

## P R E F A C E.

This essay is the result of an investigation on Child Training in the Kle Division of the Teshie people.

It should be understood that this work is offered with hesitation as an experimental endeavour by the 'uninitiated' to tread on 'Holy Ground'. It may be regarded as a pioneer attempt to understand the people of the Division in as much as this is only concerned with Child Training. Based on limited field work and limited source of material, it is necessarily incomplete and, in spite of the care which has been taken to ensure accuracy, it probably contains factual errors.

Teachers, and educationists on the whole, have been among the first to claim that education, to be truly efficient should be adapted to the needs of each individual child. Their maxim has been: fit the school to the pupil, not the pupil to the school. But such a principle implies that the function of the teacher is by no means limited to actual teaching. To ensure that his teaching is successful, he must first make a psychological study of every boy or girl in his class. To teach Arithmetic to Kofi or Geography to Kojo, it is not sufficient to know the principles of Arithmetic or the facts of Geography: he must also KNOW Kofi and Kojo. It is with this aim in view that this essay is written.

It is not possible to record the names of all the Teshie friends who have helped me. This essay could never have been compiled without the patient collaboration of many elders who gave me unaccounted hours of their time and their close, untiring attention. I cannot adequately thank them.

The tact of my skilful guide, Mr. Augustus Amate Gbugblah, Head Teacher of the Teshie Catholic School, has saved me much time and trouble and rendered the work uncomparably easier.

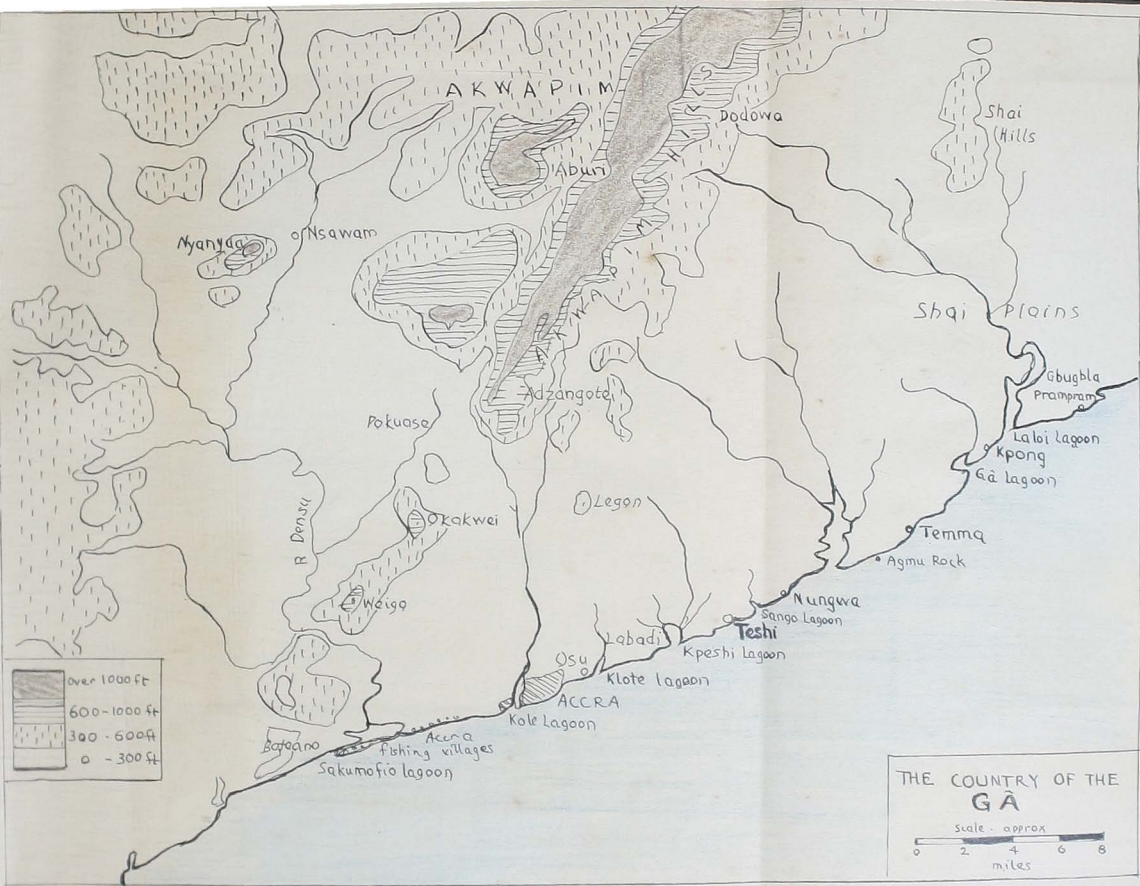
My thanks are due to Mr. A. Taylor for kindness in reading and correcting the drafts.

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The traditional work  
of the people is fish-  
ing.



AKWAPIM

Dodowa

Shai Hills

Nyaniga  
o Nsawam

Aburi

Shai Plains

Adzangote

Gbugba Prampram

Pokuase

Laloi Lagoon  
Kpong  
Ga Lagoon

Legon

Okakwei

Temma

R Denkyi

Agmu Rock

Weigwa

Nungwa  
Sango Lagoon

Teshi

Kpeshi Lagoon

Osu

Labadi  
Klote lagoon

ACCRA

Kole Lagoon

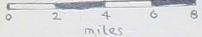
Bataano

Accra fishing villages

Sakumofio lagoon

THE COUNTRY OF THE  
GA

Scale - approx



miles

THE PEOPLE.

Teshie is known today as the largest fishing town along the Ga coast. It has three fishing beaches and hundreds of canoes employing hundreds of men and their fish-trading women folk. Its people are tightly packed into the steep, rocky town, and its nets are spread to dry on the grassy land to east and west. It has but half a dozen large inland villages against the score or so of Labadi's, so that its heart is more in its fishing and less in its bush affairs than that of Labadi.

I was told that originally Teshie was a small fishing cottage which belonged to Fante fishermen. A civil war at Labadi resulted in the removal of the vanquished to Teshie.

The Teshies are a lovable people and are very hardworking.

Kle where I conducted my investigations forms one of the main divisions of Teshie. It is seven miles west of Accra, the capital of the Gold Coast.



Teshie has three fishing beaches and hundreds of canoes employing hundreds of men.



The Child is a boon  
and good fortune in many  
ways.

Attitude Towards Having Children.

As in all other primitive societies, the desire for children reaches an extreme development. The child is a boon and good fortune in many ways. Material progress and ease in this life, security and peace in the next life, are dependent upon having children. It was only after some time before I could understand the poignancy which characterizes the longing for offspring among the people. They could condescend to any method or practice to attain this priceless concession, which it is within the power only of the spirit world to grant him. The position of a woman answers in the main to her ability to bear children and thus grant the coveted desire. Even as the possession of children is considered by them as the greatest fortune, so, on the other hand, the barren woman is the most despicable of humans, and the childless man the most ridiculous and disappointed of individuals in the eyes of his folk, and inevitably in his own estimation. To avoid this indignity, it is incumbent on everyman to try every possible means to have children. Women are assimilated to other objects of personal possession as a peculiar kind of income yielding property and are married for a bride-price. In the measure in which she is prolific is her position as wife secure. If she fails in this paramount duty the man has 'purchased' a deficient commodity, he can send her away without any compensation-fee. The woman's primary duty and destiny on this stage of the people's cultural development is to bear children. There is nothing to prevent the man from

taking more wives if he can afford to do so. The woman has to put up with the presence of other women as an inevitable consequence of her failing in this regard.

Nothing short of heroic measures can alleviate the miserable plight of barrenness. The spirits must be interceded with, in order that they may relent in their obdurate spleen. They must be coaxed or placated by the medicine-man who has acquired the technique of dealing directly with the denizens of the imaginary environment.

A woman who is afflicted with barrenness consults a fetish priest. The priest usually says: "Your god (dzemawon) is not allowing you to bear." Or "Your dzemawon intended you to bear but someone has spoilt your gbesi." Or "Your spiritual husband is annoyed with you, he must be pacified". He then either implores the god, with sacrifices to relent, or if the 'gbesi' is bad he arranges to drive it away. This done he then prays, pours out a bottle of rum, and prepares a bowl of water, rum, and herbs. The woman puts this on her head and carries it down to the sea accompanied by a few young virgins and small girls as she can collect. These girls shout, scream, clap and hoot to drive away the bad 'gbesi' or spirit. Finally the woman washes herself in the sea.

If all goes well she will afterwards conceive a child. If not she goes round to priest after priest a most pathetic figure. Barrenness has led many women to embrace such fetishes like the Tigare Cult, with the hope that they might have children through it.

A woman who has repeated miscarriages consults either a herbalist or the priest of a god. The latter is better, they say, but more expensive. He takes her just outside the northern boundary of the town where the rubbish heaps are. Here she is stripped and bathed to wash away the troublesome evil spirit - 'gbesi'. Food is laid down outside the town so that the evil spirit shall have no occasion to come back to the town for food.

Barrenness is so frowned upon that when a woman dies childless, the corpse is incised with a broken piece of bottle for some blood to flow out. The idea behind this is that as she could not see the colour of her blood through childbirth, she should see it when she was dead. This saves her from the recurrence of this misfortune when she reincarnates.

The age of the first born, as I found out in many cases, was the measuring stick of the age of the parents, for in a lot of cases there were no written records of parents. At drinking parties the menfolk were able to boast of <sup>their</sup> old age by the ages of their children. The usual question is, "Heh, is that your son, man, then you are not a small boy!". The other retorts, "What do you think about me, this is the second one, the elder one is working for the whiteman at Takoradi. You ought to know that I am grown".

There are no methods of limiting the size of the family. It is a matter of the "more the merrier". Two main reasons were given for this. Firstly as there <sup>were</sup> no good medical facilities and infant mortality was rampant, they preferred having a lot of children, so that when some died, some would at least survive. Secondly they needed the children to help

in the fishing industry.

I met a considerable number of women who although some have had five to six children already, they still craved for more. One had deserted her husband and was now staying with a young man. She felt that the husband had stopped bringing forth, and as she still wanted children she had to get a young man who was strong and healthy to bring forth with. The other women were worrying their husbands to send them to medicine-men. They complained that their last born were now walking and they felt that they should be pregnant again. Two of the women incidentally had had grandchildren.

There were however a few cases in which I found women who told me they had stopped <sup>to</sup> bring forth children, for they had now got grandchildren and it was their duty to take care of them. When I asked if that meant they would commit abortion if they became pregnant, they were greatly alarmed and this confirmed the impression I had got, that abortion was something greatly frowned upon in the area. I also met mothers who although they were having ~~children~~ babies of four and five months were already pregnant.

It may become necessary occasionally to wink at the fact that a child is born of parents who have not expressed a wish to undertake a durable sexual relationship in the manner dictated by the folkways. The fervent desire for offspring may eclipse the fact of "illegitimacy". Such a taint is overlooked. The evidence clearly indicates that many taboos are relaxed in times of emergency. Among the people, the marital arrangements may not be exactly what is laid down by

custom, yet the children are welcomed because of the strong desire for children.

Two things are necessary to make a child legitimate and give it the full rights of family membership. Firstly, the marriage custom must have to be performed, and secondly, the child must have a naming ceremony done for it when it is a week old. More often than not many women become pregnant without having had the marriage custom performed. This might be overlooked by the girl's parents, but not the naming ceremony.

The naming ceremony of a child, necessitates a 'father', but the father need not be the child's progenitor. The man in whose name the ceremony is done claims the child as his lawful issue. The most usual person to father the child of a husbandless mother is her own father. When the male progenitor is unknown, has run away, is an undesirable stranger or an unsuitable associate of the family, then the child's maternal grandfather does its naming ceremony and names it as his own son or daughter. It now counts as his own child in all matters of inheritance and succession. If one day the real father comes back to claim him or her, he is made to pay all expenses made on the child from the time of its birth up to the time he wanted to claim him or her back. I met about five to six examples of these cases.

Orphans are usually taken over by their uncles, aunts or grandparents, and great care is taken over them. In many cases they give such children more sympathy than they do their own children. I discovered a few cases in which some children had been taken over by

their aunts during their infancy because their respective mothers had died after their birth, and up to the time I visited them they had <sup>not</sup> realised that the women were not their real mothers. One such girl is twelve years old.

I discovered one or two cases in which this was rather the contrary. The uncles had confiscated the late fathers property and were also ill-treating the children. The right reason for this behaviour was not given. But it seems this was an exception and not the general procedure.

Upon many investigations I discovered that in general, adoption is a rare resort because it is easy to remedy the defect in other ways, by acquiring more wives, or divorcing the barren wife as already stated.

A surprising instance of the strong desire for children is revealed in a literal translation of a song I heard during my observation:

"Wish me luck as you bid me farewell,  
 I want a gold drum  
 No, I do not need it again,  
 I'll rather prefer your giving me one child  
 So that on my death-bed she may weep and say  
 'Bring my mother back to me'".

PRE-NATAL PERIOD

A woman knows she is pregnant when she ceases to menstruate, and she is troubled by loss of appetite, nausea, vomiting and an aversion to some foods. Others crave for certain foods.

During this period the woman becomes hot tempered and easily excited in behaviour. She is nervous and continually irritated at little things. She wants to command everybody. In some cases she becomes rather lazy and sleeps a lot. They quarrel a lot and are always grumbling. However, in some cases, they were full of vigour, went about carrying loads with unabated energy. Some worked excessively.

Generally, as I found out, except in a few cases where medical advice was sought the diet of the pregnant woman remained the same. All the same, she at times developed hatred for some food which she previously liked. She vomited whenever she forced herself to take it. There were a few cases in which women grew fond of such things as chipplings of swish from much buildings and white clay.

Pregnant women, informants tell me, become highly sexual, and were a source of worry to husbands. This was confirmed by many of the men. There were cases where this happened during the first few months of pregnancy. Some said this continued up to the time of childbirth. I found many cases in which intercourse took place less than twenty-four hours before childbirth.

It is highly necessary to protect a pregnant woman from witches, who are particularly prone to prey on the 'kla' or spirit of unborn children, and also from ill-wishers. The preliminary precaution taken during

pregnancy was a sort of ceremony termed 'Korlebu'. This it was believed guards against all attempts by ill wishers to bring any harm upon the pregnant woman. The woman, under medical direction, washes herself in a bath containing a powerful herb and small pinches of every kind of food any one can suggest or contribute. Thus the bath will contain scraps of kenkey, cassava, yam, palm-nut, ground-nut, coconut, beans, plantain, mangoes, etc. The idea is that however eccentric or catholic in her eating, the witch will find that her own food has been included in this concoction. The food with which the woman is bathed then protects her by saying to the witch, 'I am your own food. You cannot hurt me without hurting yourself.'

If a woman suffers from headaches or undue discomforts during her pregnancy she and her husband go with eggs and rum to the medicine-man. The woman is seated on a stool with a basin of various leaves and water on the ground in front of her. The medicine-man pours rum on the herbs and the eggs in the basin, and then on the ground. After some prayers and incantations, he takes an egg from the water, twirls it seven times round the woman's head, rubs it on her stomach, touches her mouth with it, and finally dashes it on the ground. If the egg spreads and splashes all is well, but if it makes a compact blob particularly with an unbroken yolk, it is a bad sign. When all the eggs are thus broken the woman takes the bowl of water and herbs and bathes herself.

It is generally believed that the soul which the child inherits is that of an ancestor. This is unalterable and affects chiefly the child's talents and temperament. But the physical characteristics of a

child may be affected by all sorts of external influences playing upon the mother during her pregnancy. A pregnant woman therefore has to be very careful. She is not allowed to look at or play with any ugly animal such as a monkey or a pig, or the child will be like one. Woolly and furry animals cause hairy children. She must not break firewood with an axe. The idea being that she would divide her child's head into two if she did so. When lying down no one had to step over her, otherwise the one might transfer his or her misfortunes to the pregnant woman. There are some kinds of firewood too which she was not allowed to use as fuel. Whenever she sits down, she must place her back against the wall, so that no one walks past behind her. This prevents her bringing forth a bad child. She must be the first person to have her bath in the house, usually early at dawn. This prevents her contacting the ailments of others who might have their bath before her. She must try as much as possible to have cold baths. Hot water might scald the child in her womb.

Informants tell me that the ordinary minor ailments of the woman, such as <sup>fever, aching joints and headaches</sup> ~~as~~ during the woman's pregnancy <sup>are</sup> often visited on her husband instead. She effects this transfer by rising in the night and stepping over his sleeping body. The drowsy lethargy common in pregnancy is one of the discomforts most often borne by husbands, with fortitude. He finds himself falling asleep at his work while his wife, full of vigour strides about carrying loads with unabated vigour.

On the part of the other members of the family the only precaution taken is that every one must be on good relations with the pregnant woman. Everyone must be on speaking terms with her, more so the husband.

During this period while carrying a baby, particularly a first child, the woman has doubts and misgivings. "Shall I really be able to produce a normal healthy child?" "Shall I be able to <sup>take</sup> care of him?" These are some of the questions she worries about.

## B I R T H.

Childbirth still remains a dangerous event because it is the point at which the imaginary environment intrudes directly upon the ordinary world.

At the first signs of birth pains, great excitement takes place. Everybody becomes worried. The compound is kept clean, and things are well arranged. The room occupied by the labouring woman is also kept ship shape. These precautions are taken against the possible visitors who come to the house after the birth has been announced. In many cases libation is poured, and prayers and innovations are offered to the gods and departed souls to help the woman to have a successful birth.

While the woman is in labour a fishnet and a grinding stone are placed in the doorway of her room. Then if any other woman with abdominal pain disease enters the room the pain is caught by the net and ground up and destroyed by the stone. Otherwise the pain might be transferred to the woman who is in labour. The belief that aches and pains can be transferred from one person to another is prevalent.

