

**CULTURAL ASSIMILATION OF PEKI BY AKWAMU,
A HISTORICAL STUDY (1730-1835)**

BY

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**THIS THESIS IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF
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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to the Almighty God who has kept me going through thick and thin and to my parents who have always been supportive of my course.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I wish to acknowledge the debt this work owes to the original research of others.

In the Bibliography and footnotes, I have indicated the sources of my materials.

I am, however, indebted greatly to the works of Ivor Wilks and R.A Kea for the history of Akwamu and of course, to C.W. Welman for the histories of Krepri and Peki.

With warm gratitude, I wish to acknowledge the valuable information on traditional histories I have received from chiefs and elders of Akwamu as well as Peki.

I am also grateful to the staff of the following libraries in which most of my readings were done, for the considerable co-operation and assistance: Africana section of the Balme Library, Legon; the Library of the Institute of African Studies, Legon.

I am also grateful to the assistance given me by the staff of the Public Record and Archives Administration Department's Head office, Accra.

Finally my gratitude goes to Prof. Albert Awedoba and Dr. Samuel Ntewusu both of the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon who supervised my work.

I am, however, alone responsible for any opinion I have expressed or any error of facts or interpretation which must have eluded all efforts to keep them out.

DECLARATION

I certify that, except for references to other works which have been duly cited, this thesis is my original work produced from research undertaken under supervision

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Candidate

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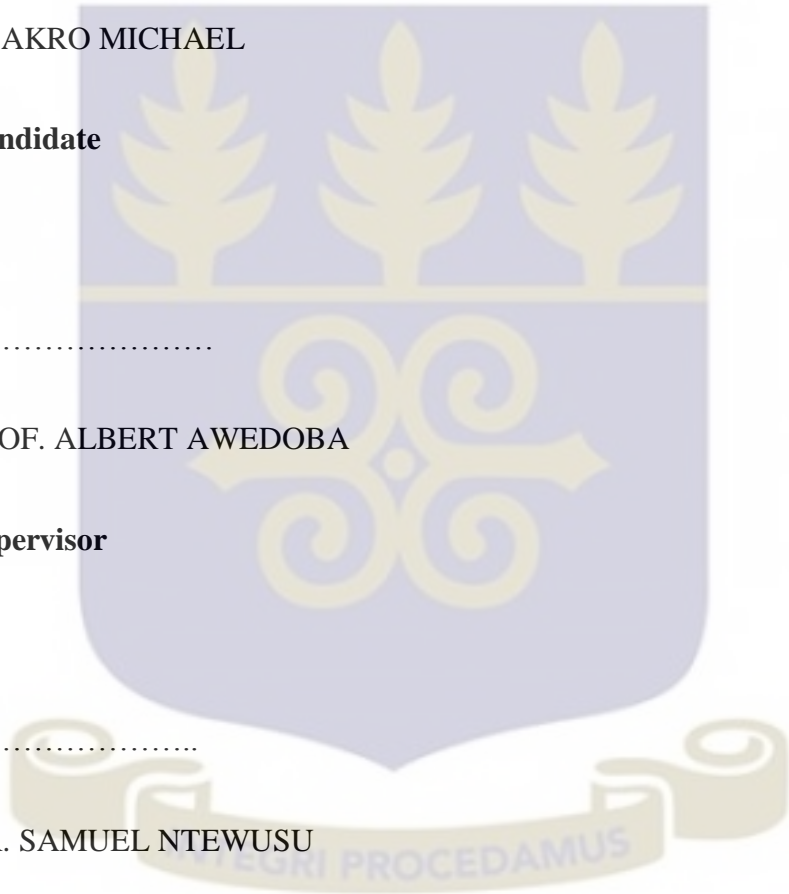
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DR. SAMUEL NTEWUSU

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study into the cultural impact Akwamu-an Akan sub group, had on Peki-an Ewe sub group. The study adopted the qualitative approach to collect data and interviews were conducted with informants. Archival data was also sourced. Secondary sources such as articles in *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, unpublished theses as well as books

The research traced the origin, settlement and growth of Peki. It did the same for Akwamu. The research went on to look at the sort of relationship (master-subordinate) that took place between these two groups of people which informed the lopsided cultural borrowing from Akwamu.

Peki as well as their neighbours came under the suzerainty of Akwamu. This lasted from the first decade of the eighteenth century at which time their control was ineffectual to the third decade of the eighteenth century when a more effectual control took place after their relocation over the Volta River through to the middle of the nineteenth century when the Peki led a combined Krepi force to seek and eventually fight for their independence.

Peki initially relied on the Priests of their deities and some clan heads for direction and order in their daily affairs but they changed over to the chieftaincy organization of the Akwamu with its more centralized and militarized nature

(adoption of 'blackened'/ancestral stool and the various military/administrative wings).

I also found out that the invocation of oath and the incidents preceding the adoption of such oaths do not predate Peki contact with Akwamu.

The same could be said of Akan chieftaincy related festivity known as *Adae* during which ghost of ancestors are propitiated and the blackened/ ancestral stools venerated using a forty-three-day traditional calendar which Peki picked up from Akwamu, their closest Akan neighbours

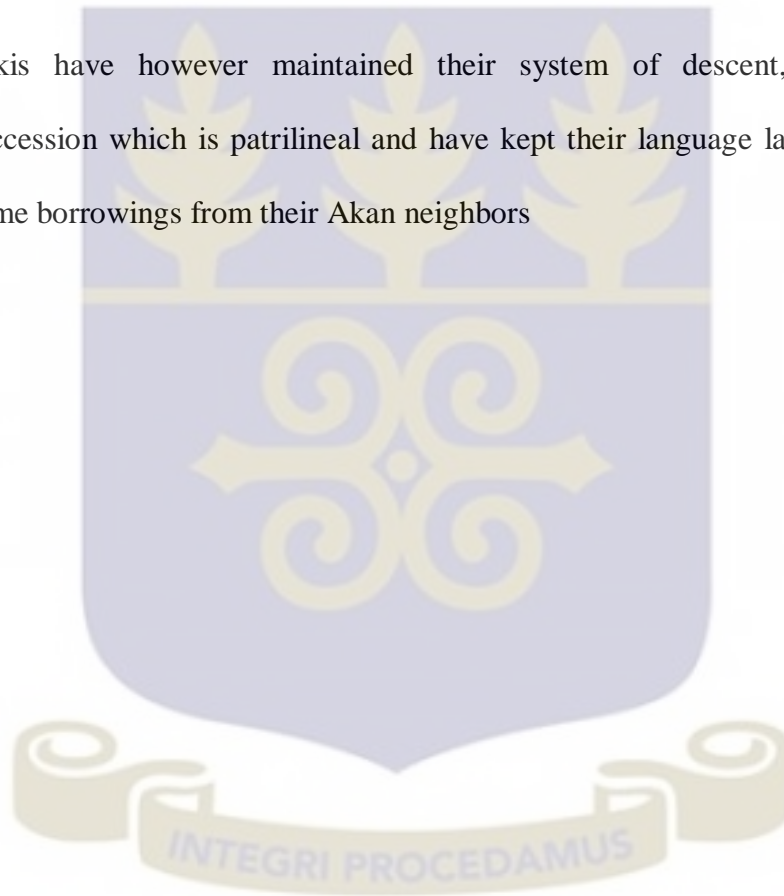
One could also talk about names such as Ababio, Bekoe, Prempeh, Dompreh all which have Akwamu origin as well as such chieftaincy related words as *Ohene*, *Odikro (Dikro)*, *Tsyiami (Okyeame)*, *Gyasefo*, *Kyidom*, *Twafo (Tuafo)*, *Adonteng*, *Adontenghene*, *Benkum*, *Benkumhene*, *Nifa*, *Nifahene*.

Peki natal names also changed over to that of Akwamu, for instance Saturday changed over from *Agblesigbe* to *Memleda* very close to *Memeneda* as used by the Akwamu.

I also touch on some borrowed musical instruments such as *Mpebi*, *Nkrawiri* and *Atumpan* as well as Akan war chants/ songs all in use in Peki.

I found out in the course of my research that these influences on the Pekis were largely facilitated by their clan heads that had close dealings with Akwamu court officials while playing the role of indirect rulers for Akwamu. In effect, they put into practice what they found in practice in Akwamu that they thought served their circumstance. Intermarriages between the two groups also played a role. So did trading with each other and continuous interaction over time play a role.

Pekis have however maintained their system of descent, inheritance and succession which is patrilineal and have kept their language largely Ewe despite some borrowings from their Akan neighbors



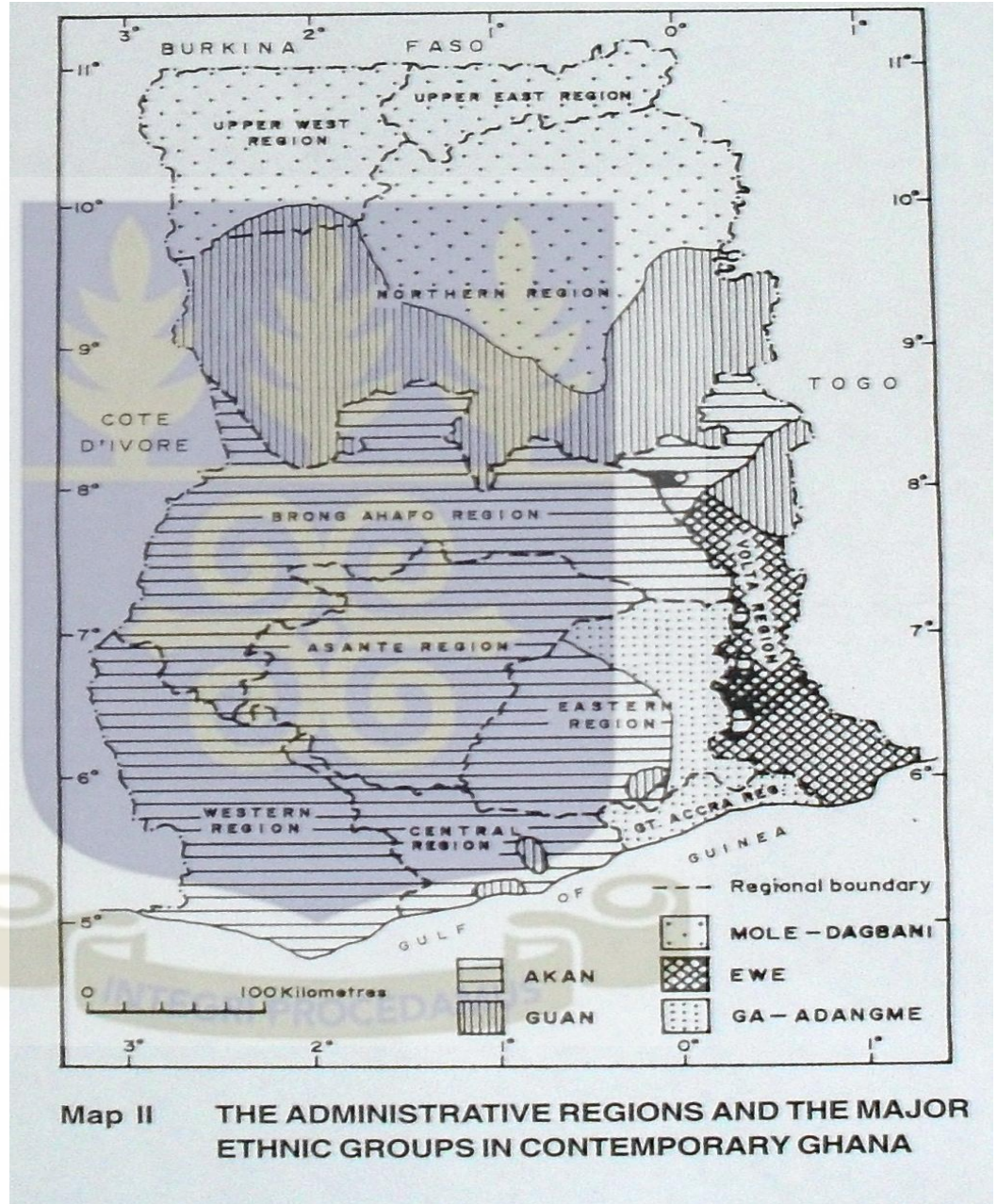
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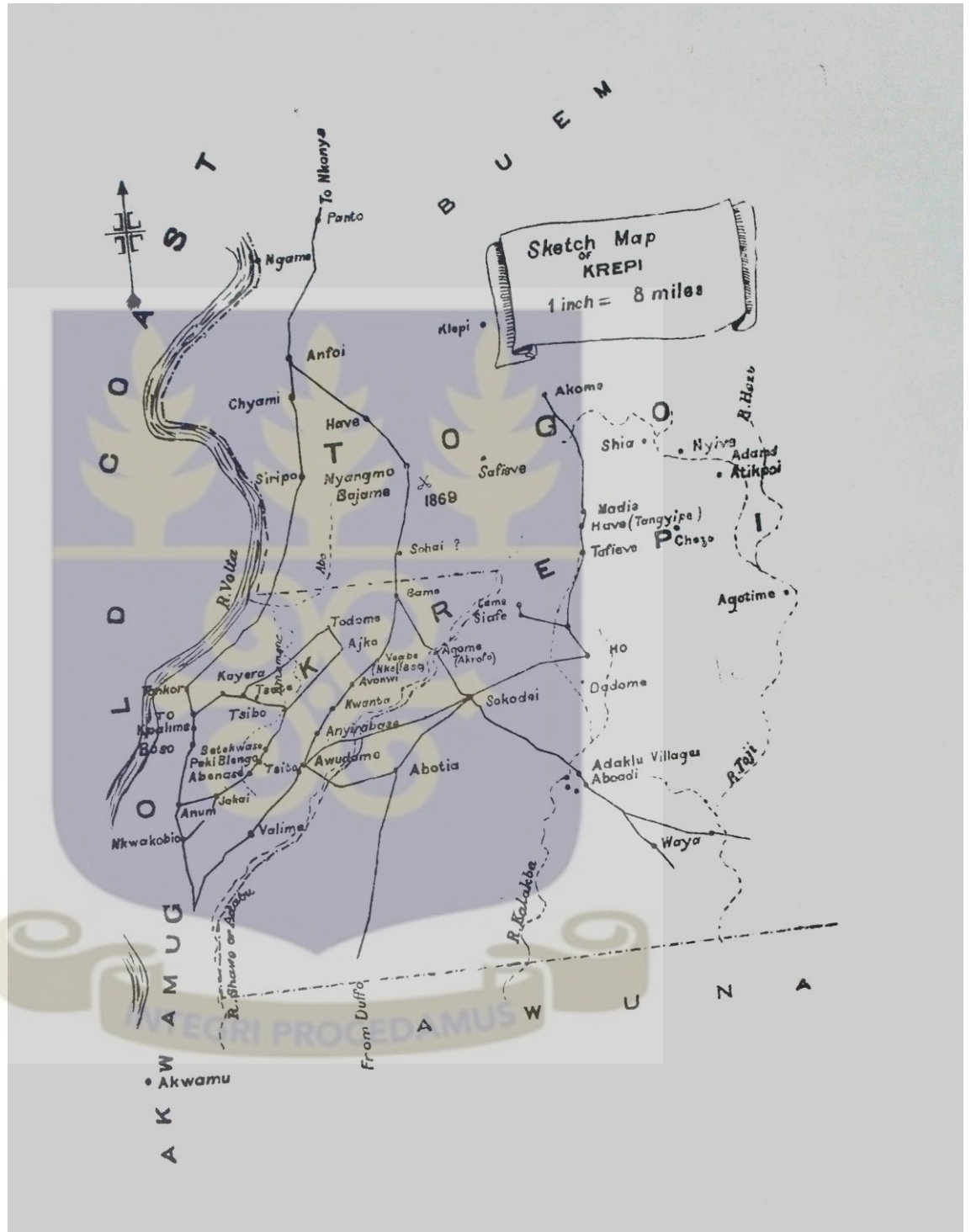
Maps

An Administrative Map of Ghana showing major Ethnic groups in contemporary Ghana¹



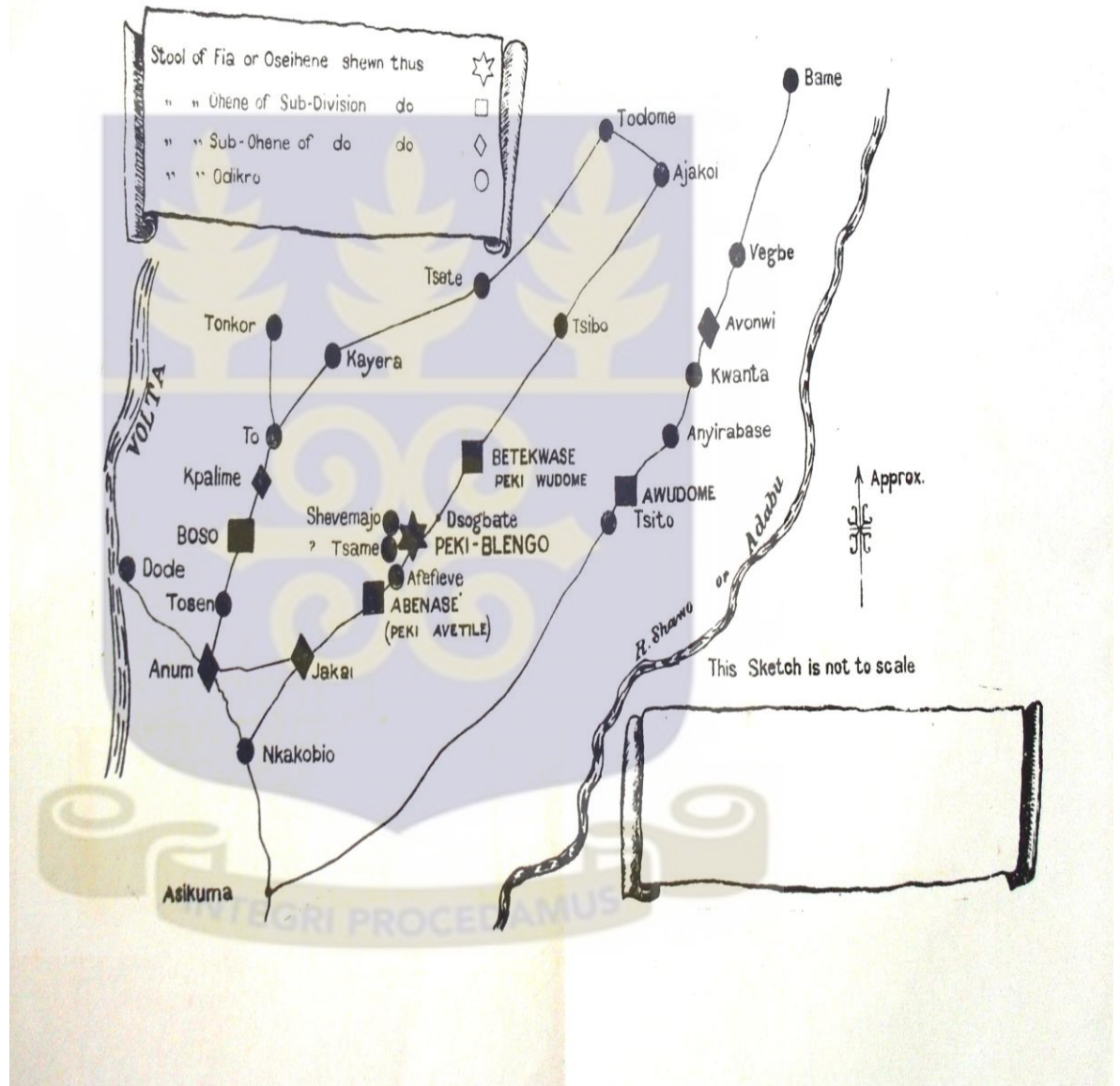
¹Perbi, A.A, (2004), *A History of the Indigenous Slavery in Ghana from the 15th Century to the 19th Century* Legon: Sub-Saharan Publishers p. xviv.

A Map of Krepi¹



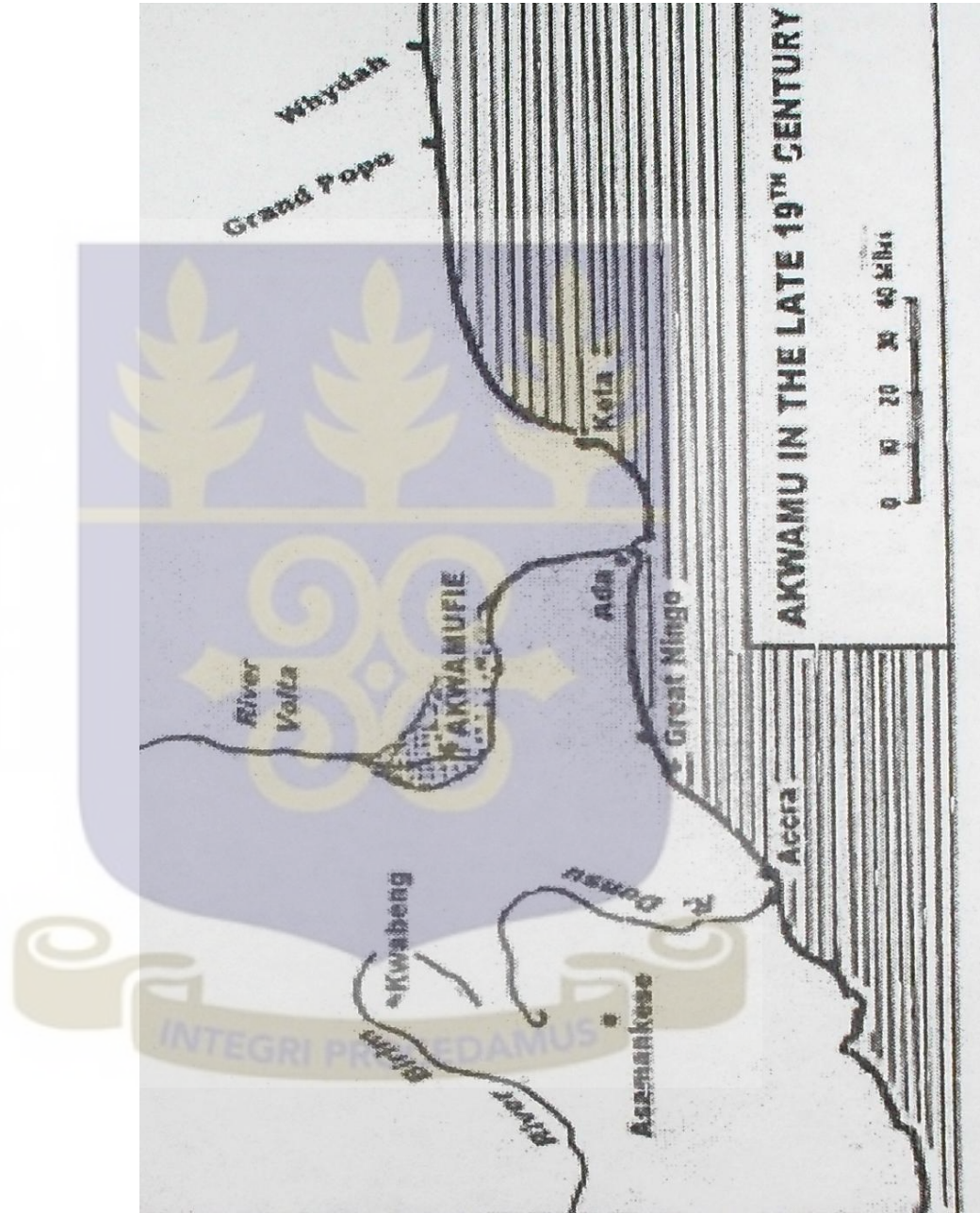
¹ Welman C.W., (1924) *The Native States of the Gold Coast, History and Constitution, I. Peki*, Accra: Native Affairs Dept. pp. 18 & 19.

