

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

A HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF NANDOM 1660-1955

WILSON DABUO

2020

DECLARATION

Candidate's Declaration

I hereby declare that this study is the result of my own original research and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this University or elsewhere

Signature.....Date

Candidate's Name: Wilson Dabuo

Supervisor's Declaration

We hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the thesis were supervised in accordance with the guidance on supervision of thesis laid down by the University of Cape Coast

Signature..... Date

Principal Supervisor's Name: Professor Kwame Osei Kwarteng

Co-Supervisor's Name: Dr. Emmanuel Saboro

Signature..... Date.....

ABSTRACT

The histories of the Northern territories, present-day Northern, Savannah, North East, the Upper East and Upper West regions have had a great deal of attention by scholars. This conclusion is based on a broad review of literature on the history of the people to the Northwest of Ghana mostly by Colonial Anthropologists and contemporary African scholars. Although there is a great deal of research work on the North-West of Ghana, there is very little conscientious study on the origins of the Nandom people, their aboriginal traditions and institutions, and their interaction with both their neighbours and European colonial agents to the nineteenth century. It is simply astonishing that Nandom, which is affectionately called the “Home of Interdisciplinary Professionals” has no far-reaching historical document about its clan origins, their role in domestic slavery and the slave trade, the institutions they acquired and built upon and the like.

This missing link is to be the thrust of this thesis. This thesis examines the preliterate society of the Nandom people from 1660 to 1955. The study focuses on the origins of the first three clan settlements in Nandom and the later arrival of the other ethnic groups from 1660 to 1955. Using qualitative evaluation of archival documents, direct interviews in the early communities and the associated palaces of sub-chiefs and divisional chiefs of Lawra-Dikpe, Tom-Zendaagang, Puopiel, Nandomlee, Nardom, Builegang, Ekimpa-Lambusie, Tuopare, Gungunkpe, Zimuopare, the Ninbule (Zongo community) and some secondary documents of historical evidence, this study delineate the origins of Nandom in order of chronology beginning with Zenuo, the grant ancestor of the Dikpielle, followed by the arrival of the Bekuone and the Kpielle clans, and later in the mid-1700 arrival of the Ninbule constituting the Nandom Zongo community. This chronology produced a striking historical narrative of how the early villages came to settle in the current location.

KEY WORDS

Chronology

Black Volta River

Aborigines

Nardom

Gbangbaa (slave)

Culture
Elopement
Dagara
Dagare

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

A study of this extent is always the cumulative effect of extensive hours of work, employing great care, thoroughness, guidance and support. The list is long. It is therefore not possible to mention every one of the contributors to this thesis.

First of all, I owe it a great gratitude to my first-degree History Professor, Prof. Kofi Darkwaa, of the faculty of Social Science of the Department of History, University of Education Winneba, for his motivation and encouragement on me to pursue further studies in history. I would also like to thank my supervisors, Prof. Kwame Osei Kwateng, Dr. S. Y. Boadi-Siaw and Dr. Saboro Emmanuel. Prof. Kwame Osei Kwateng played a leading role in the thesis and gave me focus, grounding and direction for the study. His painstaking reading and making sense out of some

terminologies within the Dagara context helped perfect and direct the study. To Dr. Saboro Emmanuel, he was as a light at the end of the tunnel to this study. His gentle but firm corrections brought some amount of urgency to the study.

My sincerest appreciation also goes to the faculty of the Department of History, in particular the lecturers who took me through the one-year coursework of the programme.

To the staff of the Public Records and Archives Administration Department, (PRAAD), Accra and Tamale, I sincerely thank you for the support and assistance for giving me access to the required archival documents for this study.

It is to my family, though – my father, Mr. Alban K. Dabuo, my mother, Juliana Kuunamore, my maternal/paternal uncles, particularly Alois K. Mohl and Dr. Richard Kuu-ire – that I owe the deepest gratitude. The spiritual and material roles they played in my life and education in general cannot be overemphasised. To my siblings – Aaron Dabuo, Evelyn Dabuo, Elvis Dabuo, Joshua Dabuo Josephine Dabuo and Victor Dabuo – I say thank you for your support and assistance throughout the period of the study. To my friends, Benjamin Sundeme, Emmanuel Agyenim Boateng, Matilda Oteng, and, in particular Isaac Indome, the only course mate of the M.Phil. Programme, for his unflinching companionship and support, and to my delightful wife, Felicity Aabaah, for her wittiness, loveliness, forthrightness, and sure knack to motivate me and edge me on.

Finally, my heartfelt gratitude goes to Rev. Fr. Dr. Stephen Koya of the Nandom Minor Basilica and Chaplain to the St. Theresa Hospital, Nandom, for his enthusiasm and attention in shepherding the entire thesis through its various stages and in particular, his constant insistence on chronology and methodical order of the settlement histories of the Nandom people.

DEDICATION

To my mother, Juliana Kuunamore, whose interminable prayers and loving spirit sustains me always; my father, Alban K. Dabuo, my wife, Felicity Aabaah, and my two daughters, La Reine Dabuo and Reneè Dabuo.

DEFINITION OF TERM

Nandom – means “squat permanently and never move again.”

Nandome – is a term which “super-umbrellas” all the aborigines’ clans and/or lineages of the area of the northwest corner of north-western Ghana. A Nandome is exclusively a person from the ethno-minority group found in the settlement of Nandom and people of the diaspora who trace their ancestry to any of the clan groups in the current settlements. It must, therefore, be asserted that one is not a Nandome just because one is born in Nandom but very much because one believes and expresses the ideals of Nandom traditions. Nandome live in many parts of the world and may not even have been born in Nandom, while conversely, not all those who actually reside in Nandom – Government workers, traders and those who have married in that society, are considered Nandome.

Elopement – was another form of marriage arrangement practised among some Dagara communities in the pre-Christian era. This occurred mostly at the puberty period of the male. The girl was persuaded to leave with her would-be husband to his home. When persuasion failed, “force” was then the option, whereby the girl was seized by the boy’s kinsmen or colleagues at the market square, recreational centre, by the river/well/borehole side or sometimes in the night when the girl was sleeping. The weekly markets also seem to have been ideal occasions for fraternization and subsequent elopement, especially, on the Sundays which were institutionalised as central market days for Nandom.

Ditina – usually a go-between in the matter of marriages in the Dagara tradition. The *ditina* represents the prospective groom’s family in negotiations with a would-be bride’s family to secure her hand in marriage.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Contents

Page

DECLARATION

ii

ABSTRACT

iii

KEY WORDS

v

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

vi

DEDICATION

viii

DEFINITION OF TERMS

ix

TABLE OF CONTENT

x

INTRODUCTION

1

Background to the Study

1

Statement of the Problem

6

Purpose of the Study

10

Literature Review

11

Methodology and Sources

23

Significance of the study

28

Organisation of the work

29

Research Questions

30

CHAPTER ONE: ORIGINS AND EARLY HISTORY UP TO 1875

32

Introduction

32

Pre-Northwestern Dagara up to the 1300s

33

The Earth Priests (Land Custodians)

48

The Origins of the Nandom Earth Priest's Family	54
The Origins of the Chiefly Clan	63
The Origins of the Lambussie Earth Priest's Family	64
Early Settlements and the Emergence of the Nandom Zango	69
Conclusion	80

CHAPTER TWO: SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE TRADE TO THE 18TH CENTURY 83

Introduction	83
Perspectives on the Nature and Role of Slavery in Precolonial Africa	84
History, Memory, Domestic slavery and the Slave-Trade in Nandom to 1859	90
The Zambarima Slave Raiders: Samory Toure and Babatu 1704 - 1899	98
Nandom Slave Markets: Gungunkpe and Tuopare	105
Conclusion	110

CHAPTER THREE: INDIGENOUS CULTURE AND SOCIAL DIMENSION OF NANDOM: EVOLUTION AND CHANGES UP TO THE 1900 112

Introduction	112
Culture and the Social Dimension of Nandom History and Culture	113
The Cowrie in the Nandom Dowry System	121
The Dagara Social Setting: Evolution and Change	124
Conclusion	131

CHAPTER FOUR: INDIGENOUS POLITICS, COLONIAL POLICY AND PRE- INDEPENDENCE POLITICS IN NANDOM UP TO 1955 133

Introduction	133
Governance Structures in Pre-Nandom Society	134

The Native Authority Ordinance in Nandom 1890-1912	163
Political Developments in Nandom 1946-1955	171
Conclusion	185
CONCLUSION	187
BIBLIOGRAPHY	195
APPENDICES	222

INTRODUCTION

Background to the Study

The work explores the history of the people of Nandom in the Upper West Region of Ghana from 1660-1955. The year 1660 marked the founding of Nandom and the evolution of Nandom as the ancestral home – a reference place for the socio-cultural heritage of the Dagara speaking people of the Black Volta Basin. The study ends at 1955. The 1951 constitution marked a turning point and the upsurge in territorial politics in the Gold Coast. From this time on, the Northern Territories was fully integrated into nationalist activities of the Gold

Coast following the establishment in 1946 of the Northern Territorial Council (NTC).

Developments in the colony and Asante were later to draw the NTC into the nationalist politics of independence Ghana, resulting in the formation of the Northern Peoples Party (NPP) to contest the first general election through a universal adult suffrage in 1954. Nandom found itself submerged in a web of contentions between it and the confederacy council of chiefs in the choice of candidate to contest the 1954 election in the Lawra-Nandom constituency. This study will also be concerned with the development of territorial politics, which is the background to militant politics in the Gold Coast beginning from the 1946 up to 1955, highlighting major political activities and the key actors from the Nandom area and the Northern Territories in general.

The people of Nandom belong to the Dagara ethno-minority group and are located presently in the North-western corner of Ghana. Colonial officials in the 1890s attempted to map out the northwestern area of present-day Ghana in an effort to consolidate their spheres of influence during the period of European scramble for Africa from 1880 to 1914. Some of the early field-surveyors involved in this were Captain Louis-Gustave Binger who worked for the French government and George Ekem Ferguson, a Fanti official of the Gold Coast, who between, 1890-1897 worked for the British administration.¹ In one of Binger's early works entitled: *Du Niger au Golf de Guinee*, he claimed to have travelled between 1888 and 1889 from Senegal via Kong and Bobo-Dioulasso to Ouagadougou and returned to the Atlantic coast through Salaga

¹ Le Capitaine Louis-Gustave Binger. *Du Niger au Golf de Guinee*, 2 vols. Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1892, pp. 34-35.

and Kintampo to sketch out a map (see map in Appendix 1) of the region which was assumed to have been under French control.² Binger in this map referred to the region as ‘Gourounsi’ a part of the Black Volta in the northwest of Ghana.³ According to Binger, the Africans only spoke of ‘Gourounsi’ and he considered them as a group of territories. Binger stated that “Gourounsi was a rugged back region into which various groups from the neighbouring kingdoms fled and who were linguistically and culturally heterogeneous peoples but constantly feuding among themselves.”⁴ Among the ethnic groups of the Gourounsi, west of the Black Volta that Binger listed were the ‘Dagati’ and ‘Dagabakha’ who seemed to him to be “one and the same people.” To the north of this group was ‘Oule’ and to the east were the ‘Lama’, ‘Lakhama’ or Nokhodosi.⁵

George Ekem Ferguson also surveyed and drew a map (see map in Appendix 2) of the area of the Northern Territories and part of what is now the Upper West region of Ghana. The map included no cartographic specifics, but only provided a general indication that the ‘Dagati,’ ‘Kaparasi’ and ‘Ule’ were vaguely associated with the vicinity later to be known as Lawra District.⁶ The map, according to Kwame Arhin, was drawn after Ferguson’s first mission in 1892, which took him only as far as the regions of Dagomba and Gonja through

² *Ibid.* p. 34.

³ *Gourounsi*: This was one of the many ethnonyms used by colonial anthropologists to describe the ethno-minority group of inhabitants in the west of the Black Volta. These included the Dagati and Dagabakha. To the north of these groups were the Oule (Ule), while to the east were the Lama, Lakhama or Nokhodosi. These categories were later re-categorized into a distinction between the country of Dagara and Grunshi whose groupings included the Talensi, Bulsi, Isale, Lama and other satellite settlements. The Dagati and Dagabakha were also re-categorized as the Dagara and Dagaaba, and concurrently the most common ethnic group. Whereas the Dagara are classified as those living around Lawra, Nandom and parts of Burkina Faso – they speak Dagara as a dominant language, the Dagaba on the other hand are the groups living around Wa, Nadowli and Jirapa – they speak Dagaare as a dominant language.

⁴ Le Capitaine, Binger. *Du Niger au Golf de Guinee*, p. 34.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 35.

⁶ Kwame Arhin (ed.). *The Papers of George Ekem Ferguson, a Fanti Official of the Government of the Gold Coast, 1890-1897*. Leiden: African Studies Centre, 1974, pp. 63-75.

Bole.⁷ Arhin concludes that it was only on Ferguson's second visit in 1894 that he concluded a Treaty of Friendship and Trade with the Wa Na, Seidu Takora, thus bringing the country of the Dagarti, otherwise known as 'Dagaba' under the British colonial control.⁸

From the works of Binger and Ferguson, what is apparent is that they initially included the "Dagari" and "Dagabaka" under "Gourounsi," but later drew a distinction between the "country of Dagara" which the Wa Na claimed to have authority over, and "Grunshi" which included the Talensi, Bulsi, Isale, and Lama.⁹ The latter were only brought under British rule by means of violent conquest in years of local resistance. Ferguson's division between "countries with organised government" and a "barbarous tribes" [sic. Ethnic groups] and Binger's categorization of "states and territories," could be understood to be one of those early constructed descriptions aimed at differentiating between centralised state systems and segmentary lineage societies ("Stateless Societies").¹⁰ It is also instructive to note that Binger and Ferguson were not on the same field of survey in describing acephalous and centralised societies, but also societies at different geographical locations with multiple clan connections in respect of alliances that existed between political units of different ranges. These alliances were not without occasional hostilities and internal specific instances of discontent. The result of these were largely the reasons for the disintegration of these centralised societies and resulted in the relocation of

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 65.

⁸ Arhin (ed.) *The Papers of George Ekem Ferguson*, p. 63

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 64.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 63.

some ethno-minority groups, particularly, the Dagara of Nandom in about 1300 BC.¹¹

Centralised societies such as the Dagomba, Gonja, Mamprussi and Mossi are generally described by scholars as “powerful states” or “warlike tribes”.¹² Ferguson’s sketch of the region of Northwest Ghana showed States apart by internal factionalism and exercised weak control over segmentary lineage societies such as the Dagara/Dagaba ethno-minorities.¹³ Internal factionalism and persistent unrest in these centralised societies like the Dagomba Kingdom played significant roles in the immigration of the Dagara people, particularly, the Nandom people, to their present place of abode from the sixteenth century onward. They speak a language termed as “Dagara” and are themselves “Dagara”.

Since the fourteenth century, the Dagara ethnic groups have been the most successful frontiersmen as regards immigration into the northwestern region. This is to make the point that most of the village settlements which at present constitute the Dagara communities have moved in from elsewhere. They probably set out from what is currently the southern parts of Northwest Ghana as small groups of hunters and farmers and migrated toward the North, with some turning westwards, across the Black Volta, while others remained east of the Volta, and the rest continued northwards. Yet others crossed the river more

¹¹ Der, Benedict G. ‘The Origins of the Dagara – Dagaba’, Papers in Dagara Studies. *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, 1989; Allan. W. Cardinall, *The Natives of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast*. London: Routledge, 1920. See also Eyre-Smith St John’s *A Brief Review of the History and Social Organization of the Peoples of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast*. Accra: Government Printer, 1933 and McCoy F. Remigius’s *Great Things Happen: Personal Memoir of the First Christian Missionary among the Dagaabas and Sissalas of Northern Ghana*. Montreal: The Society of the Missionaries of Africa, 1988.

¹² Arhin. *The Papers of George Ekem Ferguson*, p. 65.

¹³ *Ibid.* p. 65.

than once. Lentz documented the fact that the Dagara migrants rarely entered an uninhabited territory. Instead, they tended to settle close to and, eventually, displaced others such as the Sisala, Dyane, Phuie and Bwamu communities, who then moved further west and north of the northeastern region.¹⁴ This view is disputed by oral traditions gathered from Nandom and even Lambussie.¹⁵ According to both Lambussie and Nandom traditions, violence played a significant role in the territorial expansion of the settlements around the Black Volta, but so did specific strategies for the ritual appropriation of new territories. The Dagara system of *tengame*, with its characteristic division between existing shrines and networks of organized shrines, supported mobility and assisted the migrants to bring new territories under their ritual control.¹⁶

Another reason for the Dagara expansion worth noting was their ability to draw on a wide range of networks, including patrilans, matrilineans, clan alliances and institutionalised friendships, in order to mobilize followers. This was a crucial asset for the security of the newly-founded settlements in Nandom and the territorial encroachment on already occupied lands.¹⁷ This thesis, therefore, focuses on the origins of the early clans in Nandom from about 1660

¹⁴ Lentz, Carola. "A Dagara Rebellion against Dagomba Rule? Contested Stories of Origin in North-Western Ghana", *Journal of African History*, Vol. 35. No. 3, 1994, pp. 457 – 492. See also, Lentz, Carola. "Of Hunters, Goats and Earth-Shrines: Settlement Histories and Politics of Oral Traditions in Northern Ghana", *History of Africa*, Vol. 27, Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 193 – 214.

¹⁵ Interview with Bernard Kuu-im, age 67, at his residence in Nnandomkpee and Dartey Boyuo, age 76, at his residence in Lambussie, on 27th December, 2017.

¹⁶ *Tengame* – is the plural form of the word *tengan* (the earth shrine). It literally refers to the earth deity and the shrine at which sacrifices are performed as well as to the territory controlled by this shrine and the earth deity. All the land (*teng*) is subject to an earth shrine, administered by a *tengansob* (plural *tengandem*) literally the "owner of the land." *Tengansob* must be a descendant of the first settler, who acquired the office by a pact and/or the bush spirits (*Kontome*). See also, Lentz. "A Dagara Rebellion against Dagomba Rule," pp. 459 – 491.

¹⁷ Interview with Bernard Kuu-im, 27 December 2017.

when Nandom was founded by Zenuo, the hunter, to 1955 when traditions and modern politics came into being.

The period covered by the thesis has been carefully selected with reflection on the general historiography of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast which, hitherto, included the Upper West region.

Statement of the Problem

The history of the Northern Territories in general and the North-Western Ghana in particular have received a great deal of attention by scholars. This conclusion is based on a broad review of literature on the history of North-western Ghana written by colonial anthropologists and contemporary African scholars. Suffice it to say that although there is a great deal of research work on the North-West of Ghana, there is very little study on the origins of the Nandom people, their traditions, the institutions they built and their interaction with both their neighbours and European colonial agents up to the end of the nineteenth century. It, therefore, comes as a surprise that Nandom, which is warmly known as the “Home of Interdisciplinary Professionals” has no far-reaching historical document about its clan origins, its role in domestic slavery and the slave trade, the institutions it acquired and built upon and its contacts with the Early Christian Missionaries. Consequently, the history of Nandom still requires thorough and thoughtful studies.

Most important works on the then Northern Territories, the Gold Coast, West Africa and Africa at large, which provide any history of the Nandom people have failed to pay satisfactory attention to its origin and its indigenous traditional settings/institutions. Captain Robert S. Rattray in his work: *The*

Tribes of the Asante Hinterland, for instance, could not give details but just anecdotal informal about the people of Nandom without talking about the settlement histories and philosophies behind the traditions they practised.¹⁸ Likewise, similar research work that have information about the people of Nandom do not point out, in detail, who the autochons of Nandom are and what motivated their migration to the current location. Likewise, those studies that have provided information on the history of the North-West, and in particular, the settlements to the west of the Black Volta, do not discuss what early sociocultural and political institutions the immigrants built, nor do the studies delineate what role Nandom played in the early slave trade following the advent of the Zambarima. This can be attributed largely to language deficiency on the part of these early Anthropologists and, to a very large extent, the broad nature of their studies. These and many other research challenges do not permit them to examine thoroughly the oral records of ambiguous places but to only carry out all-purpose accounts and analyses.

Also, early works which factored in the settlement histories of the Nandom people in their discussion like John Guinness' *Interim Report on the Peoples of Nandom and Lambussie*, and Eyre-Smith St John's *A Brief Review of the History and Social Organisation of the Peoples of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast* are undoubtedly valuable literature but embedded with some inaccurate narratives.¹⁹

¹⁸ Rattray, R. S. *The Tribes of the Asante Hinterland*, I – II, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932, pp. 404 – 424.

¹⁹ John Guinness. PRAAD Accra, ADM 11/1/824, *Interim Report on the Peoples of Nandom and Lambussie*, 1932 and Eyre-Smith St John. *A Brief Review of the History and Social Organisation of the Peoples of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast*. Accra: Government Printer 1933, pp. 1 – 28

There are yet other works that studied, in detail, the migration history of the Northern Territories and, for that matter, the Dagara people to the west of the Black Volta. Two of such scholarly works: Benedict Der's "*The Origins of the Dagara-Dagaba*", *Papers in Dagara Studies*, and Carola Lentz's "Of Hunters, Goats and Earth-Shrines: Settlement Histories and the Politics of Oral Tradition in Northern Ghana." Whereas Benedict's work mainly discusses the general perspectives of the Dagara origins, Carola's work on the Dagara people of Nandom focuses attention on the appropriation of space, which is ritually legitimised through the acquisition of earth-shrines. She used Nandom as a case study to demonstrate how Africans in contemporary times and, in the colonial past, used oral traditions in order to conduct politics and how it impacted their effort to reconstruct their settlements.²⁰ This is making the point that one cannot depend exclusively on these works to understand the original inhabitants of Nandom from 1660 to 1955. Moreover, these works have not provided information on the chronologies as regards the areas of first settlement by the first settler before the settlement in the current location, thereby making it seem like the settlers in Nandom did not have a place of origin.

It is instructive, though, to note that the Dagara people of Northwestern Ghana in general and Nandom in particular evolved around different types of traditions that sustained their cultural heritage and institutions from the preliterate era. The failure of earlier works to discuss this preliterate culture and the social dimension of the lives of the people of Nandom raises some very critical questions. One of such questions is whether the people of Nandom have indigenous traditions unique to them as a people or otherwise? If such

²⁰ Der, *The Origins* pp. 12 – 18. See also, Carola, *Of Hunters*, pp. 193 – 214.

indigenous traditions and institutions existed, what accounted for their preservation and are there identifiable transformations and continuities? How are these traditions practiced differently in other Dagara settlements? Most importantly, what philosophies and ideologies anchored the cultural heritage as regards their social and political institutions? These questions and many others, seek to make a case for the relevance of this research.

The literature consulted thus far differ in many ways to this thesis as demonstrated above. That is to say that the available literature does not delineate in any particular way the origins of the Nandom people and whether or not they have no autochthons prior to their settlement in the current location. Furthermore, they do not explain why “strongmen” or the *Libiedem* (rich people) adopted and kept enslaved people for domestic usage in the preliterate era up until the era of the Zambarima slaving activities in the Black Volta Basin. Most of the works that touched on the settlement histories of the Nandom people did it peripherally or as a case study to understudy a much bigger picture. This cannot be accepted as a complete construction of the history of the Nandom people. This is because the complete history of Nandom involves an examination of the chronology of events in the order in which they successively occurred. This must factor in the origin and progress, the causes and effects as regards the institutions they built for themselves. The observation made thus far is that extant documents that treat the history of Nandom do not offer explanation of their ideas in their study of the settlement histories of the Nandom people expansively.

Again, there are issues of contradictory narratives of which patricians and/or matricians are the first settlers and late settlers in both Nandom and Lambussie. Moreover, scholars who have ventured into writing the history of

the peoples' culture, sociopolitical institutions and traditions do not indicate if these cultures, socio-political institutions and traditions were borrowed or not. These and many other missing links in the history of Nandom have necessitated the collection of oral traditions in order to compare with those existing stories surrounding the origin and early history of the people of Nandom. This thesis, therefore, seeks to examine the past in an attempt to provide answers to questions of origins and early history of the people of Nandom.

Purpose of the Study

The study seeks to demonstrate how contemporary researchers of Ghanaian and African history can use oral traditions/histories and written evidence obtained from secondary sources for the reconstruction of the Nandom settlement history. This thesis, as has indeed been demonstrated seeks to accomplish these objectives. It: Examines the history of the Nandom people from 1660 to 1955, focussing on the place of origins and early history of the people of Nandom and the later peopling of Nandom with ample attention on the various clans deemed to be first settlers. Provides a historical narrative as to the perspectives, the nature and role of slavery in precolonial Nandom and discuss the history and memories of domestic slave ownership during the slave trade in the 1800s following the slave raiding activities of the Zambarima. Looks at the indigenous culture and social dimensions of the Nandom people, pointing out possible evolution and transformation. Examines the institutions they built, the traditions they practised and how oral traditions have been used to conduct local politics.

Literature Review

A good deal of secondary sources related to this thesis have been accessed and thoroughly studied. The authors of these works have pointed out their goals and have clearly given the thrust of their work.

One of the earliest to attempt at a construction of the history of the Northern Territories in the 1930s was that of Captain Robert S. Rattray, an Anthropologist of the Colonial Government. His work: *The Tribes of the Asante Hinterland*, is an account of what he called “History, Tribe and Clan Organization” of the “Dagaba”, a term that he used to describe the people of North-Western Ghana.²¹

The aim of Rattray was to examine thoroughly the ethno-minority groups of the Northern Territories, their relations with one another, their religion and political institutions. Rattray interviewed “ordinary people” as opposed to the “ruling clans,” the indigenous clan groups who have comprehensive knowledge of their histories, though his methods of interrogating informants were not fundamentally different from the previous works of other colonial officials. For example, writing about the ethnography of the Northern people, A. C. Duncan-Johnstone and others in 1918 have shown that Rattray used the same informants of his predecessors who were mostly the educated individuals who constituted the class of messengers for the chief.²² Through those same methods and procedures, his work mainly describes the generality of the Dagara ethnography and, in a limited extent, the ethnology of the Dagaba but does not

²¹ Rattray, *Tribes of the Asante Hinterland*, pp. 404 – 424.

²² Carola Lentz, “A Colonial ethnography and political reform: the works of A. C. Duncan-Johnstone, R. S. Rattray, J. Eyre-Smith and J. Guinness on northern Ghana.” *Ghana Studies* 2, (1999), p. 120 – 171.

examine the Dagara of Nandom from the point of view of eyewitness accounts especially, with respect to the period when Nandom was founded and peopled.

Describing the clan/lineage system in the Lawra Confederacy in general and in Nandom in particular, Rattray makes the point that the inhabitants are related either by “The Blood-group – *Bello* (Matrimonial totemic group) or the *Dogoro* (Patrilinial totemic group).” Rattray seems to be right. The traditions in all of Dagara settlements in present-day Northwestern Ghana, Burkina Faso, and Cote de’Ivoire corroborate this assertion. Using his findings as background knowledge, the researcher probed further the clan/lineage system and has discovered the chronology with which Nandom was founded and peopled beginning with the Depkielle and the Bekuone clans who are generally acknowledged to be the first clan settlers from the 1660s and 1770s respectively. It carried out a thorough study of the philosophies and ideologies which underpinned this clan system and also explored the cultural and social dimensions of this type of kin groupings. Although his intention was to “take certain Dagaba settlements, endeavour to trace (within a very limited scope) their origin and composition,” his intention was never realised until his departure from the soil of the Gold Coast.²³ This thesis, attempts to contribute to fulfilling this omission.

Scholars such as Emmanuel F. Tamakloe, Gabriel Tuurey, G. F. Mackay, Benedict Der, Allan W. Cardinall, and McCoy F. Remgius who featured aspects of the history of the territories of northern part of Ghana in their

²³ Rattray, *The Tribes of the Asante Hinterland*, p. 406. See also, St John, Eyre-Smith. *A Brief Review of the History and Social Organization of the Peoples of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast*. Accra: Government Printer 1933, pp. 1 – 28 and Henrika Kuklick, *The Imperial Bureaucrat: The Colonial Administrative Service in the Gold Coast, 1920-1939*, Stanford: Hoover Institute, 1979, pp. 16 -19.

discussions of the settlement histories of Northwestern Ghana gave little attention to the origins and early history of the people.²⁴ Their works basically explore the rise and fall of the states and kingdoms of the Northern Territories between 1300 and 1800. In other words, their documentation mark the commencement of the Dagomba Kingdom as regards the legendary oral histories from Zamfara to Pusiga in the present-day Upper East region. Tamakloe's *A Brief History of the Dagbamba People* and Gabriel Tuurey's *An Introduction to the Mole Speaking Community*, for example, have been found to be of great value to this thesis. The starting point of their work dates to the period, 1700-1900, and so the scholars give their readers a satisfactory account of the history of the Northern Territories in general and Northwestern Ghana in particular. Their works discuss the general history of the people and the Northern Territories and how the region was peopled, its cultural heritage, socio-political organisations and institutions that govern the people. Indeed, the scholars examine the migratory history of the pre-western Dabgon which was invaded in the twelfth century by the belligerent faction of the Mole-Dabgani. For instance, Tamakloe discusses the origins of these invading warriors beginning with Tohadzie, the Red Hunter who is said to hail from Zamfara in present-day Northern Nigeria. He also looks at the descendants of Tohadzie, beginning from Kpongnambo, his first descendant to Bawa (or

²⁴ E. F. Tamakloe, *A Brief History of the Dagbamba People*, Accra: Government Printer, 1931, p. 1 -23. See also, "Mythical and Traditional History of Dagomba," in: A.W. Cardinall, *Tales Told in Togoland*, London: Oxford University Press, 1931, pp. 237 – 279; Gabriel, Tuurey, *An Introduction to the Mole Speaking Community*: Wa Catholic Press, 1930, p. 25; PRAAD Accra, ADM 11/1/824, Essays by Assistant Commissioners on Tribal History, includes, G. F. Mackay. *A Short Essay on the History and Custom of the Mamprusi Tribe*, 1907; Benedict, Der, *The Origins of the Dagara*, pp. 12 – 18; Allan W. Cardinall, *The Natives of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast*. London: Routledge, 1920, p. 18 and McCoy F. Remigius, *Great Things Happen: Personal Memoir of the First Christian Missionary among the Dagaabas and Sissalas of Northern Ghana*. Montreal: The Society of the Missionaries of Africa, 1988, pp. 4 – 17.

Gbewa) and his sons. As well, Tamakloe discusses the period the Zambarima entered Northern Ghana and the activities they were engaged in from trade to mercenary work and slave raiding in conquered settlements. He also makes remarkable efforts to link the territories and occupied lands of the pre-western Dabgon. Little mention, however, is made of the people of Nandom except for the activities of the Zambarima slave raiders in the mid-1800s. The study has acknowledged the period of the invading warriors as an important milestone in the peopling of the Northern Territories in general and has thus underlined the effects the period will have on the migration and settlement histories of Nandom.

Allan Cardinall, on the other hand, recounts how limited self-determination under strong chiefs was a preferred choice for the colonial administration rather than 'native' authority rule in Northern Ghana due to the nature of its settlement patterns. He also noted that the colonial government reconsidered the implementation of indirect rule in the Northern Territories in the wake of the world economic crisis in the 1930s, because expenditure on colonial administration was cut and direct tax administered by the native authorities was introduced by the colonial officials.²⁵ He also notes that the colonial interest was grounded in the belief that the implementation of this policy was to be a gradual process of nation-building. This was to occur alongside the creation of the largest native states possible and the chiefs needed the requisite training to become effective allies of the colonial administration.²⁶ Generally, Allan Cardinall's work provides information on the 1920s debate

²⁵ McCoy, *Great Things Happen*, p. 13.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

regarding the British plan of using the chiefs to augment the challenges faced by the colonial administration in the wake of the global economic slump of the 1930s. The reforms were to be linked to the traditional “native institutions” due to the promulgation of the Native Administration Ordinance of the British in the Gold Coast in 1927, which replaced an 1883 arrangement that had placed chiefs in the Gold Coast Colony under British supervision.

Allan Cardinall also asserts that the native policy was an innovation of the colonial government.²⁷ This goes to support Eyre-Smith’s argument that the chiefs were to be replaced with traditionally-legitimate *tendanas* (plural of *tengdana*) and that the administrative districts were to be created in accordance with the boundaries of the earth-shrine demarcations. However, officials of the colonial government opted for a policy that had been tried in Tanganyika, by merging small chiefdoms similar in cultural traits, into federations.²⁸ Accordingly, Allan Cardinall maintains that the native states were not an arrangement of ethnic groups, but rather entities whose borders were determined by factors quite different from ethnic ones as the ethnic labels were given *ex post-facto*. Yet British political philosophy, according to Allan Cardinall, continued to rely on the concept of “tribes.” Allan Cardinall sought the root of the difficulties in the history of the “tribes,” and noted that,

Ordinarily, it [the tribe] might be defined as a social group comprising a number of families descended from a common ancestor; in the course of time slaves and others seeking protection or adoption are included until, although the idea of consanguinity persists, the tribe becomes based more and more on common social and political institutions rather than kinship.²⁹

²⁷ Cardinall, *Natives of the Northern Territories*, p. 18

²⁸ John, Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1979, pp. 2 – 23.

²⁹ Cardinall, *Natives of the Northern Territories*, p. 18.

Although the extract above might be of general application in the British Native Administration Ordinance of the 1901, the definition offered may be construed to mean that the British programme for the various confederacies, particularly, the Lawra Confederacy, that had allegedly been set up on the basis of ethnic loyalties to a large extent could not have been the case.

Whereas the rest of the work of these scholars mentioned above are essentially about the general histories of the Northern Territories and their inhabitants, Allan Cardinall's work largely provides an insight into the fact that the colonial policy on native authority has, to a large extent, altered the socio-political history of the territories of the north in general and Northwestern Ghana in particular.³⁰ As well, his documentation would be relevant to this current study, even though the work has not given much description and representation in these societies as regards the conduct of local politics. Thus, apart from the fact that the work has very significant material content for this thesis, it certainly does not give enough information about the origins of the Nandom people.

Overall, the books provide a general perspective on the ancestral background of the inhabitants of the territories in the north (Northern Territories), cultural heritage, their common language, traditions and the transformations that slavery brought upon the territories by foreign actors between the 1700s and the 1800s.

On their part, Ivor Wilks, Benedict Der, Akosua Perbi and Paul Lovejoy recognise the role of the slave trade and its actors as key factors in the

³⁰ *Ibid.* p.18.

transformation of African societies as a whole and Gold Coast in particular.³¹ As Wilks argues, the relationship of the “Walla” Muslims to the non-Muslim Dagara neighbours was shaped during a long period in the 1800s by the principle of peaceful co-existence which the dominant *Suwari* tradition in Wa prescribed.³² In the mid-nineteenth century, however, following a pilgrimage to Mecca, Mahamudu Karantao of Boromo in the Black Volta region declared a *jihad* against the non-Muslim Dagara settlements. Some groups, such as the Juula/Wangara, joined the *jihad* which resulted in the demand for volunteers to engage in slave raids in and around the Black and White Volta. Wilks convincingly argues that Wa became involved in the conflict over the succession to the Gonja skin in the 1860s and as a result, some sections of the Dagbon skin sought help from the Asante army, a service for which they had to pay compensation in the form of enslaved people. He also discusses the impact the *jihad* declared by Karantao in the Black Volta Basin and, the later 1860s activities of the Zambarima slave raiders which Wilks said provided a welcome justification to launch attacks on the Dagara/Dagaba settlements. He described the Zambarima as a small group of Muslim horsemen who came to Dagomba as traders, mercenaries, or mallams, or perhaps all of the three. By the 1880s, they and their kinsmen and others who had joined them had conquered and controlled a vast area of the North-west stretching from Ouagadougou to Wa.³³

³¹ Ivor Wilks, ‘*Travellers in the Gold Coast Hinterland*’, in Philip D. Curtin (ed.), *Africa Remembered: Narratives by West Africans from the Era of slave Trade*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967; Benedict Der, *The Slave Trade in Northern Ghana*. Accra: Woeli Publishing Services, 1998; Akosua A. Perbi, *A History of Indigenous Slavery in Ghana from the 15th to the 19th Century*, Ghana, Sub-Saharan Publishers, 2007, pp. xvii – 279 and Paul E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983, 1 – 184.

³² Wilks, *Travellers in the Gold Coast Hinterland*, pp. I – 24.

³³ J. J. Holden, *The Zambarima Conquest of the North-West Ghana*, *Historical Society of Ghana*, Vol. 8, 1965, pp. 60 – 86, Accessed: 07 – 09 -2017.

By the 1890s, however, their influence and power had been subdued by the British, French and Germans leading to the exile of the leaders [into obscurity] at Yendi.³⁴

Akosua Perbi's *A History of Indigenous Slavery in Ghana from the 15th to the 19th Century* and Benedict Der's *The Slave Trade in Northern Ghana*, have been found to be very useful to this thesis. In these works, Der and Perbi discuss domestic slavery in the Northern part of Ghana as a whole and among the Dagara/Dagaba ethnic groups in particular. Although Perbi's work is limited as far as slavery in Dagara is concerned, she agrees with Der's viewpoint that commercial slavery began in the North-western Ghana from about 1863 up to about 1898 with the activities of the great Mandinka warrior Samore Toure and Babatu.³⁵ They both observed that the slave raiding activities of these Mandinka warriors subsequently led to the establishment of a number of slave camps and markets including the two slave markets in the Nandom area in Gungunpke and Tuopare.³⁶ Beginning from the 1880s, the Muslim raider from Wa led by Mossa made life uncomfortable for the inhabitants of the Northwestern Ghana. The Zambarima followed in his steps and began systematic expeditions of slave raids under the leadership of Alfa Handan Tadano, Alfa Gazare dan Mahama, Issa Karaga dan Aljima and, finally, Mahama dan Issa (Babatu).³⁷ With headquarters at Kasena, and, later, Sati, Babatu and Samore captured and enslaved the inhabitants of the Black and White Volta Basin. Villages that did not pay any protection fee in the form of cattle, cowries and slaves were attacked

³⁴ *Ibid*, p. 62. See also, Tamakloe, *A Brief History of the Dagomba People*, p. 34.

³⁵ See Der. *The Slave*, pp. 12 – 32 and Akosua's *A History*, pp. 44 – 68.

³⁶ Interview with Bernard Kuu-im, 27th December 2017.

³⁷ Akosua, *A History*, pp. 35 – 56.

and captured.³⁸ To this extent, the enterprise of slave trading and the demand for enslaved people was a local arrangement. However, not only was the annual tribute payment a driving force for the need for enslaved people but also they were needed for use in agriculture and for cross-border trading activities. Enslaved people, however, were acquired in different forms for different uses.

Akosua Perbi recounts how during the periods of drought or in times of crisis, poorer families would approach richer houses for help, sometimes handing over in exchange for food one of their own kin as a pawn, whose labour increased a 'strongman's wealth even further.³⁹ In effect, these were pawns who worked as collateral for the debt owed by their families. This assertion corroborates the oral traditions in two of the early village settlements (Gungunkpe and Tuopare).

Wilks' work also identified slave markets in the Lawra District in Gungunkpe, near a fort over the Volta, and Tuopare, east of Nandom. The work of Wilks, Der, and Akosua would together be of immense help to this thesis in respect of the history of slavery and the slave trade in Nandom with its resultant establishment of the two slave markets in the area – Gungunkpe and Tuopare. These works provide information about slavery and the slave trade in the Northern Territories, particularly, the northwest corner of Ghana. The work assisted this thesis to trace the history from 1863 until the 1898 of the slave raids, the location of slave markets in the Nandom area and the role of some of the patrilans who engaged in slave raids. It argues that before 1863, the preliterate Nandom society kept slaves for domestic use and that there were

³⁸ *Ibid*, p. 36.

³⁹ *Ibid*. p. 57.

traces of slaves being adopted from neighbouring communities and kept for domestic usage in Nandom. The works also helped in providing information on the conflicts that broke out between the Walla and the Dagara/Dagaba throughout the period of the slave trade.

The book, *The Ethnography of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast, West of the White Volta*, by Jack Goody, essentially explores the relationships among the people west of the White Volta.⁴⁰ Goody, in this work conducted in the Lawra District in the early 1950s, asserts that Northwestern Ghana was inhabited by a nucleus of peoples who had linguistically and culturally so much in common that no such ethnic boundaries could not be drawn unequivocally. He insisted that ethnonyms such as “Sisala,” “Dagati,” and “Lobi-Dagati” were colonial constructions that were largely adopted by the indigenes for their daily convenience.⁴¹ Like many anthropologists of his time, Goody was much interested in social organization as it supposedly existed in the pre-colonial era than in contemporary transformation which he sought to blame on the lack of ethnic consciousness.⁴² His treatment of the Nandom people was, in general, with limited depth of the people’s settlement histories, in particular, and a brief discussion of the traditional settings/institutions which cannot be delinked from the sociocultural dimensions of life which he sought to document. Goody makes reference to Nandom but his focus was not to examine the migration history of the people. He was more interested in the social

⁴⁰ Jack Goody, *The Ethnography of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast, West of the White Volta*. London: Colonial Office, 1954. See also, Paul K. Bekye, *Catholic Action: An African Experiment in the Lay Apostolate*. Rome: Leberit Press, 1987, pp. 12 – 58 and Bekye’s *Divine Revelation and Traditional Religions with Particular Reference to the Dagaba of West Africa*. Rome: Leberit Press; 1991, pp. 1 – 15, and *75 Years of Mission and Development in Nandom*, Takoradi, St. Francis Press, 2009, 2 – 45.

⁴¹ Goody, *Ethnography of the Northern Territories*, pp. 12 – 45.

⁴² *Ibid.*

organisation of the people and the impact it has had on their settlement pattern. It is important to note that this study has a common ground with Goody's work. Thus, the work offers ideas about the ethnography outlook of the Nandom people and the extent to which these have influenced the settlement patterns. This study further contributes to this more extensively by drawing on the oral traditions of the people.

Ethnicity and the Making of History in Northern Ghana by Carola Lentz, deals largely with the Dagara settlements of the extreme Northwest of Ghana.⁴³ Lentz discusses the social and political history of Northwestern Ghana paying particular attention to the creation of new ethnic and territorial boundaries, categories and forms of consciousness.⁴⁴ She explores how ethnic differences and common traits were created and continually redefined by colonial officials, missionaries, anthropologists, chiefs, migrant workers, catechists, peasants, and educated elites.⁴⁵ Lentz also addresses the problem of territorial, linguistic and cultural criteria for drawing ethnic boundaries and the links between ethnic and other collective identifications.⁴⁶ The book provides information on how settlements began in the extreme end of the northwest of modern Upper West Region, a development which is said to have been found in the level of loyalties of the people. According to Lentz, these developments were extremely local and went beyond kin, village and area of authority. The

⁴³ Carola Lentz, *Ethnicity and the making of History in Northern Ghana*, London, Edinburgh University Press Ltd., 2006, pp. 34 – 49; and Lentz's '*Histories and political conflict: a case study of chieftaincy in Nandom, north-western Ghana*', *Paideuma* 39, 1993, pp. 177 – 215. See also, 'A Dagara rebellion against Dagomba rule? Contested stories of origin in north-western Ghana', *Journal of African History*; and 'A Colonial ethnography and political reform: the works of A. C. Duncan-Johnstone, R. S. Rattray, J. Eyre-Smith and J. Guinness on northern Ghana', *Ghana Studies* 2, 1999, pp. 119 – 169.

⁴⁴ Lentz, *Dagara rebellion*, pp. 458.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

nature of relations, like elsewhere in Africa, is largely determined by the recognition of that sense of belongingness, population size and sometimes historical factors such as security reasons that serve as bulwark against invaders who from time to time try to take advantage of smaller settler groups. Local patriotism is very well highlighted in the book and Lentz noted that although this sense of patriotism had long been with these aborigines, it did not evolve into that stage of self-conscious political communities, inspired by their clearly identifiable historical roots, language and customs. That is to say that, before the advent of colonialism, the natives of the northwest region of the Gold Coast were bonded together by relations through clans and lineages and under a common spiritual leader, called the *tengdana* and the later introduction of the Native Authority by the British in the 1900s.

Lentz provides detailed information on the history of the Dagara and Sissala of Nandom and Lambussie respectively. This, therefore, requires further research into the chronology and a documentation of the Nandom history. She also tried to establish the historical versions of the “First Comers” and the “Late comers” drawing on the concept of the appropriation of space between the Sissala and the Dagara which is ritually legitimised through the acquisition of earth-shrines. The book, in essence, has invaluable information and would serve as a point of reference for further investigation into the history of the people of Nandom and its neighbours.

Methodology and Sources

In historical research, methodology is as critical as it is with its sources. Methodology, therefore, involves the processes by which evidences are

collected and thoughts formulated about the past. It is the structure by which account of the past is constructed. The work, therefore, relied mainly on the two major sources of history – primary and secondary materials. Primary sources can take be wide-ranging. The primary sources are accounts of historical events of the past by an eyewitness or group of individuals who lived during the time of the events. Secondary sources, on the other hand, involve accounts of anyone who is not an eyewitness to the events he or she describes.

Beginning with the primary sources, data was collected through examinations of oral traditions and oral histories by means of formal and informal interviews and targeted group discussions. Oral traditions are messages that are passed on orally from one generation to another. The messages may be passed down through speech or song and may take the form of folktales and fables, epic histories and narrations, proverbs or sayings and songs.⁴⁷ Oral traditions make it possible for a society to pass knowledge across generations without writing. Oral history on the other hand, is a reserve, solely restricted to modern history and mostly acquired by means of recordings, preservation, and interpretation of historical information based on the personal experiences and opinions of the eyewitness.⁴⁸ It may take the form of eyewitness evidence about the past but can include folklore, myths, songs and stories passed down over the years by word of mouth.⁴⁹ Aside these stylistic or structural characteristics of oral literature, Ruth Finnegan maintains that Africa possesses both written and unwritten traditions. The written traditions we are very familia

⁴⁷ Jan Vansina. *Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology*, Translated by H. M. Wright. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965, pp. 142 – 166. See also, Ruth Finnegan. *Oral Literature in Africa*, Cambridge, UK: Open Book Publishers, 2012, pp. 1 – 50.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Vansina, *Oral Tradition*, *Ibid.* p. 145.

with in the European language, but the unwritten traditions, she observe are far less widely known and appreciated.⁵⁰

Therefore, an extensive part of this study is based on oral traditions and histories. Majority of the information were acquired through direct interviews in the early settler communities and the associated palaces of sub-chiefs and divisional chiefs of Lawra-Dikpe, Tom-Zendaagang, Puopiel (Puffien), Nandomle, Nandom (Nandomkpee), Buligang, Ekimpa, Tuopare, Gungunkpe, Zimuopare, and the Zango community in Nandom. Also, other primary sources included materials gathered through interactions with key clan heads, well-informed people. For example, some of the primary sources included interviews of both young and the older generation of Nandom and its neighbours, in particular, people of the Sissala Township.

The range of informants or resource persons for the study included traditional court historians at the various chiefs' palaces in Nandom and Lambussie, knowledgeable men and women well-versed in their family histories, household heads and the elderly men and women in individual households, especially those who were the early settlers of Nandom. Focus group interviews and discussions played an enabling role in the acquisition of data for the study. At the Gungunkpe palace for example, the elders, numbering about seven, gathered together in a lively reflection of the past in the absence of the chief. This was replicated in some of the targeted villages at the request of the researcher in order to achieve a set target.

