

THE SOCIAL CHARACTER OF SLAVERY
IN ASANTE AND DAHOMEY*

By

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Most studies** of slavery look at the institution of slavery as one that arose primarily in response to economic necessity. Slavery in Dahomey and Asante was not primarily an economic affair. However, some slaves were used in the production sector of the economy, such as in agriculture for food production, for cattle raising and in the royal plantations in Dahomey. Those slaves who tended the king's plantations and farms in Dahomey had a special status and could not be sold. The king's palace at Akpueho was noted for palm produce. There were royal farms at Affomai, Oumbumedi and along the Hlan. Furthermore, there were slave villages given to production at Ouahou, Zogbodome, Lissezoun, Tindji and Luokpe. Smiths and other slaves who specialized in the textile industry were concentrated in Male and Becon, and lived in Hountondji.¹

*"Asante... is the Akan-speaking group of contiguous chiefdoms in modern central Ghana united since the end of the seventeenth century by allegiance to the Golden Stool, occupied by the Asantehene and located in Kumasi." Kwame Arhin, "Transit Markets in the Asante Hinterland in the late Nineteenth Century," *Odu: A Journal of West African Studies*, New Series No. 9 (January 1974) p. 20, note 8. Ghana National Archives ADM. 11/1320 "The Origin of the Asante Confederation. A Theory" by A.W. Noris Ashanti National Authority (ANA) (18/1920).

Dahomey was the pre-colonial centralized kingdom founded by the Fon in the Abomey plateau in the early seventeenth century. Among the class that was ruled and controlled in both pre-colonial Asante and Dahomey were those who could be classified as slaves. See Boniface I. Obichere, *West African States and European Expansion: The Dahomey-Niger Hinterland, 1885-1898* (London, 1971) pp. 14-15; 51-52.

**See, for example, Paul Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa*, 1983; Paul Lovejoy (ed.), *The Ideology of Slavery in Africa*, 1981; John Grace, *Domestic Slavery in West Africa*, 1975; Fred Cooper, *Plantation Slavery on the East Coast of Africa*, 1979; Stanley Elkins, *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life*, New York, 1963; Laura Foner and Eugene D. Genovese (eds.), *Slavery in the New World: A Reader in Comparative History*, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1969; David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture*, Ithaca, N.Y., 1966; S. Miers and Igor Kopytoff, *Slavery in Africa, Historical and Anthropological Perspectives*, Wisconsin Press, 1977; Robert Brent Toplin, *The Abolition of Slavery in Brazil*, New York, 1975.

In Asante slaves were used in production and in different industries but not to the same extent as in Dahomey. Slave villages did exist but they were not as widespread as in Dahomey. In most cases, the villages of production in Asante were inhabited by freemen, soldiers and slaves as was reported by J.E. Bowdich and J. Dupuis who visited Asante early in the nineteenth century. Sreso, a village about seven miles from Kumasi, was inhabited by the followers of Amankwatia III, the Bantamahene of Kumasi. This village had an estimated population of eight thousand persons some of whom² were slaves and vassals. They engaged in arts and crafts and food production. The majority of slaves in both Asante and Dahomey were employed in domestic service. This leads one to the conclusion that slavery in these pre-colonial kingdoms was not an economic institution and that it did not exist as a result of the mode of production.

In Asante as well as in Dahomey, slaves were employed in the long distance trade as porters and sometimes as guides. The mines in Asante also used slaves from the north as diggers. Some slaves were engaged in the weaving industry and a large number of domestic slaves worked the land and the farms of their masters.³ The palm oil trade in Dahomey gave rise to the class of strong and brave slaves called the Gbablito (puncheon rollers). In Asante slaves of this physical type were known as akwaberang. These and young female slaves cost the most in both Asante and Dahomey.

According to Gaetano Mosca, one of the constant facts and tendencies that can be found in all political organisations is so obvious that it is apparent to the most casual observer. This is the existence of two classes of people - "a class that rules and a class that is ruled." Mosca added:

*"The first class, always the less numerous, performs all political functions, monopolizes power and enjoys the advantages that power brings, whereas the second, the more numerous class, is directed and controlled by the first, in a manner that is now more or less legal now more or less arbitrary and violent."*⁴

Mosca's characterization of all political entities applies to both Asante and Dahomey.