A Map of Peki Traditional Area¹



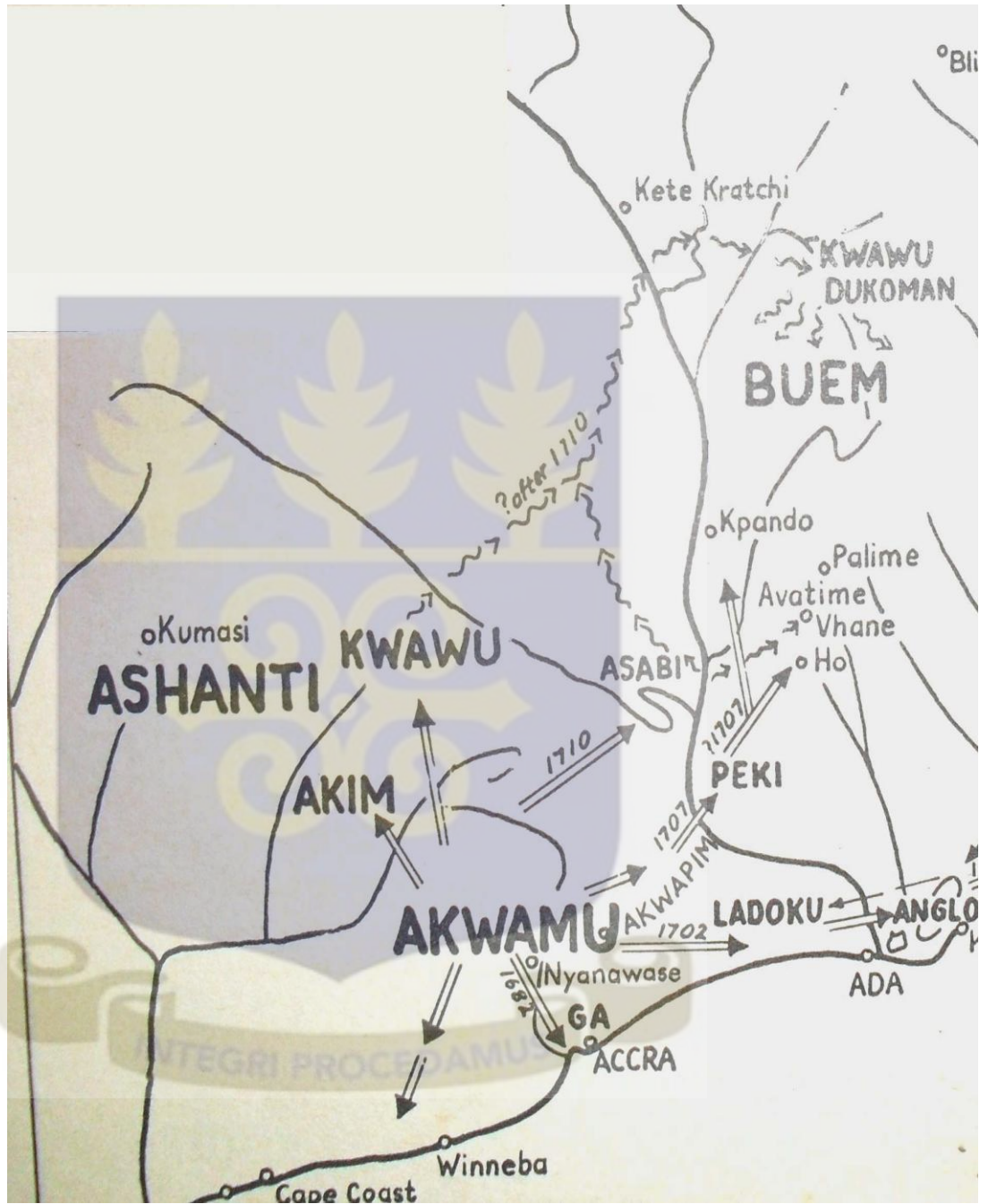
¹ Op. cit. pp 8 & 9

A Map of Akwamu Traditional Area at present¹



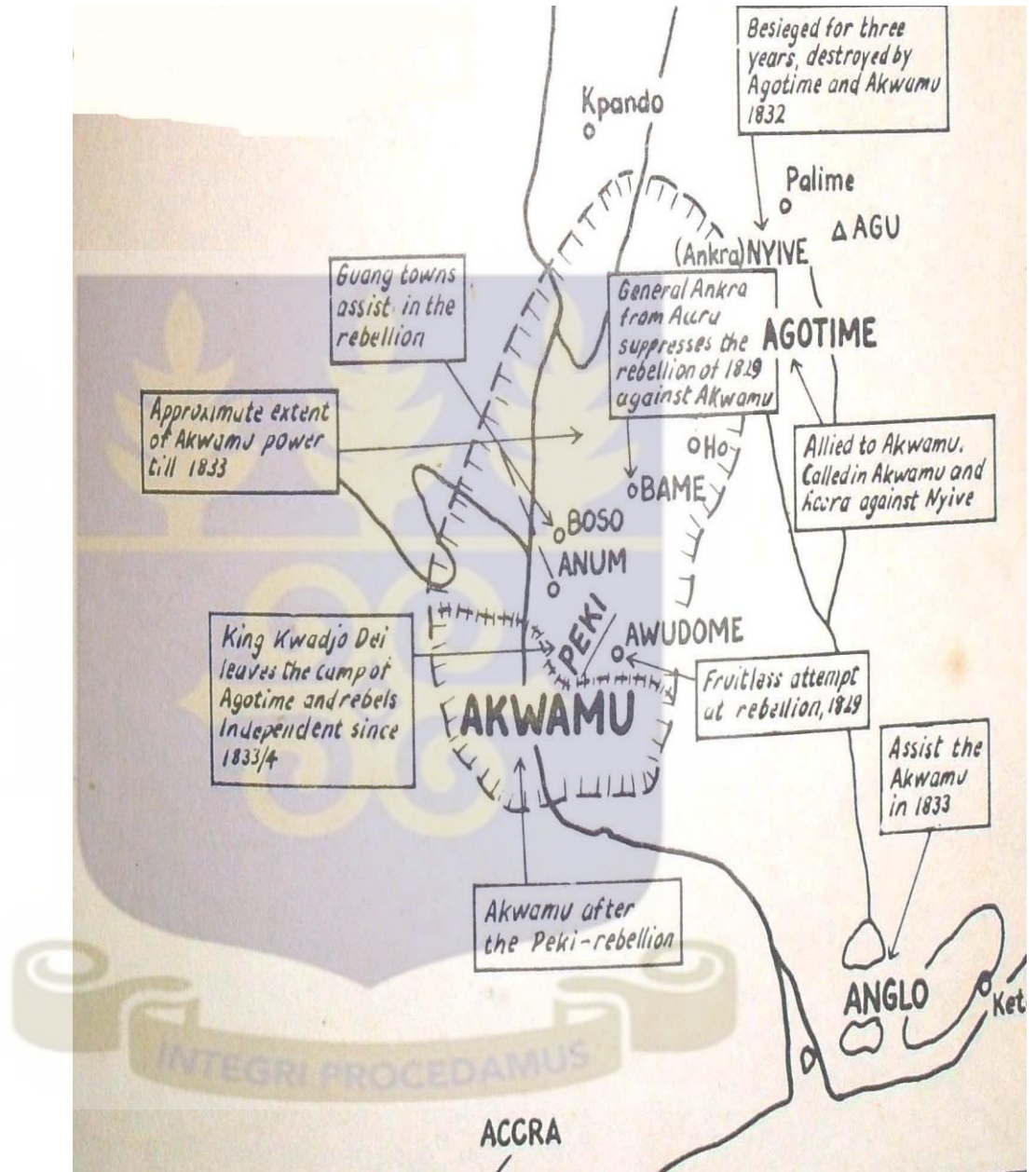
¹ Wilks I. (2001) *Akwamu 1640-1750, A Study of the Rise and Fall of a West African Empire* Trondheim: Dept. of Hist. Norwegian Univ. of Science and Technology.p. xix

A map of Akwamu expansion till 1733¹



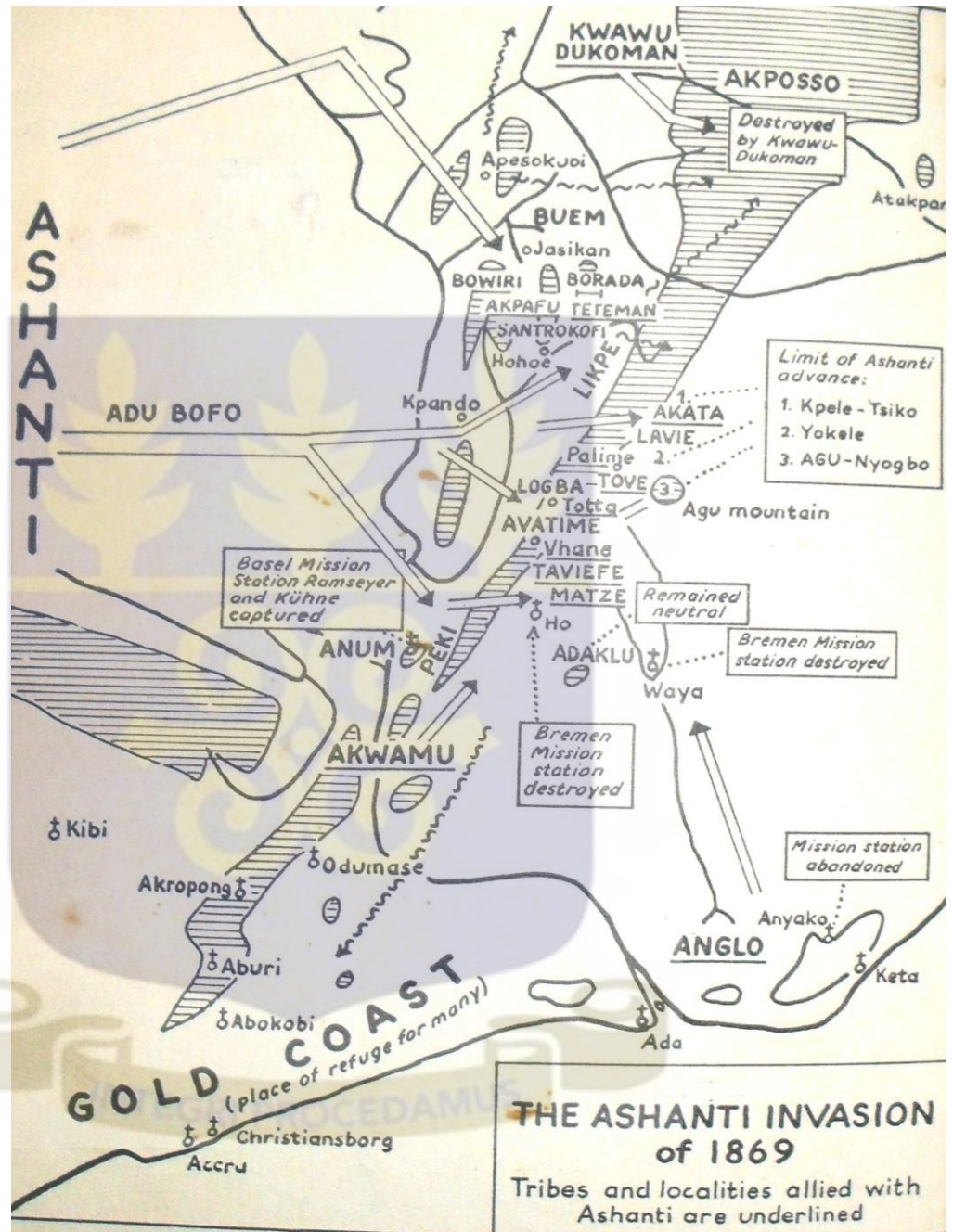
¹Debrunner H., (1965) *A Church Between Colonial Powers: a history of the church in Togo*: Lutterworth Press. p. 336

A map of Krepi Rebellion against Akwamu¹



¹ Op.cit p.337

A map of Ashanti invasion of 1869¹



¹ Op. cit. p. 338

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Culture is a peoples's way of life; it includes material and non-material components such as the food they eat, their religion, their philosophy of life, what they cover their nakedness with, how they are organized socially, economically and politically, their craft and how they pass their leisure.

Cultural practices/ traits essentially are about elements of a culture. History is replete with countless instances where an invading group forces the invaded group to accept their culture and imbibe its practices; there are as well, instances where an invading group having realized that the invaded group's cultures more appropriately suit their circumstance imbibe them.

There are instances where either group pick up practices in each other's culture that either feels better suits their circumstance

There are also instances where neighbouring people borrow from each other. Between Anlo, one of the southern Ewes of Ghana and Yuroba, their eastern neighbours. There are some borrowings, an instance in question is the adoption of the Afa cult and by extension such names as Afagyinu, Afake etc. *Ewedome*¹ (within which Peki fall) have not always been occupants of their present place of abode. They met an earlier group (Akpafu as well as Santrokofi people) and

¹ Literally meaning valley (valleys along the Togo mountain ranges along the central parts of the volta Region) The occupants of the valleys are usually referred to as Ewedometowo

beyond taking over a chunk of the area occupied by these people, went ahead to assimilate them linguistically so that today they speak Ewe as their lingua franca.¹

In the contact Ewedome had with their western neighbor that is the Akans (Kwawu, Akyem, Asante and especially Akwamu) there have been quite a number of borrowings of cultural traits from the latter by the former.

The People with Whom This Work Primarily Concern

Peki is an Ewe subgroup found within the central part of the present Volta Region of Ghana. The Pekis together with their kin Hohoe and their other Ewe neighbours in terms of location are referred to as *Ewedome* or as inland Ewes since they are located north of Anlo² and Tongu.³

The other major group under consideration is the Akwamu, an Akan sub group. The rise and fall of Akwamu was coterminous with other powerful Akan groups as Akyem, Denkyira and later Asante. Whereas the empires of Denkyira and later Asante developed in the forest belt of present day Ghana, Akwamu developed in the south.

The period 1730-1835 was chosen as a study period because it was within this period that there was a lot of interaction between Akwamu court officials and

¹ Amenumey, D.E.K.(1986) *The Ewe in Pre-colonial Times, a Political History with special emphasis on the Anlo, Ge and Krepi* Accra: Sedco Publishing Ltd p. 67

² One of the Ewe subgroups in the south-eastern part of Ghana

³ One of the Ewe subgroups in the southern part away from Anlo area of Ghana

some Peki clan heads who were the instrument of Akwamu indirect rule in their region and these clan heads such as those of Adivieyi, Atsiadome and Gyama were the ones who put into practice the cultural practice(s) they found relevant to their circumstance especially relating to Akwamu chieftaincy institution. Some other practices came up as a result of intermarriages between the two groups. So did trading with each other and continuous interaction with one another over time played a role

Statement of the Problem

The author is an Ewe. He however grew up in Koforidua in the New Juaben Municipality of the Eastern Region of Ghana, a predominantly Akan setting. When the opportunity offered itself for him to visit his hometown, he did observe at first hand, some customs and practices of my people.

One phenomenon struck him whenever he visited home. It had to do with the permeation of almost all facets of the lives of his village folks as well as neighboring communities by Akan cultural practices. He found certain Akan names, words and expressions that have taken root in the Ewe language. A reference point is the author's surname which has its root in Akan (*Atakro-aka* literally meaning "left with a twin")

The story is said of an Akwamu Chief who passed through our land and happened to stop for rest. He noticed that a set of twins had been brought forth but on his return, he realized only one of the twins was present; he inquired of the mother the

whereabout of the other and was made aware of his demise. The expression that came forth from the Akwamu chief was *aka atta kro*. His expression got a bit corrupted (*atakro*) but stuck as the surname of the family.

The above aside, all the works he reviewed, do not specifically look at cultural borrowings by any Ewedome including Peki from their western neighbours including Akan. He therefore set out to get answers as to this phenomenon and to identify those cultural traits/ practices that have remained uniquely Ewe.

Purpose of the Study

To examine the extent of borrowing by Peki from Akwamu and what precipitated the phenomenon which will help shed light on the phenomenon of borrowing of cultural traits across time and space

Research Question (s)

Was there any contact between Peki and her western neighbours (Akan or Ga-Adangbes) after the former settled down?

If so, with which group exactly?

What was the nature of the relationship?

Did Peki borrow any Akwamu cultural practices?

What were these borrowed cultural practice(s) if any?

What cultural practice(s) remain unique to Peki?

Did Akwamu borrow any cultural practice(s) from Peki?

Literature Review

In reviewing literature on either group, the groundbreaking work *Die Ewe Stamme* (*The Ewe People*) by the North German Missionary Jakob Spieth is worthy of mention. The book was originally published in German and Ewe but in 2011, it was translated in English and a more comprehensible Ewe for a wider reading public.

Jakob Spieth's work is unique in the sense that it is a compendium of the origins, history, culture, geography, kinship and world view of some Ewe people, never before accessed in one single document. He is unlike many pre-colonial, colonial and even post-colonial European Anthropologists, Ethnographers, Philologists and Historians who tend to filter Africa through the narrow, insular and often condescending prism of Eurocentric paradigms like A.B Ellis' *The Ewe-Speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast* which sought to present the "ordinary characteristics of the uncivilized Negro"

Spieth does a good work in divesting his work of wanton prejudice and hasty judgements, recording, transcribing and translating only that which carves a true and authentic picture of the Ewe people across time and space-from his own observation, careful and extended research, intuition and from first hand sources drawn from among the Ewe people themselves.

It should however be noted that Spieth's work did not look at all Ewes, he looked only into the life of the tribes of Ho, Matse and Taviefe. These were tribes in German Togoland. He however made references in passing to other Ewe groups

like the Peki and non-Ewe groups Akwamu which were in the Gold Coast at the time but had contact with the Ewe tribes he looked at, at one point or the other in their history.

In his introductory remark as well, Spieth noted “should the volume in hand be of interest to the Mission, leading to the sourcing of additional funds to make the printing possible, then this first Volume would be followed by a second and a third, which would give adequate treatment to other inland and coastal tribes. On the strength of this thoroughly reliable material, a comparison could then be made in which the final results would be put together. By this effort, we would have, certainly not a complete all-embracing, but definitely a fairly comprehensive monograph of the Ewe people” He was however unable to go to work on the subsequent editions. That task is waiting, still.

Welman published a book titled *The Native States of Gold Coast; History and Constitution I; Peki*. Material for the book was compiled from the Native Affairs Department in Accra in 1924. For all intent and purposes the book sets out to talk about Peki but ended up talking more about Krepi which is a larger geographical area that includes Peki.

The book touches on the political history of Krepi. Issues within socio-cultural realm are not touched. It is relevant to my work since it gives me information on Krepi; who the constituent groups are, which geographical location it is, politically how they were organized and their relations with Akwamu; conquest, peacetime and back to their war of independence.

The author, in the preface to the book, acknowledges the challenge of this book when he intimates that “the facts and institutions related and described will be almost exclusively political, but the publication of a parallel series is under consideration, which shall be concerned with the religious usages and social customs of the different peoples”¹. The parallel series whose publication he intimated was under consideration never got published.

Amenumey in an effort to have a book that looked at Eweland as a whole, came up with *The Ewe in Pre-Colonial Times, A Political History with Special Emphasis on the Anlo, Ge and Krepi* published in 1986 admits the above when he states in the introduction to the book “...it does not confine itself to the Ewe in present-day Ghana but treats the entire Ewe people as one entity”². Amenumey, especially his chapter on Krepi goes a long way to confirm assertions made by Welman. A challenge of the chapter on Krepi is that it was based largely on their political history. It does not touch on other aspects of their lives including their religious outlook, their linguistics and kinship setups. Amenumey acknowledges gaps in knowledge of the Ewe past when he states once again in his introduction that “the fact that the present monograph is very restricted in scope is in itself a reflection of this limitation” He does not stop there but acknowledges that “though

¹ Welman, C.W.(1924)*The Native States of the Gold Coast, History and Constitution I Peki*, Accra: Native Affairs Dept.p.3

² Amenumey, D.E.K. (1986) *The Ewe in Pre-colonial Times, a Political History with special emphasis on the Anlo, Ge and Krepi*, Accra: Sedco Publishing Ltd p. vii.

there are more information on bigger Ewe states like Anlo, Peki and Ge, much of it is political”¹.

A Handbook of Eweland Vol.II. Northern Ewes of Ghana under the auspices of the Organization of Research on Eweland (ORE) dedicated to the ‘Northern Ewe’ and published in 2000 is worthy of note. This book acknowledges importation of cultural traits from Akan into Ewedome which include Peki. I have made an effort to incorporate these into my work. The book acknowledges some borrowed words including *ablegɔ* (chair) from the Akan word *abrogua* and *abladzo* (plantain), from the Akan word *abrɔdze*. On governance, the book acknowledges borrowing the “black stool” concept and therefore their present institution of chieftaincy from the Akan with slight modifications². In the area of music, a borrowed Akan music instrument called *atumpani* was acknowledged.

A challenge of this book is that it covers a wide array of disciplines (tourism, symbolism, natural resources, education, food and cuisine, health etc.) within a broad geographical area and also seeks to bring issues up to speed with modern trends which made a thorough treatment of a particular phenomenon like cultural borrowings impossible.

On account of the Akwamu, the first major scholarly work on them was that of Ivor Wilks. In the first instance it was a thesis submitted to the University of

¹ Ibid

² Gavua, K. ed.(2000) *A Handbook on Ewe land, Vol.ii, Northern Ewes of Ghana* Accra: Woeli Publishing Services p.44

Wales in 1958 titled “Akwamu 1640-1750, a study of the Rise and fall of a West African Empire”¹.

Wilks later serialized his thesis in three different articles; the first of which was “The Rise of the Akwamu Empire 1650-1710” which appeared in *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, III, 2, 1957: 99-136.

The second was “A Note on Twifo and Akwamu” which appeared in the same journal, III, 3, 1958: 215-17 and a third titled “Akwamu and Otublohum: an Eighteenth Century Akan Marriage Arrangement” in *Africa* XXIX, 4 1959: 391-404.

He has revamped his thesis and published it as a monograph titled *Akwamu 1640-1750, A Study of the Rise and fall of a West African Empire* published by the Department of History of the Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim, Norway, 2001.

Another scholar who has done quite extensive work on Akwamu is R.A. Kea in his 1974 thesis titled “Trade, State Formation and Warfare on the Gold Coast, 1600-1826”. Many ideas explored in this thesis have been reworked and refined. in *Settlements, Trade, and Politics in the Seventeenth-Century Gold Coast* published in 1982 by John Hopkins University Press.

The two scholarly works above, gave me lots of information on the Akwamu, their origin, settlements, warfare, conquests and trade. A challenge of the above works

¹ Wilks, I. (1958) Akwamu: 1650-1750: ‘A study of the Rise and Fall of a West African Empire’ in Balme Library, University of Ghana

is that neither of them engaged their attention fully to the cultural influences Akwamu had on any one of their conquered states.

E.B. Asare, in his thesis submitted to the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana in 1973 titled “Akwamu and Krepi Relations in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries” throws some light on the connection Akwamu had with one of her numerous colonies which in this instance was Krepi, a conglomeration of Ewe and non-Ewe states which included Peki.

This work gives further insights into the historical links between Akwamu on one side and Peki within Krepi on the other. E.B Asare did not expressly set out to look at borrowed cultural practices or traits although he acknowledged borrowings within the field of governance and linguistics which are herin acknowledged.

Gilbert Ansre’s chapter in *Domestic Rights and Duties in Southern Ghana* in Legon Family Research Papers No.1 titled “Aspects of Akan and Ewe Kinship Terminologies” attempts a parallel listing of Akan and Ewe kinship terms, sibling names and some special verbs used together with some of the kinship nouns.

It presents linguistic data in the form of lexical items which Ewe and Akan communities find necessary and probably sufficient, for talking about their kinsmen and women. Examples include *abusua* (Akan) and *Hlo* (Ewe) for family, *ena ba* (Akan), *nɔvi* (Ewe) for sibling, *okunu* (Akan) *atsu* (Ewe) for husband etc.

