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in Nawuriland, Ghana**

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GYAMA BUGIBUGI (German Gunpowder): A HISTORY OF GERMAN PRESENCE IN NAWURILAND, GHANA

Abstract

This paper discusses general political and economic issues in Nawuriland during and after German colonialism. The paper argues that the legacies of German colonialism are still largely seen and felt in Nawuriland especially in plantation projects, land and chieftaincy.

Introduction

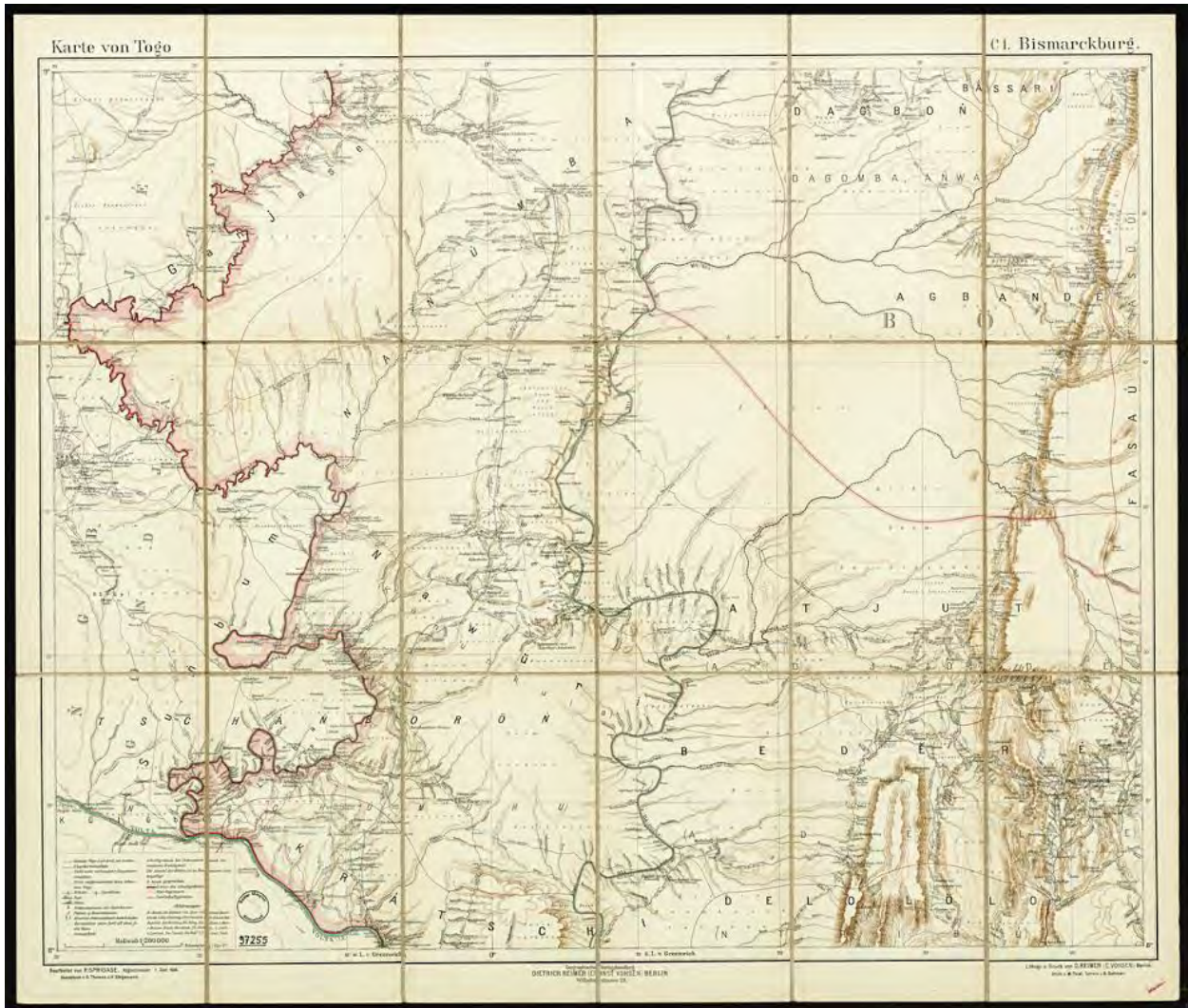
The Nawuri are part of the larger Guan group in Ghana. Guans are believed to be the first settlers in modern day Ghana. They are scattered across eight of the ten regions in Ghana—namely Greater Accra, Ashanti, Eastern, Brong Ahafo, Volta, Northern, Western and Central regions. Guans speak distinct languages that are different from the major languages in Ghana examples of which include the Ga-Dangbe, Akan and Ewe. Guans in the Volta Region include Kraakye/Krachi, Akpafu/Lolobi, Buem, Nkonya, Likpe, Logba and Anum-Boso. In the central region there are the Effutu, Awutu and Senya in Winneba and Bawjiase. One finds Larteh, Anum, Mamfi and Kyerepong in the Eastern region. The Gonja, Nawuri, Nchumburu and Mpre people in the Northern and Brong Ahafo regions. Some indigenes of Kpeshie in Greater Accra also claim Guan ancestry.¹

Geographically, the Nawuri are located in the North-Eastern part of Ghana. They are about 461kms away from Accra, the capital of Ghana. Important Nawuri towns and villages include: Kpandai (It is the capital of the Kpandai District) Balai, Bladjai, Kabonwuli, Katiejeli, Kitari, Kpakpa, Lesenai, Nkanchina and Njari. One also finds other ethnic groups within each Nawuri settlement examples of which include the Konkomba, Gonja, Bassari, Kotokoli and Chokosi (Anufu). The paper focuses on two Guan groups in the area that is the Nawuri and Gonja since it was these two ethnic groups that had their histories severely reshaped by the presence of Germans and later British colonialism.

¹ Buah, F.K., *A History of Ghana*, (London: Macmillan1980), 20-28; Arhin, K., (ed.) *The papers of George Ekem Ferguson, a Fante official of the government of the Gold Coast, 1890-1897*, (Leiden, Afrika-Studiecentrum, 1974), 50.

Germans in Nawuriland²

In 1899 a treaty was signed between the British and German governments. By that treaty that part of the Gonja State to the east of the River Dakar which includes the whole of the present Afai (Nawuriland) and Nchumburu territory was placed under German administration.³



(Fig.1) Reference: BMA 97255 "Karte von Togo. C1. Bismarckburg", 1906. Note Nawuri in the middle of the second and third columns of the map.

² Nawuriland is used to include all the Nawuri towns and villages that have been mentioned above. Also in most of the archival documents and oral interviews this is the term that was used to mean the territory inhabited by the Nawuris

³ J. Dixon , 'Report of Mr. J. Dixon, Administrative Officer Class I, on the Representations Made to the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations Organisation, Concerning the Status of the Nawuris and Nanjuros within the Togoland Area of the Gonja District, (1955), 7. Hereafter, Dixon's Report.

Prior to the treaty Germans had been active in the Nawuri area since 1884. However, attempts at effectively administering never occurred until the last Anglo-German convention of 16th February, 1900.⁴ Emboldened by this agreement of 1900, Germans clearly defined their spheres of influence in Nawuriland as evidenced by a map of 1906 entitled, Karte von Togo (See fig.1 above) and on which map the Nawuri area prominently featured.

One major aim of the German administrative system was to promote trade, banish ‘idol worship’ and encouraged the establishment of plantations. Idol worship was considered one of the stumbling blocks to trade especially in Kete Krachi which was the centre of administration of the Germans. The attempt at putting idol worship in check and also to promote trade led to the execution of Nana Gyantrubi and his spiritual helper Okra in 1894. In 1912 the Germans under the leadership of von Rentzell arrested another Dente Bosomfor Abrakpa, executed him, and blew up the Dente shrine.⁵ After the execution, German administrators mapped out areas of intense veneration of deities and ancestors and also areas where Dente had much influence. On the spiritual map of the Dente Shrine, the Nawuri area featured prominently. Every Nawuri settlement had a miniature Krachi Dente (Kachulente) shrine mostly represented by a clay mound. Dente was considered very powerful all over Ghana and in particular among the Nawuris. Next to Dente in terms of fame and popularity was Kankpe shrine which was located in the Nawuri area. With the view that the executions would compel many people to move to the Kankpe shrine, and also for purposes of permanently putting in check the spread of traditional worship of deities, the Germans invited the Kankpe shrine priest (Kankpe Esseipu) to Kete Krachi.⁶

Fearing that he may also be executed the Kankpe shrine priest instead dressed up one of the members of Balai and sent him with the message that he should tell the Germans that the priest was sick and had been taken to Bimbilla for treatment. The messenger was told to clearly make the Germans understand he was a messenger and not the Kankpe priest. In Kete Krachi the Germans received the messenger but asked him his role in the spiritual affairs of Balai and Nawuriland. He replied that he was the rainmaker. The Germans were interested in agriculture and felt that his position was central to their agronomical interest, his story was not doubted and he was told to go back but that anytime that the Kankpe priest got well he

⁴ Dixon’s report, 7-8

⁵ Maier, D.J.E. *Priest and Power: The case of the Dente Shrine in Nineteenth-Century Ghana* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), 56. Note that different authors use different spellings for the first executed priest. Some use Gyantrubi and others use Jantrubi.. This paper will use them interchangeable depending on the author that is being cited.

