

Child Training in Gblede

An Ewe Village

IN

BRITISH TRUST TOGOLAND

A Thesis

BY

GODFREID GEORMBEEYI MORTTY

Institute of Education
University College
ACHIMOTA

1953.

C O N T E N T S

A

Acknowledgements	Page	i
Preface	"	ii
Relevant Quotations	"	iii

B

CHAPTER (i)

historical and Geographical back-ground .. .	"	1
--	---	---

CHAPTER (ii)

THE CHILD

(a) Attitudes Towards having Children		
(b) Prenatal Period (c) Birth .. .	"	5

CHAPTER (iii)

FOOD

(a) Nursing (b) Weaning (c) Solid Food .. .	"	25
---	---	----

CHAPTER iv

HEALTH AND WEL-BEING

(a) Elimination (b) Motor Development (c) Sleep (d) Health	"	32
---	---	----

CHAPTER V

SEX AND SIBLING RELATIONS

(a) Physical contacts, Masturbation sex play (b) Clothing and self exposure (c) Sex Distinctions (d) Sibling Relations	"	55
--	---	----

CHAPTER VI

RELATION WITH ADULTS

(a) With parents (b) Adults other than parents (c) Possessions	"	74
---	---	----

CHAPTER VII

PRACTICAL ACTIVITIES

(a) Speech (b) Games (c) Songs and Stories (d) Work .. .	"	95
--	---	----

CHAPTER VIII

<u>ADOLESCENCE</u>	"	109 - 116
----------------------------	---	-----------

C.

APPENDIX

Appendix		1-3
I	Days and Months .. .	1-2
II	Statistical Data .. .	1-5
III	Songs (Adults and Children) .. .	1-4
IV	Observation and Talks with children .. .	1-8
V	Children's Stories .. .	1-2
VI	Games and Sports .. .	1-2

-2-

CONTENTS

	Pages
VII Rites and Ceremonies	1-5.
VIII Medicines	1-2
IX Some Taboos	1
X Children's Pictures	1-27.

D.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(70

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

My thanks are due to the following:-

Mrs. Hovi, Hannah, Emmanuel, Cletus, Agbetsoamedo, Alfred and the numerous other men, women and children who have patiently answered my questions and assisted me in diverse ways. Although it appears awkward, I would also thank my tutors of the Institute of Education who through lectures and inspiration have made it possible for me to produce this work.

Preface

This is a plain story, "unenriched with strange events".

It is an attempt to ^{present} a comprehensive account of an aspect of life (centring around "The Child") of the people of Gblede in northern Eweland, which incidentally is in the southern section of the land described politically as Togoland.

Though the idea of writing one day has frequently occurred to me I never thought that day was so near. More than this, it never dawned upon me that I would one day write a lengthy Thesis on Child Training among the people of Gblede whom I so much love for their own sakes.

It was therefore more of a thrill than surprise to me when I found myself absorbed more and more in the study, recall and transcription. And yet at every stage, I became aware of myself and believe me, I hesitated and would have stopped. But you see I would not. It is a Thesis, intended for a particular purpose and required at a definite time. And however much I dislike anything that savours of examinations, I know there are no suitable substitutes for them.

But in producing this manuscript, I completely forgot all considerations except one: to present an unbiased account of what I have seen, observed, heard and what I know.

If readers will, through reading this work acquire, as I certainly have through writing it, a better insight into the lives and needs of this section of the Ewes and more than this, appreciate the worth of the individual, whoever or where-ever he be, my best ambition would have been fulfilled.

G. G. M.

Relevant Quotations.

1. Gentleman: What are you fishing ?
Small boy: Snigglers.
Gentleman: But what are snigglers ?
Small boy: How should I know, I haven't caught one yet.

Culled from the Reader's Digest
(1951).

2. I come to pluck your berries harsh and crude,
And with forced fingers rude,
Shatter your leaves before the mellowing year,...

John Milton: Lycidas.

3. What I am trying to say is that life itself is the most
miraculous miracle of all. I want to look at life - at the
common-places of existence - as if we had just turned a
corner and run into it for the first time.

Christopher Fry:
~~Dramatist.~~

4. 'Tis not too late to seek a newer world.

Alfred Lord Tennyson.

5. So that our young men, dwelling in wholesome climate, may drink
in good from every quarter.

The Republic of Plato.
(Translation by F.M.Cornford)

6. What are you worried about, any way? Everything thats here
is here, and you can just lie back on it.

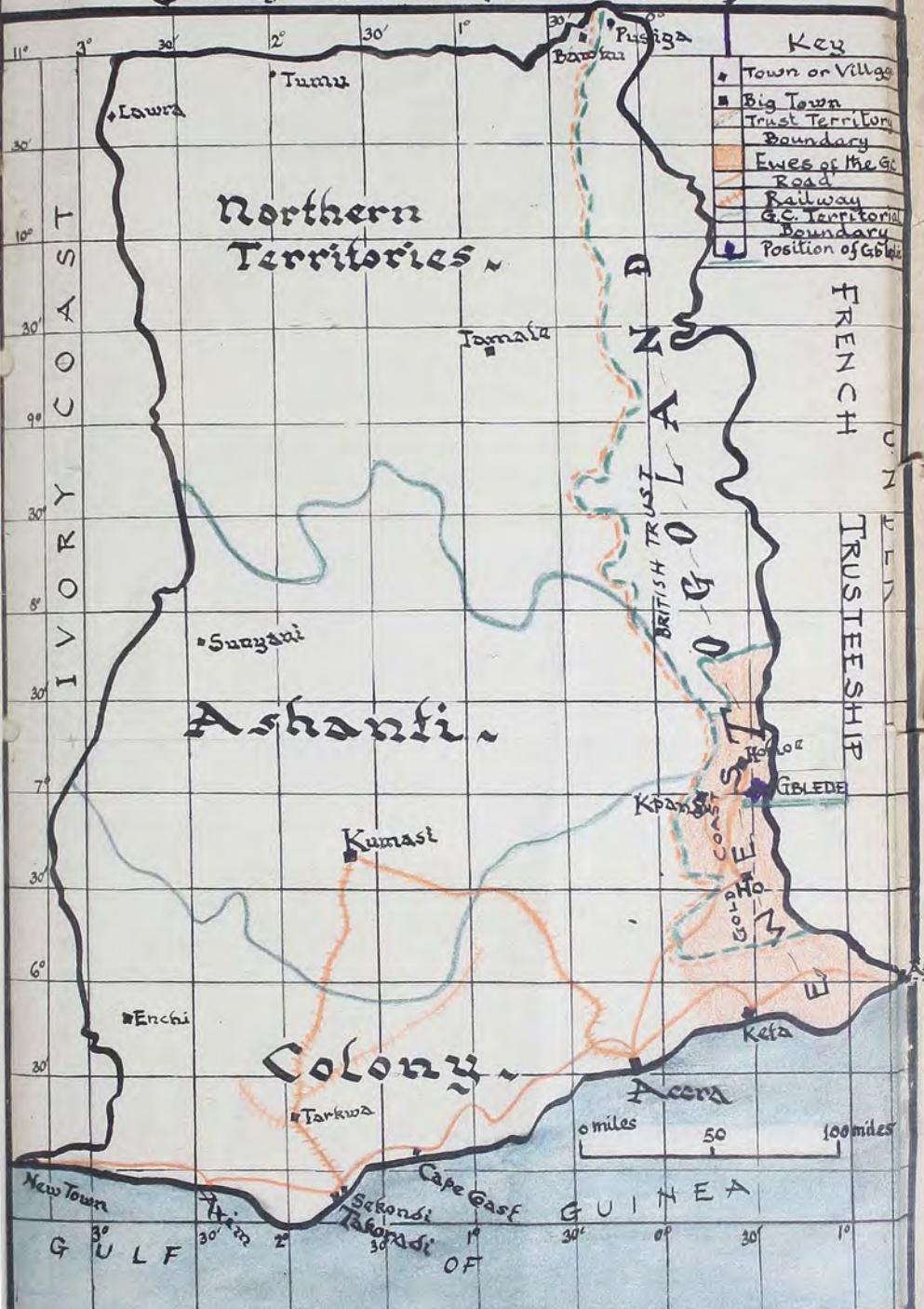
John Dewey.

7. Ne ave do dzobii, akati nu wokpõne le.
(Equivalent to the English proverb "The child is the father
of the man")

Ewe proverb.

A Map of the GOLD COAST & BR. TOGOLAND.

(Showing the relative position of Gblede.)



Key	
•	Town or Village
■	Big Town
---	Trust Territory Boundary
---	Edges of the G.C. Road
---	Railway
---	G.C. Territorial Boundary
■	Position of Gblede

Chapter I

Geographical and Historical Back Ground.

GBLEDE is situated under Mount Agumatsato, the third highest hill in the Gold Coast and Togoland. It is in a fertile plain, watered by a rivulet - Anase, which descends down the mountain, with a fall, and provides cool, clear water, very pleasant to the taste, throughout the year.

The top-most part of the chain of hills is clad with grass, while on the lower ridges and slopes is rich ever-green tropical, rain forest, suitable for the growth of cocoa, yams, coffee, citrus fruits and such other crops as corn and banana.

On the plains, stretching for some four miles radius and merging again into forest land is a country of high savannah on which grows well: coffee, rice, yams, beans and citrus fruits.

(i) Climate.

The relative humidity is fairly high (about 78%) while temperatures on the average register 75° F. About 60 inches of rain falls here annually, in double maxima between the months May - July, September - October. From the end of November to the end of January the effect of the cold, dry harmattan wind blowing from the North is felt rather severely. Children are seen with their cloths tightly gathered around them for some two hours every morning before sunrise.

(ii) Occupations.

The people of Gblede are, by and large, peasant farmers farming on vast stretches of family land, controlled rather loosely, by the head of each clan, and jealously guarded and protected from encroachment. Each family has not less than four, different, small farms, on which are grown, mainly for local consumption, yams, corn, rice, beans, cassava, plantain and, for commercial purposes, cocoa and coffee. Where fruits like oranges, mangoes, pawpaw and pine-apples are found, they are grown as isolated, single trees on farms for other crops or they grow wild (as is the case with mangoes, paw paw and pine apples).

Men and women and children work very hard on the farms in turns throughout the year, resting only, formerly on specific "Afenoe-gbewo" or days for staying at home which come round after every five days. Now they observe Sundays as well as days for rest. Each family strives and mostly succeeds in being self-sufficient materially.

(iii) Trade and Commerce.

Cocoa of which Gbledee produces a substantial amount is sold to firms like the U.A.C. in the Gold Coast. But owing to the fact that there is usually a higher demand for coffee in French Togoland with consequent higher price paid for it there than in the Gold Coast many local farmers choose to carry their loads of coffee for fourteen miles across the hills for sale in the French sector.

With the money secured for these commercial enterprises the men buy guns, cutlasses, textiles (which in the past were woven locally). The women buy trinkets and fish from Hohoe, twelve miles away. Soap, earthen-ware pots and other home utensils as well as mortars and pestels are made locally.

History.

The people of Gbledee are Ewes and originally lived with the rest of the Ewes in one eathern-walled large town called Notsie in what is now called French Trust Territory. For several generations after the building of that town there was much co-operation and cordial social and commercial relationship not only among the Ewe community but also among Ewes, Gas, Adangbles and the Akans who were -most of them-living in the lands now called Nigeria and Dahomey. This was probably between the seventh and tenth centuries, after West African tribes had settled from a previous movement from the North-Eastern part of Africa.

By the end of a period between the 10th and 13th centuries there was intense internal turmoil in Notsie, due to the over-bearing attitude of Agokoli the reigning King who had began wide-spread acts of oppression upon his own subjects, backed by a fairly strong and ruthless force of army and secret service men. Minor offences such as quarrels between individuals were punished by death



There is no difference between the structure, design
(and songs accompanying) Ashanti & Ewe War Drums.

by torture.

Finally most of the Ewes banded themselves together into various tribes and clan affiliations and moved ~~away~~ one night, leaving behind the walls the despot and his family, together with a small band of high executives (as they might be termed in modern usage), and some close friends and advisers.

Hard and tedious was the journey. Great was the loss of men, women and children, due to ravages by wild animals such as the tiger, the wolf, haena and leopards as well as death by drowning and by diseases.

As time went on it was found convenient to travel in larger bands for the sake of mutual protection. The Gbledes travelled with the tribes Akatas, Kpele-Tutu Nkonya and Sobi Gabi who now live in townships in the French and British sectors of Togoland. Up to to-day the Gbledes call these fellow travellers brothers and exchange periodic, customary good-will visits with them through selected delegates. *

There are many vivid and interesting stories about the various tribal wars and slave raids that ensued after the new settlements had been founded. From their secret hiding places in the caves of Mount Agumatsato the Gbledes sprang surprise attacks on their besiegers, hurling massive stones at them from vantage positions along the slopes and descending upon them to effect retreats with heavy casualties. So they warded off many such attacks and in some cases, carried the battle into the enemy's own territory. The stories told about these encounters are often wrapped up in mystery. There are stories about some of the war leaders having the power to spot out flying birds as intelligence officers of a warring camp and to have shot them down to find they had become dead human beings. And along the slope of Mount Agumatsato, there is a huge ant-hill, with a copper arm-let on it. To this arm-let adults point with an air of triumph "This is the chief of Akpafi whose army was defeated here. He turned himself into an ant hill !"

* Note: When the Ewes arrived in their present homes, the Ashantis were already settled. The Gas who are closely related to the Ewes arrived some



There is no difference between the structure, design
(and songs accompanying) Ashanti & Ewe War Drums.

by torture.

Finally most of the Ewes banded themselves together into various tribes and clan affiliations and moved away one night, leaving behind the walls the despot and his family, together with a small band of high executives (as they might be termed in modern usage), and some close friends and advisers.

Hard and tedious was the journey. Great was the loss of men, women and children, due to ravages by wild animals such as the tiger, the wolf, haena and leopards as well as death by drowning and by diseases.

As time went on it was found convenient to travel in larger bands for the sake of mutual protection. The Gbledes travelled with the tribes Akatas, Kpele-Tutu Nkonya and Sobi Gabi who now live in townships in the French and British sectors of Togoland. Up to to-day the Gbledes call these fellow travellers brothers and exchange periodic, customary good-will visits with them through selected delegates. *

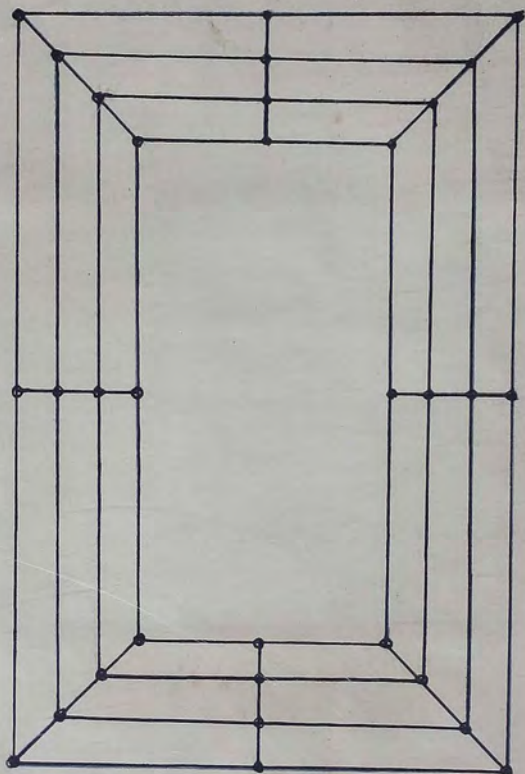
There are many vivid and interesting stories about the various tribal wars and slave raids that ensued after the new settlements had been founded. From their secret hiding places in the caves of Mount Agumatsato the Gbledes sprang surprise attacks on their besiegers, hurling massive stones at them from vantage positions along the slopes and descending upon them to effect retreats with heavy casualties. So they warded off many such attacks and in some cases, carried the battle into the enemy's own territory. The stories told about these encounters are often wrapped up in mystery. There are stories about some of the war leaders having the power to spot out flying birds as intelligence officers of a warring camp and to have shot them down to find they had become dead human beings. And along the slope of Mount Agumatsato, there is a huge ant-hill, with a copper arm-let on it. To this arm-let adults point with an air of triumph "This is the chief of Akpafi whose army was defeated here. He turned himself into an ant hill !"

* Note: When the Ewes arrived in their present homes, the Ashantis were already settled. The Gas who are closely related to the Ewes arrived during the 14th century.

A Traditional Game:-

ATIKAKA

(12+12)
Sticks moved horizontally or vertically (corners
excepted) "Locking up" of opponent possible.



Played with porcupine quills or short,
pointed sticks.
(Appendix VI, p. 2).

Why not
please with
appreciate?

Many years passed on. Petty wars and tribal jealousies slowly dwindled, and the people settled down to agriculture and the business of living as friendly neighbours in different communities. The co-operative spirit developed and was fostered among the communities. Soon too, the people of Gbledes, like many of their neighbours learnt to combat, to a remarkable extent, much of the loss of life resulting from attacks by wild animals and diseases. Certain individuals began to win for themselves fame as herbalists and priests of distressed people. It was during the latter part of the 19th century* that a formidable Ashanti force crossed the Volta to attack certain tribes in Ewe-land. A combined force of Ewes fought and drove them back.

Farms began to be seriously cultivated and houses built for every family. This was achieved by able-bodied men and women and adolescent youths working and moving from an individual's farm or house to another by planned, contributory rotation.

The caves of the hills which had saved the Gbledes from dying by the sword, the streams and woods that had nurtured them, the soil which they began to regard as their own became (in the people's minds) the abodes of the guiding spirits of the ancestors who had succeeded in carving out a home, valuable property and a destiny for their successors. Stories connected with them are handed down as legacies to each succeeding generation of people of Gbledes.

* 1869. (Date of the Ashanti attack)



A BABY 2 WEEKS OLD.

CHAPTER II

ATTITUDES TOWARD HAVING CHILDREN.

In the village, Gbledé, as in many other towns and villages in Eweland, marriage is solely and purposely for bringing forth, what the inhabitants value as the greatest, priceless possession on earth - children. This desire for children is expressed in prayers every time libation is poured during the numerous ceremonial functions of the year; the Ewe words: "Alã neku, ame ne dzi" are by interpretation, "Animals should die, human beings should bring forth". i.e. Man should be blessed with abundant game and siblings, (both contributing to marital happiness and contentment), are never neglected.

This yearning for, and love of children is even more unmistakably and vividly manifested when a child is born. The house in which the new baby and the mother are to be found immediately becomes the focal point on which all attention diverges. Men, women and children, their faces beaming with goodnatured smiles, are seen trooping into that house. With their lips almost quivering with excitement and pleasure, they utter the words: "Miwœ do le eme loo". This, in effect means: "wel-come out of it" (i.e. the ordeal). This is said to anyone seen in the house particularly the near and distant relatives of the woman delivering the baby, and the latter's father. Everyone of them will wish to see the new-born baby, but there will always be an elderly woman in the house, the aunt of the child, perhaps, who attempts to reconcile their anxiety with considerations of suffocating and unduly frightening it. Besides, in every-community there is sure to be a disgruntled and evil-minded person, and what if any such person has come intent on causing harm by sorcery, to the child? Thus there is instituted a wise system of picking and choosing. Some may be told: "Oh, the child is being bathed, you will see it on some other date". Everyone takes the monition in good spirits. Everyone of them, however, will cast an eye towards the room where the child-bearer is and say: "Ving woedo le

ATTEMPTS TO BRING NATIVE CHILDREN

In the village, children, as in other towns and villages in Swaziland, are brought to school for training in the modern, scientific value of the present, scientific possession of letters - children, and their parents are expected to provide every day the functions of the school by interpretation, and the "form", i.e. the school books, are not to be neglected in their contribution to their neglected.



This training is, however, not sufficient to give the children a full knowledge of the world and the things that are to be seen in the world. The children are not given the opportunity to see the things that are to be seen in the world. The children are not given the opportunity to see the things that are to be seen in the world. The children are not given the opportunity to see the things that are to be seen in the world.



Pots of water: Girls learn early to be women.
in some respects.

eme loo." This means "mother of the child, well - come out or it". The major topic in the village that day and the next morning will, perhaps, be on how big the child is, and how much it resembled its ancestral grand-father, who was by name, (say) Tedzame; or, if a girl, its grand mother, or father's sister: Amafoe, (say).

For the best part of two weeks the mother lies with the child, or puts it on her lap to feed it or lull it to sleep. At any-rate, it is, most of that time, in direct personal touch with its mother. Many adolescent girls keep the child-bearer, -the mother- company.

Another practical way in which the good-will of the inmates of the village is shown towards the family of the baby is for many of the women to bring to the house of the father, in their large, jet-black earthen-ware pots (which are products of local technology) water from the rivulet Ahasé. Huge loads of fire-wood are also brought on large wooden trays. The relatives of the family bring items of food-stuff and meat as presents.

The woman who has brought forth is more often than not called, rather illogically, "vidzi-si-no." "Vidzi" means "child", or bringing forth, "Si" means "wife", "no" means "mother." Putting these words together, we get, either "the child's mother, the wife", or "the wife of the child-bearer". Thus wittingly or unwittingly invented (perhaps very, very long ago) this extraordinary word, though the name of his wife, refers to the man as the pater. He himself is referred to as "Vito" the owner or father of the child. These two words emphasise the fact that the child belongs by right to the father. This right is legal and does not invalidate that of the mother, for the child has great social contact with the mother throughout his life. (I shall return to this question of child-parent relation later on; I shall also discuss, under other headings, the activities of the father before, during and immediately after the birth of the child.



Proud care-free children from proud parents.
(note the living quarters (higher), the low kitchen and the open yard in front).

REASONS FOR HAVING CHILDREN AND THE PREFERRED
SIZE OF A FAMILY.

I asked about thirty men and women, representative of all the inhabitants why they wished to have children. Before an answer came forth, each one almost invariably gave me a smile which perhaps carried the meaning: "You ought to know; too obvious". To my enquiring look came the answers: "Who would not like to have children? Children stabilize and perpetuate the names of their fathers and ancestors. Who else would keep the deeds of the fore-fathers of this clan in their hearts, and hand them on? Children make for an increase of the population of Gbleda, and most surely do - or ought to - maintain its prestige and ideals. Who will take charge of these lands, this town and their parents' properties if children cease to be born?" Of course I ought to have known also that in days of tribal strife and turmoil, when diseases and wild animals were taking a large toll of life, the urge and necessity became to counteract extermination by increased sex activity for the purpose of reproduction.

At present due to cessation of inter-tribal hostilities and complete absence of deaths by wild-animal activity as well as a marked reduction of death rates due to better nutrition and reduction of diseases the population of the village is increasing considerably. This state of affairs normally, would, in view of the presence of abundant land and the system of co-operative, rotatory peasant farming in large family groups, lead to happiness and contentment. But conditions are not quite the same as existed formerly, Children are now sent to school. Thus, comparatively fewer people now work on the land. Parents must therefore work harder in order to produce more food and earn enough money to clothe and house themselves and their children as well as pay fees and buy books for the letters. Added to this, the introduction of money economy is tending to result in individual ownership of property.



Crossing a river in Dense Forest

The foot path to Hohoe has
such a crossing along it.

Amundson

And prices of farm products are not keeping pacer with the rise of cost of living. This is due to the wasteful, uneconomic system of shifting cultivation and the use of such primary tools as the hoe, the axe and the cutlass for work in the rather dense, Tropical Rain forest. It is therefore becoming increasingly difficult to maintain a very large family. Parents are complaining about educating all their children in schools. In the foreseeable future, the difficulty will have to be faced, for no man appears willing to deny his issues the advantage of the new education, the pursuit of which is a new source of pride and dignity. Mechanized farming and the use of birth-control devices will, most probably solve the problem.

ATTITUDE TOWARDS CHILDLESSNESS

Childlessness is incompatible with the great latent desire for children which the Ewes have in common with the Ga-Adangbes, the Akans, and in fact, most other tribes of West Africa.

Any married man or woman who has no child is greatly worried, and makes all efforts to bring forth. Besides the community looks on such people with pity. No one wants to be pitied in that way. In any case, a married woman without a child is sure to enter into a quarrel with some one else in the village. The words, aimed right at her heart, like a bullet in such a situation, normally, are: "Edzi vi kpoa ?" - (Have you ever brought forth ?) These may cause her to weep for a whole day. Gossips are a great source of uneasiness to a married pair without children. The gossippers are generally able to determine who is infertile, the man, or the woman, for the society is limited in number (barely four hundred adults). A part from this, a man who marries and has no issues takes, as a matter of course, one of two steps: he may marry one or more women beside the one he has no issue with; (this in very few cases), or, (as is generally done) divorce her. If he is able to have issued with any of his new wives, he frees himself from the incisive tongue of gossippers. But usually he only takes the latter of the two actions when all effort to induce fertility



N° 73

MEDICINE MAN'S ROAD-SIDE STALL

Medicine-men from Gblede area neither advertise themselves nor their cures which are secret. But some Nigerians and N.T. men do so in the villages.

have failed.

(b) Remedy.

If the man ~~was~~ sterile he was given a mixture, a brown stuff sold by Fulanies to take in his food. He had, besides, small cuts in his joints and around his waist. Into these are put a black stuff by the sorcerer. These days he buys drugs called "Power Pills" from a drug store.* No woman would marry a man whose genital organs are weak unless he happens to be very rich.

The woman also consults a herbalist, and she can travel as far as fifty miles by foot and thrice as much by lorry to receive treatment. As long as she remains barren, she continues to use literally, all her substance to effect "the untying of her womb." For, local superstition is that a woman is barren because of a malicious act of "tying" her womb by an "anyinawola" (a wicked person) who is usually considered to be a witch.

Her treatment in some cases consists of confinement under a spell which calls for taboos. It may be, she should not speak to a man until sun rise. No question asked by any one directly behind her should be answered etc. Some items of food are tabooed in some instances. These may include even eggs and paw-paw. While under confinement she washes her face in a specially prepared "holy water" - from a small earthen-ware pot in which grows a herb. She takes in some herbal mixture at regular intervals. In very extreme cases she has to subject herself (especially those whose husbands have divorced them) to being "re-envigorated" by sexual intercourse with the sorcerer.

These days, the women do consult doctors who charge them big amount, without, sometimes effecting a cure.

I know of two very strong-willed, pious Roman Catholic women of the community whose fidelity to their husbands, and faith in the efficacy of prayer broke down completely and they resorted to adultery in order to bring forth. For, there is a belief, in a few cases proved to be true, that where a woman fails to bring forth while married to one man ~~a~~ sterile or not,

* For mixtures intended for fertility see appendix VIII.

she succeeds with another man.

ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN

Illegitimate children, in the sense that these are not wanted by either their maternal relations, or paternal ones do not exist. If conception takes place before a proper marriage, a hurried modified form of marriage ceremony is arranged and performed, and a child is born legitimately. If a man already married, puts another girl under conception, he is generally made to marry her by performing the above mentioned ceremony. (For a description of a marriage ceremony see Appendix VII..)

Any wife who does not like the new situation, is at liberty to leave - i.e. to effect a dissolution of her marriage with the man. She is then legally bound to refund the man's marriage expenses. Then she can re-marry. Any sex contact she has before this amount is paid in full is considered and treated as adultery. The previous husband has legal power to claim damages from the intruder and receive into his house-hold as "his child", any issue that comes out of such an illegal marriage.

If under normal circumstances, a man makes a girl *under* pregnant, and fails to perform a marriage ceremony with the girl's parents before a child is born, the latter's parents regard the child as theirs by right. The child is nursed by them and educated either in the old local, informal way i.e. by his growing into the experience of his environment, or by being sent to school.

Nobody worries about the affair if the genitor does not come to claim the child as his own. When he does so, he must come with some of his relatives.

He slaughters a sheep and offers presents. He is thoroughly reprimanded, by the woman's relatives, - thus :-

"Yes, you thought our daughter was a slave. You want a monkey to work for a baboon to eat. We have suffered enough indignity and insults from you. Go away ! We are able to feed our children, and

grand children, thank God. Wait till we have actually started begging, and, when we come to you, you can mock at us in this way".

The man knows he is in the wrong. He is therefore submissive. He appeals for forgiveness. After other quite formal exchanges of words, the woman's parents consult together and calculate the years they have had to maintain the child. The father is then told:

"We do not want anything from you save the bare amount that we have spent on the child for the past four years. You know yourself that it is no easy job looking after children these days "when the world is spoilt." We shall not drag the matter much, the sun has risen, and many people must go to their farms. You are to bring fifty pounds and two bottles of whisky". This type of statement is never regarded as final. Even if the man considers himself rich enough to pay off the debt instantly, offence is taken if he does so on the spur of the moment.

He is considered to have come purposely to bluff the other party if he does so. Thus, generally, he himself is not allowed to speak at all. An elderly man from his side who is experienced in such matters acts as the mouth-piece and pleads :-

"It is only begging we are asking from you. As you are aware "the earth is very dry now"; we do not, besides, use a knife to cut off a child's faeces from the thigh. Look kindly on us, forgive, and forget. Please reduce the amount".

Thus, proceeding by degrees they not only come to a compromise, (say about £30 and six bottles beer), but friendly relations are established. And though the father takes the child away, the mother can occasionally visit ~~the~~ it, and vice versa. Perhaps the man decides after all that he would like to have the child's mother for wife, He goes back and, with some of his relatives performs the marriage ceremony. The woman becomes a legal wife and the child becomes legitimate.

This can happen so far as the woman is of good character and is industrious; for, marriage is, after all, predominantly

for reproduction and happy family life. Love and romance are things of a sophisticated society.

STRAINED MARITAL RELATIONS

When, for any reason a marriage becomes dissolved and a child exists between the married couple, there is often a clash of opinion between the man and his ex-wife as to where the child should live. The mother yearns to have it with her, at least, until it is quite of age, while the father finds himself unable to concede to such a request. When this situation arises, an arbitration is held to decide the issue. The arbitrators must not be relatives of either the woman or the man, for such people may not be objective enough in their judgement. They should listen to both sides and use their wisdom and experience of local sanctions and usages to arrive at a decision which is fair. If however, they fail to give a judgement which satisfies both the man and his ex-wife, recourse is had to the Divisional Court of (native) law.

This is how a case of this nature was once decided in one of these courts in my presence:

A man whom we must here refer to as "A" from Goledee had married a Twi wife from a town forty miles away, and had brought forth two children with her. In the Divisional Court he and his ex-wife were asked to state their case. He stated that he was the father of the children whose mother he had nothing more to do with. He was therefore claiming them according to local sanctions and convention. The woman's pleading was that the younger child was too young to be torn away from her, the mother, for obvious reasons. She was quite prepared to part with the older one. Now it is interesting to note that the mother did not quote their traditional Twi practice by which a child belongs to its maternal parent. For, unless he is unwilling or incapable to assert his right strongly enough, a man in the Gold Coast born to a tribe with paternal inheritance takes with him to his own town a child born with a woman whose tribe adheres to maternal inheritance (such as the Akans do).

After some time spent in deliberation, a councillor suggested a novel plan which was implemented to the satisfaction of all present at the court. The two parents were seated well apart, at a distance, facing a door at the opposite end of the Court. The younger child, who, meanwhile was waiting with his brother in the chief's house was brought in through the gate. He could see both parents distinctly as he arrived. He instantly flew to the mother and buried his head in her lap. It was therefore decided that for four years thence the child could live with the mother. After such a date the father could collect him. The elder one was, of course, sent straight to live with the father.

ORPHANS

At the death of a woman who has left children behind her there is scarcely any problem involved as regards the maintenance of her children. For, the man, if he has no other wife or wives in addition to her, marries again. All his children, as well as such other children of his house-hold who are his relatives' children living with him are treated by his wives as their children, as a rule. He, the husband is the pater-familias, the man with supreme authority over the members of his house-hold. No other person in the house-hold may do quite as he or she chooses, where such an act is not in conformity with the accepted social sanctions. No wife of his may discriminate between the children, and the treatment of the children is further protected by the force of public opinion. The orphan is allotted specifically to one of his wives (where he has more than one) as his "son", and intimacy between the woman and this child is greater than that between the child and his other wives. However, all the children normally are fed on occasions by either of his wives.

If on the other hand the father dies, the members of the father's paternal clan meet at the house of the head of the clan and decide who is the most suitable person among them to be the guardian of the orphan. Any of the dead man's paternal brothers or sisters or uncle is usually assigned the responsibility.

In the case of his brother or uncle, since the system of levirate whereby the wife of a deceased man can continue to bring forth with a member of his clan is encouraged (but not insisted upon) the child stands a chance of living directly with both his mother and new social father. However, if the widow chooses to live or marry outside the clan or village of her deceased husband, she can do so, and both the child and his mother are free to visit each other at times.