DEFINITION

Several definitions of slavery have been given; some are adequate and some are inadequate. According to the Encyclopedia Britannica, "slavery is the social sanctioning of involuntary servitude imposed by one person or group upon another." In the opinion of the famous Roman jurist Justinian, "slavery is an institution of the ius gentium (law of nations) whereby a man is, contrary to nature, subjected to the ownership of another."

Aristotle's arguments ran counter to this Roman view. He believed that the majority of the human race lacked those higher qualities of soul which were necessary for freedom. Slavery, he argued, was not only good for the master, who was provided with the living instruments, but for the slave who received guidance which he was incapable of providing for himself. He believed that the institution of slavery was natural and good, although it was not always properly used.⁵

The philosophical attitude towards slavery in both Asante and Dahomey was that it was a natural institution. It was time honoured, practised by the ancestors and sanctioned and approved by the gods.⁶ King Pepple of Bonny expressed identical views about slavery in his interview with Captain Adams of the British Navy who came to the Niger Delta to press for the abolition of the slave trade.⁷ In these societies slavery or servitude was the condition of loss of personal freedom by a person on a temporary or permanent basis. In Asante, this condition of loss of personal freedom was called Nkoaye or Onyaye while in Dahomey it was kan-nou-mon hiho.

There were several categories of slavery and servitude in both Dahomey and Asante. These categories originated from the different methods, by which people were enslaved. Enslavement could be voluntary or involuntary. It could involve citizens of Asante and Dahomey or strangers and foreign born individuals from neighbouring states or from far away. The source of the slave and the method of his enslavement usually determined the category of servitude to which he belonged.

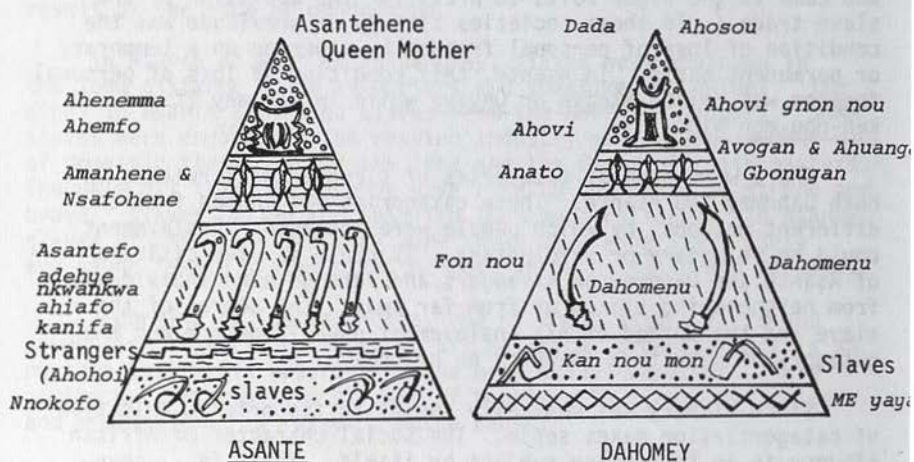
Since slavery was basically social in its origin, this type of categorization makes sense. The social character of African slavery is an intriguing subject by itself. There is abundant evidence to show that most pre-colonial African societies regarded slavery as an outgrowth of their socio-political organization and structures. This concept of slavery was basic to various practices, such as manumission, absorption and assimilation of persons of slave origin.

Gaetano Mosca's fundamental social and political structure can be applied to both Asante and Dahomey. Both kingdoms had a hierarchical structure with the king at the apex of the demographic pyramid. He was followed by what C. Wright Mills called the "power elite." This was made up of the aristocrats and nobility and the leaders of the freemen.* Below this "power elite" was

*For instance, Richard Burton reported that the descendants of the royal family numbered about 2,000 in 1893. In 1907 it was estimated by French officials that there were 3,000 descendants of former kings in Abomey district. This number was revised upwards by A. Leherissé to 12,000 in his publication of 1911: L'ancien Royaume du Dahomey.

the larger class of freemen and strangers. At the bottom of the social hierarchy were the slaves who were known by the generic name of Nkoaye in Asante and Kan-nou-mon hiho in Dahomey. The development of a highly sophisticated and complex form of government and administration contributed to the perpetuation of slavery and servitude in Asante and Dahomey as a means of catering to the needs of the "power elite" who had to devote their time to the affairs of state. Wealthy freemen also employed the services of slaves.