Data collection through interviews was mostly done through two processes: the first was voice recording onto a cellphone and writing notes at

⁵⁰ Finnegan, *Oral Literature*, p. 4.

the same pace, and the second, was the selection of the informants for the interviews.

Regarding the period of study, 1660-1955, which obviously is far back in time, there was the need to consult people who are of the older generation though it was still a difficult exercise. Majority of the people interviewed were mostly sixty years and above. They were carefully selected based on their knowledge of the settlement histories on Nandom. The oral traditions and histories collected from these informants were compared, analysed and the exaggerations, distortions or biases largely associated with the traditions carefully examined.

Chronology was, however, a commonly associated challenge among the people as individuals could not easily associate their narratives with dates. Hence, incidents such as epidemic, drought, floods, the death of prominent persons, and the like, were relied upon to determine when events of greater significance transpired.

Archival documents such as court documents, Chieftaincy Reports, European Travellers' Journals, Christian Missionary accounts, Colonial reports, traders' journals at the Public Records and Archival Administration Department (PRAAD) were all accessed. As well, archival materials, which are a rich repository of colonial history were obtained from the PRAAD in the Tamale and Accra branches. The PRAAD branch in Tamale served as the main centre for collection of documents which mostly included Colonial Official Correspondence comprising of reports, palavas, meetings, customary laws, chieftancy issues and conflicts. Also, the palaces of some selected settlements in the Nandom Traditional Area were consulted. In Accra and Tamale, data

from which information were obtained include files of the Secretary of Native Affairs, the Chief Commissioner of Wa, North-West Province, the Native Authority and District Commissioners/Assistant District Commissioners' reports classified under the ADM56 Series. These archival documents were carefully scrutinised and used.

Regarding secondary sources for this study, both books and peer-reviewed articles and unpublished works including articles and theses have been used. Concerning the various secondary sources gathered, the researcher employed the two methods used in the critical examination of historical records, namely the external criticism and the internal criticism methods.

External criticism primarily aims at establishing the authenticity of a document by getting to know the origin of the document. This was done by confiding in scholars and students from the humanity's departments. Also, verification of these books – mostly those that the researcher encountered for the first time, were done by entering the titles and authors of the books and articles in the search engines of distinguished journals. These included JSTOR Archival Database, Taylor and Francis online, African Journal Online, Google Scholar and Cambridge University.

Internal criticism, on the other hand, refers to the accuracy of the contents of a particular document irrespective of the source. That is to say that the researcher should be concerned with the exactitude and import of the data contained in the document. This was very important due to the many undocumented materials and the biases and the fragmented stories about the area under study. Therefore, the method enabled the researcher to check the sources to verify whether there are biases or not. The importance of the process

has to do with whether or not published sources or data could be trusted and be used as a reference. Accordingly, informants were carefully selected based on their knowledge of the past, especially, agents in the evolution of Nandom from its early stages to the present state.

These documented sources, especially the published books, were obtained from libraries in the public universities of Ghana including the Sir Sam Jonah Library at the University of Cape Coast, the Balme Library, at University of Ghana, the Institute of African Studies Library at the University of Ghana, the Padmore Library in Accra, Private Libraries of individuals, and the regional libraries of Wa, Tamale and Bolgatanga. Journal articles were important sources for discussion of earlier work related to the topic. Relatives, friends and authors were also contacted in moments of difficulties in acquiring materials particular to the thesis. For instance, Rev.Dr. Fr. Steven Koya of the Nandom Minor Basilica, when contacted, offered the researcher a number of books, authored by Carola Lentz, and also helped to identify knowledgeable persons to be interviewed on the settlement history of Nandom.

All the sources of information, whether primary or secondary sources, were crosschecked and juxtaposed with the oral traditions and oral histories gathered, thereby ensuring legitimacy devoid of ambiguity of the information. On many occasions, the primary and secondary sources of material agreed on the main issues. It was in a few cases that they were found to be conflicting. In such cases, the researcher applied the standards and methods of historical writing by seeking clarification from the primary records on the subject matter. Due to the period of the thesis, 1660-1955, most primary materials are largely illegible or lost, thereby making it difficult to access them. In such situations,

the researcher relied on analysis and conclusions of scholars well-known for their intellectual work and staunchness to the ethics and methods of historical writing.

Significance of the study

As clearly demonstrated in the statement of the problem, the lack of literature on the history of Nandom pertaining to the origins of the settlements in Nandom, the people's perspectives and roles in adopting and keeping of enslaved people, their customs, cultural and social dimensions of life, their democratic traditional practices and the socio-political institutions they built, served as the rationale for understanding this research.

Essentially, the thesis has contributed to the history of the settled agricultural society of Nandom in present-day North-western Ghana. Furthermore, the thesis will serve as an important document to historians, researchers and the general public, especially, those who intend to do further studies on the topic or related topics. Also, the study will be an important reference document to development agents, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), Local Government Authorities, and policy makers.

Organisation of the work

The study is organised into five chapters. Chapter one begins with a conceptual framework of the study and the philosophical foundation upon which the entire work is built. It has an introductory section which sketches the

background to the study, the statement of the problem, the purpose of the study, literature review, methodology and sources of data, significance of the study, organisation of the study, research questions and limitations of the study.

Chapter two traces the origins and early history of the people of Nandom from the Dagomba Kingdom in the Toma area of Western Dagbon to their present home. The circumstances which led to their immigration are examined to establish why they left their original homes for their present location. In addition, linguistic relatedness was a focal point in dealing with the place of origin of the Nandom people. Thus, legend, myth and fables handed down from earlier times, often by word of mouth were all analysed. The discussion focused on the contending claims in the oral traditions.

Chapter three deals with perspectives on slave trade in the Northern Territories, particularly, in the 'conquered' area between the Black and White Volta, and in Nandom in particular. It examines the activities of the great Mandinka warrior, Samory Toure, French soldiers and those of the Muslim raider Mossa and the Zambarimas, such as Alpha Gazaare dan Mahama, Alfa han dan Tadana, Mahama dan Issa (also known as Babatu), and Issa Karaga dan Aljima, who secured their livelihoods by participating in slave hunt/raids and offering their services as mercenaries. The key focal points are the effects of the predatory activities of the raiders upon the people of the Northern part of Ghana as a whole and Nandom in particular.

Chapter four is essentially an analysis of the history of the sociocultural institutions of the Nandom people prior to, and during, their settlement in their present home, the roles and functions of these institutions and their significance

to the development of Nandom. The customs, laws and the people's way of life are also examined. Chapter five delineates traditional politics as a consequence of the colonial policy of Native Authority. The role of Europeans, especially, the British in Nandom, the relationship of the people to, and interactions with their neighbours, and the early years of contacts with the White Fathers are discussed in detail. Also, the roles Nandom played in the nationalist history of Ghana from the 1950s will be examined.

The study ends with a conclusion which summarises the data presented, the methodology, objectives, findings and the contributions this study will make to the understanding of the Nandom settlement histories. As well, the study underlined the noticeable points of inaccuracies, contradictions, biases, fragmentations and misconceptions, as well as noteworthy clarifications already highlighted.

Research Questions

Following the purpose and objective of the study, and in a quest to present the findings in order of chronology, five focused questions were developed as a guide to the work. The questions were used in the fieldwork to enable a critical and analytical interpretation and coherent presentation of evidence. Although, the topic for the thesis, "A History of the People of Nandom, 1660-1955, is enough direction for the writing, the following research questions have, in many ways, helped, in the interrogation processes during the research.

Who are the autochthonous or original inhabitants of Nandom? What motivated their migration to their present location and where did they come from? What early sociocultural and political institutions did the immigrants build? What role did Nandom play in the early slave trade? What roles did Nandom play in the nationalist history of Ghana?

CHAPTER ONE

ORIGINS AND EARLY HISTORY UP TO 1875

Introduction

The histories of the people of Northwest Ghana have been documented by early European writers and African writers in general. The area and people were

hitherto collectively and wrongfully described as the *Gurunsi* (see map in Appendix 3).⁵¹ Like many other histories of settlements in Africa, the histories of the northwest region of Ghana stretches back many centuries. It involved social, cultural, political and economic evolution and included the interaction of peoples of diverse backgrounds.

This chapter, from a historical perspective, assesses the histories of the indigenous inhabitants of what is now northwest Ghana from before 1300 to the period when those territories became part of the Dagomba Kingdom between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries. It discusses the impact the invading warriors from Zamfara had on the aborigines down to the period when the kingdom disintegrated in the second half of the fifteenth century. It also examines, chronologically, the order in which Nandom was inhabited. Also, following the official indigenous historical account of the past regarding the different oral narratives of the variety of settlement traditions in the Nandom Traditional Area, this section of the thesis argues that the current settlers of both Nandom and Lambussie migrated from elsewhere to an uninhabited area/section which is now the Black Volta River Basin.

Pre-Northwestern Dagara up to the 1300s

The evolution of the Dagara of Northwestern Ghana and their constant interaction with the environment has been covered in general terms in early

⁵¹ A version of the history given by the Gurunshi to the French, as reported by Lt. Poole, G. C. Regiment, Assistant District Commissioner, Tumu, has it that the original name Gurunshi was introduced by the Zambarima and other raiders from the North bank of the Niger who, in the period of the raids, found the people of the region in this part of the country to be idol worshippers and so gave them the name Gurunshi from the Sonrai word "*Grunga*" an idol, before the advent of Babatu (Circa 1860). See also Commissioner M. M. Read's Essay on the Peoples of North-West Province, 1927-1928.

scholarly works on the origins and activities of the people. Today, there are over twenty two clans with almost similar and/or related cultures and customs and many shared common cultural features. The people of the Northwest, before the colonial era, can be divided into seven linguistic groups – Lobi (Dagaaba), Dagara, Sissaala, Issala, Awuna, Galinbagala, Langamba, and Pasala,⁵² thereby making the society a linguistically heterogeneous one.⁵³ However, Dagare is the most dominant and commonly spoken language of this region and the adjoining areas of Burkina Faso. Dagare, the common language, provides an effective medium of communication throughout the entire Northwest region and enables cross state-urbanized and rural-urban integration.⁵⁴

Linguistic evidence plays a significant role in the origins of a particular ethnic group in societies the world over. For example, writing about the history of the Mole-Dagomba, Tamakloe ably established families, linking, for example, Dagbamba to the descendants of the Adite (Ad), a race of people who inhabited Arabia many years before the advent of Islam.⁵⁵ Tamakloe, relying on diachronic linguistic analysis, attempts to trace the origins of Dagbon to the skin which the Adite Fetish Priests used as state authority. Relying on the analytical view point of Tamakloe in respect of the origin of the Dagomba people, the culture and language of Dagomba give credence to the view that the Dagara

⁵² PRAAD, Tamale, NRG 8/2/217, M. M. Read, Commissioner, Essay on the Peoples of North-West Province 1927-28, and PRAAD, Tamale, NRG8/3/19, Native Affairs – Western District, 1927-1931.

⁵³ PRAAD, Tamale, ADM 56/1/288, *Tribal Histories, Salutations, Greetings etc*: A. W. Cardinall, *Correlated Report on Native Customs*, 1927. See also, PRAAD Accra, ADM 56/1/351, Activity Report for the Northern Territories, 1929; Activity Report, Southern Province, 1930-31; and Activity Report for the Northern Territories 1941.

⁵⁴ Field Notes and interviews conducted between January and June 2017 with the chief linguist of the Wa Naa, the Chief Imam of the region, 73 years old.

⁵⁵ Tamakloe. *A Brief History of the Dagomba*, pp. 13 – 28. See also his “Mythical and Traditional History of Dagomba,” in: A. W. Cardinall, *Tales Told in Togoland*, London: Oxford University Press, 1931, pp. 237 – 279.

people in general are descendants of the Dagomba people. The language of the Dagara, which is Dagaare, as alluded to by Adam Bodomo, has a large number of expressions which suggest that their origin, to a greater extent, may be from Dagbon.⁵⁶ These expressions are so similar that they cannot be said to have been acquired in recent times when the Mole-Dagbani invaded the Province of Toma in Western Dagomba.

Linguistic and cultural differences continue to separate communities, even those located in spatial proximity. Ethnic distinction, according to Fredrick Barth, does not depend on an absence of social interaction and acceptance but, quite to the contrary, often the very foundation on which embracing social systems are built. Interaction in such a social system does not lead to its liquidation through change and acculturation; cultural differences can persist despite inter-ethnic contact and inter-dependence.⁵⁷ To this extent, the origins of a particular ethnic group is compatible with linguistics relatedness. It is in this respect that the Dagara in general and the people of Nandom (p. Nandome) in particular, hold the conviction that they are part of the ancestral generation of the Mole-Dagbani.⁵⁸ This is corroborated by a colonial document which states that:

⁵⁶ Adams Bodomo, *The Language Structures*, CSLI, Stanford University, 1997, p. 6.

⁵⁷ Fredrick Barth, "Introduction." In *Ethnic and Boundaries*, ed. Fredrick Barth, 1969, Long Grove, TL: Waveland; "Enduring and Emerging Issues in the Analysis of Ethnicity." In *the Anthropology of Ethnicity*, ed. Hans Vereulen and Coarl Govers, Amsterdam: Het Spinhais, 1994, pp. 11-32 and "Boundaries and Connections." In *Simplifying identities*, ed. Anthony P. Cohen, London: Rouledge, 2000, pp. 17-36.

⁵⁸ Nandome: is a term which "super-umbrellas" all the aborigines' clans and/or lineages of the area of the northwest corner of north-western Ghana. A Nandome is exclusively a person from the ethno-minority group found in the settlement of Nandom and people of the diaspora who trace their ancestry to any of the clan groups in the current settlements. It must, therefore, be asserted that one is not a Nandome just because one is born in Nandom but very much because one believes and expresses the ideals of Nandom traditions. Nandome live in many parts of the world and may not even have been born in Nandom, while conversely, not all those who actually reside in Nandom – Government workers, traders and those who have married in that society, are considered Nandome.

Some of them [the Nandome] however think that Dagarti, Dagomba and Moshi had a common ancestor and they have certainly many words in common or slightly varied in these languages.⁵⁹

The foregoing evidence suggests that the area, until the nineteenth century, was part of an area of common ancestral origin for the Dagara and a section of the the Mole-Dagbani. Apart from the colonial official mentioned above, other African scholars have variously agreed to this knowledge of a common ancestor between the Dagara and the Mole-Dagbani. Scholars such as Mary E. Kropp Dakubu and others have convincingly provided enough evidence to show the linguistic relatedness of the Dagara-Guruni-Mole-Dagomba people.⁶⁰ Again, the Dagara-Guruni-Mole-Dagomba connection is amply demonstrated by Jean Herbert.⁶¹ Herbert, like Tuurey, concludes that the Dagara is a splinter group of either the Mole or the Dagomba or both, who moved into the present home and either integrated or got assimilated by the aborigines or otherwise.⁶² Bodomo, however, holds the opinion that instead of the Dagara ethnic group being a splinter group from the Mossi or the Dagomba, it is plausible, according to him, that the Dagara, Mossi, Dagomba, Kusasi, Frafra, Mamprusi and a host of others all directly descended from a common ancestral ethno-linguistic group, which he termed as *Mmabia*.⁶³ In this way, the

⁵⁹ ADM 56/1/50, PRAAD Accra, Essays, 1900.

⁶⁰ Kropp Dakubu, M. E. (ed.), *The Languages of Ghana*. London: Kegan Paul International for the IAI, 1988, p. 19, and Adams B. Bodomo, "Langauge, History and Culture in Northern Ghana: An Introduction to the Mabia Linguistic Group", *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, 1994, pp. 25 – 43.

⁶¹ Herbert, Pere Jean, *Esquisse d'une Monographie Historique du Pays Dagara. Par un groupe de Dagara en Collaboration avec le peren Hebert. Diebougou: Diocese de Diebougou*, 1976, pp.29 – 35.

⁶² *Ibid*, pp.29 – 35.

⁶³ *Ibid*. p. 3

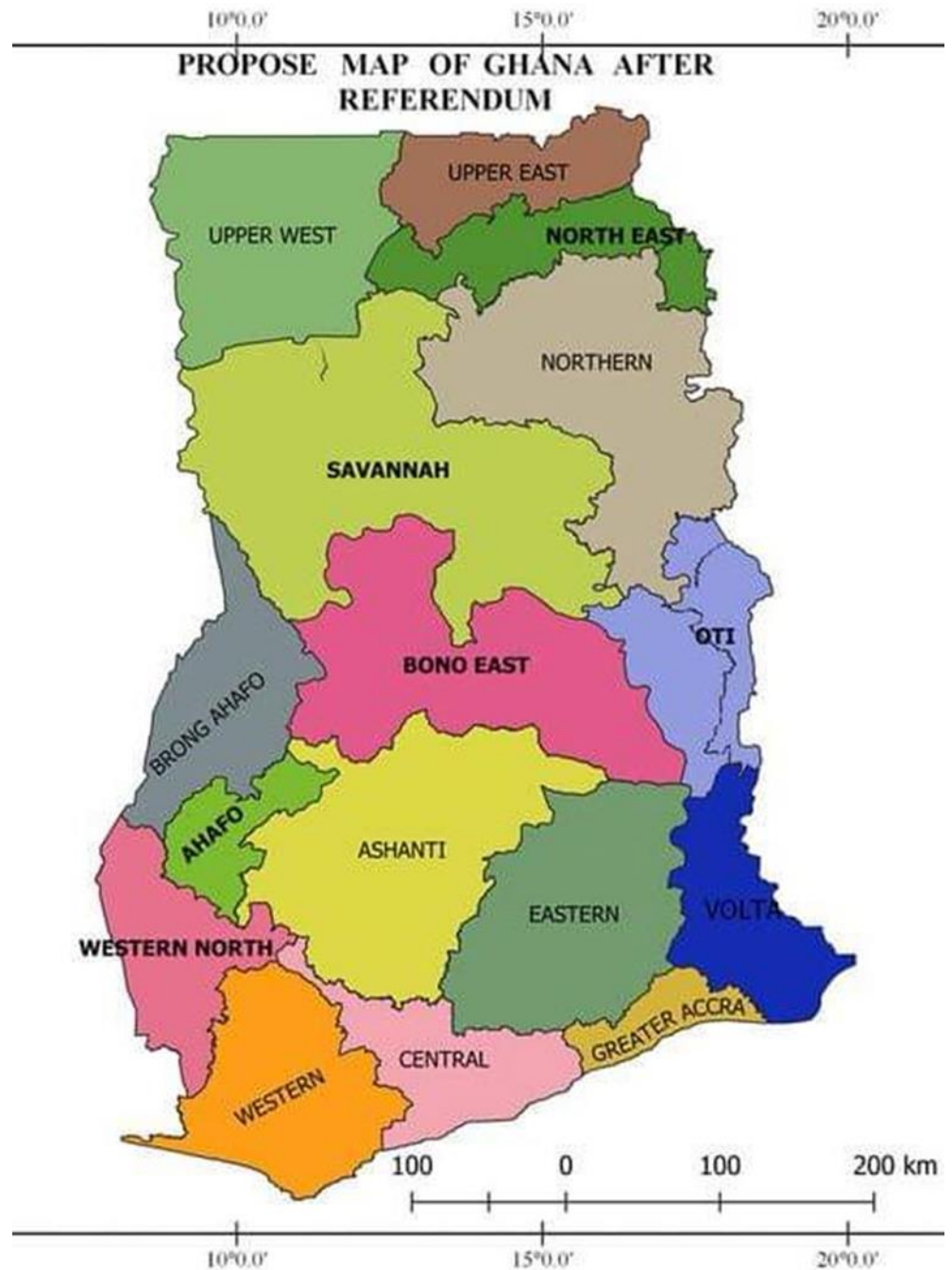
Dagara recognised themselves “as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order.”⁶⁴

Pre-Dagbon, before the dawn of colonialism comprised at various times, the Upper West region, the Upper East region, and with the Northern region recently divided into three regions now Northern, Savannah and North East regions (see map below).⁶⁵ The states there belonged to the Mole-Dagbani speakers/group. These states comprised a number of divisions which included the Mamprusi, Gonja, Mossi and Dagomba. The Dagara-speaking people, including the Sissala, until the 1300s, were vassals of the Dagomba kingdom, thus creating a generation of people who later would be called the *Waala*.⁶⁶ *Waala*, in this respect, would refer to not only the indigenous speakers of *Waala* but also the migrants, whether Mamprugu, Nanum, Gonja, Mandeka or Dagomba. Oral traditions indicate that the *Waala* was made up of four subdivisions, namely, the Tendaamba, the Nabihi, the Limanhi and the Yarihi. These subdivisions are of Lobi, Mamprugu and the Mandeka origins respectively. They are recognised as such as the social stratum of the settlements in Northwest Ghana.

⁶⁴ Damien B. Marken, Stanley P. Genter and David A. Freidel, *He's Maya, but He's Not My Brother: Exploring the Place of Ethnicity in Classic Maya Social Organisation*, Colorado: University Press of Colorado, 2017, pp. 187 – 192.

⁶⁵ *Daily Graphic Online*, “Know the 16 Regional Capitals of Ghana”, www.ghanaweb.com General News, Feb 20, 2019. See also, Tamakloe, *Brief History of the Dagbamba*, pp. 13 – 28.

⁶⁶ Tamakloe, *Brief History of the Dagbamba*, pp. 13 – 28; Tamakloe: “Mythical and Traditional History of the Dagomba,” in: A. W. Cardinall, *Tales Told in Togoland*, London: Oxford University Press, 1931, pp. 237 – 279.



Source: *Daily Graphic Online*, “Know the 16 Regional Capitals of Ghana”, www.ghanaweb.com. General News, retrieved: Feb 20, 2019.

Like the Bantu-speaking people of East Africa, the term *Waala* is applicable to people from different kin groups. Therefore, by virtue of co-habitation for the most of the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries and being dominated by the socio-political and cultural heritage of the invading warriors,

they have become bonded as blood-relations and have become a state. As Ivor Wilks puts it “people may identify themselves, or be observed by observers in one context by reference to historical origins, in another to language and culture, and to yet another to traditional political affiliation.”⁶⁷ Thus, for him, the *Waala* were those who did not only recognise the authority of Wa as a state but also those who identify themselves with the entire system of governance which is an embodiment of *Waala* tradition and authority.⁶⁸

In fact, this phenomenon of cross state-urbanized and rural-urban integration, although unique in its characteristics, can be compared to a similar occurrence in the district of Kondoa in Central Tanzania. The states there, namely, Rangi, Barabaig, Burunge and Sandawe, are of the Bantu, Nilotic, Cushitic and Khoisan linguistic groups with Kiswahili as the *lingua franca*.⁶⁹ Today, as is the case with the people of East Africa, Dagaare is very much a *lingua franca* in the Upper West Region of Ghana. Bodomo asserts that other speech forms closely related to Dagaare are Waale and Birifor, and that they constitute a dialect-continuum of varying degrees of mutual intelligibility.⁷⁰ Suffice it to say that the Dagaare-Waale-Birifor linguistic continuum is sometimes lumped together as one language, suggesting that they are

⁶⁷ Ivor Wilks, “Wangara, Akan and Portuguese in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries. I. The Matter of Bitu; II. The Struggle for Trade,” *Journal of African History* 23:3&4, 1982, pp. 333 – 472

⁶⁸ Interview with Chief Iman, Upper West Region, on 23rd January 2018. See also, PRAAD, Accra, ADM 56/1/50, Essays by Assistant District Commissioners on Tribal History: Wa or Wala, 1900; PRAAD Tamale, NRG 8/2/217, Essay on the Peoples of North-West Province by M. M. Read, Commissioner, 1927-1928, and PRAAD, Tamale, NRG 8/3/19, Native Affairs – Western District, 1927-1931 and H. A. Blair. “A History of Dagomba,” in: *Enquiry into the Constitution and Organisation of the Dagomba Kingdom*. Appendix III, Accra: Government Printer, 1932, pp. 34 – 54.

⁶⁹ Joseph H. Greenberg, Linguistic Evidence Regarding Bantu Origin: *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 13, No. 2. (1972), pp. 189 – 216.

⁷⁰ Adams Bodomo, *The Structure of Dagaare*, Center for the Study of Language and Information (CSLI Publications), United States, 1997, pp. 1 – 5.

historically, linguistically, and culturally related. This group is bordered to the east by the Sissala [language] and to the south by the Gonja, Vagla and Safaloba. To the west and north, this dialect-continuum extends across the Black Volta into areas of Burkina Faso where variants of this linguistic group are spoken in and around towns like Dano, Diebougou, Dissin and Gaoua. The major towns covered by the linguistic group in Northwestern Ghana today are Wa, Lawra, Jirapa, Hamile, Nadowli, Kaleo, Daffiama, Tuna and Nandom.⁷¹ These towns, until the second half of the twentieth century, constituted part of the Pre-Western Dagbon (Northwestern Ghana) called Wa.⁷²

Before the twentieth century however, pre-Northwestern Ghana comprised of a collection of ethnic groups namely the Lobi (Dagaaba), Dagara, Mamprusi, Dagomba, Gonja, Tarawiri, Wangara, Sissala, and Hausa. These groups established themselves in the region drained by the Black and White Volta and their tributaries. Oral traditions assert that except the Dagomba, Mamprusi, and Gonja who migrated from the Northern, Savannah and the North East regions of Modern Ghana, the others came from outside modern Ghana to their present places of residence. For example, “Waala” traditions, according to Ibrahim Mahama, assert that the Lobi (Dagara-Dagaaba) were the earliest

⁷¹ *Ibid.* p. 1.

⁷² PRAAD, Tamale, ADM 56/1/50, Tour of Inspection (North Western Province), 1906; Report on Lobi Mission March 1906; Report on Trek Wa to Wa via Tumu and Lorha by Dasent (28.4.1920); PRAAD, Tamale, ADM 56/1/177, Tamale Informal Diary; Precis of Informal Official Diary, Wa District, North Western Province; PRAAD, Tamale, ADM 56/1/424, Extract from Informal Diary, Lorha [Lawra]; PRAAD, Tamale, ADM 56/1/424, Annual Report North Western Province, 1914; PRAAD, Tamale, NRG 8/3/109, Annual Report Wala 1940-1941; PRAAD, Tamale, NRG 8/3/122, Annual Report Wala 1942-1943, and PRAAD, Tamale, NRG 8/3/127, Annual Report Wala 1943-1945. Regarding the Histories of Wa and the Waala People, see for example, Dougah, J. C. Wa and its People. *Institute of African Studies*, Legon, 1966, pp. 4 – 17; Tuurey, G. *An Introduction to Mole-Speaking Community*, Wa: Ghana Education Service, 1982, pp. 38 – 54; Wilks, I. *Wa and the Waala – Islam and Polity in Northern Ghana*. Cambridge University Press, 1989, pp. 12 – 19; and Salih Bin Mohammed. *The Kingdom of Wa: Elucidation of our Origins and Settlement*. Accra: Salihsons, 2008, pp. 12 – 300, and Salih, *A History of Waala, the Ahmadiya Factor*. Accra: Salihsons, 2001.

settlers in the area which became known as Wa.⁷³ This assertion is affirmed by an earlier account by Rattray, who documented the fact that at the emergence of Dagbon chieftainship, the Dabgamba, like other clans of the regions to the north, were already occupying the areas they are at present. He gave this information:

The majority of the tribes [ethnic groups] who inhabit the Northern Territories were, I am convinced, resident in or near the localities where we now find them, centuries before the ancestors of those whose names many of the divisions now bear had arrived in this part of Africa. Upon these more or less autochthonous people with their very primitive institutions descended small bands of strangers within comparatively recent historical times. They were better clothed, familiar with the idea of kingship or chieftainship in our modern sense, in some cases conversant with the rudiment of Mohammedanism.⁷⁴

The traditions of the Dagara and Waala support Rattray's assertion. The traditions further asserted that the ordinary Lobi were already occupying the territories when Na Atabia arrived in the northwest of Ghana.⁷⁵ The aborigines were corruptibly referred to as Lobies (s. Lobi) by the invading warriors upon arrival. These "new comers," on the other hand, were referred to as the Dagombas and together with the original natives, formed a new state and called it the "Waala".⁷⁶ By 1300 AD, more than half of the pre-Northwestern Ghana of the Northern Protectorate had become the home of the "Waala" stock.⁷⁷ It should however be recognised that the name Lobi (a name which is pejorative of the Dagara/Dagaaba ethnic group) is an identity-name given to the Dagara/Dagaaba inhabitants by the immigrants and therefore should be noted that it is not just a historical fact, but indeed a linguistic and cultural reality of

⁷³ Ibrahim Mahama, *Histories and Traditions of Dagbon*, Tamale, Ghana: Gillbt, 2004, pp. 11-13.

⁷⁴ Rattray, *The Tribes of the Ashante Hinterland*, p. XII.

⁷⁵ Tuurey, *An Introduction to the Mole Speaking Community*, pp. 16 – 18.

⁷⁶ See J. C. Dougah. *Wa and its People*, pp. 4 – 17 and I. Wilks. *Wa and Waala – Islam and Polity in Northern Ghana*, pp. 12 – 16.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

the time. The aborigines of the Northwest Territories do not only speak the same language and possess similar cultures but they still refer to themselves as one and the same people of a common ancestral heritage and thus the name, *Mmabia*.

Gabriel Tuurey however holds a different viewpoint. He asserts that the original home of the Lobi was in Cote d'Ivoire.⁷⁸ From there, they trekked across the Black Volta and founded a number of settlements around Wechiau and Dolimo, two towns lying west of present-day Wa. Later, another Lobi leader called Sokpari moved his family into the area which became known as Wa and founded a settlement called Sokpariyiri. He was joined by Dagomba and Mamprusi families who left their original homes in present-day Northern, Savannah and the North East regions of Ghana due to persistent dynastic disputes. The Dagomba group was led by two brothers called Widaana and Puorho. They founded two separate settlements known as Widaanayiri and Puorhoyiri. Later, the son of Widaana, called Lolo, went west and founded the settlement called Kpagburi. The Mamprusi group, led by Mengo, moved farther west of Kpagburi and settled at a place called Mengoyiri, which was renamed Mango by the Europeans.⁷⁹ Wilks argues that, "Mamprusi and Dagomba chiefly classes founded small independent kingdoms on or near the Black Volta: Wa, Buna, Dolimo and Wechiau."⁸⁰ On the other hand, George Benneh and Kwamina Dickson assert that the original founders of Wa were Dagomba hunters.⁸¹ Indeed, colonial official accounts do allude to this fragmented

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 21 – 25.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* p. 21.

⁸⁰ Wilks, "The Mossi and the Akan States, 1400 to 1800," pp. 472-478.

⁸¹ George Benneh and Kwamina B. Dickson, *A New Geography of Ghana*, London, Longman, 1970, pp. 133 – 142.

perspective too. According to their report, the present kingdom of Wa was founded ‘probably 250 to 300 years back by the Yabum in Dagomba.’⁸² The king, according to the report, sent one of his chiefs, Nasaje, to Wa. The king at the time was a descendant of Yabum.⁸³

Accounts such as the above cannot be upheld as wholly trustworthy. This is the case, because, both colonial accounts and those of the Dagomba invaders do acknowledge that the Lobies were the earliest inhabitants and, consequently the founders of the Wa state. For instance, according to the Colonial Commissioners’ “Essays on the tribal history on Wa,”

Wa at that time was inhabited by Lobi people who were driven out, and the only descendants of the original inhabitants now in the country are at Kpogoru, a small village one and half miles from Wa.⁸⁴

In this sense, what may have happened in respect of the Dagomba and Mamprusi invaders, and rightly so, was their impeccable contributions to the transformation of the current state of Wa into a centralised kingdom. James Anquandah, remarks that, “Wa dynasty only came into being in the first quarter of the seventeenth century’ with the first king by name Soalia.”⁸⁵ This, according to him, is the consequence of “a sort of contractual arrangement” between the *Tendaana*, Suuri and the “new comers” led by Soalia of the Dagomba chiefly class. Indeed, Anquandah’s assertion agrees with an earlier account by colonial official correspondence which records Nasaje’s arrival in

⁸² PRAAD, Tamale, ADM.56/1/50, Essays, 1900, PRAAD Tamale, NRG8/2/217, and PRAAD Tamale, NRG 8/3/19.

⁸³ PRAAD, Tamale, ADM 56/1/50, Essays, 1900.

⁸⁴ Ibid. PRAAD, Tamale, ADM 56/1/50, Essays, 1900 and PRAAD Tamale, NRG 8/2/217. See also, PRAAD, Accra, ADM 5/1/170, Annual Report of Northern Territories for April 1926 to March 1927 and Jack Goody, “Establishing Control: Violence along the Black Volta at the Beginning of Colonial Rule,” *Cahiers d’Études africaines* 38: 2 – 4 (150 – 152), 1998, pp. 227 – 244.

⁸⁵ James Anquandah, *Rediscovering Ghana’s Past*, Hallow, Essex: Longman, 1982, pp. 80-84.

Wa as: “two Mendi Mohammedans arrived at Choggulu in Dagarti and were invited by Nasaje to settle in Wa” and the descendants of these two Mohammedans according to the records have played a very important part in the history of the country.⁸⁶ This and many other arrangements unaccounted for, subsequently laid the founding blocks of a centralised system of government based on democratic principles and traditional governing structure known as chieftaincy.

The chieftaincy system has since its inception revolved around the royal lineage of Wa with the traditional name of Wa Na. It is not known when the Dagomba invaders and the aborigines combined to form the new state called the “Waala” State. But what is certain is that over a period of time, there were a number of intermarriages between the invaders and the native communities, and the result was a new state, “Waala.” Thus, its composite populations in the present time indeed comprised the Lobi (Dagaba/Dagara), Isala, Sissala, Awuna, and others, with an upper ruling class who, as indicated earlier, hailed from Dagomba or Mamprusi. As remarked by Rattray, “these heterogeneous communities have nominally come under the jurisdiction of the Na (Chief) of Wa and so adopted the name ‘Waala’ (s. Walo), an arbitrary title derived from the name of the capital town, Wa.”⁸⁷

Over all, the histories of Pre-Northwestern Ghana are defined by the legendary oral traditions and histories of the invading warriors: the Mole-Dagbani, in the twelfth century. These invading warriors, until the fifteenth century, caused the transformation of the heritage of the Pre-Northwestern

⁸⁶ PRAAD, Accra, ADM 11/1/824, Essays by Assistant Commissioner on Tribal History

⁸⁷ Rattray, *The Tribes of Ashanti Hinterland*, 1931, p. 453.

Dagara settlers. They visited upon the aboriginal people immeasurable brutalities in the wake of succession disputes as they employed frantic efforts to establish their hegemony on the local people. These brutalities, internal disputes, and in general, the failure of the leadership of the original inhabitants to provide security and opportunities of life, caused a great number of families to relocate/emigrate or be assimilated.⁸⁸ This illustrates the point that the history of the early people of Dagomba, particularly the Pre-Western Dagbon, is a history of kings since the fifteenth century.⁸⁹

The findings have shown that in today's Wa, the indigenous population in the region itself has been absorbed by the immigrant populations into the lower classes of the political system, but in other cases, they persecuted them, thus, compelling some of them to emigrate, even though many of them are professed Muslims. Islam in Wa and the Northern Territories in general, according to colonial official report has the largest following.⁹⁰ This immigrant element is very marked and shows itself in features like dress, and

⁸⁸ Rupert Emerson, *The Problem of Identity, Selfhood, and Image in the New Nations: The Situation in Africa: Comparative Politics*, Vol. 1. No. 3, 1969, pp. 297 – 312. See also, Tamakloe, *A Brief History*, p. 13; his: "Mythical and Traditional History, p. 237; Ivor Wilks, "The Mossi and the Akan States, 1400 to 1800," in: *History of West Africa*, Vol. 1, eds. J. F. A. Ajayi and M. Crowder, Burnt Mill: Longman, third edition, 1985, pp. 465 – 502; F. K. Buah, *A History of Ghana*. Revised and Updated, London and Oxford: MacMillan, 1998, pp. 33 – 36 and Boahen, A. Adu, *Ghana: Evolution and Change in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century*, London: Longman 1975, reprinted Accra: Sankofa Education Publishers 2000, pp. 21 – 39.

⁸⁹ Watherson, A. E. G. "The Northern Territories of the Gold Coast," *Journal of the Royal African Society* VII: 28, 1908, pp. 344 – 373; and PRAAD Tamale, ADM 56/1/288, *Tribal Histories*, Selections. Greetings ect: Cardinal, A. W. 'Correlated Report on Native Customs' 1927. See also, Fage, J. D. "Reflections on the Early History of the Mossi – Dagomba Group States," in: *The Historian in Tropical Africa*, eds. J. Vansina, R. Mauny and L. V. Thomas, London: Oxford University Press, 1964, pp. 177 – 189; Thomas E. Bowdich, *Mission from Cape Coast to Asantee*, London: Frank Cass, 1966, pp. 12 – 36 and J. A. Braimah, and H.H.Tomlinso, *History and Traditions of the Gonja*, Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1997, pp. 15 – 35.

⁹⁰ PRAAD, Accra, NRG 8/3/2, Census Western Dagomba District 1931; Census Western Gonja District 1931; Census Eastern Gonja District 1931; Census Report Southern Province 1931; Report on Census for Southern Province, Northern Territories, Section of the British Sphere of Mandated Territory of Togoland; and 2010 Population Census, Wa

architecture.⁹¹ It would appear that in the crucial period of state formation (A. D. 1300 – 1800), dynastic dispute became common in the province of Toma in Western Dagbon – Wa, which scholars have generally believed to be the ancestral home of the Lobi (Dagara/Dagaaba) people. As the Assistant District Commissioner writes, “Wa, at this period of its transformation, was inhabited by the Dagara/Dagaaba people (Lobi) who were forced out of the province to their present places of abode referred to as the *Dagaweae* (Dagara Country).⁹²

The historical information above points to the fact that Northwestern Ghana was originally inhabited and dominated by the Dagara, who, before A. D. 1300, had populated the area which hitherto was known as Toma (Wa).⁹³ At this time, A. D. 1300, which is referred to as “the time of state formation,” the people’s democratic institutions were viewed by some scholars as ‘Stateless’ or ‘acephalous,’ and were only significant in instances regarding the stratum upon which the invading warriors founded their empires, and thus relegated the aborigines to an introductory subdivision in the ‘beginnings’ and ‘foundations’ of the history of conquest, trade and state formation.⁹⁴

⁹¹ Rattray, *Tribes of the Asante Hinterland*, p. 453.

⁹² PRAAD, Accra, ADM 56/1/50, Essays, 1900.

⁹³ Gabriel Tuurey, *An Introduction to the Mole Speaking Community*. Wa Catholic Press, p. 25 and Benedict G. Der, “The Origins of the Dagara – Dagaaba”, *Papers in Dagara Studies I (I)*, pp. 12 – 17. For discussions on the tensions between Anthropology and History, see K. Hart, ‘The Social Anthropology of West Africa’, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, xiv, 1985, pp. 243 – 272; P. Ekeh, ‘Social Anthropology and two contrasting uses of tribalism in Africa,’ *Camp. Studies Soc. Hist.*, XXXII, 1990, pp. 662 – 673; and Isack Goody’s critique of the ahistoricism of early ethnographies, “The political systems of the Tallensi and their neighbours,” 1888 – 1915, *Cambridge Anthropology*, XIV, 1990, pp. 1 – 25.

⁹⁴ See for example, J. D. Fage, *A History of West Africa*, Cambridge, 1969, 1st edition, 1955, pp. 1 – 12; B. Davidson, F. K. Buah and J. F. A. Ajayi, *The Growth of African Civilisation; A History of West Africa 1000 – 1800*, London, 1965, pp. 12 – 20 ; A. A. Boahen, *Topics in West African History*, London, 1966, pp. 1 – 25 and G. T. Stride and C. Ifeka, *Peoples and Empires of West Africa: West Africa in History 1000 – 1800*, Welton-on Thames, 1971, pp. 13 – 22. See also, Kwame Arhin, “Aspects of the Ashanti Northern Trade in the Nineteenth Century,” *Africa* 40, 1970, pp. 363 – 373; Paul E. Lovejoy, “Long – Distance Trade and Islam: The Case of the Nineteenth Century Hausa Kola Trade,” *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* V:4, 1971, pp.537 – 547; and Kwame Arhin, “Transit Markets in the Ashanti Hinterland in the late

As a final point, the invading warriors, in their effort to establish their hegemony over the autochthonous by the beginning of the thirteenth century, visited upon them untold brutalities following succession disputes. Within the invaders and the autochthons' societies, population growth and land-hunger generated internal tensions which often ended in abruptly accelerated processes of change. This violence and internal disputes, coupled with the lack of space for agricultural activities, caused a great trek among the Lobies (Dagara-Dagaabas). Each clan with its head was forced to emigrate in search of new domicile. Thus began the peopling of the Black Volta Basin which includes the present location of Nandom in modern part of Upper West Region of Ghana. Much of the subsequent history of the people of the Black and White Volta enclave must be seen as the consequence of the distinct but interrelated activities of the invaders, population growth and land-hunger.

The Peopling of Nandom, 1600-1765

Nandom and the multiple villages that surround it to the north, south, west, and east are inhabited currently by the Dagara and the small groups of the Mossi, Wangara, Dagomba, Waala, Sissala and Fulani people thereby constituting a heterogenous society. When and how did Nandom become what

Nineteenth Century," *ODU New Series* 9, 1974, pp. 5 – 22. (1974b). For details of the records of the last Naa to occupy the skin of *Yani* in the pre-Western Dagbon Kingdom before its disintegration in the 1600s, see F.K. Buah, *A History of Ghana. Revised and Updated*, London and Oxford: Mcmillan, 1998, p. 33; PRAAD Accra, ADM 11/1/824, Essays by Assistant Commissioner on Tribal History: G. F. Mackay, *A Short Essay on the History and Customs of the Mamprusi Tribe* (s. a.); R A. Irvine: *Dagomba* (1908); R. A. Irvine: *Mamprusi* (1908), J. K. G. Syme: *The Kusasi. A Short History* (s. a.), J. Wither Gill: *A Short History of the Dagomba Tribe* (s. a.); F. W. F. Jackson: *Bole District* (s. a.); H. T. C. Wheeler. *A Description of customs of the Gonja Tribe*, Salaga District (1906); J. O. Kinealy: *Navarro District* (1907); B. Moutray Read: *Wa or Wala* (1908); and H. A. Blair: *An Essay upon the Dagomba People* (1931).

it is today? There is literature that offers answers to the question of when and how the Nandom people arrived at where they are today. The literature, however, differs in relation to the numbers involved and the nature of the treks. Lentz and Eyre-Smith are the few scholars who have been referred to as having convincingly argued this hypothesis.⁹⁵ Eyre-Smith writes that the history of Northern Ghana and indeed of the entire West Africa is one comprising of ‘constant’ movements of people as a result of slave-raiding, internal warfare, and the like, of whole families or ethnic groups breaking away and migrating to new settlements.⁹⁶

On her part, Lentz indicates that migration took place over ‘small-scale distances’ and even among small collections of people.⁹⁷ To this extent, one can adduce two schools of thought. While one school holds the view of wholesale immigration into the area, the other contends that migration took the form of groups of individual patrilineal or kin groups moving into the area of Nandom or Northern Ghana. The latter is the commonly accepted version of the settlement history in Nandom, with a distinct point of departure and different stages of ancestral migration.⁹⁸ This position is supported by oral traditions and histories gathered in the early settlement villages in Nandom.⁹⁹ It begins first with the Dikpielle clan as the first settlers, followed by the Bekuone and then the Kpiele clans. There are, however, a number of accounts in the villages that narrate how their ancestors came to settle in Nandom. But, other clan relations

⁹⁵ Carola Lentz, *A Dagara Rebellion*, pp. 457 – 492 and Eyre-Smith R. St John, *A Brief Review*, pp. 11 - 14

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* Eyre-Smith. *A Brief Review*, pp. 12 – 23.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 12 – 23.

⁹⁷ Lentz, *A Dagara Rebellion*, p. 457.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 457.

⁹⁹ Interviews with Bernard Kuu-im (a 67 years of age) of the Dikpielle clan and Alhaji Boatub Benin (82 years of age) of the Bekuone clan. 18 – 05 – 2018.

such as the Wangara, Dagomba, Fulani, Moshi and Wala also relate how their forefathers came to Nandom.¹⁰⁰

The Earth Priests (Land Custodians)

Tradition plays a special role in history as it is regarded as a historical source. This notwithstanding, Jan Vasisna argues that the mode of transmission must be examined, and it must be rejected if it contains internal contradictions or gives accounts of events which are not in accord with facts as otherwise established.¹⁰¹ It is in the light of this that the settlement history of the early Nandome, situated in and around the Black Volta Basin in Northwestern of Ghana is to be re-examined using the available oral traditions and histories gathered.

First and foremost, official colonial documents cited have shown evidence of varying inaccuracies which do not agree exclusively with the traditions of the people of Nandom. One such letter is a directive order from the office of the Chief Commissioner of the Northern Territories (CCNT) through the Commissioner of the North-Western Province to the various District Commissioners in the 1930s. The order was for them to reconsider some previous works on the settlement histories by district commissioners, in particular, the Lawra District, among whom are the Nandom and Lambussie

¹⁰⁰ In the North-West region of Ghana, and, in particular, among the Dagara inhabitants of Nandom, families are mostly related by Yiilu (Patriclans) and by extension Bello (Matriclans). In Nandom for example, the most commonly related families include the Dikpiele, Tiedeme, Nabegle, Zage, Nakyiele and Dantiele forming one clan and the Bekuone on the other hand comprising the Logyiile, Nakyemwaane, Damuole and Dakyare.

¹⁰¹ Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology*, Translated by H. M. Wright. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965, pp. 5 – 220.

people. All British district commissioners in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast were tasked to document the antiquities and civilisations of the inhabitants in their respective jurisdictions.¹⁰² This was to be the groundwork for the future introduction of indirect rule, which was understood to be the basis of administration of the Protectorate by the local authorities under colonial supervision.¹⁰³ It must, therefore, be noted that the settlement histories of these areas were recorded earlier in the 1920s by Capt. Eyre-Smith in his monograph to the Commissioner of the Lawra District. His work was however considered inconclusive and lacking consistencies as many of the conclusions he reached differed in important respects from the works of John Guinness later in the 1930s.

John Guinness was then stationed in the Lawra District for 5 to 6 years and during which period, he made close study of the people, their history, laws and customs.¹⁰⁴ This evidence proves beyond all reasonable doubt that colonial officials who were tasked to investigate the origins of inhabitants in the area of the northwest, the then Lawra District in particular, were themselves in disagreements over the question of who first settled in the area and thus, evidence of inconsistencies and fragmentations abound in their works, particularly, the only work documented by John Guinness.

John Guinness was the District Commissioner of Nandom and Lambussie in 1932 and therefore as part of his core mandate, was tasked to record the people's settlement histories in a number of villages in his district. He was

¹⁰² PRAAD, Tamale, NRG 8/2/20, RATI 3/460, An Essay on the Traditional Native Authority in Urban Administration in West Africa, 1928-1930. See also, Carola Lentz 1998: 228-30, 243-278, for the political reforms and British colonial research into the history of the region.

¹⁰³ Boahen. *Evolution and Change*, pp. 13 – 30.