The only difference between the lives of an orphan whose one parent is dead and one who has lost both is that in the case of the latter there is a special effort on the parts of its new guardians and the rest of the members of the clan to off-set the loss by special acts of love and consideration. It should be noted that the maternal relatives of a child also consider the child as a semi-member of their clan. Neither the child, nor these maternal relatives forget each other in the matter of any benefit that may accrue to either, nor in intercourse.

Formerly, maternal relations could insist on the youngest girl of the children - orphan or not - to be married into their own family. There is no stigma attached to a person either as a child or an adult because he/she is an orphan.

ADOPTION

In the case of orphans the prevalent system of adoption is as described above. In any case of adoption the principle followed is best summed up in the words "Mutual Benefit and Satisfaction". The child gains social stability from the training he/she receives while the adult gains from the service from the ward. Where (as in most cases) the care of the child is regarded a duty, the adults conscience is also cleared by the awareness that he or she has done an important duty.

Some adults are selected to adopt a child, whether an orphan or not, not necessarily because the parents are comparatively poor but because they the selected adults are apparently sterile. In such a situation it is difficult, perhaps, to decide who is

being adopted - the child or the adults. The writer was himself at the age of four sent to live with a paternal uncle who had no children of his own, and had to run back to his parents because he found the uncle too strict and morose for his liking. When such an offer is being made more attention is perhaps paid to the guardians ability to farm, trap and maintain a home, than to his personal qualities - from a child's point of view.

(b) But cases do exist wher well-to-do people adopt other people's children for one of two reasons, even though they may have their own children. On one hand, a relative or friend of a person who is comparatively more successful in life asks the friend to allow his child to live with the successful friend to develop industry, endurance and perseverance within that new environment. In former days, the child's work on the farms more than compensated for their maintenance. Now-adays the new responsibility is undertaken rather grumblingly owing to financial strain. On the other hand, the well-to-do friend or relative offers to cater for and train the child, until the latter is of age for marriage.

When an adopted child is to be married negotiations are effected between the family of the adopted child together with ^{erson} the guardian on one hand and that of the other ~~for~~ whom the marriage is intended.

Chapter II

PRENATAL PERIOD

State and feelings

A pregnant woman is considered to have constant high temperatures. She pulsates abnormally, spits and vomits during the early stages; especially in the early mornings when the sights of filth send her sick. She experiences general weakness and feels dizzy at times. In fact, she becomes quite lazy sometimes, while at other times she feels like working hard. She becomes rather pale and in most cases fat. The whole breast swells up and pains when pressed. The nipple also swells up slightly. The blackish pigment immediately around the nipple becomes much blacker and covers much wider area.

A bluish black, thin vein appears distinctly at the centre of her stomach between her navel and the lower part of the stomach. Marks looking like scars called "efi" are seen on the stomach.

Some women, just before birth, have their feet slightly swollen.

She becomes anxious and speculative. "Will I bring forth normally and safely? Will the child be a normal being or am I bringing forth a creature, a physical defect? Will it be a boy or a girl?"

Her anxiety and worry are intensified if her husband is poor. For then she deems the absence of a guarantee for the child's prestige and comfort in the early days. The clothings that she and her baby will wear as well as her jewels must be ready. And where she has none of her own or as family property, many a woman is unhappy, for it is considered disgraceful if she has to borrow some from other people.

She feels shy, because the protruding stomach tells a tale. Often, she has to lead a sedentary life. This means that she misses quite a lot of social activities to which she has been accustomed such as singing and dancing with her friends, attending festivals in neighbouring towns and villages etc.

The impending labour pains form a great source of uneasiness. For the death at birth of either the child or the mother or both is not uncommon.

While the pregnant woman yearns for the presence of her husband to keep her company and give her comfort, confidence and a feeling of security, the husband does not always show enough tenderness and tolerance towards her. He is not always aware of the fact that the wife is making a great sacrifice.

During the first three months of pregnancy, a woman feels often and strongly for marital intercourse. In fact she would like such intercourse to continue until the birth of her child. Often, however, she has good reasons to believe especially towards the latter stages of her pregnancy - that, while she is literally pinned down by the logic of her situation, he and his other wife or other women have all the joy to themselves. She becomes angry. Thus pregnant women are locally reputed to be quick-tempered. Her suspense and general feeling of insecurity give her night-mares.

A pregnant woman does not sit all day at home. She works both at home and in the farm. At home, she sweeps, washes clothes etc., cooks and fetches water from the rivulet for cooking. In the farm, she does weeding, hoeing, collecting food-stuffs and fire wood.

Nutrition and Taboos

Strictly, unquestioningly, restrictions, taboos and prescriptions, like religious dogmas handed down from the ages, are adhered to and believed in. Women who have brought forth successfully have applied them with success. Few women are prepared to change the fundamental aspects of their traditional beliefs as to what they should do to ensure ease of birth and the safety of their new-born baby. The common answer I got for most of my questions on "Why must this thing be done only in this way was:" How should I know? We are told it must be done this way. We believe we must".

When a woman is pregnant for the first time, she must, as



Trosi (PRIESTESS).

Bidasi very kindly agreed to come out with all that still make her famous. They are very simple but people do travel over twelve miles to consult her oracle at Gblede. (The girl may or may not have the "divine calling" later)

early as possible, and with her husband's permission, have small scratches made behind her ear with a razor. This is called "Tolungba sisi". Cooked or roasted yam with which palm oil has been mixed - with no salt in at all - is rubbed in the marks. The rest of the food is eaten by the pregnant woman.

A special charm, called "alike" or "waist thread" is next made by a sorcerer and is worn around the woman's waist till she delivers. The only time she may take it off while pregnant is perhaps, when she is having her bath. Another observance is the hanging of about three fingers of plantain above her fire-place. These remain there till she delivers. The woman would not like to have a miscarriage because a sorcerer has seen her eating a type of food which the sorcerer "tsri" (meaning hates i.e. prohibits by taboo). Every sorcerer or "jajuman" has, it is believed, his or her own tabooed food. If he sees any one eating it the person suffers from a disease or a calamity. This belief is more strongly held in case of pregnant women than in any other. Now, if, (it is believed), the woman gathers all items of food in small bits and boils all together, mashes them, adds salt but excludes pepper and eats this, the effect is to neutralize the disasters that would otherwise have befallen her when she is seen eating them later on. She must carry the stuff on her head and walk about the village, eating from the pan on her head.

If while she performs this ceremony about town the first person she meets is a woman, she will (it is believed) bring forth a woman; if a man, she brings forth a man.

During subsequent states of pregnancy, she performs all the ceremonies and observes the taboos. The only thing she does not repeat is the "Tolungba sisi" (the making of the marks behind the ear).

It should here be observed that - Christians and those who have had the privilege to attend schools - and these are predominant now among the village community - have weighed most of these beliefs and found them hollow. They would

rather send their wives to the hospital at home than to apply blindly, taboos and formulae handed down from the dim past. The truth also remains that though some of the Christians and enlightened youths would publicly condemn, in no uncertain terms these primitive devices and checks, in their own hearts they believe that it does no ~~harm~~ harm if just a few of the traditions are followed. What if, a miscarriage really does occur and everybody blames them for their "unbelief"? Even in these days of apparent enlightenment, it takes a really bold person to be a Thomas, or rather, more than a Thomas - One who, consistently paddles against the streams of public opinion.

BIRTH

Birth takes place anywhere the woman finds herself. By this I mean, that she can bring forth in a shed on the farm or at home in a room. For example because of the writer's birth under a cocoa tree, people point at him and say "he is going to grow prosperous". A person born in the farm boasts of his drinking name: "Agble-kotoku" (meaning "farm sack". A lone in the farm, a woman can bring forth unaided. No one is horrified when she walks home with her baby. Of course at the latter stage of pregnancy she scarcely is allowed to go alone to the farm).

The ideal even at home is for a woman to bring forth quietly on her own. But if there is some difficulty, experienced, local, (native) mid-wives are brought in. A few close relatives, all women, are admitted into the room, where the birth is taking place. The door is locked up. The native mid-wife puts her hand in the vagina and finds out if the child has turned properly in the womb. She begins to issue out instructions to the woman. The other women present keep up the morale of the expectant mother by advising her: "Dodzi!" ("have patience" or "take it manfully" or "take heart" - by interpretation). "Si sesie ko. Elado fifia" (heave hard, it will soon come out") Meanwhile, the mid-wife uses any or all of these methods by turns:-

1. She makes the woman blow into a bottle - This necessitates the forcible squeezing of the abdominal muscles, which tends to force out the child.

2. The native mid-wife puts her hand into the mouth of the woman, and while she is forced to a state of vomiting, the child may come out, gradually.

3. If these methods fail, there is a special flat, carved stick, used for preparing akple (prepared with corn but less hard than cankey). This instrument is thrust into the woman's mouth. The aim is to help her to make a violent squeezing of the abdominal muscles. And this happens where she is forced to vomit.

Snea butter is used as a lubricant. Perhaps due to the exercises that a woman naturally makes during her normal routine work during pregnancy, crises at birth are rare. And when they have appeared, the mid-wife or mid-wives have been known to be busy applying all their techniques non-stop for even two whole days and nights.

In the village, the news gets whispered round as soon as the woman begins to have labour pains, and everybody anxiously soaks in news of further developments. Unsleepingly, they sit until the news of the birth is communicated to them, and they thank God for his providence.

Present at birth are the native doctors, the native mid-wife the girl's mother, and a few other close female relatives. Normally, the husband is excluded from the room. But if a crisis is apparent, he is brought in to look at his wife and perhaps have a word or two with her. Even then he is made to remain in the room for only a short space of time. But such painfully strained situations rarely occur.

WHAT THE FATHER DOES TO ENSURE THE WELL-BEING
OF THE CHILD.

Normally, before he is allowed to see his new-born baby, the father has to perform a customary ceremony known as "Glixere". In effect the word connotes the supporting of a wall. This ceremony is preceded by the cutting of the navel free from the placenta. The piece cut off the navel cord is buried under a productive tree which is known to have long life as a rule. The trees usually selected are (a) a palm tree (b) a coconut tree. This function is

be done in secrecy.

For the "Glixexe", the father provides a fowl. He provides a cock if the child is a male and a hen if a female. The child is laid on his/her back. A few grains of corn are placed on his/her breast and the fowl is left to eat therefrom.

To the question what would have been the implication if the fowl refuses to eat the corn, I received the answer that since the situation I was sketching has never arisen within living memory, the problem really does not arise*. The custom however, is an ancient one and the people I interviewed on it were not able to reveal its purport. An - perhaps superficial - explanation can, ~~never~~ be attempted. The early Roman symbolized the idea that the child can have no better life than that of the fighter by feeding him initially upon a sword. Similarly, this Ewe tribe symbolize, through the ceremony of the grains and fowl, the fact that the young child is expected to grow up as "a feeder of mouths". He is to have^a home where man and beast could freely eat.

The fowl is killed in the normal way and cooked with light soup. The man's "hawo" (i.e. equals) are invited to eat this food with him from a common bowl. The term equals as applied here calls for some specification and explanation. When the Ewes settled in their present homes, before they found themselves preferring the use of Twi day-names such as kwasi-da (Sunday) Dzo-da (Monday) etc. they had their own day-names centring round market days, and including farming days 1, 2, 3, 4 e.g. Agble-vea-gbe (the second farming day). The "hawo" were those males who were born on the same day and similar days of their five-day week as originally counted. To ward off unpredictable, sudden possible raids by hostile neighbouring tribes and slave traders etc. every able-bodied man took a turn in guarding the village once in every five days, along-side his "hawo" - people equal to him in the sense that they were all born on a similar week-day, say Agblezi-gbe (the day of active farming)

In due course, the spirit of comrade-ship and even intimacy developed between people - the "hawo" - as such on identical days:

* An old man has recently informed me that if a fowl does not pick up the grains it is considered unhealthy. Therefore a new one would be asked for, in order that the child may be strong and healthy too.

for were they not equals in birth and day of watching?(In those days such apparent identities assumed reality in men's minds with all the force imaginable).

The Twi system of counting days was, in due course, adopted by the Ewes because of its universality, but the local system was not completely superseded, and both went on side by side: people, in the transition period, applied either form of calculation - the five-day week or seven-day week according to convenience and choice. The term "hawo", therefore became applied equally to people born on two different days corresponding to the two different systems. A Dzo-da (Monday) could be of (1) an Agblevea-gbe (second day farming) or (2) Agble-zi-gbe (the day of active farming) etc. This dual application has persisted to the present day.

Perhaps more interesting than this terminology is the utterance of the "Hawo" after their "feast of comradeship", for it does not conform to the severe moral code and sanctions that obtain as regards utterances. One finds it difficult to explain why this complete liberty, on this occasion, in a resort to unconcealed vulgarity. The feast is rounded off with the words: "Gbotsunlomevo ye!" The exclamation made at the heat of merriment is, by interpretation: "the goat with a wide anus!" The utterance is made as a form of hooting off. The word "ye" has no equivalent rendering in English. But it generally accompanies a call. "Thou" is the nearest translation, perhaps. It is only after this ceremony which must be performed for the first born of any of his wives that the father^{is} allowed to see the child. A person who does not keep poultry begins to look for a place where he can buy some as soon as the wife's labour pains are felt.

During subsequent births however, he is not required to give a treat to his "hawo", and he can see his new baby as soon as it has been bathed.

HOLIDAY

Custom also clamps a compulsory holiday upon the man. He shall on no account stray out of the village for fear he

would go to a farm, and being there be tempted to till a little. Now, while tilling he is likely to cut a worm with the cut-lass or hoe. If this happens, it is believed, the child's navel will not heal in time. Thus for three days he must remain at home. Other people bring him food.

BATHING

The first bathing of the child is done by the mid-wife. She uses really hot water, and a cotton towel (either locally made or bought from the stores. While the child is being bathed, his head receives special attention. It is squeezed with the towel and hot water in order that it might harden and also be shaped symmetrically. From the fore-head, a slight tapering towards the back is the ideal aimed at. Special care is taken over the centre of the head the "breathing place", (gbofe) as it is called.

In case of women the tapering should be though gradual, pronounced, ending at a point near the back of the head, slightly higher than the fore-head. Only a few elderly women expertly shape the head during the daily washes of the child.

Other parts of the body where attention is directed when the child is being bathed are the ear, the anus and the sexual organs. The navel is massaged softly. Later, an oil and the ground form of certain roots are applied to the navel to make it heal. The mother does not take over the bathing of her child from the elderly aunt or her own mother (who in turn takes over from the mid-wife) until the former has convinced her that she (the new mother) is capable of doing so properly. During the few days when she takes over, she does so under supervision. When she has developed confidence and proficiency she is left alone to cater for her child's physical well-being.

AWUSI AND AWUME.

Some children are born, clad in a sheath of the placenta. If they are not immediately freed, a fluid around them becomes septic and may cause their death. A female child born with such

a sheath around her is called "awusi" (dress wife), while the male is "awume" (dress person). These are additional names, which are not substitutes for day-names or patrilineal names. They are "plumes" of which the possessors are proud.

CEREMONIES ENSURING WELL-BEING

If a married couple have their children dying, the following precautions are taken to see that the one born does not die.

(a) Both the mother and the child must wear charms.

(b) Soon after birth, the child is taken to the road-side and left there-to be "discovered". If a person is found who is a total stranger to the village or the locality, much the better. If not, some arrangement is made so that some one else, not a relative does the discovering.

The child brought home, is named from that day "fofoe" (that which has been discovered) or "doko" (a slave). He may be called Musa, Wangara etc. after the tribe of the person (usually of N.T. extraction) who discovers him. For the first year or two after its birth, the mother behaves towards the child as though it were not her own. She indulges in a make-belief designed to ~~mislead~~ deceive the evil spirit (or whichever supernatural beings are responsible for snatching away her issues) that she is really only a guardian of some-one else's children. She is only doing a good turn towards an unfortunate progenitor. She is at pains to indicate this feigned relationship to the child in her talks - often addressed to the new-born baby, as she carries it in her lap, thus: "What do you want in my house, you slave! Very soon, your true father from the country of the Hausas will come and take you away to his and your home. Look at her! You are not beautiful at all. I don't care what happens to you. I don't love you." (The belief that the symbol used in communication has a direct physical connection with, or influence over, the referent is at the root of the word-magic of which even enlightened societies like the Christian Church - unfortunately - are not completely disentangled).

ATTITUDES TOWARDS PARENTS

There was no evidence to show that the population as a whole prefer male children to females and vice versa. On the whole preference in this regard is a matter of choice. For protection and the stability of the family the male child is an undisputably welcome asset. While as wives of the men of the state, and as possessions which another family could negotiate for, the desirability of women is by no means a trivial thing. Fathers appear to be disinclined towards one sex of their children, while mothers talked freely to me on way they would prefer one sex of children to another or have an equal number on each side. The questions of prestige and economic insulation were predominant considerations.

Children too have expressed their likes and dislikes. Boys on the whole prefer their mothers who are more gentle and show more understanding towards them (the boys). In case of the girls, a small percentage, about 25%, prefer their fathers to their mothers. These preferences hinge on the children feeling happy and secure in the company of either of their parents. The father more often than the mother, finds himself unable to encourage a laissez faire attitude to life in his house-hold, and, especially among his own children. Until quite recently (when petty wars and slavery came to an end) he wielded the supreme right: the patria potestas, and could do as he chose with his own issues, even to the extent of selling them into slavery, or hacking off an ear for blatant disobedience.

Chapter III

FEEDING

I am told that originally the habit, when a child was born was, to rush straight to a woman who had a young child and get "akple" for "hatsi" (i.e. solid food prepared with much labour on fire from ground, fried corn and boiling water, which is made into a light paste like pap) for the child to gulp. Thenceafter-
wards the practice continued. Now there is no trace of this practice any-where in the village. Instead, the following are given (a) the breast (b) slightly tepid water and in some cases (c) Cow and Gate Milk in bottles with suckers on them.

About twenty percent of the women now travel to Honoe (twelve miles away) to have qualified Medical attention from the latter part of the ninth month till the time they bring forth, and are strong enough to leave the hospital.

For the majority of women (80%) however, who either fear and suspect doctors, their queer instruments and their hospitals, or who say they cannot afford the hospital fees, the traditional practice is continued. For this, one thing they must do as early after birth as possible is to collect the over-matured (yellowish) leaves of a hedge-plant known locally as "babati" (termite tree). This plant is termite-proof. Now, the leaves are boiled and the water used in boiling them is poured off and allowed to cool down. It is later given to the children to drink. It is believed that it strengthens their intestines and heals any intestinal wounds.

Feeding - Periods etc.

At present there is no specific age at which parents begin to feed their children with food other than breast-milk. The practice of feeding children with liquid food immediately after birth has ceased.



The girl is more interested in the food than in the camera.

I have met parents who start feeding children with other food than breast-milk at the age of two months. I have seen a child two months old eating solid food, pre-chewed for it, quite comfortably. but the sixth month is the latest age at which children are made to feed on foods other than milk. Mothers do not, as a rule wait for their children to develop teeth before feeding them with semi-solid food.

It is the mother who interprets a child's emotive expressions and inclinations and decides that it is hungry or able to eat a type of food.

There is no regular period for feeding children. They are fed, particularly with the breast, when-ever they cry.

At first, -up to some ten years ago, -"hatsi", a pastery food cooked from fried and ground corn was the principal, and in most cases, the only food for quite young children. In those days the child was held in position, head downwards on the mother's stretched legs and the food was forced into its entrails while it struggled and kicked. Mothers ensured that children did take in the food, even if it entailed their holding the latter's noses to compel them to open their mouths. I am told by mothers that this food has been found to cause children the disease diarrhoea ("kpeta") and therefore it is now scarcely ever used. With it has gone that almost universal method of feeding children on out-stretched legs, their heads towards the opposite direction.

At present quite a number of parents give children such imported foods as Horlicks, Cow and Gate Milk, Quacker Oats, Ovaltine, bread etc.

Solid foods are offered children any time between two months and six months of age. Mothers do not wait for children to be weaned or to develop teeth before they are given solid foods to feed on. Some of these foods are cooked yams and cooked or roasted plantains. Before children develop teeth with which to chew these foods, the foods are either pre-chewed for them by their mothers or are mashed. During a child's early stages of feeding pepper

particularly and in many cases salt too, are excluded from the food.

Children are fed by their mothers when they are too young to feed themselves, but as soon as they are capable of sitting down beside their own food and eating, they are made to do so. In some cases when children can feed themselves, they resist being fed by their mothers and insist on eating on their own.

When they can walk and talk, children are often made to feed with their brothers and sisters.

But what ensures that they do have some amount of balanced diet is not by design but by accident. When children are old enough to walk about, they are at liberty to visit any house at all, and to eat in the company of other children or to have some food put into their hands and they go off, eating as they draw nearer home. The problem about children's foods is not their inadequacy but their containing enough nutritious values at all times, some-times children do have good food, as when an animal has been killed by a hunter or when parents kill domesticated animals. But these occasions are rare. Meat is particularly difficult to get and when it is got the father, and not children, is supposed to be the best man to eat the "lion's share" of it.

Often, the mother is only satisfied that a child has eaten enough when she sees the child's stomach fully stretched. Over-eating is, on the whole, regarded as a sign of good health in children.

Medicines

When a child is reluctant or refuses to eat, the assumption is that it is unwell. Medicines are prepared from the following herbs, known only by native names:

- (1) Dzemetzi (this is bitter and is often grown near the bath room)
- (2) Zangana-ti (3) Afafu (4) Kpoti-dzia (5) Nyimo (which tastes like quinine).

Often imported medicines are given the children e.g. Quinine.

(b) When a child feels malarial, it is given mepacrine.

(1) 1940 1941 1942 1943

(d) When the stool is hard or when it finds it difficult to attend nature's call, the child is given purging chocolates.

Generally a child is not made to eat fufu during the period it is sucking the breast because this food will then make it ill, but when the child is old enough and able to eat the two types of food, it is a matter of preference (the child's own) if fufu or akple (prepared from fried corn or fried rice) will be its principal food.

Children are often encouraged to behave by being promised meat or bananas, or oranges etc. In case of fruits like bananas, oranges, pine apples, etc. adults do not consider them as essential foods to be eaten at regular intervals. They eat them when they feel like collecting them from farms or gardens at their special seasons. During the seasons for any of these foods, children who are big enough go and collect them home in company with others whose parents have them. They give some to their younger brothers and friends.

At the age of one year children eat adult food.

Weaning

Weaning is not effected at a fixed period of child growth. It is done gradually, when the mother considers the child old enough to stop feeding on the breast, and when the child has already begun eating adult food. Some children are weaned after they have crawled and have begun to practise walking. Others are weaned when the mother becomes pregnant. In the latter case, there is greater urgency, for it is believed that the breast of pregnant women is no fit food for children. It is believed to be particularly polluted.

There is no direct general relation between developed teeth and the chewing of solid foods for them first by their mothers. It is reduced gradually till it ceases. If there has previously been some check on their eating certain specific solid foods e.g. the eating of marrows in bones (which must first be split with the



When alone his only table manner
is to get the food down his gullet.

teeth) those no longer apply when children have developed a good number of teeth.

When a mother finds it difficult to wean a child, she may resort to the use of certain bitter herbs and seeds which are rubbed on the breast. When the child sucks the breast, it spits and withdraws. The child is then given other types of food as listed above. But even the use of these agents do not entirely discourage all children. Not even do threats to the effect that they will be eaten up by half-bodied, super-natural beings. These continue to suck till they are a year and a half or two years old, while others are weaned easily without the use of any deterrents.

Food

Table Manners

Strictly speaking, we cannot speak of Table Manners, for boys and girls in the village Golede, do not eat off tables until they have reached the adolescent stage of development. A boy eats his food in his black earthen-ware plate, either among his brothers and sisters (some times with the mother), or, in very few cases, alone. In a number of families the girls, whether quite old or very young, prefer, and are encouraged to eat with their mother. The women eat either in their kitchens or just near the kitchens. Their food is not served on a table. It is scarcely put on anything higher than the ground. They regard it a pride to keep their home clean, and the women told me that no one enjoys a meal if the kitchen and its surroundings are dirty.

Whether they eat singly or together with adults, children are subject to discipline, however loose, and every child of about five years of age should begin to conform to the standard expected of him/her by adults.

This is how the process works, Every child eats in the presence of the parents who look out occasionally and issue out casual corrections. Some of these are (1) "No! koku, no one eats so hurriedly" (2) "What! such big balls as that ?

No. Cut them smaller." (3) "See how he is eating and his mouth seems to be leaking. Don't you see how Abena is eating?

(4) "You are eating and talking at the same time? Where have you seen this done before? Do you want to be a bad boy?" (5) "Don't you see the fowl about to eat you food? Can't you drive it away?"

Beside these comments, generally accompanied by the parents' black looks the child has another source of influence during meal time. This is from the brothers and sisters, especially the elder ones. If Aoku eats too fast, one of them may hold his right arm with the former's left arm for a period of time during which the others go on eating. Secondly, he is not permitted to dip his left hand, which is considered unclean - or an unwashed hand into the food. Thirdly if he causes a nuisance e.g. if he breaks wind during meal time without first moving away, the food is lifted from the ground and put on his head by his other brothers and sisters who eat from the plate on his head for some time. Later they allow him to continue eating with them.

If the child is continually dirty, the other young members of the family refuse to eat with him. This tends to make him wish to be clean. Sometimes if the child shows signs of selfishness, the parents persuade him: "Na nedui le gbowo sia! Novi-woe", meaning "Let him eat with you, you hear, (this "you hear" is really a term used in imploring others) he is your brother!" Sometimes too, the corrective is uttered in no uncertain terms: "Fool! See how he is throwing dust into his food before eating it!" This sort of address is directed to no one else beside the child and could be uttered if no other person is present to "see".

Training in table manners, as illustrated above is begun when children are between the ages of one and a half and two years and ends as soon as the child has no more outstanding faults to be corrected. Any adult or a more elderly member of the child's house hold can correct him.

Meat or fish, when there is any in the soup, is shared directly in proportion to age. Younger children invariably get less or practically none. It is only now that the current belief that the child does not need meat is dying out.

(In this respect it should be mentioned that children who are old enough to wander away from home compensate their lack of meat from soup by hunting and fishing in their own small ways).

CHAPTER IV

HEALTH AND WELL-BEING

Toilet Training

Toilet training begins at the age of about four months - when the child's muscles attain the beginnings of co-ordination. At this age, when the child is carried on the back, in the arms or on the lap and he begins to move about restlessly, what the mother (or whoever is carrying him) does first is to make hollows with her feet and to place the child on the feet, and hold him in position. This is generally done on the compound of the house. After a time, the child gets used to doing his toilet in this position and by the age of about a year, or thereabouts desists completely from eliminating faeces on the bed. The same process of holding the child out for elimination of faeces is employed in the matter of bladder elimination. In this latter case he generally begins the process of elimination before he is hurriedly held out (if at all). The rapid movement tends to frighten him initially and he cries. But as time goes on he is likely to get used to it. As the mother holds the child out to urinate, she tries to suggest the idea of something flowing freely by buzzing out: "sssssss". The regular repetition of this process tends to make the child acquire, in due course, the habit of urinating when the mother wants him to, especially just before bed-time. The child is taught to give notice to the mother of his intention to perform bladder elimination by the use of the onomatopoeic sound: "prrrr"; - he says Mawo (I'll do) "prrrr" from the time he can talk. But it is not till after the age of five or six years that the great majority of children stop wetting their beds. A number of them continue to wet beds some years after that age, to the annoyance of their parents.

The place and posture the child is made to assume for bowel elimination afford a child the habit of going outside a room, to eliminate faeces either just behind the house or in a special child's small pit-latrine constructed just near the house and covered up with an old enamel pan. He attends this latrine until he is about five years of age, when he begins to attend

male, adult latrine. The girl also attends the female one at a similar age. These forms of training are fortified by means of exhortations, praises and rebukes as occasion demands.

The mother is kept alive to her responsibility towards the child, herself and the society as regards the removal of her child's faeces by the awareness that she will be censured by her husband or other members of the society for what she knows to be wrong-leaving faeces about the house; and she does all she could to remove them promptly. If she does not a shrill call soon gets her busy on it.

There is no other specific place for bladder elimination beside the bath-house. This is usually a rectangular or a square area fenced with palm-frond fences and open at the top (allowing the sunlight in) and having pebbles spread thickly on the floor around a large stone on which people sit for bathing. Some people do bladder elimination at a convenient spot behind a wall, and rely on the sun to dry it up. Anywhere among the surrounding vegetation of grass merging into forest also serves for bladder elimination. Children imitate adults in this matter (as in most others). Some men who have traps gather their urine in a longish type of guard which they seal up with corn cobs. (The scent of ammonia in the urine attracts rodentia).

The adult latrine to which the child goes as from the age of about five is roughly a hundred and fifty yards away from the village. It is a pit latrine. Formerly it only had strong fairly large sticks slung across it at uneven spaces from each other. Children used to fall inside these and would much better ease themselves in the "bush" near the latrine. But at present by means of well-organized communal labour not only have walls and thatch roofs been added to both the male and female latrines, but there has been a better system of spacing the sticks each of which is about six inches in diameter. Moreover, planks

have been over-laid on these cross pieces. The middle planks have the usual oval apertures bored at regular distances.

Some children however continue with the use of enamel chamber pots for elimination from the age of about three or four months until they are about three to four or five years old.

An old proverb is to ~~the~~ effect: "We don't cut off the child's faeces from our thighs with a knife". It is used to drive home the idea that whatever a child's faults are one has got to show extreme tolerance, for after all it is a child - and a child does not reason. But those who know these people of Golede and many of the surrounding towns and villages will perhaps conclude that the people have carried the idea too far when they come to think of their belief that if food - the whole of it - is thrown away for the fact that a child has accidentally eliminated into it the child would die, hence they scrape off the soiled portion and eat the rest. A big sacrifice for the well-being of the child. Perhaps the idea originated at a time when their ancestors knew more famine than days of plenty. [See Appendix V: Children's stories]

Parents say that girls yield to more successful bowel training than boys. Boys would often play till they are ready to eliminate immediately. They start to run and to loosen their "pioto", sometimes too late, soiling themselves (at ages 4 -10 years).

A year or two ago, the Government Agent, Kpandu, decided that the site of a dispensary to serve a cluster of about fifteen villages around a circumference of about twelve miles diameter should be at Golede. The building has been erected and white-washed, and a dispenser (a dresser at the initial stages) is to be appointed.



But up to this time, the mother (and sometimes the father) takes upon herself much of the functions of a medical officer. She examines the child's eyes to detect signs of fever. She relies on her hand to determine if the child's forehead indicates that he has had a rise in temperature. One important function of hers is also to examine the faeces of the child and classify them, and then to decide whether she needs to prepare a drug from herbs or from roots for a remedy.

The following are the major classifications:-

- (a) "Apeta dede" - when the faeces are white and sticky, resembling phlegm: perhaps signs of diarrhoea.
- (b) "Akane" - when there are small objects in the faeces which resemble the pupae of a fly.
- (c) "Dometutu" - watery faeces (free bowels).
- (d) "Apoxa babla de ame nu" - Constipation.
- (e) "Ulangu dede" * (when there are actual live-worms in the faeces).
- (f) "Afudzi nywie" - good faeces, light yellowish in colour with a tincture of brown.

In addition to these, if the faeces have peculiar colourations like green, or when blood is discovered on them the mother or the father becomes greatly concerned as these may indicate either gastric trouble or the presence of some sore at the passage.

Surely the mother does not say: "This child has gastric trouble". The nature of the faeces suggests the medicine she should use.

The need for examining the child's faeces accounts for the fact that most parents would rather have their children eliminate where they can see the faeces.

The number of drugs that parents can elicit from Nature is legion. A few of these that I know appear below. (Some other are in the appendix). But what I have rather hurriedly listed out is but an insignificant fraction of what parents, local doctors and herbalists do know. Admittedly, much of what they know, they know imperfectly, due to obvious limitations. But some of their

* "also written" W" as in "Ewe".

knowledge is capable of enriching efforts of medical research students with results that could be of lasting benefit to society.

(The names of the following plants are all local):

(1) "Blekpkoko": for curing (a) above i.e. "Apeta" or diarrhoea.

The leaves are washed and then boiled in water. The water is drained off and later drunk. The raw leaves are also prescribed for use in the "busn" in place of toilet paper.

(2) "Nyimo-ke": The roots of the tree "nyimo".

