

UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA

**A HISTORY OF POLITICAL CONTESTATION IN THE FANTE STATE OF
GOMOA AJUMAKO, 1926-1981.**

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**A Thesis in the Department of History Education, Faculty of Social Science
Education, Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies in partial fulfillment**

**of the Requirements for the Award of the Degree of
Master of Philosophy
(History Education)
in the University of Education, Winneba**

JULY, 2019

DECLARATION

STUDENT’S DECLARATION

I, **Stephen Arthur**, declare that this thesis, with the exception of quotations and references contained in published works which have all been identified and duly acknowledged, is entirely my own work, and it has not been submitted, either in part or whole, for another degree elsewhere.

SIGNATURE.....

DATE.....

SUPERVISOR’S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of this work was supervised in accordance with the guidance for supervision of Thesis as laid down by the University of Education, Winneba.

NAME OF SUPERVISOR

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DATE.....

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am very grateful to God Almighty for bringing me this far, glory be to His name. My sincere appreciation goes to my supervisor, Dr. Kofi Baku, for his corrections and suggestions in spite of his numerous schedules to make this research work a reality. In addition, I equally acknowledge Dr. Akwasi Amoako Gyampah, a lecturer at the University of Education, Winneba, Professor Wilson Kwame Yayo, a lecturer from the University of Cape Coast, and Professor John Kwadwo Osei-Tutu, a lecturer at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU) for their numerous suggestions. Furthermore, I would like to express my warmest gratitude to the following lecturers at the Department of History Education, University of Education, Winneba, for their inspirations and guidance: Mr. Eric Sekyi Nketsiah (Head of Department), Dr. Sylvester Gundona, and Mrs. Anitha Adu-Boahen. In addition, I would like to thank Mr. Joseph Daniel Sam and Mr. Thaddeus Kwasi Datsomor for editing this thesis. Finally, my appreciation goes to all interviewees who made themselves available during the research.

DEDICATION

To my son, Evan.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the political contestation in Gomoa Ajumako from 1926 to 1981. It employs historical research approach to contextualize the most important historical events of the Gomoa Ajumako people. The study argued that a key cause of chieftaincy succession dispute in Gomoa Ajumako can be traced to the Anglo-Asante war of 1863, known as the Battle of Bibikuma. This battle led to the emergence of the Nyarful Krampah's lineage that ascended the Gomoa Ajumako paramount stool for almost sixty-one years as caretakers of the state before the dispute. The contests for the ownership of the paramount stool began in 1926 after a grandson of Apata Kofi got hold of the state sword. However, the attempt made by the Apata Kofi's lineage to regain their status as paramount stool family was challenged at the court of the District Commissioner of the British Gold Coast colony in Winneba. This was because for sixty-one years the Nyarful Krampah's lineage occupied the position as the paramount stool family. However, long occupation of an ancestral stool by a particular family as caretakers does not make such family owners/royals to the stool. On the other hand, belonging to the royal family also does not guarantee a member of the royal family an automatic qualification to ascend an ancestral stool. Therefore, an explanation to such a long period of interregnum from the Apata Kofi's lineage was set down in the Akan socio-political principles of succession, particularly, on the eligibility of royals to ascend an ancestral stool. In addition, apart from the two contesting lineages as victims of the contest, the contest over the ownership of the paramount stool has had numerous impacts on the people of Gomoa Ajumako. These include loss of lives and property, loss of important traditions of Gomoa Ajumako state as new traditions have been invented, psychological trauma on destooled chiefs from the two contesting families, among others. In conclusion, the dispute was underpinned largely by the societal principles regarding membership to a family, status of children, and mode of succession/inheritance in Gomoa Ajumako.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

In the colonial and the post-colonial Ghanaian societies, chieftaincy disputes have affected every state in one way or the other. Nevertheless, the institution of chieftaincy has proved to be resilient and has survived in the face of some of the most traumatic political and social upheavals in the country. It has been confronted with the challenge of redefining itself to fit into the changing needs of the society. The role of chiefs in pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial Ghana is not without blemish. However, it is equally significant that chiefs have been in the forefront of transforming the institution from machinery for the prosecution of war and defence against external enemies in the distant past into a modern instrument of political, economic and social developments.¹

The remote and deprived nature of the Gomoa Ajumako state makes the institution of chieftaincy relevant as the chief becomes the first point of making complaints and seeking advice or redress.² The specific role of adjudicating cases by chiefs in Gomoa Ajumako has indeed relieved some of the roles that were supposed to have been played by post-colonial government institutions. In recent times, there have been calls for the institution to be abolished because government functionaries have replaced most of the traditional roles of chiefs. Yet, more and more people are claiming chieftaincy titles, thus sparking off the many chieftaincy disputes all over the country,

¹ S.A. Brobbey, *The Laws of Chieftaincy in Ghana: Incorporating Customary arbitration, Contempt of Court, and judicial review*, (Accra: Advance Legal Publications, 2008), p. x.

² Traditionally, states by ethnic groups were known as traditional areas. This was to distinguish the role played by Chiefs in their areas of jurisdiction and the roles by the Government of the nation-states. For the purpose of this study, 'State' will be used instead of 'Traditional Area'.

which has not helped in promoting the institution in the eyes of its opponents and only giving them more impetus to call for its abolition.³

This thesis is specifically centred on the political contestation in Gomoa Ajumako over the paramount stool. It takes into consideration the various socio-political elements underpinning the dispute as well as the role of chiefs during pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial governments. Traditionally, every stool is assumed to possess some assets in the form of land. However, not all chiefs have this invaluable asset, as powerful families, not necessarily the family of the chief, owned land in Gomoa Ajumako. Unlike some dispute-affected states where contestation over family resources ignited disputes, Gomoa Ajumako paramount stool's dispute was different. The two disputing families do not share pool of family resources. It, therefore, means that the contest over Gomoa Ajumako stool is not a dispute over control of resource revenues, but the claim of ownership over birthright and prestige.

1.2 Problem Statement

The period between the Europeans' arrival and the establishment of colonial rule saw the chieftaincy institution in Gomoa Ajumako as non-competitive due to numerous warfare that saw some chiefs or leaders lose their lives. However, the establishment of the Indirect Rule System by the British created a peaceful atmosphere devoid of warfare for chieftaincy institution to thrive. In Gomoa Ajumako, 1926 marked the beginning of an unending political contestation at the court of the Winneba District Commissioner, which has continued to the post-colonial period.⁴ On several occasions

³ Brobbey, *The Laws of Chieftaincy in Ghana*, p. x.

⁴ The dispute over the paramount stool of Gomoa Ajumako between the two lineages started in 1926 first over the ownership of the state sword, which symbolizes authority and power, in the Supreme Court of the Central Province of the Gold Coast Colony, and the District Commissioner's Court, Winneba. See Public Records and Archival Administration Department/Cape Coast ADM 23/1/729, Enquiry into Gomoa Ajumako chieftaincy dispute by the Winneba District Commissioner (D.C) in 1928. Henceforth, all ADM documents in this study cited in this form, (PRAAD/C) and (PRAAD/A), were

and periods, there have been struggles for political power between the two independent families or lineages where each of them made claims of legitimacy of ownership to the founding of Gomoa Ajumako state. In each of these contestations, the Apata Kofi's lineage has always claimed that the Nyarful Krampah's lineage were their children, that is, the children of their ancestor, Apata Kofi - a statement the Nyarful Krampah's lineage has always rejected.⁵ The power struggle between these lineages raised questions on belongingness and incorporation of non-maternal kin members into Gomoa Ajumako and, to the larger extent, Akan social organization. The existence of two lineages meant that either the Nyarful Krampah's lineage claim of not being sons of the Apata Kofi's lineage was true or intent to claim what does not belong to them, thus creating another lineage.

The main objective of this thesis is to examine the reasons that explain the contest over the Gomoa Ajumako paramount stool. This is done by examining the influence of pre-colonial state formation, warfare, integration, principles of succession, and colonial influence in Gomoa Ajumako. This thesis will serve as the basis for further research on the history of Gomoa (particularly Gomoa Ajumako).

The period, 1926-1981, has been chosen for this study because succession disputes in Gomoa Ajumako over the paramount stool began in the year 1926. In addition, 1981 became the ending period for the study because in the reversed ruling (the 1972 ruling) by the Central Regional House of Chiefs, it made each of the two lineages

obtained from Cape Coast and Accra respectively. Hereafter, D.C represents District Commissioner, whereas C. C. P represents Commissioner of Central Province in this study. See PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/722, A letter of confirmation to the Winneba District commissioner (D.C) on the enstoolment of Kweku Benyin as Apata Kofi II on Gomoa Ajumako state paramount stool, 8 August 1931; PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/117, A letter of confirmation to the Winneba District Commissioner (D.C) on the destoolment of Apata Kofi II, 3 August 1935, and the enstoolment of Kwesi Gyan as Nyarful Krampah VIII, 25 August 1935.

⁵ The Apata Kofi's lineage has always pointed at the Krampah's lineage for being their slave, a statement the Nyarful Krampah's lineage have whole-heartedly not accepted since 1926 when the political contestation started.

‘legitimate’ enough to contest the ownership of the stool, which forms the basis on which subsequent disputes erupted. The 1981 ruling by the Central Regional House of Chiefs was based on the evidence of oral traditions, possession of stool regalia, and traditional usages provided by the Nyarful Krampah and the Apata Kofi’s lineages.⁶ Hitherto, the 1972 ruling by the Central Regional House of Chiefs accepted the Apata Kofi’s lineage as the originators and the undisputed owners of the Gomoa Ajumako paramount stool.

To enable readers and future researchers to better understand the prevailing environment on the eve of the 1920s, the study has been extended to the nineteenth century where the events that formed the basis of the dispute took place, and then to the twenty-first century, where the dispute has been shielded but has every quality of igniting. I am a native of Gomoa Ajumako and so realizing the extent of the dispute, I developed an interest to look into the root causes and the effects of the dispute. I, therefore, persisted in persuading the parties involved in the dispute to give me the needed information. In addition, considering the dangers posed by suspicion of opening up a lineage’s secret and weakness to the other contesting group in the chieftaincy dispute studies, the study was limited to the political contestation over the paramount stool of Gomoa Ajumako.

The study answers the key question: What reasons explain the contest over the Gomoa Ajumako paramount stool? This question was answered by investigating the following sub-questions: How did the Nyarful Krampah lineage ascend the Gomoa Ajumako stool as caretakers? Why was the legitimacy of the Nyarful Krampah’s

⁶ Motion No. 220/1972: Ruling on the matter of Nana Apata Kofi XIV, as Odikro of Pomadze, vs. Nana Nyarful Krampah IX, as Omanhen of Gomoa Ajumako. At the Cape Coast High court, 1972. (Hereafter, Ruling by the Cape Coast High Court).

lineage to ascend the Gomoa Ajumako paramount stool questioned after sixty years of uninterrupted rule?

1.3 Sources and Methods

This work was based on primary and secondary sources. Primary sources used included archival materials, court records, newspaper reports, travelers' accounts, and oral information gathered from interviews with a few well-informed individuals of the dispute in Gomoa Ajumako. Oral information was obtained from stakeholders of Gomoa Ajumako, elders and sub-chiefs of respective communities within the state.

This thesis utilized a few interviews because the elders that were known to have been the reservoirs of the oral tradition of Gomoa either had little knowledge or refused my requests for interviews for personal reasons known to them. In addition, the possibility that the few who had knowledge on the dispute were those who might have read about the dispute from court records or archival materials was very high. Having this in mind, those few interviews granted were largely based on societal norms and principles, and impact of the dispute on their social, economic and political lives.

The archival materials were obtained from Ghana National Archives Headquarters in Accra, and Cape Coast Regional Archives. The establishment of colonial rule by the British in the nineteenth century in the Gold Coast enabled most of the information of the colony, particularly disputes settlements, to be documented. The Public Records and Archives Administration (PRAAD), Accra, and the Cape Coast Regional Archives are the reservoirs of information on the Fante states; therefore, they became the imperative destinations for accessing data on Gomoa Ajumako. In addition, information on the said dispute in the post-colonial period was obtained from the records of Cape Coast High Court of Judicature, the Central Regional House of Chiefs, the National House of Chiefs, the private archives of the Nyarful Krampah

and the Apata Kofi's lineages, and the Supreme Court of Ghana Law Reports, and other records.

The information obtained from the archives included Court decisions, Commissioners' Reports, Testimonies or Eyewitness accounts, among others. As a historical source and reliable source of information on chieftaincy matters, Testimony has proven to be very reasonable in finding answers to some questions in historical analysis. However, it has also proven not to be useful in addressing other questions or issues. 'Testimony provides insight into the meanings of historical experience, the way people understood and felt about their lives.'⁷ Moreover, one newspaper reportage was used in this thesis; this was because with the exception of the reportage on the history of Gomoa Ajumako by the Spectator News Agency, there was no other reportage on the social and political lives of the people of Gomoa Ajumako that relates to the subject under study.

For the secondary sources, I made use of books, articles or papers, and unpublished works written by scholars pertaining to the elements of chieftaincy institution such as disputes or conflicts, customary laws, societal myths and practices, families, inheritance or succession, lineages, descent and kinship, and books on the British, Asante and the Fante warfare histories.⁸ These secondary sources were obtained from the Osagyefo Library, History Education Department Library, and North Campus Library, all at the University of Education, Winneba, The Balme Library of the

⁷ Devin O Pendas, 'Testimony' in Mariam Dobson and Benjamin Ziemann, eds. *Reading Primary Sources. The Interpretation of Texts from Nineteenth and Twentieth-century History* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), pp. 226-242.

⁸ Some of these books include William Walton Claridge, *A History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti: From the Earliest times to the commencement of the twentieth century*; Carl C, Reindorf, *History of Gold Coast and Asante*; David Kimble, *A Political History of Ghana: The rise of Gold Coast Nationalism 1850-1928*.etc.

University of Ghana, Bibliotek-Dragvoll of the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU), and Sam Jona Library of the University of Cape Coast.

Historical research design classified under qualitative research approach was used for this research. Words such as why, where, when, how, what and who were used to raise logical questions in the examination of the data obtained. In the chapters of this thesis, data was analyzed and conjoined to establish an understanding and a holistic view of the study. The archival materials, court records, interviews, and the newspaper reportage helped to fill the gaps in the secondary data, and the secondary sources also provided relevant information needed for contextualization of the primary information. The archival materials, newspaper reportage, traveler's journals, and the court records provided not only information on how Gomoa Ajumako was established but also detailed accounts of how the dispute started. Moreover, the secondary sources provided information on methodology, chieftaincy in colonial and post-colonial times, and other related issues on chieftaincy disputes. The various sources in some cases contradicted one another; however, their careful study helped to examine the remote and the immediate causes of the dispute.

1.4 Historiographical Review

This section reviews literature on chieftaincy institution, particularly disputes as well as sources and methodology. It examines literature on chieftaincy institution, and narrows it down to the various elements of chieftaincy disputes as well as the traditional regulations to disputes.

1.4.1 The Chieftaincy Institution

Many studies have been conducted on the history of the chieftaincy institution in Ghana. Some of these have focused on detailing the nature, functions of chiefs as well as the criteria for ascending stools. For instance, Addo Dankwa, in his study, *The*

institution of Chieftaincy in Ghana, has examined the various elements of the chieftaincy institution, particularly the various criteria or characteristics that are required to become a chief as well as the roles expected from an occupant of an ancestral stool. He traced the origin, characteristics and changes within the institution and argued based on human survival. That is, he focused on defensive and offensive desires, harmonious living and the need to have a leadership that inspires and motivates. The author examined certain traditional practices and how they came into being to become the custom and tradition of a group of people. According to Dankwa, the frequent usage of the phrase 'Black stool' was to indicate that before one could become a chief, that person must trace his lineage to the founder under whose honour the Black stool came into existence. In addition, the author did a comparative study on Ghana and the European perspectives on monarchies and concluded that, unlike the absolute monarchs of Europe and other places, the Ghanaian chief could be sanctioned by his elders if he violates the sacred oath.⁹ The discussion on the Black stool will help to examine how the paramount stool of Gomoa Ajumako evolved and how the two disputing families traced their root to the stool as well as the norms and customs that protect the ancestral stool.

According to S. A. Brobbey, in his study, *The Laws of Chieftaincy in Ghana*, this was based on various decided chieftaincy dispute cases in the context of the customary practices on which the chieftaincy institution stood. He saw chiefs as individuals whose ancestors led their people into war, rescued them from war, liberated them

⁹ Addo Dankwa, *The institution of Chieftaincy in Ghana: The Future* (Accra: Konrad Adenauer, 2004) An Akan legend says the word 'odehye' means 'the owner of the boundary.' In Akan language, the original owner of a land within the confines of boundaries is translated as 'Ono na ode nehye'. Gradually, 'ode nehye' became 'odehye', meaning 'Royalty' because it is believed the royal title is owned by the head of the original settlers of a land. The subsequent successors in their military expeditions, most of the times, fought to expand their territories, as well as seized the land of the conquered people.

from external dominion or slavery, united them against divisive occurrences, saved them from a succession of calamities and catastrophes or founded settlement areas where they lived and worked. Furthermore, Brobbey examined the categories of laws safeguarding the institution: constitutional, statutory laws, judicial precedents and customary laws gleaned from customs and traditions. These categories of laws ensured the sustainability of the institution, checking who qualifies to be a chief, the responsibilities of a chief, the processes of making a chief and, most importantly, to deal with litigation associated with the chieftaincy institution in their various forms. Moreover, he examined the numerous changes and adaptation the institution would have to go through to survive the dynamics posed by the changing circumstances in the post-colonial era. These dynamics, the author indicated, included the role of a chief in the prosecution of war, defence of his people against external aggression, economic and social development. The author further hinted on how the Europeans, particularly the British, seeking to broaden their sphere of influence, accepted and ran their own laws alongside the relevant customs but never sought to either abolish or replace the indigenous political system with their own form of governance.¹⁰ With studies on some decided cases at the Supreme Court in context of the customary laws, including the case under study, Brobbey's work will help in analyzing the major themes that form the basis of courts' decisions on Gomoa Ajumako dispute.

In the study, *Fanti National Constitution*, J. M. Sarbah examined the African institution of chieftaincy among the Akan. He argued that chiefs could also be people who had distinguished themselves by some outstanding achievements in their community. He argued that the chosen leader was not an ordinary despot or irresponsible person, but as a matter of fact, the first among equals, controlled by

¹⁰ Brobbey, *The Laws of Chieftaincy in Ghana*.

them in the Councils which represented the people and expressed their will. Sarbah's work examined the treaties on the constitution of the Akan as well as a brief account of European presence and their influence on the Akan socio-political environment.

The study was concerned with the demoralizing effect that European influence was having on the traditional law and custom of the Fante. It is a work gleaned from decided cases on Fante customary laws, and the useful historical treatment of much that is frequently forgotten. Sarbah examined these decided cases from the African perspective on West African development motivated by unnatural prejudice to promote African wants and aspirations but, at the same time, recognizes the benefits of British rule, especially in the areas of promotion of peace and security within the West African sub-region. Sarbah's work acknowledged the fact that people without royal status also ascended stool based on their leadership prowess.¹¹ This work will help to examine how people without royal descent ascended the stool as well as the checks and balances that regulated the activities of the 'regent-chief'.

1.4.2 Causes of Chieftaincy Disputes

Various researchers have examined the emergence and the impact of chieftaincy dispute. In the independent studies of Anthony Ephraim Donkor and George Payin Hagan - *The making of an African King*, and *Divided we stand*, the authors extensively examined the Effutu chieftaincy dispute. Both of them had their discussion premised on societal principles and how any attempt to appropriate them creates chieftaincy disputes. They drew a distinctive line between the major forms of inheritance scheme practised by the Effutu of Winneba and the Fante people (Gomoa). They indicated how the various traditional rulers of Effutu inherited from

¹¹ John Mensah Sarbah, *Fanti National Constitution: A short treaties on the constitution and government of the Fanti, Ashanti, and other Akan Tribes of West Africa* (London: Frank Cass and company Ltd, 1968).

their respective father's lineage and how wrongful interludes by the Ayirebi Acquah family of Winneba brought about the chieftaincy dispute in Effutu. This was because the ascension to the stool of Effutu was patrilineal, hence contrary to the custom of the people of Winneba. According to Donkor, to be a royal, one must descend from an unbroken, uninterrupted or adulterated chain of male descendant dating back to 1400 AD at least. According to Hagan, each society defines the identities of its people by how they do their things. Depriving a society of its original structures does not wipe away the existence of that society but their identity and practices.

Moreover, Donkor used names to trace the rightful successors to the Effutu stool, with specific analysis on the name Acquah. Meanwhile, the Effutu adopted Fante Asafo songs with Fante origin, both in words and in history, but they did not belong to any of the Fante language units. This illustrates that the usage of names is not a yardstick in tracing one's root to ancestral stool. Names were given to individuals based on the social, political and economic context at a time. Contrary to the argument on societal principles, Donkor is a Divisional chief in Gomoa Mprumem (a Fante community). He became a chief through her mother's lineage and, meanwhile, he has a patrilineal relationship with the Effutu that practised patrilineal inheritance. This meant that even though he was not qualified to become an Odikro at his maternal home (Gomoa Mprumem), he was considered based on double descent, which allows an individual to control properties from both mother and father's family. It, therefore, implies that Acquah's lineage of Effutu also qualifies to ascend the stool of Effutu on the basis of the double descent.¹²

¹² Anthony Ephraim Donkor, *The making of an African King: Patrilineal and Matrilineal struggle among the Awutu (Effutu) Of Ghana*, [Revised Edition] (USA: University Press of America, 2015); George Payin Hagan, *"Divided we stand": A study of Social change among the Effutu of Coastal Ghana* (Trondheim: Representrolen, Dragvoll, NTNU and Adresseavisen, 2000)

These studies by Hagan and Donkor were useful to the study on Gomoa Ajumako chieftaincy dispute, as they gave understanding on how societal principles, historical narratives, and names could or could not be used to trace one's ancestry to a stool. Again, it will contribute to the discussion on how circumstances made it possible for people with dual descent to ascend the stool of either their matrilineal or patrilineal lineage.

Kofi Baku examined in his article, *Contesting and Appropriating the local terrain*, the roles played by the institution of chieftaincy as effective tools in decentralization and gathering of support for local level development. He also examined how the chieftaincy institution has been rendered less useful due to the challenges of disputes that confront the chieftaincy institution. The paper revealed how the competing traditions to the formation of Wenchi were being appropriated to suit one's claim of legitimacy over the paramount stool, thus making the competing parties point at each other of belonging to servile ancestry. Such allegations raise questions on the extent of integration in Wenchi. Even though the study indicated attempts to resolve the dispute, those attempts were done only in the interest of political groupings at the time, thereby instigating interplay of politics. As the study showed, the contesting parties in order to gain more support, traced their roots to Ghana's first and second Prime Ministers, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and Dr. Kofi Abrefa Busia, which had not only been able to resolve the dispute but also created deep political divisions at the local level.¹³

The Wenchi chieftaincy dispute shares some common features with the Gomoa Ajumako chieftaincy dispute with respect to the extent of integration into royal

¹³ Kofi Baku, 'Contesting and Appropriating the local terrain: Chieftaincy dispute and National politics in Ghana.' in Irene K. Odotei and Albert K. Awedoba, Eds, *Chieftaincy in Ghana: Culture, governance, and development* (Accra: Sub-Saharan Publishers, 2006), pp. 449-478.

families, competing traditions on state formation as well as the interplay of politics. Even though the Wenchi dispute has to do with its disputing parties making allegations of servile origin to each other, it will help to examine Gomoa Ajumako chieftaincy dispute which dwells on father and son relationship in the Akan context, particularly on Akan socio-political principles on inheritance or ascension to royal stools. Moreover, it will help in making analysis on the allegation of political interplay in the Gomoa Ajumako chieftaincy dispute. Although the allegation of political interplay in Gomoa Ajumako paramount stool dispute is not as old as that of Wenchi political interplay, it will provide further details on how political interplay operates in succession dispute.

Kumi Ansah-Koi examines in his study, *Dancing to the Tunes of Modernity and Change*, the roles of chiefs in the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial era of Ghana. He appreciated how the versatile nature of the chieftaincy institution has influenced the roles played by chiefs in order to meet the changing needs of the society. By way of meeting these needs, the study examined how the activities and the changing needs of the society triggered the Akwapim socio-political conflict.

According to Ansah-Koi, the Akwapim chieftaincy dispute was built on three major themes: land litigation, competing traditions at ethnic state re-constitution, and fast changing times of the contemporary. Based on these broad themes, the study revealed how land litigation and the needs and concerns of the present era created ethnic identity, hence the desire for political identity and space. That is, the Akwapim chieftaincy dispute is interwoven with land litigation and the role of modern chiefs to perform their duties as protectors of their domain and identity, this time not on the battlefield but at the modern court system under the influence of competing historical narratives and interpretations. Although the study indicated how resilient and versatile

the chieftaincy institution has been as governments change hands, the study did not examine how some elements that were tempered within the institution created chieftaincy disputes all over Ghana. As modes of succession were altered, chiefs were disposed from office for failing to support a particular political agenda, among others.

This study on Gomoa Ajumako will be useful in several ways: first, it will provide the basis for analysis on how historical narratives or competing traditions contribute to chieftaincy dispute. Second, just like the Akwapim chieftaincy dispute that has to do with people of different ethnic origins trying to establish their identity, the Gomoa Ajumako chieftaincy dispute dwells on father and son relationship in the Akan context. Moreover, this study will help deepen the understanding of the sense of belongingness and the extent of integration, particularly the binding force to such integration or union as well as the redundancy of such belongingness due to changing circumstances, time and needs of the people. Even though land litigation does not form the remote cause of the Gomoa Ajumako dispute as it were in the Akwapim chieftaincy dispute, it provides the platform to understand how land dispute between Gomoa Ajumako and Effutu of Winneba served as the immediate cause for the second contest in 1972 over the Gomoa Ajumako paramount stool. Finally, the study indicated an allegation by the members of the Larteh Accord in the Akwapim chieftaincy dispute pointing to Nana Addo Dankwah III as the brain behind the failure for consideration of their matter at the Regional House of Chiefs. This study will help to examine historical sources, particularly those on House of Chiefs' decision to ascertain whether incumbent paramount chiefs of Gomoa Ajumako influenced the Regional and National House of Chiefs' decisions to their favour or not.¹⁴

¹⁴ Kumi Ansah-Koi, 'Dancing to the Tunes of Modernity and Change: Akwapem's Litigating Chiefs, Contested History and the Politics of Ethnic/State Construction in Ghana' in Irene K. Odotei and Albert

The anthropologist Lucy Mair, in her study, *An introduction to social anthropology*, appreciated the influence of technological advancement on the society and how one could trace one's kin and lineage living in a highly mobile society. She established what makes up a lineage as a body of persons who are genealogically linked to a particular person, and related to such an individual with a common blood. She used the words 'cognates' and 'affine' to differentiate between a line of genealogy that are related by blood and a line of genealogy who are related by circumstances such as marriage. Based on matrilineal and patrilineal lineage, she argued that an individual who traces their lineage through either male or female line could own or continue as a member of a property holding group guided by a principle established by rule that is traceable in one line only either through male or female. She used the expression double 'unalienable' descent to describe an individual who belongs to either the father's or mother's lineage and controls property from each side.

Furthermore, she examined how one could no longer be considered as a member of a lineage and therefore, cannot hold and transmit property of the genealogy. That is, an individual's social status in a society is determined by the lineage he or she belongs to. Those who migrate and stay far away that people forget them and cannot prove their membership are those who lose this privilege. However, it appears that children of a non-Akan man but an Akan woman have created chieftaincy disputes in some Akan states, particularly due to their dual descent of succession. Mair's work provides insight into the issue of belongingness in the kinship system among the Akan, and particularly Gomoa Ajumako, social organizations. It discusses the issue of

K. Awedoba, Eds, *Chieftaincy in Ghana: Culture, governance, and development* (Accra: Sub-Saharan Publishers, 2006), pp.505-525.

‘neutrality’ regarding father and son relationship in Gomoa Ajumako dispute that will be useful to the analysis.¹⁵

Kwame Boafo-Arthur, in his article, *Chieftaincy in Ghana*, elaborated and recommended various initiatives or responses to the challenges faced by the chieftaincy institution in the post-colonial era. The majority of the challenges include disputes over succession to stools, the desire to seek greener pastures elsewhere by the chiefs due to absence of wealthy natural resources, and political interference. They also include absentee chiefs and various constitutional reforms to do away with outmoded customs and practices, and compelling chiefs to adapt to the modern dynamics in the political environment dictated by changing roles of chiefs in the post-colonial era.

Boafo-Arthur argued that the present roles of chiefs includes rigorous and intense fight against poverty, diseases, dehumanization, and to highlight the need for education, respect for human rights and ensuring good management of resources entitled to them by their respective stools. In dealing with the challenges faced by the institution, he examined and recommended codification of the line of successors to various stools, compelling chiefs to adapt to the modern dynamics in the political environment dictated by the changing roles of chiefs in the post-colonial era as a means of reducing the rate of succession disputes. With the knowledge on the challenges faced by the chieftaincy institution, this work will be useful to the examination on how the chieftaincy institution in Gomoa Ajumako has survived or

¹⁵ Lucy Mair, *An introduction to social anthropology*, 2ed, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972).

operated in the midst of the challenge of consistent removal and replacement of paramount chiefs.¹⁶

1.4.3 The Chieftaincy Institution in the Colonial and Post-colonial Era.

Many scholars have examined the state of chieftaincy institution in the colonial and post-colonial era. For instance, Richard Rathbone, in the study, *Nkrumah and the Chiefs*, examined how the emergence of colonial power in the Gold Coast made traditional rulers or chiefs lose their military role as the commanders of their respective armies to the colonial and post-colonial governments. The study pointed out the model of colonial government, the concept of representative government, and the industrial system of economic and social development that intimately shaped politics in Ghana. Given these ideas and influences, Rathbone examined the CPP government's management of material and human resources as well as the disconnection between national, regional and local functions. What makes the study distinctive is its specific focus on the techniques by which government agencies undermined traditional authority.

Rathbone examined the relationship established between the later CPP governments led by Nkrumah and the changing trend in the minds of the citizenry not to recognize political power that is not based on merit but on inheritance. He also examined how the government used the executive instrument through the gazette system to reduce some paramount chiefs to the rank of junior chiefs. This made it possible for non-royals to be installed as chiefs, hence future disputes. While chieftaincy was greatly modified in some circumstances, other chiefs lost power in relation to the central government, but the institution was not crushed. Many chiefs cooperated with the

¹⁶ Kwame Bofo-Arthur, 'Chieftaincy in Ghana: Challenges and Prospects in the 21st century.' in Irene K. Odotei and Albert K. Awedoba, eds, *Chieftaincy in Ghana: Culture, governance, and development* (Accra: Sub-Saharan Publishers, 2006), p. 145.

government, and others continued to perform their roles underlying hostility to the post-colonial governments. With the focus on political interplay, this study will help examine how political interplay in chieftaincy dispute operates and also help in the discussion on whether the allegation of political interplay in the last chieftaincy contest over the Gomoa Ajumako dispute evidence is proven or not. Moreover, it will help to examine how the chieftaincy institution in Gomoa Ajumako modified itself to meet the demands of the colonial and post-colonial governments of Ghana.¹⁷

S. S. Quarcoopome examined, in his article, *The Decline of traditional Authority*, that the location, people and economic activities in an area determine the sustainability and the decline of the chieftaincy institution greatly. Using the Ga as a case study, the decline of traditional authority in the southern sector, especially the coastal settlers and those nearby, is different compared to those in the interior. The institution has been rendered as just a mere garnishing ornament compared to those in the interior where the traditional authority commands recognition and respect. What amounted to the dynamics in these separate societies, according to the author, includes the early contact with the Europeans, decline in economic control, and divisions caused by the European presence that led to creation of inter-ethnic wars. Also, they include emergence of wealthy or educated merchants (mostly commoners), colonial rule which chastised the chiefs of their judicial, political and administrative powers, influx of migrants with different identities and beliefs towards the chieftaincy institution and the activities. This study will help in the analysis on how the European presence and

¹⁷ Richard Rathbone, *Nkrumah and the Chiefs: The politics of Chieftaincy in Ghana 1950-1960* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2000)

trade influenced the societal principles and perspectives on the chieftaincy institution as well as the chieftaincy settings in Gomoa Ajumako through time.¹⁸

1.4.4 Traditional Regulations against Dispute and Abuse of Power

Just like every Akan social, economic and political institution, to prevent the abuse of power by those who have been bestowed with leadership authority, rules and regulations were instituted. Kwame Gyekye promulgated in his study, *African Cultural Values*, the idea of “Will Power” by the people. He showed how the people of a common society are themselves ‘the society’. According to Gyekye, the people surrender their power to an ultimate one who would, in turn, seek to protect and bring honour to the people at all times. He examined that even though the traditional system of governance does not create distance between the chief and his subjects, all the rules, regulations and taboos regarding his conduct and behaviour are intended to remind the chosen leader that the ancestral stool he occupies is sacred. The stool guarantees him the respect, dignity and veneration with which he is always treated. It is always his duty to honour the wishes of his people, and further to remind him that he represents his people and the society. He argued that anytime he goes contrary to the rules and regulations of the society, he is legible to be defied or disposed because he has failed to meet the expectations and demands of his people who bestowed such authority on him.

