

*A Local Study of the*  
*—— Keta - Some area*  
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# TIME CHART of the HISTORY of KETA-SOME with mention of some important dates in GOLD COAST HISTORY

PERIOD of MIGRATION from KETU in the basins of the Niger and Benue Rivers to NOTSIE in Dahomey.

PERIOD of DISPERSAL of the EWE TRIBES from NOTSIE

PERIOD of the settlement of KETA-SOME in their present HOMES

MODERN TIMES — a PERIOD of FORWARD Looking



1482 Portuguese first visited the G.C.

1482 Elmina Fort built by Portuguese

1513 Mele Empire conquered by Songhai

1552 First English man Cpt. Mindham visited G.C.

1594 King of Morocco destroyed Songhai Kingdom

1670 Ewe tribes left NOTSIE

1680 Keta-Somes settled at AYIDIGA

1697 Osei-Tutu became King of Ashanti

1700 Keta town founded by Nukpanuku son of Adalaza

1740 Okomfo-Anokye died

1784 Keta Fort built by Danish Gov. KIOGGO

1805 Settlement at AGBOLOME

1793 Keta-Anlo war

1806 Agudza-De war

1822 Sir Charles MacCarthy 1st Gov.

1850 English bought Keta Fort

1844 Bond of 1844

1846 Dasu-Pagba war

1864 Agee-Adzigo war

1874 Funu War

1879 Keta Some Agreement

1912 Crowther Commission Report

1904 Germans cut away part of Keta-Some

1915 Adamaï beame Fiaga

= Encloses incidents in Keta-Some History  
 = " " some important dates in G.C. "

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## INTRODUCTION.

1. In the following work, I have made an attempt to discuss the traditional history, geography, the social structure, the occupations and industries, the indigenous beliefs and other social practices of the people called Keta-Some.

2. On the outset I must disabuse from the minds of my readers any illusions that Keta-Some has anything, as far as this study is concerned with that town now in the Anlo State called Keta.

3. If because of the fact that since about a hundred years ago when the Keta people came to live among the fan and ginger-bread palm trees on the north bank of the Keta Lagoon, and have become injudiciously called 'Some' by some people therefore they are not Ketas, then it must be remembered that it is when the State drums beat out the appellation: "Keta Gbonu Eto! Awusi ko dzo tsrolo ! Togoglome" that the true Keta man is thrilled' No wonder then that the people have prudently blended the old name with the new and have made them cling to themselves like limpets whether beaurocracy frowns on it or not.

4. And too, the Keta-Somes are not Anlos! This one fact among the many inaccuracies about them in his book "A Short History of the Gold Coast", Mr.W.E.Ward admits (Vide page 107). Unlike the Avenors, Aflaos, Klikors and Wetas, the Keta-Somes have never accepted or acknowledged the challengable superimposition of Anlo authority or suzerainty. In fact, unlike the Ashantis, the early organisation of the Ewes after their migration from Notsie about 300 years ago, was a loose alliance of independent states, each under a chief whose leadership was traditionally accepted by that division or state. And, it is also true that in the past these loose alliances functioned only in times of stress.

5. In none of the Ewe wars have the Keta-Somes and Anlos fought together in the same camp. Whether it was in the Sagbadre War, the Dasutagba War, the Funu-War, the Peki-Ashanti War or the Agee-Adzigo War they were always in the opposite camps. The claim

of the Keta-Some people to the tradition that they were the first <sup>people</sup> in all Eweland to have ever had contacts with the early European visitors to the eastern shores of the Gold Coast remains an undisputed fact.

6. For the purpose of clarity, I have, in discussing the physical environment of the area divided it into four parts and have dealt with each separately so as to afford the reader some ideas of the reasons for the various occupations of the people and the grouping of the towns and villages. It is significant to notice that the section or sub-region which I call the "sandy stretch of land bordering the lagoon" is mainly now occupied by people from the townships of Agbozume and Klikor, and that because of the attractions of the coconut plantations it affords, this sub-region is fast becoming a town in itself, whilst the original towns, despite the tendency of some people to rebuilt them are equally fast becoming depleted of people. I can predict, without carrying the truth too far, that in twenty years time, with the exception of the market places, the schools and the shops and the public buildings Agbozume and Klikor will become merged into one town, sprawling in the shades of the coconut palms.

7. On the subject of religious beliefs, rites and ceremonies it must be noted that our people view with grave suspicions any inquiries into the secrets of their practices and are always reluctant, however sympathetic they may be towards the enquirer to divulge these secrets. This is so because of two reasons: One is that they entertain great fears in their minds about what consequences may follow the release of such secrets, rites and ceremonies about which their ancestors had been reticent. Another is that the devotees of the secret cults, for example, Yewe and Afa fear that their objects of worship may lose more in importance and prestige than what the enquirer gains by knowledge, once their inner facts are revealed and written down in a book form. They prefer to keep these secrets to themselves to awe the layman. (See paragraph 8 on page 5.)

8. When, however, a devotee voluntarily agrees to give an information, it is always done so in consideration of a gift of a fowl, two or three bottles of beer and an assurance that he would remain anonymous. On one occasion the writer was invited to become an adherent of the Yewe Cult before any information could be given. On another, he had to go through a minor rite of cleansing with a fowl-not without feelings of the creeps,-before his informant opened his mouth. And too the methods of approach to the 'subjects' had to be varied if any information could be gathered at all. Direct questions were of no use. Informant had to be led slowly and cautiously along paths of suggestions.

9. In addition to Yewe and Afa cults juju practices are an adjunct to the religious beliefs. Juju is viewed by most people as generally malvolent, but the devotees of these cults claim that the jujus that are attached to their objects of worship are mainly for the purpose of effecting cures, and that they (the devotees) are fetish priests as well as herbalists. They declare that their vodoos forbid them practising obnoxious juju. Whether this is true or not remains to be investigated.

It has not been possible in such a short survey to cover every aspect of death and burial ceremonies in the area. However, those that have been mentioned form the main basis for all.

The people of Keta-Some are described as a very lively drumming and dancing people, for no day passes without drums being heard in several places in the area. Some of the songs they sing are highly poetic in nature, portraying the feelings of the people towards Mawu and nature and their neighbours. In all their social activities, in calm as well as in adverse circumstances they are always singing and dancing. Drumming and dancing and singing have taken so much place in the life of the people that indoor-games with the exception of the ubiquitous 'ludo' are now practically non-existent. There were occasions, many years ago when children, on moon-lit nights engaged in games such as 'dolo' and 'akpatsri' accompanied by folk songs handed down or made on the spot. These ways of recreation have vanished and their places are taken by the 'gazo' and 'gahu' drums.

In the sphere of education the people are keen school-goers. This is evidenced by the number of schools in the area and the number of children in them. Much credit is to be given the A.M.E. Zion and Roman Catholic Missions in their efforts to enlighten the people. To them is owed the production of such people as the late Dr. Amartoe, Dr. Cudjoe, Dr. Anthony, Dr. Homawu, Mr. Hosu-Porbley, Mr. Nutsugah, Mr. K.A. Gbedemah, Mr. J.K.A. Quarshie, Major Anthony, the Apaloos etc.

I must finally emphasize that this short <sup>work</sup> ~~thesis~~ is presented to the reader not as a conclusive treatment of every aspect of the subjects discussed, but rather in the hope that it shall help to make an understanding of the back-ground, and stimulate interest in the historical, geographical and social structure and practices of a people, who, though economically handicapped in many ways, are yet virile and are struggling daily to make life worth living.

They were first introduced to the Northwest. They entered Kotoku and joined their kinsmen the Nonsie people who had left them very early in their peregrinations. The Dogbo or talos as they are now called, who had left Dogbo-Dyigbo their original home in Behome, lived near the Kofu at Agbo-Nyabor, though their main body entered Kotoku later on. The reigning king of Kofu at that time was Agokorin. He was an influential king of Kofu and a priest. It was his only child, a young man, who was the candidate to the office of priest. He came from the family of Mani or Aisa, the then reigning king of Kofu.

Agokorin who was the father of the priest married a daughter of Nonsie when they were at Kotoku. He had two sons, one called Agokorin, and a daughter called Isiradi. They lived side by side with their kinsmen the Nonsie people.

When Agokorin died he had no successor to succeed him. Successor at that time was along the paternal line. When the same, supported by various factions in Kofu, was to be installed over the stool to which none of them were entitled, King Agokorin intervened and insisted that the stool be installed on the paternal line.

## THE ORIGIN OF THE PEOPLE

Section 1: From Ketu to Notsie.

The original home of the people of Keta-Some was Ketu which was known also as Ara Keheta\*, in the north eastern corner of the Kingdom of Dahome. There is however no doubt about it that they were once a part of the great Yoruba-Kingdom east of Dahome.

Adza, the mighty King of Ketu was a very despotic ruler. He exacted so much toil from his subjects and used them so cruelly that they decided to found a new home where they could dwell in peace.

They moved to a place called Adangbe in French Togoland quite near the present town of Anecho. They must have lived there in comparative peace for a long time. But when other larger and more powerful tribes began to pour in and war upon them they were perforce pressed further north-westward.

They entered Notsie and joined their kinsmen the Notsie people who had left them very early in their peregrinations. The Dogbos or Anlos as they are now called, who had left Dogbo-Nyigbo their original home in Dahome, lived near the Ketus at Agu-Nyorgbor, though their main body entered Notsie later on.

The ruling King of Notsie at that time was Agokorli. Wenya was an influential Dogbo or Anlo fetish priest. It was his duty to ordain and initiate candidates to the office of priest. He came of the family of Mahi or Adza, the then mighty King of Ketu.

Asimadi who was the first Ketu Prince married a daughter of Wenya when they were at Notsie. He had two sons: Sri and Atorgolo, and a daughter called Tsinasi. They lived side by side with their kinsmen the Notsie people.

When Asimadi died he had no nephew to succeed him.

Succession at that time was along the maternal line. When his two sons, supported by various factions in the town began to quarrel over the stool to which none of them should have laid claim, King Agorkoli intervened and seized the stool and all its paraphernalia.

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\*Ara Keheta is Yoruba, meaning: A brave, strong and determined people. A section of the people still remain at Abeokuta.

Agorkoli had earlier , married Tsinasi, Sri's sister and had a son named Adeladza.

Wishing his nephew Adeladza to come in the direct line of succession to the stools of Notsie, Sri murdered the immediate and only rightful heir to Agorkoli. There was no doubt also that he bore a secret grudge against the King who had deprived him of his imprudent claim to his father's stool.

Agorkoli became enraged. He swore that under no circumstance should Adeladza become a ruler after him if Sri who had run away to his maternal grandfather, Wenya at Agu-Nyorgbor was not caught dead or alive and tried before an assembly of Notsie elders.

Driven by shame and despair Adeladza set out to find his uncle. He soon returned with a strange decapitated head and hands and thus deceived his father. Adeladza was there-upon given two stools: One an Ivory Stool, Fia Agorkoli's own, and the other, the disputed Bate or Tsina or Fetish Stool of his maternal grandfather, Asimadi. (Please, note that the name Tsinasi means an adherent of the Fetish Stool Tsina, - a rain-making stool.)

When Adeladza returned to live with his uncle Sri at Agu-Nyorgbor he handed over the Ivory Stool to his son Nukpornuku and the TSINA or BATE stool to Sri. Years afterwards when Sri came to Anloga, he had to adopt the name BATE for his line of hereditary rulers, after the name of the Fetish Stool.

Very soon tongues began to wag; and when the facts relating to how Fia Agorkoli had been hoodwinked by his son and brother-in-law respectively became known, his rage knew no bounds. From being a calm ruler he became despotic. And there was no length to which he could not go to cruelly treat his kinsmen, the people of Ketu and Dogbo. He set them all sorts of inhuman tasks to do. He mercilessly tortured their young men and humiliated their old men. All other tribes in Notsie shared this righteous indignation.

At last the tribes decided to leave Notsie, and this they did in about the year 1670.

Some.....

Some historians attribute the exodus of the Ketus, Dogbos and other kindred tribes from Notsie to Fia Agorkoli's despotism and wickedness. But, this in fact was not so. Though he might have been a stern ruler, yet it was clear that in the face of the planned murder committed by Sri and the insincerity of his son Adeladza, there was every justification for <sup>him</sup> being harsh to a people who were ungrateful.

## CHAPTER 1

### Section 2. From Ayidiga to Keta.

The Ketus or Keta-Somes as they are now called travelled in a south-westerly direction in company of the Bes, Dogbos or Anlos, Togos, Aborbos, Vetas, Klikors, Evenumes, Aves, Fenysis, Afifes, Mafis, Tsiames, Agaves, Taviyas, Tokoeas, Tanyigbes and Agudzas.

Some of these groups settled down so soon as they came to the Gbaga River near where Togo now is. Others pressed on further westwards.

The Keta-Somes at first halted and settled at a place called AYIDIGA between the present towns of Afiadenyigba and Weta near the Ewliis and Aborloves and Klikors who had already settled down at GLIDZANU. The Ewliis and the Aborloves who were a constant source of troubles to all the other tribes around them were later on thrust back beyond the Gbaga River in Togoland by a combined force of the Klikors, Wetas and Keta-Somes led by a man called Akpo of Weta.

It is not known how long the Keta-Some people stayed at Ayidiga, but it cannot be more than fifty years, for by the time that the Danes had built Fort Friedensborg at Ningo in 1734 and were cruising down the coast beyond Ada buying slaves, they had already come in contact with the Keta people who had long settled in their new home. The settlement at Keta must have been in about 1700.

Here again it has been suggested by some that the new home founded on the sea-shore was called Keta; meaning the head of the sand.

This cannot be so. When the first hunters and fishermen, who evidently came across the lagoon in canoes arrived, they saw stretching far away to the east and west more of the sand to which they had come. The first settlers called the place Keheta, reminiscent of their original name and home in Abeokuta. The Danes later on corrupted this name and wrote it Quitta\*.

The Dogbos or Anlos, as they are now called, who had left Agu Nyorgbor just about the same time as the Somes had left it, came and lived at Korvime in Avenor. But they were soon driven away when Anyomiakpa a man of the stool house of Wenya killed the daughter of the Avenor Fetish Priest in a quarrel. They sought refuge with their kinsmen the Keta people. But the Ketas would not share space with a people who had twice stained their hands in blood. They were therefore directed to the lands that lay east-ward along the sea-shore beyond Dedeke (Cape St. Paul), the boundary where they founded the town Anloga. Wenya the Chief Fetish Priest led them.

Nukpornuku was the first Keta Fia or King. Very soon the land was too small for all the immigrants who kept on coming unobtrusively from AYIDIGA to occupy. The clans of Ada and Agave who had come together with the Ketas from Notsie went away in a north-westerly direction towards the Volta River. The Agudzas a warlike clan of the left wing division of the Keta Army occupied lands extending from the present sites of Vodza, and Kedzi to Blekusu. The Keta people lived in four communities or clans comprising Apegame, Amukoe and Lafeto, Alata and Bate.

## CHAPTER 1

### Section 3: The causes and results of the Keta-war.

Fia Nukpornuku was a wise and able ruler and the people of Keta lived in comparative peace and prosperity as soon as they settled down. They were originally mainly farmers in their old home at AYIDIGA. But circumstances which had now

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\*Pronounced Kaita.

made them dwellers between the sea and the lagoon and on a sandy piece of land much too poor to be put to any agricultural use, made them turn readily to fishing. A great many of them however, continued the art of cloth weaving, an art they had brought with them from their original home in Yoruba or Dahome. They fished in the lagoon and in the sea, grew cassava and cotton on the sandy stretch of land, which was at that time covered with thick growth of purslane, candle-wood trees, 'foyi-trees, etc.

They traded with the Danes in slaves and hides of monkeys, in exchange for guns and gunpowder and gold and rum and tobacco.

In 1784, a Danish merchant had a quarrel with some of the Keta-people and he was ill-treated. The Danes decided to punish the Keta-people for this. They collected a large army from among the Accras, Krobos and Akwamus to help them do so. They crossed the Volta, and advanced burning all the villages in their way until they came within sight of the Keta town. The Keta people met them and fought one successful rear-guard action against the advance-guard of the enemy but could not stop them. They consequently sued for peace. One of the conditions which the Ketans accepted from the Danes was to allow a fort to be built at Keta. The Danish Governor who built the fort was called KIOGGO and the name of the fort was Prinzenstein. The piece of land on which it was built was granted him by Ga or Fia Nukpornuku. The Danes on the one hand promised to give to the Fia an annual grant of some puncheons of rum, tobacco, kegs of gunpowder, flint-guns, clothes and money; and he on the other was to maintain peace and order among his people. Danish influence did not extend beyond Keta and Dzelukofe at that time.

Some thirty or forty years after the Danes had been in Keta, one Degeni, a Dumega and son of Klu Ga a prince of Keta was murdered by a Danish Officer. It was about an assault, one night, on a servant of the officer, by some young men in Degeni's house, when he (the servant) was sent there to bring away a girl.

The Danish Governor of the fort, Prinzenstein ordered Degeni to come to see him about the trouble, but he would not. In a rage, the officer rode up to the house of the Dumega, killed him and almost immediately fled to Whydah in French Togoland, until the storm which he certainly anticipated, passed over.

When <sup>the</sup> family of the deceased clamoured for the life of the murderer the Danish Governor arranged for them to accept money instead.

When Sape Agbo, who had been away when his brother was killed returned, he was laughed at and taunted by the women. He swore that he would avenge his brother's death or commit suicide.

With the assistance of one of the widows <sup>AHOSI</sup> of his late brother, a woman who could speak the Danish language well, he waylaid and killed the officer at Agorko, when he (the officer) was returning from Whydah too soon. It was at the eleven ginger-bread palm trees half-way between Adina and Hedzrenawa. That was about 1792 just after the Danes had stopped slave trading in Keta.

The Danes at once took umbrage. Obtaining with money the assistance of the Anlos who were outside their sphere of influence, they decided to punish the people of Keta. The Anlos who would not fight their own kinsmen, advised the Keta people to take a part of the money offered them, but they would not. They went home and the quarrel between the Danes and the Ketas continued.

The Danes in the fort were beseiged. In trying to escape one night, the Governor was killed and then the Ketas were content.

The next Danish Governor who came decided that the Ketas should be punished if Danish prestige was to be upheld. He asked the Anlos again to help him against the Keta people. The Anlos agreed, but arranged with the Ketas to load their guns with powder and not with bullets, and after the battle they were to share the Danish offer. Kporsu was the Awadada of Anlo then. He led the battle. The sham battle lasted for two days. The Ketas retreated eastwards according to plan.

When asked for the heads of the slain, the Anlos produced those of dogs. On the third day however, realising that the Danes were seeing through their game, the Anlos began to set fire to houses and to collect booties to save their faces. The Keta people were offended. They used bullets and killed a large number of the Anlos in return.

Broken-hearted, they retreated and prepared to teach the Ketas a lesson. They asked the help of the Akwamus. The fight raged fiercely, but Sape Agbo and his men were beaten beyond the lagoon. They retreated in a north-easterly direction, some twenty miles east of AYIDIGA their home of about a century before, and founded AGBOZOME, the present chief town of their small kingdom. That was about 1805, and just after the death of their Fia, Adamah I son of Addo Kroffie.

CHAPTER 1

Section 4: Final settlement - AGBOZOME.

The Klikors and Aflaos who had travelled quicker than the Keta-Somes did when they migrated from Notsie, settled at GLIDZANU in the west, and at AFLAO near LOME, in the east, respectively.

When the Keta-Somes arrived, these people were only too pleased to see them back in their old home. The Klikors, their particularly closer kinsmen, directed them to occupy <sup>a</sup> portion of the farming lands between them and the Whetas, and as much as they could, of the sandy area of land of purslane, date palms and royal palms, stretching further south to the edge of the Keta Lagoon.

This area of land was generally SONUME, because of the forests of date-palms and ginger-bread palms (sokuti) which covered it.

The northern boundary between the new settlers and the Klikors was marked by a huge idol (du-legba). This idol still stands, very near the gate of the present Klikor town.

The 150-years-old ginger-bread PALM-TREES (Ana Sokuti-eve) which mark the founding of AGBZUME still tower in their great heights above all other trees in the area.



— COCONUT-TREES afford magnificent shades over the whole area. —

In return for their unbounded kindness, and urged by a desire to seek the goodwill and general oversight of their affairs, the Ketas offered a woman, some rum and money to the fetish Adzima which the Klikors worshipped. Before then, goats were the sacrificial animals often offered. But by this singular act of the Keta people the custom had altered. Since then, women (fiasidi) have been regularly offered by all Ewe speaking peoples south of Trans-Volta area. Women so offered become wives of the fetish priest until such time as their probational period elapses and they are claimed by their families or married by their suitors.

The Keta people then moved down south for about a few hundred yards from the boundary, and amidst an impressive ceremony, dancing and singing, founded a new town. The story was told that the Keta Chief Fetish Priest caused the head of a large ram which was slaughtered for sacrifice to be buried in the earth, the tips of the big horns showing up above the surface of the ground. With the ram's head was also buried the seed of a ginger-bread palm tree. At first, the new town was called Afegame-Vote. But, when a year after this a twin-stalk of palm trees sprang from the spot, the place became thenceforth called AGBOZOME, meaning literally, "between the <sup>horns</sup> ~~horns~~ of a ram".

These palm trees can still be seen to-day, towering in their great height above all other trees in the area. But the people are now called KETA-SOME in remembrance of their stay at Keta and of the great forest of palm-trees (sokuti) in which they have now made their homes on the sandy stretch of land bordering the Keta Lagoon.

The first Fia of Agbozome was Amu, son of Adamah I.

Three years passed by, and the people had scarcely settled down when they were again at war with the Anlos. This time the quarrel arose because the Agbozome people attempted to stop the Anlos from fishing in a part of the lagoon called Agudzave, near Kedzi. It was in a part of the land belonging to the Keta people. The Anlos resented this restriction, and resolved to fight. In the battle which followed, they and their allies the Akwamus were badly beaten at Dolome. Many of their prominent leaders were either killed or captured and subsequently

burnt at DZENUNYE-KPODZI, a place near Agbozome. Dzenunye-Kpodzi means "I have now had the worst of it".

Abake, the Akwamu leader was killed. Gligui, a man who had iron bangles on his arms as a mark of his office was cut to pieces at GABO-VEME (ditch of iron-bangled arms). He led the Anlo army.

As soon as the war was over Sape Agbo leader of the Keta-Some army retired seven miles down to the sea-shore and with a handful of his clansmen, founded the town of Hedzranawa which means literally, "He who dares again must come over here". Dumege Anthony from Afegame-Vote founded the town of Adafienu. Denu, the "toll gate" was founded by Dovi Avu. It was for some time the place at which tolls were collected by the Fias of Some from all who passed through to enter Bagida, Port Seguoro, Anecho, Agoe-Adzigo, Fla, Glefe or Kotonu. Adina was founded by Dumege Gbenyo. It was for some time called Elmina Chica (Small Elmina) probably because of the role it was destined to play in human traffic as did Elmina on the Fanti coast. It was the main slave port in the area. Slaves were regularly shipped from there to America by Gbenyo. He collected them from Ablotsivia (little London) a small settlement inland, situated at where the Klikor town now is. An agreement of 3rd January 1852 stopped the people of Adina from dealing any longer in slaves.

In 1850, the English bought the Keta Fort from the Danes and took over the administration of the area, this time, as far west as the estuary of the Volta River. Keta which was destroyed and had remained empty for a number of years was now rebuilt and occupied by a trader one Lagbo of Anyako, and some of his clansmen.

Amu, the Fia of Keta-Some who had ruled his people for about twenty years and ruled them very ill was at one time set aside, though not actually distooled. (The Keta-Some people do not use distoolment as an instrument for disapproving the rule of their Fias. They suspend them for a period of time) His son Klu Hor was the care-taker of the people for about a year.

In 1861 in an outbreak of war between Agoe-Adzigo and the people of Anecho, the Keta-Some people sent an army of about 200 people under the command of Gbadago to assist the Adzigos, their kinsmen. Gbadago was from the Adotri Division of Keta-Some. This assistance was a great success. Aided by H.M.S. "Spitfire" which bombarded the town, the Anechos and their allies the Anlos were beaten. An agreement of peace between them was signed on 20th April, 1864.

## CHAPTER 1

### Section: 5 The English and the "Treaty of Agbosome"

For almost twenty years after the death of Amu and after the Agoe-Adzigo war, Klu-Hor arrogated to himself the power of collecting tolls in the whole of the south-eastern corner of the district. He was particularly severe to persons coming in from outside his jurisdiction. The payment of taxes too became burdensome and irritating to the people. The Anlos who constantly came through the land on to Anecho were cruelly handled. The Chief Fetish Priest of Anlo sent one Bonsu and three other persons to him praying for the mitigation of the toll collection but he would not. The English all this while adopted a laissez faire attitude towards the situation.

Eventually, on 2nd December, 1879, six years before Klu Hor died, and thirty years after the English had occupied Keta, the British Government in the Gold Coast signed a formal "TREATY OF FINAL AGREEMENT" with the people of Keta-Some. In it the people finally acknowledged the territorial jurisdiction of the British Government over the sea-board of Keta-Some for two miles from the "high water mark", inland.

They acknowledged also the right of the British Government to impose such duties and taxes on the territory as they saw fit.

They formerly denied having at any other time "ceded any sovereign right" to any power other than Her Majesty's Government in England.

They agreed not to permit human sacrifices or slave dealing or murder in their lands. They were also to assist the officers of the government in apprehending offenders of the law.

In consideration of these "stipulations" and for the land and fort at Keta the Governor Herbert Taylor Ussher on behalf of the British Government was to pay to the "Kings and Chiefs" of Keta-Some the sum of one-thousand one-hundred and twenty-five dollars(\$1125) which was approximately £234.7.6d annually, and to allow them "to land free of duty 20 puncheons of rum and 60 cases of gin on application to the District Commissioner of Quittah".

The Governor also agreed not to disturb any persons in Keta-Some, but to protect them "and reserve to them all the civic rights" they had before the signing of the agreement.

The people continued to collect this "stipend" right up to the close of the reign of Makata who was Fia from 1885-1895. but two years before his death there was great trouble in apportioning the money so collected. On one occasion one of the Chiefs was strangled to death in a brawl over the money.

On the 6th of August, 1893, the people signed a "Solemn Deed and Compact" to forgo "thenceforth and forever" the stipened. An amount of £1400 was paid to them by way of arrears. But the authenticity of this "Deed" has ever since been questioned. At any rate, Klu Wormenor and others who signed that "Compact" on behalf of the "Kings and Chiefs" of Some were considered imprudent in doing so, as they did not understand a word of the deed, and had no idea as to the extent to which they committed themselves and their people.

Denu who became Fia on 2nd September, 1896 had the whole of his reign disturbed in combating attempts by the Anlo people to extend jurisdiction over the Keta-Some people. If the Anlos considered themselves victors in the Keta-war in which they Keta-Somes were driven from Keta, it must also be remembered that this ~~defeat~~<sup>victory</sup> was off-set by the humiliating ~~one~~<sup>defeat</sup> they suffered at Dolome and Dzenunye-Kpodzi. And, coupled by the fact that the English had entered into a separate agreement with Keta-Somes

and acknowledged their jurisdiction over several towns and villages west and north of Aflao, there was no justification for the Anlo claim.

There was no doubt that the British people supported this uncalled-for claim of the Anlos, and this certainly must have been due to the distorted interpretation the Anlos gave to the history of the migration from Notsie and of the line of hereditary rulers in Anlo and Keta-Some.

Before the German occupation of Togoland in 1904 the Fia of Keta-Some exercised rule over the following towns and villages: Djodje, Penyi, Ehi, Agoe, Drave, Asame, Evli, Bolu, Tsevie, Glavie, Tove, Koefe, Noepe, Akepe, Kovi, Dokpala, Badza, Have and Ave-Dakpa.

On 22nd October 1912, as a result of investigations by F.G.Crowther, the then Secretary for Native Affairs, the independence of Keta-Some was disallowed. He said though "I am persuaded that..... the Agbosomes have enjoyed a certain independence from the stool of Awuna-Ga, and this independence was recognised to the extent of a treaty being made between the British Government and Agbosome on December 2nd 1879 under the terms of which a stipened was paid by the former to the latter..... yet I do not think that it should be allowed to carry weight.... The Fias of Agbosome and the principal people of Agbosome are of the tribe of Bate..... The Agbosomes are resident on lands..... which is the property of either Klikor or Aflao, both of which group recognise the paramouncy of Awuna. "There is also closeness of relationship in blood... to the three principal settlers at the time of migration from Nwachi, Wenya, Sri and Adeladza" " I do not think therefore that the independence of Agbosome (Keta-Some) should be recognised"

Ever since this declaration, a lot of confusion, unhappy feelings and painful incidents have happened between the Keta-Somes and the Anlos.

Fia Denu died in 1915 and he was succeeded on 15th May 1916 by Adamah II, grandson of Amu

Section 6:NOTSIE AS IT IS TO-DAY:

It is between Lome and Atapame. It is east of Agu. It is about 30 kilometres from Lome along the railway. It is situated in the midst of a great savana-land. During the dry season that is in December and January, when the grass is burnt all round by ~~the~~ bush-fire one can see miles around in every direction.

The people are farmers. Their main products are corn, cassava, yam and cotton. A great deal of the cotton is home-spun and woven into a kind of local cloth. The people are poor in physique. This results from their poor diet. However, they look civilised and well-dressed.

The town itself is a group of twelve or more kinship group quarters or villages. In the past, they have all lived together. The ancient wall which once encompassed the town still stands upon its ruins. After the bush-fires ~~it~~ shows in clear relief against the grassy plain. It is about eighteen feet thick. It ~~is~~ <sup>was</sup> about twelve or more feet high. But now only six feet of it remains in most parts. ~~As~~ <sup>Its</sup> seven gates, without of course its doors, are still decernable. It takes half an hour to go round the walls.

The people are pagans. The earthen idol is evident at the gate of every house. Though there is a Roman Catholic church in town, yet the people are not in any way divorced from their ancient pagan beliefs and practices. Many dialects of the Ewe language are spoken, and one can at once decern the many tribes of Ewe people who lived there many years ago, by the many stresses and intonations of the people as they speak.

CHAPTER 2

The Pattern of Settlement:

Section 1: The Old Pattern of Settlement.

The whole of Keta-Some is an agglomeration of several hundred small kinship groups, gathered together in three main quarters, viz: ADOTRI (which comprises two sub-groups, Apegame and Amukoe joined together), KPORDIWLOR and AGUDZA. These three main Quarters are the Central, the Right and the Left Wing Divisions of the Keta- Some army.

During the Keta-War when the Central Division was thrust back and occupied the lands north of the Keta-lagoon, the KPORDIWLOR and AGUDZA Divisions <sup>which</sup> ~~who~~ had lived respectively, at where Adina and Kedzi are to-day, came and joined their kinsmen in their new home at AGBOZUME.

The whole land was, in principle, held in trust for the people by the Paramount Stool, but in practice, heads of <sup>the</sup> ~~each~~ groups chose for themselves which portions of it to occupy.

In the earliest days all the people lived in the three separate Quarters mentioned above, very much near one another. Each quarter then comprised a number of minor kinship groups or clans. Each clan consisted of a father, a mother and children and very close relatives, each tracing the descent along both the patrilineal and ~~matrilneal~~ matrilineal lines to a common ancestor. Ex-domestic slaves and strangers were regarded as members of the clan and had the same privileges as the original members. It was only recalcitrant ex-slaves and strangers that were individually given differential treatments.

The pattern of settlement was that clan-groups as distinct from kinship groups built their houses around those of the heads of the Clans. But the land was owned by the Head of the founding kinship group and the clans derived their rights from it. Conclusively, it was, and still it is to-day, the clan that forms ~~ss~~ the basis of the whole social fabric and organisation.

The houses were round huts built of swish-mud, in frame-works of <sup>sticks</sup> ~~twigs~~, and roofed with grass. The roofs had steep slopes and overhanging eaves to throw off the rain. The floor was of earth.....

was of earth beaten hard with a heavy mallet. There were no windows to let in the air. But sufficient air passed in between the walls and the roof as to make the rooms cool. The houses of each family were built around a circular compound, and joined on to one another by strong fences of sticks and twigs. A wide open space in the centre shaded by a tree was the rendezvous of the clan council. There was generally a gate, to the compound, crossed by a low hurdle.

Where the compounds were close together, the streets between them were a jig-saw of narrow winding dark lanes shutting out the rays of the sun. It was not infrequent that people ran into one another in them at dark nights. Fires and plagues and infectious diseases were in those days a disaster to the community. Each quarter had ~~its~~ <sup>for the gods.</sup> shrines. They were conspicuous by the cluster of trees and general cleanliness around their compounds, and in the off-season by the sepulchral silence around them. It was generally around the shrines, in every direction, that the clan dwellings were spread. Clumps of bushes separated one quarter from another, and in a convenient open space a market was held twice or thrice every week. The pattern was the same in the villages on the littoral and in the Agbozome township for quite a long time after the ~~first major~~ <sup>re-</sup> settlement in 1805.

But soon some of the people began to seek new homes as new attractions, new occupations and new interests began to dawn upon them. Clans which were attracted by the sea and fishing, left their original kinship groups at Agbozome and founded homes on the sea shore. At first they were temporary fishing settlements. The houses were built of sticks and mud, and maintained as long as the fishing seasons lasted. It was wont for the fishing families to return to their kinship groups at the end of each season for the purpose of offering sacrifices to the ancestral spirits or propitiating the household gods. The hamlets soon grew into villages, and the villages into towns, until it became necessary for each to organise itself into quarters along the original pattern. Each village had its headman or Hanua.

