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A HISTORY OF SEFWI: A SURVEY OF ORAL EVIDENCE*

by K.Y. Daaku**

In the extreme north of the Western Region of Ghana are three traditional states collectively known as Sefwi. Sefwi is made up of three mutually independent paramountcies of Anhwilaso, Bekwai and Wiawso. It is bounded on the north-east by Ashanti (Asante), on the east by Denkyira and Wassa-Amaafi, on the south by Awowin and on the west by the Anyi-Baule of the Ivory Coast. It also shares a common boundary with Brong Ahafo in the north. All the three states share a common dialect Sefwi but almost all the people speak Twi (Akan). In addition they have a common tutelary deity, Sobore, and a common annual yam festival — the Allelolie.

Since the middle of the seventeenth century this vast stretch of territory has served as a centre of refuge for people escaping from the political centralization policies of their neighbours to the north and east. Refugees from Bono-Takyiman, Wenchi, Adanse, Denkyira, Assin and Asante found ready welcome in this territory. It appears that the Awowin rulers who formerly controlled modern Sefwi territory adopted an open door policy as a measure to increase the population of their state. Nor has the influx of people into Sefwi ceased up to the present day. Its virgin forest serves as a bait for cocoa farmers and timber merchants from all over Ghana.

* The only known historical study on Sefwi is by H.P. Holtsbaum entitled 'Sefwi and Its Peoples' in *Gold Coast Review* Vol.1, 1925, p.76-94. My own work is based on my collection of oral traditions in the three states between June and September 1970. This was carried out as part of the UNESCO Research on Oral History being undertaken by the Institute of African Studies, Legon. I am grateful to the Institute for funds for the research. Field notes are in the library of the Institute.

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EARLY HISTORY

It is not known for certain when the name Sefwi came to be applied to this area. The etymology of the word 'Sefwi' indicates that the state is of comparatively recent creation. Sefwi is said to be the contraction of the Twi phrase, 'Esa awie' or 'Esa hie' meaning 'War is over'.¹ It is interesting to note that it was only in the early 19th century that the name appeared in the European records. The first mention of Sefwi, known to the writer, is in Bowdich. Before his time the early writers referred to the area as Inkassa, Inkassa Igyina, Great Enkassa or Encasser.² In 1819 Bowdich mentioned a state of 'Saeue' as lying eight jurnies W.N.W. from Kumasi. Five years later Dupuis showed two states Safey and Showy on his map of Wangara. These states were located to the northwest and southwest respectively of Asante.³ The latter state (Showy) which he placed between the Bia and Tano rivers may be identified with Sefwi Wlawso, whilst the former (Safey), although widely placed off its present location, may stand for either Anhwiaso or Bekwai or both. Perhaps the significance of Dupuis' map lies in the fact that for all the time Sefwi has been known to comprise of more than one independent state.

Both written and oral evidence indicate that until the rise of the Akan states of Denkyira and Asante the most powerful state in the southwestern region of Ghana was Awowin. It controlled the lands west of the Bia. It was not until the last two decades of the 17th century that Denkyira succeeded in bringing Awowin under its rule. Even so the Denkyira victory did not much affect the power of Awowin since all that the victorious power was interested in was to obtain free passage for its traders to and from Awowin and to collect its annual tribute. The evidence would seem to suggest that by the end of the 17th century Awowin had not only regained its former power but had embarked on a policy of economic and political expansion which was to bring it face to face with the rising power of Asante in the 1710's. Its control over the sources of gold and the trade routes to the northern market of Bagho and the coastal town of Apolonla was one of the causes which led to the Asante-Awowin War of 1715.⁴ By the beginning of the 18th century the wars with Denkyira and Asante had led to a loss

of much of Awowin territory to the west of the Tano to many of the Twi-speaking people from the east. Although the new immigrants were victorious in the wars, they seemed to have lost their language, which now is so heavily overlaid with the dialect of the Awowin as to render it virtually incomprehensible to the other Twi speakers. In spite of their linguistic affinity with the Awowin, very few people in the three states of Sefwi may be said to have remotely directly originated from the Awowins. Among such towns are Bonzan (Moïnsea),⁵ DaTano, Benchema, Kwodwokrom, and part of Bodl.⁶ Although they do not consider themselves to be Awowin, there is no doubt that they were once a part of or under the Awowins.