⁶ Information provided by Kankpe priest (Kikipiriwura) Nsewansa, 2nd April 2004, Balai, Northern Region.

should report to the German officials at Kete Krachi. Even though the Kankpe priest never reported to the Germans the matter was not pursued.⁷

Incidentally, this period also coincided with the enskinment of Mahama Kankaranfu *Karatu*, as the Kanankulaiwura (Kununkuliwura/Kanankowliwura) of Kpandai.⁸ It is important to point out that Mahama was a trader who specialised in the sale of beads hence his nickname *Karatu* meaning beads in Hausa.⁹ He got most wares from the Germans in Kete Krachi. Through his trade he established a very strong bond with the Germans through the Zongo community in Kete Krachi. He was responsible for finally bringing Nawuris under German rule. As to the circumstances leading to that, Nana Ayadong of Kpandai explains as follows:

A few months after his enskinment Mahama gathered chiefs from almost all the Nawuri towns and villages and took them to Kete Krachi. At that time traditional political power was not vested in the Dente Busomfuwo anymore, instead it was the Sarikin Zongo called Sofo and to a lesser extent the Krachiwura who were in charge of affairs in Krachi. With the explanation that Kpandai itself had picked up as an important trading town in addition to it assuming the

⁷ Kikpiriwura Nsewase, Balai, 4th April 2004.

⁸ The meaning of Kununkuliwura or Kanankowliwura had and continues to be a matter of controversy. Its meaning whichever way is used has implications for traditional authority in Nawuriland. It has therefore been used interchangeably by both Gonjas and Nawuris. For the Nawuris the title for the Gonja chief in Kpandai which is Kununkuliwura is traceable to the period where a sick Gonja man called Djori came to seek treatment in Nawuriland. He was sent to a Muslim cleric (Afa or Alpha in the local languages of the north) called Fatingi Kpe. Fatingi Kpe's residence assumed his name Afa or Alpha. Nawuris added the word 'ai'. Which means home to Apha making it Alphai or Alfai meaning, Alpha's home or house. Alphai is an area close to present day Lesenai on the Kpandai-Yendi road. As mentioned previously after treatment, Djori chose to stay in Nawuriland. This was the period that trade between Yendi and Kete Krachi had picked up since the 1874 British-Ashanti wars had disrupted trade in Salaga. Most of the traders had moved to neighbouring towns. Kpandai, Balai, Katiejeli and other Nawuri towns were places that benefitted from the out-migrations from Salaga. In Balai there emerged a community called Sabon Gyida, which means in Hausa, new home or new house or new community. In Kpandai there also emerged a Zongo away from the original Nawuri settlement. Since more settlers were coming in, Djori who was now healthy asked that he be made the chief of the strangers. He was accordingly made the chief. In the meantime Nawuri hunters were going to Alfa Fatingi Kpe for spiritual powers to enable them kill more game since their major occupation was hunting; an activity which came along with spoils of status and appellations. They rewarded the Afa with lumps of meat. However, as the Alpha tabooed un-slaughtered meat according to his Muslim belief he instead gave the meat to his Gonja cured patient now turned chief. Nawuris then gave him the title Kununkuliwura (meaning Chief of lump of meat). On the other hand Gonjas explain that the name is rather Kanankowliwura. The name came about after Sumaila Ndwura Jakpa the founder of the Gonja Kingdom settled one of his sons called Djori to rule Nawuris after consolidating his Kingdom in the 1600s. As a result of conquest of a number of groups he rewarded Djori with the position to rule over the Nawuris who were then war captains (mbowuras). Djori took on the title Kanankowliwura (meaning; Chief of one nation/chiefdom) to reflect his position over the different constituents that have become one. It is important to point out that the truth or otherwise in these two claims is beyond this paper. I will stick to the compromised terminology which most British officers used in their records' Kanankulaiwura. This terminology seems favourable because it has 'ai' which the Nawuris are comfortable with and Kanan which is also acceptable by Gonjas. Wura means chief and is a term that means the same for Nawuris and Gonjas.

⁹ Gonjas provided alternative meaning of *Karatu*. They are of the view that Mahama had the name *Karatu* because he was also learned in Arabic. *Karatu* refers to the process of learning Arabic while the institution is Makaranta. One finds it difficult to accept or reject any of these versions since Mahama possessed the two qualities- a beads seller and literate in Arabic.

status and character of a Zongo, he asked the chiefs to agree to his rulership in the presence of German administrators. The Germans asked the Nawuri chiefs to thumbprint on a document accepting Mahama Karatu as the ruler of the Alphai area. He was handed the document bearing the thumbprints of all the Nawuri chiefs and the towns that they came from. With the acceptance of his authority Germans formally extended their rule to Nawuri courtesy the Gonja chief- Kununkuliwura.¹⁰

Nana Ayadong's oral version is in line with the evidence in the archival holdings in Tamale. Mr. J. Dixon a British colonial official, in investigating the dispute between Nawuris and Gonja's in the 1950s stated that:

The modern history of this dispute can be said to begin with the reign of the successor of Atuma, Kanankulaiwura Mahama Karantu Kankaranfu who was made the Kanankulaiwura on the 5th of September, 1913 and was described in a document by the German District Officer of Krachi as having been elected as overlord of the district of Nawuri with the approval of the Imperial Station, Kete Krachi. Under him are the chiefs of the following localities. 1. Kpandai 2. Katiageli 3. Balae 4. Beying 5. Nkantschena 6. Dodope 7. Kabauwele. 8. Kotiko 9. Abrionko 10. Surutu. The last three villages named have either disappeared or changed names. This document, the original of which is in the possession of the Gonjas was signed by Dr. Von Raven.¹¹

Contents of the original document read as follows:

“Der Eingeborene Mahama-Karatu aus Kpandae ist heute mit Zustimmung der Kaiserlichen Station Kete-Krachi zum Oberhauptling der Landschaft Nawuri gewähit worden. Es ihm die Hauptlinge der Ortschaften:

1. Kpandae 2. Katiageli 3. Balae 4. Bejim 5. Nkantschena 6. Dodope 7. Kabauwele 8. Kotiko 9. Abrionko 10. Suruku

Kete-Kratschi, d. 5 September 1913
Der Bezirksleiter
Dr. V. Raven”

It is important to point out the rationale for the easy acceptance of Mahama by the Germans. Dixon reports that Mahama's predecessor Kanankulaiwura Mbema had moved to Kpembe, close to Salaga at the arrival of Germans in Kete Krachi. Then Kanankulaiwura Mbema chose to relocate because he preferred to live under the British and not Germans.¹² Even though the reason given by Dixon was just brief, namely that he move because he did not want to serve the Germans, an analysis of his action will point to the fact that since the whole area of Kpandai was going to be under Kete Krachi, Mbema would have been forced to serve as a sub-chief of the Krachiwura. It was better for him to move to Kpembe since already

¹⁰ Interview with Nana Ayadong on 17th July 2002. at Kpandai..

¹¹ Dixon's report, 8. Note the current correct spelling of the villages/towns. 2. Katiejeli, 3. Balai, 4. Nkanchina, 6. Dodoai, 7. Kabonwuli

¹² Dixon, 8

under the principle of rotation the Kanankulaiwura skin in Kpandai was one step to occupying the Kpembe skin.¹³

Unlike Mbema, Mahama showed interest in serving the Germans. Therefore, there was the need to give him the needed support. Secondly, Mahama was from Kpembe close to Salaga. As mentioned earlier Germans had a greater interest in Salaga because of its trade but attempts at having effective control over economic affairs in Salaga never materialized. This in part explained why the Germans burnt down Salaga in 1897 since it was very clear that Salaga was much in favour of the British. Germans settled for Kete Krachi as a second choice and were bent on making Krachi function on equal if not better terms than Salaga.¹⁴

The presence of Mahama in the Nawuri area would further strengthen the economic position of Germany and help in diverting trade from Salaga to Kete Krachi. This was considered important since the Gonjas in Kpandai were the same family as the Gonja aristocracy in Kpembe and Salaga. Already, the Nawuri were an important group that patronized the Krachi market. For example they sold most of their farm produce such as yams, guinea corn and local rice there. They also supplied shea butter, elephant tusks, and skins of animals such as lions, antelope, python and buffalos to the market. At the same time Krachi was the place they bought most of the guns and gunpowder (bugibugi) from Germans and salt from Ada canoe men.¹⁵

Apart from the indigenous Nawuri patronizing the market of Krachi, the various Nawuri communities also had Yoruba and other Nigerians resident there who traded extensively with Kete Krachi. Products such as beads were in high demand in the area since that was an important part of the Yoruba dress code. More importantly, Nawuri women at that stage had incorporated beads as an important part of their dress code. They were meant to beautify the body and help define the shape of women as important parts such as necks, ears, wrists and ankles were all decorated with beads. Beads also became articles of charm especially those that were worn around the waist as the sound and visibility of beads aroused the sexual

¹³ In Kpembe there are three gates or divisions- Sigbin, Kanyase and Lepo. The three gates take turns to occupy the skin in Kpembe. The Kanankulaiwura belongs to the Lepo division or gate. Usually the occupant of Kpembe also ascends to the terminal skin at Yagbon and becomes the Yagbonwura. The position of Yagbonwura also is rotational among the following divisions- Kpembe, Wasipe(Daboya), Bole, Tuluwe and Kusawgu. In times past Kong and Kandia could also occupy the Yagbon skin.

¹⁴ Meyer, *Priests and Power*, 135

¹⁵ Information provided by Nana Abadie, current Kankpe priest, Balai, 15th March, 2016.

interest of men.¹⁶ One could explain why in part Mahama's trade in beads was highly successful in the area during that period.

But of greater importance was the need to prop up the position of Kpembewura Lempo from the Lepo division who relocated from Kpembe to Kete Krachi as a result of a civil war in Kpembe in the 1890s. The Lepo division was not only central to Kpembe chieftaincy but also derives its legitimacy through the position of the Kanankulaiwura. Chiefs who occupy the Kanankulaiwura skin could ascend to the Kpembe skin.¹⁷ So with Kpandai effectively cut out of Kpembe and put under Krachi the exiled prince who had been made chief could still have a large following which includes the Gonjas resident in Kpandai as well as the newly acquired Nawuris. With all these advantages in mind every effort was made to establish German rule in Nawuriland and to support the chieftaincy of Mahama.¹⁸

German initiatives in Nawuriland

From the explanation above it was clear that as far as traditional political authority in the Nawuri area was concerned it was vested in the Kanankulaiwura. Every kind of activity that Germans wanted Nawuris to carry out they passed it through the Kanankulaiwura. He was responsible for reporting to the Germans all that was taking place in Nawuriland. Aside local political issues that were in the hands of Mahama matters of road construction, plantation and security were all handled directly by the Germans.