Although the study examined the various conservative roles and limitations of the chosen leader, it failed to examine the role of the chosen leader in the modern versatile environment within which the traditional authority operates. With the emergence of modern government’s institutions, the rules and regulations to

¹⁸ S. S. Quarcoopome, ‘*The Decline of traditional Authority: The case of Ga Mashie of Accra.*’ in Irene K. Odotei and Albert K. Awedoba, Eds, *Chieftaincy in Ghana: Culture, governance, and development* (Accra: Sub-Saharan Publishers, 2006), p. 395.

traditional authority are determined by modern constitutional framework which performs and decides what the traditional authority must do and should not do, thus shedding off the conservative ideology on rules and regulations to traditional authority. Meanwhile, this study elaborates on rules and regulations to the chieftaincy institution that will be useful to the chieftaincy dispute under study. It will serve as the basic explanation to the constant destoolment of paramount chiefs of Gomoa Ajumako on grounds of mismanagement, misappropriation of state resources, and abuse of power that form some of the immediate causes to the dispute.¹⁹

R. S. Rattray examined in his study, *Ashanti Laws and Customs*, some basic customs, taboos and traditions forged into the word 'constitution' among the Asante. He examined how a constitution helps the traditional authorities to ensure law and order in their respective societies. He argued that among the Asante and indeed the Akan-speaking race as a whole, the word 'constitution' must be understood to embrace something more than a body of legal and traditional principles governing the relation of the native state authorities to the people they govern. The word 'constitution' according to Rattray, means to the Akan as their attempt to correlate nature's laws with human laws and regulations to which they subject themselves.

Furthermore, he examined that the Akan lawmakers' task entailed the ultimate acceptance of the responsibility for the normal working of forces which we regard as wholly beyond our power to control. They had to see to it that the constitution of the state was such that it would ensure or, at least, not flagrantly militate against the normal functioning of what we regard as nature's immutable laws. The assurance of bountiful crops, protection from some cataclysm that would destroy them, and humanity were all concerns for which human beings were considered directly or

¹⁹ Kwame Gyekye, *African Cultural Values: An Introduction* (Accra, : Sankofa Publishing Company, 1996)

indirectly responsible, for which in consequence of such beliefs, the elders of the ethnic had to legislate. By examining the influence of the environment on the formulation of traditional rules and regulations in the governance system among ethnic states, this work will help to examine the context within which the societal principles of Gomoa Ajumako were formulated and how changing needs of the environment influence the dynamics of these societal principles.²⁰

Obeng E. E. examined in his work, *Ancient Ashanti Chieftaincy*, that all the advice given to the chief by the kingmakers, elders, queen mother(s), and other representatives of the people demonstrate the dispensation of checks and balances within the traditional institution's mechanism. According to Obeng, the unmannered conducts setting the peripherals of the checks and balances include excessive drinking, chasing other men's wives, overbearing manner with subjects being easily and quickly irate. The activities of the above-mentioned stakeholders within the traditional system of governance ensure that the chief's position is binding as well as ensuring that the oath taken by the chief during installation is properly adhered to by the chief.

According to the author, failure by the chief to adhere to the laid down principles, a deputation will be sent to the paramount chiefs (in the case of a divisional chief) for destoolment. He further argued that in the case of an unmannered paramount chief, a petition would be sent to the queen mother and the kingmakers asking them to remove the chief. To make the institution respectable, any complaint against the chiefs are heard privately, and if found guilty, the chief would be asked to pacify the offended subjects or persons privately either in kind or in cash. Obeng's work will help to understand the effectiveness of the other societal institutions in serving as watchdogs

²⁰ R.S. Rattray, *Ashanti Laws and Customs* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929), p. 3.

to the activities of the chieftaincy institution. It will also help to examine how the activities of these institutions ensured the realization of the dispute as well as the various attempts made by institutions to solve the issue of belongingness and ownership in Gomoa Ajumako paramount stool dispute.²¹

John Sarbah, in his study, *The Fanti Customary Law and Principles*, examined various cases presided over by the British colonial court in the context of Akan societal principles and traditions. The matters the study examined included cases regarding landownership, regulations to traditional authority, marriage, kinship, among others. On the issue of rules and regulations to leadership position among the Akan, particularly Fante, he noted that if the family found out the chief was misappropriating, wasting or squandering the ancestral fund (resources), it was their (elders) duty to remove him (the chief) at once and appoint another person to the helm of affairs. However, Sarbah's work failed to examine these regulations in context with British colonial reforms on traditional authorities. Since the institution has been influenced by colonial policies, the study in the process of examining these customs and traditions should have indicated how colonial policies have made the society versatile to the changing demands of the society. By examining cases presided over by the colonial administrators, this work will help to examine how cases of chieftaincy dispute were addressed at the Colonial Courts both at Winneba and in Cape Coast.²²

1.4.5 Invention of Tradition; an Agent of Chieftaincy Dispute

A common element in chieftaincy dispute is the subject of invented tradition. An invented tradition is a tool that is always meant to augment a lineage's claim to an

²¹ E. E Obeng, *Ancient Ashanti Chieftaincy* (Accra,: Ghana Publishing Corporation, 1988), pp.1-25.

²² John Mensah Sarbah, *The Fanti Customary Law and Principles* (London: W. Clowes and Sons 1968), pp. 3-5.

ancestral stool as well as, if not detected, cover the reality. For instance, David Henige in his study, *The Problem of Feedback in Oral Traditions*, examined the succession principles among the Akan. He focused on the historiographical value of the oral and written traditions that various contenders for such offices advanced to justify their claims to office in highly politicized environment of the colonial era. In reference to the Akan principles of succession, he maintained that while there was a change in some of the ground rules and more formal atmosphere prevailed, there was a more important and fundamental strain of continuity between the pre-colonial and the colonial period. Henige, however, makes no attempt to assess the impact of colonial rule on Akan political institutions with any specifics, as he himself acknowledges. Indeed, in investigating the various succession practices among the Akan stools, he restricted himself to the modes of succession to high political office among the Akan. Henige examined how state builders and wealthy merchants in the colonial era established the precedent for their successors in the twentieth century. Moreover, western education and understanding of the emerging colonial order, according to Henige, replaced trading links with Europeans as the new criteria for political success, but this meant that in the Gold Coast colony, where indirect rule became the government official policy, neither the colonial administrators nor chiefs were in a position to monopolize the invention of tradition.²³

Kwame Amoah-Larbi, in his article, *Cross-Cultural Appropriation of Regalia*, examined the origin, the making and the appropriation of royal arts into regalia in Ghana, particularly among the Akan. He indicated that the social practice of borrowing, reinterpretations and adaptations was not only unique to the Akan but included non-Akan in Ghana, particularly Guan, Ga and the Dangme. He defined

²³ David Henige, 'The Problem of Feedback in Oral Traditions: Four Examples from the Fante Coastlands.' *Journal of African History* 14, no. 2 (1973). p. 223.

regalia ‘as an important historical collection of artworks, which bear direct relevance to the governance of the state that a chief inherits, acquires and keeps as a property, and are used by him or his house and other officials’. Regalia reveals evidence of early historical events, trade, religion, belief, social and political organization. That is, regalia is not just a mere artwork worn by a chief through which he can differentiate his status from his subjects, but are symbols of unity, and augment one’s claim of legitimacy, birthright or authority. By using the Asante and Akyem Abuakwa regalia as examples, he demonstrated how their preservation through time helps to promote unity and sustain authority and power. He examined that through the use of specific regalia in a swearing-in ceremony one can become a chief and continue to perform various roles to sustain the institution. That is, regalia and chieftaincy are inseparable and without them chieftaincy will lose its essence.

The author examined the various ways through which regalia was acquired: first, he elaborated on how the environment within which one lived influenced his choice of symbol and the kind of object used; second, it was through warfare, and finally, through adoption or co-option. Nevertheless, the author failed to indicate the period at which an appropriated artwork qualifies to become regalia since it served as evidence for historical event. This has made recent artworks to be reinterpreted into oral traditions as old stool properties normally by disputing parties to augment their claim.²⁴ The study by Heniage and Larbi will help to examine the various state regalia of Gomoa Ajumako which in the course of the dispute served as evidence and thus augmented one’s claim to ownership over the paramount stool as well as how they have contributed to invention of tradition.

²⁴ Kwame Amoah Larbi, ‘Cross-Cultural Appropriation of Regalia and Royal Art, and Contemporary Adaptations in Ghana’ in Irene K. Odotei and Albert K. Awedoba, Eds, *Chieftaincy in Ghana: Culture, governance, and development* (Accra: Sub-Saharan Publishers, 2006), pp.275-294.

In the study, *Indirect Rule in the Gold Coast*, Roger Gockings examined the impact of Indirect Rule on the chieftaincy institution during the colonial era and indicated how colonial administrative policy of Indirect Rule made local chiefs to be more authoritative than before. Gockings primarily focused on how indirect rule increased competition for office on the part of people who had limited claims to legitimacy, which was done against the various succession principles, hence the by-product of chieftaincy succession dispute. Consequently, aspirants for the chiefly office of a chief continued in a political environment that provided for invention of new traditions and interpretations of legitimacy. The context, however, for invention of tradition was far more ideological than in the past. By citing examples from Elmina, Cape Coast and Winneba, the author examined how the institution of Asafo and its leadership became key players in manipulating tradition to augment their claim to ancestral stool. The Asafo institution, in the pre-colonial times had provided state's defence and survived the imposition of British rule far better than the chiefs had done. Thus, the leadership of the Asafo, Tufuhen, used their obstructionist reputation to perpetuate tradition to their interest. This study examines the impact of European interaction on Ghanaian tradition and the role of other important institutions, particularly the Asafo in manipulating tradition, which will be useful to the study on Gomoa Ajumako.²⁵

In the study, *The Invention of Tradition*, edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger, 'The Invention of tradition' is a collection of essays that revolve around the notion of the invented tradition. Hobsbawm defines Invention of tradition as a set of practices, normally governed by overtly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic

²⁵ Roger S. Gocking, 'Indirect Rule in the Gold Coast: Competition for Office and the Invention of Tradition.' *Canadian Journal of African Studies / Revue Canadienne des Études Africaines*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (1994), pp. 421-446. Taylor & Francis, Ltd. on behalf of the Canadian Association of African Studies. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/485340>. Accessed: 30-08-2018 15:45 UTC

nature, that seek to inculcate values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. The book distinguished the relationship between tradition and custom by stating that the former is invariant, while the latter does not preclude change. These invented traditions, however, differ from other traditions because they claim to be old despite their more recent origins and they tend to emerge ‘when a rapid transformation of society weakens or destroys the social patterns for which old traditions had been designed’. The book identifies three major reasons why traditions are invented: to foster social cohesion among artificial communities, to legalize authority, and to inculcate beliefs into society. Invention of tradition is that many of the very public traditions in various societies of the world are well crafted and are as immemorial as they are generally believed to be. However, since all traditions are a product of human activities and imagination rather than natural forces, they are invented in one way or another. Hence, they are very valuable contributions to contemporary socio-political history. Although the above-examined works believe invented traditions were used as instruments of political manipulation, it cannot be denied that they also often gave expression to very real feelings.

Many traditions, which are considered practices, are in fact quite recent inventions, often deliberately constructed to serve particular ideological ends. With contending traditions laying claim to the stool of Gomoa Ajumako, this study will contribute to the analysis on which of the events in the storyline is of recent development, that is, invented to augment a family’s claim to the stool.²⁶

1.4.6 Reviews on Sources and Methodology

By citing an Akan adage which was translated as “Ancient things are today”, Jan Vansina, in the study, *Oral Tradition as History*, acknowledged the value of oral

²⁶ Eric Hobsbawn and Terence Ranger. eds. *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983)

tradition as the immediate source of information to the historian in societies that lacked written document. For Jan Vansina, ‘tradition is a powerful and enduring endogenous process. Far from being timeless, traditions represent the fundamental continuities which shape the futures of those who hold them. They exist not just in the mind, but also “out there” in the form of scriptures, proverbs, dreams, institutions and concepts.’ He argued that oral traditions are documents of the present because they are told in the present. Yet the content of the message is from the past; therefore, oral tradition represents the expressions of the past in the present, That is, it is undoubtedly right to deny the presence of either the past or the present in them. Since oral traditions are preserved in the minds of human, aside its usefulness to the reconstruction of history, he argued that casualness of transmission, selectivity of sources by the historian, the biases of interpretation, chronology and interdependence, the possibility of feedback, and ethnocentric emotions attached in the reconstruction of history set the limitations to oral tradition. Therefore, he admitted that doubts must be entertained about it unless it can be substantiated by other historical sources through interdisciplinary approach. Hence, this study will assist in selection, interpretation, detection of possible feedbacks as well as help to make comprehensive analysis of the source materials based on application of interdisciplinary approach to the study on Gomoa Ajumako.²⁷

In the study, *How Truly Traditional Is Our Traditional History?*, Robin Law examined Samuel Johnson’s oral history of the Yoruba which was based on the information given by people with reputed ages, the royal bards, or national historians of the Yoruba country. In that study, he noticed pieces of overly sanguine and the degree to which this could have been coherently preserved and transmitted down to

²⁷ Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985)

the Johnson's time as more questionable. Law's critique revealed contradictions in oral traditions in the areas of periodization and chronology of historical events. Law's work questioned the reliability of oral tradition as a source for reconstruction of history and concluded that oral tradition has many limitations. He argued that the limitations in the oral tradition could be addressed through interdisciplinary approach. Law was, however, quick to indicate the significance of oral tradition as a key source in the reconstruction of Africa's past. Despite its great importance and persisting influence, Johnson's work has commonly been assumed implicitly rather than explicitly that History can be mined as a source of oral tradition in the belief that what he wrote down is unproblematic and identical with what he heard. And what he heard had been retained and transmitted orally down to the time that he made his enquiries.

Nevertheless, Johnson's History is somewhat complicated work to characterize since it makes use of rather different sorts of sources for different periods of Yoruba history. The history of its publication was also complex. It was originally completed in 1897, the date of Samuel Johnson's 'Preface', but the manuscript was lost. Samuel Johnson having died in 1901, it was left to his brother Obadiah to reconstitute the work from Johnson's notes and drafts, a task which he apparently completed only in 1916. In examining the history of power contestation in Gomoa Ajumako, Law's critique to Johnson's work serves as a revelation in dealing with oral information and other sources, especially the level of contradictions, the intent behind the sources, and the background of the actors involved.²⁸

²⁸ Robin Law, 'How Truly Traditional Is Our Traditional History? The Case of Samuel Johnson and the Recording of Yoruba Oral Tradition'. *History in Africa*, Vol. 11, 195-221. (Cambridge: Published by: Cambridge University Press, 1984), <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3171634>.

Thomas Spear also, in the study, *Neo-Traditionalism and the Limits of Invention in British Colonial Africa*, discussed the limitations of oral tradition as the changing needs of a society and at a point in time gave way to subjective invented traditions. Thomas examined various studies on invention of tradition, the making of customary laws, and creation of ethnicity. He argued that the case for colonial invention of African institutions and laws has often overstated colonial power and ability to manipulate African institutions to establish hegemony. However, he examined that African socio-political institutions were more complex to be manipulated as the people continually reinterpreted the lessons of the past in the context of contemporary developments. He argued that what gives tradition, custom and ethnicity their coherence and power is the fact that they lay deep in the peoples' consciousness, informing them of who they are and how they should act. Nevertheless, discourse, traditions, customs and ethnicities are continually reinterpreted and reconstructed, subject to the continued intelligibility and legitimacy. That is, it is mere dynamic historical process that reconstituted the heritage of the past to meet the needs of the present, and that none of the institutions were easily fabricated or manipulated.

In the making of customary laws, he examined the roles of chiefs as repositories, administrators and judges of customary laws. In Africa, indigenous laws were more a legal claim than legal code, and thus posed restrictions to colonial administrators in their attempt to codify such practices. Although colonial authorities dismissed customs they found outdated and reformed them by adding their own laws, administrative rules and mission practices, such were only injunctions that came to compromise customary law. The core of this article was the concept of state formation or ethnic formation and how they underpin the approaches to tradition, chieftaincy and customary laws. Tradition on this premise regards histories of origin and cultural

values, which will be useful to the study on Gomoa Ajumako, particularly on their societal principles and how they have been manipulated through time.²⁹

In the study, *'Testimony' in Reading Primary Sources*, Devin Pendas examined 'Testimony' as a source for reconstruction of history and, based on that, grouped testimonies into two forms: intentional and unintentional. He argued that intentional testimonies are narratives and consciously intended to inform and shape the way events will be perceived by others. According to Pendas, as narratives, intentional sources are self-consciously historical and deliberate attempts to create history. However, unintentional testimonies are non-narrative and sources of information created for other purposes other than informing posterity of the past. They are thought to be more likely to reveal what was really going on at some point in the past. Examples include private letters, diaries, archaeological findings, and government documents. The main idea of Devin's work was the intent behind testimonies given at some point in time and how they qualify to become a source for reconstruction of history. Testimonies in the archival records will be very useful to this research on Gomoa Ajumako. However, the societal and political backgrounds of the witnesses/actors will be taken into account during the examination of the archival materials. This is because people testified for chieftaincy factions for numerous reasons such as monetary gains and promised position or titles, among others, whereas others may consciously appropriate testimonies to suit the issues at hand.³⁰

In the study, *The New Nature of History*, Arthur Marwick attempts to challenge critics of the practice of history. In his view, network of postmodernists/cultural

²⁹ Thomas Spear, 'Neo-Traditionalism and the Limits of Invention in British Colonial Africa.' *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 44, No. 1, pp.3-27. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4100380>

³⁰ Pendas, *Testimony*. pp. 226-242.

theorists/Marxists have sought to subvert the objective nature of historical research in favour of theoretical frameworks (Marxism, feminism, etc). He bemoans the idea that these critics have called for a complete fusion between history and other social sciences. Hence, Marwick reaffirms the need for a more objective and scientific approach to historical studies. Marwick argued that the process of producing historical knowledge is a source-based enterprise. However, he immediately attempts to shift and obscure this, suggesting he is too sophisticated to suggest historians try to get back to or even reconstruct past reality. Possibly the historian is a Reconstructionist. He argued that historical knowledge depends on highly skilled and difficult work among the primary sources. He emphasized source-based position through some careful and considered argument. The guideline by Arthur Marwick in choosing, differentiating and examining the primary and secondary materials was suitable for this study on Gomoa Ajumako.³¹

1.5 Outline of Chapters

This thesis is divided into six chapters. The first chapter looks at the general introduction to the thesis. It discusses the problem of the study, the research questions, the objective of the study, the scope of the study, limitation to the study, justification of the study, the sources and methodology, and review of works by other scholars relating to the theme of the study. The second chapter examines the historical background of Gomoa Ajumako. This chapter placed the major events in the oral traditions of Gomoa Ajumako into wider historical context and analyzed it in relation to other contemporary events, most especially the British, Fante, and Asante warfare histories. The chapter also gave a background description of Gomoa Ajumako's relations with other states and how it was established. In addition, it examines the pre-

³¹ Arthur Marwick, *The New Nature of History: Knowledge, Evidence, Language* (Chicago: Lyceum Books. Inc., 2001).

colonial and colonial administrative set-up, as well as the social principles/elements that bind their daily political and economic activities. It focused on how the societal laid-down customs, principles, and the dynamics in the political activities of the people became the framework on which the contests stood. The focus of this chapter was guided by questions such as how did Gomoa Ajumako come into being?

The third chapter examines the emergence and the role of the Nyarful Krampah's lineage in the Anglo-Asante war of 1863 at Bobikuma and their ascendancy to the regency of Gomoa Ajumako paramount stool. It examines how the Nyarful Krampah's lineage emerged. In addition, it examines the major events on which the political contests stood and the chieftaincy institution in the colonial era. This chapter was directed by the question: how did the 1863 war create another lineage and hence succession dispute?

The fourth chapter examines the contests over the paramount stool of Gomoa Ajumako between the two independent families or lineages, showing the various stages of settlements' procedures the dispute has undergone in the name of finding a lasting solution to the dispute. It also examines the traditional versions of each lineage to establish a lineal order of occupants to the paramount stool from the two disputing parties. By examining the contests, it also does an in-depth examination of the various causative factors of the dispute. The fifth chapter examines the impact of the disputes on the lives of the people in Gomoa Ajumako. This chapter made use of oral information gathered through interviews to establish how the dispute has negatively affected the citizens of Gomoa Ajumako. This chapter was guided by the question what were the effects of the power struggle over the paramount stool of Gomoa Ajumako? Finally, the sixth chapter gives the general conclusion of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

A HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF GOMOA AJUMAKO

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is the contextualization of the various oral traditions in the founding of Gomoa Ajumako. It focused mostly on warfare and other major events engaged by the people of Gomoa Ajumako. This is because Gomoa Ajumako was born out of warfare in the pre-colonial era. In addition, it looked at how the Gomoa Ajumako people settled dispersedly within the frontiers of the present-day Central Region of Ghana. The story of the circumstances and events, which led to the founding of Gomoa Ajumako, was complex and often confusing. Had the Denkyira, Akyem, Akwamu and Asante been a coastal people, the story about the establishment of Gomoa Ajumako would have been a different thing altogether. However, these states were located inland. Because of this, tracing the development of the Fante and hence Gomoa Ajumako warfare against these inland states involves telling a parallel story of British warfare histories against the above-mentioned states. Therefore, the study of the founding of Gomoa Ajumako was placed in the wider historical context to help understand how the circumstances at the time influenced the history of Gomoa Ajumako.

2.2 The Gomoa and the Making of the Fante City-states

As one archaeologist has observed, ‘Ghana has a fairly long prehistory, probably going back to around 50,000 B.C., and these Stone Age ancestors bequeathed to Ghana a legacy of human population on which the future population of the country was to be built.’³² Indeed, Akan traditions in general emphasize savanna origins, and

³² James Anquandah, *Rediscovering Ghana's Past* (London and Accra: Longman Group Limited and Sedco Publishing Limited, 1982), pp. 126-127.

it seems likely that the original Akan farmers, until the fifteenth century, only entered the rain forest for hunting or small-scale farming, and seasonal gold mining.

Today, when we use the term Fante, we refer to a section of the Akan in a number of traditional states found in the coastal belt of Ghana: from the Pra River to the west and the River Sakumo to the east, a distance of about one hundred and fifty kilometres west of Accra, the capital of Ghana.³³ Originally, the name Fante was used to refer to a few petty states within a fifty-kilometre radius of the pre-colonial capital, Mankessim, which literally means a ‘big community’.³⁴ At the beginning of the eighteenth century, however, the Fante polity was much smaller than this, extending from Anashan in the west to Ekumfi Otum (referred to as Tantumkweri by the British colonial government) in the east, only about forty square kilometres. The process whereby the Fante expanded to incorporate the neighbouring communities is one of the central themes in the history of the pre-colonial Gold Coast, paralleling the political consolidation in the interior, represented by the rise of Denkyera, Akwamu, Akyem and, later, Asante.³⁵

The Fante oral tradition says that their ancestors lived in Tekyiman, in the northern forest of the present-day Brong-Ahafo Region of Ghana. Tekyiman at the time had a number of suburbs or quarters named by local traditions and these were involved in specialist activities. The *Bono quarter* was the seat of the Akan chief and the nerve centre of the town. The *Kramo* or *Muslim quarters* almost certainly had a central mosque. The *Dwomo* or *Dwimfuo* (artisans) quarters was the focus of complex of copper and iron-smelting industries. The Fante lived in the *Dwimfuo* or *Dwomo*

³³ Robin Law, ‘Fante expansion reconsidered seventeenth-century origins.’ *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, New Series, No. 14 (2012), 4178. Accessed: 12 July 2018. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43855021>, p. 41.

³⁴ F. K. Buah, *A History of Ghana* (Oxford: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1998), p. 14.

³⁵ Law, *Fante expansion*, p. 41.

quarters with their leaders.³⁶ It was from this area that they migrated towards the coast in five groups, first led by three warlords, namely *Oburumankoma*, *Odapagyan*, *Oson* (*Esuon*) and second, led by two warlords: *Obaatan Gomoa* and *Asankoma*. According to oral tradition, *Obrumankoma* was the heir apparent and co-ruler of the *Bonohene* who ruled between the periods 1300 to 1400 C.E, and when he failed to be elected king (*Ekumfi Ameyaw II* succeeded) emigrated with the two chiefs, the *Asonahen Odapagyan* and the *Ananahen Osono* (*Esuon*), and others who supported his cause.³⁷

Reaching the area of present day Mankessim, the Fante met fragments of people who belonged to the scattered Guan ethnic group, the *Etsi*, who had already settled in their town known as *Adowegyir*. There, the Fante conquered the *Etsi* who were not militarily organized and their settlement, which the Fante renamed Mankessim.³⁸ The five Fante groups were *Kurentsi*, *Asankoma* or *Eyan*, *Ekumfi*, *Nkusukum*, and *Gomoa*.³⁹ With the exception of *Gomoa* and *Enyan*, the three other Fante states who were also known as *Borbor Fante* were the earlier settlers at *Kwaman* and later at *Mankessim*.⁴⁰ We do not know the precise date of this immigration, but Portuguese'

³⁶ Anquandah, *Rediscovering Ghana's Past*, p. 97; 'The Story of Gomoa Assanba-Ajumako,' The Spectator, Ghana News Agency, 13 June 2014, p. 31, <http://www.ghanaculture.gov.gh>

³⁷ Eva L.R. Meyerowitz, *The Early History of the Akan States of Ghana* (London: Red Candle Press, 1974), pp. 87-89. Eva believes the leader of the Gomoa was *Dwomo*, and so they became known as *Dwomo-man* (*Dwomo's town*) instead of *Gomoa-man*. However, this argument has been proven wrong as the first settlement of the Gomoa; hence, the ancestral home of the Gomoa is known as *Gomoa-man-mu*. Gomoa has two independent states-*Gomoa Assin* and the *Gomoa Ajumako States*, but shares a common history to some extent; J.B. Crayner, *Bɔrbɔr Kunkumfi: The History of the migration of the Fantes from Tekyiman to their present homes* (Accra: Bureau of Ghana Languages, 1989), pp. 67-79. All information are translated version from the original Fante language literature to english. *Obaatan* in Fante political tradition means the Father or mother. Also, *Anana* and *Asona* are among the six Fante clans.

³⁸ Buah, *Ghana*. pp. 14-15. Mankessim means 'big nation.'

³⁹ Crayner, *Bɔrbɔr Kunkumfi*, pp. 67-68. The *Ajumako* state in the *Ajumako Enyan District* of Ghana came out of *Gomoa* after *Gomoa Ajumako* had already settled.

⁴⁰ *Borbor* means 'many'.

records revealed that a Fante state was definitely in existence at Mankessim by the end of the fifteenth century.⁴¹

Out of this original settlement grew a number of city-states which in due course expanded into independent kingdoms. Some of these kingdoms absorbed the aboriginal settlements such as the Etsi and Asebu which perhaps dated to the period before the Portuguese's arrival. The horn and drum musical traditions of Fante Asafo talking drums affirm that:

‘Sacred Etsi is from the creator, Oburumankoma; Borbor Fante met the Etsi already established, and Etsi belongs to antiquity.’⁴²

Oral tradition indicated that Fante clans settled at Mankessim in separate quarters, each one of which recognized its own king-priest known as *Braffo*. However, the different quarters also paid allegiance to one of the king-priests as their supreme ruler who was known as the ‘Braffo of Fantyn’ by the Europeans.⁴³ The Braffo's position was really one of *primus inter pares* or first among equals. For the Braffo who ruled in 1653 told the Dutch agent that ‘He had to rule with his principal sub-Braffos and lineage elders, without whom he neither could nor might do anything.’⁴⁴

After 1690, the Fante state disintegrated and began to expand outwards from Mankessim. Some Fante colonized villages on the coast grew up to become city-states with their own Braffo; others occupied the land inhabited by the indigenous Etsi, or settled in empty areas. Several considerations must have motivated the Fante attempt to control the new territory. Firstly, there was the fact that the population at

⁴¹ William Walton Claridge, *A History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti: From the Earliest times to the commencement of the 20th century*. Vol.1 (London: Frank Cass & Co. Limited, 1964), p. 34; G.T. Stride & Caroline Ifeka, *Peoples and Empires of West Africa: West Africa in History 1000-1800* (Nairobi: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, 1971), p. 242.

⁴² Anquandah, *Rediscovering Ghana's Past*, p. 87.

⁴³ Stride & Ifeka, *Peoples and Empires of West Africa*, p. 243.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

Mankessim was probably increasing fast, so there was insufficient land to support everyone. Secondly, as trade with European companies at Cape Coast increased, some Fante groups might have become more ambitious. They sought increased commercial revenues by gaining hold over the routes leading to other European trading forts. Finally, evidence from the Dutch records showed that there were civil wars between some quarters or groups at Mankessim in January and October 1653. Weaker lineages might have decided that the way to survival lay in finding a home outside Mankessim.⁴⁵ Each of the new Fante states considered itself independent, even though they recognized the 'Braffo of Fante' as their supreme head.⁴⁶

Between 1690 and 1701, the Fante expansion was temporarily halted by deep-seated divisions between the Fante states that paid allegiance to the Supreme king-priest stationed at Mankessim. Most groups occupied an area of about thirty square miles and were, therefore, not strong enough on their own to defeat powerful neighbours like Denkyera to the north. Unfortunately, each Fante state behaved as if they were deadly rivals, continually quarrelling with one another. Between 1707-1730, a new factor in Fante history united the previous dissident states. This was the emergence of Asante to the north as a real power after she had defeated mighty Denkyera at *Feyiase* in 1701. After Denkyera had fallen, the Fante began to grapple with a problem which was to beset them for the next hundred years and more. The Asante took advantage of the weakness of the Fante states and constantly invaded Fante states in the nineteenth century.⁴⁷

The Fante states then set about taking control over trading outlets on the coast like Cape Coast, Elmina, Anomabo and Apam. The surest way of accomplishing this aim

⁴⁵ Stride & Ifeka, *Peoples and Empires*, p. 243

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 242-245.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

was to incorporate the neighbouring Fante states into a union of all the Fante states. The Fante were aided in their attempt to recognize themselves by the fact that they gained new allies to the northern and to the eastern borders of Fanteland, Agona and the Assin who sought help against the threatening power of Akyem and Asante respectively. In addition, European traders on the coast were weak and divided among themselves and were, therefore, unable to put up any real opposition to the new wave of Fante conquest which was now launched from the northern state of the Fante, Abora.⁴⁸

Between 1707 and 1750, the Fante extended their control to all the coastal states between the mouth of the Pra River in the east and the Ga states in the west. The Fante states controlled all these sections of the coast and the principal trading stations except for Elmina.⁴⁹ During the greater part of 1600 to 1723, the Akwamu to the north-east with their headquarters at Nyanoawase had built up a powerful kingdom. However, whilst their hostile influence did not appear to have been felt in this area with the Agona, well-established as far as the coast, the Fante states had a thorough influence on their neighbours all around them, and every neighbouring state jumped at the chance of expelling them since everyone had its own grievances. The coalition that finally expelled the Akwamu in 1723 included Gomoa with other Fante states, Akyem Abuakwa, Akyem Kotoku, Agona, Awutu, Accra, and the Dutch at Fort Crevecour in Accra.⁵⁰

Furthermore, it was difficult to see Fante expansion as a response to the rise of Asante since the latter posed no direct military threat to Fante until 1726 when Asante's

⁴⁸ Stride & Ifeka, *Peoples and Empires*, p. 243.