Simultaneously with the migration of some of the people from the original...

from the original settlements or quarters to found fishing villages and towns on the sea coast, came a sudden scramble for pieces of lands in the sandy area down south of the town. The main attraction was, and still is to a certain extent to-day, the introduction of coconut, and with it the desire to own coconut plantations. Another was the ease with which good water could be got by sinking wells only a few feet deep, as compared with the privations they suffered in doing so from dried-up water holes and stream courses. It was not uncommon to hear some families say that their reason for going to make a new home among the purslane, ginger-bread palm trees and foti bushes was to escape from the evil eyes of a particular neighbour who, they thought, was responsible for the many deaths among them.

The rights to the lands in this area at first belonged solely to the Paramount stool. But in the course of time these were delegated to other members of the chiefly clan, who in turn gave free-hold or out-right purchase rights to individuals who so desired.

The practice at first was that a man acquired 2 or 3 acres of land, built a stick-and-grass hut (kpotogbae) planted coconuts and grew tiger-nuts or groundnuts on them. He visited the plantation every morning and only went back to his family every evening. Later on, his whole family moved away with him to the new settlement. Once or twice a week however, members of the family went back to the clan home (afedome) to see the clan head or for the purpose of taking part in ceremonial sacrifices to the gods.

Very soon, however, the rush for lands disrupted the original compact pattern of living in quarters. It even broke the communal life. Families broke away from the clans and kinship groups. For, each homstead in the new settlement was a well-knit unit and had very little in common with the others two hundred or three hundred yards away. But when members of the family in the new home were ill, they were taken back to the clan homes. There were, and still are, cases exactly contrariwise. Nonetheless, the original clan home and kinship quarters and affiliations ~~still~~ remained the connecting link between these scattered homes.

Section 2: The New Pattern of Settlement.

The preponderance of the attractions to live in ease and in quiet surroundings has led a large number of people to leave the original kinship quarters to live on the coconut plantations. It is the practice <sup>for</sup> ~~for~~ families from the same clan to live near enough to one another, each in his own portion of land and plantation. Permanent homes have now been built. The one time stick and grass round huts have been replaced by rectangular swish-mud and grass-roofed buildings. Iron-sheet roofed buildings are now a fashion and fast taking the places of the old type of buildings.

Owing to the influx of people into the area, distances between the hamlets have considerably reduced. New clanship groupings based on the original ones are now fast taking place; but in some instances miles of plantation separate clan-groups that had once lived together in the same compound. For twelve ~~many~~ miles in length and one-and-half miles broad, various hamlets a few hundred yards apart lay sprawling under the dark, shady palm trees.

But, again, the changed ways of life have not lost for the people all their former kinship affiliations. Large portions of their original quarters are now a shamble of houses, but still they are the centre of their civic life. Funerals, national festivals, organised drumming and dancing and other social activities are more significant when they are observed there. For this reason it is now the fashion for the people to keep two homes: one, in the clan home and the other on the palm tree plantations. Many buildings therefore which were deserted many years ago and left to ruin in the weather have now been rebuilt and occupied, in many cases, by the custodian of the clan gods.

It is important to notice that some of the new settlements on the littoral and on the plantations, such as Agoko, Dogbekofe, Kpohakofe, Sohume, Agotome, Kumadekofe, Sonto, Adavukofe etc. have sufficiently grown large to be called villages. Whilst some of them still get their supply of food-crops and fish from the old market, others provide for their own needs. They are not without their own headmen, the guardian of their own customs, their black-smiths....

their black-smiths, their tailors, their oil-pressers, their fish-sellers, and sometimes their own shops of foreign goods.

*for the gods*

The shrine, the local school and the church are other noticeable features of <sup>their</sup> corporate life.

Section 3: How They Build Their Houses ...

Ten or fifteen years ago when a young man wanted to build a house, he would ask his neighbours, five or six men, and about ten or fifteen women and girls to help him fetch the loose soil, the best suitable soil for the purpose—from a nearby quarry.

The most suitable soil is the one which is a mixture of loam and clay.

In the morning of the appointed day, the men would sally forth with hoes, pick-axes, shovels and spades and the women and girls with pans and other receptacles suitable for fetching soil. If the man was well regarded in the community and was very sociable with the women and the girls his company was often a very large one.

From dawn till dusk amidst singing, mirth and jollity, the company would collect the soil in heaps. Mentioning the name of the man and his wife, if he was married, the girls would sing:

"Osee...; eyi...ee !

Hayee.., eyi...ee !

Osee...; eye...ee !

Hayee..; eyi...ee !

Amuzu f'anyi tsi weto loo ! (2 times)

Mekpo ame ne woaloe ne o loo !

Ameyo f'anyi tsi weto loo !

Mekpo ame ne woaloe ne o loo ! "

literally it means:

Ho ! there, all of you !

Hey! here, all of us !

Ho ! there, all of you !

Hey! there, all of us !

Amuzu's soil for building lies loose in the quarry!

There's none to fetch it for him

Ameyo's soil for building lies loose in the quarry!

And there's none to help her fetch it.

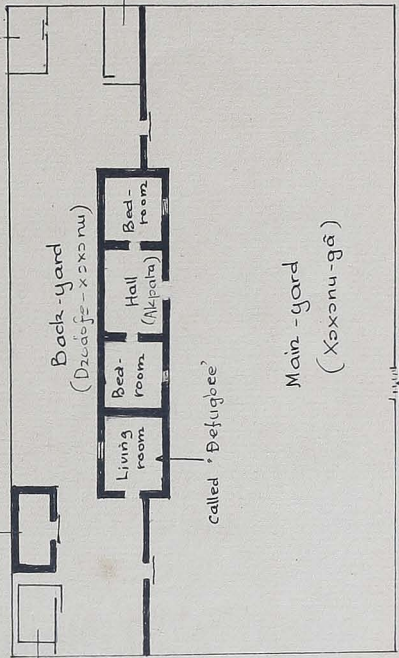
PLAN of a TYPICAL COMPOUND in KETA-SOME

Enclosure for domestic animals and birds  
(Lāngi-kpo)

Mens bathing enclosure  
(Dutuwu fe Tsilekpo)

A kitchen (Dzodofee)

Women's bathing enclosure  
(Nyonuwu fe Tsilekpo)



Main-yard  
(Xoxonu-gā)

The main gate  
(Monugā)

The number of heaps of soil for a fair size company, working all day long, with a short break at noon for meals, was five or six. For a large company it may be eight or nine, which was large enough to build an average-sized house.

There was a respite of a week or two during which the man busied himself collecting other materials or working out his plans. Soon, he would again ask his benefactors to help him work up the soil into hard paste or mud. This time, the women and girls would come with pots and other receptacles for fetching water for the purpose. The breaking up of the loose soil into swish and mud was a **very** straining piece of work, much more exacting than collecting it. It ~~may take~~ <sup>took</sup> two or three hours to have two heaps broken down into the proper tone of mud suitable for laying up walls. Only two or three heaps were worked with at a time. This was so, for, each layer of wall which was about two or three feet high ~~must~~ <sup>had</sup> got sufficiently dried up before a fresh one was put on.

After the hard day's work, the company of people was again fed by the employer. The laying up of walls was the work of three or four experts, whilst the children, boys especially, fetched up to them the mud rolled into balls. With a short break at noon for a meal, it took a whole day to lay the foundation and the initial superstructure of a building.

The plan for the building was made not by a mason but by a local expert wall-layer. His instrument of measurement was neither the foot-ruled nor the metre. The whole plan was stepped out, placing the feet flat on the ground, one after the other.

Now, this communal system of building a house has given way to building societies. Each building society may consist of ten or twelve men and about half a dozen women.

A young man wanting to build a house would have to consult one of these societies. He will specify what plan of building he desires to put up. This may be inspected by an expert or a delegation of the society, if he has already made one himself.....

one himself. If he has not, he may be helped to do so. The executive committee of the society would discuss with the would-be owner of the building how much they would <sup>charge</sup> ~~charge~~ for putting up all the walls. A four-roomed structure may cost between £10 and £20. When all is decided, an advance paid by the would-be owner to the society is always a pre-requisite to his willingness and capacity to foot the bill. The society then sets to work, doing the soil into paste or mud, laying up the walls and covering them up with leaves to prevent them from being washed thin by rains.

ROOFING: In the interval between the first consultation with the building society for a house and the laying up of the last wall, the house owner collects materials for roofing. They are, heavy beams for roof-posts, strong sticks for battens and rafters, thatch and grass for covering up and ropes for fastening. He may purchase odum or agor for beams. For battens and rafters he may have to buy bamboos and coconut palm mid-ribs. Grass, which is the most important material for roofing is now very difficult to get. You may either have to buy up the grass as it stands growing up on a piece of land, or the already made-up grass bundles - or stacks. If the house-owner decides upon buying up the growing grass, he consults the land owner. A portion, the land itself of course exempted, is measured out to him for money. If he would have to avoid being forstalled by some-one else, it is always advisable to buy the grass whilst it is still green.

A day is appointed when, with the help of a number of friends the grass is cut down, and spread out to dry in the sun. The dried grass is then made up into sheafs and carried home. The whole lot of sheafs of loose grass must now be woven into bundles of five or six feet in span, supported by made-up tendrils at either end. If the house-owner has friends who are



A Typical grass house in the Keta- Some area.

willing to help him the weaving up is always a short affair.

It may take a month or so to do. But in view of the amount of troubles it entails in doing one's own thatch, it is increasingly becoming the practice for people to buy up the already made up stacks.

The putting up of the roof is a job for skilful men. It may take a whole day for about six men to do the frame-work. Then, line upon line the woven bundles of grass are carefully laid on the frame-work, the made-up tendrils holding the grass in position. The whole grass cover may take a day to do. It is a tradition that those who do this last act of seeing a house made up, are rewarded not with money, but with a good meal of chicken soup and the favourite dish of 'akple'.

When all available means and resources are near at hand, and when labour is not interrupted by incidences of death and funeral or bad weather, it takes six months to have a house built.

As it is becoming increasingly difficult to obtain both the proper soil and grass for building, so houses of cement blocks roofed with corrugated iron-sheets are becoming very popular in Keta-Some. The result is that the number of skilled masons has increased correspondingly. But, side by side throughout the towns and villages both types of houses exist.

The alternative arrangement in living quarters is common, where the men of the house have two wives. For the elderly woman to live in the room which opens into the kitchen yard. She lives there not by herself but usually with her children.....

One square serves the purpose of a dining table, around which the younger members of the family sit, and on which the food is placed. A stool or, occasionally, chair for the old men of the house is also a feature of the arrangement.

The normal plan of a house of an average Keta-Some family is one or two buildings surrounded by a wide rectangular yard, fenced off with coconut palm-leaves woven into mats. The mats are securely fastened with two or three rows of railings of the same material, against posts driven into the soft earth. The posts are generally three or four feet apart. There is always a gate or two to the main yard secured by a door made from the palm leaves. The fence is kept in repairs by constant renewals at least, twice a year. But where termites are a harvoc, it must be renewed more often than this. A back yard to the main building serves the purpose of privacy; that is for bathing enclosures, kitchen apartment and a pen for domestice animals and birds.

The main building normally contains four rooms. There is a central hall into which opens two bed rooms. One of the bedrooms is used by the man of the house whilst the other may be used by his wife. The central hall is where the man meets his friends and visitors, eats his meals or holds meetings of the family or clan. The younger members of the family, particularly the boys sleep in this room at night. An elderly young man of the family who is married but has not as yet built his own house occupies a room which opens into the kitchen apartment. But it is now becoming a rule, rather than the exception for a young man to leave his parents' house, and live in his own as soon as he marries.

The alternative arrangement in living quarters in some cases, where the man of the house has two wives is for the ~~ex~~ elderly woman to live in the room which opens into the Kitchen yard. She lives there ~~all by herself with herself~~ with her children.....

SOME PRINCIPAL KITCHEN UTENSILS



A soup pot (Detsize)



A cooking pot (Akpodeze)

A stirring stick  
(Akpodedati)



A wooden spoon (Tsi)



A sieve  
(Tsraru)

A water pot (Tsize)



A basket for holding  
soup ingredients e.g.  
pepper, onions, okra  
tomatoes, etc.



A calabash  
for making the  
akple into balls.  
(Akpé-datre)



children, girls, <sup>particularly</sup> who have not reached puberty and boys two or three years old. The younger wife lives in one of the bedrooms which opens into the central hall with girls who have reached puberty or are between eight and twelve years, old.

Where accommodation is limited in scope in any family boys between the ages of fifteen and eighteen live with their elderly brothers who own houses or join boys of the same age group in the house of a near kinsman who has <sup>a</sup> rooms to spare. Girls of whatever age are never allowed to sleep outside their parents' houses even where there is acute shortage of living space.

A large number of houses belonging to the poorer classes are roofed with grass. The walls which are made of swish mud, are nine or ten feet high, in layers, each two feet high and about nine or ten inches thick. Most buildings are not ceiled, neither are the walls plastered smooth. The floors which are laid up with earth have holes in them made by dripping rain from the roof above. There are not many windows to these houses. The rooms in some of them are so dark that even in broad day, it might be necessary to enter them with a light or wait till one's eyes get used to their inky darkness. There is, however, a growing appreciation for cement bricks buildings and corrugated iron sheet roofs for two reasons: One is that they do not let in the rain. The ravages of white termites are so great in the area, that swish walls do not last longer than five years. They soon become heaps of ants' nests. Another reason, which is mainly economical, is that the cost of thatching buildings is now considerably higher, when compared with iron-sheet buildings.

Furnishing, is generally of the simplest kind. In most respects it is even crude. A low wooden structure of about two feet square serves the purpose of a dining table, around which the younger members of the family stoop, squat or kneel for meals. A garden or <sup>a collapsible</sup> ~~seaside~~ chair for the old man of the house is now a fashionable ~~innovation~~ thing.

The kitchen.....

A kitchen is usually a separate structure.

It is generally built at the back-yard of the main compound and in an enclosure of its own. This is so for two reasons: The average Keta-Some housewife detests unnecessary interruption by other people in the course of her kitchen duties. She doesn't like her attention to be distracted by other things that happen in the house; for if she allows <sup>this</sup> these things to happen and the meals fail to come out at the proper time or deficient in the proper flavour she would have no reasons to give, and must consequently be prepared for the raillery of her husband.

Secondly, not every one, either in the house or outside it is allowed to look into the meal in the course of its preparation. It is believed that persons with the 'evil eye' may cause harm to all who partake of the meal into which they (the witches or wizards) have had the chance to look into while it <sup>was</sup> ~~is~~ being made.

The kitchen ~~is~~ may be six feet high, ten or twelve feet long and six or seven feet wide. Its walls may be of swish-mud or a frame-work of sticks embossed with coconut-mats. There is generally a window or two, but as there are no chimneys to let out the smoke, thatch ends heavily blackened with smoke hang menacingly over the boiling meals. Hearth-stones are two or three heaps of earth regularly rubbed with red clay. Tuck away in a corner <sup>on</sup> ~~on~~ is another heap <sup>of earth</sup> two or three feet high is the grinding stone. Other vessels and utensils which in the eyes of the housewife complete the furnishing of an ideal kitchen are pots of various sizes, a mortar and <sup>and</sup> pounding sticks, a stool, a wooden ladel, a salt rack, a grinding bowl, a stirring rod or stick, a knife, a sift and the ubiquitous pepper-onion-tomato-basket.

6°15'

1°05'

ROADS

Penyi

Kuli

FRENCH

6°10'

Poglu

Kehi

Achiekoko

Achiekoko

Amedakok

Akabo

Tublukoko

A F

Ketekoko

Wive

Nyahakoko

Awikoko

Klikoko

Maglakoko

AVUN

A

KETA ISOMWE

AKA

Adjabukoko

Akame

Nagakpo

Gbedjekoko

6°05'

KIKO

AGBO UME

Akashu

Sonume

KETA

LAGOON

AKLO GOMU

Avulda

Agulome

Alagbakoko

Kumadekoko

Wur'oko

Cidoko

Akagoko

Vinyi

Afula

Mekoko

Sonme

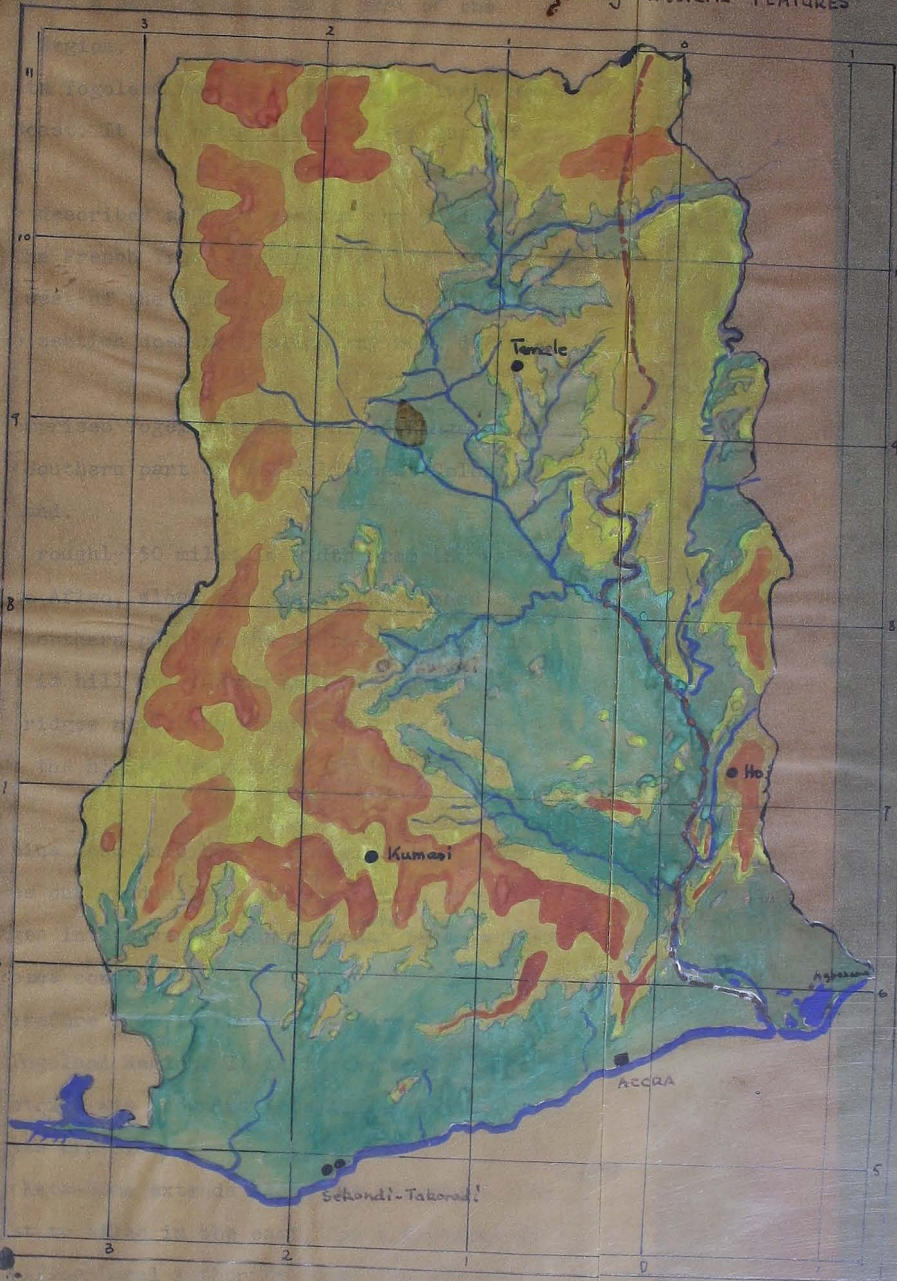
Sakakoko

Sonko or Bikor

CAFE

ADDA

# GOLD COAST showing PHYSICAL FEATURES



	Sea Level
	500 feet
	1000 feet

## CHAPTER 3

Section 1. Keta-Some: Its Geographical Position.

Keta-Some area is a particularly small part of the Trans Volta Togoland Region.

The Trans Volta Togoland Region is a comparatively new region of the Gold Coast. It was established on the 1st. of July, 1952.

It is broadly described as that part of the Gold Coast which lies between the French Trust Territory of Togoland on the east, and the lands west of the Volta, Daka and Kulusulu Rivers. Its northern extreme section does not follow any well defined natural features.

The Region comprises Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship and the Southern part of the Gold Coast Colony, which is mainly Eweland.

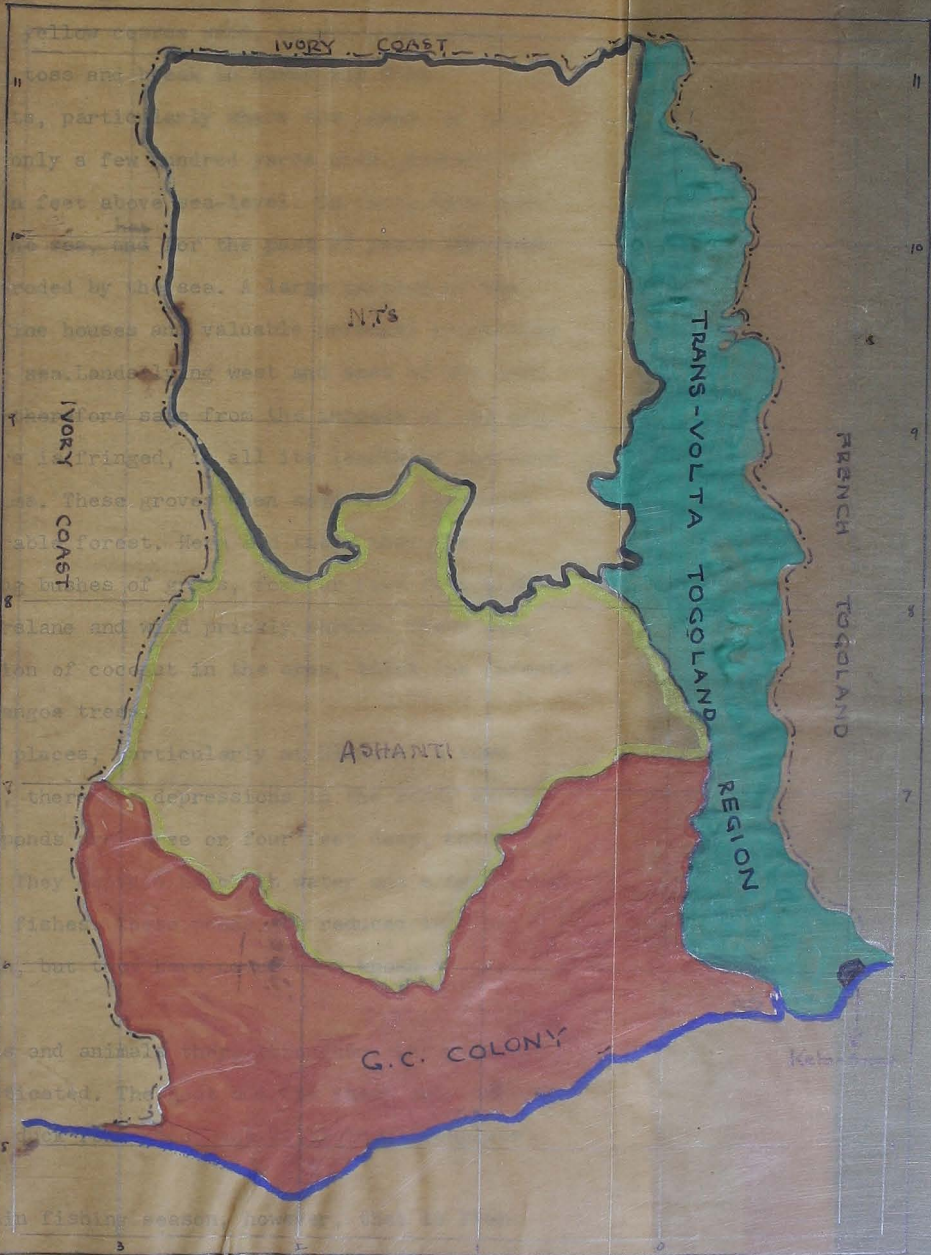
The Region is roughly 50 miles in width from the estuary of the Volta River to Aflao, along the sea-board, washed by the Atlantic Ocean. The northern part of the southern section in which lies Keta-Some is hill and forest land. It includes a number of peaks and ridges rising to about 2,000 feet above sea-level. Adaklu is the highest hill here. It is 1,965 feet high.

The forest thins down into bush country. Further down south, the bush thins out gradually until you get to the extreme south. It then merges into savanah country, <sup>gets to</sup> cuts through Keta-Some and reaches the sea coast.

Keta-Some therefore lies in the south-eastern corner of the Trans-Volta-Togoland Region. It is in the Keta District. (Until 1951 this district was known as Keta-Ada . Ada has since then formed a separate District).

In the south, Keta-Some extends along the sea-shore from <sup>a point</sup> near Keta in the west to Aflao in the east, for a distance of about 20 miles. The Aflao Local Authority forms its eastern boundary. Five miles from where the Accra road joins the Ho-Denu road, the boundary follows a perfectly straight course in a north-westerly...

Map of the G.C. showing the Political Regions



(MacMillan's World Atlas for G.C. Schools)

W and A.K. Johnson & G.W. Bacon

THE COASTAL STRIP OF LAND.

This region of the area is an extension of the piece of land which stretches from Keta in the west to the border of Aflao, near the French Togoland frontier. It is about 20 miles long. It is all sand, yellow coarse sand, on which the great waves of the Atlantic toss and break in spray and foam.

In certain parts, particularly where the towns of Keta and Kedzi are, it is only a few hundred yards wide. Nowhere is the land more than ten feet above sea-level. In fact, Keta town ~~is considered below the sea, and~~ <sup>has</sup> for the past 27 years ~~the land~~ has been constantly eroded by the sea. A large portion of the town, not excluding fine houses and valuable personal properties have been lost in the sea. Lands lying west and east of the town are elevated and are therefore safe from the inroads of the sea.

The whole shore is fringed, in all its length by enormous groves of coconut palms. These groves when seen from off-shore look like an impenetrable forest. Here and there they are separated by low-lying bushes of grass, four or five feet high, or by clusters of purslane and wild prickly shrubs. There was, before the introduction of coconut in the area, thick low forests of candle-wood and mangoe trees.

In one or two places, particularly at Blekusu, a town 5 miles east of Keta, there are depressions in the sandy earth. These depressions or ponds are three or four feet deep, and about 50 to 60 yards wide. They contain brackish water and a number of fresh and salt water fishes. These ponds get reduced in size during the dry season, but they have never been known to get dried up.

The only birds and animals there throughout the year are those that are domesticated. The goat and the sheep and the pig, and the fowl and the duck roam about the villages in complete abandon.

During the main fishing season, however, that is from ~~August~~ <sup>January</sup> ~~October~~ <sup>February</sup> to a number of kingfishers, the common dove, the sparrow and the swallow may be seen up the palm trees and in the market places. The sharp shrieks of other sea-birds overhead get on the nerves.

Down the winding paths and among the bushes and shrubs mice of different sizes, from the small striped one to the big burly and seemingly well-fed rat live in holes burrowed in the soft earth.

Lizards and wall-gechos are found everywhere, up the coconut stems in the morning and down them in the noon. Snakes are rare, but occasionally the green mamba and the grass-snake may be seen.

Insects and other flies are common. This is more so during the wet season. At night the mosquito is source of annoyance and danger to man.

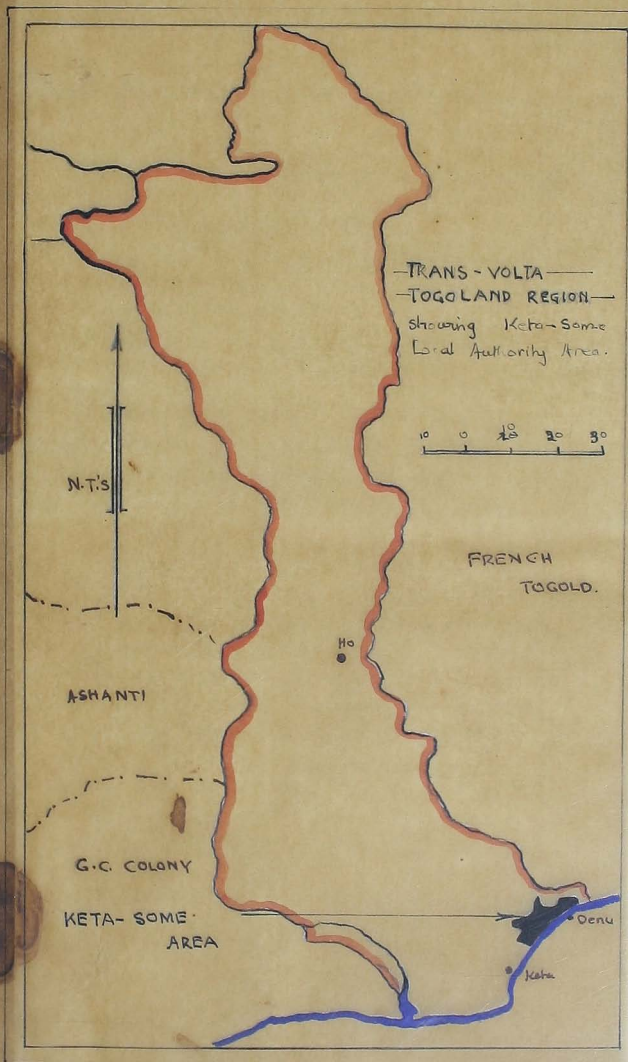
CHAPTER 3

Section 2(b) Marshes and Lagoon depressions.

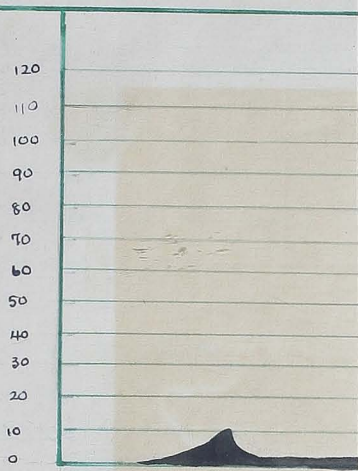
Directly behind the sandy coastal strip of land, ~~and, as if it were a depression,~~ is the Keta Lagoon. It extends the whole of the Keta-Some area. All along the stretch its width varies.

At Adina it is 2 miles across to the mainland which lies north-west of it. At Agavedzi it is 3 miles across as the crow flies. The stretch directly between Blekusu and Tamaklokofe is 4 miles wide. But at Denu where it is but marshes and water holes grown all over with tall rich grass, it is about a mile wide. At Agavedzi there is an occurance of a number of brakish ponds very much like those at Blekusu, but with one difference; they are bigger and have numerous channels or openings into the main lagoon. It is not unusual to find islands of elevated sandy stretches of land between these openings. They are usually fringed round by clusters of mangroves, whose bright foliage and stilt-like roots present a picturisque sight. Some of these islands are covered with low lying grass or bush 4 or 5 feet high. A few more coconut plantations are grown here; and here and there to eke out their living farmers grow cassava and okro in the poor soil.

The lagoon supports no <sup>fish</sup> ~~animal~~ life except when in floods. But at its fringes where bushes grow the bush-mouse may be seen every now and then. Sand and mud-crabs are a common sight.



From the T.V.T. Local-Enterprise Report 1952-1954

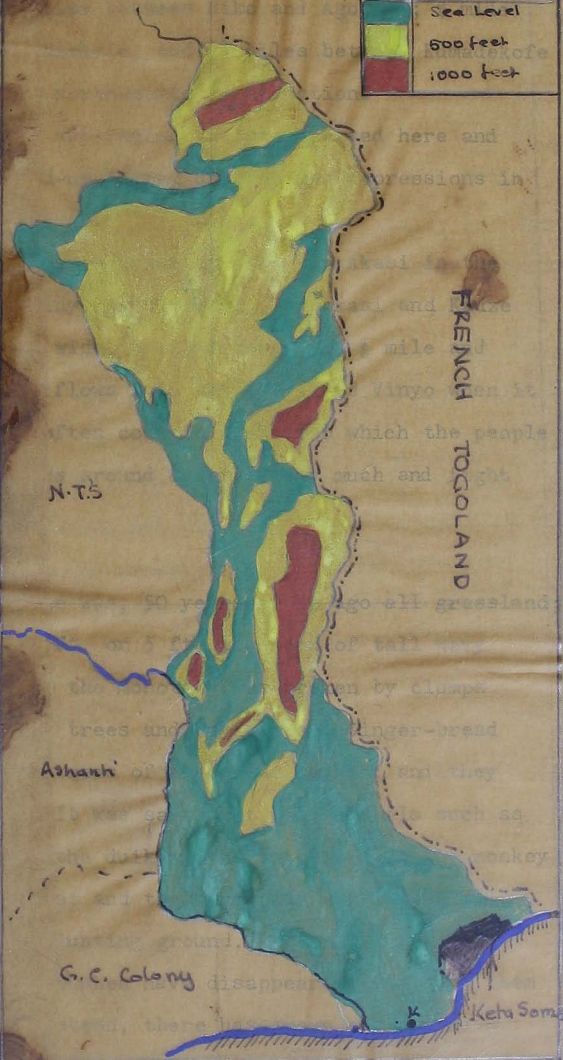


Vertical scale

Keta-Some area is the sandy stretch of land bordering the whole 12 or 13 miles of the northern side of the Keta Lagoon. It is important not that it is rich in any natural or mineral resources, but because:

1. It is the portion of the area that supports the greater part of its population and affords it a homeland, and
2. It gives it an economic importance in the whole of the Keta District.

