

# LIBERIAN STUDIES JOURNAL

Edited by:

Svend E. Holsoe,  
University of Delaware

David M. Foley,  
University of Georgia

Cover photograph: Ma hand mask. Mano, collected near Ganta, Liberia. Brass, 1 1/2" high. Birthe A. Holsoe Collection.

---

VOLUME IV

1971-1972

NUMBER 2

---

LIBERIAN STUDIES JOURNAL

---

EDITED BY

Svend E. Holsoe  
University of Delaware

David M. Foley  
University of Georgia

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

Igolima T. D. Amachree  
Western Illinois University

J. Bernard Blamo  
College of Liberal & Fine Arts  
University of Liberia

Mary Antoinette Brown Sherman  
William V. S. Tubman Teachers College  
University of Liberia

George E. Brooks, Jr.  
Indiana University

Warren L. d'Azevedo  
University of Nevada

David Dalby  
School of Oriental and African Studies  
University of London

Bohumil Holas  
Centre des Science Humaines  
Republique de Côte d'Ivoire

James L. Gibbs, Jr.  
Stanford University

J. Gus Liebenow  
Indiana University

Bai T. Moore  
Ministry of Information and Cultural Affairs  
Republic of Liberia

---

Published at the Department of Anthropology, University of Delaware

---

The editors wish to express their appreciation to Western Michigan University for their financial assistance in publishing this issue of the Journal.

## CONTENTS

	page
THE NEAR EDGE OF CHANGE, by Robert Christiansen, John Gay, Sylvester Tamba, Isaac Browne et al.	99
THE POSSIBLE APPLICATION OF THE STANDARD AFRICAN SITE ENUMERATION SYSTEM (SASES) TO LIBERIA, by Charles M. Nelson	137
THE PRESS IN LIBERIA, by Henry B. Cole	147
CLAN AND CHIEFDOM MAPS OF THE MA (MANO) AND DA (GIO), by James C. Riddell, Kjell Zetterstrom, Peter G. Dorliae, & Michael J. Hohl	157
THEODORE CANOT AT CAPE MOUNT, 1841-1847, by Svend E. Holsoe	163
A DESCRIPTION OF THE 1970 GRAND CESS BO, by Thomas E. Hayden	183
BOOK REVIEW Redkey, E., <u>Black Exodus, Black Nationalist and Back-to Africa Movements, 1890-1910</u> , by Leo P. Ribuffo	189
INDEX	195

---

Emphasizing the social sciences and humanities, the LIBERIAN STUDIES JOURNAL is a semiannual publication devoted to studies of Africa's oldest republic. The annual subscription rate (beginning with Volume IV) is \$6.00 for individuals and \$7.00 for libraries. Manuscripts, correspondence and subscriptions should be sent to Liberian Studies, Department of Anthropology, University of Delaware, Newark, Delaware 19711. The views expressed herein are those of the individual contributors and do not necessarily reflect those of the editors or The Liberian Studies Association in America, Inc.

Copyright 1973 by the Liberian Studies Association in America, Inc.



THE NEAR EDGE OF CHANGE  
A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SURVEY OF EIGHT TOWNS  
IN BONG COUNTY, LIBERIA  
BEFORE THE BUILDING OF A ROAD

Robert Christiansen  
John Gay  
Sylvester Tamba

Based on data gathered by

Isaac Browne  
Festus Hooke  
Joseph Kamara  
Chapman Logan

On March 1, 1971, a tractor hauled a wagonload of passengers from Cuttington College in central Liberia to Balama, a town of the Kpelle tribe four miles away. The first mile was easy going, for the road from Cuttington to the neighboring town of Sinyee had been built years before, and was a regular run for taxis willing to make the side trip from the main road linking Monrovia with the hinterland. However, the next three miles were a struggle. The tractor bounced, groaned, sank dangerously into swamps, had to be helped over a fallen log and a series of exposed rocks, but finally made it, requiring 30 minutes to travel a three-mile stretch.

Nonetheless the tractor ride was, for Balama, historic. The tractor was the first powered vehicle to enter the town, after generations of relative isolation in the forest. No longer would Balama be merely part of a network of related towns which make a living by the upland rice which replaces the once dense cover of virgin forest. The tractor brought it into contact with an outside world which is ever more rapidly changing the world to which its citizens belong.

The outside world first impinged on the Kpelle of Liberia in the mid-19th century. The first account of relations with the Kpelle seems to be recorded in 1858 in a letter from the Rev. George L. Seymour.<sup>1</sup> He reports having lived in Liberia for nearly twenty years, and then having gone up-country from the coast to work with the "Pessay", as he called the Kpelle.