¹⁰⁴ PRAAD, Accra, ADM 11/1/824, Letters of official Correspondence following Essays submitted by Assistant District Commissioner on Tribal History, 1933:26:4.

supported by an interpreter who was the son of the paramount chief of Lawra. Guinness interviewed only one clan member of the Dikpielle family in Nandom. The name of this interviewee and his or her specific location in Nandom were not made known by Guinness. Be that as it may, Guinness's document serves as a 'refinery' and differed in significant respects from those recorded by Eyre-Smith in his monograph. The account by Guinness is very readable and of value to this research because of the fact that it contains very significant information which relate to the perspectives of the patriclans of the Dikpielle, Bekuone and those of the Sissala of Lambussie. This is worth quoting in extenso:

Our grandfathers used to live in a great forest to the eastward, but there they had a quarrel, and scattered, and some came to Bamaso in Bole. Our grandfather Zenoo [sic] was a mighty hunter and he wandered from thence through the bush hunting until he came to Tie near Tugu. There he met some people from across the Volta, but they were Lobis, so he could not understand their speech, but his people married their daughters. Zenoo went on hunting through the bush, leaving his family at Tie, but they grew and increased until they fought with the Lobi people over land, so Zenoo moved and came to Donweni. From there he used to go down to the river near Lawra, and hunt elephant. And afterwards the section came to Nandom. It was all bush when they came there, but while Zenoo was out hunting he met the Lambussie people in the bush, but he could not understand the Issala speech. The Lambussie were farming their land at this time.

One day when Zenoo was out hunting, the Lambussie people came to Nandom and took all his wives and children away. So Zenoo returned from his hunting and saw his compound deserted. But he followed their footmarks through the bush until he came to Lambussie, and there he found them all safe; so, he made a covenant with the Lambussie people and settled there. And after that when he went out hunting he made bargains with the Lambussie people, and they exchanged the animals he killed for goats. And Zenoo's goats multiplied until the Lambussie became jealous, and they took his goats secretly while he was in the bush. When he returned in the evening he found his goats stolen, but as he did not know Issala tongue he could not ask the Lambussie where they were. And they used to mock him in their Issala language, singing "Thy goats are lost. Thy goats are lost." And this continued for many days. But at

last they said to Zenoo that if he liked to find out a place to settle, they would give him the land; so, he returned to Nandom and settled there. And they asked him for 3, 000 cowries and a sheep and six fowls, and he built his house.

And after this the Lambussie came to Nandom and said that they wished to give him the land to be his very own, so he gave them 60, 000 cowries and a cow and a sheep, and six fowls. So, then Zenoo became Tingdana [earth priest] himself, and the land belonged to him and he possessed the Tingani [earth shrine]. And Zenoo sat down under a tree and prayed to the Tingani [earth god], asking that many people might be sent to his land, and that it might prosper. Now after this Zenoo went out hunting to the southward and at nightfall he came to the compound of Bulu (a forefather of the present chief of Nandom) and he slept there, returning to Nandom the next day. But the people were increasing to the southward until land had become scarce and there was not enough to feed them all, so that they died of hunger. On account of this the people moved north in search of new land and Bulu brought his family to Nandom, where they increased and multiplied and prospered greatly.¹⁰⁵

It has been eighty-six years since the above account of the settlement history of the people of Nandom was recorded and documented by the then District Commissioner, John Guinness. It is however worthy of note that Guinness' account, although designed to correct the historical inaccuracies and fragmentations of local settlement histories in his district as earlier undertaken by his forerunner, Eyre-Smith, is very much different from the oral traditions gathered by this researcher from the Dikpielle clan of Nandom, as well as from those of the Bekuone clan and the Sissala of Lambussie with regards to their earlier relationship with the first Dagara settler. Also, Guinness' documentation of the settlement histories of the people of Nandom differs in depth and the emphasis associated with the various stages of Zenuo's (Zenoo in Guinness) treks, particularly, the names given to places and their meanings clearly contradict the work of Lentz.

¹⁰⁵ PRAAD, Accra, ADM 11/1/824, John Guinness, Interim Report on the Peoples of Nandom and Lambussie, 1932.

Another area of contention is Guinness' record of Zenuo's journey to Lambussie and the unfolding events leading to his departure from the area. In Guinness' record, it appears as though there was a war between the Sissala of Lamabussie and Zenuo upon their encounter with the former as Guinness states that "the Lambussie people came to Nandom and took all his wives and children away."¹⁰⁶ On the contrary, the Dikpielle tradition notes that the first encounter Zenuo had with the Sissala of Lambusie was at Ekimpa, the first place of settlement of the Sissala. This followed the coincidental espy of Zenuo's hut at Koserbile and wanted to know who its owner was. The Sissala met a wife and two children and not wives, as recorded by Guinness and Lentz, of Zenuo who was out on his hunting expedition. The Dikpielle tradition, corroborated with the Sissala tradition, makes the claim that after appreciable body gestures and signs, the Sissala succeeded in convincing the hunter's wife to follow them to their current settlement at Ekimpa and not by any act of coercion as the record of Guinness and Lentz sought to portray.¹⁰⁷ The unfolding events leading to Zenuo's departure from Ekimpa as recorded by Guinness and Lentz largely contradict the available traditions.¹⁰⁸

Similarly, Lentz has compounded the controversy by her misunderstanding of the facts and demonstration of biases in interpreting the available historical facts. Lentz begins in an extract thus:

Against this background, my questions concerning the settlement history of Nandom became tangled in a thicket of competing interests and contradictory claims. The only point of agreement was that members of the patriclan of the Dipkiele were the first settlers in Nandom and that their ancestor, Zenuo,

¹⁰⁶ PRAAD, Accra, ADM 11/1/824, 1932.

¹⁰⁷ Interview with Kuu-im Bernard and a section of elders from the Dikpielle clan in Nandompkee-Daagangn, on 18th May, 2018.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

had first lived for a time in Lambussie before being settled later in Nandom by the Sisala earth priests. Everything else was disputed, beginning with the relationship of the Nandom earth shrine to the Lambussie earth shrine, via the question of who was the legitimate earth priest of Nandom, to the relationship between the earth priests and the chiefs. Here, however, for reasons of space and clarity I can only roughly sketch out the three most important competing versions of the Nandom's settlement history.¹⁰⁹

Lentz's claims, as in the extract above, are indeed borne out by the circumstantial evidence of the period between the 1930s and 1980s. This period was characterized by activities of British officials engaged in the introduction of the system of Indirect Rule and its associated politicisation of land titles, thereby, rendering it the hallmark of native status and legitimating chiefly authority in the then Lawra District.

Generally, the early villages of both Nandom and Lambussie settlements, according to their histories, are usually characterised by devolving, disjointed, and regular movements of minority clan groups within and without the current locations. Unlike other settlement histories of other groups of the Northern, Savannah and the North East regions, Nandom and Lambussie have no autochthons.¹¹⁰ This affirms the view that all the early inhabitants of both Nandom and Lambussie were strangers. That means that these areas were uninhabited and that the occupation in question occurred about three centuries ago (1450-1600).¹¹¹ The implication is that the Nandom area which is generally

¹⁰⁹ Carola Lentz, "Of Hunters, pp. 193 – 214.

¹¹⁰ These were the outcome of conversations with some settlers of Nandom, both old and young between the ages of 46 – 88, on a Nandom Market Day. The researcher, as part of his data collection, selected some highly-patronised pito bars in Nandom town to engage in an open discussion of the early histories, laws and customs of the Dagara of Nandom. This was carried out on Christmas Day, 25th December, 2017.

¹¹¹ Interview with Alhaji Issifu Botug Benni Chiir, a clan head of the Bekuone, at his residence in Nandom-Pataal, 76years, and Deri Ziem Chemogoh, also a clan head of the Bekuone and the Regent of the Nandom Traditional Area, at his residence in the Nandom Palace, 78years, on 27th December, 2017.

claimed to be owned by the Lambussie people appeared to have been essentially an unoccupied ‘thick forest’.¹¹² This conclusion has been made as a result of the fact that the origin of all the inhabitants of the Nandom and Lambussie areas at present do trace their origins to places outside of the two districts. For example, the Dekpielle clan, which earned the right of Landlord and custodian of Earth Priest of Nandom, traces the origins of its ancestral parents back to earlier settlements in ‘Edina’ (El Mina, Central Region).¹¹³ The traditions of the various first-settler villages of the Dagara in Nandom corroborate this assertion as would be demonstrated in the paragraphs that follow.

The Origins of the Nandom Earth Priest’s Family

Bernard Kuu-im and Edward Maaniabangne Millu are direct great-great-grand children of Zenuo, the great hunter of the Dekpielle clan and the first Dagara to immigrate to the present location.¹¹⁴ Zenuo, according to Kuu-im, was the youngest son of his father. The family had originally lived in Elmina in the modern central region of Ghana in the era of the European presence, perhaps in the final decade of the fifteenth century.¹¹⁵ Millu adds that due to inadequate farmland and space to settle the growing numbers of the family and in particular, with the advent of the transatlantic slave trade, their grandfather, Zenuo, took a decision to move his family back to the Northwest of modern Ghana to join his

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ Interview with a group of the Nandom earth priest clan in Nandokpee led by Bernard Kuu-im Edward Maaniabangne Millu, age 67 and 80 respectively on 18th and 20th May, 2018.

¹¹⁴ Zenuo is the first Earth Priest of Nandom, and the ancestral clan head of the Dikpiele, the first settlers of Nandom-ser.

¹¹⁵ Interview with Bernard Kuu-im, 18th May, 2018. See also, Crowder, Michael, *West Africa under Colonial Rule*, London: Hutchinson, 1968, pp. 23 – 67; Adu Boahen, A. *Topics in West African History*, New Edition. London, Longman, 1986, p. 102; Buah, F. K. *A History of Ghana. Revised and Updated*, London and Oxford: MacMillan 1998, pp. 38 – 40.

kinsmen.¹¹⁶ After a brief period of residence in the then Western Dagbon around 1600, many kin groups of the Lobi, in particular, the Dagara of the Dekpielle clan, led by Zenuo, moved to Sabuli and from there to Bure and Mwankure, south of the present home, Nandom.

Zenuo continued his movement through the thick forest until he came to Loura Dikpe (present-day Lawra Dikpe), probably from 1640 onwards. This village is to the west of Lawra. The Dikpielle clan originally got its clan name from here. The original inhabitants here were the Lobi, one of the segments described in the *Waala* settlement histories. These inhabitants, according to oral traditions, had similar features as Zenuo and his kinsfolk.¹¹⁷ But Zenuo did not stay in Lawra-Dikpe for a very long period. According to the Dikpielle traditions, he told his elder brother (name unknown) that because there were too many ‘mouths’ to feed and house and the farmlands were scanty, he would move on to find a place nearby for farming. The elder brother protested and explained that they were living in Dikpe in peace with one another and that should the brother move and there arose “*tengsog yel*”¹¹⁸ (unforeseen circumstance), what was he (the elder brother) going to do alone or how were they going to keep in touch and communicate? But Zenuo persisted and said convincingly that “*te kon tuo ereseptare ne a bɛ̃ e na kyere*” (meaning, we cannot deny one another of constant communication in the place I am going). Kuu-im said, “*a Erimong yuor tergr ni a le.*”¹¹⁹ That is how the name of the present place came to be called *Ermong*.

¹¹⁶ Interview with Edward Maaniabangne Millu at his Nandomkpee residence, age 80, 20th May, 2018.

¹¹⁷ Interview with Bernard Kuu-im, 18th May, 2018.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.* interviews, Bernard Kuu-im and Millu, 18th May, 2018.

From *Ermong*, Zenuo came to the present day *Dongmen*, south of Lawra, towards the Black Volta River in search of new farmland and game. At *Dongmen*, many of his kinsmen followed up to settle with him. Zenuo once more lamented about the increasing number of his people, and thus, said, “*kan do ngmen bee, a nibe na me wa gyile, e firee pagru ale aa, o paag yel kɛ kan du ngmen bee,*”¹²⁰ meaning, should he go up to God to settle there? Everywhere he went to live the people were always following him. That is how the name *Kandongmen* emerged and because the White Fathers’ found it difficult to pronounce some local words, the name was shortened to *Dongmen* and has, since the 1930s, remained as such.

It is believed and widely corroborated by the Dagara oral traditions that due to Zenuo’s hunting career and his continuous treks, he would encounter fertile farmlands and game, and this would in the end attract his kinsmen.¹²¹ Zenuo would rather not prefer too many people around him and therefore, from *Kandongmen*, he started another resettlement in a nearby area. Around this period, he moved further south into the present Tuopare area. From this area, Zenuo as usual went on his hunting expeditions to the present-day Nandom area. The area, according to tradition, had a lot of game, particularly, elephants. Zenuo killed so many animals that it was difficult to carry them all by himself. As a result, he decided to erect a hut at the present-day *Puopiel* (Puffien) area called *Langbille*. Zenuo lived and hunted in this area for close to two decades until the animals deserted the area due to desiccation. He then resettled in an area, a few kilometres from *Langbille*, called *Kuserbile*, where he erected

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²¹ Lentz, A Dagara Rebellion, pp. 464 – 466.

another hut and brought with him his wife and two children.¹²² This chronology of Zenuo's treks and the names of his places of settlement is corroborated by similar narratives in the early settlement villages of Nandom and Lambussie.

From *Kuserbille*, as a group of elders led by Kuu-im and Millu recounted, Zenuo hunted into the dense forest of the Black Volta Basin. He would sometimes be gone for a number of days before he returned. While Zenuo was out hunting on one of his expeditions, he returned home one day to realize that his family could not be found. *Kuserbille*, according to the earth priest families of both Nandom and Lambusie was an old shrine where traditional rituals were performed occasionally by the Dagara and the Sissala of Lambussie on certain occasions.¹²³

Indeed, *Kuserbille* or 'small stone', as the name suggests, is still patronised by the Dagara of *Puopiel* and its catchment areas even today. So on one of such occasions the Sissala spotted the dwelling place of Zenuo and went closer to enquire. They found a woman and two children in the hut but found it difficult to communicate with them. However, through signs and gestures, the Sissala understood that the woman's husband was a hunter who had gone out on a hunting expedition. The oral traditions of the Lambussie corroborates this narrative and add that out of good fate and good will, the ancestral parents of the Sissala thought that leaving the woman alone in the thick forest with her two children would be detrimental to their safety and thus persuaded the woman to

¹²² Interview with a group of elders of the Dikpielle clan led by Edawrd Maaniabangne Millu and Bernard Kuu-im, at the traditional home of Zenuo in Nandomkpee, ages between 67 and 80, 20th May, 2018.

¹²³ This information is based on fieldwork that was conducted in various parts of Nandom and Lambuussie in 2017 and 2018. Zenuo's relationship with the Sissala is replicated in a lively manner by the elders aged between 64 and 75 in most of the early settlement communities this researcher visited.

come along with them to their village. This corroborates Bayou Dartey's description of events leading to Zenuo's short stay with the Sissala at Ekimpa.¹²⁴

After leaving Zenuo's hut, the Sissala left some signs in the form of *vaar* (leaves) along their footpaths as they trekked away, probably, for easy tracing to their destination. The tradition further states that Zenuo returned home after his long hunting expedition to find that his wife and two children were not in the hut and neither did he notice any blood stains as an indication of an animal attack on them. Accordingly, he immediately went out looking for any possible signs of movement and found some traces of the *vaar* and footprints moving towards the Sissala village.¹²⁵

At the Sissala village in Lambussie, he met a group of men under a tree. He raised his hands to greet them after which he sat on the ground. Zenuo, due to language differences, could not explain to the gathering his mission there. But one of his children who was out playing with the Sissala children came back to the house weeping because of a quarrel with his pals and immediately noticed his father (Zenuo), and rushed to sit on his father's lap. Later Zenuo's wife also returned from the well with a pot of water. After serving Zenuo a calabash of water, she narrated to him why and how they came to Lambussie as indicated above. These two instances were practically enough proof to the Sissala that Zenuo came to them because of his family, Kuu-im emphasised.¹²⁶

The Sissala offered Zenuo an option to live amongst them at Ekimpa since where he was living in a dangerous and very dense forest. Zenuo accepted

¹²⁴ Interview with Boyou Dartey, elder of the Earth Priest clan of Lambussie, 74 years, at his residence in Lambussie-Ekimpa, on 27th December 2017.

¹²⁵ Interview with Bernard Kuu-im, 18th May, 2018.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

the offer and went back to his former dwelling at *Kuserbille* to convey his belongings, including his goats. But his neighbours later made life in Lambussie uncomfortable for him and thus he regretted his decision to relocate. While at Lambussie, Zenuo still went to the areas of Kuserbille in Puffien to hunt in the night and return in the day.¹²⁷ On each occasion, according to the Dikpielle tradition and supported by John Guinness'¹²⁸ findings, Zenuo upon feeding his goats in the morning would realise that one or two of his goats had gone missing. Zenuo began to grumble about his missing *buralale* (billy-goat) but no elder understood him.¹²⁹ It took a young Sissala man to understand Zenuo's daily complains and drew the attention of the elders to it. He said to the Sissala elders that Zenuo was complaining that "*o bu meelee tou*" (meaning, his billy goat had gone missing). This is how the area which used to be known and called Ekimpa is now called *Burattoo*. The traditions of Lambussie also affirm this claim by the Dikpielle of Nandom.¹³⁰ As the disappearance of Zenuo's goats persisted and he could not find solution to it, he desired to live alone with his family.

As a result, Zenuo was offered a plot of land a few kilometres away from Ekimpa, just at the edge of the hill between the present-day *Guru-Tug* (now Burutu) forest and Lambussie, which was at the time a vast virgin land. Zenuo continued his hunting expeditions to Kuserbille, particularly, around a small stream called *Gnankawa* in present-day Bulegagn. From probably the 1650s onwards, Zenuo built his first permanent home a few kilometres west of

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸, PRAAD, Accra, ADM 11/1/824, John Guinness. Interim Report on the Peoples of Nandom and Lambussie, 1932. See also, Lentz, *Of Hunters*, p. 198.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.* p. 198.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

Kuserbille, but close to the stream at *Gnankawa* and said “*o dom a ka ser.*”¹³¹ Meaning “I would squat here in the meantime.” The area in context is widely accepted and called “*Nandomkpee*” and also referred to as the spiritual home of the Dikpielle. Zenuo was buried there upon his death.

From the area described as “*o dom ka ser*” (hereafter, *Nandomkpee*), Zenuo moved on to build a permanent home a few kilometres from his first home. Here at this second and final home, he said “*o nar dom ka.*”¹³² Meaning “I would squat here permanently and not move again.” With this understanding therefore, the traditions underscored the point that the original name of the present area under study is *Nardom*¹³³ and not *Nandom* as recorded by colonial officials and other historians and anthropologists. It was from this area, *Nardom* (hereafter *Nandom*) that the first *Nandom* market was built and was called *Daagangn*. It grew, it attracted people from other ethno-minorities.¹³⁴

Zenuo was later joined by his kinsmen in the latter part of the 1700s at *Nandom*. The period 1648-1700 is generally referred to as the period of instability characterised by royal disputes as successive *Nas* embarked “on a war of conquest, invading and capturing the Kusasi country north of Gambaga.”¹³⁵ This trend continued to the west of Nanjani and to the Guronshi

¹³¹ Interview with Edward Maaniabangne Millu and Bernard Kuu-im, 18 May, 2018. They explained the statement to mean “he would squat here in the mean time.”

¹³² Interview with Bernard Kuu-im, 18 May, 2018. The statement was explained to mean “he shall squat permanently here and not move again” but added that the term “*Nandom*” only came into usage with the arrival of the Europeans.

¹³³ *Nardom*: Means “squat permanently and never move again.” The area has since the early seventeenth and eighteenth centuries been renamed *Nandomkpee* which houses originally the Dikpiele clans who have lineages in villages such as *Nadomser* (now *Nandomle*), *Bilegangn* and *Guru-Tug* (*Burutu*). It was from this name “*Nardom*” that the current name “*Nandom*” was derived as the ancestral birthplace of *Nandome*, in particular, the *Dikpielle* clan.

¹³⁴ Interview with a group of elders of the *Dikpielle* clan led by Bernard Kuu-im and Edward Maaniabangne Millu, age between 67 and 87, and Alhaji Issifu Botug Benin Chiir of the *Bekuone* clan, 18 May, 2018.

¹³⁵ PRAAD Tamale, ADM 11/1/824, Essays by Assistant Commissioner on Tribal History, 1906-1931.

and Kanjarga areas. G. F. Mackay records that it was during the same period that Na Atabia captured Wa, in the Upper West Region and then took over Manga.¹³⁶ These activities might have terrified some of the aboriginal people, according to the traditions. These kinsmen of Zenuo included his grandfather, Puo-Dong, his father Kal, his brother Wul and his son Tom who, according to tradition, lived in the areas of Babille, Dikpe, and Sabule, not far from the conquered areas mentioned above. Others who also came later between 1746 and 1800 were Naagyie from Samoa, Dondome and Yeltule from *Mangangn*. All of these were family landlords but lived together forming a nucleus cluster of settlements in present-day Nandom. Due to overpopulation, some of the kin groups immigrated to present-day neighbouring Burkina Faso whilst others stayed and built their homes close to Zenuo. These included Bulegangn, Dondometeng and Yeltule-yir.¹³⁷

Going by these accounts, then, it can be said that the ancestors of the Dagara were motivated by the desire to search for political freedom and farmlands to settle at Nandom. The same can be said of the Sissala of Lambussie. The area they occupy today was without inhabitants prior to the arrival of the ancestors of the Nandom people. Scholars such as Benedict Der¹³⁸ and Ivor Wilks¹³⁹ go on to affirm that both territories of Nandom and Lambussie at that time seem to have “no human settlers.”¹⁴⁰ Even as recent as 1800, a British Official in 1932 stated that the lands on which the Dagara of Nandom and those of the Sissala of Lambussie now live were one of the scattered

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ Interview with Bernard Kuu-im, 18 May 2018.

¹³⁸ Benedict, *Origins of the Dagara*, pp. 12 – 35.

¹³⁹ Wilks, *Wa and the Wala*, pp. 14 – 37.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.* p. 36.

settlements and thinly populated.¹⁴¹ The argument could also be made that the fact that settlements were scattered should not be grounds to conclude that there were no aboriginal people. Be that as it may, this further reiterates the point made that the entire ecology even before the 1800 was a woodland savannah region characterised by thick bushes and low-density forest making it highly impossible to notice a fellow citizen. The traditions in both Nandom and Lambussie corroborate this as they argue that all current inhabitants are “strangers,” a further assertion that settlement in the present location is as recent as the 1600s. In the case of Nandom, for example, available oral tradition gives credence to the explanations and chronology of the Nandom settlement histories, beginning from Edina or Elmina, in the Central Region.

The Origins of the Chiefly Clan

The Bekuone clan of Nandom has claimed a long-standing relationship with the Dikpielle clan based on friendship and mutual respect. The long-standing Dikpiele-Bekuone relationship which began many decades ago has always been a strong foundation for growth in many diversity in the Nandom Traditional Area. The Bekuone family migrated to the Nandom area only in recent times. However, it has played an important role in Nandom settlement and chieftaincy histories.

¹⁴¹ PRAAD Tamale, ADM 11/1/824, Essays by Assistant Commissioners on Tribal History.

The Dikpielle family was followed by Piiru, the first ancestor of the Bekuone to get to Nandom in about the late 17th century. According to Bekuone traditions, they arrived in two groups – the *Damuole* and *Dakyarre*. The tradition of the Bekuone clan states that their ancestors, like the Dekpielle, migrated from Cape Coast and then wandered into present day Babile. From *Babile*, they moved to *Tugru* and finally to Toma in Western Dagbon. Due to competing interest for land space, they moved to settle in *Tolibre*, towards *Dapila*, a few kilometres to the Black Volta. After a brief settlement in this area, they came down to *Tom* where they permanently established their homes in present day *Konyugangn*, and then, finally, moved to the present settlement originally described as *o domkaser* (Nandomle) by Zenuo.

According to Botug Bennin Chir, it was from Nandomle that the forefathers of the Bekuone built their homes in the present Nandom-Pataal, originally called *Gbullugang* between 1760 and 1800 where they have resided since. Other settlements were established in *Konyugang* and *Nabugang*. There is yet another settlement in *Bilow* whose members trace their lineage to the Bekuone clan in Nandom-Pataal.¹⁴² Botug Benin noted that at the time of their ancestors' resettlement in Nandom-Pataal, the Bekuone met a group of people which their grandparents described as *Puuli*. This group of people who were already settled in the place by the head of the Dikpielle family, according to Botug Benin were driven out of their settlements into neighbouring Burkina Faso in Deissig and Daanu and then to Bobosei. It is surprising that little, if any

¹⁴² Interviews with Alhaji Issifu Botug Benin Chiir, a 78-year-old elder of the Bekuone clan, in his Nandom Moshi Zango (Zongo) resident; Maaniakuu, a 72years, head of the Bekuone clan, at his Nandom-Pataal resident and Rev. Fr. Koya (PhD) of the Nandom Minor Basilica, 56years, at his residence in the Basilica, on 17th October, 2017.

attention, has been paid to this group of people as being the first indigenous settlers in the Nandom-Pataal area.

The *Puuli* people today still come to Nandom for ritual purposes and go back to Deissig, Daanu and Bobosei. They look up to Nandom as their spiritual home where they come to perform rituals and go back home.¹⁴³ In later years, according to Botug Benin, some of their kinsmen travelled across the Black Volta into neighbouring Burkina Faso too, whilst others resettled among the Issala people and are now fully assimilated.¹⁴⁴ Some of the Bekuone clan elders were Piiru, Duogyire and Peg-Puur. The Bekuone clan has been occupying the Na skin of the Nandom Paramouncy since its inception in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The Origins of the Lambussie Earth Priest's Family

The head of the Lambussie earth priest's family, Dartey Basin Boyuo, when asked about the home of origin and how the Lambussie people came to settle in the present place stated that: "we came from Burkina Faso in an area called *Chaa* and encountered some challenges upon settling, as we encountered the *Bepou* clan who had already settled here with the *Naavee* clan. Later, the *Hampuu* family came and joined us but indicated that their kinsmen had refused to come (*naravie*), and they would come and laugh."¹⁴⁵ The Keltu clan,

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ Interview, with Dartey Bannin Boyuo. 27 December, 2017. These views and many informal interactions in the communities of the Lambussie-Karni District by this researcher suggest that with the exception of the Bapou and Navee clans, the rest of the clans are all strangers, thereby conceding to the fact that the series of events leading to in-migration into the present area is only more than two and half centuries old, and implying that the present location of the settlements in Lambusie, unlike pre-Nandom land was occupied by some inhabitants but the

according to another family head, came from *Zaa* in a Dagara area called Dafiana and met the Bepou family in the present settlement in Lambussie. He stated that:

Our great-great-grandparent who led our people into this area was Wifele, kin to the Bepou clan, and so we the Keltu family and the Bepou family do not intermarry. There are other clans that came later to settle here and some are still with us now.¹⁴⁶

It is evident from oral traditions that both the Sisala-speaking communities of Lambusie and the entire ‘country of Dagara’ of Nandom and some parts of Burkina Faso mention Zenuo of the Dekpielle clan as the first to have set foot in the present settlement, whereas among the Sisala-speaking community of the Lambusie-Karni district, no particular name is mentioned except for the few cases where Wifele is mentioned as the leader of the first comers into Lambussie.

The oral traditions gathered so far from the Lambussie earth priests’ families and some of the first settler communities in the district do not substantiate Lentz’s position that “Zenuo came directly to Lambussie on a hunting trip and settled there at the invitation of the Lambussie earth priest.”¹⁴⁷ The traditions of the various clans of the Sissala affirm the claim that they all met the *Bepuo* and *Navee* clans as first settlers of the present settlement in Lambusie. Thus, the Bepuo clan, like the Dagara Dekpielle of Nandom, is acknowledged as the Landlord and/or custodian of Lambussie. It is, however, important to point out that the available oral tradition states that Zenuo, the

outsiders overshadowed the indigenous people. This is contrary to the traditions in Nandom. The first settler moved into a virtually unoccupied forest region according to the tradition as indicated above.

¹⁴⁶ Interview with some elders at Ekimpa and Keltu, all in the Lambussie-Kani District led by Boyuo Dartey, 27 December, 2017.

¹⁴⁷Carola, *A Dagara Rebellion*, p. 458.

hunter, ever lived among the Sissala at Ekimpa in Lambussie in the same home.¹⁴⁸

Following the immigration chronology as regards the traditions between Zenuo, and the Sissala of Lambussie, the issue of ‘First settler’ and ‘Late settler’ cannot be established as definite. Thus, claims by such anthropological-historians as Lentz that the Sissala were first settlers can only be said to be ahistorical and from an anthropological point of view and therefore can be described as misleading in the historical sense. For instance, in her first version, which controverts the available traditions of the Nandom Earth Priest family narration, she documents that Zenuo had first settled along the Black Volta, to the region of Puffien, a valley lying just north of Nandom and named the place *Nandom-ser* – “let us squat here a while in the hut,” was what, according to her, Zenuo called his first settlement. Lentz continued that Zenuo had his wives and children moved to settle in the new place with the initial believe that they were the only settlers in the area but only noticed later that he had some neighbours around him upon return from one of his hunting expeditions.¹⁴⁹ These assertions do not corroborate the traditions available.

In the first place, the point of first settlement “along the Black Volta, to the region of Puffien”, is disputed according to the Nandom Dikpielle traditions.¹⁵⁰ Thus, there is no area in the pre-Nandom era that is named as Puffien. The original name of the present location of the area Puffien was known and called *Pupiel* (Happiness) and not Puffien as is claimed by Lentz and that

¹⁴⁸ Interview with Boyuo Dartey and elders, ages between 70 and 83, at his Lambussie residence, 27 December 2017.

¹⁴⁹ Carola, *Of Hunters*, p. 198.

¹⁵⁰ Interview with a key informant of the Dikpielle, Kpiele and the Bekuone clans, ages 68 and 72 respectively, at Nandom, 19th May, 2018.

the area only came to be called by such name due to the difficulty of Europeans in the pronunciation of local names in the early 1930s. Moreover, the traditions do not corroborate the assertion that the area was the first settlement of Zenuo the hunter, but instead, an area in present day Nandomkpee, a valley lying just north of Nandom, called *Daa-gang*, (Market-boundary) is said to be the area first settled by the hunter and his family and subsequently named *Nardom* and not *Nandom-ser*¹⁵¹ as claimed in Lentz. And to date, the family of the first earth priest of Nardom and the patriclan of the Dikpielle are still settled there although there are some instances of resettlement and development of the original location.

Second, Zenuo's initial belief in being the only inhabitant in the area could be understood to be that the entire area, before its present ecology, was a woodland savannah region characterised by thick bushes and/or low-density forest. The main occupation during this period was hunting of animals and gathering of food along water bodies, valleys and hill sides.¹⁵² Thus it was practically impossible for an early settler to immediately notice the presence of others in such a bushy forest, thereby rendering Lentz's claim of a later discovery invalid. This is due to the fact that '...one day...' as used in her expression could suggest a longer time period that Zenuo and his family dwelt at *Koserbile* than the assumed period of encounter with the Sisala of Lambussie whose first settler, according to the Lambussie oral tradition, was also a hunter of the Bepou clan. This Sissala hunter, it is possible, reached the present

¹⁵¹ The difference is in the spelling. Whereas the term *Nandom-ser* has no meaning in any Dagara terminology in Nandom, the term *Nardom* is explained to mean "squat here permanently and never move again."

¹⁵² Interview with Dartey Basin Boyuo, at Lambussie, 18th June, 2018.

settlement at Lambussie the same time as the Dikpiele clan of the Dagara did.¹⁵³ Colonial official records of the early 1900s have reported on the position, the area and size of the population of these traditional settlements.¹⁵⁴

Lastly, Lentz's claims about Zenuo's journey to, and subsequent settlement in Lambussie,¹⁵⁵ although corroborated by some aspects of oral traditions gathered by this researcher, can only be attributable to more recent times and not earlier than the seventeenth century. The emphasis must be made again that the area in which these two groups of people live is located north of the Black Volta River. The environment is Savannah woodland, consisting of wide stretches of grassland interspersed with trees and scab bush. Rainfall is low with pronounced seasonal variations resulting in a long and intensely hot dry seasons. This ecological condition has in many ways affected human and animal movements and the consequent process of division and realignment of inhabitants, thereby affecting the sociocultural diversity of the ethno-minority settlements.¹⁵⁶ Meyer Forts writes in support of this claim when he asserts that these migrations resulted in most cases from ecological pressures.¹⁵⁷ These oral

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴ PRAAD, Accra, ADM 50/16/07, Report of Tour of Inspection, North Western Province. Commissioner Wa, N. W. Province, 26th February 1907.

¹⁵⁵ Interviews with Marcelinus Gamuo, at Gamuoyir-Nandomkpee, 78 years, and Anacletus Kuuyele, Chief of Nandomkpee, age 67, at his Gamuoyir residence, on 27th December, 2017. Interviews with Alhaji Issifu Botug Benni Chiir, age 70, at Nandom and Boniface Nakaar, age 66, at Nandomkpee, on 5th January, 2018. Interview with a group of elders led by the Dipke Naa at Lawra Dipke, on 21st January, 2018. Also interview with a group of elders from the Ermong Naa's palace, on 23rd March, 2018. Interview with Gregory Gandaa Kunzo and brothers at Tuopare, on 26th March, 2018. Interview with Mr. Bondong from the Bekuone clan of Tom, age 73 at Tom, on 26th March, 2018. Interview with Danies Maalu, age 52, at Pupiel (Puffien), on 28th December, 2017 and Interviews with the Hayore family and Alban Dabuo, age 63 at Zimuopare, on 29th December 2018.

¹⁵⁶ PRAAD, Tamale, ADM 11/1/824, Letters dated 30th October, 1929 and 29th December, 1929.

¹⁵⁷ Meyer Fortes. *The Dynamics of Clanship among the Talensi: being the first part of an analysis of the social structure of a Trans-Volta tribe*, London: Oxford University Press, 1945. pp. xx – 270, 1945.

narratives were replicated in the early village settlements and by other non-native inhabitants as demonstrated below.

Early Settlements and the Emergence of the Nandom Zango

The above oral traditions and histories show that, Nandom, until the 1660s, did not have any autochthons and, like many ethno-minority groups in the region of the Black Volta, was mostly unoccupied. How then did Nandom come to be what it is today with such multiples of patrilineal clans as settlers? Lentz asserts that:

...It was almost always a hunter who is named as the discoverer and first settler of the new habitat. This hunter is said to have found new, worthwhile hunting grounds, possibly with fertile land and rich water reserves, on one of his expeditions, built himself a temporary hut, and then fetched his family and brothers. This is only after encountering bush spirits or neighbouring settlers, whom he subsequently met up with in the supposedly uninhabited new space, having to enter into agreement with them concerning shrines and sacrifices to the earth god...¹⁵⁸

Lentz is to some extent right in her observation, in particular, in the claim of a hunter-gatherer expedition. However, an addition needs to be made that in most cases, it was not always a hunter but a member of one patrilineal clan or a kin-group who made the discovery as evident in the analysis above and subsequently invited his clan members to join him. These traditional accounts of the early agricultural societies in Nandom and elsewhere in the Burkina Faso are largely about the various patrilineal clans of the Dagara.¹⁵⁹ Through the appropriation of space, these patrilineal clans acquired for themselves earth-shrines, which in a sense

¹⁵⁸ Carola, *Of Hunters*, pp. 196-197.

¹⁵⁹ Interview with the clan head of the Dekpile family in Nandomkpee, 27th December, 2017.

ritually legitimised their right of custody of the land. Using the settlement history of Gungunkpe (hereafter Gengenpke) and Tuopare as case study, the foregoing narrative shows how Nandom was later peopled.

Gungunpke (Gengenpke), is one of the early village settlements outside of Nandom towards the south of the Black Volta River. When asked about the origin of Gungunpke, a group of elders, led by Mrs. Babai Baalierkuu, retold the story as narrated to them by their *Saakum* (Grandfather). She explained that their great-great-grandfather, *Sangsor*, originally from *Ullu* of the *Danter* patriclan, was an accomplished hunter. Mrs Baalierkuu states that *Sangsor*, through hunting, first settled in *Tukuu*, a village a few miles to the west of Nandom, and then to *Tom-Zendaagangn*, *Baselbelle* and finally to the present home, Gungunpke. She also emphasised that at their base in *Tom-Zendaagangn*, *Sangsor* and his brothers continued their hunting expeditions southward into the open savannah in the Black Volta region and finally erected sheds to settle there. This new home, according to the tradition, contained large scattered patches of savannah vegetation with typical savannah plants and animals. The area was also well supplied with plenty of game, while the marshes and the Black Volta River abound with fish.¹⁶⁰ She continued:

... *aa te Saakumine* (our grandfathers) successfully adapted to life in the area, lived near the Black Volta River and exploited the timber resources of the area to build houses and in some instances, canoes for their fishing expeditions.¹⁶¹

What seemed obvious in the above quotation is that geography played a significant role in determining how people in the northwest moved and settled

¹⁶⁰ Interview with Mrs. Babai Baalierkuu, age 70, Clement Norngaa, age 50, and Millanus Lobnuor, age 52 at Gungunkpe, 27th December, 2017.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

in the region. Geographic determinism would have a particular favourable natural settings more or less directly created leading to economic prosperity and social advancement, either by providing rich natural resources or by having a climate conducive for working, for example. To this extent, the vegetation outlook in the Black Volta Basin played a key role in the settlement history of Gungunkpe and surrounding areas. A member of the group, Clement Lobnuor, supporting the claim, added that *Sangsor*, their first ancestor, after finally establishing himself at Gungunkpe, went back to *Ullu-Danter* to invite his kin group to join him.¹⁶² Similar oral traditions are preserved by various family and/or clan heads in all the villages that constitute the Nandom Traditional Area. These clan heads are trained to be able to trace their family or clan history. They in turn train prospective family or clan heads for the purposes of continuity. One other early settlement in the Nandom Traditional Area is the inhabitants in the *Tuopare* area. The settlement history in this area is of much interest to this study because of its linkage to the slave raid activities by the Zabarima.

The first settler of *Tuopare*, one of the early village communities in Nandom, according to Gregory Gandaa Kunzo, was *Mun* and his brother, *Dongpke*, from *Pavuu*, a village north of present-day Nandom close to Lawra. The two brothers, according to the traditions, were both hunters. From *Pavuu*, they will embark on hunting expeditions into far inlands. Through such expeditions, they got to the present homeland which was a cluster of baobab trees, hence the name, *Tuopare*. They noticed that the place was endowed with abundance of game which was good for their hunting activities, hence their

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

choice of that settlement.¹⁶³ Mun and his two brothers established Tuopare long before European Missionaries arrived in Jirapa. Mun and his brothers, apart from hunting as a preoccupation, also added *Saazuggu* (Blacksmithing) to their hunting activities after their settlement at Tuopare. They manufactured implements such as *piime* (arrows), *chulmu* (spears), *bamma* (bangles), and the like, which culminated in the evolution of one of the early markets in the Nandom Traditional Area. The establishment of this market attracted people from far and near including people from Samoa, Ouagadougou, Lawra, Kanri, Dantie, and Chum. The market was held at six-day intervals.¹⁶⁴

Lastly, one other important section of the Nandom population is the emergence of the *Ninbule* who constitute the Zongo settlement in Nandom.¹⁶⁵ Zongo settlements are areas in West African towns populated mostly by people from the various parts of the Sahel region.¹⁶⁶ A predominant feature of the Zongo community is Hausa as the *lingua franca*. Zango which is erroneously

¹⁶³ Interview with the Earth Priest of the Tuopare area, Gregory Gandaa Kunzo, 72 years, at his Tuopare residence, on 27th December, 2017.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁵ The *Ninbule* is a local terminology used by the local natives of Nandom to identify people not of their origin. The term is however, used to refer to the mixed dialect or language of people the locals called Yersi. Yeri is also derived from a Mandika word literally meaning 'scattered' or 'dispersed'. They speak a language which was rare among the local people of the Northwest. In the Northwest, Yeri (s. Year) were usually people of business background, merchants and/or the Muslims. See Wilks, *Wa and Wala. Islam and Polity in Northwestern Ghana*, 1989, pp. 35 – 59, Wilks, 'Travellers in the Gold Coast Hinterland', 1967, pp. 153-189, and his "Abū Bakr al-Siddīq of Timbuktu," in: *Africa Remembered. Narratives by West Africans from the Era of the Slave Trade*, ed P. Curtin, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967, pp. 152 – 169 for details of the migration history of the Mande people to Wa, Jirapa, Zimuopare etc, see Abobo, Salvius Anthony Claret, "A history of the Jirapa Traditional Area from the settlement to 1980". BA dissertation, University of Cape Coast, Department of History.

¹⁶⁶ For very recent articulations on Zongos in Ghana, see Deborah Pellow, The Power of Space in the Evolution an Accra Zongo, *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 38, No.4 (Autumn 1991), pp. 414 – 450 and Enid Schildkrout, *People of Zongo: The Transformation of Ethnic Identities in Ghana*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008, pp. 4 – 320. See also, Cecilia S. Obeng, *Home was Uncomfortable, School was Hell: A Confessionalist-ethnographic Account of Belief systems and socio-educational crisis in the schooling of Ghanaian Rural Girls*. London: Nova Publishers, 2002, pp. 11 – 177.

spelt as 'Zongo' is derived from the Hausa language which literally means "a settlement of Hausa-speaking traders".¹⁶⁷ In Ghana, Zangos are found in all 16 administrative regions with much denser population in areas of Accra and Kumase.¹⁶⁸ Scholarly studies have shown that the earliest Zango communities in Ghana began in Salaga and by the middle of the 19th century similar communities were springing up in areas of Yeji, Ejisu and Tamale, making them most bustling towns at the time. However, a lot of Zango people had moved away from these settlements in recent years.¹⁶⁹ Records have also shown that Nima which began in the 1830s is still the largest and most progressive Zango community in Ghana.¹⁷⁰

At present, communities constituting Zangos in Ghana are a microcosm of the people from the low and middle class of the ethno minority groups from both northern and southern parts of the country. Included in this group are those immigrants from neighbouring countries such as Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger, Ivory Coast and Nigeria. The Hausas from northern Nigeria are said to be the first settlers of the Zango. As earlier settlers they constructed make-shift huts with the intent to work very hard, make the money and go back home. This however has not always been the case with majority of them as they would adopt new homes and make them permanent places of dwelling and gradually

¹⁶⁷ Louise Muller, *Religion and Chieftaincy in Ghana: an explanation of the Persistence of a Traditional Political Institution in West Africa*. LIT Verlag Münster, 2013, p. 284

¹⁶⁸ Nathan, Samwini, *The Muslim Resurgence in Ghana since 1950: Its Effects upon Muslims and Muslim-Christian Relations*. LIT Verlag Münster, 2006, pp. 6 – 21

¹⁶⁹ See also, Holger Weiss. *Between Accommodation and Revivalism: Muslims, the State, and Society in Ghana from the Precolonial to the Postcolonial Era*. *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 2008, pp. 12 – 15.

¹⁷⁰ Rachel Naylor. *Ghana*. Oxfam. 2000, p. 61. See also, T. Killick, "Labour: A General Survey" in *A Study of Contemporary Ghana Vol. 1 The Economy of Ghana*. Pp. 122-154 and K. T. de Graft Johnson, "Population Growth and Rural-Urban Migration with Special Reference to Ghana". *International Labour Review* 109: 5-6 (May-June 1974). 471-485.

integrate themselves into the community.¹⁷¹ Nandom in recent past has had this historical experience.

The Nandom Zongo community forms an integral part of the settlement history. This is to say that the peopling of Nandom cannot be complete without the oral traditions of the *Ninbula* as they are referred to by the native Dagara. At the close of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century, the present day Nandom had become a centre of trade with a bustling market in the northwest region of Ghana and thus witnessed the influx of mixed races from the sub-Saharan region of West Africa.

The Wangara of the Nandom Zongo community indicate their place of origin as Mali. According to Alhaji Yakubu Adams, a 72-year-old chief of the Zongo community in Nandom, their grandfather migrated from Mali to Wa, in the modern day Upper West Region with his father, Bukari Adams. After a brief settlement in the Wa area, his father decided to go back to his home in Mali and thus travelled through Nandom. Upon arriving in Nandom in the night, he presented himself to the chief. This was the reign of Naa Konkoo (1930-1939). Bukari subsequently pleaded with the chief for a piece of land to settle following his explanation that he has his kinsmen in Wa who would later on join him. In his journey home to Mali, he was in the company of his three children and three brothers (Morovia, Sumani, and Seku).¹⁷² The land was given, a few kilometres away from the chief's palace, exactly where the veterinary official bungalow is

¹⁷¹ <http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomepage/NewsArchive/Zongo-the-eleventh-region-281461-23/05/2018>

¹⁷² Interviews with the chiefs and elders of the Nandom Zongo community, Abdulai Alhassan (Dagomba Naa), age 72; Mohammadu Yamba (Fulani Naa), age 70; Alhaji Yakubu Adams (Wangara Naa, who also doubles as the Zongo chief), age 75 and Alhaji Tijani Ibrahim, age 68, at Nandom Zongo. 19th May, 2018.

located presently. The area later became uninhabitable due to its closeness to the river valley, thus Bukari pleaded for a relocation after a decade stay in the area. The relocation was granted in the current location of the Zango community in Nandom.¹⁷³ Subsequently, other kinsmen of Bukari began to visit him and they eventually established permanent homes constituting the current Nandom Zango community.

Beginning with the late Alhaji Tijani, the father of Alhaji Ibrahim Tijani, a Wangara, who initially was resident in Wa in the 1940s, traded very often in the in the Nandom area and other major markets within the region. Through his relationship with the first settler of the Nandom Zango community, Alhaji Tijani was given a place to build his home in the present location. He was later joined by his kinsmen from Wa and Mali.¹⁷⁴

The Wangara, led by Bukari, the zango chief said they were the first to begin the establishment of the Zango in Nandom. Some of Bukari's kinsmen who followed him, apart from Alhaji Tijani, included Nuuhu Bagasi, Hamidu Bagayogo, Fatoguma Sangari, Mahamadu Wangara, Omaro Isaa Wangara, Musa Dau Wangara and Kalifara Konate Wangara.¹⁷⁵ Others who arrived later were Mahamadu Isogo Wangara (Bala's father), Osmani Kone Wangara, Bukari Yakubu and Abdulai Sanego Wangara. The first of these arrivals to build a house in the present area was Musah Kone.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷³Interview with Der Chemogo, age 78, at Nandom Chief's palace, 18 July, 2018.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.* Interview with chiefs and elders of the Nandom Zango community, 19th May, 2018.

¹⁷⁵ Interview with Alhaji Yakubu Adams (Wangara Naa, who also doubles as the Zango chief), age 75, 19th May, 2018.

¹⁷⁶ Interview with Alhaji Abdulai Adam, Chief Imam of Nandom, age 80, 19th May, 2018.

