respect of a given concession irrespective of the proportion the rent so received may bear to the total rents payable for lands leased by the subordinate stool affected. This appears to be a matter of convenience and, since efforts seem to have been made to arrive at an approximation of the ancient proportions, the underlying principle is not involved. The right of the individual to win gold requires the consent of the immediate stool concerned but does not appear to involve the payment of any tribute beyond the customary offering (cf. wha) made as a visible endorsement of the transaction. The individual collection of virgin rubber is said to be governed by like rules and it would follow as a corollary that an aboriginal concession affecting as it would the prescriptive rights of various members of the community would be on the same basis as the alienation of mineral right. The question of tribute in respect of timber rights—admittedly a new industry—is at present in solution, and the relative evidence is in consequence conflicting. In Wassaw Amenfi the paramount stool stands out for an arrangement similar to that governing the gold industry. This the subordinate stools

appear to resent but only as the particular occasion arises. In Wassaw Fiase an attempt to effect a settlement is being made. The subordinate stools have suggested that tribute cannot be demanded, but that they are willing to give a present, the proportion of which shall be undefined, to the paramount stool. This offer the paramount stool has rejected and three subordinate stools of the Adonten have signed an agreement whereby they are willing to yield one fourth of the proceeds. The position is interesting and despite the fact that the alleged offer of the subordinate stools omitted the doctrine of compulsion it appears clear that the principle of tribute remains intact. The question with regard to cocoa is one with which doubtless the future will have to deal. Up to the present there can be no doubt that the individual member of the community has been as free to farm the land for this product as he is to farm it for his private food supplies and the question of tribute does not appear so far to have occasioned any serious controversy. The suggestion that the constitution is in a degree akin to the feudal system has been made. That the common right to farm and hunt on the lands demands a civil obedience which entails a military service is true, but it is true also of any village community among the Akan speaking people and the fundamental distinction between the Wassaw Divisions and the normal type is to be found in the attitude towards the land. But to view this question in its right perspective the eye must be focussed on the fact that the tributes that are paid are paid not in respect of the land itself but in respect of that which it produces. So long as the yield is limited to gold, timber and uncultivated rubber no serious problem is in sight, but with the advent of a trade in cultivated cocoa the matter assumes a more involved aspect. The position might be described by saying that all land is held primarily by the paramount stool (the first estate) ; secondarily by the subordinate stool (the second estate) ; while each individual member of each community (whether of the first, second or the third estate) has the inherent right to enjoy the produce of the soil. The right of the individual occupant of any stool (the first or second estate) is no greater than that of any other individual. The effect of the alienation of any portion of the land curtails the privilege of each individual by reducing the area over which his rights are operative and for this loss the proportion of the rent or royalty which he receives is a compensation. The introduction into the country of an economic product which requires permanent as distinct from shifting cultivation and the fact that such cultivation is con-

ducted by individuals on communal land increases this loss to the extent that it reduces the area of lands free for shifting cultivation and the unoccupied lands liable to alienation. Since the proportion of benefit derived from the proceeds of alienation is greater for the first and second estates than for the third the two first named must inevitably seek to introduce the practice of tribute in respect of the cultivation of permanent crops. The position, therefore, of the individual cocoa farmer in Wassaw would seem to be that not only, as elsewhere in the Colony, is the communal tenure a too slight guarantee for the protection of his enterprise, but that he stands in dread of a system of taxation based on economic conditions other than those which his industry has produced.

CUSTOMS, FETICHES, ETC.

11. The annual yam custom (Odedi) is held in both Wassaws. The ceremonies are observed as among the Ahantas with a closer precision than is common to the Twi-speaking people, but a greater particularity appears to be observed in Wassaw Amenfi than in the sister state. In Wassaw Amenfi it is performed in January, in Fiase in September. The custom, which is closely associated with the commemoration of the dead starts on a Thursday, which is a day of fasting the next day being a feast which is maintained for the period of one week. In Wassaw Amenfi the drums are beaten at the cemeteries but this is not the usage in Wassaw Fiase. Sacrifices are made to the family stools, and stools, drums and houses are sprinkled with a mixture of yam, palm oil and eggs. The feast in practice is made the occasion for drinking, the offering of presents and the purchase and airing of new garments.

12. The feast of Ojwira, the annual washing of the great stool, a festival common to all the people of Akan descent, is observed in both divisions some forty days after the yam custom. The subordinate stools perform similar ceremonies first and when these have been completed, their occupants gather in the town of the paramount stool for the ablutions of the great stool. The actual sprinkling is done in private by a privileged class, but the assembly in the town is frequently made the occasion for determining tribal matters; the absence of a subordinate chief is penalized and there can be little doubt that the custom in its inception was established with some political foresight. For this reason it will be observed that a

knowledge of the approximate date of this festival (which properly occupies three weeks known as Adai, Yamfuri, and Edum) is one that may be of use to administrative officers.

13. Religious practices other than the ancestor worship which the cult of the stool indicates do not appear to have a great hold on the Wassaws. Speaking generally the Tano River to the Wassaw Amenfis and the Pra to the Wassaw Fiasas are the nearest approximation to the tribal fetich which can be traced, but the sacrifices to these rivers appear to be casual and inspired by individual effort. The diversity of origin probably accounts for this fact. There are various local fetiches or oracles, who are ministered to and whose mouth-pieces are usually persons of an hereditary class known as Okomfo or Osofo who may be properly described as fetich priests. The belief in possession by evil spirits, commonly known as witches (Abeyifo) is common, and witch doctors (Dunsini), who belong to no special class but who thrive according to their reputation or the reputation of their charms. Charms are commonly used and resort is had to the Odum medicine by the use of which it is believed that perjury may be detected. This or a similar practice obtains in most divisions of the Colony.

CONCLUSION.

14. It has been necessary to deal with the question of land at some length for no portion of the Colony has been so torn asunder by disputes as to its ownership, and the condition of the two Wassaws when compared to most of the other divisions of the Colony cannot be considered to be satisfactory. The high proportion which the alienation of land is capable of yielding to the paramount stool in return for a merely nominal loss and the mineral wealth of certain portions of the country have doubtless inspired litigation which in more happy circumstances might have been averted, but it is doubtful if these are the only causes of inspiration. Whatever be the cause or causes the effect at least is patent and while the condition of the villages is generally indicative of a want of prosperity, there can be little doubt that nearly every stool is indebted to an amount for the redemption of which there is but slender hope. One pauses to reflect whether the economic conditions induced by constant litigation are materially better than those left by the internecine wars which it has replaced,

APPENDIX A.

TABLE SHEWING THE RELATIVE POSITION OF THE STOOLS
OF THE CHIEFS OF *Wassaw Amenfi* (UPPER WASSAW).

OMANHENE.

Akropong.^A*Adonten.*

B

Jukwa
 Agona
 Asankra-Oda
 Asankra-Bremang
 Asankra-ngwa
 Akyekyere
 Ajya Aka Manso
 Dokoto
 Odumase
 Afranse
 Ajumako (Akromanto)
 Tswindurase
 Domenase
 Abina Abina (Abrangbrang)
 Bissakrom-Jedua
 Saa (Sang)
 Jappa
 Asundua
 Adamanso
 Dompim
 Abokyere
 Mansiso
 Wassaw-Kumase
 Ankase
 Ajikuma
 Wuratre

Gyase.

B

Amuni
 Dawurampon
 Ayinabrem
 Samang
 Simbrofo
 Maso-Amenfi
 Asamang
 Kromisa
 Bantama
 Kwaman
 Adansi
 Juabeng

A. Stool of the Omanhene.

B. Stools of the Asafohene.

APPENDIX B.

TABLE SHEWING RELATIVE POSITION OF THE STOOLS OF THE CHIEFS IN *Wassaw Fiase* (LOWER WASSAW).

OMANHENE.

BENSO A.....Asikuma C Linguist of Benu

Apinto	{	<i>Adonten.</i>	<i>Gyase.</i>
		†Sekyere-Hemang B.	Adansi B. Whiniso C.
		Awudua B...Kwao Bedo C	*Bopo B .. Subiriso C
		(Apinto) Nkase C	Aheraso B
			Anomabo C Piaso B
			Mbease C Mamponso B
			Popoase C †Ntobiase B
			Kotokyere C †Akotoase B

C
Bosomtwi Ba Bompoase

Adum	{	Adum Banso B			
		Domenase B			
		Trebuum B			
		{	Pepisa	Pepisa Dompim B...Bonsaso C	
				Simpa B	Asankran C
					Manso C
				Nsuaem B.....	Aiyim C
					Nkwanta C
					Asamang C
					Kanyanko C
					Asuoja C
		Tarkwa-Banso B...	Achobuana C		
			†Dumama C		
		Manso B.....	Bonsaso C		
			Botogyina C		
Esuaso B.....	Akyempim C				
Bremang B.....	Akyem C				
Hemang B					
Daboase B					
Dompim B					
†Ayinabrem B					
Adamanso B					

† In the Cape Coast District.

* In the Ankobra District.

A. Omanhene's Stool.

B. Asafohene's Stool. C. Odikro's Stool.

Ba. The Bangmuhene's Stool.

MFANTSI-AKAN TOTEMS

By

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Legendary Origin. The legendary origin of Mfantsi-Akan totems has been handed down as follows: Odumankuma Tunmfu (the everlasting artificer in metals) created Odumankuma Bombofu (the ancient hunter) and gave him a gun to hunt with in the field. He also gave him a leaf to rub in both hands and squeeze the juice on the first animal he would find on his way, when it would be transformed into a handsome maiden.

He accordingly set out on his mission and the first animal to cross his way was Nyankuma Kitsibua (a species of scorpion); he dropped the juice of the leaf on it and it instantly assumed the shape of an Ofu (a species of monkey). Ofu told Odumankuma Bombofu that it was not the right beast to be transformed into a human being but the fox, the most wily of the beasts of the field. If, therefore, he would restore it to its former shape it would point out the fox to him. Odumankuma Bombofu reversed the process of transformation and Nyankuma Kitsibua resumed its original shape. Nyankuma Kitsibua led him to the hole of the fox and fetched it out; Odumankuma Bombofu squeezed the juice of the leaf on the fox and transformed it into a beautiful maiden. He took her to Odumankuma Tunmfu who in turn gave her to him in marriage, naming her Odumankuma Kyirema (the ancient drummer or musician.)

Odumankuma Bombofu and Odumankuma Kyirema lived together and begat many children. Odumankuma Tunmfu gave directions to their male children also to transform animals of their own choice by the same transformation process employed by Odumankuma Bombofu into women and marry them. The transformed beasts thus became the totems of the various tribes or clans by which they are denominated. In this way the fox became the totem of the Nsona tribe, which is the largest of the Mfantsi-Akan tribes.

Africans especially those of the Gold Coast and its Dependencies are generally ancestor worshippers and regard their totem as a sort of ancestral spirit ; they probably believed in the theory propounded by students of early society and religion that " their primal totems exude spirits which are incarnated in women ". They do not claim descent from the totem object but believe that a sort of relationship exists between themselves and the totem object. This sort of relationship is hereditary. So that a person born by a particular woman inherited her totem, and therefore all persons from her body follow her totem.

They consider themselves too closely allied to marry among their group, hence their strong aversion to marry their own group, they being considered of one blood. The legend given above of the origin of totemism in this country, which is obviously a myth, may be based on the general belief among some primitive people " that an original race of animals peopled the world ; animals, human in character but bestial, vegetable, astral or what not, in form ; these became men while retaining the *rapport* with their original species ", and so forth.

Mention has been made of the *Ntoro* theory where the children of a man and those of his brother, worship a special deity or fetish of a male ancestor. The totems are generally animals, but they have divisions called phratries such as birds, plants, fishes and trees. There are seven principal heads of clans. In the maritime towns we hear of there being nine principal clans, their epithet is " Aban Akrun ". The Seven Divisions or branches of clans are namely :—1. Asua-Oso, (Fox) 2. Eguana, Ekô (Parrot). 3. Twidan, Itwi (Leopard), Eburotu (Corn Stalk). 4. Aburadzi, Dabo (a species of black antelope or bush goat), Tekyina. 5. Atwaa, Abadzi, Bodom (Dog). 6. Kwonna, Ku (Bush Cow). 7. Adwinadzi, (a cluster of Odwon trees) Adwin, (silurus, river fish.), Adwinfu (thinking people.)

The phratries are as follows :—The *White-ringed Crow*, the *Turkey-Buzzard*, the *Parrot*, the *Hawk*, the *Silurus*, (adwin, a river fish), a *cluster of odwon trees*, the *Corn Stalk*, etc.

" Between each person and his or her name-giving object a certain mystic *rapport* is supposed to exist ".

The Rev. J. B. Anaman, F.R.G.S. in his interesting *Simple Stories from Gold Coast History*, Book II, states as follows :—

" According to our ancestors, the human family was made up of seven nations, which they called *Amanson*. This idea they entertained because of the families being seven,

There were lesser families which had sprung from later events in the history of the seven.

" It is peculiarly interesting that each of the seven families represented some lower creature whose qualities the family loved and had made their own ; and the classes of creatures from which these choices were made at that most distant period of the history of our ancestores were alike interesting and also striking.

" One family represented an animal which lived *underground*. One, a *winged* animal. One, an animal which lived in the *jungles*. Another, an animal which lived *by the waterside*. Another, an animal which lived *in water*. Another, an animal which lived *in the house*. And another, a plant.

" *Nsona* was fox, an emblem of shrewdness. *Annona* was a parrot, an emblem of patience or forbearance. *Twidan*, was a leopard, an emblem of violence. *Kwonna* was a buffalo, supposed to have a passion to see what is in water and on land, an emblem of inquisitiveness or thoroughness. *adwin* was a sheat-fish of the deep fresh waters, an emblem of thoughtfulness. *Intwaa* was a dog, an emblem of agility or promptness. *Aburadzi* was a plantain tree, supplying the staple food, an emblem of excellence or ambition.

" Hence it is that even to the present day the true descendants of the various families instinctively exhibit in their general character and conduct the respective traits above mentioned."

" Man was at first, as Darwin supposed, a jealous brute who expelled his sons from the neighbourhood of his women ; he in this way secured the internal peace of his fire circle ; there were no domestic love-feuds. The sons therefore of necessity married outside their group and were exogamous. As man became more human, a son was permitted to abide among his kin, but he had to capture a mate from another herd (exogamy). The groups received sobriquets from each other ", hence the tribal denominations and epithets among the Fanti and Akan tribes in this country. Their equivalents are what are copiously illustrated in the practice of modern and English ancient and Hebrew villages.¹ " The savage superstition which placed all folk in mystic *rapport* with the object from which their names are derived, gradually gave a degree of sanctity² " to the tribal denominations which became totems.

¹ Lang. Social Origins and Secret of the Totem.

² Totemism p. 86, Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th Edition.

"The term totem is said to have come into the English language in the form of "totam" through a work written by J. Long, an interpreter between the Whites and the Red Indians of North America (Voyages and Travels of an Indian Interpreter, 1791, p. 86)⁸.

Sir J. G. Fraser in his erudite and exhaustive work Totemism has thus defined totem. "A *totem* is a class of natural phenomena or material objects—most commonly a species of animals or plants between which and himself the savage believes that a certain intimate relation exists. Whatever. (the relation) may be, it generally leads the savage to abstain from killing or eating his *totem*, if his *totem* happens to be a species of animals or plants. Further, the group of persons who are knit to any particular *totem* by this mysterious tie commonly bear the name of the totem, believe themselves to be one blood, and strictly refuse to sanction the marriage or cohabitation of members of the group with each other. This prohibition to marry within the group is now generally called by the name of exogamy. Thus totemism has commonly been treated as a primitive system both of religion and society".

The following are the seven principal clans with their denominative totems and appellatives. The words in italics are the tribal appellatives.

How designated in Fanti.	How designated in Akan.
1. <i>Asuafu</i> , Nsuafu, Nsonafu, Oso, (Fox); akunkuran, (the white-ringed crow) <i>Asua wirempi Akwa Odudu</i> , also Aban Ēsia.	<i>Dwimina-fuo</i> : <i>Wirempi Akwa Odudu</i> .
2. <i>Eguana-fu</i> , Ekô, (Parrot) Anona-fu, Sansa (Hawk) <i>Anona Okusubureentsir</i> . Amuana-fu.	<i>Agona-fuo</i> ; also known as Buama-fuo ; <i>Aguna nu tua or Tuafu</i> . Awiku-fuo or Yoko-fuo Assekyiri-fuo Apradifuo <i>Owiku Sakyi Ampoma</i> .
3. <i>Twidan-fu</i> (Itwi, Leopard ; and <i>Opete</i> , Turkey-Buzzard) Eburotuw, (Corn Stalk).	<i>Burotu-fuo</i> : <i>Abohen-fuo</i> .

Eburetu Abohen.

4. *Aburadzi-fu*, Ofurna-fu, Egyirina-fu, (*Dabo*, a species of black antelope or bush goat) *Eduena-fuo* : also known in Twi as Abrade-fuo or Asenee-fuo.
Eduena Aburadzi Tekyina-fu. Ahundzi-fuo.
Dabo, same as Aburadzi Ekumako-fuo.
Abodsin abo krun *Abodsin abo akrun'*
5. *Atwaa-fu*, *Abadzi-fu*, (Bodom, dog) *Aban esia*.
6. *Kwonna-fu*, Odumna-fu, *Asokori-fuo* :
Ebiradsi-fu Ku, (Bush cow) *Asukori na ku Ahim-fuo.*
Dihyina-fu. Adakwa-fuo :
7. *Adwinadzi-fu*, a cluster of Odwon trees, *adwin*, (silurus, river fish).
Adwin-fu, i.e., wowo adwin, meaning thinking people.

N.B.—The names in brackets are the totems and those italicised the *nhuandsi* or complimentary appellatives of the tribes. The appellatives vary in description among the *Mfantasi-Akan* communities.

As already observed there are seven principal clans with sub-divisions or offshoots. The *Atwaa* and *Abadzi* tribes are said to be related to the *Nsona* tribe.

The totem *Brodzi* (plantain) given by some to the *Aburadzi* tribe is without traditional sanction. It is applied to that tribe because it was supposed to be the first to discover that food-plant through its totem, the *dabo*, (a kind of light dark-brown, buck-coloured antelope or a kind of bush goat) which is said to be extremely fond of it. In very recent times the lion has been claimed by this tribe as its denominative totem, but the common opinion is that the claim is unsupported by tradition. A *Fanti* legend ascribes the discovery of fire to the *Aburadzi* tribe as being the first to bring it down from heaven.

The totem of *Anona* tribe was originally the *Sansa*, but it has latterly been supplanted by the parrot, in the maritime towns.

None of the seven tribes eat, kill, or trap their respective totems. On the death or sale of a totem, any member of its representative tribe would bury it with every mark of respect as would be paid to its human member, or ransom it with a large sum of money.

The members of a tribe knit to a particular totem believe themselves to be one blood and therefore do not intermarry or co-habit among their group with each other. Marriage between members of a particular totem is deemed incestuous, and was in the old days visited with severe punishment, by the sale of the offenders into slavery.

Besides the Abusua (blood and clan), an exogamous relationship called Ntoro in Akan, exists between the children of a man and those of his brother. This kind of exogamous relationship is said to have sprung from "an ancient family worship of the same busum (deity). For this reason every male or female child worships the god or gods of his father. In other words, such a group worships the deity of a common male ancestor, and intermarriage among the members is strictly forbidden; also certain taboos of the deity are rigidly observed by all the members. During the observance of the rite, the members of the group were said to be "washing their father's Ntoro". It is observed by the Fanti and Akan tribes.

Members of each tribal group contribute to a common fund to bury or discharge the liability of a member, and, if they travel are hospitably entertained by the members of their tribe in the community as though they were blood relatives. Hence it will be found that the Mfantasi-Akan totemic system is built upon moral, social and religious foundations.

Reindorf who has written with some clearness about the totemic system is somewhat hazy about the correct number of the original family groups or clans known in Mfantasi-Akan totemism; says he "there are seven principal original family groups or clans, called Abusuabanason, among the Twi nation, to which ten minor ones are connected. The principal original family groups are: Asekyiri, Asona, Oyoko, Aduena, Asokore and Abrade (Asenee). The first Adanse kings were of the Asekyiri family group; the kings of Denkera, of the Agona family, the kings of Akwamu of the Abrade family, and the first three kings of Asante of the Akoona family, but those from Osei Tutu downwards are of the Oyoko family group. The Nsona family group is the most numerous, and is formed in several states, *viz.*, Akim Abuakwa, Akuapem, Wasa, Fante, Agona, Ofesu, etc. If they could be united, they would form the most powerful body on the Gold Coast. This family group appears to have been once most powerful, but at what period we are not certain."

1. It may be here explained that the Asekyiri clan he mentions is the Akan name for the Anona tribe.

2. Asona is Dwimina in Akan.

3. Agona is the Akan name for Eguana in Mfantasi.

4. Oyoko is the Akan name for Anona in Mfantasi.

5. Aduena (Eduena) is the Akan name for Aburadzi in Mfantasi.

6. Asokori is the Akan name for Kwonna or Abiradzi in Mfantasi.

7. Abrade or Senee is the same tribe as Aduena or Aburadzi.

8. Akoona (meaning the Kwonna tribe) is the same tribe as the Asokori tribe in Akan.

It is obvious from the foregoing that this gifted pioneer African historian has mixed up both the Akan and Mfantasi designations of the tribal groups and given us eight instead of the seven principal groups he mentions. For instance, Aduena and Abrade or Asenee (a sept) are one and the same tribe; Asokori and Akoona are also one and the same tribe. The same misgrouping of the various clans according to their respective Mfantasi and Akan designations led Bowdich and subsequent European writers on the subject into committing a similar error. Bowdich described the clans as being in twelve groups. According to Reindorf the eight principal original groups with the ten minor groups he mentions come up to eighteen clans altogether. He has omitted in the original principal groups, Twidan or Burotufuo.

The following quotation from Bowdich clearly shows his uncertainty as to the "etymology" of the totems of the clans, as well as the incorrect classification of the same clan into two distinct clans through apparent ignorance of their correct terminology in Mfantasi and Akan.

"One curious evidence however may be added of the former identity of the Ashantee, Warsaw, Fantee, Akim, Assin, Aquamboe, and part of the Ahanta nations; which is a tradition that the whole of these people were originally comprehended in twelve tribes or families; the Aquonna, Abrootoo, Abbradi, Essonna, Annona, Yoko, Intchwa, Abadie, Appiadie or Appradi, Tchweedam, Agoona, and Doomina; in which they class themselves still; without any regard to national distinction. For instance Ashantees, Warsaws, Akims, Ahantas, or men of any of the nations before mentioned

will severally declare, that they belong to the Annona family ; other individuals of the different countries, that they are of the Tchweedam family ; and when this is announced on meeting, they salute each other as brothers.

“ The king of Ashantee is of the Annona family, so was our Accra and one of the Fantee linguists ; Amanquatea is of the Assona family. The Aquonna, Essona, Intchwa, and Tchweedam, are the four patriarchal families, and preside over the intermediate ones, which are considered as the younger branches. I have taken some pains to acquire the etymology of these words, but with imperfect success ; it requires much labour and patience, both to make a native comprehend, and to be comprehended by him. Quonna is a buffalo, an animal forbidden to be eaten by that family. Abrootoo signifies, a corn stalk, and Abbradi a plantain. Annona is a parrot, but it is also said to be a characteristic of forbearance and patience. Esso is a bush cat, forbidden food to that family. Yoko is the red earth used to paint the lower parts of the houses in the interior.

“ Intchwa is a dog, much relished by native epicures, and therefore a serious privation. Appiadie signifies a servant race. Etchwee is a panther, frequently eaten in the interior, and therefore not unnecessarily forbidden. Agoona signifies a place where palm oil is collected. These are all the etymologies in which the natives agree. Regarding these families as primaeval institutions, I leave the subject to the conjectures of others, merely submitting, that the four patriarchal families, the Buffalo, the Bush Cat, the Panther, and the Dog, appear to record the first race of men living on hunting ; the Dog family, probably, first training that animal to assist in the chase. The introduction of planting and agriculture seems marked in the age of their immediate descendants, the corn stalk and plantain branches.

“ The origin and improvement of architecture in the red earth and of commerce, probably, in the palm oil ; indeed, the Natives have included the Portuguese, the first foreign traders they knew, in that family, alleging, that their long and more intimate intercourse with the blacks has made the present race a mixture of the African and Portuguese. The servant race reminds us of the curse of Canaan. This resembles a Jewish institution, but the people of Accra alone practise circumcision, and they speak a language, as will be shewn, radically distinct, yet not to be assimilated to the Inta,

to which nation they are referred by the Fantees, merely because it is the nearest which practises circumcision." (pp.229-231).

It will be observed that the etymology of Agona as "a place where palm oil is collected" is not correctly derived by Bowdich; for the totem of the Agona (Eguana) clan being the parrot, his etymology would have been correct had he known that this totem is extremely fond of the ripe palm-nut. In fact Bowdich's etymology of the totems leads to a wide field of enquiry which, owing to its legendary origin, we do not propose to discuss here. As for the "Apiade" clan it is identified with a clan on the littoral designated as Apiadi in some parts of Cape Coast, and in the Asere quarter of Accra. It is over 100 years since Bowdich wrote, and it is not unlikely that this clan has dwindled into numerical insignificance, for it does not appear to possess any totem or to have any septal relation with any of the principal clans.

The Legend of the Twi Abrade, Anyade and Ahenewa Appellatives. According to legendary accounts, the members of the various tribes in this world of ours emigrated to "Asasi a onyi wura," *No-Man's-Land*, from a place called "Tetetutu." Prior to this no one inhabited *No-Man's-Land* neither was it claimed by any one, except by a very ancient man whose name was Obrase (Obra na se—the beginning of life) from whom permission was obtained by all who wished to settle there. It happened one day, after all the nations had settled at *No-Man's-Land* with the permission of Obrase, that a meeting was called for the purpose of electing a king.

As the people were to make their own choice, a disagreement arose, and a very ancient woman, called "Odisiefo" (Adsisiefu *i.e.*, keeper of the world's treasures,) who was present at the meeting went into a gold mine and made a surprise parcel of gold nuggets including a stool, which was wrapped in cloth. She made two other surprise parcels, in one of which she secreted a crab and in the other sandals. She brought the three parcels to the meeting and told the people that the only way to choose a ruler satisfactorily and unanimately would be to leave the matter entirely to luck. She then called upon Obrase and two other elderly men and bade them go and pick up a parcel each out of the three, making it a condition that whoever chose the most precious parcel should be elected by the people to rule over them.

Obrase was the first to choose and his choice fell on the parcel containing the crab. The second old man chose the parcel containing the gold nuggets and stool, and the third old man picked up the parcel containing the sandals. The symbolic meaning of the crab being "landlord," Obrase was declared the owner of *No-Man's-Land* and the complimentary title given to his descendants was "Abraw" (Abrao), signifying the man who was first in the world. The second old man, who chose the parcel containing gold nuggets and stool, was declared the ruler of the world and the epithet given to his descendants was "Anyade" (W'enyada) meaning, he had got the most precious thing; and the third old man, who chose the sandals, was declared a prince, wherefore his descendants were referred to as "Ahenewa" (Ohinba), meaning the son of a ruler, etc. Hence the Aburadzifu were held to be the first settlers in this world; the Anyadufu (Nsonafu) the kings, and the Ahenewafu the princes, in creation.

Abraw (Abrao). It is the epithet given to the members of the Abrade (Aburadzi) tribe.

Anyade or Enyadzi (Asona): It is the epithet given to the members of the Asona tribe in some Akwapim towns; it is also applied to certain members of the various tribes in other Akan countries. In Larteh (Akwapim) the members of the Asona (Nsona) tribe are referred to generally as "Anyade," but the ruling section of the tribe, occupying the paramount stool of the town, is specially referred to as "Ahenewa" instead of "Anyade." Although the paramount stool of Larteh is an Abrade stool, the family eligible to occupy the same is not the Abrade but the Asona family.

Ahenewa. It is an epithet given to the members of families immediately connected with reigning stools; in some Akan countries, sons and nephews of kings, etc.

Origin of the Tekyina Tribe. In the olden times no woman was to bring forth an eighth or tenth child, or twins of different sexes. In any of these cases the children were to be killed. A certain Aburadzi woman brought forth twins of different sexes and she was ordered to kill them. She refused to carry out the order, stating that rather than kill her twins she would sever her connexion with the clan, and accordingly did so; she thus became the founder of a distinct clan. It will be noticed that a male and female twin are called Tekyina Ta or Tekyina Amandsi. The name "Tekyina" might have been derived from possibly *Takyi-na-i.e.*, Takyi's mother,

and was given to her descendants as a distinct clan. The totem of this tribe is said to be the lion ; but this is incorrect, for none of the clans or tribes had ever claimed this singularly ferocious animal as a totem. It was so much dreaded that its vernacular name Awindadzi or Serim Sai was hardly mentioned by the natives in those days, and therefore its connection with this tribe can hardly be correct.

