

The  
Cultural Training  
of a  
Child

from birth to adolescence  
as obtained at  
Mankessim.

By  
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## INTRODUCTION

Mankessim is a village situated in the old Central Province of the Gold Coast Colony, and lying on the Accra-Ikoradi motor road. The nearest coastal town is Saltpond, six miles west of it. There is a road which runs in a northerly direction from the village to Kumasi in Ashanti. Its situation is thus such that Ikoradi, Accra and Kumasi are roughly equidistant from it. There are about two hundred (200) houses most of which are swish and roofed with corrugated iron sheets. The population is about two thousand (2,000).

The motor road is the main street of the village dividing it into two. There are very many small lanes which are not kept in hygienic condition for a greater part of the year. Sheep and goats are allowed to roam about, and their faeces deposited here and there add to the insanitary conditions which are characteristic of most villages in the district. There is a large market situated at the extreme west of the village.

Many religious denominations function in this small village. They are the Methodist, Roman Catholic, Apostolic and Muslim. Each of these denominations has its mission house and a cemetery. The Methodist has the largest number of worshippers but majority of the heathens are worshippers of the cult known as TIGARI. It is believed to be very powerful in the sense that it is able to protect its adherents from evil spirits, and also to punish

all wrong does with death if they do not confess their sins. Many of the people who call themselves Christians are also members of this cult in secrecy.

The false Confederacy Local Council of which Mankessini is a member has two schools in the village namely the Primary Local Council School and the Middle Local Council School. The school buildings are situated at the eastern end of the village. Apart from maintaining these schools, the Local Council has a detachment of N.A. Police, a Prison Department, a Sanitary Overseer, market clerks, a sub-treasury, a court and a dispensary.

The river Amisab whose water is used for drinking flows along the South Eastern part of the village. Fishing by means of hooks, basket and small nets is carried on in the river for the greater part of the year. Fishing in the river on Saturdays is prohibited because it is the birth day of the river hence its full name Amba Amisab. Bathing and washing of articles are performed at the southern most end of the river, thus ensuring that the area from where water is drawn is not contaminated. Anybody who goes against the regulations for the use of the river is fined at the chief's court.

The major occupation of the people is farming which consists mainly of the cultivation of vegetables and growing of yams and cassava. The two most important crops are tomatoes and garden eggs. The nearness of the village to the river and the

fertility of its soil afford the inhabitants the advantage of producing these crops in good quantities during the dry season when these commodities are very scarce all over the country. They are usually grown on the river banks. Sometimes also channels are constructed to connect nearby farms so that water might be obtained for the growth of the crops. They are sold on Market Days which fall on Wednesdays and Saturdays. The central position of the village contributes very largely to the heavy influx of buyers and sellers from distant places.

Market days are very busy and happy days at Mankessim. On the days preceding the market days the crops to be sold are conveyed from the farms to the homes. Then at about 5.30 am on market days, they are carried to the market for sale. Traders from as far places as Axim, Keta and Kumasi come to buy and sell. Those from such distant places spend the nights of Tuesdays and Fridays at Mankessim, and it is not an uncommon scene to find many traders, mostly women, sleeping in verandas during such nights owing to lack of accommodation. The market transactions begin at 5.30 am and end by 4 pm. Hundreds of people with various types of goods come to sell and buy. Traffic is heavy on market days because very many lorries convey people and goods to and from the market. The stockkeepers of U.A.C and U.T.C make heavy sales especially through the sale of petrol in the whole of the Farmland

It is the Mankemini market that has the longest attendance. But for the market, Mankemini would have been a hill and vain teaching place to stay. Really it is the market that has made it possible for Mankemini to progress in the matter of education and other social amenities. From the office of the market clerk I gathered that the total amount of money collected as market-tolls is not less than a thousand pounds (pounds) a year. Considering the size of the village, it is the market that has made Mankemini what it is. As the Nile is Egypt and Egypt the Nile so Mankemini is the Market and the Market is Mankemini.

History has it that Mankemini was the capital of the state of Frankland; it was the main place of settlement after the migration of Jantes from Akwanti. The name 'Mankemini' means 'A big state' and it is indicative of the size of the village in the other days when all the Jantes were staying in one place. It is now a small village; but most of the customs have not been altered. It is for <sup>reason</sup> this and the fact that I have stayed there for ten five years past that I have chosen to write about its cultural Education of a child from birth to adolescence as obtained at Mankemini.

My informants were Osumbon Nana Akoko Akoko (He has been the chief for the past thirty years), the two recognised Medicine-men - Maaom Akooma Gyam and Akom Nyant,

two teachers Messrs Henry Walker and Johnson Haydon who are citizens and have stayed here almost continuously from birth and a number of school and non-school children. To all these people I am thankful.

At this point I would like to pay special tribute to my tutor, Mr J. G. Caddye, who has helped me a great deal with very useful and valuable criticisms and suggestions. I am very much grateful to him.

## CHAPTER ONE

### PROCREATION OF CHILDREN

#### 1. Attitude towards having children.

The Iante community at Mankessim, and in fact Iantes everywhere attach a very great importance to child bearing. The clan system demands that children should belong to the mother's clan, and it is therefore a great pride on the part of a woman to bring forth as many children as she possibly can. The woman who brings forth children is an asset to the clan because she increases the size of it. There is a saying among the women folk which runs this: - "Abodan fi yafun mu" which literally means "A cement block building comes from the womb", the interpretation being that it is one's child who would grow up to build one a

house.

The advantages attached to child bearing are three fold:- The first is that the married people procreate in the hope that in the evening of their days they may have people to look after them. The second is economic. The children help their parents to do their work on the farm. In this way the cost of labour is either considerably reduced or, if the number of children is large, completely avoided by the free labour which they provide. The third is that possession of children enhances the adult's prestige and dignity in society. Men who have children very often boast with them especially when there is a quarrel. A common saying is "Itwa, awo da, wo ma ahan?"; that is "You fool, have you brought forth before? How many children have you?" The man who is able to bring forth children is very much loved and respected by the women-folk. Then again on the death of a man it is the custom for the children to provide the coffin for the burial of their father. The more the children to provide it, the better the quality of the coffin. (See Appendix II for a song sung by the women folk in connection with provision of a coffin by children)

It is perhaps for these same reasons that polygamy is common amongst the inhabitants of Mankessim. There is also the fear that some of the children might die; consequently no limit is set to the size of the

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family. There are instances of women who have brought forth nine or ten children with only one or none of them living. It is therefore essential that as many children as possible should be brought forth.

Childlessness is regarded as a serious handicap. The following are regarded as the causes or explanations of sterility. The most generally accepted explanation is that the woman's womb has been spoiled or removed entirely by witches; and it is very usual to find that the oldest woman in the household is held responsible for it. Sometimes childlessness is due to the children dying before they are about five years old, and here the people say it is the mother who being a witch has killed her own children. Other people attribute childlessness to the woman having practised abortion when she was young. Sterility in men is regarded as an ill effect of diseases like gonorrhoea and syphilis.

People who are sterile are always unhappy and they generally feel jealous of other people who have children. When quarrelling people tease them with their childlessness. Childless men are more unhappy than childless women. In social gatherings when alcoholic drink is served, the childless man is not served with a glass from which he should drink; he is given a wooden receptacle for that

purpose. This gives rise to anger, the childless man feeling that he has been disgraced in public, and on several occasions many a fellow treated like that had left the gathering; and there are instances where childless men have shot themselves to death as a result of that. The relatives of a childless woman, in their effort to make her feel happy, sometimes allow some of their children to stay with her; but most parents do not do this readily because it is held that childless women, mainly as a result of their inexperience in child care or through sheer jealousy, are never able to treat other people's children properly.

Childlessness is very often used as an excuse for divorce. If, after two years' marriage, there is no offspring, the relatives of the woman give the man a deadline by which if there had been no offspring the marriage is dissolved. It would thus appear that the assumption is always that the fault is with the man. Sometimes, however, before the expiration of the time for divorce, he marries another woman or keeps her as his concubine; and if he brings forth with this woman, it then becomes clear that it is the woman who is sterile. This often causes withdrawal of a divorce suit and the retention of the woman as a

wife is decided by the man. Thus childlessness in married women is another cause for the practice of polygamy.

When a childless man or woman dies a ball of ground pepper is pushed through the anus of the dead body. This is done as a punishment for having wasted his or her time on earth. He or she has not been a useful citizen. This practice is fortunately dying out with the spread of education.

Native doctors help a great deal to remedy sterility. They prescribe the type of food to be eaten and also medicines which may be taken, together with taboos which should be observed by the man or woman to overcome it. Cases were cited in which such attention had been successful in treating sterility.

The consent of the wife and her relatives is sought before devices are applied for the stoppage of childbirth. The consent is usually given if the wife's family appreciate that the number of children the woman has brought forth is large enough to justify it. It is the herbalists who prescribe the medicines and types of food for use by the woman. The time for the application of such devices is when the woman's own children begin to bring forth, because the grandmother is supposed to give a helping hand in the nursing of the grand child, and she can only do so

satisfactorily if she has no babies of her own to nurse at that time. Sometimes if a woman wants to stop child-bearing, she pours down a cupful of water as a libation for her soul, calling upon it to close her womb.

Another method of stopping the womb from functioning is this:— an old lady stands in front of the woman and facing her, she knocks the woman's head gently with a loose hoe. If the iron portion of the hoe falls off, then she would not bring forth again. I was told it always worked.

Strictly speaking there is no discrimination between the treatment of legitimate and illegitimate children. They have equal rights and responsibilities. In fact it is the Christian Churches which have influenced some of the people to the extent that they are afraid to own such children for fear of expulsion from church membership, and it is only a few Christians who have been bold enough to claim such children and face the consequence of expulsion from the church membership. As already explained, the more children a man has, the more prestige he enjoys ~~in~~ in society, and it is therefore his duty to look after all the children he brings forth, legitimate or illegitimate. He may prefer to let the child continue to stay with the mother who is not his wife

or to stay with a relative of the father. Sometimes the child stays with the step-mother and other children of the father in the same house. This arrangement carries with it a great deal of troubles arising out of the attitude of the step-mother and the half brothers and sisters of the child. He is often ill-treated by them and this results in frequent quarrels between the father on the one hand and the step-mother and her children on the other.

Custom demands that a widow should marry the deceased husband's successor so that he might take care of the children together with his own; but if the woman marries a different man, the successor does not care very much about the well being of the orphans. The type of treatment orphans receive depends largely on the attitude of the new husband. Such orphans who become step children to their mother's new husband very often do not show any gratitude to their step father when they grow up. This has given rise to the proverb "Iba noma mye iba pa" meaning "A step child is not a good child". Sometimes an uncle or an aunt of the orphans takes charge of them. Here again the well being of the children depends on the attitude of the care takers.

The clan system makes it easy for bastard children to be cared for by close relatives, usually the aunt or uncle. The

Children belong to their mother's clan, and so the relatives of the bastard children take delight in training them because they know the children will benefit the clan in future. This benevolence of the members of the clan is on the decline as a result of the rise in the cost of living these days. Adoption of children is unknown. If it were practised, the relatives of the children would regard it as a disgrace for their not being able to look after children of their clan. People would resent it. As a result of this state of affairs (where adoption is not practised and also care for bastard children by other members of the clan is not forthcoming) children in this category are becoming delinquent.

## 2. Pre Natal Period

Generally a woman becomes very happy as soon as she realises that she is pregnant because of the advantages attached to the possession of children already explained. Cessation of ~~men~~ menstruation for at least two months is a sure indication of pregnancy. Vomiting is a common feature during the third and fourth months. There is a general feeling of laziness and a tendency to sleep a lot.

As soon as the husband realises that his wife is pregnant, it is his duty

to engage a native doctor to attend her. Before the native doctor prescribes any medicine, the cost of the treatment to be rendered is bargained on. The usual rate is ten shillings (10/-) during pregnancy and one pound one shilling (£1 1/-) after delivery. He then gives a black powdered medicine with which the husband has to vaccinate the wife. He has to use a sharp pen knife or a blade to make three cuts each on the forehead, the chest and at all joints and round the waist. It is because the woman would have to expose herself for the vaccination that the husband is asked to do it. The black powdered medicine is then besmeared on the cuts which would then be bleeding. A small amount of the medicine is put in a drinking glass, and locally distilled gin is mixed with it for the woman to drink. The rest of the gin is used in pouring libation to the gods and the dead of the clan so that they should protect the mother and the unborn baby from evil spirits. The pouring of libation is performed by the native doctor. Another medicine in the form of a talisman is given to the woman to put in a strip of cloth tied round her waist; and still another is given her to mix with her soup from time to time. She is to syringe every three

days.

A pregnant woman takes her breakfast early; it is usually heavy. A lot of herbs is eaten to give free bowels. Sugary foods like orange, mango and sugar cane are forbidden. The reason is that if these types of food are eaten the woman will be sickly and, according to my informants, that will affect the child in the womb. In the evenings, 'fufu' and soup is a favourite dish.

There is also the belief that taste for any particular food is dictated by the child in the womb, because there are instances of pregnant women losing their taste for what they ate under normal circumstances and they did not formerly like during pregnancy.

From the third to the sixth month of pregnancy there is a keen desire for marital intercourse. The desire declines as time goes on but the practice continues even in the last month of pregnancy. There is the belief that marital intercourse during pregnancy makes child birth easy. One of the "midwives" I interviewed said this: "Marital intercourse helps to open up the waist and vagina for easy child birth"

Pregnant women are supposed to do

hard work; for example pounding corn or 'fufu', carrying heavy loads from the farm and weeding. When hard work is done, the child grows stronger in the womb, and therefore any tendency to laziness is checked by the elderly women.

Taboos for the well being of the unborn child are usually dictated by the native doctor. Here are some examples:- A pregnant woman should not assist someone else to lift a load on to the head (such an act, it is feared, induces miscarriage). A pregnant woman should not allow anybody to walk behind her when she is sitting down. (Superstition has it that child bearing will be difficult because the child will circumlocate for a long time in the womb before it will come out.) Only a relative or a reliable friend is to dress the hair of a pregnant woman. Here again it is believed that miscarriages are often due to the evil spirit of women who come into contact with pregnant women.

The husband of the pregnant woman has to be careful in the treatment of the wife. There should be no flogging or threats - these would make her sick. This appears to be one of the rules which are often broken. I happened to come across a pregnant woman being beaten by the husband for disobeying orders.

Nowadays it is the practice for some pregnant women to take treatment from the Government Certificated Midwife at Saltpond. The attendance is once a fortnight, and they are very careful not to mix up the times for administering the mixture from the Government Certificated midwife with those of the native doctor. The practice is that on the day that the woman will syringe with the native doctor's medicine, she is not to use the mixture from the Government midwife. This practice is of course unknown to the midwife. These women who avail themselves of the opportunities at the Saltpond Clinic do not go to the Government midwife when the time is due for them to bring forth. They only do so when their conditions are grave, and all attempts by native doctors and native midwives have failed to help them to bring forth.

### 3. Birth

Labour pains are regarded as the most exciting period during pregnancy. As soon as the woman begins to have pains in the waist, thighs and stomach a messenger is sent to summon the native midwife.

Mean time it is the duty of the elderly woman or the mother of the pregnant woman to comfort her by encouraging her to be brave and to exert her energy to overcome

them. All the members of the household are alarmed. Every body shows sympathy to a woman under such circumstances, and are usually prepared to give any assistance. The old lady helps the expectant mother to walk to a private room. All the necessary things like a basin of water, fire in a coal pot, soap, knife and clean rags are made ready by the old lady.

The first thing the 'midwife' does when she arrives is to examine the stomach of the woman and to feel for the position of the child. Sometimes she passes her hand through the vagina to feel it. When she finds that the head of the baby is towards the vagina, then she is certain that the time is due for the woman to exert all the energy she has. By this time the old lady would be standing behind her and the expectant mother would be leaning against the old lady. She would then be sitting on some clean rags with her legs wide apart and raised a little. It is the old lady's duty to hold her daughter very tightly.

No one is allowed to be in the room or enter it apart from the mother and the 'midwife'. The husband becomes very anxious; he is not allowed to go into the room either. He paces up and down the verandah or sits up excited and nervous, and hears the groanings of

his wife when all of a sudden he hears the cry 'ngaa', he feels a sign of great relief for he knows that the baby has come out. He may jump for joy.

No anaesthetics are used during child birth. Masked kenny might be given to the woman if it was found out that she was very tired and weak.

Before the umbilical cord is cut off from the placenta, it should be noted that there is no sign of breathing in the placenta. The explanation given is that the breath of life flows from the placenta through the cord into the baby, and so if the cord is cut while there is breathing in the placenta, the child will die. After cutting the cord, the placenta with the rest of the cord is buried in a corner in the house. The child is bathed and put on a mat away from the mother. The room is then cleaned. It is after this that the father is allowed to go in to have a look at his baby. The women greet him with these words "Wo tri ukwa" which is an expression very close to "Bless your stars" and shake hands with him.

To ensure the well being of the new born baby, the "midwife" must bathe the child for the first eight days three times each day. After each bath palm kernel oil is besmeared all over the baby's body, particular attention

being paid to the armpits, groins, back of the ears and the neck. It is claimed that this oil helps to remove all dirt. Another precaution is that the child should not be carried on the back until the sore at the navel is healed. The "midwife's" fee is ten shillings, and she is paid on the eighth day when she is supposed to have finished with her job. This cost is borne by the husband.

The eighth day after child birth is an important day for the child. It is believed that if a child is able to survive up to the eighth day, then it has come to stay with the parents. During the first eight days of its life, the child is never brought out from the room. On the night preceding the eighth day, the mother and child change their sleeping position. The reason for this is that it is believed that during the first seven days of its life, the child is protected and looked after by spirits in the world from which it came, and the change in sleeping places is done to inform them on their usual visits that the care of the child has now been taken over by the parents.

At about seven o'clock in the morning of the ~~seventh~~<sup>eighth</sup> day the child is carried in the arm by the grandmother and shown to the rising sun three times while she says "This is the

would into which you have come. We give you a hearty welcome. If you have come, stay and we will look after you." It is then taken back into the room and the native doctor vaccinates it with the medicine which the mother put in a cloth round her waist during pregnancy. Three cuts are made at each joint and the black medicine mixed with locally distilled gin to a firm consistency is rubbed into the bleeding cuts. The rest of the medicine is drunk by the mother. Libation is then poured at the threshold by the native doctor to thank the gods for giving the parents such a child. The spirits of the dead are invoked for the protection of the child. Medicines for syringing and drinking are provided by the native doctor. The mother is also provided with different medicines for syringing and drinking.