⁴⁹ Both the Fante in Elmina and the Asante were allies to the Dutch hence, Elmina became an Asante ally against their sister Fante states.

⁵⁰ W.E.F. Ward, *History of Ghana* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1958), p. 104.

forces invaded the neighbouring countries within its sphere of influence, Abrem (north-west of Fante) and Asebu. Prior to 1701, the Denkyira grew militarily powerful; hence, its overthrow in *Feyiase* by Asante was seen by the Fante states as a welcome development. Subsequently, Fante and its ally, Assin, were threatened by Akyem, rather than by Asante, and sought the latter's alliance against Akyem. Although the power of Akyem was also growing in this period, it was not a new factor in the regional situation.⁵¹

2.3 The Competing Traditions of Origins of the Gomoa and the Gomoa Ajumako People

As already discussed, the Gomoa people were part of the larger Fante group that migrated from Tekyiman to Mankessim and then to their present location. Reindorf referred to them as *Gomoas* but ascribed no reason for doing so.⁵² By the late seventeenth century, the immediate eastern neighbour of Fante was a kingdom called Akron/Akraman, and to the north-eastern boundary was Agona.⁵³ Along the coast, Akron was said to have extended from its border with Fante to the 'Devil's Mountain' (Mankoadze Hill). It, thus, included the coastal villages from west to east, Mankoadze, Legu [Dego], Mumford [Dwama] and Apam. McDonald referred to the mountain as devilish because it was fetish to the inhabitants/settlements around the

⁵¹ Memorandum. Quoted in Law, *Fante expansion*, p. 45.

⁵² Carl C. Reindorf, *History of Gold Coast and Asante*. Third eds. (Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 2007), p. 34. Travellers on the Coast towards the end of the Seventeenth century were familiar with a small village consisting of some 20-30 houses called Simpa and with a town called Beraku which was then the chief town on the Agona Coast. The people living to the immediate west of Manko Hill were known to these travellers as the people of little Akron, with a little village in the middle of it called Apam, while Great Akron to its north was said to be republic independent of little Akron. (Ghana Gazette page 1761). It was there not surprising when Reindorf regarded the Gomoas and Akron as been identical, but ascribe no reasons for his statement. (Ghana Gazette page 1761)

⁵³ *Ibid*, p. 55.

mountain, and like earlier European writers, McDonald perceived traditional African religious practices as devilish.⁵⁴

The earlier European writers classified Gomoa into Great or Little: the former lay inland and was a commonwealth of the Fante states, while the latter was a small group on the seaboard of the Gomoa state, mostly with Guan descent.⁵⁵ Claridge indicated that ‘...West of the Manko Hill with the settlement, Mankoadze, was the area known as the Little Akron, whilst inland was Great Akron...’⁵⁶

In the sixteenth century, the Gomoa people defeated and absorbed the Akraman/Akron people into their fold; they could not resist their expansion because their experiences at the hands of the Borbor Fantes at Mankessim and beyond were still fresh in their minds and did not attempt to resist Gomoa’s expansion. The oral tradition of Gomoa traced Akron as an ancestor to Gomoa Abrekum, a Gomoa Ajumako settlement, and Gomoa Akraman, a Gomoa Assin settlement.⁵⁷ McDonald at the time of his writing described the area as:

‘*Goomor* [Gomoa]... situated on the east of Fante and south of Akyem, which has [had] a very large population. The towns are [were] all surrounded by a dense impenetrable forest, except the seaport town, the chief [the biggest] of which are [were] Mumford and Apa [Apam].⁵⁸ They plant [planted] a large quantity of Indian corn and plantains, which form [formed] their principle articles of food.’⁵⁹

⁵⁴ George McDonald, *The Gold Coast, Past and Present: A short description of the country and its people* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1898), pp. 120-121.

⁵⁵ Jean Barbort, *Description of the Gold Coasts of North and South Guinea* (London, 1732), p. 7. [Electronic Resource Reproduction]. Princeton: Princeton University Library Digital studio, 2003. <https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/7290224>

⁵⁶ Claridge, *A History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti*, p. 229.

⁵⁷ Ibid; PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/635, In the Enquiry made by the State Council of Gomoa Ajumako, 30 July 1928, 4. Akron was an ancestor of the Coastal settlement of the Etsi, which co-opted to become Gomoa Abrekum.

⁵⁸ Apa was corrupted into Apam by the early Europeans, but the people still call the settlement Apa, which means ‘labourers.’

⁵⁹ McDonald, *The Gold Coast, Past and Present*, pp. 120-121.

Robin Law referred to Gomoa as Akron and indicated that ‘despite this claim of kinship, however, Akron/Gomoa was clearly considered not as part of the Fante but as a separate kingdom and an eastern neighbour of Fante and western neighbour of Agona.’⁶⁰ Therefore, referring to Gomoa as Akron by Robin Law was an improper attempt to generalize that the other name for Gomoa was Akron, which in actual fact is not accurate because the Akron people were of Etsi descent but not of Fante descent. That is, Akron was a just section of the larger Gomoa state with a different language and historical identity but at a point in time was co-opted by the Gomoa people to the extent that they forgot their language.⁶¹ This common origin seemed already to have been alluded to in 1681 by earlier European recorders that Gomoa and the rest of the Fante states were not one people.⁶² Nevertheless, Gomoa belonged to the larger Fante ethnic group; they derived their present name from that of *Obaatan Gomoa* who was the ancestor of all the people of Gomoa descent.⁶³

The history of the people of Gomoa dates back to their early contact with the Europeans at the coastal region of the Gold Coast. At the time of inter-ethnic wars, the Gomoa people, being a section of the Fante ethnic group, as discussed above, fought side-by-side with their British allies against their common enemy, Asante. Traditionally, Gomoa is made up of two traditional areas (states) - Gomoa Assin and Gomoa Ajumako states. Gomoa Ajumako was the foot, whilst Gomoa Assin state was the head. The foot was the head of the warriors of Gomoa, whereas the head performed administrative functions. The head was the father, Obaatan Gomoa, whereas the foot was the eldest child, Assan. Gomoa Ajumako was originally referred

⁶⁰ Law, *Fante expansion*, p. 55.

⁶¹ *Ibid*, p. 56.

⁶² *Ibid*, p. 55.

⁶³ Crayner, *Bɔrbɔr Kunkumfi*. pp. 67-79. All the information is translated version from the original Fante language literature to English. Obaatan in Fante political tradition means ‘the father or mother’.

to as Assan-mba (Assan's descendants) Adwumako. This was because, according to oral tradition, the founder of the settlement was called Assan.⁶⁴ Thus, the history of the founding of Gomoa Ajumako state in the pre-colonial times was a history of warfare; this was the reason why they earned the name *Adwumako*. Adwumako (Ajumako) literally means 'our work is to fight'.⁶⁵

There has not been any justifications as to why it was changed to Gomoa Ajumako. Perhaps the colonial government effected the change to make it easier for pronunciation and writing. However, in 1943, Gomoa Ajumako State Council sent a resolution to the Colonial District Commissioner in Winneba, requesting a change of name from Gomoa Ajumako to Gomoa Assan-mba Ajumako for the reason that the history behind the name had remained silent.⁶⁶ Gomoa Ajumako was an integral part of the larger Gomoa state in the present day Central Region of Ghana, but it is a separate state from her counterpart, Gomoa Assin.⁶⁷ Both have a common ancestry, and they constitute one Gomoa. Together, they are referred to as Gomoa *Akyempim* which means 'Gomoa, the mighty hosts'.⁶⁸ Therefore, anytime the word 'Gomoa' was used, it applied to both Gomoa Assin and Gomoa Ajumako states respectively.

⁶⁴PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/722, A Letter of resolution from the D.C, Winneba to the C.C.P, 16 December 1943, p. 117; PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/722, A Letter of resolution from the Gomoa Ajumako state to the D.C, 25 October 1943; PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/722, C.C.P to D.C,20 December 1943, p. 198; See also Motion No. 220/1972: Enquiry into the matter of Nana Apata Kofi XIV, as Odikro of Pomadze, vs. Nana Nyarful Krampah IX, as Omanhen of Gomoa Ajumako. At the Cape Coast High court, 11 September 1968, p. 6. (Hereafter, Reports by the Committee of Enquiry established by the Cape Coast High Court)

⁶⁵ PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/729, A reminder to the Secretary of Native affairs, 11 August 1908, pp. 21 &25. The people of present day Ajumako in the present-day Ajumako Enyan Essiam District in the Central Region of Ghana migrated from their Gomoa Ajumako kinsmen in the sixteenth century due to dispute over succession in Gomoa Ajumako in the present day Gomoa West, and Gomoa Central Districts in the Central Region of Ghana.

⁶⁶ PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/722, A Letter of resolution from the Gomoa Ajumako State Council to the D.C, 16 December 1943, p. 117.

⁶⁷ PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/635, Reports on the two Gomoa Divisions, 9 May 1918. Ajumako-Adwuma-nako (Work and fight). Assan-mba means 'Assan's descendants'.

⁶⁸ Sarbah, *Fanti National Constitution*, p. 50.

Aside warfare, the presence of their leadership was felt at most of the meetings of the Fante states and rebellions against the growth of British's power in both pre-colonial and post-colonial periods. David Kimble demonstrated the role played by King Ortabil of Gomoa and other Fante chiefs in the formation of the Fante Confederation.⁶⁹ Claridge examined King Ortabil's role like his compatriot, King Aggrey of Cape Coast, in defying the orders of the British authorities.⁷⁰

There had been various traditional accounts on the origin and the formation of Gomoa Ajumako, especially by the disputing parties of the paramount stool in their attempt to claim ownership. In the 1970s, the Nyarful Krampah's lineage claimed that the Gomoa people were once known as *Dwomo* because the ancestor, Dwomo, who founded the first Dwomo-man, led them. This tradition seemed to be supported by Eva Meyerowitz who came out with two explanations to the origin of Gomoa. Firstly, she argued that political upheavals forced the Gomoa people whom she referred to as 'Dwomo' to migrate to their present location from the Dya-Mo Kingdom in search of peace and resourceful land by 1740.⁷¹ Secondly, she wrote that 'shortly, most of those remaining at Mankessim also left when they discovered that their region was swampy and unhealthy. The Asona and Dwomo, going deeper into Etsi country, founded Gomoa-man/Dwomo-na-man, which means Dwomo's descendants' state.'⁷²

Moreover, if the Gomoa people were once called Dwomo, as Eva Meyerowitz postulated, then she could not bridge that gap of how the people became known as Gomoa. Furthermore, cross-checking Eva's source of information on 'Dwomo' at the endnote of her work showed that the information was given to her by the descendants

⁶⁹ David Kimble, *A Political History of Ghana: The rise of Gold Coast Nationalism 1850-1928* (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1963), p. 225.

⁷⁰ Claridge, *A History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti*, p. 547.

⁷¹ Meyerowitz, *The Early History of the Akan States*, p. 87.

⁷² *Ibid*, pp. 91 &94

of Krampah Payin and Krampah Kuma who perhaps wanted to augment their claim on the founding of Gomoa Ajumako through literature.⁷³ Interestingly, the earlier traditional version of the Krampah's lineage at the colonial court made no mention of Dwomo, but the subsequent versions after 1974, when Eva Meyerowitz had published her book, mentioned Dwomo as the ancestor of Gomoa Ajumako people.⁷⁴ In addition, the establishment of Gomoa by 1740 was chronologically and periodically inaccurate as the oral traditions of Gomoa and earlier scholarly works proved that the people of Gomoa migrated, dispersed, settled, traded and fought their neighbours between the fifteenth and the seventeenth centuries, that is, before 1740. According to Carl Reindorf, the people of Gomoa fought the Agona people at the latter part of the seventeenth century.⁷⁵ Ward also indicated that 'the Gomoa, Agona and Obutus [Awutu] were part of the coalition that fought the powerful Akwamu people in 1733'.⁷⁶

Moreover, the oral tradition of Apata Kofi's lineage of Gomoa Ajumako indicated that their ancestor, Obaatan Gomoa, established Gomoa state, but Assan and Apata Kofi established Gomoa Ajumako. The renowned Fante historian, J. B. Crayner, supported this view when he stated that 'At Ajumako, Assan named the newly established settlement after his youngest child, Mensah, and so the settlement became known as Gomoa Assan-mba Mensah Ajumako. They were called Assan-mba because it was Safohen Assan who brought his immediate siblings and children from Gomoa-man-mu to the village, which became known as Assan-mba Mensah Ajumako.

⁷³ Meyerowitz, *The Early History of the Akan States*, pp. 91 &94.

⁷⁴ PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/117, In Re appeal under section 39 to the C.C.P in his executive capacity, 3 July 1929, P.222; PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/729, Kojo Amuakwa vrs Kweku Benyin, 30 December 1928, pp. 3-19; See also, Reports by the Committee of Enquiry established by the Cape Coast High Court, p. 6.

⁷⁵ Reindorf, *History of Gold Coast and Asante*. pp. 62-65.

⁷⁶ Ward, *History of Ghana*, p. 104.

Furthermore, the decision by Safohen Assan to name the new settlement after his younger brother exasperated Efuwa Ajumako, Assan's eldest child and daughter, to secede to a newer settlement which became known as Efuwa Ajumako in the present-day Ajumako, Enyan, Esiam District.⁷⁷ However, Crayner's usage of the word 'son' was confusing as the matrilineal inheritance practices among the Gomoa Ajumako people was passed on from brother to brother or nephew in the absence of a biological brother, and, not from brother to son or daughter, as Crayner's usage implied. From the perspective of Gomoa socio-cultural practices, they have always practised the matrilineal system of inheritance; therefore, brother or nephew fits better into the line of succession than 'son'. In addition, perhaps Efuwa Ajumako was denied the legitimacy to rule because she belonged to her mother's lineage and clan but not that of her father. Moreover, because at the time Safohen Assan had eligible maternal descendants to succeed him, perhaps she would have been given the opportunity to act as a caretaker only in circumstances where there are no eligible successors from Safohen Assan's maternal lineage.⁷⁸

In 1981, the Nyarful Krampah's lineage presented the once disputed state sword and some oral usages of Gomoa Ajumako as evidence, upon which a ruling was given in their favour.⁷⁹ However, Gomoa Ajumako's history was not an island from the history of Ghana. Therefore, examining the Gomoa Ajumako history in the wider context of the history of Ghana would have been the best rather than basing judgment on oral tradition without contextualization. For example, in the traditional version of the Nyarful Krampah's lineage they stated that:

⁷⁷ Crayner, *BOrbOr Kunkumfi*, p. 71.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, p. 71.

⁷⁹ *SCGLR*, pp. 312-337.

‘...Krampah Kuma lead [led] his people to a number of other wars like the Kantamanto [Katamanso or Akatamanso] war, Yaa Asantewa war and Sekum War. Eventually, he [Krampah Kuma] died and was succeeded by his nephew, Onyinpong Okyir, the son of Mansa. He also lead [led] his people to a number of wars, including the Kormantse War...’⁸⁰

The above extract from the Nyarful Krampah lineage’s version was contradictory and inappropriate because the Kormantse war of 1807 was fought before the Akatamanso battle of 1826 and the Bobikuma war of 1863. Therefore, if Krampah Kuma fought in 1826, then why did Onyinpong Okyir who succeeded Krampah Kuma fight in 1807? In addition, if Krampah Payin died in the Bobikuma war of 1863 and was succeeded by Krampah Kuma, as oral tradition indicates, then how could Krampah Kuma fight in the Akatamanso war of 1826? Moreover, if Okyir Ansa who succeeded Krampah Kumah and Onyinpong Okyir was enstooled before 1900, then how did Krampah Kuma who succeeded Krampah Payin in 1863 fight in the Yaa Asantewaa war of 1902? These questions illustrate clear examples of invented history to augment a lineage’s claim to the Gomoa Ajumako paramount stool.

2.4 The Making of Gomoa Ajumako

According to oral tradition, when the Borbor Fante were leaving Tekyiman, they informed the Gomoa and the Asankoma or Enyan sections of the Fante groups, but the Gomoa’s priest, Egya Ahor, was consulting the oracle, so they had to wait until the ceremony was over. It took Egya Ahor three months to finish the ceremony, and before the ceremony was over, the Borbor Fante had already left under the chief-priest, Kurentsir.⁸¹ Leaving the Gomoa behind, the chief priest of the Borbor Fante, Kurentsir, left a message for Egya Ahor to the effect that they should look out for *Pusuban* which would show them the route they had taken so that they could follow

⁸⁰ *Ruling by the Cape Coast High Court*, p. 6.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

them to wherever they would find a suitable place for habitation.⁸² Today, 'Pusuban' is found in every Borbor Fante, Eyan, and Gomoa communities. It enabled kinsmen to trace the whereabouts of their people during the migration of the Fante to other areas for habitations.

Therefore, the Gomoa people left later under their priest, Egya Ahor. They followed the routes of their brothers who had left earlier and found a settlement at Mankessim; here they united and settled among their kinsmen. After many years of their stay in Mankessim, population explosion among other factors compelled the latter immigrants to move further eastwards.⁸³

This eastward movement sent the Gomoa people to their new settlement where it was named Gomoa-man-mu (Gomoa's settlement) near River Kwesi-Nakwa Okyi.⁸⁴ After their stay at Gomoa-man-mu for some time, each of the children of Obaatan Gomoa, based on maternal groupings, dispersed to establish new settlements. Opentsir and Assin, both from one mother of the Nsona clan, together with their followers, crossed River Kwesi-Nakwa Okyi and founded Gomoa Antsiadze and Assin settlements respectively, just a mile from Gomoa-man-mu.⁸⁵ Abora, a direct brother of Opentsir and Assin, with his nuclear and some extended family members, also left and established settlements with Gomoa Brofo as the leading settlement. Andam, another brother, with his nuclear and some extended family members, founded communities

⁸² An edifice of which was used as the assembling point and represents the strength and the presence of the Asafo in every Fante settlement. See also, Donkor, *The making of an African King*, pp. 108-11; Hagan, *Divided we stand*, p. 129; Kwame Amoah Larbi, 'A Study of Change and Continuity in the Asafo Art' (Ph.D. Thesis, Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon, 2002), pp. 189-203; Crayner, *BƆrbƆr Kunkumfi*, p. 68.

⁸³ Meyerowitz, *The Early History of the Akan States*, pp. 89-91.

⁸⁴ Thomas Kweku Aubyn, 'A short history of Gomoa' (B.A diss., University of Ghana, 1983), p. 3.

⁸⁵ Antsiadze was originally established as a prison camp; Antsiadze is a Fante word, which literally means 'a place for people who failed to heed to advice'.

with Gomoa Ohuan as the leading community.⁸⁶ Meanwhile, the eldest son and chief warrior of Obaatan Gomoa, Safohen Assan, with his siblings - Opotsin (a sister), Opotsi Esiakwa, Gura Kofuwa, and Kofi Mensah - all from one mother of the Twidan clan, together with his immediate nuclear family members and some followers, moved from Gomoa-man-mu and settled at a place which became known as Gomoa Assan-mba Ajumako.⁸⁷

According to oral tradition, the Assan-mba-Ajumako ancestors first settled southwards of Gomoa Assin village in a place called Taedo which, after they had deserted, became *Ajumako Amanfodo* (the deserted Ajumako) before moving to their present location. Tradition says they left the place after numerous scuffles with their kinsmen (half-brothers), the Gomoa Assin state, probably due to their warring nature.⁸⁸ The eulogy of Gomoa Assan-mba Ajumako was that the subjects of Assan were troublesome and quarrelsome. Because of this rare attitude, the state horn of Gomoa Assin people states that '*Asafo Ajumako, moa so yedzin*', literally meaning Ajumako warriors, you are too stubborn.⁸⁹

From this dispersion, the present day Gomoa Assin became the head, whereas Gomoa Assan-mba Ajumako State became the foot.⁹⁰ Gomoa Assin became the head because after the dispersion of his [Obaatan Gomoa] children from Gomoa-man-mu, Obaatan Gomoa considered the numerous invasions by the neighbouring ethnic migrants and, therefore, felt the need to carry with him the State's stool to Gomoa Assin instead of Gomoa-man-mu, the ancestral home. The change in the location of the state stool

⁸⁶ PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/635, Gomoa Assin and Gomoa Ajumako, 3 March 1903, pp. 1-3.

⁸⁷ Crayner, *BƆrbƆr Kunkumfi*, pp. 68-71;

⁸⁸ The Spectator, 13 June 2014, p. 31. For information on Taedo see PRAAD/A, ADM 11/1/ 1691, Report on Gomoa. 30 October 1922, pp. 1-2.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* Troublesome (Warlike), Quarrelsome (fighting). This is why they are called Adwuma-Ko (Ajumako) meaning 'work and fight'.

⁹⁰ PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/635, Report on the History of Gomoa, 21 December 1922.

made the leader of the youngest children of Obaatan Gomoa, Assin, superior to their elder brothers, Assan-mba Ajumako, who had acted as Safohenfo (War captains) to the Gomoa state stool throughout their migration from Mankessim to Gomoa-man-mu because of their birthright as the eldest.⁹¹

The head was the administrative head, whereas the foot was the leader of the Asafo (warrior group). Francis Crowther observed in 1913 that:

‘In the absence of a clear knowledge of the Fanti Division to whom this office of foot seems peculiar I am not prepared to advise finally on the point...of one thing, however, I am certain and that is that the ruler of the foot of a Division enjoys a greater degree of independence than is accorded to the military sub-chiefs known as Adontenhene, Benkumhene and co.’⁹²

By the middle of the seventeenth century, the Gomoa people started dispersing from major settlements - Gomoa Ajumako, Assin, Antsiadze, Brofo, and Ohuan - to newer habitations. From the latter, some dispersed to Adam, Whida, Obir, Dego, Amanful, and Kyiren. From the former, Assan moved further south-eastwards with his siblings and established settlements such as Abrekum, Mankoadze and other settlements that were situated in the interior and the surroundings of the forest *Sika Koko*, near Gomoa Ajumako village.⁹³ The underlying factor behind the dispersions from Gomoa Ajumako was insufficient land for their farming activities. In addition, many of them

⁹¹ Interview with Nana Asonaba Kwame Sekyi V, the Akyeamehen of Gomoa Assin State, on 9 October 2018. The movement of Obaatan Gomoa’s children from Gomoa-man-mu is what brought forth the taboo that states it is a curse to paramount chiefs of Gomoa to visit their ancestral home - Gomoa-man-mu.

⁹² Francis Crowther. Quoted in PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/190, The Claim of Ohene of Gomoa Assanba-Ajumako to be Independent of Gomoa Assin, 21 December 1922. Francis Crowther (died 22 July 1917) was a British colonial official in the British Gold Coast for nineteen years. In 1912, Crowther chaired the Commission of Enquiry into the Chieftaincy affairs of States affected with Chieftaincy disputes, including the Gomoa states.

⁹³ Crayner, *BƆrbƆr Kunkumfi*, pp. 68-71. These were the initial settlements that resulted from the dispersion at Antsiadze and Assan-mba Ajumako to form other villages.

wanted to be autonomous and migrating to find new settlements promising them with an opportunity to be autonomous.⁹⁴

After the death of Assan, Opotsi Esiakwa and Gur Kofowa became the successive rulers of Gomoa Ajumako and led the Gomoa Ajumako Asafo to fight the Eguafo, Agona, Fetu and Asebu in 1706 and 1724. The Asafo of Gomoa Ajumako fought as allies of the Agona against the Akyem in 1738 and as allies of the Denkyira and the Assin people in the Fante coalition army in 1765 and 1776 against the Asante and the Akyem respectively.⁹⁵ During the reign of the fourth king who preceded Akwonno, king of Akwamu, 1702-1725 C.E, the Akwamu monopolized the coastal trade. Akyem traders were not allowed to buy goods from the coast; neither could they purchase arms and ammunitions. At the same time, fighting, man stealing and plunder prevailed among the people of Agona, Gomoa, Akwamu and Accra. In the previous wars between Akwamu and the Ga, the Akwamu hired the Agona and Gomoa people and when they were refused payment for their services, they resorted to kidnapping some of the Akwamu who they sold into slavery. In revenge, the Akwamu carried out the same practice by selling some of the Gomoa and the Agona by way of enticing the Gomoa or Agona victims to the forest and selling them into slavery.⁹⁶

In the second half of the eighteenth century, a new war broke out between the Agona and Gomoa. The Agona had then settled in their present location during the late

⁹⁴ Aubyn, *A short history of Gomoa*, p. 6.

⁹⁵ See Stride & Ifeka, *Peoples and Empires*, p. 245; D.E.K. Amenumey, *Ghana: A Concise History from Pre-colonial Times to the 20th century*. (Accra: Woeli Publishing Services, 2011), p. 43; Reindorf, *History of Gold Coast and Asante*, p. 66; J. K. Fynn & R. Addo-Fening, *History for secondary schools* (Accra: Sankofa Press Ltd, 2002), p. 133. In about 1730, Akyem rebelled against Asante, Osei Tutu at once marched an army to pursue the Akyem who had been driven across the Pra River. In a bloody battle, the coalition army was defeated; the victorious Osei Tutu after his many triumphs was killed while crossing the River back to Asante in one Monday. To corrupt this account, the Asante army claim Osei died whilst ascending the Kormantse hill. Thus, the battle became Kormantse war of 1730. This became the Oath of Kormantse, the most binding and dreadful of Asante's oaths.

⁹⁶ Reindorf, *History of Gold Coast and Asante*, p. 62.

seventeenth century. They were therefore, neighbours of Gomoa to the north. However, the Agona despised the Gomoa people and treated them with contempt.⁹⁷ Nyarko Aku, the overlord of Agona, whenever he had a son, ordered travellers and traders from Gomoa to be waylaid and beheaded. When the heads were brought to him, he showed them to his infant son and said, ‘These are toys, grow up and play with them.’⁹⁸ The Agona were dealing in slaves and some of the Gomoa connived with Nyarko Aku to sell some of the Gomoa into slavery. The Agona constantly organized raids into the dispersed settlements of Gomoa and took captives who were sold into slavery. In one instance, the Gomoa Council of Elders sent their chief linguist together with other messengers to warn the Agona, but the chief linguist was killed and the other persons were sent back to inform the Gomoa about the death of their linguist.⁹⁹

Nyarko Aku continued this practice for a long time until Kwaw Ehuna Aku, Omahen of Gomoa Assin at the time, not happy with the constant murder of his people, turned to Oduro Tibu of Assin Attedanso to help put a stop to the outrages of Nyarko Aku. The price demanded for the service was paid, and the united forces of Kwasi Edu of Gomoa Assin and the Asafo of Gomoa Ajumako marched against Nyarko Aku whose army was said to be 32,000 men. Nyarko Aku was defeated, his army dispersed, and he took one of his wives and fled into the bush. Nyarko was seen wandering in the bush by his long-time Akwamu friend whose son had been put to death by Nyarko Aku because his actions were contrary to the laws of the Agona state. The friend took him to his house and while Nyarko Aku was bathing covered with soap, the man

⁹⁷ Aubyn, *A short history of Gomoa*, p. 6.

⁹⁸ Reindorf, *History of Gold Coast and Asante*, p. 62.

⁹⁹ Interview with Nana Yaw Ansa on 10 October 2018. (On the authority of the interviewee, the actual name and the position have been withheld for personal reasons)

rushed upon him suddenly and cut him into pieces, after which the remains were taken to Akwamu.¹⁰⁰

Oduro Tibu, who had been seeking to capture Nyarko Aku alive or dead, when informed of Nyarko Aku's death and that his remains had been taken to Akwamu, dispatched messengers to demand the return of the body, but Akwonno refused. Therefore, Oduro Tibu declared war on the Akwamu people. Tibu asked the Agona to help him claim the remains of their chief, but they refused. Akwamu was attacked by the coalition forces led by Tibu and Kwasi Edu. Akwonno was defeated and many were taken captives. The Agona, when they heard of Tibu's success, demanded a share of the spoils, threatening that if Tibu refused, they would dispute his return home. The Agona, true to their word, attacked but were repulsed with heavy loss and were obliged to send a flag of truce to negotiate peace. A meeting was held at Agona Nsaba where the Agona were severely reprimanded. At Nsaba, instead of Nyarkrom (the seat of the Agona Omanhen), Yaw Minta, a non-royal, was then placed on the stool of Agona. He was also entrusted with gold and other valuable, which were taken from Nyarko Aku's palace at Agona Nyarkrom, after Tibu threatened vengeance against anyone who should dare to rebel.¹⁰¹

According to oral tradition, the skull of Nyarko Aku was attached to Gomoa Assin state royal drum, whilst the jaw was attached to Gomoa Assan-mba Ajumako state sword.¹⁰² Regalia was sometimes decorated with human parts of a killed enemy to create fear and respect; this was reinforced by their public display. It was fashionable in the era of inter-ethnic wars to decorate drums and horns with the skulls, jawbones

¹⁰⁰ Reindorf, *History of Gold Coast and Asante*, pp. 62-63. When Akwonno and his sub-chiefs heard the plight of the Akwamu friend, he was comforted and rewarded.

¹⁰¹ Reindorf, *History of Gold Coast and Asante*, pp.62-65.

¹⁰² PRAAD/C S.N.A 1094/31, Copy of some petition signed by some chiefs of Gomoa Ajumako, 22 August 1935, 1&10; PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/722, Gomoa Ajumako Native Affairs, 1937, pp.22,24 &28.

or limbs of defeated warriors. The idea was to ridicule such persons and put the fear of repeating similar harsh and cruel treatment into the enemy anytime they rebelled.¹⁰³

In the meantime, Kwasi Edu became an influential captain over Ehuna Aku's army; he was originally a great medicine man and a palm-wine tapper who, because of his ability to fortify the warriors of the Gomoa Assin state with charms and amulets, was made the Safohen.¹⁰⁴ He was originally a native of Besabew in Abora but not a Gomoa. Living in Gomoa Assin, he became so powerful and wealthy. Therefore, on the death of the Ehuna Eku, he was made the Omanhen of Gomoa Assin.¹⁰⁵ Paralleling this political development in Gomoa Ajumako, Kofi Mensah became the Omanhen. Because of his numerous military prowess, he earned the accolade *Opata-ko-Kofi* (the mediator Kofi), later corrupted into Apata Kofi, but Assan, Opotsi Esiakwa and Gura Kofuwa reigned before Apata Kofi.¹⁰⁶

The Gomoa Ajumako settlement was established on busy trade routes that linked Apam to the hinterlands of Agona, Breman, Asikuma, Asante, and the Akyem settlements. It, therefore, became a centre of constant invasion and raiding by the outsiders for slaves and other trade items. To save his maternal extended family members from extinction as well as to hide the paramountcy's ancestral golden stool from being captured by outsiders, and to protect the lands he had acquired during his military exploration, Apata Kofi moved his extended family members to a place he named Opomadze [Pomadze].¹⁰⁷ There he placed his nephew known as Kwesi Arhin

¹⁰³ A. A. Y. Kyeremanteng, *Panoply of Ghana: Ornamental Art in Ghanain Tradition and Culture*. (New York: Frederick A. Prager, 1964), p. 62.

¹⁰⁴ Interview with Nana Asonaba Kwame Sekyi V, the Akyeamehen of Gomoa Assin State, on 9 October 2018.

¹⁰⁵ Reindorf, *History of Gold Coast and Asante*, pp. 62-65.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid*; PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/635, Gomoa Assin and Gomoa Ajumako, 3 March 1903, pp. 1-3.