The Dihyina and Kwonna clans are said to be related.

The Eguana, Anona and Amuana clans are said to be related. Hence the mistake of the Anonafu on the littoral in adopting the parrot (ewiru) instead of the hawk (sansa), their real totem. The Akan Anona tribes in the inland countries however still adhere to the sansa as their real totem.

The order of the numerical importance of the seven clans is as follows, omitting their offshoots or septs :—

1. Asuafu, (2) Eguanafu, (3) Twidan, (4) Aburadzi, (5) Atwaafu, Abadzifu, (6) Kwonnafu, (7) Adwinadzifu.

The Story of the German Occupation of Togoland.

BY A. W. CARDINALL,
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In the late seventies of last century there came over the European races one of those instinctive desires for expansion which sometimes under direct governmental guidance and at other times under quite private direction brought about the so-called Partition of Africa. Prominent among the nations was the newly founded German Empire. Flushed with victory on three fields of Europe the German people, with no real tradition of colonisation or traffic on the ocean highways, felt forced to assert itself abroad and formed, even in the most remote corners of its country, leagues for colonial development and dominion on the Seas.

This movement found its reflection here on the Gold Coast. German merchants by 1880 had established factories at Little Popo (Anecho). They had obtained a favourable hearing from the local chief, Kojo Vi, who encouraged them to trade and traffic with the near hinterland. This chief died in 1883 and his successor did not look with so kind an eye on Europeans who were practically newcomers to the land. He preferred rather to have protection from the English, who at that time were not so anxious to develop their already vast Empire. A certain amount of ill-feeling thus arose between the German traders and the local natives. As a result they asked for assistance and protection from the German warship *Sophie* which chanced, perhaps designedly, to be in the roadstead of Grand Popo.

The *Sophie* accordingly arrived off Little Popo and it was not long before she found occasion to land some sailors to guard the merchants. It was alleged that the natives had broken the treaty agreement which Kojo Vi had entered into with the traders and that this breach of the treaty was due to the machinations of a Sierra Leone native, one William Lawson. The latter was arrested with five of his supporters and removed on board the *Sophie*, which took him to Lagos and then steamed for Germany with the other five.

This somewhat high-handed action prompted the then District Commissioner of Quittah, Mr. Firminger, to move to Little Popo, to assert the claims of the English and to offer the protection of the British flag to the merchants there resident. This offer the Germans refused and in turn asked for protection from their own monarch and at the same time forwarded a petition to the same effect signed by many of the chieftains of the neighbourhood.

To-day we can value all these petitions and treaties at their true worth; but at that time the home authorities in every European country actually took them at their face value and were prepared to act upon them.

The German Government cannot therefore be blamed when they accepted this petition seriously and despatched the gunboat *Möwe* to support their own subjects and to undertake the asked-for protection of the chieftains.

On July 2nd, 1884, the *Möwe*, bringing back with her the five arrested men, anchored off Anecho and on the fourth landed Dr. Gustav Nachtigal, the famous African explorer, as the German Imperial Commissioner for the West Coast of Africa.

Nachtigal lost no time and the very next day concluded with the representative of the Chief Mlapa of Togo a treaty whereby the coast between Lome and Porto Seguro was placed under the protection of the German Emperor and the German flag was hoisted at Bagida. Such were the beginnings of German occupation of Togoland.

Both England and France protested but not threateningly and by treaties dated 14th and 28th July, 1886 for the former and 24th December, 1885 for the latter recognised a German Protectorate over the Coast from a little to the West of Lome as far as a little to the East of Porto Seguro.

Nachtigal had been succeeded by Falkenthal who had the title of Reichskommissar. This Governor, realising that a strip of coastland was valueless and that a hinterland had to be secured, began to penetrate inland. He took under his master's protection in 1886 Towe, Kewe, and Agotime and in 1887 through the efforts of the Colonial Secretary Grade, Agome-Palime became German and a month later Dr. Henrici signed treaties with the people right up to the mountain massif of Togoland.

This energetic movement by the Germans made it necessary for the French to reach some agreement with them over the frontier inland from Porto Seguro. It was therefore agreed by the two powers in a treaty of the 27th April, 1887, that the frontier between the French possession of Dahomey and German Togoland should follow the meridian which passed through the western end of the island of Bayol in the lagoon between Sebe and Agove northward to the ninth parallel.

Meanwhile British and German interests were in conflict on the western side. The chiefs of the trans-Volta tribes had made declarations of fealty to Great Britain and the situation was far from being regular. At the same time German pushfulness towards the North foreshadowed an eventual division of the country and in 1888 the powers entered into an agreement, which was later confirmed by the Treaty of July 1, 1890 whereby the frontier was fixed as follows:—In the South the kingdoms of Adaklu and Ho were allotted to Germany whilst England retained Peki; the eastern Gold Coast frontier was then fixed as the left bank of the Volta River from the mouth of the River Daji upstream to the Volta's confluence with the Daka river; the northern boundary here could not be settled as no one

quite knew what lay beyond. A Neutral Zone was decided upon whereby both powers intended to keep out a third power from cutting off their hinterland. This neutral zone was fixed as a vaguely defined area formed by the parallel which ran through the confluence of the Daka and Volta as far eastward as the town of Dutukpene, thence along the meridian of that point northward to the 10th parallel, thence westward until the western frontier of the kingdoms of Karaga and Gonja were reached, when it would again meet the Daka-Dutukpene parallel.

It was not until 1899 that the neutral zone was divided between the two Powers. Dagomba and the town of Yendi became German; Gonja and Karaga became British. In the same treaty the frontier was continued north of the tenth parallel in such a manner as to leave Chakosi to Germany and Mamprusi to Great Britain. The actual delimitation was naturally to be decided in situ and this was affected by a joint Commission, of which the members were Capt. Johnston, Lieut. Furner and a Doctor on the British side and on the German Graf Zech von Neuhofen, Freiherr von Seefried auf Buttenheim and the N.C.Os. Sohn, Hongdöbler and Koch.

The expedition met at Akanim on the German side of the Volta near the mouth of the Daka on the 1st December, 1901, and finished their labours on November 29th, 1902. But the actual demarcation of the extreme north was only finished in 1904 when von Seefried and Capt. des Vooex completed the work. But the treaty definitely fixing the frontier had already been signed in June of that year by both Governments.

Such in brief is the actual story of the forming of German Togoland on the Western side. Ten years later the colony ceased to exist.

The actual work of the Germans in these parts from the exploring and purely historical points of view is interesting and when one turns over the pages of the official and private records of the expeditions it is hard indeed to picture to-day the conditions which obtained

so short a while ago. The story is similar for French and British. The former have recorded and published their adventures in many a volume; the latter have not yet given any account to the public of their work in the then unknown. Perhaps some day this will be remedied. Meanwhile it seems to me that it is a pity to allow the story of the Germans to fade completely away and therefore I venture here to give in as short a manner as possible a record, taken entirely from German sources, of their doings, their wars, their conquests and their successes in the last few years of the XIXth Century and the first decade of the XXth.

After the settlement on the Coast the Germans did not wait long before they began to penetrate into the interior. The first of their main voyages of exploration was carried out by Hauptmann von François. He left Bagida on the third of February, 1888 with a few carriers but without soldiers and following a route through Lome, Kewe and Agotime came to Agome-Palime. He then broke into fresh country crossing the mountains to Tongbe by a pass which in later years was named after him. He then reached Kpandu and Krachi and thence set out for Salaga where he arrived on March 3rd.

He had been forestalled by an English expedition and found treaties already signed between the chiefs of Kpandu, Krachi and Salaga on the one part and Great Britain on the other. After a ten days' halt he continued his march towards Yendi and Gambaga, where he happened to be when the Frenchman Binger was at Wale-Wale.

The great object of his journey was to conclude a treaty of some sort or other with the most powerful monarch in the Western Sudan, the Na of Moshi. His route lay still to the northward, but the Moshi had no intention of allowing either Frenchman or German to enter their capital and they turned out in force to meet von François, who was compelled to retreat after reaching the Moshi town of Surma.

His backward march took him through Karaga, Kangkanga, Salaga. Thence he altered his route and turning to the East passed through the Adele country and over Agbabe, Game and Woga till he reached on 16th July, 1888, Sebu, which had become the Headquarters of the German Government.

The results of his long march were very small. Apart from scientific observations, which he afterwards confirmed by a second march to Salaga undertaken in the following dry season, he had met with no success. Where he had not been forestalled by British Officers, he had signed treaties, but only to have them rendered valueless by the conclusion of the treaty of that same year between Germany and Great Britain whereby the neutral zone had been constituted. And his great object, the conclusion of a Moshi treaty, had been frustrated by the Moshi themselves. However historically the expedition is of interest, as von François' journey had been through country which so far was mostly unknown to Europeans.

At the same time another expedition had left the Coast for the hinterland. This was the exploration march of the well-known Dr. Ludwig Wolf. He was accompanied by Lieut. Kling and a ship's carpenter Bugslag. They left the Coast on 29th March, 1888, accompanied by one interpreter and thirty-six carriers, some of whom were armed. Their route was then a new one and lay through Woga, Game, Nuatja, Atakpame and Yege. This last is in the Adele country amongst the mountains and here on the second of June Wolf founded the Station of Bismarckburg and at the same time proclaimed a German Protectorate over Adele, Akebu and Akposso.

This outpost was intended as an observation point for scientific work and at the same time to act as a central protecting station for trade northward and north-eastward. Wolf remained at Bismarckburg for some time, sending out short expeditions into the surrounding country and it was not until 23rd April, 1889, that he himself left the

station. He had determined to carry out an exploration and to conclude treaties with the chiefs of all that land to the north-east as far as the Niger.

This time he was unaccompanied by other Europeans having with him thirty carriers and one native interpreter. His actual route does not concern the portion of Togoland now under Britain's mandate, for all that land which he was the first to see is to-day French. But it was on this journey that Wolf met his death. He had had all sorts of delays and troubles and it was only in June that he managed to get away from Sugu towards Borgu. He came into a country where the natives were extremely lawless, living entirely on the fruits of robbery. Here on the 11th June he fell off his horse and badly damaged himself. Fever and dysentery supervened and Wolf who was almost unconscious gave orders to return. But the interpreter, Hardesty, refused and marched further and further into the unknown country until on the 26th of the same month Wolf died. That was at a place called Ndali in Bariba. Even then Hardesty would not return but wandered about in Borgu until all the supplies of the expedition had been finished. Eventually he did return and reported at Bismarckburg at the end of November. He was tried for disloyalty and sentenced to penal servitude for life and deported to the Cameroons.

In the absence of further evidence this seems a strange story and comment is useless. Wolf's diary was saved as well as some of the scientific instruments. If Hardesty had wished to emulate Samory, why did he return? If he wished to be himself a treaty-maker, why was he punished?

Ill luck seems to have haunted this first expedition to Bismarckburg. Kling was tireless in his expeditions. He covered the country with his tracks as is well shown on Sprigade's maps of these parts. At last he made a long journey through Sabsugu, Bimbila, Salaga and Kintampo. That was in 1892 and during the trip he contracted dysentery, was invalided to Europe and died in Germany that same September.

The command of Bismarckburg fell in 1893 to the then Lieutenant, later Major, von Doering. He like Kling travelled ceaselessly over the country and as his most important feat managed to conclude a treaty with the chief of Bassari, who accepted the German flag on 8th June, 1894.

Such is the story of the exploration and founding of the first European Station really in the hinterland of the Guinea Coast. It may not be amiss to give here a list of the other stations and the first officers stationed in them:—

Bismarckburg ..	2-6-1888	Dr. Wolf.
Misahöhe ..	7-5-1890	Lt. Herold.
Kete-Krachi ..	31-12-1894	Lt. von Doering.
Bassari	1896	Graf Zech.
Sansane-Mangu	Feb., 1896	Lt. Carnap Quernheim.
Sokode	1899	Dr. Kersting.
Kpandu	1897	} both under Misahöhe.
Ho	1899	
Atakpame ..	June, 1898	
Yendi	1901	under Sansane-Mangu.

In addition to the above stations there had been founded a fair number of smaller ones which were placed in the charge of Africans until they became merged in the larger ones and ceased to exist. Such were Paratau and Sudu. The Germans had also before the final fixing of their boundaries with France and Great Britain founded small stations in Gambaga, March 1896 and Pama and Semere in 1897. And as the French had occupied a portion of Tschaudjo, which the Germans looked upon as most certainly theirs, they countered the move by erecting a station at Sugu which was undoubtedly in the North Dahomey zone.

As a natural development it became necessary for the Government to establish some sort of a military body and in October, 1885, a small force of ten Hausa under a white N.C.O., was established as a Constabulary Force (Polizeitruppe). This small body of men was gradually enlarged until by the time of the outbreak of the War it consisted of two officers, six European N.C.Os., and some 560 others ranks.

This force however was slow in its growth and in the early days of the German penetration and occupation was but little used. The leaders of the various expeditions made use of armed carriers, a practice that tended always to the greatest of abuse, which would naturally be unknown to the European leader. The first time the force was employed as a serious escort was in the famous expedition conducted by Dr. Gruner in 1894 and 1895.

This expedition had widespread results. Besides the leader there accompanied it Lieut. von Carnap-Quernheim and a doctor Doering (not to be confused with the Lieut. von Doering, a contemporary explorer). The original orders were to follow the route taken by the late Dr. Wolf and to consolidate in so far as was possible the position of Germany in Borgu. But news had been received that a French expedition under the command of Capitaine De Coeur was in the hinterland of the German coast possessions. This caused Gruner to alter his route and decided him to follow a new one through Krachi, Yendi and Sansane-Mangu and so on to the Niger itself.

On November 5, 1894, the expedition started from Misahöhe, Dr. Doering following a few days later with the balance of the carriers. Krachi was reached in five days and not left till November 28th.

That interval witnessed a real tragedy. There are several stories of the occurrence. The German version is that the Fetish-Priest of Krachi showed himself hostile and it became necessary to teach him a lesson in respect and at the same time stop the practice of human sacrifice; the British made diplomatic representations in Berlin at gross and unwarranted invasion of British territory; the native story comes probably nearest the truth.

Now Gruner was far from being the first white man in Krachi, but he was the first German official who came there with a regularly armed force after the British had given over Krachi to the Germans, for it must always be remembered that most of the country administered by Great Britain to-day under mandate in Togoland was originally under British protection long before the Germans had ever hoisted their flag at Bagida, and remained undisputedly so in the native mind. It

appears that the Krachi people, as was their wont, began to gather together for one of those dances held in honour of the visit of powerful strangers. Gruner had encamped close to Kete about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles distant from Krachi. The drumming evidently worried him, and the Kete people, fugitives from the slave-raiding states of the North and ever ready for a chance of loot played on his fears and announced that the drumming was the signal to collect all the people for war against the white man. Gruner to confirm this sent some of his constables, all of them equally recruited from slave-raiding and looting tribes to see what was the matter and report. As these men came suddenly on the assembling dancers, the latter took fright and ran away into the bush. That determined Gruner that something was amiss and he at once advanced against the village. The news spread that the white man was attacking and all and sundry fled, most of them managing to escape across the Volta into British territory. But this did not daunt Gruner who sent troops over after the fetish priests and these men actually executed or rather murdered some of them at Nkomi.

At that time there was at work surveying the country between Attebubu and British Krachi that remarkable Cape Coast man, Ferguson. He was the only British representative on the spot and without the slightest delay and with only four soldiers hastened to Nkomi to find out what had happened. Gruner naturally found some difficulty in explaining the affair and had to withdraw. He, to save himself presumably, then developed the story of the human sacrifices, which he could not have proved, for the fetish of Krachi did not allow of the spilling of human blood on its land and human sacrifices were carried out by burial alive. There were therefore no visible signs of these practices such as were patent to all men in Coomasie or Abomey.

Eventually Krachi was left, the expedition then numbering apart from the three Europeans 25 soldiers, 120 carriers, of whom some were armed, 3 interpreters and 10 personal servants. The route was the indirect one which lay through Salaga and for the most part of the way in the beginning was across that neutral zone which had been established in 1886.

Gruner after his experiences in Krachi was not quite so high-handed. But he did his best to upset the arrangements between his own Government and that of Great Britain and forced from Isafa, chief of Kombi or Salaga a written cancellation of his understanding with Ferguson and later at Yendi compelled the Na of Dagomba after three weeks haggling, as Gruner euphemistically called three weeks free feeding for his companions, to place all his lands outside the neutral zone under German protection.

It was on January 4th, 1895, that the expedition left Yendi and on the 10th came to Sansane-Mangu, where Gruner learnt that the French expedition under De Coeur had forestalled him by two days only. However the French had not concluded a treaty with the chief, as the latter was already flying the British flag. Gruner was not so scrupulous. He demanded to see the treaty and came to the conclusion that it was only one of trade and friendship and therefore he decided to conclude one of protection and on the 16th January the chief signed the treaty and placed his lands under German protection. Gruner then took away the British flag and hoisted that of his own country.

Meanwhile owing to the nearness of the French expedition Gruner had despatched von Carnap northward and he succeeded in reaching Pama, (outside Togoland), a day ahead of De Coeur. Von Carnap continued without carriers in a frantic march towards Kankanchari whilst De Coeur proceeded to Fada N'Gurma. There was at that time a dispute and the beginning of civil war between these two towns, of which the chiefs claimed the overlordship of the Moshi kingdom of Gurma. This dispute was taken advantage of by the two expeditions and confusion worse confounded added to the native quarrel.

Although the expedition was now well out of Togoland as afterwards constituted, it may not be amiss hurriedly to give a résumé of the adventures it encountered. The French after making their treaty with Fada N'Gurma were attacked by the rival party

and drove them off. These men were mostly mounted and fled to Kankanchari followed by the French. Von Carnap was present at the arrival of both parties in the latter place and had to exert his best efforts at diplomacy to prevent a renewal of the fight on what he now looked upon as German territory. Gruner arrived soon after and added his signature to the treaty. The Chief seeing his opportunity called in as many of the sub-chiefs of Gurma as would listen to him. These, supported by a 'son' of the Fada N'Gurma chief, accepted German protection and annoyed with the French for the defeat their countrymen had suffered at their hands burnt the French flag. This dispute was only settled two years later when the French received Gurma in its entirety.

Gruner now hastened on to the Niger and reached Say on February 20. He concluded a treaty there although he had here also been forestalled by a few days by De Coeur.

The German leader now left his expedition and took to the river, sending the carriers and troops overland to meet him at Kompa. Gruner reached that place a day earlier than his column, which, owing to sickness and the length of the forced marches, was now merely a long line of stragglers. Some of the carriers had been attacked and murdered by the natives and the rest were in a very sorry condition. Gruner had no alternative but to halt and establish a laager for the sick. It soon was ascertained that the illness was small-pox, and in a very short while he had lost many carriers, a number of soldiers and both his personal servants.

The position of the expedition was indeed critical. The natives of Kompa and its neighbourhood realising the weakness of the strangers began to attack the camp and carry off some of the loads. Gruner managed to drive them off, but he had to make preparations for evacuating the place. The only possible route was by the river, for there were too many sick and too many loads to proceed further by land.

Gruner therefore, in two canoes, set out for Ilo, where he arrived three days later on the 6th March. He sent back the canoes for the balance of the men and loads. In the meanwhile von Carnap had determined to return and punish the natives who had murdered his carriers and stolen the loads. He succeeded in recovering the latter, but was again attacked by the natives, who were armed with poisoned arrows, and once more had to abandon the boxes. He returned to Kompa and succeeded in shipping the last of the sick and then with Dr. Doering proceeded by land to Ilo.

Gruner's position was still insecure. He had too many loads and it became evident that he would have to abandon most of them. Knowing that before him lay a country where law and order prevailed he decided to sacrifice his ammunition which he ordered to be thrown into the Niger. He then ordered von Carnap to proceed to the Coast with the convalescent and most of the loads as well as the copies of the treaties.

Of the 158 who had set out from Krachi there left Ilo, 107 and yet more died on the homeward journey.

Gruner himself took the Doctor and 9 soldiers together with 65 carriers; the remainder left with Von Carnap for Lagos where they were to ship back to Lome.

The day von Carnap left Gruner marched to Gando and concluded a treaty there. Thence he returned to Ilo being attacked en route by the natives of Yesseru where he had halted. Gruner burnt the village and hastened back to his laager where the M.O and the rest of the men had been left to recuperate. He left Ilo on the return march on 15th April, 1895.

The route chosen lay through Borgu towards the important town of Kuande. This place had an ill reputation as it was in its vicinity that Dr. Wolf had been poisoned, it was believed, by Hardesty at the instigation of the chiefs and King had been compelled to retreat from before its walls. Moreover Gruner had just learnt that De Coeur had been very badly received

there and had had to abandon any attempt to enter the town, since he could not afford the time for an attack on a fairly well defended place.

Gruner arrived before the town and pitched his camp. He then forwarded into the place the customary presents for the chief. Meanwhile a carrier had been attacked and robbed and Gruner sent another messenger to demand reparation. Whilst the messengers were away Gruner placed his camp in order to be ready against attack and leaving Doering in charge himself went towards the place to see for himself how best to defend or attack.

It chanced that one of the Chief of Kuande's most important counsellors was a certain Malam who had known Gruner in Kpandu and esteemed himself the friend of the white man. He was engaged in strongly advising his chief to show friendship towards the Germans when people came and reported that the white man in question was even then amusing himself in an extraordinary fashion, picking up pebbles and pieces of earth in front of the walls almost within bowshot.

This apparent mystery which seemed to conceal some dreadful magic was too much for the Chief who sent messengers with presents and returned with apologies the stolen load. A couple of days later Gruner left Kuande and proceeding to Sansane-Mangu and Yendi he reached Krachi on May 24th and leaving after a short halt reached Misahöhe on June 2nd, 1885. Three weeks later the whole expedition was disbanded at Lome where the remnants under von Carnap had arrived a month beforehand.

Whilst Gruner had been away in the north, the Germans had been busy in the immediate neighbourhood of the Coast and the Volta. An expedition under Lieut. von Doering had left Misahöhe at the request of the famous trader-explorer Gottlob Adolf Krause. The latter who had traversed most of what is now the Northern Territories in the late eighties and had penetrated as far north as Bandiagara had been a Basel

Missionary and had left that sancto-commercial firm to open out on his own. He had established himself eventually in Salaga and presumably as a result of the civil war there had come down to Krachi. He now informed the German government of the activities of the British and it was decided to assert German authority in those parts which had been allotted to Germany by the so-called Zanzibar Treaty of 1890.

Von Doering was accompanied by Lieut. Klose and a powerful body of constabulary, amounting to 106 men. They crossed the mountains by the route which took them to Kpandu via Tongbe, Kame, and Deme. From Kpandu Klose marched to Anfeu where the German flag was being badly received. However Klose was able to show so strong a force that the people had no alternative but to accept the inevitable and turn their hostile preparations into hospitable greetings. The German flag was hoisted; Klose returned to Kpandu and the march northward was resumed.

News was then received that the people of Awatime who still refused German protection and remained faithful to Britain had declared war on the people of Tafi on the grounds, averred by the Tafi, that the Awatime objected to the Tafi having raised the German flag. The expedition was turned and marched on Awatime. The people of the latter place however got wind of the approach of this large force and during the night managed to procure some German flags which were being flown when in the morning the German troops marched into their town.

Having settled this small palaver Von Doering resumed his march to the north and passing through Kpandu once more, he visited Wurupon, Apasu and Otisu reaching Krachi on 29th December. Everywhere he had overawed the people with the display of so large a force and had hoisted the German flag, confiscating whenever possible the British flag which these people had for so long considered theirs.

Two days after his arrival at Krachi von Doering founded the present station which he named Kete-Hedwigswart on a little rise between Kete and Krachi. That was on 31st December, 1894. He then despatched Klose to Salaga, to assure himself, he announced, that the British were not infringing the conditions laid down concerning the neutral zone. He himself proceeded to Buem and everywhere hoisted the German flag. He met the officer in command at Misahöhe during this march and handed over to him most of his troops. He was the well-known botanist, Ernst Baumann. Von Doering returned to Krachi whilst the latter proceeded through the mountainous country of Buem to Bomrada, confiscating the British flags which the chiefs of Hohoe and Fodome still preserved.

(To be continued.)

The Significance of some Akan Titles.

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BE whatever else one may, one cannot conscientiously claim to be the African's best and true friend if one pretends to regard African institutions as static, because forsooth among peoples commonly believed to be very conservative, particularly in matters affecting their ancient institutions, the constitutions, offices, nomenclature, etc., connected with such institutions, must all be kept in a state of rigid conservation and in the supposed interests of such peoples themselves carefully handed down intact to their posterity otherwise the latter may not be safely expected to re-act to previously unknown combinations of circumstances in the spirit of those traditions that gave birth to such institutions. Such attitude would only seek to deny to the African a natural capacity for development—a rather unwarrantable presumption in these days. Though absorbingly interesting, this subject would raise controversial points not altogether suitable for discussion in these pages. It can only be hoped that the consideration herein of some small and innocuous aspect thereof, namely, the significance of a few well-known offices in some Gold Coast States, will not fail to inspire a few of those who have the time and necessary educational equipment to put forward, in a permanent form, ere long, their fully considered views, based on well-tested facts; while it may at the same time urge the merely philologically inclined and perhaps also the simply inquisitive to a higher perception and a more profitable appreciation of the subject, and may also prove useful to the educated Gold Coast youth who are often without proper information as to the *raison d'être* of the customs and traditions of their country.

One may be permitted to state very clearly at the outset that Gold Coast National Institutions were not wafted into being as if by magic, nor received by succeeding generations as fully developed and perfect gifts from the hands of their originators, but are to-day the net results of the travail of the souls of many generations; that, although the same democratic spirit has been prevailing every domain of them, it has been finding expression in various external wrappings suitable to its subsequently acquired experiences—wrappings which it has been throwing off time and again when no longer required—even since the first coming into contact of the peoples of this country with western civilisation; and that, inevitably, such institutions will not and cannot now remain unaffected by the trend of human thought and modern progress. In short, African national institutions are not the rigid things they are erroneously supposed to be, and all that young Gold Coast asks of his country's avowed sincere well-wishers is a little chance and a fair one to develop his ancient heritage on his own natural lines, begging that in the meantime Gold Coast National Institutions should not be placed in water-tight compartments. For proper understanding and mutual sympathy he pleads. Therein alone lies the way of beneficial co-operation—believing, as he does, that it is a far greater pleasure helping to build up a tradition than being obliged to live on the memory of one.

The early policy of the Europeans who, from the fourteenth century onwards, succeeded in securing some foothold in these parts and built trading posts, bastions, forts or castles, at first for the purpose of protecting their trade only, in their relations with the indigenous authorities, seems to have been one of *laissez faire* or, alternately, a studious attempt to placate every small local potentate by addressing both him and his tribal or feudal superior as kings and their principal men as chiefs. (Perhaps, it is not generally known to the Gold Coast youth that among Europeans the word "king" did not always have the meaning which it connotes to-day. In the days of the early Saxons, and even later, it seems it simply meant a wise and able man who belonged to the tribe, hence a leader). This policy was particularly noticeable among the chief men who lived on the coast and near the European settlements. In subsequent years when quarrels ensued between the chief men of the coast towns and those in the interior, the former naturally expected and often received the support of the European settlers to beat off the latter. Thus gradually began the breaking-up of the tribal unit.

Later on, and particularly during the height of that infamous traffic in human chattels, it was no uncommon occurrence to find one's hand suddenly reaching out against one's next neighbour, sometimes resulting in that baneful practice, now happily long obsolete, known locally as panyarring. Later still, the breach got so wide that it became quite the fashion to see people living in the same town, such as Komenda or Accra, who were fully persuaded to regard and treat as enemies their fellow-townsmen simply because they had contracted commercial ties with, and their houses were situated within the gun-range of, a different European power. (Those were the days of the "interloper"—many decades before the various diplomatic understandings were reached and the partitioning of Africa as a "preserve" became a settled European policy).

The pernicious effects of those days are still felt in spite of the fact that almost the whole of that part of the Gold Coast called the Colony has now been under British rule for over fifty years and that since then some noble efforts have been made and are being made by some patriotic sons of the soil and by the Government to neutralise the evil results of such undue discrimination—a state of affairs for which the African no less than the European was responsible.