PYRAMIDAL STRUCTURE OF POPULATION IN ASANTE AND DAHOMEY



Slaves in Asante and Dahomey were not generally divided racially or culturally from the freemen as was the case with slavery in the New World. The situation in Asante and Dahomey was similar to that in most parts of Europe where slaves and slave owners were of the same racial stock. The European situation has been ably studied by Professor David Brion Davis in the Problem of Slavery in Western Culture (1966.)

SOURCES

Let us examine the sources from which slaves were obtained. Capture or force was a common source of slaves. Conflict between groups of peoples resulted in the capture and enslavement of persons by their captors. Kidnapping was a method of forcible enslavement. Birth by slave parents was another source but it was a slow process which yielded only a small number of slaves.

There was no deliberate slave breeding in Asante or Dahomey. Some people became slaves as punishment for certain offences. Others were sold into slavery by their relatives, parents, or chieftain. There were those who sold themselves into slavery for various reasons. It is known in the history of Ghana that protracted famine constrained many freemen to become slaves.⁹ Pawning was another source of slaves. This is equivalent to debt bondage where a person pledges his personal freedom and services as security for a loan. The common practice in both Asante and Dahomey was that the services rendered by pawns did not apply towards the liquidation of the debt. The inability of the pawn or his relatives to pay off the debt prolonged his servitude indefinitely.

Though the social structures of Asante and Dahomey had much in common, their social organisations appear to be radically different. The Fon of Dahomey are known for their male agnatic descent groups. Their sib or clan and the extended family were built and predicated around the men. The compound and the village or collectivity were prominent social organizational units of the kingdom. On the other hand, the Asante were socially organised into matrilineal clans. The extended family and the villages were predicated on the matrilineal *abusua*. In both Asante and Dahomey, it is believed that early migrants "comingled with autochthonous paleonigrific peoples" in the Abomey plateau in Dahomey and in the Kumasi region in Asante.¹⁰ The social organization of both of these kingdoms affected the institution of slavery and the upward mobility of slaves in them.

The origins and sources of slaves in both Asante and Dahomey determined to a large degree the category of servitude to which these slaves were condemned. In both cultures several categories of servitude existed. These categories appear to have solidified and become well differentiated over time as these kingdoms became more complex.

Comparisons and contrasts existed between the categories of slavery in Asante and Dahomey. From the table following, it will be noted that among other differences, that no category of slaves existed in Dahomey destined for sacrifice. Responding to the question about the matter, Migan Gnigla of Abomey explained that it would create problems on state occasions that required human sacrifice because such slaves could escape into the bush and hide themselves till the occasion passed.¹¹ This was a problem in Asante because Akyere ran away when a chief died and returned only when they knew the funeral ceremonies had been completed. R.S. Rattray observed that some *akyere* who were of excellent behaviour were saved from execution and kept indefinitely. On the other hand, in the time of Asantehene Kwaku Dua I (1834-1867) a village was founded for slaves awaiting death by execution

CATEGORIES OF SERVITUDE

CATEGORY	IDENTIFICATION	
	ASANTE	DAHOMEY
i) General slave: "People of the cord"		<i>kan nou mon</i>
ii) Foreign-born	<i>Odonko</i>	
iii) Inherited, acquired or bought	<i>Onya or Afenaa (female)</i>	
War Captive	<i>Dommum</i>	<i>Ahuan Ganto</i>
Akan origin	<i>Akoa</i>	
Pawn	<i>Awowa</i>	<i>Gbanu</i>
Sacrificial:		
i) ceremonial	<i>Akyere</i>	
ii) on master's death	<i>Okra (plural Okrafo) Okraa (female)</i>	
Domestic		<i>Devi</i>
Worker (in the fields and farms)		<i>Azowato</i>
Worker ("Industrial," in rolling puncheons)		<i>Gbablito</i>
Cult		<i>kan nou mon vodunsi</i>

in sacrifice. This village was called Akyerekuro.¹² Another contrast between slavery in Asante and Dahomey is that the Fon of Dahomey had kan nou mon vondusi (cult slaves) who belonged to the deities of the various religious cults in Dahomey. This category of slavery is not unique and exists among other West African societies. Among the Igbo such slaves and their descendants are known as Osu. In Asante children born into families with a high rate of infant mortality were usually dedicated to the gods in order to make them stay alive. These were referred as Begyina mma ("come and stay" children). Their long unkempt hair and their appearance made them look like cult slaves which they were not.¹⁴