It is after the native doctor has finished playing his part that visitors are allowed to see the child. The belief is that if people are allowed to visit the child before this time, those with 'bad eyes' (i.e. the witches and wizards) will ~~be~~ bewitch it and so kill it. The father then has to give to the wife and her relatives presents for the child. These are gifts with which he welcomes the child into this world. They are a white tray, a comb, a brush, a

mirror, a tin of powder, a pomade, sponge, soap, six changes of baby's dress, a lamp, a towel, two bottles kerosene plus an amount of about five pounds (£5) to be used as maintenance money for the first three months, because the wife will not go to stay with the husband until three months had elapsed. The practice of sending all the articles mentioned above is dying out. Nowadays husbands prefer to send money, the usual amount being in the neighbourhood of five pounds (£5) for the woman to buy those articles, and the presentation of the gifts or money being done by two female relatives of the husband.

If the child is a female, it is on the eighth day that holes are bored in her ears by means of a thread and needle. The needle is pierced through the lower part of the ear. It is then removed and the thread is kept in the hole made so that it does not close up. The sore in the hole is treated with palm kernel oil. In about a week's time the sore is healed; the pieces of thread are removed and earrings are provided.

The next observance on the eighth day is the naming ceremony. This is performed by an old man in the village. He has two assistants whom he has trained to perform the ceremony in his absence. Before the ceremony is performed the father

has to get the following articles ready:-  
 A four gallon kerosene tin full of palm  
 wine, one bottle locally distilled gin,  
 two empty cups, water and ~~the~~ a leaf  
 of the tree called "Odwon". The in-  
 vited guests arrive by eight o'clock  
 in the morning. After they have all  
 assembled the grand father or any  
 relative of that rank formally de-  
 clares the purpose of their meeting.

The child is then given to the Master  
 of Child naming Ceremony who puts it  
 on his lap. One of the cups is filled  
 with water and the other with palm  
 wine. The leaf of the 'Odwon' is folded  
 into two to make it possible to be used  
 as a spoon. The father whispers the  
 name of the child to him (It is usual  
 for a father to name his first child  
 after his father) and the M.C. announces  
 it to the congregation. He then uses the  
 folded leaf to collect a very small  
 amount of water from the cup and  
 put it into the child's mouth, and as  
 he drops the water into the child's mouth  
 he says "Kwesi Dorkoh" (assuming that that  
 is the child's name) "ese nsua nsua"  
 which means "Kwesi Dorkoh, if you say  
 it's water it's water" This is done three  
 times and each time the water is dropped  
 gently into the child's mouth. He then  
 repeats the performance with palm wine  
 and instead of saying 'nsu' he says 'nsa'  
 i.e. the word 'alcoholic drink' is used in

place of 'water'. The principle underlying the whole ceremony is that the child should speak the truth at all times, calling a spade a spade, so to speak. After this, libation libation is poured with half a glass of the gin, again calling upon the spirits of the departed to protect the child. The remaining palm wine and illicit gin are drunk by the congregation. This is followed by presentation of gifts in the form of money ranging from three pence (3d) to two shillings (2s). The presentation is made with the expression that the money might be used in buying powder or pomade for the child.

On the following day the relatives of the mother go round to render thanks to those who gave money to the child.

The medical treatment of the mother after child birth is considered very vital, and it is one of the reasons why the wife has to stay with her mother for at least three months before she goes back to her husband. The mother gets up very early from bed each morning to boil water. An amount of it is poured into a bucket or a chamber pot, and the young mother sits on it. When the water becomes lukewarm, it is poured away and filled with fresh boiling water for the repetition of the performance. This is done three times over. It is very

painful, and so old women force the young mothers to stay on the water. The reason for this treatment is that the heat of the water heals up the womb in the vagina. The treatment is repeated in the evening. She has to syringe every three days with, this time, medicine containing an appreciable amount of pepper and ginger. Here again the idea is to heal up the wounds in the waist. Her regular food is 'fufu' and palm nut soup. Eating of food prepared with palm oil is encouraged so that she may regain the lost blood. Ordinary porridge and cocoyam "porridge" are all mixed with palm oil. This diet is used for the first three months after which the woman is allowed to go to stay or spend the night with the husband. If the treatment is not carried out conscientiously the woman may fall ill and die as a consequence. Sexual intercourse during this period is considered very dangerous as the vaginal wound has not healed up.

Three months after birth the woman puts on a white dress. Earrings, necklace, and beads for the wrists are all white. The baby is also dressed in white, and is carried by a sister or another relative of the mother. They are accompanied by a friend of the

mother in going round the village from house to house to greet friends and relatives. People give her presents and say "Yeda Nyame ase; wotai nkwia" meaning "We thank God; <sup>bles</sup> your stars". On the eighth day after this she puts on a yellowish dress, gold earrings and necklace. Those who are Christians attend Church Service on the following Sunday, to render thanks to God for her safe delivery. Sometimes ten shillings or five shillings is given to the Church as an offering.

## CHAPTER TWO

### EARLY CHILDHOOD

#### Nursing.

When the 'midwife' finishes her job on the eighth day, it is the grandmother of the child who has to bathe it for the young mother to observe. If, however, the mother is experienced in the art of bathing babies, she does it herself. The grandmother does it for the first three months after which the mother takes over, while the grandmother keeps an eye on her to make corrections if she went wrong. Before child bathing is conducted the following articles are got ready:— a basin, sponge, soap, towel, a clean rag, powder, pomade, a comb, a brush and hot water.

The child is first placed on the mother's lap. The hot water and towel are used in applying hot fomentation to the fontanel. The fomentation is not allowed to keep long on it. It is removed at about every eight seconds and replaced after an interval of four seconds. It is also used in pressing the sides, back and forehead to give the desired shape to the head. The child is then laid flat on the lap with its face downwards. The hands, legs, back and ribs are also massaged and stretched. The child is lifted from this position and placed as follows. The woman opens out her thighs and tucks the child's legs into her groin with its face facing her. The back of the head is held firmly with the left palm. The body is lowered to such an angle that it hangs between the knees of the mother. A basin in which a clean rag is spread is put underneath the baby's head. Sponge, soap and lukewarm water are used in bathing the head only using the right hand. This particular position of the child is assumed so that water may not trickle into the child's ears. After the soap in the hair has been rinsed with water, the head is dried with the towel. The child is then put in the basin, the purpose of the clean rag in the basin being to prevent the child from slipping. The child is then bathed scrupulously well.

Particular attention is paid to the armpits, groins, back of the ears and the genitals. The genitals of the female child receive special attention. They are washed with some of the water in the basin in order to remove any dirty matter from them. The body is then rinsed of the soap and the child is lifted on to the lap of the mother. It is dried with the towel. Powder is applied profusely on the body so that it may absorb any sweat that may come on the body. Pomade is applied to the head and the hair is combed and brushed. The child is then dressed in one of its rompers, and it is ready to be fed.

For the first day or two after birth, the baby is fed with milk from the coconut fruit or with ordinary water. When the milk in the mother's breast begins to flow (it on the next day or two) it is then that the child begins to be breast fed. The baby is put in the left arm and on the mother's lap. If it is to be fed from the left breast, it is cuddled with the left hand, and the breast put in its mouth by the right hand. Usually the baby is put to both breasts at each feeding. There is no strict ruling as to how long a child should feed on each breast. It is a practice for the mother to suck the breast before it is put in the mouth of the child. When I asked for the reason for this practice I was

told that the mother should be sure that the milk from the breast is flowing well. If the milk is flowing too much the mother puts her finger to the nipple to stop it.

If the mother has not got sufficient milk in the breast, flowers of a plant named 'Nkwa' are ground and mixed in the mother's soup. She may also drink salted mashed kenkey or chew sugar cane regularly. Any of these foods, I was told, caused much milk to be formed in the breast. Sometimes if the mother is away and the baby is to be fed, the grand mother feeds it with her own breast! Nowadays a few of the women are making use of the feeding bottle.

There are no fixed intervals for feeding a child. It is fed when it cries. The feeding is thus very irregular and this may cause constipation. A baby may sometimes refuse to eat and the first thing is to try to force it to eat. If that fails, then the assumption is that the child is not well. Some herbs prescribed by the native doctor are then collected and prepared for syringing. When a baby stops feeding, it is taken as an indication that it has had enough. This decision is arrived at only when several attempts have been made to force it to suck the breast.

The mother's attitude towards nursing is a happy one. It is one of enjoyment



A mother carrying her baby



Feeding a baby.



Feeding a baby  
whilst walking

And she feels proud about it especially if it is her first child. Sometimes, however, the mother feels it is inconvenient especially when she is engaged in a trade and finds that the child's feeding times conflict with her trade. This often happens when the child is about six months old.

There is no fear of a mother's figure being spoiled by nursing. Most women who have brought forth about three or more children have flabby and unattractive breasts. They do not bother very much about it. I am inclined to think that a probable cause is that the children are allowed to pull the breasts far too much during feeding. A mother may be carrying a load with her baby at her back. If the child wants to have a feed, it is pulled out and made to hang by the side of the mother. The breast is then drawn out and the child grabs it into its mouth. All this takes place while the mother is walking.

Three months after birth, marital intercourse is resumed, the frequency of it being a matter for individual decision by the couple themselves.

2. WEANING

There is no fixed age at which weaning is effected. It is commonly effected in relation to the birth of the next child, which means that during

the time the child is fed on solid foods, it is also breast fed. There is also a belief that if a mother becomes pregnant when the child is about a year old, it will have a strong fever which may cause its death. It is therefore the practice to wean the child as early as possible in circumstances like this I saw a child of about three years of age being breast fed. The mother explained that the child was the last one she would bring forth; she had done her best to stop it from sucking the breast, but all her attempts had been in vain. From further investigation I realised that it was common amongst the women who had finished bringing forth.

Weaning is gradual. When teeth begin to appear, children are in the habit of biting the nipples while breast feeding. Mothers give the child quite a hard smack on the head or back to check it. At times an attempt is made to force the child to stop breast feeding. A collection of very bitter but non poisonous leaf is ground and the product is besmeared on the nipple of the breast so that when the child puts it into its mouth the bitter taste will force it to remove it. Sometimes also the mother sucks the breast and spews it out with a wry

face to indicate to the child that it is poisoned. Persistent children are beaten by the mother.

Seeds of 'Adobe' (a kind of palm tree) are given to children to suck. The seed is tied to the wrist by means of a thread. This is done before weaning and the same seed is used as an object on which children teethe. It is generally believed that early weaning of a child may cause the child to be sickly.

Finger sucking is common. Parents do not bother very much to check children who indulge in that habit. Thumbsucking, however, is regarded as a very bad omen. The common belief is that a person puts his thumb in his mouth when he is in danger or agony, and so if a child does that, it indicates that a mishap will befall the parents. As a result any child found to be thumbsucking is regarded as a bad child. Deep cuts are made on the thumb by means of a sharp pen knife. After that bitter leaves are ground and rubbed into the cuts. This causes a great deal of pain and the child eventually puts a stop to thumbsucking.

#### SOLID FOOD

Solid food is introduced before weaning and as early as when the child is four months old. First of all the child is given porridge prepared with corn dough

for some time; mashed cassava is later introduced. The porridge is given by spoon but cassava, kenkey or plantain is offered by the hand. By the time the child is nine months old it is given heavy foods like 'fufu' and soup. The child is fed with the rest of the family and also as and when it is hungry so that there are no regular intervals at which it is fed.

Over eating is not regarded as anything very serious. The child is laughed at or abused lightly but the practice continues. A proverb has been formed to frighten children who over eat "Esen me edzidzi a esen me usaman hunii" (If you over eat you will see many ghosts). The idea is that if one over eats he usually visits the latrine frequently in the night, and in so doing he will meet many ghosts. This, though fearful, does not succeed always.

There are no foods considered to be specially good for children. Generally there is no difference between the diet of a child of about two years or more and that of an adult.

Food is used as a reward for children's good behaviour. If the child runs errands to the satisfaction of the parents, he is given an extra bit of ordinary food or food which is costly but which has been procured for special occasions. Foods which are sweet are those usually used as

upwards. The same types of food are also used as punishment for bad behaviour. A child who refuses to run an errand is not considered when sweets are being distributed to the other children of the household. Sometimes the amount of food it normally gets from the parent is reduced considerably by way of a punishment. This practice affects one of the basic needs of the child, and he is apt to revenge it on some of the other children; its attitude of love towards the parents who have so treated it is also affected. If it continues to behave as such and is always punished with food, it eventually finds a way out to satisfy its need. This might result in pilfering.

A child is supposed to feed itself at the age of about two years, although adults continue at times to feed it.

All the children have their meal in one bowl, and they sit round it. Children do not care about handwashing and the adults generally do not bother very much about whether the child has washed its hands before eating or not. The tool by which children generally wash their hands before eating is at the age of about twelve years. This washing of hands before eating is the origin of the proverb "Abofra hu ne usa ho hokor a oma onye npanyin to dzidzi" (A child is allowed to eat with adults only if it knows how

to wash its hands properly)

TABLE MANNERS

Talking is not allowed during meals, and the reason given is that bits of food might get into the windpipe. Eating with the left hand is prohibited as that hand is used for dirty jobs and picking up dirty objects and the like. Licking of plates is not allowed. The reason is in connection with a superstition which states that anybody who licks plates does not grow beard. (Beard growing is considered a very important feature of manhood.) Children generally sit on the floor when eating but are not allowed to rest the left hand on the ground while sitting on the ground and eating. Here again the reason given is the superstitious belief that if someone rests on an arm like that when eating, all the food he eats will pass through that arm to mother earth, and he will be hungry again soon after he has finished eating. Children are also instructed to cut their morsels to the size that will make easy swallowing. These aspects of table manners are taught them during meal times as children make their mistakes, and by the time the child reaches puberty it is supposed to know all of them. It is then that the child is allowed to eat with adults.

ELIMINATION

Infants are taught bodily cleanliness at

first the parents are not much bothered about the child soiling its clothes which are cleaned and washed as soon as they are soiled. Toilet training is begun when the child is about two years of age. He is instructed to report to the parent or any elderly relative as soon as he feels like easing himself. The cleaning of the anus is done by the adult with a dirty rag or a corn cob. This hard material used for cleaning the anus is a common cause to bleeding piles in later years. The faeces are then thrown away either in the bush or in the pit latrine used by the adults. The child is allowed to use the chamber pot during the night, but if it is in the day time, he is instructed to use the area at the back of the house as a W.C. After easing himself it is his business to report to the parents or any adult relation to clean his anus in the usual manner, and for the adult to remove the faeces.

It often happens that the child fails to report that he has eased himself outside the house when this is discovered he is given a good beating not so much because of the exposure of the faeces but because the mother is liable to be fined in the court if it is discovered by the local sanitary overseer. The parents do not usually praise good performance in regard to toilet training.

only when there is an occasion for comparison between two children that one hears of praise for the child whose performance in this respect is better than the other. When a child of four years or above soils himself he is usually scolded and or punished. The punishment takes the form of cainning on the head or at the back

#### URINATION

As time goes on the mother tries to make the child learn to urinate (this training usually starts before the child has learnt to walk.) She holds up the child and says "ssss ssss ssss" until he has relieved himself and will from time to time take him down from her back and repeat the performance. At the age of about three years the child is instructed to urinate outside the house. Before he goes to bed he is put on a chamber pot to urinate, the mother using the same inducement as before. During the night this practice is repeated at intervals of about five hours so that by daylight he might have been put on the pot at least twice for urination. During the day the child is urinated on the compound or behind the house. If by the age of five or six years he is still a bed-wetter, he is punished severely.

As soon as he gets up from bed he is besmeared with red soft clay from the toes by the parent and forced to

carry his wet mat. Other children from the house and neighbourhood hoot at him, and sometimes he is bullied by them. He is taken round the village and very soon the crowd of children increases. They hoot and sing "Suankye korobon amunwen wel, Suankye korobon amunwen wel" (Bed wetter, you are ashamed, Bed wetter, you are ashamed). The crowd moves finally to the river side after having gone round the whole village. Here he is hooted at three times and pushed into the water by two elderly children. After washing the mat and himself he goes back home crying all along. It is a very bitter experience. The cold morning, the exposure of the body and the compulsory bathing in the cold river make the ordeal hard to endure. The idea behind this treatment is to disgrace the child publicly so that he might stop bed wetting.

The villagers attribute bed wetting to sheer laziness on the part of the child. The more elderly people realise that apart from laziness, over eating and late meals are also a cause to bed wetting. Apart from the treatment explained above, the following methods are also used to help the child to stop bed wetting: His evening meal is given earlier than before. The amount of food is also considerably reduced. Sometimes the bitter substance in the stomach of the crab is given to

the bedwetter to eat during meal times. It is believed that the bitterness of the substance helps the ~~child~~ <sup>child</sup> to overcome bedwetting.

Despite these methods of control, there are some children who are unable to overcome it. There was a case of a young woman who had not been able to overcome bedwetting during her childhood and had therefore grown up with it. She was later married by a young man who did not know she was a bedwetter. After they had stayed for a couple of months, it was discovered by the husband, and that had been used as a cause of divorce.

Toilet training is supposed to be completed by the age of six years, and it is after this that the child is entitled to use the pit latrine of the adults.

Parents do not worry very much about children's dirtiness, and I came across children of the age of about five or six years who had not had their bath for three days in succession. Skin diseases like crabs and yaws are common.

FÆCES

Parents examine and criticise the quantity and quality of children's faeces. A piece of stick is used to examine it. Sometimes the mother smells it and may find it to be very pungent. There may be worms in it or the faeces may be very stinky. They may also be quite inefficient and hard.

In all these circumstances a dose of castor oil is given to the child. It is a common practice to syringe the child with native medicine two days after he has taken the dose.

There is no difference in the case with which boys and girls are trained in respect of elimination.

Mothers are worried more about diarrhoea than about constipation. The reason is that a child loses weight, and is unable to eat sufficiently if he has diarrhoea, whereas in constipation the child is able to eat and does not lose weight. To treat diarrhoea, dry leaves and roots of the quava tree are ground and mixed with water. A small amount of ground pepper is added and the child is syringed with it. At times, instead of syringing, the quava leaves are powdered and mixed with the ground pepper. It is then made into a small round ball about half an inch ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ") in diameter and hardened by placing it near fire. When quite dry it is pushed through the anus into the rectum. This is more painful than syringing but it is more effective.