¹⁰⁷ PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/117, In Re appeal under section 39 to the C. C. P. in his executive capacity, 3 July 1929, p. 21. Kofi Pow is still in existence today, it shares boundary with Gomoa Mprumen to the southern boundary, Gomoa Mampafa lands to the north, Gomoa Simbrofo lands to the west.

in charge as the village head or the Odikro of the established settlement (Pomadze), whilst he (Apata Kofi) became the Omanhen of Gomoa Assan-mba Ajumako.¹⁰⁸

Apata Kofi lived in a traditional society where polygamy was not prohibited; therefore, he married or had sexual relationship with women from different settlements, some of them even outside Gomoa. According to oral tradition, the war of territorial expansion in the eighteenth century between Akwamu and Ga-Adangbe displaced some Krobo people from their original settlements to other states or kingdoms, including Gomoa Ajumako state.¹⁰⁹ In Gomoa Ajumako, Apata Kofi relegated the displaced people from Kroboland to servile status to the extent that he had sexual relationship with some of the Krobo women, one of whom gave birth to sons and daughters. These included Krampah Payin, and Krampah Kuma. These sons and daughters of Apata Kofi, whose mother was of Krobo origin that practised the patrilineal system of inheritance, established the Krobo Twidan family because their Akan [Fante-Gomoa] father belonged to the Fante Twidan family.¹¹⁰ Customarily, they were not considered as members of their father's clan, but the whole family recognized them as their children, which meant that they were not entitled to hold any position in their father's family or control properties of their father(s).

Hitherto, Apata Kofi had other children born with other Gomoa women - Kobina Abbiw and his siblings of the Agona clan of Gomoa Pomadze.¹¹¹ There were also the Nsona children of Gomoa Abrekum, Gomoa Obuasi, and others from Oguakrom. He

¹⁰⁸ PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/117, A Letter of Resolution to the D.C, 16 December 1943, p. 117.

¹⁰⁹ Amenumey, *Ghana*. p. 47.

¹¹⁰ PRAAD/C, ADM 23/1/722, Election and installation of Kojo Obosu as Nyarful Krampah IX, 15 November 1944.

¹¹¹ Suit No. LS 16/2003, In the Case Neenyi Ghartey VII, Omanhene of Effutu Traditional Area vs. Okatakya Nyarful Krampah X, Omanhene of Gomoa Ajumako Traditional Area (Defendant), The Royal Twidan Family of Gomoa Pomadze (1st Co-Defendants) and Ali Haruna (2nd Defendant). Today, Abbiw's descendants occupy the Oman Obaatan stool of Gomoa Pomadze. (Hereafter, Judgement on the case between Effutu and Gomoa Ajumako state)

allocated parcels of land to his children based on their maternal groupings and origin, but the children he had with the Krobo woman, due to their non-Gomoa ancestry (maternal side), were allotted a parcel of land in an isolated area to settle and farm. This place was located along the Apam-Gomoa Ankamo route but close to Gomoa Ajumako village. The area was known as ‘Sardo’ (grassland). The settlement got its name from the Krobo origin and the grassland nature of the environment, *Krobo Sardo*.¹¹²

Nevertheless, the formation of Gomoa Ajumako was faced with frequent confrontations and skirmishes with the neighbouring states such as Effutu, Agona, Ekumfi, the Ga, the Awutu, the Akwamu, the Akyem, and sometimes the Gomoa Assin settlements.¹¹³ Having succeeded his ancestors in the second half of the eighteenth century, Apata Kofi extended the territory of Gomoa Assan-mba Ajumako to the present-day McCarthy Hill in Accra in the early part of the nineteenth century through warfare. He also fought in the Fante coalition forces as allies of the British against their enemy at the time, the Asante, in 1807, 1809, 1811 and 1824.¹¹⁴

The nineteenth century was characterized by a series of wars intervened by long periods of peace between the Asante and their neighbours. On the other hand, economically and socially, the century saw the abolition of the slave trade and the beginning of systematic and sustained missionary activity in the various ethnic states. Between 1806/7 and 1874, a series of wars took place between the Fante states and

¹¹² PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/722, Election and installation of chiefs, 23 October 1923; PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/2729, Election and Installation of Chiefs, 15 November 1944.

¹¹³ PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/635, The Claim of the Ohene of Gomoa Assan-mba-Ajumako to be Independent of Gomoa Assin, 21 December, 1922. Gomoa Assin people are the kinsmen of Gomoa Ajumako people.

¹¹⁴ Reindorf, *History of Gold Coast and Asante*, p. 142-143.

Asante.¹¹⁵ During this period, three chiefs ruled Assin. Assin Apemenim was under Amo Adae, whilst Assin Attedanso was under two chiefs: Kwadwo Tibu and Kweku Aputae. One of Adae's sub-chiefs died and various gold ornaments were buried with him, as custom demanded. A relative of Kweku Aputae, who afterwards came secretly and robbed the grave, attended the funeral. The crime was discovered and Amo Adae sent a messenger to Kweku Aputae to demand compensation. Kweku Aputae and his brother who was a chief refused to consider the case, dismissing the whole story as pure invention.¹¹⁶

Amo Adae then appealed to the Asantehene who summoned all the three chiefs to appear before his court in Kumase.¹¹⁷ Nevertheless, Kwadwo Tibu and Kweku Aputae escaped and came to the Fante country and infected them with their woes. First, they fled to Asikuma and later to Abora in order to refuse the reply of the Asantehene's messengers. There a council and advisers of Fante chiefs including Gomoa chiefs, met to discuss what to do with the two Assin chiefs. 'Even to the contemporaries the occasion seemed historic, two powers which had never before come into contact were now face-to-face, and the whole balance of power on the coast depended on the result. In the end, the Fante council decided to shelter the two chiefs of Assin and to defy the Asantehene a decision which to us, looking back on the sequel of these events, seemed folly.'¹¹⁸

The Fante states, before the nineteenth century, had had many military successes in their earlier wars of expansion, and the Asante, powerful as they were, had shown themselves to be invincible. There were other considerations involved. There was

¹¹⁵ A. Adu-Boahen, *Ghana: Evolution and change in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries* (Accra: Sankofa Educational Publishers Ltd, 2000), pp. 20-27.

¹¹⁶ Ward, *A History of Gold Coast*, p. 143.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 143-149.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 150.

clearly the question of chivalry; it was quite certain that if the Assin chiefs were given to the Asante, they would be killed. Moreover, Assin was the nearest neighbour to the Fante Confederation and the Assin could not be expected to forgive such unfriendly acts as surrendering their chiefs to the enemy. Lastly, to incur the enmity of a near neighbour in order to please a more distant state seemed unwise.¹¹⁹ After numerous negotiation plans initiated by the Asantehene had failed, he finally declared war on the Fante country.¹²⁰

The campaign was short and decisive; the Asante army won victories in the border country (Abora) and once again were willing to discuss terms of peace. Once again, the Fante refused to listen to the peace talks and the Asantehene swore the great oath of Asante that he would not return to Kumase without the heads of his enemies.¹²¹ This first Asante campaign in the coastal districts had been a complete success after conquering the Fante states, including Gomoa Ajumako.¹²²

In May 1806 at Abora, which was only four miles from Cape Coast, the main Fante army was defeated. At Winneba, a neighbour of Gomoa Ajumako, the Asantehene waded into the sea after conquering the Effutu of Winneba. This event brought up the name *Bonsu*, whale, because not even the sea had he found an enemy to withstand him. The war then came right up the walls of the European forts at Anomabo and the British authorities in particular had to make their decision. The two Assin chiefs had escaped from the defeat at Abora and reached Anomabo, and hence went to Cape Coast to visit the Governor, while the Asante advance guard occupied Kormantine, where the Dutch commander of Fort Amsterdam surrendered the fort without any attempt to resist. This battle became known as the Kormantse War of 1807, which

¹¹⁹ Ward, *A History of Gold Coast*, p. 150.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²¹ *Ibid*, p. 151.

¹²² Apata Kofi being the Gomoa Ajumako leader at the time fought in that battle because Carl Reindorf in 1809 recorded that Apata Kofi fought in the Hota or Sa kum.

was also known as '*Fantekan*', meaning 'the first of the Fantes'.¹²³ The invasion completely altered the balance of power on the coast. The military reputation of the Gomoa states and other Fante states as the strongest power in coastal politics was destroyed. Now, it became obvious that the Asante were determined to become the coastal power. Elmina and Accra, who both had cause to fear the Fante, now took fresh courage from the knowledge that Asante's help could be provided if the Asante thought it worthwhile. However, the British also regarded the Asantes as a dreadful power whose activities would expel them from their forts and the coast altogether.¹²⁴

As soon as the Asante were gone, the Fante were determined to reassert their power over the coastal ethnic groups. In 1809, a section of the Fante states sent an army against Accra and another against Elmina. Gomoa Ajumako joined the Fante section that fought against the Ga in Accra.¹²⁵ This battle became known in Ga as *Hota* and in Gomoa as *Sa kum*.¹²⁶ Neither of the Fante engagements was successful; the army advancing against Accra was repulsed after a sharp engagement, and the army that was to take Elmina, after some indecisive fighting, settled down to a long blockade of the town. The Elmina people, however, contrived to send a message to Kumase and the Asantehene.¹²⁷

Carl Reindorf, in his account on Accra's invasion, affirmed that '...A company of iron-hearted men for defensive warfare was organized by the Ga of Accra at Ngleigong [McCarthy Hill]... The defensive company, headed by Adama Pataku, attacked Osafo, chief of Gomoa Akoti. Osafo was defeated, wounded and died on the

¹²³ Ward, *A History of Gold Coast*, p. 150.

¹²⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 149-151

¹²⁵ This Battle was meant as a punitive measure against the Ga and the people of Elmina for helping Asante in the 1807 battle.

¹²⁶ Reindorf, *History of Gold Coast and Asante*, p. 142. *Sa kum*, therefore, confirms that the Fante forces were defeated in that battle. Or *Sa kum* represent the location where the battle was fought, that is, around the Sakum River.

¹²⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 149-151.

way. Others who had escaped the attack brought the sad news to Gomoa Akoti. To punish their enemies, the Obutus [Awutu] hired Gomoa people with other Fante who bore bitter hatred against the people of Elmina and Akra [Accra] because of their friendship with the Asante, who, during the recent invasion of Fante [country], had carried on a steady traffic with the slaves consisting of prisoners taken there [Fanteland]... They had vowed to revenge themselves one day, and the day had come. In 1809, the combined forces of Gomoa, Obutu [Awutu] and other Fante states invaded Akra [Accra]... The invaders (Gomoa and other Fante states) were headed by Okomfo Hene [Chief priest] and Apata Kofi.¹²⁸

When the king of Asante heard of the invasion of Accra and Elmina by the Fante states, he appointed General Opoku Fereferere and Appea Dankwa as the heads of a large army to attack the Awutu, Gomoa, Effutu, and other Fante states that fought against the people of Elmina and Accra. The battle became known as *So Ta* among the Ga.¹²⁹ In 1811, the Asantehene sent two armies down to the coast; one, a force of 25,000 men under Opoku Fereferere was sent to reinforce the men of Accra, and second, a smaller force of only 4,000 strong men, was sent to relieve Elmina under Appea Dankwa. Appea Dankwa's small forces engaged in a battle with the Gomoa Ajumako Asafo and other Fante states' army in a battle at Apam. The battle was a tactical victory for the Asantes, but losses were so heavy that Appea Dankwa dared not to risk another battle against the superior force of Atta Owusu, Akyem Abuakwa

¹²⁸ Reindorf, *History of Gold Coast and Asante*, pp. 142-143.

¹²⁹ However, contending oral version in Gomoa Ajumako referred to this war as Yaa kyea Sa (Yaa Akyaa war) which is disputable. This is because the Yaa AKYaa Sa relates to the invasion of Asante in 1896 by the British forces that led to the exile of Nana Agyeman Prempeh and his mother (Asantehemaa), Yaa Akyaa, among other elders to the Seychelles Island.

chief, who arrived later. Appea Dankwa retired into Asante, losing heavily in rearguard action as he went.¹³⁰

From 1807 to 1874, the people of Asante utilized their victory over the coastal states, especially the Fante states; they suffered the tyranny of the Asante people. The European Governments, when they occasionally interfered, did so in a lukewarm manner. In 1822, Sir Charles McCarthy landed at Cape Coast from Sierra Leone as the Governor for the British possessions in Sierra Leone and Gold Coast. However, the tyranny of the Asantehene, the cruel oppression that the Fantes endured, and the insolence and corruption of the Asantehene's residents in Fante states convinced McCarthy that the only solution to such a condition was war. In 1824, McCarthy brought down a reinforcement of only thirty-five men of the Second West India Regiment, with Asafo of Gomoa, other Fante states, the Denkyera, Wassa, and Assin forces and encamped at a village known as Nsamakow. On 21 January 1824, the allied forces of McCarthy engaged their common enemy, the Asante, but in the end the allied forces were defeated, and Sir Charles McCarthy, the then Governor, was killed.¹³¹

The beginnings of Crown government in the Gold Coast had been singularly inauspicious. The first Governor had been killed at Nsamankow less than two years after arriving on the coast. The next two years were occupied with skirmishes and with perpetual fear of more serious fighting.¹³² Notwithstanding the defeat in 1824, two years later, in 1826, there was another battle which became known as the battle of

¹³⁰ Reindorf, *History of Gold Coast and Asante*, pp. 154-157; Ward, *A History of the Gold Coast*, pp.149-151; Claridge, *A History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti*, pp. 258-265.

¹³¹ Reindorf, *History of Gold Coast and Asante*, pp. 155-190.

¹³² Ward, *A History of the Gold Coast*, p. 189.

Katamanso or Akatamanso. The battle took place on 7 August 1826 at Dodowa.¹³³ For the first time the Asante army was defeated; the Asantehene lost sixty of his war generals, chiefs and captains, but a few of the commanders escaped, including the Asantehene.¹³⁴ However, the Fante states (including Gomoa Ajumako Asafo) did not engage in this battle. Several reasons have been examined to be the reason of Fante's absence in this war. The first reason was the number of warriors lost in the previous wars fought against the Asante army. Second, the battle was not fought on Fanteland. Third, the Ga at the time were enemies of the Fante states. To affirm the Gomoa Ajumako's absence in the battle, Crowther wrote that 'Winneba fought without the aid of the Gomoa at Katamanso, 1826.'¹³⁵

The victory at Akatamanso did not only remove the fear of an Asante conquest but also raised hopes of a speedy and lasting peace. Akatamanso was followed by interminable negotiations, continually endangered by the obstinacy of the Fante and the Ga people of Osu. In 1828, the British Government decided to abandon the coast altogether now that it was possible to do so without appearing to be driven out by the Asante. A warship was then sent to remove the merchants and their property, but the British merchants protested strongly against cutting off their losses just when they were expecting trade to revive. Their protests were supported by the Fante states, including Gomoa Ajumako, who did not approve of being left to face the Asante or the Elmina without the British support.¹³⁶

¹³³ This battle was meant as a punitive measure against the Ga-Adambge, Akwapim, and the Akyem for helping the coalition forces of the Fantes, the Denkyira, Wassa, Assin, and the British in the Battle of Nsamankow.

¹³⁴ Ward, *A History of the Gold Coast*, p. 210.

¹³⁵ First used by F. Crowther, Memorandum: Winneba Stool, 9 January 1914, quoted in Donkor, *The making of an African King*, p.65; The battle was also recorded by Reindorf, *History of Gold Coast and Asante*, pp. 193-201. Reindorf mentioned no Fante states' name in the Akatamanso or Katamanso battle.

¹³⁶ Ward, *A History of the Gold Coast*, p. 189.

The British Government accepted the protest and compromised by handing over the administration to a committee of three London merchants nominated by the British Government in London.¹³⁷ The committee, in turn, appointed a council of merchants drawn from British traders in Cape Coast and Accra to manage the affairs of the forts settlements. The British Government also appointed a young army Captain, George Maclean, President of the Council of Merchants at Cape Coast in early 1830. It must, however, be noted that peace had not been made between the Asante people and the southern states when Maclean was appointed. Maclean realized that there could not be trade and stability without peace. Through persuasion and negotiation, Maclean tried to maintain law and order in the coastal states.¹³⁸

Despite the success of Maclean's activities, the British traders at the coast accused him of his indulgence in slavery and slave trade.¹³⁹ After several investigations by the British Government, Maclean was relieved of his post as the President of the Council of Merchants and made the Judicial Assessor. His duty was to sit in court with Fante chiefs and try cases where Africans alone were concerned, in accordance with the Fante customary law and the principle of British equity.¹⁴⁰ In 1843, the British Government appointed Commander Hill as Lieutenant Governor. Commander Hill arrived in Cape Coast in February 1844. He decided to work with the local chiefs, as Maclean had done. To make the authority that Maclean had exercised legal and given a proper footing, Commander Hill got a number of chiefs to sign a declaration, which subsequently became known as the Bond of 1844, on 6 March. Those who signed

¹³⁷ Ward, *A History of the Gold Coast*, p. 189.

¹³⁸ *Ibid*; see also Amenumey, *Ghana*, pp. 115-118.

¹³⁹ Ward, *A History of the Gold Coast*, p. 193. He stated in his book that 'The limitations on Maclean's authority were imperfectly understood in England. Maclean himself was unlucky enough to attract public attention in England through his marriage with the popular poetess, Leticia London, and through her sudden death very soon after her arrival on the Gold Coast...He was also accused of overharshness in putting down human sacrifice and of slackness in putting down slavery.'

¹⁴⁰ Ward, *A History of the Gold Coast*, p. 193.

were the chiefs of Denkyira, Achora, Assin, Donadie (part of Dominase state), Dominase, Anomabo and Cape Coast.¹⁴¹

Between March and December 1844, the chiefs of Twifo, Ekumfi, Gomoa, Ajumako, Asikuma, Nsaba, Wassa-Amanfi, Wassa Fiase, Dixcove and James Town also signed the declaration. In the declaration, the chiefs agreed to accept the British 'Protectorate'. They accepted human sacrifice and man stealing (panyarring) as unlawful, and they agreed that murder, robbery and other serious crimes should be tried before the officers of the British Government and local chiefs. Nevertheless, the chiefs did not give their lands to the British Government, nor did they bind themselves and their people to become British subjects.¹⁴²

Meanwhile, the numerous military expeditions and dispersions by the followers and descendants of Assan led to founding the following settlements, all prefixed Gomoa: Ajumako, Pomadze, Sraha, Ankamo, Beseadze, Kyibil, Abaasa, Dwikwaa, Ofaso, Takyikwaa, Mprumem, Mampafa, Anansiwafa, Achease, Otsew-Essikuma, Mankessim, Amahia, Essakur, Essikuma, Adanse, Abaasa, Bekwai, Akwamu, Gyaaman, Ekwamkrom, Takyiman, Gyankwamin, Oguaakrom, Manso, Asebu, Kwaa-Atta-Krom, Abrekum, Mankoadze, Otsew, Babianyiha, Obuaponkwaa, Krobo Sardo, Dabayin, Dunkwa, Afranse, Sembrofo, Dahom, Brofoyedur, Ayensuadze, Awusikrom, Lome, Nawa, Assorkodu, Onyaadze, Akorkrom, Mukrum, Awomerew, Akroma-Essikuma, Akwapim, Odumadze, Benso, Asakukudu, Aboso, Amana-Ahyia, Mpota, Nkran, Wassa, Ekroful, Akropong, Obuase, Ankodu, Obodaekrom,

¹⁴¹ Ward, *A History of the Gold Coast*, p. 193.

¹⁴² *Ibid*, p. 194; Amenumey, *Ghana*, pp. 115-118.

Kwasamkrom, Okyekyetu, Otsinkrom, Nyakumase, Somanya, Amanfi, and Abaka Ekyir.¹⁴³

It must, however, be noted that during the first half of the twentieth century, secondary migrations among the inhabitants of some of these established settlements took place, which saw people moving to join other Gomoa Assan-mba Ajumako and Assin state settlements thereby, rendering some settlements deserted for many reasons. These reasons were arable land for farming, proximity to drinking water, proximity to trade routes or centres, or for security. The result of this mass migration saw some of the settlements mentioned above deserted or recreated with different names. Today, there are forty-eight towns and villages all prefixed Gomoa in the Gomoa Ajumako state.¹⁴⁴

In the meantime, assured of British protection or support against the Asante, the undermentioned loyal principal divisions led by able and courageous men who had assisted in the previous wars in the creation and extension of the Gomoa Ajumako state were rewarded for their military or counselling prowess: Abrekum (Adontenhen), Mankoadze (Gyaasehen), Afransi (Nyimfahen), Asebu (Benkumhen) Sraha (Twafohen), Otsew Jukwa (Banmuhen), Manso (Obaatan), Akroful (Dabiwhen), Brofoyedur (Esihen), Asokodu (Nguabason), Nawa (Nguabason), Lome

¹⁴³ PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/635, Gomoa Ajumako settlements, 23 October 1923.

¹⁴⁴ PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/635, A Report on the status of Gomoa Ajumako settlements, 24 August 1926, p. 49. According to Oral tradition, prior to the second half of the nineteenth century, Apata Kofi and his warriors including strongmen of his kindred in Pomadze had fought in an ad hoc Gomoa-Nyarkrom skirmish and that had violated the instructions given to them by the chief priest concerning the usage of the charm. The violation of the taboos of the suman (charm) means disaster, calamity of death hit the warriors and their male sons, particularly at Pomadze. Some of the survivors of this calamity migrated to the neighbouring settlements such as Kyebil, Mankessim, Akwapim, Obuasi, Dahom, Akwamu, Gyaman, Quayekrom (a Gomoa Assin settlement), Akoti (a Gomoa Assin settlement), Otwakwaa (a Gomoa Assin settlement), and others back to their ancestral roots, Gomoa-man-mu for survival. Other school of thought also believe that the Pomadze settlement was hit with a deadly influenza which could kill dozens of people in a day, and that led to the movement of some kindreds of Apata Kofi from Pomadze to other settlement for survival.

(Nguabason), Mankessim (Kyidomhen) and Ankamo (Ankobe), Dahom (Nguabason), Gyaman (Okyeamehen), Ayensuadze (Nguabason), Assorkudu (Nguabason), Ankodu (Nguabason), Ajumako (Counsellor), Otsew-Essikuma (Branhen), Manso (Abaatanhen) and Sraha/Ekwamkrom (Tufuhen). Even though most of the positions assigned to the respective settlements were subject to change, a few of these settlements still hold to the medal of bravery bestowed on their ancestors.¹⁴⁵

There have been contending narratives regarding the leader at the time that rewarded the various settlements within the jurisdictions of Gomoa Ajumako with positions. However, it would have probably taken place between the eighteenth century and the nineteenth century when the Fante states fought in their last encounter with the Asante. Based on chronology and periodization, it seemed certain that Apata Kofi, who lived at the time, rewarded the sub-chiefs with these titles. This was because the sub-chiefs were rewarded with positions according to the role they played in the pre-colonial war formation and its execution; thus, the position was needed in times of war but not when the wars had ended.

2.5.1 Traditional Authority of Gomoa Ajumako in the Pre-Colonial Era

Before the arrival of the Europeans on the shores of Ghana, community life was organized by and revolved around the leaders or heads of the local communities. Among the Akan in the pre-colonial times, the position of a chief was politically, economically and socially necessary in ensuring the well-being of his people. The leaders were invariably individuals who led their people to or rescued them from war, liberated them from domination or slavery, united them against divisive occurrences, saved them from a succession of calamities, or founded the settlements. The leaders

¹⁴⁵ PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/2729, Gomoa Ajumako Divisional chiefs and titles, 17 August 1935.

were men and women who had distinguished themselves by some outstanding or unique achievements in their communities.¹⁴⁶ The Akan political system was made up of series of hierarchical levels of authority from the individual family units through to the Omanhen (paramount chief). At each level, household, compound, village, town, division, and paramountcy, considerable autonomy was given.

Traditional political organization was ultimately based on kinship relations with each family being a political unit whose head, Abusuapayin, represented it in higher councils. Each adult member of the family was encouraged to participate in discussions before any decision that affected the family was taken. The Abusuapayin then put forward at a higher level the decision of the family to probably the Odzikro (village headman) or the Omanhen. Rule was by consensus, although decisions were seen to come, ultimately, from the chief. Among the Akan, a chief did not rule alone but through consultation with elders, queen mothers, and his people.¹⁴⁷

As Rattray put it;

‘...Democracy was again triumphant, though ready to allow autocracy to boast the semblance power...the fact that the stool is[was] always greater than the one who occupies [occupied] it is[was] in itself a check on despotism...’¹⁴⁸

In the pre-colonial period, a chief was someone who, in accordance with customs and traditions, had been nominated, elected or enstooled as a chief or, as the case may be, appointed and installed as such. The communities concerned had the power, without any outside interference, to enstool and destool a chief.¹⁴⁹ The institution was guided by laid-down mechanism with respect to the ascension to the stool and performance

¹⁴⁶ Brobbey, *The Laws of Chieftaincy in Ghana*, pp. 47-51.

¹⁴⁷ PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/2729, Gomoa Ajumako Divisional chiefs and titles, 17 August 1935.

¹⁴⁸ Elizabeth Johnson-Idan, ‘A Power Behind The Stool? The role of the Queen mother in the Gomoa Ajumako Traditional Area’ (B.A diss., Queens’ University of Belfast, 1995) p. 10.

¹⁴⁹ Dankwa, *The institution of Chieftaincy in Ghana*, p. 19.

of functions. The role of the chief during this period was the protection of his subjects either through defensive or offensive means, acquiring more territories through wars of expansion or conquest, and ensuring strong observance of the laid-down rules and regulations. The ascension to the royal stools of Gomoa Ajumako was through matrilineal lineage, as lineages were established by the first brave leaders (usually males) and their siblings, including females, who established settlements in areas that were safe and conducive to human habitation.¹⁵⁰

2.5.2 The Administrative Set-up of the chieftaincy Institution in the Pre-colonial Era

In a large political unit, settler communities may form a state. Depending on the size of the unit under a leader, he could be classified as an Odikro (a village head), Ohen (a ranking chief) or Omanhen (paramount chief). Each of these chiefs had a number of officials who helped him to govern the political unit. While some of these were inherited, others were appointed. Appointments were based on merit, qualities and services rendered to the community. The Nkosohen, Sanaahen, Akyeamehen, Nkonguasofohen, Sumankwaahen, Mawerehen and Nguantuahen are just a few examples. Such chiefs were placed in charge of wards or divisions in the villages or were given specific assignments.¹⁵¹

The administrative set-up was originally military in both character and content. It was aimed at ensuring quick and complete victory in times of war and to offer maximum protection and security to the people, the chief and the territory. In addition, it ensured efficient administration and peace within the community. The typical military formation involved the paramount chief as the Commander-in-Chief or Field Marshal. The paramount chief had Lieutenants with whom he formulated policies to govern the

¹⁵⁰ Dankwa, *The institution of Chieftaincy in Ghana*, p. 19.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid*, pp. 29-37.

state's territories; these were the divisional chiefs, and chiefs who were immediate advisers or counsellors. Besides the divisional chiefs, a paramount chief had other immediate advisers and civil servants all of whom offered advice and helped him to carry out the daily administrative duties. These were the Ankobeafu (Counsellors), Gyasefo (Head of household Staff), Akyeame (Linguists), and Asafohenfo (War Captains). The General of the advance guard was the head of the Adonten division called Adontenhen (originally known as Domsenhen). Within this division was the Twafohen, the Lieutenant of the reconnaissance force. On the right-hand side of the paramount chief was the captain of the Right Wing Division who was the Nyimfahen and at the rearguard in battle was the Kyidomhen (originally known as Nkyidomhen).¹⁵²

Moreover, representing the women at the state council was the Ohemaa (Queen mother). The role of the Ohemaa was complimentary to that of the chief, supporting and giving a broader perspective on women's issues within the society. However, the Ohemaa was not solely concerned with women; she acted as the confidant to the chief as she was one of the few people whose loyalty was absolute. Nevertheless, unlike other Akan states, the position of the Ohemaa in Gomoa Ajumako was renowned only at the divisional and the village levels but not at the paramountcy status. At the paramount level, the Omanhen wielded more power than the Ohemaa.¹⁵³ This was because the Ohemaa's initial role of being the advocates of women was dealt with at the lower divisions. Secondly, the Ohemaa lost her status anytime a court decision went against her family. As a result, the Ohemaa would not occupy her stool for long, hence assisting her to know which 'gates' the next paramount chief would be chosen from. Thirdly, her prerogative role of being one of the main principal kingmakers was

¹⁵² Dankwa, *The institution of Chieftaincy in Ghana*, pp. 29-37.

¹⁵³ Johnson-Idan, *The Stool*, p. 3.

taken over by court adjudications that whosoever won a legal suit for his lineage became the subsequent paramount chief without the say of the Ohemaa. As a result, the Abusuapayin and elders of any of the two disputing families (as examined in the next two chapters of this study) possess the absolute power to elect/nominate a candidate in circumstance of continuous ownership of the stool, as prescribed by the court system.

Among the Gomoa Ajumako people, a chief was elected from a royal matrilineal extended family and enstooled. A nominated chief was presented to the elders and, if accepted, went through the process of installation, which included confinement, sitting on the Black stool in the stool room, choice of stool name, public swearing of oath with the state sword to his subjects, and the swearing of an oath of loyalty to him by his sub-chiefs. The stool was seen as the symbol of the chief's position. It was the primary focus of the whole state's spiritual energy in traditional life.

The Black stool was the channel through which communication with the spiritual world of ancestors travelled from the incumbent chief. However, the incumbent chief was only powerful as long as he was worthy and, if he failed, he could be destooled.¹⁵⁴ The rationale behind the Black stool was never intended to be deities; the evolution of Black stool among the Akan was underlined by the origins of Akan chieftaincy institution and state-building. Before the institution of chieftaincy, the various extended families and settler communities lived independent lives. There was no unified or central authority. But in the course of time, the need for a united action to meet both internal and external aggression and to have someone with leadership qualities, whom most people would resort to for solution of disputes, made it necessary to form social and political associations. Since the basic structure was the

¹⁵⁴ Johnson-Idan, *The Stool*, p. 2.

extended family set-up, when the need arose to form a united front, among other criteria, an original settler or a family head who had shown leadership qualities and had inspired confidence in the society was made the head of the community by the consent of other families. It meant that one family was chosen by the other families within the community to offer leadership to the rest of the family.¹⁵⁵

Therefore, the oath-swearing system was instituted to act as the Social Contract binding the chosen leader, the family offering the chosen leader, and the families forming the community to observe strictly the agreement they have accepted. In effect, to preserve these agreements, special sculptural items became the keepers of the community's records. Thus, the Black stool was developed. In the course of time, several states, including Gomoa Ajumako, gave a mystical origin of their Black stools. Since the Black stool constitutes the memory of the state, in the process of enstooling a chief, the nominated chief was taken to the Stool room where the good deeds of the past chiefs were narrated and prayers offered to him.¹⁵⁶

The idea was to seek for the ancestors' protection, approval as well as reminding the nominated chief to emulate the good deeds of the noble ancestors. Unlike the Asante kingdom, where the nominated chief chooses his name from varieties of past Asantehene, that of Gomoa Ajumako was different. The nominated chief of each of the disputing families had no alternative than to choose the name of their ancestor, that is, either Apata Kofi or Nyarful Krampah. However, the nominated chief reserves the right of choosing any appellation of his choice. Black stools were named after the first progenitor according to the respective families. They believed the stool

¹⁵⁵ Dankwa, *The institution of Chieftaincy in Ghana*, pp. 71-73.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

encapsulated the spirits of the respective ancestors and were venerated as sacred objects. Because of the regard given to stools as sacred, it was hedged by taboos.¹⁵⁷

Using sculptures and ornaments as keeper of memories, the Black stool played an important role as one of the regalia in augmenting one's claim to the ownership to a stool. 'Regalia is an important historical collection of artworks, which bear direct relevance to the governance of the state that a chief inherits, acquires and keeps as a property, and are used by him or his house and other officials'. Regalia reveal evidence of early historical events, trade, religion, belief, social and political organization.¹⁵⁸ That is, regalia is not just a mere artwork worn by a chief through which he differentiates his status from his subjects, but is also a symbol of unity and augments one's claim of legitimacy, birthright or authority.

