

20 MAR 1970

THE KUSASIS

A SHORT HISTORY

by

J. K. G. SYME



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IT IS BETTER
THAT A MAN SHOULD
THROW A SPEAR AT HIS
FELLOW THAN MAKE FALSE
ACCUSATIONS AGAINST HIM
BEHIND HIS BACK.

(saying attributed
to Atabia, the 11th
Na of Mamprussi.)

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FOREWARD.

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It is with some trepidation that I let this small work leave my hands at all, for I know that it is very incomplete, and no doubt full of inaccuracies. However, if it serves a useful purpose by providing a foundation upon which more capable people than I can gradually build up the true facts I shall feel that the hours spent upon it were not altogether wasted.

With the exception of one or two facts taken from the District Record Book, nearly everything from start to finish has been told me by the old men and the Chiefs. Owing to the amount of Hausa that is spoken in the District I was able to gather a great deal of my information without the aid of an interpreter.

My thanks are due to many of the Chiefs for the assistance which they have given me, but especially to Yakubu Mamprussi, brother of the Chief of Bawku.

The word "Section" has been used throughout instead of "Village" as being ^{more} appropriate in a country where a small village usually covers many square miles of country. With about three exceptions there is no part where one can see houses clustered together in the form of a township. They are scattered all over the countryside at irregular intervals.

INTRODUCTION.

That part of the Kusasi Tribe which lives in English Territory occupies the fertile lands which lie North of the Gambaga Scarp and East of the Red Volta. Unlike some of their neighbours further West they are blessed with an ample food supply, while their cattle are considered among the best in the country.

The area these people inhabit is known as the Kusasi District, though actually now-a-days, owing mostly to immigration from French Country, the Kusasis only form about two thirds of the total population and even many of these are only Kusasis in name. In some densely populated sections there are no Kusasis at all.

The principal town and Administrative Headquarters is Bawku, but it is common to refer to the whole District by that name. A corruption of the Mamprussi word "BOKU" it means a "HOLE" or "DEPRESSION", and this is what the country looks like when viewed from the top of the Gambaga Scarp in Mamprussi.

Actually, however, the land slopes steadily
upwards

upwards from the foot of the Scarp, until at Bawku itself one is 1300 ft. above sea-level, or practically as high as the Scarp.

The District is bisected by the White Volta, and, as already mentioned, the Red Volta forms the West boundary.

The land between the two rivers is known locally as TOENDEMA, while that to the East of the White Volta is termed AGOLLE, after a local fetish hill near Bawku.

Toendema is the part where we find the real Kusasis in greatest numbers. Before migrating southwards they had been concentrated for many years round Yuiga, Zawga and Biengu, which places are just north of the present Anglo-French boundary. They are still thickly populated by Kusasis. It is mostly the Zawga and Biengu people whom we know in Toendema, the few real Kusasis of long standing in Agolle having come from Yuiga, *Zawga*

* Apart from the more recent influence of Moshi, Busanga, B'moba and others Agolle was originally largely inhabited by Nabnambas, who trace

trace their origin to the Frafra country. ✓

The Mamprussi Chiefs came in from Gambaga, bringing many people with them, among whom the Narambas were perhaps the most numerous. They are of Mamprussi origin, but are supposed to belong to the Dagbondurisi group, who are rather more primitive than other Mamprussis, and great eaters of dogs-meat. They are now very numerous indeed, but both the Nabnambas and Narambas regard themselves as Kusasis, as also do the Bamshis, who came with the first Chief of Binduri from Mamprussi, the Goashis who say they fell down from the sky in a tornado, and the Pusiga people who are alleged to have descended from above by a rope ladder.

Such being the conditions it is no wonder that the characteristics of the people in the two halves of the District vary considerably.

The people of Yuilga, Zawga, Biengu and Toendema are all very similar, but the Agolle people are noticeably different in many small ways.

In the old days every village was at enmity with its neighbours, and the idea of anybody crossing

crossing from Toendema to Agolle, or vice versa,
was almost unheard of.

Busangas to the north and Bazaberimies to
the east considered all of them fair sport for
periodical raids, and the Kusasis generally seem
to have come off worst in the encounters.

The country was never ravaged, however, by
the slaver-raider Barbatu, who appears to have
confined his attention to the people further West.

The last fighting on any scale which took
place was in about 1895 when the people of Kugri
insulted the Na of Mamprussi and refused to make
amends.

The Na (Beriga) sent an army against them,
but it was defeated and driven back to Gambaga by
the Kugris, who received help from many Kusasi
clans against the common foe. The Na was
preparing to send a larger force when the opportune
arrival of the Whiteman in Gambaga made further
hostilities impossible.

It was not until 1909 that Bawku Station was
first established by * Lieut. F.W.F. Jackson.

*
(Now Major F.W.F. Jackson, C.M.G., D.S.O., C.C.N.T.)

On the outbreak of the war, the District Commissioner, the Detachment, and all officials withdrew to Gambaga (7th August, 1914). But it was found necessary to reopen the station again in December, and at a great gathering on 5th December in Bawku the Chiefs and Headmen expressed their gratification at the Government's action. Later the station was closed again, but it was reopened on 3rd. October, 1916.

In the years of peace that have followed our occupation of Gambaga the population of the Kusasi District has increased enormously, and, with the fear of raids by Bazaberimies and Busangas no longer ever present, the people have been able to spread much further afield, so that miles of country which was uninhabited thirty or forty years ago is now dotted all over with compounds.

Toendema and Agolle are reconciled to each other, and the Chiefs of both are united under a single leader- the Chief of Bawku.

So far as Agolle is concerned much of Bawku is now inhabited by Busangas, Pusiga is full of

Yangas, and Wokambo is composed largely of B'mobas. What with these newcomers spreading themselves every where, in addition to the earlier penetration of Nabnambas, Narambas, and others already mentioned, it becomes obvious that there is difficulty in finding a typical Kusasi in Agolle at all, if one discounts the recent immigrants from Toendama, who in the last ten years have crossed the Volta in great numbers.

CHAPTER 1

HISTORICAL.

When writing of the Kusasis one has to remember that the name Kusasi is really very vague when referring to the people of Agolle, and not always correct even in the case of Toendema. For it is constantly used to include people who are ^{not} true Kusasis at all. The tribe was originally quite small, and it is only in comparatively recent years that a large population has grown up consisting of people known as Kusasis. Actually a very large proportion of these people are the descendants of unions between Kusasis and imported slaves, male and female.

Others are the descendants of Moshi, Grunshi and B'moba immigrants (to mention a few only) who have come in at different times in ^{search} such of better lands than their own, and who for generations have intermarried with the Kusasis. Strangely enough it was during the raids of Barbatu and his predecessors among the Kassena, Builsa and Sissala tribes that the Kusasis prospered most in the matter of slaves.

Though they had attacked from the East in earlier days the Bazaberimies never crossed the Red Volta from the

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West so the few Kusasis dotted about the place lived in comparative peace, when they were not fighting either among themselves or with their neighbours to the North.

At that time great caravans of Hausa and Moshi traders used to make their way down to Salaga, and they were in the habit of staying a month or so at Tenkudugu to break the journey. From there horses and fine gowns used to be sent over to the Bazaberimie leader under a strong escort provided by the Busanga Chief of Tenkudugu. Slaves would be given in exchange and brought back to Tenkudugu. The Caravan owning them used them to proceed on down to Bawku, where Kusasis living under the protection of the Mamprussi Chief of Bawku used to come in and buy many of the slaves for cattle and cowries. One good male slave was worth four cows and a female five. The people of Binduri used to do the same in a small way as the Caravan passed through, but the people of Sinnebaga were in those days too few in number, and too poor in cattle, to go in for slaves much. The Caravan's next stopping place was Gambaga, where many more slaves were disposed of, and then the long journey to Salaga was commenced. Salaga was the slave market par excellence, and here the Ashantis used to bring their kola

and English cloths with which to purchase them.

The children of the slaves bought by the Kusasis were invariably absorbed into the tribe and known as Kusasis, and by the third generation they would all bear Kusasi facial markings.

It is not difficult to obtain corroboration for the above statement. At Zabugu, some four miles south of Bawku, there was until fairly recently a man called Agbenga Kusasi who bought a Busanga named Akorli. This slave had many children by Kusasi women and many of them are still alive. They have Busanga markings but call themselves Kusasis, while their own children, besides calling themselves Kusasi, have actually got Kusasi markings. Even the Chief of Timoni, who has been entered in the Chiefs' List for years as a Kusasi, is really of Kassena origin, for his grandfather Hauya came from Janogo in the Kassena country and settled at Peregū in Teshi.

Thus the Kusasi population, as we know it to-day, has grown out of a heterogenous crowd of people. Indeed though the tribe is still fairly pure in Toendema, it is

hardly an exaggeration to say that among the 54,000⁺ so-called Kusasis in Agolle it is the exception rather than the rule to meet a full-blooded one.

Before the time of the Bazaberimies in the Grunshi country, when Mahama (Seteem) was Chief of Bawku (about 1820)

the town of Bawku had about five large compounds.

Certainly he had a few followers in the sections of Zorse, Yoragungu, Tampielim, Pwalagu, Palweyga, Sapelliga, Nyokko, Bawkuzua, and perhaps one or two others, but the rest of the present-day sections were bush.

Binduri, which in those days extended much further west and south than it does now, was almost worse off, for the Chakosis had raided the inhabitants and many of them had fled to Yuiga. The Mamprussi Chief of Binduri stopped with some of them at Tangsia, but it was only after the death of Chief Sanida that many of the refugees returned from Yuiga and settled at what is now known as Binduri, where they were later joined by the new Chief Winyam.

As recently as 35 years ago Sinnebaga was a village close by the Morago river with five compounds. The Chief had a few people in the bush as well, e.g. at Potwia but

*When speaking of Agolle the Mandated portion of the District is included unless otherwise stated.

but his influence did not extend far, and his so-called sub-Chief of Songo had only three large compounds over which he could claim to rule.

Bawku, Sinnebaga and Binduri are three of *five Mamprussi Chiefs living among the Kusasis, and more will be said about them later on.

Similar conditions to those stated above existed in other parts of Kusasi country forty or fifty years ago.

Kugri and Binaba were practically uninhabited.

With the exception of a few B'mobas in Wokambo the whole of the Mandated Area was a wilderness within living memory and even to-day the name for this part is Tempenga,⁷ meaning bush.

Even the placaters of the great fetish Bungwa at Pusiga, nine miles east of Bawku in the Mandated Area, and burial place of the first known Na of Mamprussi and Dagomba, lived in Sarabogo close to Bawku.

Originally the people of Dagbon had spent some time at Pusiga, but after the death of Bungwa (Gbewa in Dagomba) they appear to have ~~wamed~~ merged with the Grumas and passed on to

*There are six now including Wokambo, but in those days the Chief of Wokambo lived away to the East in the proper B'moba country.

Mampuruga near Sansane-Mango

The remains of little mosques, have been seen at Pusiga by people still living, but now, with the enormous growth of population, these have all been swept away. Perhaps they were built by Mohamedan followers of Bungwa.

As just explained the real Kusasis were never very numerous. Yet few as they were they were originally divided into many small clans, each more or less distinct from the others, and each possessing its own name. Thus there were the Bimbas, the Gbingbingas, and the Gballis, to mention some of the more important ones only. Later they became known collectively as Kusasis, and now there has been a great deal of intermarriage between the different groups.

The Kusasis are only one of many peoples who went through this process of evolution. The Zulus, for instance, did just the same, but they advanced a step further than the Kusasis ever did by finding a leader who united them into a single unit. Occasionally the Kusasis appear to have formed themselves into a loose sort of confederation for the purpose of resisting the common foe, but beyond that interdependence did not exist.

If one asks a Kusasi where his grandfathers came from he will probably reply that as he was'nt there to see he really does'nt know. If he gathers what one is driving at, however, he may say they came from Zawga, Biengu or Yuiga. If he belongs to the Nabnamba-Kusasi clan he may say that he has never heard of any home other than the present one, though should he be a bit more intelligent he will probably admit that his people were originally Nabdams from Mangodi in the Frafra country. Some say they came from Gambaga, e.g. the Naramba-Kusasis, and the people of Gumbo, Kwatiga (under Wokambo), and Potwia (under Sinnebaga). But if one makes careful inquiry when told this it generally transpires that their forebears were Mamprussis who settled down in Kusasi and took Kusasi wives.

As already described the new-comers adopted the customs of the country and after a generation or two their descendants became Kusasis to all intents and purposes. It is most unlikely that the real Kusasis were ever in Gambaga at all. The Goashi-Kusasis and the people of Pusiga, as mentioned in the introduction, will tell fairy stories about their celestial origin.

In the majority of cases, however, if one presses them to cast their minds still further back the Kusasis will say that they have heard that in the dim past their ancestors came from far away to the East.