PHASES OF SETTLEMENT

One of the problems of the researcher into the history of Sefwi is how to determine the various phases of settlements and migration. This problem is made more difficult by the incessant land succession disputes and litigation among the three paramount stools on the one hand, and between the paramount stools and some of the divisional chiefs on the other. All are however agreed that the Anhwiaso state was the first of the three to be established. Bordering on Asante to the northeast, it is most probable that this was the state, which was known to Dupuis as Safey. The traditions of many of the towns of Anhwiaso trace their original homes to southern Asante and to Brong Ahafo. The most important of these towns is Wenchi, the name of which is, at times, used to describe the whole of the Anhwiaso traditional area. Now ruled by members of the Asona clan who trace the home of their lineage to Ansa In Adanse, Wenchi appears to have been founded by people from Brong Ahafo. It is interesting to note that the Asona of Keskrom and Ahibenso in the Wlawso area who claim to have come from Anhwiaso Wenchi, emphatically assert that their original home was in Wenchi in Brong Ahafo.⁷ There is enough circumstantial evidence to show that people from Wenchi in the Bono-Takyiman area may have founded Anhwiaso Wenchi and named it after their old home. This is partly evidenced by the similarities in the yam festival of the two towns and partly by the traditions of Bono Wenchi which assert that early in the reign of Osai

Tutu the Asantes sacked and destroyed their old capital, Ahwene Koko.⁸ As a result of the destruction, the tradition continues, many of their people moved and settled in Sefwi, Awowin and Nzima areas. It is most probable that many of the refugees from Ahwene Koko moved into Anhwiaso Wenchi, the original founders of which might have been related to them. Now enjoying the status of a divisional chief (the Benkumhene) to the Anhwiaso Omanhene, Wenchi has for a long time disputed the claim of the Adum-Aduana of Anhwiaso to occupy the paramount stool. To Wenchi the Adum-Aduana are usurpers. According to the Asona traditions of Wenchi they lost virtually all the male royals of their clan as a result of wars with their neighbours. In order that the necessary customary rites would be regularly performed they entrusted the custody of the stool to one Nipa Panyi, the eldest of the stool sons. Until that period their sons of the Aduana clan were the principal state executioners (Adumfo). Unfortunately for the Asona it took them a long time to be able to get a male royal capable of occupying the stool. But because of this long period of regency, and the love of the power which their sons had wielded they refused to hand over the stool to them and thereby, made permanent an arrangement which had been intended to be temporary.⁹

The confusion in the Anhwiaso state is made worse by the existence of two rival groups of Aduana each claiming to be the rightful rulers. The chief of Chirano, who is said to be the head of the Aduana clan in Anhwiaso, and whose branch of Aduana is collectively known as the Sawua, maintains that the Adum-Aduana have worked themselves into a position which had formerly been occupied by them. The Sawua claim that they once lived at old Wenchi with the Asona, with whom they were only separated by a brook. Both the Adum-Aduana and the Sawua people maintain that they are autochthonous. Whilst the former assert that they brought their stool from their old home at Old Anhwiaso, where they emerged from a hole in the ground, the latter also claim that their ancestors emerged from a hole at a place near old Wenchi.¹⁰ It appears that the claims of both the Sawua and the Adum-Aduana are mere rationalizations to support a position which the Aduana have come to occupy not by right but by force.