Birth-giving is considered so mystically that it was with great difficulty that information could be gathered on it. The usual procedure was that an elderly woman usually served as the midwife. The woman lies down, with her knees bent, and holds her legs apart.

If a woman's labour shows signs of being difficult one of the first remedies tried by the midwife is that of fetching a broom and giving her a good sweeping all over her body to clear away the evil influences.

When a woman is in labour, if she calls out the child's father's name, it gives vigour to the child, wakens its spirit, and causes it to move a step towards

birth. This is made use of in cases of disputed paternity. Sometimes the child does not respond till the woman has called several names other than her husband's. This revelation of the kind of life she has led naturally causes much heartburning, and often leads to her divorce. A woman in labour is often gagged by kindly relatives to prevent disgraceful disclosures. It is for this reason that the husband's relatives are excluded from the labour room. The belief that the wages of secret sin is death is particularly prominent at the time of childbirth, and an adulterous woman enters her confinement in secret terror.

There are no real anaesthetics used, but in some cases she is given castor oil, or at times the root of pawpaw-tree boiled in water. During birth she is given a bottle to blow hard into. This helps to squeeze the abdomen and help the baby out.

When the child has been delivered, a childless woman pays a few pennies for the placenta which she buries somewhere around the house, more often than not in the bath-house. She then discharges urine upon it. This it is believed causes her to become fertile. The placenta is buried as fresh as possible as its virtue is thought to depart with keeping. The woman who cuts the navel string is paid shilling for doing so. If no barren woman wants to make use of the placenta it may be buried under a coconut, or other tree, which will then be expected to bear a great abundance of fruit.

A baby is born. The parents, other children, the grandparents, the uncles, aunts, and cousins who make up the family circle are all variously affected by the event.

Before having a child the mother and father themselves seldom realise in what ways and to what

extent the arrival of the baby will change their lives or what readjustments they will have to make in their habits, their thoughts and their feelings. But even though they have no exact knowledge of how the baby's arrival is going to affect them, they usually feel at its approach an increased sense of responsibility; the mother usually to protect and care for the new baby well, the father usually to earn a sufficient livelihood to meet the additional bills.

The mother is naturally the person who is the most affected.. The first thing she wants after the birth of her baby is to satisfy nine month's curiosity by finding out what it is really like. 'Is it alive and well? Is it normal? Is it a boy or a girl?' While carrying a baby, particularly a first child, the woman is certain to have doubts and misgivings.

When she has successfully given birth to her baby and her first sight of him has reassured her on this point, the new mother often finds herself set upon by fresh fears. Her baby looks so frail and tiny and helpless. 'Shall I know how to take proper care of him and protect him from illness? How shall I know the right thing to do on every occasion?'

With regard to attitudes towards having boys or girls, I discovered that parents urge was an utilitarian and selfish one. The child's value lay in the contribution he could make to the all-consuming battle of existence. The child is a practical asset. Generally however the male child is preferred to the female. The boy can defend the home at the approach of the enemy; he accompanies his father to war. Only the boy can help his father with the laborious fishing work,

and in some cases farming, and through his aid, the father becomes rich. He also looks after his parents during their old age.



Breast feeding the  
child before its bath.

F E E D I N G

Immediately after birth, the child is washed and tended by an older woman of the mother's kin. Usually the infant is not fed until the appearance of the mother's milk about twenty-four hours after birth. If he cries he may be given a little boiled water, sugar dissolved in boiled water, or milk, diluted with water. If the mother's milk does not appear, her shoulders, chest and breasts are massaged. In rare instances a close relative who has lost a baby, for instance a sister, acts as wet nurse. During the week following his birth the small infant wishes, above everything else, to suck and receive nourishment. His mother's nipple seems at first to be a part of his very self.

The baby is almost always treated with constant indulgence. It is never left to cry; at the first whimper his nursing mother will hurry to pick it up if it is lying alone, put her to the breast and let it nurse as long as it wished. Mothers are apt to urge and wax the child to eat. Sometimes the young mother feels that her baby is not as fat as her neighbour's or the child of the husband's other wife. As such she tries to stuff him with more food than he could consume. Little attempt is made to regulate the feeding of the child. It is put to the breast whenever it cries, or when it wakes after sleeping, or when its mother feels her milk troubling her.

In breast feeding, the baby is usually held on the lap of the mother, with its head raised to the breast, being supported by the elbow. After feeding on one side for some time he is changed to the other side. In the

case of pap-feeding he is placed on the mother's lap in a sitting position. She then uses a spoon or a cup to feed him. If on the other hand the child refuses to take it, then she cups her hand, places it against the child's mouth and a second party, generally an elder sister or brother pours the pap into her cup-shaped palm and it is made to flow down into his mouth. His nose is held tight and in his attempt to breathe the pap flows down his throat until the child's stomach bulges to capacity. This method of feeding is termed the 'Anago (Yoruba) hold'. It is said to have been introduced by the Yorubas.

At times a baby's appetite may drop off for some period. When this happens, the mother first of all attempts to force the child to feed. If she does not succeed, she reports the matter to either her mother or to any other elderly woman who in many <sup>Cases</sup> suggests constipation or teething to be the cause. She then prescribes some herbs to be cooked for him or in a bit enlightened homes castor-oil is given to the child.

In addition to the pleasure of knowing that she herself is the source of the child's nourishment a mother receives other real rewards. It is generally accepted that only those who lead chaste lives prior to marriage have sufficient milk in their breast. As such her nursing the child gives the impression that she maintained her chastity. I was informed that nursing hastens the contraction of the uterus to its normal size. Nursing one's baby, adds to the close, loving intimacy between mother and child. It is one of the full pleasures of maternity. So marked is this attitude that at times one sees a mother trying to soothe a child who had long

stopped sucking, by trying to put her breast into his mouth.

I could not get any definite generalizations on the subject of marital intercourse during nursing. There were divers statements. All the same, there was a general agreement on one point, namely, the habit of having intercourse during the third month after child birth. They are of the opinion that this helped in pushing back the uterus to its original position. Thus, the women often lived apart from their husbands for two years after the birth of a child lest they conceive again. In some cases, they abstained until the child was weaned. Others had to wait until the child ran about. The common and usual explanation given by informants for following this custom of abstinence is that failure to do so will cause the youngest living infant to "sicken and die".

W E A N I N G.

There is no general rule as to when this is effected. For I discovered children between the ages of twelve months to three years old who were still breast-feeding. Some mothers maintained that they felt that their children's greatest pleasures and satisfactions were centred around nursing, as such they felt reluctant to stop them. Some mothers too started weaning their children only when they felt their milk was getting exhausted. In some cases it was only effected when the mother was pregnant or was expecting another child. There were a few cases in which this was done at the mother's convenience. Majority of the mothers were fish-mongers and they felt they were being worried too much by their children. Some mothers however find the nursing period so convenient and so pleasurable that they continue it as long as eighteen months or two years. Others prolong it with the belief that they cannot become pregnant again while nursing.

There were a few cases in which the cause of weaning was due to the children's urge to bite after teething. Generally the child's first teeth appear anytime after about the sixth month. This is usually preceded by small fevers, restlessness, crying and constipation. Usually the child is given castor oil or some roots boiled in water. When asked by a friend or relative what ails the child, the mother never mentions that it is teething for it is presumed that if she said so then the teeth would not come out. As such she generally replies that his "little stones" are coming out. Mothers usually take pride in the appearance of the first teeth of their children. It is

not uncommon for one to see mothers opening their children's mouths to show them to friends and relatives.

Long before the teeth have come through, most of the things he carries to his mouth so as to know them better also get pressed between the gums as well as sucked. Biting, sucking, becomes one of his pleasures and needs. Then when the new teeth appear, they need to be experimented with and exercised. The baby bites his rattle, his toys, and in the natural course of events the nipple. When this happens, the nursing mother removes her breast forcibly with a jerk. The baby is at times slapped, spoken to crossly, and in many cases his father is insulted. This generally leads to an attempt to weaning the child.

The methods of weaning are generally very crude. The child is usually kept away from the mother for longer periods. When he feels like breast-feeding, a bitter herb, usually the juice squeezed out from the fresh leaves of the Nim tree (king-baa) is applied to the breast and when he puts it into his mouth and feels the bitter taste, he removes it with disgust. At times too the mother and in some cases the whole household try to make him believe that the breast is smelling. They point to their noses after having first pointed to the breast and say, "fuu, fuu!" (an expression of bad smell) or they tell him that the breast is an animal. When he puts it into his mouth or tries to do so, he is reminded by the mother that it is a "kokoo" (baby-talk for animal). Whenever it could be procured, liquid quinine is applied to the nipple to make it bitter. During this period he is given sufficient liquid food - generally pap. There is always a reserved supply even for the night, so that immediately he cries for food,

he receives some from the mother. It is at this period too that solid food is introduced.

I could not get instances of children being given things to suck, and there were no objects on which children could teeth. A few mothers told me that in some cases they gave the children some hard biscuits - (bought from the market) which the children tried to bite. This served as a substitute for a teething object.

From the method in which weaning is carried on I deduced that the child had the feeling that the mothers love had been removed from him. For when it is recalled that the breast and the person who provides it are the centre of the baby's universe and stand in his eyes for all that is pleasurable, satisfying, and needful, some idea may be formed of the shock it may be to a baby to see it so abruptly removed.

The bond between mother and child is not easily broken when weaning takes place, and the child continues instinctively to turn to <sup>the</sup> breast for comfort and reassurance. When its mother picks it up, it will begin to suck, though there is no longer any milk, simply as a matter of habit. This is especially noticeable if the child is frightened. Immediately it runs howling to be picked by its mother, and once safely in her arms and with her nipple in its mouth, feeling secure from danger, it observes the world around with sidelong glances and may even suffer with equanimity the near approach of the alarming stranger from whom it fled in terror. Even quite big children, five or six years old, who have long lost habit of sucking, seem to find comfort when frightened in physical contacts with their mother's breasts, clutching

them with their hands or burying their faces there.

On the subject of thumbsucking, I could not arrive at any specific details as to the reasons why some children do it and at what ages it was done. There were a lot of variations, hence I find it difficult to generalize on the subject matter. However, I discovered that some children were determined thumb-suckers even though they are well fed, while others, although suffering from malnutrition are not thumb-suckers. On one of my visits I found a child of seven years asleep in class with his thumb in his mouth. Children of varying ages indulged in this habit. The ages range from very young babies to grown ups. I met a girl in Primary Six sucking her thumb. She is between the ages of thirteen and fourteen years.

The habit is greatly frowned upon and every attempt is made to stop it. The methods adopted to put an end to this habit is rather crude. More often than not the efforts made are not successful. Scolding, cutting the thumb and applying pepper to the wounds or painting the thumb with bitter tasting liquids are some of the methods employed to stop the habit. In some cases the thumb is bandaged or he is given a strong slap or knock on the hand whenever he puts the thumb into his mouth.

S O L I D F O O D .

Sucking continues for eighteen months or two years in the case of a healthy child, but if the mother thinks her child is delicate she will go on feeding it considerably longer, even till it is three years old.

On the whole there are no hard and fast rules about the time solid food is introduced to the child. This is mainly because the time of weaning as I have already mentioned, varies a lot. There were cases where children of the age of four years were still breast-feeding, although they had already been introduced to solid food. However I realised that there was the tendency of introducing solid food during the teething period. By this time, it is fed on ordinary porridge. But as he grows older he is fed on other soft food like "dzidzi", the staple food of the Teshies. This is made from grounded cassava and made into a sort of pasty. He is fed during the ordinary mealtimes of the household. This is usually accompanied with the more tender pieces of meat cut small by the mother with her teeth, so that they can easily be swallowed. Whenever the mother returns from the market she includes in her parcel a small loaf of sugared bread. She then breaks a piece and gives it to the child.

Apart from the odd bits of food which the child might be given while the mother is busy preparing food for the father or the household, in majority of cases, the child is generally fed with the rest of the family. The child is either held on the mother's lap or sits on the ground in front of the mother. After taking a morsel or two, she then gives the child a morsel.

There is no regular feeding of the child in many cases. Whenever he expresses the desire to eat, he is given something to eat. In many instances, mothers are prone to giving their children food just to keep them

away from worrying them (the mothers). The general picture round the area was that many of the children had acquired the astounding pot-belly which is a familiar sight among children of the rural areas. Their stomachs were impropportionate to their bodies.

There were cases however in which some mothers tried to regulate the amount of food their children ate. After feeding the child for sometime during the meal times, the mother then looks at the child's stomach and remarks, "Heh, you<sup>are</sup> full, I think, this is enough for you. Get some fish and get up." In many cases the child cries, to show that he is not satisfied. The mother remains adamant, and that ends it. If the grandmother is in the group she will always plead for the child to be given a little more to eat.

The general tendency was to get the child to eat at all cost. I met a mother who was worried because her next door neighbour's infant was gaining more weight than her own, and, believing that the family prestige as well as the child's health was at stake, she had tried to stuff him with more food than he could consume. The baby naturally unaware of the competitive spirit, refused to take any part in this weight-gaining race and showed his lack of interest by merely fiddling with the food she offered him.

Another woman complained that her child was a poor eater. From the start therefore, she had insisted that her baby take whatever food was offered him, honestly thinking that in this way she was making it easier for him to eat his meal without fuss. This was exactly what did not happen and in a very short while each meal for the child had become a battle ground of wills,

some children who had submitted to being stuffed far beyond their needs, had as a result become stodgy and fat, and were less active than other children of the same age. I noticed also that they had not yet learnt to walk while other children of the same age were walking. One little girl, just under a year, looked like a grotesque pin-cushion doll, she was abnormally fat.

There are three meals daily. The first one is usually taken at eight or thereabouts in the morning. The first meal is usually cold, consisting of kenkey-balls and fish cooked, fried or smoked the previous day. The second meal is taken after midday. This is a bigger meal and includes a stew or soup of fish, meat and vegetables accompanied by several pounds of starchy food - cassava fufui, kenkey or dzidzi. This meal is quite elaborately prepared. The meat is often first cooked before being added to the soup. The red hot peppers, without which no soup is considered eatable, are boiled separately and then carefully ground in a wooden bowl before being added to the stew. The okros are par-boiled and then beaten into a slime before they are stirred into the rest. Red palm oil or grounded groundnuts are often added.

The evening meal is similar to the midday one. The wife has to cook the meals for her husband and children, and send the basins of food to the husband's compound by a son or daughter.

The boys gather round the dish with the older brothers, young uncles, and cousins. Table manners are simple and primitive. Fingers are the only implements save the big wooden spoons used to dish out the soup.

It is good manners to wash hands before and after meals, and this is insisted upon. To belch loudly and openly is a mark of appreciation of the food. In some cases it is an indication of satisfaction. Greediness and snatching titbits from the common dish meets with strong disapproval, and the child learns from his earliest years to let his seniors have first pick. He is not to touch the meat or fish till an elder hands him a piece. It is not only to his own son that a father gives meat. A rude, lazy boy can expect little or no meat; a helpful, pleasant, popular boy receives plenty. Girls are similarly treated by their mothers, aunts, elder sisters and grandmothers.

E L I M I N A T I O N .

The child is subjected to an intensive campaign at a very early period, at times within a month or two after birth to bowel training. Zealous mothers often take a competitive pride in accomplishing the training as early as possible.

When the child has yet not cultivated the habit of making his wants known by signs, the mother before she puts her baby to bed holds it in her arms and says, 'sssssssss' to the child - meaning it should urinate. It generally happens that after a few trials or entreaties the baby urinates and then it is allowed to sleep.

During this period the tendency is that of persuasion, but when the child comes to the age of about six and upwards when it is then old enough to begin making his wants known by various signs, such as putting his hands on his genitals, or grunting or wriggling or becomes flushed or shows a slight tension in the legs, it becomes a matter of force. Once a while the mother feels the testicles and if they are drawn in then it signifies he wants to empty his bowels. The mother then holds him on a pot or arranges her feet in a stool like position for the baby to sit on. The baby is held in this position until it defecates. At times instead of performing when he feels like it, a baby is held on a pot or on the mother's feet as already described at frequent intervals during the day in a position which is probably uncomfortable for his weak neck and back. At night too he is also aroused several times to eliminate itself. Often he will resent this excessive interference and will become defiant, and then there is a tug of war between the two. The child becomes more antagonistic towards the mother and he

becomes angry and rebellious. By three most children have acquired regular bowel habits and rarely soil themselves. At this stage sitting on the pot or on the mother's feet has become a normal and pleasant part of the daily routine.

Between the ages of two and three, all children continue to have a natural curiosity about the stools, and this prompts them on occasions to touch them and sometimes smear them around either on themselves or on the furniture and walls. When this happens the mother becomes angry and scolds the child bitterly.

There is no time limit for bowel and bladder training. It continues up to the time the mother feels that the child has stopped soiling itself. When they reach the stage of walking and talking easily, children are expected not to defecate indoors in the daytime but to be asked to be taken outside or to run out themselves. A lapse meets with a strong disapproval from the mother and a reprimand. "Can you<sup>not</sup> go outside to defecate. Do you not know that you are already old enough?" The child learns in response to the expectation that it is capable of normal behaviour in that respect.

The mother is always anxious about the faeces of her child, and after elimination she examines it and criticises its quantity and quality. When not satisfied with it she shows it to any other elderly woman in the house who remarks, "Oh, Kofi is not well, you better give him some enema, his stomach is 'spoilt' (not working well). At times too when the child breaks wind and the odour is foul, the mother again complains, "Heh Kofi, the inside of your stomach is smelling, I have to give you some medicine to take."

The mother's greatest worry about her child is when he has constipated or is suffering from dysentery. If by chance the child discharges blood in his stools then it is believed that a witch is eating up his intestines and in many cases a medicine man is consulted. More often than not a hen and a few other things are demanded before medicine is given. This may either be a few roots or leaves boiled in water or to be used as enema.