MANUMISSION

In Dahomey if a freeman marries a slave girl, their offsprings will be free. In Asante, if a freeman marries a slave girl, their offsprings will be slaves because their mother does not belong to any of the matrilineal clans (abusua) of the Akan. In such a case the child will be referred to as odonko ba (child of a slave). On the other hand, if a male slave married a free Akan woman, their offsprings will be free (odehye) because they will belong to their mother's abusua.¹⁵ In Fon society, children belonged to their father's clan. This meant that children born by freemen and slave women were automatically free and qualified as Fon nou (Fon people).

SUPPLY

In both Asante and Dahomey the sources of slaves were internal and external. In Asante the ondonko came from non-Akan territories to the north and east of the kingdom. Mossi, Grunshi, Dagarti, Gonja, Mamprussi, Ewe, and Mangu supplied slaves to Asante either by sale or by capture in war. The major northern markets from which the Asante bought slaves were Kintampo and Salaga.¹⁶ In late nineteenth century Asante, slaves were purchased in the Atebubu market who were from Bona, Bole, Wa and Bonduku and who were captured by Samori's forces.¹⁷ In Dahomey, the supply of slaves came also from the north and east with a trickle from the Mono to the west. The Mahi and Bariba to the north and the Yoruba to the east supplied most of Dahomey's slave population. There were small numbers from the far north such as the Dendi, Somba, Hausa and Gurmantche.¹⁸

DISTRIBUTION

The Kingdoms of Asante and Dahomey were combative and aggressive polities. This meant that they suffered losses in war and obtained both loot and war captives in return. The distribution of war captives in both kingdoms was a state occasion. The process of distribution was more refined and per-

fectured in Dahomey. The Migan and the Adjaho were in charge of the process.¹⁹ The Migan and his officials interrogated the captives on their arrival in Abomey. Those slaves whose skills were considered of strategic importance were made to live in the vicinity of Abomey and carry on with their crafts and their occupation. All prisoners of war taken by the Agodojie (amazons) were the king's property and not subject to redistribution in public. These and the skilled were used to replenish the ranks of the Dahomeans killed in war. A tripartite division of the remainder of the war captives was carried out by the Migan. One third were sent to the king's farms and plantations. A third was sold to slave dealers and other buyers and the remaining third were distributed to the Ahuangan (war-lords) and Gbonugan (ministers and great chiefs).²⁰

In Asante, war captives were distributed between the king's palace and the Nsafohene and Amanhene who usually captured them. In the nineteenth century, some Kumasi Nsafohene received large numbers of captives as the reward for their valour and heroism in battle. Every war hero (osa barima) in Asante was respected and held in high esteem in the society. Some of the powerful Nsafohene had their own villages which were veritable military establishments. Of great significance was the gyaasehene who was in charge of the domestic affairs of the palace, and commanded the Asantehene's bodyguard. Initially and to a large extent, the corps of the gyaase was made up of slaves who owed personal allegiance to the Asantehene and not to any matrilineal clan. The famous Opuku Frefre was a leading example.²¹ War captives in Asante were used in plantations or farms as was the case in Dahomey. By 1820, it was reported that Osei Bonsu and his Nsafohene had sent war captives from Assin, Gyaman and Fanti to labour in the Lake Bosomtwi region in farms and in the fishing industry. It was estimated that there were about 25,000 of these captives in this area in 1820.²²

In Asante, the gyaase formed the ahenkwa (chief's slaves) in the palace and in the home of every chief since everyone of the amanhene had his own gyaase. In the palace in Abomey as well as in the homes of the gbonugan (nobility and great chiefs), there existed large numbers of slaves who were employed in a variety of domestic chores from the fetching of food and water to the cooking of food and general sanitation work. Some of the domestic slaves became confidants of their masters and gradually earned their freedom. Domestic slaves could be resold or transferred to a new master, except that in Asante the omahene could not resell any slaves in his household because such a slave was an heirloom and not his personal property.²³