The traditions of Sefwi Bekwai assert that the Anhwiaso

people were already settled in their present territory when they arrived there. Perhaps because of the smallness of their number, Bekwai was not prepared to fight it out to capture land from the original settlers. This may explain why it is the smallest of all the three states. The Ekoona of Bekwai who occupy the Omanhene's stool, claim to have emigrated from Adanse, where they belonged to the royal family at Fomena. Owing to family disputes they moved away. First passing through Denkyira, Wassa and Nzema they were later granted land near the Sobore River by Obumankoma, chief of Agona in Wassa Amanfi, then a vassal of the powerful Awowin King. Sometime in the 18th century strained relationship between Bekwai and Wiawso, who had lately arrived in the area, led to a war in which Bekwai was forced to take refuge in Asante. They were however, later granted land by the Anhwiaso stool, thanks to the intercession of the Asantehene.¹¹

The history of Sefwi Wiawso is closely connected with Asante-Awowin relationship. Of all the three states Wiawso appears to have been the one which was much more directly influenced by developments in the Asante capital — Kumasi. Indeed the evidence seems to suggest that the vast tract of territory which Wiawso came to control was obtained with the help of the Asantes whom they faithfully supported after the Asante-Denkyira War. Like the other states, many of the people in Wiawso trace their origins to Asante and Denkyira. Here the important clan is 'Asankera' which occupies the paramount stool. The beginnings of the settlement of the Twi-speaking people in Wiawso may be traced to the rise of Denkyira to power between 1640 and 1660. Reluctant to submit to Denkyira rule, some members of the Asakyiri clan left Adanse Akrokeri and eventually settled a few miles west of the Tano at a place known as Bauko. Together with the Agona rulers of Bonzan, which had once been a powerful Awowin out-post, the Asakyiri of Bauko, succeeded in despoiling Awowin of much of its land lying between the Bia and the Tano. But the period of Bauko rule in this area was soon to be cut short during the last phase of Denkyira imperial drive towards the end of the 17th century. From about the 1680's refugees from Wassa and Twifo came pouring into the area to avoid being brought under Denkyira rule. It was at this time that the modern state of Wiawso was established. It appears however, that for some

time there existed a mutual working relationship between the Asakyiri of Buako and the new Asankera people who had lately arrived from their former home near Asankaragua, in the Wassa Amanfi area.

The foundations of the modern state of Wiawso are associated with two early rulers, Obumankoma and Nkoa I. Tradition has it that it was Obumankoma who led the migration of the people from Wassa Amanfi to their first settlement at Bosomoiso, by the Sobore.¹² It is not known whether it was the fear of Denkyira which urged Obumankoma on to move westwards. Not long after his settlement at Bosomoiso, however, the ever victorious armies of Boa Amponsem I of Denkyira overran the new settlement. Obumankoma once again moved and founded his capital at the strategically superior site on top of the hill where the modern town, Wiawso, stands. By correlating traditional with documentary evidence one may be able to establish the period of the foundation of both the Wiawso town and state.

It is traditionally remembered that very early in his reign, Nkoa I, the second ruler of Wiawso, was presented with the Etwie drum by Boa Amponsem. [Although Wiawso traditions describe this as exchange of gifts, yet it appears that by accepting this all important drum from Boa Amponsem, Nkoa was acknowledging his vassalage to Denkyira.] Boa Amponsem is known to have died in 1692.¹³ It is therefore highly probable that Nkoa might have been enstooled around 1691. If Nkoa was the second ruler as Wiawso traditions assert, then it is most likely that the foundation of Wiawso state goes back not earlier than the 1680's or late 1670's. It is most probable that the Asante soon followed the victory over Denkyira with the capture of Wiawso and Bekwai. Asante traditions maintain that the defeat of Sefwi took place at the time of Osei Tutu.¹⁴ From all appearances, the Sefwis soon learned to adjust themselves to their new situation. This enabled them to play a leading role in the Asante drive towards the southwest in the 1710's. Nkoa I (Ntwan) whom the Europeans mistakenly identify as king of Wassa, instead of Wiawso, was known to have played a leading role in the Asante-Awowi War when the Asante forces under General Amankwatia carried all before them to Apollonia in 1715.¹⁵ In the

Sefwi Wiawso people the Asantes found brave and willing allies competent to guard their southwestern frontiers against Awowin. It might be due to Nkoa's services to the Asantes in the war that Wiawso was allowed to annex much of the land west of the Tano, which had formerly belonged to the Awowins. It is significant to note that the traditions of Wiawso describe Nkoa I as the warrior king and credit him with the conquest of Awowin and the extension of their territory to much of its present frontiers.¹⁶