Bed-wetting and soiling oneself are sternly frowned upon and a child who continues to do these is given nicknames. A child of seven or more who still wets his mat may be carried to the sea-shore early one morning, with his mat tied around him. His body and face is then besmeared with ash or mud. Children from neighbouring houses then follow with songs and jeers to the sea-shore or the nearby river. He is then pushed into the water. On getting out from the water he chases the crowd trying to catch one of them. It is believed that he transfers the bad habit to the one he catches.

When the child has learnt to walk, he is taught to perform elimination by himself. Whenever he feels to defecate he tells the mother. "Ma puu" (a special toilet language); he is then asked to go to the back-yard and discharge. After being there for sometime the mother shouts for him and asks, "Have you finished?" She then goes to clean his rectum and inspect the faeces. At the age of four and above the child starts going to the public lavatory himself whenever he feels to. And he may meet his father or other older relatives without any objection from them. He may even use the next hole to the one being used by his father or any other older relative. Strictly speaking it is one of the places where he meets these people, much more the father,

for the children live in the homes of their mothers. When the mother is going to the lavatory she takes along the daughter, and she may use the next hole to that being used by the mother.

When the child breaks the wind adults around just laugh over it. If he does it during meals, the plate or pot containing the food is put on his head and every body takes a morsel or two before it is brought down. Informants could give me no reasons for this action. If the smell is detected but the culprit does not own up a lot is cast to find him out. This usually takes the form of a rhyme and the one on ~~which~~ <sup>whom</sup> the last word ends is supposed to be the culprit. The rhyme is as follows "Koko, nanu, bafi, tono, saki, bonte, manya, kon." This happens only among the young. Adults just take the whole thing non-chalantly. An adult, especially the men, may break the wind with a loud noise, and if per chance there is a friend around he rather recites some appellations of praise, or calls out his drinking names. This may happen before his children. Strikingly enough women do not break wind in public.

When a child has hiccough, the mother tears a small piece of cloth and puts it on the child's scalp. She then dips her hands into water and puts it on the child's tongue to drink. In the absence of a piece of cloth a small stick (broom or match) is placed on the scalp.

Belching has now altogether lost its former significance. Formerly when a child belched during meals it signified his satisfaction, and he was not allowed to continue. This has now changed and when

it occurs the mother just remarks casually, "Hey, are you satisfied, let me look at your stomach?" But during breast-feeding, more often than not, the feeding is discontinued. There is the belief that when the child belches on the breast during feeding, it might result in the mother's breast getting swollen up.

MOTOR DEVELOPMENT.

The care taken over the child when an infant baby and then after he has learnt to walk are poles apart. There is the general attitude of mind that the infant baby when not handled carefully may break his neck, limbs or backbone. As such great care is taken in handling it. During this stage, whenever he is carried on the back, the cloth used in supporting him reaches as far as the back of his head and his hands are well tucked in and bound together with his legs and feet. Care is taken so that the head does not drop back. As already stated, the reason for clothing which purposely prevents movement is that it holds the infants delicate parts in place, thus avoiding his breaking any of his parts.

From the time of its birth up to the time it has learnt to walk, which varies a lot in ages, the child is carried a lot. The mother does a lot of the carrying, during the period when he is still tender and delicate. But as his muscles become stronger, an older sister may be trusted with his carrying, when the mother is very busy. At times the grandmother or an aunt might give a helping hand. By the age of four months he has already begun to emerge from his utter physical helplessness and of complete unconsciousness of the world around him. He can usually raise up his head when lying prone. Roll from one side to another, and make himself light when his mother bends to lift him. He can push with his feet against the floor, and when held, can hold his own head erect. He plays with his hands and carries them to his mouth.

By the time he is nine months old he has advanced much further. By this stage he can usually roll right over from his back to his stomach and makes attempts to sit up. A folded cloth or pillow is placed behind him



A movable contrivance  
for learning to walk.



Why all these worries.  
I shall walk when it is  
time for me to do so!

to support him from falling over. A younger sister may also be asked to sit behind him to check his falling over. This continues until he learns to sit without any props. He now uses his hands to reach, crumble, bang, grasp and splash. Every material within his reach he wants to handle, suck and bite.

At the age of ten months and above, the child is now able to crawl rapidly along the floor, raise himself up to a standing position and may take one or two staggering steps. If after the twelfth month the child has not started to walk, the mother becomes worried. Attempts are made to let him walk. The most popular method is the use of a three-wheeled contrivance purposely made for this. Those who cannot afford it, try to <sup>make him</sup> stand up, then one person stands in front of him and beckons to him to proceed. She says, "Ba, ta-taa, ta-taa, ta-taa," and as he attempts to move, everyone encourages him to go on. When he is tired of all these worries, he sits down and cries it out. The mother raises him up, telling him he is lazy and that children he is older than have started to walk. If this is not successful, and the child too does not make any attempts to walk, other attempts are made to make him standing conscious. He may be taken to the sea-shore, where a hole is made in the sand and he is placed in it. The hole is then covered up to above his knees, thus keeping him in a standing position for some length of time before he is removed. In some cases he is even doused with some medicines to make him walk in time. When he learns to walk, he is given pennies by parents and relatives. In some cases he is given a dish of mashed yam mixed with palm oil and an egg.



I told you so!

For the first few months after he has learnt to walk, his movements are confined to the house. His motor activities are confined to the house and an eye is kept on his movements. At this stage he becomes a real nuisance to the mother and other adults in the house. He is a constant menace to property -- breaking plates and pots, spilling the soup, tearing books, pouring sand into the can of water, <sup>and</sup> upsetting objects arranged at a higher level than his height. When such things happen the exasperated mother may ask an older sister to take him outside.

At the age of three or four when it has started to talk fluently, and can run about, its effective range of contacts includes all the members of the joint family and probably those of closely related neighbouring relatives. Fortunately, the only road in the town is a very poor specimen of what one might term a street or road, and the lorries in the town are relatively very few. These leave the town early in the morning for Accra and the other villages around the area. As such the question of road crossing does not arise. The idea of getting lost is a distant one, for the social space is such that the whole group knows the child, and whenever he wanders off into any house he is cordially received and later returned to the mother.

The child who is not very active is a source <sup>of worry</sup> to his mother, especially if this is not his normal behaviour. It is taken for granted that one of the symptoms of illness is when the child becomes inactive and sits still. The mother must find out what is wrong with him. If he has already learnt to talk, he may be asked to say what ails him, and if he does not give any satisfactory answer then he may be given either an enema or dose to drink. When



Swimming forms a greater  
part of children's motor  
activities.

this is unsuccessful then the medicine man is consulted.

It is during this period of the child's life that he is full of inventive and creative ideas, and he is full of physical activities. He climbs coconut trees to steal some of the fruits. He chases lizards, hunts birds with stones and catapults he has made himself. Up to the age of six or seven a great deal of play especially that of boys, consists in sheer motor exuberance. Small boys run about, leap, prance for the pleasure of it in a totally unorganised way. Some fix wheels, using discarded string reels, to flat boards to form a sort of miniature truck. One sits on this and he is pushed by his friend or brother. When he has had his turn the next one has his share too. Others use discarded bicycle wheels as 'lorries'. There may be races with these to find the best 'driver'. The owner, who acts as 'driver' sometimes takes on passengers. He holds the hands of one or two other friends and sends them all running to the other end of the playing field. Others fix poles in the ground place one across and do high jumping. Some row themselves on broken pieces of discarded boats while the rest swim in the nearby lagoon.



At the Lagoon



Hunting birds and lizards  
with a catapult.

S L E E P.

The child's sleep is of concern to the mother not for any physiological reasons but for the respite it gives her, thus allowing her time to see to her work, usually the fishing industry. An indifferent sleeper is a sort of worry to the mother. The mother would say, "Ah, you are a devil, what sort of child is this won't you sleep a bit?" She then calls an elder sister of the child to carry it for a while at her back, to see if it would sleep a bit. At times a hurried cold bath is given, <sup>and</sup> the breast is forced into his mouth as an inducement to sleep.

Although most babies who are well spend the better part of their first few months in sleeping, great differences in length and soundness of sleep obtains in different children. As they grow older the amount of sleep varies.

It is only when the child is very young that the mother worries about the time he should go to bed. But when he begins to join his friends in evening plays, the mother's interest decreases. She may not even know where the child slept.

Generally, the mother goes to sleep with the husband - who stays elsewhere, in several cases not in the same neighbourhood. In some cases the child might be asleep before she leaves for the husband's home. At times too the child might be in the company of other children. She then leaves him behind. It is only the little one she carries to the husband's home. As the distance is a bit long, the child falls asleep before she reaches there. She then prepares a mat on the floor and puts him on it. The one left behind when he feels sleepy may curl himself in a corner of a room which is used by six to seven, in some cases ten other relatives - brothers, cousins and

so on. All these children just <sup>use</sup> ~~lay~~ a mat or two. Some are bad sleepers, and before the night is out, in many cases no one remains on the mat. Generally the girls are separated from the boys. If even all of them sleep in the same room, the boys group in one corner and the girls in another. This usually leads to sexual activities during the night. Boys who are a bit grown, between the ages of eight, nine and above get to the girls' side and have sexual intercourse with them.

I discovered that in majority of cases fear was used as an inducement to sleep than threats. This occurred in cases where they had more than one wife. In such cases, sleeping in the husband's house was on monthly basis, and as the woman was more often engaged in the fishing work, she must see that her child sleeps in time, in order to give her time to see to her fish. The child is told to close his eyes otherwise Ameni (an insane person in the area) would come and take him away. In some cases the light was put off and he was told not to open his eyes, or 'koo koo' (baby-talk for animals) would carry him away. The mother might even make some pretended noises to impress upon the child's mind that the animal had entered the room already, and so he should not open his eyes.

Mothers worry a lot when their children have sleepless nights. It is a sign that something is wrong with him. She informs her neighbours in the morning. The usual remark is - "You did not sleep at all last night, what is wrong with him?" "Huh, some witch is worrying my child". If these sleepless nights continue then a medicine man is consulted. If the next door neighbour is an old lady, then all suspicions of her being the cause of the child's sleeplessness are turned on her, and there may even be insinuations to that effect.

## H E A L T H.

Among the people the infant is believed to be a fresh arrival from an imaginary world of the spirits and hence his ways are peculiarly inexplicable. He comes directly from the ancestral haunts into the parents' and folks' ken mysteriously and often unawaited. Hence he takes on menacing and dangerous qualities from this contact. His ways are in addition all his own, and anything inexplicable is feared and must be discreetly handled. Infancy is thus a period of danger approximating sickness. For this reason in the early years the child is continually being treated, protected or cleansed of the coating of the ghostly world. This condition persists until the infant emerges in the plain and understandable character as a social unit, conformable and comparable to the rest of men, that is, in his social character as an auxiliary bread-winner, worker, cult-fellow or heir.

During the days of infancy, traces of ghostly influences abide, even after the infant has been made to cast off the hold of the spirits. As such there arises a host of prophylactic measures employed to surround the infant with a safety zone. Things that are unaccounted for and strange imply some fearsome contact with the malignancy of the spirits, and must be warily guarded against for the infants sake.

Many of the ailments that befall the child are also supposed to be through the influence of enemies, like the father's other wife. If per chance she has no children then the evidence is conclusive. Illness may also be caused by breaking of taboos, either religious or magical. Malicious curses of an enemy may also be the cause. Hence all the lot of precautionary measures

against evil-spirits, ghosts, witches and enemies.

Once a while a child who might be playing with cold water might be asked to get away from it, in order not to catch cold, but no emphasis is placed on the prohibition. I saw on many occasions children playing for a whole day in standing pools without any older person asking them to stop. There may also be a casual rebuke about over-eating, but generally there is no seriousness about the warning given. No care is taken about the health of the child, and everything is left to chance. I once met a child who had accidentally cut his toe. When he started crying and we went near to find out what was wrong, an older person who joined us just asked one of the children in the group to urinate on the wound. Another person suggested sand being poured into it.

When a child is sick, the first person to be consulted is the medicine man, who after consulting his gods, gives the reason and causes of the sickness. He then gives the parents some medicines with instructions as to their use. Generally the sick child is treated with great kindness, gentleness and patience. Not only does his family see that he gets well, but all the neighbours help to keep an eye on him. Anyone who passes by drops in to visit him.

Informants tell me that the mortality rate is enormous. Malaria fever, 'Kwasioko', Ablami ( a kind of fainting fits or stroke) and Malnutrition are a constant drain upon the children's health. In majority of cases they resulted in death.

Comparing the ages between which most of the children died, namely from two to four years, I had the feeling that malnutrition was the cause of majority of the deaths.

During this period many of the women have a new baby and they lavish all their care and attention towards it that they forget about the other child. As such he is insufficiently fed and receives no protection against illness. Inquiry into the history of a number of families shows that most mothers see only about half of their children reach maturity.

PHYSICAL CONTACTS, MASTURBATIONS, SEX PLAY.

By and large the only period the whole family takes great interest in the child is before he has learnt to walk. Generally, the father is the one who rather takes the least interest in the child. Within the first few months after birth, when the mother has not started going to the man's house, he visits them in the evenings when he does not go afishing. In many cases he may not even touch the baby, but only asks about his health from the mother or grandmother.

As the child grows, he begins to take interest in him and may on some occasions put him on his lap, or raise <sup>him in</sup> his arms while he converses with the wife. He is generally not demonstrative in his affection for the baby and spends little time in keeping it company. His fishing business keeps him away a lot, and apart from that he stays in a different house. As such he does not see enough of the baby to keep track of the little daily changes that make the development of a small child absorbing. He has no opportunity to acquire the intimacy which the daily feedings, baths, and outings bring about. On the brief occasions when he pays him a visit and does try to play with him, he is apt to feel somewhat strange, awkward and self-conscious. The father's deep voice, rough clothes, rough palms, and awkward handling all seem strange to the baby who, instead of seeming pleased, is likely to cry or make a fuss. A father, too, often feels that all this 'baby business' is essentially a woman's job, and is a little afraid to unbend and be natural for fear of looking foolish.

Occasionally he may hold it in his arms. His first essays in this direction are of a tentative character. When his first-born is laid on his lap he acts very gingerly and with the greatest caution, the wife and other female relatives watching him carefully

and giving instructions and criticism of his efforts. He is told to put his arms further underneath it, not to let his head drop back, and similar points, all of which he obeys meekly, conscious of his ignorance in this sphere of female knowledge.

As the child grows and its body gains strength it is carried round in the arms or at the back of the women of the household, or of its elder brothers and sisters.

Kissing is not indulged in as a general practice, and whenever it is done it is just of a casual nature and instinctive. Once a while an aunt or the uncle of the child may raise him up from the ground kiss him slightly on the cheeks and place him down again. At times too while the child is tied behind the back of his mother a relative of hers or friend might bend over and give it a kiss, adding a stroke and asking about his health.

The mother might leave the child at home in the care of his aunt or grandmother. When the child sees the mother arrive from the market he runs towards her. The mother shouts, "Awa wa atuu" (This is an exclamation of welcome). They embrace each other. The child reaches only the legs of the mother. He then opens his arms wide for the mother to raise him up, and carry him. This incident might also happen whenever a relative drops in. It is usually on such occasions that a kiss is given. More often it is an automatic affair.

Tickling is not commonly indulged in. There is the notion that when carried on in excess, and the child unconsciously breaks the wind, he might die. At times it is applied when a child refuses to give out an object the mother wishes to get away from him. He is tickled and in his attempt to wriggle or laugh it is got from him.

The child may be rocked whenever an attempt is being made to let him stop crying. Usually a rhyme

is added - (1) "Taa taa tee  
Yee yee yee  
Aafia maa  
Yaa yaa wusi oo!"

(2) "Kaafo kaafo  
Sika-kpo ko ho osen  
Kaa fo ni moko kwe osen."

— Literal meaning of No. 2. —

Do not cry  
There is a piece of gold nut  
in your throat  
Stop crying else someone may see it.

On the whole, I had the feeling that family sentiment is not everywhere the same in the culture of the people. For while it is not an uncommon sight to see a mother holding her child on her knees and looking fondly at it with smiling eyes, then catching it up with a sudden movement, then begin to press her nose in a greeting of affection to the child's nose, its cheeks, its ears, its breast and to caress it, others behave towards their children as if they were enemies. Such passionate displays of affection are rare in public, but in the tones of the voice, the protective curve of the hand, the look of pride in the eye of the mother, one may note the average mother's regard.

The father may sometimes relax and also give way to such affectionate demonstrations. He holds his young child in his arms or places it on his breast, and bending over it nuzzles it and makes pretended bites at its nose and cheeks, and kisses it. Then as I have already mentioned, just next door is another woman who pays more attention to her fish-curing than to her baby. When you watch how precariously and haphazardly she straps the baby at her back, with its head dangling at one side, while she herself peeps down into the kiln for curing the fish, one wonders if such a woman has any feelings of affection towards her child. There may also be a father who might

look at his own son so callously as if the child was his enemy. There are cases, especially when the man has many wives, in which for weeks on end the father would not have seen his child. As such it has been difficult for me to access and give a standardised opinion of the strength and range of the sentiments of the people towards their children.

Curiously enough, the little interest there is in the child wanes as he grows older, and the extent of his physical contacts with the mother widens. His contacts are now more with other children than with his parents. The boys roam the village as entranced spectators of everything that happens. They linger on the outskirts of the crowd when anything unusual happens, some argument is going on, or disputes are being settled. He begins to associate with groups of other related children/<sup>who</sup> belong to its immediate milieu and to know the topography of its parental homestead and its immediate surroundings. From the age of five or six years until they become fully absorbed into the social and economic system, the children often go about in small groups. The composition of a children's group depends on various factors. The most important of these are the following:

(a) Age and mobility. Infants still requiring care are often carried about by boys and girls attached to no age group of older children. Generally children of the same degree of mobility tend to go about together. Thus one finds a group comprising children of about six to ten years.