The second group of settlers in the Zango community were the Lagosian people from the Yorubaland whose leader at this period was called Fasasi Yoruba. His kinsmen included Raji Yoruba, Clukari Yoruba, Salane Yoruba and Mustafa Yoruba.¹⁷⁷

There were yet others who also settled in various parts of the traditional area during the reign of Naa Konkoo in the 1930s.¹⁷⁸ It is important to note, however, that in the advent of the Mande migration to Wa in the early 1800s, individuals as well as families of Muslim extraction established various settlements in communities such as Jirapa, Zimuopare near Nandom, and places west of the Black Volta. From these communities, there were further migrations to the neighbouring communities in the Nandom area. For example, such were those of Tuopare who were led by Kumah Seidu (the father of Issah Pompei) and Malam Haruna (Bawa's father) who came to the Nandom area.¹⁷⁹ Haadi Moshie settled in Yeltuleyiri, Gyimba, Ligrilauma and Yamba Fulani resided in Bulegangn and Segru. However, the entire people of the Mossi extraction later in 1974, relocated to the Nandom Zango and were now integrated into Nandom society.

Other groups of people such as the Waala also came and settled in the Nandom Zango long after the settlement of the above-named groups. From 1937 to date, these group of settlers had three successive Zango chiefs. The first chief was Adada Tarwani (1937-1966), followed by Bukari Adams (1966-1969) and Yakubu Adams, who ascended the throne after his elder brother, Bukari, sought

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁸ Interview with Der Chemogo, 18 July, 2018.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

political asylum in 1969 in neighbouring Burkina Faso.¹⁸⁰ This, according to him was due to the political fusion that ensued between the supporters of K. A. Gbedemah's National Alliance of Liberals (NAL) and Dr. K. A. Busia's Progress Party in Nandom. Gbedemah and Dr. Busia, Alhaji Yakubu Admas explained, conducted a campaign that aroused the citizenry's enthusiasm devoid of violence, except for a few cases. The February 24, 1966 coup that overthrew the government of the Convention People's Party (CPP), necessitated Ghanaians after three years to go to the polls for yet another election in 1969 after the last one held in 1965.

The election was to offer Ghanaians the opportunity to elect the first Parliament of the Second Republic and to further determine majority and minority parties in parliament. This followed the recommendations made in the 1969 constitution that the leader of the largest party in parliament was to be made the Prime Minister and same was to form the Cabinet, whereas the second largest party's leader was to be made the Opposition Leader.¹⁸¹ Like many other communities at the time, the electoral politics in Nandom tended to follow closely the divisions of the various ethnic settlements. This caused a lot of disaffection among the people and this according to Alhaji Yakubu Adams was the cause of Bukari's sudden escape and secret resettlement in Hamile.¹⁸²

¹⁸⁰ Interview with the chiefs and elders of the Nandom Zongo Community, 19 May 2018. See also Adu Boahen, *Ghana, Evolution and Change in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, 1977, pp. 12 – 17; D. Austin, *Politics in Ghana 1946-1960*. London: Oxford University Press, 1964, p. 33 and F. Agbodeka, *Ghana in the Twentieth Century*. Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 1972, pp. 1 – 25.

¹⁸¹For details on the Electoral Politics in the aftermath of the 1966 coup, see Alex K. D. Frimpong, *Election in Ghana 1951-2016* (Election in Ghana 1951-2012 Revised and Updated), Accra: Gigibooks Ghana Ltd. 2017, pp. 81 – 97.

¹⁸² Interview with a cross section of some opinion leaders of the Nandom Zongo Community, May 19, 2018.

The historical presence of the Zongo community in contemporary Nandom is analysed through the oral traditions and ethnography as discussed above. The purpose of this as demonstrated above, is to highlight their socio-political value as a migrant community, and their inclusion in the urban plan of Nandom. The Zongo community, like elsewhere in Africa, have been present in Nandom since pre-colonial and colonial period, and are traditionally allied to the presence of Muslim trade communities in the market areas of the early settlements in Nandom. Their role in the socio-political landscape of Nandom goes beyond just being travellers between rural-rural and urban-urban areas, they are potentially effective in commercial activities wherever they settle. With particular reference to Nandom, the Zongo community there elaborate their memory of migration in ways that are peculiar, revealing an inherent mode of producing an identity that they could easily be identified with the settlements in Nandom.

Zongo communities in general across West Africa are in most cases established consequence to exchange activities. Shcildkrout notes that as the Hausa word *Zango* suggests ‘temporary settlement’, it usually refers to areas or towns where traders would stop to rest and undertake their trading activities.¹⁸³ It was the same migration irony with regards to how the Nandom Zongo came into existence. As pointed out earlier, the presence of the Wangara, Yoruba, Mossi, Fulani and Wala constituting the Nandom Zongo today dates back to at least 320 years ago according to the oral traditions. Although it is difficult to

¹⁸³ Schuldkrout, *People of Zongo*, p. 34. This view point is also espoused by many of the contributors in Falola Toyin and Usman Aribdesi Adisa, eds., *Movements, Borders and Identities in Africa* (Rochester NY: University of Rochester Press, 2009); for the summary, see Abaka, E. ‘Traders, Slaves and Soldiers: the Hausa diaspora in Ghana (Gold Coast and Asante) in the nineteenth and early twentieth century’, pp. 12 – 318.

verify this claim, archival documents give credence to the claim of the presence of these groups from the arrival of the British administrators at the end of the nineteenth century.¹⁸⁴ The history of their settlement, from the first comer to the late comer, as the narrative indicate above, is remarkably consistent with similar settlement histories of other Zongos in West Africa. In the case of Nandom, they arrived as petty traders from the Wala kingdom to trade their goods and probably buy kola nuts. Interacting with the inhabitants in the Zongo community during the fielwork points to the fact that a common discourse about transnational trade and identity exists among them. They trade across the sub-Saharan region of West Africa in diverse commodities from cattle, goats, sheep, plastic chairs, mattresses, farm produce, kola nuts, building materials, to all items that are difficult to come by in Nnandom.¹⁸⁵ Apart from this inter-regional trade network, these Zongo folks also carry out similar trade activities in local markets in places as Hamile, Zigni, Tumu, Gwolu, Piina and Tuopare.¹⁸⁶

A crucial point to stress here is the fact that Zongo inhabitants are always considered a very industrious set of people with very wide networks. Their presence in Nandom has caused a greater change in the way of doing things including local politics. Not only did their involvement in trade contribute to the progress of Nandom society but also their involvement in the local politics in Nandom have made them an unavoidable ally in the political arena. Despite this claim of apolitical attitude of the Zongo in local politics, the Zongo in Nandom has since its settlements in the area play a critical role in the political

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.* see also, PRAAD, Tamale, ADM/56/1/141 and PRAAD, Accra, ADM/56/1/222.

¹⁸⁵ Interview with chiefs and some elders of the Nandom Zongo community, 17 – 19 May, 2018.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

landscape of Nandom. Considering their population in contemporary Nandom, the Zongo community represent a significant electoral college in the Nandom area because of their networks in the communities. Local political actors, such as Assembly members and Parliamentary Members have also taken advantage of this potential, and used it in diverse ways to include the Zongo population in their scheme of activities.

Conclusion

This chapter has utilised oral evidence to support the fact that settlement histories of Nandom are mostly linked to the migration and settlement traditions of the first ancestors to present-day Nandom. These, in the native Dagara language, are referred to as *tengkor saakumnu*, and are very often woven around one's *saakum* (ancestor) as the first settler. The traditions, in most cases, are devoid of a whole patriclan movement into the area, unless in a few cases where the movement was the result of a natural catastrophe or otherwise. Thus, the story of a particular hunter is typical of the migration and settlement history of the people of Nandom. The stories told in the Nandom area are characterised by various stages of migration, movements and departures. The stories are narrated with much emphasis on issues of first arrival and settlement.¹⁸⁷ This is indicative of how the people of the area built their present societies, languages, cultures and economies, and also the past relationships between them and their neighbours.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁷ Lentz, A Dagara Rebellion, p. 458. See also, Kopytoff, in *The African Frontier*.

¹⁸⁸ George Peter Murdock, *Africa, Its Peoples and Their Culture and History*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company Inc., 1959, xiii, 456, p. 40; see also his *Social Structure*, New York, 1959.

The oral narratives in this chapter give a clear sense of what such scholars as Kopytoff, Goody, Herbert and St John Parsons describe as official indigenous historical account of the past regarding the different oral narratives on the variety of settlement traditions in the region of the Black Volta. Territorial control and clan relations, according to them, are a fundamental component of the settlement history of the region of northwest Ghana. In settler societies, such as the case in the region of the Black Volta, the development of frontier regions has played an important role in the complementary processes of settler history.¹⁸⁹ Thus, the traditions about Nandom in most cases have shown that both Nandome and the Sissala of Lambusie migrated into an uninhabited region which is now their present locations. This connotes a gradual movement of an early settler-families, clans and/or kin who are directly related and who have lived together elsewhere long before their movements into the region of the Black Volta.¹⁹⁰

The findings have shown that, in many villages, the first clan settler was usually made the *tengansob* and trusted with the responsibility of making sacrifices at the earth shrine to ensure fertility of the lands and women, and the peace and tranquillity of the community. Oral traditions have also shown that all clans followed a set of traditional standards of the significance of the earth shrine which must be obeyed unconditionally. This tradition, according to the

¹⁸⁹ Igor Kopytoff (ed.), "The Internal African Frontier: The Making of African Political Culture" in *The African Frontier: The Reproduction of Traditional African Societies*. Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1987, 1 -155; Jack Goody, "Fields of Social Control among the LoDagaba." *The Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*. Vol. 87, No. 1, 1957, pp. 77 – 104; see also, Goody, *Social Organization of the LoWilli*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967, pp. 14 -16; Herbert R. P. Jean, *Esquisse d'une monographie historique du pays Dagara*, Diebougou, 1976, pp. 45 – 198; and St John Parsons, *More Legends of Northern Ghana*. London, Pencils Hall Press, 1958, 6 – 11.

¹⁹⁰Kopytoff, "The Internal African Frontier: The Making of African Political Culture," p. 23.

communities visited, has in so many ways shaped their movement, settlement and subsequent assimilation. Problems, according to them, that are characteristic of the settlement history as regards “internal frontier situations” or disputes¹⁹¹ were determined and settled. Also, legitimate border lines clarifying relationships between early settlers and later settlers, and underscoring relationships among immigrant clans and mitigating claims to land and offices were indeed addressed.¹⁹²

CHAPTER TWO

SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE TRADE UP TO THE LATE 18TH

CENTURY

The shackles of slavery can be broken but not its stigma or its intangible aspects which survive... in the memory of those who make consanguinity the right to the assumption of chiefship.

¹⁹¹*Ibid.*

¹⁹² Interview with Gregory Ganda Kunzo, 27 December, 2017.

Anyone who is not aware of this or ignores it in certain contexts because of personal ambition may be ‘advised’ to go back home to the Elders and listen attentively to them as they recall their family history.¹⁹³

Introduction

This chapter examines the recollection of domestic slavery and the slave trade in the Black Volta River in general and Nandom, in particular. It examines the role Nandom played in the matter of slavery and slave trade in the pre-colonial era up to the era of abolition in 1897. What this study seeks to do, and which has not been given enough attention in the available literature, is to interrogate when and how the two slave centres in the Nandom area came about. It compliments Benedict Der and Akosua Perbi’s studies of indigenous slavery in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast. It makes the case that the British defeat of the Asante in 1873 – 1874 did not stop Samory Toure and Babatu constant warfare in the Northern Territories for the purposes of obtaining enslaved people. It would underscore the different cultural narratives about slavery, socio-cultural identity, and differences that inform perspectives on slavery prior to the slave raiding activities of the Zabarima from the 1800s.

Perspectives on the Nature and Role of Slavery in Precolonial Africa

The European era of physical contact with Africa has gradually and progressively become attractive as a topic of study and a major focus of research among historians and anthropologists on the continent. The period from the

¹⁹³ Akosua Perbi, *A History of Indigenous Slavery in Ghana*, p. ix

fifteenth century down to the nineteenth century was characterised by trade in natural and human resources between Africa and Europe. The year 2020 would be five hundred years since the anchoring of an English ship in Jamestown, Virginia, was reported to have carried a group of slaves from Africa. Although there were enslaved Africans in the Americas including the plantations in the United States before the early part of 1600, the year 1619 is generally recorded as the beginning of African slave trade to North of America. The entire period between 1444 and 1888, witnessed the Europeans who did all the exploitation of the trade and the Africans on the other hand who from its inception resisted the sufferings of being captives.¹⁹⁴ The distinction must however be made that the matter of enslavement did not start with the coming of the Europeans. African societies acquired and kept slaves for both domestic and commercial use.

Kwabena Adu Boahen argues that prior to the coming of the European explorer-traders to the West Coast of Africa, slavery was in existence in several

¹⁹⁴ See, for example, the works of Kimble, D. A Political History of Ghana. The Rise of Gold Coast Nationalism 1850 – 1928, Oxford: Oxford University Press 1963 Chapter 1&2; Michael, Crowder, *West Africa Under Colonial Rule*, London, Hutchinson & Co. Ltd., 1968, pp. 23 – 55; Chinua Achebe, *Things Fall Apart*, London, Heinemann, 1962, pp. I – 166; Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Abuja: Panaf Publishing, 1972, pp. 36 – 56; A. Adu Boahen, editor. *General History of Africa. Volume 7, Africa Under Colonial Domination 1880 – 1935 UNESCO*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1985, pp. 15 – 23; Femi Kolapo and Kwabena Akurang-Parry, *African Agency and European Colonialism: Latitudes of Negotiation and Containment*, New York: University Press of America, 2007, pp. 5 – 16; Basil Davdson, *Modern Africa: A Social & Political History*, London; United Kingdom: Longman, 1994, pp. 9 – 300; Kwadwo Osei-Nyame, *Pan – Africanist Ideology and the African Historical Novel of Self-Discovery: The Examples of Kobina Sakyi and J. E. Casely Hayford*, *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 2, Literature and History, Taylor & Francis Ltd., 1999, pp. 137 – 153; and M. Semakula Kiwanuka, *Colonial Policies and Administrations in Africa: The Myths of the Contrast*, *African Historical Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 2, Boston University African Studies Center, 1970, pp. 295; A. Adu Boahen, *African Perspectives on Colonialism*, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1987, pp. 1 – 27. See also, Boahen, A. Adu, *Topics in West African History*, Essex: Longman Group, Burnt Mill, Harlow, 1986, pp. 102 – 122.

African societies.¹⁹⁵ He adds that persons of servile status, constituted a small proportion of the populations of West African societies. The indication, therefore, could be that slave trading and the engagement of slave labour for the production of agricultural goods were very limited in scale in West African societies. However, available literature shows that the physical presence of European nations culminated in a significant transformation in the institution of slavery as well as several other social, political and economic institutions of Africa.¹⁹⁶

Several other scholars have joined the discussion of slavery in Africa and the slave trade from Africa regarding the number of humans who were compulsorily taken and marched to the coast, crowded into strong and unpleasant ships, carried across the Atlantic and disembarked on a new continent to provide labour in the Americas and the Caribbeans.¹⁹⁷ Walter Rodney observes a significant impact of European presence and slavery in his studies on the Upper Guinea Coast in the 1960s, and argues that many forms of slavery and subjection were found throughout West Africa, particularly, in the nineteenth century and after that, were the products of the Atlantic slave

¹⁹⁵ Kwabena Adu-Boahen, The Impact of European Presence on Slavery in the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Century Gold Coast, *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, No. 14, 2012, pp. 165 – 199.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, see also Paul Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983, pp. 14 – 43.

¹⁹⁷ Broadly, this viewpoint about the numbers game of enslaved Africans in the New World has been espoused by several authors including Philip D. Curtin's *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969, pp. 3 – 231. Similar views have been expressed by most of the authors in Henry A. Gemery and Jan S. Hogendorn, eds., *The Uncommon Market: Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic Slave Trade*, New York: Academic Press, 1979, pp. xvi – 278. See also, J. E. Inikori (eds.), *Forced Migration: The Impact of the Export Slave Trade on African Societies*, London: Hutchinson, 1982, pp. 5 – 276; Paul E. Lovejoy, "The Volume of the Atlantic Slave Trade: A Synthesis", *Journal of African History*, xxiii, 1982, pp. 473 – 501; Lovejoy's *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983; and Ralph A. Austen, *African Economic History: Internal Development and External Dependency*, Portsmouth: N.H. 1987, pp. 4 – 16.

trade.¹⁹⁸ Some scholars disagree with the generalisation of Rodney's assertion, but his arguments seems applicable in most coastal areas and even the hinterlands of West African slave-holding societies.

Beginning with the historiography on slavery in Africa, slavery is one of the ancient institutions practised by the earliest known societies of the world. It is an institution that has persisted for far too long and indeed flourished since ancient times across hamlets, empires and continents, exceeding even those boundaries between the fifteenth and twentieth centuries when the practice had legal permit by the European system of international law.¹⁹⁹ Olando Patterson states:

There is nothing notably peculiar about the institution of slavery. It has existed from before the dawn of human history right down to the twentieth century, in the most primitive of human societies and in the most civilized. There is no region on earth that has not at some time harbored the institution. Probably there is no group of people whose ancestors were not at one time slaves or slave holders. Slavery was firmly established in all the great early centres of human civilization.²⁰⁰

Until the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries however, there had not been any effective movement against the institution of slavery.²⁰¹ Consequently, human bondage was virtually a universal practice. Supporting this view, Brodzki Bella argues that the discourse on slavery on the whole has turned a kind of master narrative bringing to bear “reductive and

¹⁹⁸ Walter Rodney, *A History of the Upper Guinea Coast: 1545 to 1800*, Oxford Studies in African Affairs, 1969, pp. 118 – 262.

¹⁹⁹ Bella Brodzki, “Changing Masters”: Gender, Genre and the Discourse of Slavery, in *Borderwork: Feminist Engagements with Comparative Literature*, edited by Margaret R. Higonnet, Cornell University Press, 1994, pp.42-43 Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7591/j.ctt207g6sk.6> 22 - 04 - 2018. See also Olando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death – A Comparative Study*, U.S.A., 1982, P. Vii.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.* Olando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, p. vii.

²⁰¹ Tamakloe, *A Brief History of the Dagbamba People*, Chapter VI, pp. 45 – 55. See also, Lindsay Lisa A., *Connections: Key Themes in World History. Captives as Commodities: The Transatlantic Slave Trade, Person Education*, New Jersey, 2008, pp. 1 -96

restrictive categories” thereby bringing to the fore, exploitation of all manner of differences in the subject of slavery and slave trading.²⁰²

Ollando’s assertion above therefore appears to corroborate with the available literature on slavery in Africa. That is making the point that from North to South, and from East to West, the continent of Africa was deeply engrossed and connected with acts of slavery both as one of the principal areas in the world where slavery was common and also as a major source of slaves for ancient civilization, medieval world and all of the continents of the modern period. Again, the literature shows that the greatest African community in the diaspora is believed to be in Brazil with a population of about 200 million, followed by the Carribean and the United States of America.

In North Africa, slavery was practised in the Sahara, Morocco, and Algeria among the Berbers. In the Central Sahara and in the Sub-desert areas further south, the Turegs practised slavery. In North-East Africa, the Ethiopians, Somalis, Egyptians and the people of the Sudan were all familiar with the institution of slavery. In West Africa, slavery was known among many of the states and societies – the Wolof and Serer of Senegambia, the Mande and Temne of Sierra Leone, the Via of Liberia and Sierra Leone, and virtually all the states and societies in Guinea, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Mali, and Nigeria are examples among many others. Also, in Central Africa, slavery was practised in much of Bantu Africa among the Duala of Cameroon; Bakongo, Bapenda, Luba and Lunda of modern day Democratic Republic of Congo (Zaire), Congo, and parts of Angola, and the Lozi of Zambia. In East Africa, the Buganda state, the

²⁰² Bella, “Changing Masters”, p. 43

Nyamwezi and Chagga peoples practised slavery. Along the coast, the Arabs, Omani Arabs and the Asawahilis practised slavery. Lastly, in Southern Africa the Cokwe of Angola, the Sena of Mozambique and the Ngoni people scattered across east, central and southern Africa were all familiar with the institution of slavery. The institution of slavery however lasted much longer in areas such as the Northern part of modern Ghana into the twentieth century.²⁰³

The “numbers game” of enslaved Africans in the New World pioneered by the historian Philip Curtin, began a number of research work²⁰⁴ including the most recent work by a group of scholars at the Harvard University’s DuBois Institute. This represented an international, collaborative effort to put together all the needed information available on voyages associated with the Atlantic Slave Trade.²⁰⁵ Today, Curtin’s study, as pointed out by Lovejoy, has been modified and amplified with modern research and more detailed scholarly work. The point needs to be made that quantifying Africa’s slave exports across the Sahara Desert, Red Sea, and Indian Oceans is much more difficult than quantifying the Atlantic slave trade.²⁰⁶ Scholars representing a range of perspectives generally concede that during the four hundred years that the slave trade in Africa lasted, as many enslaved Africans crossed the Sahara as those

²⁰³ For example, Kwabena O. Akuran-Parry, “Rethinking the ‘Slaves of Salaga:’ Post-Proclamation Slavery in the Gold Coast (Colonial Southern Ghana), 1874-1899,” *Left History* 8/1, 2002, pp. 33 – 60

²⁰⁴ Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic slave Trade*, pp. 22 – 338. See Henry A. Gemery and Jan S. Hogendorn (eds.), *The Uncommon Marke*, pp. xii – 21; J. E. Inikori (ed.), *Forced Migration*, pp. 11 – 32; Paul E. Lovejoy, “The Volume, pp. 473 – 501 and J. D. Fage. *African Societies and the Atlantic Slave Trade: Past and Present*, No. 125. London: Oxford Synthesis”, University Press, 1989, pp. 97 – 115.

²⁰⁵ David Eltis, Stephen D. Behrendt, David Richardson, and Herbert S. Klein (Eds), *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD-ROM*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, revised as David Eltis, Stephen D. Behrendt, David Richardson, and Manolo Florentino (Eds), *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: An Enhanced and On-line Database*. Retrieved: <https://academic.oup.com> 21 – 10 - 2017

²⁰⁶ Paul Lovejoy, *Transformation in Slavery*, pp. 25 – 137

who crossed the Atlantic. It, however, remains undisputed that the Atlantic slave trade was the biggest humanitarian catastrophe in history.²⁰⁷

For Suzanne Miers and Kopytoff “the recent literature on slavery in Africa has tended to reinforce conventional wisdom on the subject, characteristic of earlier anthropological accounts.”²⁰⁸ They argue that, “Slavery in Africa was essentially one of social in origin, domestic in character, and marginal, in its economic terms to the society in which it was practised.”²⁰⁹ This was challenged by historians who have questioned many of these idealized deductions of Kopytoff and Miers.²¹⁰ They argue that these historians, and mostly, historically-oriented anthropologists, approached the study of slavery in Africa from a comparative point of view while being conscious of the significance of the impact of economic change on the institution of slavery.²¹¹

The preeminent works on slave trade in the hinterland of Ghana and in use today, are those of Allan W. Cardinall, Ivor Wilks, Benedict Der, J. K. Fynn, and Frances Fuller who discussed generally the activities of the Asante, the

²⁰⁷Ralph Austen, “The Trans-Saharan Slave Trade: a Tentative Census,” in Gemery and J. Hogendorn (Eds) *The Uncommon Market: Essays in The Economic History of the Atlantic Slave Trade*. New York: Academic Press, 1979, pp. 23 – 76.

²⁰⁸ See details in Suzanne, Miers and Kopytoff, eds., *Slavery in Africa: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives*, U. S. A. University of Wisconsin Press, 1977, pp. 1 – 10.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.* “African ‘slavery’ as an institution of economic marginality” pp. 3 – 81, and Igor Kopytoff’s defence of the functionalist approach to African slavery in his response to Paul Lovejoy’s criticism in M. Craton (ed.), *Roots and Branches: Current Directions in Slave Studies*, Toronto, 1979, pp. 62 – 77.

²¹⁰ Fred Cooper, “The problem of slavery in African studies,” *Journal of African History*, II, I, 1979, pp. 103 – 125. See also, Martin Klein, “The study of slavery in Africa,” *Journal of African History* XIX, 4, 1978, pp. 590 – 609; the multiple reviews of Miers and Kopytoff, slavery in Africa and C. Miellassoux (ed.), *L’esclavage en Afrique pre’coloniale*, Paris, 1975, in *African Economic History*, v, 1978, 37 – 61; Jmaes L. Watson (ed.), *Asian and African Systems of Slavery*, Oxford, 1980, 1 -15; and Paul Lovejoy, “Indigenous African slavery” in Craton, *Roots and Branches*, 19 - 61

²¹¹ Fred Cooper, *Plantation Slavery on the East Coast of Africa*, New Haven, 1977, pp. 21 – 45; Martin Klein and Paul Lovejoy, “Slavery in West Africa,” in Gemery and J. Hogendorn (eds), *The Uncommon Market: Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic Slave Trade*, New York: Academic Press, 1979, pp. 181 – 2017; E. Terray, ‘La captivite dans le royaume abron du Gyaman’, in Meillassoux, *L’esclavage*, 389 – 453; and Paul Lovejoy (ed.), “The Ideology of Slavery in Africa,” Beverly Hills, Californian, 1981, pp. 12 – 18.

Dagomba and the Zabarima from 1700 to 1897.²¹² Mention can also be made of the most recent work by Akosua Perbi which represents a major research work on domestic slavery in Ghanaian society.²¹³ The focus of the works mentioned above as indicated earlier, is a general overview on slavery and slave trade in the Gold Coast hinterland. However, the works do not connect directly to Nandom and the slave trade as this current work would do.

History, Memory, Domestic slavery and the Slave-Trade in Nandom to 1859

The fieldwork for this aspect of the thesis took the researcher into some selected early villages and communities along the Black Volta Basin where he had a conversation with some elders. One significant aspect of this interaction and which of course ignited a lot of memories was in this statement that “He had never sold anyone before, and now he persuaded himself that what he was about to do was not selling in its actual sense.”²¹⁴ Following from this the elders recounted many instances in which travellers from neighbouring communities

²¹² For detailed articulation of unfree labour migration in the Northern Territories see Allan W. Cardinall, “The Natives of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast,” London: Routledge, 1920, pp. 82 – 95 and Ivor G. Wilks, “Travellers in the Gold Coast Hinterland,” in Philip D. Curtin (ed.), *Africa Remembered: Narratives by West Africans from the Era of Slave Trade*, pp. 152 – 192. See specific details in his *Wa and the Wala: Islam and Polity in Northwestern Ghana*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989; Benedict G. Der, *The Slave Trade in Northern Ghana: Poets of Africa Series 99*, Accra, Woeli Publishing Services, 1998, pp. 1 – 38; Fynn, J. K. *Asante and its Neighbours 1700 – 1807*, London, Longman/Northwestern University Press, 1971, pp. xiii – 35 and Francis Fuller, *A Vanished Dynasty: Ashanti*. London, Frank Cass, 1921, pp. 1 – 185.

²¹³ Perbi, *A History of Indigenous Slavery in Ghana*, pp. xiv -210. See also, Opong Christine, *Growing up in Dagbon*, Tema: Ghana Publishing Corporation, 1973, pp. 13 – 79; and Staniland, Martin, *The Lions of Dagbon: Political change in Northern Ghana*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975, pp. 1 – 38

²¹⁴ Interviews with Barnard Kuu-im and elders of the Dikpielle clan of Nandomkpee. In Tuopare, a group of six key elders were interviewed. They included Tengando) Kuukybe, age 62, Johnson Nabugu, age 76, Musah Der, age 45, Nabugu Ninwabora, age 48, Comfort-Lion Eunis, age 48, and Dong-Gladys, age 49. In Gungunkpe, a similar interview session was conducted. Some of the elders interacted with included Clement Norgnaa, age 52, Millanus Lubnuor, age 58 and Malekaar Faustina, age 89. 18 – 24 May, 2018. See also, Buchi Emecheta, *The Slave Girl*, New York: Braziller, 1977

across the Black Volta who were in difficult situations and needed money or some kind of help had to give themselves up or one of their offspring as *gbáŋgbaar* (slave) in exchange for food items and/or security.²¹⁵ This illustrates an action by the inhabitants of the Black Volta and elsewhere in West Africa as regards the act of exchange of a relative for money or for a basket of foodstuff. But what does the term “selling in its actual sense” describe? Although a seemingly simple question, the answers are greatly dependent upon one’s own perspective. Be that as it may, how one comes to that conclusion of exchange of human beings for money and its moral and political implications are central to this study as regards the Nandom area. Perspectives on the nature of slavery are common among the Dagara of Nandom.

Miers and Kopytoff state that a slave is a commodity to be bought and sold and inherited without regards to right of feelings, and may be maltreated sometimes, or killed with apparent impunity. The offspring inherit their status.²¹⁶ Lovejoy categorises an enslaved person as a property, and for that reason, he notes that slaves were owned and completely at the disposal of their masters. The labour power of the enslaved, their sexuality and their reproductive capacity were not the right of the person, and could, therefore, be used in whatever way desired by the masters.²¹⁷ Perbi on the other hand, asserts that an enslaved person was a person who had been bought with cash or in kind or acquired through various means by someone or a group of people to work for

²¹⁵ Interview with Johnson Nbugu at his residence in Tuopare, age 76, and Maaniabangne Millu at his residence in Nandompkee, age 72, 18 – 24 May, 2018. See also, Der, *The Slave Trade*, pp. 20 – 24.

²¹⁶ Miers and Kopytoff, *Slavery In Africa*, p.1

²¹⁷ Lovejoy, P. E. *The Ideology of Slavery in Africa*. Beverly Hills: California, 1981, pp.1-4. See also, Kwame Arhin, “Aspects of the Ashanti Northern Trade in the Nineteenth century,” *Africa* 40, 1970, pp. 363 – 373 and his “Transit Markets in the Asante Hinterland in the Nineteenth Century,” *ODU Centre* 1974.

them. She adds that with time, enslaved people were integrated into the family and could be well-treated. They could rise to very important positions on the social, economic and political position in the society and their status may change as enslaved people.²¹⁸

These assertions about slavery made above are corroborated by the oral tradition of the ‘Dagara country’ of Nandom, as it defines a *gbangbar* (a slave) as a person who is in someone’s *yir* (house) and provides services for that person but he or she is not a member of that household or community. It may also refer to a person who is a *Saan* (stranger) and has no root or link in that family as a result of an arrangement to serve that family as long as they existed.²¹⁹ The Dagara people of Nandom hold the belief that *gbangbalou* (slavery) is an institution which has been with them since time immemorial and is commonly associated with moments of famine or severe hunger. That is to say, the poor as well as those with large families who could not feed their families and themselves or are in need of serious financial support would usually offer their offspring or themselves for services in return for financial support. In situations like that, the heads of families would usually identify wealthy families in the community or nearby communities and take some of their children to such families and negotiate or bargain in exchange for large quantities of millet, yam, maize, rice, sorghum and other foodstuffs in order to survive the hunger.²²⁰ This practice could actually be Pawnship.

²¹⁸ Perbi, *A History of Indigenous Slavery*, pp. 33 - 133

²¹⁹ Interview with Barnard Kuu-im, age 67, Elder of the Dikpielle family of Nandomkpee, 18 June, 2018,

²²⁰ Interview with Nabugu Johnson at his Tuopare residence, age 76, 19th June 2018, Barnard Kuu-im and a group of elders of the Dikpielle clan in Nandomkpee. 19th June 2018.

Pwanship, also referred to as “debt-slavery” was a common practice in West Africa and elsewhere. The use of people as pawns to secure credit was widespread in West Africa during the era of the trans-Atlantic slave trade. There abound evidence of where and when pawns were used in commercial transactions involving both Africans and European slave merchants in the period c. 1600–1810.²²¹ There are numerous travelogue and scholarly works of the subject of “debt-slavery” in the Gold Coast spanning the nineteenth to the early part of the twentieth century. From a general perspective, these accounts explain pawnship as a form of collateral, involving the pledge of a person or a member of a person’s family to provide services for a creditor providing credit in monetary form or such items as mentioned above. Pawnship was related to but distinct from slavery in that the arrangement could be limited, in specific terms to services provided to the creditor and, as a result, the pawned would be protected by his or her kinsmen from being sold into slavery. Pawnship was a common practice prior to European contact with Africa, but prominent amongst the Akan people, the Ewe, the Ga, the Yoruba, and the people of Nigeria.²²²

²²¹ Paul E. Lovejoy and David Richardson. The Business of Slaving: Pawnship in Western Africa, c. 1600-1810, *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 42, No.1 (2001), pp. 67 – 89. It is shown that European merchants relied on pawnship as an instrument of credit protection in many places, though not everywhere. Europeans apparently did not hold pawns at Ouidah (after 1727), at Bonny or on the Angolan coast. Nonetheless, the reliance on pawnship elsewhere highlights the influence of African institutions on the development of the slave trade.

²²² Cruickshank Brodie, *Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast of Africa* (Including an Account of the Native tribes, and their Intercourse with Europeans), In Two Volumes: Vol. I, 1853, London: Hurst and Blackett, 1966, pp. 3 – 329 and Vol. II pp. 198–200 and 247–500. See also, Thomas J. Hutchinson, *Ten Years’ Wandering Among the Ethiopians: With Sketches of the Manners and Customs of the Civilised and Uncivilised Tribes, from Senegal to Gabon*, London: Hurst and Blackett, 1861, pp. 10–14. For contrasting views on pawnship, see Ojo Olatunji, “Emu” (Amüyá): The Yoruba Institution of Panyarring or Seizure for Debt,” *African Economic History*, 2007, pp. 31 – 58; Rebecca Shumway, *The Fante and the Transatlantic Slave Trade*, Rochester, New York: University of Rochester Press, 2011, pp. 23 – 31; Randyb Sparks, *Where the Negroes are Masters*. Cambridge Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2014, p. 138; Ruth A. Fisher, “Extracts from the Records of the African companies Part 3: *The Journal of Negro History*. 13(3), 1928, pp. 343 – 367; Claridge, W. Walton, *A History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti 1915*, London, 1964, 177–186; and Slyviane Diouffe, *Fighting the Slave Trade: West African Strategies*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2003. For accounts in Pawnship or

One other means by which enslaved people were acquired and which the tradition says was common practise in most parts of the Black Volta Basin was when people got lost, especially in the deep forest, and could not trace their footpaths back home.²²³ In such instances, they were taken in by those who discovered them or they were given to the wealthy in the community to serve and live with them.

Also, enslaved people were acquired in instances where people for one reason or another abandoned their homes or communities and offered themselves voluntarily to wealthy people in the community. Such occurrences were very infrequent in the case of Nandom until the advent of the Zabarima warriors in the 1860s. It is imperative to make the point that apart from a few instances, the Nandom people were not involved in the deliberate buying and selling of enslaved people or any form or attempted to capture people to be sold into slavery.²²⁴

In the pre-colonial era, the preoccupation of the people of Nandom had always been crop farming and the domestication of animals.²²⁵ They cultivated crops such as yam, maize, millet, rice, sorghum, groundnuts, beans, and made gardens. Animals such as cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, guinea fowls and chicken

Slave-debt in the Gold Coast, see examples in Paul E. Lovejoy and David Richardson, "The Business of Slaving. Pawnship in West Africa. C. 1600 – 1810". *The Journal of African History*, 42 (1), (2001), pp. 67 – 87; Akurang-Parry, Kwabena O., "'What Is and What Is Not the Law': Imprisonment for Debt and the Institution of Pawnship in the Gold Coast, 1821–1899," in *Pawnship, Slavery and Colonialism in Africa*, ed. Paul E. Lovejoy, and Falola Toyin, Trenton, NJ, 2003, pp. 427–447; Austin Gareth, *Labour, Land, and Capital in Ghana: From Slavery to Free Labour in Asante, 1807 – 1958*, Rochester Press, 2005; and Law, Robin, "The Komenda wars 1694 – 1700: a Revised Narrative". *History in Africa*, 2007, pp. 34:133 – 168.

²²³ Interview with Rev. Dr. Fr. Steven Koya at his Nandom Minor Baslica residence, age 65, 19th June 2018

²²⁴ Interview with a group of elders in Tuopare led by Tengando) Kuukyeye, age 61, at Tuopare. 26th October, 2018

²²⁵ Der, B.G., "Agricultural Policy in Northern Ghana during the Colonial Era," *Universities* 8, 1979, pp. 3 – 18

were domesticated and on a fairly large scale. In view of this, additional labour was needed. Enslaved people were fundamentally used to take care of animals and to till the land for cultivation. These activities were carried out by both male and female alike. However, some enslaved women were reserved for the performance of household chores such as cooking for the family, fetching water and taking care of the house and, most importantly, when they were of age, their owners married them off to bear children for them or they were given out to other relatives in marriage.²²⁶ Steven Koya adds that in the event that a female *gbangbar* was given in marriage to any of the local people, she was assimilated into that family and her offsprings were “free-born” and were accorded all the respect and rights and could not be called enslaved people.²²⁷

Aside from the domestic and agricultural use of enslaved people, *gbangbar* also ran errands for their landlords and they were used as messengers by their holders as well. They also acquired new forms of names. These names, it must be emphasised, could either be entirely new names or added to the existing names. But most significantly, they would have to bear the family name of their masters. This was so important because, enslaved people needed to identify with the family that acquired them in the community so that they would be properly recognized and respected as members of the family and the community as a whole, although it usually would take a long time for acceptance and assimilation to take place.²²⁸

²²⁶ Interview with Tengando) Kuukyebe and elders at Tuopare, 26th October, 2018

²²⁷ Interview with Re. Dr. Fr. Steven Koya at his Nandom Minor Baslica residence, age 65, 19th June 2018.

²²⁸ Interview with Nabugu Johnson, age 76, and elders, at Tuopare, 18 June 2018. See also, PRAAD Tamale, NRG 8/2/204, Domestic Slavery 1927, and Perbi, *A History of Indigenous Slavery*, pp. 114 – 115.

During the period under study, it is interesting to note, that, enslaved people in the ‘Dagara country’ of Nandom appeared as though they never existed among the people. This was because they were regarded as humans and were accorded and treated as such. Even in the instances of the existence of domestic slaves in the households of the few well-to-do individuals, they were more or less used for labour in the farms and for household tasks. The available traditions indicate that before the society accepts a *saane* (a visitor) into its fold, certain standards had to be met. One must be a wealthy and important person recognised by the society to have such traits and property such as cattle, goats, sheep, and fowls in general and many barns containing harvests that could feed his immediate family and others. Besides, the family house which wanted to acquire an enslaved person must be a household of good standing in accordance with the traditions and standard customary practices of the Nandom people, and healthy enough to accommodate additional human beings.²²⁹

Utmost respect and dignity were accorded enslaved people in the households and the community at large. Physical abuse of all forms were, in theory, prohibited. Male enslaved people could marry daughters of their owners or their relatives and could inherit their owners and even become landlords in cases where there was no male to inherit the father upon his death, particularly, in instances where the male offspring were too young to manage the family affairs.²³⁰ There is evidence that enslaved people and their masters and family ate from the same pot and they were not discriminated against in terms of food, shelter and clothing. Therefore, it was difficult for a visitor to distinguish

²²⁹ Interview, Steven Koya, 18 June, 2018.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*

between an enslaved person and a family member.²³¹ Enslaved people were given the opportunity to raise their own offspring, own property such as land for farming and domestic animals and birds.

The above narrative forms part of the people's oral tradition and their perspective on the nature of slave holding and state of affairs of pre-colonial Nandom society until the time of the *Bung* associated with the advent of the Zambarimas and their slave raiding activities in Northwest Ghana from c.1858 to 1899. Wilks makes the argument that there was a peaceful co-existence between the Waala Muslims and non-Muslims of the Dagara communities up until the mid-nineteenth century when a native of Boromo in the Black Volta region, Mahamadu Karantao, returned from his pilgrimage to Mecca in the 1880s. Unupon return, he instigated a declaration in the form of a *jihad* on all non-Muslims which was agreed to and the movement was joined by some Waala people in Wa.²³² Lentz writes that the Waala state was already in conflict with the Gonja state in the early 1870s over issues of succession which forced them to seek assistance from the Asante army.²³³ This military support was to be paid for on an agreed term of supply of enslaved people to the Asante. This payment, in many ways, was seen by the Waala people as a good justification to support attacks on the Dagara communities in the Black Volta region. The *jihadist* movement by Karantao and, later, the activities of the Zambarima who were already causing a lot of havoc and uneasiness among the Grunsi from their

²³¹ Interview with a group of elders and some family heads led by Clement Nungaa, age 52, at Gungunkpe. 26th October, 2018.

²³² Nehemia Levtzion, *Muslims and Chiefs in West Africa*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968, pp. 147 – 154.

²³³ Lentz, *Ethnicity and History in Northern Ghana*, p. 26.

camp in Nania Pikworo²³⁴ in Paga, Upper East Ghana, formed the basis for slave raids in the Black Volta Basin from the mid-1800s.²³⁵

With regards to food production for human consumption, the Dagara and Sissala settlements in the region of the Black Volta were regarded as a source of labour to the Muslims in general, the trade caravans and the Muslim troops, in particular. Therefore, apart from the desire to acquire enslaved people as tribute to the Asante, enslaved people were also needed for agricultural purposes and in the enterprising long-distance trade between Kumasi, Timbuktu and Huasaland.²³⁶

The Zambarima Slave Raiders: Samory Toure and Babatu 1704 – 1899

Asante conquest of the two central states of Gonja and Dagomba in 1732 and 1744 respectively, and the subsequent request for enslaved people as tribute extended the activities of the trans-Atlantic slave trade to the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast.²³⁷ It is important to note that this assertion is contested by historians and recent scholars. Some argue that there is little evidence that the Asante defeated the Dagomba in the said war between the

²³⁴ The Pikworo Slave Camp was founded in 1704 and is located in Paga Nania, about 3 kilometers west of Paga in the Upper East Region of Ghana. It was originally developed as a slave transit center where enslaved people were auctioned and resold in the Salaga slave market.

²³⁵ PRAAD Tamale, NRG 8/2/204, Domestic Slavery 1927, and Perbi, *A History of Indigenous Slavery*, pp. 114 – 115. See also, Levtzion, *Muslims and Chiefs in West Africa*, p. 149.

²³⁶ On this, see also the survey works in the 1800s of the French Captain Louis Binger's *Du Niger au Gulf de Guinee par le Pays de Kong et le Mossi*, pp. ii – 21; and the British representative George Ekem Ferguson in Kwame Arhin's *The Papers of George Ekem Ferguson*, 1974, pp. 1 – 15. Further discussions are also found in the works of Kwame Arhin's "Aspects of the Asante Northern Trade in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of the International African Institute*, Vol. 40, No. 4, 1970, pp. 363 – 373; including his "Transit Markets in the Asante Hinterland in the late Nineteenth Century," *ODU – New Series* 9, 1974, pp. 5 – 22 and *West African Traders in Ghana in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, London: Longman, 1979, p. 15

²³⁷ Jack Goody, "Salaga in 1876," *Ghana Notes and Queries* 8, 1966, pp. 1 – 5. See also, Jack Goody, "The Akan and the North," *Ghana Notes and Queries* 9, 1966, pp. 18 – 24 and Der, *The Slave Trade in Northern Ghana*, p. 2, 22 and 146.

1732 and 1744. They state that the tribute of enslaved people was actually an exchange of enslaved people for guns and ammunition between the Dagomba and Asante.²³⁸ However, the evidence on record disproves this claim. Cardinall points out that even during the colonial period up to 1892, the warring states of Gonja and and Dogomba did not have guns.²³⁹

Arhin shares similar view and suggests that the Asante, despite their long-distance exchange contacts with the Hausa, Mande, and Mossi caravan traders in Bonduku and Salaga before 1874, and at Kintampo 1874-1892, forbade the introduction of firearms to the North.²⁴⁰ He reports that, until about the end of the last century, towns, based on what Weber defines as ‘transit trade’, set along the northern borders to Asante in north central Ghana had transit markets that were established by traders from the north. These transit markets were the points where the northern Savanna met the southern forest. These traders were basically engaged in buying and selling of commodities such as kola, gold, slave and other exchanges, under the protocol protection of the Asante. In the end, therefore, the Asante controlled the trade, and in particular, the import of luxury items, those that signalled rank and prestige and those used to build up forms of capital. Within Asante, these imports were retailed by those of high rank who held a near-monopoly over the items in question.²⁴¹

²³⁸ See, for example, J. K. Fynn., *Asante and its Neighbours, 1700 – 1807*. London: Longman 1971 and Benedict Der, *The Slave Trade in Northern Ghana*. Accra: Woeli Publishing Service, 1998, pp. 1 – 27.

²³⁹ Allan W. Cardinall, *The Natives of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast: Their Customs, Religion, and Folklore*. London: Routledge, 1921, pp. 1 – 44.

²⁴⁰ Kwame Arhin, “Aspects of the Asante Northern Trade in the Nineteenth Century,” pp. 363 – 373. See also, Kwame Arhin’s “Transit Markets in the Asante Hinterland in the late Nineteenth Century,” pp. 5 -22 and *West African Traders in Ghana in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, London: Longman, 1979, pp. xii, 146.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.* Kwame Arhin, Transit Markets, pp. 6 – 22.

Despite this debate, scholars generally agree that people were enslaved from the North, and that both the Asante and Dagomba participated in the slave trade. For example, Cardinall contends that towards the middle of the eighteenth century, Asante power was at its peak and, according to Claridge, the Asantehene, Opuku Oware I, was the conqueror of Dagomba.²⁴² At Yendi, Cardinall continues, there was an Asante official who acted as a consul and tax-gatherer, demonstrating the influence of Asante power. The tax, according to records, amounted to the annual payment of 2,000 enslaved people.²⁴³

In 1821, the British consul in Kumase, Joseph Dupuis, recorded in his *Journal of a Residence in Ashante* that the Dagomba capital Yendi, and other large towns of the country, pay as an annual tribute, 500 enslaved people, 200 cows, 400 sheep and cloths, and that smaller towns are taxed in proportion. That, in order to fulfil Asante's demand for enslaved people, the Gonja and Dagomba chiefs, whose responsibility it was, turned to invading the less militant settlements in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast.²⁴⁴ Oral tradition confirms this as it adds that in order to meet the required annual supply of enslaved people to the Asante, the Grunshi, including the inhabitants along the Black Volta, the Busansi, the Konkomba, the Tchokossi, and other independent ethnic groups were raided regularly by the Dagombas to procure the necessary number of enslaved people, and, in moments of difficulties, the Na of Dagomba would ask his relatives in the Mossi and Mamprussi clans to help him in his

²⁴²Claridge, *A History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti*, pp. 177–186.

²⁴³*Ibid.*

²⁴⁴ Joseph Dupuis, *Journal of a Residence in Asante*. London: Henry Colburn, 1824. See also, Johnson Marion's "The Slaves in Salaga," *Journal of African History* 27:3, 1986, pp. 341 – 362.

commitments to the Asantehene.²⁴⁵ Also, some Dagomba chiefs, at various moments of need, recruited the Zambarima as mercenaries to carry out slave raids.