2.5.3 The Asafo Group

Etymologically, the word 'Asafo' was derived from the indigenous words Asa (wars) and fo (people). The Gomoa Ajumako Asafo played an important part in the political system. As part of the duties of the pre-colonial chief to lead his people to war, there was a close relationship between the chief and the Asafo regarding the planning of strategies for war and its execution. There were four Asafo divisions in Gomoa Ajumako, namely the Kyiremfo, Apagyrafo, Twafo, and Domtsenfo.¹⁵⁹ The Asafo in the pre-colonial political organization played an important role in the establishment of villages, kingdoms and empires. Among the Gomoa Ajumako, the role they played as members and leaders of the Asafo companies earned them the name 'Adwuma ko', meaning 'our work is to fight.'

¹⁵⁷ Larbi, *Asafo*, p. 47.

¹⁵⁸ Larbi, *Regalia and Royal Art*, pp. 275-294.

¹⁵⁹ PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/ 722, Application of Confirmation to the Acting District Commissioner, 26 January 1917.

In contrast with Abusua (family) membership, which was defined by matrilineal descent, membership of the Asafo organization was based on patrilineal affiliation. Both male and female siblings joined their father's Asafo. The reason was that it was the duty of the Mbabayin (children of the male) to protect their father's property. Members of the Asafo have been referred to in historical accounts as an army or fighting men. They were the organized forces on which the security of the state depended. Although members of the Asafo (*Asafomma*) had their occupations, their primary task was that of defence.¹⁶⁰ Gomoa Ajumako did not have a standing army, but rather the *Asafomma* in times of war were drawn from every family unit level. This meant that the *Asafomma* were the able-bodied men of the country because any individual who was deemed fit to protect his/her fatherland was a potential Asafo member.¹⁶¹ As the next chapter discusses, Krampah Payin and Krampah Kuma became Asafohenfo to the Gomoa Ajumako Asafo in the 1860s. Krampah Payin, having proven himself in the period of 'partial interregnum' in Gomoa Ajumako, was called upon to lead Gomoa Ajumako Asafo to the Battle of 1863 at Bobikuma. Krampah Payin died in the battle, but Krampah Kuma did not fight in that battle. He continued with the regency after the death of his father, Apata Kofi. Their main missions in their appointment were to protect their father's property, Gomoa Ajumako state sword and the stool.

The Asafo had a clear and well-structured leadership; at the village and paramountcy levels, the head of all the Asafo companies, including women's wings and a priest, was known as Tufuhen. He represented the Asafo in council and relayed the decisions of the council to the *Asafomma*. He ensured that the decisions taken were executed through the respective *Supifo* (unit heads), *Asafohenfo*, and other leaders.

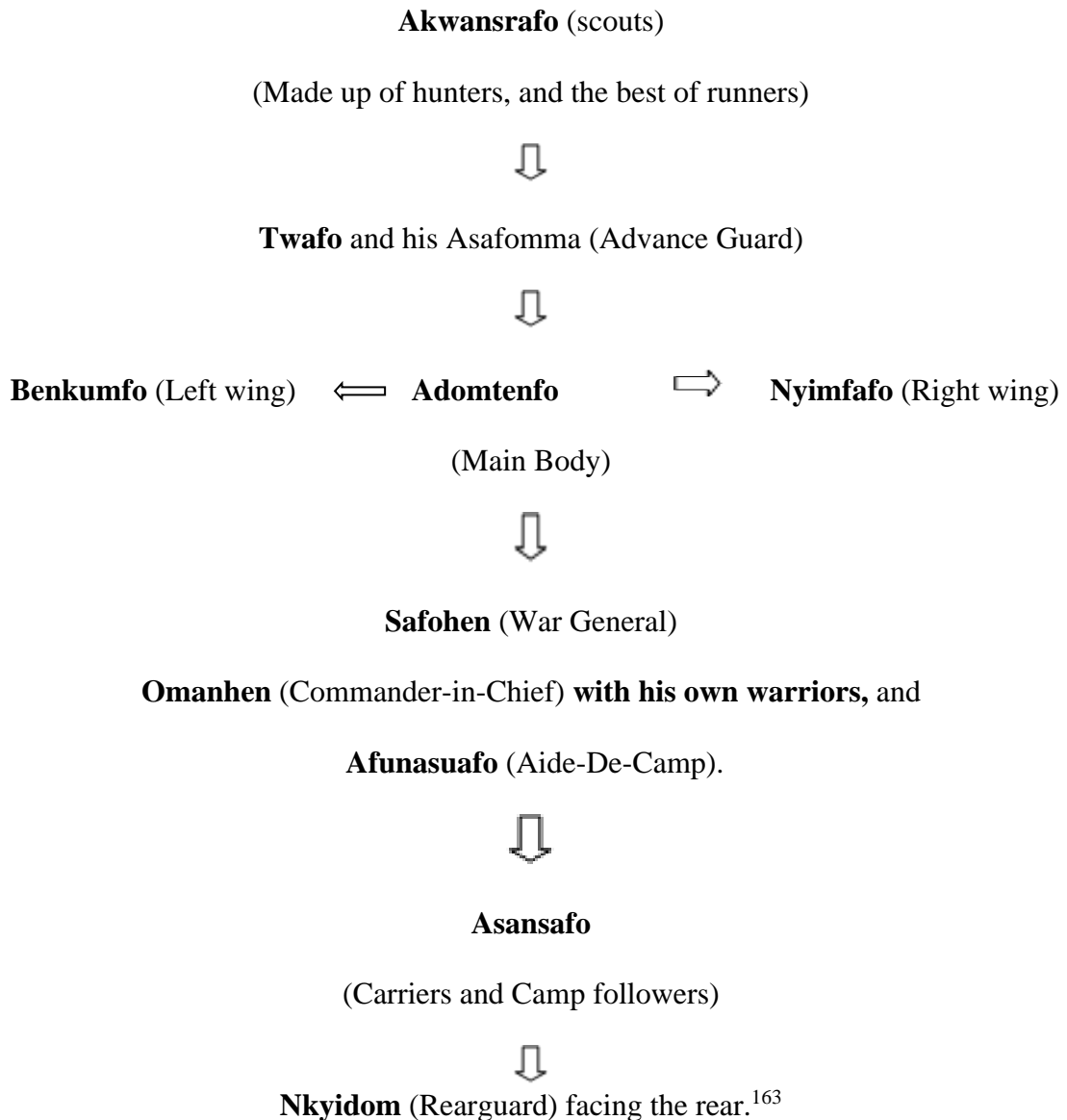
¹⁶⁰ Larbi, *Asafo*, pp. 50-60.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

Occasionally, the Tufuhen was known as Obaatan (meaning nursing mother, compassionate mother) of the company since one of his duties was to ensure peace. After the Supi, were the *Asafohenfo*, who were usually the leaders of the units within the Asafo. In addition, the *Asafoakyerefo* were the heads of the women groups of the Asafo groups. In the pre-colonial period, the *Asafoakyerefo* did not fight in battle but were to make sure the main fighting body was well taken care of in terms of their food and treatment of their wounds. Another unit within the Asafo was the *Asikaamma* (guards of the flag dancers). Its leader was known as the *Asikammahen*. It was considered an abominable and unpardonable act to lose the flag of Gomoa Ajumako to any enemy in war as this signified defeat; hence the special group of people to protect the flag.¹⁶²

¹⁶² Larbi, *Asafo*, pp. 50-60.

2.5.4 The Gomoa Ajumako's War Formation in the Pre-Colonial Period



2.6 The Chieftaincy Institution in the Colonial Era

A chief in the colonial period was a person who had been elected and installed in accordance with native laws and recognized by the Governor. What this meant was that, in some instances, the British interest/law came first; thus, the native socio-political practices governing the chieftaincy institution in Gomoa Ajumako were sidelined for the British law to prevail. The advent of British colonial rule heralded by the Bond of 1844 signed between some coastal chiefs of the Gold Coast, including

¹⁶³ Interview with Abusuapayin Acquah of Gomoa Pomadze on 30 November 2018.

the then Omanhen of Gomoa Assin, King Ortabil (further details of roles played by King Ortabil are discussed in chapter three of this thesis), and Britain began the process that reduced the traditional powers of chiefs and the gradual incorporation of chiefs into the colonial mode of governance.¹⁶⁴ The advent of colonial rule did not change the status of chiefs but reduced them to some level. The indigenous political institutions were allowed to exist so long as they conducted themselves to facilitate the governments of the British.¹⁶⁵

The political power declared by the British authority during the colonial era included recognition or rejection of chiefs through the Gazette system, mobilization of revenue from the local people, adjudication of cases brought before them, and the protection of subjects and the territories of the recognized chiefs.¹⁶⁶ Unlike other states such as the Guan communities where the chieftaincy institution was not known to them and the British had to create Native Authorities, the Akan knew of chieftaincy institution.¹⁶⁷ The roles of chiefs during the pre-colonial period differed from the roles of chiefs during the colonial period. The roles of chiefs during the colonial period were to protect their lands and people, implement the colonial government's policies, adjudicate certain cases prescribed by British ordinances, and do the collection of taxes.¹⁶⁸

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the authority of local rulers in the coastal areas began to decline substantially. In the nineteenth century, the British authority began to increase in many of the coastal settlements as these locations became

¹⁶⁴ Amenumey, *Ghana*, p. 115.

¹⁶⁵ Brobbey, *Laws of Chieftaincy in Ghana*, p. 3.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ Native Authority was the tax and other resources mobilization chief established by the British during their indirect rule system in the early 20th century.

¹⁶⁸ Amenumey, *Ghana*, p. 115.

important centres of resistance to Asante's southward expansion. The British Government invariably had to acquire more administrative and judicial control in order to organize military expeditions to counter this threat. Brodie Cruickshank, a British merchant, who wrote about his long period of residence on the coast from 1834 to 1852, recognized 'how much this supervision had tended to lessen the consequence of the chiefs'.¹⁶⁹

In addition, the emergence of what British officials described as a 'class of educated natives' played an important role in undermining the power of Amanhen and other authority figures of the native states, or traditional order, as it came to be described. The former sometimes challenged the authority of already weakened traditional rulers. More ironically, at times, they also contributed to the decline in traditional authority by seeking to use native institutions in their opposition to British policies that they believed ran counter to local interests. The struggles that followed invariably resulted in further weakening what little effectiveness such institutions possessed. Finally, the government's policy of promoting indirect rule as much as possible seemed designed to undermine traditional authority all over the colony. Indeed, it seemed self-evident to many colonial officials that within a short space of time, the remnants of what the colony's Acting Queen's Advocate, William Brandford Griffith Junior, described as the 'tottering and uncertain power of the chiefs would shortly vanish from all over the colony, and we shall rule through the District Commissioners as on the coast.'¹⁷⁰

Uncontrolled outbreak of violent rioting in the Gold Coast colony during the last decades of the nineteenth century was one indication of the declining power of chiefs in

¹⁶⁹ Gocking, *Invention of Tradition*, pp. 421-446.

¹⁷⁰ Gocking, *Invention of Tradition*, p. 426

the Gold Coast. The long interregnums in the history of individual stools during this period were evidence of how much the native order had lost its attractiveness.¹⁷¹ The Fante phrase, '*Yerekokyir Ohen*', which literally means we are going to force chieftaincy title on a royal, confirms the unattractiveness of the institution at the time. Thus, potential candidates for the positions of a chief were coerced into accepting the positions. However, it was never based on freewill because of the reduced power of chiefs. The unattractive nature of the indigenous chieftaincy institution during this period saw some royals run away from their birthright to succeed their ancestors. Reflecting back on this period for the entire coastal area, an editor of the Accra newspaper, '*The Gold Coast Independent*', on 23 April 1932, maintained that:

'Particularly amongst "eligibles" who were educated or Christianized, when vacancies occurred on stools ... [they] turned their backs on their rightful heritage and fled as if for their lives from their native town or states ... rather than assume or succeed to the dignities of such positions.'¹⁷²

Nevertheless, a political development was to trigger an untouched past which would develop into an unending power struggle. Following the success of the indirect rule system introduced in Nigeria by Lord Lugard, it was extended to the Gold Coast colony. At the turn of the nineteenth century, however, officials came to realize that they needed the cooperation of the natives. In order to carry out the basic, sanitary measures, the British depended on the cooperation of some local authority figures. Even more immediately, the difficulty that officials experienced in getting porters to carry supplies into the interior, when war broke out with the Asante in 1895, acutely underscored the need for local authority figures in the Crown Colony.¹⁷³

¹⁷¹ Gocking, *Invention of Tradition*, p. 426

¹⁷² Quoted in Gocking, *Invention of Tradition*, p. 426.

¹⁷³ See PRAAD/C, SNA 1 /11/ 108, The Cape Coast Divisional Court, 1 March 1897, and PRAAD/A, ADM I I/1086. Quoted in Gocking, *Invention of Tradition*, p. 443. As an indication of this, both in Cape Coast and in Accra, local officials prosecuted the paramount rulers of these towns for failing to supply

With the emergence of the Indirect Rule system in the Gold Coast, the policy supported and emphasized the position of the paramount chiefs, while at the same time making them (paramount chiefs) realize their responsibilities as the only practical means of governing this country.¹⁷⁴ Most important of this approach was the 1910 Native Jurisdiction Amendment Bill, which extended courts controlled by chiefs to the entire colony. Hitherto, the 1883, 1887, 1894, and 1907 Native Jurisdiction Ordinances, including the Native Affairs Ordinance, and the Chiefs Ordinance of 1902 and 1904 respectively, had already set the pace for massive boost in the process of making the chieftaincy institution in the Gold Coast colony attractive.¹⁷⁵

The creation of Native Authorities gave chiefs some powers: chiefs adjudicated on a limited range of criminal and civil matters and imposed fines on guilty parties. Native authorities became organs of local government to which Native Courts were attached. They employed their own police force and even operated local jails. The native courts were run in accordance with what was understood to be customary law and were presided over by chiefs and their councillors. The subjugation of the chief's powers and the co-optation of the chief's courts into the colonial administration went hand in hand with the establishment of British courts in the Gold Coast.¹⁷⁶ However, these local political units were abused by some chiefs to the extent that many local people preferred the colonial courts to the Native Courts. In 1904, the Chieftaincy Ordinance

carriers for the Asante war of 1895-96. In both cases, however, these prosecutions failed, since the Supreme Court Judges who heard appeals from lower courts recognized that the government's policy of indirect rule had so weakened the chiefs that they lacked the power to supply carriers, even if they wanted to.

¹⁷⁴ Robert Addo-Fening, *Ghana Under Colonial Rule: An Outline of the Early Period and the Inter-war Years*, *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, New Series, No.15, Articles from the Historical Society of Ghana's seminars and conferences 2007-2012 (2013), p. 56. Accessed on 2 August 2017, <http://www.jstore.org/stable/43855011>.

¹⁷⁵ Kimble, *Political History of Ghana*, pp. 460-468.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

which succeeded the 1883 Ordinance made the Governor, and not the people, the final arbiter of the validity of an election or destoolment of a chief.¹⁷⁷

Finalizing it all was the 1910 Native Jurisdiction Bill that defined the jurisdiction of Native Tribunals, established the fees and fines that they could charge, provided machinery for enforcing their judgements, and made it obligatory that these courts keep a written record of their judgements. The central government was mostly interested in the smooth functioning of the native state's judicial machinery and the resolution of disputes among its members. Like the original 1883 Native Jurisdiction Bill, the amended 1910 Ordinance gave the chiefs the power to make bye-laws that would promote peace, good order, and welfare of the people of their division.¹⁷⁸ In addition, paramount chiefs were given stipends to influence their reactions towards the acceptance and implementations of the Colonial government's policies.¹⁷⁹

Nevertheless, during the governorship of Sir Hugh Clifford (1912-19), it was clear that the importance of the native order was going to increase. His long experience in some of Britain's far East colonies had made him an enthusiastic advocate of indirect rule, and in spite of the dislocations caused by World War I, in 1916, he gave three of Gold Coast colony's chiefs seats on his expanded Legislative Council. By the end of his administration, he was planning fundamental changes in the 1910 Native Jurisdiction Bill. In these places, however, those who sought to benefit from this change in colonial policy could take advantage of the attenuated condition of the native order to convince officials of their legitimacy and manipulate traditional institutions to suit their own purposes. No one really knew what had existed in the

¹⁷⁷ A. Alhassan, *The Judicial Process in the Houses of Chiefs in Ghana*. (Unpublished) PhD thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Ghana, Accra.2010), p. 62.

¹⁷⁸ Native Jurisdiction Ordinance 1900, chapter 5. Quoted in Gocking, *Invention of Tradition*, p. 432.

¹⁷⁹ Kimble, *Political History of Ghana*, p. 460.

past, nor did aspirants for office to face well-established rulers who could have challenged their novel interpretations of how traditional institutions were supposed to function and who were their proper representatives.¹⁸⁰

Based on the provisions of the Native Jurisdiction Bill, certain towns and villages were amalgamated, with one of them raised to the status of a paramountcy or supreme ruler, not considering their history. Based on these contexts, the long-awaited demand for independence by the substantive Amanhen of the Gomoa Ajumako, Awutu Beraku and the Effutu states were ‘officially’ recognized as independent states from Gomoa Assin state in 1926. Unlike other ‘new’ independent states of Effutu and Awutu, Gomoa Ajumako was the only state with Gomoa origin.¹⁸¹

Under the indirect rule system, the power of chieftaincy institution in Gomoa Ajumako, like many states in the Gold Coast colony, started to lose its power and influence on their people. Under this system of government, mostly for logistic reasons, the colonial administration decided to rule the colony and the protectorate indirectly through their native political institutions, the chiefs. Through a series of ordinances, the colonial administration constituted the chief and his elders as the local authority, and formulated their power to establish treasuries, appointed staff and performed local government functions.¹⁸²

Significantly, under the indirect rule, the democratic ideals underlying chieftaincy in the Gold Coast that made chiefs accountable to their people began to suffer as the recognition by the central government was more crucial to the chief than the support

¹⁸⁰ Gocking, *Invention of tradition*, pp. 426-433; PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/722, Secretary of Native Affairs’ Reports (S.N.A), 30 July 1906, pp. 12, 15 &70; see also PRAAD/A, ADM 11/1/1691. The Claim of Gomoa Assanba-Ajumako, Effutu, and Awutu Beraku to be Independent of Gomoa Assin, 5 October 1922.

¹⁸¹ PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/722, Secretary of Native Affairs’ Reports (S.N.A), 30 July 1906, pp. 12, 15 &70; see also PRAAD/A, ADM 11/1/1691. The Claim of Gomoa Assanba-Ajumako, Effutu, and Awutu Beraku to be Independent of Gomoa Assin, 5 October 1922; Gocking, *Invention of Tradition*, p. 440.

¹⁸² Addo-Fening, *Colonial Rule*, pp. 56-57.

of his people. Local governance, through chiefs during the colonial period, came under attack from the nationalists of the Gold Coast. It was considered undemocratic because of its limited and unpopular base, limited as it was to the chief and his elders who were increasingly unaccountable to their people. Secondly, there was hardly any distinction between the personal funds of the chiefs and the monies of the local authority. In addition, the chief's local staffing was extremely weak as educated nationalists were by-passed; corruption and inefficiency and the picture of local government through the chief in colonial Gold Coast was complete. The roles played by the educated elites were described by the colonial administrator, Ussher, in the following words:

‘...a small class of discontent and semi-educated blacks whose activities, in his estimation had been...to persuade the ignorant, impressionable, and childlike Fantes that the time has come to govern themselves and to throw off our rule, retaining us here as advisers only...’¹⁸³

Thus, the administrative reforms to prepare the Gold coast Colony for self-government started with a new local government system under the local Government Ordinance of 1951; the chief's participation in local administration was reduced to one-third. The chiefs' association with the colonial regime and opposition political parties was another source of explanation for their loss of influence. They were largely seen to have backed the wrong horse. As Nkrumah sought to consolidate the power of the centre as against devaluation and local initiative, he abolished altogether the one-third membership reserved for the traditional authorities under the 1951 Ordinance with pretence as undemocratic.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸³ Vincent N. Okyere, *Ghana: A Historical Survey* (Cape Coast: Catholic Press, 2000), p. 80.

¹⁸⁴ Rathbone, *Nkrumah*, pp. 48-58.

2.7 Social Organizations by the People of Gomoa Ajumako

2.7.1 Status of Children

The major motive behind marriage was to give birth to children who would preserve the heritage and the name of the family so that the family did not diminish or disappear. Barrenness and sterility were considered a threat to the continuity of human life and existence. Children were so important that in traditional life, the inability to bear children suffers humiliation and, sometimes, ridicule or abuse.¹⁸⁵ The Akan ethnic groups of which Gomoa Ajumako is part practised the matrilineal descent of inheritance and succession to office. Membership of the Abusua was through the matrilineal descent.¹⁸⁶ The name given to nephews or nieces was ‘*Awofa Ase*’ which literally means ‘the Uncle’s descendants’. The people of Gomoa Ajumako, like the other Akan counterparts, claimed to have migrated from the Old Ghana Empire, and hence practised the matrilineal system of succession. The matrilineal system of Akan was such that succession to ownership and control of family’s property was passed on to the deceased’s younger brother (if the deceased was a man) or to the younger sister (if the deceased was a woman). In exceptional cases where there was no younger brother(s) or sister(s), a nephew (if the deceased was a man) or a niece (if the deceased was a woman) became the automatic successor to own and control the family’s property. Al-Bakri, in his records on the matrilineal mode of succession among the people of Old Ghana Empire, stated:

‘This is [was] their custom and habit that the Kingdom is [was] inherited only by the son of the King’s sister’. The King has [had] no doubt that his successor is [was] a son of his sister, while he is [was] not certain that his son is [was] in fact his own, and he does [did] not rely on the genuineness of his relationship’¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁵ Gyekye, *African Cultural Values*, p. 76.

¹⁸⁶ Johnson-Idan, *The Stool*, p. 9.

¹⁸⁷ Al Bakri. Quoted in F.K. Buah, *A history of West Africa from AD 1000* (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Publishers Ltd., 1986), p. 10.

In other words, a child might not be the true son of his father. This meant that a son or a daughter could not inherit his/her father's property neither could he/she succeed his/her father as the next ruler or chief. Nevertheless, they were given positions, especially in the chieftaincy circle, whose role was to protect the properties of their fathers. An Akan adage 'When a child knows how to wash his hands, he eats with the elders' illustrates that, in some exceptional cases, some children proved themselves beyond reasonable doubt in warfare, in adjudicating of cases, among others, that they were made temporary heirs or caretakers of the stool and properties of their fathers. Children (mbabayin) of royals in Gomoa Ajumako even though were not part of the father's family, yet, they had a duty of protecting their fathers' assets such as the family stool. That was why Krampah Payin and Krampah Kuma, based on the inferiority in the ages of their father's (Apatha Kofi) lineage, were made caretakers of Gomoa Ajumako stool.

Moreover, nephews and nieces born to a non-Akan father that practised the patrilineal form of succession such as Ewe, Ga, Guan, Dagomba were not qualified to succeed or control any property of their uncle(s) [mother's brother] in Gomoa Ajumako because they belonged to the father's lineage. In addition, children born by an Akan mother or non-Akan mother to a Gomoa Ajumako man were also not entitled to succeed their Gomoa father because they did not belong to their father's lineage.¹⁸⁸

Nevertheless, bravery and the skills to perform special assignments amongst the Akan people were believed to be qualities passed on from the father to the children. It was, therefore, the belief that the father's soul (Agya sumsum) which a person inherited helped him to perform creditably in special assignments. A brave man gave birth to a brave son; it was only some exceptional cases that proved otherwise. To the Gomoa

¹⁸⁸ Interview with Nana Kwabena Otanhun, Nguantuahen of Gomoa Pomadze, on 12 October 2018.

Ajumako people, *Agya sumsum* was the genetic characteristics which showed the paternal group one belonged to. Likewise, *Abusua* or clan was passed on from a female and could not be transferred by the male; *Agya sumsum* was passed on through the male and could not be transferred by the female. Akans believed that the very life of a person was passed on from the father to the children. The woman on her own could not conceive and bear a child unless she met a man. They, therefore, believed that the soul of the father descended from father to child; accordingly, the taboo of the father was the taboo of the son. *Agya sum sum* of Gomoa Ajumako people had three divisions: *Ahenewa*, *Abraw*, and *Enyado*. The *Agya sumsum* of the Gomoa Ajumako people were revealed in the responses to greetings.¹⁸⁹ The responses also revealed the status of the person greeting; for instance, if the response was *Ahenewa*, it meant that person's father was of royal status.

2.7.2 Totems

At Tekyiman, the Akan ethnic groups, particularly Fante, developed seven different clans (*Abusua*) with different totemic animals (*Akyeneboa*) with their appellations and accolades which were used as a means of identifying one clan from another in order to prevent certain taboos such as incest. The *Akyeneboa* was the incarnation of the *obosom* or deity of the clan. It was revered by the members of the clan and regarded as their friend and protector in times of need. The clan people identified themselves with the behaviour of their totems and were represented by its image. At every ceremonious meeting of Fante chiefs, it figured on the staffs of their linguist (*Okyeame*). The clans were barred from killing or using any part of their totemic animal for rituals or domestic purposes. It was a taboo because to do so reminded them of the death of their totem. However, the people of a clan did not regard

¹⁸⁹ J.B. Crayner, *Yeehyiahyia oo!* (Tema: Press of the Ghana Publishing Corporation, 1988), p. 34.

themselves as descendants of their totem.¹⁹⁰ The clans of the people of Gomoa Ajumako were Nsona, Aboradze, Anona, Takyina, Weoko, Twidan, and Agona.

The two disputing families affiliated themselves to the 'Twidan clan'. This was because Apata Kofi's children with the Krobo woman (non-Akan) appropriated tradition by way of affiliating themselves to their father's Abusua, which in terms of Gomoa Ajumako principles of inheritance ought not to be. Their mother was a non-Akan, but the father was an Akan, therefore, they were not qualified to align themselves with any of the sides (both patrilineal and matrilineal). The best solution to this neutrality then was to create their own clan out of Apata Kofi's clan, *Twidan Odandan*. Upon the assumption of caretakers role, the Krampahs' version of Twidan in Gomoa Ajumako became a subset of Apata Kofi's Twidan, but for a short period. Twidan is the original name of the clan, 'Twi-dan', literally translated as the 'assimilated tigers.' Because of the dynamic nature of the leopard, the accolade of the clan became *Odandan* (the unpredictable).¹⁹¹ Because of the characteristics of the tiger, the clan is sometimes known as *Twidan Odandan*.

2.8 Conclusion

Gomoa Ajumako forms part of Gomoa language unit and part of the larger Fante ethnic group that migrated from Tekyiman to Mankessim, to Gomoa-Man-mu, and then to their present locations. Nevertheless, the traditions of origin of Gomoa Ajumako mentioned several events in which other ethnic states participated. This chapter was built on contextualizing major events in Gomoa Ajumako histories, especially warfare. Contextualizing the events helped in giving approximate periods within which the events took place and chronologically helped to understand the

¹⁹⁰ Eva L. R. Meyerowitz, *The Akan of Ghana: Their Ancient beliefs* (London: Red Candle Press.1958), p. 56.

¹⁹¹ Crayner, *Yeephyahyia*, pp. 34-71.

social, economic and political situations within which Gomoa Ajumako was established.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ROLE OF THE NYARFUL KRAMPAH'S LINEAGE IN THE ANGLO-ASANTE WAR OF 1863 AT BOBIKUMA AND THEIR ASCENDANCY TO THE REGENCY OF GOMOA AJUMAKO PARAMOUNT STOOL

3.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the conditions under which the political contestation in Gomoa Ajumako started. The competition between the two disputing families is also a struggle between competing principles of succession. With reference to chapter two that gives the historical description of how Gomoa Ajumako was founded and the social principles as well as administrative set-up, this chapter further elaborates on how pre-colonial and colonial political situations contributed to the emergence of the dispute.

3.2 The Emergence of the Nyarful Krampah's Lineage

The second half of the nineteenth century began peacefully compared to the sorrowful situation of the first half. At the close of the year 1862, Gold Coast was in a condition of prosperity that it had never reached before. Interior disturbances had ended with the termination of the Krobo rebellion over poll tax; the Asante were on most friendly terms with the colonial government and the protected ethnic groups. The Fante states were also on good terms with one another; their relations with the neighbouring states and Asante were friendly, and the whole country was in a very prosperous condition. The outlook was confidently looking forward to a time of general peace and prosperity.¹⁹² Nevertheless, the peace did not last for long. Kwesi Gyani, an Asante chief, had broken the laws of his land and, in turn, disrespected the orders of his

¹⁹² Claridge, *A History of Gold Coast and Ashanti*, pp. 501-502.

overlord, the Asantehene. He had been charged with appropriating to his own use, contrary to the laws of his kingdom, certain nuggets of gold that he had found. He was summoned to Kumase by the Asantehene Osei Kwaku Duah to answer the charge; but being, perhaps, conscious of guilt, he, after at first feigning compliance, fled from his kingdom to the Fante states. In the Fante country, the British agreed to harbour him (Kwasi Gyani) and one other runaway slave boy who also escaped from his master in the same kingdom.¹⁹³

Early in December 1862, the Asantehene dispatched ambassadors of high rank to make a formal demand for the return of the two fugitives. Among them was the bearer of the Golden axe, showing that the matter was regarded as one of more than ordinary importance. At Cape Coast, an enquiry was held in the Castle Hall at which the slave boy complained that he had been ill-treated by his master, and that having sworn the Asantehene's oath that he would not return to Asante, he would certainly forfeit his head if sent back. Gyani also protested that he was innocent of the charge proffered against him and asserted that it had been made solely because he was a rich man, and that the Asantehene had invented this excuse to ruin him and confiscate his property. For fear of the lives of the two refugees, the British officers and the Fante chiefs denied the Asantehene's demand.¹⁹⁴ To affirm this, the Home Government and the Duke of Newcastle wrote:

‘I entirely approve of your having refused to surrender to the king of Ashanti [Asantehene] the old boy [Kwesi Gyani] and the boy [runaway slave] who had been brought to the British territory. No person once brought within the limits of a British possession can be then seized and handed over to a foreign power except with the sanction of the law of the colony: and no law should authorize such delivery to the

¹⁹³ Claridge, *A History of Gold Coast and Ashanti*, pp. 501-502.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 506.

authorities of country in which justice is not fairly administered, except in the case of heinous crimes.’¹⁹⁵

The refusal to hand over to the high-ranking Asante ambassadors the two fugitives meant war; the main body of the Asante army numbering twenty thousand under Owusu Kokor followed and marched on the east of Fante, through Akyem.¹⁹⁶ In the meantime, Gomoa Ajumako Asafo also prepared towards the battle. The aged-warrior and hunter, Apata Kofi, after his numerous warfare, had been weakened by old age and thus could not go to war. Hitherto, a calamity of concentrated death hit his kindred in Gomoa Pomadze. Some oral traditions have referred to the Gold Coast influenza of 1918-1919 as that deadly epidemic. However, these concentrated deaths occurred before 1918, which made their assertion inaccurate.¹⁹⁷ As a result, in the old age of Apata Kofi, his successors were all inferiors in age and were deemed not capable of leading the Asafo, taking into consideration the political upheavals at the time. In this period of ‘partial interregnum,’ Apata Kofi and the elders of Gomoa Assan-mba Ajumako met and decided that since Apata Kofi’s maternal descendants of Pomadze were minors (being young), Krampah Payin should be invited by the Oman to lead the Gomoa Ajumako Asafo to the war.¹⁹⁸

Prior to his selection, Krampah Payin had distinguished himself in minor wars with the neighbouring states and thus had served the state well. Based on this background, Krampah Payin was made an interim caretaker of the state sword until the minors of the Apata Kofi’s lineage attained the age of maturity according to the customs and

¹⁹⁵ Claridge, *A History of Gold Coast and Ashanti*, p. 510.