If however, a child constipates for a period of about two or three days, the mother gets alarmed, and some common herbs known as "mpatsoa nooc" are ground with pepper and used in syringing the child. A few of the women who attend the clinic at Saltpond told me they prepare

a soap-suds enema by stirring a piece of 'key soap' in water. It is then used to syringe the child with to check constipation.

There is no special toilet language for children. It is at the age of five or six that children carry out elimination privately. They speak about it freely throughout childhood and it is only beyond the age of puberty that euphemisms are employed to describe the latrine. When someone is going to a place of convenience he is expected not to greet anybody he meets. He has to say "Morokh Opangun fie" if he happens to meet somebody. The expression means literally "I am going to the big man's house". Another expression used to describe the latrine is "Dua do" which literally means "on tree".

Adults refrain from performing eliminatory functions in the presence of children except very little ones of about one and a half years, the reason being that children of this age are quite ignorant about the genitals and are not tale tellers.

WIND BREAKING

Breaking wind is an unpardonable offence. If a child breaks the wind in the presence of adults, he is slapped on the buttocks, and he is considered disrespectful. If he does so in company of other children he is severely beaten by his friends. Sometimes it is difficult to spot



Syringing a baby



Baby "releasing" the  
faeces after syringing

out the offender. When that happens one of the children volunteers to find him out. First of all he allows the other children to smell his anus. If he is guiltless, he is then empowered to smell the anus of each child, and when the offender is found out, he is given a good beating. If he breaks wind while eating with his friends or relations, the bowl containing the food is put on his head and the other children stand up to eat the food. The carrier is allowed to take part in the eating while he still carries the food. He uses one hand to hold the bowl and the other to eat with. Afterwards the other children tell him to go to a secluded place to break wind if the need arises, and not to do it in the midst of people.

When a child is having hiccoughs a small piece of stick of the size of half a match stick is pushed into the hair on the head. If that fails to stop it, water is given the child to drink with the stick remaining in the hair.

Belching is no offence both during childhood and at the adult stage. If a child belches during meal time, it is taken to mean that he has had enough food, and he is then asked to stop eating.

CHAPTER THREE

MOTOR DEVELOPMENT

The child is very often carried by the mother or an elder sister. He is put at the back and the upper part of the carrier's cloth is used to fasten him to the carrier's back. After this another cloth is used to tighten him up more firmly. If the child is carried by the father, no cloth is used to tighten up the child. He carries the baby sideways and on the hip bone with one hand round the child's back. It is very common to see a girl carrying her younger brother or sister at her back whilst the mother is busy cooking or running to the river side to draw water. If she leaves her child to cry for any length of time the elders reprimand the mother for neglecting it. When she is going to the market or farm or chapel she carries her own baby.

Before a child learns to crawl he should be able to sit still and keep his balance. For this purpose a clean rag is spread on the floor and the child is put on it. He is guided by the mother or an elder brother or sister to prevent his falling over. When the child begins to cry, it is taken as a sign of tiredness and he is put on the lap or carried at the back. The practice goes on for some time

and by the time the child is seven or eight months old he is quite able to sit still by himself. The next step taken towards helping the child to crawl is that a handy object like a comb or an empty match box is placed in front of the child and at such a distance that he has to move before he can get hold of it. He then begins to try to crawl to the object. During the first trials the child may fall over several times and even get wounded, and for this reason, he is not put on a cement floor to practise crawling. The practice goes on for some time and by the time the child is ten or eleven months he is able to crawl perfectly well. It is at this stage of crawling that the greatest care is taken about the movement of the child. Any object which will cause harm to the child is removed from the area where he crawls. The mother is very careful about where she places things like knives, coal pot with fire, hot water or any article that is likely to cause injury to the baby. The child is very much encouraged to crawl a lot. This is often done by the father or mother or a brother or sister placing an object in front of the child, and as he moves towards it, it is pushed further away and the child continues to crawl towards it. It

the age of about fourteen months he begins to use objects like tables or chairs or sometimes the walls of the room as a support to stand up on his feet.

As soon as that is recognised old children and adults begin to give a helping hand in teaching the child to walk. The adult holds the two hands of the child and stands in front of him, facing him. He then begins to walk backwards saying "Tantaa, teataa, teataa, nantaa kedzi nkyiefuwa" which means "Tantaa teataa teataa learn how to walk to be given an egg". Though at this stage the child is not able to walk, these words are used to serve as an encouragement and interest for the child to walk. 'Tantaa' is an onomatopoeic word corresponding to the stamping on the floor with the feet. He follows the adult gradually and when he is ~~too~~ tired he sits down. This practice goes on till the child is able to walk. Some parents provide a small wooden three-legged cart for the child to push along as a means of practising how to walk. By the age of one and a half years the child is able to walk.

It is recognised that if attempts are made on the child to walk far too early, his legs will be weak. Mothers



Bird hunting.



Playing with an  
old bicycle wheel



Children swimming  
in the river



Children pushing  
their four wheeled  
'lorry' along.

are therefore advised by old women to give a help in making the child walk only when it is recognized that he is using tables or chairs or any furniture as a support for standing up. If, however, it is considered that a child has kept far too long to walk, the following methods are used to bring pressure to bear upon him, the assumption being that the child's late walking is due to sheer laziness. First of all the legs are tied with small pieces of boards for three days and then removed. After an interval of about three days, the experiment is repeated. This goes on for a considerable length of time. If after a month of practice the child is unable to stand on his feet, a special medicine prepared by a native doctor (which medicine contains pepper and ginger) is rubbed vigorously on both legs. This also is done for about a month and if it fails to make him walk, another kind of medicine prepared by the native doctor is pushed through the baby's rectum. This practice is continued for about another month and I understood that it almost invariably succeeds in making the child walk.

As soon as the child is able to walk the following ceremony is performed - a boiled egg and mashed yam mixed with

palm oil is given to him to eat. The mother touches the mouth of the child with the egg three times, and then he is given the whole egg to eat. After this he is given the mashed yam as well. This simple ceremony is regarded as a cleansing of the mouth. The explanation given is that during the period of crawling the child eats a lot of dirty things like dust and faeces of fowls which he happened to pick up. Now that he is able to walk, it is hoped he is not going to indulge in that practice any more. This special ceremony is performed for the child whether he walked early or not.

There are other instances where a child continues to sit still despite all the methods explained. The parents begin to get alarmed about the situation as time goes on i.e. round about the age of two years upwards; and it is one of the opportunities during which native doctors make money. After performing some magic they would tell the parents superstitious things about the child. Sometimes they would say that the child was given by the goddess of the River Annissah, and that the child's inability to walk is a punishment to the parents for not rendering thanks to the goddess. I was made to understand that sometimes when the requisite rights are performed the child is able to walk, and it is taken

to mean that the goddess is now satisfied. If this line of approach fails, the native doctor tells the parent that the soul of the baby had been consulted, and it explained to him (the native doctor) that it was the child's desire to be lame. Lame children are very well cared for by the parents, and although they are handicapped, they endeavour to take part in games like marble playing and draught.

As far as movements are concerned in the motor development of the child, clothing does not restrain it. During the day most children go about naked, it is in the nights that they use their sleeping clothes.

When the child is able to walk, he is allowed to move anywhere on the compound. He goes about with his brothers, sisters and other children in the neighbourhood, and it is through these contacts that very often the male child obtains an old lorry tyre or a bicycle wheel. He then finds a piece of stick and pushes the wheel with it along the lanes and paths in and around the village. It entails a good deal of running and helps the child to develop physically.

The game that offers a great deal of motor development to girls is 'ampe'. Children begin to play this game as early as at the age of five years. It is played

by two or more girls. The players divide themselves into two teams and stand facing each other. One of the teams is called 'Meeters' and the other 'Passers'. They jump, clap the hands and swing one of the legs forward as they land on the ground. If for instance a player from Team A swings the left leg to meet the right of the opponent, then because the legs have met, the 'meeters' score a point. (Note that the swinging of the legs and landing on the ground is simultaneous) If on the other hand the left leg of a player from Team A is swung and the left leg of the opponent is also swung, the two legs will pass each other, and this time the 'passers' score a point. Points are counted up to an agreed number, and the team to gain it first wins the game. Sometimes the game is accompanied with songs. The jumping, clapping and swinging of the legs involved in the game make it a very good form of exercise for motor development.

Sometimes also the children make a four wheeled cart by means of pieces of boards and nails. A steer is provided in the construction and the wheels are either made of wood or fruits of a tree called 'Idonton'. One of them sits on it and he is pushed by the others. After two rounds the 'driver' comes down and one of the pushers takes his place.

This continues until every one has had his turn. They may have four or five rounds, in fact the game goes on for hours, and it is played in the open spaces of the village. This game entails much pushing and running, and it affords opportunities for physical growth. The game is considered a boys game but some girls also do play it, in which case it is the boys who construct the small 'tomies' for them.

Another game played for Motor Development is Hide and Seek in the river. Here sometimes the hider dives to collect sand from beneath the water, makes it into a ball and hits the 'seeker' with it when he is not looking, and then dives immediately. When the seeker gets hold of one of the hiders they exchange places. This involves a good deal of swimming and diving and it affords opportunities for physical growth.

There is no limitation of space for the children's motor activities inside the house. It is at the age of about six years that they are not allowed to be playing in their parents' room.

Threats with punishment or telling of terrifying stories of what happened to a child who did not take warning - these are used in warning children away from dangers like fireplace, street crossings, possibility of getting lost or falling down a stair case. Mothers show

a great deal of alarm when children expose themselves to the dangers enumerated. They usually rush to get hold of the child and bring him back to safety; then follows some beating and scolding. After this the child is threatened with death accompanying any accident as a result of exposing oneself to any of the dangers. For getting lost in a forest the mothers would say 'A lion will kill you'. Danger about fire - 'You will be burnt to death'. For road crossing they would say 'A lorry will kill you and so always cross with an elder holding your hand'.

Many young men told me that it is due to warnings and threats about road crossings and the general use of roads that most of them do not know how to ride bicycles. The parents entertained the fear that if they practised bicycle riding, they might involve themselves in lorry accidents. Those of their age who know how to ride them happened to stay with relatives in large towns. This attitude of parents towards bicycle riding has changed as a result of the growth of the school and its influence on the children in the village. Nowadays it is a common scene to come across boys learning how to ride bicycles in the open spaces of the village and school park.

SLEEP

Sleeping conditions are generally very poor. The parents sleep on one straw mat. The youngest child has a separate mat whilst each pair of the remaining children sleep on one mat in the same room, with the exception of those who have reached or passed the puberty stage. They sleep in an open place adjacent to the parents' bedroom where rooms are ample, and this is very uncommon, children of such age have their own rooms — one for the girls and another for the boys.

If an infant does not want to go to bed inducements are employed to make him sleep. The mother puts the baby on the lap and sings a lullaby. The following is the commonest lullaby "Iba yi woana ba a Eyya Kweisi ba a. Wonye no nko abeadge, abeadge no noo. Wonye no nko onyaa ase, onyaa bobu abo me ba abo me ba. Twi twi mbee mbee mbee". A literal translation reads thus "Whose child is this? It is father Kweisi's. Take him to under under the palm tree. There are thorns under near the palm tree. Take him to the shades of the silk cotton tree. The silk cotton tree will fall on my child." If this fails to put the child to sleep, she carries him on her back and paces up and down in the room or on the compound or outside the house for fresh air. No threats or stories of beggy men

are <sup>used</sup> ~~used~~. He is transferred to the mother's bed only when the inducements have failed to make him sleep. He is then given water to drink or he is breast fed and then put back in his place to sleep. It is when the child is sick that he is transferred to sleep with the mother.

The children's sleeping hours are not regular. This is due to the fact that the parents wake up very early in the morning for their farm accompanied by all the children except those who are very young, and therefore cannot walk the distance. These are left in the care of the grand mother or any elder who may not go any where. They return very late in the evening. Sometimes also, when there is moonlight, the children play games in the open spaces of the village up to the time they get tired before they return home to sleep. When the parents are ready for the farm and they find it difficult to wake a child up from sleep, a cupful of cold water is poured on him to force him to get up. Children get sufficient sleep when very young, but after the age of six years they do not get it sufficiently because of household duties and farm work.

HEALTH

Cold, wetness, over eating and over exertion are the chief dangers to the health of the young child. To safeguard against catching cold, children are warned not to bathe

in the nearby river for a long time. Again children are very fond of playing in the compound when it is raining, and very often catch cold as a result. It is the duty of the parent to see that there is no chance given to the child to do so.

During the cold season parents see to it that the children go about in clothes which in many cases are the smaller 'cover' clothes of the mother. Other precautions taken in respect of health are as follows:

For very young children the bones in their meat in fish are removed before they eat their meals. This is done to avoid bones sticking up in the throat during meals. Very few parents bother to cut short the children's nails to avoid their scratching themselves and prevent bleeding which may result from it. The area of crawling, as already explained, is cleared to avoid danger. When going out the child is to be accompanied by an elder brother or sister to help in street crossing.

The native doctor is also employed to vaccinate the child with protective medicines. Some of the medicine is put in alcoholic drink for the child to drink. Amulets and talismans are also provided to be used by the child as a protection against evil doings of witches. Apart from all these precautions the child is taken to the "Tigani" priest for enrolment for membership.

Tigani is a cult worshipped by about eighty percent of the inhabitants. It was introduced into the village by a subchief eight years ago. It is believed to be a very powerful cult which can make barren women fruitful, cause rain to fall and increase output of crops on the farms. It is claimed to be able to detect and force confession of adulterers, witches, thieves and in fact any evil doer. It has its code of laws which is very similar to the ten commandments of the Christian churches. People offer prayers to it in respect of their needs, and when those needs are satisfied it is the duty of the worshipper to render thanks to the cult. If he fails to do so, he is punished with a disease or some loss of property or with death.

The elders of the village attest to the efficiency of this cult by saying that since the introduction of its worship the death rate of children has been considerably reduced. Children have been saved from the destruction of witches. Wives are now sincere in their dealings with their husbands in that they render true accounts of sales of farm products. If a wife rendered false accounts, the cult would disgrace her by making her confess in public. Adultery has reduced considerably.

Almost all the children in the village have been placed under the protection of Tigar by their parents. This has been done to ensure good health, long life and proper behaviour of children.

The children get very dirty as a result of their playing frequently in the dust. The commonest diseases among the children are yaws and crabs. To treat yaws, the child is scrupulously bathed to the extent that the yaws bleed profusely. He is dried, and ground brimstone is applied to the affected spots. Crabs is also treated in a similar fashion. It is very painful indeed and the young men and women whom I interviewed remember very well the ordeal they had to encounter in their childhood. The influence of the school has made it possible for some of the sufferers to be given injections at the hospital at Saltpond.

Over eating is common. Children visit relatives at odd times and very often food is offered them. If the children happen to refuse it, the relatives take a serious view of it. They usually attribute the refusal to the probability that special instructions had been given them by their parents to do so, and it is a common cause of misunderstanding and even enmity between the parents and the

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other relatives, and is another example where kinship relationship is a cause to unhealthy practices and disease among children. They move freely among their relatives and thus obtain food in abundance. Indigestion and constipation result. Syringing with native medicine is the usual treatment for constipation.

When a child has a cold the parents consult a native doctor. Care is taken that the child does not go about naked. Extra clothing is provided to keep him warm. Twice a day hot water is prepared for massaging him. The native doctor prepares a special medicine to be squeezed into the nostrils to cause sneezing and so help to force the phlegm to come out from the nostrils. This is done after the morning's massaging. After this black pepper is ground, made soft and besmeared all over the body. He is given light food like porridge, garden egg soup and "Agidzi". Apart from these, other instructions from the native doctor are carried out.

#### PHYSICAL CONTACTS

Physical contacts like stroking, embracing, sitting on lap, tickling and rocking are done by the parents when the child is very young. Other relatives like brothers, sisters, aunts and uncles are also allowed to play with and handle the child. Generally people are very fond

Young children. They caress them and demonstrate their affection for them in various ways. Women in particular take keen interest in children's development. When they meet in market places or on their way to draw water from the river, they discuss a great deal about their babies with regard to their activities and general behaviour.

At leisure, parents caress babies with mock bites of the lips, hands and feet or tickle the baby and make explosive noise and grunts on its stomach which are suggestive of an animal eating the baby. Babies find enjoyment in this mimicry and laugh. Kissing is not practised in the village. The inhabitants look upon it as a dirty habit. After the age of four years these physical contacts cease. There is no variation of such contact with regard to sex and age.

There are no special children's words for the genitals. They use the same words used by the adults. In fact they are very vulgar with them. They do not feel any shame about it, and this is probably so because the parents themselves use them in quarrelling with other adults.

Masterbation is recognised as common especially among the females. They generally hide in corners in lanes; they use pieces of sticks or their fingers to push

into the vagina and manipulate the waist as if they were having sexual intercourse. Sometimes the male plays with the penis to the extent that an erection is caused, and if it happens that he is playing with a female, he will have a sexual intercourse with her. These practices are carried on by children of about ten years of age, and are considered by the parents to be very bad because the children are too young for any business like that, and also the practice damages the sex organs which are very tender at that age. When parents come across children practising coition or masturbation their hands are tied and they are severely caired. If it is the habit of the child, ground pepper is pushed into her sexual passage. If it is a boy, the pepper is rubbed on the penis.

Children however play sex games. A special word "HUNJUMAGOR" is used to refer to them. It literally means 'Dust games' mainly because the games are played in the dust outside the house. The following is one of them:-

The children imitate what their parents do at home. The girls collect stones, leaves, empty tins, pieces of wood and use them for cooking. The stones are used as the hearth, the leaves are put in a tin and water is poured into it. The pieces of stick are the firewood. Some

of the girls act as daughters and one as the housewife. One of the boys plays the role of the father and the rest are either friends or sons. The tin containing the leaves is put on fire and after a time it is supposed to be well cooked. The 'wife' calls one of her 'sons' to go for their 'father's' food. A portion of the food is reserved for the 'daughters' and 'sons', and then a supposed general feasting follows. Morsel after morsel of the food is pushed against the chin and thrown away. Sweeping and cleaning of the compound are done by the 'daughters'. The 'sons' wash the plates. The 'husband' and 'wife' chat. Sex games are regarded as interesting and worth while, and therefore children are not discouraged to play them.