The Zambarima originally came to Dagbon, the home of the Dagombas, according to Tamakloe, during the reign of Abdulai, king of Dagbon, Adama, the paramount chief of Karaga, and Abdulai, the chief of Kumbungu in the 1850s.²⁴⁶ He notes that these, “miserable Zabarmas came into Dagbon and were taken into the services of the chiefs of Karaga and Kumbungu.”²⁴⁷ Those of Karaga were led by Alfa Heno, son of Tadano, Kazari, son of Mahama, Babatu, son of Goru, and Isaka, son of Aljima. Those of Kumbungu also included Hamma Bruntaka, Hamma Gabre, Maiso, Madugu, and Magizo.²⁴⁸ J. J. Holden also notes that these horsemen came from a sparsely cultivated area southeast of Niamey and east of the Niger. They had just emerged from a fifty-year long warfare against the neighbouring Fulani *jihadists* in the mid-nineteenth century. The period 1800-1860 is generally accepted by scholars as the era of Islamic penetration into the Western Africa, particularly, the communities of the Northern Territories of Ghana.²⁴⁹ Thus, after the Fulani *jihad* was halted in

²⁴⁵ Holden, *The Yendi Zabbarima 1968, Field Notes: Yendi Project, Report No. 2*, Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana and Programme of African Studies, Northwestern University, Legon 1968, pp. 1 – 23. See Cardinall, *The Natives of the Northern Territories*, pp. 23 – 44.

²⁴⁶ Tamakloe, *A Brief History of the Dagbamba People*, pp. 45 – 55. See also, J. J. Holden, “The Zabarma Conquest of North-West Ghana. Part 1,” *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana* VII, 1965, pp. 60 – 85; Pilaszewicz, Stanislaw, *The Zabarma Conquest of the North-West Ghana and Upper Volta. A Hausa Narrative: History of Samory and Babatu and Others* by Mallam Abu, Warsaw: Polish Scientific Publishers 1992, pp. 1 – 37; and Allison Howell, “The Slave Trade and its Impact on Northern Ghana,” in: *The Slave and reconciliation: A Northern Ghanaian Perspective*, ed. Allison Howell, Accra: Bible Church of Africa and SIM Ghana 1998, pp. 31 – 54.

²⁴⁷ Tamakloe, *A Brief History of the Dagbamba People*, p. 45.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁹For details on the islamization of Zambarima, see Roch, Jean, *Notes on Migration into the Gold Coast. First Report of the Mission Carried out in the Gold Coast from March to December*, transl. P.E.O and J.B. Heigham, Accra, 1954.

1860, Islam began to grow at an appreciable rate as many of these Zambarimas took to evangelization as malams.²⁵⁰ Holden records that Babatu came from Indunga which had earlier been islamised by the Fulani at Say.²⁵¹ He adds that the inhabitants of Indunga also fought for the Fulani *jihads* against their fellow Zambarimas. It is, therefore, imperative to note that the Zambarimas per their place of origin, are a people from a war-torn zone characterised by militant Islamic expansion so they had access to guns. Therefore, it is not surprising that they became a controlling agency with regards to slavery and the slave trade in the history of northwest Ghana and in particular, the area of the Black Volta region.

Prior to the emergence of the Zambarima in the Black Volta area, Musa, a Muslim slave raider from the 1880, according to Akosua Perbi, had caused a lot of mayhem to the less well-armed segmentary peoples in the Upper West, Upper East, North East, Savannah and Northern Regions of Ghana in his quest to capture and enslave the non-Muslims. The Zambarima followed in the same period in the 1880s.²⁵² She also notes that the Zambarima at their base in Karaga, as cited in Tamakloe, conquered and controlled a vast area stretching from Ouagadougou in modern Burkina Faso to Wa in Ghana. Holden asserts that Babatu, who succeeded Alfa Gazare in the leadership, was the one who raised the standard of slave raiding and brought the Zambarima state to its peak of influence and authority at the end of the 1890.²⁵³ The effect of Zambarima raiding activities was the establishment of slave centres at Kasena and

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁵¹ Holden, *The Zabarima*, p. 61.

²⁵² Akosua, *A History of Indigenous Slavery in Ghana*, 2007, p. 56.

²⁵³ Holden, *The Yendi Zabarima 1968*, p. 61.

Walebele, with Kasena as their capital. The victims of slave raids were sent across the border to Burkina Faso, then called the Upper Volta, while a large number of them were sold to Dagomba warlords. These enslaved people were mostly part of the annual tribute of the Dagomba to the Asantehene. Many of them were obtained from either kidnapping, through raids or through pawnship and/or panyarring, while some were bought – about 2000 cowries or one basket of kola²⁵⁴ was the highest price on offer.²⁵⁵

Benedict Der observes that between 1751 and 1752, Safo Kantaka of Mampong carried out slave-hunting activities in Yendi and its catchment area taking advantage of the internal disputes of the Kpembe skin.²⁵⁶ Der quotes the oral records of *Kitab Gbunja*, that in about February 1745, “the cursed unbeliever, Opuko, entered the town of Yendi and plundered it,” paving the way for the capture of enslaved people.²⁵⁷ This is to reiterate the point that as early as the 1750, inhabitants of Yendi were forced into slavery through conquest. Fynn notes that the year 1774 is a period of large exports of enslaved people from the Gold coast than any other year in record. Available oral traditions state that following the dominance of the Asante in each war fought against each succeeding Ya Na was duty-bound to redeem tribute owed to the Asantehene. Therefore, taking advantage of the ‘stateless ethnominorities’ in the

²⁵⁴ Paul E. Lovejoy, “Long-Distance Trade and Islam: The Case of the Nineteenth Century Hausa Kola Trade,” *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* V 4, 1971, 537 – 547. For broad overview of the place of Kola in West African history, see also, Edmund Abaka, *Kola is God’s Gift. agricultural Production, Export Initiatives & the Kola Industry of Asante & the Gold Coast, c. 1820 – 1950*, Athens, Ohio. UP, 2005, pp. 5 – 43.

²⁵⁵ For fuller account of Dagomba tribute to Asante, see, for example, R. S. Rattray, *Tribes of the Ashanti Hinterland*, 1932, Vol. 2, p. 564; Tamakloe, *Brief History of the Dagomba*, pp. 32 – 34 and Ivor Wilks, *The Northern Factor in Ashanti History*, Legon: *Institute of African Studies*, University of Ghana, 1967, p. 14.

²⁵⁶ Der, *The Slave Trade in Northern Ghana*, pp. 12 – 17.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

neighborhood of Dagombas and by extension, the northeast and northwest regions, each succeeding Ya Na launched successive raids on the local dwellers in order to obtain war captives as enslaved people. Armed men would descend upon a village at dawn or even during the day to carry out such raids. The most affected village communities included those of the Konkomba, Grunshi, Badari, Busasi and Moba.²⁵⁸ Some of the captives were given to Asante as tribute and were sold into slavery in the New World.²⁵⁹ Some historians claim that it was in the eighteenth century that European companies on the coast of the Gold Coast began noting the presence of *donkos* (*nnokofo*) among the enslaved people brought down to the forts and castles for sale. The enslaved people brought down to the Coast by the Asante were given various identities and names such as Duncoes, Donce, Dynkos and the like.

It is evident from the above-mentioned points that the involvement of the Dagomba chiefs and the use of the Zambarima as mercenaries in the activities of slave-hunting, paved the way for slave marauding activities to spread and persist throughout the northern territories from 1856 onward. The Zambarima, who were by this period resident in the Grunshiland were commissioned by local chiefs from Dagbon, in the course of their internal disputes to conduct raids against their enemies. As noted earlier, the Zambarima familiarity in handling guns and firearms gave them an advantage over the less well-armed aborigines. Prominent among these Zambarima leaders were Babatu who controlled part of northeast region of modern Upper East and parts of modern Upper West, and Samori, who controlled the northwest, central and

²⁵⁸ Interview with Bernard Kuu-im, 18th June, 2018. See also, Der, *The Slave Trade in Northern Ghana*, pp. 12 – 16.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

western Gonja and Upper West region.²⁶⁰ Lovejoy observes that slave raiding at this period was on the high side with the recruitment of the Zambarima by the Dagomba chiefs though the legal abolition of the trans-Atlantic slave trade had taken effect in Europe and parts of the New World.²⁶¹ Notwithstanding the abolition of the Slave Trade in the New World, Zambarimas, led by their leaders, established companies and local slave markets in Grunshiland and parts of modern Upper West Region. These were used as supplying agents of enslaved people to Salaga market.²⁶²

Nandom Slave Markets: Gungunkpe and Tuopare

Archaeological history of sites related to the slave trade is of a recent development. Generally, inspired of the fundamental questions, debates, and conclusions of the vast literature on slavery, the contribution of archaeology, its place, and impact on the story of the slave trade in indigenous societies has been relegated to the background. In West Africa, and in Africa as a whole, due to “colonial presence” and the force of the slave trade, several sites related to slave occupation emerged. Many of such sites range from transit points (camp sites), fortified dungeons in the European trade posts and refreshment points near the sea to slave markets. Suffice it to say that, it is only in the recent times that some

²⁶⁰ Kwame Arhin and Jack Goody, eds. “Ashanti and the North-West,” *Research Review*. Supplement No.1 (12). University of Ghana, 1965, PP. 112 – 128. See also, Holden, “The Zabarima Conquest of the North-West Ghana, Part I,” pp. 60 – 86

²⁶¹ Paul Lovejoy, *Transformation in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa*, 2nd Edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, p. 23

²⁶² See for example, Paul E. Lovejoy, “Polanyi’s ‘Ports of Trade’: Salaga and Kano in the Nineteenth Century” in *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 16 (1982), pp. 245 – 277; and Marion Johnson, “Slaves of Salaga” in *Journal of African Studies*, 27 (1986), pp. 341 – 362. See also, Kwabena O. Akurang-Parry. Rethinking the “Slaves of Salaga”: Post-Proclamation Slavery in the Gold Coast (Colonial Southern Ghana), 1874-1899, *Left History*, Vol. 8, No.1 (2002), pp. 33 – 60.

extensive excavations have been carried out to investigate slave sites in Africa.²⁶³

In Ghana, scholarly literature have been cited on some of these slave sites, even though there is much work to be done on them.²⁶⁴ Two of such slave sites which have not been clearly delineated in the literature are those of Gungunkpe and Tuopare near Nandom. These two village communities are remembered in the Dagara oral narratives as some of the ancient Dagara settlements where agents or mercenaries of the notorious slave raider Mahama dan Issa, (hereafter called Babatu) and other Zambarima warriors established their campsites in the late nineteenth century.²⁶⁵ So far, no archaeological work has been carried out in these two communities. Undoubtedly, however, further work is required to provide solid data that may help with understanding the nature of these sites.²⁶⁶

²⁶³ M. Posnansky, "Toward an Archaeology of the Black Diaspora." *Journal of Black Studies* 15 (1984), pp. 195 – 205. See also, M. Posnansky and Christopher R. DeCorse, "Historical Archaeology in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Review." *Journal of Historical Archaeology* 20 (1), 1986, pp. 1 – 14.

²⁶⁴ For specific expressions on archaeological works by historians in Ghana, see Bredwa-Mensah, Y. "Slavery and plantation life at the Danish plantation site of Bibease, Gold Coast (Ghana)." *Ethnographisch-Archaeologische Zeitschrift (EAZ)* 4, 1996, pp. 445 – 458; Bredwa-Mensah and L. B. Crossland, A Preliminary Report on Archaeological Investigations at the Danish Plantation Settlements along the South Akuapem Ridge, Ghana. *Papers from the Institute of Archaeology (PIA)* 8, 1997, pp. 59 – 71; Y. Bredwa-Mensah, "Historical-Archaeological Investigations at the Frederiksgave plantation, Ghana: A case study of slavery and plantation life on a nineteenth century Danish plantation on the Gold Coast." Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Ghana, Legon, Accra. 2002; and two recent case studies of slave campsites in Ghana: A. A. Perbi, and Y. Bredwa-Mensah, "Slavery and Community Space: The historical and archaeological evidence from Jenini in the Brong Ahafo Region". Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Historical Society of Ghana, Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon, 15th – 17th July, 2004, and A. A. Perbi, and Y. Bredwa-Mensah, "Slave Camps in pre-colonial Ghana: The case of Jenini in the Brong Ahafo Region". Paper presented at the International Conference on the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, OAAATUU Conference Centre, Accra, Ghana, August 30th – September 2nd, 2004.

²⁶⁵ Interviews with Barnard Kuu-im of Nandomkpee, Dartey Basin Bayuo of Lambusie, George Gandaa Kunzo of Tuopare; Mrs Babai Baalierkuu of Gengenkepe; Alhaji Issifu Botug Bennin, Bekuone clan head of Pataal; Dagomba Naa, Wagara Naa; and Fulani Naa. 18 – 23 May, 2018. See also Perbi, *Indigenous Slavery in Ghana*, p.188.

²⁶⁶ Admittedly, an archaeological research into these slave sites, apart from being time consuming, is also an expensive engagement. However, future work on them might be considered. In the meantime, the oral traditions collected in the fieldwork during one-on-one

Available documentary sources supported by oral traditions, affirm that the two communities mentioned above were in many ways affected by slave raiding activities of the Zambarima from the 1860 onwards.²⁶⁷ During fieldwork in the study area for this project and in Nandom as a whole, it became apparent that the presence of the Zambarima slave raiders during the mid-nineteenth century had impacted the settlement histories of the two communities. Scholars who have engaged in fieldwork write about the activities of the Zambarima in the two slave markets in Nandom and particularly about Babatu and Samory. Der and Perbi note that the Zambarima came from Niger in early 1850s and settled among the Dagomba as horse-men.²⁶⁸ Most of these men were traders, mercenaries, or malams, or, as Holden would put it, “perhaps as all three” in an individual.²⁶⁹ Notable among these men, as indicated earlier, were Alfa Gazare dan Mahama, Alfa Han dan Tadano, Isaka Karaga dan Aljima and Mahama dan Issa, who was popularly known as Babatu.²⁷⁰ After working many years for the Dagomba warlords as mercenaries in slave raiding to the Grunsi area and parts of the Black Volta, they broke away from their warlords to set up raiding camps in the Dagara country in late 1860. The traditions in Gungunpke and Tuopare indicate that the Zambarima were ruthless raiders, who brought a lot of fear and panic whenever they were heard approaching. These fearless horse-men caused havoc wherever they attacked by carrying away human beings – from old people

interviews and, in some cases, group interviews, are presented in the work. Archival records in Tamale and Accra which are relevant to the work were also utilised. These included PRAAD Tamale, NRG 8/2/204, Domestic Slavery 1927; PRAAD Tamale, NRG 8/2/205, Slave Dealing 1937-1947; PRAAD Tamale, NRG 8/2/110, Lawra Native Affairs 1951; and PRAAD Tamale, ADM 56/1/169, Kanjarga Native Affairs 1913.

²⁶⁷ Tamakloe, *A Brief History of the Dagbamba People*, pp. 47 – 53. See also, Pilaszewicz, Stanislaw, *The Zabarma Conquest of North-West Ghana and Upper Volta*, pp 12 – 25; and Der, *The Slave Trade in Northern Ghana*, pp. 1 -23

²⁶⁸ Der, *The Slave Trade*, p. 12 – 20 and Perbi, *A history*, p. 93

²⁶⁹ Holden, *The Zabarma Conquest of North-West Ghana Part I*, p. 60

²⁷⁰ Perbi, *A History of Indigenous Slavery in Ghana*, p. 93

even to babies – farm produce and a host of livestock, particularly, cattle, goats and sheep.

Gungunkpe and Tuopare became important slave centers because of the flourishing nature of their markets. Tuopare for example, became a bustling market place in the mid-nineteenth century and, thus, attracted all manner of human activities similar to the *Daagang* market at Nandompkee. The people of Nandom indeed have very little knowledge of where these horse-men came from, but available historical sources have shown that they had their headquarters in the Kasena area with a slave camp at Nania Pikworo all in modern Upper East Region of Ghana. It was from this area that they embarked on their raiding expeditions to far away areas like the Black Volta region.²⁷¹ Following their long stay in Kasena, a large market was established there and, according to Holden, a good number of the captives, including cattle and cowries were brought to this market center and sold to traders from within and without.²⁷² According to Tamakloe as quoted in Holden²⁷³ the presence of the Zambarima and associated activities resulted in the establishment of Kasina as “the greatest emporium the world had ever known”. The same point is made of the Tuopare market by oral traditions.

Tuopare, unlike Gungunkpe, was a trade enclave in the latter half of the 17th century. It used to be a bustling community but a lot of people from the 1890s moved away following the slave raids of the Zambarima and in the emergence of the community markets in the Nandom Traditional Area and, in

²⁷¹ Der, *The Slave trade*, pp. 20 – 22. See also, Pilaszewicz, *The Zabarma Conquest of North-West Ghana and Upper Volta*, pp. 33 – 45

²⁷² Holden, *The Zabarma Conquest of NorthWest Ghana Part I*, pp. 66 – 67

²⁷³ *Ibid.* p. 66.

particular, the growth of Nandom as an urban center. According to oral traditions, all captives in the course of the slave raids, cattle and cowries commandeered in areas such as Tumu, Walembele, Gwollu and its environs – Ziigni, Samoa, Piina, Lambussie and Karni etc, were brought and sold to local traders in the Tuopare market. Even on occasions when the Zambarimas came to sell and buy items for their journeys, the market got disrupted due to fears of being captured. Some took to the mountains in the nearby communities such as Sentu, Kukya, and Zimuopare, while others would climb very high trees, others escaped into far away communities to resettle. Women and children were hidden in caves, dugout wells and holes in big trees by the men until the Zambarima left.²⁷⁴

Apart from oral traditions, elders in Nandom and, in particular, Gungunkpe and Tuopare, recollect vividly the activities of these Zambarima slave raiders, but one leader who never escaped their memory was Babatu. A spate of reports by a number of scholars who documented about enslavement in the Northern Territories cited the two communities as hotspots for slave raid activities carried out by these *jihadists* led by Musa and the Zambarimas.²⁷⁵

Significantly, oral tradition consistently and unequivocally state that in the two communities – Tuopare and Gungunkpe, there were no established slave markets as was the case in places such as the Salaga which was a big slave market in the north and the southern markets of Kpando, Kpong and others. What rather was the case was the fact that Tuopare and Gungunkpe were geographically located in areas that lay directly to the advantage of the

²⁷⁴ Interview with a group of elders between the ages of 55 to 78, at Nandom, Zimuopare, Vapuo, Tuopare, Gungunkpe and Gurutug. 18th October, 2018

²⁷⁵ Ibid. See also

Zambarimas who were said to come in the company of Dagbamba-Grunshi expeditions of the 1850s until they established their base in the Grunshi country of Kasena in the late 1960.

Conclusion

The chapter has discussed slavery and the slave trade in general and in the Nandom area in particular. It makes the argument that the Dagara people of Nandom, like other African societies, hold the belief that *gbangbalou* (slavery) is an institution which has been with them since time immemorial and commonly associated with moments of famine or severe hunger resulting from calamity. Thus, pre-Nandom society acquired and kept enslaved people but on a very limited scale for domestic purposes including the production of agricultural goods. It asserts that, as in the case of other African societies, *gbangbalou* in pre-colonial Nandom society was essentially social in origin, domestic in outlook, and slightly economical.

It was at the instance of the Asante invasion of the two central states of Gonja and Dagomba in 1732 and 1744 respectively and the request for enslaved people as tribute that the activity of enslavement connected to the trans-Atlantic slave trade began in the Northern Territories. In their quest to meet Asante demand for enslaved people, the chiefs of Dagomba and Gonja turned their attention to the less well-armed settlements in the Black Volta River region in general and the area of Nandom in particular. It has been established that there were a variety of responses to the slave raids following the involvement of the Zambarimas by the Dagomba chiefs.

From their base in Grunshiland, and with their expertise in the use of guns, the Zambarimas through their leaders – Babatu – established companies and slave markets and were soon engaged in selling captives as enslaved people. From oral narratives in Gungunkpe and Tuopare, it is noted that the Zambarimas were ruthless raiders who brought a lot of fear and panic among the less well-armed inhabitants of the Black Volta River area. Even though Gungunkpe and Tuopare did not have slave market like that created in Salaga to the north, or those created in Kpando and Kpong in the south, the two areas were of geographical advantage to the Zambarimas who came in from the Grunshilands through Gwolu and Ulo.

CHAPTER THREE

INDIGENOUS CULTURE AND SOCIAL DIMENSION OF NANDOM HISTORY AND CULTURE: EVOLUTION AND CHANGE UP TO 1900 Introduction

Discovered many decades ago, observers have been able to describe many facets of its pre-colonial contacts, social and political organisation and cultural patterns of various societies.²⁷⁶ Among the Dagara inhabitants of Northwestern Ghana, the notion of 'nature' is similar to that of 'society'. Together, they constitute an integrated order, alternatively represented as a grand society. Civilisation is thus seen as a particular form of life participating in a wider community of living beings regulated by an authority who is the embodiment of a total set of rules of conduct. Different ethnic groups have different systems of kin-group as well as political organisation.

Among the Dagara of Nandom, the kin-group is significantly revered as the basic social unit from which the community is structured. Social relationship, institutions and cultural practices differ in modes. This Chapter essentially analyses the history of some of the early social institutions of the indigenous Dagara of Nandom as passed down from generation to generation to underscore the early social dimensions of pre-colonial Nandom. It explores the roles and functions of these institutions and their significance to the development of Nandom.

Culture and the Social Dimension of Nandom History and Culture

The sociocultural and political organisation of the Dagara is structured in such a way that it brings about social order in the society for peaceful co-existence. Among the Dagara of Nandom, the social construction is organised

²⁷⁶Rattray, *The Tribes of the Asante Hinterland*, pp. and Goody, Jack (editor), *The Developmental Cycles in Domestic Groups*, London: Cambridge University Press, 1958, pp. 21 – 25.

under a ‘dual clan system’, along patrimonial and matrimonial lines, namely *Yiilu* or *Saabiir* (Patriclan) and *Bellu* or *Ma-biir* (Matri-clan). Social relationships in the Nandom society are based on Patriclans. People are linked by patrilineal bonds and every kin-group traces its descent to an acknowledged *Saakom* (ancestor). As a result, they recognised themselves as what may be termed as *Burε-been* (ancestral seed) and they belong to what is described as *Yirbeen-dem* (one family). These Patriclans have a unifying bond of descent and so the members of each clan are seen as *yεbr* (siblings/relatives).²⁷⁷

Goody is considered to have been the pioneer in the history of the social organisation of the Dagara of northern Ghana.²⁷⁸ His work has generated a significant debate by a number of scholars on the distinction between “family” and “domestic group” (household) as those outlined above. To this extent, one may say that the term “family” refers to a genealogical model, while the term “domestic group” could be used to refer to the behavioural pattern of the family. In the oral data analysis of ethnographic materials gathered from some of the early village settlers during fieldwork in Nandom, it was evident that the “domestic group” approach was more appropriate in understanding the Dagara social system and organisation of the Nandom people into the various segments.

On the dual clan system in Nandom, Barnard Kuu-im and Rev. Fr. Dr. Steven Koya have asserted that domestic groupings can be categorised according to a term which they refer to as *Yir* (home/house).²⁷⁹ They make the

²⁷⁷ Interview with Rev. Fr. Dr. Stephen Koya at the Nandom Minor Baslica, Nandom, 56 years, on 21st November 2017 and 23rd February 2018.

²⁷⁸ Goody, *The Ethnography of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast*, 1954, pp. 12 – 21.

²⁷⁹ Interview with Barnard Kuu-im, 18th July, 2018. See also, Brown, C. K., Gender Roles and Household allocation of resources and decision-making in Ghana. in: *The Changing Family in Ghana in nationalist politics 1945 – 1946*. eds. Ardayfo-Schandorf, Elizabeth, *Research Review* (NS), 14 (1), 1996, pp. 16 – 63.

point that there abound in Nandom a clear and independent form of kin-groups in the society generally referred to as *Yir*. *Yir*, in native terminology, has more than one meaning but in this study, it would be used to refer to the domestic unit on which Nandom society is founded. The oral traditions collected in some parts of the early settlement communities demonstrate that the *Yir* concept is the foundation for social organisation in Nandom. The settlement communities have since *tengkor-dar* (olden days), remained remarkably a homogeneous society consisting of people with similar traditions. For the kin-group of Nandom, activities associated with the *Yir* revolve around the home or the hearth, which certainly comprises the space for the preparation and consumption of food and for domestication of plants and animals.

Regarding this arrangement of routines around the home/heath, the oral tradition identifies four principal groups. These included the reproductive group, the consumption group, the working group and the resource holding group.²⁸⁰

To begin with, the institution of marriage is reserved for the reproductive group. Marriage in the Ghanaian society today has attained a modern character where both European and Christian marriages have taken centre stage. The Dagara of Nandom have an atypical social arrangement whereby marriage is allowed only outside of a social group.²⁸¹ This is to say that the social groups in Nandom define the scope and extent of exogamy and the rules and enforcement mechanisms that ensure its continuity.²⁸² In view of this, exogamy is further

²⁸⁰ Brown, *Gender Roles and House allocation of resources and decision-making in Ghana*, p. 32.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*

²⁸² Interview with Bernard Kuu-im, 18 June, 2018.

viewed as a combination of two related aspects of marriage – biological and cultural. Unlike the Isala clans of the Sissala kin groups who until recently lived in complete isolation vis-à-vis their neighbours, clan exogamy among the Nandom people afforded the main *raison-d'être* for any social intercourse between clan and clan, as would-be wives have to be sought for within the clan circle.²⁸³ A Nandome *Dagara-doo* (Dagara-man) along with his wife and children are housed in a small, simple building, usually consisting of one room in which meals are cooked for the whole home. This is more or less a home where the man and his wife spend most of their day-to-day responsibilities. The children lived with the parents until such a period that they were considered capable and mature, and, therefore, could be on their own. At the time of sexual maturity of the child, he or she was married out to a man or woman outside of the kin-group. In the case of the young man, a piece of farmland was cut out for him by his father while a woman was searched for and given to him by his father for marriage. This was done in order to ensure continuity of the development cycle.²⁸⁴ This process can be translated to mean conjugal pairing.

The dwelling place of the man is called *kampil* in the Dagara language, and is usually identified by features such as walls, thatched roof, poles, and hedges. In it, is a fire-place which is used both to cook food and to warm the inhabitants.

In the pre-colonial era, a *pɔŋ-kula* (a married woman) was very loyal and exhibited a high sense of responsibility.²⁸⁵ A *pɔŋ-kula* devoted a great deal of time near the hearth engaged in cooking and carrying out other household

²⁸³ Rattray, *The Tribes of the Asante Hinterland*, p. 482.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.* p. 482.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

chores which included taking care of the new born. The man, on the other hand, as a husband, would usually sit around the hearth relaxing, drinking home-made liquor, chatting, or playing with the children and sometimes engaged in *Senselle* (storytelling) along with *Sokpoga* (proverbial sayings). That is to say that the major activity around the hearth involved cleaning, grooming and caring for the young, the preparation and consumption of food, entertainment, and conjugal adult activities. The man, along with these responsibilities, carried out other equally important duties to keep the home.

In every dwelling unit, there is a head of the household. The man is the natural head and plays the roles of husband, father and the sole controller of the resources of the domestic group. He controls the land, cattle and tools which formed the economic basis of their survival. Every household has an heir. He is the person with the right to customarily receive all or most of the money, property, titles and the like from the head of the household at his death. The head of the household also represents and acts on behalf of his dependants and relations in matters that concerned the general interest of both internal and external kin. The man and his wife carry on the productive tasks; the children assume such roles when they are matured. To this extent, the social group, led by the husband and wife, is one of a reproductive, consumption, production and resource owning group.²⁸⁶

This domestic arrangement, with the passage of time, increased in numbers as it acquired more members. This is the case when the children of the head of dwelling unit became sexually mature and thus progressed from

²⁸⁶Interview with Bernard Kuu-im, 18 June 2018.

childhood to adulthood, and parenthood. In the *tengkor-dar* when a man attained 25 years of age, he was expected to find a female partner or a choice would be made for him. The common practice, as indicated earlier, required that this mate must be from another village, and that the marriage partners must not be related to each other, either by paternal or maternal decent for several generations back. The *Yir-Nibere* (elders) would say that it was a *Kyiiru* (taboo) to marry from the same kin-group.²⁸⁷ However, this restriction on the mother's decent is sometimes negated as evidenced by a few cases of marriage between matrilineal cross-cousins. The Bekuone clan in this instance is apt example. The clan is subdivided into *Damoule* and *Dakyare*, thereby creating that avenue of marriage convenience between them. This practice of marriage between same clan is however, waning as adherents face open criticism from the society. Before the era of the dowry, what was the form of Dagara marriage and at what stage did the dowry system come into being?

Before the 1930s, customary marriage in the Dagara setting was rooted in the traditions of the people and thus classified as a “life-long vocation.”²⁸⁸ Also, it was a source of creating new relations and strengthening old ones among the different clan groups. At the onset of the dowry system, a form of payment was instituted for legally owning a woman as wife, but not in a standard form as it is undertaken at present. This form of marriage was the era of elopement where forced marriage was the norm and very prevalent in the pre-Christian era of the Northwestern Ghana in general and the Black Volta River,

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.* Interview, Kuu-im, 18th June, 2018

²⁸⁸ Interview with Faustina Maalekaar, age 95, at Gungunkpe residence, 21st June, 2018

in particular.²⁸⁹ A man would usually elope with a woman but make known to the parents the woman's whereabouts after some days. Although elopement was usually done with the consent of the girl and, probably, friends and relatives, she was expected to resist the attempt. This form of resistance was to demonstrate some level of uprightness, moral highground and preservation of her dignity as a woman. Resistance to elopement symbolised acceptance to marriage proposal and thus began a period of interaction through negotiation between the girl's kinsmen and the boy's kinsmen to legitimise the marriage process. Some form of 'compensation' was then paid to the woman's kin-group by the boy's kinsmen.

From the 1930s, the system of elopement began to die out. Thus, that form of 'compensation' was transformed and structured to bring about what is now known and called *pɔŋ-kyarlibie* (bride price).²⁹⁰

Pɔŋ-kyar libie and bride service are the common forms of obtaining a mate in the Dagara community. The *pɔŋ-kyar* system among the Dagara of Nandom is an ancestral system that many non-Dagara scholars, including J. S.

²⁸⁹ Elopement was another form of marriage arrangement practised among some Dagara communities in the pre-Christian era. This occurred mostly at the puberty period of the male. The girl was persuaded to leave with her would-be husband to his home. When persuasion failed, "force" was then the option, whereby the girl was seized by the boy's kinsmen or colleagues at the market square, recreational centre, by the river/well/borehole side or sometimes in the night when the girl was sleeping. The weekly markets also seem to have been ideal occasions for fraternization and subsequent elopement, especially, on the Sundays which were institutionalised as central market days for Nandom.

²⁹⁰ The Dagara of Nandom and elsewhere in the Northwest insist that the moment the dowry (*pɔŋ-kyarlibie*) has been paid and accepted by the woman's kin family, all children born out of that conjugal pair belonged to the extended family of the husband. See for example, J. Goody, "Normative, 'recollected' and 'actual' marriage payments among the LoWilli of Northern Ghana, 1951 – 1966", *Africa* 39(1) 54 – 61; M. Johnson, "The Cowrie Currencies of West Africa, Part I & II." *Journal of African History* 11 (1&3): 17 – 49 & 331 – 353; G. Dery, *Inheritance and Marriage among the Dagaaba of Northern Ghana*, Accra: Assembly Press, 1990; G. Kpiebaya, *Dagaaba Traditional Marriage and Family Life*, Wa Catholic Press 1991, pp. 1 – 16; and S. Hawkins, *Marriage as Slavery and women as property: Unpalatable truths or inappropriate categories*. Unpublished, 2001, pp. 4 – 12.

Mbiti, termed as “dowry”²⁹¹ whereby a stipulated list of items was given by a groom’s parents to a bride’s family. This was the source of the term bride-price instead of bride wealth, but scholars such as Mbiti prefer to refer to the *pɔŋ-kyar* system of the Dagara as marriage gifts.²⁹²

Mbiti goes further to describe these gifts as the outward symbols of a serious undertaking by the families concerned. He is, however, quick to add that whenever the marriage so entered into broke down, many of these gifts were returned as a sign of failure.²⁹³ This requirement, however, is not a strict rule as shown by the available oral tradition. The tradition has it that such failures are usually well interrogated to ascertain the cause of it before a decision was arrived at to determine the return of such marriage items. Although this is particularly not very prevalent in the Nandom area, on a few occasions that such matters arose, the clan elders made efforts to resolving them. This is why the items given by the groom’s family to the bride’s family are not to be described as ‘buying and selling’, as one would usually witness in the market. This is to preserve the sanctity and customary value of the marriage system. As rightly argued by Mbiti, the institution of this practice is the most concrete symbol of the marriage covenant and security. Under no circumstances is this a customary form of ‘payment’ as non-Dagara writers would want us to believe.²⁹⁴

The available literature interrogated shows that, scholars have attempted to assign various, but rather misleading titles such as bride-price, bride-wealth,

²⁹¹ J. S. Mbiti, *African Religious and Philosophy*. London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd. 1969, pp. 137 – 140 and his *Introduction to African Religion*, 1975, pp. 100 – 104.

²⁹² Interview with a group of elders led by Alhaji Issifu Botug Benni Chiir, age 75, at Nandom Pataal. See also, Mbiti, *Introduction to African Religion*, p. 101.

²⁹³ Mbiti, *Introduction to African Religion*, p. 101.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 101.

and bride-gift, to the system of *Pɔŋ-kyar* among the Dagara in general. Simply put, the term ‘marriage gift’ is a cover term for the entire process of the marriage transaction or the process to legitimise a conjugal partnership. In this part of the country and elsewhere in Africa, terms used for the practice of giving the marriage gift are, in most cases, different from words used in buying and selling something in the market.²⁹⁵ It must be noted that all items involved in the process of the Dagara customary marriage, from the moment of courtship to its finality, are largely considered to have spiritual and cultural value, as well as social significance. The commencement of this customary practice dates back to the 1600s and has remained unchanged in respect of the amount of cowries and items establishing the marriage gift.²⁹⁶

In the case of dead parents, a brother of the deceased parent assumes the responsibility of marriage processes on behalf of the bride. The exchange of partners between two different groups in some communities is a normal practice, but this is not prevalent in the Nandom area in general. The *pɔŋ-kyar bome* (bride’s list of items) is usually subjected to proper scrutiny to ascertain the sanctity and veracity of the items and to either accept or reject the offer. This is however, predicated on secret background checks made on the man to find out any form of diseases or infirmity in the man’s kin group. It is only after the presentation of the *pɔŋ-kyar bome*, and its acceptance by the woman’s kin group that the pair is recognised as a legitimate union. After this recognition, the bride and the bridegroom would live with the groom’s father’s domestic group. What

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 140.

²⁹⁶ See for example, M. Johnson, A Note on Cowries, 1965, pp. 37 – 41 and McCoy F. Remigius’ *Great Things Happen: Personal Memoir of the First Christian Missionary among the Dagaabas and Sissalas of Northern Ghana*, 1988, pp. 15 – 36.

then would be the cultural and/or customary role of the cowrie in the Dagara customary marriage system, to such an extent that without it, a conjugal union is considered illegal?

The Cowrie in the Nandom Dowry System

At one time, a dominant medium of exchange before the introduction of the British West African Pound in the 19th century and later, the new republic's first independent currency, the Ghanaian pound from 1958-1965 and then the adoption of the Cedi in July 1965, the cowrie is gradually losing its significance. Its use in the pre-colonial period dates back between the 1200 BC and the 1300 BC, but plummeted during the nineteenth century slave trade in preference for the trade in palm oil.²⁹⁷ Michael Crowder, Basil Davidson, and F. K. Buah observe that traders across Africa at one point in time used various measures of value, including the cowrie, for exchange of commodities.²⁹⁸ For instance, even as far back as the 4th century AD, Axumite craftsmen imported brass to be cut into pieces and used as coins. They also minted coins of gold, silver and bronze with an image of king Ezana (AD 320-360) which circulated for about 700 years.²⁹⁹ These measures were seldom coins or paper-notes, such as those of modern times. P. Einzig documents how the use of gold dust, enslaved people and several forms of iron currency at various times after about 1600 in the Gold

²⁹⁷ M. Johnson, A Note on Cowries. *Research Review* 2, 2 (1965), pp. 37 – 41.

²⁹⁸ See Michael Crowder, *West Africa Under Colonial Rule*, London: Hutchinson, 1968, pp. 178 – 179; Basil Davidson, *The Growth of African Civilization: A History of West Africa 1000 – 1800*, Singapore: Longman Group, 1965, pp. 158 – 159 and F. K. Buah, *A History of Ghana: Revised and Updated*, Oxford: Macmillan Education, 1980, pp. 124 – 125.

²⁹⁹ Huntingford, G. W. B. 'The Kingdom of Axum' in Oliver, Roland (ed.) *The Dawn of African History*, Oxford University Press, 1968, pp. see also, M. Shinnie, 'Civilizations of the Nile (c. 4500 BC – AD 350) in A. M. Josephy (ed.) *The Horizon History of Africa*, New York, 1972, pp. 63 – 78.

Coast. Cowrie shells, pieces of brass, length of iron bars and even strips of “a garment made of cotton, linen or silk” was used extensively as a medium of exchange among traders of West Africa.³⁰⁰

The cowrie, despite, its seemingly lost value as currency in modern West Africa, remains an undisputed asset to the people of Northwestern Ghana, and Nandom in particular. This is because of the unique and the monetary roles it continue to play in the culture of the people. Religiously, it does play an impeccable role too in many Ghanaian communities.

Notwithstanding its numerous usage among the Dagara people of Nandom, the literature on the practice is however scanty. The Dagara oral tradition articulates such uses as spiritual and religious adornments and, for the lack of a better expression, what might be termed as a *compensatory medium* but without which a dowry is half-finished in the Dagara dowry system.³⁰¹ These are but the few non-monetary roles that cowries play in the Dagara tradition, but for the purposes of this study, the role it played in the marriage process of the Dagara people would further engage our attention.

Notwithstanding its invaluable use for diverse purposes in the Dagara society of Nandom, the most significant use of the cowrie is as a final arbiter in the process of providing a dowry for a woman. E. J. Mishan, E. P. Seskin and J. S. Landfeld are part of a school of thought that believe that a dowry given by a groom’s family to a bride’s family should not in any comparable terms be placed

³⁰⁰ M. Johnson, A Note on Cowries. *Research Review* 2, 2 (1965), pp. 37 – 41. See also, P. Einzig, *Primitive Money in its Ethnological, Historical and Economic Aspects*. 2nd Edition, Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1966, p. 145.

³⁰¹ Interview with Alhaji Issifu Botug Benni, on 21st June 2018.

under monetary value.³⁰² This viewpoint is consistent with the oral tradition gathered in the various Dagara villages in Nandom which sought to make a strong exception of the fact that the use of the cowrie as part of the dowry system is never to imply a monetary value on the woman as a human being. The oral tradition states explicitly that:

The cowrie forms an integral part of the dowry of a woman. The cowries given to the woman's kin group on a set date for the dowry of the woman in her natal home has an attribution of spiritual and cultural values which far exceed the perception of an observer.³⁰³

This is making the point that the amount of cowries as established and institutionalised as the bride's list of items in the Dagara traditional concept of marriage since time immemorial has been the same and has not changed to date. It is called the *Lezare* () constituting the total number of cowries in count.³⁰⁴ It, therefore, does not change with time or generation, nor does it conform to any economic conditionality. This is why its spiritual and cultural values and significance cannot be underestimated.

In recent times, however, efforts have been made to present a cedi equivalent of the cowries. But this has been unsuccessful due to the belief that no monetary value can be put on human beings. When the cowries, alongside other items as the two cows, are presented on a set date, one thing symbolic of the ceremony was the counting of the number of cowries by the would-be wife in the full view of all the people present at the ceremony. The woman would count the cowries

³⁰² E. J. Mishan, *Cost-Benefit Analysis: An Informal Introduction*. 4th Edition. London: Unwin Hyman Ltd., 1988, pp. 1 – 19 and J. S. Landfeld, and E. P. Seskin, *The Economic Value of Life: Linking Theory of Practice*. in: *Economics of the Environment: Selected Readings*, R. Dorfman and N. S. Dorfman (Eds.). Third Edition, New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc. 1993, pp. 378 – 381.

³⁰³ Interview with Alhaji Issifu Botug Benni, on 21 June 2018.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

and tell her kin-group that the cowries were up to the required figure and, therefore, should be accepted. When the woman was called upon to count the cowries and she refused, it was considered a rejection of the marriage proposal. Also, the acceptance of the cowries alongside other items such as, the two cows (male and female), a guinea fowl and an ordinary fowl, was an indication of the legitimisation of the marriage customarily, and that the two have become a couple and have that conjugal right to stay together.³⁰⁵ Therefore, any marital affair outside of this arrangement, would have to be handled customarily through an arbitration by the kin-groups of both the husband and wife.

The Dagara Social Setting: Evolution and Change

A key element of the Dagara social setting was the fact that a girl or woman could not choose for herself a partner for marriage, according to tradition.³⁰⁶ When the head of the domestic group decided it was time for marriage, the girl was not consulted until after every negotiation was done and the dowrie had been paid and accepted. All discussions went on secretly, usually between the head of the girl's kin group and the *ditina* (go-between) representing the would-be groom's kin group.³⁰⁷

One other notable practice was the ceremony of consent at the conclusion of dowrie payment.³⁰⁸ The acceptance of the dowrie was symbolic

³⁰⁵ Interview with Alhaji Issifu Botug Benni, on 21 June 2018.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁷ *Ditina*: Usually a go-between in the matter of marriages in the Dagara tradition. The *ditina* represents the prospective groom's family in negotiations with a would-be bride's family to secure her hand in marriage.

³⁰⁸ Interview with Alhaji Issifu Botug, 78 years old, at his residence in Nandom-Patal, 21 June 2018.

because the woman's kin-group had, by that time, agreed to give their daughter away in marriage. At this point, the prospective groom, in the company of his colleagues, go to the would-be wife's family home and make a presentation of four cowrie shells to the woman. These cowrie shells are either given directly to the woman or thrown on the ground at a vantage point for her to pick. Acceptance of these cowrie shells embodies an agreement to the union but otherwise it represented a rejection of the union. In many instances, however, family pressure was always the last resort on the woman to weaken her opposition to the proposal. The end of all that process, marks the beginning of the bride service.³⁰⁹

When a sexually matured female in Northwest Ghana left her natal group and went to reside in the village of her mate, she is considered a bride-suitors. The woman was no longer a guest but a member of the kin-group of the man and, therefore, played significant roles in food preparation, shelter and other related work of provision. The emphasis here is that this practice is consistent with the economic process of survival in the various village communities in Nandom. Usually, the woman comes in at a time when the groom's parents have difficulty supporting themselves in respect of agricultural and other related work, especially during the time of heavy agricultural activities. McCoy makes the observation that in Northwest Ghana, the woman was virtually a housekeeper. She did not till the soil except perhaps a plot near the house where she grew some groundnuts and vegetables.³¹⁰ The tradition available in some communities support this claim but adds that the woman did

³⁰⁹ Interview with Alhaji Issifu Botug.

³¹⁰ McCoy, *Great Things Happen*, pp. 149- 165.

not partake in the rigorous agricultural farming of the land but rather was the one who did the sowing of the seeds and, later, cutting the tops off the millet and guinea corn which was referred to in the local dialect as *sellu vuo* (transplanting period). At this time, mostly in the mid-farming season (June/July), the Bambara beans and groundnuts were ready for harvest. She would pick the Bambara beans and harvested the groundnuts as well. During the millet and guinea corn harvest time, it was the woman's responsibility to gather and carry home the harvest. She made sure the men on the farm were served food and drinks and when work was done, she prepared a meal for them at home.

In addition to the seasonal duty, was the routine work of fetching water from the nearest source for cooking, bathing, and laundering. She collected firewood for the cooking and occasionally would grind the millet for the main meal using a homemade grinding mill made up of two granite stones.³¹¹

With the passage of time, the newly-conjugal pair would set up what could be termed an independent consumption group within the *yirpkee* (main household). This involved building a new house or an attachment with a separate cooking hearth. The separate cooking, it is observed in some village settlements, was not very prevalent. That is to say, that a major routine activity of the bride was to fetch water and cook for the entire family with the exception of very large compound houses.³¹²

³¹¹ Interview with a group of women in Zimuopare, Nandomkpee, Gungunkpe and Ketuo. Aged between 50 and 78. They add that whenever the grinding stones were incapable of grinding well or worn out, they were enclosed in the base of a small fetish altar of dried mud built by the door of the house. Libation, alongside some offerings, were usually made to the *Kontome* (gods) and the ancestral spirits to sharpen the stones for use again.

³¹²*Ibid.*

Each Nandom village consists of tightly knit clans such that all the men and children in a particular village would usually possess the same surname. The tradition, as indicated earlier, posits that a man and a woman cannot marry if they are both from the same clan.³¹³ Clans are defined on the basis of folk knowledge of ancestry as well as surname. Children keep their father's surname for life, regardless of later relations. Thus, it stands to reason that a man and a woman cannot marry if they have the same surname. Exceptions to the surname rule are allowed only in cases where two clans have the same surname even though they are known by convincing evidence from oral tradition to be historically divergent. If a person marries within the clan, whether with or without their consent, it is considered a serious violation of the principles of traditional norms and values and, therefore, could invoke the wrath and subsequent punishment of the gods and/or ancestors.³¹⁴ Goody puts this succinctly when he states that marriage between individuals who are in some culturally-significant way, related to each other, is not characteristic of the social strata in African societies, which, according to him, tend to encourage marriage between groups of different status.³¹⁵ Simply put, that form of culturally associative mating is strictly frowned upon by the Dagara of Nandom and Africa in general. Rather, out-marriage is encouraged as it would, to a very large extent, strengthen the sociocultural lineage within the society and further delimit the rate of conflict among the people.³¹⁶

³¹³ *Ibid.*

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Interviews conducted in some selected communities from 22 – 29 November, 2018.

³¹⁵ Jack Goody, "Class and Marriage in Africa and Eurasia," *American Journal of Sociology*. Vol 76, No.4, 1971, pp. 585 – 608. (Accessed: <http://www.jstor.org> 05-08-2018)

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 585.

Clans are distinct and influential social units and, in the most cases, with very connected kith and kin outside of the domestic group. During field work in Nandom, this researcher observed a palpable sense of social distance – tense politeness and social obligation – when one or more clans meet at an occasion or at ordinary moments, even though both groups are otherwise socioeconomic equals. Thus, before a woman immigrates to marry in another clan group, she is well groomed by her natal clan in the traditions and customs of the clan group she is marrying into.³¹⁷

At the level of a kin-group, especially, those who originally came from the same family and have the same last name and, as a result of cross-marriages between clans, the society is further structured by the notion of extended family. This means that a native Nandome views himself or herself as a member of the Dagara ethnic minority in Ghana, a member of a clan in the Wa region, a member of an extended family in the local village, and a member of a nuclear family in a particular *yir*. Kin-groups are patrilineal, and the father of a *yir* is observed to take up a leading role in respect of leading the family during ceremonies such as funerals, naming rites, libation, marriage rites, and other rites of passage ceremonies.

People of the same patriclan share the same totems and praise songs or appellations. They stay together at times in a given geographical area or village, and cooperate with one another. Immovable property is inherited through the patri-clan. The *Yiilu* or patriclan is common to all the Dagara/Dagaaba. Here, the oldest man of the patrilineage, with other elders, maintain law and order.

³¹⁷ Interview with a group of women in Zimuopare, Nandomkpee, Gungunkpe and Ketuo. Age between 48 and 68, 16 July 2018.