This sub-region is generally called SONUME. A walk on the grounds of the Local Council School and up the Accra road gives you a succession of distant views in all directions of this sub-region. It extends for 12 or 13 miles from Gbedzekofe in the east to Tamaklokofe in the west. The soil is of dark hue much finer than that on the sea-shore. As <sup>one</sup> ~~you~~ walks on it, <sup>one</sup> ~~you~~ gets the impression of walking over fine wheat flour. A few hundred



T.V.T. showing highlands and lowlands.

feet up the edge of the lagoon, one notices a harder or firmer floor of earth over which, as it were, a soft layer of this sand is spread. Further up, this kind of soil gives way, and ~~you~~<sup>one</sup> walks in deep loose sand. The extent of this sub-region from various points on the edge of the lagoon going northwards varies a great deal. It is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles between Biko and Agotome;  $\frac{3}{4}$  mile between Kosikofe and Gbedzekofe, and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles between Kumadekofe and Kpodzeadzi, going in north-easterly direction.

The whole of this sub-region is interspersed here and there with ditches, dried-up stream courses and depressions in the surface of the earth.

The largest of these depressions are the Akasi in the east and the Kadze and Vinyo in the west. The Akasi and Kadze are respectively,  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile wide, 3 miles long, and  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile and 2 miles long. The lagoon flows into the Akasi and Vinyo when it is in floods. Thus they often contain fish over which the people of Klikor and the villages around quarrel very much and fight for catch.

#### VEGETATION.

The whole of Sonume was, 50 years or so ago all grassland; of short stunted grass 4 ft. or 5 ft. high and of tall wavy purslanes. Here and there the monotony was broken by clumps of oil-palms, candle-wood trees and foyi trees. Ginger-bread palm trees were the only trees of any great height; and they were in great abundance. It was said that wild animals such as the hynaea, the deer and the duiker, the antelope and the monkey the civet cat, the cane-rat and the porcupine were plentiful, and the place was a greathunting ground.

But now all these bushes have disappeared, and with them the wild animals too. Instead, there has grown a great mass of coconut trees which seen from afar appear like a dense forest. It was said that the first seeds of the coconut were brought to Agbozome from Dedeke (Cape St. Paul) near Keta, during the early 19th century.

The trees afford magnificent shades over the whole area. To the wearied traveller from across the arid and treeless lagoon the shades are a welcome relief from the fierce rays of the sun. On dark nights the whole place sinks in a gloom. But on moon-lit nights the light and shade produced as the soft rays of the moon try to penetrate, is a vivid contrast. Groves of oil-palm trees still exist, but they have lost much of their luxuriance and dark gloomy aspects. Much of their former thick undergrowth has also disappeared. Wild lettuce, reeds and other stunted herbage grow in the beds of the swamps. Mango trees are plentiful and yield abundantly.

There are no wild animals. There are some cattle; but the number has in recent years, been greatly reduced by incidences of anthrax and rinderpest. Twenty-five years ago it was usual for every coconut plantation owner to own six or seven heads of cattle. It is usual now for every family to own a number of goats, sheep and pigs. It was not so about 20 years ago. The variety of reptiles is not great. Of snakes, the green mamba and grass-snake are common. Lizards of all shades and sizes are numerous and unafraid of man. The wells and swamps abound with frogs. At night, during the wet season, they send up such a chorus of noise as to deafen the ears.

There are not many wild birds. The sparrow, the dove and the long-beaked black-bird are there all the year round. Dry season visitors are the hawk and the kite. In the early and late wet season the crow, the hornbill and the swallows are a common sight. At night, the hooting owl can be heard afar off, whilst the screeching owl screams overhead. Here, as on the coastal strip, the mosquito which infest§ the wells and marshy places, rob§ man of a good night's sleep.

### CHAPTER 3

#### Section 2: The Semi-Savannah land.

This region of the area is different in natural vegetation and soil formation from any of the others we have discussed. It extends the rest of the length and breadth of the area. It rises

gradually from where the sandy region ends to a height of approximately 100 feet above sea-level. It spreads out to the north in an undulating plain, consisting of thick coarse and tall grass, and interspersed with low shrubs. The fields are dotted here and there by giant baobab and tall, heavily buttressed silk cotton trees. Other trees such as the mango, the blackberry bush, the kleti and neem trees are also to be found. Their ever-green hue pitched up against the dull grey herbage is picturesque. Their crowns do not touch each other as in a forest. Their small leaves grow in tufts. And, since sun and air can get through, the ground is carpeted with rich growth of tall grass.

The soil here is clayey-grey. But in marshy places such as the AGBLOLO, the DZANYIGOME and the ATITIME, the soil is dark clay. This clay is very much used by school children in modelling simple school objects. It is not, however good for really good pottery. The soil at ANEME which is loose and porous in texture is suitable for the growth of coconut.

During the rainy season, the whole of this part of the area is all green; green fields of corn and cassava and swamps green with grass spread out in ridges like a huge golf course.

#### ANIMALS:

With the exception of the squirrel which is a menace to crops other bush animals are practically non-existent here. But within the memory of old men, the antelope, the deer and the duiker and monkeys of various kinds roamed this place in large numbers.

BIRDS. There are a few birds. The dove and the quail are the more spectacular ones. The weaver bird lives in colonies up the tall silk-cotton and baobab trees. Hornbills dart from tree to tree in pairs. The giant kingfisher's plaintive song may be heard through the distance as it sits high up in the trees. In the dry season the kite and the hawk may be seen gliding to and fro in the smoke and flames of the bush-fire. The moor-hen and other pond-dwellers visit the marshes in the wet season. Swallows, martins and crows are mid-year visitors.

REPTILES.

The common lizard of the coconut plantations does not live here. Its place is taken by the monitor lizard and the alligators which live in the dark undergrowth of the cluster of trees and in the swamps. The viper and the spitting-cobra live in the hollows of the ant-hills. They come out of their lairs in the early morning, and evenings to look for food. The grass-snake is a common sight. The green-mamba lies athwart the hedge rows, to bask in the early sunlight.

Scorpions of the large dark-green and small dirty-brown species are numerous during the wet season. The earth-worm is seen for the first time here.

Gaily winged butterflies of various sizes and hues flutter about in large numbers in the water-logged ponds and marshes <sup>in</sup> of the rainy weather.

In the morning and evening, the bite of the sand-fly and the small tsetse-fly are an irritation to man; and again, the mosquito is not an exception.

Temperature and Wind

The day is hot and generally dry, with a heavy dew at night and rain during the night time. The temperature in the day is usually between 80 and 90 degrees Fahrenheit, and the night temperature is between 60 and 70 degrees Fahrenheit.

CLIMATE AND SEASONS

Section 1: Sunshine, Wind and Temperature:

The climate of the Keta-Some area is determined by the varying features that make up its daily weather. These conditions include sunshine wind and temperature and rain. These conditions on the other hand are dependent upon the area's altitude, its position in relation to the atmospheric pressure and the land and sea influences of the district, the Gold Coast and West Africa in general.

Keta-Some like the other lands of West Africa lies in the earth's torrid zone. Consequently, the sun over the area stands at between 61° and 90° above the horizon. The climate therefore is predominated by the north and south movements of the inter-tropical front. These movements determine the boundary between the moisture laden south-westerlies, harbingers of the heavy rains, and the dry north-easterlies which usher in the dry Harmattan.

During the months of April to September the inter-tropical front is well north of the area, and indeed of the whole of the West African region. The whole area therefore comes within considerable influence of the moist south-west winds blowing from the Gulf of Guinea. That is why these months constitute the rainy season.

For the remainder of the year, that is from October to April, the tropical front moves south of the Equator, making it for the north-easterly dry winds to blow from the Sahara Desert and predominating the daily weather of the area.

Temperature And Wind:

The sun in Keta-Some generally rises at about six in the morning and sets about the same time in the evening. The variation in the time at sunrise and sunset each day, is just a matter of a few minutes.

The average.....

The average range of temperature, with just slight variations, is between  $85^{\circ}$  and  $90^{\circ}$  Fern. In the Harmattan it falls to about  $80^{\circ}$ . There are therefore bright days of sunshine the year round.

#### WIND:

During the dry season land and sea-breezes alternate each other. The land breeze begins to blow at about 5 p.m., just before the sun sets. It blows from the north-west<sup>est</sup>. The sea-breeze begins to blow from the south-west at sunrise.

The gradual process of change between the moisture laden south-westerlies and the on-coming and infusion of the dry north-east winds accounts for the small amount of rain that falls in October, November and December. The dry wind which dominates the weather in October to December, brings with it particles of very fine dust from the Sahara.

The movements of the wind might further be explained in this way: During the months of April to September, when the sun is in the northern region of the Equator the air there gets heated, whilst down south, the ocean is cool, it being outside the sun's region. Air has weight and exerts a considerable pressure on the surface of the earth. Hot air is less dense than cold air. In an area where there is a region of hot, light air, and a region of cool dense air, the heavy air moves towards the region of the hot light air. Because the hot air is lighter, the cool on-coming heavy air forces it to rise. The cool air in its turn becomes heated and is forced to rise to make room for the cool, heavy air which always keeps coming on. These movements of the air does not happen only on regional basis, when the sun moves north and south of the equator. It happens also during the day and night on the coast, when the sun is either on or off. Hot on-shore wind blows during the day and cool off-shore wind at night.

As the.....

As the moisture laden cool Atlantic air blows over the Keta-Some area, a great deal of it is forced to rise higher up, as a result of the presence of considerable amount of hot, light air above. The area has no hill or mountain barrier or cool forest cover. And because a great deal of the moisture from the sea gets defused or escapes into the hot air its rainfall is small.

## CHAPTER 4

### Section 2: Rainfall and Vegetation.

The Keta-Some area is situated north of the Equator between the parallels of  $4^{\circ}45'$  and  $6^{\circ}45'$ . It is therefore within the humid climatic region of West Africa.

There are two wet and two dry seasons, although there are no clear cut or definite divisions between them. The two wet seasons are named Ada or Masa and Kele. The Ada is the season of heavy rain fall, and the Kele that of light rains. Unlike the experience in other parts of the Gold Coast the Ada rains begin seriously in about May in the Keta-Some area. It is ushered in by one or two falls of rain in April. This preliminary rainfall is called 'avetaklotsi'. It literally means 'the rain that washes the dust and dirt from off the tops of the forest trees'. This rain usually comes suddenly and with little warning. Thick black clouds begin to gather on the horizon of the South-east sky. The rain is introduced by a gust of wind which throws dust everywhere. Coconut trees bend before it like reeds. There is a terrific clash of thunder and the rain pours down in torrents. It brings with it a very much needed relief. The hitherto dusty atmosphere takes on a fresh clean look.

After the 'avetaklotsi' there is generally an interval of about a month or so when no more rains fall. It is this interval that farmers make most use of in finally clearing and up the brush-wood in the fields and in other preparations for the ..sowing of seeds....

sowing of seeds.

The big rains come in May. Often they veer to the south and fall. It must not be imagined that during the heavy rainy season the rain falls without any break. Every rainy day is followed by a day or two of sunshine. The evaporation of moisture on these bright days of sunshine is so great that the vapour which rises from the earth sometimes bury the trunks and crowns of the coconut trees in cloudy mists. Early morning rains are more frequent than evening ones. When in any season the rainfall is particularly heavy, water could be got by boring a foot or so in the sandy earth.

The rainy seasons lasts till the end of August. At the beginning of September a spell of cold weather sets in, introduced by a cool brezy wind from the south in the day, and heavy dew at night.

October is the hottest month of the year. The temperature is constantly between 85° and 90° F. in the shade for about three weeks.

November is the beginning of the season of small rains, Violent thunderstorms and vivid lightning flashes, more frequent than in the previous season are its characteristics. The rains do not come any longer in torrents. They are more or less heavy showers interspersed with brilliant days of sunshine. The Kele rains fall heavier in the northern parts of the area than they do in the rest of it. Indeed, it has been known to rain there heavily for a week or two without letting a drop on the littoral.

It has been noticed that when the dry spell which comes in September lasts a little longer than four weeks, there is sure to be an incidence of drought with its attendant failing of the 'kele' crops. Then the grass turns brown, the soil cracks, the sand burns hot, the trees shed their leaves, the insects disappear, the birds refuse to sing and man prepares to face famine. The brines also in the lagoon evaporates so quickly

that no salt.....

that no salt crystals are formed.

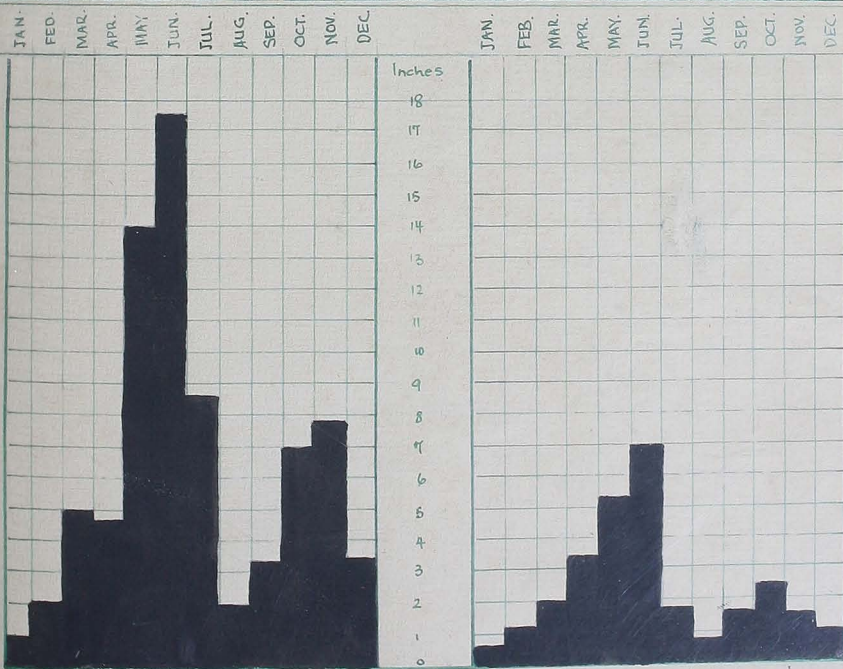
The average amount of rainfall in the area is between 26" and 30" per annum, spread over seven months of rainfall seasons.

THE PEPI OR HARMATTAN -

This is a periodical wind which begins to blow in about January. It is a north-east cold wind which blows from the Sahara with a peculiar drying effect, parching the skin and drying up the vegetation. A fine dust comes with it and settles upon everything. At noon the air becomes hot and dry. The mornings and evenings are cool. A sense of dryness in the skin and nostrils is experienced. The lips get parched and cracked. The extreme dryness which is caused by the excessive evaporation affects everything, furniture, books and natural vegetation.

The pagans explain its incidence by saying that it is the dust which is blown from the powdered robes of the goddess called Pepi or Eyi, when she passes over the land to bathe in the sea. A person who gets badly affected by this dry weather and seems to be suffering very much from it, is often taunted at being the chief priest or priestess of the goddess Pepi.

## RAINFALL CHART



Coastal type of Rainfall as in  
— AXIM & SEKONDI —

Coastal type of Rainfall as in  
ACCRA and KETA.

## CHAPTER 4

Section 3: The Effect of Climate on Occupation of the People.

It has already been observed that the climate of the Keta-Some area is in many respects like the rest of the Keta-District, which on the other hand does not differ very much from the general climate condition of the other lands of the Gold Coast.

The people of Keta-Some depend for their living upon the crops they grow on their own lands, those they buy from the neighbouring areas, and upon the harvest of the sea and the lagoon. They are a hard working people and their choice of occupations have always been dependent upon the changing seasons. They are farmers, fishermen, traders and weavers of cloth. It is to be remarked here that this latter occupation which started as a leisure time activity or hobby has now so developed and assumed such proportions that it is no longer a spare time art.

Every section of the community looks forward with anxious expectation to the coming of the seasons, and to planning what to do in them. Laziness and idleness are not brooked in Keta-Some. The men and women, particularly the young vie with one another for the first palce in their respective jobs, and in collecting fineries. Indeed, it has become a practice in the area for young men and women to assert their status, their maturity and capacity and readiness for marriage by the amount of hard work they do, and what wealth in clothes, and gold and silver trinkets they possess. Seasons of festivities, particularly the Christmas and Eastertide, are occasions for them for indulgence in show of one's personal possessions.

There is no.....

Children: Sit around fires in the early mornings and evenings to warm themselves or go, shivering in the cold morning with their parents to their respective jobs. Some, children especially school boys collect fruits from tall coconut-trees for money. Idle ones go hunting with dogs in the bushes for rats and mice, or collect kapok from the silk cotton trees.

APRIL - AUGUST: -The Ada or Massa or Heavy Rains Season.

OCCUPATION: (Men)

- WEATHER:
1. South-west moisture laden wind blows. Gentle land and sea-breezes alternate in the night and day.
  2. Thunderstorms, lightening and heavy rains.
  3. Temperature is generally between 80° and 90°F. Heavy evaporation takes place, especially after rains.
  4. Rains sometimes fall for 2 or 3 days on end.

OCCUPATION:

1. This is the big farming season. Farmers sow corn, <sup>plant</sup> ~~plant~~ cassava and potatoes.
2. Clearing of weeds from among crops continue vigorously.
3. Cloth weaving continues.
4. Corn is harvested in June.
5. Fishermen haul in herrings, salmon and the halibut and sprat.
6. Canoes transport men and goods across the lagoon to and from the markets.

Women: Smoking, curing and selling of fish.

- Children:
1. Bathe in the ponds, collect mangoes, bananas, pine-apples, sugar-canes etc.
  2. They catch fish with hooks and lines in the swamps, and with drag lines in the lagoons.
  3. Some burrow for land and mud-crabs.

Other Activities.....

OTHER ACTIVITIES:

General merry making during the Easter-tide.

SEPTEMBER - MID-OCTOBER: Dzome or Short Dry Season.

- WEATHER:
1. The wind is still south-west, but dry.
  2. Chilly weather sets in, alternated often by hot spells.
  3. The sun shines every day. The temperature varies between 80° and 90° F.
  4. Sun over-head on 21st September.

OCCUPATION: (Men)

1. Farmers begin to clear fields once more, and to prepare for the Kele season.
2. This is the season of heavy copra industry.
3. For fishermen it is the beginning of the ~~wild~~ cod-fish (Pafa) season.
4. Cloth-weaving continues in earnest.

WOMEN:

1. The making of coconut-oil continues.
2. Fish smoking, drying, frying and selling continues seriously.
3. Traders in gari <sup>get</sup> ~~and most~~ busy <sup>during</sup> this season.

CHILDREN:

1. Children, boys of between 12 and 18 go to the sea-shore to help drag in the nets for fish-rewards, or catch sprats (kudedzedzi) in the shallow water of the lagoon.

MID-OCTOBER - DECEMBER: The Kele or light Rains Season.

- WEATHER:
1. South-west wind ushering in the samll rains, accompanied by lightning and thunder.
  2. The sun is off and on according as it rains or the weather fine.
  3. The temperature is nearly always at 85°F.

OCCUPATION: (MEN)

1. Farming: sowing of seeds in October. Harvest of yams, cassava and potatoes.

2. Cloth-weaving continues seriously, as people are very anxious to take advantage of the

cocoa-season in the Gold Coast with plenty of

money going <sup>round</sup> about. It is during this season

that Hausas, Fantes and Ashantis traders buy

a great deal of cloth they require for trading.

3. The cod (Fafa) season is also at its highest.

WOMEN

1. Fish buying, smoking and re-selling.

2. Salt collecting in December if brines collect in the lagoons.

CHILDREN:

1. Help with cassava, yam and potato harvests or

2. They help drag in the net at the sea-shore, or

3. Help in collecting salt in the lagoon.

OTHER ACTIVITIES:

General merry making during the Christmas tide when all serious activities are temporarily suspended during the holidays.

## CHAPTER 4

Section <sup>5</sup>4: Effect of Intruded Vegetation on Climate of Area.

Before 1918 the whole area, including the small coastal strip was covered by tall grass, and small trees grew in clusters at intervals.

The temperature was effectively moderated by the ever present sea-breeze. The rainfall was small.

Since then the coconut palm has been effectively introduced. At first it was only a portion here and a portion there with grass and clumps of trees between. But now, it has become indeed, the dominant vegetation in the whole area. The result is that the original tall grass has practically disappeared and its place has been taken by the short stunted-grass called "ahadogbe". But in the shade provided by the palm trees this grass is also now very fast disappearing, exposing the bare sandy earth.

As the grass cover becomes removed, the radiation of moisture from the sandy earth takes place much more quickly than has been the case before. After any rain the heat is often very intense, but non-the-less humid and damp. The temperature is constant; between 80° and 90°F.

As the palm trees provide a comforting cover or shade over the whole area the strong glare of the sun is little felt. It is supposed that the rainfall of the area has been affected by the presence of the introduced vegetation. Much more rain falls now than previously. But there have been occasions of drought when most of the palm trees died, and as they died new ones <sup>were</sup> ~~are~~ planted.

OCCUPATIONS AND INDUSTRIES.

## Section 1: Fishing - Shore, Deep-sea and Lagoon.

1. Along the whole shore length of the area, fishing is the main occupation of the inhabitants. They fish in the surf, in the deep-sea and in the lagoon. ~~Boats~~, ~~Canoes~~, nets of all kinds and sizes, drag-lines and set-lines and traps are the principal instruments of fishing.

2. SHORE AND DEEP-SEA FISHING.

Twenty, thirty or ~~sometimes~~ fifty men usually form a fishing company. One or two men or three co-jointly own the net. It may be a seine net whose span varies from one-hundred to one hundred and fifty yards of small meshes and numerous floats, or the drag-net spanning one-quarter or half-a-mile, and distinguishable by long ropes secured on to its wings, its strong voluminous bag and its comparatively few floats.

3. Nets are always a very important and an expensive fishing material. The ranges are between £100 and £150 for seine nets, and £200 to £400 for drag nets. The cost in each respect varies with the size. Most fishermen who have the flair for economy order the nets, in parts or whole, from Europe and later on fix on the required gadgets or reconstruct the whole of it according to the accepted pattern. The cost in this respect is considerably less. It is now common to have two or three fishermen pooling their resources together to own a net. They become joint-owners of the net. Any of the joint-owner may at any time if he so desires sell his share to his neighbour.

4. Nets have to be constantly mended, and it is the duty of the owner to see to provide the right texture of thread or cord ready to do so. Ropes ~~with~~ which the drag net is hauled in are sold in the shops in Keta. A twenty or thirty yards rope costs between £2 and £3.

5. Another very important fishing implement is the ~~beat~~ canoe. All along the sandy shore, rows and rows of ~~beats~~ <sup>canoes</sup> of various sizes may be seen. Their painted sides and hieroglyphical-like designs and patterns show to which companies they belong. ~~Beats~~ <sup>Canoes</sup> cost ~~anything~~ from £75 to £100. They are not made by the fishermen

themselves, but are bought from the forest regions of the country and transported down the coast by rail and lorry.

6. A big <sup>canoe</sup> boat's crew is about nine or ten, and a small one six or seven. The <sup>canoes</sup> boats are not rowed with oars but with paddles. Paddles are made of wood, with broadspade-like blades and rather short handles. With the exception of the steersman, who has a flat-long piece of board for guiding the <sup>canoe</sup> boat and who stands when the <sup>canoe</sup> boat is out to sea, all the other members of the crew sit, and to the rythem of a song paddle with all their might, their muscles showing in their naked backs.
7. In very <sup>canoe</sup> boat there is a person whose duty it is to raise the song and to beat the rythem. He is also responsible for bailing out the water which collects in the <sup>canoe</sup> boat. The normal life of a <sup>canoe</sup> boat is ten to fifteen years; but this depends upon what wood is used in making it and what care is taken of it. But, after constant use for ten years even a strong <sup>canoe</sup> boat begins to show signs of decay and the need for repairs.
8. Some <sup>canoes</sup> boats have sails. The masts are very heavy beams and the sails are generally of grey-baft material. Fishermen in the Keta-Some ~~area~~ are only now just beginning to use sails, an art they have learned from fishermen who come over from the Ningo districts near Accra.
9. MANAGEMENT OF A FISHING COMPANY.

The owner of a net, whether it is the drag net or the seine is never, as a rule a member of a fishing company. Though he may join the group of people hauling in the net, yet he is never identified with them as far as the real management of the Company is concerned. The management of a company is in the hands of an elderly person called the "Bozun" (Boatswain). The owner of net approaches a well known elderly fisherman and asks him to organise a company for fishing with his net. More often the would-be headman is a kinsman of the net-owner. In a few days time the "Bosun" collects a group of young men who have a ~~clear~~ knowledge of fishing. They meet the net owner and discuss the terms. The general term embodies, regular going out to sea except the day of rest, care of the net and the <sup>canoe</sup> boat and other fishing implements, time of "leaves" for individuals as well as for the group as a whole and

the most important of them all, the apportioning of the money that is derived from the sale of the fish, <sup>are discussed.</sup> When all are agreed upon the terms, the company begins with the business of appointing its own officials. A clerk is first appointed. It is his duty to record the amount of fish sold every day of catch and the women-fisher-folk who buy the fish on credit. He is also responsible for collecting any credit outstandings and the apportioning of the money. He keeps a record of presence and absence of members of the company. The next person appointed is the steersman. He must be a seasoned and physically fit fisherman, able to handle the craft with confidence through the surf. Another person appointed is the sales-man. This person must combine qualities of sound judgment, austerity, but without harshness, <sup>with</sup> fairness and honesty. He must be able to deal squarely with women-fish-mongers and able to understand their little susceptibilities. He it is who <sup>also</sup> either keeps all the monies, if the company does not desire to appoint a treasurer.

10. The last appointments are the 'rope-boy' and the 'errand-boy! It is the <sup>rope</sup> ~~boat~~ boy's business to accompany every sea-going boat or canoe. If the net is a drag-net, he must, as soon as the surf is crossed jump over-board and bring ashore one end of the rope. If it is the seine, he must remain in the canoe to bail out the water. The errand boy as the name indicates, runs all sorts of errands, from going to the market to buy food, informing the women in the house that the company needed food, or letting them know that fish has been landed if they did not already know, <sup>and</sup> ~~to~~ informing another company of matters of serious concern.

11. Some simple rules govern the ordering of the various fishing companies along the shore. The whole shore line is apportioned to the various companies, and no company can go beyond his territory without prior permission of the other. If this happens, there is generally a free-fight among the youngmen when feelings run high. But normally a complaint is lodged with the head fisherman in the village by the offended company. The result may be a fine of three or four bottles of wine and a strong admonition. But where, as a result of a rather strong current canoes are blown out of their course or a drag-net is swept off its usual

A canoe



1.



A paddle



2.



A steerman's oar



3.



A calabash for scooping out water -



4.



Some canoe designs

place of landing, no offence is caused when landing is effected in another 'territory'. What is considered the gravest offence and punishable by a very heavy fine is where one 'company' in eagerness for catch casts its net over that of the other. This is considered a deliberate act to frustrate the efforts of the first company and to cause damage to their nets.

12. A DAY IN THE LIFE OF A FISHERMAN

A fisherman's day begins in the early hours of the morning. At a short meeting the previous night the details of business for the next day are discussed. Fishermen are generally fatalists. They would not attempt going on the deep sea without consulting fetish. So just before the discussion of business the "Bosun" asks the 'diviner' to declare his opinion, of the day ahead. If it portends of good, there is joy. If it is of evil the gods will have to be propitiated or the 'unlucky' person left <sup>or</sup> home out of the company.

Water, firewood and food are got ready. The "look-out" man goes down to the shore to see what the sea looks like. It is for him to observe and report whether the tide is high or low, and how strong the wind.

13. A low tide inevitably means great difficulty in riding through the surf; a strong wind means swift movement in the surface of the water. As soon as high tide is observed, he blows a long blast on his whistle to summon the canoe men. The net, the floats, the oars and the calabash are got in their places in the <sup>canoe</sup> beat. With all shoulders to it and the usual "Choboe" to spur them on, the oarsmen push the canoe to the edge of the water and wait for the next roll of the surf. As soon as it comes everybody seizes a paddle, jumps into it and paddles away swiftly, the steersman especially battling against each wave of the surf. Out of the surfs it is all plain sailing; the rhymic song is struck and the men bend to their ~~oars,~~ paddles

14. A long string with weight hanging from one end is used to sound the depth of the water and of the position of rocks where these are in the sea. So soon as the movement of the fish is determined one man begins to lay out the nets. The nets are laid all round the fish beginning in its opposite direction. It must

be necessary to take into account, <sup>the</sup> depth at which the shoal of fish is coursing and what kind of fish. It will be a folly to cast a seine net meant to catch herrings and salmon, around a shoal of cods. The net will be torn and carried away in bits, ~~by the fish~~.

15. Sometimes when the fish find their forward movement impeded by the net they turn back only to find that they are enclosed in a ring. Then there is a stampede among them. Some try to escape by way of the wings and in trying to do so, get caught in the meshes. Some however, escape either up above the net when it is rather too heavily pulled down by the lead-weights or down below it when it is otherwise so. One or two fishermen may get into the water in the ring formed by the net, and by swimming and splashing about frighten the fish into the bag or the meshes.

16. The net is now methodically drawn into the canoe and the fishes removed. If the catch is small, two or three more castings might be attempted. When a good catch is made steersman gives a signal to the fisherman on the shore by lifting up his paddle. Usually, this brings more fishermen, not excluding women too, to the water's edge.

17. As soon as the shore is reached, the salesman directs the fishes to <sup>be</sup> dumped in a heap. He then sorts them out into species and sizes before selling them out, not without the usual rowdy behaviour, especially by the women.

18. The business of hauling in a drag-net is a different affair. It is difficult too, and consequently requires more hands. But the difficulty in managing it is generally compensated by the fact that in the height of the season it rarely lands without either the big fishes or the small ones. The look-out man hourly scans the sea. He looks out for a particular colouring of the waves which is the signal that shoals of fishes are on the move. As soon as this sign is seen, he blows on his whistle to summon his friends. The drag-net is cast in a very wide circle just a few hundred yards up the surfs. The end ropes are securely tied to coconut-trees. For hours, the net remains untouched, but its floats are regularly watched. If the float at the further extremity of the bag begins to sink it is a signal that the fishes have got entrapped and are desperately trying to find their way

If along the out flanking wings a float or two lags behind the line of the others, it is a sign that that part of the net has got caught on a rock, and needs to be disentangled.

19. When all is ready all available hands go to pull in the net. If the net is far out to sea or the current so strong as to require constant adjustments of positions to it, it takes an-hour-and-a-half to pull in the net. As it arrives two or three men jump into surf and with <sup>paddles</sup> ~~ears~~ splash about and make as much noise as they can to prevent the fishes from stampeding out. It is considered very dangerous for any of these men to go beyond the bag-float, for, as the net gets pulled away to the shore it is slowly followed by sharks who harass the fishes that have got caught in it.

20. Dangers which attend the fisherman's occupation include unexpected rough sea and unfavourable winds against which he has to <sup>battle</sup> ~~bathe~~ in his small craft. And since he has no knowledge of the mariner's compass his only means of getting back to land is by observation of landmarks. When therefore there is a thick fog, he is forced to anchor for fear of drifting away from these landmarks.

21. Most of the fishermen in the area are illiterate pagans. Tuesday is the day of rest for them all. They spend this time in mending their nets, paying visits to their friends, attending funerals or drumming and dancing.

Once every year the companies get together and offer sacrifices to the gods of the sea. A bull is slaughtered on the shore, some of the meat is thrown into the waves and the rest is eaten. A holiday is declared by the Fetish Priest and merry-making continues far into the night. Along the shores of the area, each visiting company-companies that comes from Ningo or Nongo every year in November - pays £5 to the head-fisherman towards this sacrifice.

22. Education for fishing starts at a very early age. The fisherboy at six is taught to make nets and to mend them. His elder brothers teach him to bathe in the surf and the rudiments of swimming with floats. He assists in the hauling of the net and sorting out the catch in their species. It is not all hard work for him every day. He spends his off-duty times generally the noon and some parts of the afternoon, in catching sand crabs.

At ten he learns to throw the cast net in the surf for herrings and other small fishes. At twelve he helps to dry out the net, carrying it out from the boat on to the shore up above. At eighteen he may go to sea with the rowing company or swim back to shore with the end of the rope.

23. Despite the primitive way in which the fishermen carry on their occupation, yet they are hardy and happy. They are always singing; singing folk songs or songs improvised on the spur of the moment. Fatigue seems to be charmed away as they do so. And though they sometimes talk of the terrors of the deep in bated breaths, yet they never are afraid.

24. Every experienced fisherman is able to tell by sound or sight the presence of a particular species of fish, whether at the surface of the water or below it. At nights some fishes radiate lights from their bodies. Fishes in the deep sea do this and ~~are~~ thus without knowing it reveal their presence.