¹⁹⁶ A.B. Ellis, *A History of Gold Coast of West Africa* (London: Curzon Press Ltd, 1971), p. 227.

¹⁹⁷ For more details on the Gold Coast Influenza, see K.David Patterson, ‘Influenza Epidemic of 1918-1919 in the Gold Coast’ in *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, New Series, No. 1 (Vol. 16. No. 2). Published by: Historical Society of Ghana. (1995).Stable URL: <https://www.jstore.org/stable/41406618>. Accessed: 29-05-2020

¹⁹⁸ PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/729, The Transfer of the state sword to Nyarful Krampah, 30 October 1928, pp. 1 & 8; PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/722, Nyarful Krampah descendants of Krobo origin, 2 January 1932,34, pp. 35 &38; PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/2729, Enquiry on the Gomoa Ajumako dispute, 30 October, 1928, p. 222.

traditions of Gomoa Ajumako.¹⁹⁹ According to Brobbey, ‘people ascended to the stool by circumstances that properly should be described as caretakership. This came in several ways. One occurred where the right line to succession to the stool in the matrilineal system had no male child (including minors) or no distant relative was around to be entrusted with affairs of the state.’²⁰⁰ On ascension of the stool, such people worked in the interests of the family and shared in the family’s success and prosperity.²⁰¹

Like the Afenakwa of old Adanse kingdom, Abankamdwa and the Sasatia of Denkyira, and the Sikadwa Kofi of Asante, the oral tradition of Gomoa Ajumako gave accounts of a magical or mystical origin of the state stool and sword which were used by Obaatan Gomoa and Safohen Assan of Gomoa state during their exodus from Mankessim. With the appearance of the mystical state sword, *Akofena*, it became an accepted practice that whoever had custody of it became the leader of the Gomoa Ajumako in times of war. Its custody was passed down from brother to brother or from uncle to nephew in the absence of a biological brother. Thus, *Akofena* came to symbolize unity and power.²⁰² At this exceptional situation of minorship in Apata Kofi’s maternal lineage, the state sword was passed down from Apata Kofi to his son, Nyarful Krampah Payin, to enable him to lead the Asafo to the war.

According to Larbi, there had been a vibrant socio-cultural borrowing from some ethnic groups among a number of neighbouring states since the eighteenth century or probably earlier. Reorganization of traditional political structures led to copying and

¹⁹⁹ Reports by the Committee of Enquiry established by the Cape Coast High Court.

²⁰⁰ Brobbey, *The Laws of Chieftaincy in Ghana*, pp. 114-115.

²⁰¹ C.H.Armitage, Commissioner for the Southern District of Asante, quoted in Austin, *Ghana*, p. 117.

²⁰² Kofi Darkwa, ‘Antecedents of Asante culture’. In *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, New Series, No. 3 (1999), pp. 57-79. Historical Society of Ghana. Accessed: 03-11-2015 11:37 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41406650>, p. 62.

adaptations of regalia from other communities. Regalia, including Gomoa Ajumako state sword, represents a collection of historically and culturally significant royal art works used in adornment, installation or governance which fall within the traditional norms of artistic production and critique.²⁰³

Meanwhile, during this period, almost the whole of the troops of the Gold Coast corps and the small detachments of the second and third Indian Regiments were stationed in the eastern district of the Protectorate - Accra, Prampram, Kwantanan, and Kpong. These troops were to effect the settlement of the fine which had been imposed upon the Krobo for their rebellion of 1858 over the Poll Tax. From these stations, they were withdrawn as soon as the news of the invasion reached the Governor and a detachment of second and third West Indian Regiments arrived from Lagos. The Fante states also came forward in considerable numbers to offer services to the British; they were formed into two bodies, the Asafo of Agona and the Gomoa being encamped at Esikuma and Bobikuma, whereas the Asafo of Denkyira, Abora, Assin, Cape Coast and Anomabo encamped at Assin Manso.²⁰⁴

Before 19 April 1863, Gomoa Ajumako, Gomoa Assin, Efua Ajumako, and Enyan Asafo together with the Agona Asafo were defeated at Esikuma after a six-hour engagement. The regular troops were now pushed to the front to check a further advance. On 19 April, four hundred forces under Major Cochrane, Gold Coast corps, with seventy Cape Coast volunteers marched to Mankessim. Here they remained for ten days and then proceeded to Bobikuma where a large Asafo of Gomoa (both Assin and Ajumako), Efua Ajumako, Enyan, and Agona had been collected. On 10 May, the Asante army advanced to the camp of the allies. Slight skirmishes took place between

²⁰³ Amoah Larbi, *Regalia*. pp. 275-276

²⁰⁴ Ellis, *Gold Coast*, pp. 227-228.

them, but the coalition scouts of Gomoa, Efua Ajumako, Enyan, and Agona were killed. A general engagement was expected for the next day and there was a reasonable prospect of victory, as the coalition force contingents at Bobikuma numbered nearly twenty thousand men. However, to the astonishment and indignation of the entire force, both regular and native forces of the Fante states, Major Cochrane issued orders for the whole of the former and the greater portion of the latter to retire to the village of Adijuma. This retrograde movement was carried out on the next day, while Major Cochrane himself proceeded to Mumford.²⁰⁵

On 12 May, the Asante forces in a three-hour engagement attacked the coalition forces left at Bobikuma and Esikuma. The allied forces of Gomoa, Efua Ajumako, Enyan, and Agona were completely routed and many lives were lost. The town of Bobikuma, the village of Esikuma and thirty other neighbouring communities of Bobikuma were attacked and burnt into ashes. During this unexpected invasion, Nana Oguan Eku, Omanhen of Gomoa Assin, and Safohen Bentsil of Dwoma Akyemfo (Mumford) survived, but Krampah Payin, the Safohen of Apata Kofi of Gomoa Ajumako, was killed on this day, which was Tuesday. The Asafo brought his corpse back home to Gomoa Ajumako village and buried him in a place called *Mpetekyin*.²⁰⁶ Thereafter, his father, Apata Kofi, made a horn to be blown as '*Okatekyi Koko Tor*' (valiant one, fight until you perish). The day of his death was named after him as 'Krampah Benada' because he was killed on Tuesday. That incident later became one

²⁰⁵ Ellis, *Gold Coast*, pp. 227-228; See also Claridge, *A History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti*, pp. 515-520.

²⁰⁶ PRAAD/A, ADM 11/1/ 1691, Report on Gomoa. 30 October 1922.; See also Irish University Press series of British Parliamentary Papers: Papers concerning Gold Coast and Surrounding Districts, 1850-1873. Colonies, Africa. Series No. 57. Petition by King Aggrey of Gold Coast and related government documents. (Shannon, 1867) Enclosure in No. 17, 24 March 1866-This source confirms Safohen Bentsil's engagement in 1863 war. (Henceforth, Enclosure in No. 17, Aggrey's Petition, 24 March 1866)

of the oaths of Gomoa Ajumako and the Asafo Group.²⁰⁷ There has been a contradicting version on the result of the Bobikuma war and the day Krampah Payin died. Whereas the records of European writers documented that the coalition forces lost the battle to the Asante forces, an invented oral tradition of the Nyarful Krampah's lineage claims otherwise. Moreover, the day Krampah Payin died had become a major focus on which the two sacred oaths of Gomoa Ajumako stood [The chapter four of this study examines the contest over the State Oaths into details].

While these operations had taken place in the eastern frontier of the Fante states, the large allied forces of Denkyira, Abora, Assin, Cape Coast and Anomabo at Assin Manso had quite remained inactive, though if they had properly handled the allied forces well, it could have defeated the invading forces of the Asante. The Governor, who showed the greatest activity, soon succeeded in collecting the second allied forces at Efuwa Ajumako.²⁰⁸ In the preparation for the second battle in 1863, Krampah Kumah, the younger brother of the deceased Safohen of Gomoa Ajumako, Krampah Payin, was also invited by the elders of Gomoa Ajumako to lead the Gomoa Ajumako Asafo. However, the Asante forces, led by Owusu Kokor, decided to defer further operations until the next dry season for the rains were now approaching. Being fully aware of the disastrous effects of keeping the field at such a time, Owusu Kokor sent most of his men back to their homes, leaving only a few detachments encamped in towns on the main route to Kumase. Thus, the Fante states disgracefully lost the campaign of 1863.²⁰⁹

To affirm this defeat, Ellis wrote in his contemporary account that:

²⁰⁷ Festival brochure, *Gomoa Ajumako Akwambo kese*, Gomoa Ajumako Village. December 2015, pp. 2-5.

²⁰⁸ Ellis, *Gold Coast*, p. 229.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid*, p. 230.

‘...Through mismanagement, to use no harsher term, the Ashantis [Asantes] had been allowed to attack the allies in detail and win two battles, and to remain for over eighty days in one of the most fertile districts of the Protectorate, burning, ravaging, and slaying. The disappointment and shock to Governor Pine were so great that he was taken seriously ill in the camp at Denkeria [Enyan Denkyira], near Efua Ajumako, where he had gone to inspire and encourage the natives, and he was brought down to Cape Coast almost lifeless. The regular troops returned to the forts for the rainy season, and the native levies [warriors of the natives] dispersed...’²¹⁰

With the dispersal of the Anglo-Fante forces to their various states and camps, the Asafo of Gomoa Ajumako returned home. A Few years later, Apata Kofi died, but because his maternal relations who, by custom, should have succeeded him were still young, his son, Krampah Kuma, the younger brother to the slain Krampah Payin, continued in regency. Eventually, this led to the creation of the Nyarful Krampah’s lineage.²¹¹ In the meantime, Apata Kofi died, but due to his bravery, valour and agility, upon his death a particular state oath was dedicated to eulogize him. This special oath became known as Apata Kofi ‘Fida (Friday)’; Apata Kofi Fida because he was born on Friday.²¹² To affirm this, after his death, he was buried in a thick forest which became a sacred place for the people of Gomoa Ajumako. That sacred place was named *Kofi ‘Pow’* (Kofi’s sacred grove).²¹³

Nevertheless, there have been contradicting perspectives on the invitation of Krampah Payin to caretakership. The first school of thought regards the invitation of Krampah Payin to caretakership as a good decision taken by the elders at the time. The invitation of Krampah Payin to lead the Gomoa Ajumako Asafo during this period of ‘partial interregnum’ was to ensure the protection of Gomoa Ajumako people and

²¹⁰ Ellis, *Gold Coast*, p. 230. Ajumako in the present day Ajumako, Enyan, Esiam district.

²¹¹ Reports by the Committee of Enquiry established by the Cape Coast High Court.

²¹² *Ibid*, pp. 4-5.

²¹³ Suit No.LS.24/87, Judgement on the case held between Ebusuapayin Kwa Tawiah, vs. Ebusuapayin Kwame Akaa, Kojo Krampah in the Circuit Court held at Agona Swedru on Wednesday, 12 December 2001, Before His Hon, I,K, Richardson ESQ. Circuit Court Judge. (Hereafter, Ruling on Kofi Pow)

their properties. In addition, it was aimed at displaying military strength of Gomoa Ajumako to the neighbouring ethnic groups and Asante. That is, the absence of Gomoa Ajumako Asafo during this battle would have exposed the weakness (the weakness that Apata Kofi was old and could no longer lead his chiefdom to the battlefield) of Gomoa Ajumako to other ethnic states, which would have made them vulnerable to invasion. On the other hand, the second school of thought saw the invitation as the worst decision ever taken in the history of Gomoa Ajumako as it did not make any positive impact on the political development in Gomoa Ajumako state. According to this school of thought, other ethnic states that did not partake in this battle lost nothing, and so would Gomoa Ajumako if the Gomoa Ajumako Asafo had not participated in this battle. Again, the invitation of the Krampahs into caretakership had only generated chieftaincy dispute, thus, undermining the social, economic and political growth of Gomoa Ajumako in the colonial and post-colonial period.

3.3 The Aftermath of Apata Kofi's Death and the Role of Gomoa Ajumako in Fante Affairs

In the aftermath of the war, the Fante now decided that united action was a conviction that could help protect themselves against the constant Asante invasion. Their defeat in the hands of the Asante had proved to them that the British were not reliable and hence they had to seek an alternative. The first step taken was to form some sort of government 'which would be to ourselves a head, having no king under the British.'²¹⁴ After some initial bickering between those who wanted a 'monarchical institution' and others 'for confederacy', it was decided that each state should give seven of her sensible and respectable men as national councillors, with the 'kings' and chiefs, to form a 'Fante Council'. Three leading 'Kings' - Edu of Mankessim, Otoo of Abura and Ortabil of Gomoa - were accepted as joint Presidents of the Fante

²¹⁴ Kimble, *A Political History of Ghana*, p. 221.

nation.²¹⁵ As for the future, the British Secretary of State stationed at Cape Coast agreed that it would be better to avoid altogether the misleading title of king, which had arisen out of the somewhat injudicious practice of white people in designating chiefs on the African coast; henceforward, the term 'Headman' would be far appropriate.²¹⁶ Afterwards, the British used 'Headman' as the alternative for the native word 'Omanhen' instead of 'King'. During the formation of the union, perhaps, Krampah Kumah, being a regent and also the feet of the 'traditional Gomoa state', was not officially recognized as an Omanhen and thus Gomoa Assin and Ajumako states were represented by King Ortabil of Gomoa Assin state who was also the 'traditional head of Gomoa.'²¹⁷

'King' Ortabil at this time was one of the most influential chiefs in the Protectorate. In one of his protests against the consolidation of British power together with his counterpart, King Aggrey, in Cape Coast, he was arrested and marched to the Castle on 17 January 1866. There he remained a prisoner in one of the officer's quarters until 26 January 1866 when, having acknowledged his 'fault' and craved pardon, he was released on the payment of a fine of twenty-five ounces of gold and deposited a further twenty-five ounces of gold as security for his good behaviour for the next two years. Meanwhile, King Aggrey was warned at the time of Ortabil's arrest that any further misconduct on his part would lead to his deportation to Sierra Leone.²¹⁸

The immediate occasion following the release of 'King' Ortabil was the exchange of certain Gold Coast forts and castles between the British and the Dutch in 1868, which

²¹⁵ Kimble, *A Political History of Ghana*, p. 221.

²¹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 220.

²¹⁷ PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/729, The Transfer of the state sword to Nyarful Krampah, 30 October 1928, pp. 1 & 8.

²¹⁸Claridge, *A History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti*, pp.545-556. Something that later happened when he was finally deported to Sierra Leone.

became popularly known as the 'Sweet River Convention'. This was partly designed to facilitate the imposition of customs duties; but when the treaty came into force, the pattern of mercantile penetration and colonial influence, which had grown up over the centuries, was for no good reason in African eyes. In addition, the defeat of the coalition forces and their British allies in 1863 seemed never to be forgotten so soon by the allies. The date fixed for the exchange of forts and castles was 1 January 1868.²¹⁹

Notwithstanding, the challenge was the refusal of Komenda to accept the Dutch flag. This dispute began a long war between the Dutch and the Komenda, which the Dutch were unable to bring to an end in a counter attack.²²⁰ Meanwhile, a widespread Fante movement was started to help the Komenda after an assembly of chiefs, elders and people of the Fante states, Assin, Wassaw and Denkyira met and agreed to assist their sister state, Komenda, against the Elmina. The Gomoa contingents to this assembly were King Ortabil and his Safohenfo, Bentsil, and Sekyerow and possibly the regent Omanhen of Gomoa Ajumako, Krampah Kuma. Finally, after a heavy and undecisive battle outside Elmina, the allies agreed to lift the blockade and leave the settlement of Elmina to the British administrator, Mr. H. T. Ussher.²²¹

In an attempt to protect their mutual interest, the allied states began to work out some united form of self-government. Again, coupled with these factors was the influence of the 1865 Report. Arousing mingled hopes and fears of British withdrawal, was still

²¹⁹ Kimble, *A Political History of Ghana*, p. 223.

²²⁰ Komenda did not accept because the Dutch had always been an ally to the Asante and Elmina, therefore, accepting their authority means subjecting themselves to Elmina and Asante's supremacy.

²²¹ Peter Barton Kilby, *The Anglo-Asante war, 1873-74: A narrative and analysis* (M.A Thesis., University of British Columbia, 1968), pp. 33-34; see also Enclosure in No. 17, Aggrey's Petition, 24 March 1866.

strong.²²² In the end, the Fante Confederation was established in 1871 by the Fante states to prevent the exchange of forts, provide for their own security against the constant Asante invasion, and finally, act as the government in the absence of the British.²²³

In 1872, the British bought the Dutch possessions along the Coast and then moved the capital from Cape Coast Castle to the Christiansburg Castle in Accra. A year later in 1873, Asantes' attitude at the coast made way for another battle to be fought, and this time at the doorstep of the Asante. The battle was fought in three folds; it started in 1873 and ended in 1874. In the first fold in 1873, before the arrival of Sir Garnet Wolseley to the Gold Coast, Assin, supported by the Fante states, and Denkyera faced the Asante army at Assin Fante Nyankumase with sixty thousand men. Certainly, this figure appeared to be justified when Safohen Bentle of Gomoa led twenty thousand Gomoa Asafo out of the sixty thousand men and stationed them at Assin Fante Nyankumase.²²⁴ On 9 February 1873, the allied forces, including Gomoa who were led by Safohen Bentle, were heavily defeated and driven back, whilst the Asante army led by Amankwa Tia, occupied Assin Fante Nyankumase.²²⁵

Thereafter, the British Government purposely sent a British army commander, Sir Garnet Wolseley, from London to Gold Coast in 1873, to help develop plans for Asante's defeat in the second and the third invasions of 1874.²²⁶ Immediately, upon having assured himself that adequate steps had been taken for the start of the

²²² Kimble, *A Political History of Ghana*, p. 224.

²²³ The original spelling was Fantee, as will be seen from most of the documents quoted. The organizers of the Confederation, however, adopted the spelling 'Fanti' in their constitution of 1871 and used it consistently thereafter. Quoted at the footnote, in Kimble, *A Political History of Ghana*, p. 222.

²²⁴ C.O. 879/4; G.C29, serial 183; Enclosure 1, Harley to Hennessey, 2 February 1873, Rough estimate of the Fante-Gomoa forces. Quoted in Kilby, *The Anglo-Asante war*, p. 58.

²²⁵ C.O. 879/4; G.C 29, serial 195; Enclosure 2, Rowe to Harley, 11 February 1873. Quoted in Kilby, *The Anglo-Asante war*, p. 69.

²²⁶ Kilby, *The Anglo-Asante war*, p. 69.

development and protection, Sir Garnet Wolseley turned to the collection and organization of a force of native forces which were to be withdrawn from the Fante states and their allied states. 'On 4 October 1873, a fully-dressed palaver was held on the grounds of Government House in Cape Coast. Wolseley addressed the assembled chiefs in an attempt to stir them up into providing men for the coming battle.'²²⁷

Claridge comments that:

'...Sir Garnet, being bound by his instructions, had once more to repeat the old ridicules assertion that the war was a purely native war and not Her Majesty's, but promised, that if the people would only exert themselves, they could be given every possible assistance against the enemy...(concrete offers of assistance were made) and the 'Kings' retired to consult together, promising to return with their answer on the 6 October...when they returned on the 6th...one and all expressed their willingness to collect their men if they were given English officers to accompany and assist them. They were in no great hurry to start, however, even after the request had been granted. Letters were sent to those Kings [Paramount chiefs] who had not attended the meeting summoning them to collect their men and march to Dunkwa where the other contingents had been ordered to assemble...'²²⁸

The reasons for this far from enthusiastic response to yet another British call to arms were not hard to find. In the first place, the Fante states had seen that similar appeals and promises to support the British in warfare came to nothing and they had no proof of a fruitful end of Sir Garnet Wolseley's invasion of Asante.²²⁹ In fact, in this particular war, the Fante states felt it had been caused by the British acquisition of Elmina, not by them, and therefore felt reluctant to join force with the British forces that had been feebler than it had in the previous times. Secondly, the Fante states, particularly Gomoa Ajumako's experience in the hands of the Asante in the 1863 battle at Essikuma and Bobikuma was still fresh in their minds.²³⁰ Therefore, the

²²⁷ Kilby, *The Anglo-Asante war*, p. 69.

²²⁸ Claridge, *A History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti*, p. 49.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*

²³⁰ Kilby, *The Anglo-Asante war*, p. 116.

Fante states were understandably reluctant to once more engage the Asante army which, they had every reason to believe, was still capable of a devastating retaliation should they (Fante states) have the temerity to attack them. Finally, they felt that no such confrontation was necessary because the war was over. They knew that Amankwa Tia had ceased all the major offensive operations and was only waiting for the Asantehene's permission to withdraw to Kumase. They, therefore, had no desire to force a battle when all they had to do was leave the enemy alone and would leave eventually. However, the British's idea of teaching the Asante army a lesson that it would never again be tempted to invade the Protectorate simply had no validity in the minds of the Fante states and their southern allies.²³¹

Some European scholars failed to acknowledge the preceding events on the eve of Sir Garnet Wolseley's arrival but concluded that the Fante states and their southern allies did nothing to support the 1873 invasion, and then described the Fante states as 'cowards.'²³² Nevertheless, this battle was fought in three folds; in the third fold, the Asante army was heavily defeated and charged with indemnity, and Kumase was totally destroyed and burnt into ashes.²³³ This battle was named after the British commander, Garnet Wolseley, by the Fante states and their southern allies, and thus became known as the *Sagreinti War*.

At the same time, the Nyarful Krampah's lineage continued their regency to the Gomoa Ajumako paramount stool. In 1878, Okyir Ansa succeeded Onyinpong Okyir as the regent Omanhen. However, because of a mining land dispute in 1889, the Governor, Sir William Branford Griffith, proposed a sovereign remedy: that is, the whole country (Gold Coast colony) should be taken over as a crown land and

²³¹ Kilby, *The Anglo-Asante war*, p. 117.

²³² *Ibid*, p. IV.

²³³ Kimble, *A Political History of Ghana*, pp. 263-271.

administered to a greater advantage than the inhabitants could do for themselves. Individual rights could be preserved for the lifetime holders, and the revenue from the sale of lands could be devoted to the exclusive benefits of the district.²³⁴

In the Gold Coast, it appeared that the agitation was quietening down. In fact, the Aborigines Rights Protection Society (A.R.P.S.), established in 1897 purposely to protest against the land bill, was losing ground, and an alternative possible means to revive their activity was to send a deputation to England to petition the British parliament with their objection to the land bill.²³⁵ Therefore, a levy was collected from all the 'recognized' native authorities. In Gomoa Ajumako, the Council of Chiefs, knowing the implication of failure to pay the levy, collected per head contributions from their subjects in their respective communities to fund the levy required of them by the Aborigines Rights Protection Society.²³⁶

The period between 1916 and 1926 saw constant removal and replacement of regent paramount chiefs of the Nyarful Krampah's lineage by Gomoa Ajumako Council of Elders on the grounds of misconduct and mismanagement. However, the intra-family removal of chiefs by the Council of Elders never generated into a dispute until 1926, as discussed in the chapter four of this thesis.²³⁷

3.4 Conclusion

The available records on the Bobikuma war of 1863 by contemporary British writers, in fact, aided the contextualization of the oral traditions on how the Krampahs came to the scene. Prior to this study, the Bobikuma war was told in oral traditions to be

²³⁴ Dispatch of 12 Aug.1887, From Holland to White. Quoted in Kimble, *A Political History of Ghana*, p. 332.

²³⁵ Kimble, *A Political History of Ghana*, p. 349.

²³⁶ PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/722, Letter of confirmation from the D.C to Gomoa Ajumako state, 18 June 1907, p. 17.

²³⁷ Ibid; PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/2729, Enquiry on the Gomoa Ajumako dispute, 30 October 1928, p. 222.

older than expected and thus helped the Nyarful Krampah's lineage to be older than the Apata Kofi's lineage. Moreover, with the emergence of the Nyarful Krampah's lineage in Gomoa Ajumako over the control or ownership of the paramount stool, the ground was set for an unending dispute. To augment their claims, traditions were invented to fit into the existing socio-political practices of the Gomoa Ajumako state. The long occupation of the Gomoa Ajumako paramount stool by the Nyarful Krampah's lineage, as discussed in the next chapter, also aided this quest of inventing names of legendary ancestors, state oaths, and histories.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE CONTESTS FOR OWNERSHIP OVER GOMOA AJUMAKO

PARAMOUNT STOOL

4.1 Introduction

The contest over the ownership of Gomoa Ajumako paramount stool has gone through several stages of dispute resolution. These stages of dispute resolution include petitions to the colonial governments, the Regional and the National House of Chiefs, the High Court, and the Supreme Court of Ghana. Currently, the history of Gomoa Ajumako is a history of disputes over legitimacy. The disputes over the paramount stool had to do with the invention of oral tradition to claim legitimacy as the paramount stool family. Most importantly, the various court decisions on the disputes had been based specifically on evidence relating to wars fought, the state sword, the state oaths, the name of the state, the number of occupants of a particular lineage, years of occupancy, the usages, sacred groves, and the location of each of these families. Being aware of this, the two families or lineages had also appropriated their traditional histories to meet the requirement of legitimacy by the court system.

4.2 The Apata Kofi Lineage's Version of the Founding of Gomoa Ajumako

According to oral tradition of the Apata Kofi's lineage, their ancestor, Apata Kofi who succeeded Safohen Assan, established Gomoa Ajumako.²³⁸ Their family originated from Tekyiman under the leadership of Obaatan Gomoa and his children, namely Safohen Assan, Opotsin, Gura Kofuwa, Potsi Esiakwa, and Apata Kofi. At first they settled at Mankessim with other Fante groups and their fellow brothers of Gomoa Assin state; eventually, their wing of the family, led by Safohen Assan, settled at Gomoa Ajumako. Safohen Assan's nephew, Apata Kofi, became the Omanhen of

²³⁸ PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/722, District Commissioners' report to Gomoa Ajumako State, 16 December 1943, p. 117.

Gomoa Ajumako under the stool name Apata Kofi. Assan, Potsi Esiakwa and Gura Krofua reigned before Apata Kofi, but all of these chiefs ruled before any member of the Nyarful Krampah lineage ascended the stool. Their chiefs ruled with both the state stool and the sword.²³⁹

Due to the warlike nature of Apata Kofi, he was able to conquer or acquire tracts of land which he distributed to his sub-chiefs or the leaders of the various army wings.²⁴⁰ He then gave an area that became known as Pomadze to his kinsmen, whereas he stationed his children at Oguakrom, Krobo 'Sardo' (Krobo grassland), and Mankoadze respectively based on maternal groupings. The children with Krobo maternal descent of Apata Kofi were, in addition, allocated a parcel of land at Awomerew where they could farm because of the grassland nature of Krobo Sardo, but the distance between Awomerew and Gomoa Assan-mba Ajumako village was so long that they decided to use Abaasa or Awomerew as their next home. Apart from this, all the land he acquired were placed under the control of his kinsmen at Pomadze.²⁴¹ These sons and daughters of Apata Kofi were known for establishing the Krobo Twidan family at Krobo Sardo. Along the line, Krampah Payin was made the Odzikro of Krobo Sardo and a Safohen to his father, Apata Kofi.²⁴²

Under Apata Kofi, the boundaries of Gomoa Ajumako were extended to the present-day McCarthy Hill in Accra in the early part of the nineteenth century. According to oral tradition, it was during *Sa kum* war that Apata Kofi ordered his warriors to swim

²³⁹ Reports by the Committee of Enquiry established by the Cape Coast High Court.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁴¹ PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/635, Letter of Confirmation from the Gomoa Ajumako State to the District commissioner, 25 October 1923; See also PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/722, Election and Installation of chiefs, 23 October 1923; PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/2729, Election and Installation of Chiefs, 15 November 1944. Later, Awomerew was also made a settlement and as of today, the Descendants of Krampah Payin and Krampah Kuma are the rightful occupants to the Odzikro position of that settlement.

²⁴² Fante customs say that Sons are supposed to protect their fathers all the time. This confirms why Assan was also made Safohen to protect his father, Obaatan Gomoa.

across the River Densu, but some of the warriors who had never seen Apata Kofi swim, on the return of their sojourn back home said ‘Apata Kofi turned into a crocodile and crossed the river.’ When Apata Kofi came home, he caused a horn to be blown as ‘*Me man Ajumako hom ano yia*’ which is literally translated as ‘my state Ajumako, your gossiping mouth.’²⁴³

In the meantime, Apata Kofi grew old and could not lead his army to the battlefield so he gave the state sword to Krampah Payin to lead the Gomoa Ajumako Asafo to fight the Asante armies at Esikuma and Bobikuma respectively. Unfortunately, during the battle, Krampah Payin was killed. On the return of Gomoa Ajumako Asafo, Apata Kofi was still alive and reigning, though he was old. Apata Kofi made the horn blown on the day of Krampah Payin’s death and then made it a sacred day and an oath of Gomoa Ajumako, ‘*Krampah Benada.*’ Later, Apata Kofi died. Upon his death, in addition to already existing oath, ‘*Apata Kofi Fida*’ was also instituted to honour his contributions to the state and hence was buried in one of his conquered lands near Gomoa Ajumako. The place became known as Kofi Pow.²⁴⁴

After the death of Apata Kofi, all the Gomoa Ajumako chiefs, the Oman Council, met and gave the sword to Krampah Kuma to rule over the people as a caretaker and regent because Apata Kofi’s nephews and nieces were too young to rule. Krampah Kuma was to rule until Apata Kofi’s kinsmen were old enough to rule. Krampah Kuma only ruled with the sword, never with the stool. After the death of Apata Kofi, his sons continued to rule until his grandnephew Kweku Benyin came of age and succeeded him with the stool name Nana Apata Kofi II.²⁴⁵

²⁴³ Reports by the Committee of Enquiry established by the Cape Coast High Court.

²⁴⁴ Ruling on Kofi Pow.

²⁴⁵ PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/729, Gomoa Ajumako State Sword Enquiry, 30 October 1938.

The following is the list of occupants of the Gomoa Ajumako stool from the Apata Kofi's lineage of the Royal Twidan family of Gomoa Pomadze:

Table 1. List of occupants from the Apata Kofi's lineage

Private Name	Stool Name	Date of Enstoolment	Date of Exit	Nature of Exit
Assan	Safohen Assan ²⁴⁶	?	?	?
Opotsi Esiakwa	Opotsi Esiakwa ²⁴⁷	?	?	?
Gura Kofowa	Gura Kofowa ²⁴⁸	?	?	?
Kofi Mensah	Apata Kofi ²⁴⁹	?	1863-6	Death
Kweku Benyin	Nana Apata Kofi II ²⁵⁰	17/08/1931	3/04/1935	Destooled
Solomon Thompson Augustus	Nana Apata Kofi III ²⁵¹	25/09/1972	18/9/1981	Destooled
Robert Adolf Idan	Nana Okutupong Apata Kofi IV ²⁵²	22/12/1984	02/03/1998	Destooled

4.3 The Nyarful Krampah Lineage's Version of the Founding of Gomoa Ajumako

According to the oral tradition of the Nyarful Krampah's lineage, in the beginning of the seventeenth century after the destruction of Kania by Djakpa, some leaders of the Fantes decided to look for a new settlement. *Dwomo* was the head of the people of Gomoa who migrated from Bono Manso and then founded the present-day Gomoa Ajumako. The Fantes and the *Dwomos* from Tekyiman, dissatisfied with the conditions of increasing population and overcrowding, migrated in large numbers to the south of present-day Ghana. When the Fantes and the *Dwomos* reached the Etsi

²⁴⁶ Reports by the Committee of Enquiry established by the Cape Coast High Court, pp. 2-3;

²⁴⁷ *Ibid*, See also PRAAD/C, ADM 23/1/117, Stool per Kojo Amuakwa vs: Kweku Benyin, 8 October 1923.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid*.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid*; see also PRAAD/A, ADM 11/1/ 1691, Report on Gomoa. 30 October 1922, pp. 1-2. PRAAD/A, ADM 11/1/1691, The claim of the Ohene of Gomoa Assanba-Ajumako to be independent of Gomoa Assin, p. 3.