One of the results of such discrimination—or, shall we say, lack of proper discrimination—was that not only were the heads of certain portions of the same tribesmen styled and regarded as kings, but that in some cases there were two authorities living in one town recognised as kings; while instances were not lacking where certain native authorities had been styled kings on one occasion and on other occasions chiefs by the same European power without any apparent reason. All these brought about unnecessary rivalry which tended to arrest the natural growth of the people's political idea.

Since the beginning of this century the tendency has been "to go Fantee," and every local potentate is now addressed by his proper native title, or simply as Head Chief or Chief. The question therefore arises, what is the native title which has been variously interpreted as king, caboceer, head chief, chief, or even headman? Owing to the absence of correct and reliable information, or to improper grasp of local traditions or unhealthy rivalry, or sheer adoption, there still appears to be some confusion or vagueness in the use of some of these titles.

The Gold Coast, it has been said, is a congeries of small independent states, which to a large extent are also interdependent and inter-related, the inhabitants speaking a variety of languages and dialects, each group having a significant word for "king." The three important language groups are: (1) the Fanti-Akan who call him Ohin or Ohene; (2) the Ga-Adangbe, Mantse; and (3) the Ewe, Fia. Now, Mantse simply means "father of a town or village" and very probably at one time corresponded to the old meaning of the Saxon word "alderman" before his office was superseded by Canute's Danish "jarl," now the English earl. Fia means "one who shows the way," hence a director. And Konor, which is the highest office among the Krobo, a section of the Ga-Adangbe tribes, means "shoulder" and signifies that the chief is one who is carried on the shoulders, high above his people. But it is into the origins of some of the organizations of the Fanti-Akan group, which is admittedly the most highly developed, politically, that it is the purport of this paper to enter. Among these people the word "ohin" is generic and used as a suffix it modifies the meaning of the annexed word; thus it may be applied to the paramount ruler or king of the whole state, such as Asantihene or Okyihene, or to a leader of a small company or band (Asafu or Fekuw) or even to a petty head domestic servant, such as Nkonsonhin or Dabehin. The head of a fully organised Akan state is called Omanhin or Omanhene.

The history of the growth of the state on the Gold Coast differs from that of states in other countries only in opportunities. It began as a village community—the gens of the ancient Romans—originally founded by one family with its senior male head known as Egya (father), a person who always consulted the interests of the various members of his household or family group, and one whose office was at first simply patriarchal both in character and function. As other family groups sprang up from the parent family or joined the original settlers, either claiming common ancestry with them as belonging to the same clan or tribe or merely with the friendly intention of casting in their lot with them, or by becoming dependent upon them from one cause or another, the Egya of the first family now became Egya Panyin or shortly Panyin (Akura Nukpa or Onukpa, Nokotoma, or Amega) whose privilege as first settler was not only to apportion building sites to late arrivals, but also to show them places to make farms, etc. and to confer with the other Egyamu on all matters

affecting the interests of the whole village. At such consultations another person, one of the Egyamu or a senior member of the Panyin's family, would be appointed spokesman or deputy. This person is now called Kyiami, a word the origin of which is now probably lost in antiquity, though some think it is from an old Fanti or Efutu word "kyia" meaning to say or speak and that "kyianyi" meant one who speaks for another hence "kyiami"; while others think it comes from "kyiremu" (to make clear, explain or expand) or "kyiamu" (to guarantee or support). Be that as it may, the kyiami is to-day the spokesman (not linguist, although this officer in olden times had to be versed in other languages besides his own) of the ohin or even a family group and functions as such in the latter's domestic palavers. His office was hereditary, but generally through the male. But to resume.

In course of time, the homely article, namely, the stool or chair which had been in constant use by the first Panyin or one of his great successors in his life-time was specially consecrated by the kyiami and the person holding the hereditary position of the first Panyin for the time being now came to be distinguished from the other Mpanyimfu in the village community and was referred to and styled as Odsikro (owner or holder of the village). Other family groups there would now have their Mpanyimfu, with their seconds or spokesmen, but no matter what the number of the latter might reach there would be only one Odsikro, and his duty among others would be to preside over the village council composed of all the Elders or heads of family groups and some old men.

As the community began to increase in population and their cultivations became extensive, there would now appear many tiny settlements (farmsteads and hamlets, at first formed only for the temporary convenience of farming) all keeping in close touch and communion with the parent village, until with the march of years these hamlets in their turn reached a stage to require their separate Adsikrofu. Hunters from the many villages or hamlets scouring the forests for game would report the presence of strangers in another part of the land, and owing to the system of shifting cultivation every year, a system which served its purpose in the old days by allowing the soil to recuperate and retain its fecundity but which now seems inadequate owing to changed conditions and the very large extent of land under cultivation simultaneously by members of one village, questions would arise respecting game preserves of hunters or the extent of each

family's cultivable holdings or the limits of the tribal or community land and reference would be made to the first settler or Panyin's successor who would decide the ohī (boundary) between the various groups farming on lands commonly reputed to be under his control; or, if the dispute was with an alien tribe and could not be amicably arranged, he would be expected to take the lead in settling the ohī by the *argumentum baculinum*; in this way the first Panyin, now Odsikro, became the "prefect of the marches". It then became necessary for him as the head of the parent village to assume another office, namely, that of settler of boundaries, and all the heads of the several later villages, offshoots of the parent village, would assemble in the latter place on a favourable day for the purpose of publicly acclaiming and installing him as their ohini (the boundary) by solemnly swearing by the spirits of all his and their dead ancestors loyally to accept his decisions in all boundary and other questions. This eventually came to be regarded as "swearing allegiance to the stool", which is the material symbol showing that spirit ancestors were witnesses, thus affirming the people's religious belief that no one is really dead, and that the dead, when properly invoked, could be present in an invisible form and take part in all matters of serious import to the tribe on occasions. This "stool" now became the Ohin's stool, that is distinct from those of the other Adsikrofu. All forest lands, whether acquired by settlement on part thereof in the name of the whole or as a result of conquest, that is, by driving out those who were previously in occupation thereof, which had not been already apportioned to various family groups or under cultivation by any family or clan, were now held generally to belong to the whole community and were regarded as "stool lands". There are today three distinct classes of land—stool lands, family lands and individually-owned lands. But so far as the community or stool land was concerned, no one would start a new clearing in any part thereof, generally a primeval forest, without giving the Ohin some drink (not necessarily foreign imported liquor) to offer a libation to the ancestral spirits, some of whose mortal remains may have been interred therein or some of whom may have met their death fighting for it and to any elemental spirits inhabiting the locality. Thus the occupant of the ohin's stool became also the medium (ohī) of propitiation between the living and the dead and the tribal priest of his people. Indeed, it is fully believed by all who have studied the subject that from the patriarchal the Akan constitution passed the priestly period

before reaching the kingly, that at one time the ruler was also the priest, but that for convenience of administration the office of the ruler was eventually divorced from that of the priest. In many states the ruler is today the nominal head priest of his tribe.

In this way, circumstances might favour the descendants of the first Egya (who made for the convenience of his own small family a modest clearing in a virgin forest) to grow very numerous and become great in the course of time and spread over and occupy a large tract of land; or untoward circumstances might arrest the growth of this family, whose activities might be hemmed in and confined within very narrow limits; or the direct line of descent might become quite extinct when some other powerful offshoot thereof would take its place; or the whole of that family might become degenerate when some worthy representative of some later settlers would be chosen to take their place or supersede them, in order to keep the tribal community distinct.

But all things being well, with growth in population, increase in wealth (including the control by the first family and its collateral branches or offshoots and by others of domestic servants and pawns and their descendants), extension of territory, and what power, prowess or fortune in war might bring, the Ohin of this tribe could now make his influence felt by his neighbours far and near. With the arrival of such recognition and respect beyond his own territorial confines, and the advancement of his Adsikrofu to the dignity of Ahimfu, and when there was little or no longer any fear of the people being surprised and annihilated by war, or their liberty endangered by internal treachery, steps would be taken to consolidate the position of the tribe and an "Oman" (state) would now become evolved by the unanimous consent and co-operation of all the subordinate "stools" acknowledging the seniority and leadership of the first Stool. (For, it must be presumed that, *ceteris paribus*, the heads of each town or important village would have now consecrated their own stools; and there are stools which are acknowledged by a whole tribe, or by a section of the tribe, or clan or family; while even today there are some Adsikrofu without "stools", whereas some Mpanyimfu have their "stools"). And the head or the occupant of this first or principal "stool" of the Oman, hitherto tacitly or expressly recognised as Ohin Panyin or Ohinkan, would now assume the title and dignity of "Omanhin".

Owing to the importance attached to "stools" a word about the same at this point may not be out of place. Now, certain stools are spoken of as Abogyagua and others as Abanyingua, but it should be borne in mind that all stools are first and last Abogyagua (blood stools). In this respect the suffix "bogyia" (or "mmogyia") appears to have three distinct meanings:

- (1) *blood*—because blood, animal or other, forms an essential part during the consecration of a stool (egua) and at the annual or other periodical ceremonies connected with stools;
- (2) *relationship*: because the stool is the visible sign of the relationship, by blood, lineal or collateral or by purchase or adoption, existing amongst the several members claiming descent from the common ancestor who founded the stool or ancestress who founded the family. (Akan stools usually have male names, and sometimes "strong names" besides, but relationship thereto is generally through the female—mother or sister of the original founder. In Ashanti there are a few stools known as "Mmammagwa" to which succession is through the male—father. Among non-Akan tribes relationship is through the father or grandfather, but among these tribes the stool does not appear to play the same indispensable part. There are again a few other stools to which succession is erratic, but these are usually minor stools, not paramount ones);
- (3) *Daring*: because during actual hostilities or immediately after a fierce engagement with the enemy the blood of a bold enemy of rank, who had been captured *at some risk* by members or people of the stool, was shed over such stool (hence it is the emblem of authority or power—Tum or Tumi—over one's enemies and subordinates or dependents). It may be added in parenthesis that the blood of a criminal was never shed over the Abanyingua—the more innocent and bolder the victim the better.

So, from the above, it will be seen that there is only one kind of stool, but of course in practice there are distinctions. Even as the village unit is the origin of the Oman, and remains

an inseparable part thereof, so is the "family stool" (Ebusua-gua) the origin of the political stool, sometimes also called public stool (Amangua); but this political stool remains in the possession of a particular family, for it is the family stool which has attained and been accorded public recognition and sanction and thereby become, properly speaking, the Ahingua (royal stool) or Asafuhingua (nobleman's stool) of the Oman or state. The occupant of such a stool has therefore a recognised political status. Generally speaking, such stools fall into two classes, major and minor "political stools."

As no doubt it has been gathered from the foregoing, the paramount stools of to-day have not always necessarily remained in the family of those who originated the state. In some cases paramountcy was obtained as a result of a crucial test, that is, by the ability of a particular family at a great sacrifice in coming to the rescue of the whole state—in money, or men, or the supply of munitions of war *and* leadership at a time of national crisis. Instances of this kind are numerous. At such a national crisis, commonly an imminent invasion by a powerful enemy, an Obiremba (Obarima) Obanyin, Osagyifu, Okwabran—a really able man, in more senses than one, representative of some family or political stool, was in quest. If the brave man offered himself, not unlike a David against a Goliath, and returned victoriously from the undertaking, he claimed to be and was acknowledged the Obanyin of the state and his stool became hence the Abanyingua of the Oman. Indeed, all stool-holders are expected to be bold men, as cowardice is an insuperable disqualification, but the occupant of the Abanyingua is the man par excellence of the Oman. Sometimes in an already well-established state, such a risk was undertaken by a junior member of the ruling family, and if successful, he thereafter sat on the Abakuma stool (from *oba*, *kū* and *ma*). Thus certain stools acquired strong names; for instance, the stool of the Oburahin is often referred to as "Abrankur Akongwa," i.e. the stool of the one brave champion, while the Omanhin of Akyem Abuakwa sits on the "Abaningwa" (the brave man's stool). The Abanyingua alone (or as it may be otherwise locally called) had the power of life and death in the Oman, but at the same time the occupant paid great heed to the entreaties of any of his principal chiefs who might intercede for the victim.

To resume. The Oman is regarded as a body politic of which the Ohin Panyin or Omanhin carries the head (Korenti or Etsifi) while the next senior Ohin supports the foot (Akomu or Anafu), hence the title "Osumangyawa" or "Osumananan" in some states. At the inauguration ceremony of the full Oman several minor potentates would be promoted and minor offices created, then the foundations of the Oman (the state) might be said to have been laid and its "constitution" both with regard to its internal social organizations and government and to its political relations with the neighbouring Aman to have been settled. But it must be borne in mind that so far only the foundations have been laid and that thenceforward it became the duty of all to help rear up the whole structure of the Oman. And so, at the time of the Annual Stool Festival each succeeding year, efforts would be made to improve on the constitution.

For social purposes, each town or village was divided into two or more wards or quarters each of which would organize an Asafu, at first only a dancing band, composed of the young men and women, with drums and distinctive flags and other paraphernalia. These Asafu would have leaders (Asafuhimfu and Asafunkyireba) who would be charged with seeing that the village was kept clean and sanitary, and entrusted with overseeing the young people at play and keeping order among them. In course of time there would be a definite number of Asafu—in some cases about seven or even ten—with sections or ramifications scattered over the whole state or chiefdom. In the early days wars and rumours of war were current, and to obtain greater efficiency and to provide for a more effective supervision in times of hostilities all the male members in the state, division, town or village, capable of bearing arms, were organized into fighting groups led by their Asafuhimfu. Thus originated the present Asafu (people who go to war) into which membership is obtained through the father—a useful institution, which now through want of proper employment has degenerated into a perfect nuisance in some of the coast towns. The most senior or influential and wealthy Safuhin of each Asafu (company) was appointed Supi (pillar) and he had charge of the ammunition, usually gunpowder and lead bars, flags and other accoutrements of his company. Some companies have more than one Supi. Each Asafu had flagbearers, each of whom would be supported by twelve or twenty-four picked and smart young men, called Asikammafu, who were expected to defend with their lives the flag, the symbol of the honour

of the whole Asafu. Where there were many Asafu, the Asafuhimfu would choose from among their number or from among the Ahimfu or others a Tufuhin (leader or commander of all who bear arms in the town or state), one who must be a brave man and able to provide some arms and ammunition. His appointment was originally by popular choice, and a case is known where a woman was chosen to hold such an office; but the office now tends to become hereditary and in one state, at least, the post is held by a hereditary Ohin of a division.

All the fighting units in the state would be under the ultimate control of the Omanhin and his Ahimfu and Elders, and the Omanhin may personally take the lead or remain in the rear or with the main body, according to his inclination. In certain states his position in the line of battle is defined in the constitution. For military purposes therefore the whole state is like an army having five or less divisions, namely, Adonten, Nimfa, Benkum, Nkyidom and Gyasi, over each of which would be an Ohin, and under each of which are several Asafu. In some states there are only two divisions—Adonten and Gyasi. The head of the Adonten generally is the next important Ohin after the Omanhin, but the head of the Gyasi is the Gyasihin, whose office arose in this manner. As a matter at first merely of domestic arrangement, the Ohin, in the larger or smaller sense, would have some people—relatives, sons, servants and others who were maintained by him. These formed his Gyase (*i.e.*, under his hearth and were originally fed from his table). Sometimes this body became too numerous and had to be established in one or more villages, some of their number still remaining with the Ohin. But they all continued to be regarded as belonging to the general body of Gyasidom, and the section that remained with the Ohin would be called Ankobia (those who go nowhere). With the Gyasi would be the Bogyadom (members of the stool family unless they are so numerous, as by themselves to form another fighting group) and among this latter the most important was the Ohimba—stool mother, who might be the actual mother, aunt, grandmother, grandaunt, sister or cousin of the Ohin. This personage in certain states had the final voice in all matters concerning the stool family, and in public assemblies usually sat at the right hand of the Ohin or Omanhin and was addressed as Nana. She was virtually in charge of all the females of the state.

From the smallest to the biggest person in the state all would submit to the one head—the Omanhin—in all public matters, but the Omanhin himself would in the stool family

defer to the wishes of the stool mother and the stool elders. This submission to the Omanhin was not due to the fact that everyone in the Oman was his servant, far from it, but because they all have a common interest and claim relationship with one or another of the founders of the first or later important stools in communion with the principal stool, of which the Omanhin was representative.

In other words, the office which is now called Omanhin was in its inception first only Egya, then Egya Panyin, then Ofie Panyin, then Ebusua Panyin, then Kuro Panyin, or dropping the first title in each case, simply Panyin or Opanyin, then Odsikro, then Ohin Panyin or Ohin-kan, and lastly Omanhin. So that the Omanhin is the head of the Native State—*per tot discrimina rerum*—having weathered the storm and survived as such, with its full complement of towns and villages with their respective Ahimfu and Adsikrofu, each having its own council of Elders—representatives of the principal family groups and of the Asafu (where they exist) in the Oman, division or community. It will thus be observed that the Oman is the highest stage of development which the original gens or the village community, which is the political unit and is self-contained as regards all purely local affairs, could or did reach so far as the southern part of this country is concerned, and that the word "oman" may be used in a narrower sense in the phrase Koromantsiman or Aburiman, or in a broader sense such as Mfantsiman or Asantiman.

Again, confident in the natural belief that in co-operation and combination lay strength, several small independent states having only Ahimfu over them might sometimes join forces together temporarily or permanently for the purpose of fighting against a common enemy, when the most powerful of them, that is the Ohin with the largest following of fighting units, by general consent, took the lead and became in effect *primus inter pares*, the rest in other respects retaining their independence. In such a case the *primus* was only Sahin (war leader) during the progress of actual hostilities, and became Sagyifu (Deliverer) if he returned victorious from the war, but could not claim to be "overlord" in the sense of having the right to interfere in the internal affairs of the other Ahimfu unless he was specially invited or appealed to to adjudicate upon such matters as might be submitted to him and his councillors.

As might be expected, such combination of forces and interests, in course of time, produced its own problems in

native state etiquette, which has not escaped abuse and confusion with consequent bitterness, as the conditions on which combination was effected were not always observed by succeeding generations of Ahimfu, some of whom did not scruple to take advantage of their comrades in arms. Conquest of one state by another appears to have been originally the one ground on account of which overlordship was acknowledged. Later on, feudalism became another ground ; but now it seems that friendly combination for allied action has come to be regarded as an acknowledgment of inferiority. It is in this last case that discontent and friction are often met with, rendering peaceful administration and essential progress very difficult and barring the way to real federation.

In very rare cases several Amanhin for reasons of protection from or defence against a common enemy, as was contemplated by the " Fanti Confederation," or for the purpose of aggression or domination, as was actually the case with the late kingdom of Asanti, might become federated, when the Omanhin of the senior or the most powerful state assumed the singular title of " osei." But in the southern part of the Gold Coast such a combination never became permanent and no Omanhin appears to have borne such a title.

When for any reason the growth of the Oman was arrested, its parent village deserted without another being subsequently founded elsewhere and renamed after it, and its members transplanted and scattered, it could not claim recognition as a distinct Oman in the larger acceptance of the term ; but if it actually reached full growth and its distinctive tribal name had been preserved and its organization otherwise remained whole and unimpaired, it might appear to be a miserable *tertium quid* but it would still be an Oman. Or, the growth of the original village community might only reach the stage of " Kuroman " (a corporate town with or without any dependent villages) ; or it might stop at " Omansin " (a tetrarchate) though able to maintain its independence somewhat ; or a full-grown Oman might be broken into two or more pieces through external wars or internecine strife or rivalry—in such a case the head of such a state or of each of such fragments thereof could hardly justify a claim to be more than an Ohin.

Owing also to the fact that every Ohin was expected to take the command of the fighting men in his division or town in time of war (apart from being the custodian of the land in his territory—being the hereditary " prefect of the marches ")

he was regarded as the protector of the lives and properties of his people and as the "Safuhin" of the Omanhin. If any grave misfortune befell him or his people it was commemorated by an oath—such a common disaster tending to knit the members of the community or tribe more closely—which everyone, friend or foe, was expected to respect, on pain of death or fine. This oath was quite different from the solemn invocation of the dead previously mentioned, but gradually it superseded the former and so, latterly, allegiance came to be sworn by "taking the oath." It should be observed that allegiance in its inception was only tribal; afterwards it tended also to be territorial, and all persons living in the town or state were expected to respect the Ohin's authority, although, except over the land reputed to be particularly attached to his stool and over the members of his Gyasi and others living in towns or villages directly under him, the Omanhin did not exercise immediate control. His Ahimfu and Adsikrofu were the immediate trustees of the land for their respective peoples. And it may be here interposed that it is to the wrongful application of principles of land tenure and to the insistence of abject subordination, which may be alright in one state but absolutely unjustifiable in another, that are due most of the causes of internal disruption and strife. Therefore, in studying aboriginal institutions, as Mr. Sarbah observes in his *Fanti National Constitution*, "one has to guard himself against misleading and erroneous analogies, plausible generalizations, hasty deductions and faulty conclusions. Former travellers, from what they saw in the trading forts and settlements, essayed to describe Fanti and Asanti national institutions, and in many instances, what were observed in the coast town were erroneously taken to be applicable in their entirety to the whole country, without any attempt to find out the principles governing them." The converse is equally true.

Despite the fact that communities were broadly divided into Adihyi (freeborn) and Nkuwa (servants) and the rulers into Ahimfu and Abirempomfu (*not* Amanhin and Ahimfu, as might be supposed), the Gold Coast is, everything notwithstanding, a very democratic country. There are no classes in the western nor castes in the eastern sense of the term; and no one is obliged for ever to remain a servant simply because he descended from a slave, nor does the accident of being born an Odihyi count for much. The thrifty servant could as easily purchase his freedom as could the thriftless Odihyi lose his status. Any worthy man could become a Safuhin and the servant not unfrequently succeeded his master

on the stool to the chagrin, or sometimes with the full sanction, expressed or tacit, of the heritable blood. In certain circumstances the domestic servant was specially selected by the stool family to be the " caretaker " of the stool and to receive the revenue thereof without being liable to account therefor.

Rank in the body politic was obtained in various ways, namely :

(1) by founding a village of which one eventually became the *odsikro* or *ohin*. The *Ohin* might become *Omanhin* and be addressed as " Nana " (ancestor) as regards both his stool and his stool-name, but the *Omanhin* would still be the *Ohin* of his own town ; (2) for conspicuous bravery on the battlefield, particularly if it succeeded in turning an imminent defeat into a certain victory, or for tact in covering at great personal risk the retreat and thus saving the life of the *Sahin* or *Ohin*. Such a person was created *Oman Safuhin* (as distinct from *Asafu Safuhin*) and was addressed as " Barima " or " *Obiremba*." He could become a *Van* or *Wing Chief* ; (3) by using acquired or inherited wealth for the public good, particularly in providing the sinews of war or buying off a powerful enemy. He was accorded the dignity of " *Obirempo* " and was referred to as " *Odeefu*." He became *Oman Safuhin* and had a seat in the *Bagua* (state council).

The foregoing may be taken as a brief description of some of the offices in the state organization of the Akan-Fanti tribes of the Gold Coast. That of the tribes occupying the south-eastern portion is different to a more or less extent from the above in that they follow the more primitive system and in some instances they have merely copied the Akan system without fully understanding the principles underlying it. That accounts for the very many ranks, all of which claim to have political importance. Among these peoples succession to offices is through one's father or mother's father, and in some cases the order is very eccentric.

But whether among the Akans or non-Akans, to-day, thanks to the *pax Britannica*, the prospects of inter-tribal or ultra-tribal wars are very remote ; but the ambition to attain unto fame by the glory of the cannon-ball is not after all the noblest impulse of the human heart. Other times, other manners ; and peace has its own peculiar problems. The field in which useful and beneficial service can be rendered by one's country and race is still very extensive. There are industries waiting for the master-mind to organize and control in order to afford honest work for many youthful hands,

There are public and private schools in want of financial and moral support by the award of scholarships and the founding of chairs or the building of more commodious premises. What nobler example can be set by the well-to-do than the selection for training abroad for national work of one or more youths, particularly as doctors, nurses and teachers. To be an Ohin is good, a Safuhin admirable, an Obirempon excellent; but what permanent good can one in such a position do if one cannot help his people in the march of progress in these days of industrialism? The true significance of Akan Titles is the ability to look ahead and to cease to be always looking backward—learning to be an ancestor instead of being satisfied with being a descendant.

A Theory with Interludes of Phantasy Lightly Bound with Fragments of History and Legend.

BY CAPTAIN ALEX W. NORRIS,

GOLD COAST POLITICAL SERVICE.

In evolving this theory, that the original Asante Confederation was as it were an entirety of its own, ever since the days of Tekiman, I am laying myself open to a great many attacks, from those who hold other views, and I may well be asked to quote my authorities, and to state where I gathered my information. I am unable to do so for the following reasons.

I have always been very keen on native customs and history, and when in the Gold Coast Regiment 1901—1905 I had many chances of collecting notes. I used to spend a lot of my spare time in the Cantonment Magistrate's Court, and in 1903 when O.C. and Acting District Commissioner, at Mampon gained a lot of very interesting history from the then Omanhene Akwesi Setchere. When I returned to the Coats in 1911 as a Political Officer I again started taking notes, and when on tour of inspection made it a habit in the evenings to talk to the Chief of the village about old customs. In this way, in the course of eight years or so, I collected a lot of information, and was able to get points confirmed or otherwise by different people, who were not connected with each other, and so in a way obtain a concensus of opinion. One tour when stationed at Ejura, I mentioned this theory to Sir F. C. Fuller, and took my notes into Kumasi to show him. That night the Fort was broken into, and among the things taken was my despatch box, with all my notes, etc.

I shall never have the chance of collecting notes, like those lost, again, even if I had the heart to start afresh; but I had evolved this theory, and write it down for what it is worth.

If it gives anyone sufficient interest to go into the matter so as to disprove it, I shall be content, as by this means more information will be collected, which doubtless would otherwise be lost.

Chiefs and Linguists do not now depend on their memories, they have clerks, and everything is written down, the old history is being forgotten. Nothing is done to inculcate "pride of race" in the schools, and it is considered of more importance that a boy should know that WILLIAM I., reigned from 1066-1087, than he should know his own tribal history. It is therefore for us to collect what we can now. At about the same time as William of Normandy was preparing his invasion of England, a large meeting was being held on the top of a big outcrop of rocks close to where the present village of Tekiman stands. The majority of the people were very old men, and though they were seated in a large circle, at the same time one could see that they were divided into distinct groups.

Each group had some emblem or Totem in front of it, denoting the family ⁽¹⁾ to which they belonged; one group had a piece of wood carved to represent a hawk, another a buffalo skin, another a bush cat, another a pot of fire with a carved dog by the side, and so on. All these people had collected from the settlements round to hold a joint council. They had no

NOTES.

In these notes I have taken it for granted that everyone has a copy of Dr. Claridge's work, so have only quoted the page: in the case of Reindorf's book however, I have given extracts as the book has been out of print now for a long time, and it will be hard to obtain a copy.

Note 1.—See Claridge Vol. I, page 8.

Reindorf page 112 states:—

"There were seven original family groups or clans called 'Abusua-banason' among the Tshi nation, to which ten minor ones are connected. The principal original family groups are: Asekyiri, Asona, Agona, Oyoko Aduena, Asokore and Abrade (Asenee)."

Chief or King, they were ruled by a sort of gerontocracy, (2) every group was self-contained and to an extent self-supporting, but in times of danger or if a dispute took place between members of different groups, the councils of each group met as a joint body. (3)

It was a time of great danger now, their northern settlements had again been raided by people from the north, who fought on horseback (4) and gave no mercy to their foes. For generations this had been taking place, and gradually the advance of their enemies had brought the danger nearer and nearer to this the central meeting place of all the families.

For the last 100 years or so every month had seen adventurous bands of the youth of these people moving south into the darkness of the forest following the sacred river Tanno. (5)

Sometimes a messenger returned to fetch some of his relatives and to tell of all the wonders he had seen.

Sometimes the council pardoned an offender, who having been found guilty of some offence had been sentenced to lose his hand or arm, on condition that he journeyed down the river and came back with a report as to how things were doing with their relations.

Note 2.—So far as I can remember I first obtained this information at Mampong, I have since had it confirmed by various chiefs and Elders.

Note 3.—I cannot remember where I obtained this information. It may have been in Kumasi.

Note 4.—Claridge Vol. I., pages 4-6, 7. Reindorf page 7 writes: "In the interior were the Tshi or Fante tribes, who, as we suppose, when the Moslem invasion of Western Europe was stemmed, and the Christians reasserted their superiority in Spain, were driven by the Moors from central Africa into the low lying countries between the Kong (Kpong) mountains and the river Pra."