FUNCTIONS

On August 25, 1846, King Ghezo of Dahomey told John Duncan that the preponderance of domestic slaves would make it impossible for any king to abolish slave holding in Dahomey. He argued that such an act would cause a revolution in Dahomey against the monarch who initiated it because it would adversely affect all his headmen and officers and that it would render all domestic slaves homeless and destitute.²⁴ King Ghezo added that the children of all slaves were the property of the owner and their parents.

Slaves in domestic service could be used in the payment of debts, in exchange for goods and in the payment of bride price or in the calculation of value.²⁵ The sacrifice of slaves on religious occasions, festivals and funerals was a common feature of Asante and Fon culture. At the time of the Odwira ceremony in Kumasi, many slaves were sacrificed at the Bantama. King Kofi Karikari (1867-1874) made a law to limit the number of human beings sacrificed on this occasion to twelve.²⁶ The death of a chief was the occasion for the sacrifice of slaves. For instance, on the death of the Bekwaihene, the Asantehene would send twelve akyere to convey assorted goods and gifts to Bekwai. These slaves were killed after they delivered the royal gifts.²⁷ Both Asante and Dahomey received a lot of adverse publicity in Europe for these human sacrifices. In Abomey several human beings were sacrificed annually at the time of the festivals, especially the atto, huetanu and annu-gbome.²⁸

Domestic slaves in Asante were often granted land by their masters. They had a right to cultivate such land for life but it reverted to the donor or his children if the favourite slave dies without children. In the event that the slave had offsprings and they served the master or his household, the land granted to their father would be passed unto them.²⁹ In Dahomey most domestic slaves were sooner or later absorbed into the mainstream of the population as freedmen. Their children would automatically become Dahomenu (citizens of Dahomey). They would therefore have all the proprietary rights of ordinary Dahomeans.*

* However, as Professor Meyer Fortes observed, there were some restrictions or apparently assimilated persons of slave origin, especially in Asante. These included juridical or juristic disabilities, eligibility for office and descrimination in burial rights and funeral ceremonies for the Ahiafo.

The most important service demanded of citizens of Asante and Dahomey was military service known as Osafo in Asante. These two precolonial kingdoms were predatory and aggressive. They needed all the manpower available to them in their constant wars against their neighbours, and in the case of Asante, for the many civil wars that plagued her all through the second half of the nineteenth century. Dahomey needed the services of even her female population to meet the pressure of military service and internal security. Slaves were employed in military service in both Asante and Dahomey. The Asante have a proverb relating to war: "odehye anko a, akoa guan," or "if a freeman refuses to fight, the slave will run away from battle." It is also said that a slave does not make up his own mind about going to war. Slaves rendered a variety of services in times of war. They acted as guides and scouts. They acted as interpreters if they knew the language of the area that was under attack. In Dahomey, slaves from the Mahi country were valued for their knowledge of medicine and their ability as surgeons when it came to the extraction of bullets from wounded soldiers. Slaves also acted as carriers of supplies to the war camps. Human portage was the only means of moving provisions and military supplies from place to place. Gunpowder kegs were heavy and required many carriers. In Dahomey, slaves who were marksmen before they were enslaved were used in the ranks of foot-soldiers as infantry men.³⁰

In the history of both Asante and Dahomey, some slaves and ex-slaves excelled in military service. A few of these rose to the highest ranks in the army of Asante. The famous generals Opuke Frefre and Amankwatia had lowly beginnings. Slaves from Mossi and Grunsi were valued in Asante for their horsemanship. In Dahomey slaves from Oyo were the back bone of the meager cavalry. They were used as handlers for the horses of the nobility.³¹