It was Seymour's hope to bring civilization and the Christian Gospel to the Kpelle, and he commented that his prospects were most favorable. In his words, "The native mind is easily cultivated or trained, and a great anxiety is manifest for civilized men to reside among these people."<sup>2</sup> He spoke of the great variety of commercial products, which would make development of the area profitable both to the Kpelle and to foreigners, and he urged the introduction of modern methods. He urged in particular "the great importance of a road interior for the purpose of speedy transportation and...a trading-house, to monopolize the trade of the country."<sup>3</sup>

1. Seymour, George L., "Noble Endeavors for the Instruction and Civilization of Interior tribes," African Repository, January, 1858. pp. 4 - 20.

2. Ibid., p. 8.

3. Ibid., p. 18.

Seymour's estimate of the productivity of the interior of Kpelle country has been frequently repeated, as the Kpelle have come more into contact with coastal Liberia. The Liberian government brought the Kpelle under their administration between 1910 and 1925. The first motor road was built through Kpelle country to the Guinea border during World War II. In the post-war period, feeder roads were developed, to bring produce from farms to markets, and to allow trade goods to enter outlying communities more conveniently. In large measure, Seymour's vision being realized, although Seymour himself might be less than pleased with this consummation of his vision, since his primary motive was the spread of the Gospel.

The road from Sinyee to Balama and beyond is but one of many of these openings from the modernized coastal community to Kpelle country. There is little to mark as of special interest, this road which now reaches eight miles behind Sinyee. The road serves two towns directly, Balama and its nearest neighbor, Baokwele, another mile and a half deeper into the forest. In addition, six smaller towns are served indirectly, in that they are within an hour's walk of the road. These eight towns have altogether approximately 125 houses.

What makes the road and the eight towns that it serves significant is that data have been collected describing the towns as they were just before the road was opened. During the months of December, 1970, and January and February, 1971, extensive surveys were made of almost all the households in these eight towns. We cannot claim that we in fact reached every household, but our best guess is that we omitted less than ten of all the households in the eight towns. Thus our survey was as near to a complete census as was practical under the circumstances. We defined households as the towns defined them, and not according to an abstract formulation of an economic or kinship unit, and we interviewed the head of each household.

Development economists, from Seymour, if we may call him such, to the present have predicted the effect of the introduction of a road into an area. But there are very few studies based on descriptions of the towns, as they were before the introduction of the road.

This report describes the eight towns as they were on the eve of the building of the road. Even as the survey was conducted, a caterpillar owned by Cuttington College, and another loaned by the Department of Defense of the Liberian government were clearing the land along a line which had been surveyed by the Liberian Department of Public Works. And it was only two weeks after the completion of the last questionnaire that the road itself entered Balama, and the first tractor load of passengers arrived there, sore from bouncing over a very incompletely leveled highway. After another month, the road was open to all traffic.

The survey was made by a team of four Cuttington College students, Isaac Browne, Festus Hooke, Joseph Kamara and Chapman Logan, under the supervision of John Gay and Edward Mulbah, of the Cuttington College staff. The questionnaire had been prepared by a committee of Cuttington College faculty, including John Gay, P. K. B. Menon, Edward Mulbah, Harry Ododa, James Strapko, Jeremiah Walker, and Raymond Waters, as well as James Stull of Phebe Hospital.

The students were trained to carry out the questionnaire, and were sent to live in Balama itself, in a house graciously provided by the chief, Sulongteh Gbemeneh. They lived in Balama for approximately two months, while they worked on the questionnaires, walking from Balama to the other seven towns as needed. The questionnaires were administered with the help of interpreters to every household head they could find. These household heads were generally quite cooperative.

The survey was reduced to manageable proportions by the students during the remainder of February, 1971. The data were summarized and tabulated by Sylvester Tamba during the year 1972. This analysis was organized into more usable form by Robert Christiansen, and the final report prepared by Robert Christiansen and John Gay.



THE NEAR EDGE OF CHANGE  
A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SURVEY OF EIGHT TOWNS  
IN BONG COUNTY, LIBERIA  
BEFORE THE BUILDING OF A ROAD

101

Who, then, are the people in these eight towns, and how do they live? What is the starting point for the changes brought by the road? To answer these questions, we propose to describe the average household head in Balama, Baokwele, and the remaining six small towns grouped together. It is our hope that this description will be helpful in understanding and also guiding the process of change along this road.

These averages are taken from the data, and, in some sense, represent the hypothetical typical household head. Clearly no person in any community is ever "typical" in the sense that he represents the mean. We hope that these averages display the character of the community.