Note 5.—I place the age of this fetish so far back for various reasons, first that it is in force throughout the length of the river, second, that it is known by and consulted by all the Akan races, even by those who must have been among the first emigrants, thirdly, that at Tannosu on the Kumasi-Sunyani road I was given to understand this. It is really a marvellous sight to see the Fetish Priests at Tannosu feeding the sacred fish, great big Cat Fish about 4 feet long and with mouths at least 6 inches wide. The Priests have names for them, and they come and eat out of their hands when called.

The people had a curious way of bringing disputes before the council of elders;⁽⁶⁾ they used to swear by their father's arm, hand, leg or by his head. There was a case now before the council to settle, and it was to be noticed that the parties must belong to the Oyoko and the Aduana families by the fact that the Totems of the hawk and the dog with the fire were moved to the middle of the circle.

It seemed that a young man of the Oyoko family had gone out to hunt and had shot an antelope with his bow and arrow, at the same time a young man of the Aduana family shot, and a dispute arose as to which of them had killed the animal, and that having consulted with their respective fathers,⁽⁷⁾ they had in accordance with the custom gone through the settlements calling out that they swore by their father's hand that the other person had stolen their meat. The elders of the two families not being able to settle the matter had now brought it to the general council to settle, and it had become a very serious dispute, as one of the parties had now sworn by his grand-father's head,⁽⁸⁾ and it was known that his grand-father was dead and could not therefore be brought, the shades of those who had departed had to be protected, or else who could tell what might happen, and the young man having lost his case was condemned to forfeit his own head. •

The attention of the council now turned to a young man who evidently belonged to the Asokore family, as a buffalo skin was placed in the circle when he stood up to speak. A year before he had been sentenced to death for catching fish in the river. For generations it had been a law that no fish might be caught in the Tanno itself,⁽⁹⁾ only in the backwaters and tributaries such as the Oyoko where the "Hawk" families had their settlements.

Note 6.—A description of the old way of swearing, written from memory given to me first at Mampong in 1903 and confirmed by other people.

Note 7.—This may be origin of the present "Backstayer."

Note 8.—It is still a great insult to mention the ghost of a "Nana," a good many people would only laugh if you said "Your father's face is like a monkey," but to say "the face of your Grand-father's ghost is like a monkey" would bring trouble.

Note 9.—See note 5.

This law had been made when for some reason nearly all the fish had died and the old men made this order so as to give the fish a chance of breeding and to prevent them being caught in the dry season when the river was almost dry.

He had been however pardoned on condition that he journeyed down the river and brought back some proof that it lost itself in a big water that was salt. In proof of his journey he had brought back with him a gourd filled with this water. He related how he had found small settlements of the "OFATEWFU" or "separators"⁽¹⁰⁾ by the big water, of how on the sacred river he had found settlements of the Aguna family,⁽¹¹⁾ and how when he travelled towards the sun he had found people of the Asekyiri family,⁽¹²⁾ who had within the memory of some of the old men present moved south years before. He said that there was plenty of land to the north of these Asekyiri people that was unoccupied, that all the original inhabitants had been driven away or killed, as they did not know how to use a bow, but only fought with stones.⁽¹³⁾ Cannot one picture the arguments and discussions which took place among the council, who now had decided after generations of fighting the invaders that they could not hold out any longer, that so many of their people had moved south, and that now they must follow in their footsteps.

We can imagine them following the Tanno for days and weeks until they arrived at occupied settlements and were not allowed to stop,⁽¹⁴⁾ then leaving the river till

Note 10.—See Claridge Vol. I., page 6. Reindorf page 7 gives the same two legends. For various reasons I prefer the one I have used.

Notes 11 and 12.—Reindorf page 112 states, "The first Adanse kings were of the Asekyiri family group: the kings of Denkera of the Agona family." I am given to understand that both the stools at the present day are occupied by members of the Akoona family. How this change could have taken place is explained in notes 18, 19 and 25. I gathered that the old Asekyiri stool is the present Asen stool.

Note 13.—Mr. Rattray found a lot of "celts" at Ejura when the motor road was being built, and I found a few at Juaso in Ashanti Akem in 1913.

Note 14.—This would be a natural thing to happen, the older settlers would of course want the new comers to come under them; for a parallel one can take the case of the present Kwahus, when they wished to settle in Ashanti Akem on the land between the present towns of Agogo and Juansa and the then Akemhene refused them permission unless they served him.

they came to the Offin. We can picture all the disputes that took place, how some on the way found a place which they liked and stayed there and how others decided to follow the Offin down to the big water.⁽¹⁵⁾

And so we can picture the remnants of these people arriving at last at their land of promise, and settling round where Essumeja now is, having brought all their original Totems with them, and every family represented, keeping their separate identity, holding their councils as before, and holding aloof from the other settlers of former and earlier emigrations, as they despised them for not having stayed on and fought the northern invaders, and blamed them for this last emigration having had to take place. And so for a time we can leave them, fathers dying and the son taking the headship of the family. Let us now lift the curtain after 400 years or so have passed. We find that the family group has nearly died out and that settlements have joined themselves together for purposes of alliance both offensive and defensive, irrespective of the old totem families, and that these new groups are known by distinctive names. The settlements which were started by members of the Aguna family are now known as DANKERA-FU⁽¹⁶⁾ and have become the predominant power, the old settlements of the Asekyiri family are now known as the ADANSE-FU,⁽¹⁷⁾ and further to the east another group is making its name known as the AKEM-FU.⁽¹⁷⁾ We find in all these three groups that the gerontocracy has

Note 15.—Claridge Vol. I., pages 6 and 600. Reindorf page 150. "And to punish their enemies, they hired Fante Gomoa people, who, with other Fantees, bore bitterest grudge against the Elminas and Akras on account of their friendship with the Ashantes."

Many Asantes have told me that the Elminas were the same as themselves and left Tekiman at the same time.

Note 16 and 17.—Reindorf on page 60: "Akem (Akyem, from Nkyone (salt), a name give to the country by the Asantes for being supplied with salt by the people)." It is to be noted also that at present the native name for Saltpond is Akemfu. Reindorf page 43, and 44 states: "Amanase means the origin or foundation of the people, where they seem to have emigrated to, and then dispersed over the country. It was a district between Kumasi and Adanse. A large portion of them separated and settled at Adanase; which also means the foundation of the buildings *i.e.*, the building of the Tshi nation."

"The district of Dankera (*i.e.*, *dan kyekyerewa*—small, wretched building and Tshuforo tribes crossed the river Ofe and settled in the S.W."

given way to a more or less hereditary council, in which every member has some special duty to perform, that this duty remains in his family. We find that in every group one family has acquired the right to find the president of the council, and that in many cases he is slowly acquiring the powers of an autocrat.

Our friends from Tekiman are still at Essumeja, and have not as yet joined any of these groups, they try to remain by themselves, and so far as possible keep up their old customs and habits, though even here we see that a change is taking place and that they have to a great extent followed the others and that the council of old men is slowly being ousted by an hereditary chieftainship.

The only great change that has taken place is in the three big groups, where they are slowly altering their law of descent from the male to the female line.

The Adanse-fu ⁽¹⁸⁾ had been the first to do this, some time before they had had a big war with the Denkera-fu, in which all the grown-up males of the Asekyiri family had either been killed in battle, or had shewn that they were unfit to lead the new group, and there had been a great argument as to what should be done, the family did not wish to give up their power, and placed before the council the idea that in future the descent should be in the female line; can one not imagine the old men shaking their heads over such an innovation, but the protagonists of this movement put forward unanswerable arguments, they shewed that by this way one could be certain of keeping the true blood, and that there would not be so much risk of a family being exterminated,⁽¹⁹⁾ they also as a proof that blood must tell mentioned the story of how the yam seeds were obtained

Note 18.—There is a doubt if this may not be taken the other way round but for various reasons and taking the origin of the name, I prefer to think that the Adanse people were the first to make this change, I think that they were a power before Dankera. (See also end of note 20).

Note 19.—Claridge Vol. I., page 211 and 212.

from Tekiman,⁽²⁰⁾ and in the end their arguments succeeded. This new custom gradually spread among all the people who made up the Adanse and Denkeras groups, and later, but to a less degree to the Akem group. Our Essumeja friends however stuck to their old custom for a long time still.

Another period goes passing along the road of time. We find that the Essumeja settlers have become a numerous body and are beginning to feel themselves almost strong enough to try conclusions with the Denkeras, who are now more powerful than ever, and who have for some time been more or less their overlords.⁽²¹⁾ The old gerontocracy has quite gone now, they have several times tried to form themselves into a group of their own,⁽²²⁾ they still keep their line of descent in the

Note 20.—Reindorf page 111 and 112. "Among the different traditions showing why nephews became heirs, we choose the following; the priest Anokye advised the king in whose reign the stool was made, that in celebrating a yearly feast in its honour yam must be used. That first king was Osei Tutu, in whose days yam, was not known in Asante, but was indigenous in Tekiman. Amo Yaw, the king of the place, had strictly forbidden the export of it into another country. The King of Asante sent messengers to him, requesting the favour of a few seeds to plant. His request was not granted; alleging as a reason that yam was a noble plant, and unless one of his noble royal blood be sent in exchange, it could not be spared. The king thereupon consulted with his wives, that one of them should give up a son to purchase the seed; but none consented to his request. The King was in great distress till his sister offered one of her sons and obtained the seed, which was planted in Asante; hence nephews became heirs to the stool." (Footnote to above). "The above tradition may be true, yet it seems that the occasion has not taken place in Asante, but in one of the kingdoms established prior to that, for both in Adanse and Dankera—the first ruling powers—brothers and nephews have been heirs from the beginning up to the present date."

Note 21.—Claridge Vol. I., pages 193 and 195. Reindorf page 48. "The connection between Dankera and Asante is traceable from this fact that Osei Tutu, the nephew of King Obiri Yeboa, was employed as a shield-bearer of Boa Ponsel. This shows that the connection was somewhat tributary, as the custom with the Tshis is that all tributary kings have their nephews in the king's service as horse-tail-fan and shield-bearers. At all events, this is certain that the Dankera king was superior to the Asante king, superior in power as well as in glory, and Osei Tutu may have been sent there to study the politics of the Dankeras."

Note 22.—That this was the policy of the Tshi people can be proved from the case of Asante Akem, when, after the defeat of Frimpon Mansu, each village was placed under a different Kumasi Chief, in order to prevent any risk of combination on the part of the Akems.

male line, but they have now hereditary chiefs.⁽²³⁾ Already, owing to the manner in which the Denkeras are treating them, another emigration is taking place, and parties have left and have built the towns of TAFO and AMAKUM, others are moving up to make new settlements on the hills to the south of the Afram plain, and so to form the stools of BIPPOSU, KWAMANG and KUMUWU.⁽²⁴⁾

At last the Essumeja settlers elected a man as their general, and got ready to fight the Denkera power, for three generations they held out, the leadership going from brother to brother and then to son in a branch of the AKOONA family. But history repeated itself, and again owing to so many of the Essumeja moving north to avoid the danger, it was settled that the whole people should move north, there to enter into a most binding alliance with the previous emigrants, and then having organized themselves bring the matter to an

Note 23.—There can of course be no doubt of this, but I have only come across one case where there is any proof that it was in the female line, this is Juabin, and is in a manner upheld by the fact that after the defeat of Ntim Gyakari the chief of Edjampon, who was under Juabin, remained at his village to look after the graves. Edjampon is close to Eduadin on the railway, the Chief still serves Juabin, though now the village is an island in the middle of Kumasi lands.

There is also no doubt that the first four generals of the Asante group were brothers and sons (see Appendix D. Claridge Vol. 2) but for views stated in note 25 I am convinced that he is wrong in trying to trace them in the female line of descent.

Note 24.—The present stool of Juaso in Asante Akem claims to be the original stool which was at Kumasi, and they state that they were driven away by Oti Akenteng. I should think that Tapa and other Tshi people now in Togoland, must have been driven away at the same time. (Tapa in note 25). The Kumuwus say that they found the Afram plain occupied by a people who they connect with the present Krepis. They say that the name of the chief of these people was "Aterefram," but I think that this is a combination of the words Atere and Afram, the word Atere is still in use among the old people and denotes "ferry" or "ferryman," it is easy to understand that the original inhabitants knowing the ferries and the fords would have been able to escape across the Afram. This old sort of hidden language which some of the very old people still use among themselves is very interesting, and someone who has a gift for languages might perhaps be able to trace some old origin through it. I collected a list of about 200 words, but it was lost with my other papers. The Kumuwu stool has the fetish that was captured from the people they found on the plain, it is six most beautiful brass figures about seven inches high in a brass bowl. I cannot suggest the origin of them, or place a rough date to their age, but they must be very old.

issue. As history tells us it was left to OSEI TUTU⁽²⁵⁾ to bring the matter to a conclusion, and we can picture him as the leader of the Ashanti confederation, as the fountain of honour, allocating after the war rewards and distinctions to those who had done well.⁽²⁶⁾ Only one remnant of the old Tekiman customs remained, that being the system of having a case called for trial,⁽²⁷⁾ but this was soon to go, the chiefs of the big stools having become to a great extent deified, it was an awful thing to happen if one was killed, and Osei Tutu being killed at KOROMANTE,⁽²⁸⁾ it was such a dreadful thing to have happened that if any one dared to mention the place, he had at once to be brought to the Chief to explain his reasons and for the matter to be investigated.

Note 25.—Claridge in Appendix D. tries to trace Osei Tutu through some unknown people in the female line to the first known chief of the new Asante group—Chu Mientwi. I consider that he is wrong in this, if the descent was at that time in the female line, the names of these two mysterious women would be known, or at least Manu's mother would have been known and handed down as a Queen Mother.

Reindorf in a footnote on page 112 : " and the first three kings of Asante of the Akoona family, but those from Osei Tutu downwards are of the Oyoko family group," and on page 111 he writes : " the successors of the King were formerly his younger brother or his first son, but subsequently his nephews."

I can find no connection between the Akoona and Oyoko families, so far as I know they have different Totems, and the Akoona family is an offshoot of the Asokore family. As mentioned in note 23 Juabin is the only stool where I can find a Queen Mother's stool before the emigration north. That the custom of the female line of descent had not long been in force among these Amanse people is proved by the fact that the Tapas and other tribes who moved to Togoland about this time (note 24) still maintain to this day the male line of descent, though they are pure Tshis and have not mixed much with other races in Togoland. Tapa mentions five Chiefs as having been on the stool before the Opoku Ware war with the Krachies (in which the Tapas and Apais joined the Krachies against Asantes) : personally I am convinced that Manu was half sister to Obiri Yeboa, the same father, different mother, her mother was an Oyoko, and that is how the family got changed, and this will account for the name of Manu's mother not being known.

It was with the death of Obiri Yeboa that the female line of descent became the rule among the present Asante people.

Note 26.—I wrote an article on this subject in 1914, and the then Chief Commissioner of Asante forwarded a copy to Accra, I have lost my copy with my other paper.

Note 27.—I forget my authority for this, I have an idea that it was the present Omanehene of Mampong, Osei Bonsu.

Note 28.—Claridge Vol. I., pages 199-200. Reindorf page 69 gives another definition, he thinks that it is a corruption of the words " *Mekoroé na mantle* " i.e., " I joined the campaign but never heard of it."

And so having traced their wanderings for some 700 years, we leave them to become the great ASANTE nation, brave to a degree, sinking self for what was for the benefit of the whole, honourable to their pledged word, cruel perhaps in some ways, but at the same time a lovable race.⁽²⁹⁾

Note 29.—See Claridge Vol. I., pages 181-191 for his views, also the last few lines of Sir Hugh Clifford's introduction page viii.

ERRATA *et* ADDENDA.

Note 11 and 12.—It is an error that the present Dankera stool is held by a member of the Akoona family, it is still in the Aguna Family.

Note 16 and 17.—Taking the present meaning of the word "Omanhene," with the plural Amanhene, would it be a great stretch of imagination to think that the meaning of "Aman-ase" is or can be translated as, "the place where the head man (of the totems) sat down." I think that it can be taken for granted that the district in question was known as Aman-ase long before the days of the Asante Confederation, and if this is once admitted, I do not think that it requires much argument to prove that in the old days the people living in the area in question were considered to be the direct descendants of the original elders and totem-holders from Tekiman.

NOTES ON ASHANTI HERALDRY.

BY CAPTAIN ALEX. W. NORRIS,
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The following note on Ashanti Heraldry was written by Captain A. W. Norris, twelve years ago with the idea of encouraging District Commissioners to observe the emblems used by the various Chiefs and so trace the history and the seniority of the Stools. It has since lain lost in a pigeon-hole, from the dignified obscurity of which the Editor thought it deserved to be withdrawn and Captain Norris has kindly given his consent.

From ancient time we find that kings and rulers were in the habit of granting to their principal generals and warriors, some distinguishing mark, sign or emblem in order to distinguish them from those of inferior rank and to act as an incentive to others to emulate the deeds of those who had been granted such honour.

The first mention we have of this is Alexander the Great who gave to some of his most eminent generals the right to place distinguishing marks on their shields, but doubtless the practice was in use long before.

Coming to more recent times we have the history of the middle ages from Henry II to Richard II when Chivalry was at its height and to uphold the dignity of one's crest, coat and war-cry was the aim of every man of Coat Armour.

Honours in those days were not bought or sold, and even those of humble birth could by distinguished leadership and bravery become one of the glorious group who surrounded Edward III and the Black Prince.

The only difference that money made was in the case of a knight, who if he could pay a certain number of horsemen, bowmen, hobblers etc., to follow him was allowed to cut his forked pennon and become a Knight Banneret.

In this connection it is curious to note that Field Officers of the Army have the right to wear gold spurs, they ranking as knights with a certain following.

Officers junior to them only being Esquires and wearing silver spurs.

It is of interest to notice that the Tchi speaking races especially the Ashantis had and have as complex a system of native heraldry, distinctions and honours as in the days above-mentioned.

As in the case of European races, the King or Ashanti-hene was the fount of all honour, and without his leave no distinction or emblem could be made, worn or used.

Such distinctions as were allowed were highly prized, and any one not entitled to the use of the same, who arrogated such distinction to himself, knew that it would mean war with either the Head Chief or one of the (present) Amanhene who had permission to use such emblem.

All distinctions given were only allowed to be used at the pleasure of the Ashantihene and as a disgrace could be and were sometimes confiscated.

It might be of interest to mention a few of the distinctions used by the Principal Head Chiefs from old times.

STOOLS.

Only the Omanhene of Mampong had the right to cover his stool with silver or to use silver nails. This right was given by Osei Tutu to Chief Mampon Boatin for his bravery as War Captain when the Ashantis fought the Denkeras.

Elephant skin mats for stools may only be used by the Amanhene of Mampon and Wam.

Little round gold plates on the Black Stool are allowed to Juaben, Kumawu, and Aguna—these were made by the Head Fetish man Anokye as medicine before the Denkera war.

The Queen Mothers of Mampon, Juaben, Kumawu and Nsuta have the right to put silver bands on their stools. This right was given by Opoku Wari after the death of Osei Tutu for help given in capturing Ntim Gyakari, Chief of Denkera.

Brass bells on stools could be used by all Amanhene, big Kumasi Chiefs and Chiefs of big Towns—only the Ashanti-hene had the right to use silver bells.

UMBRELLAS.

From old time the following Chiefs have the right to use silk state umbrellas—but the actual cloth had to be first shewn to the Ashanti-hene for him to decide that the pattern was not the same as his :—or those of

Mampon,
Juaben,
Nsuta,
Kumawu,
Bekwai,
Kokofu,

Aguna and the Chidomhene of Kumasi.

Aguna also had the right to use a certain sort of linen Umbrella.

The Chiefs of Nkoranza and Wam were given leave to make silk umbrellas by Kofi Kakyiri, and Prempeh gave leave to Ejisu and Offinsu.

All other Chiefs had to use black or cotton prints.

EMBLEMS ON TOP OF UMBRELLAS.

Mampon, a silver war horn and a gold nut tree.

Juaben, a gold war horn and gold human jaw.

Ejisu, a silver horn and gold nut tree.

Kumawu, a wooden horn and gold nut tree.

HORNS.

Juaben sounds "Amofo Adufa" meaning "from high rank". Mampon sounds "Kotokosafo" from Mamponhene of the name of Saffo who was father to Osei Kwami.

Mampon

Juaben

Nsuta

Bekwai

Amoafahene

Two horns called "Asokoben" which sound the names of all the past occupants of the stool.

Mampon

Juaben

Nsuta

Bekwai

Kumawu

A band of twelve big horns called "Ntahira."

DRUMS.

" Prempe " Drum	Juaben and Akwamu.
" Ntahira "	All Amanhene.
" Fontomfrom "	Two big drums, used by Mampon, Juaben, Nsuta, Bekwai and Kumawu.
" Boma "	One drum similar to above, Offinso, Ejisu, Kontanase, Nkoranza, Techiman, Bere-kum, Kokofu, Adansi, Aguna, Bankami, Esumaja.
" Fa, asafo koko "	" Take your men and fight " Ashantihene only.
" Sika Kukuwa "	A drum covered in Gold. Ashantihene only.
" Kukuwa "	Covered with a sort of lizard skin, Juaben (6), Nsuta (3), Kumawu (2), Mampon (2), Bekwai (3), Ejura (1).
" Mirie "	Juaben and Bekwai, used when the Chief is going to Court.
" Afere "	Juaben, Mampon, Bekwai, Kumawu and Nsuta.

GOLD CAP.

Nsenefokye	Juaben.
Nkankaramu	All Amanhene.

GOLD SANDALS.

Juaben, Mampon, Nsuta, Kumawu, Bekwai and Kokofu. Offinso, and Ejisu given by Prempeh.

Then there are such things as Message swords and the emblems attached to same, such as the Gyegyetyiri of Juaben, Fanfanto, meaning " go, fight and die."

A land-tortoise, a snail, a snake,— " Onanka," an axe a fish—" Adwen."

The right to use the few emblems, honours, etc., mentioned, has been gathered mostly from Chiefs in the Ashanti-Akim District and must not be read as absolutely accurate, it being possible, if not probable, that they wished to aggrandize their own divisions.

ADANGBE (ADANGME) HISTORY.

By NOA AKUNOR AGUAE AZU

(ARRANGED AND TRANSLATED BY ENOCH AZU.)

PREFACE.

THE author of this Adangme History was Mr. NOA AKUNOR AGUAE AZU, son of an old King of Krobo called ODonkor AZU the founder of Odumase Town, now the capital of Eastern Krobo, who died 1867, September 27.

The author had written on the fly-leaf of one his manuscripts that he was born in the year 1832, September 3rd, during the war known in Adangme legends as "Dunta" that is a war after an eclipse of the sun, between the Danish Government and the Krobos.

His name Aguae was not of Adangme origin but rather a name of a certain Danish Officer who came to the Krobo Mountain during that war. This Officer lodged at his father's house, and when he saw this babe he was much pleased with its ruddy complexion therefore he asked the King to name the babe after him.

The christian name of that Officer was Johannes as said by the author himself; but I think the real pronounciation of the name "Aguae" had been slightly corrupted.

The author was very young when he was given up to his aunt, his father's elder sister, an aged wise woman who was then staying in a cave, for training in order to become fetish priest to Aku an old war fetish of the Dsebiam tribe. Being talented and also having a sweet voice, he soon became a famous Klama singer and was allowed to sing with the elders, who loved him and conferred on him the title "Klama Osei" namely Prince of the Historical songs.

His brothers and sisters who are still alive speak of him that he had his training from seven wise people of his time, to whom he owed his knowledge of the Adangme History.

He was so unequalled in his excellence in this profession that his coevals were unable to understand him.

Throughout his life he would never give an explanation without taking a proverb as his base.

When he became a man, he revealed himself to the public as one possessed with an evil spirit in accordance with the custom of that age.

His father used him as his history book and applied for all he wanted in case he had forgotten something.

He had a choir of youngmen under him with whom he represented the Krobos at Ningo, Prampram, Osu and Ga, during the festival occasions.

He had a wife before the Basel Evangelical Mission came to Krobo in 1856. He was then in his glory and no one had dreamed that he would become a Christian.

His father cordially received the Missionaries and gave them all the help that was in his power. When they appealed to him to give them one of his sons for training in Christianity, the King willingly gave away our hero's younger brother called Christian Akutei Azu.

The Missionaries took him away via Addah to Christiansborg in order that in case he would run away he might not find his way back with ease.

Some time after, he returned to Krobo with his master the Revd J. Zimmerman to see his relatives in his European garb. He brought to his brothers and sisters the famous European sweets, sugar and biscuits, which they thought that their younger brother in trousers and coat would be able to supply them with every day.

Mr. Noa Akunor Aguae Azu, our hero, by this time had greatly advanced in his profession and as a result was not loved by his own elders who were nearer to him in blood, simply because he knew what they did not know. His father feared that by and by they would do him harm in secret, therefore when the Missionaries asked the King for more boys to come to school, his father gave him up together with his half brother Mr. Peter Nyako the father of our present Konor Emmanuel Mate Kole for training.

"I was very sorry", said our hero, "when my father called me into his private apartment and said, 'you are going away

with the white men'. I said nothing but looked into his face and tears fell down from my heavy eyes. I strongly determined in that same moment never to turn my head to look at any dance henceforth" and so he did.

He left his wife and daughter and went to school.

His wife married another man soon after our hero went to school because she said that her husband, our hero, did not love her because he did not tell her that he was going to be Christian before he went to school.

After they had studied a little at Odumase and our hero had given his house to the Missionaries to be used as teacher's house, they were sent to Akropong where they were trained in the Seminary as Catechists.

Our hero, after his studies in the Seminary, was sent to Christiansborg as a Catechist and a teacher in the Elementary School and there he married his lawful wife called Dorothea Kwakule Reinhold with whom he had fourteen children.

He remained in the Mission field for thirty years and during this time he wrote in Ga language 2025 Adangme Proverbs, The Adangme Historical Songs or Klama Songs and the History of Adangme. He took his rest on 28th June, 1917.

After his death his son Enoch Azu arranged this book and translated the same into English for the welfare of his countrymen.

ENOCH AZU.

ADANGBE HISTORY.**CHAPTER I.****The Adangbes before crossing the River Volta.**

The Krobos came from Sameh an island situated on the South West of River Ogum adjoining Ladah and Dahome.

They were too much oppressed by the then mighty King Akpo of Dahome therefore they removed to a place called Akpe which took them ten days walk.

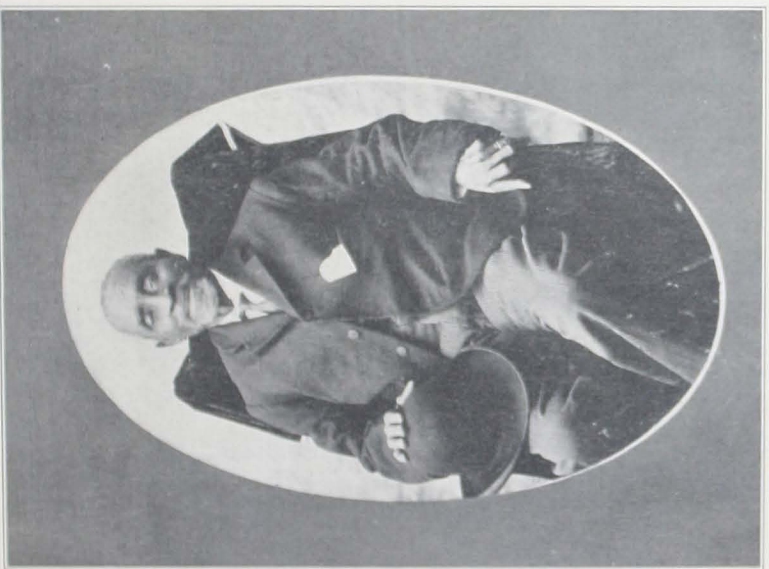
They fought with the Akpes, and conquerèd them, again forced them to accompany them in their journey.

Advancing further they came to a place called Zugu. Apete Sukluku the King of this Zugu was unwilling to let them pass through his domain until they had given him seven persons. From Zugu they came to Tsamla where they stayed for some years. They removed from Tsamla to Kpesi. After they had remained with the people of Kpesi for some time, they succeeded to induce them to accompany them in their nomadic life.

Proceeding on their journey they came to Atapkame in Togoland and then to Agome. Now they came to Tagologo, here they waited for some of their company whom they were expecting to come from places called Huatsi and Tuwo in vain. They went forward until they came to River Volta. Walking on the banks of this river they saw an island which is now called Akrade. Here they left their neighbours who started with them together from Sameh. This people came from Alada near Sameh ; and they were part of Kyirepong speaking people. The word " Akrade " is the same word in Kyirepong " Akrene " meaning fowl. It may be due to the enormous quantity of poultry reared on this island. Some historians stated that they were purposely left there by their leaders for the safety of their tired fowls ; with an old lady called Akroyo, sister of Akro, one of the leaders. The remains of this old lady and her attendants were removed to Krobo after some years.