Under the Germans, Nawuris had to construct the road from present day Banda, located a few miles from Kete Krachi in the Volta Region to Lugni in the present day Nanumba South District in the Northern Region. Nawuris were supplied with pickaxes and shovels (*pikase* and *sofel*) but in most cases they preferred using hoes and cutlasses since these were the technological tools that they were accustomed to. Women were responsible for boiling the pods of ripe African locust beans (*Parkia biglobosa*) to obtain a kind of 'red-darkish' liquid substance which was poured on the road. The liquid helped to bind the gravel and sand together. This practice was already known to local women since that was what they used in

¹⁶ For the use of beads to stimulate sex in recent times see; Daily Graphic, 'The Unexplored potential of beads, 5th September 2015.

¹⁷ In Ghana the authority of a chief is shown in the form of symbols which include, wooden stools, animal skins, swords, kente cloth among others. In the south chiefs sit on wooden stools while in the north, apart from the Nawuri, Nchumburu and Krachi, chiefs sit on animal skins. In the north the skins that are sat on include, lion, leopard and tiger.

¹⁸ Interview with Nana Soale Frico, 1997, Katiejeli. For details of the war among the royals in Kpembe and German involvement see; Braimah, J.A. and Goody, J.R. *Salaga: The Struggle for Power*, (London: Longmans, 1967)

flooring their compounds as well as their rooms. In a sense, one can say through road construction Nawuri technology was properly appropriated and projected by the Germans for purposes of constructing.¹⁹

It needs to be pointed out however, that the reason for the interest of Nawuris in road construction was that it satisfied their immediate needs. As already pointed out, Nawuris had been trading in Krachi. They mostly used footpaths that in some cases were full of bandits, predators and reptiles. Travelling using bush paths had the challenge of visibility and also slowed down mobility due to stumps, stones, tree branches and roots among others. Furthermore, footpaths were too winding leading to more time spent on the journey to Kete Krachi. For example, before the road construction those from the Nawuri area who went to Kete Krachi had to make a detour after Katiejeli to appear around Famani and Wuae in the Nchumburu area before cutting through Bajammso to Kete Krachi the journey normally lasted four days. The road which was constructed under Germans made the journey short since it was much more direct. It went through Buya, Bruae and Zongo Machere reducing the four days journey to two days.²⁰

Aside road construction Germans encouraged individuals to cultivate cotton for export. They were given instructions on how to clear the land, maintain the plants and also harvest and process the cotton for export. Though an important project, Mbowura argues that the commercial cotton initiative failed in Nawuriland. His reasons were that the Germans did not attach diplomacy to their quest to transformed Nawuri farmers who have all along being subsistence farmers into commercial cotton growers. Nawuris were compelled to travel to Kete Krachi to obtain new varieties of cotton introduced from the agricultural station there to complement the local varieties available in the Nawuri area. But in all, it was the introduction of flogging of so-called idle Nawuris and the truncating of leisure hours that completely discouraged Nawuris from growing cotton on a commercial basis.²¹

It is true that as far as commercial farming is concerned the German cotton project failed. However, the unintended consequence of the cotton project was that instead of exports the cotton rather was produced on a smaller scale and used locally. Local productions were

¹⁹ Interview with Wofa Agyanka, Katiejeli, 22nd December 2004.

²⁰ Interview with Wofa Agyanka, Katiejeli, 22nd December 2004

²¹ Mbowura, C.K. 'Eat Mangoes, Sell Cotton and be Industrious': Interrogating German Colonial Rule in the Nawuri Area of Northern Ghana 1899-1914' In' Apoh, W and Lundt B. (eds), *Germany and Its West African Colonies' Excavations' of German Colonialisms in Post-Colonial Times* (Berlin: LIT), 210-211

bought by Nawuri women who easily took to spinning. An informant explains her experience at that time as follows:

Spinning cotton was a strenuous job. But the Nawuri traditional culture of storytelling was easily incorporated into the process reducing boredom and exhaustion and drawing in more observers and participants. As the men left for hunting or their farms, children gathered around us. We were the skilled spinners. We told stories and passed on our skills to our children and grandchildren as well as other spectators.²²

The yarns were immediately sent to local markets including Kete Krachi and sold to weavers who made cloth out of it. Some of the cloth was directly used to make smocks while others were used for traditional rituals such as burial and ‘soul cleansing’ (*ekla kilogne*). In essence one could argue that the cotton project fueled the local economy and also helped sustain traditional dress codes and cultural practices.

Women also extracted oil from the seeds of cotton by roasting it first and crushing the seeds into a paste, the paste was dried in the sun and afterwards kneaded to extract the oil. The oil was used to prepare local soap called *Gbanekwaya* (Gonja soap). The oil from cottonseeds especially became useful when shea butter became scarce. Some Nawuris after harvesting the cotton would cut the stems and soak it in water for three days after which the bark is taken off and woven together to obtain a very strong rope. Ropes were and still are very important to Nawuri agricultural life. Most of their farm produce particularly yam and guinea corn, including firewood have to be conveyed from farm to the house through head portage. With ropes they were able to tie the farm products and fuelwood which they carried back home.

Apart from cotton, Germans also introduced teak, mangoes, and mahogany and nim trees into the Nawuri area. Apart from trees that were planted by Germans on the main road from Kete Krachi through Kateijeli, Kpandai to Yendi, Nawuris were also encouraged to establish their own plantations. As part of the plantation initiative, training was given to the local people by German administrators. The very visible plantations today are in Kpandai, Kateijeli, Balai and Kabonwuli. Unfortunately, in Kpandai township some of the mangoes that were planted by Germans on the main road were destroyed by Nawuri and Gonja warriors during the

²² Interview with Nna Masagbine Ambuamu, Balai, February 2001. Masagbine is over hundred years old and was one of the female informants who was described by other male informants as a ‘brave’. The reference has to do more with her ability to challenge the ‘maleness’ of men through songs and appellations. Her songs, as some informants say have turned otherwise cowards to ‘brave men’. At present she is one of the very few that remember Nawuri hunting culture and appellations. Also she has a very vivid memory of the last stages of slavery and an impeccable knowledge of German colonialism in the area.

Nawuri-Gonja conflict of 1991 and 1992.²³ Other trees were also cut down in the later part of the 1990s when Kpandai was connected to electricity from Akosombo hydro-electric dam.²⁴ The remaining trees could however be found in and around the Roman Catholic mission, and other parts of Kpandai.



Fig. 2. Some of the remaining mangoes on the street in Kpandai. Note, to the left of the main road the old trees close to the Roman Catholic Mission House and to the right are new ones planted after the 1991 war. (Credit: Olov Dahlin, University of Gävle, Sweden, 2013)

In Balai, Nana Kwadjo, Nana Joe, and Nana Asunki, Nana Anu all of them Nawuris, established their own mango plantations. In Balai there were some differences in the plantation. For example Nana Kwadjo concentrated on mangoes mainly, whereas Nana Joe concentrated on teak trees, his son Nana Basankpamine inherited the plantation and also enlarged it further. Nana Anu in addition to mangoes planted, palm trees, banana and plantains. Nana Asunki incorporated mangoes, guava, pineapples and palm trees in his

²³ The destruction of the mangoes was not deliberate. The warriors set fire to houses, stores and petrol stations. Since most stores and houses were by the roadside, the fire from it burnt the mango trees.

²⁴ Akosombo is a town in the Eastern Region where Ghana's hydro-electricity plant is located.

plantation. In essence he and Nana Anu could be credited as one of the first local people who popularized the idea of an ‘orchid’. But Asunki’s behavior is not surprising local informants indicates that he was a daring individual who always wanted to try something new. However, central to his quest for broadening his horizon was his constant and close touch with Germans in Kete Krachi where he always sold his game and bought guns and gunpowder.²⁵

The plantation in Katiejeli also had a different social history. Unlike the plantations in Kpandai and Balai, in Katiejeli, Germans attached communication to the plantation project. For example, there was a milepost that was established where all letters and other forms of communication were brought to the milepost. A boy was stationed there. After collecting all correspondence, he took that and sent to Kete Krachi. In the same manner he took all the letters from Kete-Krachi and brought them to the milepost for onward distribution to other Nawuri towns and villages. Other Nawuri towns and villages aside this three all equally have such mango and teak plantations.²⁶

In the Nawuri area the plantations served a number of uses. The teak trees were used in packaging. The leaves were used to wrap meat or fish. Some of the teak were and still are used for roofing houses. In terms of everyday utility, it was actually the mango plantations that served some significant purpose. There are two major seasons in the Nawuri area, the rainy season and the dry season. The rainy season normally begins around July and ends in October/November. The dry season also starts from around December until about May/June. The mango season starts December through to April. Mangoes played and continue to play important economic, social and cultural role among Nawuris. It is true that the mango fruit is very sweet and therefore naturally liked and eaten by a lot of people worldwide. But there is also an important economic angle as far as the fruits are concerned. In the Nawuri area children went at dawn to pick the mangoes, the mangoes were then sold to women who further carried it to the market in Kpandai or other market centers such as Lugni, Ekumdi, Salaga, Makango, Bimbilla and Yendi to sell. In essence at a very tender age mangoes made it possible for children to be economically independent in the Nawuri area.²⁷

As previously noted March-June constitute a period that is described as ‘the lean season’ in Northern Ghana. It is called the lean season because most households would have run out of basic food stuff by that time. The food situation becomes more serious during times of low

²⁵ Interview with Eblisa Kinyimawu (Mawu). Son of Nana Asunki in Balai, 6th July, 2015.

²⁶ Interview with Nana Mensah Ajabasu, Chief of Katiejeli, 6th July, 2014.