The soil is washed off them. The surface is scraped off^{ly} lightly. Then the stuff near the wood is collected and ground up partially. The leaves of the same tree are added to the ground-up piece. A little water is added to the mixture which is then rubbed vigorously between the palms. There are foams like those of soap. The foam and some of the water are drained off and used for syringing. (Adults add about three fingers of papper before syringing themselves). This stuff is reputed to have cured head-acnes and types of fever.

(3)(i) "Goo": a plant generally planted in or by bathrooms. Its leaves are very bitter. They are boiled in water and the water is poured off and drank as medicine.

(ii) Meat is cooked with the leaves after the water used initially to boil them has been poured off. The leaves together with the meat are boiled soft. Palm oil is added together with ingredients and a green sauce is prepared for food. The leaves have been known to stop certain types of intestinal disorders.

(Some parents prefer Epsom Salts to these bitter herbs) Euphemisms for bowel elimination that adults use and children are expected to know are "afodzi" (on root) and "kpoxa" (beside the fence). The last word originated, perhaps, in the dim past when every-body just went outside the village or cottage to ease himself. The word itself "mi" for latrine (as in the case of the English one for which "eliminations" and "toilet" may yet change for other euphemisms) is apt to be associated with the object.

faeces itself. It is considered a mark of indecency to name it, especially when people are eating. Children are taught to refrain from using it as much as they are able to.

Adults do perform eliminatory functions before children because: (a) there are no latrines and places for urinating for adults and children, separately. (b) Adults do not find it necessary or always possible to move far away from children before performing their eliminatory functions. Urine is eliminated at a convenient spot by a wall or under a tree or in the bath-room. Children and adults share the same latrine (the division being by sexes). But adults try as much as possible not to expose their nakedness in iron of children - especially children of different parents.

When a child is very young, the mother takes a special delight in bathing him about twice a day. She would like to see him neatly dressed and powdered. As children become older and can walk about and jump about they often strip down clothes to play in the sand and on the football fields. But the mothers soon learn to refrain from displaying horror at seeing them naked. When children can walk about, they take over the responsibility of bathing themselves, and often have to be ordered to go for a bath daily, if there is no special function on.

Breaking Wind.

A young child provokes laughter if he breaks wind. He is said to have fired a gun. On no account must an adult accuse a child falsely for having broken wind. It is believed that his spirit will "take leave of the body" if this happens. When the child is about four years old however, he is asked not to break wind noisily. He is to move away from the presence of people, especially adults, before breaking wind at all. (See under Table Manners what happens when a child breaks wind while eating).

Hiccup

Hiccup

This is called "Jeeji". When a child has water is given him in small draughts at regular intervals. If the mother's breast is more available than water he is given that to suck. As the child hiccups the words; "Jeeji kayi funo-wo goo," are repeated. They mean: "Hiccup, go rather to pregnant women." When they were asked no one was able to say why "jeeji" should go to pregnant women. Hiccups is considered locally as a sign of the child's growth. As has been noticed (and will be seen again later) there is always a great wish for new children to be born. Hiccup believed to show life in growth, is perhaps considered a blessing from the spirit world from which life springs. Their sympathetic concern for and good-will towards a pregnant woman, - the wish for her safe delivery of a living child - no doubt makes people wish that this "welling up" of life go to her and her baby who stand in greater need for it. This opinion of mine of course, may be entirely wrong. Please refer to "West African Religion" by Dr. Geoffrey Parrinder, (pp. 33 -71) for a belief in spirits as messengers of God.

Belching.

When a child belches (through the mouth) the noise is considered a sign that he has eaten enough - i.e. he has eaten to his fill. It is a good sign, and is commended thus: "Iwen, (a complimentary sound, more effective than nodding) Nutsu!" (or Nyonu). The idea connoted thus being: "Good, you are indeed a man (or a woman).

Sneezing

No-one, not even a child has licence to sneeze in front of people (or near them). Sneezing, especially in the early morning is believed to portend evil omens which ~~is~~ cling to any-one who happens to be a witness (when the convulsive exercise is performed) Such is the seriousness with which sneezing is viewed that some people would rather postpone an important journey than risk a

misfortune, when it is performed in their presence. If however the sneezer holds his nose and sneezes silently no ill effect may result. Did sneezing formerly spread most deadly infectious diseases? This may account for the taboo on it.

B. Motor Development.

a. Clothing certainly restricts a child's movement when he is carried on the back and held in position with cloth. Sometimes a child is carried in order that his movement may, to an extent be restricted. For example the mother may be busy working out of doors. The child when left free may wander away when the mother is not attending to him, and thereby get lost or harm himself by either having thorns in his flesh or a nest of bees or ants falling on him from trees in the woods. To avoid these possibilities together with a countless number more the mother decides to tie a child at the back when there is no other child big enough to be responsible for him. When they fall asleep at the mother's back, children are laid down under a tree or in a hut to sleep. As the child wakes up he cries. This brings his mother running to see what is wrong. Sometimes when they are required specifically to go to sleep, children are carried on the back. Contact with an adult in this way gives children confidence around surroundings which ^{otherwise} make them fear or feel lonely, and where occasional noises of animals and large birds are frightening even to the mother. When a child is asleep the limbs are prevented from flapping carelessly about and the head from drooping. The spine is also held in a straight position by a clever use of the cloth. This is useful when a long journey is being made with the child. But normally at home he is laid down to sleep and he has the opportunity to turn around and around, and when he wakes, to make sport with the legs and the arms in the air.

Another reason accounts for the child being carried - at home. The mother may be doing domestic work such as sweeping, washing plates, lighting a fire or cooking. A child may insist on doing



Carrying the Child and
Washing: Girls' duty

any of these duties. The only compromise may be to carry him, as it may not be safe to leave him to do whatever he wishes to. If he is not carried, the mother's routine will scarcely be completed in good time.

If a mother carries her child the normal amount of times commonly used in the village, the child grows naturally and is able to walk between eleven months and one year, if he has no physical defects. Thus carrying does not interfere with a child's normal motor activities. But there is a danger of over-carrying by mothers who are too fond of their children. When this happens, a child is noticed to be feeble. Occasionally the child insists upon being put down when he finds the back too warm. Mothers often do all in their power to stop their children from crying. So that, if a child is set down frequently and allowed to lie down, sit down, crawl about or kick involuntarily and is carried only when the occasion demands, he grows normally and crawls from six months onwards, walking at about one year of age. A child is encouraged to crawl by being put down from four months onward, to sit up and balance. He sometimes falls and is sat down again. Attractive objects are put some distance in front of him as an encouragement for him to crawl, when a child shows signs of crawling. When a child is crawling well, he is sometimes held in a standing position and made to walk a little distance at a time, while an adult holds him. When he begins to stand up and to make an attempt to walk, adults hold him up and shout "Jee" as an encouragement. They hold him up and walk round part of the room or court-yard with him. Sometimes another adult stands a little away from a child and beckons him to come to take an object which the adult is holding. The child is also put near walls and items of furniture so that he can stand by them. As a sign of joy when a child is making efforts to walk, adults tie half pennies around one of the child's wrists. (They do not think it weighs him down any more than clothes do).

No movable furniture is considered necessary for the child to enable him to walk. However, if a child is found to be sticking too much to the ground, he is made a wooden tricycle which he is expected



Carrying & Admiring the Child



to stand behind and push in front of him.

Children are mostly carried by their mothers, then follow in order their elder sisters (if they have any) their aunts, their fathers and other members of the extended family especially the women and the younger folk (mainly girls).

Part from carrying the child on the back, other methods employed in carrying a child are:

- (2) Carrying him on the lap. The adult doing the carrying should be seated. This method is used when the child is being fed.
- (3) The child is also carried on the breast, to face the adult carrying him (except when he is being handed over to another person). In this position the top of the child's head is about level with the lower limit of the adult's chin, or eye level, or with the tip of the adult's nose. He is carried thus when he is (a) being admired (b) being given a rocking or (c) being taken out for a walk (if he cannot walk by himself).
- (4) Fourthly, propped against the adult's hip with his legs dangling downwards from that position, or clasped around the carrier's waist, the child is held either on the right or on the left. A child is carried thus when being fed on the breast in a standing position or a walking position, or when a change over is desired from a position at the back, especially when the parents are walking or standing. It may, on the other hand, after a lift is given him, be a second stage in getting the child to the back.
- (5) Another method of carrying is just to support a child at the back with the arms instead of with a cloth. He must clasp his arm around the neck of the one who is carrying him. Alternately, the child's arms must be pressed under the adult's arm-pit when he is carried thus.
- (6) The adult's legs are stretched on the floor and the child sits on them. It is convenient for the adult to sit on a low stool or on the floor. In this position, the child is held only with one arm. This is the position he assumes when being bathed.



Is she falling?

...to some behind and come in from of him.

...the child's body is carried by their mother, who follows in order

...their other members (if they have any) their hands, their feet

...and other members of the extended family especially the women and the

...younger folk (mainly girls).

...the child is carried on

...employed in carrying a child

(2) Carrying him on the

...be needed. This is

(3) The child is also

...carrying him, especially

...in this

...about level with the

...with the tip of his black head, he is carried thus when

...he is (a) being carried (b) (c) being

...taken out with a walk (d) the child's head of himself...

(4) ...topped against the child's hip with his legs

...dangling downwards from the child's hip, or slung round the

...child's waist, the child is held either in the arms of

...on the left. A child is carried with his legs to the

...right and a walking position or a sitting position, or even a

...sitting position is carried from a position of the child, especially

...when the father is working or tending. ... on the

...other hand, after a little while, the child is

...in carrying the child to the back.

(5) Another method of carrying is that to support a child at

...the back with the arms instead of with a cloth. He must

...keep his arms round the neck of the one who is carrying him.

...alternately, the child's arms must be pinned under the mother's

...arms, in which he is carried thus.

(6) The child's legs are stretched on the floor and the child

...sits on them. It is convenient for the mother to sit on

...a low stool or on the floor. In this position, the child sits

...with one arm. This is the position in which some children

...are carried.

(7) The last method is for the child to sit on the shoulders of the adult, the legs astride ~~both~~ sides of the neck of the adult. Either he holds the adult's head or has his arms held downwards (from either side of the head)

A law or a decree must have been proclaimed long, long ago to this effect, but it is now a common, accepted belief that a child who has not had another child born after him (or her) should not be carried in the way indicated in number (7). What the people know simply is: "It is not done".

The reason, of course, is that a young child who has not had another child born after him is usually undeveloped in many respects. His bones are tender and flexible and he lacks muscular tone. In all the other forms of carrying a support for the child's head and spine is always available. This is usually the adult's trunk, arms, thighs or legs. Since a child is usually carried thus for long journeys, the absence of such supports tends to result in the child assuming wrong postures which are bad for his health and physical well-being.

As has been indicated above, there is no regular time-table for carrying the child and for leaving him free. Even his times for feeding or sleeping are by no means regulated. The life of even an adult is not dominated by rigid calculations of set tasks to time. Such planning as there is generally vague. A man may say: "I'll wake up early and go to the corn farm and finally to do a little bit of work on my cocoa farm. No I think I'll drop out going to the rice farm today." The villager knows the following times: (a) early in the morning (b) in the morning, (c) at noon, (d) at the turn of the sun, (e) sunset, (f) evening, (g) night. Minutes, and even specific hours are of no use to him. No one has need for such records, for much adult and child-activity is just a "drift into" affair.

A child who is up to four months of age is either sleeping in bed or is carried. From four months onwards, if he is not sleeping, he may be sitting on the floor, with some-one sitting behind him to save him from falling, or he may be carried.



The mother's body & hands are near.



but as soon as he begins to walk carrying (him) reduces radically and practically ceases at the age of two (except for children who are last-borns). I insisted on being carried - and had my will obeyed - until the age of five. Pity alone made me voluntarily liquidate my right!

When a child is about the age of six months he begins to display signs of crawling. For, about this age he is able to press down both arms while sitting and to propel the body forward, slowly, but forcibly. While some children toddle at ten- and-a-half months of age, others do so when they are about eighteen months old. Normally, the child's own ambition, efforts and health enable him to begin toddling and walking.

Spatial Limits - Except where his motor activities may plunge him into predictable danger, the child is normally allowed to wander freely in the home. One place regarded as likely to endanger his life is the fire-place. He is therefore taught, when he can reason, (at the age of one and a half years onwards) that when he experiences a burn from fire he will suffer pain and that to avoid suffering pain he must refrain from approaching fire. One way in which this idea of pain is inculcated is to bring fire extremely near his body. The sudden severe heat makes him withdraw involuntarily. If, however the child's "ear is hard" and he just will not stop going near fire, the parents say "experience is the best teacher". They, much against their will, make him suffer harm on a small scale, so that he may be saved from a potential greater harm. He may have a little burn which will surely scare him off fire-places ever afterwards. Adult grimaces, snicks of disapproval, their own fears etc. get their meanings communicated to the children and act as deterrents. But by far the best known preventive measure is to keep as many of the dangerous articles out of the child's reach as possible. Some articles are hung up or put on what is known as "agba" i.e. high shelves made from palm fronds. If the parents do not wish a child to eat goats' or fowls' faeces what they know they ought to do is to keep the

home clean all the time. But they know also that on many occasions, are like St. Paul, parents aware of the fact that that which they should do they do not.

A lorry very occasionally ventures into this village. Therefore the child is normally allowed to walk and play about, not only in his own home, but also behind the house, on the single, village street and at the outskirts of the village - in the company of other children.

But owing to the presence of snakes and iron traps concealed under the earth for catching animals, children are not encouraged to stray too far from home into the woods. There is also the possibility of their getting lost. Older children talk to and younger ones warn them, and sometimes intentionally, frighten them. The child's name for what eats up human beings and is terrifying is "bubui". Younger children are told that if they wander far from home "bubui" will catch them. Towards the evening an older child may wish to enjoy a joke by frightening younger children. To do this, the upper eye-lids are clipped up while the face and the mouth are distorted. Then calling "bubui" he springs a surprise upon the children. Such acts as these make real the younger children's fear of "bubui". Three mothers told me that they sometimes bring a dead snake home and frighten the child with it. No wonder then, that what most children fear is a snake - even when they are quite old. Sometimes the child's imaginative faculties are aroused. An account of "ata-ka deke abo deke" (leg slashed half arm half) - those fearful, spirited demons, - is often told children. They roam the woods feeding their foul bellies with the meat of unfortunate, innocent, poor children.

Some other of these fairies and "usurpers" from the spirit-world, the mention of whose names makes children bury their faces in their mothers' laps are:-

- (1) "Gbetog vob" (ugly person)
- (2) "adeavge" (ugly hunter)
- (3) "Difio" (ghost)

The name of the last deity* is considered so ominous that it is not mentioned if one can avoid it.

In the evenings, when the caves on the high hill-tops reverberate with the echoes of the roar of baboons and birds rend the air with their shrieking cries, when the creaking noises of a thousand insects fill the air, the mother's body is conveniently of near, while her welcome hands reassuringly pat the back of the fearful child whose heart is throbbing like a large "atumpani" drum. She whispers: "sleep, my child, sleep; sleep quietly, my child, - sleep like a good girl." "Oh, these terrible, terrible things are calling out again". Her voice becomes almost inaudible. The child sleeps uneasily, perhaps.

Of course after the stories and the noise and the fear in the night the full brightness of the day restores confidence. A few children are even at times prepared to risk being spell-bound and made to follow an "adea voe" all their lives, and venture into the gloom of the woods. When they do so, they come back like adventurous Greeks from Olympus top, and ask "Where are the gods?"

Adults do not expect children to be sitting still all day. They are encouraged to be actively playing for then the devil will keep them from mischief - from unnecessary ~~worry~~ worry to adults. A child must not sit down all day like an invalid, and he who only sits down and not go to play with his colleagues is asked: "Do you want to grow lazy? What is wrong with you? tell me what is wrong with you." The parents may proceed to find out what is wrong.

Boys exhibit their normal and progressive growth and development by running, jumping, climbing etc., alone or in company with other boys of similar ages. Girls tend to begin early association with their mothers from whom they develop restraint and gentleness in manner, speech and walking. Girls' play mostly centres around domestic work - cooking, washing, selling food fetching water etc.

* Ghosts are pacified with offerings but not worshipped.

For a boy, a piece of stick may serve alternately as a gun, a cutlass, an instrument for plucking cocoa, or a linguist stick. He uses these sticks as an instrument for defence at one time and for offence at another time. They again build toy houses and play hide and seek with the girls. And when the moon is up, both boys and girls sing and dance on the village street. Sometimes the children become a school, and make up their own invention of an "English language" which they alone pretend they understand. Or again they become a battalion of soldiers in battle array. The girls bathe their toy babies (which may be only bones of wild animals) in the sand and powder their faces with sand. So long as they play, the children receive passive approbation from their parents. The children's play, their care-free life and happiness remind adults of their own childhood when there was scarcely any worry to weigh one down and these adults would probably wish to burst out, in their own language but with sentiments conveyed by: "Oh, the happy day, the happy days, the happy days, when we were young". But "No, children do not fight". "Do people quarrel with their friends," they would ask the children, when these children decide to resort to physical force over their fellows to resolve a breach of trust. The children do not have to answer the question whether people quarrel with their friends. Those who like fighting may be conducted to favourite haunts - away from adult view by interested friends to "fight it out". When they come home crying they are whacked.

SLEEP

When a young child does not wish to go to sleep, he is carried about by the mother and rocked. He may on the other hand be put on the lap and nuzzled snugly till the lingering sleep comes.

while being thus carried he may be given the breast to suck. The breast sometimes acts like a balm. Children even suck in sleep. A child who is old enough to reason is simply told to go to sleep. If he persists in sitting up he may be told stories of boggy-men (crude dwarfs) who roam about at night and carry off obstinate children. He may be spoken to thus: "You hear that wild animal crying up there? It will come and catch you if you do not go to hide in the room. That's a good girl. Good night. I'll give you meat tomorrow". If the father is about he may just hold her and drag her to bed, or thunder at her a command to get herself to bed at once. In some cases, especially when other children are still playing about, the parents allow their child too to play among them or with them, so far as he does not get injured. He continues playing until he has to walk home, drowsily. Some children have been found playing on the street till after eleven o'clock at night during more than five days within one week.

Very young children who are up to say four or five years of age sleep beside their parents either on the same bed or at least in the same room. Children up to two and a half years or three years of age definitely sleep beside their parents on the same bed. Older children (older than five or six years of age) sleep mostly in the company of their friends and relatives who are children like themselves. A group of this nature may comprise say, four, five, six, seven or eight children who sleep in rooms about ten feet in diameter*. There is no serious housing difficulty for most houses are built with local materials by communal labour and land for building is available free for the asking. The main reason for children crowding together in one room for sleeping is that they feel more at home in the company of their friends with whom they continue to play and crack jokes long after they have gone to bed. A man and his wife may have about three or four (or at times more) children sleeping in the same room with them.

Note: For lay-out of houses, number of rooms and accommodation, see Appendix II, page-2, and opposite.

but some houses have closed or partly closed verandahs attached to them. These verandahs serve as sleeping places for children, and parents suffer less congestion in their own sleeping rooms. A simple straw mat, either locally made or imported, serves as a bed for an average of two children. Some children are able, by the use of palm fronds and bamboo, to raise their beds from the ground level to the level of average adult bedsteads. About two boys sleep on such beds. Girls do not trouble to build up such beds for themselves.

There are no regular hours of sleep. Any time a child is sleepy he is sent to bed. Sometimes the parents tell children "Get up and go and sleep, do you hear?" They are generally obeyed.

But when there is drumming among children on the street (as I saw on my research) when they have invented or imported a new type of "native" drumming with local appeal, or when the children are all playing, dancing and singing, no one will get an average child to go to sleep until he himself becomes heavy with sleep, or until drumming ceases any time between eleven o'clock or twelve thirty in the morning.

During the period of such dancing the children give themselves considerable licence. They would shout at the tops of their voices when many adults, tired from the day's labours would be sleeping or attempting to sleep. At one time in my presence so unbearable had the shouts of the children become to the adults that three of them approached the drummers and asked them either to stop drumming and go to sleep or, at least to minimise the noise. The children stoutly refused to do anything of the sort and sang louder employing various cat-calls and formulae which tended to weld them together. They sang songs which were a revolt against ethical and moral standards connected with marital life.

Perhaps it is not only "proximity to modern times and modern life" alone that makes adults shake their heads with regret and say "the world is spoilt". There was a time of quiet, obedient childhood. These are the days of misinformed but definite revolt. (For the texts of children's songs see Appendix No. III, pp. 3, 4, 5).

HEALTH

What are regarded

The chief dangers to the health of the child are (a) subjection to extreme heat and high humidity (the sun piercing the head and back mercilessly while the sand bakes the feet. These are not however immediately dangerous. (b) Cold due to over-exposure to persistent rain-fall (as occasioned when it starts raining when people are in farms and have to walk all the way, sometimes for two or three miles from the farm to the house. (c) Inadequate amount of food values - proteins and vitamins in food - for the greater part of the lives of individuals in the village. (d) The danger of infection due to the fact that relatives who are sick of infectious or contagious diseases have to be lived with and "be ministered unto", with rather increased show of love according to the traditions and religious beliefs prevalent. Many young men and women do not now allow themselves to be influenced by this type of extreme devotion. In the past the situation was eased by the local priest or a specialist employed from a distant town who isolated the patient under the plea of thus effecting a better cure, away from undue machinations from witches and other evil men. It is true that now an increasing number of people are finding cures at hospitals at Honoe and Lome satisfactory, and are sending the sick there for healing.

The last two reasons (c) and (d) are more important than the first (a) and (b) as chief dangers to children's health. The absence of balanced diet all the time makes children susceptible to diseases and combined with the danger of infection to subject some children to ~~very poor~~ stunted growth and warped brains. Feeble health in parents gets transmitted to children in many cases.

Adults now appreciate the fact that lack of nutritious foods especially meat and fish reduces their bodily resistance to disease. They also think that fever - called "Indogbi" (on the sun) is caused both by the heat of the sun and by witches. People who have had some of the usual types of fever have yellowish urine. This is associated with the sun. These people become lean, and the leanness, they believe, is due to the fact that their blood has been sucked from their bodies not by mosquitoes but by witches. Therefore parents often shout at their children to get away from the sun for it is to them (the parents) that they will eventually come when they have fever (Indogbi). Strangely enough not very much consideration is given to the prospect of having "fever" when adults - and often their children - work on the farms in the sun.

The health of the inhabitants of Gbled today is vastly improved as compared with what appertained during the last twenty-five to thirty years. Then there were many adults suffering from "tuberculosis and leprosy. Then also more adults were dying at a comparatively early age. Children then looked more sickly. A great number of them had sores on various parts of the body. As for yaws, if a child (up to fifteen years/age) did not have them when young it was considered unfortunate. For, it was believed he would then grow lean and weakly, having bone curvatures until he becomes old. The belief was that an adult who had not had yaws when young did not escape suffering from the disease even when married. He or she was bound to have it anyhow (This in fact did happen in many cases).

Consequently children were made to rub shoulders with others having yaws - eating and sleeping with them. As if this were not enough, their parents stored up urine for some three days. After this period small palm leave brooms were used to "annoint" the child's body with the horribly smelling urine. Sometimes the use of the urine was so lavish that it became almost a bath! The child was expected to bear it as a necessary hardship.

This belief that in that community one would eventually have yaws was partly due to the fact that insanitary conditions in the village - resulted in the disease yaws spreading into everybody's blood at one



The "Grandma."

time or the other, and, in some cases lingering on. Almost everybody did have it. I had it. A sister whom I came directly after did not. She is now still as strong as I am.

The ordeal that a child's body was subjected to when he did have yaws is comparable to many forms of torture. Once a week, the yaws- infected child was "arrested" unawares by the mother and/or elder sisters or aunts and marched or pushed to a river. He was dipped into it and brought out and then held securely either standing near, in, or lying horizontally across, part of the river. The surfaces of the sores on the body were then scraped with bush-sponge and soap, until they bled. The child, railing insults, screaming, kicking and quivering was dipped into the river a second time. He was then dragged out and had to have a rounding up with lime squeezed into the bleeding sores!. It is not possible to imagine the pain. On these occasions children almost cursed the day they were born.

My mother could not bear to see me thus treated, and my aunts did the unappreciated service. Those were probably the only times I ever abused my aunts.

Grand-mothers are much more gentle-up to the present day - in treating ordinary sores and, in the past, yaws. I observed that no people suffered now from yaws in village. I asked if this fact was due to improved sanitary and general health conditions. Many of those I spoke to, if they cared at all for a reason, thought differently on the subject. A half-brother of mine who was an orderly in the Army "37 General Hospital" thought the disappearance of the disease was due to the fact that more European medicines were being used. There were a good number who thought the disease must have been scared off the village. Now when I was young, the story I was made to believe was that certain gods and sometimes demons or evil men walked the high-ways and entered villages and towns with diseases as a form of punishment or the result of unprovoked hostility and blatant wickedness. These diseases, it was believed, could be warded off by (i) the protective deity of the village (if he had, up to that time, been served well)

or (ii) a special deity invoked at the time and made to hang in residence inside palm fronds, guards etc. hung outside the village or living inside mounds raised at the approaches of the village. As in the neighbouring villages these protective spirits are still made to take their stand at the western approach of the village. This custom is universal among the Ewes, Yorubas and Ashantis - in the small villages. (iii) Sometimes messages or rumours swept the village and the surrounding villages to the effect that if every body did not wear ^a thread from the bark of a special tree, a disease or calamity that was on the way and had reached a named village would cause havoc. People rushed to take the precaution. There were many other ways of preventing diseases by having some form of marking on one's body, perhaps for the spirit to see and thus pass off. Now a days, of course, the increasing number of educated people say "non-sense" to these invectives. But as Professor Herskovits has observed, and Dr Geoffrey Parrinder after him, priests did and still do exist in parts of Togoland, who have made inventions against diseases like leprosy and small pox. These latter served the Small Pox gods, the mention of whose names invites laughter from people who are ignorant of the work of these local priest-doctors whose work saved whole tribes of Ewes from being wiped off the face of the earth. They dared not ascribe the inventive power to themselves. They would have been misunderstood and suspected. (See Le Herisse, op. p.128; Herskovits; op.cit., chap. xxvii; M. Quenum Au Pays des Eons (Paris 1938); Sakpata est le dieu de to ute la croute terrestre, and Dr. Parrinder's Thesis: "West African Religion" p.51-54, from which also I got the above references.

By compulsory inoculation done by taking the disease from someone suffering from it and putting it in an incision in the wrist and rubbing it in, infection was halted. And indeed these diseases could be set loose in the wind to be blown to towns and villages as is also locally believed.

Now, there are a few people who believed - as of course, I do that the avoidance of the habit of leaving refuse heaps standing



Are we educating them?
 Are we merely training
 them!

...the avoidance of the habit of leaving behind anything
 now, while a few people are believed to be of course, + 23

at various points in and around the village and of the habit of going to "kpoxa" (releasing faeces beside the fence) i.e. just eliminating the bowels at the out-skirts of the village, of leaving children's faeces in the house and thereby inviting flies to them and to food eventually; and, against these, general cleanliness of the village and an improvement of the people's diet are all, to a very great extent, responsible for the exodus of yaws and other diseases. Those who hold this view are people who understood what their teachers tried, often unsuccessfully, to make them learn. Thus, the more suitable type of education the Iwes (and other West Africans) have the more they will wave good-bye to the darker side of their religion, medicine and general, traditional practice or ways of life. Seventy to a hundred years of preaching has left them almost just as they were mentally!

As soon as children come back from the farm wet and shivering, hot water is served them for bath by their mothers. After bath they are given dry, warm cloths to put on and they can sit by the fire.

Children are coaxed and made to feel that they are doing something grand by eating until their stomachs bulge out. To ensure that they do so, each time they swallow fufu with a noisy gulp, they are applauded. If a child does not like a particular type of food he is made to eat another type. For example if he is tired of eating Akple he is allowed to eat fufu and vice versa. Sweets are not common, and the only available types of sweet food are fruits.

If a child is ill, the mother, or in her absence, the grand mother or the aunt does not leave the house for the farm. The child must not be left alone to "ble" (the word conveys a pathetic idea of a person being destitute ~~and~~ as well as suffering. To them and to the father, the child means much; much more than he does to people who have many other types of values. He makes their hearts aglow with an almost spiritual satisfaction. The sick child is afforded every form of comfort.

If the child's illness becomes serious one of two things happens: 1(a). He is sent to a herbalist or one is called in to heal him, meanwhile:-

(b) The priest of the local deity is approached to commune with the oracle and reveal the wherewith of the disease and to tell if any propitiatory function could be performed to save the unfortunate child's spirit (soul) from making an exit. The priest's pronouncements are believed ardently. Her requirements are complied with.

2. The child is taken to the hospital, Hohoe for treatment.

Up to fifteen years ago Medical Doctors and the hospitals in which they worked were looked upon with suspicion, and many people would rather die at home than in a hospital where strange instruments were used to examine them and unfamiliar medicines prescribed for them in unfamiliar language. The villagers also considered the possibility of post-mortem examination which meant incisions into the body. Local sentiment requires that a body goes into the grave wholly - without any mutilations. Added to this was the misconception that doctors intentionally or neglectfully caused the death of patients. Thus the hospitals or health centres at Hohoe and Lome were not patronized. Now, this belief has almost completely reversed, and four out of every five such people would rather repose confidence in a doctor than trust local doctors and herbalists with their lives.

CHAPTER V.

PHYSICAL CONTACTS

Masturbation, Sex Play etc.

Kissing of children is exceedingly uncommon. The few known cases of kissing are innovations imported from the big towns particularly Accra. Children who are kissed are those of about one year and a half and below - i.e. those who can be carried. The freshness and absolute innocence of such children is a source of attraction and love. The first means of showing love to a child employed in the locality is to carry him. Some members of the society who have been influenced by life outside the confines of the locality and its surrounding towns and villages kiss the child on the lips and on the cheeks as they carry him.

stroking too is quite uncommon as most people have neither the temperament nor the leisure to appreciate the desirability for such a form of pleasure. Here again newborn children are much admired for the fact that they are not only children but new children. People look closely at the new child to see any mark or sign of semblance to a departed patrilineal ancestor. Like children admiring things, adults will like to hold the child. They do not only hold him but sometimes feel inclined to stroke him on the back, on the arms and on the head. This is not done only by the parents and their relatives but by anyone who happens to visit the household, and finds himself/herself attracted by the child.

Adolescents, at their period of growth are fond of carrying children and not only close to their breasts - embracing them. This is done particularly by girls. Apart from carrying children in the seven types of the ways described earlier, other members of the population, except young girls and close relatives, do not embrace children as parents do.

The children have a dread of unfamiliar faces *, and those who are not familiar to them but wish to embrace them or even carry them are fled from.

Footnote: * Children's dread of unfamiliar faces is due to the following:

(a) the parents' stories about "Dogy-men" and the

if they are already in the grasp of such people children make all efforts to withdraw, and resort to crying.

also very common is the habit of carrying children on the lap and rocking them. This is done by mothers particularly, and also by aunts, grandmothers, fathers, brothers and other members of the family or the many female friends of the child's mother. This exuberant manifestation of affection towards the child ceases, to a great measure, soon after he is above five years of age. But before this age there is hardly any distinction between the behavior towards girls and boys, as separate sexes. When people become too fond of carrying older children of opposite sexes they have to contend with the lashing tongues of some of the members of the population. The community being so small each has an intimate knowledge of his neighbour (and this includes all the village). Society frowns upon kissing, especially of those who are not very small children. Children are therefore neither encouraged nor expected to kiss any member of the society. From the age of ten onwards there is vigilant watching over children's physical contact with others, especially with people of the opposite sex. This specially applies to girls when they reach puberty. The development of breasts fills a girl with new-found thrills. She feels a sense of triumph. Perhaps she is quick to realize that adult men begin to look ^{familly} at her as she thus approaches the threshold of womanhood. And when the breasts becomes bigger, girls like holding them as they run.

Foot Note (contd.)

strange people who roam the forests make the children afraid of any person with whom they are not acquainted.

- (b) In the past (i.e. just before the beginning of the 20th century) children disappeared from the village not infrequently. They were carried off perhaps, not only by the tiger^{or} but also by strangers with great desire for children whom they would like to adopt or who were required as sacrifice for certain dailies (c/f the story of Abraham). Though these conditions no longer prevail, the inherited fear of parents in this regard gets communicated to the children.

leopard or
or
haena

From this age onwards the girl becomes coquettish and asserts herself to such an extent that she talks with all men older than herself with an air almost of equality. Perhaps the men deserve it!.