Ansre’s work looks at close kinship terminologies which are usually not borrowed but certain words like *wofa* (maternal uncle) and *akonta* (brother-in-law) of the

Akan was shown to have been adopted by the Ewe. On the reverse you will not find any such borrowing of the Akan thus his work has a bearing on my work in that it admits to a relationship between the two groups fueled obviously by proximity and overlordship of Akan over the Ewe at a point in time and probably intermarriages with the passage of time between the two groups.

METHODOLOGY

Research Design:

The methodology for this research work was qualitative. This was necessary because of the nature of the research questions and the objectives of the study. The ‘how’ and ‘what’ questions required a detailed study, hence the use of the qualitative approach. In this quest, I went to the field to collect primary data. I used interviews as data collection instrument. With the help of an interview guide, I conducted in-depth interviews.

Sampling and Sample size:

I employed purposive sampling to select individuals with in-depth knowledge of the subject under review and in this case with chiefs and elders of both traditional areas. I interviewed 10-15 individuals

Primary Sources:

I conducted in-depth interviews with certain key personalities who had a wealth of experience and knowledge with the institution of chieftaincy and culture such as chiefs, queenmothers as well as traditional Court Registrars of both traditional areas. Archival materials were sourced from the Public Record and Archival Administration (PRAAD) Head office in Accra to confirm or otherwise information gotten out of the in-depth interviews. A number of archival files were sourced (my bibliography cites all), a few critical ones, however, deserve mention here: the Akwamu Native Affairs (ADM 11/1099) gave me a fair idea about the origins of Akwamu and their development, the District Record Book, Ho (ADM 30/5/73) gave me lots of insights into the origins of the Ewe people which include the Pekis. It also examined claims by Peki as overlord of the area referred to as Krepi as well as touched on some borrowings by Ewe groups within the District from their Akan neighbours on their west, the treaty of 7th October 1886 between Charles Rigby Williams, District Commissioner of the Volta River District and Kwadzo Dei VI acting as King of Krepi (ADM 11/1715) as well, confirm the extent of the area referred to as Krepi

Secondary Sources:

I also consulted articles in the *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana's* Bulletins, unpublished theses as well as published books on the subject. Relevant Newspaper Reports as well as official correspondence between certain colonial and government officials were also consulted.

Data Analysis:

The primary data collected from the field was duly transcribed and analysed through descriptive qualitative methods such as abstraction and literary writing. By literary writing, I mean the writing was done in a story-telling format. The secondary data was also analysed through critique, evaluation and synthesizing the material to meet the objectives of this research

Field Constraints:

There were certain constraints during the fieldwork. One of such limitations was financial. The cost of the research was very high and as a student, it was difficult to solicit for sufficient funds to conduct this research. The travelling expenses, logistics and other expenses were generated from my meager resources. It was difficult getting access to a few of the identified informant but I was able to speak with the key ones.

Theoretical Framework

Cultural borrowings, as a phenomenon, are normally treated within three broad theoretical perspectives namely Evolutionism, Functionalism and Diffusionism

Evolutionism is a tool used to find out, among other things, whether or not similar cultural traits discernible in two or more different socio-cultural environments have independently developed.

Functionalism, on the other hand, examines why borrowed culture traits, both tangible and intangible, are accepted and how they relate to the equilibrium of the recipient culture

My research however was informed by Diffusionism. Diffusionism refers to the spread of elements or traits from one culture to another. It could also be referred to as the spread of some facet of one culture to another

Diffusionism as theory arose as an alternative to evolution. Some of the early diffusionists were as extravagant in their claims as were the early evolutionists. During the 1920's, G. Elliott Smith and W.J. Perry claimed that all the early civilizations arose as a result of diffusion from Egypt. A flowering of culture had occurred in Egypt in about 3000 B.C., with developments in such fields as agriculture, mathematics, technology and politics. These innovations spread throughout the Mediterranean and, eventually, throughout the world.

This theory was supported by such evidence as cultural similarities between aspects of life of the early Egyptians and the peoples in the Western hemisphere. Even the totemism of the Australian aborigines was said to have been a degenerate form of a cultural norm that derived from Egypt. In other words, these diffusionists were able to support their theory by arguing that the diffused culture was altered in the course of its spread.

The diffusionists provided a necessary corrective to the evolutionists. The pattern of cultural development could not be understood as a series of stages through

which each culture passed as though it existed in isolation. Cultures interacted, and that interaction was of crucial importance for change.

Later anthropologists laid great stress on the importance of diffusion as a pattern of change. As A.L. Kroeber put it, “whatever else diffusion does or does not involve, it does always involve change for the receiving culture. The total part played by diffusion in human culture is almost incredibly great”¹ This, argued Kroeber, is clear in part because of the “retarded” nature of marginal culture. That is, those cultures that were farthest from the “higher” centers” of civilization, and consequently less likely to benefit from diffusion, fell farther and farther behind in terms of development. Societies that are relatively isolated are never as culturally rich and complex as those that interact with other societies.

The process of diffusion clearly affects people whose culture is less advanced. Kroeber offers the example of pipe smoking.² Smoking originated in tropical America, where tobacco is an indigenous plant. It spread by diffusion throughout Central and Northern America, with both “cigar” and “pipe” smoking appearing among various peoples. The Eskimos apparently did not smoke until recent centuries. They borrowed the habit from traders who came across the Bering Strait. The traders had acquired it from the diffusion across Europe and Asia; the source of that diffusion was Spain, where it arrived as a result of contact by Spanish explorers with the Indians of tropical America. In other words, pipe smoking reached the Eskimos after a process of diffusion around the entire world.

¹ Kroeber, A.L. (1948) *Anthropology* New York: Harcourt. Brace and Co. p. 412.

² *Ibid* pp. 478-80.

Obviously, diffusion is an important pattern of change. The problem then becomes one of how to use the concept as an analytical tool. That is, what are the problems of theory and the method involved in the study of diffusion? One problem, of course, is how to determine whether a particular aspect of culture is the result of diffusion or of innovation within the culture. Some facets of culture are easier to trace than others. The problem is compounded by the fact that diffusion very often involves modification as well as transfer. The Japanese, for example, have been noted for their willingness to borrow freely from other cultures and also for their propensity to give their borrowings distinctive Japanese cast.

A number of examples of this modification are given by Malinowski, who notes that,

The clash and interplay of the two cultures produce new things. Even a material object, a tool or an instrument like money, changes in the very process of culture contact. Thus in Africa, townships, mining compounds, and agricultural cooperatives are neither pure imports nor mixtures of African and European elements, but are “entirely new products” that have resulted from “the impact of European civilization on archaic Africa.”¹

Nonmaterial elements of culture can, of course, be modified as well as material elements. An example is provided by Melville Herskovits in his description of the synthesis of African and Christian religions in Brazil.² The Africans who were brought to Brazil carried with them their native religion. Their descendants were

¹ Op cit p. 25

². Herskovits, M.J (1947) *Man and His Works* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, , p.533

converted to Christianity and became professed Catholics. The conversions did not result in the total rejection of the African Religion; however, the African converts identified various African gods with different Christian Saints.

Other problems of diffusion theory include the rate of diffusion and factors that bear upon rates and socio-cultural variables that impede or facilitate diffusion. The problems of diffusion have been of interest to sociologists as well as anthropologists, so that both disciplines have contributed to our understanding of the diffusion of innovations and other aspects of culture

Early American diffusionists, unlike Smith and Perry, made less grandiose claims for diffusion. Edward Sapir and Clark Wissler tried to come to terms with the problem of identifying and tracing the diffusion of some aspects of culture in their “age-area” theory.¹ This theory gave a basis for determining the chronological status of varied features of culture. It stated, for example, that cultural traits tend to become increasingly complex over time.

Generally, therefore, the simpler the form of trait the older that form is. Furthermore, traits diffuse from the center of the culture outwardly; the more widely diffused the trait, the older it is. While this approach is reasonable, it has evident limitations. Diffusion from the center outward implies the most direct route; as Kroeber’s example of the pipe smoking among the Eskimos shows, sometimes aspects of culture take a very circuitous route. Nor will the sequence of

¹ Ibid., pp517-20

simplicity to complexity always hold up. Nevertheless, this was an effort that led in much more fruitful directions than that of Smith and Perry.

One final point which is made in discussions of diffusion is that the process is often a reciprocal affair. Few people may be aware of the extent to which American and others have been influenced by the country's original inhabitants, the American Indians (who, of course, have been influenced by European culture).

As Alan Beals puts it,

Plants domesticated by American Indians furnish almost half of the world's food supply.... A few of their better known plants include "Irish" potatoes, corn, beans, squash, and sweet potatoes. Among drugs and stimulants tobacco is the most widely diffused of the plants borrowed from the American Indian.... The commercial cotton used today is derived principally from the species cultivated by American Indians... American Indian music had a decisive influence on some American composers... A number of composers visited Western reservations, gathering and arranging melodies and borrowing themes.¹

Finally, Indians influenced the content of American Literature, as witnessed by such classic works as Longfellow's *Hiawatha* and Cooper's *Leather-Stocking Tales*. Diffusion is rarely a one-way process, even when the two cultures involved are at different stages of economic development and one is relatively powerless with respect to the other.

¹ Beals, A. R. (1967) *Culture in Process* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston p. 215

There is however exception, for instance, in a xenophobic society, take the case of food, certain food items including meat products are rejected for no tangible reason than that they are a taboo or *haram*. Few people will however reject a good idea or a useful innovation merely because it is associated with foreigners unless a highly cherished taboo of theirs is totally against the adoption of such an idea.

I came to the conclusion, after my research, that my findings have a lot of bearing on diffusionism which is why I chose it as a theoretical framework. This is because I found that Peki, have borrowed quite a number of practices from Akwamu. A number of factors account for this, the historic background the two have, that is a sort of master-servant relationship, proximity and possibly intermarriages between the two. Among others, the institution of chieftaincy (blackened stool, queenmotherhood) with its attendant regalia (palaces, palanquin, talking drums etc) and practices (observance of *Adae* festivities, use of Akwamu war chants) have been imbibed by Peki and so also their military formation, change over from Ewe natal names to Akwamu ones etc.

Significance of the Study

The work will add to the literature already available on Ewe as well as their western neighbours especially Akans (Akwamu) and will generally add to the literature on cross-cultural borrowings.

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO PEKI AND AKWAMU RELATIONS

The Ewe

According to Spieth, “The Ewe ethnic group settled between the Mono and Volta River”.¹ Amenumey points out that “The country occupied by the Ewe people is bounded by Rivers Volta in the west and Mono in the east”.² Gavua asserts that “The term ‘Northern Ewe’ refers to Ewe-speaking peoples of Ghana that are found north of the Southern Ewes in the Ho, Hohoe, Kpando and Jasikan Districts. They can be classified into two broad groups based on language and origin. The first group comprises the majority of people, generally called *Wedometorwo*³ by other Ewes who speak Ewe as mother tongue and have a common migration and settlement history. They are descendants of two of three major Ewe groups that emigrated from Notsie during the reign of Togbe Agorkorli I in the 17th Century”⁴

Gocking is of the view that “The third largest ethnic group in Ghana is the Ewe, who comprises about 13 percent of the country’s population. They live mainly on the eastern side of Lake Volta and many spread over into the neighbouring country

¹ Spieth, J. (2011) *The Ewe People: A Study of the Ewe People in German Togo* Accra: Sub Saharan Publishers p.1.

² Amenumey, D.E.K. (1986). *The Ewe in Pre-colonial Times*. Accra: Sedco Publishing Ltd p.1

³ Literally meaning valley occupants (valleys along the Togo mountain ranges along the central parts of the Volta Region)

⁴ Gavua, K.ed. (2000) *A Handbook of Eweland. Volume II: The Northern Ewes in Ghana*. Accra: Woeli Publishing Services p.5.

of Togo”¹. These assertions pertain to the general historical foundation of the Ewe people.

Origin and Early History of Peki

Peki is an Ewe sub group. The people of Peki and Hohoe are brethren who are together referred to as the Gbis. The Pekis, like other Ewes migrated from Ketu (south west Nigeria) according to Ewe oral tradition² and thereafter moved to Notsie. The Ewes began to people their present area by the middle of the seventeenth century³ though not all of them left Notsie at the same time. Thus the Pekis were already settled at their present place before their contact with their western neighbors across the Volta.

Krepi States

Peki and their non-Ewe neighbours to their east, north, west and in their midst in time past have been referred to as Krepi. The term is believed to be a blend of ‘kere’ from the word ‘kyerepong’ in reference to Guans (Non-Ewes) and ‘Peki’ in reference to Ewe divisions in the Central part of present Volta Region. This was after the two ethnic groups came together and formed an alliance to shirk Akwamu’s suzerainty in 1833 and the subsequent Asante reprisal attacks in 1869-72⁴.

¹ Gocking, R.S. (2005), *The History of Ghana*. London: Greenwood Press p.9.

² More information given in appendix B

³ Amenumey, D.E.K. (1986). *The Ewe in Pre-colonial Times*. Accra : Sedco Publishing Ltd p.11

⁴ Ansre G.ed. (1997), *Evangelical Presbyterian Church: 150 years of Evangelization and Development: 1847-1997*. Ho: The Church p.16

The name Krepi (variably spelt as Krepe, Kerrapay, Crepe, etc.) and Peki have been given elastic application by some authors, so much so that it is not uncommon for the unwary to be misled into thinking that the two names are interchangeable. It is worthwhile to mention that Peki formed only a part of Krepi.

In a restricted application, Krepi refers to the sum total of the following¹:

- (a) The hilly country overhanging the Volta plains and inhabited by such Guans as Boso, Anum, etc. and their Ewe neighbours like the Kpalime, Tsate, Tongor etc.
- (b) The valley of Amimli, where the Ewe speaking settlements of Peki, Tsibu, Adzokoe and Todome are located
- (c) The valley of Adabu or Tsawe occupied by Ewe-speaking Awudome.

In a broad sense the term Krepi applies to the “inland” or “northern” Ewe country east of the Volta². In this context Krepi could be regarded as a conglomeration of more or less autonomous states or towns which until 1833 constituted a province of greater Akwamu.

¹ PRAAD, Accra, ADM 11/188 Peki Blengo Native Affairs: Letter from Francis Crowther, Secretary for Native Affairs to His Excellency, the Governor, Accra. 1910

² Johnson, M. (1965) Ashanti East of the Volta in *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana* Vol. viii

Some of the autonomous settlements that came to be referred to as Krepi include: Peki, Anfoe, Kpando, Awudome, Ho, Hohoe, Taviefe (all Ewes), Agotime (Adangbe refugees) as well as Anum and Boso which are Guan¹.

After 1833, Kwodjo Dei I, the ruler of Peki, regarded the whole of Krepi as his realm after leading Krepi to overthrow Akwamu suzerainty. Indeed in various treaties signed between Krepi and the British Crown, Kwadjo Dei appended his signature as “King of Krepi” while other Krepi chiefs signed as sub-chiefs².

There is not much information on the relations that existed between the individual Krepi states and any specific developments that occurred immediately after the period of settlement. It is probable that the founding fathers travelled together part of the way. In the case of Peki and Hohoe it is acknowledged that they were originally one people known as “Gbi” and that Peki left *Gbidgigbe* (Hohoe) to found their present home.

It is clear from the traditions of both Peki and Kpando that their founders had kept moving from one temporary settlement to the other till they finally hit on their present homes. There is however evidence that at least part of the area of Krepi was not uninhabited, prior to the arrival of the Ewe³. They talk of encounters with the Lolobi, Akpafu and Wurupong-who claimed to live on the Togo hills⁴.

¹ Yegbe, J.B. (1966) ‘Anlo and her neighbours, 1850-1890’ Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Institute of African Studies, Legon, p14

² A case in point was the treaty of 7th October, 1886 by Charles Rigby Williams, District Commissioner of the Volta River District and Kwadjo Dei, the King of Krepi ceding Krepi to the British Government in Appendix D

³ Le Lievre, P.D. (1925) The Kpando Division in *Gold Coast Review* Vol.ii No. 1 pp.30-31

⁴ Amenumey, D.E.K.(1986) *The Ewe in Pre-colonial Times*.Accra: Sedco Publishing Ltd p.67

It was said that the people that the Peki met on the land were mostly iron smelters who kept moving from one hill to the other in search of iron ore. They stayed longer if they found large deposits on a particular hill. These hill-tops to them were temporary settlement thus they moved off usually with the least resistance.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century, the King of Kwahu (an Akan sub group) based at Asabi on the River Volta exercised suzerainty over some of the Krepi states. These states may have been Wusuta, Aveme, Botoku which were Ewe and Logba, Avatime, Anum and Boso which were non-Ewe.¹

Kwahu's overlordship over these Krepi states was however short-lived because in the early eighteenth century she was superseded by Akwamu.²

Origin and Early History of Akan

According to J.B. Danquah,

Akan tribes are said to have migrated from Central Africa to the Littoral of Western Africa in consequence of the Moorish aggression in about the seventh or eighth century. Their first settlement appears to have been made near the Kong Mountain and subsequently at Takiman, and latterly, on the Pra River in Ashanti. It was at Takiman that the first split occurred. The Fantis marched further south, and after some warfare with the Obutus, they settled on the seaboard, founding a very important state-a sort of empire with Mankessim as its centre and capital

¹ Op cit p. 67

² Ibid.p. 68

Akan settlements of considerable size were established at Adanse and Denkera, but following the growth of population, there arose, a corresponding growth in the desire to centralize authority in a single dynasty. Akyem, Denkera and Ashanti made rival bids for supreme power.¹

Origin and History of Akwamu

Akwamu, an Akan sub group's tradition traces their origin to Kong in the modern Republic of Ivory Coast, from where they stopped at Wam in present day Brong Ahafo of Ghana before proceeding to Twifo Heman². Another tradition traces their ancestry to Twifo Heman³. Yet another tradition claim that the people who later founded the state of Akwamu were traders accompanied by fighting men, led by one Agyen Kokobo of the Abrade clan, who had founded the town of Kumkunso some 50 kilometres inland from Elmina. This was during the second half of the seventeenth century⁴.

Later in the century, under Adow, the fourth ruler after Agyen Kokobo, a section of the people moved slowly across the inland part of the country and settled first at Asamankese and later at Nyanoase, some 30 kilometres behind Accra. They created a gold market at Abonse (near Nyanoase) where traders from the interior were obliged to conduct their trade with Accra

¹ Danquah, J.B. (1928) *Gold Coast: Akan Laws and Customs and the Akim Abuakwa constitution* London : George Routledge and Sons Ltd p 2

² Ward, W.E.F. (1958) *A History of Ghana* London: Allen and Unwin Ltd p.55

³ PRAAD, Accra, ADM 11/1099 Akwamu Native Affairs 1884-1925 (Case No.41/1917)

⁴ Amenumey, D.E.K (2008) *Ghana, A Concise History from Pre-Colonial Times to the 20th Century* Accra: Woeli Publishing Services p.32-33

Around 1629 Akwamu is shown on maps as lying in the hinterlands of Agona, across the trade routes leading inland from the coast to Kwawu, Akim, and the farther north. A Dutch 'map of the lands of the Gold Coast of Guinea' dated 1629 describes Akwamu as *diefachtich volk* 'a predatory nation'.

The uncharitable remark by the Dutch cartographer is to be associated with the form of control exercised over merchants using the trade routes passing through Akwamu territory.

Expansion of the Akwamu state

From 1629 onwards, Akwamu set out on a programme of conquest and expansion. It absorbed the petty Guan states in the area north of modern Akuapem¹. Similar fates befell the Ga and Ladoku kingdoms between 1677 and 1681². It is asserted that the course taken by the expansion of Akwamu was determined by both the political suitability and economic benefits of the lucrative coastal trade³. It is further suggested, and reasonably so, that the foremost objective of the Akwamu was to gain monopolistic control over the trade routes from Accra to the interior and thereby use the revenue accruing from the tolls exacted from the traders plying the routes in purchasing firearms and ammunitions⁴.

Akwamu's economic prosperity and supremacy eventually paved the way for the conquest of Accra itself between 1677 and 1681, and therefore the development of

¹ Reindorf, C.C. (1889) *The History of Gold Coast and Ashanti*, Basel. p.60

² Wilks, I (1958) The Rise of the Akwamu Empire in *Transactions of The Historical Society of Ghana* Vol. iii, pt 2 p.24

³ Kimble, D. (1963) *A Political History of Ghana, 1850-1928*. London: Oxford University Press p.129

⁴ Ibid

Akwamu as a coastal power¹. Agona State was also defeated by Akwamu in 1689.²

In order to secure control over the trade around the Volta and east of it, Akwamu embarked on another phase of imperial expansion during the first decade of the eighteenth century which culminated in the conquest of Krepi country³.

The people of the various autonomous states that make up Krepi lacked a common bond of solidarity which could unify them into a strong force against any encroachment upon their sovereignty. They fell to invaders/raiders. It was in such a situation that Akwamu with little or no difficulty extended her authority over these people.

It is probable that not all Krepi states came under Akwamu through warfare; some must have done their checks and taken diplomatic steps to be spared in the invasion.

The conflict of imperial interests that developed between Akwamu and Kwawu following the former's intervention in Krepi led to the conquest of Kwawu itself by Akwamu in 1710.

Besides other factors, the achievement of this remarkable feat of expansion by Akwamu was facilitated by a treaty which the Akwamu signed with the Dutch. By

¹ Op cit p.129

² Wilks, I. (1958) The Rise of the Akwamu Empire in *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana* Vol. iii, pt2 p.24

³ Kea, R.A. (1967) 'Ashanti Danish Relations, 1780-1831' Unpublished Thesis, I.A.S., Legon pp17-18

the terms of the treaty, the Dutch were to aid Akwamu in any fair or just war with armed men and ammunitions¹.

Akwamu's control over that section of Krepí that it had conquered was however ineffective. It was after 1730 when Akwamu was forced to move to her present place of abode east of the Volta that she came to establish her suzerainty over Krepí.

Akwamu-Peki Relations

Peki, a Krepí state, was instrumental in the spread of Akwamu rule over the whole of Krepí country. The first hurdle Akwamu had to surmount was the language barrier. Akwamu, an Akan speaking people, needed the assistance of an Ewe speaking group. In this direction Peki came to the aid of Akwamu.²

Then there was the problem of unfamiliarity with the Krepí environment. The Akwamus needed to surmount this in order to conquer other Krepí states and ultimately administer such conquered territory at the least expense. Peki again helped Akwamu.

The job of exacting royalties/ tributes/taxes from fellow Krepí country folks was also executed by Peki with such an acute sense of urgency, strictness and loyalty to their Akwamu superiors that they, in return, courted hatred from their Krepí brothers and sisters. The finesse with which the Pekis executed the last role won them the trust and admiration of their Akwamu superiors and for her reward Peki

¹ Op cit p 28

² Interview with a former court Reistrar of Peki Traditional Council

was given the role of *tuafu* (vanguard) within the broader Akwamu army. It must be stated that this army was very different from the core Akwamu army.

There is not much evidence in documents consulted to show whether states in Krepri became either completely subservient or overtly rebellious to Akwamu suzerainty after their invasion in 1707. It could only be inferred from all indications that relations between the two were generally not cordial.

Peki was however said to be exceptionally loyal to Akwamu right from the beginning.¹ It might have been due to the superior military might of Akwamu. It might also have been a case of self seeking interest on the part of Peki against all other Krepri states.

Unlike Akwamu-Anlo relations which involved reciprocal co-operation and mutual respect,² the Akwamu-Peki relations in the eighteenth century could best be described as master-servant relations, with Akwamu, acting from a position of strength. Peki, as a collaborator with Akwamu, did not have it easy; for some states did not accommodate the new situation and were restive.