K. A. A. *In the Moshi History written by J. Witheragill, which consists of a collection of Hausa manuscripts, a story is told concerning a certain Malam Gado, the origin of the Kusasis, and the meaning of their name. I do not propose to query the authenticity of this typical Hausa yarn, but it will be sufficient to say that exhaustive enquiries have failed to lead to the slightest bit of corroboration.

Regarding the statement to the effect that the Kusasis bear a kind of Zamfara facial mark this is quite incorrect, and is evidently prompted by the fact that even since the advent of Europeans Kusasi children in growing numbers are being given a sort of Mamprussi mark, which is considered more attractive than the very elaborate Kusasi markings, and is much easier to perform. Now that the need for everybody to bear a mark by which he can be recognized is past the women give their children any mark they fancy. Some give none at all, and a youth ^{often} goes himself to the operator and instructs him as to the particular style of beauty with which he is to be adorned.

✓ Seligman suggests (Races of Africa PP.79 & 87) that the Southern Nuba men (not the Nubians of the Nile Valley) and the black hillmen of Kordofan and Darfur may exhibit a relationship with the pagans of Northern Nigeria and the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast. Both physically and culturally the Kusasis would seem to conform to this theory, as can be seen by comparing their characteristics in the following table with those assigned by Seligman to the Nuba people.

NUBAKUSASI

Average stature 68".

Average stature 67".

Men go naked, or with a skin suspended over the shoulders.

Men formerly naked but now usually wear loin cloth with a skin suspended over the shoulders.

Women of both wear a bunch of leaves before and behind.

Neither Nuba nor Kusasi circumcise their men nor do they mutilate their women.

Women of both wear quartz ornaments in the lower lip.

Both Nuba and Kusasi have a tree and stone cult, resulting in rocks and clumps of trees being frequently regarded as shrines.

An attempt was made to obtain the average Cephalic index of typical Kusasis, but owing to the inaccuracy of the home-made instrument used it is impossible to give a reliable figure.

KUSASI - LEGEND.

One interesting legend concerning the origin of the Kusasi Tribe, as related by the people of Tili, is as follows:-

In the dim past a man came from somewhere to the North with his wife, and settled at what is now Zawga (in French Territory). At this time there was not a single person at Zawga, but the ground was infested with small black ants, known in Moshi as Salansansi (Salansansi^{sa} is the singular). The descendants of the man and his wife were very numerous and become known as Salansansi, but gradually this got corrupted into Kusansi and now Kusansi is nearly invariably rendered as Kusasi.

Many years later the Kusasis were visited by a Moshi. This man settled among them and married some of their women. His descendants were many and they were known as Kusa-Moaga, to indicate their mixed Kusasi and Moshi antecedents.

Among these Kusa-Moaga people was a great slayer of men. He used to waylay passer-by in the bush, engage them in mortal combat, and bury their dead bodies on the spot. The Kusasi word for grave is "gballi" and that

is the name by which the Kusa-Moagas came to be known on account of this man. Apparently the Kusasis (Salansansi) themselves used to collect round and watch the Kusa-Moaga digging his victims' graves, and as a result they in their turn became dubbed Agilbibsi (Agilbib means collect round) by the Kusa-Moagas.

Before they started paying each other these compliments at Zawga, however, it is said that some descendants of the original Kusasis (Salansansi) had moved over to a place known as Kulsablaga (Kologo Sablaga = black stream) north of Widinaba (English Territory). Here they were joined later by the Agballis, while the Agilbibsi remained behind at Zawga. Some time later both Kusasis and Agballis are said to have crossed over the hills to Korobaga, which is part of Widinaba, and here they lived for a long time.

When at Kulsablaga the Kusasis had become possessed of a powerful fetish and as a result the leader became known as Kusanaba (Naba = Chief).

On arrival at Korobaga they found some people on the land known as Gbingbingas and these they drove out, so that they ran down to Zongoiri, where they ^{are} to this day.

They also, however, are said to be Kusasis, and as such they are always known.

Many years were spent at Korobaga, and then owing to the growth of population the people broke up into factions and started fighting among themselves. The Kusasis fled with Kusanaba down to their present home, including Kameaga now under Binaba, and the Gballi factions became dispersed over Tili, Widinaba and Lamboya, the last named being part of what is now known as Zebilla.

Later, quite recently in fact, the Bimbas came down and spread themselves over Binaba. The Bimbas came from Biengu, which is close to Zawga, and are Kusasis. They should not be confused with those other Bimbas, known as B'mobas, who are quite different and supposed to be akin to the Grumahs. In their general appearance, habits, and mode of living the B'mobas resemble the Konkombas far more than they do the Kusasis, but whether there really is any kinship between them or not is a matter on which the writer has no information.

It was not till after they reached their present home that the Kusanaba started going to Nalerigu for the purpose of having his fetish recognized by the Na of

Mamprussi (see page 19) He is senior to Zawganaba who gets his fetisi Nabaship from Tampilaga, a place somewhere to the North of the Nankanni Country in Zuarungu.

So far as Toendema is concerned there remain the Sub-Divisions of Zebilla (with the exception of the section of Lamboya), Teshi, Tanga, Timoni, and Sapelliga which are not included in the above.

It seems probable that Zebilla was the first to be settled, that the traditional ancestors Abiongo and Aputoba came from Detokko in the Frafra country, and that other sub-Divisions with the exception of Sapelliga, were gradually populated from Zebilla. Aputoba's home in Zebilla was known as Detok, presumably after Detokko, but now-a-days the place is more often called Angpalaga. The Sapelliga people are mostly of Busanga descent.

Teshi and Tanga have Mamprussi Chiefs, and during the last twenty years Zebilla has received such a large number of immigrants from all parts - Kusasi and otherwise, that the original families are quite out numbered. In 1921 the population was given as 2471 and in 1931 as 7973.

When we come to consider the Agolle half of the District it gradually becomes evident that it is not really Kusasi country at all. Certainly in the old days

a few Gbingbinga-Kusasis spread over to Sinnebaga from Zongoiri, and in the north round Bawku there were some Kusasis who had come from Yuiga. But by far the most numerous were the Nabnambas, who lived on the lands which are now divided up into Binduri, Kugri, Tempene and Wokambo. These Nabnambas trace their ancestry to the Frafra town of Nangodi where the Nabdams live. These Nabdams are known in their own language as Nabraba, and Nabnamba is evidently a Kusasi version of this.

Then there are the Narambas, who are mentioned elsewhere as of Dagbondurisi origin. The Bamshi, who came with the first Mamprussi Chief of Binduri, spring from the same stock.

All these people have gradually come to be known as Kusasis, and the name seems to have been used to include Agolle as well as Toendema before we came, though to the present day an Agolle man crossing over to Toendema will often say he's going to Kusasi.

The following figures taken from the 1931 Census are interesting in this connection.

	AGOLLE (including Mandated Area)	POPULATION
Kusasis	54,021	58,110
Others e.g. Busangas Moshis, Mamprussis, Bulanda, Hausas, etc.	47,786	11,777

The figures show what a much larger proportion of Kusasis to strangers there are in Toendema when compared with Agolle. And when what has been said above concerning the adoption of the name Kusasi by the Nabnambas, Narambas, and others, is taken into consideration, it will be understood that the discrepancy is really far greater than is shown even by the figures. And even many of the real Kusasis in Agolle have crossed over from Toendema within the last ten years.

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CHAPTER ii.

CULTURE AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Kusasis are essentially an agricultural people with early and late millet and guinea - corn as their staple foods. They possess individual herds of cattle, sheep and goats, but they neither drink milk nor do they eat much meat. The animals have a great intrinsic value, however, as a medium of exchange in the marriage market, and they are regarded as a desirable investment by everybody who has the means with which to purchase them.

In the Agolle half of the country, the Kusasis do not usually rear the cattle themselves. They give them out to Fulani herdsmen who tend them with infinite care and kraal them at night near their compounds, receiving as their reward all milk produced by the cows under their charge.

Across the White Volta in Toendema, however, the Kusasis as a rule prefer to look after their own beasts, and Fulanis are few in number. Here the cattle are kept inside the compounds at night and during the day they are left to forage nearby for food by themselves.

The Fulanis, on the other hand, take the herds to the bush to graze, and many of them even store fodder against the rigours of the dry season. The result of this greater knowledge of cattle exhibited by Fulanis are reflected in the superiority of the Agolle herds over those in Toendema.

Horses have become more numerous during recent years but they are rarely bred by the Kusasis, who buy most of them from the Busangas or passing travellers.

The members of the tribe do not live in villages, but in compounds which are scattered over the country side at irregular intervals. These compounds are round, and may consist of any number of circular mud huts with conical shaped grass roofs and connected together by mud walls.

Though conditions are changing rapidly now, the compound used to be the local group. Friendly relations would probably exist between near neighbours, but each household was an entity in itself. When the young men got married they did not leave the paternal roof, as now generally happens, and set up for themselves. The bride was brought home, allotted her hut, and given her share

of the general work to do. In other words at the time we first came upon them the Kusasis had only got as far as the patriarchal stage of evolution.

Under such an organization crimes against the community were rare.

Chiefs, as we know them now did not exist, and what authority there was, was vested in the head of each family. The priestly class, known as Tindanas (Landmasters) had authority in so far as the welfare of the land and the crops were concerned, but they had no judicial functions whatsoever. Three at least of these Tindanas were very important people in the old days. They were Gumbonaba, Kusanaba and Kalensinaba. Zawganaba was perhaps as important as any of them, but as he lives on the French side of the Frontier it is difficult to find out much about him, especially as he denies ever having had anything to do with the Na of Mamprussi. The word "Naba" in Moshi means the same as "Sarki" in Hausa, which is Chief, and is just about as hackneyed. There are the Chiefs of the horses, of the young men, of the cotton trees, of war, and of the fetishes, as well as many others. Thus to hear a person addressed as "Naba" may mean that

he is a Chief in the proper sense of the word, or merely that he uses the term as a sort of courtesy title.

That apparently is what Gumbonaba, Kusanaba and Kalensinaba did. Each had powerful fetishes, and at some time the soothsayers had indicated that their fetishes required recognition by ^{the} Na of Mamprussi. In each case handsome presents were taken to the Na, and on arrival a sheep would be killed by the Na in honour of the guest. He would be installed as a fetish Naba and sent back with a small horn containing some of the blood of the slaughtered animal. This was incorporated in the fetish at home which was thus made doubly powerful, and its fame spread much further afield than heretofore.

But though a man could command considerable respect on account of his fetish, which gave him power to call the rain, to drive away sickness, make barren women fertile and do countless other miracles, yet all this gave him not the slightest authority to impose his will upon the people in ordinary every day affairs. Sometimes in fact it was rather the reverse.

Bungwa, for instance, is probably one of the best known fetishes in the country. The man who placates it

English Territory, where he lives in Widinaba more or less unnoticed.

Among the followers of the Mamprussi Chiefs in the District there are at least twenty people known as "naba" who vary in importance from people like Songonaba and Zabagunaba, who rank as Sub-Chiefs, down to Zeydnaba and Deygnaba which mean respectively "Chief of the soup" and "Chief of the pigs". Neither of them has much more land than that on which he lives, but the names are titles of respect awarded many years ago in recognition of services performed.

✓ The occasional thief was not unknown, but if caught he was dealt with drastically on the spot by the owner of the stolen property and members of the latter's family. Sometimes the culprit lost a hand and sometimes an eye. If he repeated the offence he was deprived of the second hand or eye, as the case might be. ✓ In the case of murder or fighting in which blood was spilt, it was customary for the people concerned, or their relatives, to make a peace offering to the local fetish, and so obtain absolution. In the Northern part of Toendema this offering was often made to the fetish of Kalensinaba.

Mention has been made of the five Mamprussi Chiefs who in those days lived among the Kusasis. They were Sinnebaga, Binduri, Bawku, Teshi and Tanga. In more modern times they have been joined by the Chief of Wokambo who migrated westwards with many of his B'moba subjects, and settled on bushland which was nominally owned by the Chiefs of Binduri and Sinnebaga. The histories of these six Chiefs are given in another Chapter.

Sinnebaga, Binduri and Bawku were the only three of the original five who were of any importance. Their principal function was to keep the trade route open between Nalerigu and Tenkudugu, in the Upper Volta, where the Chief of the Busangas lives, and to provide escorts for traders and slavers passing down from the North. They were merely islands surrounded by hostile Kusasis, and their spheres of influence extended a very short distance. Indeed their existence was most precarious, and Chiefs Bala of Sinnebaga and Abdahamani of Tanga were actually driven back to Gambaga, while Seteam, Chief of Bawku, was killed by the Busangas, assisted by the Kusasis.