Girls are seen also embracing their companion girls very intimately as they have their frequent meetings. At this age girls, even more than boys, allow themselves much physical contact with each other when they go to bed. It is not very easy to elicit, by observing adolescent boys enough evidence to support the assumption that they also have much of such intimate contacts as in the case of the girls.

What I have noticed a number of times is that girls and boys, (singly or in small numbers) delight in stroking the genitals of very young boys.

On two occasions children were seen examining female genital organs. When adults see children doing this what they do is to beat them.

The tickling of children by other children and sometimes by adults is common. Parts of the body commonly tickled are the armpit, the lower sides of the body parallel to the armpit (down to the waist, and the under part of the feet. Such tickling initially results in an abrupt jump and results also in an involuntary laughter. But the a minority of people, adults and children- do not show any visible reaction when tickled.

In the matter of care for the genitals, it is locally considered that no mother has a right to motherhood if she does not thoroughly scrutinise the child's genitals and clean them patiently with fairly hot water while bathing him. (See chapters VIII & (IV) above on these Topics: Birth and Nursing).

Children's words for genitals

There are special children's words for the genitals, but these are mispronunciations of adult words denoting them. For example adults call the female genital cavity "Kolome" or sometimes merely

"Mlome" (the last name applying also for the anus. Children refer to both as "Monome". Most children at about seven years of age and upwards are able to use the adult terminology correctly. And this applies also to the male genital organ - penis which is called "god" by adults and "ava" by the children (and non-Ewes). As much as possible children are discouraged from making a reference to them.

At present many adults deplore the manner in which present-day children make up songs in their new dance "Kenka" which occasionally refer directly or indirectly to semi-tabooed names for genitals and general sex life. But in some of the extinct adult dance songs such as in "Gbolo" and the half-extinct one "Gabada" similar references are traceable. (See Appendix III^{pp 3-4} children's songs and Appendix III^{pp 4-5} Adult songs).

Masturbation - Masturbation is considered unusual and exceptional.

In fact it is ^{only very few} boys who are old enough to be interested in

that pre-marital sex activity, indulge in it directly. This is the case in most small villages in Ewe-land. The above statements apply in a very great measure to girls also. Girls who have reached the adolescent age - as exemplified by their developed breasts - revolt against parental authority. If they have friends in the village, they manage to get to them by hook or crook at convenient intervals some time within a couple of weeks. Very early marriage also accounts for the almost non-existence of masturbation. Unmarried girls above eighteen years of age and unmarried young men above twenty-one are not at all common! But as children sleep in groups, it is not an improbability that an occasional "bad boy" who has learnt a trick might like to teach it to the other boys - with the latter's permission. Girls as in general like having very intimate girls' friends (in the Girls' secondary schools and Colleges they call them "Jolleys" - like the terms used for their boy-friends) with whom they dine privately and sometimes make love to - even openly. It is at least possible that these couple may carry their love affair further when they are in bed - sometimes.

When very young children are seen playing intimately with the genitals, adults severely reprimand them and then say: "If you do this again I shall pepper you". And really if they are found doing it again pepper is pushed either into their genital cavity or into their rectum or into their eyes. This form of punishment is reducing considerably. But up to thirty or forty year ago it was still extremely common. Parents then liked to chew a type of spices (like the seeds of capoc) quietly and to take a disobedient child unawares and emit the stuff into his/her eyes!

Sex Games - A common sex game is Mother and Father. One way of playing this game is for children to retire to their own private nooks in the surrounding woods (around the village) or to cocoa farms near the village or around a hamlet and there pair themselves ^{covered} up with leaves (as met with in "estern mythology, but in this case not to die) whence they proceed to embrace each other and have direct physical contact. This sometimes results in sex activity.

Another sex game already referred to elsewhere is Hide and Seek. As the game proceeds, two interested children (a boy and a girl) who may have been the brains behind the "game" arrange to hide together.

And yet another sex game is for a slightly older child to officiate in a marriage ceremony between two children of identical ages, a boy and a girl. The girl is encouraged to "cook" for her husband, to converse with him and for both of the children to sleep together. The older child proceeds to teach the two young children how an adult man and wife act toward each other in bed. For this play the older child sees that pieces of cotton wool, rag and a "baby bone" are present. The girl is then said to have had a baby identified with the bone, which she proceeds to bathe and nurse in fantasy play.

Adults do encourage children to play their games and have no objection to their playing mother and father - innocently. But when adults have reasons to believe that the children are interested in premature sex relationship they break up the children's "asseolies" that is, if they see them. Usually adults are able to spot some "bad boy



A local proverb: It is not the lack of blades
 that has led a European to remain bearded.
 Despite the cloth, child chooses nakedness.



out and label them thus and dis-allow their children from playing with them. Of course very young children do not seriously share their parents' prejudices.

Clothing

I have an aunt who tells me that up to the time of her menstruation she scarcely needed to wear any clothes. When she carried commercial crops to Kpalime in French Togoland for shipment through Lome (in the days of the Germans) she only wore scanty clothes when she was walking in a town or a village and took them off (clothes are such a bother) when she was on the high-way again. She is now fifty five years of age. She began wearing clothes fully when she got married.

Hence the custom during marriage and during the second puberty rite for girls: "Nogbonui tata" when the cloth is thrice removed to expose a woman's nudity with the words: "children, you see your last today". (See chapter 8 on Adolescent).

Conditions have changed swiftly today. But unlike what appertains in ~~the~~ some of the big towns children generally remove even their "pioto" (tight pants) and play naked. Girls are however taught to feel ashamed to appear naked at the age of eight. Boys are taught to be ashamed of self-exposure from eight to ten years of age. What the girls put on is "goda tse",* the meaning of this is "going out" piece (of cloth). This indicates that originally they were worn only for going out. Usually, it is simply abbreviated to "go". It is a piece of cotton cloth, four to six inches wide and almost invariably of the colour red. This is passed through and secured fast in the waist-beeds in front and behind, the remaining piece being rolled on top of the beads at the back. During menstrual periods women generally use another "Go" of any colour (usually like the cloths they put on) different from the red one. (So used to their "Go" do southern Gold Coast girls become that when even they get to colleges they are very reluctant to exchange drouse\$ and suspenders for them)

Children, especially the boys find even these types of clothing cumbersome, and would like to leave them alone on normal days.

* Often corrupted to "gode tse".

They would however like to wear clean, as well as new, beautiful pieces of cloth (worn in the traditional African fashion) or to put on shorts, shirts and shoes when they are dressing for functions like festivals and for church ceremony. On these occasions children of all ages feel ashamed if they are scantily dressed.

From the age of ten upwards all children definitely become critical of their clothing and certainly self-conscious. At this age they would not expose themselves to people of the opposite sex, who are above eight years of age. But nakedness among members of the same sex, especially those within similar age groups is considered natural.

Lapses from modesty often meet with sharp reprimands and corrections from adults: "Get away from here"; "What is that you are saying? Look at his face!", "Why are you so spoilt?" "If you don't respect your father and mother, respect me!" "Who tells you that?" or "You are a fool. You have no respect for any-body."

During my short re-stay among the people of Gbledé, I was pained to hear how harkneyed, uncomplimentary terms were so consistently and universally applied to a small group of children that some of these children began almost to believe that they are really always what adults portray them to be. These adults would say jestingly and carelessly: "Oh, don't mind this child. He is a very spoilt boy. He has absolutely no respect for any one". "This child, he is a glutton. He chases food like flies chase a dog. He never gets satisfied. Didn't I tell you? He is beginning again! His gluttony is proverbial". These are repeated often and often when the children are present. But probably many of the children take them to be due to one of the adult idiosyncracies; to make a mountain out of ant hills, and, do not show, in the majority of cases, any visible signs of being perturbed by the terms applied to them.

For other breaches from modesty like undue self-exposure, adults or other children may say: "cover your-self up".

Sometimes they are more tactful and cautious. "Is that so, they reply curtly, "alright. Don't mind it. But we don't say "eke nlome" (you have exposed your genitals) we say "dzra dokwiwo do" (tidy up yourself). They often say: "Don't do that again, you hear? children don't do that".

On the question of symmetry, order, united effort, and likeness to the ordered, healthy whole these villagers are almost always uncompromising. "Witness (a) their insistence that cloth, whether worn by man or woman should be worn in a certain approved type of way (b) whenever there is a ceremony or an ordinary gathering and anyone is praying, he is corrected whenever he deviates from the general order. Sometimes the calabash of palm-wine is angrily taken from him by someone who is in the know of traditional procedure and the whole process is begun and meticulously executed to the smiling satisfaction of those present. (c) An almost Spartan love for physical fitness and an up-right whole body. Thus (i) The least unusual budding near the small finger (such as I have), (ii) unusual slants of the eye balls due to defects with ciliary muscles etc. together with "serious" cases like (iii) idiocy etc. are looked upon with a mixture of fear, worry and amused ridicule. For, the simple villager wonders if "the gods have come in the likeness of men" as local fables say they do (d) Their massaging the head of the infant to shape it and their desire for sunken joints of the limbs.

Up to five years of age, the child is helped in dressing. After this age, he is not normally helped to dress and undress. A few children do so earlier.

Parents do dress before very young children. As children approach adolescence, parents do not normally dress before them. When parents are having their bath and children approach them, they generally manage to hide their sex organs. Due to misrepresentations, in gossip, adults do not like to dress or undress before children who are not their own siblings.

The change over from baby-dress to rompers is effected in some cases, at the age of five. At this age children are made to wear



Children's
Clothes



Girls

rompers (if the parents prefer these) or each a yard of cloth during part of the day. At night all children sleep in cloth. On hot periods of the day children conveniently discard these items of clothing.

As has been pointed out earlier, the difference between the dressing of boys and girls is that the former wear "pioto" and the latter "go-do-tse". These differences are made as from the first six to eight months of their lives. But infants wear these items of clothing only at random periods. They become a more or less regular feature at five years of age. In addition all children have their cloths. (The boys have each a yard of cotton cloth). Each girl has her "cover-shoulder" made from cotton cloth as well as a small-yard-of-cloth a modified form of what adult women have, for the lower part of the body, to be tied at the waist with a belt (made from a length of cloth). Many parents also sew small frocks for their girls and rompers or other types of cloths like those for the girls - for boys. Such types of dressing (the frocklike type) are sometime made from hard stuff such as shaki or local spun cotton cloth. From eight years onwards, the boys do not wear "frocks" or rompers any more. But they continue to wear "pioto". Their cloths are made bigger each time to correspond with their increased total surface area. They continue to wear also a pair of knickers and a shirt. It is not every-body who has these latter types of clothing, as parents are almost as reluctant to provide clothing for their children as they are anxious to increase their own stock of clothes. Such uniformity applies equally with girls who still continue to wear bigger frocks, cover shoulders and cloth. In addition, girls wear ear-rings and continue to wear beads on their wrists, ankles and neck as well as at their waists. These distinctions become well-marked when children get dressed for ceremonial functions. As the purpose of wearing beads is to make the body, especially the joints beautifully shaped and segmented as well as to look beautiful, boys, when first born, are made to wear beads (but not ear-rings) till they are about four years of age. Then these are removed. The ideal is big calves tapering away to the joints as sugar-cane tapers to the nodes. A leg which appears

to have almost the same diameter from the knee to the lower joint has the complement "millo" used for it descriptively (in local parlance). Such a leg is ~~is~~ extra-ordinary as well as undesirable.

Sex Distinctions

Although a girl's toys and general interests are not much different round about the age of two years, from those of a boy, she is expected to be more gentle and obedient, less boisterous and "troublesome". By and large, a girl is expected to take upon herself the cultural traits of women right from this stage. A girl is allowed to play with, and like, a boy in many ways until she too wishes to climb or play a game like football. Then, she is asked "Do you want to be a man? Why didn't you tell your "aklama" (comparable in application and associations attached to it, is ~~is~~ the guardian angel of Christian conception) that you wished to come a man?" They can (the boys and girls) continue to play at buying and selling, cooking, washing, eating etc.etc. together without any distinction as to sex.

However, from about the age of five years onwards, the girls are definitely expected to behave and play and work as girls while the boys are to do so as boys. For example, in their play the boys use wooden planks and solid lower parts of dried, fallen coconut leaves for their motor cycles, boxes for lorries, pieces of wood for guns etc. They should play such games as Policemen (Perhaps now there are Police Women, the girls, in due course will begin to play Police women). They should stage, in their fantasy play, such fights with wild men and wild animals as they think fit with representative instruments for cutlasses, guns etc. Boys should fight with blows while girls do so with their palms and their nails. Some of their play should centre round the lives and activities of tailors, customs officials and the court crier, the chief and the linguist. The girls should play at cooking, cleaning utensils, washing, selling, sweeping, fetching water, nursing babies, marketing their farm produce etc. The girls are expected to be more sedentary than the boys. But these distinctions even long after the age of five do not remain rigid and clearly differentiated. There is

always a merger. All that is needed is interest, and all the children, observing what the different sexes of adults are doing and what their elder brothers, sisters and friends are doing distinctly tend to imitate, in most cases their own sexes separately but a girl whose physique and or manner of doing things mark her out as an "amazonian" or to use current Gold Coast terminology "man-woman" is not teased. She is encouraged. This is due to the fact that the villager wants and appreciates muscular strength. Strength, more than intellect, (although a good amount of the latter is needed to make a success of anything) is a clue to the success of their subsistence agricultural life. She is given any amount of encouragement. If she continues thus when she is old, under the local setting, she is much more likely to secure a husband earlier than most other girls. Laziness counts a lot against any member of the society (a man or woman) when the other party is considering aspects of a proposal for marriage.

As would be expected a boy who behaves like a girl, - in a weak and sedentary manner, - who is not assertive enough is teased ridiculed and jeered at all the time he behaves thus. There is a man in the village, who if he were in a big town might (probably) do well as a store-assistant and arouse little attention, but because he is unable to work hard on the farm, and would always find an excuse for staying at home he has so much been subjected to open and concealed ridicule that his name has become proverbial for laziness.

As with play so with many other aspects of life. In some forms of dancing and singing of ballads and lyrics boys group separately while girls also group separately. This is especially so when the types are love songs. During "state" gatherings and informal meetings such as in the house of a village head-man, when opinions are demanded from women and from men separately women and adolescent girls sit or stand separately from their male counterparts from their male counterparts. Now, it is a deliberate policy of the elders of the village to see to it that their children are present at all functions, formal or informal. This decision has been arrived upon because, shrewdly and wisely, they have found out that due to rapid changes



AFRICAN POTTERY, SHAPING POTS.

No. 45.

Pots are entirely hand-made, designs varying according to use.

and because of their children are attending school, if they are not deliberately made to observe traditional procedure many of the existing cultural trails and habits of life will be lost, and lost forever.

From the age of five boys and girls are not encouraged to spend much of their time in fantasy play and make-believe. They must help their parents (and relatives). The girls are expected to begin sweeping kitchens, cleaning cooking pots, going for water with their mothers and being closely attached to their mothers. Boys should, if the need arises, accompany their fathers to examine their traps so that when the fathers are not able to, the boys could go to examine them ~~alone~~. In the making of fish traps stone and bamboo traps, traps with sticks etc., in the shaping of mortars and pestels, hoe, sticks for cutlases- and knife-handles and the sticks for cooking "akple", in making stools for women to sit on the boys should follow their fathers footsteps and get apprentised to them. Hitherto, there has been very little differentiation of functions in the village as a whole: people are not exclusively tradesmen while others are exclusively farmers.

As the boy grows old, he learns besides to accompany the father on occasions to hunt, and there, in the bush he learns to take notice of many things he had been taking for granted, and to be as wary and nimble-footed as a hare. He should know how to make mounds for yams and be able to know the proper growth and growing seasons for yams, maize, rice etc.

The girls, in addition to all the obvious domestic duties, should learn the highly stilled technique of cooking akple and fufu and rice. She must be able to prepare light soup (both for healthy and sick people differently), palm soup, ground nut soup, "ama" (with certain types of greens). She must know how to prepare palm oil, palm kernel oil and soap. It is her duty to know how to design and shapen pots from local clay and know how to grow pepper, ground-nuts, "sigli" (for ama), cassava, coco yams, banana and plantain. In fact the list is inexhaustible. But these are some of the duties that both boys and girls must learn informally before they are thirteen years of age. Even when they are sent



Behind the smoke



To the river-side

to school at about six they have to learn all these duties which they are expected to perform on Saturdays and on holidays. As they attach themselves to members of the their sex children learn by observation and participation. They cannot learn properly if they, as some present day school boys tend to, consider themselves people with knowledge superior to that of the farmers whose skill and endurance have stood the test of time. Thus with increased class room education, if science and technology do not improve productive efficiency and if education continues to be divorced from the lives of the people in practice (self praise on paper will not do it) even the knowledge that exists for feeding the teeming masses will slowly die out.

Except for efficiency in their particular fields of occupation - domestic and other-wise - parents do not particularly prefer having one sex of children to another. For as can be seen, overall efficiency is impossible without both sexes. However, a number of families would like to have a few more boys than girls. But they all want girls.

The girl is usually gentle and likable by all. But the boy, as a potential "feeder of mouths" and protector of the family in times of stress is liked for all his usually uncontrollable disposition and his clumsiness in his relations with people. Thus, it cannot be stated as a rule that parents either separately or together prefer one sex of siblings to another.

Especially when children are young, parents do not always get them to work with or prefer the company of themselves (parents) according to sex distinctions. Young boys and girls spend more time with their mothers because the mother is primarily, and later apparently, the source of all food. (Much of the talks of children which I have heard is centered round "Du" (eat).

On some evenings, father, mother and children are together - may be around the family fire - stories handed down from the ages are retold, ingenious inventions are made on the spot. With swelling pulpating hearts, the children creep to bed. The parents follow later.

Sibling Relations

Parents in Glede, as indeed throughout the Gold Coast do not find their way clear to tell their children the fact that a new baby is expected. They, in fact, do not consider it any of the child's share or business to know about it. How then does a child have his early impressions as revelation does not fall on his laps as a manna from heaven (on a specific day)? He picks up pieces of information from free, careless adult speech - for one thing. Albeit rather inaccurate, as this further source may be children also gather a good deal about sex life from other children older than themselves. A third source of information or knowledge is by observation. When parents think children are asleep they sometimes are not. They also think it no harm if they make themselves available at key-holes or at places where there are cracks in the wall, anywhere will do, but they must satisfy their thirst for knowledge!

Parents are not prepared to give their children, any education formally or informally - in a conscious way - about sex relationships. All children must know is that there is marriage. Even if they ask such clear and direct questions: "Where do babies come from?" They are given evasive, misleading or inaccurate answers. For example children may be told: "When mother went to the farm, she got ~~ko~~ku (the new born baby) from there". Often these vague answers and the lies do not, in the least, satisfy the children. They may therefore continue asking more questions. Sometimes the children say "Ewuu!" (an inoffensive form of hooting which connotes the idea "You are lying") When parents find themselves baffled and buffeted by children's questions which they just do not know how to bring themselves to answer, they reprimand the children for being unnecessarily troublesome and inquisitive. But these remarks do not knock out a question from a child's brains. It keeps on reappearing. This child therefore relies mostly on his ear and eye supplementing what he has by the use of his imagination. Because they do not generally get satisfactory answers to their

questions children do not ask adults questions if they can help it.

The child is normally sent away when birth is taking place. And when a child is born and the mother is temporarily ill and attached to the new babe, other children are cared for mainly by their paternal grandmother or aunts. To the new baby, an older child is expected to show love and kindness. But many parents, after a time succeed only on occasions, in arousing the jealousy of the older child or children. This is due to their - perhaps unavoidable - lavishing of all their interest and affection on the new-born while the other child finds himself, for the first time in his life, neglected by the mother who has so loved him and has been his constant companion hitherto. The child's curiosity over and interest in the new-born baby may, for this reason, be turned into jealousy which is fanned by the indiscretion and tactlessness of the mother. The older child tries as much as he can to assert himself in order to regain his lost ground in the mother's heart. His cherished weapon is crying. But this crying only irritates the mother who barks at the child with the assertion that her child is being disturbed. The adult in this way exhibits her inability to understand the young child whom she expects to understand and express adult sentiments with his limited experience. The odds are over-whelming against the child. This is even more so when there is a host of other children. But to pursue this situation (created by these relationships) to its logical conclusion would be only an academic exercise, which is not justified by results. By the time the child is able to reason out clearly, the mother has abandoned her exclusive care of the new-born. Another child is born and treated in a way similar to how the one just before it was treated. Every older child begins to realize that a new child needs more attending to than anyone else. Meanwhile intimate and cordial relations begin to develop among the siblings as they do many things in common.

They fit into the society, more or less, - a society which scarcely knows serious clashes between siblings.

In due course, every child is made to take his or her own level in the family and to get to know "where authority lies". Authority proceeds from top downwards. The father is at the top of the list of people who have power of discipline over the children. Next comes the mother, in case of young children. But from a child's adolescence onwards the mother's authority becomes ineffective-children become too tough for her - and shrinks to petty admonitions and railings which many children conveniently ignore. Then in order, and in order of age and size, come elder brothers and sisters. Uncles and aunts also consider it their duty to discipline children. They do so mainly in the absence of the father or the mother. In the distribution of benefits too, the normal procedure is for more elderly children to have definite advantages over the younger ones. For example when children alone are eating, no one should touch the meat until the most senior child shares it in proportion to age. So too, with the distribution of property. The usual practice is to invest the right over the property to an elder son who should look after all the other members of the family, including his mother. ^{nature} human being what it is, many elder sons tend to be more interested in themselves and their own welfare than they are about those of the lesser members of their family. In some cases the property is distributed to all children and this is done also in proportion to age. Where there are more wives than one, the usual practice is to give all elder children responsibility over the younger members of their fathers issue with their mothers.

Sometimes too, an elderly, patrilineal uncle is given responsibility over children and their father's property. All such cases are decided at a meeting in the house of the head of the clan or extended family.

Where a man has more than one wife, the first wife has a slightly raised status over the second, the second over the third etc. But one is not made to control the other. Children of the first wife credit themselves with power to control. These problems, however are of comparatively recent origin as the possession of private, permanent and assessable property became into vogue during the last half-century. The family elders attempt to be very fair always - lest they be smitten down by the ancestors for dishonestly. They rely solely on their own convictions and judgement.

A man's siblings, born to him by any number of his wives regard one another as brothers and sisters. They work together in co-operation to a remarkable degree. In former days their ties were very strong indeed. But due to the inception of money economy, there are daily arising many attendant problems. Inside this big unit of brothers and sisters, smaller units begin to be clearly differentiated. For example if a man "A" has wives "B" and "C" and children "M, N, R" belonging to the wife "B" and "X Y Z" to the wife "C". The children "M" "N" "R" and "X" "Y" "Z" get very much attached to each other and do many things in common, but children "X" "Y" "Z" tend to form a closer union distinct from "M" "N" "R". These problems are not very important now. But in a couple of decades from now - may be more- the problem will become acute: for the full value of family land will be realized. Many people who are farming quietly now would have secured almost all the best agricultural and, perhaps, mineral land. Others may jump up from their office desks or leave their chalks in the class room to make a last bid for land. Their other relatives will say, "No. We don't do it that way, for this is my father's land. He planted this cola tree and that palm tree there. Where is your right to claim?" It is possible to visualize wider family disintegrations and a more

frequent recourse to the courts of law between children or grand-children or siblings.

Present day family problems are:

1. Male siblings are decidedly at an advantage over females on the question of inheritance. In many cases female siblings are left completely at the mercy of their brothers. More often than not they are completely ignored despite the fact that they ~~are~~ also toiled to build up a piece of productive property such as a cocoa farm.
2. Boys: younger ones quarrel over food especially the sharing of meat by an elder one. When an elder son gets new cloths the younger ones become jealous. There are also squabbles and clashes over property left over by a dead father.
3. Girls:- quarrels arise over beads, cloths, pots and jewels left by their deceased mother.

They also quarrel over their mother's farms. Cross-quarrels between girls of different mothers sometimes result as a carry-over of their mothers' domestic squabbles. A girl may quarrel with an older brother for oppressing a younger one. Gossips and lying by any member of the family may also cause quarrelling to result. A group of children may become embittered against one or another group if they think that the father is giving a particular person or group more love and devotion than the other(s); Older children finding younger ones disobedient to them. A person may have too many children (anything up to say twenty). All of them may assert their right to live in their father's house. Where many men, women and children are dumped together in a restricted area, daily problems appertaining to human relations create tensions - especially where life is comparatively dull. Another source of dissensions is where a member of the family monopolises a good piece of family land for his own enrichment while other members wish for the same or part of the same land, - a member, say, having previously marked it down for farming



The only pot a man carries
The PALM-WINE pot



Sawing Timber

purposes. The last problem that may result in quarrelling is where one member of the family goes on his own accord, and makes up a reason for securing for himself the possession and sale of parts of consumable property on a common piece of family land such as the tapping of palm trees for commercial wine and the felling of timber for sawing.

Quarrels between siblings are more common between the same sex than they are between opposite sexes. This, to some extent, is due to the fact that every-body accepts the inferior position that women are made to assume as a natural state of affairs. Therefore when women are being cheated they hardly complain. They consider it their lot. Inequalities of physical strength and material advantages make quarrels between members of the opposite sexes appear absurd and one-sided.

Fathers usually judge cases between some of their siblings who quarrel. They reprimand offenders or punish them and strongly discourage further occurrences of "shameful" incidences. Sometimes ^{a father} threatens to neglect and ignore any-one who continues to be unsocial. He often has need for great tact and wisdom in order that nothing happens to weaken his discipline. Some fathers have been seen encouraging children who have quarrelled to cross-examine each other and their witnesses. They then make use of their knowledge of child psychology, make allowances and come to decisions. Imposition of punishment is only a mild and unsatisfactory way of dealing with quarrels. Parents often find out the root causes and see that these are removed and good relationships re-established.

CHAPTER VI

RELATIONS WITH PARENTS

The mother of a new baby is the person who is mostly in direct person contact with her issue in the period soon preceeding the birth of the child. It is she who sleeps by or lies close to the baby during the first week after birth. She leaves the baby's side only (during the first week or two) when she wishes to go and have her own bath or when she goes to eliminate waste. When she leaves the child at this period the child's paternal grand mother, or maternal grand mother or any sister of the boy, father of the girl, generally watches over baby till she returns (however casually).

At least during the first week of the birth of the child other people are not allowed much, to handle it by way of carrying-though many people would like to do so.

The bathing of the child is done, during the initial stages, by :

- (a) The paternal grand-mother who continues for the next week or two, depending upon the time the mother takes to master the technique. There is however no strict rule about who does this demonstration for the mother to observe and emulate. Her own mother, if she is available does it.

The main purpose is to have a willing, responsible and competent woman to help and enable the mother to have a full realization and knowledge of her duties towards the well-being of her child. After the trial period is over, the mother takes over the full care of her baby.

(See also Chapter 2 on Birth, and on Bathing) The feeding of the child with breast is given about five or six times a day. The child's toilet bathing, rest and sleep, all are supervised or provided by the mother. When the child cries or turns about uneasily the mother should fathom out if such an action is due to a desire for food, for elimination or change of place or

position of rest or to an external influence such as heat (from fire or sun) or the bite of a mosquito, or the disturbance caused by a fly. As the blast from the sunlight is usually too strong for the child during the first days after birth, he is generally kept in the room where bathing and feeding is done also, for a period of about a week.

Other people who relieve the mother of her attendance upon the child - when she herself is as it were, convalescing are the sisters of her husband (who should, at this period not be younger than the adolescent age) and her own confidential, intimate friends - (women or girls who have been her companion for sometime). If her own sisters are available they also willingly and gladly help her to minister unto the child.

The father? Well, he directs "operations" from a detached position. After he has performed the necessary rite of "Gliveye" (See chapter 2: Birth) he is allowed to come in and see the child occasionally. He releases each time he comes, through the glow in his eye and the quiver of his voice and hand, as he touches the child and smiles at him, some of the great mass of joy that is locked up in his heart. But as yet his clumsy hands do not stretch out in order to carry his child.

But he ensures that the child and the mother are in good health and are well-looked after. He goes about making all sorts of arrangements so that the mother gets enough good food and meat to revitalize her and for the feeding of the relatives and a few friends who have temporarily moved to his house to keep the mother company - day and night, sometimes, and to do a multitude of odd jobs that need doing.

Within a week, not only is the child able to accommodate his eye to the light of the sun, but his navel cord has also dropped off. (See under chapter 2: Birth :- What the father does to ensure the well-being of his child). The cord drops off on about the sixth day. After this has happened, the navel gets quite healed up within a week's time. So that after two weeks from the day of birth the child is carried not only on the lap but also

at the back by the mother, her elderly female relatives and those of her husband and by her close friends. But the child is not taken away from the house in which the mother is stationed at the period of birth-or where she has been moved to soon after the birth. At this time too the father, if he wishes to, can occasionally carry the child. And if there is none of the other female relatives about, he takes his turn to watch over the baby when the mother needs relieving. But still, he is connected mostly with broad policies, such as the clothing of the mother, the provision of towels powder etc. and the safety of the family.

The child grows, and develops and begins to walk and talk. It is at this stage that the father assumes responsibility over discipline. So far as the child does not become "troublesome" by being insolent or wayward he is allowed every latitude. But it is the father's duty - and to some extent the mother's to see that each child is respectful, dutiful and hard-working. Strictly on the basis of seniority by age all the other older members of the family including the child's "older" and "younger" fathers and mothers (aunts and uncles) discharge the duties that tradition lays upon them as agents for discipline. They do their duty whether the parents of the child are present or not. Sometimes they inflict punishments as they think fit. At other times these agents report major departures from the normal codes of discipline to the father. There are always checks upon these agents as many parents do not like other members of their family interfering too much in matters connected with the discipline of their own children. It is the boys who are more "troublesome" at home. The girls are generally docile. But the picking up of quarrels with other girls on their way to fetch water or on petty affairs also, has to be contended with. Male relatives of the father often demand and have greater obedience from such children than do their female counterparts.

The mother disciplines the children by diverse means so long as they do not prove too tough for her. Even if they do she

continues using her other media of correction beside physical force, such as praise, coaxing, appealing to good judgement, upholding high ideals, or by bitter words of reproach and abuse.

Up to barely twenty-five years ago, the father's methods of discipline were wide and absolute. In addition to whipping (and the form of discipline described in chapter 2:- Attitude towards having children), the father would also tie a child to a post and leave him or her there for a day. A woman about fifty-eight years of age, told me that even when she had been married for five years, her father could still whip her until her beads were broken on her waist. Another (now fifty-five) says (a) she was so "raw" in her adolescence that she had to run to complain to her mother of what she thought was a most curious leakage of blood when she had her first menstrual flow. This woman said it was difficult during her youth, to find one out of ten women who "knew" men before their proper marriage. She attributes modern unruliness to the fact that girls now freely associate with young men long before they are married and vice versa.

Nowadays, the most a father can do is to be at his son or daughter when the child's conduct - in his opinion - merits it. Even this form of punishment is not always possible, as adolescents are quick to predict their father's moods and reactions when they misbehave, and succeed in most cases to avoid encounters with him for sometime. A father's fury, they know, often "swells like the Solway" but soon "ebbs like its tide". They may take temporary shelters with their friends or relatives. A few of them openly challenge their father's authority with the words: "You have brought me into the world but can't take me out of it". (See chapter 5: Attitudes towards Boys and girls for reference to father's ~~THE~~ former rights.

Sometimes too, when the mother considers the father too stern and strict, she contrives to conceal some of the child's less obvious faults from him. She consoles herself with the thought

that after all every-body has faults - (faults which cannot be knocked out with ^a stick) On occasions then, she is the child's principal ally and condoler. The mother reports some offences to the father, however.

It is the parents also, together with any other responsible members of the extended family who see to it that an older child does not use his or her superior strength to cheat or tyrannize young children.

What struck me as of special interest was the way parents almost completely ignore or disregard the presence of children when they indulge in adult speculation, gossip and other types of conversation. No matter the ages of the children who are present, most parents freely discuss such topics as marriage, adultery, sex relations between other members of the society or their own clashes or financial relations with other people. Parents also quarrel freely before their children - saying whatever they wish to say without thought of the influence that the words will have over the children in the house. In extreme cases - not very common these days - they may even fight and fall over the children!

Where a man has more than one wife, there is generally competition among his wives to satisfy him. If the child of one of them has misbehaved, he may go to the mother and say "You see what your child has done?" The mother may call that child privately and say: "Why do you do all these to disgrace me?" Parents do openly disagree about discipline. But often the father insists that there are not two "Lords" in the house and that he is determined to have his will obeyed.