How wonderful it would be if all Dagara, all ethnic groups and in fact, all humanity could see one another as children of one Father, God (i.e. *Saa-biir*).³¹⁸

Second is the “*Bellu*” or *Ma-biir* (Matriclan). People who belong to the same Matriclan claim to have descended from one common acknowledged ancestress. The matriclans are classified under different traits of specific maternal backgrounds. This is because each child is said to have inherited his or her skin from the mother. Members of the same *Ma-biir* see themselves as relatives but the relationship is not blood relationship as they can intermarry if they are not so closely related paternally. Also they are not consanguine because “*Bellu*” means “deceit” or imitation”. It does not constitute an organic group nor has it repercussions of real relationships.

The origin of “*Bellu*” is linked with the exaltation of certain female activities: like the brewing of Pito (local beer), making of Sheabutter, pottery et cetera, which made some women famous. Moveable property is inherited through the Matriclan to the “*Arbile*”, that is the (uterine nephew). This happens among only the *lobri* dialect speakers. Matrilineal problems and conflicts are solved at this level.

Nandom was essentially an agricultural society that cultivate crops such as millet and guinea-corn. These plants to a larger extent formed part of their staple food. In addition, they also kept in small quantities herds of cattle, goats and sheep. The animals, as part of the culture of the people, was of a great

³¹⁸ Field Notes: Interviews conducted during January and July 2018. These collection of views from people that this researcher came across during visits to some communities in the Black Volta Basin. For detail discussion on the social dimensions of the Dagara in general, see St. J. Eyre-Smith, *A Brief Review of the History and Social Organisation of the Peoples of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast*, Accra: Governement Printer, 1993, pp. 12 – 34.

intrinsic significance and, to a greater extent served as an integral part of the customary marriage rites and are desirable investment for the people. Unlike the Gurunshi of North-eastern Ghana, the people of the Northwest usually prefer to look after their own cattle, sheep and goats. J. K. G. Syme, in documenting the history of the Kusasi, observes that the Kusasi as a people do not rear the cattle themselves.³¹⁹ Syme notes that they gave them out to Fulani herdsmen who tended the cattle with infinite care and penned them at night near their compounds. Their only reward was the milk produced by the cows under their charge. In the Nandom traditional setting and as a rule, people prefer to care for their animals by themselves. In this sense, the cattle are kept inside the compounds at night and in the day time they are left under the care of shepherd to feed in the nearby forest.³²⁰ Storage of fodder by some cattle owners was done in order to manage the hazards of the dry season.

Up until the 1920s, the members of Dagara kin-groups of Nandom lived in village-compounds which were scattered over an area at an irregular interval. This layout was to ensure the security of lands, property and human beings. These compounds were round in shape and usually consist of any number of circular mud huts with conical shaped grass roofs and connected together by mud walls.³²¹ Due to change and evolutions in the conditions of human welfare and intra community relationships, the compounds which used to be a settlement of same kin groups has witnessed a dramatic transformations with the passage of time. Friendly relations would be established between close

³¹⁹ PRAAD Accra, ADM 11/1/824, *The Kusasi: A Short Brief History* by J. K. G. SYME. D. C. 1908.

³²⁰ Interviews with Alhaji Issifu Botug Benni and Bernard Kuu-im, 26 – 28 June 2018.

³²¹ *Ibid.*

neighbours, but each *Yir* was an entity in itself. As indicated earlier, when the young men got married, they did not leave the paternal kin's family, as it is presently the case. The bride was brought home, allocated a hut, and given her share of the general work of the domestic group to do.

Conclusion

From the foregoing, it is evident that pre-Nandom society was built around a core group of kinship, significantly respected as the basic social unit from which the community was structured. It was from this social unit that the society was founded, and social relationship and institutionalised cultural practices formulated. The nature of the house-society was one of a “dual clan system” where social construction was defined along *Yiilu* or *Saabir* (patriclan) and *Bellu* or *Ma-biir* (matriclan). Social relationships, however, are organised along the patriarchal lineage lines. The people are linked by patrilineal bonds and every kin-group traced its descent to an acknowledged *Saakom* (ancestor). They, therefore, relate to themselves as *Burε-been* and are therefore, *Yirbeen-dem* (household). These patriarchal lineages have a unifying descent which bonds them and, thus, members of each clan are seen as *yεbr* (siblings) and are prohibited to marry from within the same clan. The pre-Nandom society was basically a male-dominated society with the right of inheritance, rulership/headship, and spiritual/ritual legitimacy organised along the lines of *Saabir* and *B'ellu*.

CHAPTER FOUR

**INDIGENOUS POLITICS, COLONIAL POLICY AND PRE-
INDEPENDENCE POLITICS IN NANDOM UP TO 1955**

Introduction

The “Sagrenti war” otherwise described as the “Sacking of Kumasi” in the period 1873-1874, was a seminal moment in the life of not only the states and kingdoms of the southern savannah, the forest and the Guinea coast, but also

the people of Northwest of Ghana, in particular, those dwelling in the extreme corner of the Black Volta Basin.³²² The consequences thereafter were very profound. The war represented a big change across Gold Coast as the Asante Empire began to fall apart. The outcome of the war was that the Asante vassal states in the north – Gonja, Dagomba, Krakye and Gyaaman – reasserted their independence and came on the rader of the British colonial empire. This chapter therefore aims at interrogating the democratic traditions and the traditional governing structure of the preliterate Nandom people up to the year 1892. It also examines the modification of the indigenou governing structures of the Nandom people with the advent of colonial rule. It will discuss the relationship and interactions of the Nandom people with their neighbours. Lastly, it will undertake an assessment of the involvement of Nandom in Gold Coast politics from the post-colonial era to 1955.

Governance Structures in Pre-Nandom Society

Available literature on the elaborate forms of local government already in operation in states such as the Dagomba, Gonja and Asante at the advent of imperialism, shows how the local inhabitants of the Black Volta River governed themselves. Nandom, before European explorers or colonialists set foot in the northwest region of Ghana, had its own system of government which was different from that of other groups like the Dagbon.

³²²Henrika Kuklick, *The Imperial Bureaucrat: The Colonial Administration Service in the Gold Coast, 1920-1939*, Standford: Hoover Institution, 1979, pp. 11 – 28 and Henrika Kuklick, *The Savage Within: The British Social Anthropology 1885-1945*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991, p. 26. See also, W. J. A. Jones, “The Northern Territories of the Gold Coast,” *Crown Colonist*, April 1938, pp. 193 -195; A. Adu Boahen, *Topics in West African History*, New Edition, London: Longman, 1986, pp. 61 – 62; ADM 11/1/824, PRAAD Accra, Essays by Assistant Commissioners on Tribal History, , 1908-1931.

The concept of a ruler who had control over individuals or groups other than his own kindred was alien in the pre-colonial period to the Nandom people. Chiefs, as we have come to know now did not exist among the Nandom people.³²³ Any individual that authority was given in the period before the European-trade explorers arrived, were given to the head of each kin-group or clan. The Lords of the earth, known in local language as *Tengandeme* or *tengansob* (land masters/owners) had authority in so far as the welfare of the land and the crops were concerned, but had no judicial powers. However, he was looked up to as the head of the clan in moments of family conflicts. The *tengansob* could delegate powers, according to the tradition, to another person. Two of these officials were very important people in those days. They were *Bagrmale/Bogomala* (ritualist at the earth-shrine), and the *Kumbelo* (messenger). The *Bagrmale* was a traditional officer who kept the place of traditional worship on the instructions of the *tengansob* (land owner). The *Kumbelo*, on the other hand, was more or less a messenger between the clan heads and the *tengansob*. The *Kumbelo*'s symbol of authority was a horn with which he summoned people from their homes and farms. He had the power of arrest and could banish anyone who shed human blood or was found to have committed a serious offence. The local chief of Bulegang asserted that the *tengansob* owned the land, and that in pre-colonial era the *tengansob* had all the powers.³²⁴

Writing between the 1907 and 1908 about the people of the Northwestern Ghana, Commissioner Read observed that 'fetishes' and 'fetish

³²³ *Ibid.* PRAAD Accra, ADM 11/1/824, Essays, 1908 – 1931.

³²⁴ Interview with a section of elders of the Bulegangn traditional council led the chief, Naa Beyuo, age 58, 27 – 29 June, 2018.

priests' formed a significant part of the sociocultural life of the people. He makes the suggestion that the *tengansob* with other equally important individuals as diviners or healers, form part of a category of 'fetish priests.'³²⁵

The people of Nandom did not have a constitution in the structure of the word, but certainly, there was a sort of patriarchal structure that represented and regulated the socio-political activities of the settlement. This could hardly be described as a constitution-based governance. The only leader in the pre-colonial period were, the *tengandeme* (land custodians), but the title "chief" in the real sense of the word was never applicable to them. Rattray asserts that as the Dagara communities were divided into sections; there was at each section a head who was responsible to the people.³²⁶ These section-heads would, according to practice, come under the head of the clan who was usually the *tengsob* (land owner). These section-heads or subdivision heads, as referred to by the Chief of Kokoligu, were of greater standing and very often, would come together to support the land owner in moments of crisis.³²⁷ According to Rattray before the arrival of the Europeans, the following subdivisions were recognised among the Nandom people, namely: Kokoligu, Tuopare, Gungunkpe, Guo, Tantuo, Panyaan, Vapuo and Zimuopare.³²⁸ These subdivisional heads, according to tradition, were selected in one of the following ways: by designation in the discretion of traditional earth priest family of Nandom, or by the virtue of

³²⁵ PRO, CO 96/493, Gold Coast no. 41, Governor Robertson to the Colonial Office, 19 January, 1910, enclosures 3, 7. See also, PRAAD Accra, ADM 56/105, Read's annual report to the Chief Commissioner Northern Territories (CCNT), 5 December, 1914; PRAAD Tamale, NRG 8/3/78: 1 – 2, Lawra-Tumu District, Annual Report 1938-1939; PRAAD Tamale, NRG 8/3/53: 89, Northern Territories, Annual Report 1935-1936, and PRAAD Tamale, NRG 8/3/85, Annual Report – Wala District.

³²⁶ Rattray, *The Tribes of the Ashanti Hinterland*, p. 465.

³²⁷ Interview with Naa Zuwera Micheal, chief of Kokoligu, 74years, on 28th October 2018.

³²⁸ Rattray, *The Tribes of the Ashanti Hinterland*, p. 465.

the material wealth of the individual to be appointed. With regards to material possession, it is relative to one's area of settlement. The oral tradition mentions men such as Kyir Konkoo Der of Nandom Pataal, Bapure of Gungunkpe, Gemiri of Ko, and Doyaga of Tuopare as persons who could be described as the 'strongmen' of Nandom in the pre-colonial period.³²⁹ However, they had no power beyond the material influence they had on people in the area of settlement.

Spiritual authority was a preserve of the earth priest family and those designated as such in the above named communities. For people in such stages of government, there could be no difference in the manner in which law and order was instilled in the communities. The traditions indicate that they were well informed by taboos and moral sanctions that crime and all manner of wrongdoing were against the people and the deities. The occasional wrongdoer was instantly dealt with by the kin-group he or she had offended. This, in the olden days, deterred offenders/criminals in the community.

It is obvious from the argument made so far that, traditions and politics in the olden days played a significant role in the lives of the people. From its beginnings in the early days of settlement in Nandom (1700 – 1800), early writers had observed and suggested that the institution of the *tengansob* would be transformed, and evolve into the institution of chieftaincy.³³⁰ This never

³²⁹ Interviews with Mathew Mwinviel, Assembleman of Kuselle, at his Kuselle residence, 61 years, and Naa Zuwera Micheal, chief of Kokoligu.

³³⁰ PRAAD Accra, ADM 56/1/267, Mackworth: *Report on Wa*, 1898; PRAAD Accra, ADM 8/2/4, Memorandum on the Proposed Northern Territories Native Administration Ordinance, 1900; PRAAD Accra, ADM 56/1/50, Tour of Inspection (North Western Province), 1906; Report on Lobi Mission March 1906; Report on Trek to Wa via Tumu and Lorha by M. Dasent (28.4.1920); PRAAD Accra, ADM 56/1/421, Monthly Reports on Black Volta District 1906; PRAAD Accra, ADM 56/142, Annual Report: Northwestern Province 1914; Chiefs and Prominent Africans – Report on: Report by D. C. Eastern Gonja, PRAAD Accra, ADM

materialized in the manner it was expected but instead, brought tensions in the latter half of the 1800 between the chiefly family (Bekuone) and the earth priest family (Dikpielle) who are the custodians of the land. This, however, became intractable with the sudden arrival of the British in the northwest of Ghana. The British colonial administration had found chiefs elsewhere in the then Yendi Dabari, and expected to find the same chiefs in the northwest of Ghana.

Chiefs were necessary for the British colonial system of indirect rule to work. Labourers were sorely needed to work on the new station buildings.

Early colonial officials in the 1890s were contracted to carry out a survey and to reorganize the country north of Ashante which was ambiguously referred to as the “Ashanti Hinterland” in an effort to consolidate British spheres of influence during the peak years of the European scramble for Africa. To this end, an international rivalry ensued between the French, British and the Germans who sought to secure the area through treaties of protection signed with the chiefs. Some of these early field-surveyors commissioned to the then “Ashanti Hinterland” included Captain Louis Binger who worked for the French government and George Ekem Ferguson, a Fanti official of the Gold Coast, 1890-1897 who worked for the British colonial administration.³³¹ In one of Binger’s early works, he claimed to have travelled between 1888 and 1889 from Senegal via Kong and Bobo-Dioulasso to Ouagadougou and returned to the Atlantic coast through Salaga and Kintampo to sketch out a map of the region

15/6/1927, and PRAAD Accra, ADM 56/1/177, Tamale Informal Diary; Precis of Informal Official Diary, Wa District, North Western Province and Extract from Informal Diary, Lorha [Lawra]. See, also, A. A. Iliasu, “The Establishment of British Administration in Mamprugu, 1898 – 1937,” *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana* 16, 1 (1975): 1 – 28.

³³¹ Binger, (Louis-Gustave), *Du Niger au Golfe de Guinee Pays de Kong et le Mossi*, Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1892, pp. 34-35.

which was then supposed to have come under French authority.³³² On his part, Ferguson visited the “Ashanti Hinterland” on two occasions. One was in 1892, when the Governor, Sir William Brandford Griffith, gave instructions for Ferguson to make treaties with the local leaders in the regions of Dagomba, Gonja, Gurunsi and Bole. In Ferguson’s second mission in 1894 that took him to the northwestern part of the Gold Coast and during which he finalised a treaty of friendship and trade with the Waala people.³³³ It is imperative to point out that the two colonial officials were both on a mission of mapping out the region and possibly contracting or signing agreements with the local authorities who, before European contact, had their own established way of governing their people as pointed out above. Indeed, the primary objective for this investigative interest on the part of the European colonialists was not only to map out these territories for commercial purpose but also to gain understanding of the social, political and cultural organization of these pre-colonial societies. The official state correspondence cited in Kwame Arhin states:

There shall be friendship and freedom of Trade between the King, Princess, Chiefs and Principal Headmen and People of Daboya otherwise called Waipe.³³⁴

This was a treaty signed with the local authorities of Daboya and it was replicated in all the territories of the north. It suggests that up to 1892, the British colonial agents/authorities had no intention of political consolidation of the region. It was not until 1896 that the Colonial Government, through its resident official in the Ashante confederacy, Captain Donald Stewart, formulated significant plans concerning the administration of the Ashante hinterland.

³³² *Ibid.* p. 34.

³³³ Kwame Arhin, *The Papers of George Ekem Ferguson*, pp. 65 – 75.

³³⁴ Kwame Arhin, *The Papers of George Ekem Ferguson*, pp. 66 – 70.

Stewart hoisted the British flag at Gambaga upon his arrival and therefore, made the chief of the area surrender his sovereignty to the British government. That was how Gambaga became the headquarters of the British Administration in the Northern Territories. Accordingly, the area was proclaimed a protectorate in 1897 with Lieutenant Colonel H.P. Northcott as its first Commissioner and Commandant resident in Gambaga. He was, among other responsibilities, to control the areas in the hinterland of the Gold Coast under Great Britain's protection.³³⁵

Similarly, emissaries were sent by the French government to the territories of the North in order to establish spheres of influence over the local people. Conflict ensued between the British, French, and the German officials leading to a series of conventions in 1898 and 1899 between Britain and France and Britain and Germany respectively.³³⁶ In effect, the British Administration of the Gold Coast brought under its control what is today the Northern, Savannah, North East, and Upper Regions of Ghana between 1898 and 1899. The British, therefore, made serious efforts to attach these territories as part of the Gold Coast. This was done through various legal instruments passed in Order-of-Council under the Authority of the Foreign Jurisdiction Act of 1890,

³³⁵ Northcott to Colonial Secretary, 31 July. 1898, PRO, CO 879/54, NO. 564 African (West), no. 143, enclosure 1:252 – 3. See also, Draft Northern Territories Proclamation, PRO, CO 879/67, NO. 649 African (West): 40; Report of the Northern Territories Land Committee, PRAAD Accra ADM 56/1/105; and Annual Report Northern Territories, PRAAD Accra, ADM56/1/432, 1908.

³³⁶ PRAAD Tamale, NRG 8/2/4, Memorandum on the proposed Northern Territories Native Administration Ordinance, 1908 – 1931. For details of the kind of conflicts among the British, France and Germans see Boahen, A. Adu, *African Perspective on Colonialism*: London, University Press, 1987, pp. 1-112; D. Kemble, *A Political History of Ghana 1850 – 1928*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963. Chapter 1&2 and M. Crowder, *West Africa Under Colonial Rule*, London, Hutchinson & Co. Ltd., 1968.

granting the Governor of the Gold Coast the power to exercise any spheres of influence “over the areas under the protection of his majesty.”³³⁷

In view of the above, it is interesting to note that these colonial officials, upon establishing contacts with these preliterate societies, created for their own understanding, a kind of a state system practiced by the local people which to them was savage, barbaric, and primitive. These state systems, it must be affirmed, were not centered on a written legal system. Throughout their fieldwork, colonial officials observed that whatever system that was put in place to mitigate crime or regulate society was by coincidence. It was not a thought-out plan. Kojo Yelapaala notes that law was merely part of the functioning, coherent, and consistent totality of the mystery of the primitive reality.³³⁸ Therefore, that system of constitutional rule with well-planned organs of government and law enforcement agencies backed by forcible physical sanctions could not have been found to exist in these societies as was the case in Europe. These societies, for them, qualified for ‘stateless’ and ‘lawless’ societies.

Before 1800, the people to the extreme corner of North-Western Ghana were yet to be consolidated and brought under colonial control.³³⁹ In this regard, the colonialists needed a method by which a consolidation would be undertaken and effective. Binger and Ferguson, (in their effort to mapping) out the Northwest Territories, described them as “Stateless Societies” or “acephalous” thereby providing convenient common ground for colonial rule. It is significant

³³⁷ *Ibid.* PRAAD Tamale, NRG 8/2/4, Memorandum, 1908 – 1931.

³³⁸ Kojo Yelapaala, *Circular Arguments and Self-Fulfilling Definitions: “Statelessness” and the Dagaaba*, *History in Africa*, Vol. 10, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983, pp. 349 – 385.

³³⁹ Yipaala, *Circular Arguments and Self-Fulfilling Definitions*. P. 350.

to point out that at the advent of colonialism, a good number of chiefdoms which were non-centralized, were in full operation in the Northern Territories. Example of these include the Tallensi and the Konkomba.

In the Dagomba, Gonja, and Mamprugu area, however, records show that about six chiefs were found. The records assert that the six chiefs became very successful and influential as they assumed control of all the areas they had brought under their control through past conquests. In areas where there were no chiefs, very important *Tindanas* were pushed forward by the elders to be made chiefs. In the absence of these *Tindanas*, a respected member of the *Tindana*'s kin-group was prevailed upon by the elders to take up the position of chief. These traditional, political and social structures have been described as "statelessness" by western anthropologists and historians alike. They assigned reasons which seem to suggest that the mere absence of elements associated with a centralised system of government like those of the modern western state system qualified them as "stateless societies."³⁴⁰ They also contended that those preliterate political and social organizations found among the people were without the conditions of being part of a large country that has its own government.³⁴¹ On the contrary, several other scholars view differently the evolutionary trends of state formation in North-Western Ghana and the Northern Territories in general.³⁴² They seem to concur that the political system

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁴¹ Yipaala, *Circular Arguments and Self-Fulfilling Definitions*, p. 355.

³⁴² R. S. Rattray, *The Tribes of the Ashanti Hinterland, I-II*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932; St. J. Eyre-Smith, *A Brief Review of the History and Social Organisation of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast*. Accra: Government Printer 1933; J. D. Fage, "Reflections on the Early History of the Mossi-Dagomba Group of States," in: *The Historian in Tropical Africa*, eds. J. Vansina, R. Mauny and L. V. Thomas, London: Oxford University Press, 1964, 177 – 189; Iliasu, "The Origins of the Mossi-Dagomba States," 1971, pp. 95 – 113; Martin Staniland, *The Lions of Dagbon: Political Change in Northern Ghana*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1975; Peter Shalnik, "Early States in the Voltaic Basin," in: *The Early State*, ed. Herni

in such areas as the northwestern Ghana, in particular, was an ethnographical-based phenomena or more of a kin-group development, attributable to the prevailing socio-political conditions of that period in history. External pressures such as those of invading warriors mentioned earlier in chapter two, were factors they claim contributed to the formation of centralised states in, for example, the Voltaic Basin in the pre-colonial period.³⁴³ It is evident from the available oral traditions that at the time of state formation in the Voltaic Basin in the 12th century, similar developments were also taking place among the autochthonous groups of the Dagara. Jack Goody, Peter Shalnik, and Ivor Wilks do agree that the Mole-Dagbani invaders only constituted final element in a process of state formation already ongoing [unconsciously] among these people before the conquests that took place in 1300.³⁴⁴ In the context of the preceding arguments, the political organization of the pre-colonial Nandom people could be said to be similar to those of the Talensi and the Konkomba in the Northeast of Ghana.

In the case of Nandom's political organisation, although there is little available literature about it, the oral tradition as gathered through interviews during the fieldwork, demonstrates that by the time of the arrival of the Europeans in the northwest region, the people must have been practicing a kind of political system comparable to that of the centralized system of

J.M. Classen and Peter Shalnik, *The Hague/Paris/New York*: Mouton Publishers 1978, pp. 469 – 494.

³⁴³ Shalnik, "Early States in the Voltaic Basin," p. 472.

³⁴⁴ Jack Goody, "The Over-Kingdom of Gonja," in: *West African Kingdoms in the Nineteenth Century*, eds. D. Ford and P. M. Kabery, London: Oxford University Press for the International Africa Institute, 1967, pp. 179 – 205; Shalnik, "Early States in the Voltaic Basin," 469 – 494 and Ivor Wilks, "The Mossi and the Akan States, 1400 to 1800," in: *History of West Africa*, Vol. 1, eds. J.F.A Ajayi and M. Crowder, Burnt Mill: Longman, third edition, 1985, 465 – 502. See also, Kopytoff, Igor, 'The internal African frontier: the making of African political culture', in Igor Kopytoff (ed.), *The african Frontier: The Reproduction of Traditional African Societies*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989, pp. 3 – 84.

government.³⁴⁵ This conclusion, according to an eighty seven (87) year old elder woman, Fuastina Malekaar, is based on the consistent use of certain words that are indigenous to the settlers in the early villages in Nandom including her community, Gungunkpe.³⁴⁶ The word *Naa*, for example, is commonly used by indigenous Dagara people. It is used literally to refer to persons with material possession, or what they would call in the local parlance, *terasob* (a rich person). This possession of material wealth later was transformed with the inception of the ideology of rulership in the 1900s with the introduction of indirect rule. Therefore, the word *Naa* among the Dagara came to mean a ruler or *tengkareh*. It is within this context that the practice of communal labour came into being among the Dagara. Thus, the point is made that material possession in the olden days constituted a sure way to gaining influence or power in all spheres of life – political, social or economic, in the early settlements of the Dagara. This rich man in the settlement becomes an obvious source of help for all needy people within and without his settlement area.

The oral tradition as narrated above among the people of Gungunkpe supports this when it mentions Tulong as one person who was always out to help anyone who came to him for help, even to the extent of helping enslaved people to purchase their freedom from their “owners.”³⁴⁷ The same has been

³⁴⁵ Interview with some group of elders in Tuopare, Gungunkpe, Nandompkee, Nandom-Pataal, and Zimuopare from 26 – 28 October, 2018. Among them included Clement Nu-gnaa (55 years), Millanus Lubnuor (52 years), Fuastina Malekaar (87 years), Tengando) Kuukye, Johnson Nabugu, Musah Der (45 years), Dong Gladis (48 years), Christiana Nabugu (51 years), and Nabugu Ninwabora.

³⁴⁶ Interview with Fuastina Malekaar, age 87, at her Gungunkpe residnt, 27th October, 2018.

³⁴⁷ Interview with some group of elders in Tuopare, Gungunkpe, Nandompkee, Nandom-Pataal, and Zimuopare from 26 – 28 October, 2018. Among them included Clement Nu-gnaa (55 years), Millanus Lubnuor (52 years), Fuastina Malekaar (87 years), Tengando) Kuukye, Johnson Nabugu, Musah Der (45 years), Dong Gladis (48 years), Christiana Nabugu (51 years), and Nabugu Ninwabora.

said of rich men in Tuopare, Ko, Nandom Pataal, and the like. These rich men in their various capacities as people with material possession who would usually provide for the poor. The poor would in return provide free labour for the rich man during the farming season. This practice, according to the tradition in Gungunpke, has gone on for many centuries until the late 19th century.³⁴⁸ The practice of providing communal labour for the rich man in the settlement, in effect, culminated in the concentration of power and influence in an individual and in a gradual process, created some type of political will and subsequent domination of the people due to his material possession. It is, therefore, imperative to say that the rich man who served as a focal point in the settlement, wielded a strong political force among his people as a result of his resources. This, over a long period of time was gradually transformed into what may be comparable to the concept of a centralized authority. The person thus took control of the general well-being of the community and acted as a lawgiver and formulated orders to regularise certain day-to-day actions of the people.³⁴⁹

Mention should also be made of the exogamous divisions of societies found in the Black Volta Basin. A critical analysis of the exogamous divisions of the Dagara *dogoro* or *bale* (patrilineal clan group), shows that there was a kind of central authority that existed, probably long before contact with Europeans.³⁵⁰ The clan system, to some extent, could be described as a period of awakening consciousness of the role and responsibility of leadership amongst the preliterate society of the Dagara of the Black Volta Basin and the people of

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁹ Interview with some group of elders in Tuopare, Gungunpke, Nandompkee, Nandom-Pataal, and Zimuopare from 26 – 28 October, 2018.

³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

Nandom in particular. Rattray observes that the process of categorization is ever continuing with the splitting up of the original clan into a new set of kin-groups, and all of these tracing their descent from one ancestral parent.³⁵¹ Simply put, the available traditions collated during the fieldwork have it that the people of Nandom believe that human beings are very much inter-related and inter-connected and that automatically calls for good relationships and networking amongst them, whether by *Yiilu* or *Bello*. Take for example the kin-group of the Dikpiele. This clan group is split into other clans as *Tiedeme*, *Nabegle*, *Zage*, *Nakylie* and *Dantie*, but all of them maintain their origin to one ancestral parent. While the *Kpiele*, *Kusiele*, *Kuselbe*, *Yirpaale*, *Puryiile* and *Kuwere* also from one clan, the Bekuone clan on the other hand, also includes the *Logyiile*, *Nakyemwaame*, *Damole* and *Dakyare*.³⁵² A large number of these clans maintain the original totem and only few have transformed into entirely different groups, consequent to various encounters during their travels.³⁵³

It is worth noting, however, that among the Dagara of Nandom and elsewhere in Burkina Faso and Cote d'Ivoire, the concept of "taboo or avoidance," as recorded by Rattray, is what is termed as *kyiiru*.³⁵⁴ This term refers to the established relationships between the kin-groups of a particular patriclan among the Dagara who, as a result of their encountering circumstances with animals in their physical and/or religious environment, would wish as a *Kyiiru*, never to harm such animals or eat them.³⁵⁵ These non-human beings, as

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*

³⁵² *Ibid.*

³⁵³ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁴ Rattray, *Tribes of the Ashanti Hinterland*, p. 427.

³⁵⁵ Interviews with some group of elders in Tuopare, Gungunpke, Nandompkee, Nandom-Pataal, and Zimuopare from 26 – 28 October, 2018. Among them included Clement Nu-gnaa (55 years), Millanus Lubnuor (52 years), Faustina Malekaar (87 years), Tengando) Kuukye,

we can refer to them, practically became relatives of the clan and were, therefore, accorded the deserving respect among the kin-groups. It is interesting to point out also that allegorical stories are very often associated with these *Kyiiru* connecting these clans and their non-human relatives.³⁵⁶ It is not surprising that Dagara traditions, stories, poems, pictures, or art work in which these non-human beings are characters and epochs representing a particular quality or ideas, are related to some aspects of morals, religion, or even politics.

One other thing worth mentioning is the Dagara experience in the era of slave raids in the mid-1800 which they fondly referred to as *Bung* or *Zabug*.³⁵⁷ *Bung* was the era when slave-raiding was prevalent in the lands of the Dagara in the area of the Black Volta. These slave-raiders, as has been discussed already in chapter three, were Babatu and Samory.³⁵⁸ According to the traditions, these non-human relatives of the patriclans played a “Samaritan” role in the lives of these patriclans during the era of *Bung*. For example, the traditions of the Bekuone clan have it that during the *Bung* era, an elder (name unknown) was pursued by a slave-raider. During the pursuit, he sighted a well and jumped into it. He was saved by a big fish which was in that well as it came up and covered the absconder. When the slave-raider got to the well, he could find nothing but the fish. The Bekuone elder stayed in the well to ensure his safety. Upon reaching home, the elder narrated his encounter with the slave raiders. In the end, the entire clanship of Bekuone resolved, in appreciation of the fish’s act of protection to their kinsman from being a captive, to make it part of their family.

Johnson Nabugu, Musah Der (45 years), Dong Gladis (48 years), Christiana Nabugu (51 years), and Nabugu Ninwabora.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁸ Interviews with some group of elders in Tuopare, Gungunpke, Nandompkee, Nandom-Pataal, and Zimuopare from 26 – 28 October, 2018.

It was then agreed by common league that all the kin-groups of the Bekuone clan, be it *Damole* or *Dakyare*, should treat and venerate the fish in the well as their relation and/or as part of their “father’s child”.³⁵⁹ The well-fish from then on became the *tiib* (totem) of the Bekuone clan and played a guardian role. This totem, which mostly is represented by animals, birds, tress, rivers and valleys, mountains, food, reptiles and supra humans are outlawed traditionally to be eaten and, therefore, venerated (not worshiped) by everyone belonging to that clan.³⁶⁰

The above notwithstanding, the people of Nandom have various terms they used to refer to these non-human relationships. Scholars such as Kuukure Edward³⁶¹ and Naaeke Anthony³⁶² have done a lot of work on this. Kuukure, for example, hypothesises that a guardian spirit or what may be termed as a *sigra* played a huge role in the life of the Dagara in general. He describes this *sigra* as a protector-spirit to an individual or a group of people as have been demonstrated in the oral histories of the Bekuone clan.³⁶³ Naaeke on the other hand, asserts that the Dagara or the Dagaaba generally believe in the existence of spirits.³⁶⁴ Famous among these spirits is the earth shrine which is almost found in every village settlement among the Dagara. In effect, every clan has its

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁶¹ PRAAD Accra, ADM 56/1/351, Laws & Customs Northern Territories. See also, PRAAD Accra, ADM 56/1/288, Tribal Histories, Salutations, Greetings etc.: Allan W. Cardinall, Correlated Report on Native Customs, 1927, p. 14. See, also, Edward Kuukure, *The Destiny of Man: Dagaare Beliefs in Dialogue with Christian Eschatology*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1985, pp. 65 – 72.

³⁶² Anthony Y. Naaeke, *Critical Essays on Dagaaba Rhetoric*, Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., New York, 2010, pp. 1 – 55.

³⁶³ Kuukure, *The Destiny of Man*, p. 68 and interviews with a group of elders in Tuopare, Gungunpke, Nandompkee, Nandom-Pataal, and Zimuopare. Among them included Clement Nu-gnaa (55 years), Millanus Lubnuor (52 years), Fuastina Malekaar (87 years), Tengando) Kuukye, Johnson Nabugu, Musah Der (45 years), Dong Gladis (48 years), Christiana Nabugu (51 years), and Nabugu Ninwabora, from 26 – 28 October, 2018.

³⁶⁴ Naaeke, *Critical Essays on Dagaaba Rhetoric*, p. 12.

guardian spirit and it is the same with the splitting clans. Thus, he is making the point that a totemic animal is a spirit guardian, a concept which is likened to the patrilineal descent group. Similarly, each individual has a guardian spirit since the kin-group makes available a selection of possible guardian spirits to its members apart from the clan spirit itself, the *Kpime* (the ancestral spirit), the rain shrine, and the medicine shrine of the kin group.³⁶⁵

In view of the above, the clan system, or in other words, the patriarchal system and the emblematic structure as regards the guardian spirits and/or the ancestral spirits are, evidential basis supporting the existence of the concept of a central authority long before modernity. It points to the consciousness of networking and providing leadership for the kin-group and the settlement at large. The Dikpiele call themselves *Tiedeme*, that is, “people of the tree” (people of *tie* near Tugu’).³⁶⁶ It could also mean aboriginals or land cutodians or owners. That is to say, the Dikpiele clan of Dikpe in present-day Lawra, also refer to members as the *Naayiile*, that is, the people of the chief’s house or a well-to-do people. They also have one other clan group called the *Nabegle* (that is, shifting a bit to the other side). The *Zage* clan is also explained to mean the people of the sitting room. All these clan groups are from the same patriclan and are, therefore, one people. However, it is important to note that the *Naayiile* clan, as its name suggests, could be assumed to be a ruling class and, indeed, the praise songs of the clan refer to them as such. Rattray concurs with this in his documentation of Dagara settlement history in 1920, but this group, presently

³⁶⁵ Interview with Alhaji Issifu Botug Benni at his residence in Nandom-Pataal, from 27th – 30th October 2018.

³⁶⁶ Interview with Alhaji Issifu Botug Benni at his residence in Nandom-Pataal, from 27th – 30th October 2018.

does not exercise any political power or influence in the society.³⁶⁷ It, therefore, might be possible that this clan group in the pre-colonial era, would have formed a ruling class but probably lost that position during the process of re-configuration due to persistent movement from one place to the other. Be that as it may, the most essential of all the arguments here is in the fact that state formation is the result of the actions of various forces/factors such as kinship, religion, and political consciousness.

It is, therefore, sufficient to say central to the socio-political organization of the preliterate society of the Nandom people was the family from which descent was traced through males and in which the oldest male parent was absolutely supreme. The single family broke up into more families, which were all held together under the head of the first family and collectively referred to as a clan and/or ethnic. An aggregate of ethnic made up the State. Simply put, the State is an extension of a family, the head of the State being the father and the people, his children.³⁶⁸ H. S. Maine assertion corroborates the oral traditions that state that, the clan system, among the Dagara of Nandom, was the basis upon which the traditional democratic structure of the current chieftainship of the Nandom Traditional Council was built, characterized by male kinship, permanent marriage and paternal authority was founded.³⁶⁹ This makes the argument that members of the patriarchal family should be able to trace their

³⁶⁷ Rattray, *Tribes of the Ashanti Hinterland*, p. 426 – 427.

³⁶⁸ H. S. Maine, *Ancient Law*, 'World's Classics' edition, 1861, p. 106, and H. S. Maine, *Early History of Institutions*, 1875, pp. 106 – 108.

³⁶⁹ Interview with Alhaji Issifu Botug Benni and Bernard Kuu-im at the Nandom Minor Baslica, on 27th October, 2018.

descent through the male. Thus, men are considered kin because they are descended from the same male ancestor.³⁷⁰

One other supporting factor of the consciousness centrality as regards authority is witnessed in the division of Nandom settlements into sections, each with a sectional head as regards clan by clan settlements. Following the illustration above, it is sufficient to say that the patriarchal society, such as that which exists in Nandom, laid the foundations for the evolution of institutions and political organisation among the settlements in Nandom. H. S. Maine observes that, for every society, the elementary group is the family, connected by common subjection to the male descendant. The aggregation of families forms the *gens* or Houses. The aggregation of Houses makes the ethnicity (in this case section-clans). The aggregation of sections, he notes, constitutes the Commonwealth.³⁷¹ Rattray and Goody concur with this observation when they assert that, in time the primary group, which is the family, breaks into clans; these turn into households and, ultimately, into sections of settlements or sub-territorial areas called *teŋ* (villages).³⁷² Whereas Goody refers to these as “parishes,” M. Fortes, in writing about the Tallensi in 1945, called them “settlements”.³⁷³ These parishes and/or settlements over time, turn into village communities with one or more clan groups, with each village autonomous of the other and having a certain kind of traditional governing structure in place. In effect, the traditional governing structure in each *teŋ* or village in the preliterate Nandom was self-governing and, thus, served an all-purpose role as the central authority of the

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁷¹ H. S. Maine, *Ancient Law*, p. 106.

³⁷² See Rattray, *The Tribes of Asanti Hinterland*, p. 427 and Goody, *Social*, pp. 13 – 16.

³⁷³ Jack Goody, “Fields of Social Control Among the Lo Dagaaba,” *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 1957, pp. 75 – 96 and Fortes, M., *The Dynamics of Kinship Among the Tallensi*, London, 1945, pp. 12 – 22.

local people. This is to emphasise the point that the preliterate society of Nandom was an acephalous and its political organization was built around family headship until the emergence of chiefship in the political system and structure in 1897.

The political headship was actually in the hands of the oldest son of the surviving siblings without the father, who was responsible for the unity and the corporate image of the family.³⁷⁴ This is to suggest that the most senior-man or husband among the male children living in a Household and in the order of pre-eminence was placed in charge of family affairs upon the death of the most senior. For example, if a man had many wives and died, his son, among the children of the most senior wife who is the eldest among the male children of all the wives of the man, becomes the head of the political structure of the family. In other words, if the son of the first wife is not the eldest son, he is considered unqualified to head the family. It is important to add also that among these family heads in a given settlement, the eldest man was looked up to as head of the commonwealth relative to matters external, but important, to the corporate image.³⁷⁵ Yelapaala describes this socio-political structure as one of “freewheeling, self-correcting, and conduct-channeling organism maintained by the structure and oiled by the beliefs in cosmic, ancestral, and other supernatural forces.”³⁷⁶ Guided by such beliefs the eldest sons handle all matters of general community concern. This traditional governing structure was constituted by the village council of old men or elders (*teŋg Nimbere*) according to heads of family

³⁷⁴ Interview with Alois K. Mohl via phone, a member of the Bekuone clan of Nandom-Biiregagn, 56 years, on 7th November, 2018.

³⁷⁵ Interview with Alois K. Mohl via phone, 7th November, 2018.

³⁷⁶ Yelapaala, “*Statelessness*” and *the Dagaaba*, p. 368.

and clans within the territory, the *tengdaana*, the *Kumbelo* (Messenger) who acted as a messenger between the village council of elders and the *tengdaana*, and the evolution of the *Pole Naa* (chief of the young men).³⁷⁷ As have been pointed out earlier, the residence of a typical Nandome family consisted of its head called the *Yirsob* or *Yirdagne*, his wives and family, his brothers and their wives and family. This residence would usually be referred to as *bon yiri* (so – and – so’s compound), making it the original compound from which would arise breakaways due to land disputes and other issues. These family heads are those who constitute the village council of old men or elders.³⁷⁸

The village council of old men or elders is a primordial institution and has been long practiced by the Dagara people before contact with Europeans. The elders, according to oral history, were older people and more often held respected positions in the village. Such elders were considered *primus inter pares* in all meetings and discussions. These elders acted as a council of respected clan heads of the village with the sole purpose of renewing and preserving Dagara culture, values, and providing avenues for that culture to inform and contribute to the general well-being of the society. In the olden days, elders were role models for everyone else and teachers to the grandchildren and all young people because of their wisdom. They usually would be knowledgeable in all aspects of the settlement culture and be open to everyone, should be recorders of history, not only orally, but also those who prefer to preserve it in print. Above all, elders were to be teachers of the past history of the people for everyone. They acted as a privy council to the *tengdaana* in all

³⁷⁷ Rattray, *Tribes of the Ashanti Hinterland*, p. 408.

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

matters of general concern to the settlement, except for issues in respect of the *teng*, and the *tengan*.³⁷⁹

The *Kumbelle* as referred to earlier, was an institution of messengers. The oral history shows that it was one unique institution kept by all village settlements in preliterate Nandom. This institution, which is now defunct, was according to Rattray, a liaison communications office between the village council of old men or elders, the *tengdaana*, and the rest of the settlement. The office of the *Kumbelle* also carried out such other oversight responsibilities as a law enforcement agent that could effect the arrest of anyone who had shed human blood or ensure payment and collection of the redemption from offenders for bloodshed for transmission to the *tengdaana* and the members of the village council for subsequent sacrifices to the deities through the office of the *Bagrmale* (elsewhere it is called *Bogomala*).³⁸⁰ The *Bagrmale* was an associate officer of the *tengansob* who delegates him in respect of performing sacrifices at the earth shrine.

At the head of this political organisation was the *tengdaana*, (*tengsob*) who, according to the traditions, was a reflection of power and authority and owns the lands. Rattray records in 1920 that the head of each *teng* or village setting was, as indicated earlier, the *tengdaana*, the possessor of the woods, also referred to as the *tengan*.³⁸¹ His position and functions, according to the traditions, was a trustee of the lands belonging to the clan, and therefore was in charge of the *tengan*. He kept up the fire, offered the sacrifice, pronounced the prayer and presided at the religious repasts. Not only was he significant in

³⁷⁹ Rattray, *The Tribes of the Ashanti Hinterland*, p. 409.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid*, p. 408.

³⁸¹ Rattray, *The Tribes of the Ashanti Hinterland*, p. 426.

matters relating to rituals as asserted by many scholars, the *teydaana* was the final arbiter of land disputes, disputes over settlement, and market regulation.³⁸² He was the host and custodian of the earth shrine.³⁸³

The earth shrine was above all religious activities in each settlement, the most significant focus of the people from which evolved a social unit. Several scholars seem to agree however, that the inhabitants to the extreme corner of the northwest (the voltaic people) believe that within the earth shrine, there exists a kind of mystical or supernatural force that controls the productivity and fertility of the land.³⁸⁴ This myth in its local terminology is called *teygan tiib* and is represented by a totem usually erected in a *tug* called the *teygan tug* (thick-crowded grove). It is from this *teygan tug* that sacrifices are performed to the *teygan*.

The earth shrine therefore is believed to have such powers supernaturally to provide for the comforts of all human needs in the settlement and this is also believed to be true in the opposite. Thus, the earth shrine becomes a place where sanctions are meted out to offenders of serious crimes such as bloodshed or witchcraft, suicide, thievery, sexuality, and slavery.³⁸⁵ According to Yelapaala, supported by oral tradition, the power of the *teygan* is inescapable and ubiquitous yet differentiable from location to location; it can be tracked down specifically.³⁸⁶ Thus, making the point that every village settlement in the Dagara country has a *teygan* which purports to have such

³⁸²Yelapaala, "Statelessness" and the Dagaaba, p. 369 – 370.

³⁸³ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁴ Jack Goody, *Technology, Tradition and the State in Africa*, London: Oxford University Press, 197, p. 16.

³⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁶ Yelapaala, "Statelessness" and the Dagaaba, pp. 349 – 353.

powers to regulate the material, spiritual well-being, productivity and fertility of the land and people.

The concept of the *tengan* establishment followed the settlement pattern of the villages in accordance with clan settlement. As indicated earlier, each village was founded by a *gen* or household. They in turn established the *tengan* by demarcating the boundaries of the settlement, making them first settlers, and thereby having that natural custodianship to the land and its accompanying influence of the control of the earth shrine. As a result, they are referred to as the *tengandeme* as seen in the case of the Dipkiele of Nandom.

In Nandom and elsewhere, the office of the *tengdaana* is hereditary among the male members of his family. Thus, when a *tengdaana* dies, the succession plan is for the brother to take over, failure of which the son succeeds. It is significant, however, to note that though a man could command considerable respect on account of his fetish, which gave him power and authority to call the rain, to drive away sickness, make barren women fertile, and do countless mythical things, yet all this gave him not the slightest authority to impose his will upon the people in their ordinary day-to-day activities.³⁸⁷

It is evinced from the discussion above that those democratic traditions and the traditional governing structures of the preliterate Nandom society was one of a decentralised structure with concentration of power and authority in the institution of the *tengansob*, *tengdaana*, or *tengsob*. It is however not surprising how effortless it was for the British to introduce chieftainship into the old political order described above through the policy of the Native Ordinance in

³⁸⁷ Interview with Johnson Nabugu, age 76, at Tuopare, on 26th October.

the Northwest of Ghana towards the end of the nineteenth century. This is making the emphasis that the preliterate political order that existed long before 1897 was the foundation of the native state, although it might not resemble the characteristics of modern centralized states. Nandom and many of the early settlements before 1897 had no chiefs rather than the patriarchal structure discussed above. The only chiefs were the *tengandeme*, and the name was hardly applicable to them. This is however contrary to views opined by some scholars that centralized authority did not sprout from the office of the *tengdaana* but instead from a different source altogether.³⁸⁸ In most cases, it was the institution of the *tengdaana* that gave impetus to the evolution of the chieftaincy in the Dagara country. The institution would have evolved into chiefs in the real meaning of the word if not for the sudden arrival of the British in demand for chiefs. They had found them in the early eighteenth century in the sates of the Mamprusi, Mossi, and Dagomba, and in the latter part of the nineteenth century in certain parts of the northwest of Ghana.

Rattray records that “in the old days, before the Europeans came, the following towns had chiefs (*Nare, s. Na*), Wa, Isa, Busie, Funshi, Walembele, Hean.”³⁸⁹ These chiefs, according to him and concurred by oral traditions, were under the *tengdaana* and Elders who elected and controlled them.³⁹⁰ A key factor that differentiates the office of the *tengdaana* and that of the chief was that the latter did not go to war, thus suggesting that the best-looking, young and energetic person was needed to fill the office of the chief. It was a position that was carved out of the old political order and therefore symbolises traditions,

³⁸⁸ Yelpaala, “*Statelessness*” and the *Dagaaba*, p. 354.

³⁸⁹ Rattray, *Tribes of the Asanti Hinterland*, p. 409, 423.

³⁹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 409.

culture and ancestral heritage, and thus the occupant to such office must have demonstrated various qualities in farming, war, and was a model of good conduct. He must have, above all, the charisma to rally the people behind him and the ability to play a centralising power and authority in the affairs of the settlement. This position was to be filled in by the *Pole Naa* or *Polo Naa* (chief of the young men). In preliterate Nandom, the best arrow shooter and the bravest man was usually the one to fill the position, not necessarily the *pole naa*. Also, a man who had many sons commanded respect, he was called *Libiesob* or *Terasob* (the rich man), otherwise known as the *strongmen* of the locality.³⁹¹ Some of these village strongmen, according to Arhin's report and supported by oral traditions, were accomplished businessmen and were either followers of the Muslim warlords or were successful organizers of the resistance against the Muslim Cavalry.³⁹² These rich people had so much influence and power in their settlements but did not have authority. Be that as it may, these strongmen created alliances from within or without their settlements. These allies were later to become the foundation upon which paramount chiefdoms were to be established. At the advent of the European trade-explorers, these were the men who came forward to meet them, while the *tengdaanas* hid themselves.³⁹³ It is satisfying to know that these qualities of a *pole naa* or *libiesob* which made a qualification for the position of a chief has been with the inhabitants of the Dagara of Nandom until the 1900s when head chiefs were to be appointed

³⁹¹ Arhin, *The Papers of George Ekem Ferguson*, pp. 89 – 100.