The Krobos marched further on along the bank of the Volta until they reached a place called Humer. Here they crossed the Volta by the help of a certain man called Agorkpa in hollowed date palm trunks. They left the river behind them and went to Biam or Bia-Kpo in Addah. Here they built up their homes as the pioneer Adangbe tribe.

All this might have happened about 700-800 years ago.



CHAPTER II.

Krobos at Biam or Bia-Kpo.

When the Krobos crossed the River Volta they went to Bia-Kpo in Addah.

At this place they dug a well called Kunye.

The period or duration of their stay there is not known, but the fact that they did stay there is recorded in one Klama song that narrates what happened there :—

“Kunyé nyã amla nẽ be tubo,
Itu kẹkẹ inõ amla mi.”

English :—Skipping on the banks of Kunye is bad.
I skipped and fell into the skipping rope.

This song refers to the following incident :—

While the Krobos were living at Bia-Kpo, one day it happened that the female population went out to fetch water from this well ; but there was not sufficient water, therefore they sat down to wait for it. At the same time some of them began skipping as an amusement to pass the time, when unexpectedly some warriors or robbers came upon them and captured several, binding them with the same skipping ropes they had been using.

CHAPTER III.

The Krobos at Lolovor.

The attacks of their enemies and robbers caused the Krobos to leave Biam or Bia-Kpo on the plain to find refuge on the hills. The first they came to were the Lolovor Hills known as Mernya and Papla-yo. Here they settled and prospered. They became stronger and were now able to expel all who came to molest them.

Even their enemies gave them such titles as :—Oku Lolovor, Agbã-bleku, Akamanor, Kpākṛāmākṛī, Lolovor ne dše Lovor Muṛṛ.

Meaning of the above titles :—

1. Oku Lolovor—Lolovor the killer (Bravo Lolovor).
2. Agbã-bleku .. Priest from the East.
3. Akamanor .. The second son of the braves. (In Krobo, the second son is always regarded to be braver than the first.)

4. Kpākṗāmākṗā. I shall always draw you to me (in case of tug of war).
5. Lovor ne dṣe Lovor Muete—People who left Lovor without bitterness. (That is to say they were not driven away by somebody.)

CHAPTER IV.

How the Krobos removed from Lolovor to the Krobo Mountain.

After the Krobos had stayed at Lolovor for a number of years, a certain hunter by name Akro Natebi or Akro-muase went to hunt on the Krobo mountain. He returned to his people with the report that he had found a suitable place for them to settle.

It must be observed that the tops of the Lolovor hills are somewhat conical; but that of the Krobo Mountain level, and in form of a table mountain. Another reason for deeming it suitable is that there are no natural paths by which one can climb to the top easily, so Krobo offered security from enemy's attacks.

This report was warmly received, and then they left Lolovor under the leadership of Akro Natebi and his assistant hunter Angmor with their tribe known as Djebi Oku-Lovor or the present Djebiam tribe.

Akro Natebi's people are called Nams or Nam lii or people who worship the fetish Na or Idsowi Na. The meaning of Idsowi Na is "I have the power." Angmor's people are called Yokuyonya which means "people on the small hill."

Agbom lii or people of Agbom are the children of the nephew of Akro Natebi. All these three together formed the Djebiam tribe.

When the Djebiam tribe left for the Krobo Mountain, they left behind Nmetekper and Nmesa at Lolovor, who promised to follow them. The latter however returned to Lomodje in Addah and it was some years after that they came to the Krobo Mountain and formed the tribe known as Manya Lomodje.

Lorvor-no Tsayi, the then leader of our present Addahs, refused to join the Krobos on the Krobo Mountain and left to return to Biam or Addah country where he built the town of Lekponor near Okorhuem.

History tell us that, his own people cut off his right hand at a place called Okor-Nmoloku because they said that he was too fond of war. He cursed them saying :—

Curse be unto you—wicked and ungrateful !
With this very arm, have I won several victories
on your behalf ! Ye shall be ever cursed.

In Adangbe, the last sentence in the foregoing curse is expressed thus :—*Nyè mā nū dā* The last word “*dā*” became their nickname as we see in the word Addah.

The real name is Togbloku Okor or Okor Nmoloku.

When the Djebiams or Akro and his people were coming to the Krobo Mountain, they left the following Idols :—

Akwam, Okone, Aku and Osele in Lolovor and brought with them Idsowi-Na which they placed at the foot of the mountain to guard the entrance of the path by which they ascended.

There is a large rock also near this Idol which they named Legbatesa that is the rock of the Idol.

They named the mountain Akroyo meaning the mountain of Akro.

The following Exultation is always taught to the Djebiam fetish priests who are required to say it before they give prayer to their Idol Na.

It also corroborates that the Djebiams were the first who came to the Krobo Mountain.

EXULTATION.

Adangbe :—

Agbā-Bleku, Akamanor !
Wo yi ; Wo fia ;
Lovor dse Lovor Mueter.
Agbā-bū ! Wo waye Nānā hlami !
Wo dsi Nana hlami' tšeme.
Agbā kuku ! Agbā la !
Waye hię wokwoli kę Me-no !
Oimēdu nę no se-no se wa !
Siadawe-ma, nō ku-ma,
Danu-he, ūmaye-he,
Niki kę nikwō ūę ledše !

English :—

Oh Djebiam, Warrior from the East !
 As the tide comes in with foaming billows at will,
 So mightily yet at will,
 Thou didst leave Lolovor without bitterness.
 We the tribe of Djebiam that are from olden
 Leaders

We ever strove ahead !
 We Djebiam alone we have heroic songs.
 We got to see the " Climbers of the sea "
 Who pretended to be possessed.
 Your fathers' famous history will leave
 Its strength for Generations,
 For you the Worshippers of " Na "
 Our glory-founded house,
 Knows men of bravery.
 Lo ! food and drink abundantly,
 Prominent as well as less prominent things.

CHAPTER V.

The Early Krobos on the Krobo Mountain.

When the Djebiams or Krobos first came up to the mountain they found it uninhabited nor did they see any indication of previous occupation. They therefore built some huts and made there their home.

After they had surveyed the table mountain all around and come to the conclusion that it coincided with the description given by Akro, they conferred on him this title :— " Kokobi Akro Humi " that is :—Akro the first man who found this place is a keen observer.

There are some rocks on this mountain on which sentinels were placed to inform the approach of an enemy or any passer-by. These rocks are :—Tšayi, Hogbatē, Anikaka, Dšadšawu, Aku, Itroloku, Lanmakō, Alamitē, Okpē-kō, Nyēw-ekō, Lamisakō and Akwēkō.

At the approach of an enemy, the sentinel would sing this song :

Agbā Bleku ō Wi ma !
 Agbā Bleku ō Ta ma !

English :— Agbā Bleku Buffaloes are coming !
 Agbā Bleku war at your gates !

Then the priests namely Lebgati and Me priests should be informed and consulted in reference to the steps to be taken.

Sometimes they would send some hunters or scouts to detect them; at others they would wait to ascertain the strangers' purpose; and again at other times they would attack them at once. Animo and his people formed the fighting force; and therefore they got this title:—"Drëyu or Nēleyu" more poetically:—"Lorvoryi Dreyu" anō nye dšo tē he! In English:—"You are like a sheathed knife hanging on the thigh; which is used when anything wants cutting."

How Refugees came and mixed up with the Krobos.

These refugees were called by the early Krobos Afutu Blekus namely those who came and mixed up with the proper Krobos.

Afutu Bleku is also divided into two parts: Aniboi and Maboï. Aniboi means strangers from the east and Maboï strangers or refugees from the west and north.

A. **Aniboi** or those who came from the eastern side of the Mountain.

1. Ogōme and Plawu from Lēkpono part of the Addah tribe.
2. Manya Lomodse—followed the Djebiams as we have seen in chapter 4. Some of them went to Addah Lomobiawe.
3. Dōm Tēsanya—Some of them are Aniboi from Awuna; and some Maboï from Akropong.
4. Bunase from Awuna.
5. Dome or Susu tribe came from Awuna. How they got their name Susu is as follows:—

The word Susu in Adangbe is only a corruption of the word "Suisi" i.e. Literally:—"You have not reached down" or more freely—You have just arrived, or you are the green horns.

Now as you have got to know the meaning of this word it will be easy for you to appreciate the truth of the following story.

When this tribe came to Krobo, and had promised to obey the laws of the country, it became a difficult task for them all at once to do away with their customary dances and the plays of their abandoned home.

One particular dance which brought them under the displeasure of the Krobos was "Asi-dede" (an Awuna word meaning lifting of the fingers) which is played in conjunction with flutes made from hollowed canes. As you all know the temptation for the eyes and ears of a woman to see or hear a new thing is very great, so it happened that the Krobo women, married and unmarried, became the general spectators of this dance.

By and by the married neglected the functions due to the husbands and the unmarried those to parents.

Moreover some wives refused their husbands and married the young men in this band.

A certain man called Tepar was deserted by his wife who went to marry a young man in this band. Tepar was so enraged that he took his gun and went and laid in ambush to kill any of this band, in case he could not see the right person. People were now afraid to go abroad, and those who were compelled to, used to say this on their way:—
"Tepar! Onõ nõ! English:—Tepar! you are justified! All over the mountain, you would hear the people complaining thus:—

Nyě sui si nẽ mène nye mãpe dši nõ lo!

English:—This is what you are going to do, you the newly arrived! or is that the behaviour of a stranger?

These and some other indecent examples forced the Elders to abolish this dance, and also gave them this nickname "Suisi-lii" by which they are now known.

The following historical song proves the above statement:—

Dome no Lako mẽ abẹ pẹ,
Yo nõ bẹ. Abẹ pẹ: Bubu pãpã!
Bẹ pẹ ke: "Mayi ho ho"—
Wa mã ho! Bẹ pẹ ke: Mayi ho ho!

English:—When Lako woman of Dome's trumpet is sounded, it mean to coax a woman. The trumpet sounds:—Boo boo pah pah. It sounds:—"I am gone"! "We shall go"! "I am gone!"

B. Maboi in Krobo.

1. Bõse or Bonya tribe came from Akem. Nãko fetish and Langma fetish were given them to worship by the Djebiams.
2. Akwẹno Dorm tribe or Suotẹnya tšẹmei from Akem,

When they came to the foot of the mountain, the Krobos at first refused to receive them, because their leader appeared to be a Chief and a warrior, and they thought that by and by his people would come to take him back. But he rose up from his seat and said :—" Receive us only for no one knows his rememberer or thinker on. Presently we appear to be useless, but we promise to reward you in future." The Krobos were thus convinced and after all the males were circumcised, they were taken up the mountain.

The Tshi expression used by this Chief became their title afterwards. This is the expression :—Obi nnim ne kaeto!—that is to say no one knows his rememberer, or thinker on. "Obi nnim ne kaefo" is now corrupted "Obinkafo" which is their title. The name of the Chief—"Bah Asare."

3. Okpe tribe from Akem. On their way to the Krobo mountain they dwelt for some time at a place called Okpe-nano or Okpe plain; and from there they begged the Krobos to take them. One night all the males were circumcised and brought up the mountain, by the elders who deceived the rest that they came down from heaven. This tradition is still known and considered to be truth.

4. Pienua tribe from Akem.

5. Nyewę tribe from Ashantee Dankyera. The word Nyewę means the blind man's home. Tradition tells us that when this tribe came to the Krobo mountain they brought with them a blind stout old woman, maybe the mother of their leader called Atsuim. This blind woman used to sit down by the way side. Now it came that the people commenced to call the spot the Blind Woman's home. Later on it became the name of the spot and the village which grew around it and also the tribe.

HOW THE REFUGEES WERE RECEIVED.

The elders of the priests would meet them down the mountain, and ask them :

1. The cause of their leaving home.

2. Whether some people are following or pursuing them.

They would not be allowed to drink water until they had confessed everything.

The confession is done in this way :—A jug made of clay, called Likoko in Adangbe, with water inside is given you. Now you have to pour this water on the ground and call the name of your god and then confess. If they are satisfied with your confession, then you are given another water composed of a little quantity of salt and corn flour to drink.

CONDITION ON WHICH ONE IS RECEIVED.

1. You are to be circumcised.
2. To speak Adangbe only.
3. Your daughters must pass under Dipo custom.
4. You are not to send a messenger anywhere without permission.
5. You are to call your children with Krobo names.

All the Aniboi or those from the East were circumcised before they came to Krobo and therefore their reception was cordially warm, comparatively to those from North and West or Maboï who were not circumcised. At the approach of the former, the following song would be sung :—

Buę dęe Dimla-we Buę ma !

English :—Strangers from the house of the god of circumcision are coming !

Literally, the word " Bue " in this song means a deer. Now the reason why strangers were called so, was that during that time, all travellers used to carry the skin of a deer on their luggage in order to protect their goods from being wet by the rain. Therefore in such a state, a group of travellers in far distance appeared to be a flock of deer roaming about the plain.

In this chapter you have learnt much, chiefly about the origin of the different tribes in Krobo ; still do not treat it lightly because in the days of our fore-fathers, the penalty due to the one who makes mention of such a thing, namely,—the origin of a tribe, whether in anger or joke, was death or selling him into slavery. Therefore parents did not tell their children, either of their own origin or that of others, only to one out of many who was considered to be reserved and fitted to store history.

O, reader do not think that you are not a Krobo man of the right sort, because your tribe is classed as Aniboi or Maboï ; but rather rejoice because without these refugees, the Djebiám tribe alone could not have faced their enemies

who came repeatedly to dislodge them. Moreover through their bravery we still call ourselves children of Akro, a name that would have been long ago obliterated from the annals of the Gold Coast. All these tribes formed together as one, is what we now call Krobo.

In fact, as you all know, history tells us the truth about a nation, and therefore if this portion here is inserted, you may please not blame the writer, for the night is far advanced, and the day is about to dawn. Let us then brush aside the fear that the ghosts will kill us when we reveal the secret of our country.

CHAPTER VI.

Customs of Akro Natebi's Tribe or Nam Li.

In this chapter you will learn something about the religion of the Nam lii or better the worshipping of Na.

This fetish is neither stone nor wood, but simply a pot with some herbs inside. This pot is placed in a small swish hut, by which a fence is raised around. Another thing besides this pot is a big calabash which is filled every day with water for this fetish to have its bath.

The priest and the priestess are to tell the people of the wants of the fetish which are to be obeyed whether weal or woe.

Fridays are kept as sacred days and the general work such as farming and travelling are forbidden, with the exception of looking after cattle. Again on Fridays they celebrate their festivals and also perform their funeral customs as we see of the present generation.

Here is a short morning prayer of the worshippers of Na :

Asilatrekwo ! Yonyewe Na ! Mo ke mi ya !
Ke ina futa, nuq ; ke ina tu q, enyo !

English—Asilatrekwo ! Mother of a woman, Na go with me.
If I see a white object, let it be a chalk (or better—good luck) and when I see a black—a captive to bring home.

The chief thing which this fetish taboos is the uncircumcision ; and therefore all boys must be circumcised just after their birth or when they are a little grown up. Any boy who is not yet circumcised has no right to taste anything cooked in this fetish house.

The celebration of the festival of this fetish comes on in the last week of September. In the course of this festival fowls are killed in the enclosure of the fetish hut, and are dressed and prepared at the same place. Food added to this broth is wheat flour boiled like a prepared porridge but in a solid form, not in the European sense of the word. Another thing added to this food is pulse which is prepared from the green leaves of Okro or those of the baobab tree. When all these preparations are over, then the people of Nam would gather in and out of this enclosure in companies according to their pedigrees, to receive the meals into their own family dish called "Lala kã" meaning "waiting dish." The name of this dish reminds them that they are bound to see the presence of all the important members of the family before they start to eat with cheerfulness, capable to stir appetite. You would like to see them waiting for a brother and hear them saying: a lonely meal, however luxurious, is always apt to be dreary. Sometimes you would see some of them taking this meal with tears in their eyes, for the usual seat or place of a brother around this dish had been made vacant by that dreaded name Death.

After the meal come the singing and playing of the Klama Dance. The songs which are sung on such occasions should be better called Na's songs, because at the beginning of each, Na's name is called.

Here are some of them as example:—

1. Na lo! Wowoì ahlamtšë ; , :
2. Na lo! Na ùë waba ; , :
3. Okese Na lo! Nabrim'tatšë ; , :
4. Na lo! Tšimim' hedulo ; , :

English:—1. Holloa! Na! The leader of the fetishes over the sea.

2. Holloa! Na! You were living here before we came.
3. Holloa! Na! The Mighty! Thou the general commandant at Nabrim!
4. Holloa! Na! The washer in calabash!

Besides Na fetish, there are some streams or tributaries considered sacred to be worshipped.

They are: Dodokudomle, Sege, Koyomo, Agbigba, Atšami, Blekuma, Kokwe, Lolovie, Welepo, Dšane and Okata.

But the most sacred ones are Lolovie, Welepo, Dšane and Okata. On Fridays their waters are not fetched home. Again when a child had attained two years, but unable to stand on its legs and walk, such is regarded to be a boa and therefore thrown into any of these sacred streams. In Adangbe such children are called Alibo.

During the dry season all these streams used to dry up, and therefore wells were dug on their beds in order to reach their waters underground. Such underground waters were said to be brinish, therefore they were named after the brine springs met at Biam in Addah. Some of the Addah streams are still bearing such names up to this present day.

Moreover their need of storing water, improved the art of making pots. They made some large ones called Did_o or Nmawe in Adangbe which could hold say 40—50 gallons of water.

During the Harmattan season they used to come down to River Okwe for water. Chapter IV. tells how the Djebiam left some of their fetishes when leaving Lolovo; but when they had settled on the Krobo Mountain for some time, they brought them to their new home.

Aimo, (the assistant of Akro, the father of the people of Yokuyonya) and his people brought their fetishes called Dšeneyo and Merter and kept both of them on the Hill called Kogbate or Klagbate. Nako fetish is said to be the wife of both Dšeneyo and Merter, and therefore the jealousy between these two male fetishes has no bounds.

When the time for celebrating the festivals of Merter and Dšeneyo had come, the priests and their assistants i.e. the people of Yokuyonya in general, used to behave like mad men, hence in latter days, their yells, and sounds of drums, thrown as a fish bait into water to tempt the ignorant fish, became disgusting and repulsive to spectators.

CHAPTER VII.

The Fetish Priests and the Doctrine About Hell.

Every Krobo fetish has its priest and priestess. The olden name of a fetish priest was Madšano meaning "the servant of a town." Later on they got the name of Wong meaning "fetish man."

The fetish priest is distinguished from the laymen, by wearing a white cloth and a turban of the same colour, and also beads around the wrists and neck. His duty is to stand between the people and the fetish.

Whenever a plague is heard of to have broken out in the neighbourhood, his duty is to offer sacrifices to the fetish in order to drive the plague which is supposed to be a human being from their locality. The sacrifice is offered in this way :— The priest with a kid in both hands passes through the streets knocking the poor live kid on the ground, offering prayer at the same time. This action of sanctification which is mixed up with cruelty goes on until the voice of the kid dies away as the spirit forsakes its mortal clay. When the priest is now satisfied that he has gone through all the streets, he goes to the entrance of the town, and there leaves the lifeless kid.

This ceremony is also performed by the priest for a sick person sometimes with a chicken and sometimes a kid, according to the gravity of the offence which is generally supposed to have been wrought by the patient willingly or unwillingly towards the soul of a departed relative or a fetish, hence the cause of his illness.

Another work that the olden priest was in duty bound to do, was to watch the seasons in order to enable him to announce or proclaim to the public in general the time for sowing wheat, and also that concerning the celebration of their festivals.

On account of the former he had to go to the top of one of the sentinels' rocks facing east to watch the sunrise every morning. It is said that there is a table mountain, of course not so high, on the east called by them Tokuyo (meaning "Goat's Hill", the very thing known in Togoland to be Atakpame Table-mountain) and when the sun is seen to rise exactly behind this Table-mountain, then the first rain in that week was considered enough for sowing. The next morning after the rain the priest would give an alarm that would be re-echoed throughout the mountain home. After this you would see the farmers and their families running down the mountain with their hoes and baskets to join or share in the labour

This is the alarm :—

Koda le! Koda le! Bububui!
 Dšedšo ne akpã-we!
 Dšena ne akpã-we!
 Ake ma kpã ne ase_{mi}
 Nakin_o Ad_o se O Bububui!

(The word "Koda" is two Awuna or Ewe words joined together—"Ko"—poverty. "Da"—to throw away.)

English :— Throw away poverty or
 Famine is over
 Although never is it said
 Day or night ;
 I am to say it now
 In order to be sent away
 To the land of suffering.

You would hear people sounding this alarm when sowing was going on, but after, he or she who dared would be severely punished or, worst of all, sent away into slavery.

Now in order to enable him also to tell the people exactly of their mid-yearly celebrations of their festivals, the Priest had to go to another rock facing West, at the sight of every New Moon to make a mark there with a stone or put a cowry (shells used as coins) into a pot set there for the purpose. Nobody had to touch this besides the priest or his assistant called Labia of whom you shall learn something later on.

The first month in the year according to the Krobo legends is October which they call "Rabata Lowe", "Kake" namely the first month of Harmattan. In this case you will see that they agree with the Hebrew Tisri. From this rough calendar the Priest would be able to tell his people at the sight of a new moon after counting the cowries in the pot that : "Sunday se'night or fortnight would be the day for the celebration of the fetish."

The next man in power is the Labia or the second Priest. The word "Labia" means one who wears string of beads, beads strung to pass round the neck, and then another longer to cross the former and lie on the breast, "La" or "lai" =beads. "Bia" =cross. The duty of the Labia is to help the Madšano in all his duties and sometimes act in his place.

The priest of the olden days had a linguist and some elders around him as hands in settling cases.

The priestess is not the wife of the priest but rather a maid servant of the fetish and has her own ways ; and she is considered to have got her appointment directly from the fetish.

The olden name of a priestess is " Agbã-yo " and that of the next to her is " Kpesi." The former as well as the priest is appointed, when young, to occupy such a position after she has attained a certain age ; and therefore in the case of both, they are privileged to learn how to sing and also the meaning of the Klama or the historical songs. Now, if one is detected to have a native talent for such songs and also a strong and sound memory to recollect them, unto this one honours are given and also privileged to join the companies of the elders. This student is also received as a cordial friend by the aged fetish priestesses who then used to dwell in the caves which are very common on the Mountain ; and thus chanced again to hear, compare and realize the historical points in connection.

Now if this student is satisfied to have accumulated a sufficient knowledge to fit or suit a priest, then this fellow will one day proclaim himself or herself a priest or priestess by singing, dancing, jumping and shouting, such as could call the attention of the public to come and gather round him or her in their house. The parents of this fellow who claimed to have been inspired or possessed with an evil spirit would summon all the fetish priests and priestesses to come and perform all the necessary ceremonies in relation to the student's due qualifications.

Sometimes his company would sit for a considerable time say three or four days or even longer, eating and drinking at the expense of the parents, and playing the Klama dance day and night, in which our possessed brother or sister would give out the Solo whilst the rest join in the chorus. Sometimes in order that our so called brother or sister may prove his or her call so wonderfully and extraordinarily, would refuse food and drink and quit the company slyly and hide in the woods.

This change in the ceremony would give another theme capable to break the monotony of the prolonged singing and dancing ; for you would now see the company dispersing here and there, running into the neighbouring woods to search for the lost possessed.

Sometimes this fellow is found apparently dying from fatigue and hunger ; and in such state brought home and impugned by the priests and the parents to make known to

them the name of that particular fetish which had revealed itself unto him, and chosen him a servant. No sooner had he told them the name, than you would see a messenger going at full speed to summon the old priest or priestess who is the servant of that fetish, in case not among the crowd, to come and tranquillize the possessed.

In many cases as well as in this, the promptness of the priests is a matter of merit. You would like to see this old priest in quest hurrying to the spot behind a man carrying a pot of water containing herbs. His first and important duty is to call the name and the titles of his fetish and pour water on the ground as soon as he gets to the spot, and offer prayer to the fetish; and then the second and most important duty is to take the possessed into a closet or a bath and wash him cap-a-pie with the herby water in the pot.

After this bath, he would become sober, eat and drink, as if nothing had happened; thanking the company with some drink, and last of all dismiss them.

Now on a fixed day during the half-yearly or the yearly festivals "brother possessed" shall be presented to the public as a priest and there you will see him among the other priests in his white robe.

Sometimes also the office of the priest or the priestess is a matter of heredity.

The other two next in power after the priest and the priestess are Labia and Kpesi or Momo Tsañe.

Labia is a male chosen by the priest from all the tribes in order to represent that tribe or to fish informations from that end.

The female called Kpesi or Momo Tsañe is generally selected from the mothers of twins and is taught midwifery and some other ceremonies, supposed necessary for a mother of a new born babe. Her duty toward the other sex is: If a man has killed a leopard or sad to say a human being in case of murder or manslaughter, he has to report it first of all to her and she will give him water to drink. In addition to this she will also offer some heathenish prayer for the malefactor to assure him that he is now freed from the trouble he may probably receive from the spirit of the killed.

The authentic power believed to be in such a ceremony during the dark days of old was amazingly great ; for after this the malefactor would be seen eating, drinking, singing or with other marks of happiness. In the dark days, a malefactor or killer of a leopard had no right to eat, drink or even talk to any one in public on the day he had committed the crime until this ceremony had been performed.

The malefactor is now bound to pay some yearly tribute to this woman. Another and more beneficial result from this confession was :—After this confession had been announced to the fetish priest or the powers, the said powers would now take all steps to conceal this crime in case of the killed being a foreigner. The following song was sometimes an answer given to enquirers after a lost brother, who would come to the mountain with some verbal delineations capable to picture the semblance of the aforesaid lost :—

Adangbe—Babi^o mi o ! Babi^o mi o !
 Mi le le lo ! Ogbele gbe no bi !
 Babi^o mi o, Mi le le lo !

English—Thou comest to ask !
 Am I the one to know it ?
 When death hath killed somebody's son,
 Am I the one to know it ?

Now the duty of the priest in case of a Krobo man murdering a Krobo man. In this case the crime is so detested that no one would like to help the culprit to escape the penalty. Messengers are despatched to every corner of the Mountain home to inform the public in order to help his arrest. The culprit when arrested is judged ; and when guilty, is led away by some Death's-men, with the priest at their head, to a certain knoll called " Likpo-yo " meaning club or cudgel hill. Here the priest would again epitomize the crime and its lawful penalty to the culprit, and then touch him thrice with his staff—a sign sufficient to the Death's-men to give him several blows with clubs. The lifeless body is left there, whilst the executioners come down the knoll to clean their hands with water in an earthen ware vessel placed there for the purpose.

Now in the case of manslaughter, the culprit is never killed but forced to pay all the funeral expenses as well as some fines to the priests. And last of all give his sister or daughter to marry in the family of the killed.

Now comes the remarkable doctrine about Hell. The home of Death or Hell is a large city environed with high walls that no body can trespass ; and at the only gate sits an aged woman called Nane, whose duty it is to ask every one who seeks admission to give account of what he had done in this world. All souls who have no good account to produce are not admitted, and the penalty is that they remain between Hell and this world with neither peace nor joy.

Such ghosts use to come to this world and meddle in the affairs of their bereaved relations.

Furthermore their frequent visitations to some families are the causes of many infantile illnesses and deaths.

Now if one is dead, there are some ceremonies performed necessarily on behalf of the deceased's soul in order to get admission, such work is done by elder men and women in the family. As soon as the spirit of one forsakes its mortal clay, a thread is tied around the neck of the dead body. This thread is called Nane kpã or the thread for Nane, to show it to grandam Nane as a letter of introduction. Now the dead body will be washed and placed in a bed. There other threads are made and embellished with red and black feathers and some beads with different names. These are to be fastened around the neck and joints of the arms and the legs. One is called " Asië hũ kpã " meaning " do not sigh thread ". Another is called " Dšagbli kpã ". The word " dsagbli " is two Ewe words " Dša " and " gblë ". " Dša " is anything given to a priest or a medical man to induce him. " Gblë " meaning to spoil. Now " Dšagble kpa " means a thread due to the spirit supposed to have vitiated all the deceased's endeavours to make a cure of his illness.

Another one is called " Akosa kpa." The word " Akosa " is another Ewe word meaning parrot's tail. " Ako "—parrot, " sa "—tail. The last one is called " Dšogbe kpa " meaning birth-day's thread. " Dšogbe " is another Ewe word ; " dšo " means creation or birth and " gbe " means day. A half-penny in cowries is added to each of the threads in order that the soul may show the threads to the owners and deliver the aforesaid halfpenny to each of them to allow it pass.