Children are not asked to be grateful to their parents, but they have to realize that it is their sacred responsibility towards themselves, their parents and their ancestors to support these parents in the latter's declining years. There is nothing like formal instruction on this. Everybody sees it happening

daily before his eyes. As a theologian has said, the "West African has religion in his blood (I am not maintaining that that is a complimentary remark. But it is true). Parents also feel that it is their duty to discipline, train and educate their own children. They believe that their own personality and those of their ancestors are reflected in their children. They prize family continuity for ~~it~~ it is their children who "step into their shoes". They wish their children to grow like themselves or better than themselves. They regard it a disgrace if they leave the children less off than themselves. A man "X" who has made himself lean with work, was interviewed. His clan have secured the best piece of land for cocoa. He is farming as much of it as he can. I asked him (in fact, I got some-one to ask him) "Why do you work so hard?" He pointed at his children. They are nine in number. He said: "I shall soon go. But each of these must have his own separate cocoa farm" He was providing for his children's future. He is far-sighted and knows that if he waits till his children grow up other members of his family may farm much of the best part of the land. Other classes of people too may make up stories about what their fathers told them as excuses for encroachment since boundaries are most indistinct and exist, in many cases, only in peoples' minds! Parents take great delight in taking their children round and showing them the stretches of family land, telling them what a father or a grand-father or paternal uncle has told them about each big tree or stream. Thus parental ambition centres round (a) the child who must secure (b) his share of family land.

When parents and their children quarrel it is about (a) the children not (i) respectful to their parents or to other people (ii) hard-working enough (b) When the children are leading disreputable lives in the village - or outside it. For example if they are fighting or are having too much sex contact with others of the opposite sex (c) When the children do not, in any way, live up to expectation (d) when the children have reasons to believe that their parents are not doing their best for them or are

neglecting them (e) when the children feel their father is cheating or ill-treating their mother, (f) when the children think their mothers are too messy or quarrelsome (g) when the children or a child is maltreating a younger or weaker member of the family (h) when there is a clash of opinion over a question connected with codes of discipline either at home or in the society. The father for example may believe he is right while the child or children may decide that their father is old-fashioned.

These quarrels are resolved by (1) Understanding being arrived at after a lapse of time (2) One of the members discovering his or her fault and striving to make amends. (It is not considered a fit thing, in normal circumstances for a father to say he is wrong, and to apologise) (3) The child being forced to yield by popular opinion, acting as a check (4) The father and mother being told point blank by their other relatives or friends that they have over-shot the mark. (5) The child being beaten either by the mother (when he is young) or by the father (6) The parents calling one of two other members of the family with the following terms of reference; to listen to what the child has done and to help in advising him (important arbitrations or conferences are held early in the morning-before any-body's temper is soured by misfortune or alcohol). Sometimes the advisers overstep their terms of reference and allot to the parents their due share of the blame, after the child is reminded of the ideal that his parents should, more than any-one else, be obeyed. The child is also made to feel that disobedience of, or insolence towards, the parents, brings about a curse which follows a child like the Albatross (in Coleridge's Ancient Mariner). (Parents normally do not admit to their children that they have done wrong. But when family elders sit over the case and decide that a father, for example, should be blamed they tell him so. He may reply "well, if you say I went wrong, I will not dispute with you, and I render apology). In a few cases the child leaves his father's house temporarily or permanently to that of a friend or to build one for himself.

The time when a child must not look straight into his father's - as indeed into any adult's - face is gone, perhaps not to return again.

In the final analysis, parental authority does not end until the death of the parents. Even then there are substitute parents chosen from patrilineal uncles, who exert authority in a general way. But a great deal of parental authority ends when a child reaches manhood or womanhood and has married and has left the parents' home. But even when this happens a sensible son or daughter consistently maintains the most cordial relationship between himself or herself and the parents and seeks the parents' advice, good-will and interests.

When a child is married or has moved away to live in his own house and to manage his own farms his own parents' authority shrinks to (a) occasionally advising him when the need arises, on moderation in word and action when annoyed over family matters in his own home; (b) the choice of new wives; (c) the method the father considers best for tackling farming problems that crop up; (d) Relationship with other members of the family. The mother may say: "Do not associate with Kodjo-Auma. He used sorcery to cause the death of Komivi and Kodjo-Kpui. He is a dangerous man". The father may say: "That trap of yours near the river will not catch a mouse! Remove it and send it to the edge of my cocoa farm. You will surely trap porcupines there within a day or two".

Relation with Adults other than Parents

Other adults apart from parents play a prominent role in influencing a child's early life, and indeed the whole of a person's life. This is due to the fact that any member of the Society who attempts to and succeeds in being locked up inside himself, who would live a solitary life and not be free,

is not communicative and approachable is regarded sub-human. Children will learn to run as fast as they can at his approach. In that small village there is much movement and close contact between almost all members of the population. The people whom the child gets into contact with are adults who are related to the child's parents and who live in the same house or near the house of the parents. (People live in clans and clan members live together). Those who are not related to the parents but are on speaking terms with them (this means practically four-fifths of the population) exert not an inconsiderable influence over the child's affairs. For this is not a society in which people think much and talk little but where people often talk whatever they think.

As already discussed in Chapter 6, (Relation with Parents) the grand-mother nurses the child soon after his birth. She continues to show keen interest in the children and helps the mother in such matters as the types of herbs to prepare when the children are unwell. Grand-mothers are mediators in minor family disputes among married couples. They are also people to whom children go when their own parents are impatient with them, and make them worried and unhappy. More than with any other group of people, children are more at home with grand parents. Children have a good deal of licence when they are in the company of their grand-mothers. In fact grand-mothers tend to encourage rather than discourage this type of licence. It is not possible to understand this special grand-mother-grandchild relation until one is conversant with the following related facts. A woman is invariably anxious that her daughter gets married. When the daughter becomes pregnant she becomes happy and almost as 'expectant' as her daughter. As soon as a child is born, and she has touched it and blessed it and

nursed it, the grand-mother is contented and seems to say: "God, now let thy servant depart in peace". She identifies herself with the child (whether a boy or girl) and considers him/her as one replacing her. I have often marvelled at the serene calmness and patience with which grand-mothers have dressed the sores and and washed the yaws of their grand sons. While thus engaged, they are insulted by the grand-sons. They only smile and treat them with even greater tenderness, saying as they do so: "Babaa", (which expresses sincere pity. It has no English equivalent known to me). They add: "Dear child, suffer it coolly, All these will soon heal" As one watches the eyes, the faces and the heads of these old Ladies one becomes instantly aware that their own sympathetic grief - and - suffering is second only to that of the children whose sores they are dressing.

Then come brothers and sisters who are adults. Children in many cases tend to imitate the behaviors of these other siblings towards their parents. If discipline and management have been lax from the beginning and elder siblings are rude and unco-operative at home it is likely that young children there will be rude and un-co-operative to their parents. On the other hand they may also set examples of hardwork, obedience and good manners which children could emulate.

As children grow their brothers and sister are naturally the people with whom they associate most. Normally these adult and young siblings take one another into confidence in many matters, seeking each other's interest and well-being. Thus a good amount of sex knowledge is inculcated into the growing children from this source - knowledge which their parents would not dream of letting out to them. So also do children learn of intertribal, interclan and inter-village and town relations, supplementary to what the parents are at pains to teach them. Their disciplinary powers have already been described above.

Next on the list are the other members of the extended family - the "elder" and "younger" "fathers" and "mothers" (what the English refer to as aunts and uncles as well as grand-fathers.

The last named make their influence felt as custodians of all the ancestral heritage - the Lands, the stool (with its attached yearly rites) the history (of the village and individual family or clan as well as other matters connected with tradition, conventions and constitution. Much of the history and practice involved is learnt from them. The records are written only in their minds. All these groups of paternal relatives as their names imply have much of the attributes of parents attached to them. They can all, at various times (when services are not urgently required by their real parents) require that children accompany them to farms and other villages and towns or go on errands for them. In some cases children are made to live with one or other of them until they have passed the adolescent age. Because of these facts they maintain an atmosphere of cordiality with the children who are made to appreciate the idea of family solidarity with them. On "big" occasions they allow children of their relatives to use their own kente cloths, Large African Sandals, jewels etc. for appearing grand and (they believe), adding to the dignity of the family. Every family competes to be considered dignified. Many paternal uncles send sons of their brothers and cousins to school side by side with their own children - if they have the means, and bear all the expenses connected there-with. They believe that they will incur the displeasure of their illustrious ancestors if they fail to do so. Thus paternal uncles, aunts and cousins who are old enough and capable of being children's "fathers" or "relative - guardians" are interchangeable with fathers at times (the need for doing so is felt. And so are brothers and paternal grand-fathers in case of boys, and to a lesser extent paternal aunts as well as sisters in case of girls. The interchangeability is less in case of girls because paternal sisters, aunts, and cousins (who are women) generally marry into another family and people do not, as a rule, wish to have their children live under a different type of paternal authority than of their extended family.

I say generally because women can be married by relatives who have not the same fathers or or mothers with either of the girls parents and vice versa. That is to say cross-cousin marriage



A gathering of the villagers three years ago.

is countenance^d and in some respect^s encouraged but not insisted upon.

But the relationship with matrilineal relatives is slightly different. There is a fair amount of affinity with these relatives. But they are regarded with more aloofness than are paternal relatives. However, convention had established, and, it could in former days, be insisted upon that the youngest (or the younger) of any number girls born to a man by a wife should be married into the family of the mother. Such a girl is known as "akoko". Maternal relatives still grumble when this convention is not adhered to. But that is all they can do in such a case these days.

As stated earlier on (on birth and carrying) friends of parents in particular and members of the society in general who are on speaking terms with children's parents are in almost daily contact with the children. This is due to the fact that the village is small and one can walk from one end of it to the other within a matter of ten minutes to fifteen minutes (at normal pace). Thus physical conditions as well as the natural friendly disposition of the inhabitants make much social contact possible.

Other activities that make much communal or social contact possible are: festivals, ceremonies connected with marriage, birth, and death, men's "hawo" (equals) group-watches at home, court meetings, competitive road clearing by clans (done communally and voluntarily with some element of force), formal or informal family meetings, the building or repair of the church, the school and the latrines, as well as co-operative farming known as "fidodo". In this matter of farming a group of relatives or friends agree among themselves and go to work in the farm of their members by turns. These activities make the village take upon itself much of the nature of a large family with, of course a multiplicity of (sometime) complex, general or particular human problems.

This state of affairs has many good points to recommend it but it has also some form of derogatory influence on children from "good" homes. The frequent contact with the majority of the population tends to increase the child's opportunity for wider

communication and other types of social experience than would normally have been possible in the homes alone. The child gets to know many people and their ways of life and by being told which of these people are good, hard-working, kind, or wicked, lazy and unreliable, he is able, to some extent, to devolve his own working knowledge of what constitute these qualities. Obviously opportunity for such a variety does not exist at home alone - with only the child, his parents and sibling relations. These wide contacts also stabilize the cultural traits and reduce the possibility of the existence of isolated pockets. They all help in the acceleration of the child's learning habit.

On the other hand the child has also the opportunity - or rather the misfortune - under these circumstances, to learn or copy bad manners, derogatory sex abuse, unwholesome habits of over-eating and begging etc. from homes of, together with contacts with, people who may not be either as fortunate or self-controlled as members of his family are.

However, it appears that the good influences out-weigh the evil influences. This is mainly due to the fact that the villagers are simple, and are moreover disciplined by the following forces: (1) simple fundamental codes, on the whole progressive (2) a strong belief that their evils will be punished by their ancestrals spirits and their good deeds bring them spiritual blessings (3) the absence of great, or unattainable ambitions and demands beyond what they can normally produce (4) sensitiveness to gossips, the avoidance of acts to the displeasure and ^{attempt} to secure co-operation of neighbours.

These safe-guards, ideal in themselves are breaking down as the villagers improve in health, education, self-consciousness (placing self against the mass), monetary stability and speculation.

The child is expected to be at home with friends of the family only a little less freely than with relatives. But since children are not, as some one once said of British children, "dictators in their parents' homes" or as a Britisher would say, "since children are not free to express themselves at home,

among adults", they can be "free" among only the children of those friends ^{and not the adults.} They can be free, that is, if the children they meet are not considered too rude, dirty or "spoilt" by their parents. The child is expected to be polite to all adults ~~and is expected to be polite to all adults~~ and is, in most cases, beaten when ~~they~~ he displays rudeness or any other act or word of disrespect towards an adult.

In the matters of discipline (discussed elsewhere above) the general impression of children is that elder brothers are often severe and exacting while sister are more loving and confiding, (except in their own love affairs) than critical. Grand-fathers are considered fussy and too much of a bore. Uncles and aunts are more mild and moderate than fathers, on the whole - but there are numerous exceptions. Also, these (latter set of) relatives may change attitudes correspondingly as parents are considered either weak or too exacting disciplinarians or when the child is ^{long}-expected or only surviving one in an unfortunate lot. In this latter instance they and the parents may humour the child to the point of indulgence. The personal idiosyncracies of these "Todi" and "Toga" (younger father and elder father) and "Tasi" paternal aunt) have also to be contended with.

Not only do parents discuss all aspects of life before children (See chapter (vi) under parental discipline) but they also conduct marriage discussions with them to (as viewed by an outsider) an astonishing degree of intimacy and equality of treatment. For example I heard two aunts asking a girl of seven and half years of age if she would marry a young man (who was twenty one years of age. (Infantile marriage, however is not the practice among the community now. Formerly, up to thirty years ago, a man could ask the hand of a comparative infant in marriage and would continue lavishing benefits of food and services upon the parents until the child was old enough for marriage when the bride-groom perhaps had become an oldish man. In such cases, as still happens in Bawku where I visited in 1947, the girl's youthful lover eloped

.....with her

with her, to the unbounded fury of the old contender). Now this girl took up the conversation with an air of liberty equal to those of her aunts and retorted with a flourish of the hand that she would do nothing of the sort. The man was too ugly and lazy, she concluded while the adults giggled approval. However if a definite question as quoted above is not put to the children they are not normally allowed to take part in adult conversation as such. Neither are they permitted to ask adults questions on sex or to discuss sex freely among themselves. Under these conditions they note and exaggerate adult interest in sex activity and suspect that they are being deliberately cheated by adults as they have reasons to believe they frequently are. It is not improbable that this exaggeration of adult life and intensions may mislead them to adopt, if only temporarily, a biased and unwholesome sense of values, which in turn may result in irregularities and malpractice. (See appendix III - Children's songs: for a reactionary turn of mind)

P O S S E S S I O N S

The child below the age of four years is not taken seriously when he takes things belonging to other peoples or when he does something wrong, for it is concluded that he is "unknowing" ("menyanu o", or "male nunyam o".) However such acts are never left unchecked. Children are told with an element of taboo which must have meant a lot in the past - that such acts of pilfering are not done. "Wo me wone o". Alternately, they may be told "they (meaning "we" in proper English usage) don't take other people's things. Put it down there. Yes, thats right. Now, don't take it again, you hear?"

Children who are expected to be knowing i.e. old enough to discriminate between good and bad - from the age of six or so onwards are not so readily let off or patted on the back when they take things belonging to others. Strong terms like "fiafi" (thief) are unhasitatingly applied to them. They are scolded, caned, or slapped according to the mood and decision of the father, mother brother or other adult relative present at the moment. Of course

with her, to the unbounded joy of the old contender. Now this girl took up the conversation with an air of liberty equal to those of her parents and returned with a flourish of the hand that she would do nothing of the sort. The man was too ugly and lazy, she concluded with the adult's rigid approval. However, it is a delicate question as to how far to the children they are not normally allowed to take part in adult conversation as such.



A child playing alone.

request that
leave persons
of this
to be left
which
the opposite

discuss sex freely away from
and... adult inter
they are being deliberately
to believe they frequently
exaggeration of adult life an
it only temporarily a blessed
in turn may result in irresol
- Children's songs for a home

The child before the
when he takes things belonging
washing wrong, for it is
("magnan o", or "magnan o"). However, such acts are never
left uncorrected. Children are told with an element of calm which
must have meant a lot in the past - that each act of pilfering
one act done. "So no more o", afterwards, they may be told
"they (meaning 'we' in proper English usage) don't take other people's
things. You'll do better. Yes, there's that. Now, don't take it
again, you hear?"

Children who are expected to be knowing i.e. old enough to
discriminate between good and bad - from the age of six or so
onwards are not so readily let off or guided on the back when they
take things belonging to others. Stronger terms like "steal" (child
the unsatisfactorily applied to them. They are scolded, rebuked, or
placed according to the mood and decision of the parent, with
further or other adult relative present at the moment. Of course

since parents "feel it" when their children are beaten up, especially when they are slapped, they will most probably raise objection to the effect that ~~that~~ the adult (brother or relative) did not inform them (the parents) about the misdeed before inflicting the punishment. Thus other adults inflict corporal punishment on children with caution and perhaps at great provocation, in many cases.

According to the local code of ethical values, stealing is second only to murder. For, in the little, almost self-sufficient village, muscular power and the sweat of one's brow can provide the basic needs that support life. A thief is considered lazy and wicked.* He is hooted and sneered at and mostly boycotted and feared. As children grow up they are made to acquire these adult attitudes to the practice of theft. When children collect their parent's food from the farms or at home for their own use, however, they are not considered to have stolen. Such commodities like pawpaw, pine apples, banana, pear and mangoes are of comparatively low value in the estimation of the adults of the village. But children like them a lot. People on the whole do not complain when children or any other people remove these items of food from their farms or plots of land. Children may not, in like manner, take such things as money or their friend's tennis ball and hide them with impunity. A child who does that receives rough checking which increases in scope in direct proportion to their ages. If things considered not very valuable belonging to adults are picked up by children in order to examine them they are not reproached for doing so. But if the thing is likely to lose in value or is fragile the child is made to stop tampering with it. Such a thing is either forcibly taken away and given to the owner to keep or the ^{child} is slowly coaxed to leave it and take something else in exchange. He is warned not to do that again or is smacked on the back and told to be a good boy. Children are regarded destructive, and in most homes the drama of a child seizing

* The Ewes from a few villages in French Togoland, very poor at home, migrate to some Gold Coast towns where life is fast and sweeping. Poverty and maladjustments drive some of them to become thieves and to win the unenviable epithet: "Ayigbe dzro" (Ewe thief).

a thing and an adult rushing to pluck it off before he smashes it is not infrequent. All attempts are made to stop them from being destructive. Caution is used to remove from his grasp things which either cut or burn or are in any way dangerous. Such things are then put beyond their reach, say at an elevation. If he shows fondness for fire it may one day be brought very close to his skin while the adult makes grimaces or accompanies the action with a noise intended to inspire fear. The discomfiture and the visible facial constortions ~~or~~ the audible attempts to frighten cause the child to with-draw in horror.

The child has his own possessions. But these are few. They include (1) "Pioto" (tight pants) (2) a cloth for sleeping with (used in place of a night gown). (3) A shirt (4) Shorts: These two in case of boys. (5) Ear-rings (6) beads for wearing around the (a) neck, (b) the wrists (c) the waist (d) the ankles. Items in Nos. 4 and 5 are specially for girls. Some children also possess in addition, (6) a towel (7) sandals (African). A few children may also possess any of the following (8) a singlet (9) One or two toys - either made for her or by her locally. The majority of children have not even half the items on the above list of possible possessions. A few of them do manage to earn small fees by helping to pick coffee from the little plots * around the village or to pound it ⁱⁿ order to remove its outer skin (after it has been dried hard and boiled and redried). Others sell oranges or coconuts.

Foot Note:

* There is no standard measurement for any piece of farm or garden. Any size of clearing can form a farm.



The Rubber Gun.

The rubber gun is a simple
 device consisting of a long
 wooden barrel and a trigger
 mechanism. It is used to
 fire a projectile made of
 natural rubber. The gun is
 held in the hand and aimed
 at the target. The trigger
 is pulled to fire the
 projectile. The gun is
 simple and easy to use.

There is no special
 preparation for the use of
 the gun. The gun is
 ready to use. The gun is
 simple and easy to use.

With the fees earned they buy (in addition to dried bean balls, sugar and pap) such possessions as cushion balls and tennis balls or mouth organs. Sometimes they are encouraged to buy rosaries for prayers.

In many cases children themselves are ingenious at making their own fairly big play materials and toys. For example they make motor cars with roofs, steering and wheels. But these have to be pushed from behind by one or two other boys while one drives and one or two passengers sit in them. They also make wooden shoes which could be of two types (a) the type into which the feet can be pushed entirely. This is difficult to make. (b) a second type with high heels and with woven raffia slung across the top in a "Y" shape (such as is found on African sandals) these are used for walking in the rain. They protect the feet from certain bacteria which cause foot-rot for these bacteria are mainly present in water collected in small ponds on the ground after rain fall. From the forest they are able to spot out rubber trees. From them they tap out rubber for making rubber balls. These are able to bounce higher than the commercial ones and if made massive (like cushion balls) they last very long. From lower portions of coconut leaves (the part attached to the tree), they make what they call motor bicycles. The material is partly arched. The heavier portion they hold up towards their chests with both arms. On this portion they fix about four pieces of the parts of corned beef tins which are left on the keys after opening them. As the lower portion of the motor bicycle is pushed forcibly along the ground, it makes a noise that sounds like that of a motor byke. Some children weave bags from raffia for sale or make cages with raffia palm-pith for canary and other birds. From the material they also construct toy houses.

They make also their own "doors" which are a type of hard mats made from palm fronds. Children are very proud of their traps. From five to six years of age they can make four types of traps (1) fish traps. These are made from (a) the material



His toys are often simple.

ENT

used in making their "doors" and "windows" i.e. from palm leaves (b) raffia ropes (c) flexible climbers.

(2) Bird traps. These are also of two types. (a) The first type is made from a kind of very sticky rubber. It is spread on some flat surface and some grains are put on it. The stuff is put on branches of trees usually visited by birds. (b) The second type is made from a strong but flexible sticks. This is bent into a circle made with pegs and fixed to strong ropes into a trap. Food is placed in it. It must be on a spot usually visited by bush-fowls and other large birds. This trap also catches animals such as those of the rodent group.

(3) The type known as "aza". It is made with stones and bamboo, which are fixed to fall on the (unfortunate) animal which gets under it.

(4) An iron trap that is toothed. This type is hidden in the soil.

In addition to possessing some of these traps almost every child of about eight years of age has his rubber-gun attached to a "Y" - shaped stick.

Their toys are negligible. But they value the above possessions and persuade themselves besides, that a wall is a lorry or a bicycle a table is a house or a chief's umbrella; tins are various types of pots and sand is valuable coffee, cocoa or corn, rice, beans or powder.

Children also have their new cloths. These they wear when they accompany their mothers to church ^{Reference; Chapter 5 :-} Clothes). The new clothes which some of them wear (especially in the case of boys) are the spare ones - usually small in size - which their mothers use on top of those they really wore or those used for carrying babies. They put on these new cloths (or dresses) whenever adults also get dressed for ceremonies and festivities.

The child has the opportunity for using his other possessions (apart from new clothes) when he is not required to accompany the parents to the farm or on travels to neighbouring villages, or when he is not required for such errands as collecting food from the farm

going to help his elder or younger "father's" wife in her house-hold duties etc. or engaged in other house-hold duties as sweeping or cleaning plates or lighting fire. Children have on the average about two whole days within a week during which time they can organize their gang plays or attend to their own possessions such as traps^{or} make new toys like lorries. They have in addition, ~~to~~ the evenings also^{and} about two or three hours daily for their own activities.

As children are generally regarded as destructive, ~~for~~ ~~the~~ ~~person~~ they are, when very young (say about two to five years of age) not relied upon to undertake such work as the washing of plates and pots or the cleaning of lamps, although they might wish to do so. They are also watched (See chapter 6: Discipline) and when seen to be touching or playing with things which might get destroyed, they are told: "Get away! Don't you see it will get spoilt?" The adult hurries to get it from him, and he may cry a little.

Children who are about six years onwards are given responsibilities. One may be responsible for seeing that all the fowls and their chickens are safe in the pen by night-fall. He should let them out at about seven in the morning and feed them. He should see that there is water near the pen. The inside of the pen and its surroundings should, he is reminded, be swept clean daily. Another boy may be responsible for marshalling into the enclosure reserved for them, the sheep and goats. Some of these are his own and he is proud (like the boy or girl in charge of the hens and cockes) to be responsible for them and to possess some. Others must accompany the mother and the girls to the rivulet for collecting water early in the morning. Anyone who fails in his or her duty is sharply reprimanded or beaten. They must not break things. If they do so they should expect punishment more than forgiveness. In order that they may not have the opportunity to destroy things very much, children are normally not allowed to handle things that may get spoilt such as valuable plates and glasses.

For very young infants (four to eight months old) a small



The plant "babati"
produces the foams

carved piece of wood may be tied to his wrist for him to play with. Sometimes a tin, or a clean pan or a comb or a spoon is put before him. As the child begins to toddle and then walk what he sees he tries to touch and what he can lift up a young child (three to ten months) generally puts into his mouth. From about a year to two and a half years he passes the stage of testing to that of knocking down all things he can lift or if possible tearing them, and seems to be enjoying the sights of the wrecks he has made. As he does these, of course, he is inviting beating, in many cases. In order that he may not swallow up pebbles, eat sand or break pots a child is either watched and put where he cannot get to these things or he is carried on the back. From a year to three years when his legs can get him to things and places where he may (at one or two) chew, smash up, break or tear things, he is encouraged to play among his friends in the sand. These children are encouraged to organize their various gang games and play activities. They use old tins, broken pieces of pots or plates, pebbles, shells of small bush snails, preserved bones, sticks, leaves and boards for play.

CHAPTER VII

SPEECH

Except a cause for crying has been known already and found to be without remedy (which is improbable) all children's crying is heeded. This is because there are no regular hours for eating or sleeping moreover the child may have incurred some accident or be in a real danger. The crying may mean or indicate that the child is

(1) hungry (2) frightened (3) fallen down (4) sleepy (5) ill, or (6) uncomfortable. These might mean that he should be given the breast to suck, be rocked gently or strolled with, or sent to bed directly. If the crying is persistent the adult would go to examine him and see if he has got sand or pepper into his eyes or has had a fall, or has wounded himself. Sometimes the mother touches his fore-head to see if he is hot, (See medicines: Chapter

4- Elimination) the rise of temperature may be, as seen earlier, ascribed to too much exposure to the rays of the sun. If it is hunger, the child must not be hungry. He could lack many things but not food, while his mother, relatives or other guardians live (and one or other of them does live all the time). A mother does not consider it complimentary to herself if her child is always crying. Whatever happens, something must be done about it.

If the parents decide he needs some beating and/or threatening with more beating in order to make him stop crying, they execute this responsibility with promptness. It may just be the menacing attitude or antics of an advancing goat frightening him. He is soon saved from further worry. In deciding how to treat his or her child on occasions of crying a parent is sometimes helped to come to a decision by the comments of the relatives or near neighbours who can be relied on to have something to say on each occasion. Sometimes a parent finds himself or herself compelled to refute an impression these neighbours are inclined to put forth, and to appeal to the child to co-operate in order that people who are "always looking for stuff to talk of" may have their attention diverted elsewhere.

Mother's say to their crying children: "Don't cry, don't cry you hear? It's alright, I say, don't cry. You will get sick."

Sometimes they are threatened with the mention of that child-eater "babui" to hush them up. Older children are either coaxed, threatened, beaten or have their want supplied or doubt allayed.

The following remain for long reasons for a child's crying

- (1) a desire for the possession of a thing which fascinates him but is denied him, such as a looking glass or a camera or a wrist-^{let} or table watch.
- (2) a desire to remain at home and play within a familiar and open environment, thus being saved also the effort needed for walking a long distance to farm (some are mile to four miles away). The parents may think on different lines. Staying at home may be an early sign of budding laziness. Besides there is no one to care really for the child at home - other people being responsible for their own affairs. And after all why should the children be lazy? ^{the parents} They dared not do so when they were young. Why encourage it?
- (3) Pain or humiliation or anger caused by a fight with another child.
- (4) Accidents such as cuts by knives, burns, walking over thorns while on the way to the farm or in the farm
- (5) a feeling of insecurity due to the fact, say, that there are many children in the home out the parents centre their interests on perhaps a young one who is often carried and carefully nursed while one who is a little older is not having such attention.
- (6) Children also cry when sleepy or hungry.

Except where the parents have been wishing for a particular sex of children for a long time and they have had one ~~one~~ at last, consideration of sex does not affect attitude towards a child's crying. But the crying of younger children is needed more than that of older ones.

Children's first vocalization is a source of great joy to their parents. The mother (or the father) repeats the child's word ^{and} smilingly encourages him to say it again. If the vocalization resembles part of an adult word, for example if the child says "Pa", the parent may repeat the whole word or say it as it is said and by look and gesture encourage the child to say the right word several times e.g. "Papa" "Papa", "Papa". If the father is near the mother may point at him, while she utters the words.

From a child's first vocalization in the form of gurgling and babbling just around the third month after birth the mother becomes actively interested in what the child utters, and shows very pleasurable responses which often cause the child to smile back. For example mothers were observed kneeling and throwing their body forward (in a semi-prostrate position) and as they held the children's hands the parents responded "iya" (meaning yes) "yayayayayaya.....yayaya" or "grrrrgrrrr.....grrrr" which are imitations of children's direct and original vocalizations. The mother's sounds and physical contacts (holding of the child) are accompanied with a countenance invariably lighted with smiles. Sometimes she raises her eye-brows and nods. These signs of approbation are made by the mother - or the sisters present, or even, sometimes the father - more often than not whenever and wherever the child utters his sounds. The signs vary only according to the reactions - always pleasurable - produced whenever these spontaneous sounds are uttered by children. There was no evidence to suggest that mothers at the very early stage of the child's linguistic experiences show any concern about correctness or correction seriously given to enable the child to attain any standard of approximation to adult speech.

The child's crying responded to in the early stages of his development (i.e. one to eight months). The mother tries to supply the child's needs, and the child, no doubt, discovers early the power of his utterance in this respect. In a home where I spent much time (during my holidays) there was a child four and a half months old. His crying from bed brought in an adult approximately between one and two minutes after the utterance of the first shriek call. When he began to cry (after soiling the bed with urine or faeces, or perhaps due to frustration or a feeling of loneliness) he continued to cry normally first and then, as no response came he increased the pitch of his voice and spouted out shrieks, giving intervals of a few minutes during which time - presumably - he listened to the sound of

adult's feet on the wooden floor. He continued crying when no one arrived. But when he sighted an adult's face leaning over his bed he smiled and would often propel his legs faster in the air while thrusting out the hands convulsively. He was then carried. Sometime the mother (a trained teacher) would say, "Let him cry a bit. He has just eaten and eliminated". The father, also educated and a native of Gbledee would say: "That's nonsense "darl", go and lift him up and give us peace". In Gbledee itself the mother did not wait to be told to satisfy the child in order to make him stop crying. She did so herself (as of course this particular mother often does).

Baby talk like the child's initial emotive and manipulative symbolizations is regarded as a necessary stage in linguistic development which the child is expected to get over gradually over several years of his early life (up to say, ten years of age in some cases). For example he says "alu" for "madu" (I'll eat) "maspo" for "makpo" (I'll see) "mebe" (which means "I say" for "megbe" (I refuse or I disagree). On the whole throughout their infant stage, children find difficulty with the plosive consonants "kp" "gb" and the fricative one "r" for these they substitute "p", "b" and "l" respectively. These are corrected by adults who sometimes ask children to repronounce the correct forms after them or say "they (meaning "we") don't say so. This is what is said" and proceed to say the correct form. They may do it once or twice, but if each time the child lapses into the baby forms, they may give up. They regard baby talk as a sign of childishness. This opinion gets communicated to children who do not wish to be perpetually labelled differently from other children. Besides older children laugh at them when they are engaged in baby talk. These socializing influences do succeed to help them together with their attention to adult speech to develop adult forms of expression from the fifth to the tenth years of age.

Parents in the villages have no theories to go by or any formal education of traditional practice in the matter of

linguistic training for any period of the child's development. But each parent is vaguely aware of the child's stages of development, his difficulties and the amount of help he requires to bring his attainment at par with that of the society as a whole. In effect each parent is his or her own expert. The influence of other members of the society in varying degrees, in the case of vocalization, is comparable with those illustrated under such other forms of contact as (a) carrying and (b) Discipline. Only one would expect the socializing influence of language to be more accelerated than other forms of contact as much of the interpretation of human action depends on language.