CLOTHING & SELF EXPOSURE

During early childhood children go about naked except the girls who have beads round the waist with a strip of red cloth called "Amuansi" passed between the legs and drawn through the bead-girdle before and behind. They usually allow one end to hang in front, thus making it easy for the child to remove it when she wants to urinate or ease herself. The use of this 'Amuansi' is to cover the sexual organ in order to avoid dirt which may enter it and cause disease. The boys play with their clothes instead of using them as garments. It is when they reach

the puberty stage that children feel ashamed to appear naked. Girls feel shy at this stage to appear naked before men and not women. But when the breasts are well developed, and especially after menstruation, a girl feels shy to appear naked before anybody. When hairs begin to grow in their armpits and above their genitals, boys feel shy to appear naked before girls and women but not before men; at the age of about sixteen years, however, they do not appear naked before anybody. If a child feels shy to appear naked earlier than the periods explained then it is assumed that he or she has had some sexual experience of some sort.

Children are scolded when lapses from modesty are observed by the parents. Attitudes towards nakedness differ according to the sex of the child. Nakedness in a grown up girl is a more serious offence than that of a boy. The reason given is that girls or women do not expose themselves to the notice of other people especially men. Their breasts, hips and buttocks generally attract men and therefore a young girl should not go about naked. Generally nakedness in men is not such a serious offence as it is in women, because I observed that men could have their back in an open space to the notice of passers-by. They generally hide their genitals in

between their thighs.

A girl gets help in dressing and undressing up to the age of about ten years; but if the dressing is for a festival or any special occasion, the help extends to the puberty stage. On the other hand, a boy gets help in dressing and undressing up to the age of about six years. The reason is that a boy's dressing is not as complicating as that of a girl.

Parents undress before children who have not reached the puberty stage.

From birth to the time a child is able to walk, baby dresses are worn, and there is no difference between that of a boy and that of a girl. When they are able to walk the children are provided with a dress each, but this is worn on Sundays or on special occasions. Though most of the children go about naked, a few of them put on drawers called 'Etwakoto'. The boy's dress is a piece of cloth one yard wide, and the girl's is about three quarter-yard cloth tied round the waist and a cover-shoulder put on. When a child is able to accompany the parents to the farm, then an extra dress of inferior quality is provided. Even then, on return from the farm, some of the children put the clothes away and go about naked. The only difference

in dress provided in later years is in size and quantity and not in style, the quantity depending upon the child's good behaviour and work done by him.

CHAPTER FOUR

RELATIONS

THE STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONS OF THE FAMILY

Before an attempt is made to describe the different relations which have influence in the upbringing of the child, it is necessary to describe the structure and functions of the family.

The family is the most important social organisation in the village, because most of the customary laws originate from it. The family is different from a clan in this respect that whereas the family refers to a household, the clan is the kindred group (Ebusua). The head of the family is the 'Efié Panquin' (the elder of the house); the head of the clan is known as Ebusua Panquin (eldest of the clan).

The head of the family controls his nephews, nieces, younger brothers and sisters. His control over his wife, children and grand children has its limitations because they belong to another clan; very often they consult their own head of clan in important matters although

they may be staying in the same house with the father; the head of the clan might be staying in another house controlling another family. It is obvious then that the head of the family has a double function to perform - that of the uncle and that of the father.

In his capacity as a father he has to provide plots of land for his children to farm on. The money which is gained from the sales of the farm produce is for the father. He keeps part of the money from time to time so that he can make use of it in buying clothes or providing the son with a wife. The upbringing of a child is the father's responsibility. It sometimes happens that the father is unable to train his child, and in such circumstances the uncle can remove him to his own house and give him training.

He, as an uncle, wields a great deal of influence over his nephews, nieces and sisters. If any of his nephews or nieces is going to get married, the father has to inform him about it because marriage is not only a union of two individuals, but also of two clans, and it is the uncle who has to conduct the customary transactions in respect of debt, quarrels, divorce and death. Though the 'Tsio Nei' (Head fee) is paid to the father, it is her uncle

who has to refund it if the marriage is dissolved. There is a saying in Fante which runs thus:- 'Egya dzi a smorfe' (if a father eats it he does not vomit)

The meaning implied is that the father does not pay for the refund of the 'Teir Nsa'. A marriage is not valid if it is not agreed upon by the uncle.

Neither the wife nor the children are members of the father's clan, and they are ultimately under the power of the uncle. If the wife falls into debt it is the husband who has to defray it. Her own clan lose her services which are now at the disposal of the husband who can personally benefit by them.

The property she possessed before marriage remain her own, and on her death revert to her relatives and not to the husband. He is responsible for the maintenance of the wife and her children. He can recover certain expenses should the marriage be dissolved as a result of the wife's misconduct but not when the divorce is due to the husband's guilt.

Owing to this clan system and also the customary laws in connection with inheritance, very many wives and children have been driven from the homes of the deceased father. The father is succeeded by his brother or nephews. He might have laboured with his wife

and children to possess farming estates, yet many a wife and child have been driven away from such farms by heirs who in very many cases did not know how the property was acquired. In such circumstances the wife and children have to fall on the uncle or head of their clan to provide a piece of land for farm work. This system of inheritance which places the wife and children at a disadvantage has a far reaching effect on the behaviour of the children and the wife towards the father. As soon as the children become aware of the fact that they have no access towards the farm and other properties they have helped the father to acquire, they begin to feel reluctant to do any hard work for him. Though they continue to stay and work for and with the father they become more interested in the uncle and his property.

It is therefore clear that the child passes through two distinct stages in his life. First of all he spends the period of his childhood and youth with his father to whom he is obedient and affectionate. Then later this cordial relationship is weakened by considerations of material gains and blood relationship which draw him further from his parent towards his uncle whom he will succeed. In this connection there is a saying in Sanskrit which runs thus: - "Dāse"

se a 223 ebucua" meaning "However closely a child may resemble his father, he belongs to his own clan."

### SEX DISTINCTIONS

It is after the age of about five years that boys and girls are supposed to behave differently in games, choice of toys and performance of household duties. There are certain games which are played by girls only and others by boys only. (See Appendix IV). With regard to the choice of toys, girls play with wooden dolls prepared for them by their parents. For those whose parents are not able to make these dolls there is a wood carver in the village who makes them for sale. Apart from these the girls make dolls from sugar canes. About a foot of sugar cane is cut and four inches of it is then chewed to remove the juice, and the juice sucked. This chewed it is then allowed to dry, and it is used as the body of the doll. She then ties up the supposed hair with thread in the same way as women do, and then she plays with it.

It is often carried at the back. If a boy or a girl is found playing the game of the opposite sex, he or she is jeered at. The girl is referred to as 'Joan banyin' or 'Kobamipiganyi' which means 'Girl-boy'. That of the boy is 'Opoun' or 'Ekotokoton' meaning 'A servant of women'.

Girls are separated from boys at the age of puberty in informal groupings



A Sex Game: Children performing household duties in an open space as an imitation of what their parents do at home



Boys playing a game with cowries



A girl dressing her sugar cane doll.

and at home especially where they sleep in the night.

Generally speaking parents prefer children of their own sex. Here again it is the clan system which accounts for this distinction. From the woman's point of view it is her daughters' children who will belong to her clan. Those of the sons will belong to the clans of their wives, and so it is the daughters who increase the size of the clans. Again it is the daughters who help the mothers in their domestic duties like cooking and caring for the young babies.

From the man's point of view, it is his son who will immortalise his name by naming his first born baby after him. (That is the custom) Again it is the son who has the requisite strength to help him in his farm work. Further more, sons belong to the Asafo companies of their fathers, and the father is proud to go to battle with his son, and also to have had some one to replace him in his company when old or dead.

Each of the parents is therefore happy when more children of his or her sex are born. As a result of this situation, the child has more contact with the parent of its sex. Consequently the child also prefers the parent of the same sex. This preference is modified with age. As the girl grows and attains the marriageable age, the father becomes more interested

in her. He knows that if she gets married, the 'Tsai Nsa' which is seven pounds four shillings (£7 4s) will be paid to him by the prospective husband. The mother also becomes interested in her boy as he attains the age of manhood, for then she knows that when her son begins to work on his own, he will consent to maintain her in her old age. She also looks up to the son to care for his sisters and their children in future.

#### SIBLING RELATIONS

The child is neither told when a new baby is expected nor where babies come from. The child is considered to be too young to have such knowledge. Consequently a child is not allowed to be present at child birth. He is sent away. It is the grand mother or an elderly female relative who takes care of the older child when a new one is born. The elder child is supposed to show an attitude of friendliness and sympathy towards the new child. As the new one grows up the older child should help the new one whenever there is the need for it. He should play with him too.

Expressions of jealousy are not permitted at all, but sometimes the parents provoke jealousy on the part of the child as a result of preferential treatment given to him. Usually it is the new or younger baby who receives much attention, while

The older ones are very often not much cared for. It is common to find parents pushing away older children in order to feed the babies or refuse them food when they are hungry. Secondly the parents have favourites among the children and these receive superior clothing and more food. This engenders animosity between the children, and the older ones revenge on the younger ones by beating them in privacy for the slightest offence. Here again is another example of how the mother's attitude and treatment of her children influence their behaviour.

The older children have more duties to perform and from most of these the younger child is free. He therefore enjoys more freedom than the older ones especially in the performance of household duties. Siblings of the same sex are supposed to be closer to each other.

Quarrels between siblings often originate from petty misunderstandings like the sharing of fish or meat in soup, sharing of presents or they may be playing and one of them may get offended for being jeered at, and this often results in a fight. Quarrels are more frequent between children of the same sex. Sometimes however, quarrels arise between the different sexes, but this is not very common. When there is a quarrel between siblings, the parents call them together and ask each to narrate what took place. The parents settle the dispute

by warning the guilty child not to repeat the offence or confiscating the article about which there is a quarrel. If, however, the quarrel ended in a fight, the elder child is usually beaten and asked to report any misbehaviour of the younger child to the parent and not to beat him.

RELATIONS TO CHILDREN IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

The average child has a friend in his neighbourhood. They are very often of the same sex, and there is not much difference in their ages. It is through this acquaintance that the child learns the games and songs of children. Story telling is also learnt as a result of friendship with other children in the neighbourhood. Bad habits like pilfering and masturbation are learnt from friends, and if parents ~~come~~ <sup>come</sup> across such things they force their children to stop playing with such friends. They generally attribute those traits of behaviour to other children who befriended their children. The friendship is so close that at times the children would go for water together, hunt for birds together and even put their food together and eat it. The boys have plenty of time to go about because they do not take any active part in the cooking and other duties in the kitchen; sometimes it is difficult for mothers to find their whereabouts. It often happens that a child may refuse to go home for his meals because of the game he

may be playing with a friend.

The friendship with other children in the neighborhood is not always a happy one. Sometimes they have disputes and that may end in a fight. This often gives rise to a quarrel between the parents of the children concerned. Other relatives may join in the quarrel. My informants told me of a recent case: Two children had fought over the ownership of a ball, and that resulted in a quarrel between the mothers who were later joined by their relatives, and in a short time it was an uproar of quarrel between two clans. By the evening of the same day almost all the women and men in the village were quarrelling with one another.

(Because of its smallness, the inhabitants of the village are inter-related.) An old lady, however, who was trying to settle the issue in vain happened to see the two children who had brought about the quarrel playing together in the dust near a house. She called the people's attention to it and they were ashamed. Though many mothers do their best to stop acquaintances with some children, it is very difficult to succeed. The child would like to play with his friends every time. They are ever prepared to render help any time there is harmony between them.

#### RELATIONS TO PARENTS

The mother is not the chief responsible

person for the early care of the child. To supplement what has been explained, for the young woman who has now brought forth for the first time, almost all the duties of the mother with regard to the welfare of the child are performed by the grandmother or an elderly aunt with the exception of breast feeding and washing of the dirty rags of the child. The mother has to learn all the aspects of child care by observation. As she has had no experience of child welfare, it is considered dangerous for her to be allowed to perform these duties right from the beginning. After the birth of a second child the mother begins to take the responsibility herself. Even then she is supervised by an elderly woman. It is only when she the mother has had sufficient experience in child care that she takes full charge of caring for the baby from the time of birth.

It is a common practice for the father to carry the baby for a walk in the early hours of the morning (5am-6am). He also carries him at the back when the family is returning from the farm and the woman is carrying a heavy load. At odd times, and especially when the mother is busy in the kitchen, the father goes for the child, puts it on his lap and plays with it. The other times during which the father has contacts with the child are in connection with discipline.

He has the chief authority about disciplining the child. With minor offences, it is the normal practice for the mother to inflict the necessary punishment. For more serious offences, it is the father who carries out the punishment; this is usually preceded by a report of the incidence by the mother to the father, because very often he is away from home. The decision to inflict punishment is always taken by the father.

Parents do inform each other about a child's <sup>bad</sup> behaviour, but if the child is a favourite of the mother she conceals it from the father. One of the results of this practice of the mothers is that when the favourite child becomes aware of it, he takes an undue advantage of it, and in course of time he does not give the requisite respect to the mother and may become unruly.

The parents do not bother very much about how they behave before the children. They may openly disagree about discipline or quarrel about food, clothing and other domestic aspects of their living. Quarrels often take place when the father happens to punish a favourite child of the mother or when the mother discovers the husband's illicit dealings with other women and vice versa. Quarrels of this nature are very common in a polygamous home. Here the wives perform the house-

hold duties by turns either weekly or fortnightly or monthly, and it is the privilege of the wife on duty to spend the nights of her period of service with the husband. Sometimes it does happen that the husband spends the night with the wife who is off duty. When this is discovered by the wife on duty, there ensues a quarrel, and it often ends in a fight. I happened to witness a scene like that during my investigation. The couple were fighting and abusing each other with profane words in the presence of their children. One consequence of this is the common usage of vulgar language among the children. Sometimes also the wife on duty may not give good treatment to the children of the other wives, and when the husband discovers and complains about it, very often quarrels ensue.

Children are supposed to be grateful to their parents especially when they have grown old and are unable to do any work. They have to feed and clothe them, and as a last token of respect and gratitude provide a coffin for the burial of their father. The husband provides a coffin for the dead wife, but if by the time of death the husband is not alive, then it is the duty of the children to provide one. The people attach very great importance to the ability of the

children to provide a coffin for the father.

Parents have come to realise that professional training and education of their children are more paying than farming, and so it is the ambition of parents to give their children some sort of professional training like tailoring, so that they may have support during old age, and also to have a grand burial. It used to be the fashion for the father to select one child to specialise in farming. The idea behind it is that the father needs a child to carry his tools and water to the farm, and so at least one child should be spared to perform that, while the others learn their respective trades or attend school. This discrimination of training precipitates quarrels. The selection for training is done when the children are young. When they are grown up, and are able to understand their position, the one who did not have a professional training or education begins to realise that he has not been well placed. Instances were given where some of the children so treated have openly quarrelled with, fought their fathers and bolted away from their parents to find some job to learn or do for their living. Nowadays, however, this discrimination is becoming unpopular, and so they are giving all children equal opportunities, with the exception of the education of girls which has not been very much

appreciated by the villagers.

Parents sometimes quarrel with their children, and it takes the form of exchange of words of abuse. It is very common between mothers and daughters especially during adolescence. These quarrels are generally precipitated by refusal to perform household duties on the part of the child or misbehaviour or misconduct with young men. Quarrels between parents and children are settled by an arbitration. Sometimes a child may refuse the parents' food for about a week as a result of the quarrel, and she may even not sleep in the house. In such circumstances either the other parent who is not involved in the quarrel or an elderly relative of the parent calls for the arbitration. Other elderly adults in the neighbourhood are invited to help settle the dispute. The arbitrators go through the case, and if the child is found guilty, she is abused by the arbitrators and warned seriously. She is then asked to kneel before her parent and ask for forgiveness. Sometimes if the nature of the quarrel is a serious one, for instance, the child cursing the mother, the child is made to slaughter a sheep as pacification. The cost of the sheep is borne by the uncle of the child. If the arbitrators find out that the parent is wrong, his or her fault is not pointed out to her

in the presence of the child. Whether guilty or not, the child must always ask for forgiveness. They advise the child not to repeat that offence, and then in the absence of the child, the parent is reprimanded.

Younger children generally do not have any quarrel with their parents. The child is cained for any offence which would have caused a quarrel if he were adolescent. Parental control lasts up to the time the child gets married. This control lasts in matters like clothing and food which are provided by the parents. In most homes the child's contact with other children during adolescence is controlled for the fear that the child might practise immoral deeds.

RELATIONS TO ADULTS OTHER THAN PARENTS

With regard to those who play an important role in the early life of a child, the clan system of the Jantis is a basic factor. The child comes into contact with aunts, cousins, grandmother and uncles all staying in one house. Every adult has every right to check any wrong deed of any child in the house. Some of them are more indulgent than the parents, especially the old ladies among them. Sometimes if a child offends and he is beaten, the old lady openly disapproves of it. This attitude is very much opposed by the young mother and it often ends in a quarrel.

Friends of the parents do not visit them often. If the parents happen to visit a friend, only the young children accompany them, and they are expected to keep quiet and still. If there are other children in the house then they are allowed to play to disturb the adults. They are expected to be polite to them. In fact they have to behave in the same way as they do in their own home. If they are offered food, they should accept it; but woe unto the child who will beg for food in a friend's house during a visit. The child will be severely beaten because it is taken to infer that they the parents are unable to feed their child, and that is why he goes abegging.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### EARLY TRAINING

#### POSSESSIONS

If a child is found in possession of an article which does not belong to him, he is questioned as to how he came to possess it. Through this questioning it might come to light that he stole it; he is then beaten, threatened and warned not to repeat that action again. He is then asked to give the article back to the owner or put it at the place where he found it. Stealing is regarded as something

disastrous for children, because if it is not checked they may grow up with it. To most of the villagers are worshippers of the Jigari cult, children are threatened with punishment from Jigari if they steal.

Articles which are fragile, hot or sharp are not placed within the children's reach. Such articles are either put in special or cupboards or on tops of window frames.

The possessions of the female child at varying ages are as follows: when she begins to crawl, she is given a small, light wooden doll. At the age of about three years an elder sister makes a doll with a piece of sugar cane from this time to the age of about eight years, it is the only play thing she has. At about the age of five years, she is given a pot for drawing water from the river-side. She is also provided with a wooden tray to carry foodstuffs from the farm. She is given a hoe for farm work.