²⁵⁰ PRAAD/C, ADM 23/1/722, Election and installation of Nana Apata Kofi II, from Gomoa Ajumako Traditional Council to the DC, Winneba, 17 August 1931; PRAAD/C, ADM 23/1/722, Destoolment of Nana Apata Kofi II as the Omanhen of Gomoa Ajumako State, 12 April 1935.

²⁵¹ Local Government Bulletin: Notices of changes affecting the status of certain chiefs (Kumasi: Published by the Authority of National House of chiefs, 1987) p. 163.

²⁵² *Ibid*.

country near the coast, *Adowegyir*, they decided to settle there and founded the present-day town called Mankessim.²⁵³

Later, a misunderstanding broke out between the Fantes and the *Dwomos*, which resulted in mass movement of some of their people. The *Dwomos* went deeper outside *Adowegyir* and founded Gomoa-man-mu. After staying at Gomoa-man-mu for a while, and as a result of overpopulation, some of them wanted new settlements. Each *Obaatan* and her family (nuclear family), therefore, left and founded their respective settlements in 1740 with their people spreading and forming towns and villages nearby.²⁵⁴

According to oral tradition, Dwomo had a sister called Ampem Panyin with one Otobea as the head of the family. Ampem Panyin had a daughter called Akua Owusu who, in turn, gave birth to two males, namely Krampah Payin and Krampah Kuma, and a daughter called Akyere. Akyere, in turn, gave birth to Mansa and Kyerewa. These were the family members of Nana Dwomo that accompanied him from Tekyiman to Mankessim, to Gomoa-man-mu and then to Gomoa Ajumako. At Gomoa Ajumako, *Dwomo* became old, died and was succeeded by Krampah Panyin. During the reign of Krampah Payin, the Bobikuma war broke out. Krampah Payin led the *Gomoa-man* to the war but he was killed at the battlefield on one fateful Friday. His younger brother Krampah Kuma, who was by him then, immediately took off the lion cloth of Krampah Payin and wore it. He also removed one kola from Krampah Payin's mouth and put it in his mouth. Then in the absence of a sheep to be slaughtered to purify the war sword, he seized his nephew called Okoban, killed him

²⁵³ Adowegyir was the settlement of the Etsi people. It later became Mankessim after the Fante conquest of Adowegyir.

²⁵⁴ Festival brochure, *Akwambo kese*, pp. 2-5.

and used the blood to purify the war sword. He then took charge of the battle which he fought and won.²⁵⁵

The Asafo Company brought home the bodies of Krampah Panyin and Okoban on palm branches. At Gomoa Ajumako, they were buried at a place called *Mpetekyin*. Thereafter, he made a horn blown as '*Okatekyi Koko Tor*' (valiant one, fight until you perish). That incident became the oath of Ajumakoman 'Berew Nsamdo' (laying of palm leaves). He then compensated the family of those who fell in the battle. Later on, there was another war called *Yaa Akyaa sa*. The elders of Gomoa Ajumako asked Krampah Kuma whether he could prosecute the war, according to the oral tradition. The answer he gave was 'yes', so he went to the battle aided by one Gura Kuma of Gomoa Esikuma who was an Omankrahen then.²⁵⁶ During the *Yaa Akyaa* war, Gura Kuma was the first person to fire a gun at the enemy and as he was trying to run away he was wounded. Krampah Kuma ordered him to be caught and brought before him. He ordered his Asafo to behead him and his jaws be removed. Back home in Gomoa Ajumako, Krampah Kuma placed it on the stool of Gomoa Ajumako.²⁵⁷

Subsequently, Krampah Kuma fought the Kantamanto War, Yaa Asantewaa War and the Sa kum War of Accra and came back victorious.²⁵⁸ Eventually, Krampah Kuma passed on and was succeeded by his nephew, Onyinpong Okyir, the son of Mansa. During his time, there was a war, and he led the Gomoa Ajumakoman to fight against the Asante army in Cape Coast at Etsiwafo Siwdo. Tradition claimed that during the war, the Asante carried their Asantehene in a palanquin so did the people of

²⁵⁵ Festival brochure, *Akwambo kese*, pp. 2-5.

²⁵⁶ Omankrahen was next in command to the paramount chief.

²⁵⁷ Festival brochure, *Akwambo kese*, pp. 2-3.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

Ajumakoman. During the battle, Onyinpong Okyir shouted on the Asantehene who fell down from the palanquin.²⁵⁹

Later, Onyinpong Okyir fought his last war which was the Kormantse War. After that, he created posts for those who had helped him in the wars: Asebu (Benkumhen), Gomoa Mpota (Mankrado), Mankoadze (Gyaasehen), Otsew (Banamuhén), and Sraha (Twafohen). He then created head chief or Odikro positions. Apata Kofi was created Odzikro of Pomadze; he then ordered each chief to carve his own stool and bring them for consecration. They were then changed to Edzikrofo among which other names were adopted to the naming of the villages according to their ancestral names. The chiefs were asked to carve their own stools and linguist staff, likewise the Omanhen. Hitherto, their brothers from Gomoa Assin accompanied Gomoa Ajumako in all those wars. Gomoa Assin carried the head of Gomoa, while Ajumako carried the feet.²⁶⁰ Finally, Onyinpong Okyir created ‘Okyir Benada’, which marked his return with other Fante states in victory, in addition to the existing oaths of Gomoa Ajumako.²⁶¹

According to the oral tradition of the Nyarful Krampah’s lineage, Gomoa Ajumako had two oaths to swear. One was the great oath Krampah Fida which marked the day Krampah perished in the battle at Bobikuma on one fateful Friday. In addition, they had the sacred oath, ‘Onyinpong Okyir Benada’, in remembrance of Onyinpong Okyir’s victorious return from the Asante war with other Fante groups on Tuesday.²⁶²

The following is the list of occupants of the Gomoa Ajumako stool from the Nyarful Krampah’s lineage of the Royal Odandan Twidan family and the nature of change:

²⁵⁹ Festival brochure, *Akwambo kese*, pp. 2-5.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*

²⁶² *Ibid.*

Table 2. List of occupants from the Nyarful Krampah's lineage

Private Name	Stool Name	Date of Enstoolment	Date of Change	Nature of change
Dwomo	Nana Dwomo ²⁶³	?	?	?
Krampah Payin	Krampah Payin	01/04/1863	12/05/1863	Death
Krampah Kuma	Krampah Kuma ²⁶⁴	1866-7	?	?
Kwesi Gyan	Onyinpong Okyir ²⁶⁵	?	1878-80	?
Okyir Fletcher Joseph	Okyir Ansa ²⁶⁶	1878-80	1906	Abdicated
Appiah Osam	Nana Ansa Osam ²⁶⁷	1906	27/09/1916	Died after being convicted
Kweku Ansa	Nana Ansa Fua ²⁶⁸	1917	23/10/1923	Destooled
Kwesi Gyan	Nana Onyimpong Okyir Ababbio ²⁶⁹	20/11/1923	21/09/1926	Destooled
Kweku Ansa	Nana Ansa Fua(2nd time) ²⁷⁰	13/09/1926	26/02/1931	Destooled
Kwesi Gyan	Nana Nyarful Krampah ²⁷¹ VIII(2nd time)	25/08/1935	3/11/1944	Death
Kojo Obosu	Nyarful Krampah IX ²⁷²	23/11/1944	7/10/1972	Death
?	Okatekyi Nyarful Krampah X ²⁷³	1998	14/02/2008	Death
Francis K. Andzie	Obrempong Nyarful Krampah XI ²⁷⁴	3/12/2009	?	?

²⁶³ Nana Dwomo's name came in the later petitions sent to the National House chiefs and the Supreme Court in the 1980s and the 1990s, after Eva Meyerowitz has published her book, *Early History of the Akan states*. Information in Eva's book was given to her by Nana Obosu Nyarful Krampah and his elders of the Krampah's lineage. Eva's book has already been cited above.

²⁶⁴ PRAAD/C, ADM 23/1/117, Stool per Kojo Amuakwa vs: Kweku Benyin, 8 October 1923.

²⁶⁵ PRAAD/A, ADM 11/1/1691, The claim of the Ohene of Gomoa Assanba-Ajumako to be independent of Gomoa Assin, pp. 2- 3.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid*; PRAAD/C 23/1/117, A letter of Acceptance from the C.C.P, on the Abdication of Okyir Ansa and the Enstoolment of Ansa Ossam, 18 June 1906.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid*; PRAAD/C, ADM 23/1/117, A Report to the Governor by the Acting C.C.P on the Conviction of Ansa Ossam, 28 December 1915; PRAAD/C, ADM 11/23/117, From the Acting D.C, Winneba, to Kwesi Atta and councilors of Ajumako, 3 October 1916; PRAAD/C, ADM 23/1/722, Ansa Ossam's name, 29 October 1911.

²⁶⁸ PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/635, A letter of confirmation on the destoolment of Nana Ansa Fua to the D.C, Winneba, 25 October 1923, pp.1-2; PRAAD/C, ADM 23/1/ 117, A letter of confirmation on the enstoolment of Nana Ansa Fua, from the Acting D.C, Winneba, to the Acting C.C.P, Cape Coast, 7 February, 1917.

²⁶⁹ PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/635, A letter of notification to the DC, Winneba, on the installation of Onyinpong Okyir Ababbio, 2 December 1923; PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/635, A letter of Acceptance from the D.C, Winneba, to the Gomoa Ajumako traditional council on the deposition of Nana Onyinpong Okyir Ababbio, 14 September 1926.

²⁷⁰ PRAAD/C, ADM 23/1/635, Application for recognition to the D.C for the Re-enstoolment of Nana Ansa Fua for the second time, 10 September 1926.

²⁷¹ PRAAD/C, ADM 23/1/722, Report to the D.C, Winneba, by Gomoa Ajumako traditional council, on the destoolment of Apata Kofi II, and the enstoolment of Kwesi Gyan as Nana Nyarful Krampah VIII by the Tufuhen, Baidoo Ababbio; PRAAD/C, ADM 23/1/722, Report on the death of Nana Nyarful Krampah VIII, From the DC, Winneba, to the C.C.P, 13 November 1944.

²⁷² PRAAD/C, ADM 23/1/722, Election and installation of Kojo Obosu as Nyarful Krampah IX, 15 November 1944.

²⁷³ Chieftaincy Bulletin: *Changes affecting status of Chiefs and other chieftaincy matters*. Vol.2 No. 1 (Kumasi, 2015) p. 105.

²⁷⁴ Chieftaincy Bulletin: *Changes affecting status of Chiefs and other chieftaincy matters*, P. 105.

4.4.0 The Contests over the Paramount Stool

4.4.1 The First Contest (1926-1935)

The contest for the Gomoa Ajumako paramount stool was about the contest of legitimacy in the annals of how one's ancestors rendered services to the other in terms of father and son relation in the Akan context or a false claim by a lower chief to claim the title of an Omanhen. The origin of the dispute had its root from the pre-colonial period, whereas the contest for the stool began in the colonial period at the court of the District Commissioner of the British Gold Coast colony in Winneba. Before the contest over the paramount stool between Apata Kofi and the Nyanful Krampah's descendants, both parties had had their ancestors ascend the paramount stool.

On 17 August 1931, Nana Apata Kofi II, alias Kweku Benyin, was enstooled as the paramount chief of Gomoa Ajumako as the fifth and the first occupant of the paramount stool from the Apata Kofi's lineage after sixty-one years interval. He had the urge to contest when he got hold of Gomoa Ajumako's mysterious ancestral sword, *Akofena*. As examined in chapter two of this study, the Gomoa Ajumako people served the 'mighty state sword' together with the stool. Apata Kofi II ascended the stool after the death of Nana Ansa Fua of the Krampah lineage.²⁷⁵ Before Apata Kofi II's ascension to the stool, the sixty-one years of Nyanful Krampah's lineage ascension to the stool made the case to be keenly contested at the court of Winneba District Commissioner of the Central Province of the British Gold Coast colony of West Africa.²⁷⁶

It was keenly contested because, logically, sixty-one years was so long for male borns of the Apata Kofi's lineage to stay as minors if the paramount stool of Gomoa

²⁷⁵ Before his death on the stool in 1928, he had already occupied the paramount stool two times.

²⁷⁶ PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/729, Kojo Amuakwa vrs Kweku Benyin, 30 December 1928, pp. 3-19.

Ajumako actually belongs to them, as claimed. However, according to Akan socio-political principles, being a grown-up does not guarantee a member of a royal family's eligibility to become the chief of his people. In short, age was neither a qualification nor disqualification to members of royal lineages to ascend an ancestral stool among the Akan. It was only in exceptional situations such as political upheavals where the presence of the leader (chief) would be necessary at the battlefield that in some situations minors (young ones), as discussed in chapter three of this thesis, were 'disqualified' from ascending the stool of their ancestors.

Therefore, it was possible that during this period, the Apata Kofi's lineage might have had adults before the sixty-one years interval but age was not the only requirement. In the pre-colonial times, among the Akan, rules for disqualification of the rightful heir to the royal stool included the following disabilities: blindness or loss of one eye, leprosy, madness, the loss of a finger or toe, deformity, and bad character or incompetence. In addition to this were left-handedness and behaviour discreditable to a member of the chief's family such as continual drunkenness or excessive consort with common people. Stools' royals were the only eligible people to occupy the stool.

However, in instances where no eligible royal was 'available' either by extinction of the direct line or any of the reasons stated above, the 'Oman' (council of state) could elect a member from the leadership of the Asafo - usually the Safohen, palace servants (including children, which was mostly done through the Gyaase division) or loyal slaves to occupy the stool. In this particular situation, Nyarful Krampah Payin and Krapah Kuma were invited by the Oman of Gomoa Ajumako to lead the Ajumako Asafo as well as serve as caretakers due to their positions as children of Apata Kofi and moreover as Safohenfo (War Captains) to Gomoa Ajumako stool. According to the Akan principle of regency or caretakership, any such appointed chief was required

to renounce future claims to the stool by members of his family.²⁷⁷ The practices and roles related to the Gyaase division among Fante states were similar to the roles and practices of the Akyempim division among the Asante. Whereas the ascension to the stool of the Akyempim division was done through patrilineage, the Gyaase division among the Fante states was also done through patrilineage and sometimes in the absence of eligible candidates loyal servants/slaves were considered.

Meanwhile, the dispute began when one Kojo Amuakwa, the family head of Nyarful Krampah's Twidan, handed over the state sword of Gomoa Ajumako to Kweku Benyin's uncle, Nana Kwesi Arhin, the Odzikro of Gomoa Pomadze. The reason for Kojo Amuakwa's action was that the subsequent Amanhen of Gomoa Ajumako, including the then sick Nana Ansa Fua, were not taking proper care of the state sword Apata Kofi entrusted to his ancestor, Krampah Kuma, as caretaker. Kweku Benyin stated that:

One Saturday evening at 5:00 [pm] [Nana Kwesi] Arhin sent Kwa Akwadu to call me to his house. [Kojo] Amuakwa told [Nana Kwesi] Arhin [that] the sword went from Appata [sic] Apata to Krampah Kuma, ancestor of Amuakwa. [Krampah] Kuma was an Omanhen [regent] but his subsequent Amanhen regents from Nyarful Krampah's lineage] were not looking after it properly, and he therefore gave the sword back to [Nana Kwesi] Arhin, as caretaker on behalf of the paramount stool.²⁷⁸

On the contrary, the Nyarful Krampah's family had the other version of how the state sword got to Kweku Benyin. According to Kojo Amuakwa, when Nana Ansa Fua died, the family head had to nominate somebody to succeed him. According to Kojo Amuakwa, there were three *Abaatan* (women with offsprings) then, each of whom wanted to nominate a candidate. The three were Obontse, Esi Munkua, and Abena

²⁷⁷ Akosua Adoma Perbi, *History of indigenous slavery in Ghana from the 15th to the 19th century*. (Accra: Sub-Saharan Publishers, 2004), pp. 152-210.

²⁷⁸ PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/635, A Report to the D.C on the State Sword, 23 October, 1923, pp. 5 & 7; PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/729, Kojo Amuakwa vs. Kweku Benyin, 30 December 1928, pp. 3-19.

Ackom. Amuakwa was still consulting into the matter to see the eligible person to be nominated when one Adu, a son of Abena Ackom, stole the state sword and sold it to Kweku Benyin. Subsequently, Kweku Benyin made the District Commissioner at Winneba and Gomoa Ajumako Oman to understand that he had the sword.²⁷⁹

Nevertheless, if the state sword was stolen as postulated by the Nyarful Krampah's lineage, why was it not given to any other family but the Pomadze Twidan family? This question remained unanswered throughout the proceedings at the colonial courts. According to Fante custom, the sacredness of such regalia, the state sword, makes it more difficult for an outsider to have access to it. Only the children of male members of the family had access to it or a libation was poured before the family head could have access to it. From this, it was clear the state sword was handed over to Kweku Benyin by Abusuapayin Kojo Amuakwa of the Krampah's family, and when pressure began to mount on him to produce the sword, he denied the fact that he returned the sword to the original owners. In addition, why would Adu steal the state sword and sell it to Kweku Benya when the nomination had not been finalized by Abusuapayin Kojo Amuakwa? Adu would only have the urge to perpetuate this act after he had been denied the candidature to ascend the ancestral stool. Moreover, according to records, Adu never appeared before the District Commissioner for interrogation, which could possibly mean that Adu did not perpetuate such an act.

Moreover, the earlier evidence of mismanagement of Gomoa Ajumako's properties and maladministration explains the fact in this contest. Firstly, in 1906, Okyir Ansa, the predecessor of Ansa Osam, contracted a debt at Winneba. He borrowed £100 from Winneba and it was agreed that £50 interest would be charged, which he could not

²⁷⁹ PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/635, A Report to the D.C on the State Sword, 23 October, 1923, pp. 5 &; PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/729, Kojo Amuakwa vs. Kweku Benyin, 30 December 1928, pp. 3-19.; PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/729, Letter of Confirmation to the D.C from Kweku Benyin, 12 December 1928.

pay back. Following the recognized native procedure in such cases, the chief and people of Gomoa Ajumako refused to pay the money until they were compelled by an order of the Divisional Court in Accra in 1906 to pay back the money borrowed. The debt was paid, but still in accordance with the usual practice of Okyir Ansa of borrowing from some other sources, and with the additional usury, the liability amounted to over £300. In addition, he could not pay for the contribution required by the Aborigines' Rights Protection Society towards the expenses of the deputation to England in connection with the proposed Bill of 1897. It was at this stage that arrangements were made for the destoolment of Chief Okyir Ansa and enstoolment of Ansa Osam.²⁸⁰

Secondly, Nana Ansa Osam was convicted in 1915. Mr. Lamond, then Winneba District Commissioner, had stated that:

‘This Chief [Nana Ansa Osam] has several times been warned that he must not bury the bodies of those who died violent deaths unless an inquest has been held. In the present instance, it was alleged that a woman and child had been killed by lightning and his misconduct was aggravated by his [Ansa Osam] disobeying the summons and pleading guinea worm [stubborn]... The conduct of Ansa Osam has not been satisfactory.’²⁸¹

Thirdly, Nana Ansa Fua and his successor, Onyinpong Okyir Ababio, were also destooled for abusing the office of the paramount chief of Gomoa Ajumako. One of the charges levelled against Onyinpong Okyir Ababio was that he collected monies from the people of Gomoa Ajumako in the name of the British Government by false pretences.²⁸²

²⁸⁰ PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/722, Letter of confirmation from the D.C to Gomoa Ajumako state, 18 June 1907, p.17; PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/2729, Report on the abdication of Okyir Ansa, 30 October 1928, pp. 17 & 222.

²⁸¹ PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/117, Report on the convicted Ansa Osam, 28 December 1915; PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/2729, Enquiry on the Gomoa Ajumako dispute, 30 October 1928.

²⁸² PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/117, A Report on the destoolment of Ansa Fua, 25 October 1923; PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/117, A Report on the destoolment of Onyinpong Okyir Ababio, 7 August 1926. One of the

From the evidence discussed above, Kweku Benya's claim of Kojo Amuakwa willingly handing over the state sword to him on grounds of mismanagement appeared to be the truth. In all, the strife over the state sword lasted for about two years in the District Commissioner's Court.²⁸³ At the end, the Commissioner decided saying:

'In any event, I am satisfied that the disputants are all of the same Twidan family. There would be no objection, according to native customs, if Benyin acted as caretaker on behalf of the stool of Gomoa Ajumako state, and it must be as caretaker on behalf of the stool of Gomoa Ajumako state. However, Benyin, who claimed absolute ownership of the paramount stool, rejected this settlement. I [He] rule[d] that the state sword forms[ed] part of the paraphernalia attached to the paramount stool of Gomoa Ajumako state. It will therefore be handed over to the state council of Gomoa Ajumako, who may appoint a suitable caretaker.'²⁸⁴

To affirm the pre-colonial Fante tradition behind this decision, John Mensah Sarbah, who had hitherto written extensively on Fante customary laws was vindicated when he wrote that:

'They [Oman (state council)] may also remove the Ohene, if found unfit to rule them any longer; in either of which events the town sword and stool, with all public property thereunto appurtenant, are vested in the town council, whose duty it is to take them from the disposed ruler or his family and give them to the person appointed as a new ruler or manager during the interval.'²⁸⁵

Based on the decision by the Commissioner of the Central Province, the Gomoa Ajumako State Council, on 17 August 1931, enstooled Kweku Benyin as the paramount chief under the stool name Nana Apata Kofi II. The State Council was made up of forty-seven members led by the Tufuhen, Baidu Ababio, the village chief

charges leveled against Onyinpong Okyir Ababio was that he collected monies from the Ajumako state in the name of the British Government by false pretences.

²⁸³ PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/729, Letter of Confirmation to the D.C from Kweku Benyin, 12 December 1928.

²⁸⁴ PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/729, Kojo Amuakwa vs. Kweku Benyin, 30 December 1928, pp. 3-19.

²⁸⁵ Sarbah, *Fanti National Constitution*, p. 27.

of Mpota, also as the President in the absence of an Omanhen. A confirmation letter sent to the District Commissioner stated that:

‘We the undersigned chiefs and the sub-chiefs of Gomoa Ajumako state have the honour most respectfully to recommend through your worship for the information of His Excellency the Governor the election and installation of Nana Apata Kofi II. Omanhene of Gomoa Ajumako state for the confirmation and gazette.’²⁸⁶

The role of Tufuhen was very significant during the early days of the colonial rule; the best opportunities for such advancement in the traditional order was placed under the authority of the Asafo led by the Tufuhen. This institution, which in pre-colonial times had provided for the community's defence, survived the imposition of British rule far better than the chief's order.²⁸⁷ In the militarily volatile climate of the nineteenth century, created by the present threat of war with the Asante, the Asafomma of Gomoa Ajumako played vital roles in the British-Fante campaigns against this enemy. Even after the British replaced such forces with European and West Indian troops later in the century, the Asafo continued to have important roles in recruiting porters to carry ammunitions for campaigns in the interior. The result was an enhancement of the Asafo leaders' importance, especially its Commander-in-Chief, the Tufuhen, relative to the chiefs, who often acquired obstructionist reputations. As an indication of this, some Tufuhens and even Supis, who had provided substantial help to military expeditions against Asante, tried to supplant the chief's order in their towns.²⁸⁸ In addition, during the 1890s, opportunities for Asafo leaders increased, as colonial officials came increasingly to depend on native authority figures in the seaboard communities. Those, however, who had some western education, stood most

²⁸⁶ PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/ 722, Letter of confirmation to the District Commissioner, Winneba, 17 August 1931.

²⁸⁷ Ellis, *Gold Coast*, p. 280.

²⁸⁸ Gocking, *Invention of Tradition*, pp. 426-428.

to benefit, as they could communicate far better with the British officials and carry out their wishes.²⁸⁹

Taking advantage of his position as the Tufuhen of Gomoa Ajumako and Odzikro of Gomoa Mpota, Nana Baidu Ababio in 1935 destooled Nana Apata Kofi II, the Omanhen of Gomoa Ajumako. He was charged with maladministration by some section of Gomoa Ajumako State Council. This decision was challenged by another section of the Gomoa Ajumako State Council, basing their argument on the fact that Apata Kofi II threatened to destool the Tufuhen, hence his action to connive with five other opponents who had aligned themselves with some members of Nyarful Krampah's lineage to destool him.²⁹⁰

An extract of the petition sent by the other section of the State's Council opposing the behaviour of the Tufuhen stated vehemently that:

‘the Tufuhen did not want your excellency to approve or disapprove his alleged disposition of Nana Apata Kofi II, but he took it upon himself, with five others to elect to a candidate, Kwesi Gyan, from the despised Amuakwa family, a man who had been twice destooled as Omanhen by the Tufuhen himself, as acting President of the state council, and whose family stool the state of Gomoa Ajumako had wholly condemned in our letter to the District Commissioner, Winneba, dated 31 July 1931, on the following grounds: bad administration, wastage of the substance of the state, driven the state into various debts, disobedience of government policy, have brought no honour to the state and disrespect to the Oman...’²⁹¹

In the latter part of the 1930s, the government's main response to the destabilizing effect of the increasing competition for office in native states on its indirect rule policy was to adopt an ever more interventionist approach. It established ordinances to set up stool treasuries and eliminated the chronic misuse of stool revenue that was

²⁸⁹ Gocking, *Invention of Tradition*, pp. 426-428.

²⁹⁰ PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/ 722, Report on the Destoolment of Nana Apata Kofi II by Gomoa Ajumako state to the D.C, 3 April 1935.

²⁹¹ PRAAD/C ADM 23/1/ 722, Report on the Destoolment of Nana Apata Kofi II by Gomoa Ajumako State to the District Commissioner, 3 April 1935.

greatly responsible for attracting aspirants to offices in the native state. Similarly, the native tribunals, which offered some of the best opportunities for embezzlement of stool revenue, came under greater control by the British courts and hence prevented the urge for power contest over the paramount stool of Gomoa Ajumako until post-colonial period.²⁹²

4.4.2 Second Contest (1968-1981-4)

On 6 March 1957, the Gold Coast colony, Trans-Volta Togoland, Northern Territories and the Asante Protectorate gained independence from the British colonial rule. However, the struggle for the chief's power continued. It even became worse in the immediate post-colonial periods in the new country, Ghana. On Monday, 25 September 1972, Solomon Augustus Thompson became the paramount chief of Gomoa Ajumako under the stool name Nana Apata Kofi III. He became the sixth person from the Apata Kofi's lineage to have ascended the Omanhen stool of Gomoa Ajumako.²⁹³

Even though the underlying issue of this dispute was rooted in the pre-colonial period warfare and succession, an immediate event that brought back to life this dispute in the post-colonial era was a very fascinating one. The desire by the Apata Kofi's family to protect their vast stretch of land at Gomoa Pomadze, which had been encroached upon by their neighbouring state, Effutu, triggered off this contest. In 1968, the then paramount chief of Gomoa Ajumako, Nana Nyarful Krampah IX of the Nyarful Krampah's lineage, tried to use his capacity as the Omanhen to apportion Gomoa Nkwantanan (Winneba Junction) to some citizens of Gomoa Ajumako. Among these individuals was Mr. S. K. Mbroh of Gomoa Dahom, who assisted financially during the litigation over Gomoa Nkwantanan lands between the Apata

²⁹² Gocking, *Invention of Tradition*, p. 440.

²⁹³ Nana Apata Kofi III, alias Thompson, Twidan of Gomoa Pomadze replaced Nana Obosu Nyarful Krampah VII as the paramount chief of Gomoa Ajumako.

Kofi's Gomoa Pomadze and the Effutu in the 1970s.²⁹⁴ All other citizens of Gomoa Ajumako were to build on the said land free, but Mr. S. K. Mbroh was to become the chief of the new township under the stool name Kwesi Egyir. Nana Apata Kofi XIII, the then Odzikro of Gomoa Pomadze, on hearing this proclamation, immediately registered his objection to Mr. S. K. Mbroh being made the Odzikro of Gomoa Nkwantanan because the site of the new township belonged to his stool.²⁹⁵

Based on this disagreement, the State Council ordered him to slaughter a sheep because his conduct in refusing to recognize S. K. Mbroh was an insult to the Omanhen (Nana Nyarful Krampah IX). However, Nana Apata Kofi XIII refused to comply with the sanctions; he boycotted the meeting and refused to attend State council meetings as well. On 31 December 1968, Nana Apata Kofi XIV addressed a petition to the National Liberation Council (N.L.C.) asking for the paramount stool position of Gomoa Ajumako to be reverted to him and his family (Apata Kofi's family) as they were the true descendants of Apata Kofi, the founder of the state.²⁹⁶

In 1972, the Superior Court of Judicature in the High Court of Justice, Cape Coast, Ghana ruled the matter in favour of Solomon Augustus Thompson. In that case, the Regional Commissioner instructed an ad hoc committee of the Central Regional House of Chiefs to investigate and report on the said dispute. In compliance with the High Court order, the standing committee of five members, who were paramount

²⁹⁴ Gomoa Nkwantanan is part of Gomoa Pomadze lands.

²⁹⁵ The stool name of the Odzikro of Gomoa Pomadze is Nana Kwesi Arhin, but Mr. Solomon Augustus Thompson, and his two predecessors, Morgan (Apata Kofi XII) and Johnson (Apata Kofi XIII) chose the name Apata Kofi that was the paramount stool chief's title for the Apata Kofi lineage, therefore, continuing from Nana Kwesi Arhin XI. Two of these three Adzikrofo of Gomoa Pomadze, namely Morgan, and Thompson, on their enstoolment had in mind the desire to become paramount chiefs. Morgan, after becoming the Odikro of Gomoa Pomadze, became a close friend to Nana Nyarful Krampah that he felt reluctant to pursue his desires; however, when he later made an attempt to pursue his desire he died, in 1956. Thompson being the second successor of Morgan upon becoming the Odzikro of Pomadze had the zeal of pursuing the dispute started by his predecessor.

²⁹⁶ Ruling by the Cape Coast High Court, p. 7.

chiefs within the Central Regional House of Chiefs, was constituted as a committee for the purpose of probing the dispute. The duty of the committee was to ascertain whether there was any substance in the claim by the Apata Kofi's lineage that the paramount stool of Gomoa Ajumako originally belonged to them.

In the enquiries of that case dated 13 September 1968, Nana Nyarful Krampah IX stated that: 'I am Nana Nyarful Krampah IX, Omanhen of Gomoa Ajumako. I have been twenty-four years on the stool. My ancestors migrated from Tekyiman, north of Ashanti [Asante Region]. They settled first at Mankessim and then at Gomoa-man-mu and thence to Gomoa Ajumako under one Assan as their leader. Hence, we were called Assan-mba Ajumako. Our ancestor was called [Obaatan] Gomoaba. The first king [head chief] was Apata Kofi; my ancestor was Nyarful Krampah of Twidan clan and so was Apata Kofi. Krampah founded the village of Krobo Sardo near Apam. Apata Kofi founded Pomadze...During the Bobikuma and Esikuma Wars, Apata Kofi gave the state sword to Krampah Kuma as a gift to lead the Ajumakoman....'²⁹⁷

Moreover, the Edzikrofo of the then traditional council of Gomoa Ajumako that witnessed in the case to either Nana Apata Kofi or Nana Nyarful Krampah's family confirmed that the ancestors of Solomon Augustus Thompson were the true founders or the owners of the paramount stool. Among these declarations was that of the Adontenhen, who was the next in command and whose position was highly revered, and at the same time, a witness to Nana Nyarful Krampah IX. The Adontenhen on 19 September 1968, during the enquiry, stated that:

'I admit you [Apata Kofi] are by right eligible to the paramount stool of Gomoa Ajumako. I say that the Gomoa Ajumako state serves the stool and the sword. I do not agree that the Gomoa Ajumako state

²⁹⁷ Ruling by the Cape Coast High Court. p. 6.

serves the sword only but it serves the stool. Also, I was told that Apata Kofi gave the stool and the sword to Krampah as a gift.²⁹⁸

Based on these statements, the ad hoc committee did not hesitate in filing their report to the Cape Coast High Court. The following was the recommendations by the standing committee of the Regional House of Chiefs on 23 September 1968:

‘In recognition of the past services of the Nyarful Krampahs to the Gomoa Ajumako state, and for the fact that the Krampahs have held the fort for so long, we are convinced that it is equitable that the present Omanhene Nana Nyarful Krampah IX be allowed to remain on the stool until his vacation of the stool, death, abdication or destoolment when the paramount stool shall revert and vest in the family of Apata Kofi XIV²⁹⁹, the plaintiff herein and the true descendants of Assan, the founder of the state and the stool: and we recommend so accordingly...³⁰⁰

At the end, the court ruled that ‘the legitimacy to rule should be reverted to the original owners after the death of Nyarful Krampah IX. This ruling was based on the recommendation and the evidence of admission made by Nana Nyarful Krampah IX himself and his witnesses during the enquiry, which established that the family of Nana Apata Kofi was the true descendants of Assan and Apata Kofi, the founders of the Oman of Gomoa Ajumako. In addition, for so many years, other members of Apata Kofi’s lineage never abandoned their rights to rule as Omanhen. Kweku Benya [Benyin] of Apata Kofi’s family, for instance, was admitted by Nana Nyarful Krampah IX himself to be a person who insisting on his family’s rights and thus ascended the paramount stool and reigned as Omanhen for five years after which he was destooled for maladministration.³⁰¹

²⁹⁸ Reports by the Committee of Enquiry established by the Cape Coast High Court, p. 8.