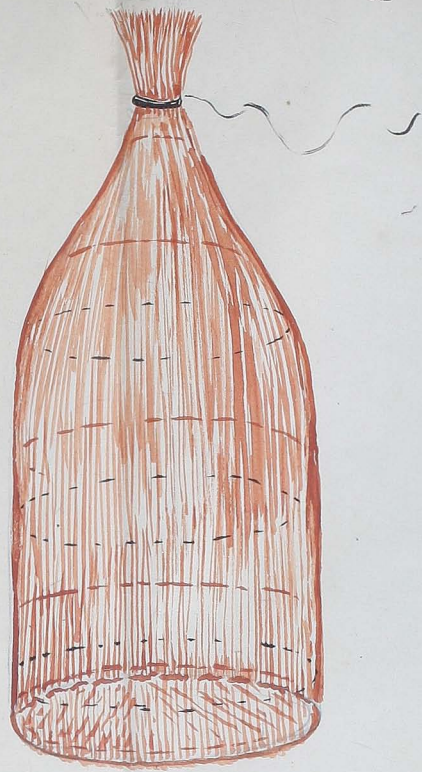
25. Some fishermen in the area sometimes visit such places as Badagry in Nigeria, the Ivory Coast, Senya Beraku, Cape Coast, Winneba and Saltpond to do fishing from the months of May to November. In December, January, February, March and April, they generally return to their families to spend the seasons with them.

26. FISHING WITH THE DRAG LINE.

This is rather a very simple and crude way of fishing. It therefore has attraction for the young people, mostly boys and girls between the ages of eight and eighteen. Occasionally, some old men who have a desire for fun do join the company of the young, in which case they must stand up to the youngs' taunts <sup>and words meant to</sup> and ridicules. Fishing with the drag line is only done in those parts of the lagoon where the water is about one foot or so deep, and clear as to make the mud below it visible. Young shoots of the oil palm branches are cut, spilt into right through the mid-rib and the ends tied together to form a line, ten or twelve yards long. The leaves hang about in a loose fan-like way. Two boys hold each end of the rope and walk forward through the shallow <sup>clear</sup> water. As they do so, the rope ~~trails~~ through the water in a half-moon formation. The rest of the company walk behind on the edges. As the rope tails through the water, the fish try to dodge it by hiding in the soft



An oven (Agbado)  
for smoking Fish.



A fish trap (Xo)

mud, and thus reveal their hiding places - by the smoke or vapour that rises - in doing so.

27. The fisherman who observes these signs carefully dips down his hand on the spot and catches the fish in his palm. He thrusts it into his basket which always hangs down his shoulders. A whole day's catch may be plentiful enough for sale and partly for the household consumption. The rope boys are generally entitled to a fifth of the catch of every other person.

#### 28. TRAP FISHING.

Some of the people who fish in the lagoon do so with traps called "xa". A xa-trap is a kind of wicker-basket; It is barrel-like in appearance with one end gathered up and securely tied up with a rope. The other end is left open and provided with a contraption which can be an inlet for any fish. But once the fish is inside it, it can find no way out.

Along the surface of the water in the whole lagoon long lines of weirs are raised. Some of these lines of weirs date as far back as eighty years ago. They are owned by some fishing clanship-groups who either let them out to individuals who have not rights to them or share it among themselves.

The traps are laid in the water against the movement in its surface. And as the fish move with the current, they enter the traps only to find it difficult to get out of them. The traps are set in the evening and the fish <sup>are</sup> removed the next day.

Fishing with hook and line in the lagoon, ponds and creeks is more or less a leisure-time practice for boys, especially school boys who desire to escape a little from the drudgeries of the class-room.

Section 2: Food-crop Farming.

One of the earliest and important occupations of the people of Keta- Some has been farming - food-crop farming. And though the proportion of farmers to <sup>those of</sup> other occupations such as fishing and cloth-weaving together has within the past twenty years grown small, yet this is not owing to the fact that the people have become lazy or have grown a dislike for one of man's earliest labours, but because there is not now enough land to go round. And, too, the ~~little~~ <sup>land</sup> ~~there is~~ has become impoverished as a result of the system of cultivation practised by the people.

With the exception of some swamps and dried-up stream beds, where only sugar cane is grown, ~~much of the~~ <sup>farms</sup> ~~land~~ in Keta- ~~Some is~~ suitable for the growth of food-crops such as maize, cassava and potatoes, lie in the semi-savana-land parts of the area. The lands there are owned by individuals who upon their death hand them over to their descendants. Thus for example, that one piece of land owned by ~~my~~ <sup>the writer's</sup> great-grand-father who lived one hundred years was passed down to ~~my~~ <sup>his</sup> father and his three other brothers through ~~my~~ <sup>his</sup> grand-father. There have been known to be cases where one or two of three brothers who were joint inheritors to a piece of land became dis-interested and left it all to one person. Individual plots of land are generally only about two or three acres.

As farming land in the area, is limited there is not scope for extensive practice of shifting cultivation as it is in other lands. A piece of land is farmed year in year out until it refuses to yield any longer. Lands which were once shrub and grass have been reduced to dry, grassless pieces of earth with surface hardened up as if beaten down with a heavy weight. No method of manure or adding to the fertility of the soil is practised. When, however a land can yield no more it is abandoned and left fallow for two or three years. What the farmer does when his land is reduced to such a state of things is to find other occupations to do or leave the area entirely to seek farm lands in other places.

The farmer's season begins in January or February.

This is the dry season. He goes out with his family - often times excepting the wife and daughters - to clear the shrubs and bush. It must here be remarked, that no woman in Keta-Some does really serious farm-work, even if her husband is exclusively a farmer. The women and girls help only at <sup>times of</sup> sowing seeds and harvesting <sup>of</sup> the crops. This is considered their only appropriate business as far as farming is concerned.

The farmer's implements consist of the hand hoe, a rake and a cutlass.

He gets to his farm at about 8 or 9 in the morning and works till 4 or 5 in the evening. There is a short break at noon for <sup>a meal.</sup> meals. For his meals he provides himself with a sort of kenkey made of cassava dough, some cassava, a fruit or two of coconut, some fried-up corn or akple and fish. If there is no stream or pond within a short distance of his farm, he fetches water along with him in a gourd or pot. He carries all these <sup>things</sup> in a basket made of palm branches or cane.

The farmer works hard. If his sons are already good at clearing the bush and furrowing the soil he sets them for a task, a portion of the land to do. Those who are only just beginning to do farming, work abreast with him for the purpose of receiving constant instructions. The farmer, if he must be successful races with time. He must finish all he has to do before the first series of rains begin in April. He observes the heavens frequently for the position of the stars. The first rains come in the farmers month which he calls the "9th farming month". There are 10 months in the farming year.

There is no co-operative farming in the area. Farms are owned and ploughed by individuals. The nearest to co-operative farming is when five or six people combine to give mutual assistance to one another in turns in doing the initial heavy work of the farm. This is called 'fidodo'. On such occasions the person receiving the assistance undertakes to feed the others. It is generally a day's work and the meal

is provided once.....

is provided once, that is, in the noon. It is agreed before hand how large the area to be ploughed should be, but nobody is blamed if ~~it~~ <sup>his</sup> is small. A farmer may be a member of one or two community farming groups. But the interests of one group must not clash with that of any others.

Seed time is the farmer's most important season. If he is sowing corn, he goes to the farm with the whole of his family, this time with his wife and daughters too. He may if ~~his~~ <sup>his</sup> farm is large seek the assistance of a neighbour or two or his community farming group. Corn is the main staple food crop, but this is often interplanted with cassava, beans, pepper and okro. But there are instance of an entirely cassava farm interplanted at wide intervals with corn.

Crops are never sown in rows; but the intervals are measured by the farmer stepping out the distance. It is only experts who are able to step out the correct intervals for corn or cassava that are engaged by the farmer to help. As the crops grow, two or three times before the harvest in June, the farmer clears away all kinds of weed. The partulacca is his dealiest enemy as far as weeds are concerned. The greatest enemy of the farmer is the squirrel. It eats up the tender shoots or burrow for the seeds of the germinating corn. The cricket is another.

Corn harvest is a time of great rejoicing in the farmer's family. The ears of corn are picked when dry. The green ~~ceb~~ <sup>cob</sup>-corn may be eaten, burnt or cooked or fried. It is eaten with the coconut meat or with groundnuts. Kind friends and neighbouring benefactors receive gifts of corn. When enough of it to last the family a month or two is threshed out the rest is gathered in barns. A barn is made of twigs and sticks tied together with vines and roofed with grass. The basic walls are round, the roof conical. The farmer steps out the diameter according as the amount of corn he has. A fair sized-farm of corn could occupy a barn five or six feet in diameter. The cobs are laid together in regularly neat rows.

The farmer.....

The farmer's attention is not entirely engrossed

by the corn harvest. As he harvests, he looks around him for fresh pieces of land for the next season. He keeps on clearing the weed in the cassava crops or waiting for the groundnut to mature. Two crops are grown each year.

May and October rains and ample sunshine always ensure good harvests.

The farmer's seeds are his only concern. She is concerned for every herb and plant and determines when plants should be sown and when fruits will when to wither and die. The surface of the earth is regarded as a part of her body and as we walk upon it she is aware of our every movement. That is why when the pagan fields were no immediately made the earth's garden for the man's use. saying: "Dona, forgive me, I did not hear you any disrespect or harm, my attention was diverted". He also believes that you can see the fibres of the trees and crops of the field that by their live through land. The life-giving properties of Dama, he believes that it is Dama who is responsible for the life of intelligence through feeding upon the fruits of the earth. That is why when a person shows lack of intelligence, and always statements lacking weight he is treated as having not yet arrived from Dama. (Mwai Hosi)

2. The pagan farmer considers that before the planting season the Dama must be adequately informed through a sacrifice. He will feed and wine and water to his farm in the early morning and before his sacrifice. As he pours the libation he says:

3. Dama, I have brought you some...

Here we see the...  
...of the...  
...the...  
...the...  
...the...  
...the...  
...the...

CHAPTER 5

SECTION 3b SOME CUSTOMS & RITUALS CONNECTED WITH FARMING.

THE LAND DEITY.

1. The pagan Keta-Some farmer believes that over and above his own ownership or that of his kinship group, the land belongs to a deity called Bomeno. She is believed to live in a great beautiful city called Bome or Bofe, deep down in the centre or pith of the earth as an empress surrounded by a court of attendant ministers. Aside giving life to all human beings, she is believed to make seeds germinate and to supervise their growth and fruition. The farmer's seeds are not her only concern. She is responsible for every herb and plant and determines when plants should flower and bear fruits and when to wither and die. The surface of the earth is regarded as a part of her body and <sup>it is believed that</sup> as we walk upon it she is aware of our every movement. That is why when the pagan falls down, he immediately seeks the earth's pardon for the hurt done it saying: "Bomeno, forgive me. I did not mean you any disrespect or harm, <sup>↑</sup> my attention was distracted". He also believes that man eats the fruits of the trees and crops of the field that he might live, through imbibing the life-giving properties of Bomeno. He believes that it is Bomeno who is responsible for the gift of intelligence through feeding upon the fruits of the earth. That is why when a person shows lack of intelligence, and <sup>utters</sup> ~~utters~~ statements lacking weight he is taunted as having not yet arrived from Bome. (Etsi Bome)

2. The pagan farmer considers that before the planting season the Bomeno must be adequately informed through a sacrifice. So, with food and wine and water he goes to his farm <sup>one</sup> in the early morning and offers up his sacrifice. As he pours the libation he says:

3. O Bomeno, togbi-togbiwo fe mawu,  
Mama-mamawo fe mawu

Meyo wo ndi sia  
Menye de vo deke dzi o, ke bon de dagbe-dzi,  
Agbledexia gado azo, eye megale anyigba  
kukoge akpo, be matso ayi donoliviwo woe.  
Ne do wu wo la, ewuwo nawo  
Ne, wodi fo la, nukoko ava afe

Kpeliawo nekpa vi kpleheep dolame nehe da  
mianu xaa heyii !

Ame vowo toe enye aha, xo tsi no, ne  
fafa na va afe ! "

Translt. 4. O Bomeo, goddess of our fathers and mothers,  
I call you this morning, not that I wish any  
body evil. I wish all good things.

The farming season is here once more and  
I am about to plough your breast, to  
feed your hungry children. When they go  
hungry, they do so for you. When they are  
well-fed there will be a pleasant laughter  
all around. Let the plants bend low,  
heavy with fruits. Drive away all sicknesses.  
Receive this wine for the evil spirits, and this  
water for the good.

5. He then pours a part of the wine on the ground and drinks  
the rest. Water which he has collected in a calabash is poured  
over the same spot. Having done all this the farmer goes home  
sure in the belief the Bomeno has heard his prayers. To the pagan  
just as he must propitiate the sky god through the various shrines  
so when his crops fail he must do so to Bomeno the trustee of  
the land. His life on the farm is so bound up with the earth  
that there is hardly anything he can do without the Bomeno being  
concerned. If blood is shed on the farm, if indecent assault or  
adultery is committed, he purifies the land. The Bomeno must  
receive the first fruits of the harvest and wine through the  
clan or household gods.

6. SACRIFICE TO THE TOOLS.

The pagan farmer believes that all inanimate objects  
like animate things contain spirits, their counter<sup>part</sup> which we do  
not see. It is this counter part, this invisible second nature  
of the thing that is responsible for its every behaviour, even  
when the object is in the hands of a man. He believes that his  
farming implements, the hoe, the cutlass the knife and the rake,

etc. possess spirits. He believes that these spirits must be properly satisfied if no harm should come from <sup>the tools</sup> them when he is handling them, <sup>they must be</sup> and <sup>too</sup> adequately rewarded <sup>too</sup> for all good work done.

So at the proper time, and this is always before the rains come and after he has seen Bomeno, he collects his tools together, places them on a mat or sometimes on <sup>a</sup> the whetting stone, and offers them wine, corn flour oiled with palm-nut oil and meat. He says he is offering food to the "things" of his second nature. During this sacrifice he employs his tools to <sup>be</sup> well-behaved when he is using them. He asks none of them to cut him thus spilling his blood, <sup>and</sup> none to refuse to work by breaking in the midst of labour. He lets the tools lie there for a whole day. When he is asked why he does this, he replies that "so that they may have the opportunity to invite other guests of their kind to assist in the feast". Thus satisfied, the farmer begins his work on the farm.

7. DZAWUWU - FEAST OF THE FIRST FRUITS.

The corn harvest is not begun, neither is the first fruit brought into the house nor eaten until the farmer performs the 'ceremony of the first-fruits' and offering' to Bomeno through the household gods. There is no evidence that this ceremony is performed for cassava. It is even evident now that with the impact of European ideas and christianity little regard is paid to this custom by the people in the costal villages and towns and parts of Agbozome itself. However, shreds of it still linger in the farming villages and due regard is paid to it in some details.

8. As soon as the farmer notices that the ears of corn are ripening, or the potato tubers bursting forth their mounds, he goes to his farm <sup>in the</sup> <sup>one</sup> morning and collects some of them. He instructs his wife that no fire should be made in the house during his absence.

9. As he touches each mound of potatoes and each ear of corn <sup>which</sup> he wishes to collect he says: "The harvest has come once more and I pick you, not that I intend any evil to you, but that I wish to feed my hungry wife and children".

10. He greets on one while he is going home, neither does he respond to any greetings. When he gets home he leaves his load of corn cobs, potatoes, etc. outside the house. He then causes fire

to be made outside. Stones form the hearth. The crops are boiled in a big earthen-ware pot. No salt is added on to it to make it taste nice. The gods do not take salt in their food. When the feast is ready the farmer's wife collects the boiled crops in a wooden tray (afianu) and places the whole lot before the idol at the gate. (Where a wooden tray is not available, a brass one is used instead.) An offering to the gods is made and libation poured; and until the gods first taste of the fruits of the harvest no member of the clan has the right to do so. Any infringement of this rule is supposed to bring misfortune not only to the culprit but on every one else in the clan.

11. Now, with the left hand on the breast, and facing the east each member of the clan takes some grains of the corn and bit of the potato or yam in his or her right hand, encircles his or her head with it two or three times, letting bits drop over the shoulder as he or she does this. The rest is then thrown off.

12. Generally, the farmer invites his neighbours to partake of the ceremony and the feast. But where this has been overlooked gifts of <sup>cob</sup> cob-corn or yam or potatoes are offered them.

13. The clan festival continues the whole day long with merry making. The children play about, hitting one another with grains of corn or bits of potatoes. Boys compete with one another in the game of "akpatsri" whilst the girls sing and dance about or do the game of "doloo". Where the DZAWUWU festival of two or three clans concides the evening is spent in community singing drumming and dancing, which often continue far into the night.

14. For many days after this, two pieces of corn or potatoes sticking at the ends of sticks may be seen at each side of the clan gate. They are pleasant reminders of a successful first fruits festival and signs of the invitation that the clan-gods are supposed to extend to others of their kind in the community.

SECTION 4 COCONUT-OIL MAKING.

1. Coconut-oil is made from the matured nuts. They need not be thoroughly dry. The nuts are broken open in two or three with a special kind of cutlass (nefeyi), of a very short stalk and a long, heavy blade. The meat is scooped out of the kernel with a spoon-like iron instrument. The meat is then ground into coarse flour on a grater. A grater is made of a flat piece of tin, generally, one side of a kerosene tin taken off, punched all over with a nail and nailed on to a rectangular piece of wooden frame, eight or nine inches wide and two feet long. Any residual meat too small to be ground on the grater is pounded in a mortar. The flour is then mixed up with a quantity of water in a large bowl to form a pulp. Great care is taken that the pulp does not get mixed up with any foreign matter, and that the water used in the mixture is of the right proportion, for example: the correct amount of water to make up pulp for a two shillings and six pence worth of nuts, i.e. 25 nuts, is one and a half gallons.

2. The pulp is thoroughly stirred up with the hands and allowed to stand for five or ten minutes. The milk which is the product of the pulp is thoroughly wrung with a piece of cloth or a small jute-bag and collected in a large pot.

3. The milk is now put in the sun and allowed to stand for eight or nine hours to coagulate sufficiently for skimming off. It is for this reason that it is necessary for the oil-presser to begin her business in the evening of the previous day and work through half the morning of the next day, so that at eight o'clock the milk is out in the sun. In wet weather the pot of milk is stood on a low fire.

4. It must be noted that if the milk is allowed to stand in the sun for more or less time <sup>than is</sup> ~~as~~ generally considered suitable, the oil will lose its accepted flavour.

5. The hours before the actual making of the oil begins are always very busy ones indeed for the oil-presser. She has to mend the hearth again, rub the floor smoothly, collect around her the materials for stirring and collecting and holding the oil, and above all seeing to having sufficient firewood at hand. For, as

— THE COCONUT —

— and the main uses to which it is put —



A coconut Palm.



A husk mainly used as wood for fire.



A green ~~coconut~~ coconut fruit.



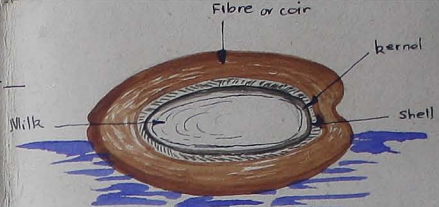
A fully ripe and matured nut.



A coconut flower pod



A germinated fruit (Nemunia)



A nut cut open



A milk pan



A coconut milk pot (Ami-2e)



A grater (Nē-liliga)

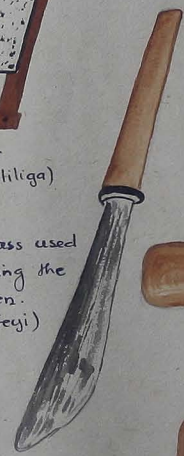


A sieve (Tsrana)



An oil bowl (Amitogba)

A cutlass used in breaking the nuts open. (nefeji)

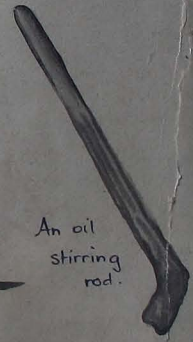


A scooping knife (Nedenu)

A bottle-ful of coconut oil costs 3/-



A karosene tinful of oil costs £2. 10/-



An oil stirring rod.

the oil begins to boil it sprays and it would be unwise for her to ask the help of some one who is not protected against its burn. And too, a moment's inattention may destroy the whole business.

6. The oil-making begins by pouring the coagulated milk into an oil-bowl placed on a fire. The bowl may be either an earthen-ware or a metallic one. Many women prefer the earthen-ware bowl to the metallic one as this regulates the heat better. As the heat of the fire begins to make the milk boil, the stirring rod is constantly employed. Stirring must be even and the fire kept on regularly throughout if the correct flavour is to be ensured. If the oil-presser has much oil to make, you may see her working far out into the night, taking her meals whilst she sits by the fire.

7. It must be mentioned here that the chaff which is left over when the milk is squeezed out is sold out to be fed to pigs and fowls, and the residual oil in the oil-bowl is collected for household consumption.

8. Oil-making is one of the main occupations of the women in Keta-Some, especially those who live in the township of Agbozome and its villages. It is often said that any woman in the area who is worth her salt should be able to make oil, at least for the household soup and gravy.

9. Coconut-oil is locally consumed as well as exported outside the locality. It is sold in the market at Keta, from where it is taken to Accra. A kerosene tin-ful of coconut oil is sold at Keta for £2.10s, whilst a two-pint bottle is sold locally at two shillings.

SECTION 3 CHAPTER 5.COCONUT FARMING.

Coconut must have been introduced into the Keta area from the western part of the Colony, probably Atuabo, either through the actions of the Gulf Current or through human agency. Though some people say it might have come from Fernando Po in the Gulf of Guinea, yet nobody remembers by whom it was introduced. At any rate, it is remembered that there were some palm trees growing in Keta at the time the people lived there. When they migrated to their present abode and found the soil very suitable for its growth a struggle to secure lands for it began.

Coconut can best grow in a soil that is sandy or a soil that is a mixture of clay, sand and decayed vegetable matter. As its roots are adventitious the soil must contain water or moisture to a depth of five or six feet, within reach of the roots.

The dry and well matured nut is collected and deposited in a cool shady place. It might be necessary to moist the soil regularly with water in the evening. It takes about a month or so for the nut to sprout. But where the nut has got matured for a long time and remained untouched it may take a week to germinate. The shoot appears not from the nether end of the nut as one would expect, but from the capped part, from where it hangs on to the husk.

The nuts are planted during the rainy season. A ditch about three or four feet in diameter and three feet deep, is dug. The nut is deposited in the bottom of this ditch. The ditch is left unfilled, but the nut is covered up with soil, leaving of course, the shoot free. In the dry season it is especially necessary to water the plant regularly. As soon as it takes root in the soil, it grows rapidly, throwing off feathery branches one after the other in a spiral formation, from the trunk. Where, the soil is especially fruitful, the tree may begin to flower, in the sixth year. The flower is encased in a long pod three or four feet long in the crown of the spreading foliage. When this bursts open, young fruits each just as big as a lemon appears in the flowers.

The greatest enemy of the coconut tree is the horned beetle. It attacks the young plant in its early years of growth. It bores a hole through the young shoot, eating the tender leaves right down at the root and then remains hidden there for a while, or at least, until the juice it seeks to suck is no longer forthcoming. During an attack of the beetle, the plant cannot grow any fresh shoots. It withers and dies in a few days. Sometimes, however, a vigilant farmer may succeed in dislodging this pest, thus saving the life of the young plant, if enough harm is not already done to it. A strong hooked-piece of iron is used for this purpose.

A coconut tree may grow to the height of thirty or more feet. Some trees have been known to be ~~as much as~~ sixty feet high. At forty years a tree may still continue to bear fruit, if not blown down by a gale. Two months after the flowers a whole bunch of fruits gets matured and ready for picking. As a new pod of flowers opens almost every month, the farmer collects the fruits ~~three~~ <sup>four</sup> times a year.

A coconut fruit is as big as a man's head. The nuts grow in clusters in the crown of the tree. A bunch may hold twelve or twenty nuts. The branches act as supporters or rests for the heavy bunches of nuts. The first husk in the fruit is about three inches thick. This contains the fibre from which ropes for door mats are made. Next to the fibrous part of the nut is a very hard kernel, as thick as that of the palm nut. Under the rind there is a white marrow about half an-inch thick. This is the meat from which oil and copra are made. Its milk which is a clear sweet water, is a most refreshing drink, especially in the heat of the day.

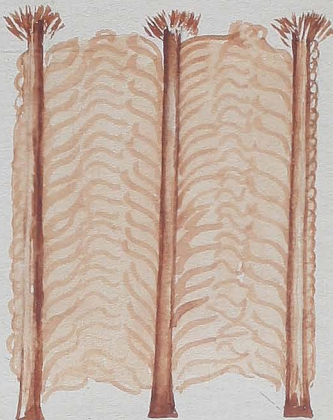
Copra is made by scooping out the meat of the fruit with a spoon-like instrument and drying it in the sun on a tarpaulin or coconut mats. After a fortnight or so of drying the copra is collected in jute-bags. The weight of a bag of copra is generally between 145 lb. or 150 lb. for a load.



A broom made from coconut  
- ribs — (For sweeping the  
main yard)



A broom made  
from coconut ribs  
for sweeping the kitchen  
- yard -



A coconut mat made  
from the branches of the  
tree.

Besides copra and oil making, the people of Keta-Some put the coconut fruit and parts of the tree to a great many uses. The shell which is left after the nut is broken and the meat scooped out is used as fuel for fire. The rind or the hard inner part of the nut burns with effervescent light. As wood for fuel is hard to get in the district the women make a flourishing trade out of selling the shells. A coconut shell is one-half-penny per piece, of three, during the dry season, and a penny per piece during the wet. The leaves are used in making mats (kloba) for fencing off house-yards, for roofing buildings or for constructing sheds. A twelve-leaf piece of mat costs one shilling and six pence.

The main palm (nenuti) is used for the frame-work of the roof of buildings and as rails for fastening on <sup>of compound</sup> ~~the~~ fences. The butt or the thicker end of the palm, the dried flower pod and flower stalk are also useful materials for fire. The rims (nekpo or nexae) or mid-ribs of the leaves are used for making fish traps and brooms. The tree trunk is split into beams and used as posts or rafters in the roof of buildings.

Of recent years, the Cape St. Paul disease has caused damage amongst palm trees. It has been noticed that this disease follows closely any season of severe drought. It attacks the tree at its crown, making the leaves turn yellow. In time they wither and droop, leaving the tree trunk standing tall and lonely.

A good coconut farmer inspects his farm regularly. When he observes that the yield of nuts is falling or that the trees show signs of weakness or disease, he either digs a trench a foot or so wide and two <sup>feet</sup> ~~3~~ deep around each tree and fills it with farm-yard manure or if he has cattle he tethers each animal to a tree. Except during the day when the animals are led to the green to be fed they remain there unsheltered through rain or fine weather, for three or six months. The animal droppings are left lying round each tree, and so manure the soil around it.

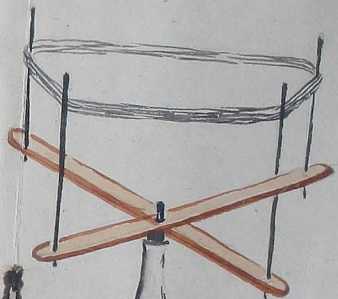
It may be remarked that it is mainly for the purpose of manuring the soil devoid of plant food that cattle is kept in Keta-Some. Cattle owners, by hiring their animals out at 5/- per head for a month make a flourishing trade.

SOME LOCAL CLOTH WEAVING TOOLS

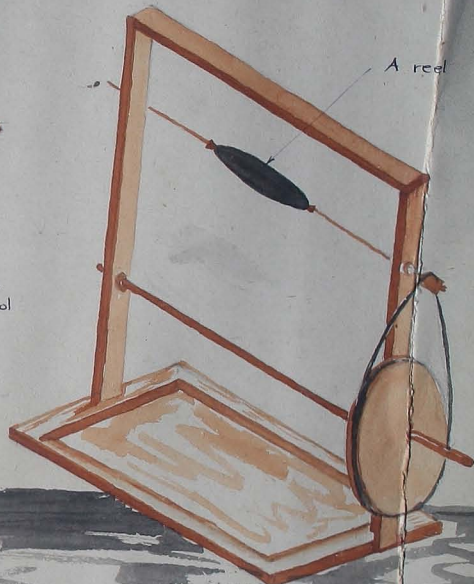


A reel (Umedi)

A shuttle (Nu)



Thread hank stretching tool



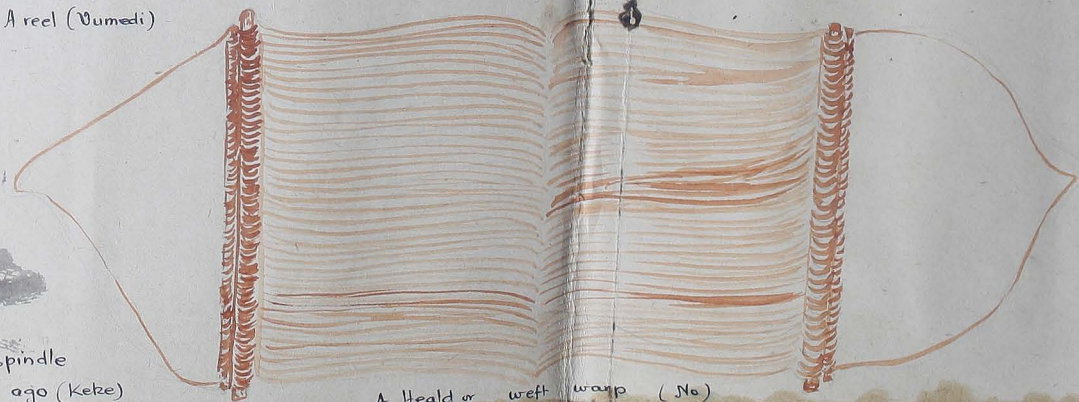
A modern spinning machine (Deli-fomo)



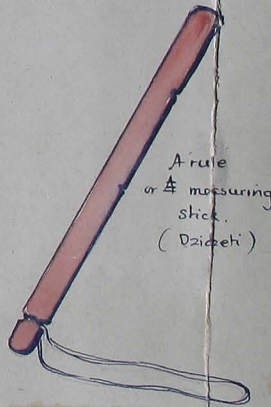
A reel (Umedi)



The warp (Xo)



A Heald or weft warp (No)



A rule or measuring stick (Dzideti)

An old hand spindle used 20 years ago (Kekke)

CHAPTER 5

SECTION 5 LOCAL CLOTH WEAVING.

Besides Bonyire in Ashanti and Kpetoe in Agotime, Agbozome in Keta-Some is one of the most important centres of local cloth-weaving in the Gold Coast. It is the most important occupation of the people besides coconut farming and fishing. It started as a hobby or a past time activity, but it is now so important that about 85% of the people are engaged in it permanently, day in day out. Its importance is so widespread in the area that it has caught the imagination of the women too. Some of ~~who~~<sup>them</sup> now compete with the men in it. It is an all season occupation. No weather limits its pursuit. In rain or in sunshine you can hear the weaver's shuttle plying gracefully in the loom. Many farmers whose lands have become unproductive as a result of lack of plant-food, have been known to abandon their farms for years and take to weaving cloth.

It is not definitely known how <sup>or when</sup> cloth-weaving in the area began ~~or when~~. Some people say that their ancestors had known and practised the art very long ago in their original home ~~in~~<sup>at</sup> Ketu in Nigeria. Others say they had learnt it from the people of Ada who in turn had studied it from their neighbours the Krobos and Gas. Yet others say they had been taught by the Peki refugees of the Ashanti-Peki wars. At any rate, at the time that the people of Keta-Some founded their new home at Agbozome in the early 19th century, some of them were cloth-weavers

THE TOOLS:

The would-be cloth-weaver who already knows the art must possess the following tools for himself.

1. The loom - (agbati). This is made by driving four posts in the earth in a rectangular formation. The posts are generally five feet high. The posts could be two and a half-feet apart on ~~the broad~~<sup>one</sup> side and anything from three to five feet on the ~~long~~<sup>other</sup> side, according as to how long the legs of the weaver are. In between the posts on each side and in line with the original posts, two other posts (tometi), very heavy strong ones indeed, about a foot and-a-half high are driven. They are grooved at the

other ends. Across the first posts on each side, and three or four feet from the ground are secured two pieces of wood grooved in saw-edged fashion. When these posts are in position the loom is formed. But now-a-days it is the fashion to have the whole loom made by a carpenter. The posts are then mounted on a platform, and it is removable to a room in case of bad weather.

2. The roller (Kubleti: akabeti) on which the woven material is wound is a heavy piece of wood, generally four feet long. Other tools are a spindle, (keke) for spinning thread on to the reels (vumedi), a shuttle (vu), a warp (xa) and a pair or two of heald-like warps (no). The old type of spindle which was worked with the hand has now been replaced by an efficiently worked contraption (deti-fomo) made of wood.

Besides these tools the cloth-weaver keeps a small piece of wood (dzidzeti) notched in graduation, for measuring out the length of each line of cloth and the distances between the patterns and designs. Two pieces of wood crossed together and joined in the middle by a wooden pin is placed on the mouth of a bottle weighed down with sand. Over these is placed the yarn, hank by hank, and as the spindle machine is worked, these pieces of wood turn in a turn-pike fashion releasing the thread from the hanks on to the reels. The weaver keeps also a flat piece of wood six or seven inches long and two or three inches wide, which he uses when weaving a design. There is always a piece of candle at hand for rubbing on the threads <sup>or wefts</sup> to keep them soft and pliable. All these petty articles the shuttle, the reels, the yarns, the candle, etc. are collected together in a basket or box which the weaver keeps on his right-hand side.

SECTION 6. CLOTH-WEAVING - ITS EDUCATION & SOME CUSTOMS.