(b) Sex - Before the age of about six years, small boys very frequently go about with girls' groups, and small girls, though not very common, accompany older brothers.

After that age as mobility increases and interests diverge the sexes tend to separate.

(c) The Social Situation - Yet none of these children's groups resemble gangs. They have no permanent structure. They generally take shape in particular situations and the composition largely depends upon the situation. At the seashore where they help their elders, one finds a somewhat amorphous group of children and young people of a wide range of ages. In games and imaginative play, however, it is more usual to meet small groups of restricted age-range.

As already mentioned, kissing is not part of the peoples' culture, as such children do not receive any training in it. They are not expected to kiss any one. There were no examples of children having to kiss either in their own age-group or their elders. On several occasions I asked children to kiss each other but they refused to do so. A few parents on my instructions asked ~~me~~ their children to kiss them, but they also refused. A few looked blank and did not know what all the fuss was about. Others showed signs of disgust when I asked them to do so. They spat on the ground, denoting that kissing was a filthy habit. One boy told me that he would not allow his friend to spit on his face. Others felt shy, and tried to hide their faces.

Remarkably enough, bathing the infant is one of the activities which is done with precise regularity. It is constant, and it is done at all costs. A special small pan or bucket is kept aside which contains the toilet paraphernalia. No elderly person uses any of the articles in it. It is only in very rare cases that



A child receives his  
daily bath.

even an older brother or sister just a few months older than the baby shares the use of some of the articles. Very often this contains a comb, brush, powder, pomade, metholatum, myrrh, kernel oil, soap, towel, a cigarette tin, sponge, and a few other odds and ends.

The child after the first few months of its birth has three baths a day. The time taken on each bath is relatively long, especially the first and last ones. He is first of all massaged with hot water. His hands are well stretched together with his legs. This is followed by his chest and back. The hot towel is then placed on his scalp for sometime and only removed when the towel becomes cold. This is repeated several times until the mother feels that the child has had enough. Attention to the genitals then follows. Hot water is trickled from from a cigarette tin with a hole made under it into his penis and rectum or if a girl into her vagina and rectum. Informants tell me that this process heals any sores which might be in these places. Special care is given to the genitals. In the case of small girls, the vagina is one of the first parts inspected whenever the child shows signs of illness. At times herbs and roots ~~are~~ ground into small balls are pushed into the rectum or vagina (in the case of girls) to heal sores or to let them have a firm and strong hips. It is a sort of douching. I am informed.

During the first year of his life a baby explores everything within his reach. First he discovers that his hands are his to control and play with. He waves it before his eyes, opens and closes it, carries it to his mouth and sucks it. Later he discovers his feet. He kicks and waves them in the air, watching them come and go with surprised interest, and eventually he carries

them also to his mouth. In the same way his hair, his ears, his nose, and his genitals attract his attention and his curiosity at one time or another. As the genital regions are sensitive, he derives a passing pleasure in touching and rubbing them. In idle moments he may repeat this behaviour. At times too, a mother by over zealous and vigorous cleaning of her child's genitals, over-stimulates these regions and makeshim unduly aware of it. Informants told me that children enjoy stroking themselves in these parts. At times they would like to bring them in contact with those they love. They would often lean and rub their genitals against their parents.

More often mothers laugh over such occurrences. A rather indifferent and casual attitude is shown. All the same a few mothers, slap the child's hands away whenever he touches his genitals. If the child is a boy some may threaten him that his penis would be cut off when he holds his genitals again. He may be made to put on his rompers.

Sexual play between children happens frequently. It usually occurs some time after four years of age, and usually takes the form of pretend games in which one child is the father and the other is the mother. In these games children are mainly interested in examining each others bodies and their differences. In some cases too, attempts of sexual intercourse are made. The whole thing may be briefly described as such. After announcing that they were going to play at Father and Mother (Mami ke Papa), the girl tries to cook food for the 'father'. When she finishes with it, she lays table for the 'father' who pretends to eat it. The 'baby' (more often, a piece of stick) is washed and put to bed. The 'parents' then also now go to bed. It is during this stage that they try to satisfy their curiosity.



What is cooking! Play-  
ing at cooking.

More often than not, parents take a very serious view of such actions. The parents make so much show of this that they would make the whole group feel wicked. The children are scolded and punished. In many cases, pepper is rubbed around the tip of the boy's penis and some is pushed into the girl's vagina.

Detailed enquiry however shows that this is not very common. The usual method of sexual experimentation at this stage of development follows the pattern of adolescence. Small boys woo sweethearts ('jolly') with little gifts, and sexual experiments occur in connection with dancing or by chance opportunities.



A girl and her little  
~~and her little~~ brothers  
have their bath.

CLOTHING AND SELF-EXPOSURE

Nakedness forms part of the daily-life of the Teshie child and parents on the whole pay no attention to their children's self-exposure. Even children who are attending school expose themselves when ever they return from school to the house. I found that averagely children could go about without any clothing up to the ages of seven or eight without any awareness of their nakedness. However, I found that girls were in the habit of hiding their nakedness than did the boys. The girl from her infancy would always be seen with beads of different colours round her waist and a red loin cloth hiding the genital parts. As she grows, generally between the ages of five and above, she starts covering her body up often with any stray or old cover cloths left on the drying line by the mother or any other relative. Very few children really possess their own clothing. Those who attend school may own just the prescribed school uniform and underwear, and the use of any of these after school hours is frowned upon by the parents. The children are scolded if they were not removed immediately they arrived from school.

Very little infants rather were those who possessed dresses of their own. I discovered however that these formed <sup>an</sup> item in the paraphernalia for the outdoor ceremony, which is performed a week after the birth of the infant.

Children are helped in dressing and undressing up to the time the mother feels the child could do it without her help. This is usually up to just a few months after the child has started school.

Unfortunately the home structure is such that it is very difficult to maintain privacy in the house. In



Children and their  
modes of dressing.

most cases one room would be shared by six to eight women and their children. The rooms are very small in size. The result is that many of the women are forced to sleep in other men's homes though they may be just friends. Secondly mothers undress before their children who might be in the room. Strangely enough children's presence in the room is not felt, for informants tell me they are not asked to leave the room. The compound too in many cases is so small that there is no space for a decent bathing room, as such the women just stand in a corner and have the bath there while the children look on.

Instinctively, the boys as they grow, very often from the age of eight and above, feel shy when they see their mother or any other older relation undressing before them. They leave the room whenever this happens. Girls however do not worry about it and continue to be in until the age of puberty when they are just regarded as equals. Boys take delight in seeing girls and generally women on the whole when they are naked. They discuss what they had seen and give descriptions of the parts they had seen. The part that mostly attracts them is the buttocks, and informants tell me of how boys hide under canoes at the beach to have a view of the buttocks and breasts of girls and women having sea-bath. Some make holes in the walls of bath-rooms in their houses in order to peep at the girls whenever they were having their bath.

Whenever dresses are provided, those for both boys and girls are rather identical during the first few years of infancy. After they had learned to walk the shapes change. The boys have no shape or style in the little gowns, while the girls have a bit of feminine shape added to theirs. From the ages of five and above the girls have the blouse and 'cover cloth' and the boys are given rompers and a small cloth.

SEX DISTINCTIONS.

In a community where children wear no clothing, the difference of sex is patent even to the casual observer, and their elders are at pains to emphasise the distinction. No matter how young, a female child is always a female, and the male child is always a male. Here is a brief discussion I had with a boy of two and a half years of age. "Sowa, you are not a boy, Adei (a girl) is rather the boy and you are a girl." He retorted, "No no, I am a boy", (Then stretching his legs apart, he pointed to his penis) "Adei has not got this. I have no loin-cloth and beads on my waist. Males do not use loin-cloth."

When he has passed his second birthday a child's curiosity covers far wider fields than in the previous year, while his powers of observation and his understanding of what he sees increases immensely and immeasurably. With these increasing powers of observation applied to everything new and unusual, a child sooner or later directs his attention to the bodies of the older relatives if he sees any of them undressed. When the child first sees any of his parents or other relatives undressed he is interested in their nakedness. Usually he is attracted by their genital regions and by the mothers breasts and body hair. I was informed, that they asked what these were. Parents sometimes slapped off their hands, and in most cases laughed over it. Before this time, the child tries to imitate all adults in a general way, but from the time he starts to be curious about the bodies of older people, he begins to identify himself with the parent of like sex and to imitate him or her especially.

As the child finds his feet, and begins to walk alone outside the houses it joins up with neighbouring

children, and a little group of youngsters of varying ages forms on a basis of adjacent residence. When somewhat older they begin to go about in independent little groups.

During this period, relatives or friends of the parents tend to call the little girls their 'wives' or 'sweethearts' and the boys are addressed as 'husbands' or sweethearts. This stimulates them to show interest in the fact of their being either boys or girls - and they try to behave as such. In this way little children form their first patterns of man and woman, father and mother, husband and wife, which will influence their own later behaviour.

In this early years boys and girls associate together freely. Up to the age of six or seven, a good deal of play especially that of boys consists of sheer motor exuberance. The little girl of three to six years plays in the same way at times, but she is already being drawn into the family play of slightly older children, and tends to mimic simpler features of older girls plays when she is playing alone. I saw a little girl of three sitting and playing at 'cooking'. I met another playing at 'selling fish'. Another was 'caring for baby'. This gave me the impression that girls' plays corresponded with the economic and social structure of the area. In the case of boys there is the tendency to engage in mimetic plays, spontaneously or in response to suggestions from older children. They would like to bathe and swim in the little pools of water, or the nearby river, climb trees, and ran after discarded bicycle and lorry wheels.

As the child grows sex realization becomes more noticeable and in many of their games boys separate themselves from girls. Boys who may mingle themselves

with girls at this period are given the name 'Yei ahe malai' - meaning, parasites or mistletoes of women or the lice of women. Informants had very little to offer about boys behaving boyishly and vice versa. I noticed however that at certain periods of their development the girls quite automatically separated themselves from the boys. When I visited the schools before their last Christmas holidays, I noticed that the boys separated themselves in all activities. In play the girls went to one side, at work the same thing occurred, and on the way to and from the school the girls walked with girls and the boys with other boys. But when I went back after school had reopened in January, though the same thing was being repeated in the other classes, children who had come for the first of their lives to the school mixed up freely. When I went to the sea-shore too the girls had separated themselves from the boys.

After having questioned a lot of families, I found that though mothers loved their daughters, they had a special love for their sons. Fathers too though very proud of their sons, had a closer feeling for their daughters. I could find no reason why, but I noticed that the boys feared their fathers while the girls were not afraid of them. I once wanted to take a photograph of a group. One man asked me to wait a bit. In a few minutes he came panting up carrying his infant daughter, having raced to the other quarters to fetch her from her mother's compound. When someone asked why he did not bring his son, he answered that the girl was his eye.

A striking feature however of social development among the people of Teshie is the degree to which the children identify themselves with older siblings and parents. It is noticeable in children of five and six,



As the girl grows she  
begins to take keen in-  
terest in domestic affairs.  
This girl is preparing her  
own food.

and becomes more marked as they grow older. The child models itself according to the conduct of the parent of the same sex; even the little boy though he may be staying in the mother's compound would tend to imitate the behaviour of the uncles and older members of his sex. Though unwittingly, the process is unmistakable. Character appears to run in families. An aggressive, loud-spoken man's children become aggressive and pushing, an industrious woman's daughter applies herself to work from early childhood. The little girl who goes with her mother to the water-font and is given a little tin of water to carry is making an infinitesimal contribution to the household's water supply. Yet it is a real contribution. She learns to carry her little water pan in relation to a real need of the household, and secondly she is being prepared for her future domestic and social position. The boy at the sea-shore called to carry home a little gadget among the fishing paraphernalia is receiving his first lessons in the fishing industry in which he will later on indulge.

On the whole, I discovered that a differentiation in family sentiment existed on sexual basis. The affection of a father for his daughter is stated to be often greater than that for his sons. But strangely enough as the child grows up the opposite rather becomes apparent. This gave me the impression then that as this was the stage at which the child started to help in the economic aspect of the family, the one he or she helped took more interest in him or her. The girl has started helping her mother in the fishing industry, carrying home the fish from the beach, selling some if necessary, helping in curing the fish, going to the market with the mother and even on some occasions prepare the father's meals when the mother travels to sell her fish. The boy starts helping the father in the fishing industry, - mending the nets, carrying home or to the beach

the fishing gadgets, drawing in the drag-net and in some cases going afishing with the elders. When this happens the mother turns her affection to her daughter and the father to his son.

SIBLING RELATIONS.

Informants tell me that one of the chief worries of women, is getting pregnant while they are still breast-feeding a first child. They hold the view that this kills the child.

For the first few months when the mother is pregnant, the child is treated with care, understanding and humor. I could not get any case in which a child was curious about knowing where babies come from. Generally however, other relatives were in the habit of congratulating him in advance about the nice sister or brother he was very soon going to have to play with.

When the child is not much grown, the usual age before the next pregnancy is between eighteen to twenty four months and above, and <sup>when</sup> the mother gets pregnant the child becomes a prey to a form of "jealousy illness" called 'Kwasioko'. He becomes fretful, jealous and sick, and may even die from sheer chagrin. A child afflicted with 'kwasioko' is carefully tended, and love and affection showered upon him. He may start making a fuss at meal-times, or his newly acquired good bowel habits may suffer a relapse, or he may have nightmares. Whenever this happens, the new baby is tried to be put in the background as much as possible. A grandmother or aunt may take over, allowing the mother to pay more attention to the sick baby. Everyone pretends to impress upon him that they have more regard for him than for the new baby. When I asked how effective this was, I was told that it always proved successful and more often than not he recovered from his illness and began to take interest in the new arrival.

As already mentioned elsewhere, birth usually takes place in the bed-room of the dwelling house. Only the 'midwife' - an oldlady, the woman's mother and other older

relatives who are in the good books of the family are present at the delivery. Men, young girls, and children are excluded.

By and large, parents on the whole behaved in a way that the older children became exceedingly jealous of the new baby. All attention was directed towards it. The new baby had all the new things. He had new clothes, new toilet materials, towel, brush, comb, pomade, powder and other odd bits. These were not supposed to be used by the older child. Whenever he touched any, he was scolded. "Put it down, do you not know that they belong to 'bsby'?" Apart from this other relatives too seem to forget about him, and he finds that whenever they visit the house, they direct all their attention towards the new baby. He sees them pushing pennies and threepences into his hands while he receives nothing. Even the medicine bottle brought home from Accra is for the new baby. It is then common to see children crying for the mother's back. He would cry to be carried too. The mother with the younger baby at her back would raise him up and carry the other one too in her arms for a time. When this happens other inmates would jeer at him and ask him to come down. He is bought off with a piece of fish or bread. In some cases, the older child would not allow the mother to leave him behind when going to the market. I witnessed one of these incidents. The mother was prepared to take him along if he would walk. He would not do that. He wanted the mother to carry him also. After unsuccessful attempts to let him stay behind, the mother gave him a sound beating. I stepped in and asked her to stop it.

When the family is a large one, the life of the older children is a pathetic one. It is the last child of the

family who receives all the love and attention of the parents and even ~~other inmates of the parents and even~~ other inmates of the household. Every possible favouritism is showered on him. He is never upbraided. Over and over again in stories, the tale is of three brothers, the first two stupid, the third, being the last born is the hero of the story - handsome, clever and charming. And in real life the convention is always that the first boy is stupid, the second a tyrant and bully, but the third - generally given the special name of Mensah if he is a boy, and Mansah for girl - is every one's favourite. During meals, though the fish or meat may be shared proportionately in the ratio of seniority, he is sure to receive more from the mother or other relatives. At times getting to the latter part of the meals, the rest may be asked to get up and leave the rest for the youngest one. It is taken for granted that the older brothers might have taken more than he had taken. He does the least of the domestic jobs and he receives a lot of praise for the little he attempts.

He is the 'Nakutsomlibi' (knee-child) of the parents and is regarded as the one who brings good luck to the family. Many of them are notoriously capricious and difficult to bring up. Their wishes must never be crossed, and he must not be scolded. When little tit-bits are being shared, he rather receives the largest share. When the others complain or murmur, they are reminded that he is the youngest. "Do you not know that he is the small child?"

On one of my visits, I saw a whole crowd of women at a water-font quarreling, and from the look of things I detected there had been a fight. When I enquired from my guide what the cause was, I was told that a 'nakutsomlibi' - last born - had been assaulted by an elderly girl

at the waterfont. The mother of the assaulted girl came and beat the girl too. This resulted in the elder girl's mother too coming to the rescue, and there had been a free-fight.

Later on as the child grows up the bridge rather widens and he is made to perform a few simple chores like sweeping and cleaning the plates after meals.

The only advantages so far of being an elder child is that of having his name attached to his parents. So that if for example the boy is Sowa, then the father becomes Sowa-tse (Sowa's father) or Sowa-nye (Sowa's mother).

Secondly, as inheritance is patrimonial he either inherits or becomes the custodian of the family property on the father's death. The rest of his brothers and sisters give him due respect and obey him. Whenever any rites are to be performed, he is supposed to be the master of ceremonies. When young, he receives the lions share of the meat during meals. He is also exempted from cleaning of plates after meals.