Slaves played a part in the political life of both Asante and Dahomey. They acted as courtiers and man-servants to the ministers of state and to the kings. Later on, some of them became secretaries or messengers at court. The king's body guard included slaves. In some cases, slaves rose to high ranks in politics after their manumission. King Kwakwu Dua I recruited his body guard from slaves of northern origin. King Ghezo's agodojie (amazons) were mostly slaves from foreign lands. The rapid absorption of slaves into the Dahomean population meant that they participated more in politics than was the case in Asante. The gyaase in Asante is intimately connected with politics.³² Since the gyaase was mainly made up of king's slaves, it could be argued that it was an effective recruiting ground for political actors, especially in Kumasi. In Juabin, the Kontire stool was given to a war captive (dommum) called Ntonimpa whose son by an Oyoko wife succeeded to stool on his death.³³

The trans-Atlantic slave trade had an impact on the institution of slavery in both Asante and Dahomey. Slowly but perceptibly, it increased the numbers of slaves in these two kingdoms. It raised the prices paid for slaves and created a class of middlemen who specialized in slave dealing. In Asante, these men were known as nkoafonfo and nnipatonfo. A notable impact of the trans-Atlantic slave trade on these kingdoms was the rise of persons who became professional kidnappers. In Asante, these persons were known as odweyifo. Kidnapping was rare in Dahomey because of the tight security and toll gates on all the roads in the kingdom. However, in the late nineteenth century, several cases of kidnapping were reported, probably as a result of the disorder that set in with the French occupation of Abomey in 1894.³⁴

TREATMENT

Returned freedmen from the New World and their apparent success re-enforced the resolve of rulers of Dahomey to continue the slave trade. Furthermore, these returned freedmen became slave dealers themselves. The argument was that if selling slaves to the Europeans was a bad thing, those who were sold and who returned would not have gone into the slave trade business. It may also be argued that the slave trade across the Atlantic tended to destroy the humane treatment of slaves in Asante and Dahomey. This argument is rather specious because no evidence is available. It appears that the harsh treatment of slaves was never a general practice. However, this practice (anyadi) in Asante attracted the attention of the rulers who made laws against it. In Dahomey, as Richard Burton reported, the King decreed a fee for certifying the natural death of a slave. This presupposes that some slaves met their death prematurely under corporal punishment or some other causes.

CONCLUSION

In Asante and Dahomey, slavery was a social and political institution and not primarily an economic affair. Differences existed between the categories of slavery in Asante and Dahomey but the contrasts were negligible except in the cases of the akyere and the kan nou mon vodunsi. Slaves were employed in domestic service as well as in military and political service in both kingdoms. There appears to have been a larger number of slaves in Dahomey than in Asante. In both kingdoms, slaves were used for the purpose of replenishing the population and for preventing the extinction of some family lines. Slaves were in evidence more in social occasions as adornment and retinue for their masters than in the economic sphere. Upward mobility into the ranks of freemen was available to slaves in both kingdoms. There are cases of ex-slaves who rose to great fame in politics and in the military in both Asante and Dahomey. Re-

turned freedmen from the New World had an impact on slavery in Asante and Dahomey but more so in Dahomey where the returnees from Brazil were numerous, wealthy and very influential in the court of Abomey. Hard statistical data is difficult to come by if not non-existent. Therefore, a study of slavery in Asante and Dahomey has to be oriented towards structural and functional models.

NOTES

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¹Interview in Abomey with Hintendohoue Wegbaja in the Palace of Akaba on June 27, 1971.

²T.E. Bowdich, Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee (London, 1819), p. 31. Joseph Dupuis, Journal of a Residence in Ashantee (London, 1824), pp. 67-68.

³Interview with Nana H. Owusu Ansah, Kumasi, August 12, 1971.

⁴Gaetano Mosca, The Ruling Class (New York, 1939), edited by Arthur Livingston, p. 50, cited in T.B. Bottomore, Elites and Society (London, 1964), p. 3.

⁵"Slavery" in Encyclopaedia Britannica vol. 20:628, 631; Susan Miers and Igor Kopytoff, Slavery in Africa: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives (1977), p. 1.

⁶B.I. Obichere, "Dahomey Field Notes" Interview with Migan Gnigla, 27 June 1971; "Ghana Field Notes" Interview with Nana Osei Mensah and Nana Kwesi Nuamah, Mampongte, 9 April 1971.

⁷K.O. Dike, Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta (Oxford, 1956), p. 13; Capt. H. Crow, Memoirs (London, 1830), p. 137.