²⁷ Interview with Nana Mensah, Chief of Katiejeli, 6th July, 2014

yields of staple crops such as yam, cassava, corn, groundnuts, pepper among others. During years of poor harvest most women usually battered the mango fruits in villages and markets for food crops. The products are then stored and used to prepare food until the harvesting of the new crops in July or August. One could argue that mangoes became one of the means through which food shortages or crises were easily mitigated since they compensated for shortages from farms. But at an important level is the extent to which mangoes were parceled and sent off to friends and relatives as gifts.

An interesting angle to mangoes in the Nawuri area is the extent to which they were and still are used as fuel during specific times of the year. The Nawuri area is geographical described as Savannah woodland. As an area that is partly savannah it experiences harmattan conditions from December until February every year.²⁸ During harmattan, children climb mango trees and harvest dry branches most often in the evenings and keep at specific spots in the village. At dawn children come around and make fire with the wood from the mangoes to keep warm. In most cases the children will roast yam and eat it as breakfast while listening to some of the gossip and news from their elderly folks who most often take their seats behind the children. In essence mangoes fostered social cohesion and enhanced traditional values and education through the stories and news told by the elderly to children.

The mango plantations also became places where snails, a local delicacy in southern Ghana grew. Also some animals especially grass cutters and other rodents thrive very well in the plantations. From time to time children went into the plantations for snails. Nawuris unless those who sojourned in the south, never ate snails, so what was harvested by children was often sold to southerners who were resident in Kpandai, thus the plantations had the unintended consequence of providing children with income. Local hunters also set traps or embarked on group hunts in the plantations. So the plantations helped sustained the long cherish Nawuri culture of hunting.

Most of the mango trees that were planted within the community served important social and leisure roles. On their return from farm or any other form of work, members of the community will gather under mango trees. News, gossips and discussions regarding the welfare of the community takes place under the trees. In some instances, food and local

²⁸ Harmattan is a very dry, dusty easterly or north-easterly wind on the West African coast, occurring from December to February.

alcoholic beverages such as *pito* and palm wine are sold there.²⁹ It is here that traditional musicians compete for fame by singing praises to entertain prominent customers at the drinking place. Patrons who are touched by the praises dish out money to the praise singers who shower more accolades on them raising their status higher on the social ladder most often to the point of exaggeration.³⁰

Finally, funerals were also often held under the trees. Often traditional dances such as *Kakpancha*, *baya*, *kake* were and are still performed under the trees. In the same manner divination, which forms part of the final funeral rites of Nawuris end up under the trees.



Fig. 3 above and Fig. 4 below. Balai community members in two traditional dances under mango trees. Above is the *Baya* dance and below is the 'Hunters Dance'-*Kakpancha*. (Credit: Olov Dahlin, University of Gävle, Sweden, 2013)

²⁹ *Pito* is a type of beer made from fermented millet or sorghum in northern Ghana and some parts of Nigeria. *Pito* can also be prepared from maize.

³⁰ Ntewusu, S. A. " 'Appealing for Grace': The Guinea Corn Festival of the Nawuris of Northern Ghana" In, Chris Newbold and Jennie Jordan(eds.), *Focus on World Festivals*. (Oxford: Goodfellow Publishers Limited, 2016), 214.



There have been some negative consequences that arose from the establishment of these plantations. The political angle would be reserved for later discussions in this article but the religious and medical implications are worth discussing here. Most members of the community felt that some evil or malevolent spirits such as dwarfs (Twi: *motia*, Nawuri: *ntinani*) and other specific beings called Sansabonsa or ndena and witches inhabit the plantations. This has often led to elaborate sacrifices from time to time to stop or reduce the negative effects of the activities of the evil spirits.

The gradual shift in the belief system of Nawuris regarding mangoes and evil spirits should be understood from the perspective of deforestation in Northern Ghana. It appears that as a result of the uncontrolled harvesting of trees for fuel and also clearing of forests for farming,

the spirits do not have a home anymore. They have moved to mango trees that is why nowadays mango trees seem to have become bad or demonic trees.³¹


Moving away from spirits, there is also the issue of reptiles hiding under dry teak and mango leaves that fall on the ground. The ability of the plantations to attract reptiles is as a result of the presence of rodents, insects and snails there. These are important source of food to all manner of reptiles be they snakes, lizards, crocodiles or tortoise. Some people have suffered snakebites in and around the plantations sometimes leading to deaths. As the mode of harvesting of mangoes still remains picking ripped ones on the ground or climbing the trees to pluck the mangoes, accidents do often occur in both cases. The mango fruits are sweet and so snakes also do eat them. Sometimes as children pick the mango fruits they get snakebites. Also climbing mango trees to harvest the fruits or the dead branches also results in children falling from the tree as a result of insufficient grip on a branch or just a branch braking off due to excess weight from the climbers. Such accidents often re-enforce the community's belief in the existence of evil spirits in the plantations. In essence just like cotton, mangoes also came to assume some very important role in the economic and cultural history of Nawuris albeit, with some negative consequences.

Apart from mango plantations which from our explanations have been very successful, Nawuri hunting habits were greatly enhanced under Germans. As already noted it was in Kete Krachi that they acquired guns and gunpowder which they used for hunting. Aside that Germans also recruited Nawuris into their military. The names that informants remember were Anebiti, Eblisa Enyapo Kojo Police, Kibalin, Lante and Yaw Krachi. Incidentally Anebiti deserted and nothing was ever heard of him. There seem also to be less oral information on the other Nawuri soldiers in the Germany military. One whose story survived is Yaw Krachi who is greatly remembered by the Nawuri community.

³¹ For earlier allegations on mangoes and evil spirits see; Jansen, J. 'Mangomania?', The significance of mangoes in the Manding' (Mali). In' Panella, C. (ed). *Lives in motion, Indeed. Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Social Change in Honour of Daniella de Lame*. (Tervuren: Royal Museum of Central Africa, 2012), 341-349.

SERIAL No. 138/88

GHANA ARMED FORCES



CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

SERVICE NO. 69054

SURNAME KRACHI

FIRST NAME(S) YAW

RE- ENLISTED AT KUMASI

RE- ENLISTED ON 14 FEB. 1950

DATE OF BIRTH 1927

Notes This form of Certificate of Service is issued to members of the Ghana Armed Forces who have served for a period of more than 12 years persons with less service are issued with Defence Form A 101

Defence Form A 101

Reg: 1172³



Phot this

Specimen Signature or rolled right thumb-print

CERTIFIED THAT THE ABOVE PHOTOGRAPH & SIGNATURE (OR THUMBPRINT) WERE INSERTED IN MY PRESENCE

Signature of Commanding Officer

Date 16 MAR 88

OFFICER IN CHARGE RECORDS OFFICE

9

SERVICE WITH THE COLOURS

Unit/Ship Arm of Service, Country	From	To	SERVICE	
			Yes	Days
ENLISTED	1944			
RE-ENLISTED	1950			
RE-ENLISTED	1950			
RE-ENLISTED	1950			
TOTAL				

Campaigns "BURMA"

Medals, mentions-in-despatches, acts of gallantry of distinguished conduct 1945-1946

Signature and rank of Officer making entries

OFFICER IN CHARGE RECORDS OFFICE

Fig. 5. Documents of Yaw Krachi Reproduced with permission from the Anenyimbale family Balai

He was an interesting ex-serviceman. After the First World War he was re-enlisted into the Gold Coast Regiment under the British in Kumasi. He was sent to Burma where he was a cook to the British and Ghanaian soldiers but from time to time he left the kitchen and went to the battlefield. His bravery and willingness to take on the enemy earned him the nickname 'Jackie' a corruption of Jack. Following his retirement, he permanently stayed in Bimbilla and went on patrols from Kete-Krachi to Sansamango whenever the opportunity presented itself. Jackie was known for visiting the graves of Germans. He planned his patrols to coincide with the local market days. So, traders remember him as 'Gyama Soldier' - (German

Soldier). Perhaps he earned that nickname because he had the habit of disarming anybody who came to the marketplace with a weapon be it bow and arrows, spears or cutlasses.³²

Other Germans projects include hand-dug wells, with one of the wells given the named *Sitani Kitribo* (Satan's well).³³ Wells were considered important in the Nawuri area for several reasons. The first had to do with the population of Kpandai itself. As noted other traders had relocated from Salaga due to the collapse of Salaga as an important market. Their presence in Kpandai put pressure on water systems there. Another reason was that Kpandai was one of the towns where most of the traders from Dagomba and Nanumba rested before heading further south to Kete Krachi; the same was the case for those travelling back north. As an important receptacle for travelers and traders there was the need for adequate supply of water.

As previously noted, Nawuris got their guns from Kete Krachi. Through the availability of guns and gunpowder supplied by Germans, Nawuris were able to further embark on their cherished occupation of hunting. Shot guns easily replaced poisoned spears and traps which were used previously to trap big game some of which include, buffalos and antelopes among others. German gunpowder (Gyama bugibugi) was preferred to other brands that were prepared locally or imported. The explosives which Germans used to blow up rocks during

³² Interview with Chief of Masaka, Bimbilla, 1999 and Kwadjo Kinyikide Aneyimbale, (Game Master) Balai, 7th July, 2014. On the re-enlistment card Yaw Krachi's date of birth was 1927. He died in 1998 at the age of 106 years. His year of death rather puts the date of birth in doubt. A proper calculation indicates that he was probably born around 1893 and was enlisted by the Germans at the age of 22 years. By the time of the Second World War he would have been 27 years. The change in his date of birth is very significant in our analysis of German-British relations and Nawuri-Gonja tensions. After the defeat of Germany, chiefs in the North played an active role in the recruitment effort of the British. In most cases they were charged with the responsibility of providing quotas. Putting the exact date would have raised some problems both for the Gonja chief in Kpandai who was influential in his recruitment or the British officials who finally processed him for the Gold Coast Regiment. For as his family members indicate, he was enlisted in the German army as Aneyimbale Yaw but on his re-enlistment he was given the name Yaw Krachi. But the name Krachi added to his name also helps in our analysis of Krachi-Nawuri relations. He would have agreed to the Krachi because at that moment the relationship between Nawuris and Gonjas was not too good so he would not have agreed to the name Yaw Gonja.