Up to one year of the child's age the mother does all she can, and succeeds to a remarkable extent, to interpret the child's baby talk. But from two years of age, however imperfect the child's language is, it is expected to have a great deal of conformity with that of an adult. For example he is expected to substitute the euphemisms "afodzi" (on foot) and kpoxa (beside the fence) for the onomatopoeic words "prrr" or "pin" "or pun"^{for bowel elimination.} He is also expected to employ the use of the symbol "etsi" (instead of the usual baby word "baba") for water. However, the child's use of "bubui" to create a large area of reference (and these have been taught him) of what he is afraid of, or what bites or is ominous is retained sometimes to the age of seven and a half and even eight years of age. But in the course of these years he is taught, for example, that a centipede is not just "bubui" but specifically "hliha" as distinct from a frog - "akpakpla" and a snake - "eda" all of which he fears (to start with) [See children's drawings]

During the period before a child walks he talks mostly in the presence of and to the mother. When his steps^{are first} take the mother's influence reduces as he moves away into the company of younger relatives and friends with whom he plays and talks. Gradually he talks less with the mother and more with the young children. But he also talks to (and is talked to by) his grand mothers, sisters and brothers of all ages, his aunts and uncles as well as the father.

Of these older people he asks questions: "What is this thing called "(as is done by children of all nations, races or colour) or he tries to tell them the account of an experience he has had. It may be entirely imaginary. Adults, however show very little patience or tact and tolerance or sympathy with the child's feelings. In most cases, children are swept aside and literally off their feet with the usual adult retort "It's alright, away with you, go and play, I am busy". The child is sometimes asked: "Don't you see big men talking to me". He may cry a little at such - the child's first experience of this type of crude adult behaviour - unpredictable adult reaction to what is to him very interesting. He is sometimes told "You are a liar. Soon he learns to avoid these charges and disappointments by cutting his free communication with adults to a minimum. He asks fewer questions.

From the age of about two and a half onwards, a child is talked to mostly in the form of admonition, correction, instructions, commands etc. by adults. In the presence of adults he should modulate his voice, for he is likely to "disturb" these adults. He is asked: "Why do you shout like that?" Or "why is it that you alone shout like that?" He may be ordered: "stop shouting there.

A child is in most cases "let off" with grammatical mistakes. In certain cases the correct thing is said and he is made to repeat it. But from the age of five there is more and more strictness in the criticism of children's speech defects (or deficiencies).

The terms "eka hatso" (you lie) and the ~~hooting~~ "ewuu!" have not ~~that~~ always ^{the} strong tinge of unpleasantness that their English equivalents have, and they are more freely used both by adults and children than would normally have been expected (by a person with quite a different environmental background). When an "ananse" story has been told, the narrator or author sometimes ends by saying: "When I was coming this way, an old lady, with her hair as white as cotton-wool, pulled me aside and told me this "lie" to come and confide to you". When a child

finds an adult's answer to his question unsatisfactory he hoots "ewuu!" and moves off with a twinkle in his eyes. This happens, for example when, as a result of the play of the various inhibitions on an adult's mind, due to the taboos connected with sex, he gives a child a confused and incorrect answer to a question, - or when the symbols the adult uses to connote a referent (or referents) have little meaning for the child: - ~~the~~ in the same way ~~as~~ an adult ~~also~~ mis-interprets a child's meaning.

When an adult considers that a child is telling lies he says one of two things: he tries to impress upon the child that what he is saying cannot be true, or he says: "Alright, get along with it ... alright I have heard it." Sometimes if a child comes, for example to report that she has seen a hawk carrying off one of the chickens the father may go and count them up. The word fantasy is not in the father's dictionary at the moment. What he knows is that the child has told a lie. He may decide to beat the lie out of her. This, however does not often happen as the child is not encouraged to chat freely with adults at the stage of mental development when she is able to build up connected mental pictures.

In adult society, serious lying or a desire to confuse or mislead by means of language is regarded as a serious example of dishonesty. (Story Telling is like the jokes in say, "Punch".) Dishonesty is regarded the progenitor of related malpractices like stealing and poisoning (what they know as killing by means of charms and devil-deities). Anyone who is regarded seriously and a capital liar is shunned and made miserable.

Games, Sports, Stories

Games sports and other athletic activities among children in Gbledee could be divided broadly into two groups: (1) Traditional activities and (2) other activities acquired or derived as ~~an~~ a result of contact with formal (school) education.

1. Among the traditional ones are (a) Wrestling. This may be undertaken as a measure of a form of prowess and skill, either by two children of equal heftiness or under the direction of interested bigger boys. It may be undertaken seriously or as a form of play.

Even where it is initially a play, a child who is forcibly knocked down may cry. Adults discourage its practice. Children generally retire to private haunts to indulge in (b) Hide and seek is done at night or on traditional days of rest, on Sundays, or when children find that many of them are together at home.

It entails hiding in obscure corners at home or ~~behind~~ behind bushes and on trees just at the out-skirts of the village. The more skilful a group is in hiding the greater its honour. Inability to locate hide-outs is a disgrace. In this game children are able to express themselves in free speech and activity out of adult view. Children may acquire their early sex knowledge while thus engaged. They know, - when they are mentally developed enough - that sex activity in the bush is tabooed such malpractice, they learn, causes illness leading up to confession and consequently purification (See Adolescence)

(C) Group Marriage Dancing: On moon-lit nights unmarried youths - boys and girls- assemble at opposite sides to each other (sex). They clap and sing, sometimes accompanying these performances with bodily movements forward and up-wards or from side to side at intervals, continuously. As they sing, a member of the group bursts out and makes detours of dance movements. She finally hangs a handkerchief on the neck of any-one of the men she "loves". The man also dances and hangs the 'kerchief around the neck of another girl. The process is repeated several times with any member of the group who has a fine voice introducing new songs. Many really new songs are learnt on the spot by means of a member introducing a simple song, as a chorus, repeating it several times and then stressing and prolonging a refrain which gives the queue for the others to start singing.

exposing (D) Girl's own dancing: This entails one's nudity partially, which the average ordinary man throughout the ages has been known to admire, albeit with protestations. It is like this: The girls wear their beads and other primary types of clothing. They have a

..... short

cloth tied loosely over these on their waist. They then form a circle each one facing the back of another. They sing thus:-

"Afua be nyede amaa na yia,
Afua be nyede amma na yia,
Ama kpolokpolo ne yia,
Edo dzo; boblo me, tso ta.

Ago loo!"

As they sing "Ago loo!" they quickly exchange cloths by each girl snatching a cloth from the waist of one in front of her and putting it around her own waist.

The text of the utterance which, when sung as the girls dance round and round, making agile movements, (as they do so) with their legs, is pleasant to hear, is as follows: (It does not yield itself to easy translation or even understanding).

Afua says I should make her naked,

Afua says I should make her naked,

fat, fat Ama - for her (i.e. she wants me to expose her nakedness; this part leaves much unsaid).

Cloth is fallen - nakedness, ("Boblo me" is a very old unused euphemism for nakedness) take it and put (it) on:

"Ago loo" means either "knocking" or "I am asking permission," or "give me a chance." Any of the last two could fit into the context. Now the process continues until each girl gets back her cloth. Formerly girls must have left each other quite naked each time they pulled off the cloth. (See also parallel procedure during marriage ceremony and "Nogbonuitata"). These exposures also explain, to an extent, insistence upon poise and beauty of bodily structure. Compare with this the practice whereby young men in their beautiful "pioto" and smocks travel long journeys from around Tumu and Bawku to the markets of these towns in order to see the young women whose natural forms are, as yet, undisguised by variously designed clothes.

(e) A form of playing which boys and girls say they enjoy is for them to fold up their clothes and put these on their heads.

They then put short pieces of sticks they have made into their mouths. They make various mimics - exaggerations of expressions and attitudes of adults smoking pipes. While thus engaged they sing: "See how they do it, they do it; See how smokers tilt their pipes." As they sing they advance forward in a sort of tramp.

This is another example of wilful self-exposure, (like the parades of nudes common in some other societies).

(f) Children construct various types of wooden lorries on wooden wheels and ^{push them} forward on a trot with long forked-sticks.

(g) Very small children tie one end of their length of cloth round their waist and hold the other end with both hands stretched above each side of their heads. As they run, air fills the cloth and makes it into a sort of wool like a sail.

The rest of the Ewe sports and games such as (1) Atikaka and (2) Vedada (3) Akoto dada (3) Stone Rhythm ~~etc.~~ are illustrated in the appendix.

Here is a list of a few which have been introduced by contact with educated elements: (1) Ludo playing

(2) Foot ball playing

(3) Marching.

(4) Long Jump

(5) High Jump

Children play individually until they are about seven to eight years of age (See Appendix for their plays)

Except for children who are attending school in the village or away from it, there is no defined requirement for any standard of athletic skill. All that is required is that a child shall play normally as other children do and perform the various duties ascribed to him as he grows - including farming in all its forms, by the traditional method.

Foot Note: To Reference on page 107 to EARTH and Work (mis-typed on this page).

- * Note that the earth is regarded in Yoruba, Ewe and Akan mythology as mother god or goddess, as distinct from the sky god, also distinct from God, (Mawu). Perhaps there is a connection between mother earth and the term "work-mother."

For very young children there are no songs specifically made. What such children do is to pick up pieces from adult songs, or make up jingles for themselves. Individual children and some in groups have been noticed singing and actively enjoying songs like:- "Kelen Kelen, Kelen keleng (tsw, tsiu, tsiu)" Repetitions of these are done over and over again; or "Yeese, ye^{se} ye^{se}" several times. On occasions they would delight to repeat tens of times: "Every-body" as a piece from the song "Every-body likes Saturday night".

For songs sung by children between the ages eight years and sixteen to eighteen years of age, see appendix on "KenKa"- a children's dance song.

Stories told to children are not always different from those that adults normally tell each other. When adults are telling stories of an evening, children may be near to listen, hiding their faces in their mothers' laps when strange and fearful adventures and experiences are being related. But there are also suitable ones on such topics as (1) Why - Old Granney hen is always searching through the ground, (2) Why a cock has that fiery "cap" on its head (3) What happened to three children of varying sizes of legs, heads and stomachs when they went to look for food (4) the various exploits of Mr. Spider who is a legendary figure credited with great powers for outwitting others with whom he come into contact (5) The idea of the spider often fades into that of an old woman.

Work: - At the age of about three years, children are expected to do minor jobs like going on short errands to call new members of the society or relatives or sitting behind and holding the younger members of their family in position, or simply sitting beside them and watching them. At about six years of age children are required to be able to do such additional jobs as sweeping their parents' rooms, bath rooms, carrying food for their father to eat, fetching water for their own baths and carrying, say, a small log of fire-wood or a yam from the farm - usually three-quarters of a mile to a mile away - to their homes. They are also expected to be able to go on errands throughout the village.



A mother in making



The Boys with the Men.

At this age girls are required to attach themselves more to their mothers while the boys attach themselves to their fathers. Then begins what could be described as their vocational training, the training intended to make them lead the life of the community following the pattern of their parents. In the village there are two black smiths, two carpenters and five masons. These do their jobs as part-time occupation. When they are engaged on these, boys of the ages eight to fifteen do help and perform minor services like keeping the leather bellows blowing etc. Everybody who is not an invalid is a farmer.

Girls are expected to be in the kitchens with their mothers and learn the one and only method of preparing fire - that ^{is} firewood in self-made earthen stoves which are daily washed with distempers prepared from various local soils. She must learn to build the fire-place beautifully - to be of the right size, the right slope at the centre and of standard shape. The boy should accompany his father to see his traps, or to dig up yams for women to carry. (The women could up-root cassava, but it is not their business to study the technique of removing yams and leaving in the "head" to grow, or earlier re-digging in the soil to about one and a half feet deep in order to ~~about one and a half feet deep in order to~~ loosen it for the growing tip of the yam to work its way freely through. He must learn to sharpen knives, cutlasses, hoes, scythes and later, axes and to know how to use them. He should begin to work hard on the farm like a man on clearing prolific vegetation for burning in order that the farm may be got ready for crops to be grown. But the boy does not do all these together or at the age of six. By about ten to twelve years of age however he ~~one~~ should be able to prove that he is going to be a good farmer in a practical way. The placing of yams on the mounds (prepared by adult men and youths of ten years and over), the growing of corn, cassava and vegetables and the hoeing-in of rice are the responsibility of adult women, girls and boys of the ages eight years and above

The technique used to make children work hard is praise. An adult observing a boy working may remark: "Dong, dong, dong! Kpo asi loo" meaning mother of work, mother of work, mother of work! Take care of your hands * These remarks are common customary exhortations and complimentary greetings on all farms. The adult continues by assessing the child's capacity for work: "Ah; he exerts himself exactly like his ancestral grand-father, adja Koku whom it was no easy job convincing to go and eat some food, once he started working".

The enthusiasm and examples of adults themselves are very effective in inducing children to work hard. Such is the nature of opinion against laziness and the passion of the people for maintaining and extending their farms that lazy people - and children-are uncommon.

Children who do not wish to work when they are in normal health are made unhappy by bitter words of taunt and ridicule from other children and from adults. Sometimes their parents beat them. This is because adults consider it not only proper but necessary for children to be taught the habit of industry. They do not consider it morally wrong for children to work, for they say the children are the adults own flesh and blood and they would not dream of giving their flesh and blood work which is beyond their ability. On the whole, these adults do not keep children working all day to the extent they do themselves. They know fairly well the amount of work each child is capable of doing and they see to it that the child does it - at home or on the farm - and also has his rest, together with time for what should interest him more - play.

But children do not always share their parents' sentiments for work, especially when there is a prospect of their having protection and food at home when they do remain while their parents are away.

Read
* Note on this mistyped on p. 104.



A child carries while others search for plucked cocoa.

I had to be at home throughout the period I was collecting these bits of information. A niece of mine, five years of age, often kept me company with other children.

At eight o'clock one morning the mother - my sister - came to call her to farm. From my bed the girl complained of serious stomachache. She was therefore allowed to remain at home with me. Forty-five minutes after the mother had left for a farm, she became very cheerful in conversation with me and in play. I asked whether her pain had reduced. Her reply was that she never had any! When questioned further, she revealed that she saw no reason why she should go to farm when her uncle (whom probably she thought many adult villagers respected) stayed at home. If I had remained many more weeks at home she would probably have considered it an honourable thing to remain behind a desk in the way I did, and be fed from other people's labours - at least at that age she would. The farm was a mile and a half away. She had to walk with the parents (at adult speed) and perhaps rest under a tree or chase the insects about while the parents worked. Parents stay on the farms normally for nine or ten hours a day for five days a week. They normally ^{to the farms} go with their children who are expected to remain there with them.

A young boy Adokor (born on a farm plantation at Adokor in the rich ^{cocoa} farming district in the Jarsikan area) is nine years old. He is in standard one in the village school. When he goes to farm, he works extraordinarily hard and ridicules adults whom he considers lazy.

At present ninety-five per cent of the boys and over seventy per cent of the girls of school-going age do attend school in, or outside, the village. They accompany their parents to their farms on Saturdays and during holidays.



An Adolescent Girl.

CHAPTER VIII

ADOLESCENCE

There is no radical or sudden change in a child's life or appearance between pre-puberty and puberty. Such a change as there is both in mental attitude and physical make-up goes on gradually, and one only notices the change by projecting the mind backward and comparing an age of a normal adolescence and his previous stage of development. Adolescence does not start at a specific age, and a wide range of ages falls under the term adolescence. Thus, when some adults were questioned on adolescence what they did was to point out certain children which in their individual opinions had reached the age of puberty. These children were found to be between fifteen and twenty-one years of age.

Two men looked at me slyly as if too shy to answer. When encouraged to do so they remarked "A child has grown (or reached puberty) when he begins to call" (i.e. indulge in sex activity with) girls. A girl is recognised to have arrived at puberty when she begins to have her menstrual flow - by lunar months.

(The calculation of ages (except in very few cases where parents are literate) is done backward or forwards down to, or up from the year that a particular farm was made when the child was born. This method can, in many cases, only reveal the season and not the month or date, for the farmers of Galedet still practice the "bush-fallow" method of subsistence agriculture. The actual days they know from the children's day-names given them at birth e.g. "Kofi" for Friday. However the name of the month can be calculated from the time or season when the farm was made. Although a great number of people have forgotten the names of the thirteen months (exactly calculated by the occurrence of a new moon) a few, especially the elders and some young men interested in traditional history could tell the



Tafafeta: a Purification



exact month - calculated in association with physical changes such (as is evident from "the fall"). All the local names for the thirteen months appear in the Appendix.

In former days boys were circumcised just before puberty and this act was eventful in a child's life as it formed a definite step-over from childhood to puberty. On the day a boy was circumcised his colleagues - equals by age-banded themselves and proclaimed the event with "So' be nye mawo aga wo; So be nye mawo aga, wo o". This is repeated several times. "So" in Ewe-Fon religion (where Professor Henskovits and Dr. Parrinder had their researches) means the god of the sky i.e. Thunder as distinct from Mawu - God "So" must have been considered the protecting spirit or force of young men in the way some other countries still regard saints like St. George. Their song means "So" says I shall not do it and do it again". It may also be a direct insinuation on women who have their menstrual flow over and over again and bring forth several times. Mainly due to the fact that children express, and remember, long after their puberty the pain endured when they were circumcised just before puberty, the tendency now is to circumcise them when they are very young. Children circumcised very young do not later remember ^{the event.} ~~this~~ ^{late circumcision} makes present day emergence into puberty obscure and ill-defined.

But the custom accompanying circumcision is still observed. It is as follows: The child's father buys a cock and one or two pots of palm wine. He causes fufu to be prepared along with the cock. He then invites his relatives and friends as well as the boy's friends. The food is eaten. The drink is served. A prayer is offered (See girls puberty rite in the Appendix). There is joy and merriment; for, the boy has been accepted into the society of the privileged.

This custom is being superseded by another function which has emerged within the past twenty-five years. It is in fact an application of the ancient custom of "lafajla" - (shaving the head clean), a form of celebrating victory, performed (a) when



A Gun farmer

someone has recovered from a severe illness or has escaped from death, say ^{although} ~~by~~ a tree ^{has} fallen on him. The celebration is as follows: A white sheep is slaughtered over his feet. His head is tied with white cotton cloth. "Ege" or white clay is besmeared on his face and arms. Rare and costly beads together with raffia "wool" are used in tying his joints. He dressed in white cloth. feasting and drinking are essential parts of the celebration of this type of victory over death.

When a child has passed standard seven (Middle form IV) the father "plans ta ne, but he sometimes provides a cock instead of a white sheep. He also buys beer, wine and whisky or gin in addition to palm wine. But he manages to get back the amount he has spent - some times he gets more -when invited adults make voluntary contributions which he hands over to the youth. This celebration and that done soon after circumcision however are not mutually exclusive. The latter celebration is not confined to youths who pass out of the Middle Schools. It has been extended to those who have qualified for Teachers' Certificates and recently the extension has been proposed for those who have been to a University.

As a recognition of a child's emergence into puberty the father - if he is capable of doing so - buys him a gun.

Girls normally pass their first menses during their twelfth year. They are expected to be chaste until they are married or until their mother does "Nogbonui" for them. "Nogbonui" is a modified form of the marriage ceremony which a husband performs for a new wife. A girl is made to know that if she becomes pregnant before she has any of the above two customs performed, she brings forth a bastard - "Uqome vi" (literally "a town child") who has no social ^{father} ~~father~~. A girl could be ridiculed for the rest of her life if she brings forth "Uqome vi".

This custom makes girls wish to remain chaste until they are matured for marriage.

The "Nogbonui" ceremony as well as the proper marriage is impressive and makes the whole village and people in the neighbouring

villages aware that (a) the girl has reached a ripe age of puberty or (b) that she has got married, and no one could seek her hand in marriage any longer.

Girls get their instructions on sex matters from (a) older girls (b) their own playmates and acquaintances and (c) their mothers and aunts. Mothers are more ready to instruct girls on menstruation when they find the need for it - than they are over other matters of sex. Such instruction as there is is very simple as, I am told menstruation does not normally present any serious problems. As girls have much intimacy with their companion girls - eating together, sleeping and bathing in common, it is easy for a girl to get relevant information about menstruation as soon as she has her first flow - if not earlier. She learns simply that menstruation is a regular occurrence which comes on at intervals of about twenty-eight days (every new moon) in normal cases. It is natural and exclusive to women, and that she should, during such a period, use a different kind of "bandage" cloth, somewhat bigger than what she normally uses. She should wash and change these about twice daily.

A girl also learns that when she is at the period of menstrual flow she may not enter the houses of certain elderly men whose spirits "dislike" menstruation which is considered a pollution. If she does so by design or mistake she is liable to be fined* a sheep is then slaughtered to pacify the gods and purify the house. It is believed that if a woman fails to make public such a trespass, she will get ill and may die. Adokor (a boy already mentioned in connection with work) was looking through my album and commenting on the photographs he saw. The sight of a photograph of a nurse in Korle Bu made him remark: "Ladies-e ki" (this is ladies). When he saw a photograph of a rather wierd-looking old man carrying a bundle of long fire-wood on his way from a farm ^{id/tae/} burst out in a tone of amusement mingled with scorn, "ame yia tsi gogto" - this person has passed menses. Literally the expression means the person is left at the out-skirts of the town. In former days a woman was not allowed into the village during

* Compare with the fine imposed on some adolescents who failed to enter the church on a New Year: (p 117.)

her menstrual flow. She had to live in a shed outside the village until the period was over. This custom has been gradually modified during the past forty years. Still, in about half the number of homes in the village the woman, in her period must stay away in another home where such a restriction is not enforced. In the majority of cases she does not touch any part of the food being prepared for her husband. This is one of the reasons why some people marry more than one wife. This unwanted position of women with menstrual flow in the society of men gives children an exaggerated opinion of the nature of "gogo tsi tsi" menstruation.

Boys - Sex Knowledge

Boys get informed on sex matters from (a) piecing together impressions gathered piecemeal, from adult speech (b) spying an adults during periods of sex activity. ~~Adolescents learn very early through to be extremely~~
~~girls observe their own.~~ (c) Brothers and sisters who are older are free and liberal in answering children's queries. (d) Children's curiosity in sex affairs is heightened by their observance of and participation in (i) marriage ceremonies (ii) the singing of love songs by adults and children separately or together (iii) various types of children's play activities.

Chastity is an ideal held up to girls to aim at. Every man would wish to marry a virgin, and a girl who is known to be loose seldom secures a good husband. On the other hand the men only pay lip service to the ideal but do not find themselves able to ~~em/~~encourage or leave the girls alone to attain it in a great number of cases. In this matter of chastity, society in the Gold Coast as a whole is unjust to women. Men do not consider it in any way a disgrace if they mess about a lot with other women - so far as they steer clear of trouble - before they actually get married ^{or even after.} Women are most venemently criticised if they approach anything near the excesses of the men.

Adolescent sex activities include (1) feasting together when adults are asleep. This is usually well-planned and executed. The boys provide meat from their traps. The girls collect vegetables for the soup. All of them contribute food-crops from their

parent's farms - and in some cases, their own farms. They normally do not take any food apart from lunch before this supper. They stubbornly resist any adult interference. (2) Hide and seek, as in case of younger children, but obviously with more efficient methods. (3) the collection of small, slender grass from Agumatsato (3152 feet *). These they leave to dry up and weave with raffia into short brooms - which last for about three years - used for sweeping rooms. Adolescents make the trips in gangs. They start before six in the morning, carrying their day's food with them. On the hill, the mist is sometimes so thick that it is impossible to see another person more than seven feet away. The picking of the special grass from a host of others is a technique cultivated after practice. (4) Dances either exclusively by adolescents and young children or in the company of adults (see appendix). (5) Beside the above, children have been "caught" by adults engaged in sex activity.

Adults are aware of all the above forms of adolescent activity. They are aware that such activities may, in a few instances result in satisfaction of love urges by means of embracing etc., but they have enough of their own problems and have not the time to act on speculations over such activities that "do not spoil anything".

Both boys and girls love to possess their own small farms as soon as they can do so, and this is usually during their adolescent stage. Sometimes these farms are attached to those of their parents, but sometimes too, a gang of boys or group of girls go off to make their individual farms at the same area, *away from those of their parents.* Many girls plant ground nuts and beans annually. Almost all these crops are sold locally or at Hohoe. They may make bean balls - fried in oil and sold locally. They keep the money realized from the sale of the crops (or the crop products) and use it for

Foot Note :

* Gold Coast survey map, 1949



They wish to pass

1944

...

buying new underwears, beads, trinkets, cloth or head-kerchiefs. Formerly they had to give the money realized from the sales to their parents who might or might not use part of it for buying things for them. Some girls make small rice farms beside or in the midst of those belonging to their parents. They harvest these separately for sale or for their own private cooking. They cook to entertain their own girl friends mainly from the surrounding villages. Those who send some of their cooked food to their boy friends do it very secretly. This is because it is considered improper and even immoral for a girl to start cooking for a boy friend, especially if she has not previously been married (and divorced) by another man.

Apart from her farms, a girl loves to have, as seen above, new clothes, underwears, headkerchiefs and beads and trinkets. Next on the list of a girl's likes are the traditional songs and dances, accompanied by drumming, that are held periodically. Festivals and other celebrations fill her with great joy for then she would have the opportunity to dress and dance and meet with many friends. For, people from neighbouring towns and villages too are bound to come as guests - and new friends will be made. Many young men also do come and try to make love to her. In the same way, when these celebrations are being held in any neighbouring town or village, she also goes along with her friends and brothers and sisters. In the past, her father could successfully compel her to stay at home. Though some fathers still have it, fathers have lost a great deal of authority. This is due to the rapidly changing times.

Like the girls, adolescent boys are primarily interested in social activities, such as the dances, songs and celebrations. They would like to take part in beating the drums. A good number are interested in learning the beating of the talking drum and the atumpani drum,* they however, cannot beat the "hunter's drum" for that is specially a drum for the brave, formally in

*The name atumpani for war drums is Turi.

war as well as in hunting. It is these that cause young men's hearts to swell in admiration. Their desires to be like the brave - to dare and to out-wit - this time only the animal of the bush; but who knows, the enemy also beyond one's borders. The boys are also interested in the constitutional side of life, in installation of chiefs, customs at court and in formal or informal gatherings. They are also interested in other social activities like foot-ball matches with other villages or towns.

Apart from their intimate friends, society, functions, tradition and inter-village contests, adolescent boys like girls love to have their own farms. They plant coffee and cassava in addition to helping their fathers on their own farms of say, yams and cocoa.

The Gbededs are not exempt from the effect of the wave of nationalism sweeping the whole country. The youths are even more enthusiastic in many respects than adults who are often cool and calculating. But their nationalism is unorganized, and is often localized, being directed towards the digging out of the past and asserting self-determination in local administration, such as the seeking of a direct representation in the new Local Council set-up. The disputes and assertions are complicated, and, to the out-sider, uninteresting but they give young men emerging into adolescence new aspirations and new things to talk about. To the Gbededs, self government for the Gold Coast means a high price for cocoa.

In the matter of romantic love adolescents are very secretive, and would not wish their new lovers known except to their intimate friends whose secrets they also share. The love of parents - especially of the mother - does exist but it does not normally receive expression. It is taken for granted. It is when parents are ill or are dying that the intense love for them wells up from within all their children who are old enough to reason.

One notable change in children when they reach the age of adolescence is their rebelling against authority. Types of authority which normally have an impact on young people are the authority of their parents, the authority of elder relatives



K.C. Choir Thiede

Intervillage Singing Competitions
are common.

and the authority of the Church. Normally the simple villager would do all the Roman Catholic priest advises him to do - from the ordering of mass to the erection of Church and School walls or contribution to a central fund. They believe that it is through the expression of piety that their way to heaven is paved. But it appears to me that their form of piety, like that of a great number of other Christians, is more oral and physical than emotional and intellectual. For example as long as one's duty towards the Church is done and set formulae are uttered to God - as is meticulously uttered to ancestral spirits - the average person's role is fulfilled.

One outstanding, and I believe, isolated form of rebellion against the Church was evidenced in Gbledo during the New Year Eve. Christians - the majority of the villagers - had gone to Church, but a few adolescents had stuck to their singing and drumming to local tunes and refrain to which they danced. At the end of the service the priest and the Church committee rushed to the children and angrily demanded why they had gone against the rule of the Church. Meanwhile other boys and girls had fled leaving three who stuck to their drums. The matter ended by the children being forced to pay part of the fine of fifteen shillings - each. This money went into the central fund at Liat. The children's behavior was viewed as being very grave.

More frequent is the clash of adolescents with their elder brothers and sisters. When reproached they would "squeeze" up their faces and matter back. When hit, they would at times hit back. Even against their parents, especially the mother adolescents rebel ^{openly.} The crude, village, adult expression used for boys who rebel thus is: "Efe veku wu asi eyata mega pua ame o". This means his testicles have now filled the palm and therefore he does not respect anybody." Girls begin to rebel when their breasts ~~start~~ to grow large. Adults complain that adolescent girls' rebellion is because they have begun to "know" men.

Their belief is sometimes not unfounded. It is at this stage that the father takes almost full control over the discipline of the adolescents. The children's new ways of life and new mental attitudes are as puzzling to him as they are repulsive. When their parents shout at them these children are apt to say: "as for me, don't trouble me". A girl may sulk and refuse to eat for a whole day while she cries intermittently. A boy may leave the house for some time and stay with a friend.

The period of adolescence is indeed one in which visible rapid growth in size and extent, of the body as a whole, and sex organs and parts, takes place. Adults recall this period (between twelve and eighteen years) as one in which they began to feel like men, to do manly things and to question things they formally took for granted. But they also say that during their adolescent stage of development they were able to curb their "desires and appetites". This is true in the case of adults who are roughly about sixty and more years of age. "Civilization" does bring about consciousness as to individuals as such.

The name for an adolescent boy is "dekapui",* and that for an adolescent girl is "tukpokui". The literal translations of these words do not make sense. But it is not every word which yields itself to literal, meaningful translation. If the word for adolescence is not understood, neither are the adolescents themselves understood.

The villagers marry early, and adolescents marry as soon after the dawn of adolescence as possible. This is between the ages of fifteen to nineteen in the case of girls and eighteen to twenty-one with boys. A girl becomes a woman and no more "tukpokui" when she gets married. A male adolescent is a man when he possesses a gun or a house or a wife.

(END).

* "Deka" means "one"

"Kpui" " Short.

"Tukpokui" is not understood by modern users of this Ewe dialect.

Day Names

The Goledees originally had five day names. Their week was of a five-day rotation. But the Fekis, perhaps due to early influence on them from the Asnantis have seven. It may also be that when the Christian (Bremen) Missionaries arrived in Feki, and built up their Church in 1847, the Fekis then found that their day-names were, "inadequate" and therefore had to add two more to correspond with those that had been introduced by those preaching a new religion and a new way of life.

I set down the names in this order:-

1. Golede Day names
2. Day names for Amle's (my mother's village)

'Amle' is a village three miles north of Goledee.

3. Feki Day names.

Golede type

1. (i) Agbletegebe A day for active farming but ^(or therefore) a bad day for religious rites and customs.

(ii) Agoleveagbe , Second day of farming.

- (iii) Agolet⁵⁵gbe, (or Domegebe ^(vii)) Days on which one could suspend farming and perform rites or other customs, or rest.
- (iv) Agblamigbe :

Agblamigbe a day on which food stuffs should be brought home and stored for use on Afengegebe (v).

- (v) Afengegebe Afengegebe is like Sunday, it is a day set aside for the observance of rites, divinations, funeral obsequies etc. It is called a "cool day" which connotes holiness. On this day, marriages and "lafafle" (shaving of the head), a form of purification, are performed. Things which needed doing but could not be done on either Agolet⁵⁵gbe (the third day of farming) or Agblamigbe, are done on Afengegebe.

Each deity has its own day. Apart from this there are names for forests and stretches of grassland and of groves. Some of these names are (a) Wzalave (b) Kuvime (death forest), (c) Wagod. Each of these farm-lands has a specific day on which no one may work on it. If an offering is to be made for the protective spirit of that farm-land, it is made on these specific days.

Amele Type

2. (i) Agbletoegbe
- (ii) Agbleveegbe
- (iii) Agbletoegbe (Domegbe)
- (iv) Viegbe
- (v)* Vietoegbe
- (vi) Agblemiegbe
- (vii) Afengegbe.

On Vietoegbe as on Agbletegbe (in (i) above) the most active farming is encouraged. It is considered bad to perform customary religious rites on this day.

The Amele's although three miles from the Gbledes speak a dialect remarkably distinct from that of the Gbledes. They are ridiculed by the Gbledes for what the latter consider oddities of pronunciation. They may have arrived at their new destination after longer wanderings and possibly, they may have made more contacts with other tribes, notably the Akans than the Gbledes have made. In fact their language (as of all the fodome group) is akin to that of the Gbis of Honoe area who have the same borders with some of the Akan tribes dwelling in the Buem and Jasikan areas, famous for their cocoa.