1. Education in cloth-weaving for boys in Keta-Some begins as early as six years and lasts for ten or eleven years. This is so because of the complicated nature of the craft itself and the consequent demand on time for the mastery of all the essentials of its component parts.

2. Fifty years ago, when cloth-weaving was merely a hobby, or a leisure time practice or an off-season activity or an occupation for the stay-at-homes,—those aged men who were too infirm to brave the hazards of long trading journeys—or those who had no farm lands, lessons in cloth-weaving normally started at the age of seventeen and continued intermittently till one was thirty years old. Added to this followed a further period of five or six years <sup>of</sup> for a loose sort of apprenticeship, during which though the learner had learned everything there was to learn and married too, perhaps, yet he remained bound to his master and did nothing, as far as cloth-weaving was concerned, out of his own volition.

3. ~~That~~ was the time when he had to learn to reckon how much cloth could be woven in a particular season, and how much yarn would be required to do so. And, when the season closed and sufficient cloth had been woven, he had to organise and manage the journeys to the trading markets. He was expected to render accurate account of the transactions when he returned. And, though they had no aids to quick reckoning besides the laborious system of grain or seed-counting, yet they never were wanting in exactitude.

4. The first lesson is thread-spinning. The child is taught to turn the spindle and to produce thread-reels of the required size and strength. This instruction lasts for several weeks not without the accompaniment of many ugly knocks on the fair-head until perfection is attained. The most difficult part of spinning, that of getting the right ends of the yarns hank by hank, and that of tracing it again to its right source when it snaps are problems that are never really got over until after two or three years of persistent schooling and experience.

5. In conjunction with instructions in this part of cloth-weaving, it is considered a rule that the pupil should, every morning, sweep the yard around the loom and to lay out all other gadgets except the cloth-roll itself.

6. When no further faults with his spinning is found, and the reels produced by him give no more troubles, the 'pupil' is considered sufficiently advanced to be taught the next step. This step is a very important one. It is the 'throwing-in-of the shuttle'. The joy and thrill this announcement gives to the young are more than can be told. He gets up earlier than usual and does his duties more promptly. But his joys are soon short-lived. For, when his arms become be-numbed with fatigue and he gets cramped in his seat, and his legs begin to quake under him with every movement, and more and more knocks descend on his head with every false 'throw in' or the threads get cut, he often rues the day he decided to enter the school of cloth-weaving. But perfection **evidently** comes with practice, and soon rhythm and speed develop, ~~and~~ get perfected.

7. The fact that the learner is able to throw in the shuttle and to develop speed in weaving does not make him a weaver. There are more other skills to be learned and developed than mere throwing in of shuttles. He has to learn to manipulate the heald-like warps in making designs; he has to piece the cloth-lines together and sew them in the right way as to form an overall correct pattern. He has to learn to read any sample of cloth and be able to calculate the exact number of yarns, hank by hank that would be required to make it. The laying out of the cloth threads <sup>or of weft</sup> which ~~has~~ always to be considered in conjunction with the number of pegs required is a mathematical problem, particularly so, when it has to be considered against how much money is going to be spent in making the cloth. The careful weaver spends days and days in careful arithmetic. He keeps a small bag of corn-grains for aid in calculations. He realises that the slightest mistake in calculation will land him in trouble with his customer and the ultimate ruin of his reputation as an honest cloth-weaver.

8. Then too, it takes a lot of time to learn to make a warp and the healds, and to be able to enter every single thread of



LOCAL CLOTH-WEAVING

In the cool shade of a mango-tree  
the local cloth-weaver makes the  
weft



Learning to make the REEL



THE WOVEN FABRIC

Whilst the father cuts the woven  
fabric into the required lengths  
his daughter look on with admiration

cloth in its proper place in either the warp or the heald. Bleaching is another of the difficult problems, and it is here that those who have no eyes for colours fail miserably.

9. No wonder that it is a common saying among members of the cloth-weaving 'fraternity' that no one ever perfects in every aspect of cloth weaving, designing and patterning before he dies. However, at the age of sixteen or seventeen, a learner is considered perfect to <sup>such</sup> a degree as to make him stand on his own.

10. At sixty or so, or as soon as the veteran cloth-weaver finds that he cannot see the two ends of a thread which gets cut, he considers himself done with the art. He retires honourably.

#### 11. SOME TRADITIONAL CUSTOMS CONNECTED WITH CLOTH WEAVING

1. Cloth-weaving is done on all days of the week except Sundays for christians and days of rest for pagans as enjoined by the clan-gods.
2. No one who is not a weaver can handle any of the weaver's tools. The shuttle is never to be rattled except when actually engaged in weaving or when offering prayers to the gods.
3. A woman who has a menstrual flow is not allowed to step over the lines of cloth. This is considered violation <sup>(useft)</sup> of the custom of the household spirits. A woman who does so, will have to propitiate the spirits with an offering of a white chicken, corn flour and oil.
4. No one, whether a weaver or not can fall down in a loom. The victim is considered unclean in either thought or deed, and is supposed to be so exposed by the household gods. To propitiate the gods he will have to offer a white chicken, palm-nut oil corn flour, an earthen ware pot and some herbs. The clan priest will steep the appropriate herbs in water in <sup>a</sup> the pot. All members of the clan will assemble near the loom one morning. The offending member's hair is shaved off, and he is made to stand in front of the company. All articles and utensils of the kitchen will be assembled by the woman of the house. The priest

will dip the cooking stick, the <sup>Spoon</sup>ladle and the kitchen broom into the water in the pot. He will then sprinkle the water now all over the offending person first, then all other members of the family and then the spot where the offender fell down. A short prayer is offered and the household gods' pardon is asked.

## SECTION 88 CLOTH-WEAVING - A DAY IN THE LIFE OF A WEAVER.

1. The thread which is used in weaving the Keta cloth is bought from the shops in Keta. About one hundred years ago, the people spun their own yarn from the cotton which they grew on their farms, or <sup>bought</sup> ~~buy~~ from other people. It was then possible to get the yarns dyed with herbs in red and green or dark blue colours only. But since Europeans have begun to import yarns dyed in various colours the art of spinning yarn has died out a great deal. But as the cloth from the home-spun yarn is still used by some people, if not for general wear, then at least for towels and the 'batakari', it is possible to find some old women labouring at making the home-spun yarn.

2. For an ordinary plain cloth without any designs or patterns it generally requires sixteen hanks of thread or yarn to make a twenty-line-cloth.

3. The yarns are at first steeped in starch hank by hank and spread out in the sun. The starch gives added strength to the threads and prevents constant breaking during the process of weaving. The thread in each hank of yarn is spun on to reels. A weaver's reels are of two kinds: one is five or six inches long. This is used in the shuttles when actual weaving is done. The other is about eleven or twelve inches long. This is used when the weaver lines out the <sup>single</sup> individual threads from which the cloth is developed.

4. When all the required amount of thread for lining out and a few more for weaving are spun, the threads for all the lines of cloth are thrown out in exact accordance with the pattern of cloth desired. For the lining out, a long, light piece of wood (akokloe) five or six feet long and mounted at one end by a metallic ring, is used. Twenty-two pegs, twelve on one side and ten on the other, all in rows and eight or ten feet apart are firmly driven into the earth. The distance between any two pegs is often four or five inches. It is along these pegs that the lines of thread are <sup>(watts)</sup> thrown. It takes a whole day to do this. After <sup>these</sup> the individual threads are passed through the healds and the warp, respectively, weaving begins.

5. Whilst the healds are being worked by the feet alternately, the shuttle is thrown through the <sup>weft,</sup> threads and the warp working simultaneously as a pressure. The width of a line of cloth is normally four or five inches. To make the woven fabric into cloth for wear, the lines are cut into lengths ten or eleven feet, or six or seven feet long as the case may be for a man or a woman. The cloth for men is generally eighteen or twenty lines. That for women is twelve or fourteen.

6. The normal day for a cloth-weaver in Keta-Some begins at five in the morning. As soon as he gets up, he takes his gadgets out, spreads out the line twenty or twenty-four feet long and adjusts the weight at the other end of it properly. He then examines the threads carefully and mends any breakings. As soon as he is seated and about to begin his work, he rattles a shuttle loud and long and offers the following prayer:

7. O afedome voduwo,  
 Menyi ba di nami!  
 Afedome nqliwo,  
 Meyo mi, meyo me kenken!  
 Menye de vo deke dzi o,  
 Ke bon de dagbe-dagbe dzi,  
 No'fe, afe nanyo ko dzie miele.  
 Nua ga ke, agua gadze.  
 'Ye do si miede asi nam be  
 Matso any miafe togbiyovi kple mamayoviwoe la,  
 'Yae koe dzi megale.  
 Minya gbetsivowo da le mia nu loo !  
 Adzevowo fe afo neto avlime-mo!  
 Yuia! Yuia! Yuia!

8. Translation 2

O, ye household gods!  
 I give you all the respects that are due,  
 Ye ancestral spirits,  
 I call upon you all.  
 Not that I wish anyone evil,  
 But that I wish all peace and <sup>prosperity</sup> tranquility.

We stand for the good of the House.

The day dawns, the sun is risen,

And the work that you have enjoined <sup>upon</sup> me to do

To feed your grandsons and daughters

This I do ~~I~~ everyday.

Drive you away from me all evil spirits

And let witches and wizards find their way into the grave.

All hail! hail! hail! hail!.

9. Thus ending his prayer he begins to weave in earnest. As he weaves he whistles or sings and throws the shuttle with the rhythm of his song. The weaver brooks no interferences; they may disturb the programme of his work or make him lose the count of a pattern or a design. His breakfast which he takes at about 8 o'clock may consist of a pap - a semi-liquid food made of corn flour - or 'abolo' and fish. There may be a snack, generally, the milk of one or two fruits of the coconut at about ten o'clock. These meals he takes quite near his loom. Noon-day meal for him is always a heavy <sup>one.</sup> meal. It is the usual 'áplé' and soup and fish. He takes this in his usual dining apartment. He may rest for twenty or thirty minutes as he says, in order to "let the food get rested in the stomach".

10. The day's work for the weaver ends at five or six o'clock in the evening. If the cloth is of the plain kind containing just a few designs, he can weave four or five lines a day, taking four or five days to complete a twenty-line piece of it. But this is not so with the complicated pattern and design kinds. Two lines a day and three or four weeks is the normal length of time for these.

11. The ~~market~~ <sup>the market day</sup> day preceding that on which the weaver finishes his own assignment of the cloth is always for him a very busy one indeed. He works far into the night, cutting the lines of cloth according to the required lengths and sewing ~~it~~ <sup>them</sup> all out with the hand line by line. He is sometimes helped by his wife, his older children and perhaps a neighbour or two. When all is over, he rolls them into neat parcels. As soon as it is dawn

SOME SAMPLES of CLOTH woven in KETA-SOME



Name = Hato  
Price = £4 or £5 for 20 lines  
Takes a fortnight to weave



Name = Kebu  
Price = £2:15 or £3  
Takes a week to weave



Name = Arganyoc  
Price = £4:10 or £5  
Takes a fortnight to weave

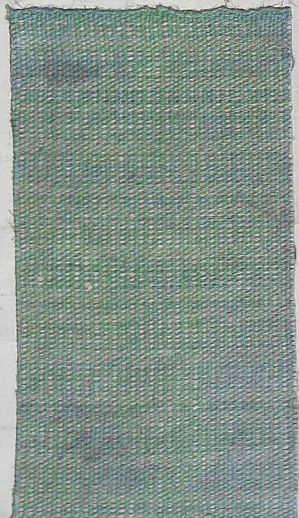
Right side



Reverse side



Name = Kpe-eeve  
Price = £8 or £9 for 20 lines  
It takes 3 weeks to weave



Name = Alefu  
Price = £2:10 or £2:5  
Takes a week to weave.

he goes to the market with them or gives them to a trusted neighbour to sell, while he waits in an atmosphere of anxious and pleasant expectations.

12. Fifty years ago no weaver ever wove cloth up to eighteen or twenty lines. People did not wear large cloths as they do to-day. The normal span of cloth then was twelve lines for women and fourteen, fifteen <sup>or</sup> ~~and~~ sixteen lines for men. Most of the cloths woven were of the plain kind and contained lines or bars for patterns and not the variegated ones as are common to-day.

13. Cloths were sold not at Keta, but at such distant towns and villages as Akefe, Noefe, Tove and Agu in French Togoland and at Ada, Akuse and Kpong. It was the practice then for a weaver to carry a load of thirty or forty cloths. Some whose loads were <sup>very</sup> great, <sup>The owners</sup> reaching upwards of one-hundred or so, employed paid-up carriers. Weeks and months were spent in travelling from one village to another and cases of carriers abandoning their loads or running away with them were not unknown. Sometimes a weaver would decide to live in a particular district to weave when the orders for his cloth <sup>were</sup> ~~was~~ great. He brought either all his principal tools or the most essential ones and improvised the others. Yarn was brought to him by seasonal visitors.

14. Some of the outstanding weavers in those days were Adzampale of Agbozome-Napeto, Konkui and Azine-Senamu. The latter wove a variety of cloths among which was a kind called 'wayagba'. This cloth was sold only to the German Missionaries and others at the village of Waya, now in British Togoland. Other very dexterous ~~and~~ weavers of fanciful cloths were Yibor Zungbe and Dzasa.

15. Some varieties of cloth woven to-day are the Akpedo, the KPE-EVEE, the VIDO-AKOMEE, the SOGE, the KUTUMPO-NTAMA - a cloth peculiar to Martin Cudjoe, one of the most outstanding of the present day literate weavers in the area. There are also the Haliwe the Vu-Evee, the Vu-tsatsa and the Asidanui.

16. Other weavers of the present day who are making their marks are Wodobo, Gadzimmwole, Sedo-Havi and Atsu Kumordzi.

17. The main cloth season coincides exactly with the principal cocoa season of the Gold Coast; this is, October to January.

On the face of it is not mere coincidence at all; it is the consequence of the fact that at this time more money flows in the country and all kinds of trade flourish. Hausas and Fantes and Ashantis are the principal traders in cloth.

18. The cloth market in Keta on a market-day is a galaxy of colours. Rows and rows of all kinds of cloth, from the yellow and the green striped, the plain white and the geometrically patterned to the simple and the gaudily designed, all laid out on mats. Near them the anxious owners sit or stand whilst their flowing-robed customers strike out the bargains amidst many repetitions of 'alabaraka'. All these in themselves present vivid hues.

## SECTION 9: SALT-COLLECTING INDUSTRY.

1. Salt collecting in the Keta-lagoon has been for many years an occupation for women. It is not a seasonal occupation. It is neither done all the year round. Two factors determine the disposition of salt in the lagoon. They are water and sunshine.

2. When we mention the Keta-lagoon in connection with salt-collection we do not mean the whole of the lagoon. It is only those parts that border the villages of Afiadenyigba, Dogbekofe, Worwukofe, Agbozome and Adina. The lagoon-depression in these parts is on a higher elevation, and it is only when really very heavy series of rains fall in the wet season that it gets flooded sometimes three or four feet high. The normal height in any ordinary season is one foot or nine inches.

3. When the lagoon maintains this height of water and carries it over into the dry season, in December and January, the burning heat of day, and the dry harmattan wind effect very rapid evaporation in its surface. The ultimate result is that the water turns into brines, which very quickly turn into salt crystals.

4. But the women do not wait to see nature do all these for them. As soon as it is observed that the water in the lagoon has turned into brines, there is a scramble for space there for the purpose of damming: Barriers of mud-mounds for the purpose of checking the downward flow of the water are made. The whole surface of the lagoon is criss-crossed with dams in a jig-saw fashion in a few days.

5. The dams are observed every day, the evaporation watched with keen interests. When the brine in a dam is observed to be too low, water is collected elsewhere and added on to it; when too high, it is bailed out. In this way the equilibrium of brine suitable for the formation of salt crystals is maintained.

6. During the salt season it is a common sight to see women and children sitting on the lagoon banks keeping watch over their dams and occasionally going down to observe how the brine is behaving. As cases of dishonesty are not uncommon, some people even keep vigils on the banks.

7. When the brine crystalises into salt the owner of the dam goes down into it with her children and perhaps with one or two friends also and collects the salt, scooping it out with broken pieces of calabash into small baskets. Dirty crystals are carefully washed until they sparkle white.

8. Some women possess three or four dams. These are let out to others who have none. In such cases two-thirds of the salt collected goes to the dams-owner. When the season is over, the heaps of salt are either fetched home or sold to traders from Ada, who are always about during the season, or are collected and stored in stacks. Stacks are made of coconut palms and grass.

9. A jute-bag of salt of the large size is generally sold for £1.8s <sup>during season, and</sup> ~~or~~ £2.10s in the off-season.

SECTION: 3 - LAND TENURE AND DISTRIBUTION.

1. At the time of settlement in Agbozome in the early part of the 19th century, all the land in Keta-Some, particularly in the township of Agbozome and its surrounding villages was vested in the Paramount Stool and held in trust for the people. But in time this right was delegated to the various kinship groups and each owned portions of it and perpetuated allodial rights over portions of it. But again in course of time through re-division of rights, through systems of inheritance through grants and through out-right purchases, the land is now owned by kinship or quarters groups, clan or extended family groups and individuals.

2. KINSHIP GROUP.

The head of the kinship group holds rights over lands belonging to the group. But as his position in the group is generally rather more by consent of the group rather than by absolute inheritance, his rights as an individual, over the lands is not absolute; it is limited. As he cannot transfer his position as head of the kinship group or clan without the approval of the elders of the group or clan so he cannot dispose of his limited rights over the lands by himself.

3. He has the right in light of the foregoing, as far as land distribution is concerned to transfer lands by grants to sub-groups and individuals in the kinship group and by sale. This involves always the payment of the customary fees or rum by the grantee to the head in acknowledgement of his (the head's) superior rights. He has the right to pledge or pawn a portion of the land for debts in which the group as a whole is involved. e.g. debts incurred as a result of litigation over the group land or over consecration or propitiation of the kinship-group stool or gods.

4. Until 1916 inheritance in Keta-Some was matrilineal. Nephew inheritance held sway. But not all nephews inherited their uncles. The practice was that those nephews who lived and laboured with their uncles inherited them. No account whatever was taken of the order birth.

But with the impact of Western ideas - Western concept of ownership - and the commercial and utilitarian values of land, inheritance is now patrilineal. And, whilst allodial rights to lands still exist, it is significantly becoming shrunk up, whilst individual rights are on the ascendancy.

5. STRANGER'S RIGHTS.

Any person who belongs to another tribal group is treated in Keta-Some as a stranger. But even to a lesser degree any person of Keta-Some origin, but belonging to a different kinship-group is for the purpose of land tenure and distribution treated as a stranger. Thus a person of APEGAME is treated as a stranger, in the sense mentioned above, in KPORDIWLOR, though they are all people of AGBOZOME.

6. A stranger may be capable of purchasing land, but there is the tendency to avoid absolute sales to such persons especially if they are of another ethnic group. In many cases such strangers can only have surface rights.

7. No discrimination is now made in selling lands and thus transferring absolute rights to persons from different kinship groups, though such transactions are always frowned upon by the most conservative members of the groups.

8. WOMEN.

No woman in Keta-Some ever becomes the head of a kinship group or an extended family (clan). When a woman acquires a land with money given her by her father as a gift or with money she has obtained through her labour and industry, the land so acquired becomes her own property. Her husband has no right to it in the same way as he has no right to her other personal properties. Upon her death the land becomes the absolute property of her daughters who may, if they so desire apportion it among themselves or incorporate it with their mother's kinship-group's. Wives have no rights to their husband's land or a landed property. It must here be remarked that conflicts now exist in the minds - and in certain cases in fact - ~~in the minds~~ of many educated persons who have married according to European system as to whether the Western concept of inheritance or the indigenous should apply upon the death of either party.

9. DEVOLUTION OF LAND UPON DEATH.

It has been observed that succession is now along the paternal line. This is generally to the eldest surviving son. This is so when the land is not the kinship group's but the individuals. But even in such cases it is the elders of the extended family who decide who should inherit and it is a rule rather than the exception that it is the eldest son who does. However, there have been cases where the eldest son or any son for that matter is disinherited. This is so where the father thinks his character does not warrant his succession to the property. But, there have<sup>also</sup> been cases where death-bed dispositions have been set aside by the elders for the sake of peace and tranquility among the sons of a deceased father.

10. A person who dies and has no issues, has his landed property passed on to the clan of his brothers, one of whom assumes sole administration. In cases of a self-acquired property, upon the death of the owner the land becomes the family property of his sons, and the eldest son becomes the sole administrator on behalf of his brothers. Where the sons of the deceased are too young to administer the property, their living uncle on the paternal side acts as a guardian of the young sons or minors and administer the property until such time as any of them comes of age to assume administration. (Coming of age is said to mean when he is old enough and married).

11. DIVISIBLE PROPERTY.

Where the land is self-acquired, upon the death of the owner, if the sons desire to have it partitioned, it could be done so for them by the elders of the clan. The daughters are always excluded, with the understanding that they will be maintained by their brothers whilst they remain unmarried. If the deceased had no wife, the property passes on to his sons, the mother merely regarded as a member of the family and supported by them so long as she remains unmarried. But as soon as she marries again she loses all consideration for support from the property of her deceased husband. When a man had many wives and his sons desire to have the property partitioned, such partitioning is done by the

elders equally among them, according as there are many wives. No regard whatever is paid to the number of issues of each wife. Often the sons of one mother may either agree to regard the property as property of the segmentary group or have it divided amongst them.

12. In certain instances the deceased's property is divided among his sons equally without any regard to the number of their mothers. Divorce does not in any way affect the sons and daughters of a divorced wife in their succession to their father's landed property, but issues out of wed-lock are not considered inheritors in conjunction with their brothers or sisters.

13. Succession to the property of the kinship group is generally by rotation in order of seniority. But where the deceased had more than one wife the eldest son of each wife takes turns in succession.

14. SALE OF LAND.

About thirty years ago the practice of the sale of land did not exist in Keta-Some. But now it is becoming very common, especially now that the place is becoming economically important as a result of the building of the Denu-Accra road. Many people who live far away from the road now desire to possess pieces of land near it for the purpose of building shops and houses for hire. Difficulty in obtaining lands is becoming very high and there have been several cases of puplicity. No documents, in the legal sense purporting to such transactions are made. In most cases a special procedure or custom of drinking wine together and calling upon the household, clan and national gods to be witnesses is usually applied to complete the transaction. And once this is done, the land is considered having passed absolutely to the purchaser. Boundary trees, or other means of demarcation are planted. There is no leasing of land in the area, for either for purpose of farming or building.

15. PLEDGING OR PAWNING.

Lands, especially coconut plantations are constantly pledged or pawned by the people. In these cases original ownership still remains, and the lands so pledged can be redeemed by the owner or those who succeed him when he dies. Lands are pawned

to money-lenders - not necessarily legally authorised money-lenders. The long possession of the land does not in any way confer the right of ownership to the mortgagee. The practice is this: The borrower or mortgagor pawns a portion of the land to the lender. In one instance one-third of the proceeds, - if coconut trees are concerned - goes to pay the debt whilst two-thirds goes to the lender and is recognised as the interest on the loan. The land is reclaimed when the whole debt is liquidated in this way.

16. In another, the land is pawned for a certain number of years and become, as it were, the property of the owner until such time as the whole debt is paid out. When the land is not redeemed at the stipulated time, the agreement is re-newed. Some generous money-lenders sometimes allow the debt to be paid in monthly instalments.

#### 17. RIGHTS IN TREES.

Distinctive rights in trees existed in the area many years ago. This was so in respect of coconut trees. But now it is the practice that ownership of trees growing on a land belonging to another person passes on to the owner by right of out-right purchase.

#### 18. BOUNDARIES.

Boundaries exist between lands owned by one kinship group and another, and between lands owned by individuals. These boundaries are often marked by dried up stream courses, by trees, and now-a-days, by cactus fences and hedgings of sisal plants, or concrete posts. Generally during litigations boundaries are marked by judicial decisions. No surveying of the land is practised.

#### 19. LITIGATIONS.

There are not many cases of litigations, for generally speaking boundary disputes that occur are settled by kinship group-arbitrations, <sup>of</sup> heads of clans and elders. Cases of land litigations that go to courts are generally those fanned by litigants (bush-lawyers) who have nothing to lose, but rather much to gain through duplicities. Protracted land cases are not so by their serious or complicated nature by the inefficiencies of court decisions.

20. Owners whose lands become market places are often compensated from tolls collected from such markets.

CHAPTER 7.

TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS.

POSTAL SERVICES:

1. Until 1934 there was only one Post Office in the area for postal services, and that was at Denu. It was at first a Postal Agency. It was opened during the early 20's. It catered for services from Agbosome, Adina and Agavedzi. During early 30's it became a class 'B' post Office and has remained so ever since.
2. In 1934 a Postal Agency was opened at Adina through the instrumentality of the chief of the place. It was attached to the offices of the Local Court and was managed by the Court Registrar in addition to his normal duties. In the early 40's when the Local Court was closed, the Post Office suffered at set-back. It had to be closed also.
3. In 1950 another Post Agency was opened at Agbosome. It was attached to the Local Court. The Postal Agency at Adina was also re-opened that year. The post office at Denu collects letters from Agboxome and Adina and delivers mails at three Head Offices - Keta, Ho and Accra. In addition to this it handles mails that pass on into Lome through the Aflao Agency.

The frequency of the mail service is thrice weekly at Denu and the other Agencies too.

The issue and payment of money orders is conducted at the Denu Post Office only. Postal Order may be bought and paid at the other Agencies.

4. TELEPHONE SERVICE.

Denu is the only place in the area which has any connection with the main telephone trunk system of the Gold Coast. It is connected with Accra either through Ho, nearly 70 miles north or through Keta by Way of Ada. New trunk lines are now being constructed from Denu to Sogakofe on the Volta, along the Denu - Accra road. A branch line is being constructed at Agbosome.

Denu is the only place that has a telegraphic system, though telegrams can be handed in at the Agbosome and Adina Agencies.

ROADS.

There are 46 miles of roads of all kinds in the area. The principal motorable roads are those from Agbosome to Denu, and from Denu to Keta, and Denu to Aflao. These roads are maintained by the Public Works Department and are all in good condition throughout the year.

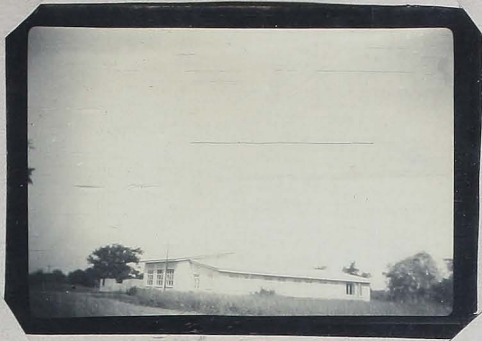
Other roads which are maintained by the Local Authority are those from Agbosome to Wowuikofe and Adina-monu, Ehi and Poglu. The roads to Ehi and Poglu have, for a very long time <sup>been</sup> neglected and ~~have~~ therefore in certain places are mere bush-paths for a greater part of the year. The Local Authority is now planning to have them repaired and maintained. These roads it must be remembered were constructed in 1916 as soon as the present Head Chief was enstooled. They are mainly dry-weather roads.

The roads to Wowuikofe and Adina-Monu and Sohume through the sands, are now more or less big ditches continually made worse by the lorries which use ~~it~~ <sup>them</sup> during the salt season. They very badly need repairing. There are no bridges along the roads. There are a few culverts on the road from Denu to Agbosome. The following table shows the mileage of roads in the area.

<u>Dry-weather roads.</u>	<u>Miles.</u>	<u>All-weather roads.</u>	<u>Miles</u>
1. Agbosome - Ehi	7	1. Agbozome-Denu	8
2. Agbosome - Poglu	4	2. Denu-Aflao	5
3. Agbosome - Wowuikofe	2	3. Denu-Keta	15
4. Agbosome - Adina-Monu	2		<u>28</u>
5. Agbosome - Sohume	3		
	<u>18</u>		
	miles.		

TRANSPORT.

The Government Transport Department testing and examining officers in conjunction with the police sometimes visit the area - Denu - to test applicants for driving licences and examine vehicles for road worthiness. Lorries involved in accidents are generally examined at Keta.



The SOME LOCAL COUNCIL BUILDING



The new POST-OFFICE Building  
— at AGBOZUME —



— THE ACCRA-DENU ROAD —

(An important road which passes through the area)

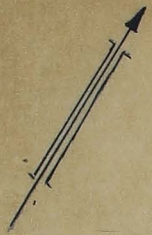
Road transport services are principally in the hands of small private operators, operating single lorries for the transport of passengers and goods to and from Accra, Dzodze, Wudoba, Aflao and Lome and Keta. Some of these transport owners are Nicholas and Kwasivi Dzisa, Wilson Sosu and Kwakutse Wormenor.

Head-loading of goods and produce is still carried on between farms and road points. When the Keta-Lagoon is in floods, canoes convey goods and passengers between Agbosome and Keta. But as this system of conveyance is always slow and tedious many people get their goods on the head across the water at Salakofe and from there travel by lorries to the market at Keta.

There are no railways or Air services in the area.

# PLAN of AGBOZUME

Scale 1" = 33.3 yards



Kinkor

B/Li

Poglu

Cemetery

	= Swamp
	= Coconut palms
	Houses
	Trees
	S = School
	Market
	CH. chief's House

Sohime

EPS.

CH.O

L.c.o.

P.O. (New)

M

AS.

L.c.s.

Z.M.S.

Sonta

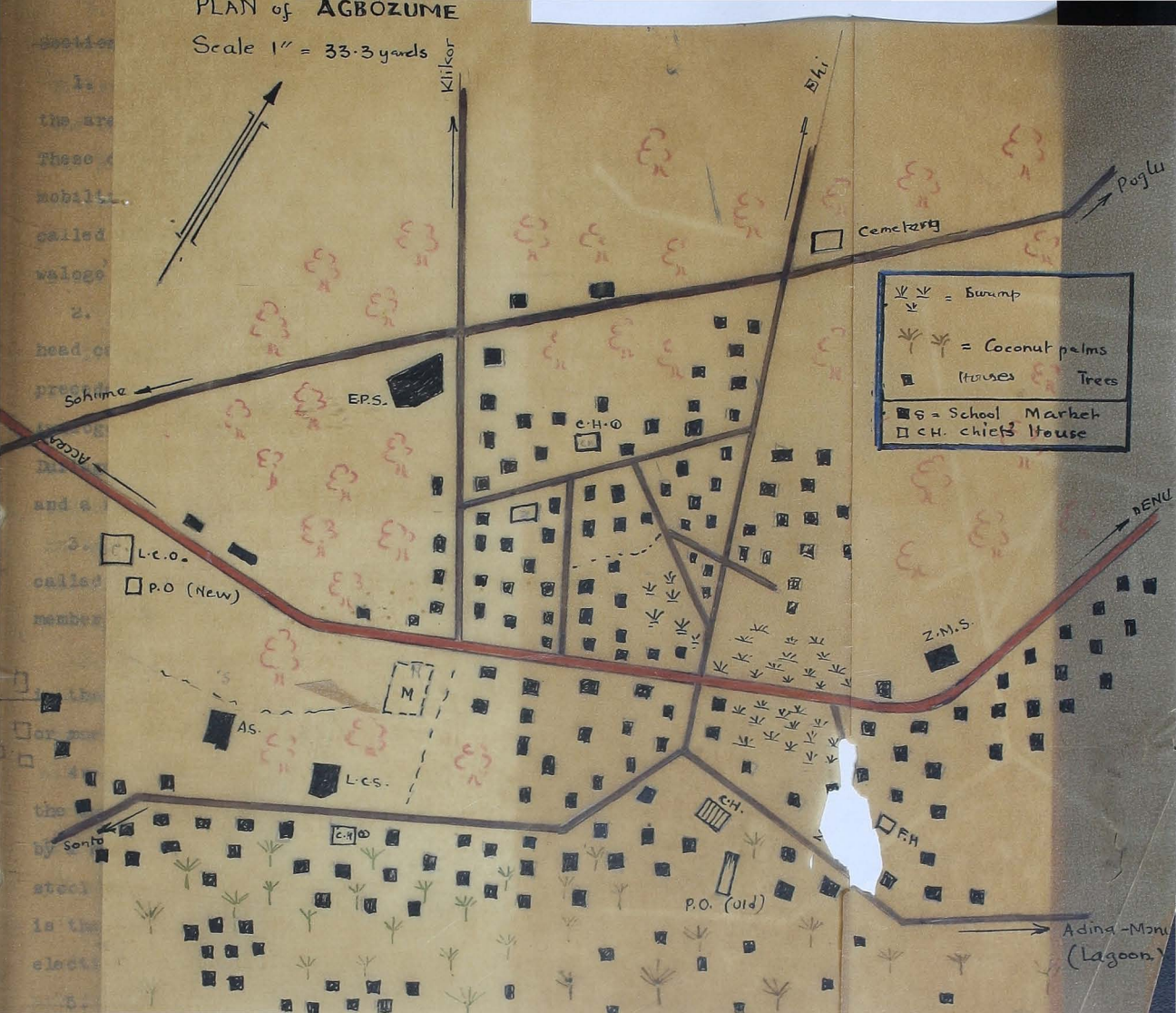
CH.O

CH.

P.O. (old)

CH

Adina-Moni (Lagoon)



6. POLITICAL AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE.Section (A) Indigenous Political and Social Structure.