The male child has his own different possessions at different ages. When he begins to crawl a wooden doll is provided for him, and he plays a great deal with it. When he is about three years old, the elder children provide him with round fruits of trees like the lemon tree to be used as balls. He throws ~~it~~ <sup>one</sup> of the fruits along the ground, runs after it and kicks it hard when he is about five years old, he is

provided with a cutlass and a hoe for farm work. The boy makes a sling for himself with which he goes about hunting birds. The hunting is either carried on in the bush around the village or on the farm. He is then given a pot with which he draws water from the river side. At about the age of eight years the boy makes different traps for catching fish from the river or crabs in the pools near the farms. Special types of birds which are sold are trapped with a cage which is made by the boy.

The children have perfect freedom with their play things. At times, however, they play for so long a time that they neglect to perform their household duties, and when that occurs frequently, the parents get disgusted and either throw away the play things or destroy them entirely. New ones are found by the children, and their care is taken that opportunity is not given to the parents to confiscate or destroy them. This is done by either performing their household duties to the satisfaction of the parents or by changing the hiding place of the play things.

Children, especially the males, are generally regarded as destructive. They are therefore not trusted with breakable objects. It is therefore common to find parents using enamel utensils in their everyday life, but

they use breakable ones when they have special occasions like festivals and visits of prominent relatives or friends; even then when the occasion is over, it is the mother who washes those plates. Very young children are not allowed to handle large household objects like the cooking pot, mortar and coal pot. Apart from their being spoilt by them, there is the danger of the articles falling on their feet and causing wound. Some children, however, risk the danger, and when the object falls down they are scolded and severely beaten.

If children are not allowed to have possessions others have, they fail to perform their household duties satisfactorily, thus becoming indifferent to their parents' authority. If the desire to have them is very great, they may manage to have them either by stealing those of their playmates or by pilfering the parents' money to buy them. This unwholesome practice of stealing is checked when the parents discover it.

### SPEECH

The cries of infants are very much heeded; as soon as it begins to cry its mother or nurse or grandmother runs to pick it up, and plays with it or allows it to suckle. The child may refuse it and continue to cry; the parent begins to examine the child and the place where it was playing to find out whether it had been

bitten by an animal or insect. Sometimes it is due to the desire to sleep, and in that case a lullaby is sung to it or it is carried at the back for pacing up the compound for fresh air to put it to sleep. If all these attempts fail to make it stop crying, then it is assumed it is due to stomach troubles or illness, and then it is syringed in the usual way.

When the child has learnt to walk, he is instructed not to cry for his needs other wise they will not be attended to. When he is hurt or punished crying is legitimate. Sometimes a child does cry a lot for no cause. It is believed that certain microbes inhabit the area round the eyelid. These bite the children and make them cry a good deal. The area is therefore scrupulously examined to find these microbes. If they are found they are killed by means of a special medicine prepared in the following manner: roots of 'Nsoma' plant are obtained. These are dried and pounded with a small amount of 'wusa'. This mixture is then roasted and the area of infection is besmeared with a good amount of it.

The baby's earliest vocalization is very much encouraged. The parents, sisters, brothers and other relatives are all very happy about it. They imitate the sounds uttered by the child to encourage it to say more. Sometimes the adults deliberately

say simple words like 'papa' 'dada' 'bababa' for it to imitate and, as it is the usual consequence, when the child realizes that its speech is much appreciated by the adults, it takes interest in it and puts in effort to speak. Baby talk is regarded as amusing. All the adults in the household talk to the baby at any time convenient. The baby is talked to most in connection with petting.

Children are instructed to modulate their voices when talking in public, and also to their elders. It is considered rude and improper for a child to talk very loudly or in a harsh manner to its elders. Again it does not speak well of the parents too. When a child happens to speak in such a manner he is often reproached by elders saying "wo na na w'egya ann tsetse wo yie" meaning "Your parents did not train you well" for this reason, parents are very particular about how well their children should speak. They are not held to high standards of grammatical correctness. They know that as time goes on, the children will know how to speak the language accurately. From the age of about three years, however, occasional correction of expression wrongly uttered may be done. The child is not jeered at for using any expression wrongly but he is corrected in a normal way. The children are listened to by adults though at times they are required

to be still and listen. This often happens when there is a family gathering when someone is narrating an incident or story.

Children are asked to be factually precise in what they say. From the age of about seven years upwards, they are expected to distinguish fact, fantasy, truth and lying. Emphasis on truthfulness is very great, and much corporal punishment is inflicted on children who have been proved to be lying. Court panels give much weight to children's evidence. Once more the Tigani has its part to play in putting the fear of telling lies in the children.

#### GAMES SONGS & STORIES

Games, songs and stories are essential aspects of the child's development and training. With regard to games, the emphasis is on team games (see Appendix IV for description of games, songs + stories). From the age of about five years the child begins to take an active part in the games played in the neighbourhood. It is the outdoor games which are learnt first by a child because of their simplicity. The indoor games demand maturity in the development of the mind, and so they are learnt as the child develops in later years.

The outdoor games are very vigorous in nature and therefore help in the motor development of the child. The river Amisal affords the opportunity for swimming. Even

there because of the danger of getting drowned, the children go to swim in groups. Athletic activities are considered to be very essential in the development of the child.

This is evidenced by the fact that a boy who on account of feeble strength does not take part in the outdoor athletic activities like running and jumping is called 'Bafan' (A Spinach child). As the spinach is a very soft herb, the expression is used in describing the nature of the child. Sex differences determine the choice of games because ~~there~~ <sup>there</sup> are certain games which are played by girls only and others by boys only, although there are a few played by both sexes.

Most of the children's songs are counterparts of their games and stories. They are either accompanied by the clapping of the palms or dancing. The words of the songs make stories and games more meaningful.

Story telling is a common feature in the evening entertainment of the child. After evening meals, children gather together in an open space, and sit down in a semi-circular form. The story teller goes to stand in front of them and he usually begins his story by saying "Kodzi wronnye undzi" (A story is not to be believed) the response from the other children is "Wzye sie woara" (The story is kept for you). Story telling is almost

always punctuated with appropriate songs which are either introduced by the teller or one of the listeners. Apart from adding meaning to the story, it also tries to keep up interest and attention of the audience. Sometimes it is an adult who tells the story. The commonest stories told are known as 'Ananseese' (Spider Story). From the stories children gather experiences of hunting and farming, sex knowledge and also some ideas about proper behaviour (good manners). Thus stories are used to give informal education.

From the social aspect of the community, stories are very useful, especially in connection with funeral wake keeping. They keep people awake because of the wit and humour they contain. At Markersow, there is a club of adults and children of about twelve to eighteen years known as "Kodzi Kuu" (Story telling club). They are hired for funeral wake keeping, the charge is ten shillings for three hours. On the nights of Wednesdays and Saturdays (i.e. Market days) they meet to have practice in story telling. They have little drums which accompany the singing.

#### GOOD MANNERS

There is no systematic training of children. There are no schools for cultural training but children undergo some instructions daily, consciously or unconsciously. They

generally observe and imitate their elders. The son carries his father's stool to the ahemfi (the chief's house) or a place of funeral observation and sits behind him. It is here that the child learns what is sanctioned in his community, what is resented and constitutes bad manners.

LESSONS OF ETIQUETTE: Children are taught to say 'Agoo' when entering a room. The reply 'Anee' should be heard before complete entry is made. A child should not speak to an elder when he has a chewing stick or sponge in his mouth. He is taught to express gratitude "me da wo ase" when he receives gifts or an act of kindness from an adult. When an adult enters a house, he is to fetch a stool for him.

A child is also taught that he should never sit down whilst an adult is standing for want of accommodation. He is not to interrupt when adults are speaking - A breach of this discipline is taken to infer that the child is a tale bearer and has no respect for elders. To punish him, his mouth is either pulled or hit severely with the hand. He is taught to use the expression 'Sebio' if when speaking he is forced by circumstances to use offensive words or expressions.

LATE CHILDHOOD & ADOLESCENCECHILDREN'S OCCUPATIONS

Before the age of five the child runs errands which demand little or no energy. He usually plays about and runs home for food when hungry. His daily routine work is as follows:— when he gets up from bed his face is washed for him by the parent. He then accompanies the parents to the farm. Here he does no work. He may be asked to look after foodstuffs but very often he goes to sleep. On his return home, he goes out to play with his friends. When food is ready he goes home to eat. In the evening he is bathed before he runs out to play for a while. At about 7 pm. the child is called home to go to bed.

From the age of about six years onwards the child begins to take an active part in the work at home and on the farm. He has to wash his face and chew a stick to clean his teeth. It is taboo for a child to speak to any body if he has not washed his face and mouth. Such a person is considered unclean; again it is believed that the person to whom the unclean person speaks will be unlucky for the day. It is therefore the duty of the parents to see to it that their children do not break the taboo.

Failure by a child to observe the practice is punishable. The parent splashes a cupful of water on the child's face or gives him a hard knock on the head. This is one of the means through which the child acquires the habits of cleanliness.

The duties performed by the male child at home are the removal and emptying of the chamber pot first thing in the morning, the rolling up of the mat on which he slept, the sweeping of the bedrooms and verandahs, the washing of plates used in the previous night's meals and the drawing of two pots of water from the river.

After the performance of the household duties he accompanies his parents to the farm with his entlass, hoe and wooden tray which he by this time possesses. He never forgets his string. On reaching the farm, he begins to work on his own little plot allotted him by the father who instructs him to use the entlass to cut tall grass and bushes, and the hoe for any low growing weeds. He is also taught to use the hoe for digging the soil. He watches closely all the steps the father takes from the period of clearing of the bush to the harvest time, and he works his plot in the same manner. The father keeps an eye on the child's progress in his work, and gives him assistance where necessary.

At 12 noon the child stops work to

have his midday meal, after which he goes into the neighbouring bushes for bird hunting. After about an hour he returns to resume his work on the farm. If he was able to kill a bird he would take it home to his younger brothers; usually they roast and eat it with kentele.

At about 4 p.m. he stops work to help his parents to collect foodstuffs for consumption at home. By 5 p.m. the family start their homeward journey, the boy carrying his load of foodstuffs in his tray or basket. On arrival, he takes his pot to the riverside where he takes his bath and returns home with a potful of water. Then he may either go to help his father in mending his traps or in making new ones or help the mother to pound the 'zufu' (a favourite dish). He takes his evening meal, and then off he goes to the neighbourhood to play. Until the puberty stage, the boy is not allowed to light the lamps in the house for fear that he might break them, and so it is the mother who works on them.

When the father is attending a social gathering, it is the duty of the boy to take the father's seat to the place of meeting, and to return it when the meeting is over. Sometimes he sits near his father to listen and observe

what is going on at the meeting. Such meetings may be in connection with arbitration, marriage, divorce, children naming or the celebration of a feast, and it is through these avenues that the boy learns a great deal about the culture of his people.

The girl, however, has different types of duties to perform. When she gets up from bed, she has to wash her face and mouth, chew a stick to clean her teeth and roll up her mat. She then sweeps the kitchen, the floor and hearth of which are polished with a special kind of red clay mixed with water. This over, she draws two pots of water from the river and washes the cooking utensils. She then prepares for the farm by collecting into her wooden tray the fish and other ingredients and materials which would be needed for the preparation of food on the farm. She does not forget to take her own cutlass and hoe. The children take their breakfast as they walk along to the farm. This usually consists of either cassava left unused in the previous evening or (when the parents can afford) torts which are fried in the neighbourhood.

On arrival, the girl goes to work on her own little plot given her by the father. She also has to watch the type of work being done by the mother in

particular, and to do likewise on her plot from the time of ploughing to the time of harvesting. At about 10.30 am the mother and daughter stop work to prepare the food for their lunch. The girl assists the mother by grinding pepper or peeling cassava. She also has to observe and learn the method of cooking.

By 12 noon the food is ready, and the whole family sit round to have their meal. The children eat together from the same plate. When the meal is over they relax under the shade of a tree. During this interval of relaxation the father sometimes recounts the difficulties he is meeting in his farm work, and the plans he has formed to overcome them; he also discusses with his family the types of crops he will sow or plant. Thus there is a free and general conversation about farming, and the children learn a lot about farming in this informal talk. At about 2 pm they all go back to continue their work until 4 pm. The mother and daughter go to collect the necessary foodstuff for home consumption. The son either helps in the gathering of the foodstuffs or accompanies the father to inspect traps they had set for crabs, fish and other animals. During the inspection the boy learns through observation and also

instructions from the father. At times the mother and daughter return home earlier to prepare the evening meal, but very often the family return home in a group, the mother and children carrying firewood and foodstuffs.

On arrival the girl goes out for fire to light the firewood in the hearth. When that is done she helps the mother to cook the evening meal by grinding pepper or peeling onions or pounding palm nuts. The pounding of the 'fufu' may be done either by the boy or girl or both. The meal is ready by 6 p.m. After dinner the girl does the necessary cleaning and washing up, and then goes to the river side to draw a potful of water after she has had her bath there. She returns home to have games with her friends or to listen to stories.

As time goes on she takes a greater share in the domestic duties of the mother until such time (usually by the age of 15 years) that she is made almost wholly responsible for the whole business of preparing meals for the family. The boy is also given a larger plot of land to farm. The father takes more interest in him and teaches him all that is necessary for successful farming.

If the parents have no daughter, almost all the types of duties of a girl are

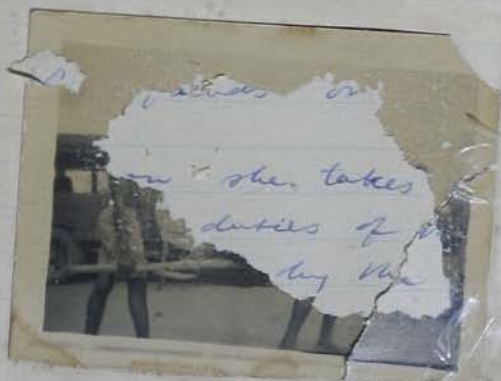
performed by the boy, and I came across boys preparing meals for their parents in the absence of a boy, a girl can perform much of the duties of a boy except those that demand a good deal of physical energy like the trapping of fish and animals.

With regard to awards and punishment in connection with work, a child who is lazy or reluctant to perform his duties is severely dealt with. The punishment may be corporal or may be in the form of deprivation of a meal or a reprimand. If on the other hand a child performs his duties to the satisfaction of the parents, he is rewarded with extra food or meat at meal times or a superior type of cloth is bought for him during Christmas <sup>and he is</sup> praised. In fact all <sup>in</sup> conversation <sup>are</sup> satisfied.

On <sup>the</sup> <sup>days</sup> <sup>which</sup> <sup>children</sup> <sup>leave</sup> <sup>home</sup> <sup>very</sup> <sup>early</sup> <sup>but</sup> <sup>about</sup> <sup>2pm</sup> <sup>from</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>farm</sup> <sup>to</sup> <sup>perform</sup> <sup>some</sup> <sup>odd</sup> <sup>jobs</sup> <sup>at</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>market</sup> <sup>for</sup> <sup>money</sup>. They move about in groups of six, and in fact they are the 'Kaya Kaya' (carriers) of the market. They offer their services to traders who have arrived with their goods. For a bag of corn conveyed from the station to the market the children may get sixpence. The bag of corn is put in two sticks



A market scene



Market day: The two boys are conveying a bag of corn to earn money.

and two children lift up the four ends of the sticks, and thus convey the load. They also help the drivers to unload their lorries, the amount paid to them by the drivers depending on the amount of work performed. Others go to help the 'Fufu' Bar owners by pounding their fufu for them, and rendering any other service requisite and necessary for the smooth running of the bar. For this the children may earn three shillings a day plus two free meals. There are yet others who do not have the adequate physical strength for hard work; these go to the storekeepers to render their services as store boys, and they are paid two shillings a day. The storekeepers need such services because on such occasions very many customers enter their stores, and therefore they engage them to help them in transacting their business. They also help to detect stealing. On market days there is no farm work done in the village, and the children continue performing the jobs begun on the preceding day. I interviewed about forty of these boys and I found out that the average earnings per boy per week of two market days is twelve shillings.

The girls also have their part to play on market days. Many of them do not go to work in the farm on Tuesdays and Fridays. They travel to the nearby villages

to buy oranges for sale on the market day. They usually return by 4 pm and begin to sell them by five o'clock in the evening. Others, however, buy them on market days from the villagers and retail them. Mangoes are also purchased from the women on market days in bulk and retailed. Other girls bargain with bakers from Saltford to sell their loaves of bread for them, and for every pound (£1) of bread sold, the girl is paid two shillings and sixpence. The younger girls prefer to sell water to thirsty traders and the public on market days. Their rate is a glassful of water for a half penny. I interviewed about thirty of these girls and I found out that on the average a girl earns eight shillings per week of two market days.

The children make use of some of the money to buy food to eat in the mornings and afternoons of market days, because all the mothers are busily engaged at the market, and so there is no food prepared at home. It is only in the evenings that they get food at home. The accounts of the day's earnings of the children are rendered to the parents who keep the balance of money for the children. To this is added the proceeds of the crops yielded by the children's farms. At the end of the year or so when occasion demands

it, the parents use the accumulated money to buy clothes and other requirements of the children.

### ADOLESCENCE

The enlargement of the breasts and the appearance of hair in private parts indicate the onset of puberty. The girl learns about menstruation from the mother and also by attending the puberty rites of other girls in the village. The mother tells the girl to report to her any time she discovers blood oozing from her vagina. Though a majority of them inform their mothers about it, many do not inform their mothers of their first menstruation. They usually feel bashful about it. Through friendship with other girls, a girl learns what to do when there is menstruation, and so she is able to hide the fact from the mother, and be able to keep clean. I was given instances of girls whose menstruation had only been discovered after a period of about six months. It is usually found out by the frequent washing and drying of her red perineal cloth ("Amuansi") or her friends may gossip about it and thereby the parents get to know of it. Sometimes she is careless about it, and some drops of blood are discovered on the floor in the bathroom.

When the mother discovers or is told

of the menstruation she announces it to the inmates of the house. Mothers are very pleased about this, because if the girl menstruates then it is a sure sign of her becoming a mother in future. Very soon the news is spread in the neighbourhood, and a host of girls and young women flock into the house. Meanwhile the newly menstruated girl hides in a corner feeling bashful. The elderly women give a helping hand in preparing the food for the festivity while the remaining girls run home for their towels and sponges to accompany the girl to the riverside for ceremonial bathing. As the crowd moves to the riverside there is singing, clapping of hands, dancing and general rejoicing.