SEFWI AND THEIR NEIGHBOURS

Whatever the intentions of the founders of the Sefwi state in moving westwards from the centre of Akan politics, they soon learned that 'War is not yet over' as they had hoped. They had to fight with some of their neighbours over land or fight wars for their allies and overlords. In spite of the traditions of early settlements in Wassa country by both the Bekwai and Wiawso states, their relations with the former soon deteriorated. It is said that Obumankoma of Wiawso defeated Wassa (presumably Amanfi) probably towards the end of the 1680's.¹⁷ Wiawso hegemony over Wassa could not have lasted long because Obumankoma was himself defeated by Boa Amponsem. To the period of Denkyira overlordship in Wiawso may be traced the influx of the large number of Denkyira immigrants, as testified by the many stools occupied by people of the Agona clan. Indeed, Denkyira political institutions were greatly copied by Wiawso. It is interesting to note that two of the most warlike towns, Amanfie and Bodi, trace their origins to this period. Although most of the stools interviewed in this area tried to play down their subjection to Denkyira, there is enough evidence from their war songs which lends support to the early phase of Denkyira dominance. It is not unlikely that Nkoa I of Wiawso, like Osei Tutu of Asante, learned much from the military tactics and political organization of Denkyira.¹⁸

It was not only the Wiawso state but Bekwai and Anhwiaso also came under Denkyira rule. The traditions of the last mentioned state hold that they were once overran by latter power while most of their able-bodied men were

away to war with their northern neighbours. By the end of the 17th century the Denkyira army under their fearful general, Agya Ananse Obooman, had carried their arms to as far west as the Bia and south westwards to bring Awowin under their rule.¹⁹

As Bosman and the other European observers reported, all the former tributary states of Denkyira were anxious for its downfall because Denkyira rule tended to be harsh.²⁰ Indeed it is known that most of the tributary states overtly supported Asante. To them the Asante war of liberation would also win them their independence. Unlike Akyem Abuakwa, little did they realize that Asante which had objected to Denkyira rule, was itself embarking on an imperial drive. It was perhaps with a view to gaining the confidence of the Asantes that Anhwiaso immediately transferred its allegiance to Asante after 1701.²¹ It is not certain when and why Wlawso and Bekwai came under Asante rule. If the information collected by Bowdich at the beginning of the 19th century is to be believed then the defeat of Wlawso soon followed that of Denkyira. It is known that Osei Tutu's General Amankwatia, conquered "Sawee Bomancumma".²² By 1700, however, Obumankoma was dead and had been succeeded by Nkoa. Any Asante war against Sefwi then would be against Nkoa but not Obumankoma. It is interesting to note that within less than a decade and a half, Nkoa I had so successfully adapted himself to the changed political situation as to play a prominent role in the Asante-Awowin War of 1715. Nor could Anhwiaso preserve its friendly relations with Asante for long. In 1715, Amankwatia's army on its way to Apolonia overran its capital and thus completely reduced Anhwiaso to a tributary status. Perhaps the role played by the Bantamahene Amankwatia in bringing these states completely under Asante rule explains why Wlawso and Anhwiaso served the Asantehene through the Bantamahene.²³

Throughout the period between 1715 and 1887, when Sefwi finally came under the British, Asante maintained its rule in the area. By the reign of Osei Kwadwo, Asante power had stretched farther westwards into part of the Anyi-Baule region of the Ivory Coast.²⁴ The whole of modern Sefwi had been brought under Asante rule by the 1770's, when Osei Kwadwo is said to have defeated the former Awowin principality of

Bonzan. Bonzan traditions agree that they came under Sefwi Wiawso at the suggestion of the Asantes. To pacify the former powerful Bonzan Wiawso agreed to make it the Krontihene of the state.