1. For the purpose of indigenous political administration the area is divided into three social groups, called Awalogowo. These divisions were in the past mainly for administration and mobilization of the tribal army. There is the Right Wing Division called the 'Dusi-walogo', the Left Wing Division called the 'Mia-walogo' and the Middle Division called the 'Titina-walogo' or Adotri.

2. Each of the Right and Left Wing Divisions is ruled by a head called Awalogomefia. The Middle Division has a head who takes precedence of the Heads of the other two Divisions. He is called Awalogomefiaga. Over and above these Divisional Chiefs is the Dufiaga or Ga. As a rule the Dufiaga is of the Middle Division, and a member of the chiefly clan known as the Fiafome (Stool Family).

3. Each fair-size town or village in the area has a head called Dufia. As is the case with the Dufiaga, each Dufia is a member of the main stool family.

Hanuawo and Dumegawo are the next rulers who come in ranks in the traditional system. A Hanua is generally the head of two or more extended families, as a Dumega is <sup>head</sup> of a clan.

4. The Dufiaga and each Dufia for that matter comes from the ruling family by patrilineal descent, and has to be elected by a committee of the stool elders, <sup>he</sup> and does not succeed to the stool by virtue of primogeniture. At the Head of the stool family is the Stool Father or Fiato or Zikpuiato. Women have no say in election and installation of chiefs in Keta-Some.

5. Beside the Dufiaga, <sup>and</sup> the Dufiawo, <sup>and</sup> the Senior Divisional Chief or Awalogomefiaga and each of the Divisional Chiefs possesses a stool and has the rights and privileges that attach to a stool. Though ~~it is now the practice for some~~ Hanuawo and Dumegawo ~~to~~ possess stools and some stool paraphernalia, yet these stools are only recognised within the clanship group as such. Stool rites and ceremonies for them are matters of the clans <sup>only</sup> affairs. They have not the privileges of public outdoorings. Some of these stools, so traditional history tells, came into existence as a result of the owners being outstanding persons in tribal wars or were wealthy slave owners.

6. The Right Wing Division of the <sup>state</sup> ~~people~~ <sup>is the most</sup> ~~is the most~~ important. It is only overshadowed in importance by the Middle Division by the mere fact that it is this Division which contains the Supreme Traditional Head. For in any wars of the past it was the Right Wing Division which always <sup>went</sup> ~~sent~~ into action first. This Division contained some of the bravest men of the past.

The Paramount Stool of the people is the Ivory Stool - the stool which descended from Fia Agokoli of Notsie.

(a) ADMINISTRATION - THE OLD SYSTEM-

1. The Principal Local traditional Administrative body is the State Council. The State Council is composed of the Dufiaga who is the President, the Awalogomefiaga, 8 Dufiawo, 2 Awalogomefiawo, 32 Haunawo, 10 Dumegawo and one or two Representatives of the Youth Association. The Fiaga is the President of the Council. The main Executive Body which is called Keta-Some Dua or Keta-Some Chiefs Council consists of the Dufiaga, the Awa~~l~~ogomefiaga, the Awalogomefiawo <sup>and</sup> some of the Hanuawo and Dumegawo.

2. Before the Local Government set up in 1952, the above Traditional Council, called the Native Authirity was the principal instrument of administration. It dealt with matters of constitutional nature within the area, such as stool disputes, succession to stools, land disputes etc. It also managed a court called the Native Authority Court, and collected and managed local levies and other funds.

(b) PRESENT SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT.

1. With the passing of the Local Government Ordinance in 1951 and the granting of the Keta-Some area a Local Council, the day to day administration of the area ceased from the hands of the Traditional Authorities. But <sup>it</sup> still has a much to do with traditional constitutional matters as it did before.

2. The Local Council of the area consists of 10 Representatives members and 5 Traditional representatives. The Representative members were elected by popular votes in which every adult member of the community who was 21 years and above and fulfilled the conditions laid by the ordinance cast a vote, in his or her ward. The Traditional representatives were elected by the traditional electoral college or Council.

3. The Council sits at Agbozume, the chief town of the area. The President of the Council is the Dufiaga but the conduct of the day to day business of the Council is regulated by the Chairman of the Council who is elected by Councillors from among their own number.

4. The Council derives its money from an annual rate, known as the basic rate which is in effect per capita on all persons of or above the age of 18 years. The basic rate in the area is 6/- and 3/- respectively, for every male and female. Other sources of revenue are Court fines, market tools from the markets at Agbozume, Denu and Blekusu, and bicycle marriage and divorce licences.

The Council's heads of expenditure consist of an annual grant of £200 for the support of the Traditional Council over £700 by way of grants to the schools in the area and other development projects such as wells, latrines, markets and roads. See appendix.

5. The Council is represented on the Keta-District Council with two Councillors and on the Trans-Volta-Togoland Regional Council. The relationship between the Local Council and the Traditional Council and the public is very cordial.

#### THE PEOPLES ATTITUDE TOWARD CHANGES.

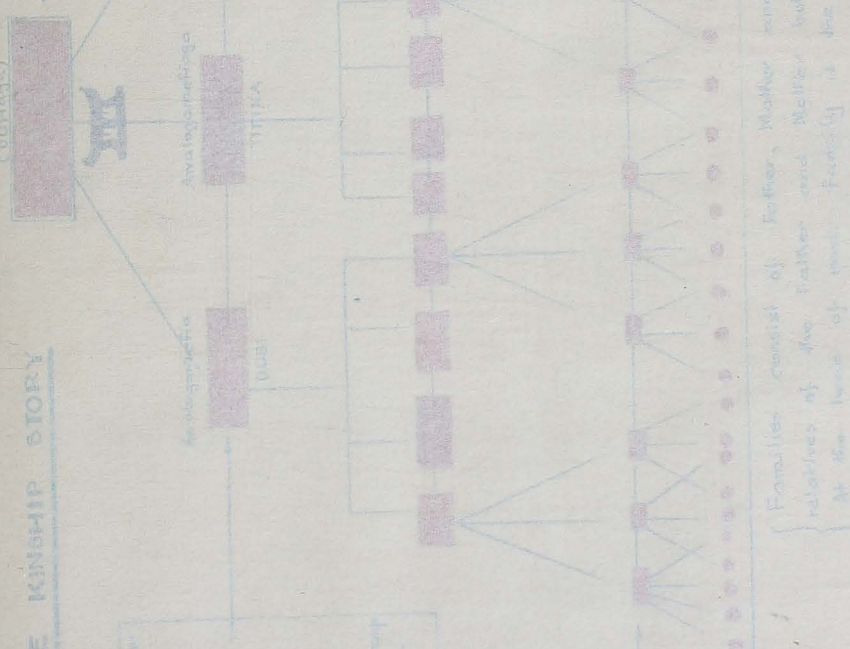
Political. 1. The administration of the Anlo Native Authority of 1938-1948 of which the Keta-Some formed part was a complete and a bitter disappointment to the people. Apart from the inability of that Native Authority to initiate and execute any development programmes besides spasmodic efforts to recondition some of the market-sheds in the Keta town, a great deal of the funds was either misapplied or misappropriated.

2. The result was that the people resented any more payment of levies to fill the pockets of unscrupulous persons in Keta town. In 1949 the people of the Keta-Some area refused to allow market tools at Agbozume and Denu to be collected and deposited with the Anlo State Treasury. Tolls collected in that year and the following one remained in the treasury in the area.

as before, for people to go to bed as soon as it is dusk, and never get wake up from sleep by the noise of a motor car or the full-blast of a neighbour's radiogram.

4. People dress in the same plebien way as they did twenty years ago. The gaily dressed, painted lips and eye-brows, swanking dance goer, <sup>like</sup> girls of Accra, Kumasi and Sekondi are non-existent here. Instead, you find the same old simply dressed and equally simply mannered girl who greets you without any pretentiousness. And though from the foregoing it would appear as if life in the area is static, yet it is not so. It is slowly, but surely moving at even and not a break-neck pace.

THE KINSHIP STORY



At the head of each family is a HUMAN BEING who is responsible to the supernatural above him.

At the head of each family is an individual or individuals.

Each division consists of several kinship groups.

Each division is headed by a chief.

The same pattern in the same family leads to the same pattern in the same family.

Each division is headed by a chief.

Each division consists of several kinship groups.

At the head of each family is a HUMAN BEING who is responsible to the supernatural above him.

# THE KINSHIP STORY

THE STATE  
(Dufiaga)

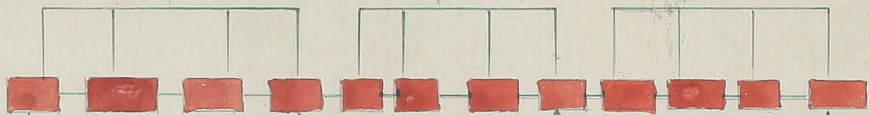
At the head of the STATE is the DUFIAGA. He is always a member of the STOOL FAMILY called FIASFOME. The custodian of the STOOL is the ZIKPUT.

1. The 3 Divisions of the STATE are ruled by chiefs. These chiefs descend from the STOOL FAMILY. Each fair-size town in the area is ruled by a chief.
2. Each Division consists of several Quarters groups.
3. At the head of each Q. Group is an Asafafia or Awalogomefiavi.

Awalogomefiavi  
DUSI

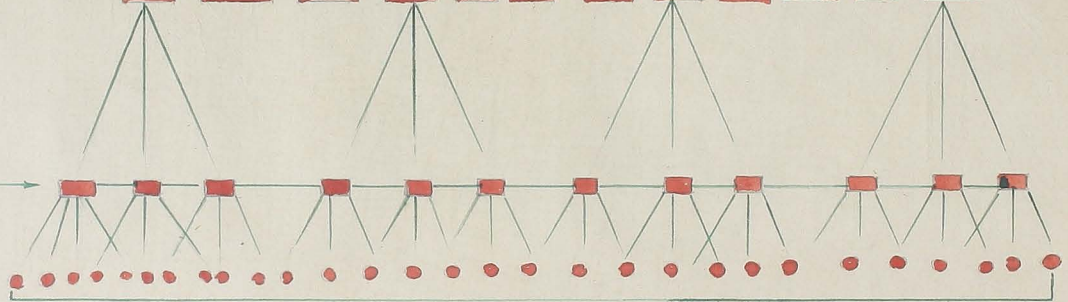
Awalogomefiaga  
TITINA

Awalogomefiavi  
Mia



Each Quarters Group consists of several clans. Clans are composed of several families.

At the head of each clan is a HANUA. He is responsible to the Awalogomefiavi above him.



Families consist of Father, Mother and children and near relatives of the Father and Mother, both men and women. At the head of each family is the DUMEGA. He is responsible to the HANUA.

(a) (d)

Section 2: Density of Population

(b) The people, their food, <sup>and clothing</sup> manner of dress etc.

1. About one-third of the area's 160 sq. miles of land is taken up by the lagoon depressions. We have already observed that the principal homelands are first, the narrow strip of land of varying width between the sea and the lagoon, the wide stretch of sandy land on the northern bank of the lagoon and the savana land which stretch further northwards up to a point almost <sup>near</sup> at the gate of Klikor town.

2. The area's population of 14053, made up of 7105 men and 6948 women is spread out over the land according as the attractions of occupations and industries are, ~~and consequent groupings of the towns and villages.~~ We notice that whilst 8,555, that is, a little over half of the people live on the strip of land along the sea shore, <sup>in</sup> the bigger towns and villages of Denu, Xedranawo, Adafienu, Adina, Agavedzi, Blekusu, Amutinu and Agoko, only 685 live in the small homesteads of the savana area to do farming. The rest 4813 people occupy the Agbozome township and the numerous isolated ~~the~~ villages and cottages spread out under the coconut plantations and are mostly weavers of the local kente cloth.

3. It is no wonder therefore that the people are predominantly fishermen and weavers of cloth and depend <sup>on</sup> for their food-stuffs <sup>more</sup> upon what they buy from the farmers of Ehi, Penyi, Klikor Weta and Djodje than on the very little they grow on their own lands.

THEIR FOOD.

1. Corn and cassava are the staple food of the people of the area ~~and~~. They are eaten in the forms of dough-nuts called 'kaklo' pancakes called 'abolo' and 'yakayake', pap or a semiliquid food called 'dzogbo' and the favourite dish of solidified <sup>broth</sup> ~~broth~~ called 'akplê'.

Fish forms one of the chief articles of food in the whole area. It is eaten with the 'abolo', the 'yakayake' and the 'akplê' in ~~their~~ either soup or gravy. <sup>Fish</sup> ~~It~~ not only gives a flavour to their meals, but also provides <sup>them with</sup> nourishment. ~~to the people.~~ Very little meat is eaten, and though sheep and goats and fowls and other ~~animals and~~ birds are kept, yet they are bred not for the purpose of adding

2. The women wear over the shoulders down to the waist of the  
 to the daily diet, but exclusively for selling out in the big  
 markets of Accra, Koforidua and Nsawam. the ~~baize~~ and are  
 2. Normally, three meals are taken a day. One in the morning  
 at about 9 o'clock, another at one o'clock in the afternoon. An  
 evening meal which is generally the <sup>heaviest</sup> of the <sup>three</sup> ~~two~~ is taken  
 at 7 or 8. It is the practice now for women to wear new close

3. At meals spoons and forks are not used. It is a usual  
 sight to see three or four people at a meal, each dipping his hand  
 into the akple or abolo and soup dishes respectively. In middle  
 class homes, as far as this is applied to the local social class,  
 enamel plates are used for meals. In the poorer homes the people  
 eat their meals from the local earthen-ware bowls. It is only in  
 homes of the wealthy class—the people who live on the verge of  
 European fashions—that china plates and dishes and bowls and spoons  
 and forks are used. ~~is worn occasionally by the educated men~~

4. It might be mentioned here that the coconut milk which is  
 a delicious drink is taken by a large number of people almost every  
 day, at noon, when the desire for a cool drink is urged on by the  
 heat of the day. Alcoholic drinks such as the English beer and the  
 locally brewed gin called 'akpeteshi' is heavily drunk at funerals  
 and other social gatherings, by men as well as women, <sup>with</sup> often ~~with~~  
 disastrous results in the end.

THEIR CLOTHES.

1. As a ~~rule~~ rule clothes are worn by the people not for the  
 purpose of offering protection to the skin against cold or insect  
 bites, but mainly for the purpose of showing off decent, ~~or covering~~  
~~off~~ <sup>or</sup> appearing decent, or covering off ~~nudify~~. For this reason  
 much money is spent in buying many changes of <sup>clothes</sup> ~~cloth~~ and due  
 regard is attached to how many changes of clothes a person possesses.

The principal materials of clothing are the imported cotton  
 and woollen piece goods, which are sold in the shops and markets  
 in the area or in those in Keta and Lome. Other articles of  
 clothing are the singlet and shoes and hats, and head-gears and  
 ear-rings.

2. The women wear over the shoulders down to the waist of the body a ~~sort~~<sup>a</sup> of blouse cut in European fashion. Two loose pieces of cloth, each a fathom in length skirt the blouse and are gathered around the waist by a belt which is generally any small strip of cloth. It is the fashion to wear under the skirt two or more other pieces of cloth to add size and dignity to the waist and hips. It is the practice now for women to wear ~~now~~ close fitting vests or bodices under their dresses. A third piece of cloth which is either thrown over the shoulders or gathered around the waist is now a mark of maturity among the women. It was originally meant for ~~the~~<sup>a</sup> wrapping up of ~~the~~<sup>a</sup> baby on the back.

3. For men of some means, the kente cloth of variegated patterns and designs thrown over the shoulders leaving one arm out, is the style of dress, ~~on~~<sup>for</sup> important occasions, whilst the more plebeian European cotton cloth is the favourite of the low class. European style of dress is worn occasionally by the educated men and women, whilst for the daily business, whether in the schools or in the shops, behind the wheels in the lorries or in the ~~weavers loom~~ or on the dusty road ~~the~~<sup>a</sup> pair of knickers and ~~the~~<sup>a</sup> shirt are everywhere to be seen on the men.

Christians in the area began to be A. M. S. Mission and the main Christian organizations.

The ~~first~~ Mission which started earliest earlier than any of the other Christian bodies suffered many set backs as a result of lack of funds and organization, and in 1914 as a result of the first world war it became temporarily paralysed. In 1917 it closed and most of the people left it to attend the newly opened ~~the~~ school.

At Dugbe, the Roman Catholic School in 1905, thirteen years after its establishment returned to the V and presented its first pupils for the Standard Seven Examination.

In 1920 the Wesleyan Mission Church and School at Agbovewe was re-opened by the German Missionary Rev. Fracburgert. In the ~~missionary work~~

(c) CHAPTER 8  
Section 4: Educational Institutions.

1. The work of education in the area began in 1898 by the coming of the North German or Bremen Missionaries from Keta. They built a church in a part of <sup>Agbozume</sup> ~~the~~ town generally known and called "Legbabe". A school was opened and as was the practice in those days converts to the new religion were persuaded to leave their original kinship groups and to build their homes in the vicinity of the church and school. Their children first went to school. Some of the first pupils were Dogbe Gborta, and Ocloo Wormenor.

2. Other voluntary organisations soon followed: They were the Roman Catholics, who opened a school at Denu in 1910, the Airican Methodist Episcopal Zion Mission who began their work at Agbozume in 1916 through the inspiration of the Fiaga Adamah II. In 1930 the Roman Catholics opened another school ~~and~~ at Blekusu and another at Agbozume, whilst in about the same year the Zion Mission extended their work to Adina, Agaveazi, Sonto and ~~S~~hume. At Adina they took over the school which opened first as a state school.

~~At~~ <sup>that</sup> this time, and still is today, <sup>the greatest</sup> ~~the~~ number of christians in the area belonged to the A.M.E.Zion Mission and the Roman Catholic denominations.

The Bremen Mission which started ~~earliest~~ earlier than any of the other Mission Bodies suffered many set backs as a result of lack of care and organisation, and in 1914 as a result of the First World war it became temporarily paralised. In 1917 it closed and most ~~of~~ the pupils left it to attend the newly opened Zion School.

At Denu, the Roman Catholic School in 1926, ~~sixteen~~ years after its establishment reached std. 7 and presented its first 15 pupils for the Standard Seven Examination.

3. In 1920 the Bremen Mission Church and School at Agbozume was re-opened by the German Missionary rev.Fraeberger. In the ~~meantime~~ <sup>meantime</sup> ~~while~~ <sup>meanwhile</sup>. At the

meanwhile, the A.M.E.Zion Mission progressed very rapidly in the hands of the American Missionaries the Revs. Peters and Pile. In 1926 the Bremen Mission closed its primary school again and in 1929 placed its buildings at the disposal of the rapidly progressing Zion Church to open the first 7th standard class, and presented its first 17 pupils (The writer was one of them) for the examination.

4. In 1933, however as a result of <sup>a</sup> mis-management of a dispute between the teachers and the Manager over the payment of the salaries of the teachers in <sup>the School,</sup> the Zion, the school at Agbozume was taken <sup>over</sup> by the Native Authority and has since then become a Local Council School. The E.C.M.Church started a school and church at Agbozume in 1936.

In 1948 after <sup>a</sup> Jubilee <sup>of the</sup> celebrations the Presbyterian School at Agbozume re-opened and another at Adafienu became re-established.

5. A Local Council School was opened at Nogokpo, the ~~the~~ Headquarters of fetishism in the area in 1950, and thus almost every village and town in the area has its own school. The only ~~Girls'~~ School in the area was opened by the Roman Catholic Missionaries at Denu at the beginning of this year.

6. There are now in the area 12 Primary Schools and 8 middle schools. In Agbozume alone there are 6 Primary Schools and 4 Middle Schools. The total number of children in all the schools in the area is 1989, of which 497 are girls and 1492 boys. There are 1475 children in the Primary Schools and 514 in the Middle. There are 63 teachers altogether.

7. The number of converts to the christian faith is increasing yearly as a result of the devoted work of the Missionaries in the area. But as we have observed before there ~~are~~ <sup>is</sup> still <sup>a</sup> large group of the population whose belief is in the power of the various fetishes still remain. They are mainly animists. The number of fetishes ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> in great and in fact every home and every clans has its household or clan god.

Fitters	9
Corn-mill grinders	15

5. Besides these, about 85% of the male population of Agbozume town and its outlying villages of Agbakofe, Agotome, Alagbakofe, Avloto, Sonto, Kpohakofe, Sohume and Sonume are cloth-weavers: that is about 2054 persons.

About the same percentage of people on the littoral, that is, living ~~in the~~ towns and villages of Denu, Xedzranawo, Adafienu, Agoko, Adina, Agavedzi and Blekusu are fishermen. That is about 3000 persons. About <sup>700</sup>~~2000~~ are farmers, living on the grass land parts of the area. The rest are traders, teachers, office clerks, employees of the Local Court and Councils, road labourers market <sup>tolls collectors</sup> ~~tools, tax gatherers~~ etc. each contributing in his or her humble way his or her quota to the total economic progress of the area.

RELIGIONS, BELIEFS, RITUALS AND CEREMONIES.

For the Keta-Some man the whole world is full of mysteries and permeated by forces and influences he can neither understand nor explain. His struggles for food by day in an atmosphere predominated by adverse circumstances and the unearthly terrors of the gloomy and awesome nights could hardly fail to stimulate in him a sense of dependence upon something. He knows that there are some causes of things which he can control by the use of his thinking powers. When his house is on fire, he does not wait to consult the gods, before he sets about to put it out. He knows that if he must have food he must grow the crops or catch the fish. Here he is guided by knowledge and reason. But he does not know how rain is caused. He does not understand why it sometimes fails, and the failure results in famine. When the rain fails he says: "Wo le kudom". "Some-one is influencing the gods to cause the rain to stop, and thereby bringing death upon us". When it thunder-clashes he bows his head or grovels on the ground and says: "Neno blewu, Tohono viwowo le anyigba dzi". Let it be calm, Tohono, your children are on earth. To him the earthquake is caused by the gods, the eclipse of either the moon or the sun to him is the result of warring gods, and when these things happen and all kinds of noise is made and sacrifices offered to propitiate the offended deity, and to avert a calamity.

2. The Keta-Some man believes in the existence of ghosts and the spirits of his ancestors. These ghosts and ancestral spirits are generally benevolent except when annoyed. He also believes in evil spirit and witches and wizards. These are often malvolent. He believes in the following national gods: Xebieso, Agbui, Fofoe, Ana or Nana. He practises the Yewe, Da and Afa cults, the latter of which is practised as a medium between men and the gods and the spirits of his ancestors. Besides all these, he exploits the powers of the gods and other evil spirits through circumscribed means or techniques, e.g. invocation, spells and incantations and rites for the purpose of compelling them to do his biddings. These biddings are generally more for evil than for good. His juju

as these techniques are called, are: Ahiake, Nyafe, Aza, Agbagli, Adze-yodu, etc., and numerous other minor formulae compounded into talismans, amulets, and spells called "gbesa" and "gbone".

EVIL and

3. BELIEF IN ANCESTRAL SPIRITS.

The Keta-Some man believes in the continuation of life after death. He considers life on earth as transitory and man a bird of passage. That is why he is often heard to say: "Amedzrowo de miele" we are in a place which is not ours. "Ne meku la mayi mamanyewo gbo": when I die I shall go to the land of my grandmothers, or "Mawuga fe vi menye, ne amea de tso dzo dum la mayi togbuiawo gbo": I am the child of the great Mawu, if anybody kills me with juju, I shall go my grandfather's home". When he dreams, he says he has been to the land of the dead. He believes that the spirits of his ancestors are always with him and though he cannot see them they do see him and all other members of the clan and take as much interest in the affairs of the clan or kinship group as they did when they were alive. The ancestral spirits are believed to be present and to influence the birth of any new child in the family. They are present at marriage ceremonies too.

4. The ancestral spirit, it is believed, sometimes indicates his desire through causing sickness to any member of the family. In such circumstances the dead is communicated with through the rite of "Noliyoyo" (consulting the dead) or through the Afa cult. Thus an ancestor who held a great influence in the clan or kinship group when he was alive is almost deified and continually offered sacrifices or propitiated when it is thought appropriate to do so. The fact is, that the man being at first regarded with deep reverence or awe during his life, he is regarded with increased veneration and fear after his death. Sacrifices to his spirit are greater than the sacrifices and propitiations to the less respected and feared spirits. In this way, very soon a worship is established. Sometimes an ancestor worship is extended outside the confines of the clan. The ancestor may be the remotest ancestor remembered as the founder of the tribe, or the leader in a tribal war; he might have been a great chief; he might have been famed for his bravery and strength of character or the owner of many slaves.

CHAPTER 9.

5. The pattern of reverence is the same in every respect, for the fundamental fact is that the people believe that man is a

spirit being, but the potentialities inherent in him are limited by the body or flesh in which he is encased. But once this spirit is released either for good or bad, he is endowed with greater mobility and no longer limited by time and space.

6. Thus, if the man was good when he was alive, his spirit continues to be a chief in the next world. The slave-owner is still a slave-owner in the next world. A wicked man is wicked in the life beyond the grave. The clan-head is still clan-head in the living world and above all of man. Mawu is regarded as a powerful God, but he punishes evils and rewards all good deeds.

7. All these spirit personalities exercise spiritual influences over the people who are alive. Each exercises the functions beyond the veil as they did in life. They are therefore venerated at times of rejoicing and mourning. Libations are poured to them to summon them to meetings of the clan, the kinship group and the nation; and at such assemblies they are believed to assist and influence the living in their deliberations.

When he is in adversity, he often comforts himself by saying "Mawu medzia vi wuna o" "Mawu does not destroy his own child". When a person has a hairbreadth escape from a misfortune or an accident he exclaims: "Mawu gbe" "Mawu has refused to allow it," or "Mawu di non:" "Mawu came down to my assistance". When even the witch-doctor or the fetish priest is asked how fast his patient is improving, he replies without any air of self-gloration either for himself, or for his gods: "Miele Mawu si;" "we are in the hands of Mawu".

Some people say "Mawu" means: the man who stands head and shoulders above all other men - "Amou-enu". Others say it means: he who alone is able to destroy - "Ewas ene".

This Mawu is sometimes called SE by the people. They sometimes sing songs in praise of SE, like this: "SE dog see do am-tomoto; dogbere doa odo da abotomoto" which means: SE sends every man into this world and endows him with identical qualities.

6. The life-giving SE sends every man into this world with special qualities. Or, when a man is continually unlucky or unsuccessful in his business he exclaims: "Se mewom nyui o" "Se has made me an unlucky fellow". Se is believed to be a righteous judge: "Se tsoa fia". "Se is the giver of every good thing" "Se na nu".

7. The people believe that once upon a time, Mawu lived among men on earth in a human form. His home was in the sky which almost touched the earth. He was both physically and spiritually very powerful. He was therefore very much respected. But, the story went on, when men began to consult him so often in both grave and trifling matters and when children wiped their hands after meals on his clothes which trailed behind him as he walked on earth, he removed his home up above and refused to come down any longer.

He therefore delegated his powers to the lesser gods or vodoos such as Xebieso or Yewe, Vodu-Da, Nyigbla, Kpoliga, etc.

8. The people believe that the vodoos derive their powers from Mawu for either good or evil. Mawu is gentle and forbearing whilst his 'messengers' the vodoos are quick, revengeful and full of wrath.

The average Keta-Some man swears and perjures himself by Mawu very loosely almost every day, whilst he cannot mention the names of any of the vodoos in grave or light matters without its accompanying 'custom' or propitiation.

In his every day affair it is to the more reverend and intimate vodoos and the ancestral spirits and his juju that the Keta-Some man turns.

These are important and so near and quick to hear him. And though in his thought the great Mawu stands supreme above all other deities, yet his superiority renders him unapproachable and unreal to him.

#### MAWU AND BOMENO OR BOFENO.

9. One of the Deities it is believed, to whom Mawu has delegated his powers is Bomeno or Bofeno. To her has been given the power to decide which men and women shall, from time to time leave Bofe or Dzeze to be delivered into the world.

Happy marital relations are said to be the results of the union of two people. It is said that the home of Bomeno is deep down in the pith of the earth. It is a beautiful city, very well decorated with flowers. It is always swept clean. No leaf is allowed to drop down. If it does so, it is carried by the inhabitants, who are all nice little babies, with a great glee to the outskirts of the city. Mawu is constantly sending to Bomeno fresh forms of babies. The decision to have human beings born into the world is said by the people to be entirely in the hands of Mawu and Bomeno. That is why some people are given the name "Bofenya" or "Hofenya" meaning: "it is all predestined". When as a result of a fall or a smack by the mother, a child's emotion is so pitched up as to make him inert for a moment, he is said to have gone back to Bofe: "Eyi abo";

10. It is believed that all forms of deformity in children are the results of their injudicious haste to leave the hands of Mawu to enter Bofe before their moulds are finally handled.

11. It is also believed that Mawu creates male and female together for the purpose of pairing when they arrive on earth. But the pair is never born together in the same family. The male is the "dzogbemetsui" the predestined husband of the "dzogbesro" the predestined wife. That is why when a young man decides to marry, the clan god or afa is consulted to determine whether the girl he seeks to marry is his predestined wife, and if not, whether she could be the right substitute if the predestined wife had not yet arrived, or, having arrived, has got married already or is dead.

(continued on next page)

which he attempts to drive away the flies that constantly swarm about him. In his home he is always preparing a feast and continually inviting men to it. He cooks a ram for the feast. (Ku doa agbo dzo dxi na ame) He either personally comes to summon away his victims to the feast or sends some of his wicked messengers to do so. He comes at night. He stands at the nearest cross-road or path or on the rubbish-dump and waits for the spirit of the unfortunate man, to come. The poor victim's spirit is thus enticed away, and perhaps forever, to the land of the dead.

Happy marital relations are said to be the results of the union of two predestined pairs.

5. Further, it is believed that, the first wife a man marries after consultation with and consent of the clan god, is his predestined wife. All others are additional. That is why a person who refuses to marry his pre-appointed wife or divorces her is never a happy married man.

6. Again, when a person exudes a bad smell, despite bath and all aids of cosmetics, she is said to be still unwiped, of the liquid matter out of which she came from the land of Bofe: "Bofetsi, alo Dzogbemetsi tbi enu"

7. Regular annual sacrifices were many years ago offered to Momeno by all the farmers of the area. But now she is scarcely remembered except by a few rustics and this at harvest times only.

#### BELIEFS ABOUT WHERE THE DEAD GO.

1. The Keta-Some man believes that when a man dies he enters either Tsiefe or Awlime. The ruler of these two kingdoms is called Ku. He is sometimes called by his high sounding names of: Ku-Blagodzi or Ku-Sadagati or Ku-Azagidi. He is considered a stern, wicked looking man. He is described as a very thin, exceedingly tall man with unkempt hair and possessing two small wicked eyes. He has a small dirty piece of cloth around his waist. The cloth reaches no further than his knees. In his left hand he holds a staff on which he leans as he limps about. He seems to be in an unending pain and groans in a low tone. In his right hand he holds another <sup>dirty</sup> piece of ~~dirty~~ cloth and with <sup>which</sup> ~~this~~ he attempts to drive away the flies that constantly swarm about him. In his home he is always preparing a feast and continually inviting men to it. He cooks a ram for the feast. ( Ku doa agbo dzo dzi na ame ) He either personally comes to summon away his victims to the feast or sends some of his wicked messengers to do so. He comes at night. He stands at the nearest cross-road or path or on the rubbish-dump and waits for the spirit of the unfortunate <sup>person</sup> ~~man~~, to come. The poor victim's spirit is thus enticed away, and perhaps forever, to the land of the dead.

This accounts for the reason, the pagan explains, why sacrifices to the gods on behalf of the sick are always made at cross-roads and on the village dump, and why in a fainting fit or a delirium, apart from the application of all herb stimulants to the sick, the women <sup>run</sup> ~~run~~ to the nearest cross-roads or the rubbish-heap and loudly calls the name of the poor sick <sup>person,</sup> asking him to return.

Tsiawode (the land of those who never return) is thought of as the world of the dead who during life were good and kindly behaved towards their fellow men. They are considered to be spirits who have no blot of defilement on them.

Awlime (the land of the deep black hole) is the home of spirits who in their earthly life as men, were either wicked or have stained their hands in blood.

2. Thus it is that all obnoxious jujus always have special connections with the names of men and women who were wicked, or considered so when they were alive. Sometimes, if it could be got, parts of the body or bits of the apparels of these men and women are used in preparing poisonous jujus.

3. The people believe that when a man dies he begins <sup>to travel</sup> at once a journey to either Tsiawode or Avlime as the case may be.

The man journeys not with ~~with~~ his material body, but rather with his material body, but rather with his spirit or soul.

Between this world and Tsiawode or Avlime there is a large river. Always waiting on the bank is Kutiamé (Death's spokesman). He is also the ferry-man. His business is to <sup>ferry</sup> row every man and woman who arrives there across to either Tsiawode or Awlime.

He makes no choice. He is always paid in advance of his kindness. For this reason money is always put in the coffin of the dead by friends, and relatives <sup>who</sup> never forget to ask the dead to convey their greetings to their deceased friends and relatives. <sup>world.</sup> in the next ^

4. Ku, for all his wickedness is not the only person who takes away people from <sup>this</sup> the world <sup>into</sup> to the next. It is believed that dead relatives also do so. And this is the more reason why ancestral spirits are feared. There may be many reasons why ancestral spirits may summon the living to the world of the dead. They may for a special purpose want a company. Thus, a man who ~~die~~

during his life-time on earth was very much attached to his wife or any other member of his clan may invite such a person through Ku-Sadagati <sup>to go</sup> to keep him company over there. It is believed that death to such persons is caused by the spirit of the dead giving ~~him~~ so much mental and spiritual worries as to make ~~him~~ succumb to sickness and death.