At the riverside she is shaved and bathed by an elderly woman. The red perineal cloth (Ammani) is washed and a new one of a larger size and darker colour is used in its place so that the blood might collect into it without its trickling on the thighs. While this is in progress the other girls, both young and old stand by and watch the ceremony. It is a certainly momentous occasion for the girl. She is then powdered and she puts on her new decent clothes. Meanwhile the mother of the girl has provided a basin containing sufficient

soap, powder, pomade, some brushes, combs and mirrors to be used by the dames. As soon as the girl finishes dressing, the crowd of girls plunge into the river and bathe. After that they make use of the dressing materials provided by the mother. They then return home amidst great jubilation.

On arrival at the girl's home they all sit down in a circular form in readiness for the feast. To begin with the girl's mouth and joints are touched with a boiled egg - the mouth being touched three times. After that a younger girl of the household, who is expected to menstruate next, is called into the midst of the crowd; and the egg is used in touching her mouth three times by the newly menstruated girl. If there is no younger girl in the household, any of the younger girls present is chosen for the purpose. Some of the food for feasting which consists of mashed yam <sup>and</sup> oil and boiled eggs is offered to the spirits of the ancestors who are besought to assist the girl, so that she may lead a good moral life and have a successful marriage in future. She is given her share of the meal consisting of mashed yam and oil, three boiled eggs and a roasted fowl. As soon as she begins to eat the crowd of girls rush to the kitchen where the food is displayed in bowls. They

scramble for the food and in a short time the whole food is eaten. They disperse to their homes but continue to bathe in the river with the girl morning and evening till her period is over. It is during this time that the mother gives her child instructions on how to keep clean during menstruation.

After this the 'Nayelhyee' - 'adorning' or 'going out of doors' is observed. The girl and an attendant dressed gorgeously in velvet or silk and heavily adorned with gold ornament call on kinsfolk and neighbours to greet them, and they may offer them gifts of money. It is considered a great disgrace and a breach of a taboo for a girl to conceive or be married without having the puberty rites performed, and any girl who is so married is often approached with the fast.

These rights have had some modification. It has now become usual to postpone the celebration until a girl is betrothed or until enough money has been obtained for the rites. This may be several years after the first menstruation.

Those who are members of the church also go to church during the celebration of the Puberty rites, dressed in gorgeous attire they wear for the occasion. In the older days, procuring the

food and things necessary for the festivities during the rites was the responsibility of the girl's father and mother whose kinsfolk helped by bringing gifts of food. Nowadays part of the burden, in some cases the whole of it, is passed on to the bridegroom, and the cost of the puberty rites has now to be regarded as part of the cost of a marriage. A heavy taboo supported by law and by religious and popular sanctions formerly rested upon pre-marital sexual relationships. These have considerably relaxed. Pre-marital sexual relations are common, and the celebration of the puberty rites is no longer indicative of virginity.

There are cases where a girl of about sixteen to nineteen years of age has never menstruated even though the breasts might have developed normally. Sometimes also the girl may reach the age of puberty and menstruate in the usual way even though she has developed no breasts at all. The parents usually get alarmed in such circumstances and consult a native doctor or the priest of the Ujari Cult. The cause of such deficiencies is usually attributed to <sup>an</sup> evil spirit or an ancestral god which, to some extent, controls the daily life of the individual. There are instances where the native doctor

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or the bigani priest has told the parents that the girl is destined for a god, which is a spiritual husband to her, and it is this god which has held her menstruation or development of her breasts as the case might be. The reason given for such control by the god is that if the girl is allowed to have breasts or to menstruate, she will be able to bring forth, and then it will be impossible for the god to visit her. Usually the native doctors direct that a sheep be slaughtered near the abode of the god as pacification, and to submit it to grant the girl normal development appropriate to her age. The medicine prescribed consists of herbs and roots which are to be mixed for drinking or syringing. Sometimes the parents and the girl have to travel long distances to perform the ceremony for the god, because it is not always that the god is resident in the village, and that are instances where parents have travelled over a hundred miles to reach the abode of the god to perform the rites. More often than not, the treatment is successful, and the girl either menstruates or develops physically in the expected manner.

After the performance of the puberty rites the girl is warned or rather advised about the sex rules of the tribe. She

is summoned in privacy, and she mother gives her an advice on the following pattern: "Now that you are a 'woman' you should have your bath twice a day. Keep yourself clean at all times. Don't put on dirty clothes. At any time you wash see to it that you wash the soiled cloth properly and dry it well. At night don't keep late in the street. Beware of bad girls and boys because if you be friend them they will lead you astray. Don't allow any man to have sexual intercourse with you, because you will get pregnant as a result, and it will be a disgrace on you, ourselves and our family. Any girl who gets pregnant when she is not married is considered unworthy. Men are very cunning and therefore be careful they do not persuade you into surrender of chastity. If any man makes an attempt to seduce you report it to me or to your father. Presents from friends and adults should be shown to us before you use them. If you don't do that and we find any strange articles in your possession you will be severely punished. If you need anything you should let us know, and you will have it. Good behaviour, manners and etiquette will fetch you a good husband."

As will be seen later, very few girls are able to abide by these

admonitions.

During this stage of her life the girl is provided with three or more changes of dress. She begins to be very careful about the way and manner she puts on her dress. Later she begins to realize that older boys and young men are interested in her. She may become very saucy at this stage and even show insolence to her own parents. It is a common belief that a girl who at puberty behaves in a manner which is considered disrespectful to her elders is one who had been indulging in sexual intercourse with men. When I asked for the reason for this belief I was told that it is a general practice for men to provide their girl friends with dresses, money and other possessions which they keep privately; and because the girls feel that they are able to possess things their parents have they assume that they are their parents' or other adults' equals, and can afford to be rude to them.

The interest in fineries is also very great. They generally like to have many changes of cloth and in this respect some mothers give encouragement; they provide the girls with more than is necessary.

In some homes there is a decreased freedom of action for the girls. The parents fear that if they are given too

much freedom, they may go astray with men and thereby bring shame on them, and so every effort is made to control their movements outside the home. There are homes where the girls have more freedom of action. They join societies like Singing Bands, Welfare Societies and Tizari Youth Fellowship; and it is through these that they make contacts with men, and also have excuses for keeping late in returning home to bed in the night.

At this stage some parents fix up contracts of apprenticeship for their children with seamstresses or bakers or general traders. The girls go to stay with their mistresses during their apprenticeship; they are fed and clothed as well. They have to learn the types of business their mistresses are engaged in, and perform household duties too. It is accepted as a training for married life. The cost of apprenticeship ranges from five pounds to seven pounds ten shillings, and it is borne by the parents or the prospective husband if she happens to be engaged by them. The duration of apprenticeship is from two to five years, depending on the type of work learnt and the capability of the individual; thus a baker's apprentice may spend two years at most, whereas the trader's apprentice spends not less than four years to

gain proficiency in the trade. Where there has been a cordial relationship the apprentice may choose to stay with her mistress even when she has completed her course.

There are no puberty rites performed for the boys. As already indicated, it is when hair appears in the armpits and private parts that the boy feels ashamed to appear naked. His chief sources of sex knowledge are his friends who may be older than he, and might have had considerable experience in sex activities, or through the stories told for entertainment in the evenings or through games played by both sexes. As soon as the parents suspect him of private dealings with girls, he is seriously warned about the danger of sex activities. He is threatened with his contracting gonorrhoea if he indulges in it or his impregnating a woman which act would lead the father into unnecessary expenditure.

During this stage it is common to find that the boy begins to keep himself clean; the hair is cut down in a decent fashion to suit his taste, the nails are cut short and sometimes as much as fifteen to twenty minutes is spent in dressing. He begins to have a keen interest in the fair sex, and tries to please them. Though he does not yet marry

changes of cloth, the two or three he would have are decently kept. He begins to go out in the night to return very late. He has more freedom of action than the girl, and is comparatively more obedient also. He also joins some of the societies in the village and endeavours to play an active part to secure an esteem in the village.

Contracts of apprenticeship are fixed for boys also at this stage. The types of trades in which the boys are engaged as apprentices are carpentry, tailoring, blacksmithy, goldsmithery and masonry. The boy apprentice may stay with his master, but in many cases he does not. In addition to jobs performed in the usual course of his trade, he performs household duties for his master. If he happens to stay with him he is fed and clothed by the master. The cost of apprenticeship which is borne by the parents or an uncle (if the father is deceased) ranges from five to ten pounds according to the type of trade. The duration of apprenticeship is from two to seven years, depending on the trade and the capability of the individual - thus a mason apprentice does not spend more than two years whilst that of a goldsmith is not less than five years (See Appendix B for a full discourse on Apprenticeship)

It is quite clear from the foregoing

facts that the children, upon reaching the puberty stage are treated differently according to the sex, the girls receiving much more attention than the boys. The following reasons were advanced for the special attention being paid to the girls :- If a girl does not get pregnant or bring forth a child before she is married, the 'head money' (dowry) paid by the bridegroom is heavier than that of a girl who has brought forth before (£7 4s : £3 12s) Again, <sup>a girl</sup> who indulges in frequent sexual activities with different men is very likely to have a disease which may cause sterility. It is also a custom for the bridegroom to give an present to the parents of his wife if during the first sexual intercourse of the wedding night he finds it difficult to break the hymen. It is taken to indicate virginity of the woman, and the parents should therefore be congratulated for being able to take care of the girl & maintain it. The present is a bottle of whiskey with a small piece of white calico tied round its neck. It is sent to them on the morning following the wedding night. If, however, the present is not sent, then it means the woman had broken her virginity long before her marriage, which in turn reflects on the sort of control the parents exercised on her

As a result of the above, very great

emphasis is placed on chastity, in spite of that premarital sex activities are common among adolescent children. These are un-sanctioned by the parents, if they are known the culprits are severely punished. Girls have been caught in young men's rooms during sexual intercourse, and with those that have no rooms of their own they are sometimes caught in lanes and under the market sheds in the night. The parent of the girl may sue the boy for adultery; this is usually decided at an arbitration and the father if the boy has to pay seven pounds four shillings (£7 4s) as an adultery fee.

The children, fully aware of the consequences of pregnancy before marriage, resort to abortions when they get pregnant. The practice is now so common that many old women trace the cause of sterility in women to this vicious practice. Here is an example of the mixtures used for causing abortion:—Sea water is mixed with about two packets of Doctee Blue, and the mixture is used for syringing. Besides the risk of sterility, many a beautiful girl has died as a result of abortion.

The first love objects of the female child is either of the same sex or someone older than herself. That of the boy is either of the same age or someone younger than himself. Romantic love is common and there are confidences about early

love which are usually given to the opposite sex.

Generally speaking, adolescents do not go through a phase of "storm and stress" if they behave well, but there are occasions when through no fault of theirs, adolescents go through a phase of "storm and stress". Though the practice is now dying out, it is the fashion of some young men to engage young girls of about five or six years for marriage. The young man performs the necessary engagement rites and then maintains the girl by giving her an annual change of dress and a monthly allowance ranging from five shillings to ten shillings. When the girl becomes marriageable or reaches the adolescence, the prospective husband has to provide the necessary tin trunk, changes of dress, and money for the girl to become his wife. It often happens that when the girl attains the age of puberty, she falls in love with another young man or boy of her age and choice. As soon as that is realised by the parents, they begin to force her to keep to the ~~man~~ man who has engaged her since childhood. It is a period during which the girl becomes very unhappy and consequently rebels against the parents' authority. She either bolts away from the parents or continues to keep the man of her own choice and becomes pregnant by him.

When that happens the second man is asked to pay the expenses which had been incurred by the first man since the girl was engaged. Sometimes also it does occur that an adolescent girl is forced to agree to the engagement of a man of the parents' choice; and here again the girl may object and behave in the same manner as already explained above, and the parents have to refund the engagement money or ask the second man to pay it.

On the whole adolescence is a happy time, especially when the children begin the casual and irresponsible love affairs which will prolong as far as possible into the period when marriage is already considered fitting. They take keen interest in themselves, and work hard on the farm and on market days to earn money to enable them to buy their needs to supplement what the parents provide. As a result they begin to feel they can be independent, they like to do things in their own way, and so when the parents exercise control over them in respect of discipline, some of them rebel against it. This rebellion against authority is more marked in the home than outside it. There is the tendency on their part to please outsiders and rather be rebellious at home.

The same for a female adolescent is

'akateesia' (lit. translation: She has covered it for safe keeping) and that for the male is 'Aberentor' (lit. translation: At the threshold of life) The time by which a young man is supposed to be an adult is not determined by age. It is determined by marriage which is the social form behind which all the forces of tradition are massed. (See Appendix I for a full description of the marriage custom)

### CONCLUSION:-

From the foregoing facts it is clear that the child learns the entire experience of the community to make him a fit person whom the community holds desirable. The following techniques are used:-

Emulation of the ways and habits of adults, observation of ceremonies, watching, listening, looking and imitating; OR as in games, participation; learning of proper conduct by ridicule, admonition, praise and corporal punishment.

The family is the prime factor in the cultural training of the child. All members of the community share in the cultural education of the child.

To conclude, I would like to quote the following passage from "Patterns of Culture" by Benedict

"The life history of the individual is first and foremost an accommodation to the patterns and standards traditionally

handed down in his community. From the moment of his birth the customs into which he is born shape his experience and behaviour. By the time he can talk, he is the little creature of his culture, and by the time he is grown and able to take part in its activities, its habits are his habits, its beliefs his beliefs, its impossibilities his impossibilities. Every child that is born into his group will share them with him, and no child born into one on the opposite side of the globe can ever achieve the thousandth part."

APPENDIX I  
MARRIAGE

It is the duty of every father to marry for his son. When the son is adolescent, he gives his earnings to his father for safe keeping so that when he is ready to marry the father might supplement it and use it in meeting the cost of his marriage.

It is on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays that marriage transactions are performed. These days are believed to be lucky days. When the son selects the girl that will suit him, the father has to investigate to find out the following particulars of the girl's clan: whether someone in her clan had gone mad before; whether tuberculosis is a common disease; whether the members of the clan are known to be wild and unruly in the community.

When the father is satisfied that the girl hails from a good clan, he sends two women to the girl's father to make a formal proposal about his son's desire to marry his daughter. The girl's father does not give his consent there and then. The messengers have to return while he informs his daughter and the head of her clan. A similar investigation about the boy's clan is also carried out by the girl's parents. When the girl's father and the head of her clan are satisfied, two women are sent by the girl's father to inform the boy's parents about his consent. A fee of five shillings is paid to the girl's father before

the word of consent is uttered.

After this a "Gate knocking fee" of nine shillings is sent to the girl's parents. This act is the equivalent of the 'Engagement' in the English system of marriage. As soon as the engagement rite is performed, the girl's father has no right to give his daughter in marriage to any other man. However, if after a long time the young man is unable to complete the marriage rites, the father has every right to allow his daughter to be married by another man after notice has been served to the prospective husband.

After the engagement, a fee of seven pounds four shillings (£7 4) known as 'Tsi Nsa' (head rum) is sent to the girl's parents by two women who are given five shillings by the father; he takes half of the remaining amount, and gives the other half to the head of his daughter's clan. Members of the clan each receives between three pence and one shilling according to the individual's rank. This is a formal notification of their relatives marriage.

The next step is for the young man to provide the necessary personal effects of the bride. These are six changes of cloth, six headkerchiefs, a tin trunk, a brass tray, a mirror, powder, pomade and two yards red cloth. These articles are sent to the bride's father who in turn sends them to her daughter's relatives. The relatives also

have to send a variety of foodstuffs and meat (yarn, a fowl, sheep and other ingredients for food preparation) to the bridegroom. The cost of these articles is paid for by the bridegroom after a dissolution of the marriage.

On the wedding day, the bride is gorgeously dressed in a kever cloth with gold necklace and other costly ornaments. At about seven o'clock in the evening, two women are sent by the bridegroom to go for the bride. Before she is allowed to go to her husband's home the brothers of the bride demand a sum of money (57) known as 'Sahan' (a knife). Following the arrival of the bride in the house of the bridegroom there is feasting organised by the bridegroom and his friends.

On the next day the two women take the bride back to her home. It is on the morning of this day that the bridegroom presents the bride's parents with a bottle of whiskey with a piece of white calico tied round its neck and an amount of one pound (£1) to indicate the virginity of the bride. Apart from this he has to give one pound to the bride's parents for the cooking for the first eight days. The two women continue to take the bride to and from the bridegroom's house for a week. On the eighth day the bride goes to settle finally in her husband's home. Her parents give her some amount of money for her own use.

APPENDIX II

Song sung at Funeral Observations when  
children present their father's coffin.

Sans: Osamawa Awayie

Aye wowa wuhwe how mba  
Jys woda so a woutwa adafa  
Na eoe eda tun a enye wo yer nnya  
ba Osamawa awayie

Ikste wui, nhowe wo sie der

Jwo a wodge aye yie, hwe wo sie da.

English: To bring forth children is a good  
practice. If you have children you  
have to look after them. Those men  
who are assembled here and have no  
children, think of how you will be  
buried when you die. Those who  
have children and look after them,  
this is how you will be buried.

APPENDIX IIIAPPRENTICESHIP

A child is always asked to make his  
own choice of the trade to which he  
may be apprenticed. If it is carpentry  
that he prefers, the father has to hand  
him over to a very good carpenter  
to whom he pays one pound and  
shilling and a bottle of rum as "head  
fee". This amount is not for the  
carpenter alone. He has to convene a  
meeting of all the carpenters in the village  
and present the apprentice to them. From the  
one pound he buys two bottles of gin for them

At the meeting the following ceremony is performed: With a hammer in one hand and another carpentry tool in the other, the apprentice swears as follows: "I will endeavour to learn this trade with all my strength. I will serve my master as best as I can. I will not change this trade till I finish my course" After this he strikes the second tool with the hammer. Then the chief carpenter pours a little amount of gin on the head of the apprentice and says, "No foe should cause any danger to befall this boy in the course of his apprenticeship" The gin is then drunk by the gathering whereby they all become witnesses to the apprenticeship of the boy. (If the trade is that of masonry, the apprentice uses the trowel to swear; for tailoring he uses a pair of scissors; he uses a hammer and the anvil if he is to become a goldsmith.)