One of the mysteries in Sefwi history is its relationship with Ebiri Moro. Fuller, without citing his source of information, asserts that one Ebiri Moro, King of Sefwi, sacked Kumasi when the Asante armies were gone to war against Akyem. This happened according to Fuller, during the reign of Opoku Ware.²⁵ It is interesting to note that none of the chiefs interviewed could tell of Ebiri Moro's identity. Perhaps one may argue that since his actions brought the state into disrepute the Sefwi people have deliberately struck out his name from the king lists. I am inclined to believe that no such an attempt has been made. Judging from the intense rivalry among the paramount stools, it is not unlikely that one of them would have shown off Ebiri Moro was as long as he was not connected with their stool. All the available information, however, makes Ebiri Moro either a ruler of Ahafo or Awowin. Indeed, Wiawso traditions assert that it could not have been a ruler of Sefwi since they were at that time fighting with the Asante army.²⁶

Nor does the 19th and early 20th century traditions collected associate him with Sefwi. Reindorf asserts that Ebiri Moro was the ruler of Parana and that Amankwatia fought and defeated Obumankoma and not Ebiri Moro. Kumawu traditions collected by Rattray in the 1920's associate Ebiri Moro with Wassa.²⁷ Judging from Sefwi relations with Asante at the beginning of the 18th century, it is difficult to believe that they would have been bold enough to have carried an attack to the capital of their overlord. It appears that the historian interested in finding more about this mysterious Ebiri Moro must search for him in the Awowin states which are in both Ghana and the Ivory Coast or in the Bono Takyiman-Wenchl area.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

With the influx of people from many parts of the

country especially from Adanse which is known to be the first organized Akan state "from which other states learned the art of government",²⁸ the social and political systems of Sefwi have been much influenced by the immigrants. The present basic social structure may be said to be the superimposition of the highly developed pure Akan clan system on one which had hitherto been organized primarily around living quarters and in Asafo or warrior company groups.²⁹ The outcome on the whole has not been a very satisfactory marriage. This explains the confusion about the various clans who claim to be eligible to occupy important stools. In Anhwiaso and Wiaoso it appears that the struggles between the various clans are primarily due to the unsuccessful merger of the two dissimilar institutions i.e. the pure Akan clan system on the one hand, and the Awowin-Bono system on the other.

Nowhere is this situation as pronounced as in the Wiaoso state. There the clan in which the paramount stool is vested is known as the Asankera. One would expect that all the members of this group would belong to one known Akan clan group. But far from it. There are, at least, three different clans who claim to belong to the Asankera group. The present Omanhene of Wiaoso, for instance, asserts that he is of the Oyoko clan, while Buako and Asafo which are also Asankera are of the Asakyiri and Bretuo clans, respectively.³⁰ In the Anhwiaso area perhaps the origins of the struggles between the Asona of Wenchi on the one hand, and the Adum-Aduana and the Aduana (Sawua) on the other, stem from a similar unsuccessful arrangement of merging clans with living quarters.

In the political sphere, however, most of the Akan institutions have been easily adopted. The politico-military division of the state into the left, right, and vanguard wings each under a leader who led his men in time of war and administered the division in peace-time is a common feature of the Sefwi constitution. Also all the states have such purely administrative posts as the Kronti, Akwamu, Gyaase, Ankobea, and a host of others which are common with all the other Akan states. In spite of these arrangements, however, it appears that, with the exception

of a few important stools in some places the all important office of the queen-mother was unknown or her role was relegated to an inferior status.

ECONOMY

Like most of the forest states of West Africa Sefwi's economy was based on trade. Gold mining and panning as well as ivory hunting were two of the most important occupations. Gold and Ivory were exchanged for manufactured goods. A town like Bonzan (when translated the name means the river which splits out gold), owed its fame and importance to its gold industry. Gold from Sefwi and other Awowin towns was regularly sent to Begho to the north and to the European forts at the coast. The route connecting Kumasi to Sefwi was one of the important arteries of trade at the beginning of the 19th century.³¹ Towards the end of the 19th century when rubber became one of the principal items of trade in the forest region of Ghana, Sefwi appears to have been active in the tapping of rubber. The abundance of both the tree, Funtumia elastica, and the vine, Landolphia Owarensis, in the area greatly made rubber exploitation a lucrative occupation for the people. It was undoubtedly during this period of rubber boom that Debiso in Sefwi became an important stopping place and market centre for people who journeyed to Kankyaabo (Krinjabo) and other places in modern Ivory Coast. While it may not be denied the importation of European manufactured goods, especially iron implements helped to make possible this economic exploitation, Sefwi and its immediate neighbourhood had had traditions of iron working going back to the pre-European period. To both Denkyira and Sefwi the iron working towns of Tonsuosim (Maudaso) by the Dia, and Bopa-Piri, by the Tano had long provided the much needed hoes and machetes (adre), for the exploitation of the forest.³²