The doctrine goes on so far to teach that on the way to Hell there is a broad river which every departed soul has to cross before reaching its destination ; and at the bank sits a very stern and wicked ferryman who charges every passenger a halfpenny. All those unable to pay are driven back or thrown into the water to drown.

By the way, while the undertakers are dressing the dead body with the different threads as already stated, they have to look into the face of the dead body and sing a song in a low voice, as soon as they have finished fastening one. In this way they mean to speak to the soul of the departed, just to tell it to know the owners and deliver to them their respective fees.

Moreover some fragments of cloth and headkerchief, tobacco, clay pipes, snuff-box and some other immaterial articles are given to the dead body in order to carry same to their departed friends. This is done with the intention that the newly departed's recognition in Hell might be easy.

A deceased known in life to be a liar or backbiter, the undertakers used to put sand into his mouth while dressing him, with the idea of blunting the sharpness of his tongue, just to render him useless in prosecuting people or relatives in this world.

Such customs are never in any way left unobserved; for fear that their neglect would bring calamity upon the relatives. The name given to the calamities imagined to ensue when such customs are neglected is "Gbele amãne we huãnyãku" that is Death's complex calamities. To prove that these aforesaid funeral customs are very important among the heathens in the days of yore, when a stranger died in the gates of a Krobo man, the body was never interred, but rather thrown into the fork of a tree. The reason is that the one who would attempt to bury the body of this stranger could in no way succeed to know all the funeral ceremonies due to this fellow; and therefore when this fellow is interred, the soul could get way to Hell or Hades and prosecute the party who had been kind enough to bury the deceased, to Grandam Nane and the rest. Now if the body is not buried, the soul goes into the sky and can never get to Hell.

A special custom solely dedicated to the Priest, Priestesses, chiefs, and some people of high rank, is known as the Kokoliko dance. At the decease of a person from any of the above mentioned ranks this band which consisted of old women was called up to gather around the deceased to play this dance. Drums are not used, but rather six or more big calabashes upset that is to say the opened side is placed on a flat wooden tray. The sticks used for beating these upset calabashes are the horns of a buffalo.

As soon as this band of dancing old women get around the dead body, then one of them would say :—" Dšadšādšā anūme to we " ! In English " Gently shall we take them or catch them home " ! Then with unity and sincerity they beat the calabashes each with her own before her and sing. In this occasion order is most important for it is said that whenever there occurs a disorder or even a mistake in singing, one of them would die.

These are some of the songs :—

1. Domi ! Oya na no to mo, kã
Domi to etšę ! Nakino.

English :—(" Domi " is a name of a certain man of whom tradition says that he had buried his father well. " Nakino " one who suffers.)

Meaning of the whole song :—

Oh thou sufferer remember Domi's work
Thou shalt get one to bury you as Domi buried
his father.

Only people of higher ranks are allowed to dance ; and when any of them steps in to dance, then he is hailed in with this song :—

2. " Agu dšie enane mã Teūme do mi "

that is, the nobleman has set his foot in Teūme dance. " Agu " means velvet. Here, nobles and people of higher ranks are considered or compared to velvet—which ranks highest among all garments.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Adangbe Tribe.

The term " Adangbe tribe " in this History, generally includes Krobo, Addah, Ga, Osu, La, Shai, Ningo, Prampram, Kpoñ, Ningowa and Tema. All these tribes now seeming to disregard unity and relationship, were in the olden days a nation behind the Volta, with the exception of Ningo, Prampram, Ningowa, Tema and Kpoñ.

When the Adangbe proper were behind the Volta, they might have got this title " Adangbe " already. This word Adangbe is only an abridged form of this long word, Adeñmiñmi. " Ade "—means " man ", ñmiñmi—" real " now both joined together—real man or proper man, meaning in simple language " a brave man ".

Another word to help you to understand that "Ade" or "Ada" means a man, is the word which you all Adangbe boys and girls use to abuse a fool—namely Ada mluku or Ade bluku. "Ade" means man and "mluku" a whole; a trunk without branches; or in simple language a man like a piece of wood, that is a fool.

Now here is a Klama song which is sung by midwives when a male child is born, in order to corroborate my statement:—

Ade eko lo Ade ñmi,
Ade eko lo Ade ñmi ñmi!

English—Here is a man, Here is a real man.

Their language is called Adangbe—namely the voice or language of a man. There is another word called Hangbe or Haiime—namely "female voice". Hae yo" is a name given to a girl passing under the Dipo Custom. All girls passing under this Custom are called Hae-yi. Now "Ha" is a part of the Klama solely dedicated to the girls under the Dipo training.

After all these Adangbe Tribes had crossed the Volta River, they joined their pioneer brothers namely the Krobos and formed a nation on that piece of land lying from the Noi-yo mountain behind Akuse to the Shai Mountain and then to the Krobo Mountain in triangular form. Here they had one Custom, and laws in common. Each tribe had its own priest and a leader in time of war.

With their united strength they were able to drive all their enemies. Here is a motto in recommendation of their unity "If you touch one, you touch all".

CHAPTER IX.

Ga Tribe or Accras.

The Accras are the Adangbe Tribe which followed the Krobos and the Adas in crossing the Volta River to this side. They remained with the Krobos for sometime. Later on part of them asked the Krobos to lead them to the Coast which was soon complied with. This favour done to them was not forgotten by the Accras, for every year they sent two bullocks to the Krobos as a token of gratification.

The party left or tarried at Krobo for a longer time is the Gbese Tribe. Part of them are in Krobo now known as Kplelii. When the Accras reached the coast they took the Lagoon Korle to be their Fetish. The word Korle is the same thing used among the Krobos and the Adas as a name of a person—Korle. This name is generally given to the first son. The meaning of this word K_ole—"K_o"—things to be taken as sacred. "Le—"Live or to be in existence. Therefore Korle means that there are many things in this world to be worshipped. In the by-gone days, the Krobo Fetish Priests used to attend the annual festivals dedicated to this Lagoon Korle and take part in the celebration. Klama namely the Adangbe historical song is sung during the whole celebration, a habit which I hope is still prevalent among these modern commemorations.

CHAPTER X.

Osu or the Tribe of Christiansborg.

The Osu Tribe came to Krobo not long after the arrival of the Gas and settled at the foot of the Mountain called Noi-yo near or behind Akuse.

The name of the leader or Chief of this tribe was Noi and therefore the mountain was named after him—Noi-yo that is Noi's mountain. He built a town called Noi-we that is Noi's home.

After they had stayed there for some years unknown, it came out that a certain buffalo hunter called Tungba who used to hunt the buffaloes from this place down to the coast went and saw the Christiansborg Castle. Fortunately Tungba became a friend of the Europeans who were then in the Castle. They presented him with some beads known in Adangbe as "Lai" which are still worn on the neck and wrist of the fetish priests and priestesses.

He also dug a well at Christiansborg called Tungba which is still in existence. His favourite among the then occupants of the Christiansborg Castle was one called Kadi a name which may be the corruption of the name Cadiz—from which the Osus or the people of Christiansborg got this title "Kadigboi", namely strangers belonging to Kadi.

After Tungba had been well acquainted with the Europeans and seen their undeniable strength and kindness he returned to his people namely the Osus with the following account : " I Tungba the famous and brave hunter who have had several encounters with leopards and buffaloes, have journeyed so far as to the land's end—the coast, and I can solemnly or assuredly tell you that I have seen one of the seven wonders of the world—a city with high walls all around it and the occupants are whitemen who are good and kind. One can take refuge in this city in time of war, and no power on earth can dislodge him. Moreover I have a favourite friend among them who has given me these beads and cloth. They are fond of my venison, and whenever I give them, they used to give me in return some precious beads of different colours. My kinsmen ! Let us go to them, for the Las have been defeated and driven away to the Akwamus at Adšaiote, and the Shais also have been driven to Segodsi, therefore our only remaining allied brother is Krobo. Let us better go to these white men, and build a town near them, so that in time of war, we can take refuge in that big house like a city with high walls all around it."

The people were satisfied with the above account, yet were not convinced until they had sent three reliable men with Tungba as leader, to put the latter's account to the proof. When the envoys returned with a satisfactory confirmation, chief Noi and his people took French leave of the Krobos and went away to Christiansborg or Osu.

Here is the historical song to prove the above statement :—

" Abuē me awe o : , : Dšotowe,
Tungba la buē me lo,
Abuē me awe o dšotowe !

The meaning of the above song in English : " Abuē " means silently or secretly. " Dšotowe " means robbers' home.

The whole song :—

A robbers' home or den is the place
Where your brother or friend would go without
Taking leave of you. Tungba and his followers
who left us secretly are only going into a robbers'
den.

The Osus took the lagoon Korlete to be their fetish, " Korlete " means Korle's first son.

CHAPTER XI.

Las or the Tribes of Labadi.

The Las came to Krobo as the last Adangbe tribe who crossed the Volta. They settled near Kpong and built a town at the place called Lasibi.

After some years, they removed to a place near the Krobo Mountain and built a town called Ladoku and its capital Drawe. Their chief industry besides farming was weaving of coarse cotton cloth for covering the waist—which was of course considered in those days an excellent dress worn by men of high rank.

Now after they had stayed with the rest of the Adangbe tribes for some years, a son of the then Fetish La Kpa Priest married a princess of Shai. They got a son who became very naughty and fearless in doing what was wrong or abominable when he attained to manhood.

It happened that our hero spoiled a certain Osu girl who was undergraduate in the Dipo Institution—a crime which was then considered the most abominable; and the penalty was to sell the young man into slavery and the girl also to be rejected and driven away to another country for the rest of her life.

The fetish priest of La Kpa, grand father of our hero was informed, but he refused to abide with the ordinary penalty and therefore appealed the case to the Shais in order to frustrate the penalty and help them to fight the Osus in case war would ensue; but the then Shai king who was renowned for his uprightness, simply declared: Aka si Bone! Yo bi yi nye! that is:—The ordeal has gone against the Las (who came from Bone) and again our law is that a nephew does not inherit.

Now the Osus, Krobos and the Shais held a general meeting and after they had charged the Las with some indecent additional charges to one in question, declared war against the Las.

In the course of this war the fetish priest of La Kpa the grand father of the culprit and our hero himself were taken prisoners. And the army of La, famous in warfare, was scattered and conquered. They abandoned Ladoku the night following the day of the battle with all they could carry with them.

The name of the then La Kpa priest who was captured was Teiyoko and that of our hero's father was Ato, as we see in the following song

1. Ato bi nane o : ne Drawe !
Nana Asare so nmlę wo Ato bi nane o Drawe.

English—Look at the feet of Sir Ato's son !
Our Fetish Nadu has chained them at Drawe !

2. Wanu Teiyoko : ne Te me ade !

English—We have captured Teiyoko from the hands of the Braves.

3. Wanu Lamiano : ne Lali ade !

English—We have captured the chief man among the Las from the hands of the Las.

4. Wanu Lamiano : iya La kwa.

English—We have captured the principal man among the Las, I am therefore going to La now without opposition.

The Las were chased by the Osus in the next morning after the battle day, yet they did not see the main body, rather some few stragglers who were brought to Osudoku, known presently there as Lanę people. The Osu Chief after he had returned from the chase composed the following song :—

Pi tu ne ikę gbe Labone !
Inę anokwale ke gbe Labone
Inę anokwale ke ha Labone gbu ziam',
Inę ne ! Adangbe matsemę !

English :—I conquered Labone not with gun !
I conquered Labone with only justice,
I forced Labone to pass through the sand
with justice, I am justified, ye chiefs of
Adangbe !

After this war, there appeared a certain star which was named by the astronomers "Obunyuku Lanę" that is to say this star was brought to view by the dust which went to heaven when we were creating the second La !

Here are another two songs connected with this war :—

1. Akwe sa si o : nyatso !
Atsakate Bone sa si lo !
Ka Akwe sa si o nya tso.

English :—The boa crawls smoothly on the ground !
The confused Bone crawled on the
Ground as smoothly as the boa !

2. Kẹ iyẹ La o ; Ma wo t̄so bo !
Okōni gbe La ño,
Ke iyẹ La o Mawo t̄so bo.

English :—If I would no longer go to La,
I were better clad in the bark of tree.
Death has killed the Las.
If I would no longer go to La,
I were better clad in the bark of tree !

After the Las were driven away from Ladoku, they went to Mount Nyanao near Nsawam and gave themselves up to the Akwamus who were then staying there. They were cordially received by the Akwamus who gave them land to build and plough. They built a town and named it " Adšānote " meaning plague or death had taken away the first born.

Some years after they made alliance with the Akwamus and the Akems and then declared war of vengeance against the Shais. The latter suffered greatly in this war and asked the Osus and Krobos to come to their aid. When the Akems saw the combined army of the Krobos and the Osus coming with their war dance and alacrity of shedding blood their chief called Ayisa called for a separate peace and alluded to the leader of the Las that : " Have you not invited us to assist you in fighting with the Shais only ? I have asked my war fetish to help me in slaying the Shais not the whole Adangbe ! Goodbye ! " The Akwamus followed their example and the Las also returned to Adšānote. Thus the war came to an end. The Las after stayed at Adšānote for some years, had a quarrel with their allied friend the Akwamus. The quarrel came as follows :—It was said that the Accras who were then living at Ayawaso murdered an Akwamu man, and threw the dead body at the entrance of the town belonging to the Las. The body was discovered next morning by the Akwamus who at once charged the Accras with having committed the crime. The charge was laid before the leading men of the Accras who replied as follows : Where did you see the dead body lying ? At the entrance of the town of the Las ! replied the Akwamus. Why do you not weep where the dead body is lying ? asked the Accras ; or do you mean

to say that the Las being your allied friend, therefore cannot wrong you? As the Akwamus could not give an appropriate answer to the above questions they returned and blamed the Las.

During the investigations of this matter an exchange of strong words passed between the two friends namely the Akwamus and the Las and nearly resulted in an open fight, were they not allayed by the leading men of both parties. After temporary dispersion the Las met and planned to abandon Adšaniote in the following night whilst the case is still pending, in order to give themselves to the Accras and the Osus, their Adangbe brothers who were living on the Coast for protection. This plan was secretly perpetrated and in the next morning the Las found themselves to be on the coast. The Accras took them to be invaders when they were first sighted and therefore sent messengers to meet them in order to enquire into the cause of their movements.

"We are not for war", said the Las, after the word of challenge was given by the Accra messengers "but rather refugees who will ever remain loyal to you."

When the messengers returned to the Accras with this report, a general meeting was held in which the chief men among the Osus were included. The leading men among the Las were ushered into the assemblage. They were asked to relate all the history connected with their deserting the Akwamus. After this they asked the assembly for their protection. This request was complied with, after the Las had sworn their Fetish La Kpa and some others, to remain loyal to their Benefactors. The land lying on the Eastern side of Osu where they are staying now was given them to settle there. The Osus who were staying with the Europeans in the Christiansborg Castle became cleverer than the Las who were just coming from Adšaniote, and therefore the former cunningly treated the latter as one under him. Whenever the Europeans wanted labourers, the Osus would send for the Las.

They were good farmers and built farm villages of which many are now becoming towns. Formerly they hated all European trades viz.: Carpentry, bricklaying and even book learning. They were known to be meek and humble yet very cunning. Here is one of their old sayings "Our Fetish La kpa is reigning at Adšaniote, therefore we the Las are not to dress in costly attires, so far as we are staying here or we shall offend him.

CHAPTER XII.

The Shais or People of Se.

The Shais crossed the Volta not long after the Osus, and proceeded on to the Shai hills because all the hills were already occupied by the Krobos and the Osus.

They were the first Adangbe tribe who became powerful after they crossed the Volta. Their olden name was Akotokpa.

Their paramount Chief in whose reign their power was recognised, was entitled "Nimuo", namely Lord, and had approximately 23 head chiefs under him.

His subjects became lawless and unruly, and the Nimuo in his desperation left them to do what they liked.

Now one day (in the Harmattan season when waters of tributaries are dried up and their fishes are gathered with hand and spears) a company of young and old went out to gather fish in the tributary called Mlagu-d_o and after they had sung the following song :

Ay_e m_e an_o o, :-
 Wa_o gbe! Wa_o gbe!
 Wa_o gbe! Ay_e me an_o o!
 Obu ne obu Su_o tu_e
 Ay_e m_e an_o o, Wa_o gbe
 Obu ne obu wo tu_e
 Ay_e m_e an_o o wa_o gbe.

English :— A thing belonging to nature
 We are come to take or kill!
 If I put my net into it,
 A fish as large as elephant's ear I kill!
 If I put my net into it,
 A fish as large as buffalo's ear I kill!

they set to work with cheerfulness and hope for gaining each for himself, when all at once a certain youngman called T_et_e Akr_ob_od_o was noticed to be gathering all the large fish and at the same time had more than each individually.

He was therefore envied by the rest and the result was that they unanimously murdered him and buried him in the swamp.

He was carefully searched for by his relatives, but no one did help them to trace him. As a matter of fact the case was

reported to the Nimuo, but the behaviour of his lawless subjects hindered him from taking strong steps in investigation of the case.

The grandmother together with the mother of this young man secretly left Shai their home, went abroad, reported their disaster everywhere and to whomsoever they met.

It happened that one day in the course of their wandering they met with a certain medicine-man, and after they had related to him the cause of their wandering he gave them a certain medicine with the following additional prescription : " Put this into the waters of Mlagu tributary and snakes shall show you those who had killed your son."

As a matter of fact the old lady and her daughter returned home and consequently after they had put that medicine into the Mlagu waters, snakes commenced to bite the people of Shai wherever they went.

They became restless and the following song found its origin :

Yo ke agbe ebi !
Dšahe Akroḃḃdšḃnye to nye ble.

English—" You have slain my son " ! said a woman,
And therefore Akroḃḃdšḃ's mother has set snakes
against you.

The history went on to teach us that this pestilence lasted until all the people and their relatives who engaged in murdering this young man were bitten by snakes.

This Nimuo was very proud and did not rule his people well or wisely. He did many a thing which a ruler ought not to have done. He was fonder of wine than his court and was generally seen at dancing grounds (or in proper English " at Balls "). He also considered himself to be the wisest man in the world, whilst in reality he was the biggest fool in heathendom. After his death, his successors could not do better than their ancestor and in this way the bane of this powerful kingdom came gradually until, after their war with the Las as described in Chapter XI, the then Nimuo and the greater part of the people re-crossed the Volta and went to " Sḡgodše " meaning the Shais up the river.

(To be continued.)

NOTE ON THE MAGNETIC VARIATION IN THE GOLD COAST.

BY J. CLENDINNING, B.SC., A.M.I.C.E.,

DEPUTY SURVEYOR-GENERAL, GOLD COAST.

It is a matter of common knowledge that the needle of a prismatic compass always points to the earth's magnetic pole, but that this direction does not usually coincide with the direction of true north. The angular difference at any place between magnetic north and true north is called the "magnetic variation" or the "magnetic declination." This declination is not a constant quantity but differs at different places. Also, at any one place, it varies from year to year. In addition, there is a small variation during the course of the day of an appreciable amount.

In many survey operations a prismatic compass is used and a knowledge of the magnetic declination, and of the way in which it varies, is of some practical importance.

At the outset it is to be noted that it is very seldom that two prismatic compasses will give exactly the same variation at the same time and the same place. This is on account of the difficulty of making the magnetic axis of the needle coincide exactly with the geometrical axis, or of setting the zero of the graduated scale exactly to coincide with either. The difference between the declination as shown by a particular compass and the standard declination at the place of observation may be called the error of the compass. Every single compass used in survey operations should have its own individual error ascertained. This can be done very easily by the Survey Department. Different compasses have been found to vary amongst themselves, in their indication of magnetic north, by as much as five degrees of arc.

Although it is advisable to have the error of a compass tested and ascertained, once this has been done at one particular place and if the true declination at other places is known,

it is quite easy to apply the correction and so find the declination which that compass will indicate at other places and which should be applied to its readings to obtain true bearings.

The instrument usually employed in carrying out accurate determinations of the magnetic declination is called a magnetometer. The Gold Coast Survey does not possess an instrument of this kind, but one theodolite has been provided with a specially sensitive trough compass. This theodolite has been used to observe at stations where the declination already has been observed with a magnetometer by the Department of Terrestrial Magnetism, Carnegie Institution of Washington. A fairly good determination of the instrumental error of the trough compass has thus been possible. A number of observations all over the Colony have been taken with this theodolite and the instrumental error applied to the results. It is believed, therefore, that sufficient data, of a fairly reliable nature, have been obtained to enable a preliminary study of the way in which the declination varies from place to place to be undertaken.

Observations at different places cannot be compared directly, as they are taken on different dates. To get a real comparison it is necessary to reduce all observations to a common date. This involves a good determination of the annual change in declination, and, in order to obtain this, observations spread over some years at the one place are necessary. Fortunately, in the Gold Coast, we have the results of reliable observations taken by the Department of Terrestrial Magnetism, Carnegie Institution, in 1914 and 1919. These have been combined with observations taken recently and the results indicate that the magnetic declination at the present time is decreasing by about seven minutes of arc per annum. This result appears to be very approximately the same for ACCRA, SEKONDI and KUMASI and for the periods 1914-1919 and 1919-1926. It is, however, interesting to note that the magnetic declination was observed at Elmina by the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey on November 28th, 1889, the result being $17^{\circ} 10' W$. It was also observed again at Elmina (though probably not at exactly the same point) by the Carnegie Institution on the 15th February, 1914 the result being $15^{\circ} 24' W$. This gives a mean annual variation of $4.4'$ per annum. The annual variation is not always a constant quantity, but it so happens that at present time it does appear to be fairly constant and the value— $7'$ per annum—given above seems reliable and agrees closely with

that found at a number of stations, including some in neighbouring French Colonies at points near their frontier with the Gold Coast.

The daily variation has not yet been systematically investigated but experiments spread over a couple of days at Accra appear to indicate that it is fairly small—much smaller than the probable error in reading an ordinary compass. At Greenwich the diurnal variation is about 12' in Summer and 7' in Winter, the needle occupying its mean position about 10 a.m. and again about 6 p.m. throughout the year. The diurnal variation in the Gold Coast does not appear to be as much as at GREENWICH, but it is impossible to say very much about this until the matter has been gone into more thoroughly. Even 12' is barely perceptible on the compasses used for ordinary survey work.

A map giving the isogonic lines, or lines of equal declination as on January 1st, 1927, appears opposite. This map has been compiled from recent observations in different parts of the country. It represents no more than a preliminary and provisional attempt at a study of this question. In compiling it observations that appear to be abnormal or to depart from the general run have been ignored. These observations may be unreliable or may be due to abnormal local attraction at the place of observation. Also, assuming the reliability of every observation used, there are not yet enough of them to enable the lines to be drawn with very great precision. At the same time, the map can, in general, be taken to represent the declination with an accuracy greater than that attainable with a 4" prismatic compass on stand, such as is used in ordinary survey work. Thus, it is believed to be reliable enough for any ordinary practical purpose.

It will be seen that the isogonic lines run in a direction about 30° West of North. Also they are approximately equidistant and more or less parallel. A rough approximation can generally be obtained by interpolation if one remembers that the 13° line runs from a point about half way between Accra and Ada to a point approximately at the N.W. corner of the Colony, and that the variation at Sekondi is approximately 14°.

Reference has been made above to the changes in the declination which occur during the course of the year and those which occur during the course of the day. It is also commonly known that there are such things as "magnetic

storms" which happen at irregular intervals—generally during a period of sunspot activity—and which may affect the compass. Abnormal attraction is also found in places where there are deposits of iron ore.

In using a magnetic compass it is important to insure that there is no iron or steel about the person of the observer. Objects such as wire in helmets, metal buttons, metal cigarette cases, penknives, watches, etc., should always be regarded with suspicion. Also a compass should never be set up near telegraph, telephone or electric light wires and never close to a railway line. Concrete beacons, with iron pipes in them, or concrete platforms, where metal reinforcement is used, are also to be avoided. If the bearing of a line between two beacons is required, and there is reason to suspect that iron rods or bars have been used in their construction, the compass should be set on a peg lined in between them, or beyond one of them and at some distance from either.

In conclusion, the writer would like to emphasise the preliminary and provisional nature of the data given in the map. He would also take this opportunity of again pointing out the necessity for obtaining the variation of any particular compass by testing it on a line of known bearing, rather than assuming it to have the standard variation for the place and time of observation. As already pointed out readings obtained from different compasses are inclined to show fairly large differences, and for this reason every compass should be tested at Survey Headquarters if the best results are to be obtained from it.

SUNRISE AND SUNSET IN THE GOLD COAST.

BY J. CLENDINNING, B.SC., A.M.I.C.E., DEPUTY
SURVEYOR-GENERAL, GOLD COAST.

The Gold Coast Survey Department recently has been asked to compile a table showing the angle at which the sun sets on the first day of each month of the year. This information was desired in connection with the laying out of a tennis court, and as possibly other people may be interested, the values obtained are given in the Table. This table also gives the angle at which the sun rises and also the Greenwich Mean Time of apparent Sunrise and Sunset. These values are based on the latitude and longitude of Oda (Lat. $5^{\circ} 55' 20''$ N., Long. $0^{\circ} 59' 45''$ W.) this being a convenient point central for the whole of the Colony.

In using the table for finding the time of sunrise and sunset no account has been taken of "summer time". Accordingly, if the "Colony" time is required, twenty minutes must be added to the times given in the table for the months of September, October November, and December.

So far as the tennis court is concerned, the sun will set furthest north of west on the 22nd of June and on the 22nd of December it will set furthest south of west. The mean of the two angles of the sun's setting on these days is $0^{\circ} 5' 35''$ north of west. Hence, if the main length of the tennis court is to be at right angles to the mean of the extreme positions of the sun, it should face $5' 35''$ East of True North. This is so nearly true north and south that one can say that the best position for the court is such that its main axis lies on a true north and south line.

TABLE GIVING GREENWICH MEAN TIME OF APPARENT RISING AND SETTING
OF SUNS UPPER LIMB AND THE ANGLE AT SUNRISE AND SUNSET.

Date.	Time of apparent sunrise. G.M.T.		Angle of apparent sunrise. Sun rises				Time of apparent sunset. G.M.T.		Angle of apparent sunset. Sun sets			
	hrs.	mins.	°	'	"		hrs.	mins.	°	'	"	
1/1/27	6	12	23	7	29	S of E	18	3	23	5	10	S of W
1/2/27	6	20	17	22	34	S of E	18	16	17	14	10	S of W
1/3/27	6	15	7	54	18	S of E	18	18	7	42	50	S of W
1/4/27	6	1	4	16	26	N of E	18	16	4	28	20	N of W
1/5/27	5	49	14	56	52	N of E	18	12	15	6	22	N of W
1/6/27	5	46	22	8	18	N of E	18	17	22	12	44	N of W
22/6/27	5	49	23	40	36	N of E	18	22	23	40	36	N of W
1/7/27	5	51	23	24	30	N of E	18	23	22	22	8	N of W
1/8/27	5	57	18	28	8	N of E	18	24	18	20	24	N of W
1/9/27	5	55	8	46	48	N of E	18	13	8	35	36	N of W
1/10/27	5	50	2	43	53	S of E	17	58	2	55	50	S of W
1/11/27	5	48	14	0	42	S of E	17	47	14	16	26	S of W
1/12/27	5	57	21	41	30	S of E	17	52	21	46	18	S of W
22/12/27	6	7	23	29	26	S of E	17	57	23	29	26	S of W

THE BEDU PEOPLE, THEIR HISTORY, CUSTOMS AND LANGUAGE.

BY WALTER J. PITT, M.A. (CANTAB.)
DISTRICT COMMISSIONER, ASHANTI.

The Bedus claim to have originated in the French Ivory Coast near Bona. From Bona they migrated to Humega in the neighbourhood of Bontuku. Humega must have been the capital of a considerable tract of territory, for it is extended into what is now the English Colony of Ashanti and embraced the important trading centre of Sikassiko. How they became connected with the Ashanti kingdom is by no means certain. Kotiji, my informant, who claims to be the son of Bedu, the man from whom the tribe derived their name, avers that their first Chief, Asumra, met Osei Yaw called Okuto the Asantihene at Sikassiko. There the two chiefs took a mutual liking to each other and Asumra decided to leave his own land and emigrate to Kumasi. The Sikassiko section of the community refused to follow the majority and Asumra, annoyed at its refusal, beheaded the Chief, burnt the village and sold the people and the land on which the village had stood to the Sumahene. This drastic action of the Bedu Chief is perpetuated in the great cry of the Bedu horn.