3. <u>Peki Type</u>	<u>Akan Equivalent</u>	<u>English Equivalent</u>
(i) Agbleziigbe	Memenda	Saturday
(ii) Agbleveagbe	Kwasida	Sunday
(iii) Agbleetogbe	Dwoda	Monday
(iv) Agbleneagbe	Benada	Tuesday
(v) Agbleatoagbe	Kuda	Wednesday
(vi) Agbleamigbe	Yawda	Thursday
(vii) Afengvgegbe	Fida	Friday

Note: - (a) Agble means farm

(b) "eve", "eto", "ene", "ato" mean 2,3,4,5, respectively.

The stringing together of the numbers 2,3,4,5 shows that these names were perhaps later additions, made after the onslaught of Christianity.

Note:
* "S" is nasalised "s" (or as o in hot, but nasalised)

The following are the names of the months :-

The Gbledes have:

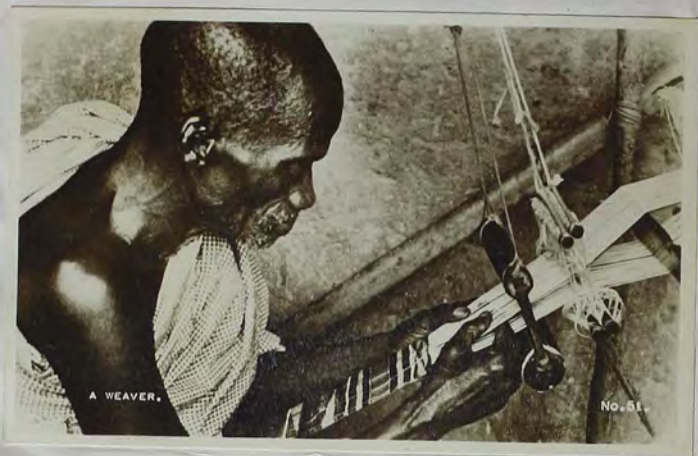
- (I) Dzove
 (II) Dzodzee
 (III) Tadoxee (when yams mature)
 (IV) Afofie (burnt feet i.e. period of great heat)
 (V) Danee
 (VI) Masa
 (VII) Siam lomi (Dry me remove me i.e. when rain and sun
 sunlight follow each other so frequently
 and suddenly, that one has to be drying things
 and removing them off and on)
 (VIII) Dasiamimee - (Put hand in oil)
 (IX) Anyonyo
 (X) Kele (thick grass i.e. when grass grows to
 full height)
 (XI) Adeamekpoxee (When the hunter seldom sees the sun).
 (XII) Dzome (means inside fire)
 (XIII) Foave - (means "clear the forest" i.e. for
 farming).

As would be expected the Pekis have, Twelve instead of thirteen names for the months:-

- | | | | |
|-------|--------------|--------|---------------|
| (I) | Foavee | (VII) | Siam-lomui |
| (II) | Dzodzee | (VIII) | Dasiamimee |
| (III) | Afofiale | (IX) | Dzakpa |
| (IV) | Agbebiadebia | (X) | Kele |
| (V) | Ati-fie-ngi | (XI) | Bibiakpabi |
| (VI) | Avu-lale | (XII) | Adeamekpoxee. |

The Peki classification is after the publication of Mr. A. A. Labi.

Note : "x" is pronounced as a mild "h"



Agotime and Dzodze: famous in Weaving



Kpandu Women are famous for their pots

STATISTICAL DATA, as for the year 1948.

Gblede is part of the Ho Administration. It forms, in Local Administration, part of the AKPINI STATE, with Kpandu as the capital, with the stool of the Paramount chief.

HO ADMINISTRATION:

Population: 172, 575.

Africans : 172, 530.

Non-Africans 45.

Annual increase in population since 1931; 2.20%.

Area 2,464 sq.mls; Density of pop. 70.0 persons per sq. mile.

Of African population 87,239 were males

85,291 " females

Principal Town:Ho-population: 5,852

Hohoe " 5,636

Kpandu " 4,040

Akpini State population 33,846

Others under Ho Administration:

Asogli - 44,342, Awatime - 14,950, Buem 45,114 and also

8 others not administered then by N.As. with population

(total) 34,278. These include Gbi, Anfoe, Goviefe, Likpe,

Nkonya, Santrokofi, Tsrukpe and Ve.

Principal Tribes (Ho Administration).

EWES 137,093 persons

ASANTES (Ashantis) 12,697 "

People engaged or employed on Cocoa farming: 11,710

" " on weaving : 791 men.

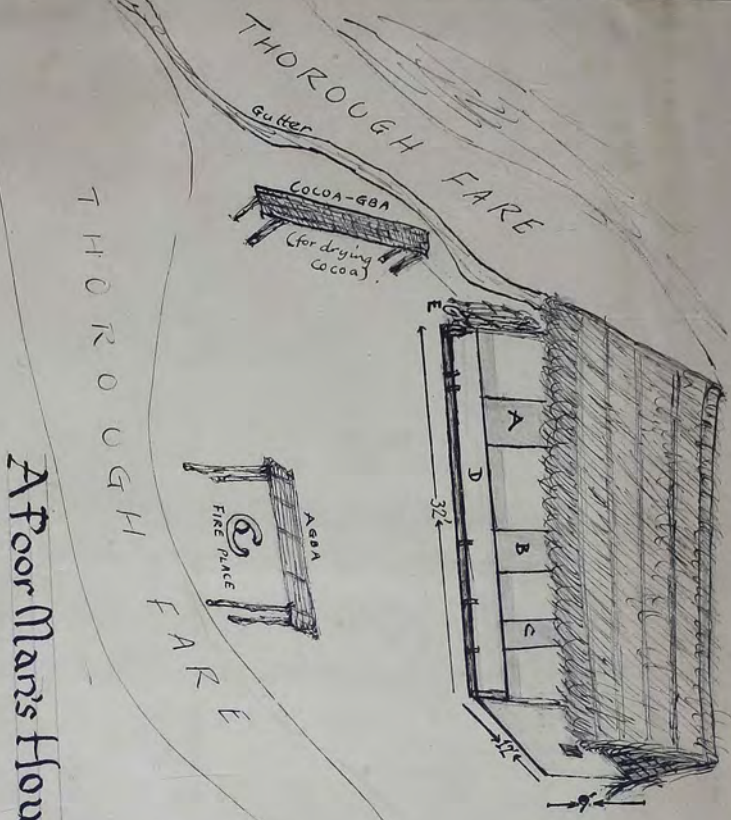
Women who were making pottery at Kpandu: 425.

Coffee was grown, but number engaged on it unrecorded.

Population of people over 10years of age who are literate in the G.C. 5½%; Total literate pop. 4%.

Percentage of literates in specific areas ofAdministration:-

Accra: 12.0%; Keta/Ada 3.3%; Gonja: 10% Ho 6.4%.



A Poor Man's House.

KEY.
A: - Man's Room
B. - Wives and Childs Room
C: - Storing water & food. For resting, feeding & so.
D: for fire-place.
E: fire-wood.

Hunting, Mourning and Remembrance Songs.

1. I am like grass (growing by a river) with my mouth
dipped in a river.
It is not for drinking that I am here.
Tell (i) mother's children this, why
Do they hear "haha" and take to their heels!
Tell them that "haha" does not bite man.
I am like grass with my mouth in a river.
It is not for drinking that I am here, o, no!
I am like grass with my mouth in a river
It is not for drinking that I am here, oh, no! all Akpinis!
2. I thought I was in dream-land,
"Talks" from dreamland have come revealed in the light
of day. (Repeat)
But things from dreamland do not remain in hand.
They are telling lies
If it were for dreams alone, I would have known all
the secrets of the house of death".
3. my Since flying-feathers have been plucked off
Am I footing to the top of the silk cotton tree?
Brother man, a prop in a wall.
If it is not in your hand
Your wall is fallen.
Sister woman who clears the dew before you
If she is not with you you feel cold, and lonely.

U.S.

Note: * "Haha" is a sound which inspires fear. Akpini is
of the name of a large state which the Gbledes are the
eastern extreme confederacy. The head-quarters of the
Akpini state is Kpandu.

I have no fatherly lineage

I have no motherly lineage

Whom am I going to relate my story of woe to?

Mother's child!

4. Had I but known that my mother's child would be taken
 into captivity,
 I would have put him in a bag and slung it behind me.
 Oh, had I but known that my mother's child would be taken
 into captivity,
 I would have put him in a bag and slung it behind me.

.....

5. Aye brother's place is surely not a place for drawing
 boundaries.
 Had I a brother, oh, my story would have been different.
 A settlement would long have been arrived at.

6. ^{brother} My nible-footed is lying drunk (3 time)
 Whom on errands can I send.

(Repeat whole several times)

N.B. - This piece also refers to death.

7. Bird from grave-land,
 Your wings are fragile,
 You cannot fly from death
 (Were it possible, you would have fled from death).

8. A brother is like an "Aza" *
 We do not stand afar to look at it.

* Aza is a type of trap which is made to fall on its victims - the animals.

9. Do you wish to rely on a stone.
 Do you wish to rely on a stone,
 Don't you know a stone never walks?

10. And you, and you and you
 And you and you and you
 And you - have you the count of your life?

11. If you could suffer all this
 If you could suffer all this
 My husband's wife, would you like it?
12. A snake does not bite among warrior ants
 I walk among warrior ants and lo!
 A snake has bitten me!!
13. Wives from the other lands
 Over the doing you needs must go slow.
 Go slow, slow, slow,

N.B. This refers to sex activity. This song No.13 is one of the Drum "Gbolo". It is an extinct adult dance song.

Adolescent (Children's) Songs

14. Our sympathy to you old
 Brother Kweku
 An unedible stuff in the
 Flour you found.
15. He who plunges, he who plunges
 Into the thick, tall grass
 How can he help having skin irritations?
16. Yawo's mother - eh,
 Yawo's mother.
 Covers her genitals
 With her hands.

N.B. When one is on an errand with a message say, connected with death or marriage, and arrives in a town, his "heart is cooled" with "ewo" (flour made from fried corn and mixed with water. It is after drinking this that he releases the heavy tale from his heart.

17. Wosi nabo
 Wosi nabooooo
 Wosi nayeec, ya yeec.

N.B. - Children do not understand these words which they say ⁱⁿ ~~are~~ Twi.

18. A mother bore a child;
 She bore her child;
 She did strike her child's stomach.

19. The hair on the female
 The hair on the female
 Have set the the men a-dancing.

Gabada - This dance is being superceded by Kenka. It was very popular between 1920 and 1930. But the church was particularly against it as most of its songs were considered pagan and un-christian. In some cases force was used by the Church Committee and the local clergy to seize its drums. It got many a girl or two into a frenzy and made them enter into ecstasy. Some did, in fact, Before my own eyes in the past, get so worked up that they took quite a time to become normal again.

All the songs illustrated here and elsewhere lose so much of their force of appeal when not accompanied with dances as they normally are, and when translated into another language, that one wonders if it is worth-while writing them down.

Gabada, like other dances except hunting and mourning ones is participated in by adults as well as children.

Gabada songs.

20. Veronica, Oh, Venonica - prostitute,
 Veronica, oh, Veronica - prostitute.
 You alone know the men at Arachi
 And you know the men at Apappa
 Veronica oh, Veronica - prostitute.

21. I die playing the drum Agowu
 My kith and kin,
 Is it for Church you won't bury me?

22. I will not go, I will not go - Church,
 I will not go I will not go - Church

(Repeat several times).

23. "ere't not for what death
 Meted out to me,
 I would have done a great, great thing,
 (Repeat several times)

24. Agowu wants to break
 Agowu wants to break
 Let him break we see.

25. Death-unfearing - one
 is in the bush,
 In the bush
 were it a snake
 It had died long, long ago.

26. Practising sorcery on the road
 So we deport him
 Quick a goat, a goat
 (Repeat several times)

Names of dances participated in by Children.

1. Kenka - Children's own
2. Atumpani - Adult dance, but children do participate in it.
 It is played on occasions like installation of
 Chief, yam festivals and funeral ceremonies.
 Played in common with Akans.
3. Nigbanigba - adults and children. Not very popular now.
4. Adewu - danced by adult men while adolescents and women
 sing and cheer.
5. Cabada - A "bewitching" dance banned by the Church more than
 any other local dance is.
6. Ball-room Dance - Danced by adult men and women. Children
 dance outside the ring (i.e. second floor).

OBSERVATION OF AND CONVERSATIONS WITH CHILDREN

Mrs. A. M. is a trained teacher; now devotes time exclusively to house keeping. Mother of 5 children. Gives the following information on children.

1. During early pregnancy a mother palpitates abnormally, but later palpitation reduces as she gets used to the new state and the various organs and nerves get toned up.

2. On feeding:

The new baby is fed at three hour intervals. This is done when he wriggles his arms and twists his face, or when carried turns his head towards the area of the breast, or cries. The breast forms the child's first food. After a week water mixed with orange juice is given the child in addition to the breast. At about the age of seven or eight months the child is also given porridge with milk. When children's teeth begin to develop, they normally show signs which indicate that they want to eat. The earliest period for children's toothing is 5 months. Some children however tooth in 3, 9 or 11 1/2 months time. From this time onwards, the mother gives her children foods like tomatoes, bread, and mashed yam with mashed fish. Care is taken that the food contains little pepper indeed. When a child is about a year old he wishes to feed himself. The heavier a child is the longer apart his meal times are.

She weans her children between nine and eleven months of age. During the initial periods of weaning she gives her children pacifiers and makes use of milk bottles for feeding them. Later she feeds the child with a spoon and later still straight from a cup.

Her children show signs of wishing to see in four weeks time, and turn at the sound of noise. They begins to see in about four weeks time.

In three and a half months children can sit, Crawling begins in six months time. Children start short, stiff walking in ten and a half months time.

They can understand (she says) within one year. but talking does not start till they are about two years old.

Case Studies:

1. A boy Gameli (meaning there is time) age 27 months. Understands some words of Fanti (mother tongue), Ewe (father's language), a bit of Ga and a few words in English. He lives in Accra with parents, speaks Ewe and Fanti. When he says something which approximates adult language and the correct form is said, he repeats this several times saying with satisfaction, "aah, is that ?"

Beats adults and asks them to cry. When he beats other children and they cry, he comes (penitently) to adults and asks them to beat him. He says to the crying baby "Mega fa avi o, esia" (don't cry. you understand?).

He frequently beats his sister who is three years, eight months old. She is not permitted to beat him back because he is regarded "unknowing".

He climbs chairs, jumps down, climbs the massive oaken table in the hall jumps down, upsets the furniture, opens lockers with their keys and turns off ink onto the table, and polishes the table with it. He tears paper. He turns on the wireless until a song or a noise is heard. When engaged on an exploratory function and he is shouted at or made to stop he flings himself down and screams. He may hit the adult and abuse him! "abu" (which is a baby word for "avu" the common Ewe abuse - "Dog") He says this least to his "dad". He is often told that elderly people are not abused but he takes little notice of this type of instruction.

He takes one-third the time taken by his sister (age 3 1/2 years) over her breakfast of tea, bread and fish. If he is not given another cup, he may seize his sister's and drink it. He tries to console her if she cries.

He pulls a chair conveniently near an adult's table when the latter is eating. He would try to dip any hand into the food, and eat with an adult although he has already eaten.

If he finds that food given him is not big enough, he throws the whole stuff away and lies down. He can then proceed

to cry for fifteen minutes until adults are fed up and he gets what he wants.

He is very fond of such things as watches, fountain pens and shoes. He puts on adult shoes, falls, gets up and proceeds to swagger in them. He likes the tick, tick, tick of watches and the sight of ink flowing away from fountain pens. He likes breaking and dislodging things.

He would embrace adults by the neck either from the front or by climbing a chair behind them and proceed to make eyes at them.

He enjoys simple songs and sings parts of adult song. He could for example sing "kan, ken, ken; -oya" for seven minutes while he is engaged on some other activity.

A Girl Wifa: age 3 years 8 months; Accra, father a native of Gbledee.

He exact opposite of No. 1 above in many things. She is gentle and docile. Enjoys the company of adults especially of her dad and secondly her paternal uncle. She can kneel on the floor and rest her head on their lap for an hour while they read. She likes such house-hold duties as going for washing or helping in sweeping, cleaning plates or fanning the coal-pot fire in the kitchen.

Is very observant and easily recognizes items of parents' property e.g. clothes, socks, head-kerchiefs, fountain pens anywhere she sees them. If told that what she recognizes as her dad's is only very much like it but is really not, she refuses to be convinced and says "No!" "No!"

In the mornings often told her uncle, "you have your cloth on but you haven't put on your underwears (with a look of reproach) and insists that this is done without any further ado.

Asks a barrage of questions! (a) "what is this, (b) whose is this (c) how did you get this (d) where did you go? etc." But asks fewer questions of the mother who is very busy indeed.

When in play, would sometimes bring some boards to an adult: "would you buy biscuits?"

Observation 3.

At Gbledee Boy 5 years old. Regarded as quite abnormal by adults. Eats wherever and whenever he sees food. Looks rather bulky but not abnormal in any way. However, indulges in quite a

lot of baby-talk. Is said to be doing badly at school. But perhaps too young for school.

Recognizes people from photographs. Could talk quite intelligibly on such topics as bringing forth, getting food or even killing. Counts up to four and then mixes up all the remaining numerical sequences as 7,36,19 etc. Could learn normally if (a) taught properly (b) fed at regular intervals and given enough (and not more than enough) each time to eat.

Observation 4. (Child 4 1/2 years old)

Child: (spontaneously) Antor has got all Togo.

Question:- What part of Togo has he got (you said).

Child:- You should know

Questioner:- You see, I don't, I ought to any way.

But how do you know he has?

Child:- (hid her face behind her fingers, crawled away slightly, Smiled).

Questioner:- Could you tell me any thing more about Antor.

Child:- If you don't know then I too do not know.

Questioner:- Who told you this

Child:- Names another child who is seven years old.

Observation 5: Two girl in Accra, Girl 12

Girl 12 years of age

wishes to possess beautiful clothes ear-rings, brooches, looking glass etc. spends much time parting her hair and powdering her face after bathing twice daily. Is passively resistant to the control of her guardian and "trainer". When sent to market, would save a little of the money given her for market. Uses this to buy some of the above possessions. Enjoys gossiping with her friends about other girls and also about young men. Sometimes quarrels and fights by the public tap.

Is not permitted to go out at will but sometimes does so without permission.

A.B. - In their desire to maintain their Primary School the Community of Goledee have decided to enrol children who are even 4 1/2 yrs of age. There is a lot of talk on aspects of Gold Coast and Togoland politics among adult men and adolescents. Adults themselves are not clear on political developments. Children pickup bits from adult speech.

CHILDREN'S STORIESA. Life story and self Description1. Mensan Marku: Boy, age 5 years.

"When I was very young I did not like going to strangers. When I was born people came and gave me money, bread and many other things. I was given cloth and other things. Because when I was being circumcised I did not cry, cloth and money were given me and something was put round my neck. A man came and held me when my circumcision was taking place.

2. Okoe: Boy, 10 years of age

During my childhood, I was very big and copper-coloured, I was besides tough and short. If other people wanted to carry me I cried. If I was playing and my father wanted to carry me I cried. I liked crying. Whenever I wanted to go to my grand-mother and people wanted to carry me so that I might not go, I cried and then my head ached. That time I was young, when I had the headache, I sometimes fainted. They came and made marks on my forehead.

Anytime I sat down and saw faeces, I took some and put it into my mouth. (At this stage he laughed heartily) My mother would click her tongue thus:

"click, click" and hurry to wash my mouth and my hands.

I was a great eater. Whenever I reached a place and I felt like eliminating my bowels I did so there and then. I did not go to the proper place to do it. I eliminated on myself. I also urinated on myself.

3. Mensan Marku: Boy, age 6

I like plying a lot. But if I am sitting down and someone comes to disturb me I don't like it at all. I will fight him. I am not strong, but if you come to disturb me I shall fight with you. I don't like fighting. Any time I do something wrong at home I am beaten.

4. Akueteh 10 years

If a person gives me a blow on the mouth I shall not let him off. I shall go to tell the mother to warn him. Because if I have a sore it scarcely heals I don't like to have sores on me. And yet I often hit my foot against a stone. Because I feel pains very much I don't want anyone I am playing with to hit me with something painful.

I don't like playing roughly.

I don't like anyone who provokes another person to anger.

5. Mensan Marku 5 years

If a person gives me a slap while I am playing with him I don't like it at all. If I am playing with someone and he pushes me, I don't like it. I am very clever (i.e. I have sense in my head)

If you are being taught and you are not beaten you don't get the stuff into your head. When I am beaten I become more clever.

6. Marku Agbo Age 6 years

I was very big in my childhood. But I was not strong when they were going to name me they named me big Marku.

When I played in the sand, I would often collect some sand and put it on my head. When I was being circumcised somebody was sent to collect some salt. The salt was put into water and was used in washing my penis. After my circumcision, I sometimes put my penis inside hot sand. This helped it to heal quickly. Some medicine and cotton wool together with palm oil were used in washing the sore on my penis. The sore died out.

7. Oku Age 9 years

When I was like Marku Agbo (this means when he was six years of age) I was circumcised. Salt was put into a basin of water and the blood dribbled into the water. Some of the salt water was used to wash the wound. Every day palm oil was used to massage the wound until it became

B. Famine, hunger and the quest for food.

8. Sadze and the Bird.

It came to pass that if your mother is dead you won't eat. It is only after the funeral is over that you eat. Sadze's mother got dead. They did not finish with the funeral ceremony. Sadze was very hungry. Sadze went to the farm, made some fire, prepared food and started to eat. While he was eating a bird came and alighted on a tree and began singing to him saying:-

"Sadze's mother is dead. They have not finished performing the funeral. See, Sadze is eating." the song of the bird annoyed Sadze, so Sadze took a gun and killed the bird.

9. The monkey and the Farmer

It happened that a man made a very large farm. The corn bloomed so beautifully that Monkey did not know how to eat some of the corn. He went to the farmer and told him that he would watch the farm for him. The farmer became so angry that he decided to kill Monkey anytime he sees him. This is why anytime the farmer sees Monkey he kills him.

10. The Rat and the Cricket

It came to pass that there arose a great famine. Food was no longer abundant. Rat and Cricket did not know where to get food to eat. For this reason Rat and Cricket went to a certain man's yam farm. The farmer came and met them in the farm. Rat and Cricket ran away from the farm. Formerly Rat went about in broad day-light. But because if Rat and Cricket walk about during the day time the farmer will catch them Rat has chosen to walk about only at night.

11. Tragedy in quest of food

("To" means father but denotes ownership. For example Fodogato connotes the owner of big stomach).

One day there was hunger and three persons started off together in quest of food. These were Podogaty (the owner of big stomach), Afivity (the small legged man), Tagaty (the big headed man). As they walk about the bush for a long way, they came to a pawpaw tree, Big-belly asked his colleagues:- "who is going to pluck the paw-paw". Small-leg replied that if he climber his leg would break. Big-head said, "not me, my head would swing one way and fall. Bit-belley too said his say. While they were standing there for a long time, Big-head began to think deeply. Then ~~then~~ he climbed the pawpaw tree. But his head fell and broke. Big-stomach laughed until his stomach burst. Small-leg took to his heels. But as he was going he fell into a hole and his leg broke.

11. (This story was told me by a boy in Labadi. Note local variations in, and perhaps the child's limitation)

Told by Mensan Darku, age 6 years

May I tell you a tale or may I not? "We receive from you". Wasn't it a small legged person a Big headed person and a Big stomached person? They all went out in search of food, and came to a guava tree. Then Big Head climbed the tree to pluck the guava. He plucked several unripe ones and threw them on the heads of the other two. However "ripe ones were far away and he had to climb higher in order to reach them. As he did so his stomach caused him to slip and he fell.

Mother hen was going to throw dust away and saw him under the tree. She slipped over a broom and fell. The basket fell over her. This is the reason why a hen is often seen covered with a basket.

Note: A hen is covered with a basket when it is about to lay eggs. The basket of course enables much oxygen to reach the hen while thus covered.

13. Why Leopard Kills Men

One day Leopard went and bought one bag corn. While he was coming he was feeling thirsty. So he threw the corn down on the road in order that he might drink water. As he was drinking the water Rat went and stole the corn and took it home. Rat and his children cooked the corn and ate it.

When Leopard returned he could not see the corn so he decided that the corn was stolen by human beings. So mother Leopard resolved to catch all human beings whom he sees.

14. Listen to a tale.

(Rest of people repeat: Let a tale come)

A story started and went on until it fell on Elephant and Rabbit. It happened that Elephant went to catch Rabbit and eat. But he did not know where to pass and kill him (i.e. how to do it).

So one day Elephant came and laid down and pretended as if he had died. People came and were looking at him (i.e. paying their last respects to him). When Rabbit too came Elephant got up caught hold of Rabbit and ate him.

15. Listen to a tale. A tale started flying until it fell on

a tortoise. ~~XXXXXXXX~~. The Tortoise married one day and went out to cut hay (for his building). When they reached (and they had finished cutting the hay) he wanted people to wait for him. Then he started singing:

"Ever since the days of antiquity

animals made collections

I didn't

Let's granny made collections

I didn't".

So sooner did he sing than all people stood still. He continued to singing until he reached home, having left all the other people behind. These followed after.

This made Tortoise's wife very happy about him. At home

Tortoise sang the song to his wife who advised him no to sing it again.

From that day onwards, all the animals crowned Tortoise King. This is what an old woman deceived me with when I was coming here. I also deceive you with it.

16. The Tortoise that played the Harp.

"Misé gii loo!" (Listen ye to a tale). It came about one day that a hunter was searching for an animal to kill in the bush. He walked about for one whole day but could see no animal.

As he was returning home he heard a noise thus: "Kplo, Kplo, Kplo". He looked about and saw a tortoise playing on the harp with all his will. The hunter said he would take the tortoise home. The tortoise told the hunter that trouble does not seek man, it is man who seeks trouble. The hunter forced the tortoise and took him home.

When they reached home the hunter wanted the tortoise to play on the harp but he refused. The hunter fetched some fire and put it on the tortoise's back, and the tortoise instantly started playing on the harp. This is why if some fire is put at the back of a tortoise it walks.

17. Wicked Man

A man who was a hunter had a dog with which it went a-hunting. He was wicked. This man was called Ameglo (cracked man). Mother mouse had a hole in which she put her children. When Ameglo is going into his farm he shouts: "I have no meat, I have no meat."

A man and a woman had a child. This Ameglo would often ~~take~~ take their child very far like from here to England and left the child there. The child is called the son of the spider. Every time Ameglo cut off part of the child's toes and fingers. Gradually the toes and the fingers of the spider's child got finished.

Therefore the spider's child went and hid under a tree in a farm. This is way a spider often makes houses inside trees and plants in a farm. An aged granny told me this lie which I hand over to you.

18. Good Girl.

Once in a country there was hunger. Only one rich man had much food. When he saw the people hungry he went and baked bread and put small ones inside it. All the people went and each took a big one. They never even went back to thank the rich man. There was a young girl among the people. She also went but she took the small loaf of bread. Later she went back to thank the rich man. On the second occasion when the people had collected the big loafs leaving the small ones for the girl, she went for it and behold, there were four pieces of gold in it. When the child's parents saw the money while the bread was being broken at home, they asked her to take it back to the man. When she returned the money to the rich man she was told that the money had been put in intentionally and that she should take it for herself. She thanked the rich man, and went home. So if a child is acting like that she is doing the good thing not a bad thing.

Foot Note: - These narratives from children fall under two distinct heads:-

1. Self description (b) reminiscences from early life (c) likes and dislikes.
2. Spontaneous stories. These could be classified under the the following heads:
 - (a) Famine, hunger and the quest for food.
 - (b) Animals in the bush, their tales, display of wit and friendship. Their search for food.

- (c) Attempts at an explanation of nature; i.e. the causes of things.
- (d) Efficacy of human wit and where wit fails magic succeeds (the inexplicable).
- (e) Goodness and its reward.

The stories are a reminder of the days when the search for food and the fight against wild animals were day to day problems of great moment. Tragedy, adventure and human virtues are here illustrated.

Games and Sports.

1. Kedodo: This game is played in the sand. The following are used:
 - (a) a piece of rope about six inches long, with both ends tied together
 - (b) small pieces of stick, six inches long and $\frac{1}{5}$ of an inch wide for each person
 - (c) A heap of sand, one foot long. One player uses both his palms and all fingers to hide the tread which should be sought out by all. Each person uses his stick to dip out for the thread by turns, starting from the person on the hider's right hand side.

2. Vedada: Playing of marbles. But this game is played differently from the way it is played by other tribes of the Gold Coast. About ten people divide into two groups. Each group arrange their marbles about fifteen feet opposite their opponents. The marbles for each group are arranged in a line parallel to that at their opponents' side. Each group has five spare ones. These are twirled forwards until it hits one, or a group at the opposite side. Those hit are claimed, by the side, engaged on the twirling. The side having all their marbles claimed or hit earlier are defeated in the game. More or less than ten people can play this game.

3. Akoto dada: This is also done in the sand. Any number of people can take part in this game. Unlike Vedada, the numbers need not be even. In addition to sand what is used for the game is a longish, small shell which should be cut, at its wider end and shaped, fairly even and round at that end. It should be *between one and one-and-a-half* inches long and about *five-sixths* of an inch wide at its wider end. It is spinned in the sand and while it spins round, the fingers are used to make it turn completely over. If it rests at its wider end, another person has to repeat the operation. He who fails is punished by the lower end of the shell being made to hit the back of his hand. If the shell is made to topple over while he is being hit all previous hits are cancelled and the hitting starts again. Bruises are seen at the backs of some

children's hands after the game.

4. Ampe: This game unlike the three above is for girls. It entails jumping and manipulating the legs skilfully while the girl **claps** and sings out a special "Ampe language" plus the count. It entails careful watching of an opponent and quick decision for changing a leg within a split second.
5. Stone Rhythm: In this type of game, a group of about four to ten children collect small stones about four inches in circumference and sit in a circle. As they sing they move the stones each to his right at the same time in a sort of rhythm like marching, thus: 1-2, 1-2, 1-2, etc. Both boys and girls can play this.
6. Children sit together and repeat by turns a formula (not real language). Any one who makes a mistake is given a knock each by the rest of the children.
7. Atikaka: Small sticks of about six inches long and the size of chewing sticks are all made pointed at one end. Each person has twelve. They are pulled out and stuck in definite orders in the sand until one person out-wits the other and has a set or more of three of his sticks all near each other in a row. When this happens he pulls off three of his opponents' sticks from any side he likes and keeps these. The game ends by one of a pair giving up, and accepting defeat. This game like billiards or chess requires much thought and planning.
8. Ludo and cards are also played. These games are familiar to most people and therefore need no description.

rites and ceremonies.Nutata (Marriage)

Officiation during marriage celebration is done not by a priest but by an ordinary married woman but λ performance has all the sacredness and binding force that marriage by any other method can hope to have.

Briefly this is what happens.

Apart from other things that a husband should normally buy for his wife - depending λ what he can afford to spend, the following are essential:

- (a) Doyi (i.e. one black Kente cloth), (b) adakpui (i.e. another type of cotton cloth, woven mainly with black and having the thread hanging loosely at both ends) (c) a carved stool of a special design (d) a box (e) Towel (f) comb (wooden, local made) (g) looking glass (h) two headkerchiefs (i) women's bandage (j) cash, one shilling known as kemega (or bag money) (k) other cloths (l) other amounts of money that the man is able to give (not normally more than £5 even in present days).

A pot of wine known as Kladoha (~~not~~ drink) is sent to the paternal uncle (todi or toga) on either of these days of the week: Agblevzegbe, Agblamigbe if the marriage is to take place on either Agbletogbe or Afenogbe respectively.

At dawn on the day of marriage the girl is removed from her bed and sent into the room of a woman who is properly married and whose first born is alive. She is locked up here ~~after~~ being thoroughly bathed and well-dressed and bedecked with jewels. Meanwhile women and adolescents become busy ~~p~~reparing Akple from fried, brown rice and sauce from green leaves. Not all meat is used for this function. That of an antelope specifically, together with much palm oil are used.

The whole food is carried on a wooden tray by a strong man from the girl's husband's family house to that in which she has been locked up. Another man follows carrying the box of property bought by the husband.

Note * There should be no pepper in the "cool" or "holy" sauce.

The woman of the house sits the girl up on a stool, her feet together and her hands stretched forward to receive the "amafafé" (cool or holy sauce by interpretation).