FESTIVALS AND TRADITIONAL DEITIES

As was pointed out earlier on all the three states of Sefwi share a common culture in spite of the fact that

they all came from different places. They share a common dialect, Sefwi, have a common Yam Festival, Alielolie, and a common deity, Sobore. Although the Sefwi dialect is grouped with other Akan languages,³³ it is mostly unintelligible to the other Akan speakers. Linguistically the incoming Akans from the east and other regions have had their language very much overlaid with the Awowin-Bono dialect. Now Sefwi shares this common dialect, with the Awowin, Nzima and Anyi-Baule in the Ivory Coast.

In their common yam festival, the Alielolie, they celebrate the end of the farming year, and offer food and drinks to their ancestors — a practice which is not dissimilar from the Ohum and Odwira festivals of the Akans. On the other hand the second festival, the Alie, is not celebrated by all the stools, but only by members of the Asona clan in the three states. The importance of this festival lies perhaps in the fact that it serves as one of the only connecting links between the two Wenchi of Bono and Sefwi. Formerly celebrated only in Wenchi, but not taken up by the Omanhene of Anhwiaso and such places as Chirano, Subiri and Keskrom, it has much in common with the celebration of the annual Apo festival of Wenchi in the Bono states. In both the Alie and the Apo food which is cooked for the ancestors is placed at the outskirts of the town and merry-making women dance up and down the streets at times exposing their naked but well decorated bodies to the on-lookers.

In the worship of the tutelar deity Sobore, the three states also have a common identity. The deity is supposed not only to protect the states from all calamities but it is also a fertility god. Admittedly each state had its own shrine and priests but in all essentials the method of worshipping is similar. It appears that the Sobore predates the establishment of the modern Sefwi state. This may explain why only the local dialect and not Twi and only locally made wine from the raffia palm are used in worshipping Sobore. It is highly probable that the worship of this stream Sobore, was taken over from the Awowins.

CONCLUSION

From about the middle of the seventeenth century that stretch of territory which later became known as Sefwi was gradually being subjected to Akan influences from the east and northeast. Formerly the territory west of the Dia, spanning across the Tano and the Bia into parts of the Ivory Coast and stretching south to parts of Nzema was under the rule of the Awowin.

With the rise of powerful states of the Akans to the east, the territories of Awowin and Nzema became the refugee centres for those who refused to accept the leadership of the new states. For Awowin in particular this was a welcome development since it provided them with much needed subjects to occupy its sparsely peopled spheres of influence. This open door policy was to provide the excuses for the powerful states of Denkyira and Asante to bring Awowin under their control. At times with the overt support of the conquerors, many Akans moved west to populate modern Sefwi. It is interesting to note that virtually all the ruling houses but Bonzan and a few others, trace their origins into Denkyira, Adanse and Asante.

The newcomers brought with them the social and political organizations which they had learned from the Akan areas. The present day loosely formed clans in Sefwi is the outcome of the unsuccessful merger of the Akan clan system, based an exogamous matriarchy with what used to be a loose form of organization based on living quarters and warrior groups. On the other hand if the Akans succeeded in establishing their political organization on the predominantly Awowin-Bono system, culturally they were almost wholly assimilated by the conquered. The Akan language became so heavily overlaid with the Awowin dialect as to make it unintelligible to other Akan speakers. It is interesting to note, however, that the Akan Twi is still spoken by most of the people in addition to Sefwi for prestige reasons. This may be due to the rule of Denkyira and Asante and, to a larger extent, to the frequent infusion of Twi speakers who come in as migrant cocoa farmers.