After the ceremony his master assumes complete control over him, and is responsible for clothing and feeding him. The apprentice in turn has to render any service required by his master. He has to be humble so that the master may wholeheartedly teach him the intricacies of the trade.

When he has completed his course, the father has to pay from five pounds five shillings to ten pounds ten shillings according to the rate of the trade. Sometimes the master demands a fraction of this amount

and also gives the boy a tool or two. This depends on the character and services rendered by the apprentice. If the father of the apprentice dies before he finishes his course, it is his relatives who have to pay the amount. If they are not able to do so, then the apprentice has to work with his master and pay the amount from his earnings.

APPENDIX IV

GAMES & SONGS

Note: The songs are counterparts of the games.

A: Games played by boys only.

ASESATAM

This game is played by half a dozen boys or more. One of them goes out to hide; the others interchange their clothes and lie on the ground with the clothes covering them completely. One of them gives the signal by saying "Yewios" (we have finished) for the one who is hiding to come out of his hiding place. On arrival he has to examine the other boys and then point to one of them. He has to mention the boy's name, and if it is correct, the boy has to leave the rest to exchange places with the one who was hiding. If on the other hand the name is incorrect, the boy shouts "Ato wo na dzin" (You have named your mother) and he has to go to his hiding place once more. The rest of the boys will have to interchange their clothes again for the repetition of the game.

The value of this game is to train children to be observant because the boy who hides has to know the shape and size of the different parts of the body to enable him to give the correct name of the one he points out.

2. EGUGU-EKYIR

The game is played by eight or more children. One of them (whom I will call 'A' for convenience) stands by and the others sit down in a circular form. A has to go round the children with a small folded cloth in his hand whilst they sing the following song:-

A: Anto wickyi ei (It is behind you)

Rest: Hei

A: Ebi ne ba o (Someone's child)

Rest: Hei

A: Onwomu o (He will die)

Rest: Hei

A has to drop the cloth behind one of the children, B. If B realises that the cloth is lying behind him, he has to take it and run after A. A runs to take the place of B who continues to go round the children in place of A. If on the other hand B did not realise that the cloth had been dropped behind him till A has gone round to reach him once more, the following is the punishment meted out to him by the other boys:-

B's cloth is seized and placed near the wall of a house in front of the cloth the children stand up in two rows. B has to run in the middle of the rows towards

the wall to pick up his cloth. As he does so he is beaten by the other children till he gets hold of his cloth and leans against the wall. After that the game is repeated, this time B going round the children.

The value of this game is for children to be observant and attentive.

3. AHWEHWETAM

The game is played by four or more children. They stand in an open space and one of them, X, conducts the game as follows:-

- X: Mpanyainfo Agoo (Gentlemen, listen)
- Rest: Amee (We are listening)
- X: Wo na he wusa abar (Your woman's black pepper is ripe)
- Rest: Yeretsew (We are harvesting it)
- X: Wo na ne wusa abar
- Rest: Yeretsew
- X: Ketsew wusa kum (Harvest unripe pepper)

There should be no response after this, but if any one says "Yeretsew" as before, the rest of the boys beat him with their cloths till he touches the wall of a building. The game is then repeated as before.

In this game, children develop alertness. There is no response after the last sentence by X above because unripened pepper should not be harvested; thus it teaches children some knowledge about farming.

4. OSIBIR

This game is also played by six or more children. They form a big circle with one of them, A, standing at the centre. They clap their hands, stamp their feet (one foot each) on the ground and sing the following song:-

A: Mammba o mammba o osibir mammba o  
(I didn't come osibir) } D.C.

Rest: Woba osibir (Yam child osibir)

A: Wo na roto Alata akegye wempommba  
(Yam mother went to Nigeria to collect threepences)

Rest: Woba osibir

A: Mammba o osibir mammba

Rest: O sibir

Whilst the singing is in full swing, A goes round to find someone to knock down by a push with his shoulder. If he succeeds in pushing someone to move from his standing position, the fellow so pushed, B, takes the place of A. If B is able to resist the push with the result that he does not move from his position, then A has to continue to go round to challenge another one.

The game helps in physical growth.

B Games played by girls only1. EKURODD

This game is played by six or more girls. They all stand in a circle and hold their hands which they vigorously swing forwards and backwards. As they do so they sing the following song:- "Mege e daye o, Mena e

days o. Wamma manhwewe ma wara  
me pe. Abaawa feefew yi mekum nkanto  
aa' (It was my father and mother  
who didn't allow a beautiful woman  
like me to choose a handsome man to  
marry)

2. ASOSSW

The game is played by four or more  
girls. One of them, A, stands by and the  
others stand very closely together in a  
semi circular form. They sing a song and  
clap their hands whilst A walks back-  
wards towards them. As she reaches them  
she pretends to fall down, and the rest  
catch her up and push her to a  
standing position. She takes two steps  
forward and backward, falling on her  
friends as before. This goes on for about  
three minutes, and then someone else  
has to exchange places with A. Here is  
one of the songs:-

Mbaawa ee mbaawa ee D.C.  
Sika mputu mbaawa ee  
Imamba yesmas bodell  
(We are servants of the gold  
dust passing by)

The playing of this game helps in  
physical growth.

3. ADANKUAT

This game is played with a fruit which  
is rather like a gourd. A hole is bored  
at the thinner end, and the white stuff  
in it is removed. Sometimes beads are

put round it for decoration. The thinner end is held with the left hand, and the empty fruit is knocked against the elbow of the left hand. At the same time it is shaken whilst the right hand is used in tapping it gently. This sort of drumming is accompanied with songs by other girls who may dance round the player. The following is one of the songs:-

Keteke ei nye me uho O; Keteke ei nye  
me uho; kodu Oguaa agyina ho moko  
hwe me dia anyin. Ays ei Ayeei Idsara  
(I should go by this train; when it  
reaches Cape Coast I should drop to see  
my darling)

The dancing is a good exercise for physical growth.

### C Games played by boys and girls together

1.

#### MAWORA

About six or more girls line up and face an equal number of boys. The usual distance between the two groups is about twenty yards. A boy runs from his side to the girls' side and returns shouting "Mawora eeeeee" (I am married). He has to be able to keep up shouting to and fro. If he fails to keep up his breath, one of the girls has to take him to their side. Then one of the girls has to perform the action under the same conditions. Whoever is in captivity can be released in the following manner:-

A member of the group of the 'prisoner' has to run and shout to the opposite side, run round the prisoner three times and return with him or her to their team. On the return journey the reliever shouts 'Maponoo' (I have redeemed him or her). On arrival the freed girl or boy! shouts "Aberentsey, Akateesia egiua sho e maba oo (Young man or young woman standing over there, I have arrived). All this has to be done in one breath, and if the reliever fails to do so, he or she and the 'prisoner' have to be taken as 'prisoners' to the opposite camp.

The running and breathing exercise helps to develop the body.

2. 222 HANKETSE

Six or more girls line up and face an equal number of boys. The distance between the two is about thirty yards. Both teams clap their hands and sing the following song :-

Ido e hanketse o, ido begye Kwame Enu,  
ido e hanketse o

(It was love that saved Kwame Enu)

During the singing of the song a boy starts to dance from his line to that of the girls, and selects the girl he likes best. He embraces her and takes her back to his team. After this another girl performs the same action, and so the game goes on alternately till each boy or girl

has had a turn

The game gives children the opportunity of making friends with other children of opposite sex.

3.

ONE NAME

Boys and girls mix up and sit down in a circle. They raise their knees a little and cover them with their cloths. A cloth is rolled up into the shape of a ball and passed from a boy to a girl underneath the cloths covering their knees. A boy or a girl stands in the centre and searches for the folded cloth. The finder is hit with the hidden cloth when he or she is searching for it in a different direction; by the time he or she turns round to get hold of the cloth, it is then hidden again and passed from one child to another.

Whilst this is going on they shout and say "Duenam, duenam" (It is passing through). If the finder succeeds in getting hold of the cloth, he or she changes place with the one from whom the cloth was taken.

Agility and alertness are developed during the game.

4.

AKATEWA ODICY!

In this game too the boys form a line and face an equal number of girls. The distance between the two groups is about forty yards. A boy somersaults from his side to the girls' team, and whichever girl he touches with his foot has to somersault

from her side to the boys' team and touch one of them with her foot. The boy so touched will also have to somersault to the girls' side. This game continues till each child has had a turn. During the somersaulting the following song is sung:

'Sav na memma wo nam; matsew  
matsew diin; Whatawa Odikye o!

(Dance for a piece of fish; no, I will  
somersault.)

## PROJECTIVE TECHNIQUES

### 1. STORIES & REPORTS of A MALE CHILD

Name of child: Kobina Gyan

Age: about 7 years.

The tasks were introduced directly and the interview was held with him alone.

#### @ The child's favourite story

Once upon a time a cat cooked 'amete' (an African dish prepared from cassava) and invited the mouse to dine with him but the mouse turned down the invitation. Later when the cat was away the mouse went into the cat's house and stole the food. When he was eating the food he accidentally broke the plate containing the food, and knowing what would happen to him if the cat came to find out, he went along the street crying and singing the following song:-

Egyan owa ka amete (The cat prepared 'amete')

Ise mi mhedzi bi (He invited me to dine with him)

Meser mi mhedzi (I refused to eat it)

Memua medzi (I have stolen and eaten it)  
 Mako ba pretse (I have broken a plate)  
 Ntai na murusu yi (That's why I am sleeping)

Late in the night the cat went home and found out that someone had stolen his food. He went out in search of the thief when he heard the mouse singing the above song. He sharpened his claws on a stone, pounced on him and took him to his house. He ate the mouse and that is why cats eat mice.

⑥ A story about a bad boy

Long ago there lived a barren woman. She underwent treatment from a native doctor and as a result she became pregnant at her left ankle which got swollen. After nine months the swollen ankle burst and a male child came out of it. He began to speak to the surprise of the mother. He asked of his father, and when he was told that he had gone to work on his farm, he went there and called him home. Very soon he began to pilfer food and money.

On the eighth day the father invited his friends and relatives for the child naming ceremony. Before the function began, the boy stood up and told the gathering that he had been named in his mother's womb, and that he was called 'Kweku Bakon' (Kweku the bad boy). No ceremony was there fore performed. He was very wild and would beat anybody who would offend him.

One day he stole his mother's money, and when he was being reprimanded he stabbed her to death, and ran away to the village of a tiger, a wolf and an elephant. The three animals were very much surprised but decided to keep him as a house boy. One day they prepared their evening meal and left for the town. On their return they found out that the boy had eaten the whole food. When they were about to ask him to explain why he had eaten the food, he went for a big cane and beat them mercilessly. They ran away into the forest; and that is why the Tiger, the Wolf and the Elephant live in the forest.

© A story about a good boy

Kueku Ananse had two sons. The elder one was called Koduro Tsi and the younger one Kueku Okondor. Okondor was very unruly. He rarely obeyed orders; he liked to do things in his own way.

One day Kueku Ananse was returning from his farm when he saw the head of a human being lying by the way side. The head called Ananse and told him that he was her father-in-law because she was the wife of one of his sons. Ananse ran away home. The next time he went to his farm he took a different route, but on his return he saw the head, and it addressed him as before. Ananse took to his heels. Later

he decided to go to his farm with his two sons.

On their return they saw the head, and it addressed Anause as before. Anause therefore instructed Okondor to carry the head home - and marry her later. Okondor got annoyed and abused his father and the head. Anause asked Kodwo Tei to carry the head home and marry her. He, being a good boy, obeyed the father's instructions and carried it home.

On their way the head asked the husband to stay behind. When Anause and Okondor were out of sight, the head commanded the trees and shrubs to disappear, and in their place stood a magnificent house in which were maid-servants and household boys busy going about their daily work; and in place of the head stood a beautiful woman. She told her husband that the house and all the farms and lands around it were theirs. Kodwo Tei and his wife stayed in the house happily ever after.

(d) The child's wish

A touring car

(e) Self Description

My head is small. I have very thin legs and a big nose. My teeth are not as clean as other boys' teeth. I have lost three of my teeth. I have many tribal marks on my temples because I am the only surviving

child out of the seven children my mother had.

(4) The Child's Life Story

When I was very young I had four friends with whom I played marbles. At times we went out to hunt birds with catapults. When I was a little older I was very fond of fighting and was very quarrelsome, and elderly people often reported me to my parents. I refused to eat in some body's house. I would seize other children's playthings and run away with them.

I go to work in cassava and tomato farms belonging to my father. Last year my parents forced me to attend school but I ran away each time I was dragged to the school. I have now decided to attend school this year. I have a very small cassava farm of my own.

2. STORIES & REPORTS OF A FEMALE CHILD

Name of child : Ekua Mansah  
Age : about 7 years.

The tasks were introduced directly and the interview was held with her alone in her brother's sitting room.

(a) The child's favourite story

There was once an orphan girl who had to stay with the second wife of her father. She was not very well treated. On the other hand, the step mother had a daughter

who was very much liked. The orphan was made to do almost all the household duties. After some time the two sisters had yaws.

The step mother would treat that of the orphan with cruelty. She would vigorously scrape the yaws of the orphan with hard sponge till they bled, and then apply brimstone into them. This was very painful and the girl would cry for a greater part of the day. The step mother would not even allow her to cry. She was frequently beaten to keep her quiet. With regard to the treatment of the yaws of her own daughter, she simply applied a soothing oil without bashing it vigorously as it was done in the case of the orphan. After about three months, the orphan was completely healed whilst the other girl continued to suffer. After about a year she died. And this is due to the preferential treatment given by the mother.

(b) A story about a bad girl

Once in the village of Anansi lived a very beautiful girl called Obantu. She was so beautiful that many young men wanted to marry her. She was proud and Saucy, and so she refused to marry any of them on the grounds that they were not handsome.

One day the villagers were celebrating an annual festival when a certain young man of an extraordinary beauty, dressed in costly clothes, appeared at the extreme end

of the street in the village. He attracted all the villagers, especially Obantu. He sat in a corner of the street and looked on. He directed his attention to the proud Obantu who was also staring at him with admiration. When the function was over, the young man went to Obantu's father and asked that he might be allowed to marry her. The girl was approached by the father and she readily agreed. After an amount of fifty pounds had been paid by the man, a big feast was held in the afternoon in honour of Obantu; and at about 5pm. she went with her husband to her new home.

It was very far from her home town (a distance of about sixty miles) The husband had a magnificent building in which were all amenities of a noble man's house. The friends who accompanied her returned the next day.

On the third day the husband called Obantu to his room and there, after repeating some magical words, turned himself into a lion to her utter astonishment. She began to cry but the lion told her to keep quiet, and in a twinkling of an eye the whole house had disappeared, and Obantu found herself living among tigers in a forest. The husband-tiger then told her of how he heard of her pride and refusal to marry any of the young men in her village, and how he planned to change himself into a handsome young

man in order to get her to marry.

To bring this plan to a completion he left her in the forest, and as she could not find her way home she had to remain about and eat what fruits she could get. After about nine months she had nothing to eat, and as she had to collect some leaves to chew, she found it difficult to swallow them and so she renewed them from the month and fell down half dead.

Just at that moment the hunter who had passed by came across her. At first it was difficult for him to recognize that she was a human being, because she had become very dirty and ugly to look at. He took her to his house, and asked that she might be taken home. He took the young man five days to convey her to her home town (the young man came from a different village). Many people passed into her house, and when she had told her story she asked her father to give her water to drink. After she had drunk the water she fell down dead.

(c) The story about a goat girl.

Kradan Anase had two daughters. The elder one was called Esi Tsi and the younger one called Ekee Dsu. Esi Tsi was a very good girl - serviceable and obedient.

One day while these girls were returning

from their farms, Esi saw a very beautiful box. She ran and picked it up, but her younger sister, Ekua, claimed that it was she who saw it first, and so the box was hers. The elder sister had to give it to her to avoid quarrels.

About a quarter of a mile from their home Esi saw another box by the way side. It was dirty and old. She ran for it, but this time Ekua did not have any quarrel with her apparently because the box was not attractive.

On their arrival home each opened her box, and to the surprise of the parents and the daughters, the beautiful box contained sand, whereas the dirty one contained trinkets which were valued at two hundred pounds (£200).

(d) The Girl's wish

A sewing machine.

(e) Self Description

I am a very thin girl. I have big eyes and very beautiful hair. I have silver earrings and a beautiful cloth. My legs are not very nice, but I can run very well with them.

(f) The Child's Life Story

I do not know my mother because she died after I had been born. This was told me by my uncle. I have known my uncle and his wife since I was

very young.

I used to fight other girls when they annoyed me, but my uncle's wife would beat me any time I did that. I don't know my father. I was a bed-wetter when I had not started to attend school; and every time I wetted my mat I was beaten by my uncle's wife, and my friends also jeered at me and disgraced me publicly. Nowadays I have stopped it. I am in class two and after school I sell kerosene. I have two friends who are in the same class with me. They also sell kerosene in the evenings.

#### FOOTNOTE

The Method used to obtain the stories and drawings:

The children I interviewed knew me very well as I have been teaching in the village for the past five years, and so it was not difficult to get them to do the work I wanted.

To begin with I told them that when I came to Accra I found out that Ga children are very good in story telling and drawing, and so I wanted them to tell me stories to write down and also take their drawings to Accra to show to children in Accra that they at Mankessim can tell more interesting stories and make drawings better than those done by Ga children. The girl replied, "Mafo, we will do it better than

children in Kerala". Thus when the interest was got by this motivation, they readily performed the tasks given them.

The order in which the stories and drawings appear follows the sequence in which the tasks were given.

When I gave them crayons to do the drawings, the boy said "We will like to use pencils because with that if we go wrong we can erase it," and that is why the drawings are in pencils.

After each drawing I asked them to explain it, and the explanation they gave is written under each drawing. When they were about to start the work, the boy's mother called him to do some work for her, and so he had to do this alone; but the two had to do the drawings at the same time in the girl's brother's sitting room. They worked independently.

Drawings A 1 - A 7 are the boy's,  
B 1 - B 7 are for the girl.