The woman takes some of the "Akple" and sauce, puts it on the girl's palms and prays thus:

Le "afla-dzi", le "ama-dzi", *
Life, health -----
Get child's father,
Get child's mother
I do to you as is done
To your sisters (i.e. all women being married)
Peace, holiness.
When your husband calls with one voice,
With one voice respond.

The girl touches the food with her tongue and hands it over to a very young girl standing by. This girl who will accompany her to fetch water from the rivulet next morning, eats it.

Some of the food is put on her out-stretched feet with the same prayers as above. This too she tastes and hands over to another young girl who later will accompany her to fetch fire wood.

Some of the food is then dished out to the following people
(1) the man who carried it to the house (2) Children and adolescents who have gathered in the house. (3) Maternal and paternal aunts of the girl. Next the woman performing the ceremony takes some herself. The man who carried the box is given the shilling in it. It is customary for children to eat the food greedily and besmear the remnants on each other (if they can).

A little hair is then shaved off the front and back of the girl's head with the husband's razor. The man who does this is paid one panny.

Then comes the most trying period of the girl's life. For, while she is made to stand, and many children crowd round, the lady of the

Note: * Afla is a herb used for diverse purposes of purification.

* Ama is the green sauce. Both convey on idea of holiness.

the house goes behind her and thrice removes the cloth around her waist while she announces: "Children, you see your last to-day!"

The children gleefully scream out each time the girl's nudity is exposed "Yee-eeh!"

From this day onward, never may the girl be publicly naked again.

The box is conveyed to the house of one of the child's paternal uncles (say the "todi") who checks up the property in the box. The aunts share up the Akple and the meat given them between the women-fol of their respective families. The man orders fufu to be cooked for a multitude of people who become his guests. The girl is then made to break her fast (at this time, it would be about ten or eleven in the morning). She is given fufu and chicken soup.

For three days the girl goes in company with her "hawo" (equals and companions) and listens to tales told by them in turns, during the evenings.

On the third day the man sends to his bride a load of yams, half a side of antelope as meat, salt and pepper. This is a queue for her to start cooking for him. On the night of that day, for the first time, she is conveyed to her husband's house, by the married woman in whose house she had been sent to for the marriage. They knock at the husband's door. The door opens and she is conducted in. The woman rubs the girl's back thrice, sits her thrice beside her husband on the bed saying each time to her.

On "afia", on "ama".

I do unto you as unto your sisters.

You (both) should be blessed with child's father,
child's mother.

Then all who have followed them shout "Yee - eeh!" The girl is then laid beside her husband on ^{the} bed and the crowd disperses

B. Nogoonutata. - This custom is preliminary to marriage. It is in fact a type of "marriage" as its name indicated but it is done by the mother. Its purpose is to make girls chaste, for it is considered very disgraceful if a girl conceives without first having it performed. If she does so she brings forth "goomevi" (town child),

or a bastard, and is subject to ridicule all the rest of her life.

The things bought are fewer on this occasion. A native women's bag, "ke" is used instead of a box. The "marriage" is also performed in the house of a woman who is properly and successfully married (i.e. has got living children).

Of course such things as conveying her to her husband's house do not come into this "marriage" by the mother.

After the "amafafe" has been served, the girl is dressed up in kente or velvet cloth, bedecked with much beautiful and costly beads and jewels. Two very young girls follow her out. These wear beads and jewels but wear no other clothing apart from long red "godotse" worn around the waist and made to trail before and after them. They greet the people of the town (village) and are given presents of money. This going out function is known as Tugewowo or "making (girl) beautiful".

C. Goetsiwowo

Formerly, young girls were known to depict certain characteristics which were like fits and yet were not fits. They talked and acted as if they were semi-mad.

This type of behavior might be due to their free movement and expression being rigidly suppressed. When they began behaving thus abnormally, a man was found who knew how to handle such cases. He collected the following herbs:-

1. Ma
2. Arlavi
3. Nyida

These he put in a calabash and as he forcibly emitted small saliva on the stuff, he repeated incantations, and asked for blessings. The calabash which should be about nine inches to a foot in diameter was placed on the girl's head. The priest carrying a bell (and possibly the woolly tail of a horse or cow with its handle beautifully sewn with leather work) followed her.

As the bell tolled, the girl with the holy water on her head became possessed and swayed from side to side.

The spirit was ordered with incantations to go where it came from. It obeyed. The girl took to a foot-path and, might branch into the savanna or forest, closely followed by the priest, who tolled his bell and repeated audibly, calling the names of the deities under his command.

At last, she reached an ant-hill or a big tree and fell prostrate by it, and went into a trance.

When she woke up, after many incantations had been repeated she was "marched" home. She never looked behind her as she sped home-wards, on pain of death. After this rite she became normal again.

The occurrences and the rites connected with them were common up to the early thirty's but are now extinct. An old man who was formerly a doctor-priest for these and allied "mental-disturbances" told me that the spirits which used to cause them have now fled. But he could not say why.

In this respect, the local Roman Catholic clergy who advise parents to allow the girls to marry men of their choice, deserve praise for assisting to banish such mental upsets. Changed conditions, making for greater freedom from parental and other checks also account, in no small measure for the exit of the girls' "evil-spirit".

Medicine

Here is a list of a few medicines used locally. An investigation on the use of herbs, roots etc. is at present being conducted and I hope to publish results in the near future.

A. If a woman is infertile.

One form of treatment is as follows:-

- (a) A herb known as afla (is flat and fleshy, grows close to the ground),
- (b) a new calabash (c) "ade-kpe"; (d) eye, (e) the bark of a tree known as "Ewe-drug" this is boiled for two hours (f) A drug bought from chemists, known as "Yokal", is added to the liquids from (a), (b), (d), (e) in the calabash (c), and mixed well. The whole liquid is stored up in a bottle. The woman takes three table spoonfuls once daily. She then desists from eating oils and from taking alcohol. She is to do only light duties. This, it is believed will clear her womb and make her take seed.

B. When a man "tu" or has lost his manhood (i.e. his genital organs do not work properly).

He is given (a) honey (from bees) mixed with (b) a chloride which (I hear) is called Chlorodine. This (b) is bought from a chemist's store. Alternate to (a), (b) is mixed with "kedekke" which is similar to Lime in taste. The man (a) avoids: the fierce rays of the sun (b) stops eating palm oil.

c. Men and women who cannot procreate are also given the following drugs bought from Chemists and Druggists. They are used by turns:

- (a) Ayrton's Kidney and Bladder Pills
- (b) Bland's Pills
- (c) Koko Aduru Pile mixture
- (d) French Pills
- (e) Panglandine

(f) 15 tablets of "M & B" mixed with wine, and taken, three table spoonfuls three times daily.

D. Types of other local preparations of medicines are used for:-

- (1) Gargling (Momo)
2. Inhalation through the nose (Gbogbo de natime)
3. Steaming (Yoyo), The leaves of the mim are put in a pot or a bucket for steaming a person covered with blankets.
4. Embrocation (Tata)
5. Massage (Nuilele)
6. Syringing or Enema (Sasã).

SOME TABOOS

1. Pointing the left fore-finger at people.
2. Eating and talking at the same time.
3. Supporting one foot on the big toe of the other foot.
4. Looking side-ways while eating.
5. Abusing an elder brother, sister uncle etc.
6. Whistling at night.
7. Eating with the left hand
8. Indulgence in sex activity in the bush.
9. Going to farm a particular piece of land on its own reserved "holy-day" of the week.
10. Sneezing audibly in front of another person or other people.

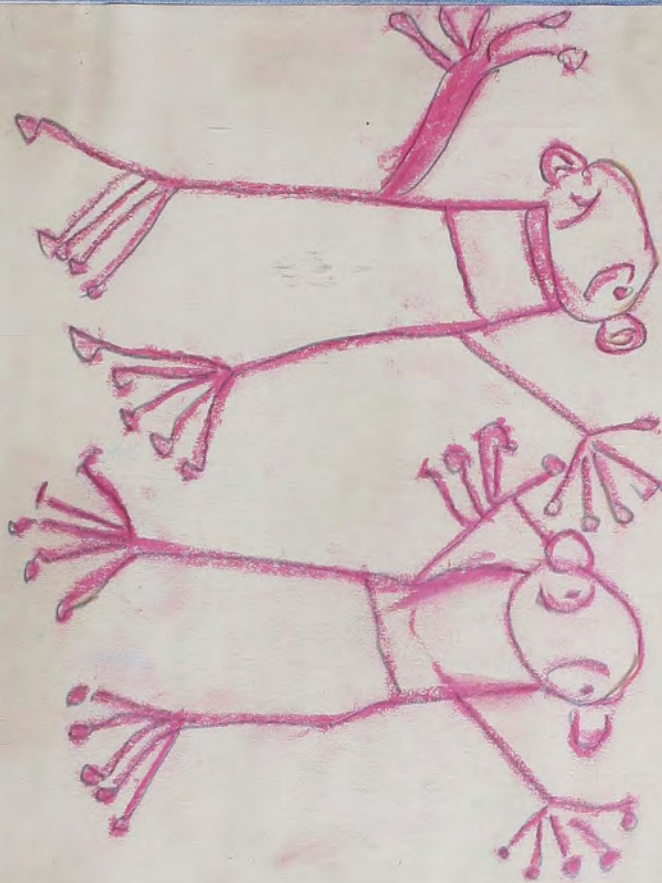
APPENDIX X.

Children's Drawings.



A bus from Labadi to Accra.

202



Olivia 9 1/2 yrs. Self and a friend happy as
as our school closes for holidays



Yela: 7 1/2; What I Fear most: "Bubul"



YELA: 7 1/2; My most happy time.
Father returns from trek.



Kodjo: 6/2; A man standing with his arms folded.

Yela



Woman



Man

(6)

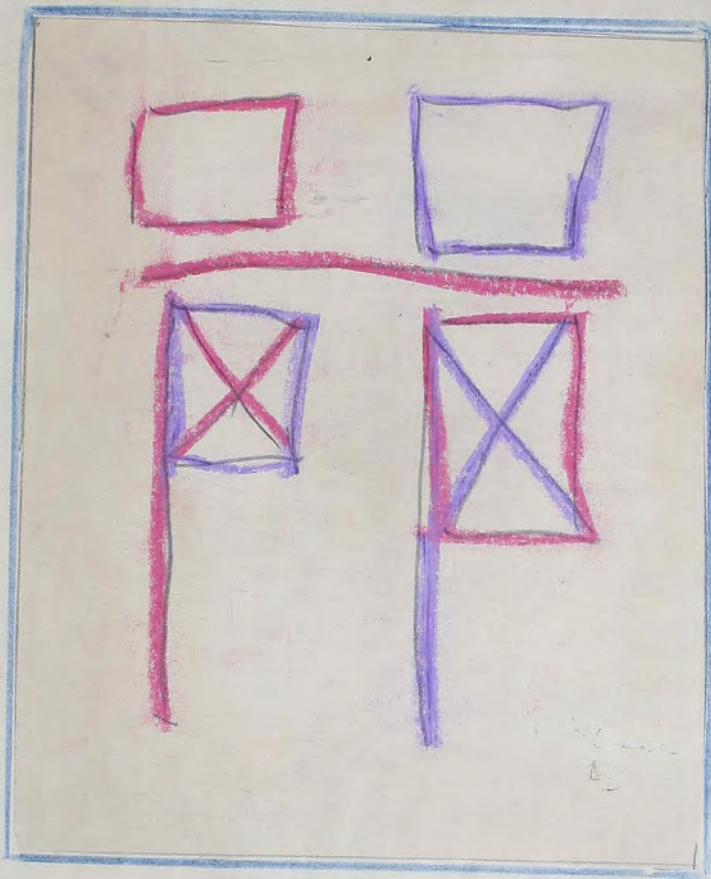
6

TENU : 5 1/2



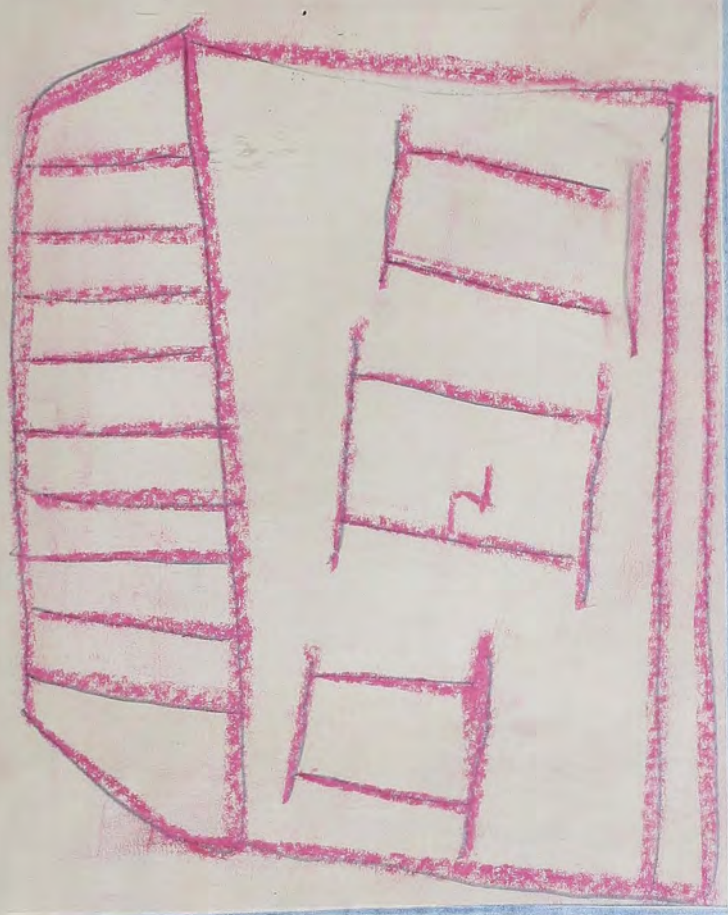
A Man

A Woman

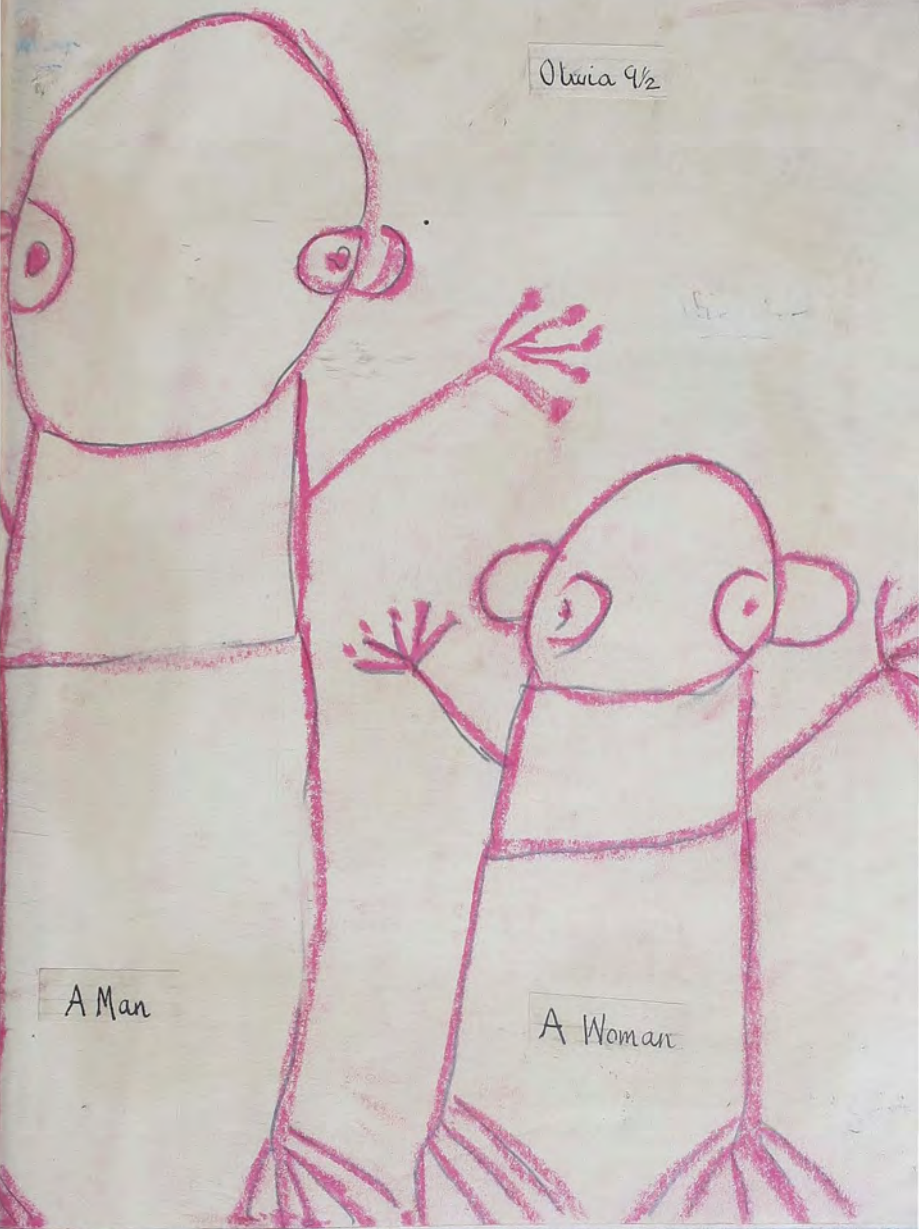


YELA 7/2:
My wish? ... Toffee please

Nanku 6: A House



Olivia 9 1/2



A Man

A Woman

Free drawing



A Child Sees a Rabbit Passing ^{Age 9.}



Akua.
Age 8yrs

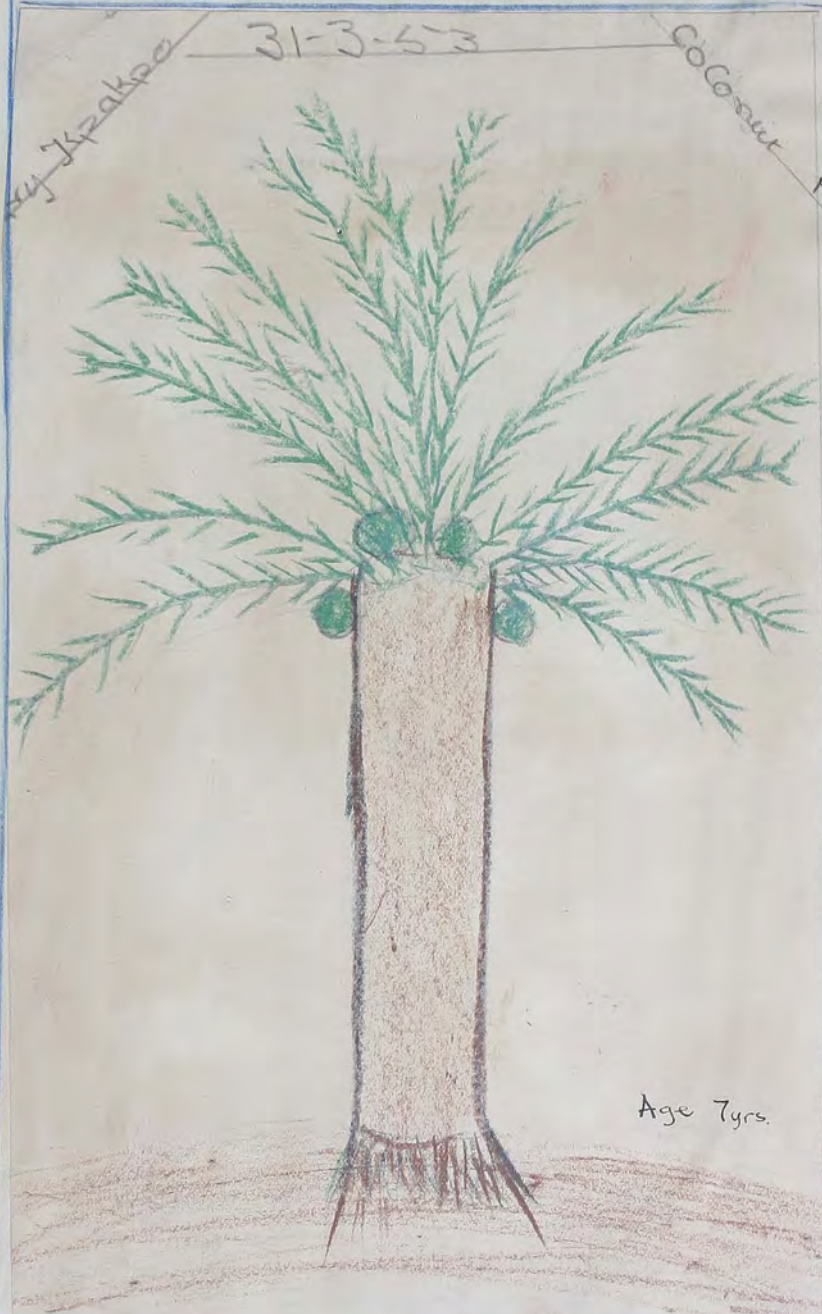
Cock



Mango

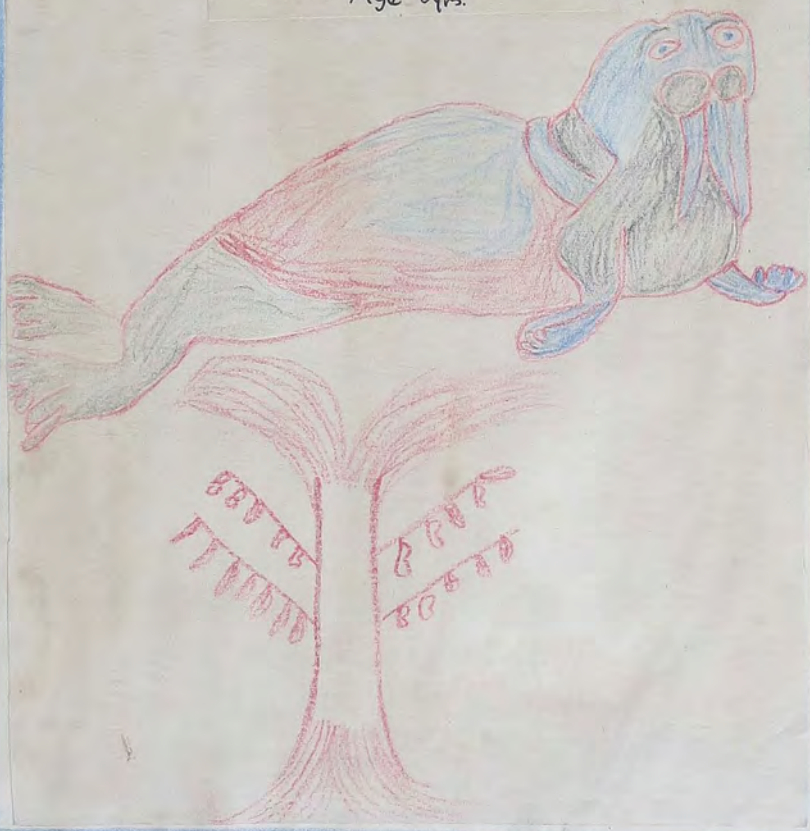
A Church Edward 6th.







What I read about in School
Age 8yrs.



A Child 7 yrs. Free drawing.



A Bird going to eat
Palm nuts.

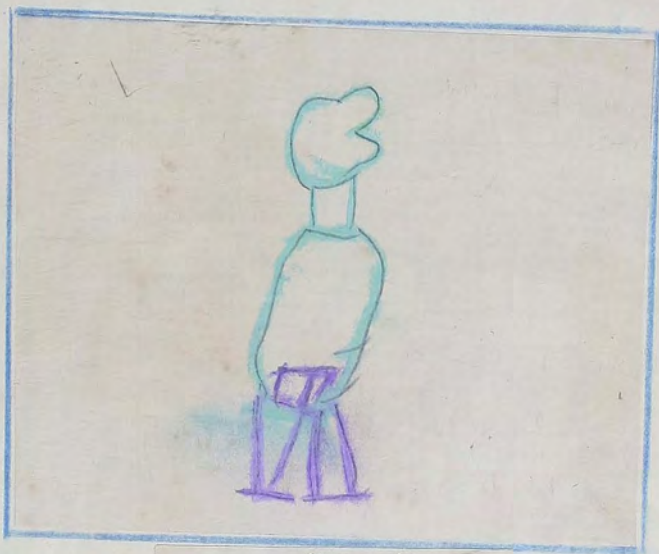




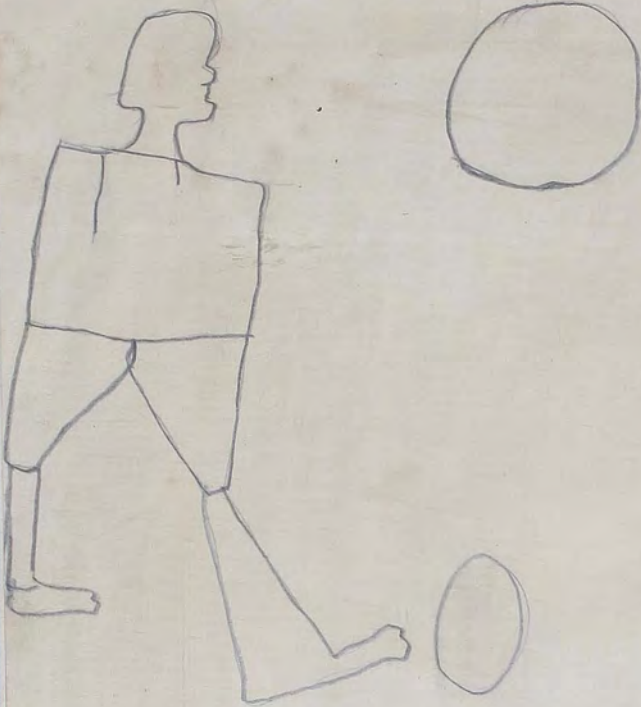
Child: bryn,
 How I saw a Policemen
 at the Lorry Station - Hoho



A tree, a bird and a monkey. ^{Age 4 1/2 yrs.}



Mesa: 6½
What I fear most
— A Ghost —
Worms eat a man leaving
his bones.



Mark 10 yrs.
He alone bought his foot ball, so he
prefers to play alone - A man.

Age 8 yrs.

A fight

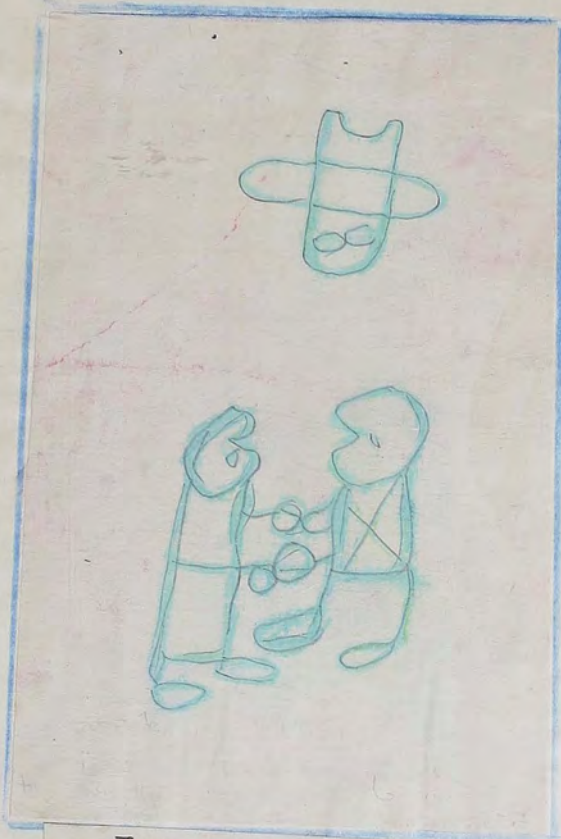


Old man



Young man - Left handed
Left-hand ready for action

Old man gave young man a blow and both started fighting



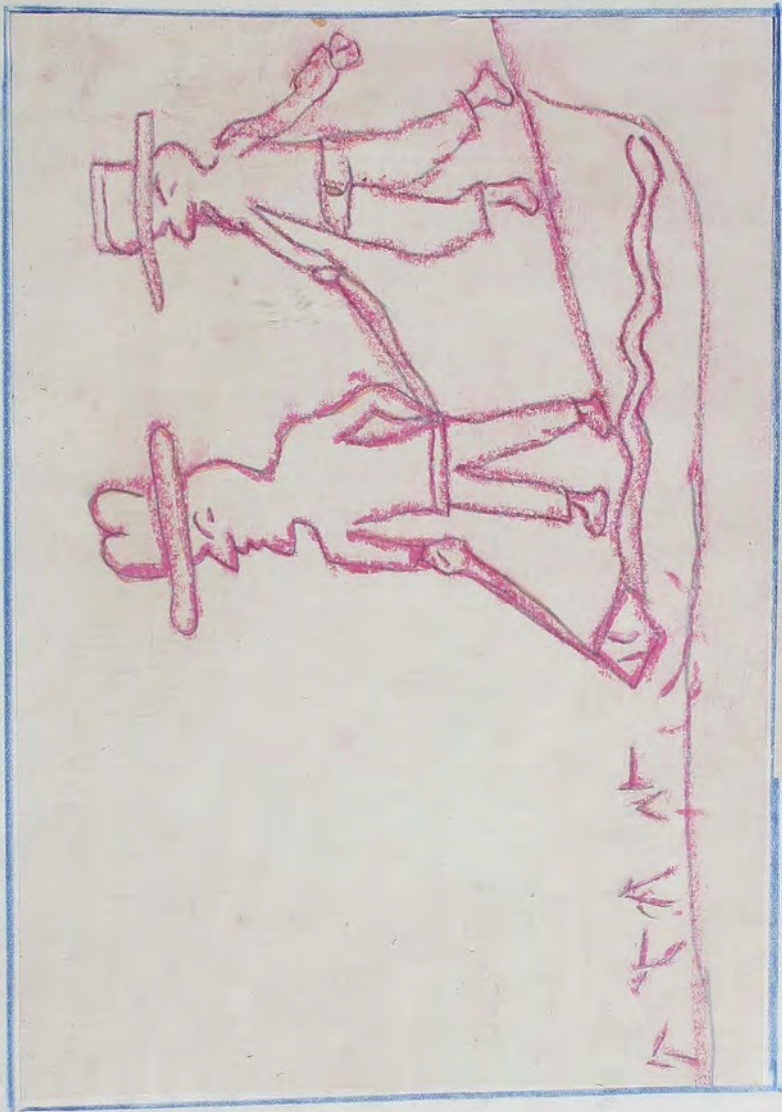
Two boys fighting ^{Mensah Gyis}
They went and visited an Uncle.
He gave them some money. The
elder child wants to cheat.



Daniel: 6 yrs. Self under a Coconut tree
Plucking with a stick.



Age 6.
 People and things I saw today.



Atta 10 yrs. Man leading a blindman
 sees a snake and strikes it dead.

69

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. K.A. Busia, M.A., D.Ph., Report on a Social Survey of Sekondi/
Takoradi. Hazell, Watson and Vinncy, Ltd.,
2. W.D. Hambley, B.Sc. Origin of Education Among Primitive People;
(1926), Macmillan and Co., Ltd.,
3. Nathan Miller: The Child in Primitive Society - Kegan Paul (1928).
4. I Schapera: Married Life in an African Tribe., Faber and
Faber, Ltd.,
5. R.W. Firth:- Human Types, Nelson and Sons, Ltd.,
6. R.S. Rattray, M.B.E., "Ashanti" Oxford, at the Clarendon Press.
7. S.F. Bonner, M.A., (Cantab) The Education of A. Roman (2/6)
Liverpool, at the University Press (1950).
8. Margaret Mead: Sex ^{Treatment} ~~Treatment~~ in Primitive Societies
9. Ruth Benedict: Patterns of Culture:
10. Edited by Edwin W. Smith: African Ideas of God (A Symposium)
London, Edinburgh House Press, 2 Eaton
Gate, S.W.1.
11. Rev. Doctor Fiawoo: Toku Atolia -(Deputy Speaker, Gold Coast
Legislative Assembly)
12. G. Adali-Mortty: Le Eweawo Dome; Manuscript, (1935).
13. M.M. Lewis: Language in Society, Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd.,
London, (1947), 12/6.
14. C.K. Ogden and I.A. Richards, "The Meaning of Meaning"; London,
Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., Broadway
House 68-74 Carter Lane E.C.4, (1949)
(with Supplementary Essays by
B. Malinowski and F.G. Crookshank
P.H.D., D.Sc.. M.D., F.R.C.P.)