³³ Sitani kitribo is located between Kpandai and Balai. The real reason behind the name is yet to be properly established. It is located at a place that generally the local people think is inhabited by evil spirits. Aside this general belief one could hazard some guess regarding the naming of the well as such. The area where the well is located seems to be one of the very few places that one could find hard stones. There could have been some difficulties encountered at the time that the well was being dug, thus leading to the name. Another crucial consideration is the way and manner the spot on which the well was dug had little vegetation. With the exception of the three mango plantations located about two hundred metres away from the well there are no trees. The plain nature of the place makes it easy for whirlwind (sing. Kawulewule, pl. Nwulewule in Nawuri language) to occur. In Nawuri religious cosmology there is no whirlwind that does not have within it an evil spirit. Since the place is flat the well normally acts as a break for most whirlwinds that move along its location. It could be believed as the abode of the evil spirit and probably led to the name Satan's well.

road construction were also incorporated into funerals. Special metal devices (Mprim) were loaded with gunpowder and intermittently exploded during funerals.

Incidentally, German colonialism did not last too long as the First World War broke out in 1914. Nawuris continued their cotton, mango and teak plantations, as it had become part of their agronomic life. They still utilized the guns and gunpowder on a daily basis to hunt and to celebrate funerals. And the hand-dug wells continued to be used. Unfortunately events after the war affected their political life. The very boundaries and political structures as well as the plantation system Germans had introduced became basis of conflict when the British took over from Germans after the war.

Defeat of Germany, British colonialism and the destiny of Nawuris

The end of the First World War led to the signing of the Treaty of Versailles in 1919. After the treaty communication was sent to British officials in the Gold Coast to that effect. In Kete Krachi a meeting was held by Captain Morris, a British Colonial official, other French officials from Lome and chiefs. Morris addressed the chiefs and elders of Krachi, Northern and South Adele and Ajati (Achode) as follows:

My good friends, you will all remember that six years ago, the English and the French 'made one' and fought the Germans. The two of us drove them away and took all their lands. Now that peace has been signed, the two nations are dividing between themselves the lands that belong to the Germans. It is for this reason that you see the French commanders with us. The headmen of the British and French nations have met and have from a map divided what the boundary between the two governments to be.³⁴

A few months after effectively taking over the territory from Germans and defining the boundary between the French and the British, Morris had occasion to write thus:

In spite of well over thirty years of close contact with Europeans, there is very little known of a tribe known as Krachi. This is due to the first instance to the tackles conduct of the German officer who founded the station in their country and second to the fact that the whole of power of Krachi and their chief is due to the presence in the midst of their god Dente. This later point has of course raised an almost impassable barrier between the Krachi and European and this is now being broken down for Europeans who have won the complete confidence of the chief and his elders. As a result all general information concerning this tribe cannot yet be definite.³⁵

From the correspondence of Morris it was evident that the British lacked a proper understanding of the issue of boundaries and of identity. Unlike the Germans the British had

³⁴ Public Records and Archive Administration (hereafter PRAAD), Tamale, NRG 8/1/2, Boundary dispute, 1921

³⁵ PRAAD, Tamale, NRG 8/1/2, Boundary dispute, 1921

introduced arbitrary boundaries, which were bound to lead to conflict since native boundaries were largely ignored. The British were aware of this but the issue was how to try to make artificial boundaries work and indeed still be acceptable by the so-called natives. The Chief Commissioner, Ashanti however gave a definite response to the way and manner German Krachi should be divided:

As to the whole question of the most suitable division of the Kete Krachi district between Ashanti and the Northern Territories I think that if a division is going to be made at all, the Northern Territories should get the Nanuma, Nawuri, Nchumburu and also Adjati and Adele and Ashanti get the remainder of the district of Kratchi... The country about Kratchi is physical is of the Ashanti and colony type.³⁶

In accordance with these views expressed by British administrators, the lands of chiefs were accordingly divided using the middle line of the range of hills, which surrounded Kete Krachi and Adele. By that arrangement the Adele were divided between the French and the British with the chief of Yege serving the French. Areas further north-east of Shiare belonging to the Achode was also given to the French thus both the Adele and Achode which were under Kete Krachi lost most parts of their territory to the French.³⁷ It was clear that unlike the German arrangement which kept groups together the British and French arrangement was bound to bring trouble since it gave little regard for indigenous kinship and religious systems. Even though Germans were against the operation of Dente shrine at least its existence before the arrival of Germans had helped define a certain spiritual and social space that enabled Germans to rule since most of the groups that were mentioned above including Nawuris did not have any objection serving Germans in Kete Krachi.

Back in the Nawuri area in 1921, as a result of the change in the political arrangement and also with the fact that Kete Krachi was now under the British, Kanankulaiwura Mahama Karatu approached the District Commissioner, Kete Krachi and pleaded that now that the Germans had departed from the Gold Coast, the Nawuris and Nchumburus should be returned

³⁶ PRAAD, Kumasi, ARG 1/1/106, Transfer of Kratchi, Mandated area to the Northern Territories Administration, 1922-28

³⁷ For a comprehensive account of such divisions in other parts of the present day Volta Region see; Amenumey, D.E.K. *The Ewe in Pre-Colonial Times: A Political History with Special Emphasis on the Anlo, Ge, and Krepi*. (Accra: Sedco Publishing Limited, 1986); Amenumey, D.E.K. "The 1956 Plebiscite in Togoland under British Administration and Ewe Unification." *Africa Today* 3, no. 2 (1976): 126-140; Amenumey, D.E.K. "The Pre-1947 Background to the Ewe Unification Question: A Preliminary Sketch." *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana* X, (1969) 65-84; Amenumey, D.E.K. *The Ewe Unification Movement: A Political History*. (Accra: Ghana University Press, 1989).

to Salaga and should serve under the Kpembewura.³⁸ In order to make a case for the return of Nawuris and Nchumburus to Salaga, the District Commissioner of Southern Gonja was invited to the palace of the Chief of Kpembe, near Salaga and portions of Gonja history which was written in Arabic was read in Hausa to the commissioner and other Gonja counselors.³⁹ Incidentally in an attempt to claim the Nawuri area, the story was presented differently to the British.

Mahama indicated that it was the Germans that came and divided Nawuris and Nchumburus from the Gonja, otherwise, the Gonja, Nchumburu, Nawuri and Bandas (in Kintampo) all came originally from Mandingo an area the colonial administrator described later as ‘that part of West Africa bounded by the 14 and 9 parallels of latitudes and the 16 and 6 degrees of longitudes comprising colonies of French Guinea, Upper Ivory Coast and Haute Senegal’.⁴⁰ Mahama’s views here were contradictory especially since as we have observed already it was he who sent Nawuris to Krachi for his endorsement in 1913.

Another complicated problem in addition to this migration story was the claim of conquest of the Nawuri and Nchumburu area. The story is told of Ndewura Jakpa conquering the whole of Western Gonja and making Yagbon the headquarters. He moved eastwards and crossed the Dakar River to Alfai, which was occupied by the Nawuris, and further east by the Konkomba. The Konkombas fled northwards and Ndewura Jakpa settled his son Djore in the Nawuri country and gave the land and the Nawuris to him. The Nchumburu were also known as Kakanki and he put them under the chief of Sungbun.⁴¹ But the contradiction to this story was the general acceptance by Gonjas that they met Balai Nawuris already resident there. They therefore referred to them as Kishiboriso-mba- yu (descendants from the heaven).

But Mahama’s historical entreaties fed into British interest - namely to permanently realign political and economic power away from German Kratchi to Salaga. Capt. Morris the convener of earlier boundary meetings in Kete Krachi was also present in Kpembe and added to Mahama’s story by bringing in issues of linguistic similarities, food culture and dress code as evidence of the link between Gonja and Nawuri, which makes it necessary for Nawuris to be taken away from Kete Krachi.

³⁸ PRAAD, Tamale, NRG, 8/1/2, Boundary Disputes, Togoland, 1921

³⁹ PRAAD, Tamale, NRG, 8/1/2, Boundary Disputes, Togoland, 1921

⁴⁰ PRAAD, Tamale, NRG, 8/1/2, Boundary Disputes, Togoland, 1921

⁴¹ Kankanki perhaps is a corruption of the Nchumburu village called Kachunki.

In the meantime, reports were sent by the District Commissioner in Salaga and the Chief Commissioner in Tamale to the Governor and the Secretary for Native Affairs in Accra and the British administration in London all in an attempt to justify why Nawuris as a matter of necessity be de-linked from Krachi. But some of the reports were also full of contradictions and historical inaccuracies. For example, in describing the Nawuris the district commissioner indicated that they were referred to as 'Kagbanye'. Kagbanye cannot be applicable to Nawuris because among Gonjas there is adherence to strict political and social regimentalisation in which Kagbane refers to the Gonja ruling elite, even though the taxonomy could also be 'loosely' applicable to other constituents within the Gonja kingdom especially the Muslim group - Kramo and the commoners - Nyamase.⁴² Furthermore, it was indicated that the 'Nawuri chief' by name Alfai was the next heir to the chiefship in Kpembe. As we have observed already, Alfa was not a Nawuri and even if he was Nawuris were not part of the rotational system of the Gonja political set-up. These were clear cases of how in an attempt to redefine boundaries in favour of British colonial rule, the German political structure was set aside and a number of inconsistent and inaccurate claims were made after the departure of Germans.