I have already discussed the question of sex differences in the previous topic, but will like to add a word or two as it appears under this topic too. Before the age of six or seven, I noticed that sex differences were not distinct in the children. In their playing, moving about and behaviour, they mixed freely. I saw a boy squatting near a girl for defecation. In their plays the boys and girls contributed their quota towards the same enjoyment. But as they grow, between the age of seven and upwards they begin to separate into sex groups in all activities. On one occasion I saw some boys trying to intrude into the games of some girls, and

the girls were trying to drive them away. The girls were having a game of 'Ampe', a sort of jumping, hopping and clapping of hands game. When the boys approached them, one of the girls asked, "What do you people want here? This is no boys' game, go away, you 'women-lice'". (A term used for boys who fond of girls' company.) This tendency of their forming into sex groups continues with their growth in age and later develops into gang life. I visited the water-font several times, and on two occasions saw a group of girls between eight and nine in age quarrelling with another gang of boys of the same average ages - eight to ten years. The cause I was informed, was that the girls for no just cause had insulted one member of their group and they had come to retaliate. So that with their knowledge of their sex differences they began to move into their respective sex grouping.

Generally, quarrels between siblings were often caused by struggle over toys or play materials, and among the older ones, negligence on the part of the young ones to do their little domestic chores. Whenever these duties were not performed the older children were asked to do them. The older child would then watch for an opportunity to get the younger one when the elders were not at home, or on the way to the water-font. The younger one may receive pinches or knocks on the head. The child may run crying to his mother and this would result in the mother scolding the older brother. He might even be reported to the father when he visits the house. I witnessed a funny incident one morning during my visits. I was interviewing a family when we heard some grunting sort of noise from the kitchen. When the

mother asked what was wrong, the older brother replied that nothing was wrong. I became suspicious and tiptoed to the kitchen. I found the elder brother holding tight the mouth of the younger brother with his hands. I discovered that the younger one had taken some fish (they were then eating). This annoyed the older one and he struck the brother. Knowing that he would be in hot waters if the mother and other elder relatives heard him crying, he held his mouth tight and started begging him. "Oh, I beg you, I will give you all the meat, do not cry." However, as they did not want to displease me, they all laughed over it.

Parents attitude towards children's quarrels is not altogether constant. I met people who would not back their younger children against their older ones. The only cases however on which I can generalise is when another child assaults ones child at the water-font. The whole household rushes to the place to assault the other child too. He too brings his people and there ensues a free fight. On some occasions the fathers made them fight it out. Once at the sea-side a fight started between two brothers over a fish. The father warned us severely against our separating them. Unfortunately the people would not allow me to take a photograph of the scene. This is typical of the Teshie fisherman. Whenever there is a fight among children at the sea-shore, no one is allowed to stop them. A ring is formed around them by the rest. Sides are then taken, and instructions shouted out to each of them by their respective backers and sympathisers. This will continue until one of them asks for pardon. There is a big roar of congratulations and pats on the victor's back. Some would shake hands with him and recite appellations or the drinking names of his father.

More often these quarrels and fights are between children of the same sex. Fights between children of different sexes are not countenanced, and every one near would take sides with the girl. The boy would be upbraided by those around. He would be asked to get a member of his own sex to fight against. He may be called a 'sissy'. Yei-ahé malai (Women lice). Then everyone hoots at him and that ends it.



Ready for Sunday Service. The mother is semi-educated and well to do; this has greatly influenced the dressing of the children.

RELATIONS TO PARENTS.

Before discussing this topic it is well to digress briefly into Ga domesticity in general.

On the whole, Ga men do not live with their wives. They live with their brothers or cousins in groups of from three to ten, and sons join them as soon as they are too big for the women's compounds. Thus a men's compound contains men who are all of the same family or House. Women live with their mothers even after they are married, and three or four generations of mothers and daughters are in most women's compounds. A woman of House 'A' married to a man of House 'b' will have a daughter of House 'B'. This daughter may marry a man of House 'C'. Or two daughters may marry men of different Houses. Thus a woman's compound contains women and children of several different Houses; a man's compound contains men all of one House.

A men's dwelling can be distinguished at a glance from a women's. There is no kitchen; no cooking is done about the place - and even if done, very little. The paved yard is a tidy, pleasant place, for the fishnets and tackle which hang on the walls are always well cared for. The yard is the common living room. In it the men sit and mend their nets, hold their meetings and pleasant chats, tell stories, perform private ceremonial, and eat the cooked meals which the children bring from the wives.

Every grown<sup>up</sup> man has his own room, and of this room he is king. His wife comes to it at night when it is her turn to do so. In the dry season a man and his wife alone occupy the man's room, and the children sleep on the verandah. But in wet weather the children spread their sleeping mats on the floor of their father's room, the father and mother occupying the bed. In some of these houses, one room serves as the hall or sitting room,

usually with a long old table in the centre with a few chairs along the walls. This is generally used by the children as sleeping quarters. Everyman's compound has its head, or 'father'. (Siatse) - house-father.

Having now had a brief idea about the domestic picture of the people, we now come on to the topic under discussion. I have indicated elsewhere that the care of the child from the time of its birth up to the age of eight to nine remains the responsibility of the mother. In the case of girls, they remain in their mother's care up to the time they get married. In fact the only period the father sees the child is when he pays a brief and rather stiffly formal visit at sunset. He comes in very diffidently, greets his mother-in-law and the older women ceremoniously and almost ignores the wife. It is usually from her arms that he takes the baby and holds it for a few minutes, but this is the only clue the stranger has as to which of the younger women is his wife.

Children of both sexes, especially the boys remain in care of their father. They are threatened at the least offence with being sent to their father. Even when grown up, they are seldom at ease with him or on such terms of such comfortable intimacy as with mother or other members of the maternal side. The father, proud and fond as he may be is something of a stranger as compared with those others.

In whatever home they find themselves, the small children of both sexes up to about seven or eight years lead a happy-go-lucky life, allowed to do very much as they like. When the women are going to the market or

to the sea-shore the one who is staying behind will often take charge of all the youngsters too big to be carried on the mothers backs - all day, but too young to be left to their own devices. They play and sprawl about the house and yard, and as she goes about her work she can keep an eye on the creche.

The mother plays a major role in the training of the child. Though in many cases the training was supposed to follow the normal course of the development of the child, it in the long run tended to be deliberate. They are expected to cultivate clean habits, have respect for their elders and to cultivate the habit of good manners. Though they learnt more or less from their own experience and from observation of elders, the mother's influence was all over the place. One is often impressed by the strong, capable personalities of some of the women, and their powerful influence on their children is remarkable. Soon the child learns to obey and honour his parents, his grandmothers and other relatives.

As he or she grows older the social code to which he is expected to conform becomes more rigid, and punishment becomes more rigid. The girls start their training in domestic science. She may have to grind the pepper and other spices for the family soup. She is the one who kindles the fire, and sees that the kitchen and for that much the whole compound is kept clean. She has started getting up earlier than usual, and after a few months she would have to start real cooking by herself for the household. Childhood is now past, a new stage has been entered in which she is being schooled in the behaviour expected from a woman.

A grandmother or aunt on the maternal side is the one who takes over the care of the child when circumstances warrant it. This usually takes place when the child loses

his or her mother during infancy. In the case of a boy, he leaves for his father's houses when he reaches the age of seven or eight. In the case of a girl it is her permanent home.

I have already mentioned that the father contributes very little in the training of the child. Though this is the case, his name is used as a scarecrow in disciplining the children. It is not uncommon to hear mothers telling their children, "If you do not stop it, I will tell your father when he comes here this evening." I met a boy who had refused to carry his father's lunch to him at the beach where he was mending his nets. The mother called a younger sister to take the food to the father and to report the boy's misconduct to him. The boy was so frightened that he began to beg his sister to give him the food to take along. She too would not give it to him to take to the father, and he was still begging her when I met them. I then interceded for him, and he got the food from the sister. In many cases, breaches of conduct are reported to him and he metes out the punishment. I quite remember an incident in which because the boy refused to fetch water for the mother, the father gave others that he should not be given food for the whole of the next day. The boy in question is eight years old.

From the data I collected during my field work, I cannot very much generalise or say specifically my viewpoint on the question of parents informing each other about the child's bad behaviour. Suffice it to say that, I am inclined to believe that past experiences of how fathers had dealt with their children's offences makes mothers reluctant to report their children's misbehaviour to their fathers. The men being fishermen are rather uncouth and brutal in their way of meting out punishment.

In many cases the mothers themselves when they offend their husbands receive the same thrashing and beating from the men, that they themselves become afraid of the men. As such they see no reason why they should let their own children suffer from the same plight. In as much as the women do not stay in the same homes with their husbands the question of disagreeing about discipline does not arise.

The beating and thrashing of the mothers I mentioned <sup>above</sup> ~~on the previous page~~ is an open thing. If per chance it happens when the children are present, there is no attempt made to conceal it or to send them away. As a matter of fact, the behaviour of parents and for that much, all other elderly relations before little children needs a lot to be desired. Obscene language is freely used before the children. The older people expose their nakedness to the children. The women in the house may discuss the sort of sexual <sup>pleasure</sup> they had the previous night at their husbands and lovers houses before the children. This has resulted in the children knowing everything about sex while very young.

All parents feel that it is their duty to provide for their children, for they have the hope that when they the parents grow old the <sup>children</sup> ~~will~~ would look after them. For many of the parents their ambitions for their children are to get them to follow in the same family occupation. A few parents however who had sent their children to school had a rather pessimistic view about our "European education" as they termed it. They complained bitterly to me that majority of the children attending school looked down upon the rest of their brothers and sisters in the fishing industry. Those who had finished school

had left the town, and felt ashamed to visit them. As such many parents feel reluctant to send their children to school.

Quarrels between parents and their children ~~is~~ **are** rather very few, and on the part of fathers and their sons I could not come across any example. For as already stated the father's word is law, and the son is quite aware of this. As such whenever he offends the father and he is being scolded, he just has to keep his mouth shut and <sup>hide</sup> his feelings, else he would have to receive a sound thrashing from him. On the other hand informants tell me that quarrels between mothers and their daughters is a frequent one. There was a case in which the mother was not in favour of the daughter's dealings with a young man. The daughter would not give in and this resulted in a quarrel. The girl is fourteen years old. At the time of my visit they were not speaking to each other. In another case the mother was querrying the daughter for keeping out up to late at night. When the mother insulted her, she replied back and they were about to fight when another relative set in. In the third case, the mother was not pleased with her daughter using her cloth. When the mother told her never to use her cloth again she got offended and told the mother she was going to buy a new one for her. This started a long quarrel. The girl is thirteen years old. The others were generally caused by the daughters not putting things back at the correct places after using them. Strangely enough these girls had reached their puberty. In many of these mother-daughter quarrels it is the father who resolves the affair. In a few cases the grandmother handles them. In some too, an elderly

person in the vicinity is called to settle the dispute. When the child is found guilty, which was more often the case, she is asked to apologise and that ended it. The child is not made to realise that the parents are wrong, and whenever an arbitrator finds that the mother is wrong, he or she tries to shift the blame unto the daughter by saying that if even the mother is at fault, she the daughter had no right to retaliate.

On the whole parental control has no end in the customary and domestic set up of the people. In the case of men, the economic aspect is such that they remain under parental authority for a long time. The canoe in which he works is the property of the family, with the father at head of affairs. The nets and other fishing gadgets fall under the same category. As such, the father still wields an authority over his economic affairs. In domestic affairs too it is the father who has the final say. It is the father who gets a woman for him or must give his consent to the choice the youth makes. When there are any customary rites to be performed on behalf of the boy it is the father who leads. It is the father who supplies the names <sup>of</sup> the children of the young man. When he falls into any trouble it is the father who takes up the matter. I have also met mothers who though the daughters are married still scold them when they offend. There was a case in which the daughter did not ~~bathe~~ <sup>bathe</sup> the baby at the correct time. The mother scolded her bitterly for this negligence of duty. On another occasion too, the daughter was not in the house when the husband called to take her to his house for the night. The mother scolded her bitterly when she returned, adding that she would not tolerate <sup>such</sup> action from her. Unmarried daughters remain for a greater part of their lives under parental control.

RELATIONS TO ADULTS OTHER THAN PARENTS.

Owing to the sort of social set up prevailing in the area, the Teshie child comes into contact more or less with only his maternal relations during a greater part of his early childhood days and in the case of girls all through their lives.

The grandmother, is in every child's life, the best friend, and she is obeyed and honoured. Usually when the child offends the mother and fears that she might be punished, it is the grandmother who shields her. Grandmothers are over indulgent towards their grandchildren, and mothers complained a lot to me that the grandmothers were the cause of their sons and daughters not respecting them. The grandmothers, they complained, were always interfering, whenever they the mothers wanted to correct their children. On one occasion, a boy refused to go on an errand for the mother, when she was scolding the child, the grandmother stepped in saying, "Do not worry the poor boy, you were behaving in the same way when you were young." Incidentally, the child was listening when the grandmother make this remark. Another complaint I got from a mother was that whenever she dispatched her two children (a boy and a girl) to school the grandmother would go out, pretending she was going to the lavatory, and give them more pennies. She would ask them, "How much did Naa (the mother's name) give you for your breakfast at school?" "We got penny each." "Ah, Naa is a wicked girl, does she think that is sufficient, does she expect you to steal or to go sbebbing from your friends? Get this threepence, and do not let her know that I have added anything to what she gave to you". Any titbits she buys from the market are for her grandchildren. She is the one to whom the child

has recourse, and she rescues him from the anger or punishment of parents, elder sisters and brothers. When whipped or beaten, a young child would scream loudly, then run to the grandmother for protection. She shouts at the one, "Do you want to kill the child for me. That is your first and last. You gave me the same troubles when you were young, and I did not mind you. You should not be worrying the poor child. Are you not ashamed of yourself when you thus treat this small child?"

The other relatives he comes into contact with are the rest of the maternal relations as already stated. Though not all of them may take special interest in him, they in one way or the other help in shaping his character. It is his duty to respect them, and if he misbehaves during the mother's absence anyone among the lot has the power and right to correct him, and if need be to punish him. However I came across several cases in which mothers were not very much in favour of their sisters punishing their children. This has resulted in some remaining aloof whenever their nephews and nieces needed attention from them. A few cases too I came across were pathetic ones, in that, the aunts were reminded of their barrenness. The aunts in the respective cases had punished the children for misbehaviour, and these were the remarks made. "What have I done, am I your child? If you want a child to beat, bring forth your own". When these were reported to the mothers, on the whole, they received the whole situation nonchalantly.

It is rather not very usual to have friends visiting the homes of parents. They usually meet at the beach, market-place, water-font or at the public lavatory, and

anything of importance is dealt with at one of these places. But if per chance it occurs that a friend visits the father on an important mission, the older boy is called to serve the drink and to act as linguist, while the little ones play about. They may only be driven away to play outside when they want to be a nuisance with their pranks. This prevails in the women's compound too.

Taking children to visit relatives or friends is not a usual and frequent occurrence. Much more, the family system is such that they all group around the same area. As one compound is just a stones throw from the other, they all become the child's social space, and as he visits them frequently during his play activities, it becomes a part of his home, and as such, formalities with regard to behaviour whenever he is taken there by parents is eliminated.

The people are such a busy-folk, that when I brought up the question of visiting friends they could not reconcile it with their mode of living. Only very serious matters would let them go to friends or strangers homes, and they saw no reason why they should take their children along when going to do serious talking. The only places however where they also met their friends apart/<sup>from</sup> those already mentioned were at the palm wine bars or at funerals or at festivals or when customary rites were being performed. At such places, except at the palm wine bar, children were uninvited guests.

POSSESSIONS.

It is not to be supposed that the child's education is wholly unreflective, or casually imitative in the people's culture. There are indeed, insistent motives which direct the purposive attentions of the elders of the group to the children in order to prepare them for their active participation in the folk-life. For one thing, the early economic maturity of the child commands in its wake an early social and moral adulthood or independence. The elders are soon made aware of the impending rise of a younger generation ready to supplant them, so that the training, though consciously administered, is not a systematic or regularised schooling. By this primitive type of training it is proposed to fit the child definitely into its folk-life by a repressive, dominating subjection. The elders attempt to substitute a psychological rule to compensate for their waning physical prowess. This aim is dimly apprehended, but the social force working towards this conformity becomes definitely marked as the child approaches maturity. The voluntary infiltration and adaptation of the folk-culture to the child confers upon him an economic, social and moral standards. Therefore, some attempt, fitful and sporadic though it may be, is instituted to train the child.

A common method of transmitting the culture-traits and moral ethics is through the folk-lore. Through the capture of the child's attention under suitable circumstances, myths, legends and tales are constantly recited and under a pleasing guise of fables instructive lessons are conveyed and ideas stimulated painlessly in the child's mind - ideas that will later revert to it in the actual conduct of life. The tribal wisdom has in this way been stored up and through oral repetition communicated to the Child.

These stories always have a definite moral value to point. I discovered tales whose purpose is to encourage diligence, reverence for the aged and to discourage idleness and greediness. Others referred to inquisitiveness, rudeness, vanity, jealousy, disobedience, cowardice, selfishness, stealing, covetousness and perseverance. The good is praised and rewarded, the bad action promptly and severely punished, so that these instructive tales attempt to show a logical connection between morality and happiness.

For the recalcitrant, disobedient or wayward youth upon whom all these subtle influences have little effect, there are other effective media, no less powerful, to secure his conformity. Physical punishment may be employed towards leading the child into the correct path. There is a good deal of violence which is provoked by personal anger of a petty sort, but there is little discipline with a purposive didactic aim. The rod though used, is not employed regularly, because the child comprehends early the value of obedience. On the whole I discovered that the children obey instinctively and I think this may be due to the accumulative effects of the influences I have mentioned above. I noticed also that corporal punishment is taken very lightly for the children are already hardened to the blows and buffets of a life in the open.