Whenever the opportunity offered itself, such polities endeavored to reassert their independence by disturbing the trade routes which Akwamu intended to bring

¹ Asare, E.B (1973) 'Akwamu-Peki Relations' M.A. Thesis submitted to I.A.S Legon. P.31

² Kea, R.A. (1969) Akwamu-Anlo Relations, *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, Vol x: Ghana Publishing Corporation. Accra-Tema, Ghana

under her full control.¹This showed that Akwamu's control over her province across the Volta was initially ineffective.

Akwamu had her political capital at Nyanoase and her military capital at Nsachi. Both of these were on the west banks of the Volta. Thus Akwamu and her Krepi province were on the opposite sides of the Volta River. While this situation prevailed, Akwamu's political grip over Krepi remained peripheral and ineffective.

By the third decade of the eighteenth century however, circumstances beyond Akwamu forced her to relocate to the east of the Volta. It was after this that one could talk about a more effective control over Krepi by Akwamu.

In November 1730, Akwamu succumbed to the onslaught of Akyem, Accra, Akuapem and Agona and lost the section of her empire west of the Volta River.² The Akwamu royal house had to change its seat of government. It fled across the Volta and sought refuge in its hitherto distant and loosely controlled territory of Krepi.

This change brought the seat of government nearer Peki in particular and other Krepi states in general. It terminated the era of marginal relations between old Akwamu and her remote provincial Krepi subjects and ushered in a new phase of intimate and more meaningful relations between the two.

¹ Asare, E.B (1973) 'Akwamu-Peki Relations' M.A. Thesis submitted to I.A.S Legon. P.31

² Priddy, B. (1971) *A Short History of the Forts and Castles of Ghana*, Accra:Ghana Museums and Monuments p.38

This second phase of Akwamu-Krepi relationship had far-reaching ramifications. Being refugees, Akwamu selected the location of their new capital with great care to safeguard against any future eventualities. The location for the new Akwamu capital, Akwamufie, was and still is naturally fortified against military invasion.

Akwamufie is protected on the north, east and south by quite lofty hills and on the west by the Volta River. From the top of the hills, Akwamu military scouts could easily spot any invading troops and any enemy troop could hardly cross the Volta without being detected by the Akwamu.

Though states in present day Ga-Adangbe and Akwapim areas constituting the Akwamu empire west of the Volta River regained their independence with the collapse of the Akwamu empire in 1730, the Krepi states east of the Volta were to remain under Akwamu rule for a little over a hundred years.¹

It will not be unreasonable to postulate that due to proximity, contact between Akwamu and Krepi states in general became more frequent and relations closer while the grip of Akwamu over Krepi became firmer after 1730.

The above was particularly so in the case of Peki which was relatively closer to Akwamu than other Krepi states like Ho and Kpando.² Francis Crowther (Secretary to the Native Affairs) stated "...Akwamu settled finally at their present capital,

¹ Welman, C.W. (1924) *The Native States of the Gold Coast, History and Constitution, I, Peki* Accra: Native Affairs Dept. p.24

² Debrunner, H.(1965) *A Church between Two Colonial Powers, the history of the church in Togo* , London: Lutterworth Press p.14

establishing suzerainty over the neighboring tribes, Peki forming a definite sub-division”¹

Roemer states that only about five hundred Akwamu families fled across the Volta and he estimates that no more than a thousand fighting men were included among the refugees.² Roemer’s assertion is supported by Akwamu oral tradition which states that only a few families fled to their new home.

For relatively few Akwamus to have been able to establish firmer political control over the Krepi states which no doubt were numerically superior suggests that the Akwamu refugees might have received military assistance from other people. Such assistance, both Akwamu and Peki oral tradition say, was received from Peki.

Like Peki, other states in Krepi did not remain passive to the events of the new era ushered in by the change of the seat of Akwamu government. The nature of their reaction was however determined by the policies of the various Akwamu monarchs, some of whom were more tyrannical than others.

Akwono Kuma whose reign ushered in the new era was said to be “a leader of outstanding qualities”.³ He employed tact and diplomacy to get Peki as well as other Krepi states to co-operate with their newly arrived master-guest; Akwamu. Akwono Kuma had to go along these lines after a harrowing experience six months after arrival at their new home, Blittersdorp reported from Accra that in

¹ Fynn, J.K.(1971) *Asante and its Neighbours* London: Longman p.108

²Roemer,L.F. (1960) *En Tilforladelig Efterrentning om Kysten Guinea*, Copenhagen p.103&134

³ Wilks,I (1958) p.23

May 1731, just six months after the collapse of the old Akwamu capital and the founding of the new one, troops of new Akwamu went on punitive expedition against some people who had rebelled in the Krepi country. The Akwamu forces were said to have sustained heavy losses as a result of a miscalculation¹.

Probably after the failure of this expedition Akwono Kuma resolved that until Akwamu became well established in her saddle, diplomacy instead of brutal force of arms should be used in absorbing other Krepi states into their fold. And indeed up to the end of Akwono Kuma's reign (c.1744) available sources do not disclose any overt conflict between Akwamu and states in Krepi

Era of Asante Influence (1744-1874)

King Akwono Kuma was succeeded by Opoku Kuma (1744-1747) who owed his enstoolment to Asantehene; Opoku Ware I. Due to this Opoku Kuma was indebted to the Asantehene, Opoku Ware. Akwamu therefore became subject state of Asante.² Consequently Opoku Kuma's short reign of three years was characterized by strong Asante influence, the repercussions of which was felt in Krepi country and hence affected Akwamu-Krepi relations. A Botoku tradition relates: "The Akwamu were formerly under the Ashantis while the Ewes also served the Akwamu. Every chief paid tribute of two men to the Asantehene through the Akwamuhene."³The chain of command therefore was a little longer than usual;

¹ Asare, E.B (1973) 'Akwamu-Peki Relations' M.A. Thesis submitted to I.A.S Legon. p.40

² Murray, V.H. (1818) *Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in Africa* London p.316

³ Aduamah E.Y. (1963) Traditions from the Volta Basin (3) Botoku I.A.S p.3

Krepi submitted tribute to Akwamu through Peki while Akwamu in turn submitted portions of such tribute through Asante emissaries to the Asantehene.

Aside the above, Asante because of their present position, made use of the trade route to the coast through Krepi as well as Akwamu. This was as a result of blockade by Akyems of the shorter trade route from Asante to the coast through Akyem land. Akwamu's allegiance to Asante though nominal, continued with the reigns of Dako who succeeded Opoku Kuma and Akoto who ruled after the demise of Dako. Indeed till 1826 when there was a temporary break in Akwamu-Asante relations, there was a resident Asante Commissioner named Opoku in Akwamu.¹

Akwamu's allegiance to Asante did not limit Akwamu's political authority or ascendancy in Krepiland. If anything, the Asante-Akwamu connection rather boosted Akwamu's political power in Krepi during the latter part of the eighteenth century². Indeed the Asantehene gave the Akwamuhene a free hand to operate. Urged by her desire to maximize the economic benefits accruing from the trade in slaves and ivory originating from Krepi and encouraged also by the political protection she enjoyed by her allegiance to Asante, Akwamu exploited the resources of Krepi as much as she could.

In addition to the above, other advantages Akwamu had were the strategic location of her new capital, her control over Krepi which was rich in slaves, ivory and tolls

¹ Bowdich, T.E. (1966) *Mission from Cape Coast to Ashante*, London: Cass p.235

² Bioern, A.R.(1788) *Beretning om der Danake Forter og Negrier paa Guinea Kysten* Copenhagen p.27

collected from traders who passed through the land etc. The Asante-Akwamu alliance continued in various forms, with occasional breaks, for instance during the Katamansu war of 1826, until Asante military might was broken in 1874 and Akwamu herself was absorbed by the Gold Coast colony in 1886. The relations between Akwamu and Peki also continued until the overthrow of Akwamu by Krepi states in 1833.

Onset of Krepi Revolts

The Akwamu-Peki relation was pregnant with many disintegrating factors. The two belonged to two distinct ethnic, linguistic and cultural groups. The Akwamus are Akan while majority of Krepi states are Ewe with few exceptions. This made assimilation of Peki and other Krepi states by Akwamu difficult. It was also enough grounds for petty misunderstandings and conflicts.

The close of the third decade and the beginning of the fourth decade of the nineteenth century saw two revolts in Krepi against Akwamu beginning with that of Awudome in 1829. This upsurge of rebellion was due partly to the weakness of the Asante-Akwamu alliance and partly due to the fact that the Krepi states, especially Peki, felt militarily prepared to revolt.

The following is an official summary capturing the first Krepi revolt:

“In the time when the Krepis served Akwamu, it was the Awudome who first rose against their overlord in an attempt to throw off the Akwamu yoke. Against the combined forces of Akwamu and the remaining Krepis however, the Awudomes

suffered a heavy defeat when in 1829 all their villages were laid waste by the victorious armies”.¹

The incident which triggered off the Awudome revolt of 1829 was connected to one of the trade commodities for which Krepi was famous, namely ivory i.e. the tusk of an elephant over which there was a royal monopoly. The convention was that the tusk of an elephant ought to be presented to the sovereign; in Krepi’s case, the Akwamuhene through Peki.

According to Reindorf a dispute arose between two Krepi towns in connection with an elephant killed. Reindorf goes on to say that a hunter of Adzokoe (a Peki town about nine miles north of Peki Blengo) shot an elephant but missed it. The elephant fled towards Awudome and was fired at by another hunter from Tsibu (an Awudome town about five miles north of Peki Blengo).

The animal retreated towards the Adzokoe hunter who shot it down a second time. A quarrel then ensued as to who killed the elephant. People of Adzokoe claimed the head of the elephant for King Akoto of Akwamu while the people of Tsibu Awudome claimed it for Adjesi, an influential man from Awudome.

The dispute was finally settled by each side securing a tusk of the elephant. The people of Adzokoe being dissatisfied with the settlement allied with the next town, Todome (A Kpalime town) and attacked Awudome, seized the other tusk and presented both tusks to King Akoto of Akwamu.

¹ PRAAD, Accra, ADM 39/1/28 Awudome Native Affairs case 190/1920. Letter No.1141/190/1920 dated 28th May 1946 from the District Commissioner, Akuse to the Commissioner, Eastern Province.

King Akoto having been informed of the circumstances surrounding the tusks he had received promised his assistance to Adzokoe in case of Tsibu Awudome's reprisal attack. King Akoto took this stance because this was an audacious challenge to his sovereign right and authority in Krepi.

Adjesi also prepared for war. With the assistance of the people of Kpalime, the Awudome sacked Adzokoe and captured many prisoners. King Akoto being informed of the incident decided to punish the rebellious Awudome. He won the support of Kwadjo Dei I of Peki; Ankra of Accra, Chief Kwafo of Aburi, Chief Awua of Begro, Nyarko of Boso and Kumi of Anum all with a large number of troops.

Adjesi on the other hand was supported against King Akoto by such Awudome towns as: Tsito, Anyinawase, Kwanta, Avenui, Tsibu, then "Nketieso", "Adame", "Agome", Avatime and Angula.

King Akoto invaded Krepi country in 1829 and the campaign against Awudome and her allies lasted till April 1830. First, Kpalime, Awudome's ally, was attacked and captured and Adjesi was forced to retreat to Bame. After various skirmishes, Awudome settlements were razed to the ground.

Ado Horoko, the Chief of Awudome, then sought for peace after absolving himself of the rebellion. Adjesi and his allies were betrayed and executed. A quarrel then ensued over Adjesi's skull between King Akoto and Ankra because the latter declined to hand it over to the former. Akoto was said to have

impudently displayed the skull of Okai Koi, the Ga Chief who was killed by Akwamu in the early seventeenth century.

The Ga left Krepi for home very much embittered against the Akwamu.

The fact that King Akoto of Akwamu asked for the assistance of quite a number of allies suggests that the Awudome rebellion might have been formidable. For on the first attack, after Adjesi was forced to retreat to Bame, he returned with a reinforcement of Krepi to compel Akoto to retreat to Kpalime.

Reindorf says that but for the support of Kwadjo Dei I of Peki, Akwamu troops might have been routed. In fact, it was at this crucial moment that Akoto realized that he had underrated the extent of the Awudome rebellion.

He was therefore induced to solicit for assistance from King Taki Kome I (1825-1856) of Accra who sent a detachment of 15,000 troops under Chief Ankrah of Dutch Accra. Ankrah might have joined the campaign with such a formidable force to deserve the prominence given it by the European records.¹

That Adjesi was able to win support to such an extent that he could withstand Akwamu and her allies for a whole year might be a pointer to how unpopular Akwamu rule had been in Krepi country. Awudome insurrection was just the beginning of a series of events that culminated in the ending of Akwamu rule.

In 1831, there occurred another revolt against Akwamu rule. It started innocuously as a local strife in Nyive. A quarrel developed between Chief Ofori and Chief

¹Asare, E.B (1973) 'Akwamu-Peki Relations' M.A. Thesis submitted to I.A.S Legon. P.70

Gugu both of Nyive which was within Krepi. In the dispute, the chief of Agotime another Krepi town supported Gugu.¹In the course of events, a misunderstanding arose between the two allies.

Gugu of Nyive secured the support of such towns as Kpalime, Shia, Tove and others while Agotime won the assistance of King Akoto of Akwamu with some Krepi states in his rank and file. Thus in less than a year after Akwamu had crushed the Awudome rebellion Akwamu military forces were back in Krepi country again.

The Akwamu troops were led by Captain Akonno Kuma who engaged and defeated the Nyive. But the Akwamu troops were called back to Akwamu before the victims could surrender.

Agotime had to quickly seek new allies to salvage the situation that came up with the untimely recall of the Akwamu troop. They secured the help of Kwatei Kodjo of Accra who mustered over a thousand men from Accra. Chief Kwafo of Akwapim also joined the expedition. Akwamu troops rejoined the allies later on at Ho.

The Agotime, Ga, Akwapim and Akwamu troops-now numbering 4,000-5,000 according to Reindorf, met Nyive and her supporters. A number of inconclusive engagements occurred near Nyive at the bank of River Hazo. As the ammunition of the allies became exhausted Akwamu retreated home but the troops from Accra remained in Agotime for another two years trading to fend for themselves.

¹ Welman,C.W.(1924) The Native States of the Gold coast Accra: Native Affairs Dept.p.11

When at last, a fresh consignment of arms and ammunition was received, Akoto defeated the enemy and entered Ho. Akoto supported by Kwadzo Dei I, was joined by the people of Agotime and the Accra troops led by Kwatei Kodjo. After about three months' wait, they reopened the attack. They captured Nyive but soon lost it, with many lives in the bargain.

They then retreated and pitched camp at Taviefe. By now both sides had become weary of the protracted war and provisions ran short. Nyive sent messengers to sue for peace. Nothing remained but to summon Chief Gugu and his confederates to surrender. But Akoto dragged his feet over the issue. Kwadzo Dei I and Kwatei Kodjo began to suspect that he was deliberately delaying peace settlement with the hope that Kwatei Kodjo who had been in the battle field for three years would return to Accra without benefitting from the spoils of war.

It was at this stage that there emerged disintegration in the rank and file of Akoto of Akwamu. A damaging rift reared its ugly head between Kwadzo Dei I and Akoto. Fed up with the over-prolonged campaign, Kwadzo Dei I decided to disobey his overlord and head for home with his troops who were all famished. Kwadzo Dei I used the illness of his son Ajeani as an excuse for his defection.

This was the beginning of a revolt that was to lead to the overthrow of Akwamu rule over Krepri in 1833. When word got to Akoto of Kwadzo Dei's act, he sent

twelve cobs of corn and demanded a human being for every grain as the price for their defection.¹

Kwadzo Dei I refused to pay this fine. This prompted Akoto to send Dei food and ammunition to select one. A selection of food would mean Kwadzo Dei wanted to live and therefore wanted peace with Akoto while selecting ammunition would mean Dei was willing to fight.

Kwadzo Dei I being fed up with the over-lordship of Akwamu and seeing himself militarily ready chose ammunitions and sent the food back to King Akoto with the message that he and his people had a lot to subsist on. This was the beginning of a revolt that was to lead to the overthrow of Akwamu rule over Krepi in 1833.

Akwamu had all along been able to maintain her hold on Krepi, not only because of her superior military power and her ability to draw on other powerful friends or patrons, but also because of the lack of cooperation among the various Krepi towns. Only Krepi concerted action stood any chance of success against Akwamu but this was not easily achieved. Peki which was the instrument of Akwamu indirect rule in Krepi identified herself with Akwamu.

The failure of Awudome and Nyive revolts in 1829 and 1831 is significant because it illustrates the apathy and disunity within the Krepi towns. Not only did they not come together to fight for independence; but some, like Peki together

¹ PRAAD, Accra, ADM 11/1245 Peki Blengo Native Affairs "Notes of a meeting held at Anyinawase between the Commissioner, Eastern Province, Major F.W.F. Jackson, and the Benkumhene of Anyinawase and Elders" on 28th November, 1924

with other non-Ewe towns like Boso and Anum, actually fought alongside Akwamu to subject the defiant towns.

The 1833 revolt succeeded because of a number of significant reasons. In the first place, it was spearheaded by an important and strong state and also there was concerted action. In addition, there was a reduction in the number of allies on whom Akwamu could draw.

According to Asare E.B¹, Peki had special reasons for deciding to cease collaborating with Akwamu; the main source of income for Akwamu was the slave trade. She and Peki had vested interest in this trade and cooperated to exploit the other Krepi states for slaves. In 1807, however, the British made the trade in slaves illegal for their colonies.

Krepi did not possess other resources like gold and kola nut which could be exploited in place of slaves, since the slave trade had been proscribed. It meant that the days of Peki-Akwamu collaboration for the exploitation of other Krepi states were over. The self interest that had shut Peki's eyes to the incidence of Akwamu hegemony now came to be undermined.

Again by this time, Akwamu had forfeited her chances of calling on Asante and Ga aid. As late as 1822-23 an Asante General on Commission from Asantehene had assisted Akwamu against the Krepi "They captured thousands of unoffending Krepis, so that a boy or girl of ten years was sold for 25 Cowries. They locked up

¹ Asare E.B. (1973) 'Akwamu-Krepi Relations'. M.A Thesis submitted to I.A.S Legon p.63

thousands of prisoners in houses and then set fire to them because there was no market for them”¹

Again, as we have seen, in 1829 and 1831 Akwamu had secured the services of Chiefs Ankra and Kwatei of Accra in the Suppression of Awudome and Nyive. But by 1833, Akwamu had burnt her boats as far as these two sources were concerned. As has been pointed out, earlier, Akwamu had deserted Asante at Akatamansu in 1826. She could no longer expect aid from Asante.

In fact, the mere appreciation of this consequence of Asante defeat at Akatamansu must have emboldened the Krepi. It is significant to note that in a message Akoto sent to King Takie of Accra in 1829, he moaned that since his return from Akatamansu his Krepi subjects had become unruly and were trying to rebel against him.²

As far as the Ga were concerned, Akoto had alienated them when he denied chief Kwatei kojo part of the proceeds of the 1831-33 war on Nyive by deliberately delaying the conclusion of negotiations concerning Nyive’s submission.

Moreover, he dearly hurt the dignity and pride of the people of Accra by displaying the skull of Ansa Koi at the conclusion of the Nyive war. All these developments and circumstances were to make the 1833 war of independence different from the 1829 and 1831 attempts.

¹ Reindorf, C.C (1889) *The History of Gold Coast and Ashante* Accra: Ghana University Press p. 76-78

² Reindorf, C.C. (1889) p.246

For the various reasons already discussed, Kwadzo Dei I and Akoto reached the parting ways in 1833. On quitting the Akwamu camp, Kwadzo Dei I advanced towards home. He was pursued by Akoto and Kwatei Kojo to Bame. Incidentally from here Kwatei Kojo left for home in August 1833. Kwadzo Dei I then began to make adequate preparations for war that he knew had become inevitable.

He mobilized all the chiefs, Captains and influential men of Peki. A battle between Akoto and Kwadzo Dei took place at Bame. The former was defeated and forced to fall back on Waya (Adaklu), an ally to Akwamu. While there, he enlisted the help of Anlo. With these allies, Akoto marched on Bame again.

This time the allied forces defeated Kwadzo Dei I but not choosing to attack Peki, Akoto fled back to Awalime, south of Peki. Kwadzo Dei I attacked but was repulsed at Awalime. Akoto then captured and entered Peki. Kwadzo Dei I now retreated to Tsoho (Tsoxo) on the road to Peki Pong (present-day Hohoe) where he re-organised and strengthened his army.

He appealed to all the neighboring states and towns to come together and fight for their independence once and for all. He arranged a pact of unity between Peki and the neighboring towns of Awudome, Anum and Boso who also renounced their allegiance to Akwamu.¹

¹ There is some discrepancy concerning the actual time that the rest of Krepí joined the rebellion against Akwamu. According to Reindorf (first published 1889) p.305 it was after Kwadzo Dei had been forced to retreat to Tsoho that he succeeded in enlisting the support of the rest of Krepí. Wellman (p.13) follows this account. On the other hand, the Ewe tradition collected in *Ewegbalexel Akpa Enelia* (1906) p.81 imply that he secured the support of these people right from the beginning of his quarrel with Akwamu.

Possibly as a recognition of the fact that it was Peki that initiated the revolt and also in deference to her superior military strength and also of the fact that she constituted the vanguard of the Krepi contingent in the Akwamu army in former times, it was agreed that Peki should command the main body of the united army, while Awudome, the left wing and the Guan towns, the right wing.

This alliance was to prove the first step by which Peki began to extend her political authority. It was the genesis of a new composite state of Krepi comprising Peki, Awudome, Boso and Anum led by Peki with the chiefs of Awudome and Boso as the next in rank to him.

Besides Awudome, Boso and Anum between 30 and 35 Krepi states (comprising about 116 towns) responded to Kwadzo Dei's call. Some of these were Kpalime, Wusuta, and Kpando. A large supply of arms and ammunition was procured from Accra traders who had been specially invited to bring their wares to sell. Kwadzo Dei I organized the Krepi states along the lines of the Akwamu military formation.

The army advanced towards Peki via Tsate. At Peki-Blengo it met the Akwamu forces that had been quartered at Peki Avetile. The Krepi army drove Akoto to Peki-Dzogbati after a two-day battle. At Dzogbati there was another heavy fighting. Initially, Akwamu and her allies appeared to be winning but the fortunes suddenly changed.

The Krepis killed an Ada fetish priest in whom the Anlo soldiers reposed confidence. They immediately fled and Akoto also fled to Ayensu, leaving his

baggage behind. The Krepi forces pursued and defeated the fleeing Akwamu and their allies.¹

This victory founded Krepi independence. Apart from this obvious consequence of Krepi victory, the war had other very interesting results as far as political alignment in Eweland was concerned. One consequence of Anlo's participation in this war was the bitter enmity between her and the Krepi states. Anlo lost her market for salt and smoked fish in Krepi.²

The resultant enmity between Anlo and these Ewe states was the basis of the pattern of alliances that was to persist even into this day. The story did not end there; of course there were attempts by Akwamu to get back their former colony, but all these attempts met with stiff resistance by the Krepis.

Matters came to a head in 1869-72 when Akwamu solicited the help of Asante. With the help of Asante, a lot of destruction was caused to lives and property in Krepi-land. It had to take the combined might of all Krepi, the British, Akim and Ga forces to oust Asante and Akwamu forces. In 1886, in the aftermath of the Berlin conference, Krepe became part of the British Protectorate of the Gold Coast.³

¹ There are differing accounts of the course of the 1833 war. Welman (op cit,p13) follows Reindorf (op. cit.,pp.303-6) closely. Their versions differs from the Ewe version in *Ewegbalexexle akpaenelia*, op cit.,1906 edition pp.81-2. Curiously enough, the account in the 1938 edition of the Ewe text (pp.82-3) also differs from the 1906 version and Reindorf's account.

² Harertter et al, (1906) *Ewegbalexexle Akpa Enelia* Bremen p.76.