Indeed, Nawuris themselves did not agree to most of the claims that were made both by Gonja and by the British colonial administration. They maintained instead their allegiance to Germany and their ethnic closeness to Krachi as the report from the District Commissioner to the Chief Commissioner, Ashanti, demonstrates:

Some time ago Mr. Branch, Acting Commissioner Salaga advised Chief Commissioner Northern Territories that the Nawuri tribe should be taken from the jurisdiction of D.C. Krachi and placed under Salaga. Mr. Branch was under the impression at that time that because MAMA Wurupon of Kpandai (Nawuri) was a Gonja that all his people were Gonjas whereas in effect the Nawuri people speak a dialect of Guan and have nothing in common with their paramount chief. They are however closely akin to the Chumburu and Krachi both as regarding language and custom and they take most violent exception to the idea of being placed under Salaga..... So strong is the wish of Nawuri people to remain under the wings of the District Commissioner Krachi that their elders have twice been down here and prayed for a definite assertion that they would at no time have to deal with the District

⁴² Jones, D. H., 'Jakpa and the foundation of Gonja'. *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, Vol. 6 (1962), p.4. For more on the categorizations see; Levtzion, N. *Muslims and chiefs in West Africa: A study of Islam in the Middle Volta Basin in the colonial period*, (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1968); Barker, P. *Peoples, Languages and Religion in Northern Ghana- A preliminary report*, (Accra: Asempa publishers, June 1986).

*Commissioner of Salaga but always remain with Krachis whom they regard as their brothers.*⁴³

From the above it was very clear that even after the defeat of Germany, Nawuris have this close sense of attachment to the Germans via Kete Krachi. The Chief Commissioner, Ashanti in February 1922 had occasion to write to the District Commissioner in Krachi pointing out clearly that there was bound to be trouble between the Gonja and the Nawuri in future but what form it would take was what they as administrators could not anticipate. His conclusions were based on discussions which the District Commissioner, Krachi had with Mr. Branch the main architect of the transfer of Nawuris to Salaga. Mr. Branch admitted in Yendi that with the issue of transfer of Nawuris he had committed a very serious blunder since he had always thought that the Nawuri tribe was of Gonja origin and that the issue needs to be reconsidered. Unfortunately, at that time Mr. Branch was already transferred to Yendi.⁴⁴

Despite their unwillingness to serve Salaga, two years after Frederick Gordon Guggisberg took over as the Governor of the Gold Coast in 1919, he had a grand idea of the revival of Kingdoms in the north. He felt that the only way by which British colonial rule could be successful was by introduction of Indirect Rule in the north. By that system established political entities such as Gonja, Mamprusi and Dagomba could have their king's authority further strengthened by including other ethnic groups such as the Nawuri, Nchumburu, Konkomba, Vagla, Mpre, Kusasi, Frafra and Builsa under the more centralized groups such as those already mentioned above. He therefore charged all British administrators in the north to ensure that Indirect Rule succeeded in the north. As he clearly stated:

*Our policy must be to maintain any paramount chiefs that exist and gradually absorb under these any communities scattered about. What we should aim at is that someday the Dagomba, Gonja and Mamprusi should become strong native states. Each will have its own 'public works department' and carry on its own business under the political officer as a resident advisor. Each state be more or less self-contained. I would like the chief commissioner to draw up a policy for the Northern Territories showing a definite scheme for fostering the formation of these big states by compulsion.*⁴⁵

As part of the move to form big states by compulsion Indirect Rule was introduced in Northern Territories. Separate meetings were held for Dagomba, Nanumba and Gonja chiefs

⁴³ PRAAD, Kumasi, ARG 1/1/106, Transfer of Krachi, Mandated area to the Northern Territories Administration, 1922-28

⁴⁴ PRAAD, Kumasi, ARG 1/1/106, Transfer of Krachi, Mandated area to the Northern Territories Administration, 1922-28

⁴⁵ PRAAD, Tamale, NRG. 8/2/5. Native Administration, 1925.

leading to the codification of rules of succession and areas of territorial control.⁴⁶ For the Gonja a conference was held in Yapei (Tamale port) in 1930. As was expected by the end of the Yapei Conference, Nawuris and Nchumburu were formally and effectively transferred from Kete Krachi to Salaga under the Indirect Rule system. A similar arrangement made it possible for Konkomba, Bassari and Chokosi to be put under Dagomba and Kusasi, Frafra, Kassinas and Builsa to be put under the Mamprusi.⁴⁷

Mangoes are our Masters: claiming German identity in a new system

As noted, by the establishment of Indirect Rule, Nawuris were effectively under Gonja rule and served the Yagbonwura through the Kanankuliwura and Kpembewura. Incidentally Mahama Karatu was promoted from a sub-chief in Kpandai to a divisional chief in Kpembe with the new title, Mahama Jawula. The Germans had left and Mahama now had to work under the British. Under him road construction continued just as occurred under Germans but this time around to ensure that there was a successful diversion of attention and trade from Kete- Krachi an entirely new road was constructed from Kpandai through Balai, Ekumdi, Katanga to Salaga. Gradually trade was also re-directed from Krachi to Salaga. The diversion of trade was in line with British attempt at strengthening the position of Salaga through population and trade. As noted by the District Commissioner for Salaga:

*In the final settlement of the new district to be possibly formed to the east of the Dakah and Volta river I put forward the claims of Salaga district to have the above mentioned villages incorporate as they would then return to their rightful head chief and give a much needed augmentation to this thinly populated districts. The bulk of the villages claimed are nearer Salaga than to either Krachi or Yendi. The Nawuri villages claimed are under the chief of Alfai who resides at Kpandai on the main Yendi-Krachi road. The villages include Kpandai, Inkanchima, Balai, Dododpa, Katageri, Kobonyeri, Punayeriba, Balajai, and Kanapusu. All these since the German occupation were placed under the head chief of Kete Krachi.*⁴⁸

⁴⁶ The following files in the Tamale archive contains information on meetings and codification of rules of succession and general history meant to facilitate the implementation of Indirect rule : NRG 8/2/33 Enquiry into Konkomba language, customs, and constitution, ; NRG 8/2/199 Enquiry into the Constitution and Organization of the Kambonsi in Dagomba, n.d. ; NRG 8/2/1 The History and Organisation of the Kambonsi in Dagomba; NRG 8/2/217 M.M. Read, Essay on the Peoples of north-West Province, n.d. ; NRG 3/2/1 History and Constitution of the Mamprusi tribe, 1922 ; NRG 3/2/4 History of the Buli, Nankani, and Kassina people in Navrongo area of the Mamprusi District, n .d.

⁴⁷ Report by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the Council of the League of Nations on the Administration of Togoland under British Mandate for the year 1932. (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1933), 6; For more on this see; J. Kusimi; J. Fobil; R. Atubuga; I. Erawoc; F. Oduro. Conflicts in Northern Ghana: A Mirror of Answers to Sub-Regional Stability and Security Questions. *Asteriskos: Journal of International and Peace Studies* ((2006), 217

⁴⁸ PRAAD, Tamale, NRG, 8/1/2, Boundary Disputes, Togoland, 1921

As populations were diverted to Salaga so was transport improvement from the south through Salaga as means to give Salaga its rightful place in trade. The plan worked as there were reports of increase in trade after the redirection of population towards Salaga. For example, between 1933 and 1947 the District Commissioner for Salaga had occasion to report as follows:

*Salaga shews (sic) definite signs of revival. This is due to a variety of causes, among which may be included the establishment of the weekly market and the steady increase of Konkomba settlers down the road.... Trade up and down the North road is increasing every year and Tamale in the eastern side of the territory is crowded daily.*⁴⁹

Meanwhile a new Kanankulaiwura was installed who worked hand in hand with Mahama Jawula in Kpembe. In addition to trade, taxes were effectively introduced by the British in the area. The Kanakuwura capitalized on taxation and introduced compulsory labour which demanded that Nawuris offered free labour. Disagreements regarding payment of taxes or dispensation of labour amounted to crime for which local police were to immediately affect arrest and possibly imprison defaulters. Furthermore, the hind leg of any big game such as elephants, lions, and buffalo among others that Nawuris killed had to be given to the Kinakowuliwura. Even though out of free will some of the hunters already gave out lumps of meat thereby leading to the title Kununkuliwura, it was the institutionalization of that practice that was unwelcomed by the Nawuris. In addition to game they were also to provide foodstuffs to the Kununkuliwura.⁵⁰

The way and manner indirect rule was implemented by the British through Gonja, made most of the Nawuris to migrate to Kete Krachi district and also to Nanumba in the later part of the 1930s and 1940s. In Krachi area they settled at Banda which was a community that grew as a result of the road that was constructed under Germans linking Kete-Krachi to Kpandai. Lijan was also a Nawuri community which received more Nawuris as a result of the indirect rule system. In Nanumba area, Nawuris founded their own community called Chifflito very close to Wulensi and Lugni.

So essentially less than two decades after the departure of Germans, Nawuris also had to migrate out of their homeland as a result of British rule. At the social level those in Nanumba area easily got wives and husbands from neighbouring Nanumba communities such as

⁴⁹ PRAAD, Tamale, NRG, 8/3/36, General Report, 1933-1947; PRAAD, Tamale, NRG 8/3/125, Gonja District Report, 1944-1945

⁵⁰ Cetus Kwaku Mbowura, 'The British Colonial Factor in Inter-Ethnic Conflicts in Contemporary Northern Ghana: The Case of the Nawuri-Gonja Conflict' *The International Journal Of Humanities & Social Studies* Vol 2 Issue 5 (2014) 274

Wulensi, Jilo, Dakpam, Nakpa and other neighbouring villages. Those in Kete Krachi district still remained largely endogamous. In the meantime, their departure meant that the Kanakuluwura had control over the entire territory including the mango plantations.⁵¹

Even though Nawuris had migrated from their homeland, from time to time they returned with their dead to bury in what they consider their ancestral homes. In some instances, they came around to perform sacrifices to the deities and ancestors since these could not be moved with them. In all visits, they made huts under mango trees and stayed. They never had any problem sleeping under those trees since they considered the area and the trees as German territory. Interestingly enough, the British colonial administration did not object to this kind of behavior and the indirect attempt at sustaining loyalty to Germans by this practice.