Were it not for the fact that the Mamprussi Chiefs had been imposed upon them by the Na of Mamprussi, whom

the Kusasis regarded with a certain amount of awe, it is improbable that they would have tolerated them at all. They did not object to some of their own Tindanas going to the Na with a handsome present, and bringing back from Nalerigu in return a powerful addition to their fetishes, which benefited everybody, but for Mamprussis to be sent to order them about was quite contrary to all their ideas on the subject. The five Chiefs had but little influence except among their own immediate followers and they themselves are the first to admit this.

The first occasion on which we hear of the Mamprussis being in Kusasi (not counting the Pusiga days) is during the reign of Na Atabia of Mamprussi. ^x He appears to have penetrated Agolle more or less peacefully, and later appointed the Chiefs of Sinnebaga, Binduri and Bawku, the first two being sons of a former Na Tempouri and the last named his own son.

~~x~~ It seems to be established now that no Na ever invaded the country known as Toendema, e.g. the area between the two Voltas, and the great stronghold of Kusasi proper. ~~x~~ The main object seems to have been to establish a line of communication between Nalerigu and Tenkudugu. Yet even this was not accomplished for many years, and long after

Atabia's death the travellers were still going to Nalerigu by Timbu and Sansane-Mango.

Na Kulba appears to have had a certain amount of control, but it evidently waned considerably again after his death, and nobody seems to have made any effort to regain it until the coming of Na Beriga. An account of his unsuccessful attempt to enforce his will upon the Kugri people in 1895 is given in Chapter-VII.

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CHAPTER iii.

CONSTITUTION , PAST AND PRESENT.

When one reads of the elaborate forms of Native Government already in existence in Mamprussi and Dagomba at the time Europeans arrived one realizes how very very primitive indeed people like the Kusasis were by comparison. An attempt was made in Chapter ii to show how foreign to their nature was anything in the way of rule. In Chapter vii this is demonstrated more clearly by the account of the hostility shown to the various Mamprussi Chiefs who tried to settle in Agolle and in two small areas in Toendema.

The Kusasis themselves literally had no constitution. Certainly there was a kind of patriarchal organization , but this can hardly be termed a constitution. The only Chiefs were the Tindanas, and the name is hardly applicable even to them. Some were of greater standing than others, and very often these would be the fetish Nabas referred to in Chapter ii. But they had no power other than the spiritual authority with which their position invested them. For people in such a primitive stage of development, however, this lack of Chiefs really made

no difference. They were so hidebound by tabus and moral sanctions that wrongdoers were rare, and there was far less crime than there is to day. The occasional criminal was dealt with so drastically by the people he'd offended that it acted as a deterrent on others. It has been suggested that in time to come these Tindanas would have evolved into Chiefs in the real meaning of the word. They never got a chance to do it in their own leisurely way, however, for the British suddenly arrived in Gambaga and then came into Kusasi asking for the Chiefs. They had found them in Gambaga and expected to do the same in Kusasi, where, however, they were not much in evidence.

Chiefs had to be produced, however, and labourers to work on the new station buildings. The five Mamprussi Chiefs (the sixth, Wokambo, was under German rule then) were the first to be found. They blossomed forth at once, and assumed control of all the areas to which their influence had in any way penetrated during their long up-hill struggles in the past. In Toendama, where there were no Mamprussis except the two insignificant colonies of Teshi and Tanga, the most

important Tindanas were pushed forward as Chiefs, or sometimes a member of the Tindana's family took on the job. It is satisfying to know that in Kusasi the right people came forward, for this was not always the case in other places, the result being that Chiefs were made from among people who had no claim to the position whatsoever.

At first nobody, neither British nor German, appear to have taken any interest in the five settlements in what is now the Mandated Area. There were Wokambo, Tempene, Kagbiri, Buguri and Pusiga, but as already mentioned they were still practically bush, never having been repopulated after the raids made many years previously by the Chakosis and Bazaberimies.

Thanks to the depredations of a certain Mamprussi named Asura, who lived in the village of Kuka near Bawku, we finally lost the chance of adding the area on to Kusasi. This Asura had a following of Moshis and among them they had about fifty horses. Their pastime was raiding Kagbiri, Buguri and Tempene, and taking all their animals. The authorities in Gambaga apparently knew nothing of this, and when travelling in Kusasi it was customary for officials to pitch their tents in Kuka near

Asura's house.

Finally in disgust one Awindi from Kagbiri, who is still alive, went to Sansane-Mango and sought the help of the Germans on behalf of Asura's victims. The Germans sent a soldier named Dahamani to follow Awindi, supposedly to see if these settlements really existed and whether or no the British had placed their flags there. Dahamani went round the whole area, ending up at Pusiga, from where he returned to Sansane-Mango. Almost immediately afterwards a German officer arrived in Danugu (Wokambo) and hoisted his country's flag there. He did the same at the other four places and then returned. The Chief of Bawku sent at once to report to Gambaga, Bawku being particularly interested since the people of Buguri and Kagbiri belonged by rights to him.

*the British
on the north
side*

The result was a meeting between British and German officers at Kagbiri which the Chief of Bawku attended. Pusiga, Buguri, Tempane and Danugu were also visited, and the whole area was then apparently ceded to the Germans.

*Asura was
killed
at
Pusiga
in
1891*

Asura was later convicted of killing four Kagbiri people and confined in Elmina Castle for many years, dying later on his release in Kumasi.

During the past thirty years all these Chiefs, including those made by the Germans in the Mandated Area, have consolidated their positions, and, most important of all, each one was allowed to be absolutely independent of every body else.

The Chief of Bawku has perhaps been more in the limelight than the others, but he never had any authority over them, with the exception of Buguri and Kagbiri, who originally removed from Bawku and elected to remain under the Chief of Bawku when founding settlements of their own in the bush. Though separated from him by the international frontier for a time they were restored to him at the end of the war.

Naturally with the settling of the country, and the opening up of it, there has been more coming and going between the various villages than was ever dreamt of before. It was not difficult to make the Chiefs and people realize the advantages to be obtained if they united under a Tribal Chief, and this culminated last ✓ year in the unanimous election of the Chief of Bawku to the position. So he was confirmed in the office by the

Na of Mamprussi and raised at the same time to the status of Divisional Chief. The eighteen other Chiefs lost their independence with their own consent, and there, for the present, the matter rests. That a Mamprussi should have been chosen for the position is a significant indication of a change in attitude. But at the same time it should be remembered that the Chief of Bawku's family has been in Kusasi for about 150 years, that the male members have always married the pick of the Kusasi women; in fact that the Chief of Bawku is largely Kusasi himself and Kusasi in sympathy. Were he otherwise the consensus of opinion might not have been so whole-heartedly in his favour. At the moment, the Chiefs seem prepared to follow him implicitly. They realize he is the link between them and the Na of Mamprussi, that he is their Tribal Chief, and that the Na has given him authority to provide them with certain regalia, which is the symbol of Mamprussi Chieftainship. That's all quite pleasant so far, says the Kusasi, but it is doubtful if the time has arrived yet when he would say the same if the Na began to take a more worldly interest in his affairs.

The Na is a very big man and must be respected, but

at the same time memories of the days at Kugri in 1895 when the Mamprussis were vanquished and driven back with ignominy to Gambaga persist in the memories of many.

That they should have progressed so far from their former primitive state in such a short time is in itself rather remarkable.

At the present moment the following organization exists:-

1. 1. Tribal Chief (Mamprussi)
2. 18. Sub-Divisional Chiefs (5 Mamprussi & 13 Kusasi)
3. 12. Sub - Chiefs (Kpamberi)
4. 269 . ^{SECTION} Village Headmen (Kombenabas)

A list of the first three grades are given in appendix "A".

Nos. 3 and 4 require a word of explanation.

The people known as Kpamberi were found in Bawku(8), Binduri (3), and S-innebaga (1) only. They had the title of Naba but were subject to the three bigger Chiefs. They held their appointments from the Na of Mamprussi who was advised in the matter by the Chiefs under whom they served. They were in fact the Sub-Chiefs, and battled on behalf of their Chiefs with the inhabitants of surrounding villages with varying degrees of success.

They are quite different from the 4th grade, the Kombenabas. These without exception have all been appointed since the arrival of Europeans. Except for the fact that in many cases they are either small local Tindanas, or else related to them, there is nothing hereditary about their offices at all. Even the name Kombenaba is only a makeshift for want of something better. Strictly speaking it is the term applied to the man who commands the Chief's army in time of war, and he is assisted by various people termed kombenabisi

An attempt is being made now to insist on the Chiefs always keeping these Kombenabaships in the same families.

Since the Chief of Bawku was made Tribal Chief nobody except himself holds his appointment from the Na of Mamprussi. The Na, in raising him to the status of Divisional Chief agreed that he must be treated as other Divisional Chiefs and allowed to appoint his own Sub-Divisional Chiefs. Similarly each of the three Chiefs who have Kpambari under them are to appoint them themselves.

Some of the Kusasi Chiefs who had never openly acknowledged the Na have already come to the Chief of Bawku and been invested with the Mamprussi regalia.

It is expected that gradually the remainder will come and do likewise, but as just mentioned, Bawku himself is largely Kusasi and almost one of themselves, so that one has to avoid placing too much significance on the action of these Chiefs in coming to him.

Temple says in his "Native races and their rulers" that when foreigners invade a country one of three things invariably happens -

1. The natives of the country become absorbed by the invaders.
2. The invaders become absorbed by the natives of the country.
3. The natives of the country regain their freedom and expel the invaders.

The first of the three happened in Mamprussi, while in Kusasi the third nearly happened - did happen once or twice in fact - but later the second process started.

Some of the local Mamprussis are Kusasis in all but name, and this^{is} particularly illustrated in the case of the Sub-Chief of Kuka and his people.

It is to be hoped therefore, that in these early days of Native Administration, with the Na at the head of affairs, allowances will be made for the Kusasis and that they will not be asked to run before they can walk.

They have achieved a surprising amount already.

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CHAPTER iv.

RELIGION.

As with other pagan religions that of the Kusasis is surrounded by an environment of mysticism. It is remarkable how they, and other tribes in similar latitudes withstood Mahomedanism so completely, especially when it is remembered that between the years 1300 and 1590, when Timbuktu flourished, there was a series of great Mahomedan Empires (Mallestine, Songhay and others) not so very far to the North and East of them.

It may be that the pagan Moshi Empire which lay between, and which had considerable power during the middle ages*, was partly responsible for the non penetration of Islam. The unsuitability of much of the country for horses may possibly have been a contributory cause, for the Mahomedan could never conquer unless he had a horse and a sword.

Moshi, like Mamprussi, was and still is, largely pagan. Though certain Mahomedan rituals have crept in,

* Moshi was overrun, however, by Sonni Ali, the Songhay King, in about 1490, and then by his successor "Askia" a few years later.

This seems to be largely due to the presence of Mahomedan advisers who are to be found among the Councillors of most big Chiefs. And this does not apply only to Mamprussi and Moshi. We are told that as far back as the eleventh century the capital of the Ghanata Empire, West of Timbuktu, consisted of two towns six miles apart. The King and his Court were pagan and lived in one. The Ministers were mostly Mahomedan and live in the other.

Even in Mamprussi the Na and his councillors live in Nalerigu while the Limam and Malams are to be found in the town of Gambaga, some miles away.

The Mamprussi claim to have been Mahomedans themselves at one time and perhaps this is partly substantiated by the finding of ruined primitive Mosques at Pusiga, as mentioned in Chapter i. But it seems incompatible with the theory that during the 14th Century Mamprussi was united with the notoriously pagan Moshi.

Perhaps, however, their traditions carry them back even further than this, and they are thinking of the legendary days when it is supposed they lived away to the East.

But the Kusasis have none of these Mahomedan trails at all, and it is doubtful whether there is a single

Islamised member of the Tribe. Even the Mamprussi refer to them as the heathens. This of course is a case rather of the pot calling the kettle black, but perhaps in this instance the kettle is particularly black.

They believe in a Supreme Being - Awindi - who is everywhere, but who can be worshipped through the fetishes only. All calamities that occur are ascribed to the ghosts of their ancestors who are displeased about something. Recourse is then had to the Sorcerers - Bagari - who indicate the appropriate remedy.

The death of a young person is a cause for sorrow. The death of an old person is considered the logical conclusion of a long life. Much jollification takes place in celebration of the fact that deceased was allowed to reach the age he did, and leave a number of descendants behind him.

A corpse is ordinarily buried the day of death. A round grave is dug, and at the bottom of this a tunnel is excavated at right angles, into which the body is pushed.

A man is placed on his left side facing the rising sun, and a woman on her right side facing the setting sun. In each case a hand is placed under the cheek.

It is said that the man rests more peacefully when he can see the rising sun calling him to his farm, and similarly the woman is more content when she can see the same sun calling her to prepare the evening meal.