²⁹⁹ Nana Apata Kofi XIV was the Odikro of Gomoa Pomadze and then later became the Omanhen of Gomoa Ajumako under the stool name Nana Apata Kofi III.

³⁰⁰ Ruling by the Cape Coast High Court, p. 2.

³⁰¹ Ibid; See also *In re Gomoa Ajumako paramount stool; Acquah, vs. Apaa* [1998-99] Supreme Court Ghana Law Report (Henceforth, SCGLR).

As usual, the recommendation by the ad hoc committee of the Central Regional House of Chiefs and the Superior Court of Judicature, in the High Court of Justice, Cape Coast, never pleased the Nyarful Krampah's lineage. Nine years later, on 25 September 1981, Nana Apata Kofi III of the Twidan family of Gomoa Pomadze was destooled from the Omanhen stool, firstly, by the Gomoa Ajumako Oman on charges of maladministration and being inconsiderate at Ekwamkrom. Secondly, following an affidavit filed by the Nyarful Krampah's lineage in 1981, the chieftaincy tribunal of the Central Regional House of Chiefs gave ruling in favour of the Nyarful Krampah's lineage after examining certain relevant parts of the evidence. There have been various debates on the reversed decision by the Central Regional House of Chiefs. Firstly, there were some debates that the decision was upheld because the Apata Kofi's lineage failed to provide enough evidence to support their claim. Secondly, some believed that the Nyarful Krampah's lineage influenced the Central Regional House of Chiefs' decision because of the earlier relationship the Nyarful Krampah's lineage had with some paramount chiefs within the Central Regional House of Chiefs as hitherto he was the occupant of Gomoa Ajumako paramount stool and hence, member of Central Regional House of Chiefs.

The following was the ruling by the Central Regional House of Chiefs:

‘On the totality of the evidence adduced this Tribunal has no hesitation in concluding that the defendants [Apata Kofis] have failed to establish their claim to the Twidan royal stool of Gomoa Ajumako. On the other hand, the petitioner in evidence has convincingly showed that his ancestors have an unquestionable claim to the paramountcy of the Twidan royal stool of Gomoa Ajumako. Be it as it may, the second defendant [Nana Apata Kofi III] has by some dubious mean [means] succeeded in having his name gazetted as the incumbent Omanhene of Gomoa Ajumako Traditional Area [state]. Unseating him is what this Tribunal can at best recommend in this judgment. The tribunal will enter judgment in favour of the petitioner [Krampah lineage] and grant

the reliefs sought by him in his petition filed during November 1982.³⁰²

Examining from the extract above, the reversed decision by the Central Regional House of Chiefs on the dispute under study was based on the possession of evidence, particularly surrounding the state sword of Gomoa Ajumako. Whereas the Apata Kofi's lineage claimed the human jaw attached to the state sword was the human jaw of their enemy, Nyarko Eku, the then overlord of Agona State, the Nyarful Krampah's lineage, on the other hand claimed it was the jaw of Gura Kuma, then Odzikro of Gomoa Asikuma and a subject of Gomoa Ajumako, on grounds that Gura Kuma's jaw was attached after he attempted to flee the battlefield.³⁰³ However, as examined earlier, the decoration of regalia by human part of an enemy [Nyarko Eku's jaw] was more deterrent than the use of a subject's body parts [Gura Kuma's jaw]. This was because the use of Nyarko Eku's jaw would remind the Agona state of their agony and further discourage them for any future act of contempt, whereas the use of Gura Kuma's jaw illustrate tyranny and authoritative rule in the eyes of the subjects, which would eventually lead to the deposition of the tyrant.

However, with a regent at the helm of affairs, between 1981-4, the Twidan family of Gomoa Pomadze challenged the verdict of the Central Regional House of Chiefs at the National House of Chiefs. In the end, the chieftaincy court ruled that:

'The lower Regional Tribunal failed to avert their minds to the whole evidence that they adduce, especially the concise evidence of Nana Nyarful Krampah in the light and face of the overwhelming evidence, we grant the appeal and allow the relief sought. This much we have to emphasis. The Respondents have distinguished themselves both at war and in peace. They [Krampah's lineage] have shown their class and done a lot for Gomoa Ajumako. The justice of their case demands that

³⁰² *SCGLR*, p. 315.

³⁰³ In The Regional House of Chiefs, Central Region - Cape Coast, Between Ebusuapayin Kwa Nana, Head of The Royal Odandan Twidan paramount stool of Gomoa Ajumako VRS. Ebusuapayin Kwame Apaa, Head of Twidan Family of Gomoa Pomadze & Nana Apata Kofi, alias Thompson of Gomoa Pomadze. p. 37.

the ascension to the stool should continue to be between Apata Kofi and Nyarful Krampah royal families'.³⁰⁴

In 1984, following a successful appeal by the Royal Twidan family of Gomoa Pomadze at the National House of Chiefs, Robert Kweku Idan, one of the members of the Apata Kofi's lineage, was made a paramount chief of Gomoa Ajumako under the stool name Okutupon Apata Kofi IV on 14 September 1984. Okutupon Apata Kofi IV ruled for fourteen years and was destooled on 2 March 1998, following a petition by the Royal Krobo Twidan family to the Supreme Court of Ghana. In replacement of Okutupon Apata Kofi IV as the paramount chief was an ex-army officer and member of the Nyarful Krampah's lineage under the stool name Okatekyi Nyarful Krampah X.³⁰⁵

Giving his view on this chieftaincy contest, Brobbey stated that, 'A compromise judgment should be initiated by the parties. A court or customary arbitration cannot initiate moves for a compromise. On this dispute, the National House of Chiefs turned itself into a settlement committee and granted a compromise judgment not sought for by the parties. The Supreme Court held that it had acted without jurisdiction and its compromise could not stand.'³⁰⁶

Placed in an order of ascension, the table below indicates the various occupants of Gomoa Ajumako paramount stool gleaned from the traditional versions of the Apata Kofi and the Nyarful Krampah's lineages, and exhibits tendered before the Colonial Judicial Assessors, Houses of Chiefs, High Court, and the Supreme Court of Ghana, and records of notification to Colonial District Commissioners.

³⁰⁴ SCGLR, p. 315.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p.312; Brobbey, *Laws of Chieftaincy in Ghana*, p. 448.

Table 3. List of occupants from both Apata Kofi and Nyarful Krampah's lineages

Apata Kofi's lineage	Nyarful Krampah's lineage
Obaatan Gomoa Safohen Assan Opotsi Esiakwa Gura Kofua Apata Kofi	Krampah Payin Krampah Kuma Onyinpong Okyir Okyir Ansa Ansa Osam Ansa Fua Onyinpong Okyir Ababio Ansa Fua
Nana Apata Kofi II	Nyarful Krampah VIII Nyarful Krampah IX
Nana Apata Kofi III Okutupong Apata Kofi IV	Okatekyi Nyarful Krampah X Obrempong Nyarful Krampah XI

4.6 Conclusion

The table above indicates clearly that it was after Nana Ansa Fua that the competing traditions substantially agreed on who the original occupants of the stool were. With reference to this event was the attractive nature of the chieftaincy institution necessitated by the possession of the state sword. Meanwhile, the competing traditions laid emphasis on the Bobikuma war (Kwasi Gyani war) of 1863 as the period when balance of power shifted from the Apata Kofi's lineage to the Nyarful Krampah's lineage. Putting the occupants of the stool in tabular form reveals the chronological occupation of the stool, which is in line with the founding history; it uncovers the various roles performed by the two lineages in the founding of Gomoa Ajumako. Moreover, the competing tradition of the Apata Kofi's lineage pointing at the Nyarful Krampah's lineage of being their children remains the backbone of the political contestation in Gomoa Ajumako.

CHAPTER FIVE

EFFECTS OF THE DISPUTE ON THE PEOPLE OF GOMOA

AJUMAKO

5.1 Introduction

The most tragic thing is that a chieftaincy case can last for many years in separate judicial committees or courts. The originators of the dispute may not be alive to continue with the dispute, but they would be substituted by their progeny who would also refuse or dare not to give up the fight for what they believe their ancestors had left for them. This chapter deals with the remote and the immediate causes of the succession disputes in Gomoa Ajumako and their effects on the chieftaincy institution and the society. The said dispute started in the colonial court and then through the various stages of adjudication process of the post-colonial period. This chapter examines how chieftaincy disputes have affected the social, economic and political lives of the people of Gomoa Ajumako.

5.2 Impacts of the Chieftaincy Disputes at Gomoa Ajumako

Chieftaincy disputes have had various effects on the communities and people within the jurisdiction of Gomoa Ajumako. The impacts of this succession disputes have been grouped into economic, social and political.

5.2.1 Social Impact

Firstly, the political contestation in Gomoa Ajumako was characterized by fear of loss of political power to the opponents and tensions in the resident communities of the disputing parties who always saw the choice of a paramount chief from their end as development in disguise. The two disputing families live in separate communities within the state. Currently, Gomoa Ajumako has over forty-eight (48) communities. Each of these two disputing communities wished the paramount stool family status

was in their community. This was because having a paramount chief come from their community would promote orderliness and prestige. This has been the struggle between the two contesting communities - Gomoa Pomadze, Gomoa Awomerew and Gomoa Abaasa. The last time Nana Okutupon Apata Kofi IV was made the paramount chief, the people of Gomoa Abaasa and Awomerew refused to pay their allegiance to him. On the other hand, Gomoa Pomadze paid allegiance to Oketeki Nyarful Krampah X but did that in a lukewarm attitude. In addition, most often, members of these communities despise the ruling paramount chief with gross disrespect, hence disrespect to the paramount stool.³⁰⁷

Secondly, the impact of losing the political office to the opponents was manifested in how some occupants of the paramount stool tried to enrich themselves through court fines, extortion from sub-chiefs who had been threatened with destoolment, and the placement of huge amounts on the head of an incoming sub-chief before he/she would be sworn in, said it all. The act of grafting monetary variables sometimes was due to the fear of losing the paramount stool title at any point in time. For example, not assured of his permanent stay on the stool, Ansa Fua ascended the stool three times and at the same time was destooled twice on charges of misconduct and misappropriation of the state's resources.³⁰⁸

Moreover, psychological instability was a major effect of the dispute as ordinary members of the two disputing families would be made paramount chiefs and be destooled at any point in time. Their destoolment meant that they would be moved from the status of being paramount chiefs to ordinary men and women where their former subjects as well as victims (those who were guilty in their courts) could mock

³⁰⁷ Identity of the interviewee hidden for security purpose.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

them for returning to their former status. This led to the death of Apata Kofi III and Nyarful Krampah IX who were so distressed of the impending change or a change in their status from Amanhen to ordinary men.³⁰⁹

Finally, the dispute has led to loss of some valuable traditions of Gomoa Ajumako. The Nyarful Krampah's family who had held the position for so long has engaged in twisting the history of Gomoa Ajumako to augment their claim of being the paramount stool family. An example of loss of tradition was the argument on the state oaths. Whereas the Apata Kofi's family claimed Apata Kofi Fida and Krampah Benada, the Nyarful Krampah's family claimed Krampah Fida and Okyir Benada. Disputing Apata Kofi Fida and Krampah Benada to be Krampah Fida and Okyir Benada meant rejection of the fact that the Apata Kofi lineage had ever ascended the paramount stool of Gomoa Ajumako, hence loss of tradition.³¹⁰ However, examining the date on which Krampah Payin was killed, 12 May 1863, showed that Krampah Payin was killed on Tuesday and not Friday, as claimed by the Nyarful Krampah's lineage. This analysis augments the Apata Kofi's lineage claim that the two oaths of Gomoa Ajumako were Apata Kofi Fida and Krampah Benada.

5.2.2 Economic Impact

Violent disputes or conflicts lead to loss of lives and property. Some people lost their lives because they were attacked and killed by their opponents in power struggle. In Gomoa Ajumako, loss of lives and property was not through weaponry but through spiritual combats. During political contests, the homes of soothsayers, prophets, and makers of the deadliest charms weaponry became the abode of the members of the disputing parties. In several instances, some members of the disputing parties were

³⁰⁹ Interview with Mr. Samuel Quayson, a stakeholder in Gomoa Ajumako State, 12 March 2017.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*

killed through spiritual combats.³¹¹ Moreover, in the area of loss of properties, Gomoa Pomadze has lost most of its lands to the Effutu people of Winneba due to absence of unity between the two ruling houses of the Gomoa Ajumako Paramount stool. Chieftaincy dispute between the two royal families is preventing them from coming together to fight towards reclaiming their lost land from the Effutu people. The reason for this effect was that should the Apata Kofi lose their land to the Effutu state, they would be compelled to pay their allegiance to the Effutu paramount stool, hence the Nyarful Krampah's family would have no competitor to the paramount stool of Gomoa Ajumako. Being aware of this, the Nyarful Krampah's lineage, anytime they ascend the stool show lukewarm attitude in protection of Apata Kofi lineage's land.³¹²

Wastefulness of state, family and individual resources was another effect of the dispute. Each of the contests from the colonial times through to the post-colonial times had seen respective governments spend state resources in the formation of commissions of enquiry to examine the Gomoa Ajumako dispute. Again, individual resources and family assets were sometimes sold to raise funds for the payment of legal charges and fines, sometimes to the detriment of their private businesses.³¹³

5.2.3 Political Impact

Moreover, there is the effect of rebellion by sub-chiefs in trying to be autonomous. Communities believe that the Apata Kofi's lineage as the founders of Gomoa Ajumako have resorted to constant rebellion to the Nyarful Krampah's lineage with the sole aim of being independent from the rulership of the Nyarful Krampah's lineage as the paramount stool lineage. An example of this is the action of Nana Ogyedom Obrenu Kwesi Atta VI, the chief of Afransi and former divisional chief to

³¹¹ Interview with Mr. Samuel Quayson, a stakeholder in Gomoa Ajumako state, 12 March 2017.

³¹² *Ibid.* The Gomoa have lost a place now known as New Winneba to the Effutu and are gradually losing Winneba Junction to the Effutu as well.

³¹³ Interview with Mr. Samuel Hemans, a stakeholder in Gomoa Ajumako state, 13 March 2017.

the Gomoa Ajumako stool, trying to be autonomous and thereby creating his own paramountcy out of some communities in Gomoa Ajumako.³¹⁴

5.3 Conclusion

The chieftaincy disputes in Gomoa Ajumako continue to be a threat to development in that part of Ghana. In addition, the succession disputes between the two parties do not only affect the members of these two families but the citizens of the state as well. However, with these impacts examined above in mind, people are consciously motivated to obtain chieftaincy titles. The obvious reasons for this quest include social, economic and political prestige as well as the inner feeling as an obligation to continue with the legacies of one's ancestors and to establish a unique identity among the general populace.

³¹⁴ Interview with Mr. Samuel Hemans, a stakeholder in Gomoa Ajumako state, 13 March 2017.

CHAPTER SIX

GENERAL CONCLUSION

It is undoubtedly true that the people of Gomoa Ajumako migrated from Tekyiman with their fellow Fante states through Mankessim and then to Gomoa-man-mu before spreading to the other areas of settlement, including the Gomoa Ajumako settlements. Before the Asante constantly pummelled the southern states with invasions, there were minor wars within the Fante states, sometimes to the point of destruction. Apart from the earlier Fante recognition of the Braffo of Mankessim as their supreme ruler, the Fante never recognized any authority as their overlord. Rather, the various language divisions grouped themselves into quarters with the most influential persons as their respective leaders. Based on this background, during the period of political upheavals and insecurity in the pre-colonial periods of Ghana's history, out of his abilities of leadership, Gomoa led the people who would later become known as Gomoa people to establish Gomoa-man-mu. In appreciation of his caring leadership, his people honoured him with the accolade *Obaatan*, mother, even though he was a man.

The two states (Gomoa Assin and Gomoa Ajumako) of the Gomoa people traced their paternal root through this ancestor. Several oral traditions have mentioned Obaatan Gomoa as a woman but not as a man. Arguably, Obaatan Gomoa was a man because Gomoa Assin and Ajumako paramount stool families were not of the same clan; that of Assin was Nsona, whereas that of Ajumako was Twidan. In the Akan tradition of clanship, the differences in clan names, totems and accolades developed whenever there were different female lines not belonging to the same clan. In other words, the two states of Gomoa could not have originated from one female line, instead a single male ancestor, because such an ancestor could marry more than one wife. This

justifies the statement that Obaatan Gomoa was a man who married different women - one Nsona woman and one Twidan woman.

Moreover, in the traditions of the Akan (including Gomoa) people, a man's children were not entitled to succeed him after death because they belong to their maternal lineage. However, it was an obligation for the children to protect their fathers' property. Obaatan Gomoa rewarded his eldest son, Assan, as the Safohen of the Asafo of the Gomoa people. Gomoaman was the formation of his own state, Gomoa Assan-mba Ajumako state, even though as an independent settlement, he continually served his father as a Safohen. His settlement or position was traditionally referred to as the foot, whilst his father remained as the political head of all the Gomoa people. However, the recognition of Gomoa Ajumako as an independent state from the jurisdiction of Omanhen of Gomoa Assin state took over two decades before official recognition was granted by the British colonial government in 1917.

Based on this, in dealing with the political contestation in Gomoa Ajumako, it is reasonably safe to offer a broad generalization about the social and political organizations of the people in the pre-colonial, colonial and the post-colonial periods. The people of Gomoa Ajumako lived in a large number of isolated, self-contained societies: isolated by difficulties of transport, by fear of warfare and slave raiding, by relatively self-sufficient economy, and by a tightly knit sense of community and kinship. The state had its own clearly defined system of rights and obligations, whether or not this was oriented towards a political chief. The social relationships of the individual and, more importantly, his social status were determined largely by lineage, kinship, and age. A man might be born either a slave or free; the fact of slavery did not extinguish all his rights, but it did severely limit his social horizons and his political functions. The matrilineal system of the Gomoa people illustrated the

general principle that the rights of succession and inheritance were determined according to an elaborate lineage structure. This implies that the succession dispute in Gomoa Ajumako was built on the premise of social principles that directed the daily activities of the people without which the disputes would not have existed.

However, in exceptional cases, non-royals were invited to ascend royal stool, not considering the laid-down principles guiding ascension to royal stools. In such circumstances, the status of the occupant of the stool changed from being a non-royal to a royal, but not his descendants. His descendants who did not occupy the stool still remained non-royals until they were given the mandate by the Oman and the elders of the royal family to rule. In 1863/5, Krampah Payin and Krampah Kuma were invited to the position of regency over Gomoa Ajumako paramount stool, the position that their descendants held until 1926 when Kweku Benyin, a descendant of the Apata Kofi's lineage, contested the paramount stool position at Winneba District Commissioner's office and won in 1930. His ascension to the stool implied that Nyarful Krampah Payin and Nyarful Krampah Kuma were promoted from being children to the status of royalty, that is, as members of their father's lineage but not their descendants.

Most of the chieftaincy disputes in Ghana are built on the premise of misapplication of rotation system or an attempt to create a dual descent on ascension of ancestral stool in certain areas contrary to the traditions of the people. The succession dispute in Gomoa Ajumako differs from major chieftaincy disputes to the extent that it revolves around son and father relationship in the Akan context. For instance, in the Akwapim chieftaincy dispute the indigenous Guan ethnic groups wanted an independence from the Ofori Kuma stool of Akan descent established under the 1731 Concord of Abotakyi. This dispute was motivated by ethnic histories, land litigation and the quest

to establish an identity. The second was the Wenchi chieftaincy dispute, where political interplay and allegation of servile ancestry have created two contesting royal lineages. Thirdly, the Effutu chieftaincy dispute was built on an attempt to establish dual descent. This dispute was caused by maternal interludes that distracted the existing paternal inheritance system, thereby creating two contesting lineages.

An interesting thing about the competing traditions is that before 1974 they had all maintained that Obaatan Gomoaba led his people to establish Gomoa-man-mu Safohen Assan founded Gomoa Ajumako village, whilst Apata Kofi expanded it to become Gomoa Ajumako state. However, to augment their claim and to disconnect their family ties with the Apata Kofi's lineage, the storyline changed. After 1974 when Eva Meyerowitz had published her book, whose information on the founding of Gomoa Ajumako was provided by Nana Nyarful Krampah IX in 1944, the founding of Gomoa Ajumako changed from Obaatan Gomoaba, Safohen Assan, and Apata Kofi to Nana Dwomo, Akyere, Mansa, and Owusu, as stated in Eva Meyerowitz's book. The latest invention, however, deepened the earlier disagreement on the true royals of the state. It was the disagreement that formed the arena for 1982 contest and the subsequent disputes.

Furthermore, as oral traditions are transmitted through the word of mouth, several biases, prejudices and distortions took place, which manifested themselves in the invention of several folklores to the founding of Gomoa Ajumako. Various scholarly works on the invention of tradition in African oral tradition had proven how traditions had been invented and others appropriated to fit into the claim of legitimacy over traditional stools. It has also revealed how caretakership/regency in the period of long interregnum and the lucrative development of the chieftaincy institution by the colonial government through the indirect rule system revived people's interest.

Moreover, taking advantage of the political contest in Gomoa Ajumako, there may be merits in the allegations that the subsequent contests had had interplay of the two major political parties in Ghana - New Patriotic Party (NPP) and National Democratic Congress (NDC). These allegations will require further study. Probably, the political interplay in the subsequent contests will be ascertained in the event when the NPP is out of power. Taking clue from major chieftaincy disputes underpinned by political interplay, particularly the Wenchi and the Dagbon chieftaincy disputes, it is undoubtedly clear that the disputes in Wenchi and Dagbon were rooted in colonial and the early period of post-colonial Ghana. The allegations of political interplay in Gomoa Ajumako were only of recent development, precisely in the middle part of the 1990s. The recent nature of such allegation means that a careful study must be exercised to ascertain the allegation of political interplay in Gomoa Ajumako chieftaincy dispute, and also accepting the fact that political interplay in chieftaincy affairs has no time limit.

Briefly, in order to claim legitimacy over the paramount stool, the two disputing parties of Gomoa Ajumako have resorted to the act of downplaying each other. However, it must be appreciated that the two disputing parties have both contributed in enormous ways to Gomoa Ajumako's development but at different times and on different occasions. They have both played their half to the complete history of Gomoa Ajumako.

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APPENDICES

ANNEX 1

Pictures of Some Occupants of Gomoa Ajumako Paramount Stool



Nana Apata kofi II



Nana Apata kofi III



Okutupon Apata Kofi IV

SOURCE: Archives of Apata Kofi's lineage



ONYINPONG OKYIR VIII



OKATEKYI NYANFUL KRAMPAH X



**NANA OBOSU
NYANFUL KRAMPAH IX**

SOURCE: Festival Brochure, *Gomoa Ajumako state Akwambo kese*, Gomoa Ajumako Village, December 2015. p. 8

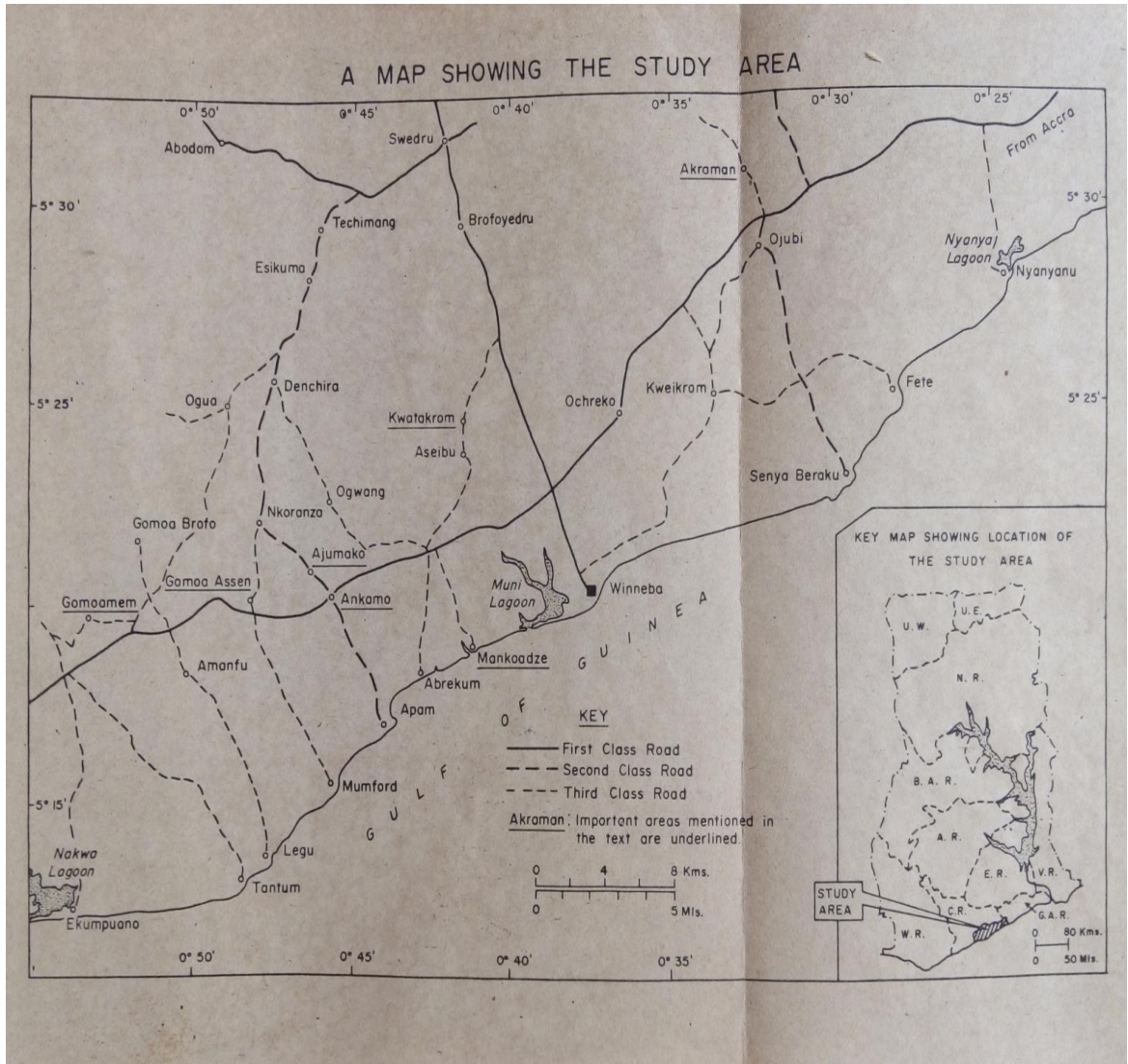


Obrempong Nyarful Krampah XI

SOURCE: Festival Brochure, *Gomoa Ajumako state Akwambo kese*, Gomoa Ajumako Village, December 2015. p. 9.

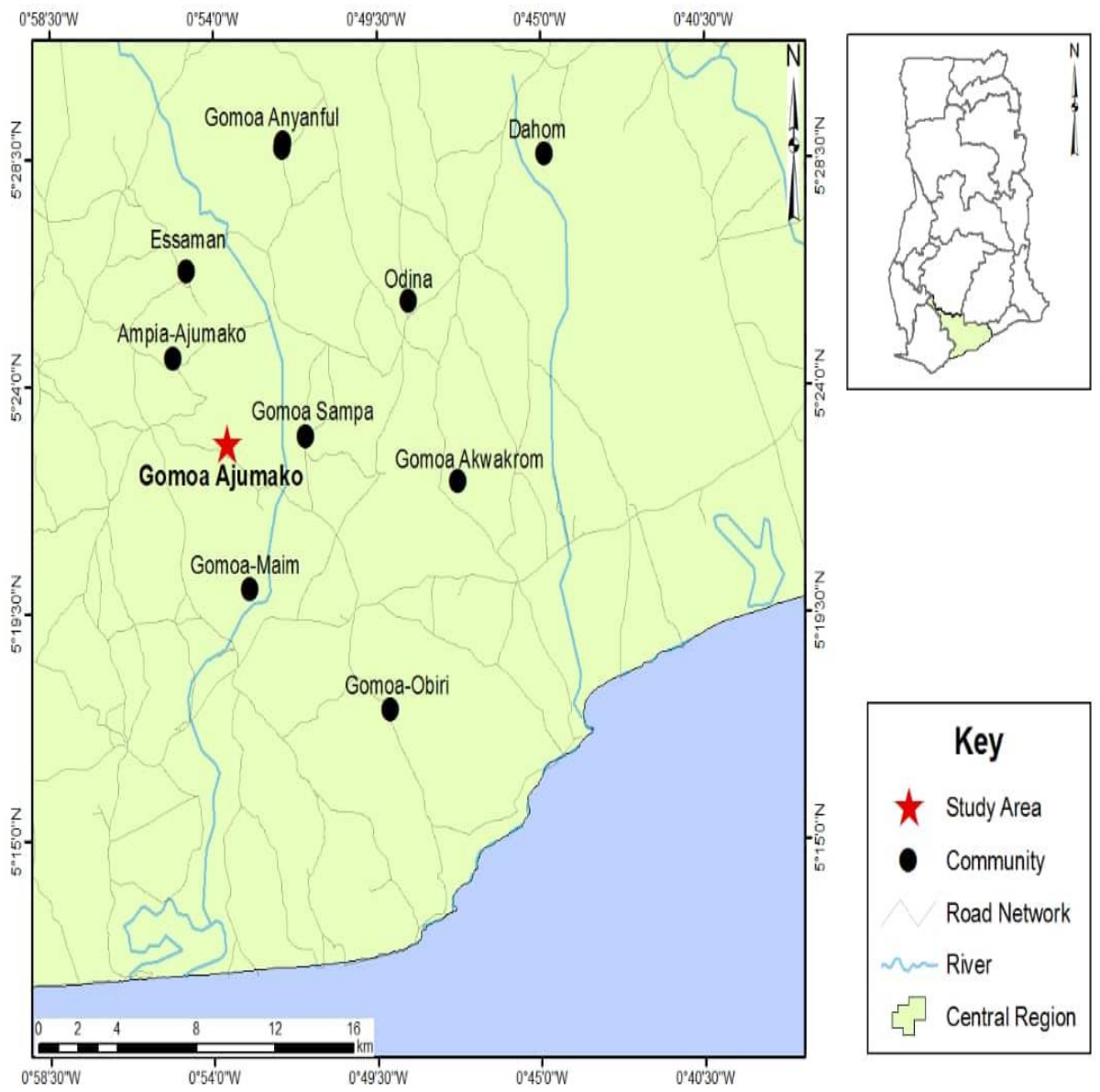
ANNEX 2

MAPS OF THE STUDY AREA



SOURCE: Thomas Kweku Aubyn, *'A short history of Gomoa.'* Unpublished B.A diss., University of Ghana, Legon, 1983.

Gomoa Ajumako in the sixteen Regions of Ghana



SOURCE: Author's creation