³⁹² *Ibid*, p. 100.

³⁹³ Rattray, *The Tribes of the Ashanti Hinterland*, p. 429.

and/or elected under the supervision of colonial officials who were on tour of inspection of the Black Volta region.³⁹⁴

It is evident from the discussion so far that the preliterate democratic traditions and the traditional governing structures of the Dagara of Nandom were evolutionary from a rather gradual perspective, and if not for colonial intervention and their persuasive forces, the process would have witnessed a remarkable transformation. It can be deduced from the aforementioned structures that the democratic traditions and the traditional governing structures were embedded in the patriarchal system of the people. Thus, the political organisation of the preliterate Nandom society was founded on patriarchal family lineages, and has been significantly the oldest form of social organisation of the people. From a general viewpoint, the social, political, religious, and the legitimate system of government of the Voltaic people can best be understood by under studying each village and its social institutions as discussed in chapter four of this thesis. As indicated earlier, each established village settlement was and continues to be self-governing and independent of the other but with the same democratic traditions and traditional governing structures. These included the *tengan* (earth shrine), clanship (both *yiilu* or patriclan and *bellu* or matriclan), the village council of old men or elders, the *tengdaana* (Earth Priest or owner of the land), *Kumbellu* (messenger), and the *naa* (chief, stem from the institution of the *pole naa* or chief of young men). If these are the rudiments to

³⁹⁴ PRAAD Accra, ADM 56/1/451, Black Volta District, Monthly Report, April, 1903. On recommendation to set up another British District Station, see Morris to Berthon, 27 Oct. 1903, PRO, CO 96/417, enclosure 2 in Gold Coast Confidential of 11 Mar. 1904; Berthon to Chief Commissioner Northern Territories (CCNT), 29 Dec. 1903, PRO, CO 96/417, enclosure 1 in Gold Coast Confidential of March. 1904; PRAAD Accra, ADM 56/1/410, Black Volta District, Annual Report 1904; PRAAD Accra, ADM 56/1/50, Black Volta District, Annual Report, Feb. 1905; PRAAD Accra, ADM 56/1/412, Report on Lobi Mission, Mar. 1905; and PRAAD Accra, ADM/56/1/412, Report on Tour of Inspection (North Western Province), 1906.

state formation following arguments advanced by Maine in his book *Ancient Law and Early History of Institutions*, it therefore remains surprising that some scholars³⁹⁵ will describe as “stateless” and non-centralised societies such as Nandom with historic evidence of patriarchal structures as those alluded to by Maine.³⁹⁶ Maine derives his evidence from three sources. First, it is based on accounts by contemporary observers of civilisations less advanced than his own society, second, it is based on the records from which particular races such as the Greeks have kept of their own history, and the third is based on the ancient law with particular reference to Roman and Hindu.³⁹⁷ His sources concur strongly with the oral evidence gathered on the Dagara people in general, and the people of Nandom in particular. That is, these indigenous governing structures were already developed and in use, while a few of them were in the evolutionary process of chieftaincy until contacts with the European explore-traders towards the end of the eighteenth century.³⁹⁸ This supports the argument that the origins of the chieftaincy is borne out of the conscious-quest for order and security in their inhabitants following the era of foreign aggressions.³⁹⁹

The demands for constant protection and the provision of security in general often led to the rise of permanent headship. For example, when a society

³⁹⁵ Goody, *The Social Organisation of the Lowili*, p. 17.

³⁹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 17.

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 106.

³⁹⁸ Interview Johnson Nabugu, age 76, at Tuopare, 27th October 2018.

³⁹⁹ See earlier travel reports by Europeans and African traders in for example, Binger, *Du Niger au Gulf de Guinee par le Pays de Kong et le Mossi*, 1892, pp. 12 – 38; Ivor Wilks, “*Abu Bakr al-Siddiq of Timbuktu*,” in: *Africa Remembered. Narratives by West Africans from the Era of the Slave Trade*, ed. P. Curtin, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967, pp. 152 – 169; J. J. Holden, “The Zabarima Conquest of North-West Ghana. Part 1,” *Transaction of the Historical Society of Ghana VIII*, 1965, pp. 60 – 85; Ivor Wilks, *Wa and Wala. Islam and Polity in Northwestern Ghana*, Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 1989; and Stanislaw Pilaszewicz, *The Zabarima Conquest of North-West Ghana and Upper Volta. A Hausa Narrative “History of Samory and Babatu and Others”* by Mallam Abu, Warsaw: Polish Scientific Publishers 1992, pp. 4 – 18.

was threatened by any dangers or involved in external conflicts, it was driven by necessity to appoint a leader. The continuity of such occurrences was the basis for permanent leadership. Further, intra-families and inter-ethnic disputes, and in some cases, war and conquest helped to give the mark of state formation. In the patriarchal society as discussed above regarding Nandom, the tie had been that of blood. However, when a leader established his authority over the territory, whether by conquest or by defensive alliances over a people with whom he had no blood-relationship, all those who lived in that territory become his subjects. The bond of unity was no longer of blood but of communal interests. This consciousness of political organisation was to be centered on the institution of the *pole naa* or the chief of the young men, who among other functions was to go to war.⁴⁰⁰

This consciousness of political organisation, though a recent evolution, was to be centered on the institution of the *pole naa* (the chief of the youngmen) or *Naa* or wealthy man in the settlement, who among other functions was to go to 'war' and provide the needed security for all.⁴⁰¹ As have been demonstrated already in chapter two in the discussion on the insurgence of the Zambramas mercenaries cum mallams in their slave raiding activities, many of the youngmen, wealthy men or *fangdem* (strongmen) established themselves through the provision of security networks for their settlements, and thereby built some amount of political influence. In effect, these political influences became institutionalised later in the mid-nineteenth century under the British administration. The oral traditions and histories show that at the advent of

⁴⁰⁰ Rattray, *The Tribes of the Ashanti Hinterland*, p. 429.

⁴⁰¹ *Ibid.* p. 409.

chieftaincy in Nandom, these strong warriors opposed the Zambarima insurgence and with the exposure of these local strongmen to the world beyond their settlement, they became the obvious choices for the position of chiefs when the British came.

So from a general viewpoint, Nandom has never known chiefdoms in the pre-colonial era. Its democratic traditions and traditional governing structures were centred and were regulated from the institution of clanship and the *tengdaana* with a measured power and authority. Chieftaincy consciousness is only but a recent evolution in the second half of the nineteenth century. Many communities in the Black Volta region around this period were not of any hierarchically structured chieftaincies nor were there any recognised hereditary succession structure among such inhabitants. Kinship was the first and strongest bond, and government, as pointed out earlier, must have begun in clearly defined family discipline. It must also be added that common worship was another element that bonded families and clans together. Thus, this worship grew from ancestor veneration to the belief in a power that organises and controls creation. When ancestor veneration became the prevailing form of religion, religion was inseparably linked with kinship at the family or communal alter, the worshipper paid homage to the great dead of the family or group and craved protection and guidance. In Nandom for example, it is evident that the *tengdaana* who naturally held a predominant position in the society was believed to have implicit faith in the existence of spirits, the spirits of the dead and the spirits of nature. He was believed to have the professing ability to control them by means of his sorcery.⁴⁰² This has been the dominant reality of

⁴⁰² Interview with Bernard Kuu-im of the Dikpielle Clan. On 26th June, 2018.

the inhabitants of the Black Volta region until the second half of the nineteenth century when there was the need for secular leaders than just earth priests. Until this period, the Dagara in general never realise the need to have separation of power and/or authority as regards the socio-political, legal and religious institutions.

Writing in the 1950s about the social and political organisation of the “LoDagaaba”, of which the Nandom are a part, Goody observes that Nandom’s democratic tradition and the traditional governing structure was a model acephalous situation, more or less similar to the famous Tallensi model researched into by Meyer Fortes.⁴⁰³ Conversely, other native scholars have proffered arguments which sought to suggest that the people have come to develop their own chieftaincies at an early stage.⁴⁰⁴ As have been argued, excluding those mentioned by Rattray above, the entire settlement of the Northwest region, particularly the inhabitants of the Voltaic Basin, as late as the nineteenth century, were observed as completely acephalous societies, therefore the existing political organisation, if any, were neither structured in a manner of strict hierarchy with permanent chieftaincies, hereditary succession plan, nor a well-defined plan of quality and qualification of who a chief should be. This, according to oral traditions, has gone on for ages until the period of the colonial

⁴⁰³ Goody, *The Social Organisation of the Lowiili*, p. 36.

⁴⁰⁴ James Dasaah, ‘Ulo: the history of a Dagaba Kingdom’. BA dissertation, University of Ghana, Department of History, 1974. See also, Sahlnik, *Early States in the Voltaic Basin*, pp. 469 – 494; Benedict G. Der, ‘The Stateless Peoples’ of North-West Ghana: a reappraisal of the case of the Dagara of Nandom’. Unpublished manuscript, University of Cape Coast, Department of History, 1977; Tuurey, *An Introduction to the Mole-Speaking Community*, p. 12 -34; Yelapaala, ‘Statelessness’ and the Dagaaba, pp. 349 -352; and Benedict G. Der, ‘The traditional political systems of the northern Ghana reconsidered’, in: Yakubu Saaka (ed), *Regionalism and Public Policy in Northern Ghana*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang., 1998, pp. 35 – 65.

policy of Native Authority through the appointment of chiefs in each segment of the settlements.⁴⁰⁵

The Native Authority Ordinance in Nandom 1890-1912

Apparently, the narrative above demonstrates that at the dawn of colonialism, the spate of internal and external pressures on the inhabitants of the Voltaic Basin instigated a certain level of consciousness to beef up local security. Internally, there were those of the Waala *ihadists* led by Mohammed Karantoa and Musah, and externally, the ferocious Dagomba-Zabarima horsemanship and their slave raiding activities advancing from the north-eastern region. Then the mid-nineteenth century witnessed a number of colonial officials dispatched on official tour of the Northern Territories in an effort to consolidate and incorporate the region as a protectorate. This is to underscore the point that after formally declaring the Northern Territories a Protectorate (Dependency) in 1901, the colonial office took the necessary steps to consolidate and enforce her rule.⁴⁰⁶ Consequent to this was the enactment of the Order in Council passed in September 1901, and was effected in January 1902. The Order in Council permitted the governor to appoint a Chief Commissioner to administer the Protectorate with the aid of District Commanders. However, even before the declaration, Lieutenant-Colonel H.P. Northcott was appointed Commissioner and Commandant of the Protectorate.

⁴⁰⁵ See Lord Harlech, "British Native Policy and Administration in Tropical Africa" *The S.A. Institute of International Affairs*, 1941, pp. 1 – 17.

⁴⁰⁶ D. Kimble, *A Political History of Ghana*. Oxford: 1963, pp. 533-535. See also, Chamberlain to Hodgson, Confidential, 19 February, 1900 in: Metcalfe, G. *Great Britain and Ghana: Documents of the History of Ghana 1807-1957*, (London: 1964), pp.508 – 509.

In a letter setting out his views on the area, Northcott stated that given the conditions of the country, “the application of a rigid and minute system of administration is impolitic if even it were practicable.”⁴⁰⁷ Also, Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies, advised that the “agency of the chiefs should be employed to a greater extent than in the districts nearer the coast and their powers should, during good behaviour, be uniformly supported.”⁴⁰⁸ By this, the tone had been set firstly, to make chiefs play some role, even if a nominal one, in the administration and secondly, the development of an administration that was to try and isolate the Northern Territories from the rest of the country. These factors, particularly that of the colonial officials, and many more eventually resulted in the reorganisation and modernisation of the people’s political structures to suit the then dispensations. Thus, the transformation of the former traditional governing structures which hitherto were presumably “non-centralized” states to centralized state systems. Accordingly, Northcott's primary task was to apprise the administration with the nature of the country, its inhabitants and resources, and on the data thus acquired, devise a scheme of government of the “simplest and the most economic form” sufficiently “elastic to any development that may occur.”⁴⁰⁹ Northcott, according to colonial depository must have been influenced by a number of factors.

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁹ Iliasu, “The Establishment of British Administration in Mamprugu, 1898- 1937”, p.2. See also, Phillips, Anne, *The Enigma of Colonialism. British Policy in West Africa*, London: James Currey and Bloomington/Inianapolis: Indian University Press, 1989, pp. 1 -15; Plange, Nii-K., “The Colonial State in Northern Ghana: The Political Economy of Pacification,” *Review of African Political Economy* 31, 1984, pp. 29 – 43.

First was the reluctance of British officers to postings to "that remote and hostile place"; and second was the size of the place. The area was almost the length and extensiveness of the United Kingdom, but due to its poor communication network, it seems as though, in the words of Watherston "forty times bigger".⁴¹⁰ But the third factor, and perhaps the most important reason, was the state of insecurity that prevailed in most parts of the area during the last two decades of the 19th century.

Contrary to the views by some anthropologists that the Black Volta region's inhabitants in the pre-colonial period had no local ideology, let alone the social and political reality, the evidence on the patriarchal structures discussed above has manifested enough ideology in the social dimensions, and most importantly, the political dimension of the people. The general conclusion by these anthropologists has always been to the fact that for the mere absence of local ideology, and sociopolitical institutions like those of the Western state systems, the society could be nothing but a "stateless society".

Consequent to that mode of centralized state system missing in the socio-political structures among the inhabitants of the Black Volta region, several communities were wrongfully ascribed to as acephalous or 'chieflessness'. Many other societies like the Tallensi, the Tiv, the Konkomba, the Nuer and the like which hitherto were chiefless, and/or non-centralized state, were also categorized as also being stateless societies due to the noticeable absence of the Western elements of state governing structures. That is reiterating the point that there were no strict hierarchical structures with undying

⁴¹⁰ E. G. Watherston, "The Northern Territories of the Gold Coast" in: *Journal of African Society*, VII: 28, 1906-8, pp. 344-373.

chieftaincies, no observable authority or a regulatory establishment with the sole power of coerciveness to social or political order, nor were there any legislative body to formulate laws and institutionalised measures to punish offenders. In the absence of these elements which basically correspond to Western civilisations as regards state governance, it is the conclusion of some historian-anthropologists that the said societies have no political organisation that makes them state, and thus defined such societies as “stateless”, or “chiefless”, or “acephalous.”⁴¹¹ Contrary, the socio-political, legal, and religious structures of the inhabitants of the Black Volta region were embedded in the institutions of the *teŋgan*, the *teŋgdaana*, *clanship*, the village older men or elders, and the recent idea in the establishment of the *Pole Naa*.

The above-mentioned institutions were the self-consciousness and ideologies of the pre-colonial people of the Black Volta region which evolved alongside their very cultural heritage. Although they had no similar characteristics compared to those practiced in the West, the colonial process never refused an opportunity to utilize them. The institution of the ‘Chief of the young men’ only became a necessity when the consciousness dawned on the local society that there was the need to decouple the institution of the *teŋgdaana* from that of the one who could go to war, that is, a chief. These were individuals, from their independent or autonomous communities, who beyond the patriarchal structures had in the passage of time evolved an intricate web of friends, alliances, and treaties among neighbouring communities. Most of whom were friends with the Muslim warlords in the Waala state. They were

⁴¹¹ See for example M. Fortes, *The Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi*. London, p. 2 – 36. See also, Robin Horton, “Stateless Societies in the History of West Africa”, in: J.F.A. Ajayi and Micheal Crowder, eds., *History of West Africa*, Volume I, New York, 1976, pp. 16 – 78.

successful local businessmen and operating locally and inter-regionally and had powers or authority which were far greater than that of the *tengdaana* but were under the watch of the *tengdaana* and the village council of older men or elders who elected him.

Over all, the communities which defined Nandom in present-day did not have chiefs as was reported about Hean, Walembele, Funshi, Busie, and Wa by Rattray.⁴¹² According to Rattray's documentation and corroborated by oral traditions, the people to the extreme corner of the Black Volta did not know anything about chiefs, neither have they ever used the word *Na* or *Naa* (Territorial Ruler).⁴¹³ As have been explained already, in the case of war, the best arrow shot and bravest man was the one put in charge of the state of affairs. In addition, any man that had a number of children, in particular, sons, large portions of land, and many wives, was considered *Libiesob* or *Terasob* (The rich man), and thus, commanded reverence even beyond the 'house' or the 'earth shrine', the two indigenous concepts of belonging.⁴¹⁴ Rattray draws the conclusion which is fair, that "when the Europeans came, these were the men who came forward to meet them with a white fowl, while the *Tengsob* ran away."⁴¹⁵ The white fowl according to traditions was a symbol of welcome and hospitality extended to any visitor to a community or a Household.⁴¹⁶ These men who welcomed the white man into their respective communities became,

⁴¹² Rattray, *The Tribes of the Ashanti Hinterland*, p. 409.

⁴¹³ *Ibid.* p. 429.

⁴¹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 429.

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁶ Interview with some group of elders in Tuopare, Gungunpke, Nandompkee, Nandom-Pataal, and Zimuopare. Among them included Clement Nu-gnaa (55 years), Millanus Lubnuor (52 years), Fustina Malekaar (87 years), Tengando) Kuukye, Johnson Nabugu, Musah Der (45 years), Dong Gladis (48 years), Christiana Nabugu (51 years), and Nabugu Ninwabora. 26 – 28 October, 2018.

as Rattray would put it, “the white man’s chiefs,”⁴¹⁷ was a complete departure from the political organisation of preliterate Dagara society described above. That is reiterating the point that at the advent of British rule in the Northwest of Ghana, with the exception of the few communities mentioned already, most settlements had never been ruled by anybody with political or completely centralised authority. Therefore, the coming into force of the ‘British chiefs,’ comes as a modern form of rule in the second half of the nineteenth century and was in tandem with British policy of consolidation through the facilitation of commercial intercourse.⁴¹⁸ As a result, the British government through its representatives were to reorganize and implement a plan of mobilizing labour that would be supervised to carry goods and built roads. This supervisory role was given to local natives or local ‘strongmen’ of local influence and networks. They were to be the ‘founding blocks’ and strong support to the burgeoning colonial economies while transforming the new institutions (chiefdoms) so that it resembled more of British model and prospects.

The introduction of the new political order by the British was made successful through the pre-colonial structures identified above. It is evident in the oral traditions that, although, the structures were variously described as non-centralised and contrary to the British model of local governance, the preliterate structures of the people with their roots from the Household were the ones from which the new chiefdoms were to be established. Natural with the pattern of settlements, and with the opening of the Black Volta region, there has been more of cordial collaborations in many fields between the various communities than

⁴¹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁸ Chamberlain to Hodgson, Confidential, 19 February, pp.508-9.

was ever dreamt of before. As a result, it was not difficult to make the chiefs and people realise the advantages to be obtained if they united under a particular local ‘strongman.’⁴¹⁹ This however was not done without recourse to set standards of the traditions. The oral traditions affirm that though these new chiefs were in most cases selected or appointed unanimously or in some cases elected, they all sought some level of political legitimacy by referring to pre-colonial traditions as regards first and later settlements. Lentz shares the view which is fair that not everywhere did these new chiefs; in particular, the first set of chiefs came from the earth priest’s kin-group. She goes on to state that, even where they did; the offices of the earth priest and chief were from the very beginning decoupled.⁴²⁰ This however, is different in Gungunkpe where oral tradition reveals that the first chief of the settlement, Tulong, was at the same time the earth priest and till present the earth priest’s patrilineage constitutes the ruling class in Gungunkpe.⁴²¹ Be that as it may, the colonial office and the District Commanders through the Chief Commissioners with the sole responsibility to nominate, select or elect any individual of their satisfaction to occupy the position of chief. Chiefs were appointed in many cases by the British to play a facilitating role in the administration of the area to which he was mandated. This was a policy they practiced in every colony in Africa. The role of the chief was within the confines of administration and judicature prior to Europeans coming. They sat in court to settle customary law suits.

⁴¹⁹ Interview with some group of elders in Tuopare, Gungunkpe, Nandompkee, Nandom-Pataal, and Zimuopare. Among them included Clement Nu-gnaa (55 years), Millanus Lubnuor (52 years), Fustina Malekaar (87 years), Tengando) Kuukye, Johnson Nabugu, Musah Der (45 years), Dong Gladis (48 years), Christiana Nabugu (51 years), and Nabugu Ninwabora. 26 – 28 October, 2018.

⁴²⁰ Lentz, *Ethnicity and History in Northern Ghana*, p. 33.

⁴²¹ *Ibid.* Interviews 26 – 28 October 2018.

Today, Chieftaincy is one of Ghana and Africa's enduring cultural heritage and institution, which is deeply rooted in the ethnic consciousness of communities, providing the scope for leadership and exercise of authority. Consequently, Chieftaincy is one of the major traditional institutions in contemporary Ghana, symbolizing socio-political and sacred power vested in chiefs, Queen-mothers and Priests in many parts of Ghana. The impetus for Chieftaincy studies is given a further boost with respect to its legal and constitutional status in Ghana. The Chieftaincy Act of 1971, for instance provides guidelines for the functioning of the various Chieftaincy institutions, and authorizes the National House of Chiefs to “undertake the progressive study, interpretation and codification of customary law, with a view to evolving, in appropriate cases a unified system of rules of customary law”.⁴²²

Political Developments in Nandom 1946-1955

Developments in the run-up to independence from colonial rule was characterised by a scheme of constitutional reforms and realignments. It is within this context that Northern Ghana found its place relative to the independence struggle. The role of Nandom in the nationalist history of Ghana dates back to the 1940s and the 1950s following the establishment in 1946 of the Northern Territorial Council (NTC) and the formation in 1954 of the Northern People's Party (NPP). These two outstanding developments put Nandom on the spotlight of national politics. This period, roughly from 1900 to

⁴²² Paul Andre Ladouceur, *Chiefs and Politicians: The Politics of Regionalism in Northern Ghana*, London and New York: Longman, 1979, pp. 12 – 78. See also, Richard Rathbone, *Nkrumah & the Chiefs. The Politics of Chieftaincy in Ghana 1951-60*, Oxford: James Currey 2000, pp. 13 – 45.

1950 is generally the peak of British influence and intrusion in the affairs of Northern Ghana.

The British overall approach to the Northern Territories was to preserve and protect the North from Southern influence. Therefore, the introduction of the policy of indirect rule was nowhere fully implemented in the Gold Coast than in the North. Thus, emphasising the point that the British colonial policy at this era had attained its premier functionality with the appointment of paramount chiefs in accordance with their understanding of ‘native states’.⁴²³ Remigius F. McCoy explains that the British from 1913 had imposed chiefs on the people as a way to ameliorate their task of administering the territories.⁴²⁴ His position corroborates with oral traditions which holds the view that these chiefs who were not hereditary in most cases came into direct confrontations with the activities of the Missionaries.⁴²⁵

Again, oral tradition has it that the ‘British chiefs’ and their colonial benefactors had observed with great concerns the growing trends of Christianity and the connexion of catechists in the communities. At this point, one would have noticed that the British did not only plan to protect or isolate the North from Southern influence but internally too, they were uncomfortable with the activities of the missionaries. Indeed, McCoy makes the assertion that the

⁴²³See, for example, PRAAD Accra, ADM 56/1/252, Executive Order by C. H. Armitage, 14th April 1912 and PRAAD Accra, ADM 56/1/298, Memo. to Chief Commissioner, Northern Territories by Guggisberg F. G. 9th May, 1925. See also, Kimble. *A Political History of Ghana*, pp. 387 – 555; Crowder. *West Africa under Colonial Rule*, pp. 454 – 478; Buah. *A History*, pp. 160 – 167; Ivor Wilks. *Asante in the Nineteenth Century. The Structure and evolution of a Political Order*, London: Cambridge University Press, 1975, pp. 520 – 535; Brukum N. J. K. “Underdevelopment and the Delimma of Independence: Northern Ghana in Nationalist Politics, 1946 – 1956,” *Research Review (Institute of African Studies, Legon)* Vol. 14, No. 1 (1998), pp. 16 – 32 and Bentley, J. H. and Ziegler H. F. *Traditions and Encounters: A Global Perspective on the Past*, McGraw-Hill: New York, 2003, pp. 1037 – 1039.

⁴²⁴ McCoy, *Great Things Happen*, p. 19.

⁴²⁵ Interview with Bernard Kuu-im and Rev. Fr. Dr. Koya, 12th January, 2019.

catechists were seen as being a direct threat to the authority of the chiefs in the villages and an indirect threat to that of the colonial authority.⁴²⁶

This new political order by the British government as reckoned above was a subtle and formless strategy of subduing political consciousness among the inhabitants of Nandom and the Northern Territories in general. It was later to be found out that the creation of native authority to replace the traditional governing structures of Northern Ghana was a deliberate attempt to insulate the north from Southern Ghana.⁴²⁷

Aside the new political order, trade, cross rural-urban and urban-urban activities and education in particular were rigidly controlled in the North.⁴²⁸ This protectionist approach was to further delay the integration of Nandom and more of the North into nationalist affairs of the Gold Coast.⁴²⁹ Coming events in the 1940s cast their shadows before them, and the colonial government had to rethink of its earlier policy of isolationism towards Northern Ghana. For the purposes of what the European powers described as ‘effective occupation’ of territories under their jurisdiction, the end of the World War II (WWII) witnessed a further demarcation of the African territories. This was fully manifest soon after the inter-war period.⁴³⁰ The return of the soldiers who participated in the WWII finely tuned growth in economic and socio-political consciousness among the masses. Although official view in late 1940 has it that

⁴²⁶ McCoy, *Great Things Happen*, p. 19.

⁴²⁷ See PRAAD Accra, ADM 56/1/252, Executive Order by C. H. Armitage and PRAAD Accra, ADM 56/1298, Memo. to Chief Commissioner.

⁴²⁸ For further account on educational policy embarked upon by the British Government in the Northern Territories see Bening R. Bagulo works “The Development of Education in Northern Ghana, 1908-1957,” *Ghana Social Science Journal* 1:2, 1971, pp. 21 – 41 and *A History of Education in Northern Ghana 1907-1976*, Accra: Ghana University Press 1990.

⁴²⁹ Kimble, *A Political History of Ghana*, p. 554.

⁴³⁰ *Ibid.* Bentley and Ziegler, *Traditions and Encounters*, p. 1038

political consciousness in Northern Ghana had not reached a point to occasion a public discourse, events in the aftermath of the war warranted a deserving attention for the people of Northern Ghana.⁴³¹ As a result, the colonial government formulated policy responses to integrate not only Northern Ghana, but the rest of the country into the stream of national politics. The place of Nandom in the integration processes and the subsequent formation of a formidable political organ to contest the general election of 1954 cannot be undervalued.

To start with, after several notable consultations, and probably following some official recommendations, the colonial authority came to the realization that the time was ripe to widen its scope of affairs to include Northern Ghana. To this effect, a new constitution was promulgated soon after WWII in 1946 by the governor, Sir Allan Burns. Unlike Sir Frederick Gordon Guggisberg's constitution of 1925, the Allan Burns Constitution, among other features, provided for an enlarged Legislative and Executive Councils.⁴³² It extended the hitherto limited elective principle to include Kumasi. For the first time in the country's history, there was an African majority in the Legislative Council. Most importantly however, the constitution introduced a Territorial Council for the people of the North called the Northern Territories Territorial

⁴³¹ See, for example, Lord Hailey, W. *Native Administration and Political Development in British Tropical Africa*, London, 1971 [1944, pp. 112 – 139.

⁴³² The Guggisberg constitution was promulgated in May 1925 with a 29-member Legislative Council. Fifteen of these members were officials and fourteen of them were unofficial members. Five of the unofficial members were Europeans representing banking, shipping, mining and commerce. The 1925 constitution created the Provincial Council of Chiefs and gave the traditional chiefs the opportunity to play a part in the administration of the colony. It however fell short of the expectation of the educated elites. See David E. Apter, *The Gold Coast in Transition*, Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1955, pp. 223 – 355.

Council, and later changed to the Northern Territorial Council (N.T.C.).⁴³³ In all essence, the 1946 Constitution was seen as a leveller and indeed, an advancement of the course of total integration of the country of its national affairs as far as the Northern Territories were concerned.⁴³⁴

Indeed, the 1946 constitution although did not have a Northern representation on both the Executive and the Legislative councils, in a way ended the ninety six years of political exclusion of Northern Ghana from the affairs of national politics. In effect, the Northern Territories was further divided into provinces headed by provincial commissioners, formerly referred to as resident commissioners. These included the Northern, North Eastern and North Western Provinces. Each of these provinces and their respective heads came under the direct supervision of the resident or chief commissioner headquartered at Tamale. There were also in each province, district political officers designated as district commissioners responsible for the day-to-day administrative work of the district.⁴³⁵ It is important to point out that upon the consideration to establish the Territorial Council for the North, these European officials and a few selected African educated head chiefs constituted the council which was more of a consultatory body headed by the chief commissioner.⁴³⁶

⁴³³ *Ibid.* PRAAD Accra, ADM 56/1/252, Executive Order by C. H. Armitage and PRAAD Accra, ADM 56/1298, Memo. to Chief Commissioner.

⁴³⁴ Unlike their Southern counterparts whose participation in national politics dates back to the 1850s, the first appointment from the Northern Territories into the Executive Council was in 1934 and this was the Chief Commissioner. It was also in the same period that the Legislative Assembly was permitted to legislate on behalf of the territories in the north. This is the reason why the 1946 constitution was viewed as a great improvement favouring Northern participation in national politics. Thus, the colonial administration created the Northern Territories Territorial Council (N.T.C) with the aim to educate chiefs and commoners on the basic principles of governance.

⁴³⁵ PRAAD Tamale, NRG 8/3/141, Annual Report Northern Territories 1946-1947. See also, Buah, *A History*, p. 104.

⁴³⁶ Lord Hailey, W. *Native Administration and Political Development in British Tropical Africa*. Introduction by Kirk-Greene, A.H.M. (Kraus Reprint, 1979), pp. 100 – 352.

The constitution made the chief commissioner of the Protectorate a member of the Legislative Council. Although limited in representation, this hitherto was not the case before 1946, although, it is on record that in the 1930s, similar arrangements were made to involve the people in government at that level. According to its initial recommendation as suggested by Lord Hailey that steps be taken to establish a centralised consultative council of chiefs for all the three administrative units which included the colony, Northern Territories and Asante.⁴³⁷ The recommendations further suggested the composition of the N.T.C to include heads of Native Authorities. At its Sixth Session, January 4 – 6, 1950, the council selected a six member committee. This follows a directive order in December 1949 on the N.T.C to advise the Legislative Council on Mr. J. Henley Coussey Committee's report on local government. The Chief Commissioner selected a six member committee, all of whom except one were head chiefs.⁴³⁸ These committee members included Puobe Imoru, Nandom Naa, Asigri, Wokandana, J.A. Briamah, Kabachewura, Abudu Mumuni, Dorimon Naa, Yakubu Tali, Tali Naa and representing the Dagomba Native Authority was its Secretary, J.H. Allassani.⁴³⁹

The appointment of the head chief of Nandom, Naa Puobe Imoru (1940-1958) as a committee member of the N.T.C. in 1950 was a huge recognition not only to Nandom and the local communities that surrounded it but also the head chiefs and people of Lawra and Jirapa.⁴⁴⁰ Significantly, Puobe's inclusion brought Nandom into mainstream politics and positioned Nandom as a key

⁴³⁷ *Ibid.* p. 137 – 139.

⁴³⁸ N.T.C, Sixth Session. 4 – 6 January, 1950, pp. 1 – 45.

⁴³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁰ Interviews with Rev. Fr. Dr. Koya, Alois K. Mohl and Amatus Nacheleh, 12 – 16 June, 2019.

contributor to Ghana's independence struggle and the advancement of the Northern agenda.

Another aspect of political evolution in Nandom during the period under study is the formation of the NPP in April 1953. Scholarly works have variously discussed the pre-independence political culture and social change in Gold Coast including the evolution of party politics, particularly, in the Asante, the Northern Territories and British Togoland.⁴⁴¹ They make the argument, which indeed is corroborated by oral tradition that the upsurge in nationalist activities during and after the inter-war years were as a result of the growing disputation not only among the ordinary aboriginals and the chiefs, but also among the chiefs and the educated elites.⁴⁴² These grievances in their view culminated in founding broad based political organisations in the Gold Coast – the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) which was subsequently inaugurated at Saltpond in August 4, 1947.⁴⁴³ They demanded for self-government.⁴⁴⁴ In fact, the socio-political cognizance that reemerged at the end of the war was under evident in the inter-war period.⁴⁴⁵ This was particularly true with the formation of the Convention Peoples Party (CPP) in June 12, 1949 by Kwame Nkrumah.⁴⁴⁶

⁴⁴¹ For further readings, see Dennis Austin. *Politics in Ghana 1946-1960*, London/New York/Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1964, pp. 14 – 56; Boahen A. A., *Ghana: Evolution and Change in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. London: Longman Group Ltd., 1975, pp.103 – 163; Agbodeka, F., *Ghana in the Twentieth Century*. Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 1972, pp. 69 – 82; Allman, Jean. *The Quills of the Porcupine: Asante Nationalism in an Emergent Ghana*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993, pp. 12 – 34; Amenumey, D. E. K., *Ghana: A concise History from thePre-colonial times to theTwentieth Century*. Accra, Woeli Publishing Services, 2008, pp. 100 – 199.

⁴⁴² *Ibid.* Austin, *Politics in Ghana*, p. 56.

⁴⁴³ See Kimble, *A Political History of Ghana*, pp, 389 – 396; Boahen, *Ghana*, pp. 132 and Buah, *A History*, pp. 152 – 155. See also, Kantinka K. D. Fordwo, *The Danquah-Busia Tradition in the Politics of Ghana. The Origins, Misions and Achievements of the New Patriotic Party*, Accra 2010, pp. 1 – 15.

⁴⁴⁴ *Ibid.* Fordwo, *The Danquah-Busia Tradition*, p. 14.

⁴⁴⁵ *Ibid.* see Bentley and Ziegler. *Traditions and Encounters*, p. 1038.

⁴⁴⁶ Buah, *A History*, p. 158 – 160.

Inspired of these early developments, what was however still preeminent was the fact that the British, from the central to the local government level, was still in charge of affairs, with the ‘British chiefs’ and a few highly educated elites acting as facilitators for the interest of the colonial official in the North. As a result, the masses were marginalised in many endeavours, particularly, access to education.⁴⁴⁷ These grievances were not only predominant in the South but worse of in the North. As pointed above, the establishment of the N.T.C, though a step in the right direction, did not solve the problem of exclusivity in the North since it only acted as a consultative council. As a result, the Northern educated elite and commoners had little or no buoyancy in the British government as their inalienable rights to involvement and participation in state affairs were being denied them by both central and local authorities.⁴⁴⁸ In addition, all reforms, ranging from orders-in-Council, native ordinances, to constitutions, reduced in significance the North to the background.⁴⁴⁹

The British government since the 1850s administered Southern Ghana different from the Asante, the Northern Territories and British Togoland. Whereas Southern Ghana or ‘the Colony Proper’ was administered by an Executive and a Legislative Council headed by the Governor, Asante, the Northern Territories and British Togoland were ruled directly by the Governor. Unlike their Southern counterparts, Northern Ghana was neither represented in the Legislative nor the Executive Councils.⁴⁵⁰ This probably followed the flawed observation by Lord Hailey in 1944 that “in the Northern Territories no

⁴⁴⁷ See Bening, *The Development of Education*, pp. 21 – 41.

⁴⁴⁸ Austin. *Politics in Ghana*, pp. 14 – 56.

⁴⁴⁹ *Ibid.* p. 51

⁴⁵⁰ See Buah, *A History*, pp. 102 – 104. See also, Brukum N. J. K. “Underdevelopment”, pp. 16 – 32.

demand for participation in the Legislative Council so far had appeared.”⁴⁵¹ This position has been re-echoed by N. J. K. Brukum when he made a similar observation that even after WWII, the British government still felt that the time was not yet right for any formal integration of the Protectorate (Dependency) with the Gold Coast Colony and the Asante. Indeed, there was no properly intended strategy of political assimilation for the two areas nor was there any ground mechanism for selection of representatives from the North to participate in the Legislative Assembly.⁴⁵²

Overall, the constitutions of 1951 and 1954 were observed by political actors at the time as a greater degree of improvement over all the attempts since the 1930s and even up to the 1940s.⁴⁵³ The 1951 constitution for example was to be a pathfinder to self-rule. Significant though this was for the country’s internal self-government, the people were not happy because its representation was limited to the chiefs and the educated elite to the total exclusion of the broader masses. This notwithstanding, the peoples of the North viewed it as a development ushering them into the circus of national politics. Of all the constitutional reforms beginning from 1897 to 1946, the 1951 constitution for the first time was the one that allowed representations from Northern Ghana to take seats in the expanded Legislative Assembly. It practically ended the policy of protectionism of Northern Ghana from events of the colony.

The 1954 constitution on the other hand, was seen as one constitution purported to bring finality to decolonisation, following the introduction of a

⁴⁵¹ Lord Hailey, *Native Administration and Political Development*, p. 138.

⁴⁵² Brukum, “Underdevelopment”, p. 17

⁴⁵³ Buah, *A History*, p. 159.

truly universal adult suffrage as recommended by the Van Lare Commission.⁴⁵⁴ It must be noted that before 1954, the right to vote in an election was a realm of those who had property. Thus, the various state councils – the Provincial Council of chiefs, the Asanteman Council, the Trans-Volta Togoland and the Northern Territorial Council, guided with heavy hand, such activities.⁴⁵⁵

Based on the aforementioned premises above, it is instructive to add also that later competing interests, opinions and differences in approach and ideology at the beginning of the 1950s were to be the basis for further deepening of political consciousness in the North.⁴⁵⁶ For example, when the Northern representatives took their seats in the Legislative Assembly in 1951, they found as problematic the haste with which their southern counterparts were demanding for self-rule. They felt that they were a hundred years behind their Southern counterparts as regards participation in national politics. It is no doubt difficult at this point for anyone to draw the conclusion that Gold Coast around this period was a classical example of a polarised county with an emerging difference of ideologies.

Above all, social equality, treasured in its own right, was an essential quest from the actors who advocated for a rather slow pace in the quest for self-government.⁴⁵⁷ To them, it was an inescapable prerequisite necessary for a

⁴⁵⁴ *Ibid.* p. 160.

⁴⁵⁵ See for example, PRAAD, CO98/10, Annual Reports on Northern Territories 1900 – 1914 and *Miss. Afr. S.* 593 (1,2 – 4) Duncan-Johnstone, *Informal Diary (Asanti)*, 1928; CSP *Informal Diary*, August 1929, including ms. 'Native Administration.'

⁴⁵⁶ Similar views are expounded by most of the authors in Bea Lundt and Christoph Marx eds., *Kwame Nkrumah 1909-1972. A Controversial African Visionary* (Accra, Ghana, 2016); for the summary, see Kwame O. Kwarteng and Mary Owusu, "Opposition to Kwame Nkrumah and the Convention Peoples Party 1951-1960, pp. 67 – 88.

⁴⁵⁷ Report of the Committee of the Territorial of the Northern Territories appointed to make recommendations concerning Local Government in the Northern Territories, Accra. 1951, pp. 1 – 45.

politically enabling atmosphere for socio-economic development. The epochs preceding the 1954 general election were to cause a monumental change in the affairs of things in the Gold Coast. The demands for a new political order began to be insistently unstoppable in a protectorate where chiefs were the most powerful and dominant. Their insistents yielded to the expansion of the Legislative Assembly from 85 to 104 members.⁴⁵⁸ Scholars generally agree that it was the first time that a truly universal suffrage was introduced and all seats were to be contested for in the 1954 general election.⁴⁵⁹

The evolution of political consciousness and partisan politics in pre-independence Northern Ghana could be gleaned from the activities of the N.T.C and the demands for social equity by those early educated elites of the North. They made their intentions clear in the deliberation of the report of the Andrew Aiken Watson's committee at the Coussey Committee sitting.⁴⁶⁰ Significantly, they found similar agitations among the youths constituting a groundswell for popular opinions. Thus, the educated elites, most of whom were the head chiefs, the youth groups, clubs, associations and movements were rife and were no longer content simply with improving or wedged in their old role of traditional mobilization in state politics but look forward to changing the status quo for broader inclusion.⁴⁶¹

⁴⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵⁹ F. M. Bouret. *The Gold Coast. A Survey of the Gold Coast and British Togoland 1919 – 1946*, London, 1946, pp. 45 – 56. See also, Ferguson Phyllis and Ivor Wilks. "Chiefs, Constitutions and the British in Northern Ghana," in: *West African Chiefs*, eds. Crowder M. and Ikime O. New York: African Publishing Corp. & Ile-Ife: University of Ife Press, 1970, pp. 326 – 369 and Richard Rathbone, Nkrumah and the Chiefs. *The Politics of Chieftaincy in Ghana 1951 – 1960*, Athens OH, 2000, pp. 10 – 15.

⁴⁶⁰ Brukum, *Underdevelopment*, pp. 18 – 20.

⁴⁶¹ This viewpoint is articulated by most of the authors in J. F. Adeniyi Ajayi and Ian Espie, eds., *A Thousand Years of West African History* (Ibandan, 1965); for the summary, see K. W. J. Post, "Nationalist Movements in West Africa," pp. 451 – 459. See also Kimble, *A History of Ghana*, pp. 388 – 398. Similar views are expoused by most of the authors in Bea

The Watson Commission, following the February 28, 1948 spontaneous of disturbances and unrest in the capital city of the Gold Coast and Kumasi, the Coussey Commission as pointed above, was brought in to carry out a nation-wide deliberation of the Watson report and make recommendations. It is significant to note that this time round, a commission, unlike before, had considered the Northern Territories as integral to the the country's struggle for internal self-government. That is to say that the Coussey Commission worked very closely and consulted in each step of the way with the Territorial Council of the Northern Territories, in this case the N.T.C. It had on its committee five people, selected by the Chief Commissioner, W.H. Ingrams, thus bringing a practical end to the policy of seclusion of Northern Ghana from the nationalist activities of the colony and Asante. In this regard, the North contributed directly to the framework and content of the new constitution which was promulgated in January 1, 1951. For instance, the Northern representatives on the Coussey Committee and later the Legislative Council, took advantage of their socio-political and economic retrograde to get some concessions for Northern Ghana. Although, they did not achieve in their demand for a leisurelier approach to reforms and internal self-rule, their stance on issues of collective interests were never undermined.

In principle, the NTC from its establishments, with its origins grounded in the traditional governing structures as discussed above, was a political conduit from which Nandom and more of the North was drawn into the trajectory of national politics. That is to say, the formation of the NPP in the

Lundt and Christoph Marx eds., *Kwame Nkrumah 1909-1972. A Controversial African Visionary* (Accra, Ghana, 2016); for the summary, see Kwame O. Kwarteng and Mary Owusu, "Opposition to Kwame Nkrumah and the Convention Peoples Party 1951-1960, pp. 67 – 88.

run-up to the first ever general election in the Gold Coast, took its inspiration, outlook in character and leadership in the form of the NTC. This is where the NPP differs in ideological view point from that of Kwame Nkrumah and the CPP who were opposed to chieftaincy.⁴⁶² This distinctive element between the NPP and the CPP was to be the basis for partisanship in local politics among the head chiefs of the Black Volta Region. A number of these head chiefs declared their support for the CPP, even in the face of unbendable opposition to chiefs. As a result, the entire membership of the Teritorial Council of the Northern Territories was characterized by divisions and political alliances affecting the initial stance of the NTC in the approach to self-rule. As Ladouceur pointed out, the days when Northern politicians aspired for neutrality in the Legislative Assembly, striving only to promote the Northern agenda without alignments with any parties in the south were gone.⁴⁶³ Obvioussely, the NTC which was the highest political institution in the Northern Territories, and for a very long period dictated the pace of northern involvement in the scheme of national politics, was beginning the break its ranks.

The formation therefore of the NPP by some core members of the NTC who were also Members of the Legislative Assembly in 1953 was precipitated by such fundamental misapprehensions as explained above. The point however need to be reiterated that although the relationship between the northern block became increasingly unresolved, many of the Northern Cchiefs joined the NPP with a few of them joining the CPP.⁴⁶⁴ The oral tradition points to the fact that

⁴⁶² For further discussions on Nkrumah and Gold Coast Chiefs, see Rathbone's *Nkrumah & the Chiefs*, pp. 1 – 16.

⁴⁶³ Ladouceur, *Chiefs and Politians*, pp. 143 – 145.

⁴⁶⁴ Interview with Henry Fachu, a member of the Chiefly Family of Nandom, age 47, 3rd July 2019.

following the struggle for independence, many individuals and the ‘strong men’ and families desired for their relations to be a part of the nationalist politics of independence. To this effect, the 1954 election was to be described by political analyst as the election of independent candidates. It was indeed a network created through chieftaincy and the few elite class of the Northern Territories.

In such traditional areas as Builsa, Navrongo South and North, similar arrangements were made in the Lawra and Nandom traditional areas, forming one division known as the Lawra Confederacy. In Lawra, Abeyifaa Karbo, the son of the Lawra Naa, the president of the Lawra Confederacy and a founding member of the NPP, won the constituency in 1954 as a candidate for the NPP. This was largely attributed to his father’s role in the formation of the NPP, and so Abeyifaa had a total support from the royal family of Lawra despite a strong opposition from Nandom Naa, Naa Puobe Imoru, who was also a member of the NTC and a founding member of the NPP. Naa Puobe Imoru, according to oral tradition supported the NPP due to his long relationship with the NTC, but was disappointed in the choice of Abeyifaa as candidate for the NPP because he believed that the choice of candidate should have been any ordinarily well educated elite.⁴⁶⁵ Ladouceur notes that Naa Puobe in response to this also supported a candidate of Nandom origin from his clan, regardless of the party affiliation.⁴⁶⁶ Thus, Polkuu Paul, a trained teacher and a direct cousin to Naa Puobe contested the 1954 election as an independent candidate, though a pro-CPP. Meanwhile, the CPP had its candidate as Sievero Termagre, coming from the same kin group of Naa Puobe.⁴⁶⁷ This arrangement paved way for the NPP

⁴⁶⁵ Interview with Henry Fachu and Alois K. Mohl.

⁴⁶⁶ Ladouceur, *Chiefs and Politics*, pp. 120 – 121.

⁴⁶⁷ Interview, Alois.

candidate, Abeyifaa Karbo, to win the election in 1954, representing the Lawra-Nandom constituency in the Legislative Assembly.