³ PRAAD, Accra, ADM 11/1715. Treaty of 7th October, 1886 between Charles Rigby Williams, District Commissioner of the Volta River District and Kwadzo Dei VI, king of Krepi ceding Krepi to the British Government

CHAPTER THREE

ON PEKI POLITICO-ADMINISTRATIVE BORROWINGS

Duveno (Priest of Duve) played a key role in leading the Peki from Notsie to their present abode; Duve being their chief god. Pekis adopted Amimli as a second god upon their arrival. Amimli is a river which plays a vital role in the lives of the people of Peki. The Priest of Amimli assisted that of Duve to ensure the existence of law and order.

The two Priests did this by performing sacrificial rites to placate and appease their respective gods in times of social stress such as outbreak of epidemics, unusual deaths and natural calamities like drought and famine. They were responsible for the maintenance of peaceful relations between the gods, ancestors and living members of the society.

During Peki traditional festivities, these priests are on hand to conduct the necessary purification rites to ensure the goodwill of the gods, abundant rainfall, good harvest and procreation among men and women in the community.

These Priests were consulted by individuals in the community who had diseases such as lunacy, epilepsy, barrenness and other major illnesses which were believed to be caused by the gods and witches.

The Priests worked hand in hand with clan heads in running the affairs of the community. Members of the community looked up to them for direction in all

matters not only in the religious sphere. They enacted laws in the form of taboos accompanied sanctions.

They had the *Adela* (hunters) as spies and war lords in the event of war. These war lords in turn recruited young able bodied men for war. The Priest however was the commander in chief of the army. As vessels of the gods they were able to tell which direction to move to avert calamity. Good relationship and co-operation among members of the community rested on the shoulders of the Priest. They acted as arbitrators in the settlement of disputes. Redress beyond family heads came to them. Serious cases as murder, incest, robbery, public riot, assault and breach of taboos came up to them for redress

Be that as it may, this system was not able to withstand the wave of attacks that was visited upon the Pekis and their neighbors during the Akwamu onslaught in the early part of the seventeenth century. There was a realization of the need for a more centralized system to supplant this one. Diffusionism, the theoretical framework upon which I ground my work acknowledges that few people will reject a good idea or a useful innovation merely because it is associated with foreigners. Having realized that their present political arrangement could not withstand the wave of attacks from Akwamu, the Pekis adopted the former's concept of centralization of power.

Akwamu, and for that matter Akans, generally conceive centralization as a state referred to as *Oman* which was neither a district nor a tract of land but a confederation of groups of people whose unit was composed of sub groups of

people attached to a *stool*, a symbol of their politico-religious organization. What is a stool as far as the Akwamu/Akan is concerned? The stool under consideration is a 'blackened' one. Blackened stool undergoes certain ritual processes including cleansing with human blood. Ordinary stools do not undergo such a treatment. Ordinary stools are carved out of just any wood while blackened stools are carved out of a special tree. A blackened stool is not sat on in public like ordinary stools. Blackened stools are kept in special rooms properly designated as such and continue to receive ritual treatment on important occasions

It is blackened stools that an in-coming chief is blindfolded to pick from. The one that the in-coming chief/ king chooses, he bears its name. Creation of new blackened stools was proscribed after 1941 by the colonial authorities since the processes involved amount to ritual murder.¹

There have been speculations whether such stools were in use among the Ewes when they were in Notsie or even for a number of years after their exodus from Notsei. An official British Colonial report states that it is generally accepted that ancestral stools are of Akan origin and it is most probable that the Ewe possessed none until they came in contact with the Akan people.²

The official report cites the stools of Woadje, Have and Sokode as examples of Ewe stools with Akan origin. The Woadje and Have ancestral stools are said to

¹ Interview with a former Court Registrar, Peki Traditional Council, 9th Jan.2011, at his residence.

² PRAAD, Accra, ADM 39/5/73, District Record Book, Ho.

have originated from Akwamu sources while the Head chief of Sokode is said to have obtained his stool from Omanhene of Akim Abuakwa.¹

It is true that while in Notsie, the Ewes had rulers, the most famous or infamous one being Agorkoli. It is also true that during their migration from Notsie, the various groups of Ewes had leaders or Headmen but these leaders/ headmen had no stools².

The founding of the Peki paramount stool, by all indications, does not ante-date their migration from Notsie. Asamoah, who according to Peki oral tradition, is believed to have founded the Peki paramount stool, was not the first ruler or leader of the Peki³.

Asamoah had at least one predecessor named Ofoi Tutu, who, some Peki traditions state, led the Peki to their present home. If Asamoah, the successor of Ofoi Tutu, was the founder of the Peki paramount stool then, it means Ofoi Tutu ruled or led his people without possessing a stool⁴.

The Peki tradition that the Peki paramount stool was founded by Asamoah was reiterated by Sandor Kwabina, the “stool father” of the Peki paramount stool. He stated, among other things, that “the founder of the Fia stool also founded this drum in Asamoah’s time”.⁵

¹ Ibid

² Ibid

³ Ibid

⁴ Ibid. See also Appendix H

⁵ PRAAD, Accra, ADM 11/1/648, Peki Affairs, Case No. 367/9/10, “Enquiry into Kantamantu.”

If Asamoah was the founder of the Peki paramount stool, then it is highly probable that the founding of the stool did not date back earlier than the middle or the second half of the eighteenth century. For the royal ancestor Asamoah, who was believed to have founded the Peki paramount stool, might not have lived earlier than the second half of the eighteenth century.¹

Yet another area of borrowing is the accompanying stool regalia which include the chief's palanquin, the chief's staff of office wielded by the linguist, the state sword, the ceremonial stool, a chief's crown, a chief's native sandal (*ahenema*), anklets, bracelets, necklace etc

Every chief, including the paramount chief, hails from a royal house. A royal house is usually a clan whose ancestors are believed to have been either the original founders of the state, town, or village, or have been rewarded the right of rulership for valor or distinguished service to the people. Ewes practice patrilineal inheritance. The right of ascendance to a stool is therefore, in general, the exclusive preserve of male descendants of the royal house.

The chief, depending on his status within a particular jurisdiction, has a befitting palace built for him and by tradition he is given a 'stool' wife and could marry as many other women as he could.

By custom, he sits in state fully dressed resplendent in his regalia and attended to by his entourage including his sub-chiefs depending on his stature. He is also attended to by courtiers.

¹ Asare, E.B.(1973)' Krepe-Akwamu Relations'M.A. Thesis submitted to I.A.S, Legon

Embodied in the chieftaincy institution is the concept of queenmothership. However unlike the Akan system; the queenmother in Eweland does not occupy a stool. Also unlike among the Akans she is not one of the kingmakers. A strong and resourceful queenmother can, however, be a great asset to her chief¹.

Another area of Peki borrowing which relates to Akwamu's style of traditional governance is in the field of politico military organization².

Among Akwamu, the stools of the various towns and villages are grouped into three divisions or wings (thus constituent groups execute their individual core functions even within the broad group). Each division or wing within the broader one is headed by a chief or *Ohene* who is subject to the *Omanhene* or paramount chief-the head of the Akwamu state.

Directly subject to each leader or *Ohene* of the three broad divisions or wings are the sub-chiefs of the various towns or villages. (Individual constituent division or group's name or designation could be employed as the broad division's name and should not be confused)

The first of the three broad divisions or wings of Akwamu state is the *Adonten* headed by the *Adontenhene*. The *Adonten* is made up of: the *Gyasefo* (household) headed by the *Gyasehene*: the *Twafo* with the *Twafohene* as head and the *Kyidom*

¹ Gavua, K.ed (2000) *A Handbook on Ewe land, Vol.ii, Northern Ewes of Ghana* Accra: Woeli Publishing Services p.66

² Welman, C.W. (1924) *The Native States of the Gold Coast, History and Constitution, I. Peki*. Accra: Native Affairs Dept. p.9 See Appendix I&J

with the *Kyidomhene* as head, all of which have native court and villages or persons subject to them.¹

The remaining two broad divisions or wings are: the *Benkum* (left wing) under the *Benkumhene* supported by an *Ohene* and the *Asafohenes* of villages called in some areas as *Odikro* and subject to the *Benkumhene*; and the *Nifa* (right wing headed by the *Nifahene* controlling vassal stools.

For the trial of cases and settling of disputes there are native courts presided over by the *Omanhene* and each of the *Ohenes*. The tribunals are composed largely of the councilors of the stools (*Bogwafu*) who are chosen from the chiefly or aristocratic families.

Kwadjo Dei I of Peki having come into contact with the Akwamu or Akan politico-military organization as discussed above reconstituted the Krepi states on the Akwamu model during their revolt against Akwamu in 1833 into a centralized and militarized unit along similar lines.² Settlements in the Amimli valley, that is metropolitan Peki, formed the *Adonten* with the paramount chief of Peki as its head. Within this *Adonten* division are found the *Tuafo* (Peki Dzake and Peki Adzokoe) the *Gyasefo* and *Kyidom* (both in Blengo).

Diffusionism, the theoretical perspective upon which my work is grounded, acknowledges modifications as well as innovations, thus the paramount chief of Peki was and still is the *Adontenhene*, a deviation from the system in Akwamu.

¹ Wilks I.(2001) *Akwamu 1640-1750, A Study of the Rise and fall of a West African Empire*, Trondheim p.53

² Welman, C.W.(1924) *The Native States of the Gold Coast* Accra p.9

This is because among the Akwamu, there is a separate *Adontenhene* from the paramount chief.

In the Akwamu and some of the other Akan systems, heads of the other two broad divisions-the *Benkumhene* and *Nifahene* normally, though not in all cases, communicate with the *Omanhene* through the *Adontenhene*.¹

Within the Peki system, a *Benkum* within the *Adonten* and a *Nifa* also within the *Adonten* were created; these were Betekuase (Peki Wudome) and Abanase (Peki Avetile) respectively.

The *Benkumhene* was responsible to and communicated through the *Benkum* division within the metropolitan Peki(Peki-Wudome) within the *Adonten* with the *Omanhene* (Fiaga).The *Benkum* division of Peki comprised towns and villages in the Tsawe-Adabu valley, that is, Anyinawase, Tsito, Avenui, Kwanta, Bame and Tsibu all of which are Awudome towns.

The non-Awudome settlements that were once under this sub-division were: Sokode, Abutia, Akrofu, Hlefi and Woadje.²

The *Benkumhene* was the chief of Anyinawase-Awudome. Thus the Awudome (the *Benkumhene* of the subdivision) did not communicate directly with the *Omanhene* (Fiaga) Kwadjo Dei but rather through Betekuase (Peki-Wudome) the *Benkum* within the *Adonten*.

¹ Welman, C.W., (1924) *The Native States of the Gold Coast, History and Constitution, I. Peki*. Accra p.9

² PRAAD, Accra, ADM 11/1/648, Peki Affairs.Caes No.367/9/10 “Enquiries into Kantanmantu Drum”

The *Nifa* division of Kwadjo Dei's reconstituted organization consisted of settlements in the hilly country overlooking the Volta plains. The settlements involved were: Boso, Anum, Kpalime Tongor, Tosen, Nkawkubew, Tsate, Todome and Wegbe.

The *Nifahene* was Nyarko of Boso who communicated with the *Omanhene*, Kodjo Dei, through Abanase (Peki-Avetile) the *Nifa* within the Adonten. According to oral tradition, the other settlements that served in Kwadjo Dei's *Nifa* division were: Tayome, Wusuta, Anfoe, Awate, Botoku, Kpandu and Nkonya¹.

It was along such a centralized and militarized organization fashioned after the Akwamu pattern with some slight modifications that Kwadjo Dei of Peki mobilized the Krepi states to fight and overthrow Akwamu rule.

This system was maintained. It functioned prominently during the Asante-Akwamu invasion of 1869-71.

Under colonial rule

This system continued to operate in peace time under the British Colonial Administration. Like the Akwamu pattern, each of the *Benkum* and *Nifa* divisions of Kwadjo Dei's politico-military organization had its own tribunal from which appeal could be made to the *Omanhene* (Fiaga) Kwadjo Dei's tribunal.²

¹ PRAAD, Accra, ADM 39/5/73, Tayome Oral Tradition as recorded by RS Rattray, 1915

² PRAAD, Accra, ADM 11/1245 Peki Blengo Native Affairs. Anum-Peki Inquiry

However, unlike the core Akwamu system which was made of homogenous groups and therefore was blessed with political cohesion, Kwadjo Dei I's system was a composite one made of heterogenous people who were not knit into a very close union.

The Guan or Kyerepong of the *Nifa* division were quite different from the Ewe of the *Adonten* and *Benkum* divisions. Even different dialects of the Ewe language are spoken in each of the *Adonten*, *Benkum* and *Nifa* divisions.

Thus the union appears to have been an uneasy one fraught with tension and division. The situation was such that Crowther stated "...it would be difficult to prove that Peki ever exercised more than a military leadership over many of the groups named."¹

However, Kwadjo Dei I, the Fiaga of Peki, did believe that he wielded real political suzerainty over Krepi States. In 1847 Kwadjo Dei I's son in the Basel Mission School of Christiansburg, Accra, assured Wolf, the missionary, "that his father who ruled over a hundred villages would gladly receive the missionaries."²

In the absence of threat of war upon the union, it should not be surprising that the sub-divisions of *Benkum* (Awudome) to start with, and later *Nifa* (Anum) in particular threatened to secede from the union.³

¹ PRAAD, Accra, ADM 39/5/73 Ho District Record Book

² Mueller, G.(1904) *Geschichte der Ewe-Mission*, Bremen p.4

³ PRAAD, Accra, ADM 11/1245, Peki Blengo Native Affairs Anum-Peki Inquiry

From the close of the nineteenth century through to the first four decades of the twentieth century, the threat gathered momentum and much as chief Kwadjo Dei of Peki would like to maintain the status quo, he was overwhelmed by events.

Details of the disintegration were as follows:

In 1896, Adai Kwasi, Chief of Awudome, instigated Anum and Boso to secede, but this attempt was nipped in the bud.¹ However, Awudome holding Kodjo Dei of Peki for being responsible for the death of their chief, Adai Kwasi, persisted in her determination to secede. Awudome thus sent a series of petitions in 1922, 1925, 1933, 1934 and 1935 to the British Colonial administration on the Gold Coast intimating a desire to secede.² So also did Anum, which used language and other cultural differences as some of the reasons for her request for withdrawal from Peki's sphere of influence.

The British colonial government consequently granted Anum's request. This encouraged Awudome and she renewed her request in 1946, which the British Government at first rejected but later conceded.³

Boso, however, remained loyal to Kwadjo Dei of Peki and was a member of the erstwhile Peki-Guan Local Council till 1959 when she too seceded-using language and other cultural differences as some of the reasons for her withdrawal.

¹ Welman, C.W. (1924) *The Native States of the Gold Coast, History and Constitution I* p.22

² PRAAD, Accra, ADM 11/1245 Peki-Blengo Native Affairs. Anum-Peki Inquiry

³ PRAAD, Accra, ADM 11/1245 Peki-Blengo Native Affairs. Anum-Peki Inquiry

Anum and later Boso joined their former overlord, Akwamu, to constitute a single administrative unit/local Council in the Republic of Ghana. Thus Kodjo Dei, the Fiaga of Peki's authority and sphere of influence was considerably reduced.

The paramount chief of Peki's sphere of influence became limited only to the area that used to be the Adonten division plus a few settlements like Kpalime and Tsate in the *Nifa* division of greater Peki.

At present

Within the remaining metropolitan Peki (the former *Adonten* subdivision of Greater Peki or Krepí), the paramount chief of Peki still maintains the Akwamu or Akan pattern of government, that is *Adonten* with *Gyasefo* and *Kyidom* (Blengo); *Tuafo* (Dzake and Adzokoe); *Benkum* (Wudome; *Nifa* and Avetile) and so on.

Similarly, Awudome has created its own subdivisions of *Adonten*, *Benkum*, *Nifa* and so on. This shows how the politico-military organization of Akwamu has strongly influenced the states in Krepí country

Another cultural institution, being an appendage to the institution of chieftaincy, in which Akwamu or Akan influence appears to have been strong, is the swearing/ invocation of oath. The following extract from an official British Colonial report may elucidate this point:

The oath among the Ewe probably owes its origin to contact with the Akans. Many of the disasters to which its use refers took place not so many years ago.

An example is the oath of Ho, 'Ho fe fienyi' (the evening of Ho) which refers to the attack made by the Ashanti in 1869 upon that division of Ewes. Other oaths have reference to inter-divisional wars. It may therefore be taken as fairly certain that the oath like the stool, was unknown in Nuatja¹

This view that the Ewe oaths are of post-Notsei era in origin is supported by oaths in Peki. For example, the oaths of "Bame" and Battor of the Peki paramount stool commemorate tragedies which befell Peki in the era of Akwamu –Peki relations i.e the Nineteenth century.

The oath of "Bame" alludes to a reverse which Peki suffered at Bame during her revolt against Akwamu in 1833 while that of "Battor" refers to a disaster that befell Peki at Battor. Kwadjo Dei IV (Amega Kofi) died at Battor during the Asante-Akwamu invasion of Krepi.²

Similar examples could be cited to substantiate the point that many oaths in Krepi states refer to incidents which occurred in either the eighteenth century or the nineteenth. These were the periods when Krepi states had dealings with Akwamu.

It is an established fact that oath swearing is traditionally an Akan cultural trait. If one were to go by dates of commencement of the use of oaths by either group, one would notice that Akans' use predates that of Ewe. This is not difficult to know since the incident related in the oath has a timeline.

¹ PRAAD, Accra, ADM 39/5/73, Ho District Record Book, p.10

² PRAAD, Accra, ADM 11/1/648 Peki Affairs, Case No.367/9/10 "Enquiries into Kantanmantu Drum" Evidence by Djako

Among the Akwamu reference is made in one of their oaths (*Akwamu yaoda*) in reference to the day they arrived at their present location at the gorge of the Volta River. To them it is one of the bleakest days in their lives as a people. This event took place in 1731. For the people of Peki, reference is made to *Kwadzo Dei fe agbleneagbe* which literally means Kwadzo Dei's Tuesday. It refers to the day on which Kwadzo Dei was killed in one of their engagements with the Akwamus. This event took place in the 1869-71 Krepi-Asante war. There are many usages to which these oaths could be put; one is that its invocation is intended to declare the user innocent of any charges that may be leveled against him/ her. It is an affirmation of the truth in one's words

Another cultural institution found among Peki closely associated with Akan chieftaincy is the *Adae* (in Ewe it is called *Ade*) festivity. First, it will be worthwhile to establish that the ceremony is Akan in origin and then state the nature of the ceremony in Akan context before discussing the Peki brand of the ceremony.

The Akan origin of the *Adae* festivities may be confirmed if Rattray's suggestion as to the source of the name is accepted: "This word (*Adae*) is possibly just a special application of the same word *Adae*, meaning a place of rest or lying down: no one is permitted to work or go to farm on an *Adae*..."¹

¹Rattray, R. S.(1923) *Ashanti*, New York: Negro University Press p.92

Adae is defined by Rattray as “the ceremonies at which the departed ancestral ghosts are propitiated”.¹ He adds that the *Adae* is “the first in order of importance of those customs dealing with the propitiation, solicitation, or worship of ancestral spirits...”² Rattray further explains:

The *Adae* ceremony, universally held throughout Ashanti, is a rite which is observed throughout Ashanti. It is a rite which is observed twice in every successive period of forty-three days. The two ceremonies are known as ‘Big’ (*kese*) or Sunday (*Akwasideae*) and the Wednesday *Adae*, *Wukudae* (also known as the *Kudapakuo*). The interval between one Sunday *Adae* and the next Sunday *Adae* is 43 days, and a like time also elapses between two consecutive Wednesday *Adae*.³

He further alludes to the *Adae* as “... these curious recurrent 43-day periods, so marked in many ceremonials, and known among the Ashantis as *Adaduanan*, lit. meaning 40-day periods...”⁴

Until recently, the *Adae* ceremonies were performed on a grand scale in Peki. Both the Sunday *Adae* (*Akwasideae*) and the Wednesday *Adae* (*Kudapakuo*) were observed and called by these Akan names respectively.

Greater importance is attached to the Sunday *Adae* which is bigger than the Wednesday *Adae* considered to be a minor *Adae*. In Peki area the calculation of

¹Ibid., p.83

² Ibid, p. 92

³ Ibid, p. 92

⁴ Op cit.93

the dates for *Adae* rites exactly follows the Akan pattern as given by Rattray above.

During the heydays of the observation of *Adae* ceremonies in Peki, the last Wednesday before a Sunday *Adae* (*Akwasidae*) and also the Friday (known as *Fida Fofie*) preceding a Sunday *Adae* were considered as the day of purification rite.

On the said Wednesday and Friday, priests and priestesses of local deities performed purification rites in the shrines of the deities to absolve the towns and villages from all iniquities and pollutions in readiness for the great day.

The Saturday preceding the Sunday *Adae* was known in Peki as Dapaka. This day was used in procuring foodstuffs and drinks in readiness for the day because no one was permitted to go to the farm or do any type of work on the Monday after the Sunday *Adae*.

At dawn of the Sunday, the state drums of the paramount chief of Peki and also the talking drums of the chiefs and sub-chiefs of the various towns and villages in the Peki area were beaten. In response, the elders assembled in the chief's palace and asked for the reason for the sounding of the drums. They were informed that it was an occasion for the Sunday *Adae*.

Libation was then poured and prayers said by a priest, first in the stool room in the presence of the ancestral stool and secondly in the open to the spirits of all the

departed. In the prayers, blessings were sought for the state and the people. After this, drinks were served to the elders who then departed.

Some town folks then clad themselves in mourning cloths, remembered and mourned their dead. Some would refuse to eat the whole day, but took only drinks and chewed kola nuts; meanwhile the various talking drums continued to disseminate messages of condolence in memory of all the departed souls especially the renowned ones who had fallen in battles, lauding their achievements.

In the afternoon about two or three o'clock the elders assembled in the chief's palace again. Drinks were served; a sheep was slaughtered and its meat distributed among the elders. The elders then dispersed, some to take their supper, their first meal for the whole day, others were either too intoxicated to eat or intentionally refused to eat the whole day as they mourned their deceased kith and kin.

The Monday after Sunday *Adae* known in Peki area as *Fodwoo*, was spent by many as a day of rest after having mourned and abstained from food on the previous day. Meals were prepared preferably *fufu*. Some would kill fowls for this meal. Drinking would then continue till the close of day.

The celebration of this festivity was adopted by Peki alongside the institution of chieftaincy (both had to do with venerating the blackened /ancestral stool) while in close contact with Akwamu as their right hand men in the latter's indirect rule of their Krepi colony

These days, the *Adae* ceremonies are not given as much prominence as in former days. Only priests and priestesses of some deities and chiefs observe them. This may be due to the influence of Christianity as most of the people in Peki and even some of their chiefs including the immediate past paramount chief of Peki, Togbe Kwadzo Dei XI-are professed Christians.



CHAPTER FOUR

ON PEKI SOCIO-CULTURAL BORROWINGS

An example of cultural borrowing from Akwamu and therefore Akan generally is in the area of music making and also the instrument employed in their making. There is no doubt that that Ewes and therefore Pekis have their own dance forms (*borborbor*, *agbadza* etc.) and musical instruments that go with them (Asiɔɔ, Aglɔɔɔ, Uuvi(wo), Uuga(wo) etc) prior to their contact with the Akwamus or other Akans¹.

However, “talking drums” like *Mpebi*, *Nkrawiri* and *Atumpan*, all in use in Peki are of Akan origin and most likely introduced by the Akwamu since they were the Akans in closest proximity to them. So also the art of playing and dancing to the state drum *Fontonfrom*. Here are two examples of such drum languages:

1. *Awrobasakyi ka kyere obomofo se*

Ohwere si akyekyere so kwa

meaning

The tortoise tells the hunter that

The cows fly perches on its (tortoise’s) back in vain

(meaning without being able to bite)

¹ Gavua, K.ed. (2000) *A Handbook of Eweland, Volume II: The Northern Ewes in Ghana*. Woeli Publishing Services p.24

2. *Anoma Pete anya ne ho ka se Kwaduo ho bon.*

The vulture has the audacity to tell the bush cow that the latter smells.