### A. PERSONAL DATA

The number of household heads interviewed is given in Table 1.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
Male	66	22	32
Female	2	0	1
Total	68	22	33

HOUSEHOLD HEADS INTERVIEWED  
TABLE 1

Female household heads are widows, who are managing their own families. It sometimes also happens that the household head is away working at one of the concessions, but no such cases were reported.

The average age of the household heads is given in Table 2.

<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
48.5 yrs.	43.0 yrs.	53.1 yrs.

AVERAGE AGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS  
TABLE 2

The percentage of household heads in age groups centered around these means is given in Table 3.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
39-59 yrs.	36.9%	27.2%	37.5%
29-69 yrs.	87.7%	73.0%	97.0%

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS IN AGE GROUPS  
TABLE 3

From Table 3 it can be seen that there is considerable spread in the age of the household heads.

ROBERT CHRISTIANSEN  
JOHN GAY  
SYLVESTER TAMBA

All household heads speak Kpelle. Other languages spoken include, principally, English and Mandingo. A few also speak Loma, Gola and Mende. The percentage of household heads who speak English and Mandingo are given in Table 4.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
English	18.4%	18.2%	6.3%
Mandingo	4.6%	9.1%	9.4%

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS SPEAKING OTHER LANGUAGES  
TABLE 4

The percentages of household heads who can understand and use a few words of English or Mandingo would probably be somewhat higher.

B. TRAVEL

All the household heads interviewed were born in Liberia, with most born in their present towns of residence. The percentages who were born in the present towns are given in Table 5.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
	65.2%	72.6%	41.0%

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS BORN IN PRESENT TOWN  
TABLE 5

A large percentage of the household heads have traveled extensively within Liberia, and a few even have traveled out of the country.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
Sierra Leone	1.5%	9.1%	3.2%
Guinea	4.5%	18.1%	0.0%
Mali	1.5%	0.0%	0.0%
Monrovia	58.3%	54.4%	46.8%
Concessions	72.1%	50.0%	72.0%
No Travel	4.6%	9.1%	12.6%

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS TRAVELING TO PLACES  
TABLE 6

THE NEAR EDGE OF CHANGE  
A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SURVEY OF EIGHT TOWNS  
IN BONG COUNTY, LIBERIA  
BEFORE THE BUILDING OF A ROAD

103

The household heads who reported that they did not travel anywhere have been only to towns within the immediate vicinity. The working definition of "traveling" would appear to be that the person had gone outside the Kpelle chiefdom within which the road is located. Those who traveled one place in most cases also traveled other places, for obvious reasons.

Travel to Monrovia has been particularly common. Table 7 reports the percentages of the household heads who have been to Monrovia between 1 and 5 times, and those who have been to Monrovia 6 or more times.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
1-5 times	43.0%	36.3%	28.2%
6 or more times	15.3%	18.1%	18.8%

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS TRAVELING TO MONROVIA  
TABLE 7

A large percentage of the household heads have worked outside of the towns in which they live. Table 8 gives the percentages who have worked in various places and for varying lengths of time. It is particularly noteworthy that altogether about half have worked for more than a year at a concession, such as a rubber plantation or an iron mine.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
Monrovia under 1 yr.	6.1%	13.6%	9.4%
Monrovia over 1 yr.	7.6%	9.0%	12.6%
Concession under 1 yr.	15.3%	13.6%	12.6%
Concession over 1 yr.	58.4%	31.5%	53.0%
Guinea over 1 yr.	0.0%	9.1%	0.0%

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS WORKING DISTANT PLACES  
TABLE 8

Clearly the concessions, principally Firestone, provide the principal outside employment for the household heads. For instance, one of the heads reported working at Firestone for a total of 14 years.

### C. EDUCATION

The vast majority of the household heads had not attended western (called kwii by the Kpelle, a term which has richer connotations than the words westernized or modernized) schools. The percentages who attended kwii school are given in Table 9.