Stealing of food, injury to property and stealing of money are offences that call for severe chastisement. A very common mode of punishment is the rubbing of pepper into the eyes or lips and then exposing the child to the ridicule of other companions. I witnessed a scene at the sea-shore and was not at all pleased. A very small boy of about six or seven years stole a small fish. He was so mercilessly thrashed by the fishermen that I had to

intervene. Children are all the time being reminded of the treatment meted out to thieves caught in the area that they become rather reluctant to steal. I had the ill-luck to see how a thief was caught and beaten, that my blood ran cold. I was under the impression that there was not a single man around the place who did not beat him. Every one wanted to give his quota of punishment. Stones, sticks, sandals and fists were used on him. The whole town was after him. I am still wondering if that man would ever recover from his wounds and bruises. I was told of instances in which cuts were made at the finger tips of children who are fond of stealing and pepper rubbed into them. If a child is fond of begging for food from others, the mother feels the child is disgracing her, and she tries to slap off the child's hands whenever he or she stretches his or her hand to beg from someone. At times she may press a hot morsel into her palm to stop her from begging from people when she sees them eating. I came across a mother who asked her child to return the morsel of food he had begged for. When the giver remonstrated against it, she replied thus, "He just ate a whole ball of kenkey, I am not feeding him in order to sell him, (the idea behind this is that during the slave days, the slaves had to be well fed in order to fetch good price.) I do not train my children in that way." When he takes things belonging to others, more often than not he is made to give them back. He may even be punished for so doing. Parents try to check this behaviour because in many cases it causes conflicts among the parents of the respective children. Parents are constantly saying, "You bad girl." "You are a very naughty boy." "Don't be mean." "Don't be selfish." "That isn't yours."

Put it down. It belongs to Adei". Any carelessness or breaking of materials, like plates and pots is punished and severely frowned upon.

I have already mentioned that before three, no distinctions are made between the sexes. Clothing which is rather meagre remains the same for both sexes, except a few feminine touches which are added to those for girls. This may comprise of just two or three small 'jumpers' which is presented for the outdoor ceremony. At about three, maternal pride makes a new bid for the small girl. A tiny frock bought from the market is given to her, and the solemn eyed child is arrayed in it for a feast day. At the age of six and upwards she is given the blouse (kaba shirt) and small cover cloth identical with women. From the moment when the little girl and her slightly older sisters are dressed identically with their mother, although it may be for just an hour or two, the girls begin to realise their sex the more and begin to turn more to their mothers, to cling to their sisters and other members of their own sex. On the whole the little girl's possessions with regard to clothing are very few. They may consist of, briefly, one loin-cloth, a small sleeping cloth (which is usually the mother's old cloth) one blouse and cover cloth. When she starts helping her mother, from the age of eight, in the fishing industry, the mother supplies her yearly with one or two blouses and cover cloths. The mother points out to her that they are her share of the profit made. Such gifts are termed 'Oma bio lo'. I could not have any literal meaning of this in English.

With regard to toys, I found out that being very near to Accra, the girls had a few cheap European dolls bought by their mothers. One striking point however

about these dolls is that it seems very great care is taken about them, for I was shown dolls which had been used by three consecutive sisters and in some cases by two. The rest of the possessions were all improvised ones. There were a collection of shells, odd-shaped stones, seeds, empty perfumery tins and bottles. Empty milk tins, and cigarette tins for their imitation plays of house-keeping.

I mentioned in one of the topics that it took a very long time for the boys to acquire the habit of hiding their nudity. Although they are given rompers when young, I cannot specifically classify this into any age group, for there were a lot of variations. All the same, the habit of regular wearing of rompers is more conspicuous after the age of seven and eight. The boys are at a less advantage than the girls in clothing. When quite young, apart from the romper, he hardly has a cloth of his own. Whenever there is the need for one, which is an occasional affair, he uses the mother's 'shoulder cloth'. Later on when he starts to help his father in the fishing business, he may make a few savings from the odd fish he gets to sell at the beach. If he is a well behaved boy he gives it to his mother who adds a few shillings to it to get him a cloth. Other than this, he has to wait for the annual distribution of cloth from the father - which also falls under the same category of 'Oma bio'lo'. I saw a few of this cloths and generally they are not more than a yard in length - and breadth. His possessions with regard to toys are also tit-bits collected from the public dust-bins, a small rubber ball in some cases, bought for them from Accra by the mothers, catapults and bicycles wheels which they termed their 'lorries'.

Apart from his toys, over which he has much freedom, the use of his cloth is greatly controlled. Immediately he takes it, the mother will shout at him, "Where are you taking that cloth to, put it down one time. Do you wash it when it is dirty? Am I your servant? Do you think I have enough money to be buying cloth for you all the time? Get your romper and put the cloth down." Girls too are treated in the same way when they are below six or even seven years.

During the first few years of the child's life the whole household take interest in him and see that he does not get into any mishaps. As the child plays about and sprawls around the house and the compound, every woman as she goes about her domestic tasks tries to keep an eye on the child. When he grabs or touches anything that is fragile or sharp there is a shout of disapproval from all and the material is got from him. When he goes near the fire, or any hot thing, a shout of horror is made, and the mother or any other relative near by runs to remove him from the place. As the child grows, and starts to understand little things, the mother points to the fire and says, "Sh-sh-sh-sh ---- it is not good," meaning that fire is not something to be played with. Some mothers however, use threats of policemen, sanitary inspectors (incidentally I discovered that even many older people are afraid of these two groups of people.) "If you touch that knife again, I will call the sanitary inspector in to take you away," says the exasperated mother.

Children and especially the older ones are regarded as destructive, and it came to my notice that this was generally the cause of quarrels between children. The younger child is quite likely to annoy the older child by his utter destructiveness. A four year old who has learned to make simple toys, can be thoroughly disheartened

by an eighteen month old child who is bent on destroying what has been built. I saw an example of this in which the younger child was trying to break down the sand houses his elder brother had so laboriously made. Parents usually give a torrent of meaningless orders which the child ignores and which the mothers have no intention of enforcing. More often than not, physical punishment is used to teach children not to destroy things. The child who breaks the dishes while sending food to the father is severely thrashed, albeit he might not have done it intentionally. The boy who goes scotch free after having broken only a calabash is fortunate. At any rate he is severely scolded.

Except for the very few materials which he contrives himself, the child has very little objects which he manipulates. It is expected that he or she should contribute towards the social and much more the economic aspect of the community, as such the child is introduced as early as possible towards those elements and aspects. Thus the things they play with are imitation forms of cooking materials, as a preparation towards domestic activities or cocconut calyx made into small canoes as a preparation towards economic maturity.

As I have already stated, there are no specific objects which we could rightly term toys in the true sense, except those improvised ones I have mentioned in previous sections. The children spend most of their time in the air and sun, chasing lizards and birds with stones and sticks. They also use more often, earth, sand and pebbles. They have very little contact, in fact I had no examples, of things to be taken apart and put together.

S P E E C H.

Immediately a child is born attempts are made to let it cry. This first cry is a sure sign that the child is alive. The more it cries and kicks are indications of its being very active. It shows that the child is a healthy one and those around beam with smiles and congratulate the mother for bringing forth such a healthy child.

During its infancy the only means of communication between the child and its mother and the other members of the family is through its cries. When it wants to communicate hunger, pain, rage, and illness it does so through its cries. During the first few days and weeks after its birth the mother finds it rather difficult to differentiate one feeling from the other. But as time goes on she starts to decipher out cries of hunger from those of pain, those of rage from those of stubbornness. Generally, the first step is to breast feed the child immediately it cries. If this cools it down then it means it was hungry. But if on the other hand, this does not satisfy him and he still cries, then the mother tries to find out what is wrong. She may feel the child's stomach to find if it is hot. If this is the case then it is an indication of constipation and he is given some medicine.

As the child grows his cries become more easily detected and his needs are supplied immediately. More often cries of pain are not easily detected, and their only sign is that they take a longer period than ordinary cries of hunger and rage. The most bitter time a mother has is when her child cries throughout the night and she is not able to detect the cause. More often than not, supernatural influences are attributed as being the cause, and the next day finds the mother with her child at the medicine man's house.

A child may also cry when the mother leaves him alone for a long time. Other relatives may try to sooth or console him without success until the mother returns to breast-feed it.

After he is about six months old he becomes more consciously aware of his power and his will over his parents and others. He discovers that by crying loud and long enough he can get what he wants. As such, crying becomes his habit and it becomes very difficult for him to overcome this.

It is during this period that the mother and other relatives are able to differentiate between various kinds of crying, and can judge when and in what ways the baby's crying should be heeded. When the baby is crying from pain, he receives the comforting <sup>arms</sup> of his mother, for if he is left to bear the pains alone he is frightened and this increases his misery. If the distress is real, the wails continue even after he has been picked up. When a baby cries because he has been frightened by some loud noise or sudden awakening, he is reassured as quickly as possible by the mother. When the child cries for other minor discomforts, he usually receives the sympathetic help of adults. When he is tired, hot or hungry, his crying is less lusty, more fretful querulous, and intermittent. On such occasions he is easily comforted, and welcomes almost any distraction, such as a change of position or play thing.

Other kinds of cries come from thwarted wishes. The child who has been put down to play about sees his mother pass by and cries for her attention. He wants to be picked up and played with. The child who has to stop crawling because it is time for lunch cries when the mother picks him up. The child who is busily tearing his older brother's exercise book yells when he is interrupted in this delightful occupation.

More often, any attempt made by the child to cry is curtailed by the mother trying as much as possible to console him. The usual 'anti-dote' is the breast, and this in many ways is an effective remedy.

Cases in which children are allowed to cry their lungs out are very rare. The only occasion on which I had an example of this was when a child wanted to be given a toy belonging to another child. The mother after trying all means to get the son's mind off the toy, made him cry it out. Moreover, the <sup>mother</sup> ~~son~~ was so annoyed that she gave him a few spanks on the back.

Male children are usually teased when they cry a lot. Those around even call him, 'Yoobi' - meaning 'a woman's child'. Others may tell him that a man does not cry, it is a woman who cries. The death of parents and relatives is the only occasion on which it is legitimate to cry. Children are made to stand near the bed on which the corpse is lying and made to cry. Children who do not cry on these occasions, especially <sup>on</sup> the death of their mothers are said to be very wicked. This becomes a topic for conversation for a long period. It is a common saying for the women, that they would like to bring forth many girls, in order to have them to weep for them when they die.

It is from the mother that the child assimilates unknowingly most of his speech. In general, the child acquires its language untaught, lisping his words and confusing the grammatical distinctions at first; but with the precocity incident to a wild free life, he usually acquires the correct expression. The children learn to talk at different ages. Most children know quite a number of words and phrases by the time they are two. There are some, however, who do not start talking until they are two and a half years old.

The child more often, starts with cries and gurgles. These then give way to articulated syllables - 'ma', 'ba', 'ta', mixed and blurred with plain squawks and yells. Then comes the exciting moment - the beginning of language. Syllables come out of the blur of noises; objects come out of the blur of the world outside. Mother, older sisters, brothers and other relatives encourage the imitation of certain sounds. Presently syllable and object take a rough correlation. The word and the thing merge. All males become 'papa', but after a little, only the father himself. For a considerable period word and gesture language develop together. The child asks to be taken up, or more simply holds up his arms. He points to what he wants, and asks for it. 'Ham', instead of 'ke ha mi', meaning - 'give it to me'.

The baby's earliest vocalization is greatly encouraged. The child is made to repeat the few words or phrases he might have picked up to other members of the household - and to other visitors, especially when his father comes down to visit them. Baby-talk is rather regarded as amusing and no attempts are made to correct it. The mother and those around tend to imitate baby-talk and are fond of using it with their children. I came across a child of pretty near two years, who whenever he saw someone eating, would stretch his hand and say, "Maye boboo". "I will eat boboo". The mother had learnt this from the child and whenever she was going to give him food or any other tit-bits, would say to the child, "Hemo boboo". "Get boboo". The mother uses all the baby-talk she collects from the child whenever she wants to speak to him, adding ordinary speech in cases which have no vocabulary in the baby-talk of her child. More of the talking is that of petting and pampering. Instances of scolding are not very frequent.

Tessie

No attempts are made to teach or instruct the child in the correct use of words or language on the whole. The child learns everything by himself. There is no encouragement to let the child talk well or are they held to high standards of grammatical correctness. When very young, no attempts are made towards getting the child to attain any form of rigid discipline. As such anything the child says is listened to, and no seriousness is attached to whatever he says. I came across a few mothers who complained to me that one way or the other their children picked up obscene and abusive words when they started to speak. They would use this on anyone they met as if they were conversing with the one. Whenever this happened the mothers were alarmed and after scoldings and smackings in some cases the children were stopped from using those words and phrases.

As the child grows, he is expected to fall in line with the social norms of the community and his behaviour and actions become disciplined. He must modulate his voice according to the rank and position of the one with whom he is speaking, he must know when to speak and when to be silent. The child who raises his voice or speaks harshly when addressing an older person, would be told by those around, to lower his voice. "Why do you speak to an older person like that, don't you know he is older than your father?" Or, "Is that what you people are taught at school, is that the way to speak to an older person? These schools are spoiling the children." When older people are conversing he must not speak, and in some cases he must not even listen to what is being said.

From the age of six and above, the child is expected to distinguish between fact, fantasy, truth and lying. Generally facts and fantasy are of a superficial nature.

More stress is laid on truth and lying. Generally, the child is expected to speak the truth, and lying is not countenanced at all when detected. In spite of his tender age a child may be beaten or refused food for telling lies.

Summing up, I noticed that children learn to talk through the men's and older boys love of playing with children. Adults and older children are very much interested in the baby's learning to talk, and discuss the different degrees of facility.



The Methodist Primary  
School founded in 1930.

S C H O O L I N G .

When one compares the history of education in the area to the roll of pupils in the schools then it would not be wrong to hazard the guess that the problem of education in the area is a complex one.

The Basel Missionaries were the first to open a school in the town in the year 1863. Informants say that when the Basel Missionaries started their school, the High-Priest informed the people that their action of sending their children to school has so annoyed the high-god of the town, that he had threatened to cause the blindness of the eyes of their children on an appointed day. The people became so frightened that many of them removed their children from the school the next day. A few brave ones however wanted to test the strength of the god. As such they accompanied their children to school each morning and waited outside for the whole of the day. When after a whole week they discovered that nothing happened, they were inclined to disbelieve the whole allegation and those who had removed their children brought them back. Those who attended school were regarded as outcasts. No one would drink from the same calabash used by any of them, and everywhere they met with scorn and ridicule.

In 1917, it became a Boarding School. The Methodist Mission followed in 1930 and in 1951 the <sup>Catholics</sup> took over the management of a school opened by one Augustus Amate Gbugblah, an Ex-Army School Serjeant. But what is the picture today. The premier school is still not full and its lower primary section is still housed under a shed. The Methodists are housed under what I may term as the poorest specimen of shed I have ever seen. The Catholics are in someone's house.

At six or seven, the child goes to school. This is his first institutionalised contact with the world of the English. His parents although pessimistic, are glad to



Ranged round their teacher, the children listen to an African folk-story. Expressions range from indifference.

send him there mainly because they think the school experience may raise his economic and social status; but more often it is <sup>the place</sup> to house or get rid of troublesome and lazy children.

He enters the first year class and immediately begins to study English by the Do and Say method. A great deal of energy and time is devoted to an attempt to learn this language. There are no differences in the training of boys and girls, both receive the same training and treatment.

The teacher is the be all and end all. Males form the greater majority, with just a sprinkling of female teachers. The general attitude of mind toward the teacher is that of fear. Although the official rule discourages the use of corporal punishment, it is frequently resorted to. The child meets with a stricter discipline than that he is accustomed to at home. As such his attitude toward his teacher is one of outward submission to authority.

The parents being illiterates, have nothing to offer or say about the poor performance of their children at school, for in many cases it is not reported to them. They do not dispute school decisions. They watch the child's behaviour to find if the school is changing him, and when they are satisfied that this is the case then they are all happy; for they have at long last found someone they could resort to when the child misbehaves. Thus, the teacher is always used as a scare crow, and whenever there is a lapse in his behaviour, he is reminded, or brought to his senses, by mentioning the teacher's name. More often this serves its purpose.

There is cordial relationship among schoolmates, and from the experience of my informants this lasts even after school. Gangsterism is prevalent, but this is noticeable

when they reach puberty, generally from ~~ten~~<sup>thirteen</sup> years and above in the girls, and from ~~ten~~<sup>twelve</sup> to ~~eleven~~<sup>fourteen</sup> years in boys. It is also from these ages that sex differences begin to affect friendships of boy-girl relationships.

On the whole the people are not very much in favour of education. Many of them prefer their children helping in the fishing industry to attending school. The mother is more proud of the son who brings in the money he has got for the fish he got for the mornings work, than the one who has to go to school, and on whom expenses of school materials are to be made. I must repeat myself by saying that fathers complained a lot about how this 'European Education' is spoiling their children. The children have no respect for their elders and they are lazy. They look down upon their relatives and parents, especially the grown up ones. When they complete their school, they travel about to do 'whiteman's work' and never come home to visit the old folks. They do not send money to their parents to buy food and tobacco.

They are dead against female education. They see no reason why she should go to school. Her place is the home, to help her mother, grow and get a husband and bring forth children. One man told me that if Self Government means that girls too should be forced to go to school, then we should not have our Self Government.

GAMES, SONGS, STORIES.

The people have recognised the educative value of play and so have encouraged games for their children as a preparation for the latter's independence. The children have implanted in them the faculty of observing and imitating, and when the son does what he has seen his father do so often, it is as if he knew it himself. Play is at times utilised for the purpose of instilling the more intangible parts of the culture. Songs and stories, tell of the heroic deeds of their ancestors and keep the children well informed in the traditions and culture of the group. Play is the adequate introduction to life, and imitation the indispensable medium by which that culture is made continuous, preserved, and may become the basis of further accumulation and increase. The child essays to fish, farm, cook or make simple tool in response to the impulse of play, which is a channelizing of his energies into the activity about him. The entire culture that has a palpable expression is copied in this world of play.