FOOTNOTES

1. There is another tradition which asserts that Sefwi is the corrupt form of the name Sahie. Sahie is said to have been the chief hunter of Anasima, the King of Awowin who was in charge of the present Sefwi lands. See traditions of Sefwi Bekwai. I am grateful to Mr. K. Danso, Establishment, and Dr. Andoh, Korle Bu, for sharing with me their knowledge of the traditional history of Sefwi.
2. K.Y. Daaku and a van Dantzig "An Annotated Dutch Map of 1629" Ghana Notes and Queries 1966. D'Anville "A Map of the Gold Coast, from Issini to Alampi, 1729. W. Bosman: A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea, London, 1967 (First published 1704), p.73. J. Barbot, A Description of the Coasts of North and South Guinea. (London 1746) p.187.
3. T.E. Bowdich, Mission from Cape Coast to Ashantee (1819) p.169. J. Dupuis, Journal of Residence in Ashantee, 1824, p.265.
4. K.Y. Daaku, Trade and Politics on the Gold Coast 1600-1720, Oxford 1970, p.176. "The Fall of Ahwene Koko" BNQ 10, 1968.
5. Bowdich, op. cit., p.237.
6. See K.Y. Daaku, Oral Traditions of Sefwi-Wlawso.
7. Ibid.
8. I am grateful to Mr. C.E. Donkor for showing me his unpublished manuscripts on the traditions of Wenchi.
9. K.Y. Daaku: Oral Traditions of Sefwi Anhwiaso and Bekwai, Traditions of Wenchi.
10. Op. cit., Traditions of Chirano.
11. H.P. Holtsbaum "Sefwi and Its Peoples" The Gold Coast Review, 1, 1925, p.76-94. K.Y. Daaku, Traditions of Bekwai.

12. C.C. Reindorf: The History of the Gold Coast and Asante, Basel, 1898, p.49. K.Y. Daaku, Oral Traditions of Denkyira, Legon, 1970.
13. W. Bosman, op. cit., p.64. Although Bowdich asserts that the grandfather of Amenkwatia defeated Sefwi Buman-koma. This is because it is most improbable that the Asante defeat of Sefwi pre-dated the fall of Denkyira in 1701. It is known that Amenkwatia's drive through Sefwi to Nzema took place in 1715.
14. Bowdich, op. cit., p.237; Dupuis, op. cit., p.30.
15. K.Y. Daaku, Trade and Politics, p.176-178.
16. K.Y. Daaku, Oral Traditions of Sefwi Wlawso.
17. Reindorf, op. cit., p.49. F. Fuller, A Vanished Dynasty: Ashanti, London 1921, p.26.
18. Oral Traditions of Wlawso. See Akontombra and Amanfle. It is most likely that Nkoa I, like his contemporary Osei Tutu, served a period of apprenticeship under Boa Amponsem.
19. Bosman, op. cit., p.79.
20. K.Y. Daaku, Trade and Politics on the Gold Coast, p.156-162.
21. Traditions of Sefwi Anhwiaso.
22. Bowdich, op. cit., p.237.
23. Holtsbaum, op. cit.
24. Dupuis, op. cit., p.242.
25. Fuller, op. cit., p.26.
26. Oral Traditions of Sefwi Wlawso; Bekwai, Anhwiaso.
27. R.S. Rattray, Ashanti Law and Constitution, Oxford 1929, p.201. Reindorf, op. cit., p.79.

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47.

28. *Ibid.*, p.48.
29. Traditions of Amanfie, Bonzan, Akantombra, in Oral Traditions of Sefwi Wlawso.
30. Wlawso, Buako, and Asafo — In Traditions of Wlawso.
31. Bowdich, op. cit., p.186.
32. K.Y. Daaku, Oral Traditions of Denkyira (Legon 1970) Maudaso, and Ibid., Oral Traditions of Sefwi. Tradition has it that the town of Ahebenso in Sefwi derives its name from its abundant diamonds. It will be interesting to find out the contributions of the Denkyira and Sefwi craftsmen to the growth of Asante power. It is known for instance that the important blacksmith's town Fumasua near Kumasi was peopled by Osei Tutu with captives from Denkyira.
33. M. Stewart: The Akan Language G.N.Q. 9, 1966.