5. It is also believed that victims of murder also avenge their own death in this way; ~~and~~ also that orphans are re-called through Bomeno to the land of Bofe, and not Tsiawode or Avlime, by dead parents who have reasons to fear ~~of~~ ill-treatment for their children, by wicked forster-parents.

6. It is no wonder therefore that, judging from the above idea of death, the world of the dead and of ancestral spirits that the dead in Keta-Some is treated as gods and are believed to reveal themselves to men through dreams, trances, possessions and re-incarnations. And, so long as they are honoured with sacrifices they are beneficent to their survivors, ~~but~~, if neglected they punish through sickness and death.

#### BELIEF IN WITCHCRAFT

1. The people of Keta-Some do not live in as great a dread of ancestral spirits as they do of witches and withchcraft and juju-men and juju practices. About 90% of all deaths in the area is attributed to the powers of the witch or wizard and his equally wicked associate the jujuman. Nobody actually knows or can define in understandable language or terms the powers of witchcraft, but the people so cling to the stories of the harm it does that it is hard to convince any one ~~xxxxx~~ that it does not exist.

2. Some believe that it is an evil ~~spirit~~ spirit which lives in ~~the bodies of~~ certain individuals. They say that its power is so strong and that it clings with such tenacity of purpose to its abode that it can never be dislodged. Some say that it so acts against the dictates of the good conscience of its possessor that it is a complete dominating factor, and a dictator to his imaginations. Some say that it is capable of being transferred from parents to some of their offsprings. It is believed that

there are more witches than wizards, and that even if in a clan there were more of the latter the former were always dominant in power.

3. It is believed that at night when the possessor<sup>s</sup> goes to sleep the spirit in her leaves the body with a radiating light to join the company of other such spirits at their rendezvous. There, they hold feasts on the blood and body of their victims. They are believed to cause harm to individuals by sucking their blood whilst the victims are asleep. The causes for victimization, especially for children, may be beauty of person, or enger directed against their parents for some wrong done.

So many strange things are imagined of witches. that they are believed to snatch from the body of its mother <sup>an</sup> un-born babe and hide it under big, <sup>objects in the house such as a water tank or drum.</sup> heavy ~~or a heavy stone~~. In such cases it is believed that the victim suffers untold pains during labour or dies.

Or, when at ~~at~~ all she is delivered of her burden it is, still-born. Not the least of these fantastic stories is that the witch is able to assume the forms of animals and birds and that the screeching owl is <sup>her</sup> ~~their~~ messenger.

4. Old women are generally believed to be the more crafty and wicked practitioners of witchcraft than the middle-aged or the young. One other quality attributed to witches is their power over <sup>time</sup> ~~time~~ and space. A witch can cause harm to a victim hundreds of miles away from her, by merely projecting her spirit in that direction.

5. Finally, it is believed that at the same time that Adze (witchcraft) is ~~an inborn~~ <sup>a</sup> diabolical spiritual development, its votaries declare that they are able to sell or transfer for money <sup>said to be</sup> some of its powers. Often this transfer is <sup>accompanied by</sup> ~~accompanied by~~ stories of hard-heartedness and debauchery of a very vile nature. The ceremony of transfer, is said to involve human sacrifice, mostly of children, or near relatives. People buy the Adze <sup>succeed</sup> vodoo to help them <sup>in</sup> businesses.

#### JUJU AND JUJU PRACTICES.

I. The people in the area believe also and possess all sorts of personal deities in the forms of juju talismans and amulets.

In juju practice, the juju-man exploits the powers of evil spirits through herbs and formulae ~~to~~ and compelling them to do his bidding. The <sup>spirits</sup> ~~gods~~ have secret names which are mostly known to the juju-man. It is believed that <sup>when</sup> these <sup>names</sup> ~~are~~ known and pronounced the <sup>spirits have</sup> ~~god has~~ no alternative but to be submissive to the juju-man's biddings.

2. There are jujus for compelling the love ~~pr~~ love of an opposite sex; jujus for silencing or discomfiting an opponent in a law suit; jujus for destroying the life of an enemy; jujus for (~~rendering~~) confounding an opponent in a fight or in a battle; jujus for rendering ineffective the plans of an enemy or the employment of juju by another person. There are jujus for preventing diseases; there are powdered jujus for inoculation in the arm thus giving them added strength in boxing, etc. In fact <sup>there</sup> ~~those~~ are jujus for trade and business and for thousand and one aspects of man's complex <sup>ways of</sup> ~~life and living~~.

3. There is no end therefore to the many objects and herbs that are employed in compounding and formulating jujus. Every juju-man goes through a 'school' where he learns endless names of herbs, and no one man has ever professed to know all the formulae employed in juju-making. For love and business affairs such herbs as are sweet smelling and nice to the taste are used. For obnoxious jujus, ~~jujus that~~ parts of the human body, such as the shin and arm bones and the human skull are used. No juju-practice is complete or considered efficacious without its proper sacrifice. Birds and animals such as ~~the~~ fowls, pigeons, cats, goats, dogs, and pigs are seasonally offered <sup>or</sup> on occasions of emergency <sup>or as</sup> ~~and for~~ propitiation where a special taboo has been miscarried or unobserved.

4. People live in such dread and fear of the juju-man and his juju that <sup>much</sup> ~~lots of~~ money <sup>is</sup> ~~are~~ spent every year by those who have none of these things in travelling to Dahome, <sup>which is</sup> ~~they~~ considered the home of jujus, in obtaining antidotes against them.

In fact, ~~no day in Keta-Some passes or~~ no event passes away in the daily life of the people without consultation of the clan-god, the quarters-god, the Bokono (the diviner) or the personal juju.

Section 5: The Yewe Cult.

1. Yewe is the messenger of the sky god called Xebieso or Tohono. Xebieso is the god of thunder, and his weapon is the lightning stroke. It is worshipped in the shrine of Yewefe. It was brought from Dahome. There are many shrines to Xebieso in the area but the headquarters is at a small village called Nogokpo. Nogokpo is 3 miles from Agbozume along the Accra-Denu Road. This village has long ago been the principal place of the worship of the sky-god in all Eweland. The priest of the fetish is called Yewenua or Hubono. Its female adherents who are mostly women are called Yewesiwo or Vodusiwo. The men are the Husunuwo. The Head-drummer of the fetish who may not necessarily be its adherent is called Azaguno whilst the probationers are called Husikporkpor.

2. Xebieso is said to possess a dual nature: male and female. That is why it is sometimes called "Tohono". "To" - Father; "ho" - overall; "no" - mother; "father-mother overall". The male Xebieso is called Sogbla and the female is Sodza. It is believed by the people that it thunders when Sogbla is disaffected with the doings of men on earth; and seeks to remind them of his presence up above. The rumbling noise which follows every clash of thunder is attributed to the pleadings of Sodza, reminding the husband that the men on earth are frail and prone to committing errors and that he should deal softly with them.

3. HOW A PERSON BECOMES A MEMBER OF THE YEWE CULT.

All adherents of the yewe cult in the area owe a special allegiance to the Tohono at Nogokpo, and once a year they gather there to do it homage through the offer of gifts, special feasts and ceremonies.

A person who desires to become a member of the yewe fetish can do so out of her own volition. But more often than not it is those who are afflicted with sickness, those who are directed to do so by their ancestral spirits, those who desire to escape punishment for some evil done or those who were born in the shrine by their mothers during their period of probation as a member of the cult.

4. As soon as the would-be member enters the shrine she is stripped naked and taken before the god. Generally she is asked a few questions. She is required to tell a short history of her own life and her reasons for wishing to become a member of the cult. She is then annointed and confined. One night during the week, the god's instruments of offence are brought before the student. She is forbidden to divulge any of the secrets of the Order. She is made to swear that if she offended the yewe she might be struck down by Xebieso's lightening ~~stroke~~. She is asked to abstain from eating certain species of fish and animals, to be a friend to other members of the cult, to refrain from engaging in quarrels or fights during her period of probation, to take part in the annual general ceremony and to promise to induce other people to become members of the Order.

5. It is significant to observe that though these rules are strictly for the members of the Yewe cult, yet some of them are expected to be observed by other members of the committee as well.

It is considered sacrilegious and a punishable offence for any member of the committee to induce or cause any member of the cult to act against any of these injunctions. For example, it is considered an offence for any member of the community who is not himself an adherent of the cult to use an offensive or bad language against a Yewe probationer even if the former <sup>were</sup> ~~is~~ in the right. Such an abuse is regarded as an aspersion against Xebieso. When it thus happens that a Yewe probationer is abused, she must fly into the bush singing curses to the name of the offender. The big fetish drums beat to summon all its devotees to the shrine. The offended person is brought back home and before her case is heard the offender must propitiate the god with a live sheep, fowls and money.

6. During the period of probation in the yewefe, which may be from 6 months to 3 or 4 years according to the aptitude of the pupil, the probationer wears no other clothes, not even mether garments except one-piece linen cloth. For her daily bath she

uses water in which some herbs are steeped. She besmears over her whole body some oil made from the fat of a ram or some other animal. Two or three rounds of ropes made from raffia replace the usual beads around the waist, and as has already been mentioned she is not allowed to wear the usual nether-garment that women wear. Her white cloth is worn below the breasts, thus exposing her her whole chest. Her hair is cropped low, and she wears a piece of white linen cloth around her head. She learn to speak the yewe language, which is taught her by the Hubono or some older adherent who is employed for the purpose. She goes to "school" for the purppse of learning the language and all other instructions that the cult <sup>carries,</sup> ~~carry~~ in the shrine. It must be noted that during the period of her probation the "pupil" does not leave the yewe shrine. If for any purpose she visits her home, she must stand outside the gate until her desires are attended to. She must be all politeness and humility to every member of the community, more so to older members of the cult, before whom she must prostrate on every occasion she meets them in the streets.

7. The period of probation is always an ordeal for members of the Yewe cult. If the "pupil" must graduate early she must needs imbibe the secret instructions as quickly as possible and pass an oral test in the Yewe language. The yewe language is a mixture of Efon and Anago or Yoruba and Ewe dialects.

8. As soon as the pupil passes her tests her clansmen are informed to come to claim her away from the shrine. The passing-out or "graduation" fee ranges from £10 to £25. This is paid to the Hubono. Apart from this a live ram, or a sheep, a goat and fowls are offered to the god. A thorough progress account is then given the "pupil's" people by the Hubono, and they are further reminded of the taboos that she is required to observe as long as she remains a member of the cult. A day for out-dooring is then named.

9. Generally, several "pupils" are passed out together to save time and expenses.

On the day of outing, all the important members of the cult are invited to be present. The invitation is accompanied with a piece of coin to every member.

Dressed in their best, the "pupils" are led out of the shrine in a single file, their heads bowed, to an open space, before a crowd of anxious spectators. Each "pupil's" new name is called aloud, and a caution that her old name should no longer be mentioned, is added. The public presentation is done three times, and each time each pupil must put on new clothes, as she comes out of the shrine into the open. Occasion is often taken by the kingsmen of each probationer to let her exhibit what wealth they possess by the number of changes of clothes she has.

As the drums beat out the presentation tune the pupils come out now and dance gracefully before the crowd, amidst shouts of compliments and other forms of praises.

10. In addition to being the priest of Yewe and custodian of the paraphernalia, rites and ceremonies of Hebieso or Tohono, the Hunua or Yewenua is always a very clever juju and medicine man. In fact, it is often remarked that the yewe itself is made up of secret combinations of powerful herbs and that its powers as a god are generally derived from the amount of secret herbs that go to make it up, and the number of powerful jujus that are its appendages. Its votaries, men as well as women, are also clever juju-people.

11. Once a year, generally in April or in September, the yewe at Nogokpo is out-dooed with grand ceremonies and processions

12. Hebieso presides over the weather, and punishes those who do not please him with lightening. A person killed by lightening is supposed to have fallen under the special displeasure of the deity and a ban of excommunication is passed on the body by all the vodusi. The corpse is not allowed to be touched or buried, but is brought to the shrine of the deity and stripped naked after the performance of the excommunication rites. A heap of beaten earth or a platform outside the shrine is then deluged with water and the body laid upon it. The priest, the devotees, male and female, then march round it carrying brass bowls containing salt, pepper and lumps of sheep's flesh or meat. The body is then hacked with the knives of the priest, who pretend to eat lumps of the flesh, but in reality devour the

sheep's meat in the bowls. During this rite all the devotees cry out, inviting the spectators to come and buy the god's meat. The body of the victim is not interred, but is left to rot in the forest or bush on a platform specially built for the purpose.

13. The fetish Da and Fofoe which are some of the other lesser gods imported from Dahome or are less important than the Hebieso worship., but its practices follow along the same lines. The adherents of Da have the royal python as their object and symbol of worship. The snake is supposed to be omnipotent in procuring the welfare of its devotees, and no undertaking of any importance is undertaken without sacrificing to it. It has no image, the worship being confined to the adoration of the living snake, which is kept in the Dakpome. The snake-devotees or Dasi always have one-half of the hair on the head shaven off. They are not to pass by any of these snakes they meet either in the town or in the bush without doing homage to them and bringing them to the shrine.

14. The Tohono at Nogokpo tries cases of theft and land disputes. A person whose property has been stolen or who presumes himself the rightful owner in ~~the~~ a land dispute lodges a formal complaint with the deity. It is believed that judgment follows the death of the guilty party through lightening stroke or sickness. No wonder that many people throughout Eweland, come yearly to offer it sacrifices of seek judgement from it, in the various causes.

## CHAPTER 6

## Section 6 THE AFA CULT.

1. Afa is a cult concerned with divination. It is a very popular cult in the Keta-Some area. It is said to be the messenger of fetishes and ancestral spirits. This divinity is consulted upon all occasions by all who can afford a fowl or a pigeon to pay its fees. Its priest is called Bokono. Bokonos are very clever people and the custodians of the secrets of the cult which are never revealed to any other person outside the fraternity. Afa is not an object of worship and it has no devotees aside the Bokono.

2. As it is not an object of worship, its priests are never succeeded by others when they die. When a Bokono dies, his Afa and all its other appendages are buried with him and there it ends.

3. Persons generally acquire the cult for various reasons and purposes. One may be to be cured of a pretracted illness, another may be for the purpose of making money, others may be for the purpose of preventing ones wives from infidelity, for apart from being an object of divination, it is believed strongly that the Bokono's wives are wives at the same time to the Afa, and <sup>it</sup> takes offence at the infidelity of any of them. It may punish <sup>^</sup> the offender with illness or even with death.

4. A person who desires to acquire the cult consults the nearest Bokono as to who should initiate him into the cult. When this is obtained the prospective devotee approaches <sup>his</sup> 'guarantor' <sup>^</sup> as it is, and tells him of his intentions.

5. When the objects, which are mostly a secret, are obtained by the would-be devotee, he is confined in a room of his guarantor for a day.

6. On the next day, he is taken before other Bokonos and initiated into the secrets of the cult. This initiation is called "Ezuyiyi". The new devotees buys new cloths and other things for the old ones. He is then taught the signs and symbols of the cult and the various taboos concerned with the deity.

He is then required to spread out a feast for all the Bokonos; no other people are invited to the initiation.

7. The new diviner may remain with his tutor for as many days as are required for him to master all the signs and symbols of the cult. But it is confessed by all Bokonos that no one ever understands all these signs and symbols and their purport and purposes before he dies.

8. There are three principal kinds of Afa, both in Dahomey and the Keta-Some area. They are Dzisa, Atsake or Anago-fa and Gogo. Atsake or Gogo is said to possess female attributes and is mostly liked by women.

9. There are sixteen Afa marks. They are as follows:

- |              |                 |               |
|--------------|-----------------|---------------|
| 1. Gbe-magi  | 7. Losu-magi    | 13. Lete-magi |
| 2. Yeku-magi | 8. Akli-magi    | 14. Ka-magi   |
| 3. Woli-magi | 9. Guda-magi    | 15. Che-magi  |
| 4. Di-magi   | 10. Tula-magi   | 16. Fu-magi   |
| 5. Noli-magi | 11. Sa-magi     |               |
| 6. Abla-magi | 12. Trukpe-magi |               |

10. The <sup>seventeenth</sup> ~~seventh~~ mark which is a combination of all the other marks is called 'Che-Tula'.

The symbols of the Afas Gogo and Atsake are respectively sea-bed gravels and cowries.

11. Afa is performed with sixteen-palm-nuts or cowries or sea-bed gravels as the case may be. The nuts are denuded of the husk then marked with peculiar mystic hieroglyphics. The book of fate is a board about two feet long and six inches broad with a handle to the end. Those who do not use boards, use a piece of white linen-cloth instead.

Certain days are sacred to some of the marks, and the diviner always consults the Afa as to the proper day to commence any important undertaking, such as marrying a new wife, building a house, or sowing seeds or attending a meeting.

are the representatives of the child's three-fold nature; the body the blood and the spirit that accompanied and guided it from the land of the dead and handed it over to the bigger idol. This idol is considered to be the child's natural god or 'Sei' and is guarded in its life on the earth.

## CHAPTER 9

~~Section 5. Other Rituals & Ceremonies~~OTHER RITUAL and CEREMONIES

## Section 9 a) Childbirth Ceremonies

1. When the period for the birth of a child approaches, the pregnant woman accompanied by her husband goes to consult the Bokono (the Diviner), first to find out whether she has gone against any of the taboos of the household or clan gods or whether there is any reason to expect an unfortunate delivery.
2. The normal way of consulting the diviner is for the woman, as soon as she gets up one morning, and without washing her mouth or talking to anybody, to take a piece of coin touch her forehead and tongue with it and whisper to it her desires into which she requires investigation.
3. Usually the Bokono prescribes certain baths to be taken and certain other precautions to be observed for the rest of the time before delivery. This is followed by the usual sacrifice of a fowl and oil.
4. When safe delivery is effected, the household gods and the family Bokono are informed. No sacrifices accompany such an information. The visit of the Bokono is mainly for the purpose of paying his respects to the new arrival, and an occasion for looking into its health and prescribing the suitable herbs for its baths. The hair of the new born babe is tufted in three heaps at the crown to prevent evil spirits from entering its body.
5. Outdooring is always an elaborate affair. This takes place five months after the child is born. But when it is not in good health, the period is generally extended. It begins by the mother preparing three small images of clay, then a bigger one adorned with feathers. All these images are taken to the fetish priest or the Bokono. It is believed that the three small images are the representatives of the child's three-fold nature; the body the blood and the spirit that accompanied and guided it from the land of Bofe and handed it over to the bigger idol. This idol is considered to be the child's natural god or 'Se' and its guardian in its life on the earth.

6. The child's 'nature god' or 'Se' is offered a gift of 1s.6d by the child's mother. Sacrifices of food consisting of abolo, seven dried fish and kenky are offered to the three small idols, the representatives of the child's three-fold nature. All these, with the exception of the 'Se' are deposited at a cross-road, in the presence of the child's parents and other members of the clan. At the cross-road the Bokono pours libation to the three images saying: "All you representatives of Kwaku's (the child's name) nature we offer you our sincere thanks for accompanying and guiding it on its journey to this world." "We now wish you good-bye". The whole company now returns to the house of the fetish priest. It is strictly enjoined upon every member of the company not to look back, lest in doing so any of the images might return with them to do harm to the child and to them also afterwards.

7. At the house of the fetish priest a special bath called "Gbetsivowofe tsi" to ward off the influences of bad spirits is offered the child. As the bath-sponge is touched on its fore-head, the joints of the limbs and other parts of the body the priest repeats "Evil spirits don't you dare come near this child. It is not <sup>one</sup> of you". When the bath is over, the mother takes her child, enters the fetish-room and shuts the door. As the priest calls aloud the child's name and asks what it wants in his room, the mother on its behalf answers: "I wish to be delivered out of the hands of all evil spirits". The priest then continues: "Let it be to you as you desire. I receive you to-day out of the hands of all evil spirits, go home".

8. The ceremonies as far as the fetish priest's parts are concerned thus over, the rest of the day is spent by the members of the new arrival's clan and their friends in feasts of palm-oil soup, fish and fowl, and wine.

At dawn of the next day, the mother wakes up each of her neighbours and friends and after the usual customary greetings thanks him for his help at the previous day's ceremonies.

She ends by saying: "You and your good spirits have helped me. I thank you".

9. During the day, and for many days after this, the mother adorns herself and her child and attends all public places and functions. She receives compliments, congratulations and gifts from kindly disposed friends, relatives and admirers.

## CHAPTER 9

## Section 9 (b) Puberty Rites.

1. No puberty rites are now-a-days performed by any body in the Keta-Some area. But about thirty years ago it was a common observance.

On the night of the first menstruation of a girl, a middle-aged woman of the house stood out on the main yard at night and cried the news out to the whole town: "Ele gbe loo ! Abbla le gbe loo, ele gbe"! - "She has passed out the first flower, Abbla has passed out her first flower" She said this several times.

2. In the meanwhile, the young adolescent was instructed in what care she was to take of herself under such a condition, the change of nether-garments <sup>was</sup> she/ to do every day and what sort of bath she was to have as long as the period lasted.

3. On the next day, a bed was prepared for her in one of the principal open places in the quarters' area. Other girls, obviously her friends kept her company telling her stories or playing games or doing some such other things as to guile away time. Every morning, she was accompanied by her friends to the public fount or well with brass pans or pots to fetch water. This water was used for her bath and for ~~the purpose of~~ washing her clothes.

4. On the last day of the menstrual flow a feast was thrown for all the kinsmen of the young woman. Usually, a libation was poured to the household gods by the clan-head. Then <sup>she</sup> dressed in her best clothes which according to the custom ~~was~~ <sup>were</sup> several lines of glass and gold beads round the waist, the knees, the wrists and the neck. A fathom length of cloth was now used instead of a nether-garment, ~~and~~ <sup>it</sup> trailed yards behind its <sup>weaver</sup>. Then followed by a train of her friends, <sup>all</sup> dressed in the conventional way, she went out to greet friends and relatives of her parents.

5. As many days as the menstruation lasted, <sup>so many were</sup> ~~was~~ spent dressing out in this manner. Gifts of money and others were always the girl's or went to defray some of the expenses incurred in the outdoor ceremony.

MARRIAGE CEREMONIES:

1. Ceremonies connected with betrothment and marriage in Keta-Some have for the past 30 years become adulterated a great deal with western and christian ideas of marital relationship. But it is still possible to observe in a few cases these ceremonies as they existed in their pure forms many years ago, more especially in purely pagan clans.

2. When a young man <sup>comes of</sup> ~~reaches~~ the age - which is generally between 21 and 30 years - when it is considered suitable for him to marry, he waits to see whether his parents would arrange marriage for him within the clan or kinship group. If this isn't forth-coming he tries to feign for himself either within or <sup>outside</sup> ~~without~~ the clan. He may either make a personal private proposal to the girl of her love or do so through a 'go-between'. A 'go-between' in most respects is either the suitor's own sister or a married kins-woman. No direct answer is ever given by a girl to the proposals of the man of her love. It is always: "If my parents and yours agree, I shall marry you". The <sup>consent</sup> ~~choice~~ is never left in the hands of either the man or the girl, but at the discretion of their parents which on the other hand depends upon many factors and circumstances, a few of which shall be mentioned in due course.

3. The suitor approaches his own parents and tells them of the girl of his choice. He is ordered to await the decision of the other members of the clanship-group. A short consultation is held with the maternal and paternal relatives of the suitor, and the following matters discussed:

1. Whether there is any reason to suspect that any of the parents or of the girl their son desires to marry is a witch or a wizard, or have ever had the occasion to be suspected or accused of murder.
2. Whether the parents of the girl are descendants of ex-slaves.
3. Whether any members of the clan of the girl are often accused of misconduct such as stealing, lying, practice of

abnoxious juju, misconduct with other people's wives, etc.

4. On the part of the girl it is considered whether she is industrious, cheerful and open-minded. When all these facts are carefully considered and assessed an answer is given to the suitor. If it is considered that there is nothing to disqualify the girl from becoming a wife of their son, the father and uncle on the maternal leanage go to see the parents of the girl with a bottle of wine to seek her hand in marriage. ~~for their son.~~

5. If the girl is not already betrothed to another man the usual answer is that the suitors should go back and return after five days for an answer. Again, consultations and discussions in exactly the same way as we have observed before are held by the parents of the girl. Often before an acceptance of the representation the household god is consulted. Its acquiescence, and as it were advice, is considered final. It must be mentioned that no household or clan god is consulted on behalf of the man, when he decides to marry. It is considered that ~~their relatives~~ the clan god normally has no decision in the matter of a man's choice of his mate.

6. When the relatives decide that their girl could marry the man who seeks her hand, she is informed. Often she has no choice; but even if such a decision by her people is her heart's desire, she often replies that he is entirely in the hands of her people and that she has no alternative. But there have been cases where the decision, of the clan people have been flouted, ~~it being unacceptable to the girl.~~ The result in such cases is often strained relationship between the poor <sup>girl</sup> victim and her parents.

7. The presentation fee for the would-be bride and her parents is one bottle gin and six coppers. For the new bride it is one fathom of cloth or material for the nether-garment, a few bottles of mineral water and wine, a ring (a modern innovation) and five yards of white material.

8. When these gifts are accepted by the parents, the bride is now, ~~but for one thing~~, considered virtually married to her man. She must now be confined. The decision for confinement is always the bridegrooms, as it is expensive.

<sup>bed</sup>  
The sheet is sent back to the bride as a souvenir of her chastity.

10. It must here be observed that where a girl fails to live up to her standard of <sup>purity</sup> ~~undefilement~~ before marriage her dowry may be claimed back by her suitor and the marriage consequently dissolved, to the utter shame and chagrin of her parents. More often than not a witch-hunt is staged to find the cause of the disgrace. But this generally ends in more strained relations and unhappy consequences.

11. During the period of confinement the bride is attended by servants and taught by elderly members of her clan. She is taught how to behave during times of union with her husband, how to conduct herself in private and public as a married person and what language to use towards her husband <sup>calm or</sup> ~~under~~ in <sup>and</sup> strained circumstances. That is why a Keta-Some woman never reveals her husband's physical or moral weakness even when relations between them are so strained as to result in divorce. Her only reply when she is asked why she would not continue to live any longer with her husband generally is: "I do not think I can go back to him. I cannot go back on my word".

12. The daily routine of the bride during the period of confinement is this: She gets up very early in the morning, each day, at about 4.30 and before touching water prays to the gods of the household. She prays for protection from evil spirits, <sup>and</sup> from hunger and want. <sup>she</sup> ~~and~~ finally asks them to bless her with children. Thus with both hands on the breast and facing the east she prays. She has cold water for her bath. She is never allowed to see the light of day. She must go to stool at such times of the day and night that she is never seen by anybody. Her room is kept always clean and sweet-scented. Her food consists of the usual 'akple' and soup. Meat or fish is eaten with the meals, but she is never allowed to crack any bones. At meals she is warned: "A bride never cracks bones". She is not allowed to talk above a whisper or laugh audibly. Indeed, it is enjoined upon her that her presence in the house must not be known.

## Section 9 (3) WIDOWHOOD RITES.

13. The monotony of life in a confinement would be very dreadful if it were not constantly attended by the never ending stories the bride's attendants tell.

14. The day for out-dooring is announced by great preparations in the homes of the bride and the groom's people. A special kenkey or abolo called 'godzi' is prepared and presented to all the neighbours. Distant relatives are not forgotten. At 7 o'clock of the following day the <sup>two</sup> clans gather together.

Libation is poured by an old man of the house. And, decked in her richest clothes, the bride again sees the light of day.

She is expected to put on flesh and to be glossy in the skin.

The more she is so, the more compliments are paid to her husband.

She greets and thanks every individual of the house for his or her services to her during the period of confinement.

Encomiums are showered upon her by all, first, for <sup>the</sup> preservation of her virginity, for her courage during the period of confinement and <sup>then</sup> for her beauty. Attended by six or more servants all also richly dressed she visits the homes of all persons kindly disposed towards her. Presents of money and other things to her are collected by her attendants. She is not allowed to handle any gifts for fear that some such presents might contain a charm or a curse to do her harm.

15. Immediately she returns to her home a great feast is held. Merry making continues <sup>for</sup> many days. At last her people leave her, not without some more pieces of advice and injunctions, a wife in her new home and environment.

6. A new mat, a new local wooden basin, a new marriage pot, a pot, two earthen-ware bowls, a water pot, a calabash, a broom, almost every new kind of kitchen and other household articles and <sup>five yards</sup> of black cloth.

In the evening the old widows, generally four, visit the house of the new one.

The widow is made to sit on the new mat <sup>on the</sup> yard. She is then lifted up and said

Section 9 (c) WIDOWHOOD RITES.

1. Immediately a woman loses her husband by death an instruction is given her by any elderly person in the house to have her nether-garment more tightly fastened on than ever before and to be particular ever afterwards that it does not get lose or taken down, especially when she is in bed.

2. This instruction is given, for it is believed that as soon as a man is dead, his feelings for sexual intercourse becomes so intense that there is the likelihood that his spirit might seek such an intercourse with any of his wives, especially at night when they are asleep.

3. This intercourse, if there is, any truth in it at all, is considered an evil omen, and the result, it is believed, is that the victim, that is, the woman is saddled with a conception called 'Yamefu'. A 'Yamefu' is a conception which is considered to contain no seed but wind. The stomach of the victim increases with time, but never results in the birth of a child. It may remain on her for years till her whole frame becomes emaciated, resulting finally in death.

4. A widow therefore observes the above injunction very strictly until such time as the rites and ceremonies connected with widowhood are performed. The ceremony of widowhood therefore, is primarily for ~~losing~~ <sup>loosening</sup> the spiritual connection between a man and his wife or wives when either of the party is dead.

5. Where a woman is concerned, it is generally the brother of the dead man who faces the responsibility of seeing that the rites and ceremonies are done. He ~~therefore~~ consults other widows, and upon their advice, ~~he~~ provides the following.

6. A new mat, a new local wooden spoon, a new stirring rod, a pot, two earthen-ware bowls, a water pot, a calabash, a broom, almost every new kind of kitchen and other household articles and ~~one~~ <sup>five yards</sup> ~~weave~~ <sup>a</sup> of black cloth.

In the evening the old widows, ~~generally four~~ come to the house of the new one.

The widow is made to sit on the new mat which is spread out on the yard. She is then lifted up and made to touch the mat four

times with her body. When she is seated finally she is handed the new water pot and calabash and ordered to feign going to fetch water.

7. She is then handed each of the new objects one after the other and made to imitate, or rehearse all her daily household duties, such as sweeping the yard, cooking food, washing her clothes, etc.

8. When this is over she enters and comes out of her room four times. <sup>occasion</sup> On the fifth ~~round~~ she is confined in it and ordered never to come out, in fact, never to be <sup>seen</sup> in the day by any body in the community until after four days. On the fourth night she is brought out of her place of confinement, <sup>she is</sup> taken outside the house, made to stand in a ditch two feet deep and bathed with cold water. She is then handed her black cloth to wear. During all these ceremonies, none of the participants ~~is to talk~~ <sup>a</sup> above <sup>^</sup>whisper, lest, it is believed, the spirit of the dead joins them and causes them harm. Now, led by the chief performers of the ceremony, the whole group goes to the gate of each house in the clan quarters and offers thanks to the spirits of the past dead, in the usual way, ~~as~~ bending low and clapping the hands four times.

9. On the next day, the widow is taken to the market; her arms are crossed over her breast in a cross-like fashion ~~X~~. She is taken four times round the market and then made to kneel down outside it, whilst one of the old widows goes in to buy all that is to be bought with the money that is handed her. She buys especially corn, ~~and~~ oil and fish.

10. The next day is a day of feast for everybody in the clan quarters, and for other relatives of the widow. The feast is provided by the widow. She gives a special feast of 'abolo' to the performers of the ceremony and her particular friends. When this is over, she is taken again at night and bathed at the previous spot. This time her black clothes are taken away and she is handed any ordinary clothes for wear. She now becomes <sup>a normal</sup> ~~like any~~ <sup>member</sup> ~~other woman~~ of the community and can re-marry if she so desires.

11. The ceremony for a widower is almost the same, except that he is not required to rehearse any of his household duties or taken to the market. He is confined for a shorter period of time. The only injunction he has to obey is to abstain from sexual intercourse with any other women until the ceremonies are properly performed.

and the ceremonies or rites connected with the burial of the dead are observed with enthusiasm. Women are mostly the custodians of these rites, assisted however, by the older men of the clan.

It is soon as if a solemn brother his last, absolute silence, especially when the death-bed is enjoined upon everybody. The noisy little children are taken outside the yard or into a near-by house, and the dead body is confined. Everybody speaks in whispers, orders are given in low tones. Indeed, it is said, that an unmistakable sign of death in any house in this town is the sepulchral silence of the inmates and the red, fearful eyes of the elderly people. No one is allowed to cry out aloud until the appropriate moment. Persons who cannot control their grief are quietly isolated in a near-by house.

The elderly people are never at home or held quick consultations. They consider their other duties or kinship to whom necessary as to be done, to inform them of the sad news. They discuss the way to take charge of the deceased's personal properties, where they are to be deposited until the burial is over, and what fashion of coffin should be ordered.

When the most important relatives of the dead assemble, they are led into the death-chamber. There they examine the dead body, his hands, his feet and his mouth. They do this to ascertain themselves that death has been caused by natural causes. If the fingers are clenched and the nails discolored, it is held that death has been caused by a poisonous

Section 9

(d) Death and Burial Ceremonies.