“ People of Sikassiko do you take me for a fool,
I have killed your Chief and sold you and your
land.”

Asumra never lived to reach Kumasi. His place was taken by Bedu. Kotiji states he was a child at the time and the Ashanti King a man of middle age. The King received the people kindly and took one of the Bedu Royals as a wife.

Such is the story of Kotiji.

Since however Osei Yaw ruled between 1824-38 and Kotiji is now only a man of about 60 years of age it would appear that he has mingled legend and fact. It is possible that the former part of the history he was told and that between the time of the meeting of Asumra and Osei Yaw and the actual departure of the Bedus for Kumasi some years elapsed. Two points are certain. Kotiji did go to Kumasi with the Bedus and that the Ashantihene he saw there was not the one who made the compact with Asumra.

It is extremely probable that in the early days the Bedus lived near, if they did not form actually a part of, the great Jaman kingdom which extended over a large portion of land on either side of what is now the Anglo-French Border. The Ashanti Kings endeavoured their utmost to subdue this country. Opoku Warri (1731-42) first reduced the Jamans to subjection. Some years later they revolted and Kujo (1753-1781) invaded the country three times. On the first two occasions he was driven back, but his third effort was successful.

“The subjugation of Jaman had laid open all the country beyond to the attack of the Ashantees who might now have pushed forward in this direction for an immense distance had they cared to follow up his victory, but contented himself with accepting the oaths of submission from the chiefs of the immediate neighbourhood.”

1. Claridge History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti Vol. I., page 213.

Again the Jamans rebelled and Osei Opoku was engaged in warfare with them for fifteen months before they were again subdued.

“On the reduction of a new state and its inclusion as a Province of the Empire no army of occupation was left, but the District was handed over to one of the Ashanti Chiefs as Governor or Resident and beyond the payment of tribute and the rendering of Military service when called upon nothing was required.”

“ These so-called Residents seldom lived in their Districts but stayed in Kumasi and only went to the Provinces nominally under their control where the tribute was to be collected or for other specific reasons.”

2. Claridge History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti, Vol. I., pages 228-229.

This second statement I consider open to question. Often I imagine the actual Resident was the leader of a band of mercenaries who were engaged by the Ashantis in their wars of subjugation and whose services were rewarded by the gift of the overlordship of a part of the conquered territory. True these overlords would have to serve the Ashanti King through the medium of an Ashanti Chief who was probably resident in Kumasi. But as far as territory was concerned they with their followers remained on it and regarded it and its conquered people as their own property.

The Sumahene to whom the Bedus sold Sikassiko was possibly the descendant of one of the actual residents placed in power by the Ashanti King. Even to-day the Sumahene proudly boasts that he is of Denkyera descent. The Sumahene's close connection with the Ashanti kingdom perhaps explains why Asumra sold Sikassiko to him and not to the Drobo Chief who was the leader of vanguard of the Jaman army. If he had made a friendly pact with the Ashanti King his action of selling to a Resident appointed by the Ashantis would be calculated to foster the existing good relations between them. If he had taken an "oath of submission" to the Ashanti power, it is hardly probable that he would have ventured to sell territory and slaves to its avowed enemy.

Kotiji says that the Bedus, who originated in open country, found Kumasi, which was then but a small clearing in the forest, depressing and unsuitable. They consequently begged the Ashanti King to allow them to settle in a division of the empire which was similar in nature to the land they had left. Permission was accorded and they moved to the Wenchi division. A short time after they migrated from Wenchi to Seikwa.

This village is in the Jaman division but contiguous to the land occupied by the Wenchis.

The foregoing is largely based on legend and conjecture. The history that follows is authenticated. The various movements of the Bedus after their settlement at Seikwa is remembered by many people now living.

At the time they settled at Seikwa the Bedu tribe must have been fairly strong numerically. For when the Seikwa Chief endeavoured to force them to serve him as their overlord, since they had settled on his land, they were sufficiently strong to dispute his claim by force of arms. Being defeated in the struggle the Bedus retreated to Banda.

In Banda they remained until the invasion of that country by the Jamans, with whom, of course, the Seikwa's fought. Banda being beaten the two Chiefs, Banda and Bedu, decided to visit Kumasi and there place their plight before the Ashanti King. On their way thither the Omanhene of Wenchi, who was related by blood to the Bedu Chief, sent for him and refused to allow him to go beyond the Wenchi territory. Consequently the Budus for the second time became occupants of Wenchi land. After the 1900 rising the Seikwa Chief, whose land was very sparsely populated, begged the Wenchi Chief to persuade the Bedus to return to his territory. This he did and nothing loath the Bedus did so. But the old question of the overlordship of Seikwa was soon re-opened and the Bedus unwilling to serve the Seikwa Chief once more moved to Wenchi country where they have remained. They render services to the Wenchi Chief but pay no tribute. They are as numerous as the Wenchis. As a tribe without territory they are perhaps deserving sympathy.

The chief villages are Wurompo, Akete, Asubinga, Nkonsia and Busua, but Bedus are to be found in nearly every village of the division. Further, although as a tribe they have removed from Seikwa, many Bedu people are still scattered throughout Jaman.

They are a tribe distinct. They maintain their ancient constitution. They speak their own language.

Tribal markings are not compulsory, but many are slightly marked with a line on each cheek.

Their customs differ little from those of the Ashanti. Indeed they acknowledge that they have lost many of their original customs through adopting those of the people among whom they have so long lived.

One peculiarity they maintain is their method of digging the graves for their dead. All graves are dug in the usually accepted form except those designed to receive the dead bodies of persons, who in their lifetime have occupied stools. These graves are made with circular openings. Probably a survival from the time when all dead bodies were buried in circular pits and it may be in a sitting posture.

Marriage is unrestricted, but it is customary for a man to seek the daughter of his uncle as his first wife, save for this custom of cross cousin marriage a man may seek a wife when and where he can.

Although at the present time they build their houses of wattle and daub and thatch the roofs with grass, they contend that in this they follow the custom of the Ashanti. The forest-bred Ashanti's house is not a very permanent structure. In former time of strife his house was not his castle. He did not rely on it to give protection from his enemies. Being attacked he deserted his village and took to the forest which provided him cover for both retreat and attack. In modern times a fierce tornado or a heavy rain storm or a bush fire will level his ramshackle building to the ground.

This destruction involves no great hardship. Prolific nature provides abundant materials close at hand and in a few days the dwelling is rebuilt. But the Bedus were originally dwellers in open country. If attacked by an enemy they had no adjacent forest in which to shelter. If their houses were destroyed by tempest or fire materials for rebuilding were not easy to obtain. Consequently they had to rely on their dwellings for shelter against all

enemy forces. Therefore they built every portion of their houses, even to the roof, of solid swish. These buildings were square in shape and the roof was flat. Such houses as the Bedus assert they formerly built were still to be seen in the Mo country some years ago.

From the names of their clans it may be deduced that originally the Bedus lived in one large town. Each clan is named after the street in which it lived. The Bedu word meaning street being "lete". The inhabitants of each street are related by the common tie of blood. No clan has a common totem but each possesses its own call upon the horn and its own signal which is beaten out upon the drum.

The names of the various streets and the divisions of the tribe who lived in them are as follows:—

<i>Lete.</i>	<i>Chief of the division.</i>
Nyinase	Acheame
Anyinansa	Sahohene
Esuafu	Safohene
Kambongo	Krontihene
Adem	Safohene
Bobosia	"
Dadiase	"
Semenokro	"
Degegede	"
Jarko	Jasahene
Nongnomso	Safohene.

A SHORT VOCABULARY OF THE BEDU LANGUAGE CALLED NKRONG.

man	nyon	head	wungo
woman	yere	eyes	piage
boy	be	nose	sanga
girl	yerekor	mouth	nonga
father	dida	arm	nungo
mother	na	leg	nanga
sister	meyekor	hand	nobidu
brother	mebekor	foot	napadio
uncle	bineon	breast	nungwo
aunt	nekyerewia	hair	nwinga
grandfather	dabollo	whiskers	nyam

grandmother	manullo
wife	meyere
husband	mepia

food	digge	earth	sake
water	nonyo	river	yokor
fire	daga	tree	daake
salt	lammo	stone	lake
meat	namgo		
stick	toko	sky	jogomolia
knife	brofia	sun	bireke
grass	nin,ye	moon	yegesinge
house	bin	stars	parawodge
	yogo	rain	bejokoie
villages	kutu		
pot	damyé		
bed	apau		
gun	tui		
gold	segevere		
money	soga		
bead	derige		
pipe	taranmyia		
cloth	datada		
drum	paralasingi		
horn	bay		
animal	tosina		
bird	newiewie		
fish	pogoro		
horse	so		
sheep	anama		
cow	naa		
dog	manna		
large	obong		
small	ofifio		
weak	ogong		
strong	ogare		
sick	enyeu		
soft	oyeleyele		
hard	zingarega		
fast	walawala		
slow	yaberebere		

to be born	ku	to speak	PELLI
to sleep	dou	to laugh	hunma
to catch	mbuge	to kill	kwa
to call	voga	to play	waile
to weep	hwie	to die	pie
to hate	keeya	to burn	fiagay
to lift up	direge	to hear	kamu
to sing	horlow	to love	koria
to live	dnesifi	to fall	che
to walk	yar	to dance	ornie
to cut	pirige	to run	tuo

NUMERALS.

one	ta	seventeen	nuunnessiterafianu
two	billa	eighteen	nnunnessiterafiasan
three	sambe	nineteen	nuunnessiterafiana
four	na	twenty	yepille
five	ter	twenty-one	yepillelesita
six	terata	twenty-two	yepillelesibilla
seven	terafianu	thirty	yepillenuun
eight	terafiasan	forty	yepenu
nine	terafiana	fifty	yepenulenu
ten	nuun	sixty	yepesa
eleven	nuunnesita	seventy	yeputerafianu
twelve	nuunnesibilla	eighty	yeputerafiasan
thirteen	nuunnessambe	ninety	yeputerafiana
fourteen	nuunnessina	hundred	chem
fifteen	nuunnessiter	two hundred	chem billa
sixteen	nuunnessiterata	one thousand	weelle

SIGNS AND OMENS.

BY A. ADDO-ARYEE BROWN.

PRINTING OFFICE, VICTORIABORG, ACCRA.

“ Let the fig tree teach you a parable ; as soon as its branches turn soft and put forth leaves, you know summer is nigh ”.

—*Moffat's Translation of the New Testament, Matthew 24—32.*

As a means of obtaining knowledge of future or secret things, omens have been recognised from the very early ages, in all parts of the world. In the Gold Coast, the most implicit faith is generally placed in them ; they are universally observed by peculiar actions of some beasts, birds, insects, etc., and certainly very curious results have been frequently chronicled.

Whether you believe in luck or not, you will, nevertheless, I trust, be interested in the following account.

My grandfather, who had a village some 20 miles away from Accra, took me there once when I was quite a boy, and whilst there, I had the privilege of being a witness to one of these curiosities.

The midsummer corn, which formed the principal part of the farmers' crop, had begun to shoot out flowers. The fruits, oranges, mangoes, bananas, pine-apples and the like—were ripening and, as boys, each day found us busy gathering these delicious products for the market, and many a joyful day was spent. The taste of the fruit allured us to this task every day without the use of any force, persuasions or entreaties and, although we strayed away often to the fields to set traps for birds, we always felt happy and enthusiastic.

The ploughing of the farms with the arduous duty of digging and preparing beds for the yams, which started at sunrise and finished at sunset, had set in. Those hard diggers of the soil never broke but once at midday, and that was when the tropical sun had reached the zenith, the men then retired

to the villages for their meal and work was resumed when the heat had slightly abated, for in this part of the Colony, it is the men who do the uphill work of ploughing, felling of gigantic trees, digging, etc., the women assist only in hoeing and gathering of the harvest on days other than those for market ; in which case the kitchens are attended to earlier to allow sufficient time to be spent in the farms.

It happened that on one of these days, during a recess, after the midday meal, when the men had repaired to the shade of a large mango tree in the middle of the village and had begun the usual discussion on several topics ; and the boys who were noisy a few yards away, under the shade of the orange trees, had commenced to amuse themselves with sports ; there was heard all of a sudden, the screech of an owl in a thicket not very far off, which sounded harshly for some minutes—very unusual for an owl to screech at such an hour of the day, which was interpreted to mean that some sad news would reach the village in a day or two. There was some consternation among the men, and the conversation became serious as to what might happen. I also became curious and anxious thence as to what might be the expected news. Happily the next day passed without any news and the work on the farms was briskly continued until evening. As usual the men had taken their evening bath, the women had prepared and served the meals and as the custom after supper was to tell anecdotes that would amuse or excite the company, the younger folk had gathered around the log-fire to hear fables, tales, etc., from the elders, whose stock of stories was remarkable. Nothing broke the deathly stillness of the night save the cry of a sloth, which echoed far away into the forest—the sound of which sneaked from a gentle low tone and rising by degrees attained the tension of a shout. By this time my old man had begun to relate a story of some display of prowess in action by his company in one of the wars they fought with the Ashantis. When all were keen and attentive, there arrived in the village two men from Accra holding torch lights which served them on the way as lanterns. After the exchange of the usual salutations they related their message in the following words :—“ There being neither sunshine nor rain, our master Okpesisa, being attacked by a slight fever, is unfit, and thus the elders despatched us to inform the old man.” The message simply means : We were sent to announce the death of our master Okpesisa which occurred by no more serious cause than a slight fever. “ Okpesisa ” was the nickname of the late Honourable George Frank

Cleland, the father of our esteemed and worthy fellow citizen, Mrs. J. Glover-Addo ; a great grandson of the famous Kofi Akrashie, King of James Town, a grand-nephew of both King Amah and Nee Attoh and an uncle to the present Manche Kojó Ababio IV of James Town. Not only was he thus closely connected with the ruling houses of James Town, but also, at the demise of Manche Kofi Oku, he was, by the spontaneous choice of the people, made regent of that stool.

Really the death of a man of such unquestionable personality was a matter which concerned the members of the whole community. My grandfather, who had been a trumpeter or horn-blower under four successive reigns, was also a veteran of no mean order and his presence was therefore necessary at the funeral ceremony. The whole village was thrown into confusion by the effect of the news, and cries, weeping and shrieks were heard from the women's apartment. To give the news a wider publication, the old man seized his horn and with all his energy blew it three times, thus:—
 "Awusaba won ye nu sa O!" "Awusaba won ye nu sa O!"
 "Awusaba won ye nu sa O!" (lit.) "An orphan is not treated as such!" "An orphan is not treated as such!" "An orphan is not treated as such!" *i.e.* Be careful how you treat an orphan ; if his anger is kindled, yea, but a little ; woe betide ! but to my subject. Now, to blow the horn on an ordinary occasion other than days of festivals is to raise an alarm for an unusual occurrence. In less than half an hour the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages had been drawn in by the sound of the horn to know the cause of the alarm. When they were informed of the sad report, before they retired a few gun shots were discharged:—a custom which indicates that a hero is dead.

The touch of the news was so general that when the homeward journey was undertaken, no man either in our village or in the surrounding ones, was left behind. The screech of the owl heard on the previous day was a sign, so it was said to foretell this sad event. The late Honourable George Frank Cleland, J.P., died on the 26th November, 1887.

The following is a list of only a few bad and good omens generally observed in this country:—

1. The owl, (*Ga*, *Patu*)—When an owl screeches after daybreak, it foretells sad news or the death of some man of rank.

2. The Sloth—(*Ga*, *Owia*) :—Whenever it cries between sunrise and sunset, it signifies the death of a near relative or some man of note.
3. The Cuckoo, (*Ga*, *Anflan*) :—If it calls between sunset and sunrise, it indicates the death of a man of high rank.
4. The Wolf, (*Ga*, *Klan*) :—When heard to howl at midday, it is a bad omen and is attended with results as above.
5. The Rat, (*Ga*, *Obisi*) :—When seen eating or walking at daytime without being roused, it is a sign of trouble and woes in the home.
6. The Cat, (*Ga*, *Alonte*) :—When all of a sudden she begins to rub herself against anything that comes on her way and begins to mew in the form of a cry it denotes tragic death in the family. Whenever she runs away from her master who is sick, it denotes that he will not survive. The Black Cat, whilst it is looked upon as good luck in some countries, is noted here as bad—hence the *Ga* saying “ May no black cat come between us.”
7. The horned Snake or Cobra (*Ga*, *Onanka*) :—When seen lying on a tree or moving on the way, it denotes great trouble and death in the family.
8. The Cock :—When a cock crows between sunset and midnight, it denotes a great calamity in the home, and to avert the evil, such a cock is killed at once by tearing it with the hands, cooked and eaten immediately by a company of men.
9. The Hen—When she lays egg at night, it means woes and troubles. She is also killed and cooked in the ordinary way. This also is done to avert the evil consequence.
10. Fowls—When two fowls (male and female) fight, it denotes a beloved relative from abroad will reach the home soon.
11. The White Sea-Gulls (*Ga*, *Yaa-Lai*)—When these birds fly in company towards the sea, crying “ *Nye yaa lai! Nyè yaa lai!* (lit.) “ Get firewood! Get firewood!” it is a sign that there will be a great catch of fish by the fishermen.

12. The Rattle-Snake, (*Ga*, *Otsereben*) :—When it winds itself around the leg of a woman or settles on her neck from a branch of a tree and loosening itself departs harmlessly, it is a sign of pregnancy within a short time.
13. Sneezing, (*Ga*, *Tsinemo*) :—is regarded in many ways too numerous to relate here; the principal one is that when a sick man sneezes, it is a sure sign of recovery.
14. The Ants—When a gang of these are met on the way to market, it promises good market and good sales.

HISTORY OF THE BELL OF HO.

BY CAPTAIN E. T. MANSFIELD,
GOLD COAST POLITICAL SERVICE.

The Bell of Ho was captured by the Ashantis on the 25th of June, 1869, when the Mission Station at Ho (the present Headquarters of the British Sphere of Togoland) was plundered and burnt and the Bell crashed down from the blazing ruins of the chapel. Prior to this the Ashantis had captured the Basel Mission at Anum, occupied by Frederick Augustus Ramseyer, who had his wife and infant son with him and Johannes Kühne, who were made prisoners and eventually taken to Kumasi. Their trials and hardships have already been related by various writers of Gold Coast History.

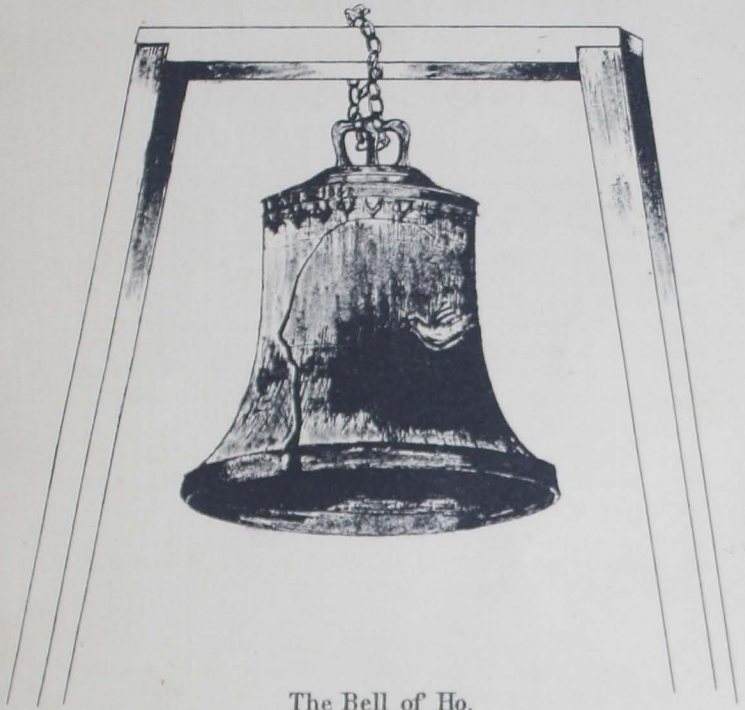
The Bell was eventually carried to Kumasi, where it preceded the victorious General Adu Baffo and his Army in their triumphal entry into that town. It was looked upon by the Ashantis as a trophy of considerable importance.

I do not think I can do better than quote an extract from Mr. Ramseyer's Book : " Dark and Stormy Days in Kumasi " 1911, Chapter VI., Pages 57 to 61 :—

* * * *

" We return once more to those days in Kumasi.
" In the midst of the heathen town, in the branches
" of a many-armed, mighty banyan-tree, there hangs
" a church bell, weather-beaten to the last degree.

" We will willingly listen to its story. Many a sad
" tale can be told of it, for the innocent bell has been a
" Prisoner of the Ashantis for more than twenty-five
" years, and has only gained its freedom by the fall of
" Kumasi. We do not know who cast the bell, or from
" what workshop it came ; it certainly had its first home
" in Germany. From thence it was shipped to West



The Bell of Ho.

“ Africa and found its place on the Belfry of a little chapel
“ at Ho, a station of the North German Mission in Togo
“ of to-day. Here for many years it invited Christians
“ and heathens to the house of God, and accompanied
“ many missionary brethren on their last journey with
“ its knell. So on the height of Ho it did its missionary
“ work for many a year. But other times were to come,
“ it was to serve another master.

“ On June 25th 1869, the station of Ho underwent
“ the same fate as the neighbouring Anum. The Ashantis
“ who had already laid waste the northern territories,
“ had destroyed Anum and had led away the Missionary
“ brethren as prisoners, now pressed forward to the neigh-
“ bourhood of Ho. The Missionaries saw themselves
“ obliged to leave everything behind them and go to the
“ south in order not to fall into the hands of the enemy.
“ The Mission station, beautifully laid out upon a hill,
“ was attacked, plundered, and burnt to the ground by
“ the Ashantis on the afternoon of June 25th. The Bell
“ fell down from the burning chapel and was carried as
“ booty into the enemy's camp. Here it remained for
“ two years and accompanied the Ashanti Army on its
“ campaigns on the opposite side of the Volta until the
“ returning Commander Adu Bofu took it with him to
“ Kumasi.

“ During his entry into the capital on September
“ 4th 1871, with about twenty thousand men with all
“ splendour before the King and People, the Bell that
“ had been taken from Ho, was carried in front of Bofu
“ as the most glorious trophy of the campaign, and by
“ its far-sounding ring, was made to increase the pomp
“ of the military spectacle. It had to render the same
“ service in the course of the ensuing twenty-five years
“ at the funeral festivities and other important occasions
“ in the capital—the church bell at noisy heathen rites.

“ But it was not forgotten. When Mr. Ramseyer
“ was in Kumasi in 1896, he remembered his former com-
“ panion in misfortune, and inquired after its fate. He
“ learned from the English Governor, that he had found
“ it in Kumasi, and had intended to employ it in the fort
“ that was now in building that it might tell the people
“ the time. Mr. Ramseyer now told him the life-history
“ of the bell, and expressed the wish that it might be

“ given up to the Mission in Kumasi, so that after its
 “ liberation it might once more resume the service of
 “ the Lord. His desire was willingly granted, but it
 “ appeared that the bell had lost its sound. The rough
 “ treatment it had received at the hands of the heathens
 “ had caused a crack, and hoarse tones only could be drawn
 “ from the bell. It had celebrated its liberation from
 “ the hands of the heathens, but it was not destined to
 “ ring in peace in Ashanti. Its metallic notes were
 “ silent for ever ”.

I understand that the Bell remained in the Fort, and when the late German Governor of Togoland (the Duke of Mecklenburg) accompanied His Excellency Sir Hugh Clifford, K.C.M.G., (then Governor of the Gold Coast) to Kumasi during 1913, the Bell at the request of the Duke was handed back to the Bremen Mission. On his return to Togoland it was eventually sent to Dr. Gruner, then Bezirksamtmann at Misahöhe, who sent it to its present abode at Amedsofe, the late Seminary of the Bremen Mission, where it now tells the School hours.

During a tour of the Avatime Division in 1918 I had occasion to stay at the Mission House, when I discovered its whereabouts. It is evident that the crack appeared at an early date and a hole had been bored at the head of the crack, to prevent it spreading. The damage may possibly have been caused when it crashed down from the blazing chapel on the 25th of June, 1869.

Mr. Ramseyer tells us that he did not know who cast the bell or from what workshop it originated. The following inscription is plainly to be read to-day :—

“ Gegossen von Pelanger in Stuttgart, Nord Deutsche
 “ Mission ”,

which explains the origin of the Bell.

I attach an excellent sketch of the historical record, kindly prepared for me by Mr. J. C. Renshaw, Executive Engineer, Public Works Department.

**NATIVE AFFAIRS IN THE IVORY COAST
AND IN FRENCH TOGOLAND.**

Translated by the Editor.

**Translations from the Official Journal of the
Territory of Togo placed under the Man-
date of France.**

**Dividing a Division in two and Creating new
Head Chiefs.**

**Order No. 308 Dividing the Canton of
Akposso into two parts and Nominating
Canton Chiefs,**

THE GOVERNOR OF THE COLONIES,
CHEVALIER OF THE LEGION OF HONOUR,
COMMISSARY OF THE REPUBLIC (ACTING).

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

Having regard to the Order of the 9th April, 1925,
designating Fedenou Chief of Akposso ;

Having regard to the demise of Fedenou, which occurred
on the 4th July, 1925 ;

Seeing that in nominating a Chief in a mandated territory
the Mandatory Power should be guided above all by the desire
expressed by the majority of the population ;

Seeing that by reason of the size of the Canton of Akposso
it has proved impossible for the Village Chiefs to agree on the
designation of a successor to Fedenou ;

Seeing that all the Village Chiefs have concurred in the proposal of the District Commandant to divide the Canton into two parts, Northern Akposso and Southern Akposso ;

Seeing that the votes of the Village Chiefs of Northern Akposso have been cast unanimously in favour of Frico, Chief of the village of Otadi ;

Seeing that the votes of the Village Chiefs of Southern Akposso have been cast unanimously in favour of Oueledji, Chief of the village of Gobe ;

On the proposal of the District Commandant ;

ORDERS :

Article 1. The Canton of Akposso is divided into two parts, Northern Akposso and Southern Akposso.

Article 2. Frico, Chief of the village of Otadi, is nominated Chief of the Canton of Northern Akposso.

Oueledji, Chief of the village of Gobe, is nominated Chief of the Canton of Southern Akposso.

Article 3. The District Commandant of Atakpame is charged with the execution of the present Order, which shall be registered, communicated and published wherever necessary.

LOME, 24th August, 1925.

FOURNIER.

PERSONAL TAX ON EUROPEANS AND NATIVES.

Order No. 323 Fixing the amount of the Personal Tax on Europeans, with effect from the 1st January, 1925.

THE GOVERNOR OF THE COLONIES,
CHEVALIER OF THE LEGION OF HONOUR,
COMMISSARY OF THE REPUBLIC (ACTING).

Having regard to the Decree of the 23rd of March, 1921, defining the functions and powers of the Commissary of the Republic in Togø ;

Having regard to Article 74 of the Decree of the 30th December, 1912, on the subject of the financial system of the Colonies ;

Having regard to Order No. 85 of the 23rd November, 1920, establishing in Togo a tax on the inhabitants possessing the quality of French citizens ;

Having regard to Order No. 73F. of the 29th July, 1921, modifying certain dispositions of Order No. 85 of the 23rd November, 1920 ;

After consulting the Economic and Financial Council ;
And hearing the Administrative Council ;

Having regard to the Ministerial approval notified by cablegram dated 5th October, 1925 ;

ORDERS :

Article 1. The amount of the personal tax on the inhabitants of Togo who possess the quality of French citizens or enjoy in their country of origin a status analogous to that of French citizens established by Order No. 85 of the 23rd November, 1920, is fixed at sixty francs per annum with effect from the 1st January, 1926.

Article 2. The present Order shall be registered, communicated wherever necessary, notified to the Treasurer and inserted in the Official Journal.

LOME, 7th September, 1925.

FOURNIER.

Order No. 324 Fixing for the year 1926 the amount of Native Personal Tax.

THE GOVERNOR OF THE COLONIES,
CHEVALIER OF THE LEGION OF HONOUR,
COMMISSARY OF THE REPUBLIC (ACTING).

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

Having regard to Article 74 of the Decree of the 30th December, 1912, on the subject of the financial system of the Colonies ;

Having regard to Order No. 121 of the 3rd July, 1922, establishing a personal tax in the Territory of Togo placed under the Mandate of France ;

Having regard to the proposals of the District Commandants ;

After consulting the Councils of Notables and the Economic and Financial Council ;

And hearing the Administrative Council ;

Having regard to the Ministerial approval notified by cablegram dated 5th October, 1925 ;

ORDERS :

Article 1. The personal tax on the natives of the first category laid down in Article 5 of the order of the 3rd July, 1922, is fixed for the year 1926 as follows :

District of Lome	20 frs.								
District of Anecho	20 frs.								
District of Atakpame	<table> <tbody> <tr> <td>{ Cantons of Atakpame and Nuatja</td> <td>20 frs.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>{ Cantons of Akposso and Kpessi</td> <td>15 frs.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>{ Cantons of Akebou</td> <td>12 frs.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>{ Cantons of Adele</td> <td>10 frs.</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	{ Cantons of Atakpame and Nuatja	20 frs.	{ Cantons of Akposso and Kpessi	15 frs.	{ Cantons of Akebou	12 frs.	{ Cantons of Adele	10 frs.
{ Cantons of Atakpame and Nuatja	20 frs.								
{ Cantons of Akposso and Kpessi	15 frs.								
{ Cantons of Akebou	12 frs.								
{ Cantons of Adele	10 frs.								
District of Klouto	20 frs.								
District of Sokode	<table> <tbody> <tr> <td>{ Cantons Kotokolis, Bassaris</td> <td>10 frs.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>{ Cantons Cabrais, Lossos, Tambermas and Massedenas,</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>{ Kokombas</td> <td>5 frs.</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	{ Cantons Kotokolis, Bassaris	10 frs.	{ Cantons Cabrais, Lossos, Tambermas and Massedenas,		{ Kokombas	5 frs.		
{ Cantons Kotokolis, Bassaris	10 frs.								
{ Cantons Cabrais, Lossos, Tambermas and Massedenas,									
{ Kokombas	5 frs.								
District of Sansanne Mango	<table> <tbody> <tr> <td>{ Canton Tchokossis</td> <td>7 frs.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>{ Cantons Gourmas, Mobas and Cabrais</td> <td>5 frs.</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	{ Canton Tchokossis	7 frs.	{ Cantons Gourmas, Mobas and Cabrais	5 frs.				
{ Canton Tchokossis	7 frs.								
{ Cantons Gourmas, Mobas and Cabrais	5 frs.								

Article 2. The amounts of the personal tax on the natives of the second, third, fourth and fifth categories laid down in Article 5 of order No. 121 of the 3rd July, 1922, are fixed for the year 1926 as follows :

Second Category	25 frs.
Third Category	30 frs.
Fourth Category	40 frs.
Fifth Category	55 frs.

Article 3. The present Order shall be registered and communicated wherever necessary, notified to the Treasurer and inserted in the Official Journal.

LOME, 7th September, 1925.

FOURNIER.

Order No. 325 Fixing for the year 1926 the amount of the Money Composition for one day of Obligatory Communal Labour.

THE GOVERNOR OF THE COLONIES,
CHEVALIER OF THE LEGION OF HONOUR,
COMMISSARY OF THE REPUBLIC (ACTING),

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

Having regard to Article 74 of the Decree of the 30th December, 1912, on the subject of the financial system of the Colonies ;

Having regard to Order No. 122 of the 3rd July, 1922, instituting the tax of communal labour in the Territory of Togo placed under the Mandate of France ;

Having regard to the proposals of the District Commandants ;

After consulting the Councils of Notables and the Economic and Financial Council ;

And hearing the Administrative Council ;

Having regard to the Ministerial approval, notified by cablegram dated 5th October, 1925 ;

ORDERS :

Article 1. The amount of the composition for one day of communal labour for the year 1926 is fixed as follows :

Europeans 7 frs.	
Natives	} Districts of Lome Anecho-Klouto	.. 2 frs.	
		} Districts of Sokode and Atakpame	.. 1.50 frs.
		} District of Sansanne-Mango	.. 1.25 frs.

Article 2. The present Order shall be registered and communicated wherever necessary, notified to the Treasurer and inserted in the Official Journal.

LOME, 7th September, 1925.

FOURNIER,

Order No. 326 Fixing for the year 1926 the amount of the Personal Tax on the Floating Population :

THE GOVERNOR OF THE COLONIES,
CHEVALIER OF THE LEGION OF HONOUR,
COMMISSARY OF THE REPUBLIC (ACTING),

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

Having regard to Order No. 84 of the 23rd November, 1920, instituting in Togo a poll tax on the floating population ,

Having regard to the Decree of the 30th December, 1912, on the subject of the financial system of the Colonies ;

On the proposals of the District Commandants ;

After consulting the Councils of Notables and the Economic and Financial Council ;

And hearing the Administrative Council ;

Having regard to the Ministerial approval, notified by cablegram dated 5th October, 1925 ;

ORDERS :

Article 1. The personal tax on the floating population instituted by Order No. 84 of the 23rd November, 1920, is fixed as follows with effect from the 1st January, 1926 ;

Lome	}	30 frs.
Anecho			
Atakpame			
Klouto			
Sokode	}	20 frs.
Sansanne-Mango			

Article 2. The District Commandants are charged with the execution of the present Order, which shall be registered, communicated and published wherever necessary.

Lome, 7th September, 1925.

FOURNIER,

EDUCATION.

Circular on the subject of weekly courses of improvement.

The Commissary of the Republic to the District Commandants and Regional School Managers.

Lome, 24th September, 1925.

The course of improvement for Monitors held during the school holidays from the 1st to the 31st of August brought to light a general insufficiency of education in the majority of the monitors and in some of them inferior aptitude to that which they displayed a year before at the preceding course of improvement. It is important in the interests of the young pupils to remedy this state of things, which is mainly attributable to relaxation of zeal on the part of the officers in charge of village schools far from a European master.

To this end I have decided to institute a system of weekly tests by correspondence for isolated teachers. The European Instructors of Lome, Anecho, Palime and Atakpame will be so good as to see to the carrying out of this scheme from the next re-assembly of schools in the districts for which they are responsible; the Administrators of Sokode and Sansanne-Mango will make responsible for it, under their own effective control, one of the local staff of Instructors.

So far as those monitors are concerned who are stationed at the various headquarters I desire that they should be assembled on Thursdays by the Managers of their schools; the Manager will put them through a course on the same subjects as those dealt with by correspondence, which will comprise more especially a French composition and some arithmetic.

Every monitor will be required to keep a note-book, inspected regularly by the Manager or the Administrator, and in this will be entered his weekly notes.

Managers of Schools will be so good as to send me every quarter through the District Commandants a report on the progress of these weekly courses carried out at Headquarters or by correspondence.

It is to be hoped that this system will contribute to maintaining the level of education of the monitors and will so supplement the annual course of improvement as to make

it possible for a larger number of these officers to be added, after a competitive examination, to the local staff of Instructors.

I shall be obliged if you will be so good as to acknowledge the receipt of this circular.

FOURNIER.

NATIVE SERVANTS GOING TO EUROPE WITH THEIR MASTERS.

Circular on the Subject of Native Domestic Servants accompanying Officers to Europe.

THE COMMISSARY OF THE REPUBLIC TO HEADS OF
DEPARTMENTS AND DISTRICT COMMANDANTS.

In a recent Circular the Minister for the Colonies has drawn attention to a steady increase in applications for assistance and repatriation received from natives.

These requests emanate sometimes from natives brought into France as servants by Officers and these natives solicit their repatriation either on account of their health, or in consequence of misunderstandings with their masters, the latter not making any arrangement for sending them back to their country of origin.

This state of affairs has already been the subject of severe comment by the Department (Circulars of the 5th March, 1901, and the 31st October, 1907.)

In order to palliate the grave inconveniences which it may cause, Officers authorised to be accompanied by a servant will be required to pay in advance the cost of the return of such servant.

Permission for him to go will only be granted on presentation of a declaration that this payment has been made, the amount of which will be refunded, when the Officer on his return to the territory establishes the presence of his servant.

I must ask you to be so good as to acknowledge the receipt of this Circular and to bring its terms to the notice of all Officers under your orders.

LOME, 3rd October, 1925.

FOURNIER.

LABOUR CONTRACT BOOKS, ETC.

Order No. 443 in Completion of the Order of the 27th October, 1924, instituting Labour Contract Books and Regulating the Sanitary Inspection of Labourers in Public and Private Works in the Territory of Togo placed under the Mandate of France.

THE GOVERNOR OF THE COLONIES,
CHEVALIER OF THE LEGION OF HONOUR,
COMMISSARY OF THE REPUBLIC.

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

Having regard to the Decree of the 29th December, 1922, regulating native labour ;

Having regard to the Decree of the 24th March, 1923, defining in Togo the exercise of disciplinary powers ;

Having regard to the Order of the 27th October, 1924, instituting labour contract books and regulating the sanitary inspection of labourers in public and private works in the Territory of Togo placed under the mandate of France ;

After hearing the Administrative Council.

ORDERS :

Article 1. The Order of the 27th October, 1924, instituting labour contract books and regulating the sanitary inspection of labourers in public and private works in the Territory of Togo placed under the mandate of France is completed in the following manner :

Recruited labourers are permitted to be accompanied, for the preparation of their food, by a woman of their village, in the proportion of one woman to every group of twenty men ; this native woman is not entitled to any emolument, but she receives travelling allowance, subsistence in kind or money, lodging and other advantages extended to the native labourers.

- Article 2. Every death which occurs in public or private works among the labourers must be notified with the least possible delay to the nearest medical post as well as to the Head of the Sub-division in which the works are situated.

In every case in which the proximity of a medical post permits burial shall not take place until after verification of the death by the Officer in charge of that post.

District Commandants will fix for every work-place, according to distance and facilities for communication, the maximum time within which notifications of death must be made.

They will inform every employer of the time thus fixed.

- Article 3. Those suffering from contagious diseases shall be notified in the same way to the nearest doctor, who will take all measures for their isolation on the spot or for their transport to a sanitary establishment (hospital or isolation camp), provided that such transport can be effected without detriment to the public health.

Severely wounded persons and those seriously ill must be sent to the nearest hospital by the employer in all cases where it is considered that they are fit to be moved.

- Article 4. Every breach of the provisions of the present Order shall be punished according to the status of the offenders by police-court penalties or disciplinary penalties.

- Article 5. The present Order shall be registered, communicated and published wherever necessary.

LOME, 11th December, 1925.

BONNECARRE RE

CUSTOMARY LAW OF SUCCESSION.**Circular, on the subject of the Constitution
of a Record of the Customary Law
Governing Succession.**

An Order of the 17th November, 1924, No. 266, regulated native marriage. The local administration undertook from that day, if not the codification of the customs in the full sense, at least the constitution of a record of the customary law, which it is obligatory to consult whenever it is necessary to settle summarily the difficulties which come before the native tribunals.

With the question of marriage is naturally connected that of succession, which gives birth like marriage to lawsuits and palavers innumerable.

As in the case of marriage I should like to substitute for more or less vague customs a precise text. It is indisputable that the task to which you will be called upon to devote your attention will be of a kind to simplify your work as President of the District Tribunal and that of the President of the Subdivisional Tribunal.

The drawing up of a record of the customary law of succession in addition to that of marriage will also facilitate the regulation from a legal point of view of the intermediate status of certain natives, which the Colonial Department has authorised me to inaugurate.

You will have to take into account, as in the case of marriage, of the diversity of customs according to regions and races and also of the continual transformation of local usages.

The delicate point is to be found in the state of communal ownership which is involved in the African system of land tenure. It would be difficult, if not impossible, at present to remove that condition. Moreover it has not been demonstrated that this condition is injurious to the development of the lands or to the evolution of native society.

Besides, as I pointed out to you in the case of marriage, it does not appear indispensable to introduce profound modifications in the customs regarding succession. Native life must not be upset, nor even inconvenienced, by innovations

which will not be in the least suitable to the countries, over whose evolution we are watching very closely, but without retarding or precipitating it.

LOME, 18th December, 1925.

The Commissary of the Republic,
BONNECARRERE.

CIRCULAR ON THE SUBJECT OF KAPOK.

TO DISTRICT COMMANDANTS.

Lome, 20th February, 1926.

Kapok is one of the natural products of Togo, destined to the most profitable exploitation, but it has been much the most neglected up to the present time.

Its ever increasing utilisation in European industry, its recent use as a textile are tending to make it an essential product and the supply of it is still below the demand in the markets of the world. There is good reason therefore to interest the population of Togo in the exploitation of this product, especially as it does not demand any cultivation, but only requires to be gathered once a year, in the dry season.

In order to facilitate the exploitation of this new product eleven machines for taking the seed out of the kapok and eleven baling-presses have been purchased and will be distributed over the territory. These articles, which have just arrived, will be sent very shortly to Lome, Nuatja, Amusukope, Sagada, Kra, Atakpame, Sokode, Bassari and Mango.

From henceforth the natives must therefore be advised of the advantage they can derive from plucking or picking up the kapok and bringing it to the centres where the seeds can be removed.

I rely on your active co-operation in launching this new product, which will be purchased by the Administration, if it is not taken up by the commercial firms.

I must however remind you that with kapok, as with cotton, the most important quality of the product is that it should be clean. Secondly it is of importance as far as possible not to mix grey kapok with white kapoks, the latter commanding the higher price, whereas the mixture is paid for at the price of the inferior quality.

So far as possible the kapok should be gathered before it falls. When the trees are still young and therefore not very tall, this is very easy. The gathering should be done in dry, hot weather.

The establishment of plantations of kapok is contemplated, but this will form the subject of special instructions.

BONNECARRERE.

**Order No. 231 Regulating the Provision
accorded to Young Halfcastes Residing
in the Territory.**

THE GOVERNOR OF THE COLONIES,
CHEVALIER OF THE LEGION OF HONOUR,
COMMISSARY OF THE REPUBLIC.

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

Having regard to former financial estimates and to the provision made in the estimates for the current year ;

Considering that it is desirable to sanction and regulate the system of providing for the support of the young halfcastes residing in the Territory ;

Having heard the Administrative Council ;

ORDERS :

Article 1. Young halfcastes residing in Togo may receive from the Administration of the Territory special allocations, either in the form of maintenance scholarships in the public schools, or in the form of monthly payments to them or to the persons who have charge of them.

Article 2. The maintenance scholarships will be the subject of decisions by the Commissary of the Republic. The monthly allocations will be payable on statements drawn up every half-year by District Commandants and initialled by the Commissary of the Republic.

Supplementary statements may be drawn up during the course of a half-year.

The first warrant or the first voucher for an intervening payment are to be supported by the periodical statements or the supplementary statements, those which follow bearing simply the necessary references.

Article 3. The present Order will take effect from the 1st July, 1926. Allocations paid before that date are all herewith confirmed.

Article 4. The present Order shall be communicated and registered wherever necessary.

LOME, 29th June, 1926.

BONNECARRERE.

Order NO. 232 Regulating the Manner of Allocation of special Bonuses to the Native Women who take best care of New-Born Children.

THE GOVERNOR OF THE COLONIES,
CHEVALIER OF THE LEGION OF HONOUR,
COMMISSARY OF THE REPUBLIC.

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

Having regard to the previous financial estimates and to the current estimates ;

Considering that it is desirable to sanction and regulate the system of special bonuses to the native women who take best care of new-born children ;

Having heard the Administrative Council ;

ORDERS :

- Article 1. District Commandants are authorised to accord, on their own sole initiative, special bonuses to the native women who take best care of new-born children, provided that they do not exceed the sums allocated to them under this head.
- Article 2. No bonus given in the circumstances mentioned in the preceding Article shall exceed One hundred francs.
- Article 3. The present Order shall take effect from the 1st July, 1926. Bonuses awarded previous to that date are all herewith confirmed.
- Article 4. The present Order shall be communicated and registered wherever necessary.

LOME, 29th June, 1926.

BONNECARRERE,

TRANSLATIONS FROM THE OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE IVORY COAST.

No. 1094 A.E. ORDER REGULATING NATIVE AGRICULTURAL PROVIDENT, AID AND MUTUAL LOAN SOCIETIES, IN THE IVORY COAST.

THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF THE IVORY COAST,
OFFICER OF THE LEGION OF HONOUR.

Having regard to the Organising Ordinance of Senegal of the 7th September, 1840, applied to the Ivory Coast by Decree dated the 10th March, 1893 ; together with the Decrees of the 18th October, 1904, and the 4th of December, 1920, reorganising the Government-General of French West Africa ;

Having regard to the Decrees of the 4th July, 1919, and the 5th December, 1923, reorganising the status of the Native Agricultural Provident, Aid and Mutual Loan Societies, in French West Africa ;

Having regard to the Order of the Governor-General dated 23rd January, 1925, making rules for the carrying into effect of the Decrees of the 4th July and the 5th December, 1923, above-mentioned ;

Having regard to the advice of the Central Supervising Commission of the Provident Societies.

ORDERS :

- Article 1. Every Native Provident, Aid and Mutual Agricultural Loan Society, created in the Ivory Coast, shall comprise all the farmers (cultivators and stock-breeders) of native status in the same District ; it shall consist of sections, of which each shall correspond to a Sub-district.

The creation of self-governing sections can however take place under the circumstances and on the conditions contemplated by Article 3 of the Order of the Governor-General dated the 23rd January, 1925.

- Article 2. *Section Committees.* The members of each section shall elect at least five of their number who shall be charged with managing the affairs of the section ; they shall fill vacancies in this number as they arise. These appointments shall be made in accordance with local custom, tenure of office not being limited in duration and all precautions being taken to ensure, where the case arises, the representation of the various elements of the population of the section in proportion to their importance.

The members thus elected shall form the committee of the section ; they shall choose their section president from among themselves.

The Governor may, for serious fault, cancel the appointment of any member of the committee ; such cancellation shall be final.

The decisions of the committee shall be made by a majority of votes ; the president shall have a casting vote.

The section committee may nominate from outside its number a secretary and accountant, whose remuneration shall be provided for in the estimates.

The correspondence exchanged between the Administrative Council and the section must pass through the Administrative Head of the Sub-division, who shall not for any reason delay its transmission.

Article 3. *The Administrative Council.* Each section elects also delegates to the Administrative Council of the Society ; the number of these delegates is fixed by the statutes ; it shall be at least three delegates per section ; account shall be taken of the respective numerical importance of the groups in the settlement of the number of delegates to be assigned to each section, as also of those to be assigned in each section to the various elements of the population.

The Administrative Council shall assemble on the convocation of its president whenever necessary and shall be bound to meet in February to examine the accounts of the budget period which has expired, and in October to settle the budget and the programme of works for the period to come.

The decisions of the Council are taken by the majority of votes, the president having a casting vote ; they are only valid if more than half the members of the Council are present.

Article 4. *Contributions.* Contributions in money shall be placed in the hands of the treasurer of the society, who shall give a receipt for them.

Should communities be exempted from contribution, which in case of calamity would obtain a remission of their head-tax, they shall be so exempted to the same extent as they have been accorded exemption from the tax.

Article 5. *Mutual Agricultural Loans.* The allocation each year out of the total funds of the society for the purpose of mutual agricultural loans shall not exceed 20% of the available amount of the said funds.

The maximum amount of loans and the period for repayment are fixed as follows :

Short term loan	.. 1,000 francs, 1 year.
Medium term loan	.. 2,500 francs, 2 years.
Long term loan	.. 5,000 francs, 4 years.

The Lieutenant-Governor shall always have the power, by application of the last paragraph of Article 14 of the Order of the 23rd January, 1925, of the Governor-General, to accord, after consulting

the Central Supervising Commission, loans of a higher amount than 5,000 francs, of which in this case he settles the terms of repayment.

No loan shall be granted without the security of two solvent heads of families, living in the same village as the borrower.

Loans shall bear annual interest or an addition to the amount to be repaid at 8%.

Article 6. *Documents to be kept by the Secretary of the Administrative Council.*

1. Register of the deliberations of the Administrative Council and of the General Assembly.
2. Copy of letters despatched.
3. Registration book of incoming correspondence.
4. Cases for the filing of records of all administrative decisions concerning the society and of all transactions.
5. Summary of loans in money, showing each kind of loan separately.
6. Register, according to the nature of the article, of incoming and outgoings of material and provisions.
7. Inventory Register.
8. Register of the real property of the society.
9. Counterfoil receipt order books and counterfoil money order books.
10. Books of expenditure incurred.

Article 7. *Documents to be kept by the Treasurer.*

1. Ledger and Journal.
2. Counterfoil receipt book.
3. Book for entering the titles and securities of the society.
4. Book of deposits on current account.

Article 8. *Documents to be kept by the president of section committees.*

1. Register, according to the nature of the article, of material and provisions in store.
2. Book of loans in kind.
3. Counterfoil Book of receipts for the repayment of loans in kind.
4. Inventory Register.

Article 9. *Rules regarding the keeping of the Registers and Archives.*

All the Registers shall be numbered and initialled on the first and last sheet by the District Commandant.

The Journal kept by the Treasurer and the Inventory Register kept by the Secretary shall receive their entries in order of date, without spaces, blank pages or marginal entries.

The account books shall be closed every month and checked by the president.

The vouchers of receipts and expenditure shall be kept by the Treasurer and filed according to months.

Receipt orders shall be made the subject of abstracts in duplicate, numbered from 1 to x, and a completed copy is to be sent to the secretary when the amounts have been received. If receipt has not taken place in the month following the month of issue, the treasurer shall advise the president.

All records of Sections shall be kept in duplicate and a copy shall be sent to the secretary at the end of each month.

Article 10. The present Order shall be registered, published and communicated wherever necessary.

BINGERVILLE, 12th July, 1926.

M. LAPALUD.

No. 312 B.P.—CIRCULAR ON THE SUBJECT OF REPRESENTATIVES OF VILLAGES.

Bingerville, 9th August, 1926.

THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF THE IVORY COAST
TO THE ADMINISTRATORS IN COMMAND OF
DISTRICTS.

Reports from the Inspectors of Administrative Affairs show that certain Administrators are employing the representatives of villages in such a way that one sees re-appearing everywhere the abuses to which this institution was intended to put an end.

Whereas the representatives were only intended to be delegates from a village or villages attached to the Administrator, their quality has gradually undergone modification and they have become as it were new agents of the Administration, something like auxiliary District Police. Some Officers in charge of Stations have even not hesitated to give them police caps to wear, which indicates still better their assimilation to the District Police.

Their mentality has at the same time undergone an unfortunate modification. They adopt a high tone towards the native chiefs in the name of the Administrator and go so far sometimes as to commit those exactions with which we have too often had to find fault in our auxiliaries.

It is of importance therefore that you should occupy yourselves in re-establishing this organisation, which has been distorted and diverted from its true aim.

Re-read attentively in this connection the Circular of the 9th September, 1909, which regularised the employment of these agents and indicated the part which they were to play.

The representative, I repeat, is a fairly young man, accredited to the Administrator by his village, to which it is his duty to go and convey our orders. He is not clothed in any authority of his own and the police cap with which some Officers in charge of Stations have furnished him is in no way appropriate to him.

In contact with us he ought to develop; he must be instructed in our methods of culture and of sanitation and in our language.

Understanding better our wishes, he will be better able to explain them to the people of his race and thus will be avoided many faults which are often the result of misunderstandings.

At the present time the majority of the representatives are still ignorant of French, and rare are the Officers in charge of Stations who make them attend school or give them the indispensable ideas of how to express themselves.

Their village is often badly kept and neither they nor their wives devote themselves to the cultivation of foodstuffs or economic products.

Too often their essential mission is to provide the functionaries of the Station with produce or articles which they personally require.

Finally in many places they are too numerous and represent too few villages, from which they only receive a very small remuneration and are therefore disposed to commit abuses.

I consider it of great importance that everywhere the representatives should be used in the spirit which led to their institution and which is made clear in the above Circular. I request you to give your attention to this and I invite the Inspectors of Administrative Affairs to report to me what shall have been accomplished in this direction.

M. LAPALUD.

**No. 1350 B.P.—ORDER REGULATING THE
CIRCULATION OF NATIVES IN THE
TOWN OF BOUAKE AFTER 8 P.M.**

THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF THE IVORY COAST,
OFFICER OF THE LEGION OF HONOUR,

Having regard to the organising ordinance of Senegal of the 7th September, 1840, applied to the Ivory Coast by Decree of the 10th March, 1893; together with the Decrees of the 18th October, 1904, and the 4th December, 1920, re-organising the Government-General of French West Africa;

Having regard to Article 2 of the Decree of the 30th September, 1887, concerning the repression in Senegal and its Dependencies of offences committed by natives, not French citizens;

Having regard to the Decree of the 15th November, 1924, regulating police penalties in French West Africa, as amended the 26th December, 1924;

Having regard to the general order of the 20th June, 1925, to the effect that the penalties provided by the Decree of the 30th September, 1887, Article 2, are provisionally maintained in certain regions of French West Africa (fifteen days imprisonment, 100 francs fine); together with the addendum which appeared in No. 1104 of the Official Journal of French West Africa of the 4th November, 1925, page 831:

On the proposal of the Administrator of Baoule.

ORDERS :

- Article 1. Every native circulating after 8 p.m. in the streets of Bouake must carry a lamp of a lighting power sufficient to signalise his presence.
- Article 2. Contraventions of the present order are punishable summarily by 15 days imprisonment and a fine of 100 francs (maximum) or by one only of these two punishments.
- Article 3. The Administrator of the Province of Baoule is charged with the execution of the present order, which shall be published and communicated wherever necessary.

Bingerville, 15th September, 1926.

M. LAPALUD.

Correspondence.

The following interesting comments have been received from Captain A. S. Watt, District Commissioner, Winneba, on certain statements which appeared in Captain Lilley's article in Volume I, No. 1 of the Gold Coast Review on the Nkonya Division in the Ho District.

These are the statements referred to :

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

" The Nkonyas are closely related to the Nyanyawos, Afutus and Brekus."

Referring to the Effutus Captain Watt writes as follows :

Language .. Like the Nkonyas the majority of the Effutus talk Fanti as well as their own language. This is however not universal.

History .. Nyenyan, mentioned as between Accra and Cape Coast, is Nyanyanu, 10 miles east of Senya Berracoe and on the Sacoomb (Sekum) River. This river was the old boundary between the Effutus and the Gas, who are here said to have been contemporaneous with the Effutus. Curiously, however, it is incorrect to class the present day Nyanyanus with the Effutus of Winneba and Senya Berracoe and Obutu or Bush Berracoe. The Nyanyanus are Fantis like the Fettehs (6 miles to the West) and their language is Fanti, not Effutu.

The Head Chief of Winneba states that the word Nyanyanu is Effutu and indicates either " we have got a mouth " or " the end of the Nya tree " (which is a shrub). Chief Annobil however denies it is Effutu, but says it is a Fanti word and gives a translation similar

to the second above, *viz.* "leaves" (of a shrub found there and from which Fetish medicine is extracted).

Neither the Head Chief of Winneba nor Mr. R. J. Ghartey (of the alternative Royal Family) nor Chief Annobil have ever heard of the Nkonya tribe or the Guangs or Wurupongs, but they know of the Cherepongs, Larteys and Enums being Effutus.

*Move to
Nyanawasi.*

The Head Chief has heard of Ansah Sassaku, who he states was not however an Effutu (this is confirmed by Chief Annobil), but was Chief of the Akwamus. The Effutus and Fantis have a proverb to the effect "let Sassaku be in his usual place." This refers to an invasion by him from the East into the Effutu and Fanti land. He was driven back to the high hill near Nsawam, where he pitched his tent.

The Nkonyas may have originally been Effutus captured by the Akwamus and hence talking an Effutu dialect, but the Head Chief states the attack mentioned was not by Effutus, but by Akwamus from the East, who were defeated. The Akwamus are Akans.

The Head Chief got his history from a very old man named Amponsah, who died a month ago at the reputed age of 110 years. He had actually seen Ayeribi Acquah I who was entooled in 1812.

The Cherepongs and other Effutus in the East did not come from the same direction as the Winneba Effutus. The latter are said to have come from hinterland settled first at a town named Effutu in Cape Coast District between Cape Coast and Denkyira. Thence they came to Amanful in Cape Coast District and then to Mumford in Winneba District, but owing to lack of water the majority pushed on to Winneba and settled there under their leader Etupa.

The Cherepongs etc., did not move eastwards along the coast, but went from the interior in an easterly or southerly direction to

lands in the Eastern Province and thence may perhaps have endeavoured to spread westward at one time.

It is difficult to account for Nyanyanus being entirely Fantis. Many of them, and the Fettehs, have picked up Effutu from living beside Effutus, but it is not their language, just as the Effutus largely also speak Fanti now.

It will thus be seen that the Effutu idea here is that all the Effutus came originally from the hinterland—locality not known—one stream proceeding south till they reached the sea in Cape Coast District and thence spread eastwards, while another stream bore much more in an easterly direction, landing in the Eastern Province and Berracoe was their only footing on the coast in the Central Province.