The “talking drum”, Kantamantu, of the Peki paramount stool, has a tradition of Akwamu origin. Chief Issiah Bansah, Mankrado of Abanase (Peki Avetile), testified that “Kwadjo Dei was the overlord of Peki when the Akwamu came to Peki.”

Akoto, the Omanhene of Akwamu, had a drum called “Kantamantu”.¹ Sandor Kwabina, the “Stool Father” of the Peki paramount stool adds: “The name (Kantamantu) means “when I swear I will never fail to do what I swear to do”.

Kantam: to swear an oath, *antu*: never to break it. This is a Twi language.”²

Another example of Akwamu cultural borrowing found among Peki is the use of Akwamu war chants. An example is the one below.

1. *Nne-wuoYee!*

Nne-wuo! Yee

Ye nim koo!

Yen nnim guan oo!

Interpretation:

Death today! Yes!

Death today! Yes!

¹ PRAAD, Accra, ADM 11/1/648, Peki Affairs, Case No. 367/9/10“Enquiry into Kantamantu Drum”

² Ibid.

We know how to fight!

We do not know how to flee

2. *Obi mmoa yen!*

Obi mmoa yen!

Akat¹e re so ogya! Yee!

Obi mmoa yen!

Obi mmoa yen!

Akate re soo! Yee!

Interpretation:

Help!

Help!

Akate has caught fire! Yes!

Help!

Help!

Akate is burning! Yes!

3. *Odom ne yen!*

Odom ne yen!

Odom ne mmarima asomfo! Yee!

Odom ne yen!

//: *Henan a owoho?*

Opanyin naro da: //

Akate re hye o!

¹ Akate is the Akan name for the leather cover for the trigger of a shortgun

Opanyin di ako o!

Opanyin di akro ne yen!

Interpretation

We are the first battalion!

We are the first battalion!

First battalion we are. Yes!

//:Who is there?

Man is never afraid: //:

Akate is burning!

Man wins war!

We are men who win war!

Another aspect of traditional culture in Peki into which Akan practice has made in-road is names. In Peki, Akan names feature prominently and one wonders whether these names do not reflect the close contact Peki had with Akwamu.

There is no doubt that some of these names might have come about through inter-marriages between the Peki and neighboring Guan settlements like Anum, Boso or even such Akans as Akyem, Kwawu or Akan elements within the Volta Region.

Some of these names were names of Akwamu rulers and it appears the names were adopted out of appreciation for the achievements of the Akwamu rulers concerned. Some examples of the names of Akwamu rulers in use in Peki area are: Addo, Akoto, Akwonno, Ansah, Daako and Debra

Among the other names of Akan origin in use in Peki area are: Aboagye, Adae, Adase, Adansi, Adaworama, Adinkra, Adu, Afari, Affram, Agyare, Agyemang (Adziman of Peki Blengo and Adzokoe), Akyea, Amankwa, Amoah, Amoabea, Amoawa, Amoako, Ampem, Ampofo, Anan, Ansre (Ansre of Peki Tsame),

Apau (Apawu), Appeah, Asamoah, Asare, Asem, Asempa, Asiama, Asiedu, Asieduwa, Asieni, Ansong, Asuo, Asuoabea, Ata Panyin, Ata Kuma, Atiase, Awuah. Ayim, Badu (Bedu), Beduwa, Boafu, Boadjo, Boamah, Boateng, Broni, Daako, Denkyem, Dompere, Donkor, Kissi, Kumi, Kyei, Mensah etc.

Another example of borrowing is the presence of Akan expressions in the Peki dialect of the Ewe language. Some of these Akan expressions are closely connected with chieftaincy affairs or court rituals. Examples of these are *Ohene*, *Odikro (Dikro)*, *Tsyiami (Okyeame)*, *Gyasefo*, *Kyidom*, *Twafo (Tuafo)*, *Adonteng*, *Adontenghene*, *Benkum*, *Benkumhene*, *Nifa*, *Nifahene* and others such as *aseda* (gratification), *pata* (compensation), *edifo* (guilty), *edibim* (victory or a party gaining upper hand)

If it is accepted that the Pekis learnt the Akan art of chiefship from Akwamu, at least at the initial stages, then there is no disputing the fact that the associated expressions also came from that source.

Some of the other Akan words or derivatives in use in Peki area are:

AKWAMU	PEKI	ORIGINAL	ENGLISH
<i>Aberewa</i>	<i>Abrewa</i>	<i>nyanga</i>	an old lady

<i>Abonsam</i>	<i>Abonsam</i>	<i>gbɔgbɔvɔ</i>	the Devil
<i>Abusua</i>	<i>Abusua</i>	<i>hlɔ</i>	clan
<i>Abusa</i>	<i>Abusa</i>	<i>alɔdodo</i>	shared farm produce

Names of Days of the Week

The Ewes had names for the days of the week, as shown below but they adopted the Akan names for the days of the week and these are now mostly, if not entirely, used by many Ewe-speaking people including the Pekis with some slight variations in pronunciation.

So is the case with natal day names. The said names of the week are:

Former Peki Name | Akwamu Derived Peki Name | Akwamu Name | English

<i>Agbletɔɛgbe</i>	<i>Dzoda</i>	<i>Dwoda</i>	Monday
<i>Agble-eneagbe</i>	<i>Brada</i>	<i>Benada</i>	Tuesday
<i>Agble-atoagbe</i>	<i>Kuda</i>	<i>Wukuda</i>	Wednesday
<i>Agblemigbe</i>	<i>Yawoda</i>	<i>Yawoda</i>	Thursday
<i>Afenɔwɔɛgbe</i>	<i>Fida</i>	<i>Fida</i>	Friday
<i>Agblezigbe</i>	<i>Memleda</i>	<i>Memeneda</i>	Saturday
<i>Agble-eveagbe</i>	<i>Kosida</i>	<i>Kwasida</i>	Sunday

The corresponding natal day names are as follows:

Akwamu Derived Peki Natal Day Names Original Akan Natal Day (Male)

Names (Male)

Kodzo (born on Monday)	Kwadwo
Komla (born on a Tuesday)	Kwabena
Kɔku (born on Wednesday)	Kwaku
Yawo/ Yao (born on Thursday)	Yaw
Kofi (born on a Friday)	Kofi
Kɔmi (born on a Saturday)	Kwame
Kɔsi (born on a Sunday)	Kwasi

Akwamu Derived Peki Natal Day Names Original Akan Natal Day (Female)

Names (Female)

Adzo (born on Monday)	Adwoa
Abra (born on Tuesday)	Abena
Aku (born on Wednesday)	Akua
Yawa (born on Thursday)	Yaa
Afua (born on Friday)	Afua

Ama (born on Saturday)

Ama

Akosua (born on Sunday)

Akosua

It is hoped that the foregoing example of words borrowed largely from Akwamu demonstrate sufficiently that long after Akwamu rule had ceased, her cultural impact on Peki can still be felt.



CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

I set out in this work to look at the cultural impact Akwamu, an Akan sub group had on Peki, an Ewe sub group. I grounded this work within the theoretical perspective Diffusionism. Diffusionism refers to the spread of elements or traits from one culture to another. It can also be seen as the spread of some facet of one culture to another.

Diffusionism acknowledges that its process has a heavier toll on people whose culture is less advanced (“less advanced” herein stated has no derogatory slant intended). It is employed herein to refer to the group that picked up more traits from the other, of course, because they find such traits more convenient to their circumstance. Peki in this case can be referred to as less advanced of the two cultures

Diffusionism also acknowledges modifications as well as transfer. In the preceding paragraphs one would realize that having borrowed certain aspects of the culture of Akwamu, Peki made some modifications to them and went on to infect other neighbouring states with their borrowings

Diffusionism acknowledges that its process is very often reciprocal. This is even when the two cultures involved are at different stages of economic development and one is relatively powerless than the other. I have no doubt that the borrowing of cultural traits in the contact Akwamu had with Peki was reciprocal, the difficulty I had in this research was that I could not come up with clear cut borrowing of cultural trait by Akwamu from Peki which informed the title of the work (Cultural Assimilation of Peki by Akwamu) indicative of the lopsided nature of the borrowings I found.

Diffusionism embraces the fact that few people will reject a good idea or innovation merely because it is associated with foreigners. Unable to withstand the wave of attacks visited upon them by Akwamu during the first decade of the Seventeenth century and during the first two revolts for independence by some Krepi states, the Krepi led by Peki adopted the Akwamu military formation to overcome the latter during their war of independence in 1833.

Conclusion

I set out in this research endeavor, to answer six research questions. Was there any contact between Peki and her western neighbours (Akan or Ga-Adangbes) after the former had settled at their present location? To answer this question, I traced the origin and history of Peki and thereafter their surrounding area (Krepi) and the contacts they had with their western neighbours and found out that there was contact between them and some Akan groups.

With which group did they have contact with was the second question. I found out there was an initial contact with Kwawu though brief with Krepi but there was no direct contact with Peki in the process. Kwawu's imperial interest in the region was superseded by Akwamu who had direct contact with Peki.

To the third question, what was the nature of this relationship, if any? I traced a period of ineffective Akwamu control over Peki and their surrounding area (Krepi) in the early years of 1707-1720's. Initially, Akwamu maintained her headquarters west of the Volta but later they were forced to move it across the Volta. Having moved their royal court to the east of the Volta, Akwamu's proximity to Peki allowed for effective contact and control of Krepi thus the relationship could be described as master-subordinate.

Even with nominal subordination under Asante, the state of Akwamu exercised free rein in dealing with Krepi and exploiting their resources of trade in ivory and slaves. I concluded by recounting how Krepi rebellion led by Peki, overthrew Akwamu suzerainty.

To the fourth question, did Peki borrow any Akwamu cultural practice(s)?, It came to light in the course of the research that quite a number of Akwamu cultural practices were borrowed by Peki.

To the fifth question, what were these borrowed cultural practices, if any? The information I gathered indicated that the institution of chieftaincy with the 'blackened stool' as its prime symbol was borrowed from Akwamu, so was the office of the queenmother as well as the use of chieftaincy associated paraphenelia like palanquin, state sword and staff and palaces and the adoption of Akwamu politico-military set up *Benkum* (left wing), *Nifa* (right wing), *Twafo* (advance guard) and *kyidom* (rear guard) with the respective *Ohene* (chief) heading them

The invocation of oath, the celebration of *Adae* festivities, the use of 'talking drums' like *mpebi*, *nkrawiri* and *atumpan* all in use in Peki, the use of names of Akwamu rulers such as Addo, Akoto, Akwono, Ansah, Daako and Debrah. So is the use of chieftaincy related words like *odikro*, *tsyiame*, *gyasefo* (the chief responsible for the royal household), *kyidom* (rear guard), *twafo* (advanced guard), *aseda* (gratification) and *pata* (compensation).

Abrewa (old lady), *Abonsam* (the devil), *Abusua* (clan), *Abusa* (shared farm produce) are also some Akwamu derived words. *Agbletɔegbe* (Monday), *Agble-eneagbe* (Tuesday), *Agble-atoagbe* (Wednesday) are all Ewe day names which have since given way for Akwamu corrupted day names as *dzoda*, *benada*, *wukuda*. So also are Akwamu derived Peki natal names such as *Kɔdzo* from Kwadwo, *Komla* from Kwabena, *Kɔku* from Kwaku.

To the sixth question, what cultural practice(s) remain unique to Peki? I came to the conclusion based on the information I gathered that Pekis institutions of inheritance, descent and succession have remained patrilineal and so have a large

percentage of their language remained Ewe. This is due to the fact that changing over to matrilineity as far as succession, descent as well as inheritance were concerned as it pertained to the Akwamu would be asking the Pekis to make a whole lot of adjustments which they were not ready to make. Matrilineity coupled with changing over completely from their mother tongue to a foreign one would have rendered them with no unique identity as an Ewe sub group

To the seventh and final question, did Akwamu borrow any cultural practice(s) from Peki? However hard the author tried, he was unable to get a cultural practice or two that the former borrowed from the latter.

Mention can however be made, at this stage, of the fact that some of the borrowings went through some changes or modifications like the politico-military set up where there were some alterations made to the system as opposed to that of Akwamu. Within the Peki set up, there was and still is no separate *Adontenhene* besides Deiga (paramount chief of Peki) as opposed to that of Akwamu. A *Benkum* within the *Adonten* and a *Nifa* also within the *Adonten* were created which is markedly different from that which pertains within Akwamu. This deviation from what pertain among the Akwamu made the paramount chief of Peki even more powerful

There was some transfer of knowledge of this system because some of the other Krepi states copied this system of governance. An example of such a group is the Awudome. The Awudome while within the Krepi group constituted the *Benkum*

(left wing) but after it left the group went ahead to reconstitute its settlements along the same politico-military lines.

As far as the concept of queenmother is also concerned, the Peki queenmother among the Peki does not occupy a stool and also unlike among the Akwamu set up, she is not one of the kingmakers.

As far as the oaths are concerned, the events referred to, among the Peki has everything to do with them and not with Akwamu even though they borrowed the idea from Akwamu. Mention can be made of such present Ewe natal names whose origin is Akan but whose pronunciations or writing is slightly different from that of the Ewe example Adzo from Adwoa, Abra from Abena, Aku from Akua.

Mention can also be made of some of the borrowings which were absorbed whole like the 'blackened stool' concept, *Adae* festivities as well as Akwamu war chants/songs. Mention can as well be made of names of former Akwamu rulers as Addo, Akoto, Akwono, Ansah, Dako, Agyemang in use in Peki.

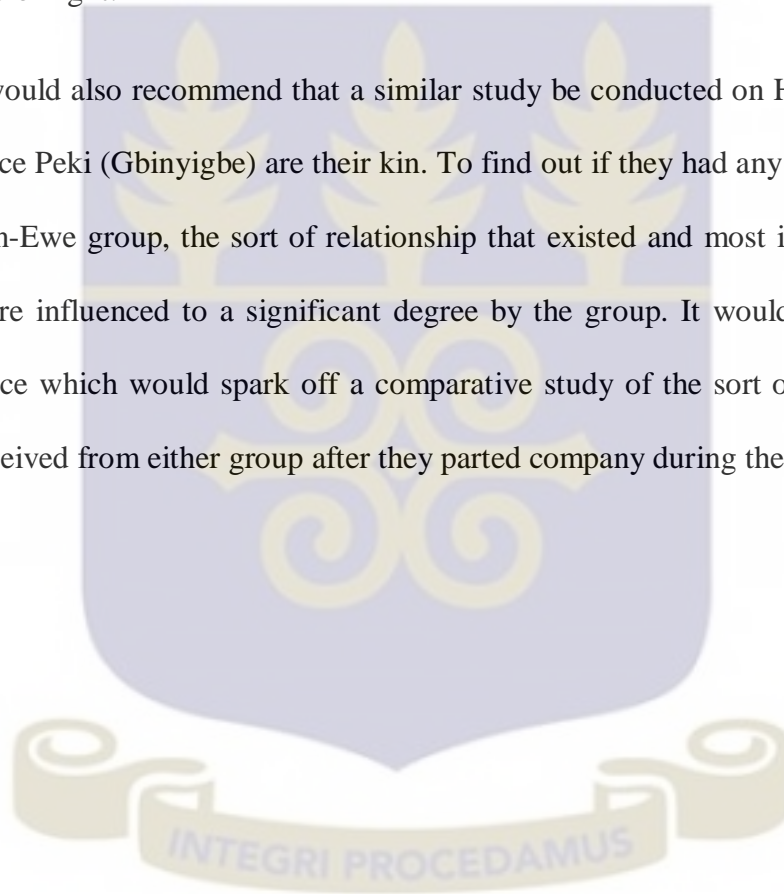
Ewe day names since the relationship with Akan neighbors have changed over completely example *Agbletɔgbe* (Monday) to *dzoda*, *Agble-eneagbe* (Tuesday) to *benada*, *Agble-atoagbe* (Wednesday) to *Wukuda* (these present names are all slightly different in spelling and pronunciations from their original Akan names).

One can as well mention the use of such 'talking' drums as *mpebi*, *nkawiri* and *atumpan* in Peki.

Recommendations

I could not come up with any borrowing of Akwamu from Peki in answer to my seventh and last research question, however hard I tried. This is an area I intend looking at in a future academic enterprise since research is an ongoing process but would not hesitate to recommend that angle to anyone who may be interested in exploring it.

I would also recommend that a similar study be conducted on Hohoe (Gbidzigbe) since Peki (Gbinyigbe) are their kin. To find out if they had any relations with any non-Ewe group, the sort of relationship that existed and most importantly if they were influenced to a significant degree by the group. It would be an interesting piece which would spark off a comparative study of the sort of borrowings they received from either group after they parted company during their migration.



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10th June 2014 Interview with Mr. Bedu Marcus, (a teacher at Peki Senior High) on the school's premises

1st September 2014 Interview with Kwabena Obuobi, Gyasehene of Aboasa at his residence

1st September 2014 Interview with Opanyi Kwadzo Nyarko, an elder of Aboasa at the Gyasehene's residence

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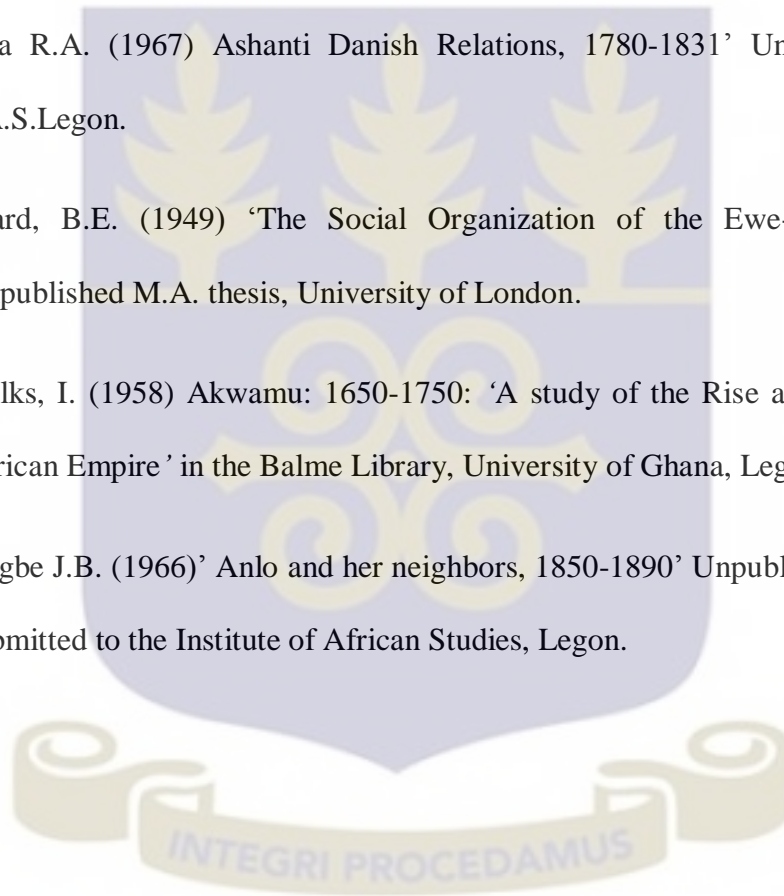
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Appendix A: Definition of some key terminologies

Amedzofe- lit. meaning where man hailed from; in reference to Ketu

Mawufe- lit. meaning the abode of God; in reference to Ketu

Fufu- (boiled yam or cassava pounded into a paste and eaten with soup) A staple food mostly of the forest dwellers in Ghana

Akple-(meal prepared out of corn dough and or cassava) A staple food of coastal dwellers of Ghana

Asafohene- warlord among Akan

Tuafo- Advanced guard of an Akan military wing

Adonten- the main body of an Akan army

Benkum- the left wing of an Akan army

Nifa- the right wing of an Akan army

Kyidom –the rear wing of an Akan army

Omanhene-a paramount chief among the Akan

Fiaga- a paramount chief among the Ewe

Ohene- a chief among the Akan

Fia- a chief among the Ewe

Odikro- a headman among the Akan

Begwafo- councilors of a stool

Gyase- the head of a chief's household

Duue- a god of the Peki

Adela- A hunter in Ewe

Adae- A traditional festival of the Akan of Ghana

Akwasiadae- the Aday that falls on a Sunday

Awukudae/ kudapakuo- the Aday that falls on a Wednesday

Yaoda- a Thursday among Akan

Agbleneagbe- a Tuesday among Ewe

Wukuada- a Wednesday among Akan

Kwesiada- a Sunday among Akan

Adaduanan- a forty-day period among Akan

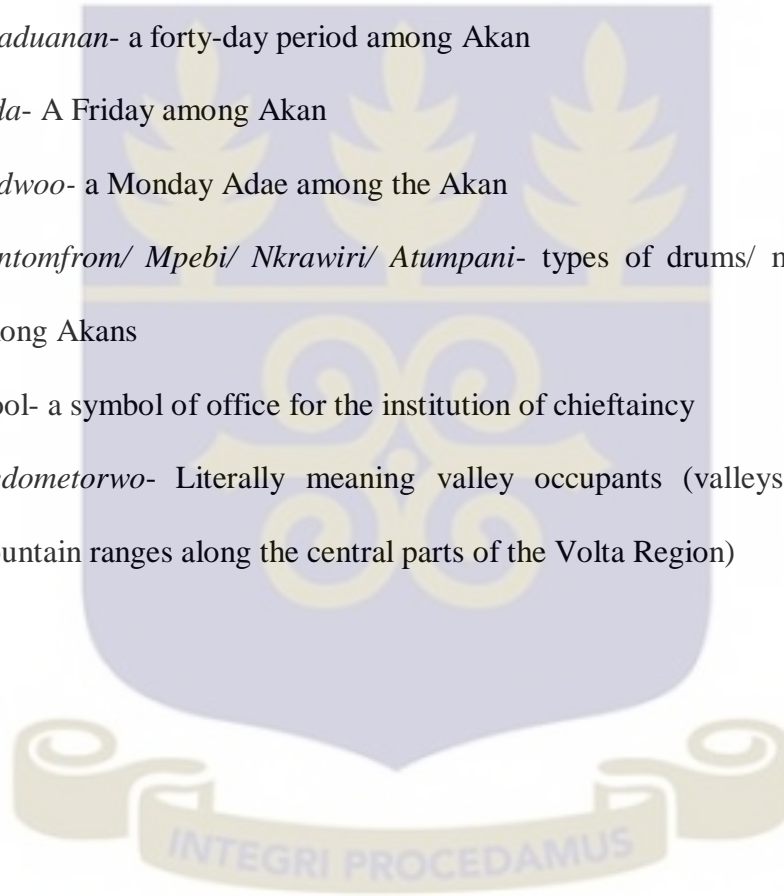
Fida- A Friday among Akan

Fodwoo- a Monday Aday among the Akan

Fontomfrom/ Mpebi/ Nkrawiri/ Atumpani- types of drums/ musical instrument among Akans

Stool- a symbol of office for the institution of chieftaincy

Wedometorwo- Literally meaning valley occupants (valleys along the Togo mountain ranges along the central parts of the Volta Region)



Appendix B: Questionnaire on influences Akwamu and Peki had on each other administered to my Akwamu interviewees

1. Briefly narrate the origins and settlement history of Akwamu
2. Did any form of relationship exist between Akwamu and Peki?
3. What was the nature of the relationship?
4. Into which phases can the relationship be broken?
5. Did Peki help in Akwamu's subjugation of her neighboring communities?
6. If they did, through what ways did they do so?
7. Did Akwamu borrow certain cultural traits from Peki in the course of their interaction?
8. What were these cultural traits?
9. Did the borrowed cultural traits cause an upset to everyday life in Akwamu?
10. What phases did these borrowed traits go through before finally being accepted?
11. Were Akwamus encouraged to speak Ewe?
12. Was Ewe sometimes used in Akwamu court?
13. Did Akwamu borrow any cultural traits from Peki?
14. What were these cultural traits?
15. Who was the first Akwamu paramount chief?
16. Is there a patrilineal variant of Akwamu matrilineaty which could be attributed to you relationship with Peki?
17. Do you have asafo songs/ war chants?