The idea of play, is clear cut, and forms a major part of the people's culture. The games, songs, and stories of the children are the results of the peoples practical activities. It is also an end in itself, and has a noteworthy role in the social development of the people. In his play the child rehearses his interests, skills, and obligations, and makes experiments in social living, without having to pay the penalty for mistakes. Hence there is always a phase of play in the evolution of any scheme preceding its full emergence into practical life. The games therefore are often mimetic in content, and express the child's identifications.

Except for such games like foot ball, in which small rubber balls are used, swimming, hide and seek, real

organised games are not very common. Many of the activities are rather more of dancing and singing, and on moonlight nights one sees groups of children of both sexes engaged in singing and dancing. Games like bicycle riding, running and other team games are mainly indulged in by children who are attending school, and as these form a minority of the child population of the place, interest in them is rather not very keen.

The games are traditional, having passed from one generation of children to the next. They are usually built round the cultural idiom, fishing, farming, marriage, hunting, chiefs and so on. But their value is predominantly recreational. Children play them for the pleasure of collective singing, rhythmical physical activity, and sensory and bodily stimulation. The ordinary moonlight dances in which both adults and children participate are regarded as play of this kind. Below is the description of a few of these childhood games.

Adoma - A group of children sit in a circle with legs extended forward. They chose a leader who begins to chant a song. - 'Dokta Brus'.

Namo yele awui - awui  
Aya tse Dokta, atse le sha mie  
Dokta Brus eye mi trema  
Agbene eyemi trema.

Who might have hurt him  
Get a doctor, a doctor they got for me  
Doctor Bruce has got my cowries in vain  
He has got my cowries.

At the end of the song/<sup>he</sup> touches a player's foot. The foot he touches on the last word is out of the game. He continues with every one joining in with the chanting of the song until only one foot remains in the circle. The person is then declared the winner.

Ampe - This is strictly for girls and no boy would ever attempt to indulge in it. It is a game of clapping

of hands, hopping and stretching of legs.

Kwani kwani - Hide and Seek - For both boys and girls.  
one set hides and the other set finds them out. Before  
they hide, they have to inform the other set by singing  
out a song:

Kwaani kwaani - Mooli Mooli  
Neegbe nyese - Wosee Ablotsiri  
Minba ee ee Ablotsiri tseme  
Ameye odzogban.

Kwaani kwaani Mooli Mooli  
Where have you reached  
We have reached London  
We are coming  
How are the people of London  
They are all well.

Others are in the form of songs in which a leader  
calls the tune and the refrain is taken up by the rest.  
Each in turn steps into the middle of the circle, dances  
a bit and then takes his or her place again.

A common method of transmitting the culture-traits  
with a view also towards developing the appropriate  
emotional attitudes and sentiments is through its folk-lore.  
Through the capture of the child's attention, myths, legends,  
and tales are constantly recited and under a pleasing guise  
of fable, instructive lessons and ideas are stimulated  
painlessly in the child's mind - ideas that will later  
revert to it in the actual conduct of his life. The tribal  
wisdom is also stored up in this manner, and through oral  
repetition, communicated to the child. Often a rhythm is  
added to form a song which enables the children retain its  
contents more easily. The intention is a didactic and a  
moral one. Each tale contains a point of native law, or  
manners or aspect of the community. Each story when  
extracted from its allegorical overlay points a moral or  
inculcates an aspect of the mores. Some trait is encouraged  
or some action discouraged as anti-social and bringing with  
it dire misfortune if practiced. There are tales whose

purpose it is to encourage diligence, reverence for the aged and to discourage idleness and greediness. In the same way fables and narratives are at hand referring to inquisitiveness, rudeness, idleness, vanity, jealousy, disobedience, cowardice, selfishness, infidelity and perseverance. The good is praised and rewarded, the bad action promptly and severely punished, so that these instructive tales attempt to show a logical connection between morality and happiness.

In the evenings when the sun has gone down, when all work is completed, old women, housewives and children gather together to tell stories. The children sit listening in deep absorption - their staring eyes and countenances showing their wondering interest. As the narration goes on, it is interrupted by one of the group with a song which may be taken over by the rest.

More than ninety-five per cent of the people are illiterate. As such the circulation of reading material is very limited, and children have very limited access to any material we might term forbidden. Informants could not give me any information on this issue, as such I had the feeling that the situation does not exist. As already stated, there is only one Senior School at the place, and as this is the only group on which I could have some information, I made a few enquiries. The children have very little contact with outside literature. The children are supposed to be ready to read adult literature when they leave school. Books read by adults when they were children were the Practical Readers, Royal English Readers and their favourite stories were Robinson Crusoe and Alladin and the Wonderful lamp.



The boys at an early age begin to carry tools or tackle to and from the beach.



Helping the elders at the beach is rewarded with fish which is sold for money.

W O R K.

At a very early age the child is introduced to the economic life of the group. He is instructed to struggle for his own self-maintenance, as the material culture of tools and weapons does not provide for, more for the idle. Life is a struggle against great odds, and it takes an individual's efforts to get the necessary nourishment with such primitive tools. The child must therefore be instructed as early as possible in the economic and domestic life of the group. Food getting is a communal effort of the family or group in which the children also join early to add to the yield of the entire group, and thus help to support themselves. Nevertheless, the enlistment of the child's aid is dictated not simply by the struggle for existence of the folk, but by a desire to maintain a certain, or standard of material welfare. The child thus supplements and extends the parents exertions with primitive tools in order to provide uninterruptedly the usual way or standard of life, however feeble and crude this may be. Hence one sees, in the nearby river, children with small nets and their very little ones holding pans, trying to get some fish for the family table.

From the start the whole procedure is in play form. The young girl who goes to fill the water pot at the water font or fans the fire during the cooking, and the little boy who accompanies the bigger lads to the shore, or helps father with his nets are really enjoying a game of 'Being Grown Up'. Work in the real sense is not yet demanded of them, they have only to amuse themselves.

Much of the child's time outside of school is spent in helping with the daily work of the family. As soon as he is able, that is at the age of five or six, a child begins to do little chores about the house. He starts by running errands for his mother or older brothers and sisters.



A common employment of the girls is the carrying about of the still younger ones on their backs.



Children do most of the carrying or drawing of water for house hold use.

Frequently in the lanes tiny tots are seen carrying plates of food and other tit-bits from the market. Little boys often carry lunches to their fathers at the beach, while the little girls help their mothers in the kitchen. Children do most of the carrying or hauling of water for household use in Teshie. The girl carries pots on her head when she is just beginning to walk, and as she grows the cans increase in size and weight. They may also be seen trotting along by their elders carrying their own proportionate burdens. A common employment of the girls is the carrying about of the still younger ones on their backs or astraddled on their hips. The latter are but a few years their junior. Thus it is a common sight to see children only six or seven years of age carrying one to three year old babies.

The boys are apt to be inducted into the men's work at an early age, as the girls take up the women's tasks. This division of labour according to sex is the only specialization or division of labour of any consequence in the area. The boys at an early age begin to carry tools or tackle to and from the farm or beach as soon as they can walk, and when they are ten they can be trusted to spread the sail and the fishing lines out to dry and prepare them neatly for the next day's work, folding up the sail most beautifully <sup>and</sup> winding up the dried lines. Though the complete repair and mending of a large net requires the help of all the men in the compound, the boys of ten, all take up their netting shuttles or spindles and help. In any work beyond the skill and strength of the boy, he must stand by and fag for his father.

For the girl, just as soon as she has gained sufficient strength to walk about she learns that the more she can do for herself, and the more she can contribute to the general domestic welfare the better she will get along in life.



A fine catch of fish.  
On such occasions, all  
children run down to the  
beach to help.



An adolescent girl. She did not tell her mother when she had her first menstrual flow. "Mother is not interested in such things", she says.

Even as young as at six or seven years of age they can grind the pepper, kindle the fire and stir the soup while it is boiling.

Apart from the casual punishment which is given for negligence of domestic chores, I had no instances of punishment in connection to work. Informants could not also give me any satisfactory discussion on this point. Children were generally rewarded for work done. Whenever they helped to haul in the drag-net, they were given fish to sell. If they helped in carrying home the fish or net or any other fishing tackle they had some fish and these they sold to the women for money. As such immediate school is over, especially during the fishing season, all the children run down to the beach to help.

There are no specific work labelled for children specifically and there are no working hours.

A D O L E S C E N C E .

It is rather very difficult to determine the continuity between pre-puberty and puberty behaviour of the children of the area. Before they reach the age of puberty, both boys and girls have learnt so much about adult life that it becomes really difficult to detect the changes. However puberty for the girls means more active participation in adult life and responsibility, the end of play, careless companionship and the wandering about from one quarter of the town to another. By and large, puberty does not mean the beginning of a new life, only the final elimination of play elements from the old life. The girl performs no new tasks, she only does more of what she has already been used to.

Puberty in girls starts averagely from the age of twelve or thirteen in many cases I came across. This is marked by the appearance of the monthly menstrual flow, a gradual development of the breasts which begin to take on the typical fulness of womanhood, and the growth of hair under the arms and on the genital region. The girls are very proud of these hair, I am informed. They show them to their other friends and at sea or river baths manage to call other peoples attention to it. Informants tell me that at this period of the girl's life, she becomes emotional, irritable, shy and awkward; she suffers from moods for no apparent cause, and generally it is at this period that many parents come to complain to the teachers that their girls have become "difficult."

The onset of puberty in boys is marked by mental and physical changes comparable to those found in girls but, of course, taking different form. There is a rapid growth and the appearance of hair in the armpits and in the genital region. There is also a deepening of the voice. One headteacher of a Boys' Boarding School in the area told me that during this period, the boys occasionally soiled

their beddings by having "wet dreams" - nocturnal emissions. The boys at this stage become shy and reserved, and moods of boastfulness and aggression may alternate with moods of diffidence. He too, like the girl becomes "difficult".

Unfortunately, the people of Kle Musun, where I conducted my investigations do not have any puberty rites to signal the girl's passage from childhood to puberty; though their neighbours the Kle Krobos, and Gbugblas have.

Informants tell me that all ideas about menstruation and other sex knowledge is gathered by girls from their friends who have already had the experience. Parents never discuss such matters with their daughters. There was a case of a girl having her first menstrual flow while at school. Instead of reporting this to the class teacher, she informed her friends. During the recess they took her to the house of one of the girls, where she had her bath, washed her soiled underwear, waited for it to dry, and then came back to school in the afternoon. It was after a time before the headteacher's daughter informed her father. When I asked the girl whether she informed her mother, she told me that she did not do so. One girl told me that their mothers are not interested in such things.

During this period the girl's attitude towards dressing and finery changes a lot. She wastes more time before the looking-glass, uses a lot of face powder, uses charcoal to darken her eyebrows, and adds another cloth to the one she had been used to. They become aware of an awakening interest in sex and the art of coquetry. Every one around tries to remind her henceforth of her being now a woman. On one of my visits, I met a mother scolding a young girl for not having swept the kitchen, in the following words. "Why haven't you swept the kitchen up to this time. Do you think such "a big woman" like you should behave in such a

manner. The former discussions of play, gives way to serious discussions of love affairs. The number of her girl friends become limited, for she must take the necessary precaution that her secret dealings are confided to a very few. Very soon her hair is pleated. Whenever she misbehaves the mother points out to her that she ought to realise that ~~ix~~ she is now old. In fact this seems to be the only admonition she is frequently referred to. Her former attitude of mingling freely with boys of her own age is curtailed, and whenever she does so, it is a private affair. In the social sphere the new adjustments are no less apparent. The dependent relation to the family diminishes as the importance of friends outside the family increases.

The sexual maturity of the girl is quicker than that of her physical growth, for I saw girls of fourteen, fifteen and thirteen in one case under pregnancy. Sex becomes a matter of great interest and urgency. The greater majority indulge in sexual intercourse during this period. Parents are not very strict on their daughters behaviour during this period and this results in the girls behaving as if they were adults. No emphasis is placed on chastity, and although adolescent sex activities seem to be unsanctioned by the parents, there is a general attitude of non-chalance. They are not at all interested in what goes on. As the mother has to leave for the father's house most nights, the girl has ample opportunity to stay out for most part of the night.

Just as in the case of the girl, the boy has no puberty ceremony. Although circumcision is a necessity, it is not a puberty or ceremonial rite. It only gives the boy the right to enter the yard of the high priest of the town.

The operation is performed as early as possible, more often just a week or two after birth. During the time of adolescence, he takes greater interest in himself. He wastes a lot of time over his hair and face. He is fond of coloured pairs of drawers, on which such words or phrases are knitted. "I love you." "Love is great." "Darling forget me not." Although these are worn under the familiar togalike cloth, the words are made to show to the interested gaze of the girls around. Others had names like "Roy Ankrah", "Joe Louis", "Roy Rogers" on theirs.

I had no examples of adolescents' love for a remote object. Confidences about early love, are given to best friends who <sup>are</sup> usually asked to spy on the lover. Adolescence is regarded as a happy time, and adults always refer to them as the happiest days of their lives.



This was found with one of the boys in the only Middle School in the town. The girl is his girl-friend he says. Both have reached adolescence.

A P P E N D I C E S .

Customs of Infancy and Childhood

After birth the child is kept indoors for seven days: it is then held to have survived seven dangers and is worthy to be called a person. If it dies before the eight day it is considered as having never been born and has no name.

The 'Kpodziemo' or 'going out' ceremony, at which the child is named, takes place on the eighth day after birth. At dawn two women from the father's lineage take the child to its father's house, where there are assembled relatives and friends of both parents.

An old person selected for his (or her if the child is a girl) admirable character, asks a blessing with rum and then takes the child in his arms and shows him three times to the sky. He then recites a long incantation with the assembled people adding an Amen - Yao.

Tswa, tswa tswa omanyé aba	Yao
Dzee wogbee kome ?	Yao
Tswa, omanyé aba	Yao
Gbo ni ba ne, ese tuu	Yao
Ehie fann	Yao
Abatsu nii eha etse	Yao
Ebatsu nii eha enye	Yao
Eka dzu	Yao
Wekumei abii wono faa nii wofaa lee	Yao
Eyi aba gbo dzen	Yao
Enye yi wala	Yao
Etse yi wala	Yao
Ke wobole kutu wonaakpesi	Yao
Ke wodze bu wodze nu	Yao
Ke yoye wodzu wokodzii ano adzowo	Yao
Ke wana futaa le ayilon	Yao
Ga humi le koyo tswaa ni owieo owon mli	Yao
Ona mi nako	Yao
Onu mi nuko	Yao
Nnene, aye loo sulo ko ni hoo ni eebi	
noni afeo, ni aatso le, ni ewie	
wiemo fonn ko le alo moni taoo ske	
bi ni kasi ne agbo, ni wo dzoo ne wondzo le	
lo ?	
So ke hogbaa agbe le	
Awo eyi	
Tswa omanyé aba	Yao
Dzee wogbe kome ?	Yao
Tswa Manyé aba	Yao

Hail, Hail, Hail, May happiness come	Amen
Are our voices one ?	Amen
Hail, let happiness come.	Amen
The stranger who has come, his back	
is towards the darkness	Amen
His face is towards the light	Amen
May he work for his father	Amen
May he work for his mother	Amen
May he not steal	Amen
The children of this family forgive	
everything that can be forgiven	Amen
May he come to respect the world	Amen
Upon his mother's head Life	Amen
Upon his father's head Life	Amen
If we should make a circle, may	
our chain be complete	Amen
If we dig a well may we come upon water	Amen
If we draw water to bath our joints may	
they be refreshed	Amen
If we see white may it be white clay	Amen
If we see black may it be our slave	Amen
Circumspect Ga, like the blowing wind,	
be better than your word	Amen
You see but you have not seen	Amen
You hear but you have not heard	Amen
A circumspect Ga does not lie	Amen
Today if any witch or sorcerer is passing	
and asks what we are doing and they tell	
him and he says any evil word or wishes that	
the child lying here should die,	
shall this blessing be to his bless?	Oho!
May Wednesday and Sunday kill him	Let him die
Let us hoot upon his head	Ho-o-o
Hail, Let happiness come	Amen
Are our voices one ?	Amen
Hail. Let happiness come.	Amen

Then the child is laid naked on the ground near the eaves. Then the 'godfather' takes water in a calabash and flings it three times on the roof, so that it trickles down on the child like rain. This is to introduce the child to the rain and to the earth.

The child as it lies on the ground is blessed.

Mii dzoo bo	Yao
Mii dzoo bo	Yao
Mii dzoo bo	Yao
Ohe adzo bo ni ona hedzole daa	Yao
I bless you	Amen
I bless you	Amen
I bless you	Amen
May you be blessed and may you receive	
blessing always.	Amen

He then kicks the child gently with his left foot saying, 'Mii tswao nane' (I am striking you with my foot-meaning, I am impressing you with my character). He then does it with the right foot saying, 'Ko mi nane' (Take hold

of my foot - Follow my footsteps or become like me).

Then he takes up the child again, and if he likes, makes it a long impromptu speech retailing the good points in his own character and telling the child to copy them, then modestly discovering a few bad points and cautioning the child to avoid them.

Corn wine and rum is then served. Later on gifts of money or clothing are given and the people depart. The child is now a member of the family and has got his own name.

#### CIRCUMCISION

Boys are circumcised at any time up to the age of twelve, but usually in early infancy. There is nowadays no ceremony connected with this but formerly the operation was accompanied by some ceremonial and was not performed until the boy was old enough to recite the appropriate prayer himself. Nowadays relatives give the boy pennies - 'he is now a man, having borne pain.' Uncircumcised boys are derided by their friends. It also gives him the right to enter the yard of the high god of the town.

#### THE TRIBAL MARK.

This consists of one short slanting cut made on each cheek. It is made at some time during infancy. Formally this was a means of identifying prisoners and slain during wars. At the same time three little cuts are made in the heel of the child and 'medicine' is rubbed into it to prevent him from growing weak and weedy.