An unwitnessed death from sickness, death from sleeping-sickness, whether witnessed or unwitnessed, and death caused to a woman by travail in child-birth are all very much taboo. In any of the above cases the body must be removed from the compound by a special hole in the wall, the hut in which death took place must be knocked down, and no sexual intercourse may take place among members of the household until the whole place has been purified. No funeral custom is celebrated in any of the above cases.

A poor man is buried in a sheep skin only. A rich or important man is provided with a cow skin, a cloth and a white cap. A woman is buried with a fibre cloth only which is wrapped round her waist and drawn up between the ~~lips~~. legs

The top of a grave is covered with an inverted earthen pot after the hole has been filled in. Sometimes if close relatives have not been able to get to the spot in time to see the body before burial the grave is not filled in until they have come and done so. The mouth

of the grave is merely covered over with the pot in the meantime, so that when the relatives come they can enter the hole and see the body lying in the tunnel.

On the death of her husband a Kusasi woman removes her waist beads and usual leaves, donning instead a piece of common string decked with leaves from a Shea tree.

Before appearing in the market again she must be walked round the outside of it by an old woman, and three days after the death she must have her head shaved. Mamprussi ~~women~~ women put a black string round their necks until after the funeral custom. The Shea leaves are never worn by Kusasi woman except as described above.

The Nabnamba-Kusasis never put them on at all, however. When a woman's husband dies the custom is for her to go into the hen house or sheep pen and roll about on the floor until covered with dung. She then appears in public and shortly afterwards is washed by other women. Mourning, so far as she is concerned, is then finished.

His religion is probably the most important thing in a Kusasi's life. It pervades everything he does, and all his actions outside the ordinary routine of daily life are governed by the dictates of the fetishes.

On all sides he is surrounded by tabus, the violation of which would almost certainly mean death sooner or later. When things go wrong he concludes that the spirits are annoyed, and matters can only be rectified by a visit to the soothsayer, who indicates what fetish requires to be placated. Then there are the witches who also bring trouble, and that necessitates the calling in of the witch-doctor. Altogether, though his life may be an idle one from the point of view of productive labour, it is any thing but idle when one considers the labour he performs, and the worry he experiences, on account of his religion.

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CHAPTER V.

THE MOROBABA AND SANGANABA.

Since there are no many thousands of Moshis Busangas and Yangas living among the Kusasis it is perhaps relevant to digress for a chapter and say some thing about them .

A great deal is always heard and written about the Chief of Wagadugu whm is commonly known as the Moro-Naba, or King of Mossi. Yet in reality he is junior to the Chief of Tenkudugu who commands most of the Yangas and a great many of the Busangas and Moshis too.

The Chief of Wagadugu has got more people under him, and naturally the fact of his being Chief at the seat of Government for the Upper Volta has considerably enhanced his prestige. But according to Native Custom the Chief of Tenkudugu is the senior of the two.

French officials generally corroborate this, and on official occasions he is accorded precedence. It is said that the first Chief of Tenkudugu originated from Lamprussi, and that many years later one of his grandsons went to Wagadugu and founded another state there. If this is so it would naturally be junior to Tenkudugu.

Actually they are both treated as independent Paramount Chiefs by the French.

It is interesting to note that formerly when the Chief of Tenkudugu died it was customary for the following presents to be taken to the Na of Mamprussi by the relatives

1 horse

1 woman

1 slave

5,000 cowries.

They used to be brought first to the Chief of Bawku whose duty it was to see them safely escorted to Nalerigu, the home of the Na.

These presents were supposed to be the Na's share of deceased's property, and had nothing to do with the fee paid by his successor on appointment.

The payments were also made by the Chiefs of Wagadugu and Fada-Ngourma, but with the partition of the country amongst European powers they all became honoured in the breach rather than the observance. It is unlikely that in those days either the French or Germans would have been pleased to see their Chiefs paying tribute to the Na of Mamprussi who lives in English Territory. Thus the payments became irregular, and when made were

done secretly. Even now any tribute paid to the Na is handed over with as little publicity as possible.

The story of the Chief of Yanga is interesting. He lived at Sanga, the principal town in the Yanga country. Some time after the British had occupied Gambaga, they were reconnoitring in the North of the Kusasi District. The Na of Mamprussi (Beriga) sent certain messengers with the troops to lead them to Sanga and asked that ~~as~~ it was his it should not be allowed to fall to the French, who were staking out at their claims also at this time.*

On arrival in Bawku, however, the French were encountered, and, though the meeting was quite amicable, the Na's messengers were so terrified that they left the British and ran back to Gambaga.

Apparently the French went on and occupied the country to the North of Bawku which included the town of Sanga and most of the Yanga lands.

At this time there was an old Chief of Sanga named

* At some time just previous to this it seems that the British had been as far North as Tenkudugu itself, in the same way that in those early days of the scramble for territory, the French at one time came as far South as Binaba and actually fought with the inhabitants there.

Wannedi. On his death the French made a man Noyankudugu Chief, but his appointment was never confirmed by the Na of Mamprussi. Noyankudugu also was an old man and soon put his son Abombo on to act for him. Now this Abombo knew that neither he nor his father had any right to the Chieftainship really, and that the rightful Chief was one Zubinaba. He was jealous of Zubinaba and treated him so badly that the later came to live in Bawku. In due course Noyankudugu died and the French made Abombo Chief.

Then the great war came and the Germans left Sansane-Mango to the French. In this Cercle there was a Chief of Timbu who was a follower of Sanga.

He decided that it was not right for the upstart Abombo to be Chief, and knowing that he had never been acknowledged by the Na, he determined to try and get made Chief himself. He sent very lavish presents to the Na of Mamprussi secretly, so that the French should not hear of it, and the Na sent the regalia and had him declared Chief of Sanga, though he continued to live at Timbu. Out of gratitude for his generous gifts the Na named him "Salumbuliga" or the "Well of gold".

Zubinaba was still living in Bawku, and he too now

found that he had a grouse. He presented himself in front of Timbu and complained of his action in getting himself made Sanganaba when he, Zubinaba, was the rightful heir. Timbu admitted that he was a usurper but said he had been led to it by disgust at the French action in making Abombo Chief, who had no claim at all. He went on to say that he was quite prepared to resign if he, Zubinaba, whom they all knew as the rightful heir, would ask the Na for the Chieftainship himself.

Zubinaba agreed to do so and returned to Bawku where he consulted the District Commissioner. The upshot of it all was that the Chief of Bawku sent to Nalerigu on his behalf, as he was an old man and unfit for the journey. Na Wafo was ruling now and he sent the regalia for Zubinaba to Bawku with his messengers. The latter robed Zubinaba in the Chief of Bawku's house and told him that he was now Sanganaba. The rather pathetic old man, without either country or people, went to Pulmakong near Pusiga and built himself a house. Timbu sent to greet him and ceased to call himself Sanganaba and many Yangas came from French country and settled near him. He only died about four years ago.

Abombo (Sanganaba to the French) was put in prison last year at Tenkudugu, and one Adakori was made Chief in his place. Apparently he was the right man at last. He sent secretly to greet the Chief of Bawku, but was evidently too afraid of incurring the displeasure of the French Authorities to send to the Na himself.

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CHAPTER VI.

BUNGWA.

Bungwa, already mentioned once or twice, plays such an important role in the lives of these people that it is worthy of special mention. It is the great ancestor fetish of Mamprussi and Dagomba.

Bungwa is the first Na of whom anything much is known and he is supposed to have been swallowed up by the earth at Pusiga. Bungwa was followed by his son Zirili, whose name, however, is rarely mentioned on account of his treachery in killing his elder brother Kufcher. After Zirili came Tusugu (Tohugu in Dagomba) and it was he who drove his brother Shitobu away to Walewale where the latter founded the Dagomba Kingdom.

The Kusasis do not know any of this, nor do the erstwhile Mamprussis living among them. They merely regard Bungwa as an all-powerful fetish which everybody has placated since the times of their grandfathers. In Gambaga, however, the legend is told by the old man.

The fetish of Bungwa is in a small wood at Pusiga. It consists of a stone at the mouth of a hole which is supposed to run in tunnel fashion far into the earth.

In this hole there is said to live a huge snake, and until six or seven years ago this snake had an equally huge "son" which used to patrol ^{the} territorial boundaries of its Father. A stranger, not knowing its alleged identity, killed it. The whole place was in an uproar and I am told that the wretched man was dragged before Captain Shields, District Commissioner. He handed the case over to the Chief of Bawku who ordered the man to pay two cows to Bungwa as a peace offering. This appears to have placated the fetish for the outrage, and rain, which was very badly needed, fell at once in torrents.

Bungwa is always placated by a semi-divine person appointed by the Na of Mamprussi and known as Pusiganaba. He always has to be a very old man, never touch the ground with his uncovered feet and never have anything to do with women. A skin drawn over his head and a cloth wrapped round his body is the only clothing he is permitted to wear, except for an ornamental bracelet on one arm. As said before he has no judicial power at all, but is a sanctuary for the wrongdoer.

In the old days, before the first Mamprussi Chiefs came from Nalerigu to Kusasi. Zawganaba (in French Terri.) was apparently the best known man in this part of the

world. Whenever Pusiganaba died word used to be sent to the Na at once, and he used to call upon Zawganaba to despatch a reliable old woman to Nalerigu to get the skins and other articles required for the installation of a new Naba.

The woman would take these to Pusiga where the following ceremony took place.

First of all two grass huts were erected some little distance apart. The prospective Naba was put into one alone in the evening and the woman entered the second one,

Four times during the night she was seen to emerge from her hut with a cup and enter the other. The fourth time she remained there, or at-any-rate she was never seen to leave it. At day break the watchers would creep up to the hut, there to behold the new Pusiganaba sitting on a mat of cornstalks and clothed in skins. The woman had vanished, never to be seen again. The old man would then be taken up and carried home amid great rejoicing.

When the Chief of Bawku was established he was made partly responsible for the welfare of the fetish.

On the death of Pusiganaba the Pusiga people come and inform him at once and he is required to proceed to Pusiga

immediately and take charge. He and his people sit outside the house until all preparations are made for the burial. Nothing that was not removed from the house before the Naba died may be taken away by anybody except the Chief of Bawku. A special opening is made in the compound wall for the body to be taken through. The main door is blocked up with wood and nobody is permitted to enter again.

Zawganaba has had nothing to do with the ceremony for a great many years now, and the old woman's place is taken by an old woman from Pusiga.

The last Pusiganaba died during the German regime in Togoland. He was named Ajongo. His peculiar position had made it essential for the German Administration to put somebody in authority at Pusiga who would not be fettered by the various tabus to which the Pusiganaba was subject. They therefore appointed a man named Agure Kusaga, who was of the same family as Pusiganaba, and had at one time been employed at Sansane-Mangã as a Government Messenger, to be "Regent" of Pusiga. He acted as the Chief, and was responsible for finding the labourers required to work in Sansane - Mango and at Lome. When Pusiganaba died the Germans proclaimed Agure as Chief of Pusiga, and so he has remained ever since, under both Germans and British.

He refuses to call himself Pusiganaba, however, for that is the title which belongs really to the placater of Bungwa. He is known as the "Tengudnaba" which means, in Kusasi, "The one who looks after the town."

Since Ajongo died nobody else has been appointed custodian of Bungwa. Apparently it is not a sought - after position, owing to the irritating restrictions it imposes upon the holder. There is, however, an ancient man living in Bawku who is entitled to the office, and there seems to be a growing desire on the part of many people to persuade him to accept it. If he were to be appointed there is reason to believe that he might be named Bungwanaba, in which case the Tengudnaba, Agure, would probably agree to be known in future as Pusiganaba and take his place among the other Chiefs in the District. Fortunately the Germans took a man from the right family when they chose Agure for the position of "Regent".

The Pusiga people say that their ancestors came from the sky. The story is that when the moon was bright they used to come down to earth by a frail ladder and dance. One night an evil man saw them descending and when they were all down he caught the ladder and pulled until it snapped up above. The dancers were never able to return

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home and have lived in or near Pusiga ever since.

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CHAPTER vii.

B A W K U

The first Chief of Bawku was Ali, Son of Na Atabia of Mamprussi who was probably one of the most outstanding figures who ever ruled at Nalerigu .

The Chiefs of Sinnebaga and Binduri had been established a short time before Ali, but all three were quite independent of each other.

The story is that Ali came with a large following of Mamprussis and Narambas, the latter being members of an inferior branch of Mamprussi known as Dagbendurisi.

The first night was spent at a village near Bawku called Sapelliga (not to be confused with Sapelliga often known as Seboundi). Next day they advanced ^{near} to the present Chief of Bawku's house via the section of Zorse, and were opposed by people from the section of Bawkuzua. The people of Tusungu section, however, came to the help of the Mamprussis and the men of Bawkuzua were overthrown.