The Kanankuliwura would have a problem with that practice since he had already taken charge over all immovable property there. It is important to mention that his actions were informed by the traditional political rule that govern property and land in northern Ghana. Traditionally, in almost all parts of northern Ghana, chiefs have control over trees. As the appellation of the Ya Na, King of Dagbon goes:

Ya-Na's Appellation

Gbugnli!: Lion!

Tihi ni mori lana, : Ruler over all vegetation including trees,

Toli lana, : One who owns himself

Wulun-puhuli nam lana: Ruler of all creation in the East

Wulun luhuli nam lana,; Ruler of all creation in the West

Anduniya lana; Owner of the whole world, including rivers and all water bodies and wild life and every other living being

Gbewa,; Gbewa incarnate

Sagim lana,; Ruler of all nourishment-(essentially provider of food and 'insurer' of food security)

Gbugnli!: Lion.⁵²

The situation is not different from Gonja. But traditionally the trees should be wild economic trees such as *dawadawa* and shea nut trees. Incidentally in the case of the Nawuris, the Kanankulaiwura included mangoes because they were also economic trees. From the

⁵¹ Interview with Nana Obimpe (a.k.a J.K. Mbimadong), Chief of Balai, November, 2010, Tamale

⁵² Interview with Alhaji Sulemana Gonje, Yendi, 17th March, 2016.

appellation, whether they were wild trees or domesticated the appellations do not make any distinction. As later discussions in this paper reveals, the attempt at controlling mangoes would serve as a trigger for Nawuri-Gonja conflicts.

In the meantime, critical events would make some Nawuris return to their homeland in the later part of the 1940s and early 1950s. First was the awareness that was created that once they vacated their property for over ten years without returning they could not claim back any land or property after the ten years period. The second reason especially in the case of those who left for Nanumba was that they were all technically put under the Ya Na and they had to pay taxes and render labour just as they did when they were under Salaga.⁵³ Thirdly, the Gonja had started infiltrating into the religious practice of the Nawuri especially in the selection of the Kankpe shrine priest. In one of such interference Alechu one of the contestants to the Kankpe priesthood but now relocated to Nanumba had to send a telegraph to Accra as follows:

*Gonjas numbering about forty strong led by two native authority policemen and Kanankulaiwura from Kpandai came to Balai in Nawurland in Trust Territory, Togoland Friday and tried forcefully to install fetish priest in succession to the late one who died, contrary to custom. During discussions Kanankulaiwura told meeting that the district Salaga Kpembewura and Yabunwura instructed them to take such action. Elders and Kingmakers of Balai refused and police and Gonja indiscriminately beat Balai people with sticks.*⁵⁴

Finally, Nawuris left behind a few people who refused to move especially the elderly ones. Their death meant that they had to commute to perform their funerals. In view of the issues raised above they chose to return.

In Balai Nana Asunki was among the first to return, and one would understand why he would do so. He had a big plantation and for him that meant a lot to him.⁵⁵ Just as occurred during their visits for funerals and performance of rituals, on their final return some of them made huts or built houses under the mango trees that they planted. But they were reminded by the Kanankulaiwura that they had left their property and for the moment almost all immovable property including the mangoes belonged to him. That in part was true because some of the Nawuris in their anger wrote to the District Commissioner in Salaga informing him of their

⁵³ Information from Kwabena Kpebunka, at Afiencya-Mataheko, Accra, 17th September, 2014.

⁵⁴ PRAAD, NRG 8/2/210, Nawuri and Nanjuro (NTs) Under United Nations Trusteeship. 1951-1954.

⁵⁵ Their absence for a while has led to a very interesting culture in Nawuriland. Once mangoes dropped any passer-by could take it and eat. This could have been a culture that started after they migrated from the area, which made the fruits more available to strangers. On their return they never stopped any stranger from picking the mangoes that dropped on the ground. This same principle does not apply when the same stranger climbs the mango tree to pluck the mangoes. That is immediately considered as greed.

migration and giving their property to the Kanakulaiwura.⁵⁶ But those who did not write such letters indicated that as far as they were concerned ‘mangoes were their masters’ (Amango egyi ani nyiripi). They had left the mangoes and came back to meet them. Their reference to ‘mangoes as their masters’ should be understood in the context of German-Nawuri relations. The statement had more to do with their perception about authority. Symbolically for them mangoes represented German authority.

As noted earlier, by 1951 almost all the Nawuris had returned to their homeland. Leaving their homeland did not make them indigenes in the new communities where they found themselves; they equally had to obey the rules and regulations that chiefs in those areas laid down for them. On their return therefore, they were determined more than before to fight and regain their territory. But this quest to take over traditional leadership by force re-ignited the tensions that existed between them and the Gonjas.

First, they started writing letters and petitions to the Chief Commissioner in Tamale, the Governor in Accra, and more importantly to the United Nations since at that stage the area was still under the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations. Nawuris, at that point in their history had gotten at least some educated elites, examples of which included Nana Agbedji, Mr. Soale Friko and Mr. J.K. Mbimadong (later Nana Obimpe, Chief of Balai). The last two incidentally were also associated with Germans. J.K. Mbimadong received his education in Kete Krachi and under Mr. Wilhem Henkel. Henkel was of German-Ghanaian parentage. Soale Friko was also educated by the early German missionaries in Kpando. Aside these few educated elites that wrote the letters and petitions, in some cases they went as far as Kumasi or Accra to hire letter writers. On two occasions they relied also on Mr. Henkel to help them. From 1920 until the outbreak of the Nawuri-Gonja war in 1991, there were countless petitions and letters written by Nawuris protesting the structural deficiencies in indirect rule and the position of Gonjas as rulers in Nawuriland.⁵⁷ All the letters and petitions carried two main themes. The first had to do with their status as aborigines and recognition as an

⁵⁶ This should not be taken literally. In most cases if a Nawuri says he/she has given all the property to you it does not mean he means it in reality but what he wants to say is perhaps that once that property is for him and you intend to take it from him he does not need to argue with you but instead would say out of anger that ‘ I have given it to you take it’. In most cases he would either come back for his item when he has calmed down or will fight for it and take it back. This really explained the rationale behind the tensions that arose over property after they returned.

⁵⁷ *The Ashanti Pioneer*, ‘Nawuris demand to join Kete Krachi as they protest to District Commissioner’, Thursday, January 18, 1951. The author counted not less than one fifty letters and petitions in NRG 8/2/2112 alone. Meanwhile there are over thirty files in the archives in Accra, Kumasi and Tamale that deal with the Nawuri-Gonja question.

autonomous ethnic group under Germans which to them was a basis for rejecting their servile status under British rule. The second had to do with the establishment of a separate Native Administration solely for themselves or at worse they should be transferred to Kete Krachi from Salaga.

In all the responses to their letters and petitions the British and Gonja referred to their leaders as elders or headmen and not chiefs as they signed off in their letters or as contained in the original document that was handed over to Kanankulaiwura in 1913 by the Germans. Since the first strategy, which was the writing of letters and petitions did not work they moved to the next plan which was the installation of their own paramount chief. The installation of Nana Atorsah I, as Nawuri chief was considered necessary. The ceremony took place in 1951 at Katiejeli where all Nawuris gathered. Nawuri warriors swore two oaths that day. The oath of Latinkpa and Apasao. The oaths re-enforced, a determination to wage war should the need arise.⁵⁸ Nana Atorsah was carried by strong men, who were also surrounded by warriors. Women followed up with war songs, brandishing mango branches which the Germans had planted along the road. Carrying mango branches provided them with moral courage and at the same time showed the extent to which they preferred German colonialism to British rule.⁵⁹ The march from Katiejeli to Kpandai a distance of about four miles had begun, they got to Kpandai without any incident. But the installation of a Nawuri paramount chief was not entertained by both Gonja and British administration.⁶⁰ The D.C. Salaga had occasion to respond to a petition by Nawuris to the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations requesting for recognition of their newly installed chief:

*The position of the Nawuris (or Nawulis) is clear. They came to this area as mercenaries in the Gonja army and have owed allegiance to them ever since except in so far as during the period of German rule the bond between this area and the rest of Gonja was weakened. So far as is known, the chief of Kpandai has always been a Gonja and it is nonsense for this petitioners to describe the Gonjas as aliens on their land and to claim that one of their members is chief of Kpandai.*⁶¹

⁵⁸ The Latingkpa oath originated in the 1890s when Nawuris went as mercenaries to help the Lepo Division in the civil war in Kpembe/Salaga. In that war five hundred Nawuris died. One of them survived but returned with wounds. Due to the heavy casualties that Nawuris received the oath was instituted. The Apaaso war unlike the one where they went as mercenaries to help one Gonja division, it was a combined effort between them and the Gonjas and Krachis to defeat a break-away Asante warrior group who had gone to the northern Guan area to raid. Here the combine forces emerged victorious with Nawuris returning with the head of one of the Asante warriors as a trophy. Due to the victory they instituted the Apaaso oath. The two oaths were sworn to give themselves moral courage but to also remind themselves that in war, one either wins or loses.

⁵⁹ In the performance of some of the Nawuri dances they still carry mangoes leaves till date.

⁶⁰ Interview with Nana Agbedje, Chief of Nkanchina, June, 2000.