ROBERT CHRISTIANSEN  
JOHN GAY  
SYLVESTER TAMBA

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
No School	93.8%	90.9%	90.6%
Grade 2	6.2%	9.1%	9.4%
Grade 4	4.7%	9.1%	6.3%
Grade 6	1.6%	4.6%	0.0%

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS COMPLETING VARIOUS SCHOOL GRADES  
TABLE 9

Despite their lack of formal education, the household heads had high aspirations for their children, as shown in Tables 10 and 11, which gives the percentage desiring their children to attain various educational levels.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
No School	1.7%	18.2%	12.6%
Grades 1 - 6	13.8%	0.0%	18.8%
Grades 7 - 9	9.2%	4.5%	12.6%
Grades 10 - 12	32.3%	22.7%	37.5%
College	32.3%	27.3%	3.2%
No answer	1.7%	27.3%	15.6%

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS DESIRING EDUCATION FOR BOYS  
TABLE 10

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
No School	1.7%	13.6%	12.6%
Grades 1 - 6	13.8%	0.0%	12.6%
Grades 7 - 9	16.9%	13.6%	28.2%
Grades 10 - 12	24.6%	31.8%	34.4%
College	32.3%	13.6%	6.3%
No answer	9.2%	27.3%	6.3%

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS DESIRING EDUCATION FOR GIRLS  
TABLE 11

In general, the educational aspirations appear to be lower, the farther away from the main road. It is also the case, although to a lesser degree, that parents wish their sons to have more education than their daughters.

The desires of the household heads for schools to be built in their own towns are indicated in Table 12.

THE NEAR EDGE OF CHANGE  
A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SURVEY OF EIGHT TOWNS  
IN BONG COUNTY, LIBERIA  
BEFORE THE BUILDING OF A ROAD

105

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
No school	1.5%	0.0%	0.0%
Grades 1 - 6	71.2%	63.8%	41.0%
Grades 7 - 9	28.8%	45.4%	18.8%
Grades 10 - 12	18.3%	41.0%	21.8%
College	7.6%	0.0%	0.0%
No answer	3.0%	0.0%	0.0%

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS DESIRING SCHOOLS IN TOWN  
TABLE 12

The percentage desiring schools in the town are great, even though they do not follow the same pattern as the percentages wishing their children to attend school.

#### D. FAMILY STRUCTURE

All but one of the household heads in the towns have married. The three female household heads are widowed. Table 13 indicates the average number of wives for each male household head.

<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
1.4	1.4	1.4

AVERAGE NUMBER OF WIVES PER MALE HOUSEHOLD HEAD  
TABLE 13

Table 14 indicates the percentage of male household heads having exactly one, two, three or four wives.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
1 wife	72.4%	77.2%	65.2%
2 wives	21.5%	9.2%	22.1%
3 wives	3.1%	4.6%	6.2%
4 wives	3.0%	9.0%	3.2%

PERCENTAGE OF MALE HOUSEHOLD HEADS HAVING WIVES  
TABLE 14

Table 15 shows the percentage of the wives born in the town in which they now live.

ROBERT CHRISTIANSEN  
JOHN GAY  
SYLVESTER TAMBA

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
1st wife	60.0%	68.5%	33.3%
2nd wife	44.0%	40.8%	30.0%
3rd wife	25.0%	66.6%	0.0%
4th wife	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

PERCENTAGE OF WIVES OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS BORN IN PRESENT TOWN  
TABLE 15

There would appear to be a tendency to choose wives, particularly the second wife, from other towns.

Table 16 records the number of children born to the wives and the number of children who are still alive.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
1st wife bore	5.0	4.1	3.4
Alive	3.3	2.4	2.4
2nd wife bore	4.0	5.0	2.6
Alive	2.0	3.0	2.2
3rd wife bore	2.0	4.0	1.7
Alive	1.0	3.3	1.7
4th wife bore	5.0	7.0	4.0
Alive	4.0	5.0	4.0

AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN TO WIVES AND STILL ALIVE  
TABLE 16

It is likely that the reported number of children born to the wives is somewhat low, due to a reluctance to mention dead members of the family.

Table 17 lists the percentage of the wives of the household heads that were married in the traditional way.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
1st wife	96.9%	91.0%	97.0%
2nd wife	100.0%	80.0%	90.0%
3rd wife	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
4th wife	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

PERCENTAGE OF WIVES MARRIED IN TRADITIONAL WAY  
TABLE 17

Table 18 summarizes the mode of traditional marriage for the first and second wives. The third and fourth wives were all married through the exchange of money and goods as bridewealth.

THE NEAR EDGE OF CHANGE  
A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SURVEY OF EIGHT TOWNS  
IN BONG COUNTY, LIBERIA  
BEFORE THE BUILDING OF A ROAD

107

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
1st wife money	55.4%	50.0%	48.2%
work	44.6%	50.0%	51.8%
2nd wife money	72.2%	100.0%	50.0%
work	27.8%	0.0%	50.0%

PERCENTAGE OF TYPES OF TRADITIONAL MARRIAGE  
TABLE 18

Clearly there is a tendency for wealthy men to take second or third or fourth wives, whereas approximately the same number paid the bridewealth for the first wife as did not pay it.