To this day, a custom which is an interesting relic of Ali's entry into Bawku is performed soon after the accession of a new Chief of Bawku.

One evening he goes out to Sapelliga with a big crowd

and much drinking of Peto takes place. The Chief is conducted to a large stone where Ali is supposed to have sat on his way through. The Chief sits on top of this stone while a nearby fetish is being placated. After this he returns to the jollifications. In due course everybody goes to bed, but in the morning when they awake up one man is missing. It is the Chief.

He has left quickly during the night and travelled alone several miles to Zorse. There he is met near some large baobabs by another crowd which has come out from Bawku for the purpose. He enters Bawku triumphantly and the people of Tusungu come out in war kit and pretend to stop him, but he rides through unmolested.

Ali is supposed to have ruled about seven years and was succeeded by his brother Muzabaga, also known as Ali-Bila.

Muzabaga was succeeded by another brother Mampanga, also known as Yakubu.

Mampanga was succeeded by Mahamudu, son of Ali. A son of Muzabagu, Babu, contested the Chiefship with him but without success.

Babu was assisted by certain Bawku Mamprussia in

his struggle with ^{MAHAMUDU} ~~Hamanga~~, but they were driven away and fled to what is now Gumyokko in Binduri.

Mahamudu became Chief, but soon after this his rivals came back from Gumyokko with a lot of Zangpalasi - Kusasis. They succeeded in killing Mahamudu before the latter's son Mahama drove them off again.

Bawku was left without a Chief, and it was soon after this that fighting occurred in Gambaga over the Naship. It is said to have been the struggle between Kulba and Abu Bakare which is known to have taken place about this time. According to Mr. Mackay in his history of Hamprussi, Abu Bakare raised an army of Konkombas, but was defeated by Kulba with the aid of Chakosis.

Another version of the above is that Kulba was first driven from Gambaga and Abu Bakare seized the Naship. Kulba fled to Bawku and was taken in by Mahama. The latter collected as many people as he could and conducted Kulba to Sansane-Mango, where an army of Chakosis was raised. This they led first against the Chief of Nakpandure, who was a powerful supporter of Abu Bakare, and killed him. Passing on to Nalerigu they routed Abu Bakare's troops and then caught and killed Abu himself.

Kulba became Na^{*} and installed Mahama as Chief of Bawku out of gratitude. The Mamprussis who had killed Mahamudu tried to get Bawku for one of their own people, but Kulba refused and said none of them should ever have Bawku. Instead he gave them the Chiefship of Gumyokko (see under Binduri).

Mahama returned to Bawku and was known as Seteem.

He became pretty powerful and the Kusasis feared him. It was during his regime that all the people in Agolle were to pay a tax to the Na of 100 cowries per compound every year.

Seteem penetrated the Busanga country as far as Bittou and seized a hundred of their cattle which he presented to the Na.

The Limam of Gambaga advised that they should be returned to the Busangas as otherwise they would surely be avenged. No attention was paid to him, however.

The Busangas waited their opportunity, and many years later it came. In a careless moment Seteem had sent nearly all his available guns to Gambaga as an escort for

* Compare the story of Kuga on page 14 in a recent publication entitled "Enquiry into the Constitution and organization of the Dagbon Kingdom."

a very fine horse the Na wanted to buy from him. While they were away the Busangas came down from Bittou and the people of Bawku joined forces with them against the much disliked Seteem. The latter was left almost unprotected and after defending his house valiantly he was finally burnt out and killed. Those of his family who escaped ran by way of Sansane-Mango to Gambaga where they settled at Bulkwere. One of his daughters got married to Na Beriga and was the mother of the present Na Wafo (Mahama)

The death of Seteem would seem to have taken place between 1820 and 1830. It cannot have been earlier, for his son Mamboda, who was a young man at the time, did not die until 1894.

Na Kulba was so enraged at the death of Seteem that this, coupled with the treatment accorded his brother Bala, Chief of Sinnebaga, about the same time, decided him send a large army into Agolle.

He enlisted the aid of the Na of Yendi who sent him an army of Bagombas. These and the Mamprussis advanced from the South while a third force composed of Chakosis came by Buguri on the East flank. The "Commander in Chief" was one Awando, a Chakosia.

The whole of Agolle was over run and a great many

people were killed. The fleeing inhabitants were finally overtaken at Zorse and Yeragungu outside Bawku, and here they made a stand at the hill of Agolle. This hill is the site of an important fetish, and it is said that the fetish came to their aid by releasing swarms of bees, which so hurried the enemy that he retired in haste.

The leader Awando got cut off, but he covered himself with a red burnous much to the alarm of the people. They had never seen such a garment, and thought Awando had turned himself into a ball of fire. They ran from him and he got away unmolested. The Bawku people continued defiant for some time, but the Sinnebaga people had had enough, and shortly afterwards they willingly accepted a new Mamprussi Chief.

The eldest son of the dead Seteem, Bako, had taken to travelling about with Hausa traders, and one day many years later, his journeyings brought him back to Bawku where he was recognized in the market by some Kusasis. At first Bako refused to admit his identity, but when they persisted, saying how they were oppressed by the Busangas, and how glad they should be if he would return and be their Chief, he gave in and said he would return to Nalerigu and see the Na about it. He did so and was

made Chief. On his return to Bawku the Busangas attacked again, but a good crowd rallied round Bako and he drove them off with heavy losses, since which they have never again attacked Agolle.

After ruling a few years Bako became blind, and on his death, which took place soon afterwards, his brother Mamboda came back from Bulkwere, where he was still living, and succeeded him. He was installed as Chief of Bawku by Na Yongu in about 1858. It is said that Yongu had then been Na five years and that he died twelve years later i.e. about 1870.

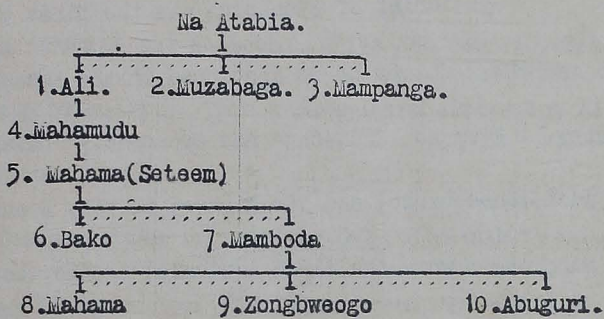
It was in Mamboda's day that Bawku started to grow into a town. The Bazaberimies were raiding the Grunshis to the West and the profitable trade in slaves caught by them was being conducted by the Hausas and Moshis, as described in Chapter - 1. Large Caravans were passing down to Salaga via Bawku and Gambaga, though at that time the route passed through Yeragungu and Tangsia, a little to the West of Bawku itself. Yeragungu was under the Chief of Bawku, and quite an important camp for the travellers. There were many Moshi and Hausa people actually living there. But the Kusasis rose against them and burnt the whole place. The Hausas fled Southwards, but the

Moshis came into Bawku and settled down under their leader Apetera, whose son Sandogo is the present Chief of the Moshi Zongo. It was not till some years later that the Hausas came and settled in Bawku.

Mamboda was responsible for establishing the present Market, and even in those days it came to be fairly ^{well} known. On his death in 1994 at a great age Mamboda was succeeded by his son Mahama.

Mahama ^{and} his young brother Zongbweogo had accompanied Mamboda from Bulkwere as children. Mahama only ruled a few years and ^{was} then succeeded by his brother Zongbweogo. It was in Mahama's time, however, that the British first settled at Gambaga, and it was at Mahama's house that the Union Jack was first hoisted.

Zongbweogo died in 1924 and was succeeded by the present man, Abuguri. Last year the latter was unanimously elected Tribal Chief by Kusasi and Mamprussi Chiefs alike through out the District. He went to the Na in June, 1931 and was confirmed in this new office, being raised at the same time to the status of a Divisional Chief.



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S I N N E B A G A .

The Chief of Sinnebaga was the first of the five Mamprussi Chiefs to be appointed in the Kusasi Country. Even so, Sinnebaga has apparently never been of much consequence, and its history is very scanty. The Mamprussis were the first arrivals, so they became the Tindanas, and still are in some areas. Later on Gbingbinga-Kusasis spread over from Zongoiri, but the population of Sinnebaga was never very large, although they at one time commanded part of the present Wokambo land in addition to what they own now.

Tampouri is said to have been the first Chief and he was a son of Na Tampouri. He and many other Chiefs after him lived down by the Morago river near the ford where the old trade route used to cross.

The fourth Chief is said to have been one Bala, brother of Na Kulba. It was he whom the Kusasis drove away, so that he ran to Patia in Gambaga where later he died. It was this act on the part of the Kusasis, combined with the recent slaying of Seteem, Chief of Bawku, that decided Na Kulba to invade Agolle and lay waste the country. At this time too the inhabitants

of Agolle had practically ceased to pay the annual tribute of 100 cowries per compound, which had been imposed a few years previously. This made a third excuse for Na Kulba to attack them.

The war which followed is described under Bawku, as it was in Bawku that the final successful stand of the Agolle people took place.

After the war the Sinnebaga people accepted Dahamani Na Kulba's grandson, ^(?) as their Chief, and since then Sinnebaga has not been disturbed by hostilities.

B I N D U R I .

The first Chief of Binduri was Yesya, son of Na Tampouri, and he lived at Malaga, a village which is now part of Wokambo. Yesya brought some people with him named Bam-shis, who, like the Narambas who followed the first Chief of Bawku, are of Dagbondurisi descent. Now-a-days they too have all the Kusasi characteristics. In those days Nabnambas (see page 7) occupied the lands which are now divided up into Binduri, Kugri, Wokambo and Tempene. The greatest number were to be found in parts of Tempene, and in the sections of Malaga and Agiseri in the North of Wokambo.

The biggest Tindana in Yesya's day was one Abipoura and up to the present time most of the Tindanas in these parts are of Nabnamba descent.

It is supposed that Yesya was put in Malaga by Na Atabia soon after he'd put the first Chief at Sinnebaga and a little before he put Ali in Bawku.

On Yesya's death it is said that his son Arazubi succeeded him, but it is probable that one or two Chiefs came first and have been forgotten by the Binduri people, and that Arazubi was Yesya's grandson rather than his son. It was in Arazubi's day that the Bazaberimies started raiding

raiding from the East. Tempene was then known as Garu and there was a Nabnamba Kpamberi in charge who was under Binduri. The Bazaberimies attacked Garunaba on many occasions but finally Arazubi and Garunaba between them appear to have got a bit of their own back. The Bazaberimies always attacked with horses, and the idea was conceived of digging an enormous moat right round Garunaba's house and adjoining land. When done it was covered over with light branches, grass and earth. The Bazaberimies were purposely provoked and enticed to follow the retreating Nabnambas in the direction of Garunaba's house. On reaching the moat they were unable to pull up until many of their horses had crashed through the thin surface, and chaos appears to have ensued.

The moat is still plainly visible and nearly encircles a piece of land which must be quite a quarter of a mile in diameter. It is said that until comparatively recently one could see the remains of spurs and other bits of metal, but now, with the continual silting up of the trench, no such things are visible. The whole place is tabu and nobody would think of excavating.

After the affair at Garu Arazubi decided that the sooner he moved out of Malaga the safer he'd feel, for

the Bazaberimies were sure to return. He therefore moved right across to Gumshe, a section to the West of his present home. Those of the Nabnambas who did not follow were soon driven out by the Bazaberimies who overran all his former country, including Kugri. The Pusiga people were also driven out and fled to Sarabogo and other parts of Bawku. It is said that the Bazaberimies were helped by certain Chakosis (also known locally as Kambonsi) who appear to have waged war frequently on their own account, and not just when the Na of Mamprussi ordered them to do so.

The story is that after having been driven away by the Kusasis at the battle of Agolle (see page 58) Na Kulba gave the Chakosis permission to harrass the Kusasis whenever they pleased.

Some of the Nabnambas settled down at Gumshe with the Chief Arazubi, but many of them went on to Yuiga in what is now French Country, staying for a short time at Yeragungu in Bawku on the way. Arazubi died in Gumshe and was succeeded by Agani who moved to Tangsia, a short distance away.

After Agani came Sanida, and then Winyam. It was during Sanida's day that the Nabnambas started to come back (see under Kugri). They settled at the present

Binduri, after spending a short time at Tampielim first, and when Winyam came from Gambaga, where he'd been living, to succeed Sanida he too decided to make Binduri his home, and there the Chiefs of Binduri have lived ever since.

All the present Mandated Area was by now uninhabited, except for a few B'mobas who had settled at Natenga in Wokambo and refused to be driven out. B'mobas who had settled at Wirinyanga in Buguri were expelled by the Bazaberimies some fifty or sixty years ago. They, together with the other Buguri inhabitants who mostly lived near Zambala, fled Westwards. The B'mobas went on and joined the Nabnambas at Yuiga, but soon came back and settled at Bianguri in Binduri. The other Buguri people settled at Zabagu in Bawku which had been their home once before.