⁶¹ PRAAD, NRG 8/2/210, Nawuri and Nanjuro (NTs) Under United Nations Trusteeship. 1951-1954

In the early part of the 1950s it was obvious that war will break out. The area witnessed intermittent street fights between the two groups especially during market days. Evidence of such fights was reported by the D.C. for Gonja District, Damango in 1952:

About 2-30 pm. I arrived in Kpandai and went straight to the Rest House. The market was crowded as I drove through, being a market day but I saw nothing that aroused my suspicions. I had lunch and was sitting in the Rest House about 3.00 pm when thence representatives from Atorsa came up to ask if they could bring their chief to the Rest House to greet me. I replied in the negative...About 3-45 pm I was called by an excited voice, on investigation I found a man with his face covered in blood calling out to me with Bladjaiwura just behind him. They told me the Nawuris had started a riot in the town and would soon come down. I immediately left the Rest House for the town. A large number of people were streaming on a bicycle coming to tell me of the riot. I hurried to the centre of the town where a large crowd of people had gathered. I pushed my way through the crowd and saw about 20 people with blood stained faces fighting together. There were several different groups but the largest gang was near the Dusaiwura's house. Through my interpreter I tried to shout above the yelling to the people to stop fighting and to disperse. There was a quantity of broken glass on the ground which I was told had been used in the fighting. A number of stones been thrown from various quarters.⁶²

Several of such instances led to an enquiry by Mr. J. Dixon in 1955. Rather than solve the problem Dixon's report instead created more tension. The report was viewed by Gonjas as a very objective representation of the facts since it used the German document of 1913 as a basis to legitimize Gonja rule in Nawuriland. Nawuris felt the report was biased and that the German map of 1906 instead had Nawuri on it which made Gonjas ineligible to rule them since they were strangers in Nawuriland.

The problems between Gonja's and Nawuris never ended each referring to these two German documents as the basis of ownership of land and exercise of traditional political authority. When Nana Atorsa died in 1970, Nana Asasiadjwo from Balai was installed as the new Nawuri paramount chief.

Somewhere in the 1980s, one Mr. Atta Kwame, a Nawuri and a member of the Roman Catholic Church had gone to the mission to harvest mangoes. One of the Gonja princes ceased the mangoes. This was something that the Nawuris considered unacceptable. The mangoes in the mission house were part of the plantations they Nawuris had established. But the Gonja prince also maintained that in reality it was his family that planted the mangoes. When the Roman Catholic Church was built the mangoes were left standing to give the mission house some aesthetic beauty. The missionaries often harvested these mangoes

⁶² PRAAD, NRG 8/2/210, Nawuri and Nanjuro (NTs) Under United Nations Trusteeship. 1951-1954

sometimes with problems with some of the Gonja princes. In fact every mango season led to some tensions between Nawuris and Gonjas. One could therefore conclude at this point that mango trees and fruits were converted to objects of resistance by both Nawuris and Gonjas. But these tensions should be understood in the context of land rights which were defined in administrative terms both by Germans and later by the British. Ownership has been defined from a state perspective which incidentally also fitted perfectly into culturally accepted practice among established Kingdoms in northern Ghana including Gonjas, and by this it was the Kanankulaiwura who had control over the trees including mangoes. This was perfectly captured by Dusaiwura a sub-chief to the Kanankulaiwura and son of Kpembewura Mahama Jawula in his memorandum to J. Dixon in 1955:

During his (Mahama Karatu) successive reign, one white man came here through Krachi District and requested that people might be sent to Krachi who would collect mango seedlings. My late father sent message to the various village headmen to select five strong men who would go to Krachi to bring the mango seedlings. They had obeyed his instructions and the people were chosen who went there and collected the mango seedlings. These seedlings are the present ones seen in the Kpandai town. When these seedlings were planted, my late father had been taking care of their health until they became grown into trees. He had all power over the mango seeds whenever they bore fruits. After his death I have also been taking charge of the mango trees and did all times sell the fruits and use the money without rendering account to anyone.⁶³

As noted, from the 1950s tensions continued to build. In 1990/91 Gonjaland Youth Association was to hold a meeting in Kpandai but intelligence reports indicated that it might lead to clashes between Nawuris and Gonjas. The Northern Regional Security Council (REGSEC) impressed upon Gonjas to call the meeting off. and in 1991 war broke out. Mbowura provides a picture of the war as follows:

On 7th April 1991 Nawuri and Gonja youth engaged themselves in street fights, but the police found it difficult to disperse them; neither were arrests made. Around mid-morning of 7th April 1991, a street fight broke out between some Nawuri and Gonja women over arguments over allodial rights to lands in Kpandai and its environs. As the members of the fight began to flicker out, an intense verbal confrontation ensued between some Nawuri and Gonja men over a piece of land previously acquired by the Roman Catholic Mission in Kpandai. The Kpandaiwura (the Nawuri chief of Kpandai) Nana Atorsah Bresiam Okore objected to the attempted sale of the land to motor bike and bicycle mechanics. This resulted

⁶³ J. Dixon, Appendix VIII. Nawuris on the other hand were of the view that the mangoes that were referred to were those that were planted on the main road in Kpandai and not all the mangoes in the township. All mango trees in the various Nawuri villages were planted by individual Nawuris that is why the plantations each bore names of those who established them. They admitted that the time that they migrated, Kanankulaiwura had control over the trees outside those on the main road and on their return they had to take it back and that was one of the reasons why the tensions began in the first place.

in destructive. and bloody street fights between Nawuri and Gonja men. In the encounter, two Nawuri men – Kwame Beyifine and Samuel Ntiamoah – were reportedly stabbed by some Gonja men. Gonja casualties included Basiru Tahiru, Barichisu Abdulai and Kasim Lasseni. The incident was reported to the police, but no arrests were made. Besides, police presence in Kpandai was hardly visible though the Gonja allege that there was a “heavy police presence in Kpandai” The police only acted belatedly to ensure law and order when armed confrontations broke out after Anekor, a Nawuri and the war’s first victim, was shot and killed by Asimani, a Gonja. They attempted to seize firearms and arrest belligerents, but their actions came too late and were ineffective. Despite a re-enforcement of police a day later, the fighting continued for about five days.⁶⁴

The war was described by many scholars including Brukum, Johnson and Mbowura as the mango war of the north.⁶⁵ It was described as such because of the way and manner mangoes were used to settle scores in a wider conflict involving land and chieftaincy. As noted, a closer analysis of the conflict clearly indicates that there were concerns over ownership of land and the exercise of traditional authority especially chieftaincy. As pointed earlier the rules of engagement as far as land, chieftaincy and plantation were concerned changed after the departure of Germans.

After the war in 1991, then President Jerry Rawlings set up a committee headed by Justice Ampiah. At the committee’s sitting in Tamale, the Nawuri chiefs and opinion leaders turned up with a copy of the German map of Togoland. "Karte von Togo on which there was the bold inscription ‘Nawuri’ with all the villages listed on it. Gonja’s also brought out the document handed over to Kanankulaiwura Mahama Karatu in 1913. Even though there was no *white paper* that was issued on the committee’s report, most of the concerns that Gonas and Nawuris raised during the committee’s sitting were addressed by the Ghanaian government.⁶⁶ One that needs particular focus and which ties in with the discussion is the creation of a separated district which both sides agreed to the establishment of a new district

⁶⁴C. K. Mbowura, Inter-Ethnic Conflicts and their Impact on National Development, Integration and Social Cohesion: A Study of the Nawuri-Gonja Conflict in Northern Ghana *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, Vol. 4, No. 7(1); (May 2014), 112.

⁶⁵ For a detailed discussion of the conflict see N. J. K. Brukum, *The guinea fowl, mango and pito wars : episodes in the history of northern Ghana, 1980-1999* (Accra : Ghana Universities Press, 2001); C.K. Mbowura, Constructing the Historicity of Chieftaincy among the Nawuri of Northern Ghana. In *Contemporary Journal of African Studies* 1(2), (2013), 21- Jonsson, J. ‘The Overwhelming Minority: Traditional Leadership and Ethnic Conflict in Ghana’s Northern Region. Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity (CRISE) Working Paper No. 30.(2007); Awedoba, A.K.. *An Ethnographic Study of Northern Ghanaian Conflicts: Towards A Sustainable Peace*. (Accra: Sub-Saharan Publishers, 2009) Brukum, N.J.K. Chieftaincy and Ethnic Conflicts in Northern Region of Ghana, 1980- 2002. In Steve Tonah (ed.), *Ethnicity, Conflicts and Consensus in Ghana*. Accra: Woeli Publishing Services, 2007)

⁶⁶ A white paper is a policy document produced by Government that set out proposals for future legislation on an issue or issues.

administration away from Salaga. In 2008 a new district was created in Kpandai. Gonja's were instrumental in the creation of the district, which meant that they were willing to draw a new chapter in their relationship with Nawuris. For the Nawuris the creation of a new district represented the final phase of British Colonialism and the re-establishment of their pre-colonial and German identity.

Conclusion

It is evident from the discussions that Germans made an imprint in the social, economic and cultural life of Nawuris. German plantation projects had an unintended consequence in Nawuriland. Cotton, mangoes and teak trees were used in ways that were simply different from the original intention for which they were brought. Plantations impacted on Nawuri culture and identity and changed the way and manner Nawuris went about their daily lives.

The German map *Kart von Togo* which was drawn to facilitate administration rather became the very basis of contestation over territory and control by Nawuris especially after the departure of Germans. British policy of 'De-Germanisation' was largely to blame for the conflict. Prior to introduction of indirect rule, Nawuris had co-existed with Gonjas. On two occasions Nawuris had to participate in Gonja wars. One in Kpembe, which led to the death of over five hundred Nawuris and another at Apaaso in the current Volta Region of Ghana. The attempt to establish indirect rule at all cost led to the realignment of positions and roles and in this, Nawuris lost out completely in a pact which was well sealed between them and Gonjas under German colonialism. German presence remained in the imaginative and politico-economic and social landscape of Nawuris. It was not out of place that it was one of the important German projects - mangoes that would be the pivot on which issues of land and chieftaincy rotates. And after hostilities between Nawuris and Gonjas in the 1990s it was the two German documents that would become the basis for separation of Kpandai from Salaga. The fact that the new district incorporated all the towns and villages that were originally mentioned in the document that was given to the Kanankulaiwura and also took into consideration the boundary that was drawn on the German map of 1906 detailing the territory of the Nawuris shows the extent to which the legacies of German colonialism are still felt even today.

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