GEORALO CHILDREN - When two children die in succession steps are taken to prevent the next from dying also by disfiguring it with long cuts radiating fanwise from eyes to mouth: it will be ashamed to return to the place of

the dead. The parents make an elaborate show of neglecting it, often by stripping it and laying it on a path in the early morning for anyone to find. By some previous arrangement some relative 'finds' the baby, buys him from his parents and names him, sometimes returning him to the parents afterwards. Gbobalo children are never given a special lineage name, but some foreign name instead.

#### CHILDREN OF THE GODS.

A child born in answer to prayer to one of the gods receives that god's name, and remains the special property of the god until puberty, when it is 'taken out' or set free by the god's woyo or wulomo (priest or priestess). This is necessary because, although the god's influence is considered beneficial in childhood, adults do not like to be close to a god unless they are priests or priestesses - woyei; such a contact is believed to bring misfortune, quarrels or even madness.

#### THE THIRD CHILD.

If the three eldest child are boys the third child is named Mensa, (if three girls, the third girl is Mansa) and is treated with special consideration, though he is not thought as much of as twins. He is given an annual yam-feast, is very much favoured and never upbraided.

#### THE SEVENTH CHILD.

Called Ason, is also specially regarded; he is given an annual yam-feast and is much favoured.

#### IDIOTS' CHILDREN.

Idiots, are believed to be incarnations of dzemawodzi (gods) and to be born usually into chief's families and

families which have a history of intimate association with 'dzemawon' worship. They are treated with great gentleness and patience and are never devided.

#### TWINS.

These are called Oko and Akwete if boys, and Akwele and Akuoko if girls are believed to have the same spirit as the 'wuo', a savage kind of wild cow. A special ceremonial takes place at their Kpodziemo ceremony: each is given a little clay pot in which various offerings are put. After a few months, when it is clear that the twins are going to stay on earth, these pots are exchanged for a pair of two horns, henceforth the twins' most favoured treasured possessions: if one of them beats the horns together calling on a persons name, that person will die. When a twin dies all the other twins become possessed for several hours by the spirit of the 'wuo'. Twins are given an annual yeleyeli or yam-feast of thanksgiving, held by anyone who feels himself blessed above others, or who owns an important 'medicine': at such a time the opportunity is also taken of thanking those common things which do not have a special feast of their own, e.g. a hunter's gun, a blacksmith's tools.

Twins of opposite sex are considered a far more powerful combination than those of the same sex. A twin married to another twin is also a powerful combination. If a twin dies the remaining one is believed to have special power because he now has a confederate among the dead.

As twins are considered to have some sort of divine power they never bring misfortune to their family; nevertheless they are not really welcomed as they are said to be capricious and hard to bring up: their wishes must never be crossed, and they cause much anxiety to their parents.

The next child born after twins is named Tawia and is

regarded as having been sent to serve them.

CHILDREN'S STORIES

## ANANSE AND THE ANIMALS (A child's favourite story)

Ananse after having received God's consent that any member of the animal kingdom, who poked his nose or just thought about his friend's affairs should die, got a hoe and pretended to plough a rock with no soil on it to make a farm. The rock lay near the ~~farm~~ only path leading to a stream which all the animals used as their drinking water.

As the animals passed along on their way to the water side, some of them began to wonder if Ananse was in his right senses, and some wandered at what he was trying to do. But whenever this happened they fell down and died, for they had been forbidden by God from doing so. Ananse would then collect them and send them to his wife for their meals. By this means Ananse was able to eat a lot of his friends.

The goat and other animals became alarmed and thought of plans to get Ananse to put a stop to his behaviour. The goat then hit on an idea. He went and fetched a long firewood which was about twenty two miles long. As usual, Ananse went to the place early in the morning and started work. All of a sudden when he raised up his head he saw a long log passing by without anyone carrying it. For more than one hour the log passed. Ananse became worried. He should not think about what was happening, for he knew what would be the result. For the next half hour the log still passed. Ananse could no more bear it. His curiosity has been aroused beyond bounds. He shouted, "Ah, who on earth has fetched such a firewood. In all my life, I have never seen such a thing. If one man should have all this fuel alone, could anything remain for the rest of us?" Immediately he said this, he fell down and died. The goat then threw away the log, and with the rest of the animals they carried him away cooked him, and ate. Had it not

been for the goat, all the other animals might have perished.

A STORY ABOUT A BAD BOY Adjei Sowah (6 years).

There lived a boy who was always disobeying his mother. One evening he stole threepence and went out to spend it. — He was late in returning home. On his way back ~~home~~<sup>home</sup>, a wolf chased him. When he ran home he found that the door was locked. He ran to his father's house the gate was locked. He ran to his sister's house the gate was locked. He ran to his brother's house, there too the gate was locked. The wolf caught him and ate him. Such is the plight of all bad boys.

What the child would wish for if he were granted one wish.

Ako Nai (7 years)

I would like to become Kwame Nkrumah. To give blackmen self-government.

Amele Botchway. (6 years)

I would like to have a sewing machine. I want to be a seamstress.

SELF-DESCRIPTION

Korkoi Kwei (Age 6 years)

My father is a fisherman. My mother is a fishmonger. I am a beautiful girl. I am fair-coloured. When I grow I shall marry the King of England's son, because he can give me everything I want and he is a white man. I shall give my parents a lot of money. I shall build a house for my mother.

Adjetey Kofie (Age seven years)

I have a long mouth and a fat head. I am lanky. I am very strong. I like boxing. One day I shall go to England, like Roy Ankrah.

LIFE STORYBoi Narh (Age 6 years) Boy

I am six years old. Mother told me my age. I have two brothers and two sisters. My mother does not love me. She says I am too troublesome. I do not like school very much. I always quarrel with my brothers when we are eating. They do not give me plenty fish so I steal some. My father is a fisherman and my mother is a fishmonger. I shall become a lorry driver when I grow up.

Korkor Quaye (Age 7 years) Girl

I am seven years old. I have one brother and two sisters. My father is a fisherman and my mother sells fish and tomatoes in the market.

I want to become a lady and work in an office after my schooling. I help my mother at home.

CHILDREN'S SONGS.

- (1) Koo mli tsinai, to nye gbe Anagonyobi  
 Koo mli tsinai, te nye gbe Anagonyobi  
 Yoo Yoo male  
 Onukpai buo abe ake  
 Ofoi yitson kpaal la  
 Esisi dzi ake  
 Ameman gali ameyeo  
 Ete Tesi, atsi dzidzi aha le  
 Dzidzi gbele, amekke hela gbele  
 Yoo yoo, Koomli tsinai  
 Te nye gbe Anagonyobi.

Bush cows have you not killed the Yoruba child  
 Oho Oho my mother.  
 Old people say  
 The tsetse fly always has blood in its head  
 It means,  
 Their staple food is gari  
 He was given 'dzidzi' to eat when he  
 came to Teshie.  
 Dzidzi killed him and not illness as it is supposed.  
 Oh oho, you bush cows  
 You have killed the Yoruba child.

- (2) Somanya toogbeloi yagbe gbomo  
 Somanya toogbeloi yagbe gbomo  
 Yagbe gbomo ake-fe too, yagbe gbomo  
 Yagbe gbomo ake-fe too yagbe gbomo.

Somanya butchers killed a person  
 Somanya butchers killed a person  
 Killed a person and presented it as mutton  
 Killed a person and presented it as mutton.

PROVERBS

1. The monkey says: Seeing is believing
2. We say one before we say two.
3. First fool is not a fool.
4. A medicine used in curing yaws cannot cure leprosy.
5. The tortoise has said: "One day will be Friday".
6. No one gives the pig to a wolf for safe keeping.
7. A hat is not worn on the knee when the head is present.
8. No one comes into his room to scratch his skin just immediately after leaving the bath room.
9. No one walks into danger he is aware of.
10. No one removes thorns from his soles while still standing among the thorns.

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Fortes.

A Pleasant Thing

Ablavie Albert (Girl 6yrs)



A fight

Kofi Kubagee (6 - A boy)



Roy Akrah and the Whiteman (Ronnie Clayton)

A fight (By A boy of 6)



A pleasant thing

A cow boy



A pleasant thing



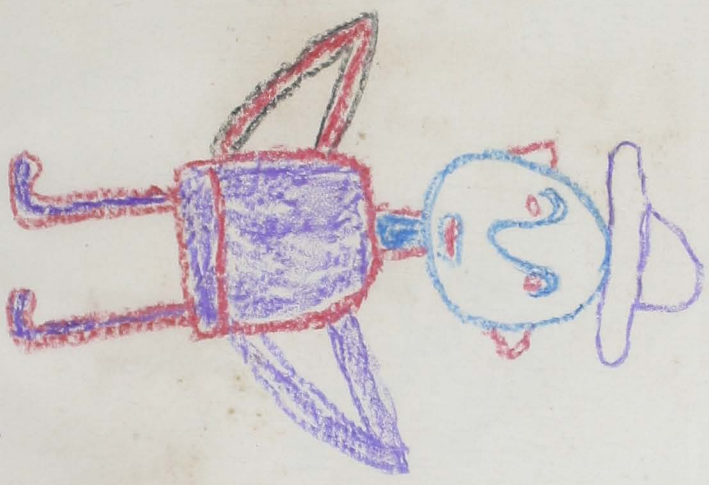
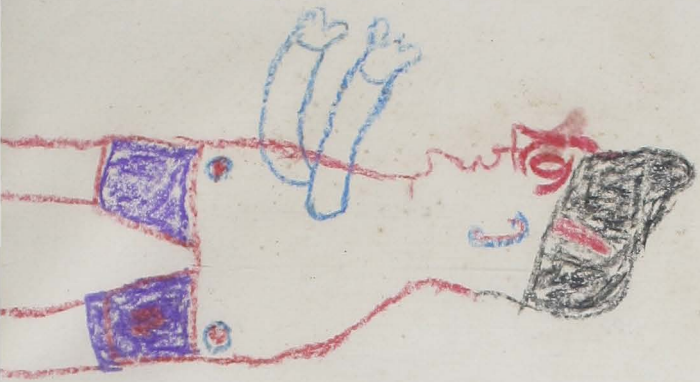


ДНА АДЖАКЕ (с) БОЧ

Man and Woman

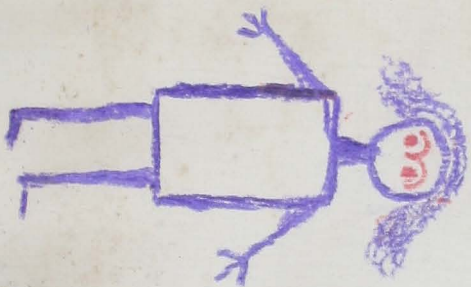
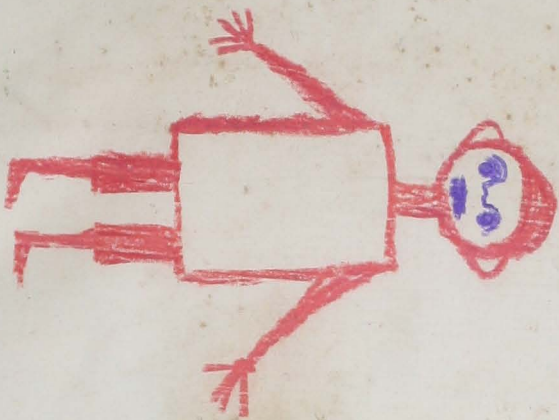


ATETE SOWAH (6) Boy



SAN KUSAMI (7) Boy

MAN & WOMAN

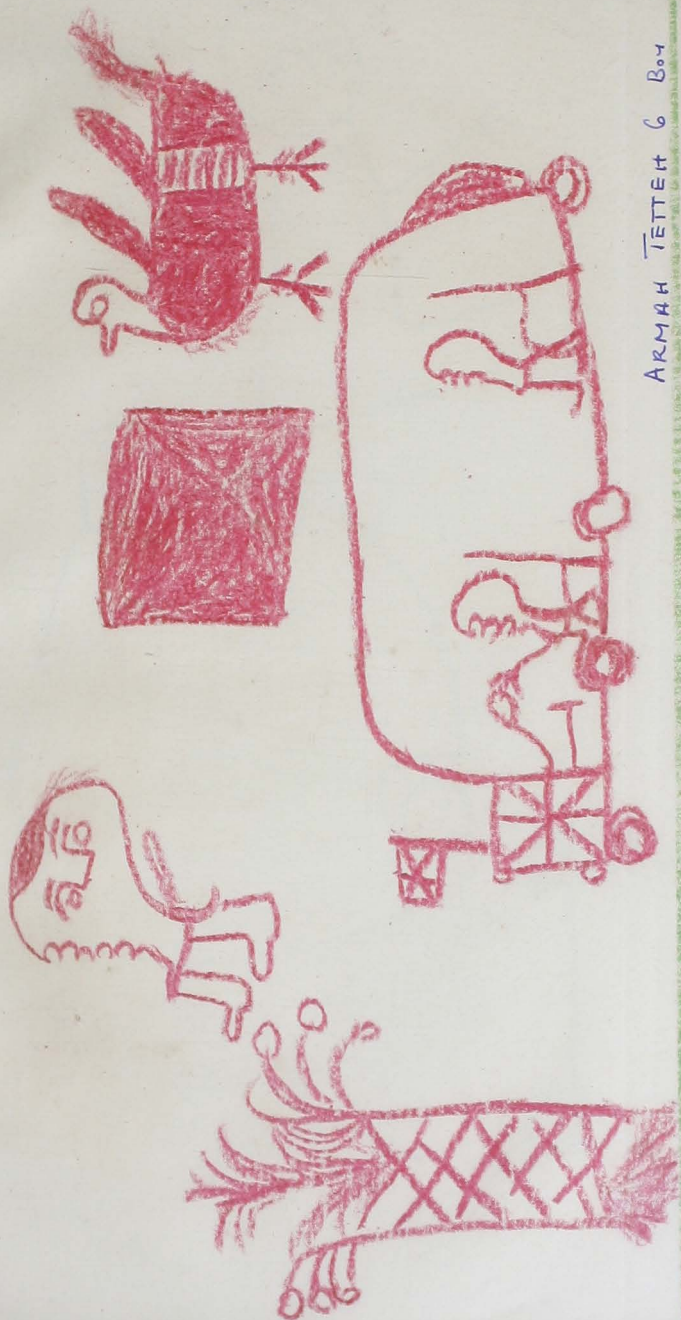


АТОТЕУ ТЕТТЕУ (7) Boy

FREE EXPRESSION

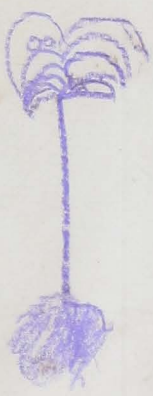
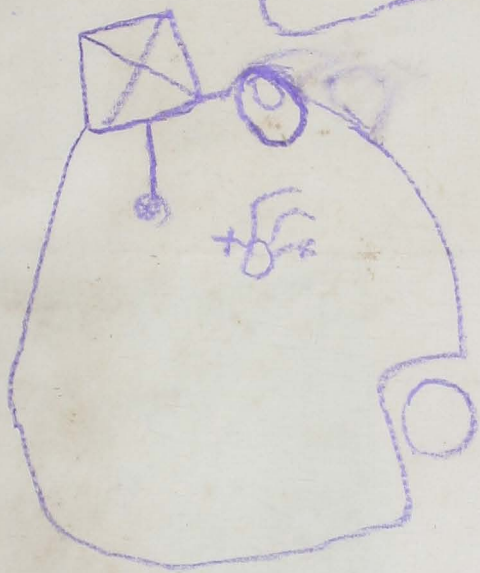
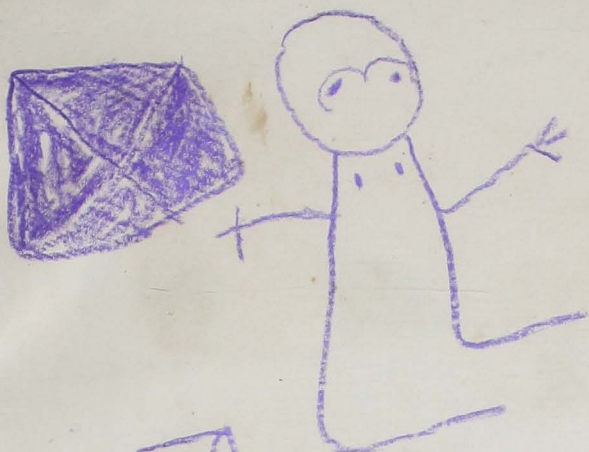


DONEY ANUM 6 years Boy



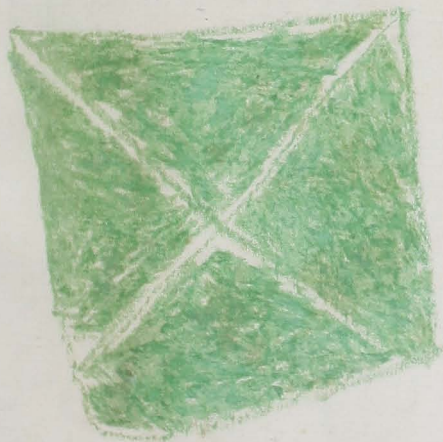
ARMAH TETTEH 6 Boy

FREE EXPRESSION

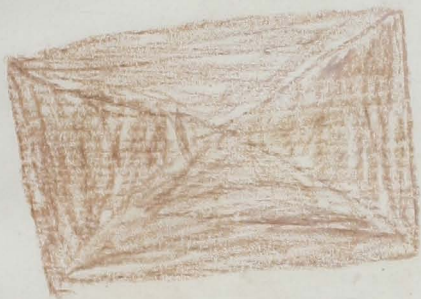


NUERTE KI TEI Tya  
G. 1

FREE EXPRESSION



AJELEY COFIE (6) GIRL



FREE EXPRESSION