Gagbiri at this time formed part of Bawku and had never been inhabited at all.

The Bazaberimies attack on Wirinyanga was their last effort, for Europeans started to arrive soon afterwards.

No International Frontier had been demarcated when descendants of the old Nabnambas who had been driven from their homes in Wokambo and Tempane began to trickle back.

Many of them were followers of Agure, the powerful Chief of Kugri (see under Kugri) and refused to have anything to do with Binduri. In fact Agure was nominally their overlord until the Germans occupied the whole area, when neither Kugri nor Binduri had anything ^{more} to say in the matter.

The descendant of the old Garunaba came into his own and became a Chief in the place where, nearly a hundred years before, his ancestor had been a sub-chief (Kpamberi) under Chief Arazubi of Binduri, before the latter fled Westwards to new country.

The name of Garunaba's country was changed to Tempane (Tempalaga = new ground), but the market which he established at Barabokko was known as Garu. When the Frontier left the market just inside German Territory the Chief of Kugri's sons did their best to entice it away from Tempane, and in this they were eventually successful.

The market became defunct in Barabokko and was established at what is now known as Garu in the Kugri country. It was for a very long time a sore point between the two Chiefs.

The setting up of Feragonaba at Kugri and his ultimate severance from Binduri has been described under

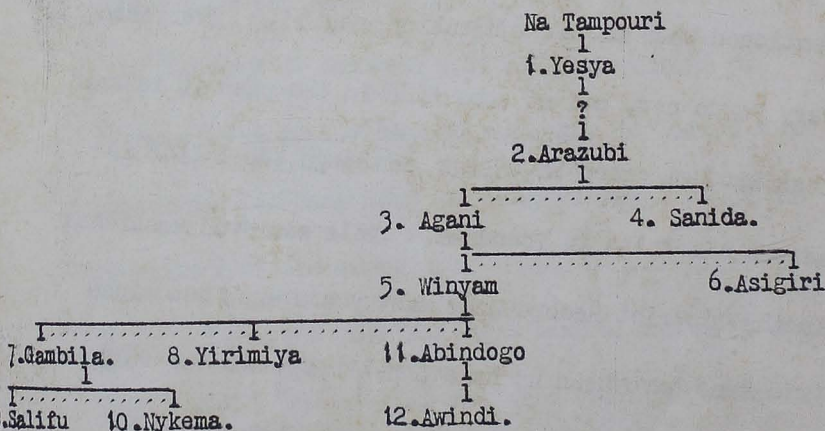
Kugri.

The Buguri people returned to Zambala about thirty-three years ago and from then on have never looked back.

Gagbiri became inhabited too, for some Zabagu people who had come from Nyokko, and before that from Zorse, moved out into this completely bush part. The people of Zorse, which is close to Bawku, are said to be Nankonnis from Bongo, North of Zuarungu.

There is also ~~the~~ case of Sapelliga which should be mentioned when on the subject of Binduri. Everything is very vague now, but at some time in the past it is said that Binduri owned Sapelliga, although the latter is across the Volta in Toendema. This was even mentioned in the District Record Book many years ago, but since Europeans have been up here Sapelliga has never followed Binduri. Certainly in 1946 when the late Chief of Sapelliga was appointed at Bawku Binduri appears to have been present, but it does not seem to have been of much significance. The Chief of Binduri says that Sapelliga used to be a Kpamberi of Binduri, but it appears as if this may refer to the section of Sapelliga in Binduri

proper which is where the family of the Chief of Sapelliga originally came from. They were Goashi-Kusasis and moved to Guzongo in Sapelliga sub-division many years ago. Here the people were mostly Busangas. Later the Goashi-Kusasis moved a little to where the Chiefs house is to-day. Whether they ever followed the Chief of Binduri much again after they crossed the river, and how the Goashi-Kusasis became the rulers instead of the indigenous Busangas are points that have yet to be cleared up.



T E S H I.

It is said that the first Chief of Teshi was one Asalagi, a son of Na Jia who only reigned seven days at Nalerigu before being replaced by Kulba.

Asalagi was unpopular in Gambaga and was told to clear out and make himself a house somewhere in Kusasi.

The inhabitants of Teshi, not counting the Mamprussi element, are supposed to be of the same stock as the Zebilla people.

When an old man Asalagi returned to Gambaga, but he was drowned when crossing the river at Zongoiri on the way.

After A-salagi came Adakali and various others of whom nothing is known. They were followed by Aliyeaba.

A-liyeaba sided with the Kusasis and helped them to defend Yuiga against the Na's Chakosis who had come round from the East. Twice this happened and twice Aliyeaba was captured and taken to Sansane-Mango. He was delivered up each time at the Na's request, but after the second occasion the Na refused to allow him to return to Teshi.

After Arazuma, the 9th Chief, died the Chieftainship passed to his adopted son Akologo, whose father was one

Arami Mamprussi, but it returned to the proper family
on Akologo's death.

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T A N G A.

Dambungu, son of Na Kulba was the first Chief. The Tanga lands were at that time bush. He appears to have collected people from Detok (Angpalaga) in Zebilla and various other places. He was himself virtually Tindana, but he handed over the responsibility to a man from Sakom nearby, whose family still performs the duties involved.

Dambungu's brother Salifu was Na of Mamprussi, and on the latter's death Dambungu returned to Gambaga and succeeded him. But not without a struggle.

The story is that he was opposed by another brother, the then Chief of Kurugu, and fratricidal war was the result. In the ensuing struggle Dambungu was supported by the following people:-

- Deburi, Chief of Bulkwere (his brother)
- Dauda ? Chief of Wokambo
- Memboda, Later made 7th Chief of Bawky but at that time living in Bulkwere.

The Chief of Kurugu was supported by all of Na Salifu's sons, among whom were four future Nas.

A battle took place at Bulkwere and the Chief of Kurugu was defeated. He fled to Dagomba country and Dambungu was installed as Na.

Kurugu, however, was not finished with, and before long he brought a force which he is supposed to have raised from among renegade Dagombas, against his brother Deburi at Bulkwere. Deburi was slain and his body foully mutilated. Kurugu, fearful of the consequences, dispersed his army and fled almost alone to his own country. The man who actually killed Deburi is said to have been one Ibrahim, son of Na Salifu. He implored Na Dambungu's forgiveness, but the latter was so furious at the way in which his brother Deburi had been butchered that he urged Deburi's son Mahama to rise up and kill Ibrahim in his turn. Mahama accordingly sought him out and killed him near Sakku.

In the meantime the Chief of Kurugu had been discovered sheltering in a woman's house over to the West. He escaped, but was intercepted again near Walewale by Dambungu's people. In the battle which followed he was slain.

It is interesting to note that this was not the only occasion on which certain Dagombas fought against the Na of Mamprussi. When Beriga was coming from his town of Bimshi to succeed his brother Na Pari at Nalerigu he was met by one Yihgadama, son of Na Dambungu, in Gambaga.

Yingadama wanted to be Na so engaged Beriga in battle. In spite of the number of his people, however, he was defeated, and Gambaga burnt to the ground.

Yingadama was driven away and Beriga became Na. Soon afterwards, however, news was brought one night that Yingadama was coming with an army of Dagombas from near Gushiego, and was encamped at Jawendi inside the Gambaga District. Na Beriga started off immediately with a large following and attacked Yingadama at dawn. The Dagombas were routed, and Yingadama fled Southwards, never to be heard of again.

It should be mentioned that on both these occasions when Dagombas were led against Mamprussi the expedition took place against the orders of the Na of Yendi.

Dambungu appointed one Bakela, son of the Chief of Bulkwere to be Chief of Tanga in his stead. But Bakela never lived in Tanga. He merely paid occasional visits for the purpose of placating the fetish. He died in Bulkwere.

It then appears that there was a long inter-regnum, and the next man we hear of is one Atalata, a very old man who'd been born in Tanga but who was related to Pusiganaba, the custodian of the fetish Bungwa.

Nothing else is known until the coming of ABDAHAMANI, a son of Nyembasi, Chief of Nagbo in Mamprussi, who arrived in Tanga/ as Chief about the same time as the British arrived in Gambaga. He found the Kusasis hostile, however, and soon returned to Gambaga.

About 1898 Amore, son of the Mahama who had slain Ibrahim, came from Gballa, a village near the site of the old telegraph station in Gambaga.

He ruled until 1917 when he was succeeded by Mahama, his son, who still rules.

W O K A M B O.

Before the country we now know as Wokambo was inhabited by B'mobas the Southern half, which was all bush, belonged nominally to Sinnebaga, while the Northern half was occupied by the Chief of Binduri and his Nabnambas. When all these were driven out by the Bazaberimies and Chakosis this large and particularly fertile area also became bush. Some years later B'mobas came in and settled at Natenga, but it was not until just before the arrival of Europeans that the Chief of Wokambo proper, which is miles away to the East, migrated with many of his people and settled at Danugu. To-day there are some 8000 B'mobas in the English Wokambo, not counting many thousands in other parts of the Mandated area as well. The original Wokambo is in French Territory and is still known as such. There is a Chief who is of the same family as the one ruling here.

At first the Danugu people were administered by the British. This was before the Germans came along and put their flag there, but when the Frontier was made (see page 28) Danugu became German. The Chief (Dooti now) soon returned to the real Wokambo and remained there till after

the war. Then the boundary was made between British and French Mandated Territory and the Chief, Lari, was separated from all those of his people living on the British side. For a time there was no Chief in the British half and then early in 1923 the Chief decided to cross over and settled down in British Territory. He was immediately made Chief of British Wokambo and the French found somebody else to fill the office on their side.

Wokambo has the distinction of having sent the first of its Chiefs, Issaka, son of Na Atabia, back to Nalerigu to be ^{either} Na Jia or Na Jaringa, but it is not quite certain which of them it was.

K U S A N A B A .

Much has already been said about Kusanaba in the Kusasi Legend given in Chapter 1 (see page 10) and again in Chapter 11 (see page 18). There is not much more known about him and his people to record.

One thing does seem certain, however, and that is that at the time we first came into Toendema Kusanaba more nearly resembled a Chief in the real meaning of the word than any other Kusasi did.

Had we known more about him thirty years ago and concentrated more on his development it seems almost possible that he might have evolved into a head Chief for ~~Agolla~~ ^{Toendema}, leaving out the Mamprussi Areas of Teshi and Tanga perhaps. As it was, however, we found him to be in a comparatively small way with few people, so we merely accepted him as a Chief and then passed on to find the next one. Finally we had a string of Chiefs - mostly erstwhile Tindanas - all very pleased with the new power thrust upon them, and all frantically jealous of each other. From that day on any sort of cohesion between them was impossible. Even last year, when they were asked if they would care to elect a Tribal Chief

from among themselves for Toendema only, instead of joining in with A golle and uniting with them under a single leader, they refused point blank. They said they would unite under the Chief of Bawku or nobody at all. Even Kusanaba asks for nothing more than that he shall be recognized as the senior Chief in Toendema, even if this gives him no authority over the others.

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ZEBILLA.

Mention has already been made of how the original settlers in Zebilla were two brothers named Aputoba and Abiongo from Detokko in the Talansi country (Frafra). The present Zebilla people are very vague as to their history, but the following interesting legend, which has many parallels in native folklore, is told fairly consistently.

It is said that Aputoba was a great hunter and that his sister had been ^{given} in marriage to one of a party of travelling Mamprussis. They took her away to Gambaga where she lived with her husband. One day many years later she returned with some people to see her relatives in Detokko. She told of a fierce bush-cow which was prowling about the water-holes outside Nalerigu and preventing the people from drawing water. Aputoba rose up, went to Gambaga and killed the bush-cow. As a reward for his good work the Na gave him a fetish and told him to go and find a good place to put it. Aputoba wandered about until he came to some bush country in Kusasi which he liked. He decided to settle here and called it Detok, after his old home. He had many descendants, of whom the present Chief is one

Z O N G O I R I .

The Zongoiri people are Gbingbinga-Kusasis and, as mentioned already, were found by the Gballi-Kusasis on the lands of Korabaga under Widinaba, and from which they were promptly driven out.

The story goes that when the Gbingbingas got down to Zongoiri the country was practically all bush except for a small settlement of Mamprussis. This settlement appears to have been known as Bulkwere. There was a Chief named Sebionaba, son of the Na, and it is supposed his father considered him too far away from Nalerigu, for he was called up to reside at the top of the scarp. He did so, and built a new Bulkwere which is the one we know to-day. Before going he gave all the land to the Gbingbingas with the exception of Yibuni, where there were some other Mamprussis residing. Their descendants are still there, and the Tindana is named Akpieri Mamprussi, while his son Ambimbuni is Headman and a follower of Zongoiri. Yibuni has about twelve compounds only.