Chieftaincy and local politics, though a separate endeavour in modern terms, played an impeccable role in the run-up to independence. In many of the instances alluded to above, it is ostensible to lay claim to the fact that local politics in Nandom is genetic of the nature of the house-society, characterised by a 'dual clan system' where socio-political construction was defined along *Yiilu* and *Bellu*. This is to the effect that such 'dual clan system' superseded rational and socio-political formulation of decisions for the general well. Ghana's independence from colonialism involve a web of events and reforms. At the height of the nationalistic politics of independence, many individuals and influential families developed the proclivity of integrating their families into the struggle. This feeling of political up-lifting was not only peculiar to Nandom but became a general spectacle in the entire Gold Coast settlement.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed efforts made by inhabitants of preliterate Nandom society at establishing a governance model using the indigenous traditional governing structures. It interrogated also the impact of colonial policy on the democratic traditions of pre-Nandom society from the 1800s to the post-colonial era. It affirms the view that Nandom, before the Whiteman set foot in the Balck Volta region, was foreign to the nature of state governance as compared with what existed in the staes of the Mole-Dagomba Kingdom. Although, pre-Nandom society did not have a standard constitution, there was a standard practice organized along the patriarchal structures as alluded to in

chapter three. Nandom, before the 1890s did not have chiefs. What was distinguished and practiced was the institution of the *tengansob*. This was formulated out of the principle of ‘first comers’ and ‘late comers’. Thus the right to land ownership was given to the former whilst the latter in most cases became the ruling family. Prior to village settlements in the pre-Nandom society, the communities were divided into various sections. Each section had a head who was responsible to the people. These section-heads in practice worked under a clan head who was mostly the *tengsob*. By 1898, the early subdivisions in pre-Nandom society included Tuopare, Gungunkpe, Zimuopare, Kokoligu, Guo, Tantuo, Panyaan, Tom-Zendaagang, and Vapuo. The sub-divisional heads were later reconstituted by the British government to form the divisional council of chiefs in the 1930s, giving them the right to elect one of its own to represent them in the confederacy of chiefs, headquartered in Lawra. The first Nandom Naa to be elected to the Lawra Confederacy was Naa Konkoo (1931-1940), subsequently became the confederal president till his demise in 1940.

The development of politics in Nandom could be garnered from when compound heads of families were constituted as Electoral College to elect a divisional chief who was as part of the mandate, to represent the Nandom division in the Lawra Confederacy. This was further given a boost with the selection of Naa Puobe in 1950 to be a committee member of the Territorial Council of the Northern Territories headed by the Chief Commissioner resident in Tamale. It is instructive to note that the choosing Naa Puobe Imoru as a committee member to the NTC was a huge recognition not only to Nandom and the local communities that surrounded it but also the head chiefs and people of

Lawra and Jirapa.⁴⁶⁸ Significantly, Puobe's inclusion brought Nandom into mainstream politics and positioned Nandom as a key contributor to Ghana's independence struggle and the advancement of the Northern agenda.

CONCLUSION

Comparable to many other oral traditions and histories of settlements in Africa, the histories of the North-West of Ghana in general and Nandom in particular, dates back to many many centuries ago. It is a history that involves social, cultural, and politico-economic evolution of the people many decades ago. It includes also the interaction of a people in diverse backgrounds with greater similarities in language, despite their many dialectical and cultural variations. Using the historical method of research and data analysis with the mostly

⁴⁶⁸ Interviews with Rev. Fr. Dr. Koya, Alois K. Mohl and Amatus Nacheleh, 12 – 16 June, 2019.

acknowledged basis of qualitative approach, the work established how present-day researchers can use oral histories juxtaposing that with written sources for the reconstruction of a settlement history such as Nandom.

The study up to this point has provided a chronology regarding the oral histories of the people of Nandom from 1660 to 1955. The work began from 1660 because the period marked the founding of Nandom and the evolution of Nandom to it being the ancestral home – a reference socio-cultural heritage of the Dagara-speaking people of not only North-Western Ghana but also of some inhabitants in Burkina Faso. The study ended at 1955, underscoring the point that Nandom and for that matter the Northern Territories had been fully assimilated into the nationalist history of the Gold Coast. Thus, this thesis had fundamentally examined the development of territorial politics in pre-independence Ghana with particular reference to Northern Ghana. Post-1951 election marked a turning point and the upsurge in territorial politics in the Gold Coast. From this time on, the Northern Territories were fully integrated into nationalist activities of the Gold Coast following the formation of the Northern People's Party (NPP).

Following the purpose and objective outline of the thesis and guided by the four research questions, the discussions in the first chapter of this study have examined in general the migration history of the people of Nandom. Beginning from their ancestral home in Toma (Wa), the then North-West Province, the work, relying on oral traditions and histories has outlined how *Nandom* was founded by Zenuo, the hunter, in the 1600s and the subsequent peopling of the area by other clan groups such as the Bekuone, the Kpielle, and the *Ninbule* from the late 1700. Thus, before 1600, the land was sporadically peopled, to the

extent of practically unoccupied. The study found out that unlike other settlement histories of other groups of the Northern, Savannah and the North East regions, Nandom and Lambussie have no autochthons. This affirms the view that all the early inhabitants of both Nandom and Lambussie were strangers. That means that these areas were uninhabited and that the occupation in question occurred about three centuries ago (1450-1600).

The Nandom area which is generally claimed to be owned by the Lambussie people appeared to have been essentially an unoccupied 'thick forest'. The origins of all the inhabitants of the Nandom and Lambussie areas at present do trace their origins to places outside of the two districts. For example, the Dekpielle clan, which earned the right of landlord and custodian of Earth Priest of Nandom, traces the origins of its ancestral parents back to earlier settlements in 'Edina' (El Mina, Central Region). The Lambussie earth priest's family on the other hand trace their place of origins to areas in *Chaa* and *Zaa* in Burkina Faso and Dafiama respectively. The distinguishing feature in this study is that at each community of settlement, whether in Nandom or Lambussie, there are presently two or more clans constituting a settlement.

The study accepts the view that it was during the reign of Na Zagina, 1648-1677, that Wa, which hitherto comprised a collection of ethnic groups – the Dagara, Mamprusi, Dagomba, Gonja, Tarawiri, Wangara, Sissala, and Hausa – witnessed a major disintegration. This study endorses the view that the Dagara of Nandom formed part of Toma territory. It also accepts the view that the Dagara, which included the people of Nandom today broke away from the Dagomba Kingdom in their quest for independence and dignity in the reign of

Na Zagina. They established themselves in the region drained by the Black and White Volta and their tributaries.

The Black Volta, in particular, was generally accepted as the home of the Dagara, majority of whom are referred to as Nandom in this study. The land was thinly populated, to the scope of being fundamentally uninhabited. The various clan groups, including the Sissala of Lambussie began to possess it by settling some of their kinsmen in various parts of the Black Volta region. The influx of other clan groups followed at the invitation of their kinsmen. Appropriation of space to kinsmen was in the acquisition of earth-shrine which was a strategy to ritualise and in a way legitimised one's settlement.

Overall, it is clear that earth-shrine acquisition was a major strategy of colonising the lands of the Black Volta, resulting in the establishment of various agricultural communities to the north, south, west, and east of the Black Volta. Nandom at present is located to the extreme bend of northwest of the Black Volta with a great multitude of villages that surround it.

This work succeeded in delineating the processes by which Nandom was peopled. This study accepts the view that Nandom was peopled through the gradual process of groups of individual patrilineal or kin groups with a distinct point of departure and at different stages of ancestral immigration into the area. It began first with the arrival of the Dikpielle clan as the first settlers and followed by the Bekuone and then later came the Kpielle clans. Aside this, there are oral traditions and histories in the various villages in Nandom that narrate how their parents came to settle in the current place. The current population in Nandom is in diverse ways also influenced by the influx of the *Ninbule* whom

we are told later arrived in Nandom in the 1800s. They, – the Wangara, Dagomba, Fulani, Moshi and the Waala – like the Dagara settlements, narrate chronologically of how their forefathers arrived in the current place.

Following the objectives of this study, the deliberations beginning from the first chapter has brought out information regarding the chronology in the making of Nandom and how this is knit together in the form of oral traditions and histories and are preserved for generations yet unborn. Thus, this work affirms the view that all inhabitants in the Black Volta region in general and in both Nandom and Lambussie, in particular are all strangers and therefore have no autochthons. That is, it accepts the assertion that the lands colonised by the Dagara of Nandom and the Sissala of Lambussie were uninhabited and that the current occupation is as recent as three centuries ago (1450-1600). It disputes the erroneous assertion that the settlements in the Nandom area which hitherto were essentially an unoccupied ‘thick forest’ were originally owned by the Lambussie people. It argues that the origins of all inhabitants in these areas at present do trace their places of origins outside of the two districts. For example, this work found out that, the Dikpielle clan which earned the right of landlords and custodians as Earth Priest of Nandom, trace their origins back to *Edina* in modern Central Region of Ghana. In a similar way, the Earth Priest clan of the Sissala of Lambussie also trace the origins of the ancestral parents back to Burkina Faso in an area known as *Chaa*. Upon arrival in Lambussie, they encountered the *Bepou* and the *Naavee* clans. Later, the *Hampuu* clan came to join them. Yet another segment of the Lambussie people, the Keltu family, claim they came from *Zaa*, a Dagara settlement in present day *Dafiama* in the Upper West region of Ghana, while others claimed they came from *Sankana*.

What is also true, as could be gathered from this study is that the oral traditions of both the Sissala of Lambussie and the entire *Dagarawie* (Dagara country) and some parts of Burkina Faso mention Zenuo of the Dikpielle clan as the first to have set foot in the present settlement and named it *Nardom*, after brief moments of stay in such areas as Sabuli, Bure, Mwankure, and finally Dipke in present day Lawra. This fact has been found to have been corroborated by official colonial reports. This work has succeeded in outlaying the chronology in which Zenuo trekked by discussing the various places that he settled, the names he gave to these places and their meanings within the Dagara context. It has also found out to be true that his main occupation was hunting which it is agreed form the basis of his discoveries.

This study has also found out that the preliterate society of Nandom acquired and kept slaves for domestic purposes. They recognise a *gbangbaa* (slave) as a person or group of persons in someones *yir* (house) and provides services for that person but such person/persons is/are not a member/members of that household. The Dagara people of Nandom holds the belief that *gbangbalou* (slavery) was an immemorial institution and commonly associated with moments of famine or severe hunger. The oral traditions recount of the copious instances in which travellers from neighbouring communities across the Black Volta would handover themselves or their offspring as *gbangbaar* when they run out of money and food. It finds out that the perspectives on the nature of slavery is common among the Dagara of Nandom. Based on these perspectives, this study makes the case that even though the preliterate society of Nandom until the middle of the 1800 acquired and kept slaves, they did not

play any role significantly in the commercial activities of slavery at the period of the Zambarimas from the 1850s.

What is factual is that due to the less well-armed inhabitants of the Nandom area, the people were easy prey to slave raiders from the Zambarima base in Kasena. That is, the Zambarima, through their leaders' – Samore and Babatu – familiarity with the use of guns overpowered the bows and arrows of the inhabitants. During the fieldwork, one recognises the presence of conscious memory through oral traditions. Indeed, the narratives from the people of the villages most affected – Samou, Ulo, Lambussie, Khani, Tuopare, Gungunkpe, etc demonstrate this very well. Thus, the discussion highlighted some imbedded recollections of domestic slavery and slave trade in Nandom and underscored the different cultural narratives about slaveship, socio-cultural identity, and differences that form perspective on slavery prior to the slave raiding activities of the Zambarima.

This study also examined the indigenous culture and social dimensions of the preliterate society of Nandom and highlighted the evolutions and possible changes. It evaluated the roles and functions of some of the established indigenous social institutions of the people and analysed their significance in contemporary times. It accepts the view that whether sociocultural institutions or political institutions, the Dagara idea of these institutions are structured in such a way, with an intent to bring about social order in the society for peaceful co-existence. For example, during the fieldwork and from the interactions with the village elders, it became obvious that the social construction of the settlements in Nandom is organised under a 'dual clan system', along *Yiilu* or *Saabiir* (patriclan) and *Bellu* or *Ma-biir* (matriclan). Therefore, social

relationships among settlements in Nandom are based on patriarchal (male-controlled) constructions with every group tracing its decent to an acknowledged *Saakom* (Ancestor). The findings have shown that these patriclans have a unifying bond of decent and so members of each clan recognise themselves as *Burɛ-been-dem* (ancestral seed) and are therefore *Yirbeen-dem* (one family) and that they are Yɛbr (siblings/relatives), residing in one *Yir* (house/home). What is discernible in this area of study is that *Yir* has been found out to be the foundation for all socio-political organisations among settlements in Nandom.

Similarly, this work has found out that the sociocultural dimension of the settlements in Nandom also reflected in how their political institutions were organised and practised. It identifies as factual that the democratic traditions and the traditional governing structures indigenous to the preliterate Nandom people revolved around a sort of patriarchal structure known as the Household. This institution was created out of the various sections of settlements as regards the earth-shrines. Each section was identified with an earth-shrine and a head who was responsible to the people. These section-heads would in practice come under the *tengansob* (*tɛŋsɔb*) who was in the whole the custodian of all the lands constituting the various sections. This *tɛŋsɔb* was ably supported by other relatively important persons as diviners and healers. There was also a village council of *tɛŋnimbere* selected from the various households. There was also a *Kumbelo* who was a messenger. Then came later at the time of *Bung*, the selection of the *Pole Naa*. This structure was altered at the advent of colonialism when the concept of native authority was sought after in the 1890s.

BIBLIOGRAHPY

PRIMARY SOURCES

Archival Sources.

Public Records and Archives Administration Department, (PRAAD)

PRAAD, Accra:

ADM 11/1/824 Essays by Assistant Commissioners on Tribal History. Mackay, G. F. A, *Short Essay on the History and Custom of the Mamprusi Tribe*, 1907.

ADM 11/1/824 John Guinness. Interim Report on the Peoples of Nandom and Lambussie, 1932.

ADM 11/1/824 Letters of official Correspondence following Essays Submitted by Assistant District Commissioners on Tribal History, 1933:26:4.

ADM 50/16/07 Report of Tour of Inspection, North Western Province. Provincial Commissioner Wa, N. W. Province, 26th February 1907.

ADM 56/1/10 Draft Northern Territories Proclamation, PRO, CO 879/67, NO. 649 African (West):40 Report of the Northern Territories Land Committee.

ADM 56/1/10 Northcott to Colonial Secretary, 31 July. 1898, PRO, CO 879/54, NO. 564 African (West), no. 143, enclosure 1:252 – 3.

ADM 56/1/252, Executive Order by C. H. Armitage, 14th April 1912.

ADM 56/1/288 *Tribal Histories, Salutations, Greetings etc*: A. W. Cardinall, *Correlated Report on Native Customs*, 1927.

ADM 56/1/298, Memo. to Chief Commissioner, Northern Territories by Guggisberg F. G. 9th May, 1925

ADM 56/1/351 Activity Report for the Northern Territories, 1929; Activity Report, Southern Province, 1930-31; Activity Report for the Northern Territories 1941.

ADM 56/1/351 Laws & Customs Northern Territories.

ADM 56/1/50 Essays by Assistant District Commissioners on Tribal History:

Wa or Wala, 1900.

ADM 56/105 Read's Annual Report to the Chief Commissioner Northern

PRAAD, Tamale:

ADM 56/1/169 Kanjarga Native Affairs 1913. Memorandum on the Proposed Northern Territories Native Administration Ordinance, 1927.

ADM 56/1/177 Extract from Informal Diary, Lorha [Lawra].

ADM 56/1/177 Tamale Informal Diary Precipis of Informal Official Diary, Wa District, North Western Province.

ADM 56/1/50 Report on Lobi Mission March 1906.

ADM 56/1/50 Report on Trek Wa to Wa via Tumu and Lorha by Dasent (28.4.1920).

ADM 56/1/50 Tour of Inspection (North Western Province) 1906.

ADM 56/1424 Annual Report North Western Province 1914.

NRG 8/2/110 Lawra Native Affairs 1951.

NRG 8/2/204 Domestic Slavery 1927.

NRG 8/2/205 Slave Dealing 1937-1947.

NRG 8/2/217 M. M. Read, Commissioner, Essay on the Peoples of North West Province 1927-28.

NRG 8/3/109 Annual Report Wala 1940-1941.

NRG 8/3/122 Annual Report Wala 1942-1943.

NRG 8/3/127 Annual Report Wala 1943-1945.

NRG 8/3/19 Native Affairs – Western District 1927-1931.

NRG 8/3/2 Census Western Dagomba District 1931.

NRG 8/3/53: 89 Northern Territories, Annual Report 1935-1936.

NRG 8/3/78: 1 – 2, Lawra-Tumu District, Annual Report 1938-1939.

NRG 8/3/85 Annual Report – Wala District.

ORAL SOURCES

Oral Interviews

Interview with Bernard Kuu-im, 67years old, at his residence in Nnandomkpee
on 27th December, 2017.

Interview with Edward Maaniabangne Millu, 73 years old, at his residence in
Nandomkpee on 18th November and 27th December, 2017.

Conversations with some Aborigines of Nandom, both old and young between
the ages of 60 – 78, on a Nandom Market Day on Christmas Day, 25th
December, 2017.

Interview with Dartey Boyuo, 76years old, at his residence in Lambussie on 27th
December, 2017.

Field Notes and interviews conducted between January and June 2017 with the chief Linguist of the Wa Naa, the Chief Imam of the region, 73years old, at his residence in Wa.

Interview with Danies Maalu, 52years old, at Pupiel (Puffien), on 28th December 2017.

Interview with a group of Elders from the Ermong Naa's palace, on 21st January, 2018.

Interview with a group of Elders led by the Dipke Naa at Lawra Dipke, on 23rd March, 2018.

Interview with a group from the Nandom Earth Priest clan in Nandokpee led by Kuuyele 68years old, on 18th May, 2018.

Interview with Abdulai Alhassan, Dagomba Naa, 72 years old, at his residence in the zango community, on 19th May, 2018.

Interview with Alhaji Issifu Botug Benni Chiir, a clan head of the Bekuone 76years old, at his residence in Nandom-Pataal, on 27th December, 2017.

Interview with Alhaji Tijani Ibrahim, at his residence in Nandom Zongo, on 19th May, 2018.

Interview with Alhaji Yakubu Adams, Wangara Naa and chief of the Zango settlement in Nandom, 75years old, at his palace, on 19th May, 2018.

Interview with Alois K. Mohl, 54years old, a member of the Bekuone clan of Nandom-Biiregagn based in Accra via phone on 7th November, 2018.

Interview with Boniface Nakaar, 66years old, at Nandomkpee, on 5th January, 2018.

Interview with Clement Norngaa, 50years old, at his Gungunkpe residence, on 27th December, 2018.

Interview with Deri Ziem Chemogoh, a Clan Head of the Bekuone and the Regent of the Nandom Traditional Area, 78years old, at his residence in the Nandom Palace, on 27th December, 2017.

Interview with Gregory Gandaa Kunzo, the Earth Priest of the Tuopare area, 72years old, at his Tuopare Residence, on 27th December, 2017.

Interview with Maaniakuu, a 72years old, head of the Bekuone clan, at his Nandom-Pataal Residence, 2017.

Interview with Millanus Lobnuor, 56years old, at his Gungunkpe residence, on 27th December, 2017.

Interview with Mohamradu Yamba, Fulani Naa, 70 years old, at his zango residence, on 19th May, 2018.

Interview with Mr. Bondong from the Bekuone Clan of Tom, 73years, at Tom, on 26th March, 2018.

Interview with Mrs. Babai Baalierkuu, 70years old, at her Nandom-Down-Below residence, on 26th December, 2017.

Interview with Naa Anacletus Kuuyele, Chief of Nandomkpee, 67 years old, at his Gamuoyir residence, on 27th December, 2017.

Interview with Rev. Dr. Fr. Stephen Koya, 56years old, at the Nandom Minor Baslica, Nandom, on 21st November 2017 and 23rd February 2018.

Interview with some Elders at Ekimpa and Keltu, all in the Lambussie-Kani District led by Boyuo Dartey, 27 December, 2017.

Interviews with Elders of the Kpielle Clan of Zimuopare led by Alban Dabuo, 67years old, at Zimuopare on 29th December 2018.

Interviews with Marcelinus Gamuo, 78years old, at Gamuoyir-Nandomkpee, on 27th December, 2017.

Interviews with Mathew Mwinviel, Assemblyman of Kuselle, 48years old, at his Kusell residence, and Naa Zuwera Micheal, chief of Kokoligu, 74years, on 28th October 2018.

PUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES

Books

Arhin, Kwame (ed.). *The Papers of George Ekem Ferguson, a Fanti Official of the Government of the Gold Coast, 1890-1897*. Leiden: African Studies Centre, 1974.

Bowditch, Thomas Edward. *Mission from Cape Coast to Asantee* (3rd ed). London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd, 1966.

Cruickshank, Brodie, *Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast of Africa* (Including an Account of the Native tribes, and their Intercourse with Europeans),

in Two Volumes: Vol. I, 1853. London: Hurst and Blackett, 1966, pp. 3
– 329 and Vol. II pp. 198–200 and 247–500.

Fage J. D, “Reflections on the Early History of the Mossi – Dagomba Group
States,” in: *The Historian in Tropical Africa*, eds. J. Vansina, R. Mauny
and L. V. Thomas. London: Oxford University Press, 1964.

Goody, Jack. *The Ethnography of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast,
West of the White Volta*. London: Colonial Office, 1954.

_____ *The Social Organization of the Lowili*. London, 1967.

_____ “Mythical and Traditional History of Dagomba,” in: A.W.

Thomas J. Hutchinson, *Ten Years’ Wandering among the Ethiopians: With
Sketches of the Manners and Customs of the Civilised and Uncivilised
Tribes, from Senegal to Gabon*. London: Hurst and Blackett, 1861, pp.
10-14.

Cardinal, Allan W. *Tales Told in Togoland*. London: Oxford University Press,
1931.

Capitaine Binger Gustavus. *Du Niger au Golf de Guinee*. 2 vols. Paris:
Liberairie Hachette, 1892.

McCoy Remigius F. *Great Things Happen: Personal Memoir of the First
Christian Missionary among the Dagaabas and Sissalas of Northern
Ghana*. Montreal: The Society of the Missionaries of Africa, 1988.

Metcalf, G. *Great Britain and Ghana: Documents of the History of Ghana
1807-1957*. (London: 1964).

Rattray R. S. *The Tribes of the Asante Hinterland*, I – II, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932.

_____ *Tribes of the Northern Ashanti Hinterland*, OUP Reprinted in 2 volumes, with linguistic material mainly in Volume 1. 1969

Tamakloe E. F. *A Brief History of the Dagbamba People*. Accra: Government Printer, 1931.

Tuurey, Gabriel. *An Introduction to the Mole Speaking Community*: Wa: Catholic Press, 1930.

Wilks, Ivor. 'Travellers in the Gold Coast Hinterland', in Philip D. Curtin (ed.), *Africa Remembered: Narratives by West Africans from the Era of slave Trade*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967.

NEWSPAPERS

"Know the 16 Regional Capitals of Ghana," *Daily Graphic Online*, General News, Feb 20, 2019.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Books

Bening R. Bagulo. *A History of Education in Northern Ghana 1907-1976*, Accra: Ghana University Press 1990.

- Bentley, J. H. and Ziegler H. F. *Traditions and Encounters: A Global Perspective on the Past*, McGraw-Hill: New York, 2003.
- Boahen, A. A. *Topics in West African History*. London, 1966.
- Bodomo, Adams. *The Structure of Dagaare*. Centre for the Study of Language and Information (CSLI) Publication, US, 1997.
- Perbi, Akosua A. *A History of Indigenous Slavery in Ghana from the 15th to the 19th Century*. Accra. Ghana, Sub-Saharan Publishers, 2007.
- Cardinall, Allan W. *The Natives of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast*. London: Routledge, 1920.
- Arhin, Kwame. "Aspects of the Ashanti Northern Trade in the Nineteenth Century," *Africa* 40, 1970.
- Davidson, Basil. F. K. Buah and J. F. A. Ajayi, *The Growth of African Civilisation: A History of West Africa 1000 – 1800*, London, 1965.
- Baldi, Philip. "Historical Linguistics and Cognitive Science", *Rheis, International Journal of Linguistics, Philology and Literature*, 2017.
- Barth, Fredrick. "Introduction." *In Ethnic and Boundaries*, ed. Barth Fredrick. Long Grove, TL: Waveland, 1969.
- Bekye, Paul K. *Catholic Action: An African Experiment in the Lay Apostolate*. Rome: Leberit Press, 1987.
- _____ *75 Years of Mission and Development in Nandom*. Takoradi: St. Francis Press, 2009.
- _____ *A History of Waala, the Ahmadiya Factor*. Accra: Salihsons, 2001.

- _____ *Divine Revelation and Traditional Religions with Particular Reference to the Dagaba of West Africa*. Rome: Leberit Press, 1991.
- Salih, Bin M.. *The Kingdom of Wa: Elucidation of our Origins and Settlement*. Accra: Salihsons, 2008.
- Blair H. A. "A History of Dagomba," in: *Enquiry into the Constitution and Organisation of the Dagomba Kingdom*. Appendix III, Accra: Government Printer, 1932.
- Boahen A. Adu (ed). *General History of Africa. Volume 7, Africa under Colonial Domination 1880 – 1935* (UNESCO General History of Africa.). Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1985.
- _____ *African Perspectives on Colonialism*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987.
- _____ *Ghana: Evolution and Change in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century*. London: Longman 1975. Reprinted Accra: Sankofa Education Publishers 2000.
- _____ *Topics in West African History*. Longman Group, Burnt Mill, Harlow, 1986.
- Braimah, J. A. N. and Tomlinso, H. H. *History and Traditions of the Gonja*, Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1997.
- Buah F. K. *A History of Ghana*. Revised and Updated, London and Oxford: MacMillan, 1998.

- Emecheta, Buchi. *The Slave Girl*, New York: Braziller, 1977.
- Campbell, Lyle. *Historical Linguistics: An Introduction*. 22 George Square, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998.
- Cardinall, Allan W. *The Natives of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast*. London: Routledge, 1920.
- Obeng, Cecilia S. *Home was Uncomfortable, School was Hell: A Confessionalist – Ethnographic Account of Belief Systems and Socio-educational Crisis in the Schooling of Ghanaian Rural Girls*. London: Nova Publishers, 2002.
- Achebe, Chinua. *Things Fall Apart*. London: Heinemann, 1962.
- Claridge, W. Walton. *A History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti 1915*. London, 1964.
- Crowder, Michael. *West Africa Under Colonial Rule*. London, Hutchinson & Co. Ltd., 1968.
- Austin D. *Politics in Ghana 1946-1960*. London: Oxford University Press, 1964.
- Dagaare Language Committee. *A Guide to Dagaare Spelling*. Wa: Catholic Press, 1982.
- Dakubu M. E. K. “*The peopling of North – Western Ghana.*” Accra: Department of Linguistics, University of Ghana, 1985.
- _____ *The Languages of Ghana*. (ed.) Dakubu M. E. K. London: Associate Book Publishers (UK) Ltd., 1988.

_____ “*Enduring and Emerging Issues in the Analysis of Ethnicity.*”

In the Anthropology of Ethnicity. ed. Hans Vereulen and Coarl Govers.

Amsterdam: Het Spinhais, 1994.

_____ “*Boundaries and Connections.*” *In simplifying identities.* ed.

Anthony P. Cohen. London: Rouledge, 2000.

Davdson, Basil, *Modern Africa: A Social & Political History.* London:

New York: Longman, 1994.

_____ *The Growth of African Civilization: A History of West Africa*

1000 – 1800. Singapore: Longman Group, 1965.

Der Benedict G. ‘The traditional political systems of the northern Ghana

reconsidered’, in: Yakubu Saaka (ed.), *Regionalism and Public Policy*

in Northern Ghana. Frankfurt Main: Peter Lang, 1998.

_____ *The Slave Trade in Northern Ghana.* Accra: Woeli Publishing

Services, 1998.

_____ ‘The Origins of the Dagara – Dagaba’, *Papers in Dagara Studies.*

Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana, 1989.

_____ *Inheritance and Marriage among the Dagaaba of Northern Ghana,*

Accra. Assembly Press. 1987.

Slyviane, Diouffe. *Fighting the Slave Trade: West African Strategies.* Athens,

OH: Ohio University Press. 2003.

Parsons, Donal St John. *More Legends of Northern Ghana,* Pentcils Hall Press.

London, 1958.

- Burke, Edmund. *Reflections on the Revolution in France*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, New Ed Edition, 1999.
- Einzig P. *Primitive Money in its Ethnological, Historical and Economic Aspects*. 2nd Edition. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1966.
- Eyre-Smith, St John. *A Brief Review of the History and Social Organization of the Peoples of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast*. Accra: Government Printer, 1933.
- Agbodeka F. *Ghana in the Twentieth Century*. Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 1972.
- Fage J. D. "Reflections on the Early History of the Mossi – Dagomba Group States," in: *The Historian in Tropical Africa*, eds. J. Vansina, R. Mauny and L. V. Thomas, London: Oxford University Press, 1964.
- _____. *African Societies and the Atlantic Slave Trade: Past and Present*. London: Oxford, University Press, 1989.
- Falola Toyin and Usman Aribdesi Adisa, eds., *Movements, Borders and Identities in Africa* (Rochester NY: University of Rochester Press, 2009.
- Femi Kolapo J. and Kwabena Akurang-Parry, *African Agency and European Colonialism: Latitudes of Negotiation and Containment*. NY: University Press of America, 2007.
- Huntingform G. B. W. 'The Kingdom of Axum' in Oliver, Roland (ed.) *The Dawn of African History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968.
- Shinnie M. 'Civilizations of the Nile (c. 4500 BC – AD 350) in A. M. Josephy (ed.) *The Horizon History of Africa*, New York, 1972, pp. 63 – 78.

- Fisher, Ruth A. "Extracts from the Records of the African companies Part 3:
The Journal of Negro History, 13(3), 1928, pp. 343 – 367.
- Fortes, Meyer. *The Dynamics of Clanship among the Talensi: being the first part of an analysis of the social structure of a Trans-Volta tribe*. London: Oxford University Press for the International African Institute, 1945.
- Cooper, Frederick. *Plantation Slavery on the East Coast of Africa*, New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1977. Pp. xviii – 314.
- Fuller, Frances. *A Vanished Dynasty: Ashanti*. London, Frank Cass, 1921.
- Fynn J. K. *Asante and its Neighbours 1700 – 1807*. London: Longman, 1971.
- Stride, George T. and Ifeka, Caroline. *Peoples and Empires of West Africa: West Africa in History 1000 – 1800*. Holmes & Meier Publishing, 1st Edition, 1971.
- Benneh George & Kwamina B. Dickson, *A New Geography of Ghana*. London: Longman, 1970.
- Murdock, George Peter. *Africa, its Peoples and Their Culture and History*. New York: McGraw Hill Book Company Inc., 1959.
- Goody, Jack. *Technology, Tradition and the State in Africa*, London: Oxford University Press, 1971.
- _____ "Fields of Social Control Among the LoDagaba," *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*. Vol. 87, No. 1, (Jan. – Jun., 1957), pp. 75 – 105.

_____”Critique of the Ahistoricism of Early Ethnographies: The Political systems of the Tallensi and their neighbours, 1888 – 1915,” *Cambridge Anthropology*, XIV, 1990.

_____ (ed.). *The Developmental Cycles in Domestic Groups*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1958.

_____“Establishing Control: Violence along the Black Volta at the Beginning of Colonial Rule,” *Cahiers d’Études africaines* 38, 2–4 (1998), pp. 150-152.

_____ *The Ethnography of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast, West of the White Volta*. London: Colonial Office, 1954.

Maine H. S. *Ancient Law*, ‘World’s Classics’ edition, 1861, p. 106, and his *Early History of Institutions*, 1875.

Gemery, Henry A. and Jan S. Hogendorn (eds.), *The Uncommon Market: Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic Slave Trade*. New York: Academic Press, 1979.

Weiss, Hplger. “Between Accommodation and Revivalism: Muslims, the State, and Society in Ghana from the Precolonial to the Postcolonial Era.” *Finished Oriental Society*, 2008.

Mahama, Ibrahim. *Histories and Traditions of Dagbon*, Tamale. Ghana: Gillbt, 2004.

Kopytoff, Igor (ed.), “The Internal African Frontier: The Making of African Political Culture” in: *The African Frontier: The*

Reproduction of Traditional African Societies. Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1987.

_____”Defence of the Functionalist Approach to African Slavery in his Response to Paul Lovejoy’s Criticism,” in M. Craton (ed.), *Roots and Branches: Current Directions in Slave Studies*. Toronto, 1979.

Inikori J. E. (eds.), *Forced Migration: The Impact of the Export Slave Trade on African Societies*. London: Hutchinson, 1982.

Fage J. D. *A History of West Africa*, Cambridge, 1969, 1st edition, 1955

Anquandah, James. *Rediscovering Ghana’s Past*. Hallow, Essex: Longman, 1982.

Watson, James L. (ed.), *Asian and African Systems of Slavery*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980.

Iiffe, John. *A Modern History of Tanganyika*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

Jones, W. J. A., “The Northern Territories of the Gold Coast” *Crown Colonist*, April 1938.

Hart K. “The Social Anthropology of West Africa,” *Annual Review of Anthropology*, xiv, 1985.

De Graft Johnson, K. T. “Population Growth and Rural-Urban Migration with Special Reference to Ghana,” *International Labour Review* 109: 5-6 (May-June 1974).

Kimble, David. *A Political History of Ghana: The Rise of the Gold Coast 1850 – 1928*. Oxford University Press. Oxford, 1963.

Yelpaala, Kojo. Circular Arguments and Self-Fulfilling Definitions: “Statelessness” and the Dagaaba, *History in Africa*, Vol. 10, 1983.

Kpiebaya, Gregory. *Dagaaba Traditional Marriage and Family Life*, Ghana: Wa: Catholic Press, 1991.

Kuklick, Henrika. *The Imperial Bureaucrat: The Colonial Administration Service in the Gold Coast, 1920-1839*. Standford: Hoover Institution, 1979.

Kuukure, Edward. *The Destiny of Man: Dagaare Beliefs in Dialogue with Christian Eschatology*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1985.

Landfeld, J. S. and E. P. Seskin, *The Economic Value of Life: Linking Theory of Practice*. In, *Economics of the Environment: Selected Readings*, R. Dorfman and N. S. Dorfman (Eds.). Third Edition, New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc. 1993.

Lentz, Carola. “Of Hunters, Goats and Earth-Shrines: Settlement Histories and Politics of Oral Traditions in Northern Ghana,” *History of Africa*, Vol. 27, January, 2000, pp. 193-214.

_____”A Colonial Ethnography and Political Reform: the Works of A.C. Duncan-Johnstone, R. S. Rattray, J. Eyre-Smith and J. Guinness on Northern Ghana,” *Ghana Studies* Vol. 2, 1999, pp. 119-169.

_____”Histories and political conflict: a case study of chieftaincy in Nandom, northwestern Ghana,” *Paideuma: Mittelungen zur Kulturkunde* Bd. 39, 1993, pp. 177-215

_____“A Dagara Rebellion against Dagomba Rule? Contested Stories of Origin in North-Western Ghana,” *Journal of African History*, 35, 3, (November, 1994): pp. 457-492.

_____ *Ethnicity and the making of History in Northern Ghana*. London, Edinburgh University Press Ltd., 2006.

Lindsay, Lisa A. *Connections: Key Themes in World History. Captives as Commodity: The Transatlantic Slave Trade*. Person Education, New Jersey, 2008.

Muller, Louise. *Religion and Chieftaincy in Ghana: an explanation of the Persistence of a Traditional Political Institution in West Africa*. Muster: Lit Verley, 2013.

Lovejoy, Paul E. (ed.), *The Ideology of Slavery in Africa (SAGE Series on African Modernization & Development)*, Beverly Hills: SAGE Publications, Inc. 1981.

_____ *Transformation in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa*, 2nd Edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Kiwanuka, Semakula M. “Colonial Policies and Administrations in Africa: The Myths of the Contrast,” *African Historical Studies*, Vol. 3, 2 (1970), pp.295-315.

- Klein, Martin and Paul Lovejoy, "Slavery in West Africa," in Gemery and J. Hogendorn (eds.), *The Uncommon Market: Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic Slave Trade*. New York: Academic Press, 1970.
- Mbiti, J. S. *African Religions and Philosophy*. London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd. 1969.
- Samwin, Nathan. *The Muslim Resurgence in Ghana since 1950: Its Effects upon Muslims and Muslim-Christian Relations*. Munster: Lit Verlag, 2006.
- Ojo, Olatunji, "'Emu'" (Amūyá): The Yoruba Institution of Panyarring or Seizure for Debt." *African Economic History*, 2007
- Patterson, Orlando. *Slavery and Social Death – A Comparative Study*, 1982.
- Opong, Christine. *Growing up in Dagbon*. Tema: Ghana Publishing Corporation, 1973.
- Ekeh, P. "Social Anthropology and two contrasting uses of tribalism in Africa," *Camp. Studies Soc. Hist.*, XXXII, 1990.
- Curtin, Philip D. *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969.
- Rodney, Walter. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Abuja: Panaf Publishing, 1972.
- Radford, Andrew. *Linguistics: An Introduction*. With co-authors Martin S. A. Kinson, David Britain, Harald Clahsen, and Andrew Spencer. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Austen, Ralph A. *African Economic History: Internal Development and External Dependency*. London: James Currey, 1987.

_____ "The Trans-Saharan Slave Trade: a Tentative Census," in Gemery and J. Hogendorn (Eds) *The Uncommon Market: Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic Slave Trade*. New York: Academic Press, 1979, pp. 23-76.

Ladouceur, Paul Andre. *Chiefs and Politicians: The Politics of Regionalism in Northern Ghana*. London and New York: Longman, 1979.

Rathbone, Richard. *Nkrumah & the Chiefs. The Politics of Chieftaincy in Ghana, 1951-60*. Oxford: James Currey, 2000.

The Constitution of Ghana, 1992, p. 164.

Horton, Robin. "Stateless Societies in the History of West Africa," in: J. F. A. Ajayi and Michael Crowder, eds., *History of West Africa*, Volume I, New York: Culumbia University Press, 1972, pp. 78-119.

Sparks, Randy. *Where the Negroes are Masters*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2014.

Staniland, Martin. *The Lions of Dagbon: Political Change in Northern Ghana*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975.

Miers, Suzanne and Kopytoff, eds., *Slavery in Africa: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives*. Madison: University of Winsconsin Press, 1977.

Killick, T. "Labour: A General Survey," In: 'A Study of Contemporary Ghana Vol. 1 The Economy of Ghana', W. Birmingham, et al., 1966.

Tuurey, G. *An Introduction to Mole-Speaking Community*. Wa: Ghana Education Service, 1930.

Vansina, Jan. *Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology*. Translated by H. M. Wright. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965.

Rodney, Walter. *A History of the Upper Guinea Coast: 1545 to 1800*, Oxford Studies in African Affairs, 1969.

Wilks, Ivor. *Wa and the Waala – Islam and Polity in Northern Ghana*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

_____ “The Mossi and the Akan States, 1400 to 1800,” in: *History of West Africa*, Vol. 1, eds. J. F. A. Ajayi and M. Crowder, Third Edition, Burnt Mill: Longman, 1985.

_____ “Abû Bakr al-Siddîq of Timbuktu,” in: *Africa Remembered. Narratives by West Africans from the Era of the Slave Trade*, ed P. Curtin, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967.

Electronic Books

Bella Brodzki, “‘Changing Masters’: Gender, Genre and the Discourse of Slavery,” in: *Borderwork: Feminist Engagements with Comparative Literature*, edited by Margaret R. Higonnet. Cornell University Press,

1994,pp. 42–43 Retrieved: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7591/j.ctt207g6sk.6>
22 - 04 - 2018.

Marken, Damien B. Stanley P.Genter and Davd A.Freidel, *He's Maya, but He's Not My Brother: Exploring the Place of Ethnicity in Classic Maya Social Organisation*, Colorado: University Press of Colorado, 2017.

Eltis, David, Stephen D. Behrendt, David Richardson, and Herbert S. Klein (eds), *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD-ROM*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Behrendt, Stephen D. David Richardson, and Manolo Florentino (eds), *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: An Enhanced and On-line Database*. (Retrieved: <https://academic.oup.com> 21 – 10 – 2017)

Holden, J. J. “The Zambarima Conquest of the North-West Ghana,” *Historical Society of Ghana*, Vol. 8, 1965, 60-86.

Journal Articles

Akurang-Parry, Kwabena O. “‘What Is and What Is Not the Law’: Imprisonment for Debt and the Institution of Pawnship in the Gold Coast, 1821–1899,” *In: Pawnship, Slavery and Colonialism in Africa*, ed. Paul Lovejoy, and Falola, Toyin Trenton, NJ, 2003, pp. 427 – 447.

Brukum N. J. K. “Underdevelopment and the Delimma of Independence: Northern Ghana in Nationalist Politics, 1946 – 1956,” *Research Review (Institute of African Studies, Legon)* Vol. 14, No. 1 (1998), pp. 16 – 32.

Bening R. Bagulo. "The Development of Education in Northern Ghana, 1908-1957," *Ghana Social Science Journal* 1:2, 1971, pp. 21 – 41.

Mazuri, Ali Al' Amin. "Edmund Burke and Reflections on the Revolution in the Congo," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* (The Hague) Vol. 5, No. 2(January) 1963, pp. 121-133

Arhin, Kwame and Jack Goody, eds. "Ashanti and the North-West," *Research Review*. Supplement No.1 (12), 1965.

_____ "Aspects of the Ashanti Northern Trade in the Nineteenth century," *Africa* 40, 1970: 363 – 373.

_____ "Transit Markets in the Ashanti Hinterland in the late Nineteenth Century," *ODU New Series* 9, (1974): 1 – 22.

Bredwa-Mensah, Y. and Crossland, L. B. "A Preliminary Report on Archaeological Investigations at the Danish Plantation Settlements along the South Akuapem Ridge, Ghana." *Papers from the Institute of Archaeology* (PIA) 8,(1997): 59 – 71.

Y. Bredwa-Mensah, "Slavery and plantation life at the Danish plantation site of Bibease, Gold Coast (Ghana)." *Ethnographisch-Archaeologische Zeitschrift (EAZ)* 4, (1996): 445 – 458.

Brown, C. K. "Gender Roles and Household Allocation of Resources and Decision-Making in Ghana." In: Ardayfo-Schandorf, Elizabeth (ed.). *The Changing Family in Ghana in Nationalist Politics 1945-1946*. Accra: Ghana Universities Press. Proceedings of the National Research

Conference/ Legon/Accra: University of Ghana/Ghana Universities Press 14 (1), (1996) pp. 16 – 63.

Dougah, J. C. *Wa and its People*. Institute of African Studies: University of Ghana, 1966, pp. 4 – 117.

Cooper, Fred. “The Problem of Slavery in African Studies,” *Journal of African History*, II, I, (1979): pp. 103 – 125.

Goody, Jack. “Class and Marriage in Africa and Eurasia,” *American Journal of Sociology*. Vol 76, No.4, (1971): pp. 585-608.

_____ Normative, “‘Recollected’ and ‘Actual’ Marriage Payments Among the LoWilli of Northern Ghana 1951 – 1966,” *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 39, 1 (1969): pp. 54 – 61.

_____ “Fields of Social Control among the Lo Dagaaba,” *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, (1957): pp. 75 – 96.

Iliasu, A. A., “The Establishment of British Administration in Mamprugu, 1898 – 1937,” *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana* 16,1 (1975): pp 1 – 28.

Johnson, Marion A. “Note on Cowries.” *Research Review* 2, 2 (1965): pp. 37 – 41.

_____ “The Cowrie Currencies of West Africa, Part I & II.” *Journal of African History* 11 (1&3): 17 – 335.

Greenberg, Joseph H. “Linguistic Evidence Regarding Bantu Origin.” *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (1972): pp. 189 – 216.

Kenneth, Maxwell. "Portugal, Europe, and the Origins of the Atlantic Commercial System, 1415 – 1520." *Portuguese Studies*, Vol. 8, Special Issue supported by the Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses (1992), pp. 3 – 16.

Akuran-Parry, Kwabena O. "'Rethinking the Slaves of Salaga:' Post Proclamation Slavery in the Gold Coast (Colonial Southern Ghana), 1874 – 1899." *Left History* 8,1 (2002): 33 – 60.

Osei-Nyame, Kwadwo. "Pan – Africanist Ideology and the African Historical Novel of Self Discovery: The Examples of Kobina Sekye and J. E. Casely Hayford." *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (1999): 137 – 153.

Lovejoy, Paul E. "Long – Distance Trade and Islam: The Case of the Nineteenth Century Hausa Kola Trade," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* Vol.4 (1971): 537 – 547.

_____ "The Volume of the Atlantic Slave Trade." *A Journal of African History*. Xxii, (1982): 473 – 501.

Klein, Martin. "The study of slavery in Africa," *Journal of African History* XIX, 4 (1978): 590 – 609.

Lovejoy Paul E. and David Richardson, "The Business of Slaving. Pawnship in West Africa. C. 1600 – 1810." *Journal of African History*, 42, 1 (2001): 67 – 87.

- Posnansky, M. and DeCorse, Christopher R. "Historical Archaeology in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Review." *Journal of Historical Archaeology* 20, 1 (1986): 1 – 14.
- Posnansky, M. "Toward an Archaeology of the Black Diaspora," *Journal of Black Studies* 15, 2 (1984): 195 – 205.
- Watherson, A. E. G. "The Northern Territories of the Gold Coast," *Journal of the Royal African Society* VII: 28 (1908): 344 – 373.
- Wilks, Ivor. "Wangara, Akan and Portuguese in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries. II. The Struggle for Trade," *Journal of African History*, (1982): 463 – 472.

Thesis, Dissertations, and Papers.

- Abobo, Salvius Anthony Claret, "A History of the Jirapa Traditional Area from Settlement to 1980." BA Dissertation, Department of History, University of Cape Coast, 1994.
- Bredwa-Mensah, Y. "Historical-Archaeological investigations at the Frederiksgave plantation, Ghana:" A Case Study of Slavery and Plantation Life on a Nineteenth Century Danish Plantation on the Gold Coast. Ph.D. Thesis, Department of History, University of Ghana, Legon, Accra. 2002.
- James Dasaah, "Ulo: The History of a Dagaba Kingdom." BA Dissertation, Department of History, University of Ghana, 1974.
- Der, Benedict G. "The Stateless Peoples' of North-West Ghana: a Reappraisal of the Case of the Dagara of Nandom." Unpublished

Paper Manuscript, Department of History, University of Cape Coast, 1977.

Hawkins, S. "Marriage as Slavery and Women as Property: Unpalatable Truths or Inappropriate Categories." Unpublished, Harriet Canada, 24 March, 2001, pp. 4 – 12.

Herbert, Piere Jean, *Esquisse d'une Monographie Historique du Pays Dagara. Par un groupe de Dagara en Collaboration avec le peren Hebert.* Diebougou: Diocese de Diebougou, 1976.

Perbi, A. A. and Bredwa-Mensah, M. "Slave Camps in pre-colonial Ghana: The case of Jenini in the Brong Ahafo Region". Paper presented at the International Conference on the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, OAATUU Conference Centre, Accra, Ghana, August 30th – September 2nd, 2004.

Perbi, A. A. and Bredwa-Mensah, Y. "Slavery and Community Space: The historical and archaeological evidence from Jenini in the Brong Ahafo Region". Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Historical Society of Ghana, Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon, 15th – 17th July, 2004.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1:

