

and acted generally as their intermediary with the King.

The people of Gyaman, who wanted to go to the coast (Accra) did not pass through Kumasi. Their route lay through Nkoranza to Attebubu, Krachi and thence to Accra.

The last Ashanti - Gyaman War 1818-1819

Osei Bonsu Panyin (Osei Tutu Kwame 1800-1824) sent Butuakwa to demand from the King of Gyaman Adinkera, a Golden Stool, which he was alleged to have made and a fine of a thousand pounds for having made it. The people of Gyaman refused to deliver the stool and pay the fine. The Brongs were attacked and the forces joined at the river Tano. The informant refused to discuss the outcome of the war.

Kwame Arhin.

THE WIDER BACKGROUND OF THE SALAGA CIVIL WAR

Amongst the Salaga Papers which I have been compiling, are a number which deal with the Salaga Civil War of the 1890s. Some of these papers suggest that the dispute was of long standing and throw light on a little-known period of Ghana history. Most of the works cited in this paper are included in the Salaga Papers now being issued by the Institute of African Studies.

The Civil War which broke out in Salaga in 1892 had its immediate cause in a succession dispute. The Kpembe skin has, or is supposed to have a rotating succession between the three branches of the ruling family, Affai, Sungbum and Kanyase; these three chieftainships are known as the three "gates" to Kpembe, whose chief had to pass through one of them. The immediate cause of the dispute was that no Kpembe chief had been appointed from the Kanyase family for many years.

Succession disputes in the Kpembe division are nothing new. In 1817, we hear of the deposition of an Affai chief, and the attachment of his stool (skin) to the "Chief of Premehinia" (?Kpembehene, i.e. Kpembe-wura), his brother, on the orders of the Ashantiene.¹ This arrangement does not seem to have become permanent.

In the 1820s, there was a full-scale civil war. Kpembe tradition remembers this in the reign of Dosi against whom Lepo and Kanyase families were allied.² The Qissat Salgha speaks of fighting for twelve years;³

this appears to have included the Krupe war, remembered in Krachi tradition as taking place in the reign of the Asantihene Osei Yaw (1824-1834):

"The cause of the war was that one Sunkpum of Gonja who was the Sunkpumwura had wanted to claim the Kpembe stool. He therefore went and appealed to the Asantihene to fight the Kpembiwura and the Gonjas and that he, Sungbumwura, would reveal the secret of the Gonja warfare, so that after the defeat of the Gonjas he should be made the Kpembiwura. The Ashantihene agreed and sent an army to fight the Kpembiwura. The Kpembis, together with Leop, Wayan and Kenyase sent messengers (to the Krachis)...."⁴

This traditional account goes on to tell of the defeat of the Ashantis and Sungbums at Krupi (with the help of rain caused by Dente). This defeat was followed by a punitive expedition led by Nubin or Nibire, who was eventually defeated and beheaded by the Bagyamso chief.

This campaign may well be the same as that related to the Landers by kola merchants who had been in "the city of Gonja" (evidently Salaga) to buy kola in 1830. According to the Landers' informants, the first Ashanti expedition, which was ambushed, went to punish the refusal of the Gonja to take part in the 1824 war. According to the kola merchants, (who do not mention any succession dispute) "the city of Gonja" was abandoned and destroyed in a second, punitive expedition. They regarded Gonja as no longer part of Ashanti, but independent.⁵

This episode, which must be dated to 1829-30, seems to be part of a very widespread rising against Ashanti. Accra and Akwamu, Akwapim and Akim had all been persuaded to fight against Ashanti in 1826. Within a few years of the end of the war, Juaben had quarrelled with Kumasi and seceded to Akim, where the Juabens were busy selling guns and powder to the north⁶ — presumably to the people of Salaga and their allies, all of whom had close relations with Juaben. These allies included part of the Guan country, and extended south to Akroso and Pai on the Volta. The Peki people, including many Ewe groups and the Nkonyas, broke free from Akwamu at the same period.

The Salaga succession dispute of the 1830s must thus be seen as a part of an anti-Ashanti rising which closely paralleled the rising after the next major Ashanti defeat in 1874.

With the return of Juaben to the Kumasi allegiance after the death of the Juaben chief Boaten and his brother in 1840, Ashanti control over Salaga and Krachi was re-established. A Krachi tradition reported by Ferguson mentions the capture and execution of a chief priest of Dente by Dewia king of Atebubu.⁷ Ferguson, in the 1890s, was told of the origins of the later Salaga dispute:

"a long time ago, when Salaga was under Kumasi, rival claims in the stool of Kpembe were made by Sempe-wula / Lempo-wula?, Kunaka-wula, in which both claimants fought with vacillating results. The King of Ashanti ordered Dewia, king of Atebubu, to settle the matter, and it was arranged that the order of succession should be, Pembi wula, Kunaka wula, Kanjase wula".⁸

Kunakawula is the Kanakulai wura, the chief of Alfai; "Pembiwula" in this passage must be the Sungbumwura. This, and not the end of the civil war of the 1890s, was probably the occasion of the oath mentioned by Tomlinson (whose account of the civil war is inaccurate in a number of ways)⁹; by this oath, sworn at Papitia, it was agreed that the houses of Sumbung, Lepo (Alfai) and Kanyasi should succeed to Kpembe in turn.

It is not clear whether this settlement, which would probably have been made in the 1840s, was the first imposition of a rotating succession, or if a rotating succession had been imposed earlier, and had broken down previously. It does not seem that a rotating succession ever operated strictly in Kpembe.

If Salaga had undergone some twelve years of civil war at the time of this settlement, it is possible that it took some time to recover; (we know that when the town was sacked in 1892, it had not been properly rebuilt by 1897). According to Barth's informants in about 1850 (whose information may have been out-of-date), Salaga was at that period a town of only some 1000 persons, where traders stayed no longer than was necessary.¹⁰

After the first civil war, the succession, as given in Qissat Salgha runs as follows:¹¹

<u>Deifu (Alfai)</u>	<u>Sungunga</u>	<u>Kanyase</u>
1. Jaware	2. Kali	
3. Sabalugu	4. Dusi	
5. Darhaman	6. Bambanga	
7. Mahamadu Nafu		

Count Zech gives the same list, but inserts Nabu and Shafu between Kali and Sabaluwu. Daharman he gives as another Sabaluwu.¹²

Dusi, the fourth in the Qissat Salgha list, was Kpembiwura when Bonnat visited Salaga. Bonnat found the people drawn up in three groups: the "first group", whose chiefs sat on lion and leopard skins, must have been the Alfai group, whose chiefs have this privilege. The Kanyase group was that of the king's rival, Asumani; the king believed that Bonnat, (who held the Ashanti's commission) had come to replace him by Asumani.¹³ Dusi, as the Qissat Salgha list states, belonged to the Sungungu family. Dusi was still king in 1882 (Lonsdale gives his name in an itinerary as chief of Kpembe)¹⁴; in 1884, David Asante refers to the Alfai chief as the "successor" of the chief of Kpembe.¹⁵ (Both Bonnat and David Asante note that the Alfai chief is a Muslim). It seems that Dusi succeeded at about the time of the rising against Ashanti in 1874-5; this may explain Dusi's strong antipathy to Ashanti rule, and his fear that Bonnat had come to replace him; Sablugu, his predecessor, may well have died during the rising.¹⁶

In 1888 and 1889, the German officer von Francois visited Salaga and made treaties with the old chief, to whom he gave a double-barrelled gun with his name inscribed in Arabic letters on a silver crescent.¹⁷ Von Francois gives the name of the "Sultan" as Abu du Rahman, i.e. Abdulrahman, evidently the Darhaman of the Qissat Salgha. (Klose must be wrong in stating that von Francois' chief was Mama; Mama was the next-but-one Kpembewura, the next through the gate of Alfai). Appropriately for a chief of Alfai lineage, Abdulrahman had leopard skins.

It is possible that Abdulrahman died in 1889 or 1890; in 1890, another German officer, Kling, presented to the Sultan another double-barrelled gun with the name of the Sultan in Arabic letters on a silver crescent, apparently exactly similar to the one which von Francois had given to Abdulrahman.¹⁸ This is most easily explained if there was a new Sultan. If so, this would have been Bambanga, whose reign must have been short. In January 1892, Kling found much new building going on in Salaga, and in February of the same year he found a new quarter had been built in Kpembe, with a new royal reception hall.¹⁹ Again, the most likely explanation is a new chief, who would be Muhammad Nafu, Klose's "Mama", evidently an active chief.

By this time the Kanyase people were becoming very restive — they had had no chief appointed through the Kanyase gate since the civil war, despite the agreement. Isafa Kabachi opposed the choice of Muhammad Nafu, and when the other two families joined against him to elect Nafu, Kabachi retired to his farm. Nafu and his followers believed that Kabachi was preparing to make war, and determined to anticipate him; they attacked him at his farm, but he escaped, and obtained support from the Yendi Na, king of Dagomba. The Dagomba forces routed the forces of Alfai and Sungbum and went on to loot and destroy Salaga.²⁰ This took place in October or November 1892.²¹ Muhammad Nafu was killed or taken prisoner during the fighting, and, according to Tomlinson, the Sungbum chief was killed.²² Abdul Karimu, an ex-officer of the Hausa force at Actra, who had taken service under the Germans, took part in the fighting, and one of those killed was Malam Ibrahim, head of the ex-soldiers.²³ Many of the Salaga people went to Yeji under Abu Bokari, who was probably Binger's host during his stay in Salaga in 1889.²⁴

Some of the Salaga traders went to Krachi, where the Germans set up a "New Salaga" with Mama's son Prince Lempo as "King of Salaga".²⁵ The remainder of the story is thus inextricably mixed with the Anglo-German struggle for Salaga. The Germans made one attempt to instal this chief in Salaga; the officer responsible was recalled.²⁶ Later they seem to have lost interest in Prince Lempo, (whom one of the British officer called, not inappropriately, Prince Limbo).

There seems to be no truth in Tomlinson's statement that Isafa had his elder brother Kanyase enrobed as Kpembewura.²⁷ All contemporaries refer to Kabache as king; Kanyase succeeded him on his death in 1897.

Muslim moralists see in the story of Salaga's civil war a just punishment for the misdeed of the Sultans — drinking, making free with other people's property and womenfolk, addiction to soothsayers.²⁸ There is no reason to doubt that the Sultans did in fact commit these misdeeds; but the repeated breakdown of the succession system — completely in the 1830s, perhaps nearly in the 1870s, and again completely in the 1890s — would seem to argue some more fundamental defect in the system. If, as Ferguson seems to suggest, the system of a rotating succession was imposed upon Kpembe (and presumably on Gonja as a whole) by the Ashanti overlords²⁹ to prevent civil wars and also to prevent the establishment of a single strong ruling family, then the breakdown of the system when Ashanti power was withdrawn was not only understandable, but inevitable.

It seems that no one family was consistently supported by the Ashantis. In the 1830s, it was the Sungbum family they supported; in 1876, the Kpembewura expected Bonnat to support the Kanyase claimant. That civil war did not occur in the 1870s, following the 1874 defeat, seems to be due to the fact that the Kpembewura of that date had the support of the only outside power which was in a position to influence Kpembe politics, Britain. Had the Ashanti threat become more acute, no doubt the position of his "rival" would have been strengthened to a dangerous degree.

In the 1890s, the position was different. There were now two outside powers, Britain and Germany, both anxious to exercise control over Salaga. This is the classic situation for a civil war. It was aggravated by the existence of two other powers, each strongly hostile to one of the European powers — Ashanti opposed to Britain, Dagomba to Germany. With the British at Atebubu and the Germans at Krachi, Salaga stood at the intersection of these forces; it would have taken a strong well-knit constitution to withstand them. By ill chance, the one authority which might have prevented the breakdown, the paramount skin of Gonja, was vacant at the time, with three chiefs contending for it.³⁰

Without some superior authority, a rotating succession of this type is almost bound to break down; if two sections join together against a third they can monopolise the succession — until the third loses patience and calls in an outside power. This is a situation which suits an overlord quite well; he can always intervene to redress a balance. Without an overlord, the result is a civil war with foreign intervention, which can benefit no one but the foreigner.

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Marion Johnson.

SIERRA LEONE ARCHAEOLOGY

In February and March 1966, I conducted a short survey of the archaeology of Sierra Leone. This was sponsored by the Institute of African Studies, Fourah Bay College, with the kind support of the Ministry of Lands, Mines and Labour, the main purpose being to discover whether the archaeological potential of the country was sufficient to warrant, or demand, the appointment of a Research Fellow in Archaeology.

It is surprising that so little work has been done there. The miniature Museum is continuously crowded with people anxious to know of their cultural heritage; and in addition to its variegated recent material culture,