The ruling family in Zongoiri are often said to be Talansi Frafras. This, however, is not the case. They are Gbingbingas. But one of their ancestors - Atasaka by

name - journeyed to Tongo in the Talansi country to placate the great fetish in the Tong hills and invoke its aid in begetting children by his favourite wife who remained barren. On his return he brought a fetish from Tong with him, and this came to be greatly thought of and respected by everybody, even Talansis coming sometimes to placate it. It is therefore no wonder that the Chief is often looked upon as a Talansi himself, ^{by} natives who do not know the story.

Zongoiri had not produced a Chief when we arrived in Gambaga, so one Awendi, grandson of Atasaka, was appointed to the position.

In the early days of the Administration Zongoiri was the home of the Moronaba, or Chief of the Moshis, who had been driven out of Wagadugu by the French. He was allowed to stay at Zongoiri provided he swore loyalty to the British. This he did, and many of his followers, joined the Regiment. On the death of the Moronaba, the majority of his people left Zongoiri and returned to French Territory

Zongoiri has sometimes been described as a Hausa town. There is here an instance of the way in which Hausa influence has so often altered a name, or even changed it altogether, in places to which Hausas have penetrated.

Zongoiri is not a Hausa town at all. Its proper name is Kpombaya, and as such it is still known by many Kusasis.

The first Chief of Kpombaya was one Awandi Kusasi who was appointed soon after our arrival in Gambaga. His father was named Zongbweogo which means "Hausa". Following a very usual custom when several children in a family have died previously a new baby is often given some exotic name in the hope that this will protect it from the sickness that carried off the others. This was done in the case of Zongbweogo. He escaped the sickness, and in time became about the most important man in Kpombaya. He used to trade corn with the Mamprussis and they came to speak of Kpombaya as Zongbweiri, which means "The Hausa's house."

Zongbweiri is usually pronounced Zongoiri by Europeans, and so it has come to be written in the maps.

In the 1931 Census there were only 9 Hausas in the whole of the Zongoiri Sub-Division which has a population of over 5000.

A better example of Hausa influence changing a name is perhaps that given by Withersgill in his booklet "The Moshi Tribe". There it is said that the Moshi town of Tinga Kurgu, i.e. "Old town" was turned by the Hausas

into Tankurku. Incidentally Europeans have corrupted it
still further into Tankudugu.

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W I D I N A B A

As mentioned in the Kusasi legend (see page 10) Widinaba was one of the earliest homes of the Kusasis who crossed the hills and came into what is now British Territory. The Gbingbingas were the first and then the Salansansi came over from Kolsabloga with the Gballis and drove them out. When the Salansansi (the original Kusasis) and the Gballis broke up into factions, and dispersed to various places, some of the Gballis remained behind, and it is their descendants who form the greater part of the Widinaba population to-day.

It seems probable that the Bimbas, who came in much later, stayed for a time in Widinaba before passing on down to their home in Binaba.

T I L I .

The people of Tili are Gballi - Kusasis and therefore the same as the inhabitants of Widinaba and the Lamboya section of Zebilla(see page 12).

They do not own their land, however, for this belongs to the remnants of the Gumbo people, most of whom migrated to Agolle after family quarrels more than a hundred years ago. The ruling family at Tili is Gballi and the Chief now lives on friendly terms with the Gumbo Tindana, though this was not always the case.

The first Chief was Akulbila, made soon after the British arrived.

B I N A B A.

The Bimba-Kusasis, who inhabit Binaba, came from Biengu, near Zawgo, and are much the same as the Zawga people. They came fairly recently and settled at a place called Dagbanga which was then inhabited by some Mamprussis (see page 99).

Whether they drove the Mamprussi settlement out, or whether the Mamprussis cleared out on their own account is not certain, but so they did for some reason or other.

The Chief of Binaba has risen from a comparatively unimportant person to a position of some importance.

Before the Administration took over there was only a handful of people at Binaba and they had no Chief. Then Zongoiri seems to have stepped in when he became a Chief, and he appointed one Abuguri to be Headman of Binaba. Later there were arguments as to whether Binaba was to belong to Kusanaba or Zongoiri, but on the 16th May, 1906 it was declared independent of both. About this time Abuguri paid a visit to the Na, after which he was recognized as a Chief instead of a Headman.

KUGRI.

The Kugri people are probably the most interesting in the country of Kusasi. Many years ago the Kugri lands belonged nominally to Binduri, and up to the time the Chakosis caused Arazubi, Chief of Binduri, to leave Malaga, there were a few Nabnamba-Kusasis living there. When Arazubi moved to Gumshe, however, the Kugris also appear to have fled for safety from Kugri to Yuiga in the Upper Volta, stopping for a short time at Yeragungu in Bawku on the way.

Later when Samida was Chief and living at Tangsia the Nabnambas came back and settled for a short ~~time~~ period at Tampielim in Bawku and then went on to what is now Binduri. While there, one of them appears to have bought a slave from some passing traders. The slave was named Asunka and was also of the Nabnamba tribe, having been caught in the Frafra country by the Bazaberimies and sold to the traders who had intended taking him to Salaga.

Asunka was apparently a man of some character, and when the next Chief Winyam came and settled at Binduri he received him as a gift from his owner. Asunka soon became a great favourite with the Chief and was apparently

of some consequence in Binduri.

At this time Kugri was still deserted, and Winyam decided to put Asunka down there for the purpose of collecting another toll - in addition to the one he himself already took at Binduri - from all travellers proceeding to Sinnebaga and Gambaga. This toll was taken as a matter of course by Bawku, Binduri and Sinnebaga, and corresponded to the well-known "fito" in the Hausa States which was a tax that had to be paid by everybody on leaving a country. The Moshi word for "fito" is "ferago" and Asunka came to be known as Feragonaba i.e. Sarkin Fito, or the Chief of tolls.

It was not long before Feragonaba attracted a great many of his Nabnamba relatives from Binduri, and by the time he died, and his son Agure succeeded him the Kugri people were more or less independent of Binduri and collecting the "Ferago" on their own account.

In 1895 the Kugris fought and routed the troops of the Na of Mamprussi. The casus belli, as so usual, was a series of "woman palavers" between Mahama, the acting Chief of Bawku and Agure, the new Chief in Kugri.

During one of those palavers Yakubu Mamprussi, brother of Mahama and also of the present Chief Abuguri, was

proceeding via Kugri with some cattle and sheep which he proposed to sell in Gambaga. He was refused passage until the woman concerned was brought from Bawku and delivered safely to Agure.

Not long after there was more trouble between Bawku and Kugri, and when Mahama gave out that he was now ready to go to Gambaga to be made Chief by the Na the Binduri people warned him that Agure was making preparations to hold him up on the road.

Yakubu, his brother, was therefore sent secretly by Wokambo to the Na (Beriga) to inform him of Agure's intentions and to ask if perhaps the Na would agree to send representatives to Bawku to install Mahama as Chief on the spot, instead of the latter having to proceed to Gambaga for the ceremony. The Na refused and sent Yakubu back to say that he proposed to send an army against the Kugris and annihilate them.

On hearing of the Na's intentions the Kugris sent two men - Daramani and Acheriga - to the Limam of Gambaga with two sheep and 20,000 cowries, and begged him to intercede with the Na on their behalf. The Na refused to treat and captured both the messengers. Daramani he sold for gunpowder, but Acheriga escaped and brought back to

Kugri news of the coming war.

After a short stay in Gambaga Yakubu returned to Bawku and the day after his arrival the Na's guns were heard in Kugri, twenty miles away.

Mahama the acting Chief, started off for Kugri with twelve horses to see the slaughter of the Kugris. But on arrival in Binduri what was his astonishment to hear that the Mamprussis had suffered enormous losses and were being driven back to Gambaga by the men of Kugri. News had been brought to the effect that Agure proposed to advance on Binduri and Bawku when he returned from harrying the Mamprussis. Gambilla was Chief of Binduri and he decided to withdraw on Bawku with Mahama.

A few days later, however, the people of Tangsia, Poyamiri, Gumyokko, Kado, and one or two other sections under Binduri came and begged Gambilla to return, saying that they wished to have no dealings with Kugri and would stand by him if Agure ~~if~~ really did come. Gambilla therefore returned to Binduri, and Agure appears to have decided to rest on his laurels, for he made no advance against him.

The Na's army was commanded by one Wakeso, Chief butcher in Gambaga, and it is said that he brought 400 guns

and 50 horses.

The story goes that the Kugris left their houses full of peto, but no water anywhere, and retired into hiding up on the hill where the Rest House now stands. A few remained in the village, including an old patriarch with a long beard named Agbanabawindi who was a stranger. They were all killed by the Mamprussis who thought Agbanabawindi was Agure himself. They then started to drink the peto, and in due course the Kugris, who had by now been reinforced by people from Binduri, Zabagu, Zorse, Tampielim, and other places, descended upon them and killed great numbers. The enemy fled, and were followed as far as the Mozago river, where people from as far away as Zebilla arrived in time to assist in giving them the coup de grace.

Na Beriga was enraged at the defeat and started preparations for the complete subjugation of Agolle the following dry season. He proposed to bring Chakosis from Sansane-Mango and to ask the Na of Yendi to assist him with his Dagombas, as they had done in the past during the reign of Na Kulba.

During the rainy season, however, the Europeans arrived in Gambaga and the Na was deprived of an

opportunity of taking his revenge.

For very many years after this the Kugri people rejoiced in the fact that they had never been conquered by the Mamprussis. They are still proud of it, but they have very different feelings for Mamprussi now-a-days, and the present Chief Asana, a son of Agure, came recently to the Chief of Bawku to be confirmed as a Chief according to Mamprussi custom.

Kugri was declared independent of Binduri in 1910. In 1912 it was visited by the Governor Thorburn, who was accompanied by the Na of Mamprussi (Na Wibiga).

A most interesting entry was made in the District Record Book on July 10th, 1914 by the District Commissioner. It runs as follows:-

"Chief said he had heard that the Germans were
 "going to take this country. He expressed great
 "disinclination to be under German rule and affirmed
 "that he would personally lead all his people against
 "them in such an event."

P U S I G A

The history of Pusiga has been related, mostly in Chapter VI.

Now-a-days Pusiga Sub-Division is receiving a constant flow of immigrants from French Territory, largely Yanga and Busangas, the result being that less than half the total population is Kusasi.

Pusiga itself, from the usual collection of scattered compounds, is becoming quite a village, consisting largely of Hausas.

TEMPANE, SAPELLIGA, BUGURI, KAGBIRI.

The above four Sub-Divisions have already been discussed under Binduri in this Chapter. All of them, with the exception of Sapelliga are in the Mandated Area. The Kusasis in both Sapelliga and Buguri form considerably less than half the population, owing to the steady influx of Busangas, B'mobas, Moshis and Fulanis.

TIMONI.

The land on which the Timoni people live is said to have at one time formed part of the Mamprussi Sub-Division Tanga. But the Chiefs of Tanga were always so effete, until Europeans came and established them a bit more firmly, that the people of Timoni do not ever seem to have paid much attention to them.

The original inhabitants, like those of Tanga, say they came from Detok in Zebilla, so are probably of Talansi descent. Previous to this, however, they say that they were in Sawurugu near Bansi in Binduri. But this seems doubtful.

Sometime at the beginning of the present century, or possibly earlier, a man named Alubandi settled in Timoni. Alubandi was the son of one Alwoh, whose father was named Hauya, a Kassena who came from Janogo in Kassena country to Peregu in Teshi.

After he'd been in Timoni a few years Alubandi seems to have got himself elected Headman at the ~~king~~ house of one Ajiliba Kusasi. In March 1909 Timoni was declared independent of Tanga and since then Alubandi has been known as Chief.

A year or so after this a man named Awindi, whose father had been ^aTindana of Timoni, claimed that he should be Chief instead of the stranger Alubandi. He was told that either he or his son should succeed Alubandi when he died. In the meantime they were to leave Timoni. Alubandi still lives and Awindi is dead. But his sons still live in Binduri, and presumably when Alubandi dies the promise made in the past concerning his successor will be fulfilled

GUMBONABA AND KALENSINABA.

These two interesting personalities of the past have been referred to already in Chapter 11.

Their stories up to a point are interwoven, so it will be more convenient to consider them together.