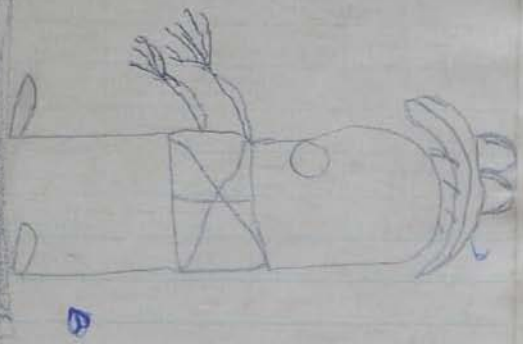
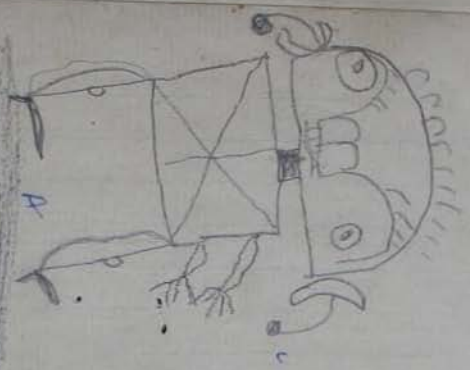
B 1



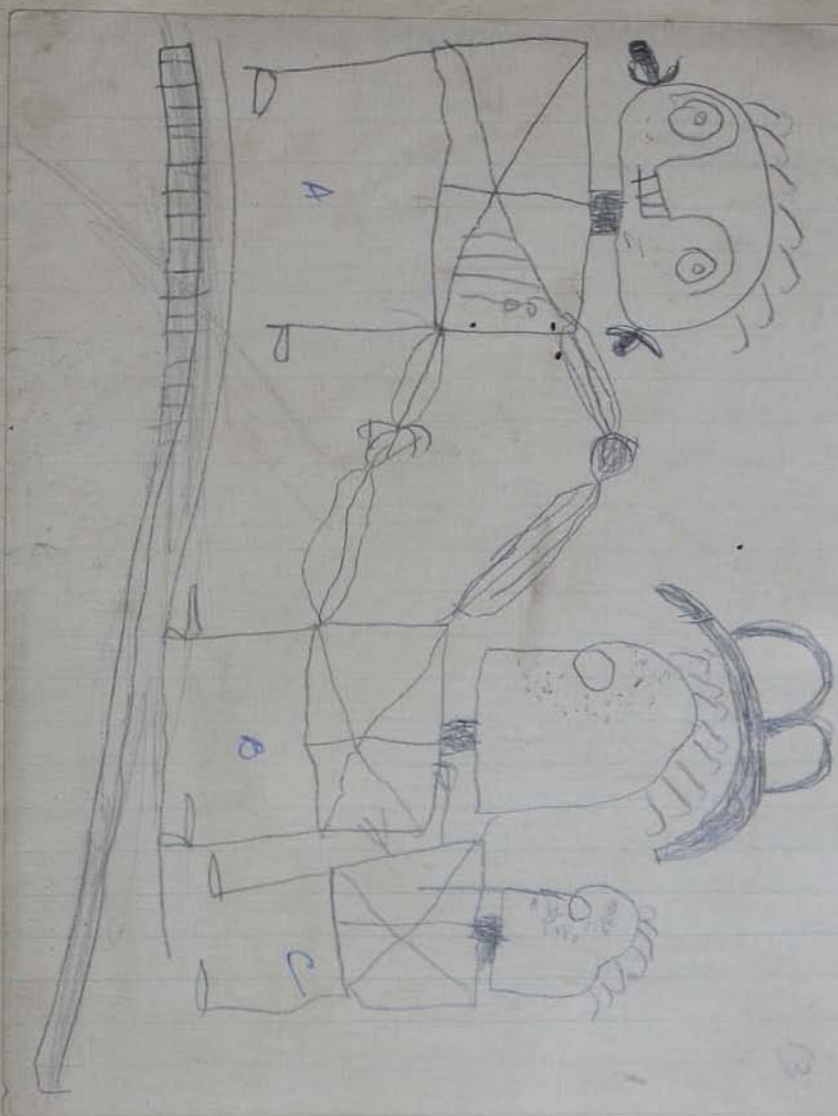
Free drawing.

Two men playing  
the game of draughts;

A + B are the  
men and C is the  
draughts on a table



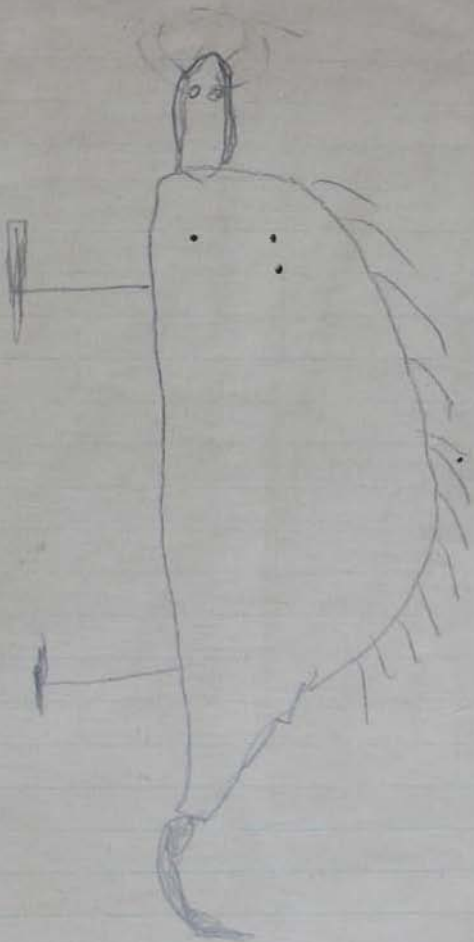
A man and a woman  
 A is a woman family  
 earnings market c.  
 B is a man wearing  
 his hat market a.



A Physicist

A is a woman physicist  
 B works in a Man  
 C is another woman  
 who has arrived  
 to separate them.

(17)



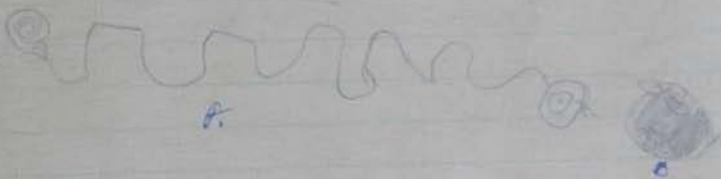
The Unpleasantest

Thing

This is a drawing of  
a turkey

Features: I never experienced  
that a turkey was the  
unpleasantest thing I  
can think of and so  
I wrote this story.  
He up there that a turkey  
has killed has all  
his children in the house

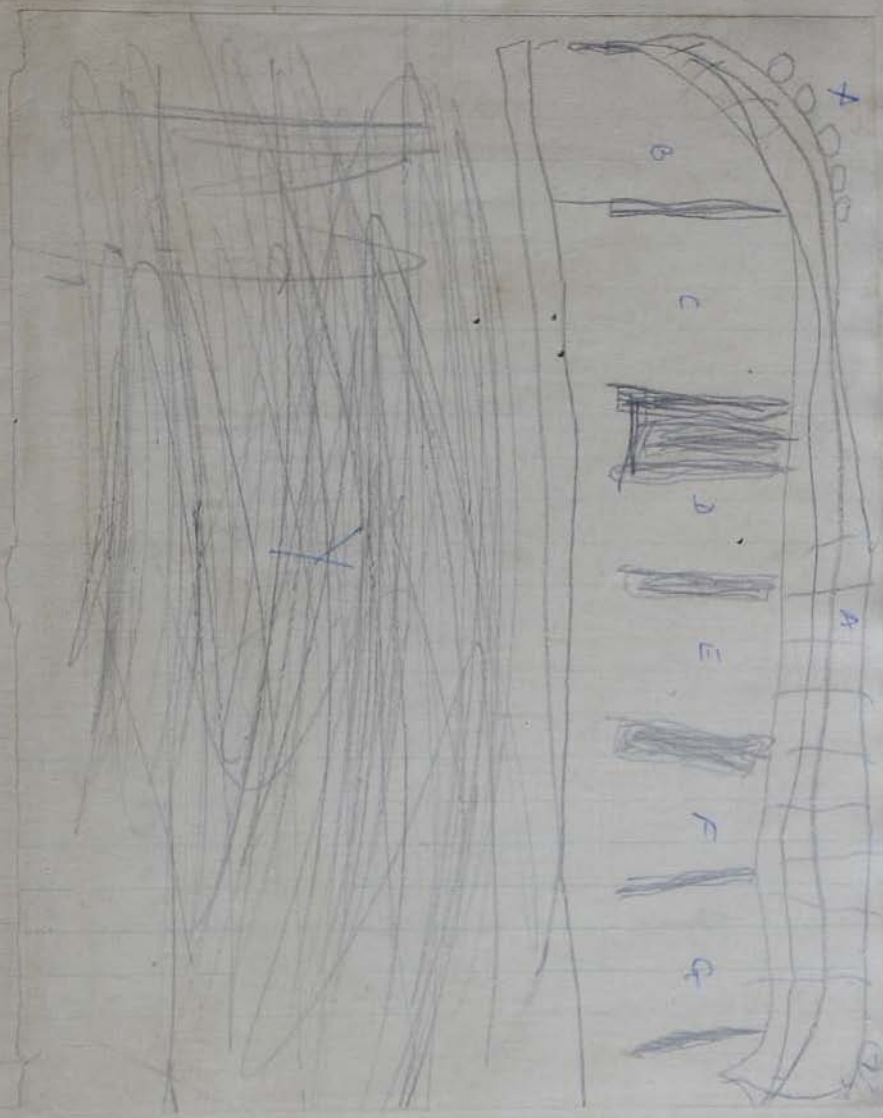
⑤



Something he is afraid of  
 A snake (The drawing is a snake A, going  
 into a hole B)



A dream  
 meant he saw a  
 man A, killing a  
 snake B.



The basis of his house

A is the roof  
 X is the part of the  
 part damaged and  
 to make stones have  
 been put on the  
 top  
 A - G are the six  
 years in the house  
 repaired by the pilot  
 Y is the bank growing  
 around the house

G 1



FREE DRAWING

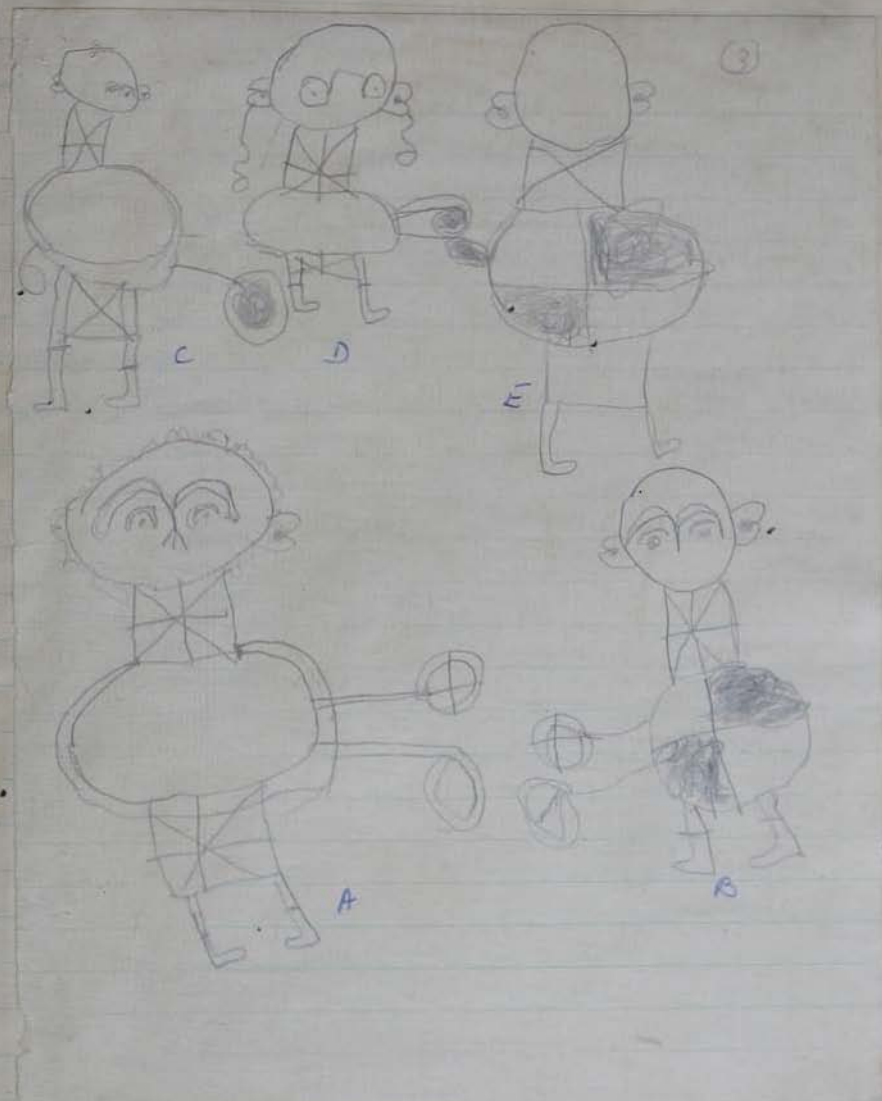
The drawing is a free one and it shows a group of marquisettes having a picnic. A, C & D are dancing with B dancing on a chain. B is the drummer sitting a sidedrum.

62



The drawing shows a man and a woman.

A is the man and B is the woman. C is a drawing of another woman which appears in the woman's cloth. D are the earrings.



A figure

A + C are fighting - C, D + E are looking on

G 4



A



B

(#)

The Vamples are now

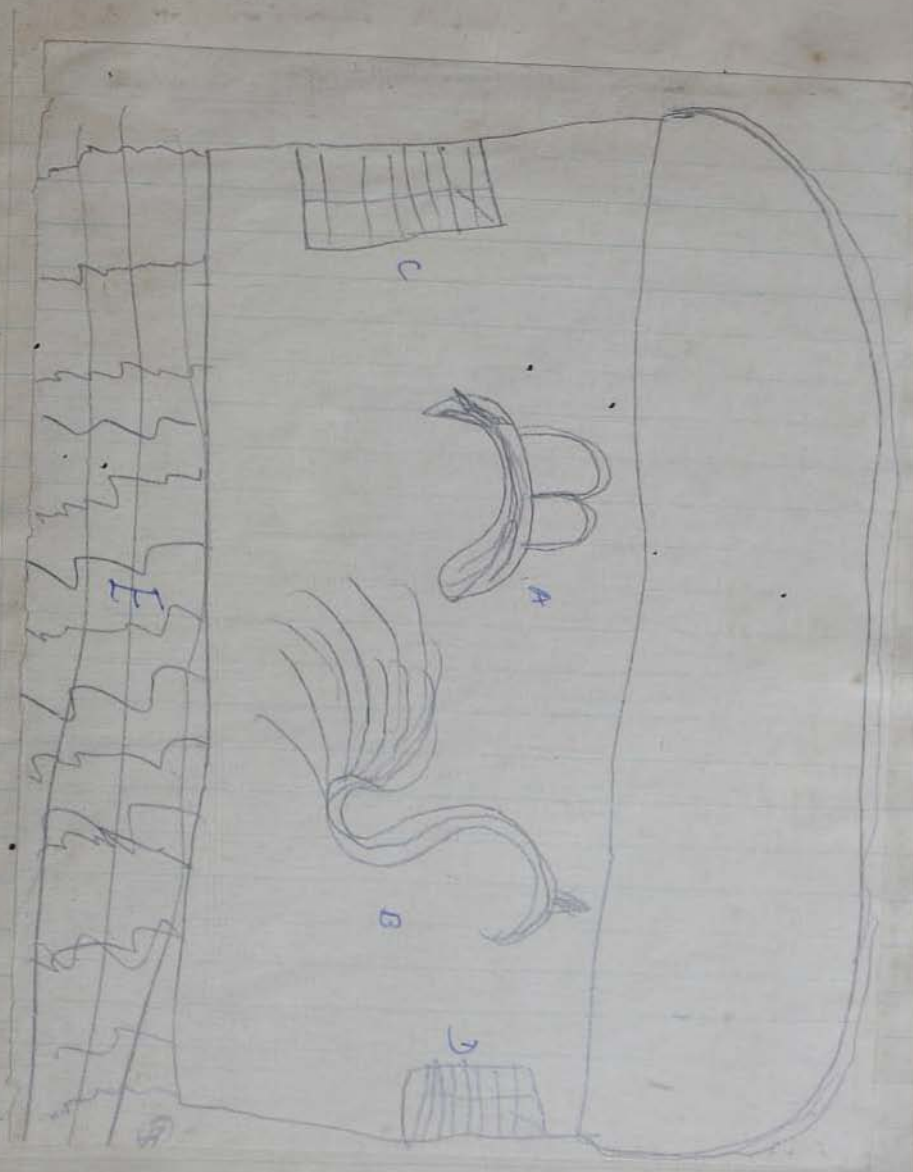
thing.

A + B out before sunrise

A is a grain in top

about one B in on

small one of it. small



Something she is afraid  
of

plus is a canopy for  
those who have been  
killed by Tigris

A is a handle

B is a brown

C + D are boxes containing

grass

E is the area where  
the dead are buried

G 6

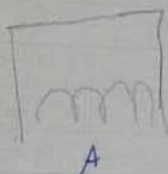
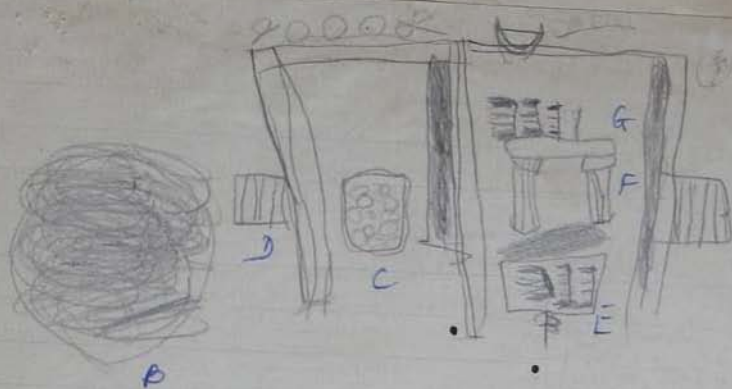


Drawing of a dream

The dream she saw a ghost.

A is the ghost which had visited her school B, and was reading the writings C on the wall

G 7



The Inside of her house

- A is the door of the house
- B is a pot full of water.
- C is a chair in the verandah
- D is a window in the verandah.
- E is fire burning in the hearth F.
- G - Pots containing food on fire.