18. Does Akwamu have clans?
19. How many clans do you have?
20. What are the names of these clans?
21. Are your clans territorially dispersed (are your clans found in one of your communities the same as those found in your other communities or do their names and associated symbols the same in all of your communities)?
22. Does Akwamu celebrate Aday festival?
23. What forms of music have Akwamu?
24. What forms of music instruments have Akwamu?
25. Does Akwamu have talking drums?
26. What regalia are associated with Akwamu chieftaincy?
27. Please elaborate on your military wing formation
28. Do you have queen mothers?
29. Are your queen mothers part of kingmakers?
30. Please mention all Akwamu settlement
31. Does Akwamu have oaths?
32. Can you make mention of such oaths?
33. How did you come by your chieftaincy institution?
34. Which is the most important symbol of the chieftaincy institution?
35. Should it be a blackened stool, I would like you to shed some light on how it is created
36. What is your present relationship with Asante like?
37. What was the nature of your relation with Asante in the past?
38. Does Akwamu paramountcy still maintain a relationship with Peki?

39. How helpful was Peki to Akwamu upon their arrival to the east of the Volta?

40. Have some intermarriages taken place between Akwamu and Peki?



Appendix C: Questionnaire on influences Akwamu and Peki had on each other administered to my Peki interviewees

1. Did any form of relationship exist between Peki and Akwamu?
2. What was the nature of the relationship?
3. Did Peki borrow certain cultural traits from Akwamu?
4. What were these cultural traits?
5. Did the borrowed cultural traits cause an upset to everyday life in Peki?
6. What phases did these borrowed traits go through before finally being accepted?
7. Were Pekis forced to speak Akan?
8. Was Akan used in Peki court?
9. Did Akwamu borrow any cultural traits from Peki?
10. What were these cultural traits?
11. Who was the first Peki paramount chief?
12. Was Asamoah the first to have founded the Peki paramountcy?
13. Does Peki have a deity by name Nuve?
14. Did the priest(s) of Nuve lead the Pekis to their present location?
15. Does Peki have a deity by name Amimli?
16. Is there collaboration between Nuve and Amimli?
17. Were the priests of these Deities initially in charge of running the affairs of the community?
18. Were the priests in charge of land distribution?

19. Were the priests in charge of revenue collection?
20. Were the priests in control of such economic trees as palm nuts and kola?
21. Did Akwamu matrilineaty affect that of Pekis patrilineaty in any way?
22. Did Peki patrilineaty affect Akwamu matrilineaty?
23. Where did Peki learn their asafo songs?
24. Does Pekis have clans?
25. Where did Peki learn the clan concept from?
26. How many clans does Peki have?
27. What are the names of these clans?
28. Do you have a common clan running through all Peki settlements?
29. Did Peki use to celebrate Adae festival?
30. From where did Peki learn of the Adae festivities?
31. Did Pekis use to celebrate Yam festivals?
32. What are the forms of Peki music?
33. Has Peki borrowed any form of music from Akwamu?
34. What are some of Peki music making instruments?
35. Does Peki have talking drums?
36. What is the origin of these drums?
37. Where did Peki originate from?
38. How did they come to be settled here?

39. Does Peki have queen mother/mothers?

40. From which people did Peki pick up the concept of queenmother/mothers?



Appendix D: Claim by Peki to leadership position of Krepi examined¹

B. PEKIS CLAIMS EXAMINED.

* From the fragmentary and somewhat disconnected traditions herein set forth the following historical data may be culled. In ancient times the Ewe peoples lived in little communities, living its own communal village life, owning no particular overlord, often fighting among themselves, the *causus belli* in many cases being perhaps a stolen yam, a woman, or an insult real or imagined.

Gradually these western divisions bordering on the Volta came under the influence of the peoples who lived west of this waterway, peoples who had gained some civilisation by reason of their environment and perhaps the example set by such native kingdoms as Ashanti, and the greater civilisation of the Coast.

* The Akwamus would appear to have been the first to claim and enforce overlordship over the western Ewe divisions including the Pekis who now are under British rule, they having left their brothers who had remained behind at Peki Pon [Gbi]. The Pekis who had left the parent stock and thus gone south rapidly attained a civilisation that soon left their kinsmen in the north behind. Even then many divisions that owned the Akwamus as their head paid this tribute through Peki who thus early would seem to have exercised at least a nominal suzerainty over many of the Ewe divisions.

Eventually Peki found this allegiance to Akwamu irksome and determined to throw it off; she openly defied the Akwamus, calling on all those divisions who had formerly served Akwamu through her (Peki) to her aid. This brings one up to the period when what may be called the first Akwamu war broke out; the first Akwamu war to distinguish it from the second conflict when the Ashantis were called in to fight against the Ewe peoples.

In this Akwamu war the following are seen to have been the divisions which rallied round Kojo Dey, the Peki chief, thus, indirectly at least, proving some acknowledgement of Pekis right as Paramount:

Peki Pon [Gbi]	Ve	Awatime
Akoviefe	Tsome	Akrofu
Abutia	Agotime	Ziavi
Todome	Ro	Hlefi
Anfoevi	Tokokoe	Klefe
Kpandu	Vakpo	Sovic
Sokode	Woadje	Alavanyo
Gbefi	Anfoe	Nyagbo
Tafi	Awate	Have
Wusuta	Aveme	

and

Gbalave, }
Kpime } now in the French Zone). (vide respective histories of these
Yokele } divisions).

Here is found the first link between these Togo divisions and the Pekis of the Gold Coast Colony. Possibly some of these divisions enumerated above were dragged into the quarrel *volens volens* and not because of any previous acknowledgement of Peki's claims over them, though it will be seen that many divisions entered into a direct and voluntary union. Here ends the first phase in the war. A battle was fought at Wava, but things seemed to have gone badly for the Pekis and the former eventually would seem to have retreated and gone to Accra for assistance from the English, while the Akwamus obtained help from the

¹ PRAAD, Accra, ADM 39/5/73 Ho District Record Book

Appendix D: contd. Claim by Peki to leadership position of Krepi examined¹

* It must be noted, for this is important and has some bearing on the subject, that while many divisions helped Peki others again were neutral, while others were actually hostile, taking an active part against Peki. These hostile divisions were as follows: Liati, the Liatis were the ancient enemies of Peki; Taviefe, the history of this little division is most interesting; they are really Awuna stock as are Adaklu, and Matee. The perusal of the tribal history of these divisions will show the reason for this hostility, namely that these divisions are mostly a different stock from the Ewe.

* When the Ashanti invasion broke over this part of Togo practically every division took part against this common enemy, not because called on to rally round any particular headchief, but because it was a fight for their very lives. One curious and interesting exception is seen in the history of Akpafu and Santrokofi where, as the native chronicler is reported to have put it the Ashanti leader said, "we have not come to wage war against those who make flat roofed huts" meaning the old original inhabitants of the country.

The history of the Ashanti war was merely a story of devastation and rapine; the local divisions were powerless to resist this warlike race who simply marched through the land burning and pillaging, the Ewes in most cases fleeing to their forests and rock fastnesses, some even returning to Guatje the ancient home of their race. The Ashantis swept the country from Buem to Ho and to the east as far as Agu and Epele. Then the wave swept back, Peki, now backed by the English, came to the front as leader of the Ewe peoples. Messengers were sent to most of the Ewe divisions and an English-Ewe-Accra force went against the Awunas...

Peki then looked round to bring to book those divisions which had been friendly to the Akwamus and Awunas, and the Adaklus and Taviefes were called to account. The history of this latter division plays an important part in this later war and the old men still remember the white English Officer who was killed in this expedition.

Peki, now victorious and backed by the English, immediately sought to consolidate the various Ewe divisions. Here, superior civilisation gave her a great advantage over these ignorant struggling peoples and tribute was demanded and paid, often willingly and by divisions which even today have no wish to repudiate these treaties.

The following are the Togo divisions which still are willing to acknowledge the overlordship of Peki:

Buem	Awatime	Sokode
Peki Pon [Gbi]	Akoviefe	Matee
Hlefi	Anfoevi	Woadje
Tsome	Anfoe	Dyagbo
Tafi	Have	Wusuta
Aveme	Akrofu	Abutia
Ziavi	Todome	Tokokoe
Gbefi	Awate	

and

Assahun (now in the French Zone).

The following would appear to have been indirectly under Peki but will not now express a direct wish to come again under their overlordship:

Liati	Dedome	Klefe
Vakpo	Sovie	Alavanyo
Logba	Wli	Eklebi

and

Nyive, Kuma, Agome, Bogo (now in the French Zone).

The following disclaim any right of Peki to be paramount, some most emphatically so.

Santrokofi	Fodome	Likpe
Bowiri	Akpafu	Ho
Kpandu	Nkonya	Agotime
Taviefe	Adaklu	Lume

and

Lavie, Atigbe, Akpololo, Aguiboe, Agu, Tove, } now in th
Gbalave, Kpimé, Yokele, Haingba, Epele, Yikpa, Akata. } Zone.

Finally the question raised in section "C" has to be considered: relations were entered into in the past between our own Government natives?

What struck the writer so forcefully when acting on the part of the Field Force during the campaign in August last year was the friendliness of the Togo natives towards the British. This was especially explained in the pages of - - -

¹ Op cit

Appendix D: contd.Claim by Peki to leadership position of Krepi examined¹

lays when the English had said they would protect them and many still treasured English Flags. The name of "Williams" was a household word (Mr. Riby William). "We were given a flag by Williams and have always known the English would come back" is heard on every side.

The following divisions were "given a flag" many of them still retaining them having hidden them away from the Germans for 30 years.

Awatime	Dedome	Akpafu
Akoviefe	Tsome (south)	Ho
Sokode	Matse	Hlefi
Anfoevi	Tokokoe	Kpandu
Woadje	Nkorya	Tsome (north)
Anfoe	Nyagbo	Tafi
Have	Wusuta	Aveme
Logba	Liatl	Peki Pon [Gbi]
Leklebi	Todome	Ve
Likpe		

and

Kpele, Lavie, Atigbe, Akpololo, Aguiboe, } now in the French Zone.
Bogo, Gbalave, Dayi, Agu and Tove }

This completes the evidence, which in the words of the preface endeavours "to prove some connection racially, linguistically, or by reason of conquest or suzerainty, nominal or real, the natives of this part of Togo have with the inhabitants of the Gold Coast Colony". The case for our right, politically and morally, to take over this part of Togo is in the opinion of the compiler of this short treatise a strong one.

(sgd) R. S. Rattray.

In File No. _____ will be found the tribal history of some 19 divisions which, since the 1919 agreement came into force, have been in the French Zone. These histories were obtained from the same source as those of the divisions comprising this District.

Mr. Crowther, Secretary for Native Affairs, in his memorandum written as supplementary to Mr. Rattray's history states as follows :-

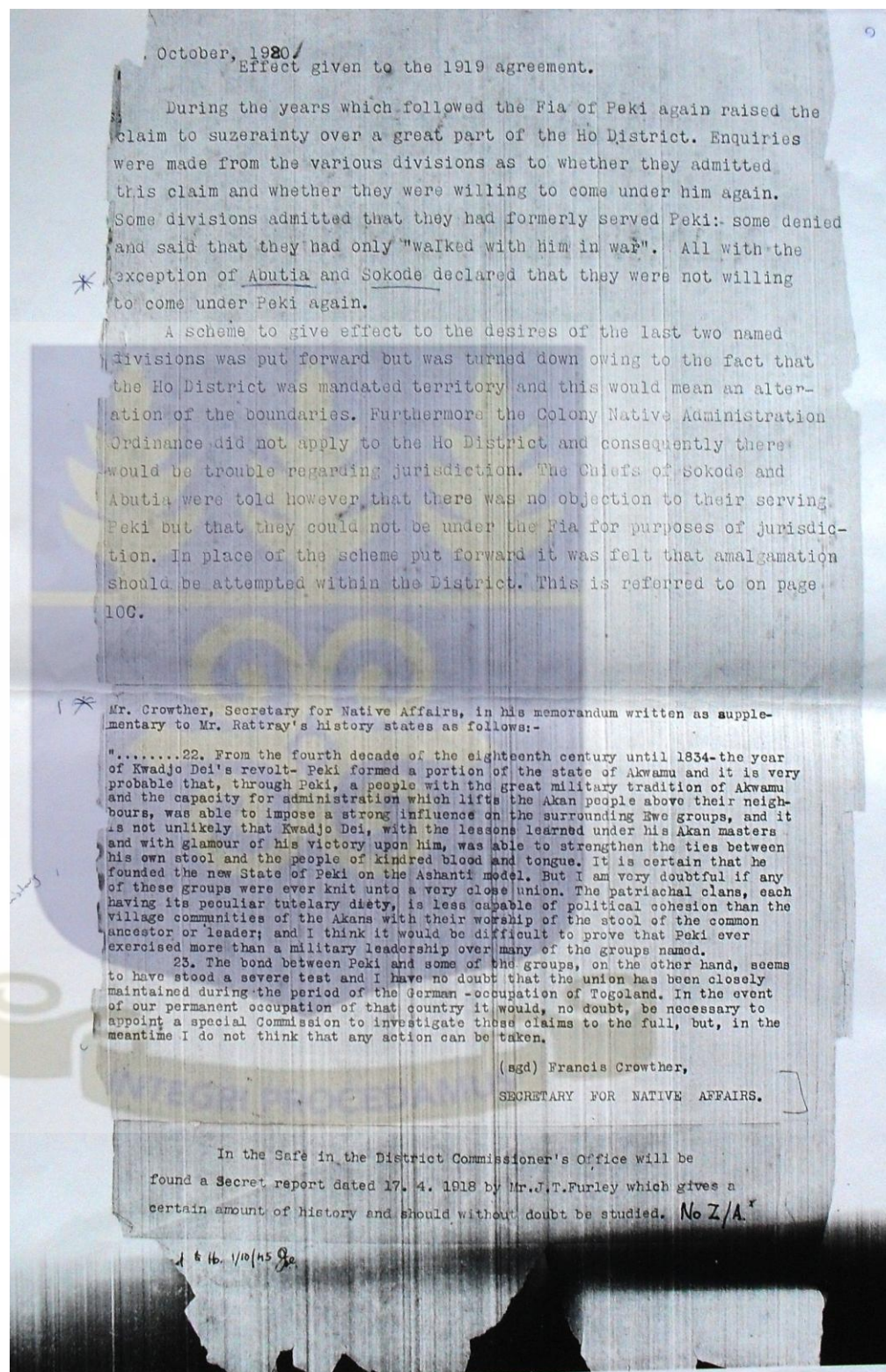
"..... If any indication of date is vague as regards the invasion from the northwest it is doubly so as regards that from the east and north-east. It is probable, however, that the earliest invasion was made by the Accras. Many elements go to make the Division of Accra today. What may be called the central stock, however, most probably came from or via Popp. The next movement appears to have been that of the Adangme groups, Shais, Krobos and Osudokus. All these trace their origin to the Niger. The Ewe invasion is the last. Personally I am inclined to place this migration at an earlier date than that suggested by Mr. Rattray, and I should say that it took place from 200 to 250 years ago. But this is easily explained by the fact that Mr. Rattray deals with the eastern-most people and therefore probable the latest comers. The Ewe tongue and type does not extend westward of the immediate banks of the Volta. No Adangme people can be traced to the east of this river except the Shais of Agotime and the Adames in Togoland. A certain number of Ewes, however, are found in the western bank, notably the Battors, Mlefis, Blakpas, Sukpes, Mafes and Agraves. The presence of the Akan Akwamas, and probably of the Kyerepongs, on the eastern bank is due to war the date of which, as will be shewn, can be accurately stated....."

... going on any further reference should now be made to a book
ad

THE NATIVE STATES OF THE GOLD COAST,
HISTORY AND CONSTITUTION,
I.
P E K I
by
C. W. WELMAN, SECRETARY FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS.
... ed in 19... and deals with Peki history

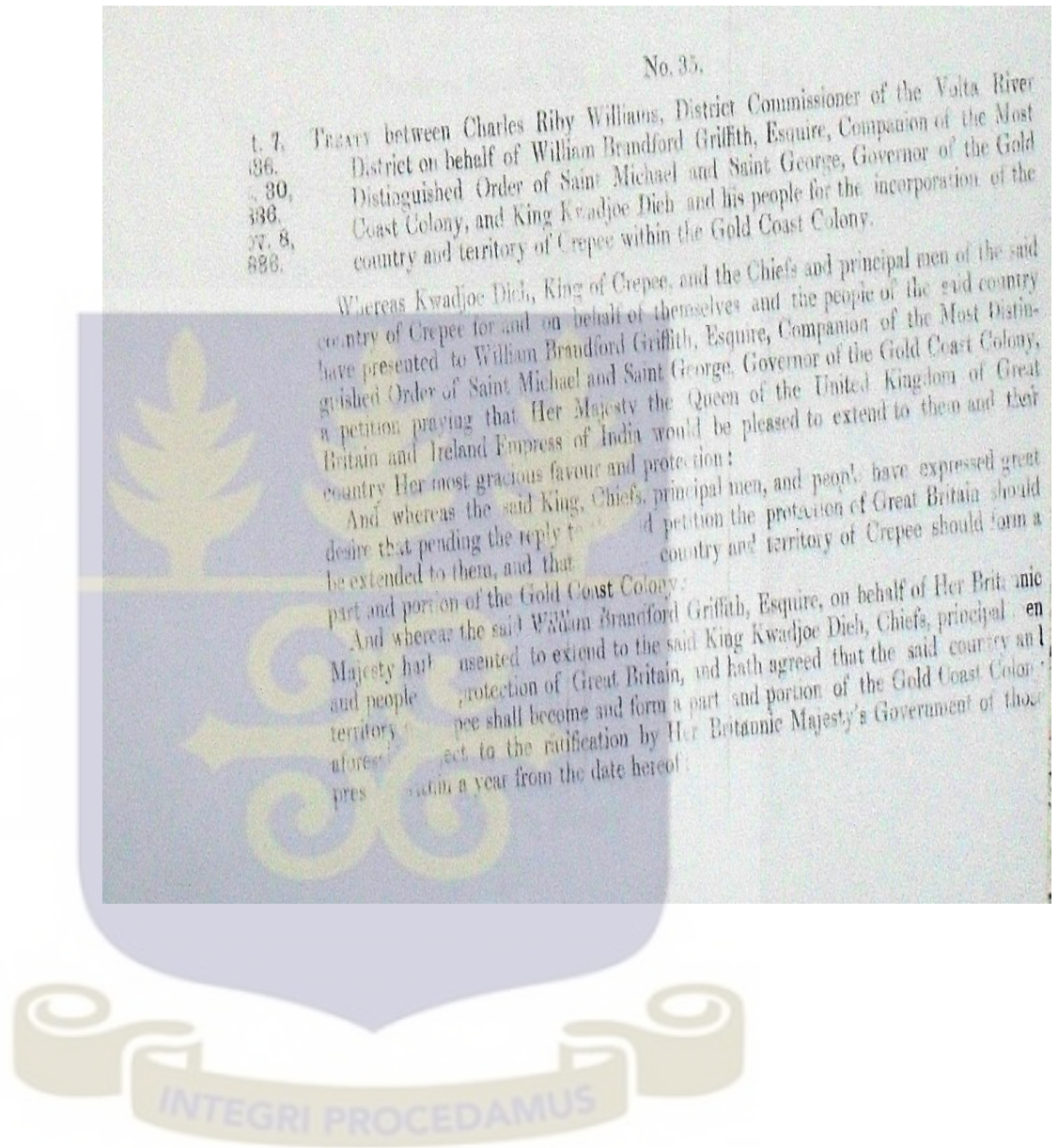
¹Op cit

Appendix D: contd. Claim by Peki to leadership position of Krepi examined¹



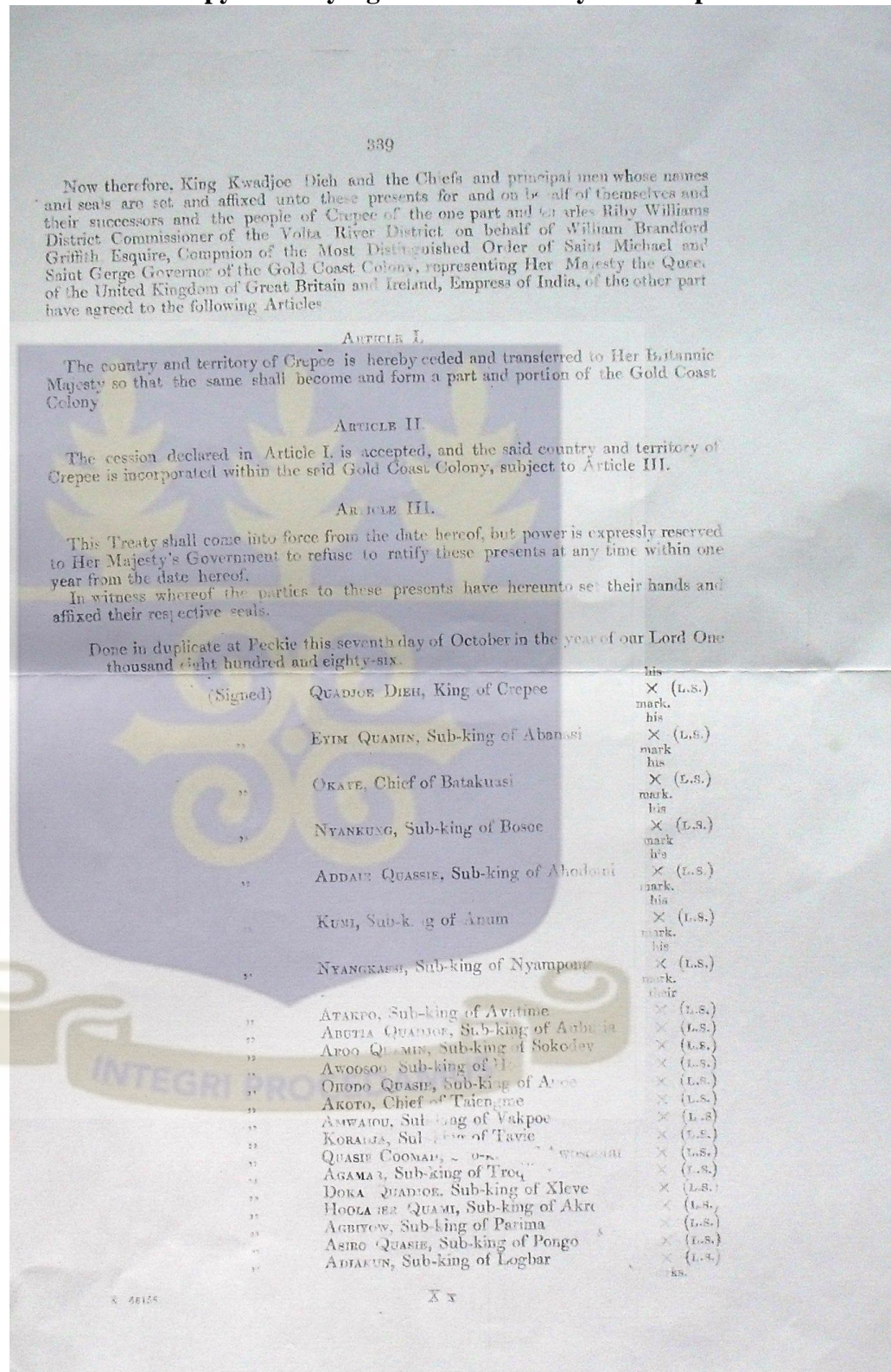
¹ Op cit

Appendix E: Copy of treaty signed between Riby and Krepi chiefs¹



¹ PRAAD, Accra ADM 11/1715 Treaty of 7th Oct. 1886 between Charles Rigby Williams, District Commissioner of the Volta River District and Kwadzo Dei VI, the King of Krepi ceding Krepi to the British Government