A very great respect is paid to the dead in Keta-Some, and the ceremonies or rites connected with the burial of the dead are observed with enthusiasm.

Women are mostly the custodians of these rites-assisted however, by the older men of the clan.

As soon as a person breathes his last, absolute silence, especially near the death-bed is enjoined upon everybody. The noisy little children are taken outside the yard or into a near-by house, and the dead body is confined. Everybody speaks in whispers, orders are given in low tones. Indeed, it is said, that an unmistakable sign of death in any house in Keta-Some is the sepulchral silence of the inmates and the red, fearful eyes of the elderly people. No one is allowed to cry out aloud until the appropriate moment. Persons who cannot control their griefs are quickly isolated in a near-by house.

The elderly people get round to hold quick consultations. They consider their other clansmen or kinsmen to whom messages are to be sent, to inform them of the sad news. They discuss who is to take charge of the deceased's personal properties, where they are to be deposited until the burial is over, and what fashion of coffin should be ordered.

When the most important relatives of the dead assemble, they are led into the death-<sup>room</sup>bed. There they examine the dead meticulously, his hands, his feet and his mouth. They do this to satisfy themselves that <sup>the</sup> death has been caused by natural causes. If the fingers are clenched and the nails discoloured, they say that death has been caused by oral poisoning.

If the dead puts on a gloomy, contorted facial expression, they say death has been the result of witches or wizards drinking his blood. If blood appears on the gum of the teeth, it is a sign that the dead has been killed by the gods. If a pleasant, facial expression is shown, then death by natural causes is pronounced.

In <sup>the</sup> cases of death by <sup>an</sup> unnatural agencies, a diviner or Bokono is quickly consulted, and until his verdict is received the dead is left untouched. The variations of the burial rites depend upon the result of this consultation. If death is by the gods for a crime the dead committed in his life, the body is left untouched and generally wailing is forbidden for twelve hours, at least, until the proper propitiation and other ceremonies are performed by the priest of the god concerned. It is firmly believed that an untimely show of grief by any individual is likely to offend the god which <sup>was</sup> ~~has been~~ the cause of the death.

It is also believed that witches and juju-men responsible for the death of a person, get offended when an unnecessarily marked grief accompanied by insinuations is shown by any of the dead's relatives, before the time of wailing is declared. In either of the above circumstances, it has been suggested that the gods, the witches and the juju-men retaliate with death upon the offending person for his indiscreet exposure of their wickedness.

When the preliminary rites, after examination of the dead body are over, the body is stripped naked and laid upon sand, face downward in a closet in the back-yard of the house. The stomach and the chest are rested upon pads, so that the head droops down. The body is laid in this position so that pieces of materials in the stomach and the nose might pass-out. The dead body remains in this position for about three hours.

This, in the eyes of the ritualists, is considered very important indeed both on the part of the dead and his living relatives, for two reasons:

1. The body, in this position gets sufficiently rested, it is believed, so that its spirit finally realises that it has nothing any longer to do with it, and therefore proceeds calmly on its journey toward Tsiaiwode (The land of the dead)
2. The spirit thus filled with the realisation that it has nothing in common again with earth-life does not return, without invitation, to disturb the living.
3. The body is thus prevented from decomposing quickly.

In the meanwhile, the town-crier is ordered to cry out the sad news to the whole town. His fee is 5/- or 10/-.

In crying out his message, he mentions the names of three or four very close relatives of the dead. With three or four beats on his gong-gong he cries out:

"Good morning to everybody, good morning!  
My elders, I don't unnecessarily disturb you,  
Kofi, Ama (mentioning names of dead's relatives)  
have asked me to announce to you that (dead's name)  
is no more!"

As people begin to troop into the house, the body is got ready for bathing, and the bed for laying in state is prepared. The drums - 'atribpui' and 'gayikpa' ~~begin to~~ beat out their dirges.

Bathing of the dead is done in a back-compound of the house in a closely guarded enclosure. It is done by elderly men and women, who are very close kinsmen of the dead. A ditch is dug in the bathing-place and beams are laid across it to form a seat. Warm water, new sponges and herbs and a locally prepared soap are used.

The laying in state is announced by the firing of one or two shots of gun. The dead is richly adorned with velvet cloths and gold. As soon as the main hall opens general wailing now begins in all its franticness.

Various members of the clan present money and new cloths to be buried with the dead. The new clothes are meant for use in the next world and the money for payment of the ferry-fare, to Kutsiam, across the river.

When all is ready, the body is laid in a coffin lined with cloths. And amidst a great quietness the clan head stands in front of the coffin, facing it. With wine he pours libation in the following words:

"O Akosiwa (name of the dead), I call you, not that I wish you evil, but that I have this to say to you. "If your death has been caused by a member of the clan or community, when you get into the next world return and deal with him or her accordingly as you desire. But, if on the other hand your death is the natural cause of things, then we wish you peace, and kind regards to all our ancestors".

The dead is now taken to the grave yard and buried without any further ceremonies. The stones and the soap and the towel used at the bath are thrown into the ditch and buried. The women, generally seven in number are each paid a penny.

In the main-yard of house, a general account of each clan member's expenses towards the death and burial is read. No one is excused with any expenses, for, in Koba-kase every person is considered first a member of the clan, then of the community. It is considered that whilst the clan is responsible for his upbringing, the whole community is responsible for the expenses towards his death and burial. When the items of expenses are mentioned by the clan members, they are each examined by the representatives of the community. Expenses connected with either mother-germents or underclothes or visitations for the dead are not accepted. They are the clan's. But those for feeding of the mourners and visitors - those concerned with the purchase of the wine, the food, the cigarettes and the coffin are accepted without a question.

A day for the funeral ceremonies is appointed. Due consideration is given to the fact that it does not clash with any others in the clanship group. Again, as before, the town-elder announces the day for the wake-keeping. He says:

"I don't necessarily disturb your peace, but for those persons responsible for the funeral

have asked me to inform you that (name of dead) hadn't been, and has been kept away. Wake-keeping comes on the following market day", funeral closes with the announcement of a day

4. A wake for the dead is kept with drumming and dancing from 9 o'clock in the evening till the small hours of the morning. Attendances at wake-keepings are large and the people are fed.

The second day of the funeral is for the feeding of the dead and the ancestral spirits. The women prepare a special meal to which neither salt nor pepper nor other condiments are added. This meal is served at the graves of the ancestral spirits, the dead whose funeral is being observed, at the gates of each clan house and the shrines of the clan gods.

5. The third day of the funeral is very heavily attended. It is announced with very heavy firing of gun in the early hours of the morning. It is the day for the payment of funeral dues which is normally 6d and 3d per head for males and females, respectively. Those who are unable or otherwise prevented from attending a funeral send their contributions. Contributions fall into two parts viz:

Donations and Table collections: If a person, because of his particular friendship or relationship or connection by marriage with any member of the dead's family desires to offer assistance in meeting the expenses in regard to feeding of guests, he could do so by paying a donation to his friend's fund. This fund is exclusive to the general funeral fund. The 'table collection' or dues as has already been mentioned is a flat rate irrespective of social or financial position.

6. If the dead during his life belonged to any of the funeral societies called "Atsofo", and there are 15 atsofo's in Keta-Some, members of the society may attend the funeral, but are not required to pay any contributions there.

Funeral contributions continue follow for a day or two; due allowance is made for kinsmen very far away who may desire to attend the funeral.

No day passes without one or two drumming societies providing entertainment for those who attend the funeral, and for respect to the dead. If the dead was held in high esteem in his community the funeral lasts for several days. Funeral expenses in the area now

range between £25 and £200.

7. The funeral closes with the announcement of a day for "general accounting". The elders sit round a table with the clerk or recorder. The funeral dues as well as the donations are checked against the entries in the books. When this is done, the essential expenses, that is, those for the coffin, the bed-clothes, the food, the drinks and the gunpowder are paid outright. Donations, called "Xokpo-medzrowodzi" (fund for maintenance of guests) are handed over to those against whose name they stand.

8. If after final accounting, some expenses remain unpaid, it is the practice for the recipients of the donations to surrender these. Where the dead's clan is prudent and scrupulous they are never the losers after a funeral. But where they are otherwise so or where for reason of unpopularity of the dead several persons refuse to attend the funeral, the clan is saddled with debts and all its attendant displeasures.

#### THE ATSYOFO SYSTEM: or Funeral Society.

1. Until 20 years ago the 'Atsyofo' System of contribution towards payment of funeral expenses did not exist in Keta-Some. Contribution was open and not controlled by any societies. The new system was said to have been introduced into the area from the districts of Dahomey.

Membership of the society is opened to all, men and women. Some societies have membership of about one hundred or more. Each society has a Treasurer, a clerk or a recorder and an executive committee of seven or more members.

2. It is agreed upon in advance or at the executive committee meeting what block contribution should be paid to the relatives of a dead member. Generally it is £20 or £25. The normal contribution of each member of the society is 3d. This is paid to the executive committee every nine days, whether there is an incidence of death or not of any member. Members who fail to pay this contribution promptly at the place where the committee meets are each fined. The closing hour on each day of contributions is five o'clock in the evening. The committee sits all day. Members may either pay direct to the Treasurer or through the clan collector who is generally a

literate person and who enters each payment against the names in his book. Such entries are checked against those in the Society's books for the purpose of accuracy.

4. A person may enter the name of any member of his clan in his own society. It may be with or without his consent. Where it is without the other's knowledge, the motive is always ulterior.

A person who enters the name of another in a society is responsible for his regular contributions.

So much corruption by unscrupulous persons are now being practised and so much arrears in respect of the block contribution to funeral expenses now remain unpaid by the various Atsyofo societies that it is being suggested by many persons to have them abolished.

1. These drumming, singing and dancing that are connected with deaths and funerals, state meetings, national joys and calamities. They are drum collectively called "Avadevu". They are: Atompani, Akofade, Aflui, Aflui and Agbadza or Atrikpai. These drums are strikingly repulsive in nature and quickly arouse emotions in their hearers. With the exception of the Agbadza which is distinctly original, all the traditional history of the people are concerned, the origin of the Atompani, Akofade and Aflui is obscure. These drums are 'war-drums', but they are danced in a manner entirely foreign to the people. In dancing them the peculiar rhythmic swaying of the trunk and the flapping of the arms backwards and forwards are absent. Instead, one observes the un-rhythmic foot and whole body movements that are akin to the Akara. And too, instead of the regular inter-related beats of four or five drums as <sup>is</sup> the case with the other drums, one hears very highly, almost shrilly pitched sounds of two or three drums. Most of the songs too which are sung in accompaniment to the music are either entirely Akar or a mixture of the two languages. For example, here is a common song sung by almost every body in the area, but <sup>is</sup> not understood by anyone.

CHAPTER 10  
RECREATIONAL PURSUITS.

1. Among the leisure time activities engaged in by the people of Keta-Some drumming and dancing take the first place. <sup>They are</sup> It is, ~~as it were~~, so woven into the social life of the people that no days passes without <sup>their</sup> it being practised in one form or another in the towns and villages.

No local festival is successful without <sup>them. They</sup> it; ~~it~~ adds the finishing parts to funerals of both the great and the small. Clan groups vie with one another to excell in <sup>them</sup> them and <sup>they are</sup> it is always a delight to the young as well as the old.

2. Drum music in the area may be divided into four main groups according as the purposes for which ~~they~~ are used.

1. Those drumming, singing and dancing that are connected with deaths and funerals, <sup>with</sup> state meetings <sup>and with</sup> national joys and calamities. They are drums collectively called "Avadevu" They are: Atompani, Akofade, Aflui, Atiwo and Agbadza or Atrikpui. These drums are strikingly captivating in nature and quickly arouse emotions in their dancers. With the exception of the Agbadza which is distinctly original as far as the traditional history of the people are concerned, the origin of the Atompani, Akofade and Aflui is obscure. These drums are 'war-drums', but they are danced in a manner entirely foreign to the people. In dancing them the peculiar rythmetic swaying of the trunk and the flapping of the arms backwards and forwards are absent. Instead, one observes the unrythmetic foot and whole body movements that are akin to the Akans'. And, too, instead of the regular inter-related beats of four or five drums as <sup>are</sup> ~~is~~ the case with the other drums, one hears very highly, almost shrilly pitched sounds of two or three drums. Most of the songs too which are sung in accompaniment to the music are either entirely Akan or a mixture of the two languages. For example, here is a common song sung by almost every body in the area, but <sup>not</sup> ~~least~~ understood by anyone.

"Komla, Komla, Komla bu de mi  
 Miafe asafohene Komla bu demi  
 Miafe adjomani Komla bu de mi.  
 Bolo, bolo Fante, Fante nodea mdzaye  
 Mdzaye, mdzaye ekuato mdzeye  
 Adodeto mudzaye"

3. It has been suggested therefore by two or three persons whose ancestors were experts in the music of these drums, that their ancestors might have been taught by either refugees of the Peki-Ashanti wars of the middle 19th century, or Akwamu captives of the Keta-war of 1792. At any rate, it remains a fact that these drums and the ways of dancing to their music have been unknown to the Keta-Some people before their migration to their present home.

2. Other groups of drum music are the Konyifavy. These are Akpalu and Gayikpa drums. They are more or less like the previous ones; they are also for occasions of deaths and funerals. But unlike the previous ones they are passionless in nature, and their low and slow deliberate music cannot fail to arouse in its dancers feelings of deep reverence for the dead. Some of the songs that accompany these drums describe the frailty of man, the helplessness of man in the hands of death, man's hope for bliss beyond the grave and his resignation in the hands of his Maker for good or for bad.

Here are two of these popular songs:

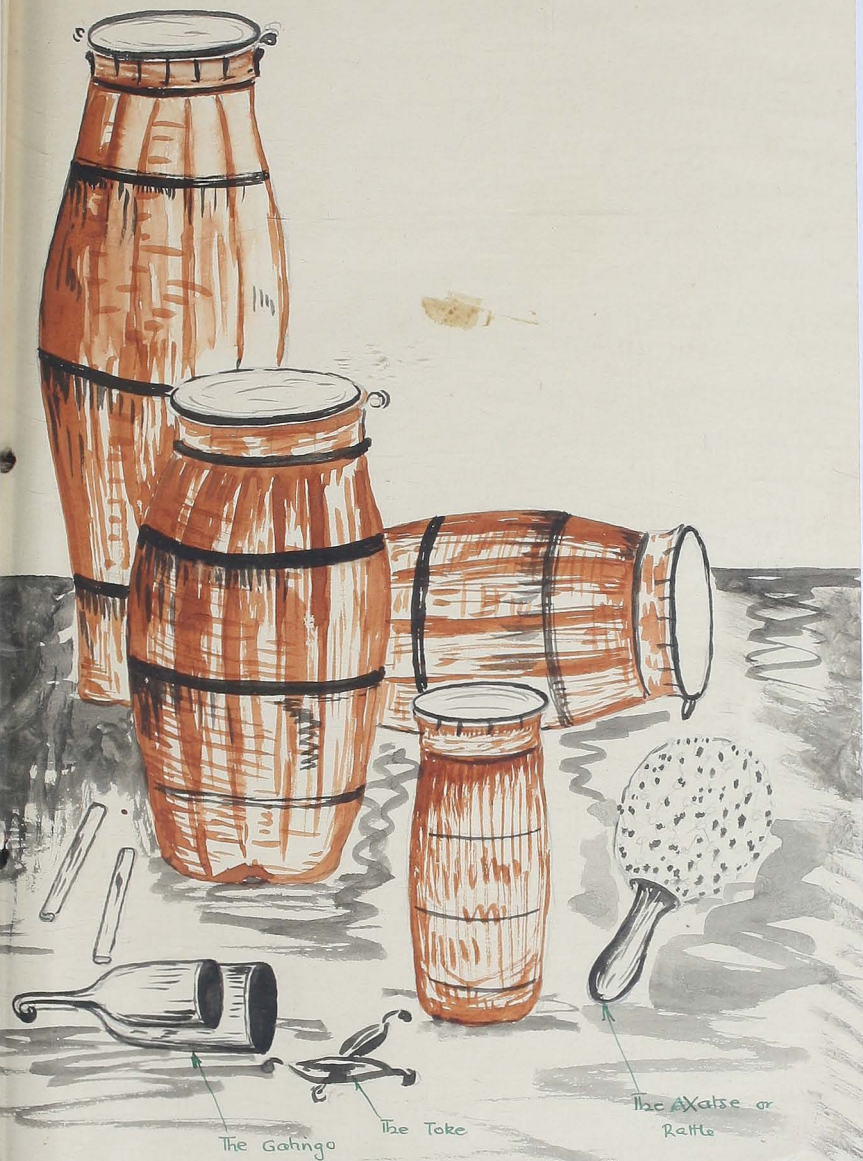
"Wo ame de, megbea amea de mawo o  
 Tonye ya wom. Didife 'gbeto mesea  
 agama fe avi o  
 Agama fe ta tsi ba me.  
 Hanu ga wom loo', ameyibo  
 'gbeto heko  
 Gati wo amea de, megbea amea de mawo o  
 Mawo o. Tonye, ya wom".

English

That which happens to one happens so to all. It has happened to me. He who is far away can never hope to hear the wailings of the chameleon, when the chameleon lost all hopes of life. He was laughed at by human beings. when death comes to one, it will come to all. It has done me its worst".

Konowo kpea fu loo!  
 Vinowo be konowo kpea fu loo!  
 Mese nya vuu nye to me tsi  
 De ko nabu be ye dekae wowo  
 Nyemele du fu ge ale vi o".

LOCAL DRUMS and some MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS



The Gahingo

The Toke

The Axaise or Raitte

"Barren women suffer a great deal.  
 People with children say "Barren women suffer a lot".  
 I have heard so much that I can hear no more.  
 You would think I am the only sufferer.  
 Nobody ever runs to catch a child" (Meaning here  
 that children are born, not caught like animals in  
 the bush).

Akpalu of Anyako, to whom most of these <sup>songs</sup> lyrics are attributed began his compositions about fifteen years ago. His first song, and a one which has ever remained popular <sup>is</sup> was this:

"Akpalu do vua de,  
 Wonye konyifa-vu  
 Anyako-viawo so de nu.  
 Mitro gbe bu miadzi ago ho nami;  
 Hali wu esia lo ho,  
 Medzige amedane nanio ru be".

"Apalo has organised a new drumming society,  
 It is for mourning for the dead;  
 And the whole community of Anyako is interested  
 Pitch up your voices and sing its songs to me,  
 I have a lot of songs to sing,  
 And when I do so, the poor will surely  
 forget his sorrows".

4. One of the most remarkable of drum music in the area is the Atsiagbeko. This drum was introduced into Southern Eweland from Dahome in about the year 1900. It was originally the Dahomian war music, and its drums beat out orders to the Amazons on the fields of battle. It is danced standing in orderly formations and performing various body movements when the big drum beats out the commands. It is still the favourite music of the people especially on occasions of local festivals and other national ceremonials. Almost all its songs are either in Fon or a mixture of the two languages. These songs extol the brave deeds of the people's ancestors, declare the invincibility of the national army, warn the enemy of what they would expect when they attack or describe a particular action in battle or how an important enemy was killed. The Atsiagoeko stands in a class by itself, and its fascinating music and strikingly orderly movements of its dances are always admired by its spectators.

5. The last group of drum music, and a one which contains a lot of popular variations is the Ahiavu. These drums are purely romantic in nature and are mainly for the purpose of recreation for men and women. They include, among many others the following: Awumenu, Tsifonu, Duala, Akofe, Anlisi, Adzrowu and Gahu.

The Halo music in which abusive and other insinuating songs are used does not stand in a class by itself. When two drumming factions or clan-groups fall out with each other in their normal practices of any of the above romantic drums, they try to square out their differences by resort to composing songs to discredit members of the opposing side and to declare all sorts of evils, real or imaginary against one another. Often, this undesirable way of settling differences lasts for a very long time, Each group straining all its resources in bad languages to undo the other. More often than not, as evil begets evil, immoral practices and deaths from oral and other forms of poisoning are the results.

#### DRUM MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

All the drums used in the area are not locally made. They are generally bought from such places as Tsevie, Be and Aneho, ~~all~~ in French Togoland. The prices <sup>are either</sup> ~~ranges from~~ £5 ~~or~~ £3 for a big drum, four feet high, and the small ones, two feet high. The drum is carved as a whole or in small strips from the trunk of a tree called Vuti. When carved in strips, it is usual to get these strips in place with three or four bands of iron hoops. The vellum for the drum is made from the skins of the deer, the antelope and the duiker. A whole set of new drums <sup>is</sup> ~~may be~~ <sup>all</sup> bought at once or singly. ~~as the case may be.~~

The other drumming instruments are: the 'gatigo' - two hollow pieces of iron graduated in tones, and joined together, the 'Go' or 'ahatse', which is a dried <sup>unbroken</sup> ~~and broken~~ gourd, neatly and fashionably covered with a net of beads, <sup>It is</sup> ~~and~~ used as a rattle. The 'Toke' are two hollowed pieces of iron. They are used to beat out the time when songs unaccompanied by drums are sung. ✓

#### 7. Organisation of a Drumming Society.

The initiative for organising a drumming society may come from any one in the clan who is interested in drumming. Often the idea comes from a young man who has recently returned from another fishing village to his own. It may have been that when he was away there, he was an active member of a new society or an intensely interested spectator of the drumming and dancing there. If he has

a flair, a selective instinct for drumming and dancing, he informs the Head of his clan that he wishes to organise such a society. He next appears before a council of the clan elders where he is asked to demonstrate a figure of two of the dance. He may sing also some of the new songs he desires to teach. He may have to answer a series of questions to test his sincerity and capability for getting a society running. When the elders are satisfied that the formation of such a society may not lead to any undesirable consequences, and that the susceptibilities of any person in the clan may not be wounded by any of the new songs or that no neighbours may be offended, an informal consent is given. The organiser is then asked to produce at the next meeting <sup>of the clan</sup> the necessary <sup>wine</sup> for the information and blessings of the clan gods.

When this is done the news is then announced to the young people of the clan. A meeting is held with them, and a decision taken upon the number of times a week they would meet together to practise the new dances and songs. Dance and song practices are held in the evenings for about 3 hours each day. Songs are practised to the beatings of the 'Tingo' and 'toke' instruments.

8. Discipline.

Discipline in the society is <sup>maintained</sup> obtained by appointing two or three elderly men to be patrons: 'vumegawo! A 'Tongla' for the men and an 'Atinua' for the women, keep orders with a cane, in the circle of dancers. Three men, called "Hauuawo" or Henowo and a woman, who are selected for clarity and strength of voice. They sing out each verse of the song, whilst the whole group joins in the refrains, clapping their hands, stamping the feet, rattling the rattles and striking the 'tingos' all to correct time and rythem .

9. OUTDOORING.

Outdooing <sup>of</sup> the drumming society is preceded by three or four intensive full-dressed rehearsals in the evenings. For obvious reasons, spectators outside the clan-group are not allowed at these rehearsals.

On the day of the full daylight performance, the whole society gathers at an outskirts of the town just before the dawn. with palm leaves and branches of trees, a procession for an hour or two is formed through the principal streets of the town or village. This is to announce to the community that "Great things" would happen in the afternoon.

Full performance begins in the early afternoon in the clan's open <sup>place</sup> ~~space~~ of meetings. It is an occasion for all participants, especially the young women to dress in their very best and to provide themselves with three or four changes of clothes. These are kept in a near-by house.

Two performances a week for 4 weeks are normally put up. And, as has already been observed, the purpose of an Ahiavu is to provide opportunities for recreation for the young and old alike. But for the young unmarried people of the clan, it is a paramount opportunity for finding or selecting ones <sup>life</sup> like partners. It is the greatest occasion in the social life of the clan, and the elderly people do all they can to encourage and promote it, not merely for the pleasure it affords, but for the purpose of seeing their sons and daughters get married.

The "Ahiavu" drumming and dancing is held generally during the Christmas and Easter seasons. The interval between one season's performance and <sup>the other</sup> another is normally five or seven years. During this interval those who were young at a previous meeting of the society come of age to be wanting to pair off. No wonder then that the young men ~~of~~ and women of the clan press for resuscitation of the society when the time comes. And one can imagine with what zeal and zest they work to prepare for it, by providing themselves with clothes and other fineries, very much to the amusement and mixed admiration and happy reminiscences of the old.

Some of the most outstanding men at organisation and management of drumming <sup>Societies</sup> in the area are: Tsise Gamadeku, now Awalogomefia Atiane and Asinyo Dogba. and others. Tsise stands

head and shoulders above all others in the area, and in his own sphere of romantic compositions is unsurpassed by any in the Keta District. His only rival is Akpalu of Anzako. <sup>Akpalu</sup> He specialises in compositions for death and funeral ceremonies, and appeals more to the feminine than the robust masculine feelings of people.

Here is an example of Twise's composition:

Avu lato la gblo miafe vu nya  
 Ne miesi le bobo ka la di  
 O mizo va dzeke nezo va  
 Kale wo oda megbea afe o  
 Hesino Yegbe di tsa yi abeawo dzi  
 Ekpona amea dewo do to me  
 Ameadeke metsoa atakupe mina o  
 miawoe nye kinikini kini tso gbe  
 Mieto gbe la de mano te o  
 Avlime za mesu ne dza naye togbo  
 Nyehawo mido dzi, ne me ku avawoxli la di.

That fool has talked a lot of disparaging things about us  
 When you hear it, you would shout with grief,  
 O, come on now, my braves, come forward;  
 No war-brave ever refuses to return home.  
 When songster Yegbe travelled abroad  
 he saw some people organising a drumming <sup>society</sup>.  
 Nobody ever swallows a ginger seed whole;  
 We are truly lions scowling the bush,  
 When we do so, no other animal dares show his head.  
 When time for going down into the grave  
 is not yet come, it is unnecessary to offer  
 up sacrifices.  
 My comrades, keep ~~heart~~ heart,  
 When I die there will be a great unrest.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.

1. HISTORY -

Traditional history shows that the Keta-Somes in conjunction with the other Ewe tribes lived in the basins of the Niger and Benue Rivers several hundred years ago.

At one time they lived at Ketu, but later on moved to Notsie in Dahome. There they lived with the Fos, the Anlos, the Bes, and Agus. They left Notsie in about 1670 and moved westwards. They founded and settled in Keta during the early 18th century. But, as a result of the Keta War of 1784 they removed and settled in their present home in 1805, that is almost a century ago. The Anlos who had lived with the Avenors at Korvime later founded Anloga just about the same time as the Ketas had founded Keta.

In an agreement with the British Government on 2nd December 1879 the Keta-Somes acknowledged the territorial jurisdiction of the English Government and have remained British ever since.

2. GEOGRAPHY.-

The area which is in the south-eastern corner of the Trans-Volta-Togoland Region of the Gold Coast is about 160 square miles and holds a population of about 15,000.

Its climatic condition or daily weather is like the rest of the West African Region. During the months of May to October, the inter-tropical front is well north of the area, and comes under the influence of a considerable depth of the moist south-westerly winds which blow from the Gulf of Guinea. Those months constitute the major rainy season called Ada or Masa. In the remainder of the year the north-easterlies predominate. Except for the small rains from mid-October to December, - which is the Kele season - the rest of the year is dry. The dry north-east wind called the Harmattan is its noticeable feature.

The vegetation is sparse grassland. The coconut palm which has been introduced into the area <sup>since</sup> in the early 19th century covers the area like a thick forest.

The people are mainly fishermen, weavers of local cloths and traders. The methods of fishing chiefly in use are by the seine nets, the drag nets, the set nets and traps. All the nets are subject to legislative control under the Fisheries

(Amendment) Regulations. The two fishing seasons are August - December and January - March or early April. Almost the whole of the catch is preserved by smoking. This is done by the women who are great traders in fish. The Keta-Some cloth is everywhere famous for its beautiful patterns. The thread for the cloths are bought in the shops of Keta. Hausas and Fantis are the cloth weaver's customers.

3. SOCIAL ORGANISATION AND STRUCTURE.

The social organisation of the people is based on three main Divisions called Awalogowo. Within the Division, the organisation is in sub-divisions, and within each or kinship group in clans.

The Fia who comes from a Ruling Family or clan does not succeed to the stool by right of primogeniture. A chief is not a despot in his Division, but a strictly constitutional ruler. The Awalogomefiawo and Dufiawo all owe allegiance to him and he in turn to them.

4. LAND TENURE.

Broadly speaking the whole of the land in the area is stool land in the peculiar sense that it was given to the Paramount Stool at the time of the resettlement of the people. But the Paramount Stool's right over it has been delegated to the kinship groups and clans. Individual rights of lands are now very common.

Land in the area can now be transferred by sale or grant. Succession to land and other properties is now in the patrilineal.

5. RELIGION AND EDUCATION.

The majority of the people are animists, though they believe in the existence of a supreme God which they call Mawu. Their national gods or minor deities are Xebieso, Ana and Yewe. They are worshippers of ancestral spirits and the need to propitiate the spirit of their ancestors is of great significance to them. Activities of Christian Mission Bodies in the area are vigorous. The two principal ones being the A.M.E.Zion and the Roman Catholic. These Mission Bodies have established schools and have since the latter 19th century been responsible for providing educational facilities for the people.

Primary and Middle Schools are the only educational facilities provided in the area. There are no Government owned schools. The educational work of the Missions and Churches is being appreciated by the people. The accelerated development plan for education and its adjunct the fee-free primary education which <sup>aims</sup> ~~ends~~ to provide a six-year basic primary course for all children at public expense has resulted in a large increase in the enrolment <sup>of children</sup> <sub>in</sub> of the schools.

#### 6. GOVERNMENT.

The centre of administration in the ~~past~~ past was the Native Authority. It was the Indirect System of rule, where the administration was centred in the Traditional Rulers.

The present system is based upon the rule of the people themselves through the universal adult suffrage and the vote of the ballot box. But sight has not been lost of the Traditional element. The Government is a mixture of the old and new, and a further responsibility of the people themselves for the provision of their own amenities through direct taxation.

#### 7. LEISURE TIME ACTIVITIES.

The community life of the people is influenced a great deal by leisure time pursuits such as drumming and dancing. They dance in sorrow and in joy. Other recreational activities are the games of 'ludo' for men as well as women, the 'aditata' for old women and 'atidada' for the young men. The two latter games are fast losing popularity.

#### 8. CONCLUSION.

The people do not view themselves as an isolation in the changing Gold Coast, and though their over-all material progress is not spectacular, yet they are moving abreast with the political changes taking place in the country now. And though they are not divorced from the old social concepts and contacts, yet their outlook on life is not narrow. They take great interest and advantages of the educational facilities provided in the area and send their children readily to school. There are no social problems such as unemployment, child delinquency or other mal-social adjustments. There are now

There are no housing problems, and though the majority of their houses are poor, yet every one finds a room to sleep in at night. The regular visits of the Information Department's Cinema is always a welcome addition to their other diversions.

Their attitude to work is as robust as it has been before, and there is enough for every one to do to earn his living.

COST OF LIVING.

Annual Average Market Prices of Selected  
Items of Local Produce in Keta- Some.

Food Constituent	Commodity	Cost
STARCH FOOD	Cassava - fresh .....	6d for 3 tubers
	" - garri .....	1d " a cigarette tin
	Plantain .....	1/- " 6 fingers
	Sweet Potato .....	6d " 6
PROTEIN FOOD	Groundnut .....	2d " a cigarette tin
	Beans .....	1d " " " "
FATS	Palm Oil .....	1/3d a bottle
	Palm Kernel .....	1/6 " "
	Coconut Oil .....	2/- " "
VEGETABLES	Garden Eggs .....	1d for 4
	Okros .....	1d " 6
	Onions - small .....	1d " 6
	Pepper - dried .....	3d " a cigarette tin
	Tomatoes - medium .....	1d " 1
FRUITS.	Bananas .....	1d " 3
	Oranges .....	1d " 1
	Pawpaws .....	2d " 1
	Pine-Apples .....	6d " 1
	Sugar-cane .....	3d " 5 feet.

## INCOME ANALYSIS OF THE MAIN

OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS IN KETA - SOME

INCOME GROUP	per day	per month	REMARKS.
FISHERMEN	5/-	£7: 10.	(During season, the fisherman's intake (is between £8: and £10: But in the (Off-season he practically earns nothing.
CLOTH -WEAVER	5/6	£8: 5.	(The average cloth-weaver weaves 3 (cloths a month. A cloth on the (average costs £2: 15:
FARMERS			(Cocomut is pecked 4 times a year.
(a) Coconut	2/8d.	£4:	(Average number of trees owned by each (farmer is 100. (Each picking sells out at £12: That (is £4 a month.
(b) Food-crops	2/6d.	£3. 15:	(A food - crop farmer owning about 4 (or 5 acres of land reaps in the two (farming seasons of the year about (£45 worth of corn and cassava.
TAILORS	5/-	£7: 10:	(The average intake of tailors both (men and women is between £6 and £8 a (month. The women tailors are fewer (than the men. But they have more (apprentices generally and therefore (earn more income
CARPENTERS	3/6	£5:	(The number of carpenters is not great. (The demand for furniture in the area is (small.
MASON	8/-	£12:	There is always plenty of work for E. masons to do in the area. New build- ings are often being put up and old ones are constantly being painted up.
GOLD SMITHS	6/-	£9:	During the Christmas and Easter seasons the intake of the Gold-smith is high. It is as high as 10/- a day. But in the off-season he rarely gets 3/- a day. His average income is between 5/6 and 6/- a day.

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