⁸See C. Wright Mills, The Power Elite (New York, 1956).

⁹Carl Reindorf, A History of the Gold Coast and Asante (1966), pp. 268-269, 270-272; Ghana National Archives ADM. 11/975 (SNA. 975) "Memorandum on the Vestiges of Slavery in the Gold Coast," by J.C. deGraft-Johnson, 17 Oct. 1927; Ivor Wilks, Asante in the Nineteenth Century (1975), pp. 176-77, 197.

¹⁰Karl Polanyi, Dahomey and the Slave Trade: An Analysis

of an Archaic Economy (London, 1966), pp. 10-11; R.S. Rattray, Ashanti Law and Constitution (Oxford, 1929).

¹¹B.I. Obichere, "Dahomey Field Notes" Interview with the Migan in Abomey; R.S. Rattray, Ashanti Law and Constitution, p. 189; Ghana National Archives ADM. 11/1/1162, Case No. 4/1913.

¹²R.S. Rattray, Religion and Art in Ashanti (Oxford, 1927), p. 106, note 1; R.S. Rattray, Ashanti Law and Constitution, p. 189; Ivor Wilks, Asante in the Nineteenth Century, p. 592.

¹³Maurice A. Glele, Le Danxome (Paris, 1974), p. 160.

¹⁴R.S. Rattray, Religion and Art in Ashanti (London, 1954), p. 65; S.G. Williamson, Akan Religion and the Christian Faith: A Comparative Study of the Impact of Two Religions (Accra, 1965), pp. 46-51; Henry Brackenbury, The Ashanti War: A Narrative, vol. II (London, 1968), pp. 324-325. See also Akosua Nketia, Slavery in Ashanti, M.A. thesis, History Dept., University of Ghana, Legon, 1978.

¹⁵R.S. Rattray, Religion and Art in Ashanti, p. 95; Ivor Wilks, Asante in the Nineteenth Century, pp. 674-675.

¹⁶C.O. 879/39 "Memorandum on Ashanti and the Brong tribes or Atebebus in their relations with the Kingdom of Ashanti and the Fetish priest of Krachi," (1893) No. 45 by G.E. Ferguson; C.O. 96/251 Report by G.E. Ferguson (1891); Ivor Wilks, Asante in the Nineteenth Century, p. 706; Ghana National Archives, Accra ADM. 11/1/1754 "Mission to Ashanti," by T.E. Bowdich, 19 April 1817...

¹⁷C.O. 879/48 F.R.B. Parmeter, Resident at Atebebu to Governor of the Gold Coast, 8 Feb. 1897; C.O. 96/276 Report by A.C. Pigott, Aug. 6, 1896.

¹⁸Archives Nationales du Bénin, Fonds Historiques, E, II, "Renseignement," Dec. 1, 1892; John Duncan, Travels in Western Africa, vol. II (1847), pp. 152, 154, 188.

¹⁹B.I. Obichere, "Dahomey Field Notes" Interview with the Migan and the Adjaho in Abomey, June 28, 1971.

²⁰John Duncan, Travels in Western Africa, vol. II, pp. 263-264; Karl Polanyi, Dahomey and the Slave Trade, p. 37; Archives Nationales du Bénin, "Rapports politiques," No. 840 pour l'année 1907, by A. Le Herissé.

²¹George P. Hagan, "Ashanti Bureaucracy: A Study of the Growth of Centralized Administration," Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana (1971), pp. 43-62.

- ²²J. Dupuis, Journal of a Residence in Ashantee (London, 1824), Part II, pp. XXX-XXXI.
- ²³R.S. Rattray, Ashanti Law and Constitution, p. 111, 157.
- ²⁴John Duncan, Travel in Western Africa, vol. II, pp. 266-267.
- ²⁵John McLeod, A Voyage to Africa with Some Account of the Manners and Customs of the Dahomean People (London, 1820), pp. 49-50; B.I. Obichere, "Women and Slavery in the Kingdom of Dahomey," Revue Française d'Histoire d'Outre Mer LXV, No. 238 (1978), pp. 5-20.
- ²⁶R.S. Rattray, Religion and Art in Ashanti, p. 139.
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