Long before the Mamprussi Chiefs that we know now in Agolle came, and before the Bimbas had come to Agolle, and even perhaps before the other Kusasi clans came down from Widinaba, these were living at Boiya in Binaba some Mamprussis who had come from Gambaga. Boiya was then known as Gumbo and the leader of these Mamprussis was Gumbonaba. A short distance away at Dagbanga (near the present Rest House of Binaba) Gumbonaba had some relatives. One of them had a daughter who married a Kusasi named Aram from Biengu (near Zawga in French Territory). Aram had a son by her who was named Agbida. This youth was always being bullied and illtreated on account of his Mamprussi mother. Apparently his mother's people were related to the Na, and when the latter heard how the boy was being treated he sent people to fetch him to Gambaga. Here the boy spent sometime, and then the Na made a fetish for him and sent him back with it to Biengu. He said that it would

protect him from the people, and, owing to its power to bring either good or bad fortune to the people, according to his instructions, would in time come to be greatly respected by everybody. Agbida came home and was known as Kalensinaba.

When Agbida died nobody succeeded him as custodian of the fetish for a long time. Finally his grandson A-dita took on the job and he seems to have gained considerable respect throughout most of the Northern part of Toendema. Whether it was before his time or after that the Kusasis spread over Toendema is not known.

All that seems to be known is that at some remote period there was Gumbonaba functioning as a great fetish man in Boiya and Kalensinaba functioning in the same way at Biengu. The latter was the junior of the two.

Then we came to the time when a Gumbonaba named Zawunugu died and his relatives fought over the succession. There were two main parties, and finally that to which the senior members of the family belonged moved to Kasongo in Zebilla. The younger branch stayed at Boiya and one Amoga became the Naba. He died a few days after returning from Nalerigu and then his elder brother Asayidiga, who was in Kasongo, got himself made Naba. He moved over to

Yorugu, near the White Volta, and settled down there. He was succeeded there by one Lalungu. During the latter's day, however, there were more family quarrels and Lalungu's brother Abangada left Yorugu, crossed over into Agolle, and settled at Mogonori to the North of Bawku.

After Lalungu's death nobody succeeded for a number of years, but one day a sorcerer indicated to Abangada's son Atelangu, who was living in Mogonori, that he was the new Naba. He went to Nalerigu, was made Naba, and returned to Mogonori. Later on a marauding band of Chakosis drove Atelangu and his people to Yeragungu, where he himself, his wife and child, were all killed. The Nabaship lapsed again for many years, and this was during the period when Seteem was Chief of Bawku, i.e. roundabout 1800, or a little later.

Later, when Bako was Chief of Bawku, Azoah became Gumbonaba, and returned to Mogonori again where he and his descendants have lived ever since. After Azoah came Azoteba, Abelimburi and the present man Abuguri.

As can be easily understood Gumbonaba is to-day rather a nonentity. He is just a Kpamberi under the Chief of Bawku, not even a Sub-Divisional Chief, and there are only

a few old people to-day who know that nearly two centuries ago Gumbonaba was perhaps the most important man in Toendema.

The Gumbo people now retain none of their Mamprussi characteristics at all. They've forgotten the language and have adopted all the Kusasi customs. This is even more than the present six Mamprussi Chiefs have done. The remnants of the junior branch of the family still live near Boiya and own some land, including that of Tili.

To return to Kalensinaba. It seems more than probable that after Gumbonaba ceased to function properly the fame of Kalensinaba's fetish spread further South, and the Bimbas, having come from Biengu, his own town, would doubtless have continued to placate it.

What happened to Kalensinaba when the French took all that part of the country is somewhat vague, and there is no account of him at all in the local District Records. There is an old man who says he is Kalensinaba living now, and who crossed over into British Territory a few years ago. He is named Atiga and says his brother Alumpagi was Kalensinaba before him, though they both belong to a junior branch of the old ruling family. He says his father was made Chief of Biengu by the French and that later they

put most of his family in prison, as a result of which he
crossed into British Territory. He lives now more or less
unnoticed at Widinaba.

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APPENDIX ACHIEFS AND SUB-CHIEFS (KPAABERI)
OF KUSASI DISTRICT.

MALPRUSSI	Bawku	Tribal Chief.
	Sinnebaga	
	Binduri	
MALPRUSSI	Teshi	
	Tanga	
	Wokambo - (Mandated Area)	
	Kusanaba	
	Zebilla	
	Zongoiri	
	Widinaba	
	Tili	SUB-DIVISIONAL CHIEFS.
KUSASI	Binaba	
	Kugri	
	Pusiga - (Mandated Area)	
	Tempane	do
	Sapelliga	do
	Buguri	do <i>Mandated Area</i>
	Kagbiri	do
Kassena	Timoni	
	Nyokko	
	Kuka	
MALPRUSSI	Sabu (Bulugu)	
	Migiga	
	Zabagu	BAWKU - KPAABERI.
	Gumbo	
KUSASI	Kenkogo	
	Keragungu	

* (see under Gumbo and Kalensinaba on Page 99 for discussion of Gumbo's origin.)

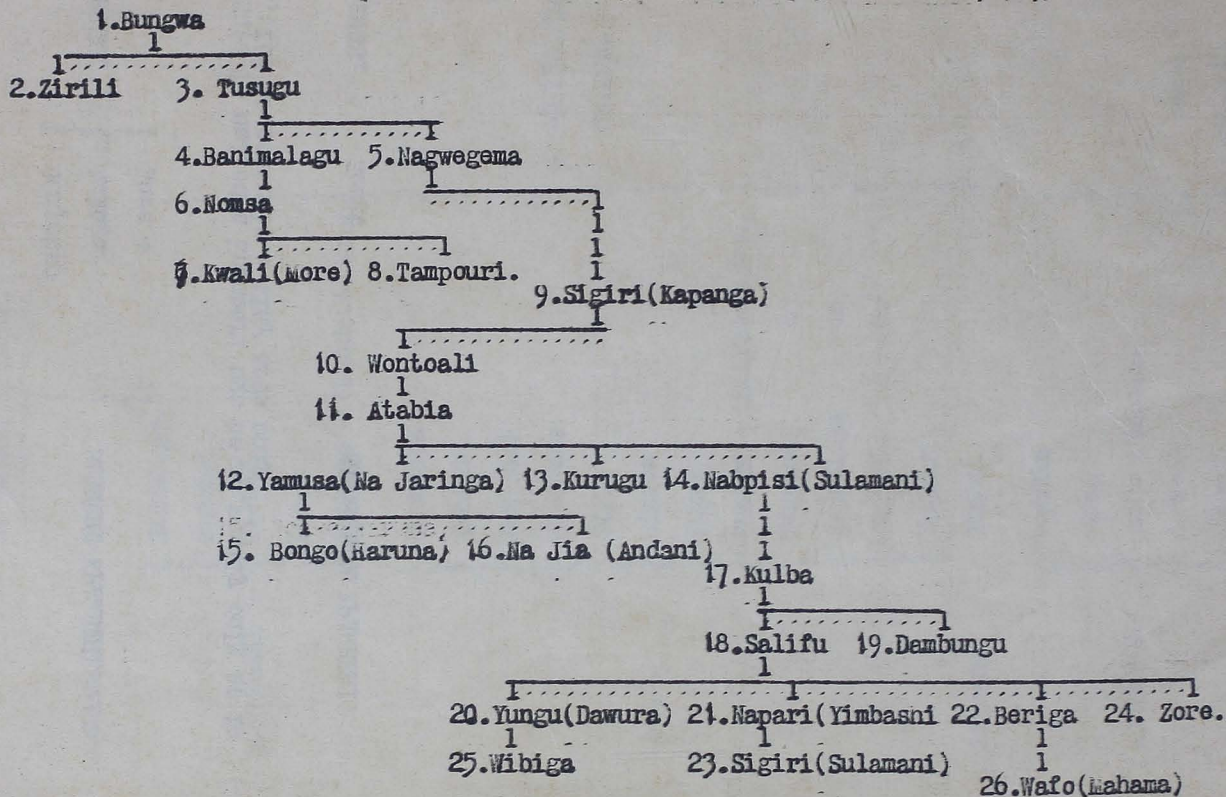
MAMPRUSSI	{	Gumyokko	}	BINDURI KPAMBERI.
	{	Kulogo	}	
	{	Zure †	}	

† Zure is called a Kpamberi but he is really only so in name, for he controls a tiny area only.

MAMPRUSSI	Songo	SINNEBAGE KPAMBERI.
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APPENDIX B.

GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE NAS OF MAMPRUSSI COMPILED LARGELY
FROM MR. G.F. MACKAY'S HISTORY OF THE MAMPRUSSI TRIBE.



APPENDIX C.

LAWS CONCERNING SUCCESSION TO MAMPRUSSI
CHIEFTAINSHIPS AS RECORDED BY MAMPRUSSI
CHIEFS IN THE KUSASI DISTRICT.

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Rule-1. On the death of a Chief he is followed by the eldest man surviving who is son of a previous Chief. If this is not his own brother it could only be his cousin. For any uncles he may have had would have occupied the stool already, even though they were younger than he. (see next rule.)

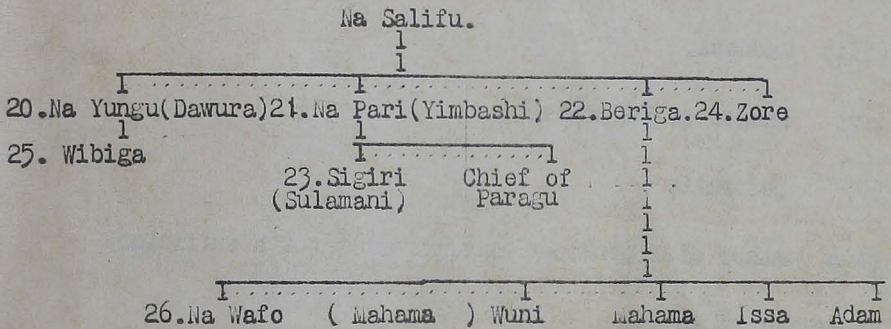
Rule-11. After his cousins(if any) and brothers (if any) he is succeeded by his brother's sons in order of seniority - if his brothers had reigned - or even by his own son if the latter was the senior of them all.(see how Mombada's own son Mahama, became Chief of Bawku instead of Pamali, son of his elder brother Bako)

In no circumstances could a brother be passed over in favour of a son or nephew even if the son or nephew was older than the brother. (see how well it is recognized that Bawa, brother of Abuguri the present Chief of Bawku is senior to his nephew Nambie, son of Zongbweogo, although Nambie is an older man than he.)

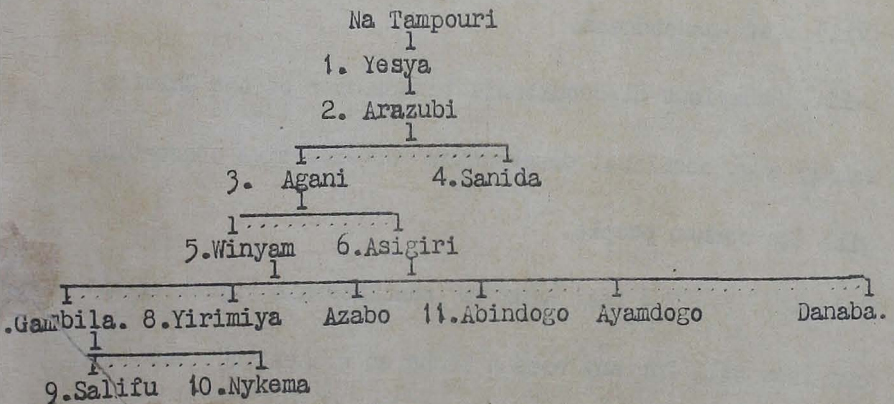
The following extracts from the genealogical trees of the Chief of Bawku, the Na, and Chief of Binduri help to illustrate these two rules.

Similarly, according to this reckonong the next Na of Mamprussi should be the Chief of Paragu if he is older than Wuni, for he bears the same relationship to Wuni as Pamali did to Abuguri. This is illustrated below by the extract from the Na's genealogical tree:-

NA'S TREE.



BINDURI'S TREE.



In the case of Nos. 9. and 10, Salifu and Nykema, it will be seen that the rules were broken and it was only in 1929 that the rightful man Abindogo got the stool. His elder brother Azabo is almost blind so was excluded.

Rule-III.

Any one of the following disabilities

may exclude the rightful heir, in which case the stool passes to the next man, or even further than that if necessary:-

(i) Blindness or loss of one eye.

(ii) Leprosy.

(iii) Madness.

(iv) Finger or toe missing.

(v) Deformity.

(Any other disfigurement is apparently not a sufficient cause for rejection.)

(vi) Bad character or perhaps even incompetency.

(vii) Left-handedness.

(viii) Behaviour discreditable to a member of the Chief's family e.g. continual drunkenness or excessive consorting with the common people.

Rule-IV.

The real heir may renounce his rights of his own free will for any reason if he so wishes, but once he has done this he can never claim the stool on a future occasion

MAP OF KUSASI

UPPER VOLTA

APPENDIX D.