Appendix E: contd. Copy of treaty signed between Riby and Krepi chiefs¹



¹ Op cit

Appendix E: contd. Copy of treaty signed between Riby and Krepi chiefs¹

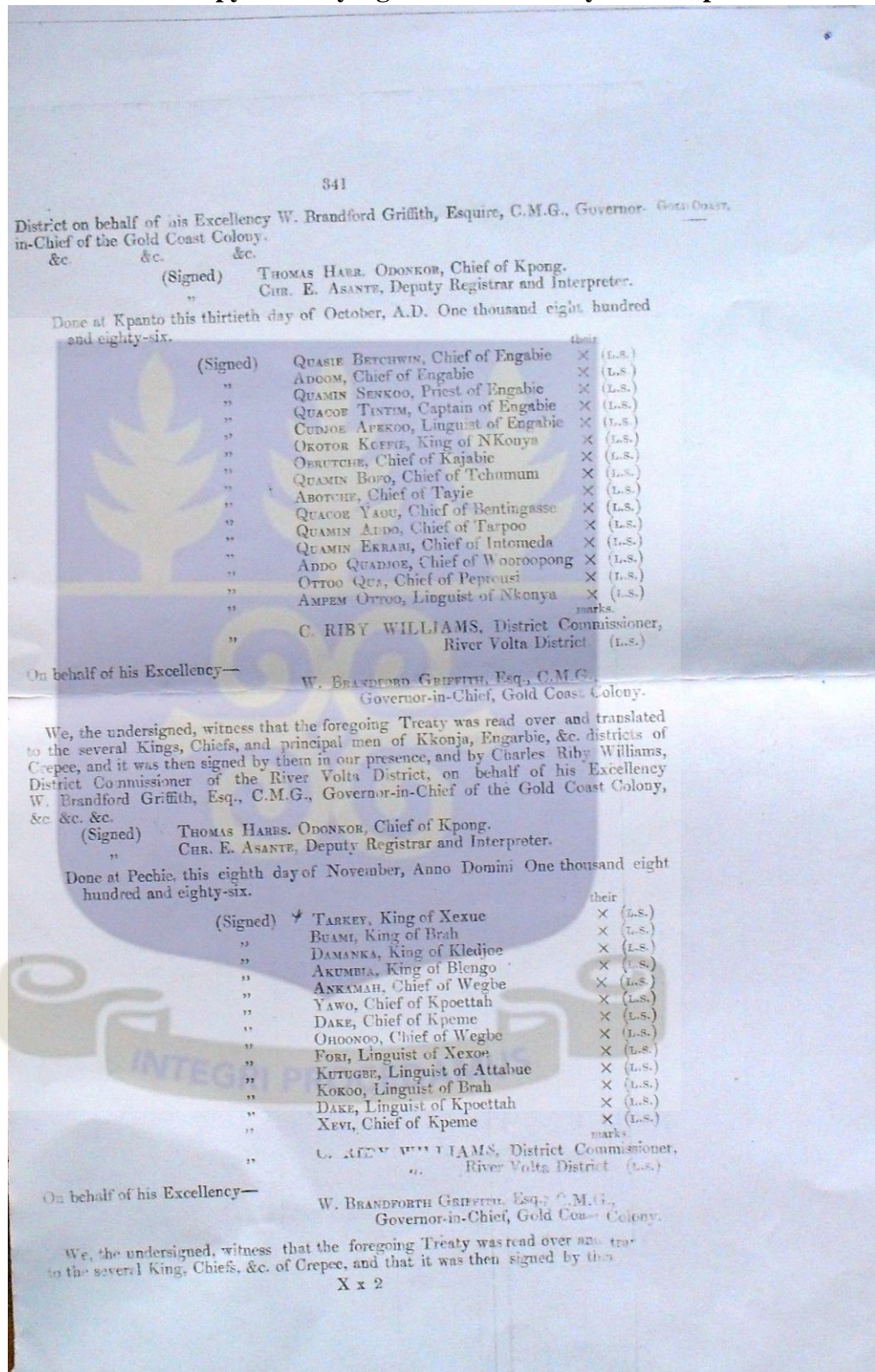
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signed)	TOKPONŪKU, Sub-king of Sovieopay	heir	×	(L.S.)
"	BANSAH, Sub-king of Xave		×	(L.S.)
"	AAMOH QUAMI, Chief of Abanasi		×	(L.S.)
"	DABRAH, Sub-king of Agomeh		×	(L.S.)
"	BINTUSU, Sub-king of Dedoomeh		×	(L.S.)
"	ESSAYEH, Sub-king of Anvoewa		×	(L.S.)
"	QUASIE LETCHU, Captain of Bosoe		×	(L.S.)
"	AKOTOO, Chief of Abansi		×	(L.S.)
"	BOMOH, Chief of Amamfo		×	(L.S.)
"	NKANSAN, Chief of Xamaye		×	(L.S.)
"	DJOU MENSAH, Chief of Atnoanah		×	(L.S.)
"	ACHIREM, Chief of Kpedgie		×	(L.S.)
"	TORGEBY QUASIE, Chief of Chietor		×	(L.S.)
"	ERQUAOW, Chief of Kpengweh		×	(L.S.)
"	CHOMBI, Chief of Quanta		×	(L.S.)
"	KOFIE, Chief of Erquadjee		×	(L.S.)
"	QUAMI LOTCHOO, Chief of Tossi		×	(L.S.)
"	AGHILI QUAMINA, Sub-king of Jackaye		×	(L.S.)
"	EGBESI, Sub-king of Adjorkwey		×	(L.S.)
"	ATABOTIA, Sub-king of Botokoo		×	(L.S.)
"	AKOTO, Sub-king of Tehohoe		×	(L.S.)
"	ADJA KOTO, Sub-king of Akosierpey		×	(L.S.)
"	QUADJOE, Chief of Hodjoe		×	(L.S.)
"	QUADJOE, Chief of Chibboo		×	(L.S.)
"	ASSUMAN KOTO, King of the Salagah Merchants at Kpanto		×	(L.S.)
"	ISSA TACCIOAH, Head Chief of the Salagah merchants at Pato		×	(L.S.)
"	IBRAHIM ADERRI, Chief Do. do.		×	(L.S.)
"	AJI DUMBARO, Captain Do. do.		×	(L.S.)
"	IBRAHIM NYON, Captain Do. do.		×	(L.S.)
"	BADGER BRAMI, King of Vodomy		×	(L.S.)
"	BII, King of Liarte		×	(L.S.)
"	DAGADU, King of Kpanto		×	(L.S.)
"	NTEM, King of Tchoienu		×	(L.S.)
"	AMMAH KUDI, Chief of Avatie		×	(L.S.)
"	JOSEAH QUAMIN, Chief of Attipattah		×	(L.S.)
"	SATCHE, Chief of Xave		×	(L.S.)
"	QUACOE ZU, Chief of Agbenohoie		×	(L.S.)
"	AJAJA YAOW, Chief of Dsigbie		×	(L.S.)
"	ADJAH QUADJOE, Chief of Dfoe		×	(L.S.)
"	OLOE, Chief of Osoebe Samti		×	(L.S.)
"	QUABIAH SAMMANI, Linguist of Kpanto		×	(L.S.)
"	QUABINA TEHADDE, Chief of Faysie		×	(L.S.)
"	QUAMIN FANUKOR, Chief of Barmi		×	(L.S.)
"	YAOW, Chief of Chokpeye		×	(L.S.)
"	DOTCHEY, Chief of Arudjie		×	(L.S.)
"	MANKATA, King of Harocy		×	(L.S.)
"	DEUMAYE, King of Vehye		×	(L.S.)
"	QUAMIN Poomawoo, Chief of Vehye		×	(L.S.)
"	ATTAKOO, King of Sovieokpey		×	(L.S.)
"	ATTAKURA, Chief of Atwanyor	marks,	×	(L.S.)
"	C. RIBY WILLIAMS, District Commissioner, River Volta District.			(L.S.)
	On behalf of his Excellency—			
	W. BRANDFORD GRIFITHS, Esquire, C.M.G.			
	Governor-in-Chief, Gold Coast Colony.			

We, the undersigned, witness that the foregoing Treaty was read over and translated to the several Kings, Chiefs, and principal men of Crepee, and it was signed in our presence by them and by Charles Riby Williams, District Commissioner of the Volta River

¹Op cit

Appendix E: contd. Copy of treaty signed between Riby and Krepi chiefs¹



¹Op cit

Appendix F. Borrowed Akan cultural practices¹

NATIVE ADMINISTRATION

CONSTITUTIONAL

The District is made up of a number of divisions or clans who are presided over by elected Chiefs and the local constitutions are similar to those prevailing generally in West Africa. There is, however, no military organization, except in Buem, comparable to that found in Ashanti and the Akan tribes of the Gold Coast. The Organization in Buem is dealt with on page 166~~3~~, the following dealing with the 62 divisions who are generally spoken of as Ewes.

✓ A division is a term employed locally to indicate a group of villages subordinate in varying degrees to the head of the division who is not subordinate to anybody. Owing to recent amalgamations this is subject to qualification as will be explained later. Among the Ewes the head of the division is the Fiaga (headchief) around whom, in charge of the other villages, are the Tefias (Subchiefs) and Amegawo (headmen) who owe allegiance to him.

In some of the larger Ewe Divisions, however, one does find the following organization:

Ngogbe	front	Two-fs
Megbe	back	Ngidun
Dome	centre	Adeben

but this has come about probably more with a view to decentralization than for military purposes. It is true one does also hear of

Ndusime	right	Hifa
Miame	left	Benku

Handwritten notes:
 a Council...
 a...
 each chief presides over a... with the paramount chiefs being...
 - arranged by the Asaphant /... /...
 * (Asaphant - head of guard)

* but these are of very modern origin dating back only to the time of the Ashanti invasion, at which time the Ewes used to get severe knocks on their flanks.

In 1920 when the Ho District was formed there were no less than 68 divisions who were independent of each other and who

¹ PRAAD, Accra, ADM 39/5/73 Ho District Record Book

Appendix F: contd. Borrowed Akan cultural practices¹

had been so many years prior to the outbreak of war in 1914.

* In some instances a division consisted of one village only. This conglomeration of divisions may be said to emanate from the following causes:

✓(1) Though the general exodus from Nuatja was no doubt a concerted movement in its incidence, tradition shows that as the tribes moved forward various families or even clans broke away and settled wherever it happened to suit them, thus forming other divisions.

✓(2) Under the German Administration, Chiefs were only recognised in so far as they were of use to Government and immediately a so called paramount Chief became unruly his authority was taken away, the division split up and villages or collections of villages thus disjoined became independent divisions. Examples of these are Buem and Awatime.

* In each village there are two, three or more families over which an Ametsitsi (elder) presides. The heads of the various families constitute the village elders. Generally speaking it is from one of these families that the Chief is always elected. The owner of the Stool (Zikpuito) is the head of that family. In some places, however, there is a system of succession by rotation among two or even three families. The rest of the village is known as the Duko (nation). After the Stool has been vacant for sometime, representatives of the Duko approach the Zikpuito and ask him to give them a new Chief. The older members of the Stool family meet together in secret and choose a man whom they think will be acceptable to the Duko. The elders of the latter are informed of the choice, discuss it and inform the Stool owner whether they agree or not. If they agree with the first choice a sheep is slaughtered on the feet of the Chief in order to prevent him running away and in due course the installation ceremonies are carried through. If, however, the first choice is not acceptable to the Duko then it is the duty of the Stool owner to suggest someone

¹ Op cit

Appendix F: contd. Borrowed Akan cultural practices¹

else. The man selected may be almost anyone so long as he is connected with the stool family through his mother or father.

One of the most common forms of dispute within a division is succession to the stool in cases where a chief has resigned or has been destooled and one of the chief factors preventing quiet and amicable settlement is, more often than not, the attitude of the stool father, who feels piqued that a man of his choice should no longer be wanted by the rest of the village. Consequently he often refuses to put forward another candidate.

Per contra, the initial ^{often} fault~~lies~~ with the Duko who, having decided that they no longer want the Chief, proceed to destool him without informing the stool owner of the fact and without telling him of the nature of the charges preferred against the Chief. Precisely the same happens in the case of the Headchief of a division, except that unfortunately the various villages take sides.

It is as well to mention here a practice that has been growing for some years in the District. In a division which consists of one village only there is a chief who is head of that village. There may be three or four families in the said village and consequently three or four heads of families. In order to make himself appear more important, the chief often refers to these individuals as his subchiefs. (Asafonene - a Twi word is the expression generally used).

Another type of newly created Chiefs is as follows: In a certain village one of the say four families decides to move perhaps owing to a dispute or perhaps not, and found a new village of their own. The head of the family which moves becomes headman of the new village naturally but in most cases he styles himself and wishes to be recognised as a Chief. He is not - he is a headman and though they have moved the people in the new village still serve their headchief through the chief of their parent village. Usually an attempt of this nature is made so that the headman of the new village, self styled a Chief, can start a tribunal and so get fees. Sometimes the headchief of the division backs the upstart in order to add to his importance, as he thinks, by having another subchief. This naturally creates considerable ill feeling between the headchief and the subchief of the parent village.

It would appear that the German Administration cared but little about this for one finds many instances of families who moved during their time the head of which is styled "subchief". Examples of this are

¹ Op cit

Appendix F: contd. Borrowed Akan cultural practices¹

- Leklebi Dafo (founded by a family from Duga).
- Ve Golokuati (founded by a family from Ve Hoeme).
- Ve Dafo (founded by a family from Ve Deme).
- Kpandu Konda (founded by a family from Kpandu Djogbesianti).

It is difficult to find out who were really regarded as "Fiawo" as opposed to "headmen" prior to the advent of the European as the people, especially the old men, are very loathe to talk about their "private affairs". Since the introduction of the Native Administration Ordinance of 1952 by which all the petty Courts established by the Germans were abolished it is probable that this question will not arise to any great extent in the future.

① moved practice*

One often hears, and uses, the expression that so and so is subject to the stool of so and so. It is true that most divisions have stools at the present time but it is extremely doubtful if they were in existence during the stay at Nuatja or for a number of years afterwards. It is generally accepted that "stools" are of Akan origin and it is most probable that the Ewes were possessed of none until they came in contact with the Akan people. For instance in the Woadje Stool dispute a statement, which wasn't challenged, was made to the effect that a certain man obtained from Akwame sources three stools, one of which he gave to Goviere, one to Nave and one to Woadje who together are referred to as the "three towns of Govie". Similarly the headchief of Sokode claims that he obtained his stool from the Owanhene of Akim Abiakva.

② moved practice*

The "oath" among the Ewes probably owes its origin to contact with the Akans in a similar manner. Many of the disasters to which its use denotes reference took place not so many years ago. For example, the oath of the ho "ho fe fiencyi" (the evening of ho) refers to the attack made by the Asuantis in 1810 upon that division. Other oaths have reference to interdivisional wars. It may therefore be taken as fairly certain that the oath, like the stool, was unknown in Nuatja.

③ original practice

Fetishes are common all over the country and were almost certain to have been in existence at Nuatja where even today Chief Romandan's compound is full of the most elaborate ones. Pia Ori of Awuma sends a representative each year to pay his respects to a certain fetish at Nuatja. Although at one time one heard, in the Eastern Province of the Colony anyhow, that all bad fetishes came from Togoland, no interference by Government has ever been contemplated in the District until 1952 when it was hinted at that the fetish "kande" was undesirable. This fetish was first introduced into the district in 1921. It is unnecessary to go into detail beyond saying that the fetish in itself is harmless provided that a keen eye is kept on the practices of witch-finding which came into vogue in connection with the fetish some years after its introduction.

¹ Op cit

Appendix F: contd. Borrowed Akan cultural practices¹

a long haul * . . . What is known as the Asafo movement in the Gold Coast exists also in this District and has increased somewhat of late years. If regarded as a forward movement without usurping rights which it does not possess, there is no harm in it as it has a tendency to keep the old men out of deep ruts, but it requires to be well guided. There is a growing tendency amongst those without positions to feel that they should be consulted over certain matters as after all when there is a job to be done it is the "Asafo" and not the elders who do it. In nearly every village one finds an "Asafoatse" who is head of the Asafo in that village. If a Chief made it a rule that the Asafoatse should accompany him whenever he has important conversations with a superior, one would hear of less palavers between the Chief and his people.

✓ As has been said previously the German Administration did not favour powerful combinations of divisions. This is directly opposed to British ideas of Native Administration so it was natural that after the District was formed in 1920, the British Government, realising that there could be no effective administration by 68 divisions all of whom were independent of one another, preached the doctrine of amalgamation all over the country.

! In 1929 this preaching bore fruit and the first amalgamation of divisions took place, 16 of them meeting in the house of Head Chief Bagudu of Ppanda where they elected him as their leader or Paramount Chief. It is not proposed to relate all what happened in connection with this and the two other amalgamations which took place during 1931. Two very full reports have been written on the subject and are to be found in file No. 48/1920 and No. /1931. By the end of 1931 three new States (amalgamation of divisions) had been formed and the constitution of Buem revived so that Buem could now be recognised as a State.

As may well be expected a big constitutional change of this nature had some antagonists, especially amongst those who, though favouring the idea, had tried to form groups of divisions with themselves as leaders and had failed. Their various attempts by petitions to upset what had already been accomplished by others, and this was really their idea, are to be found in various files.

During the years which have followed there have been many further realignments and in June 1934 there remain only 10 divisions which are not amalgamated. Some would except for internal disputes and others would except for a few ancient elders who do not realize, or want, that the entity of each division is still preserved.

Government have not agreed to help a division joining as this would mean the break up of existing divisions.

¹Op cit

Appendix G: List of Rulers (*Amanhene*) of Akwamu¹

<i>Ajarquah and Keteku</i>	<i>Documentary sources</i>
Akotia	[Akotia?], fl. 1614
Abuako Dako	none noted
Afra Kuma	none noted
Ansa Sasraku I	Ansa Sasraku, fl. 1648
Ansa Sasraku II	Ansa Sasraku, died 1689
Ansa Sasraku III	Ado, 1689 – 1702
Manukure <i>alias</i> Ansa Sasraku IV	Akwanno, 1702 – 1725
Akonno Panin	Ansaku, alias Akonno, 1725 – 1730
Dako Boman	Akonno Kuma, 1730 – 1744
Opoku Panin	
Opoku Kuma	Opoku Kuma, 1744 – 1747
Akoto Panin	Dako, 1747 – 1781
	Akoto, 1781 – c. 1835

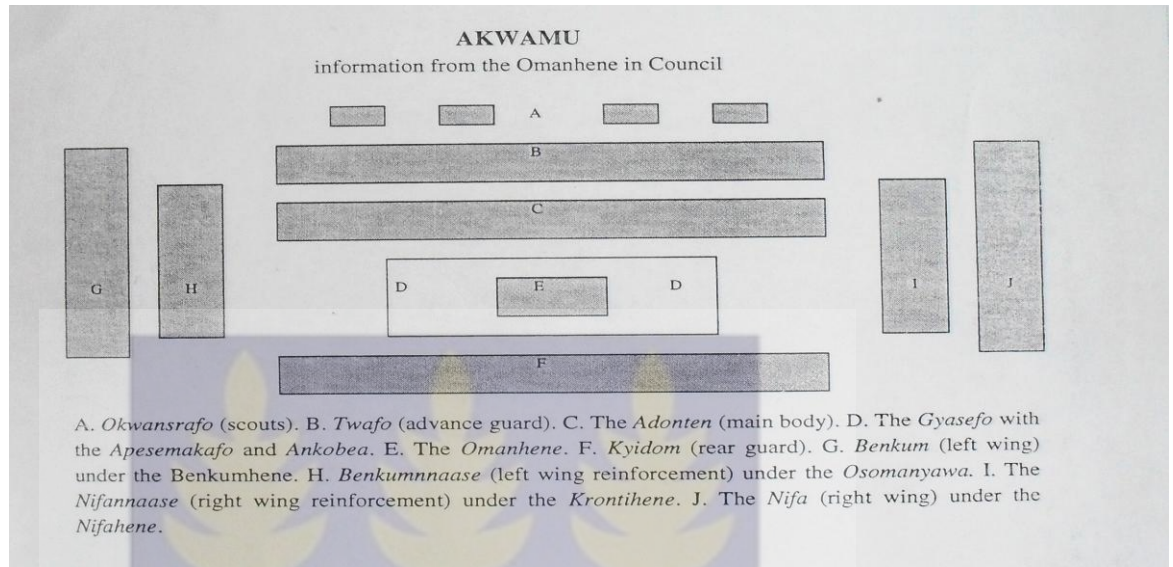
Appendix H: List of Rulers (*Fiagas*) of Peki²

A. NOTE ON THE HISTORY OF PEKI.		Fias of Peki with their approximate dates when known.
<i>Private Names.</i>		<i>Families.</i>
	Ofoi Tutu.	
	Asamoa.	
	Asamoa Kwadjo.	
	Kwadjo Dei I, 1833 to?.	Nyangamagu.
Tutu.	Kwadjo Dei II, ? to 1850.	Tutu Yaw.
Djieni.	Kwadjo Dei III, 1850 to 1860.	Nyangamagu.
Amega Kofi.	Kwadjo Dei IV, 1860 to 1869.	Amega Kofi.
Otuto Yao.	Kwadjo Dei V, 1869 to 1879.	Tutu Yaw.
Yankomego.	Kwadjo Dei VI, 1879 to 1901.	Nyangamagu.
Fakpe.	Kwadjo Dei VII, 1901 to 1910.	Amega Kofi.
Ghoya Yao.	Kwadjo Dei VIII, 1910 to 1917.	Nyangamagu.
S. K. Bansa.	Kwadjo Dei IX, 1917 to 1921.	Amega Kofi.
Kwasi Kuma.	Kwadjo Dei X, 1921 to	Nyangamagu.

¹Wilks, I. (2001) *Akwamu 1640-1750, A Study of the Rise and Fall of a West African Empire* Trondheim p. Iviii

²Wellman, C.W. (1924) *The Native States of the Gold Coast, History and Constitution, I Peki* p.9

Appendix I: Akwamu Military Formation¹



Appendix J: Peki Politico-Military Formation²

PEKI OR KREPI 9

Table showing the divisions of Peki: the names of the towns and villages are in capitals, and the relative ranks of the various stools are indicated by letters and numerals.

EWE-SPEAKING PEOPLE.		KEREPONG is spoken in the places marked with an asterisk.
BENKUM (Left Wing).	ADONTEN (Centre).	NIFA (Right Wing).
AWUDOME Benkumhene, C 1 fAVONWI Ohene, C 2 KWANTA Odikro TSITO Odikro TSIBO Odikro BAME Odikro ANYIRABASE Odikro	PEKI-BLENGO Fia, A 1 BETEKWASE Tuafohene ABANASE (Peki-Wudome) (Peki Avetile) Ohene, A 3 JAKAI Ohene, A2 Ohene, A 4 SHEREMASE AJAKOI TSAME Odikro Odikro PEKI-BLENGO Mankrado (also Chidomhene) APEFIEVE Odikro TUAFO-Vanguard. CHIDOM-Rearguard.	*Boso Nifahene, B 1 PALIME Ohene, B 2 *ANUM Ohene, B 3 TODOME Odikro *DODE Odikro *TOSEN Odikro TONKOR Odikro TSATI Odikro KAYERA Odikro *NKWAKUBIO Odikro To Odikro VECBE Odikro

¹ Wilks I. (2001) *Akwamu 1640-1750, A Study of the Rise and fall of a West African Empire*. Trondheim p.53

² Welman, C.W. (1924) *The Native States of the Gold Coast, History and Constitution, I Peki* p.9