Other facts concerning the wives can be summarized without using tabular form. All of the wives attended the traditional Sande society bush school while none of them had any western schooling. All of them worked on the farm or in a garden near town or both. Very few divorces are reported, although it is probable that this does not represent the true state of affairs. In all likelihood there have been other wives than these reported in the interviews, since there is generally believed to be a high divorce rate, particularly considering the number of marital disputes that reach the chief's courts.

Table 19 gives the numbers of male and female children in the towns.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
Male	93	36	57
Female	92	41	63

TOTAL NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN THE HOUSEHOLDS  
TABLE 19

Clearly there is a very nearly equal distribution of males and females in the families.

Table 20 gives the average number of children surviving per household.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
	2.85	3.50	3.75

AVERAGE NUMBER OF LIVING CHILDREN PER HOUSEHOLD  
TABLE 20

Table 21 gives the percentage of children born in the town where they are now living.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
	72.0%	77.5%	69.7%

PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN BORN IN THE PRESENT TOWN  
TABLE 21

ROBERT CHRISTIANSEN  
JOHN GAY  
SYLVESTER TAMBA

Table 22 indicates the percentage of the children who have attended bush school and kwii school.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
Bush school	56.7%	55.0%	80.0%
Kwii school	20.0%	31.6%	21.6%

PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN WHO ATTENDED SCHOOLS  
TABLE 22

Not long after the survey was made, the men's Poro society school held a graduation, and a year later the women's Sande society school held its graduation. The number of children reported as having attended these bush schools are lower than they would have been a year later. Most of the children attending kwii school are presently in the elementary school in Sinyee. Very few have gone beyond elementary school. The number of children who have attended various grades in kwii school is not available because of an ambiguity in the questionnaire.

Table 23 gives the percentage of children who are married.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
	29.5%	17.6%	34.1%

PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN WHO ARE MARRIED  
TABLE 23

Table 24 presents the percentage of children who are living away from their town.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
Married	31.1%	53.8%	24.4%
Unmarried	19.0%	18.0%	15.0%

PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN LIVING AWAY FROM TOWN  
TABLE 24

Of these children living away from their home town, the largest number are living either in Monrovia or Firestone. Table 25 gives the percentage of each, without differentiating married from unmarried children.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
Monrovia	25.0%	25.0%	10.6%
Firestone	36.2%	30.0%	17.0%

PERCENTAGE OF ABSENT CHILDREN LIVING IN MONROVIA AND FIRESTONE  
TABLE 25



THE NEAR EDGE OF CHANGE  
A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SURVEY OF EIGHT TOWNS  
IN BONG COUNTY, LIBERIA  
BEFORE THE BUILDING OF A ROAD

109

Table 26 lists the average number of other occupants in the home of the household head according to whether they are relative or non-relative.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
Relatives	.50	.55	.16
Non-relatives	.25	.09	.00

AVERAGE NUMBER OF OTHER PERSONS LIVING IN THE HOUSEHOLD  
TABLE 26

Table 27 summarizes the average number of persons in each household.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
Household head	1.0	1.0	1.0
Wives	1.4	1.4	1.4
Children	2.9	3.5	3.8
Relatives	0.5	0.6	0.2
Non-relatives	<u>0.3</u>	<u>0.1</u>	<u>0.0</u>
TOTAL	<u>6.1</u>	<u>6.6</u>	<u>6.4</u>

AVERAGE NUMBER OF PERSONS PER HOUSEHOLD  
TABLE 27

This table includes children who are living in other towns, but does not include grandchildren. The children living in other towns are still considered part of the household. Grandchildren are not counted because they were not in all cases recorded, due to an ambiguity in the original questionnaire. Thus, the figure is too small by an indeterminate amount, perhaps 1.0 in each town, although this guess is not based on actual data.

Table 28 records the percentage of those heads of household who wish their children to live and work elsewhere.

<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
65.2%	68.4%	65.5%

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS WISHING CHILDREN TO LEAVE TOWN  
TABLE 28

The reason given for this choice were largely that the children should go elsewhere in order to become kwii and receive an education. The minority that wished the children to stay in town desired their children to learn the tradition or to help their family.

## E. ECONOMIC SYSTEM

Table 29 records the percentage of household heads now making farms in the vicinity of their towns.

<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
86.1%	91.0%	84.5%

## PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS MAKING FARMS

TABLE 29

There is a slight tendency for household heads nearer to the main road not to make farms, but to depend on the cash economy.

Table 30 reports the principal crops which the household heads claim to raise on these farms.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
Rice	52.3%	91.0%	62.5%
Cassava	33.8%	45.5%	22.0%
Bitter balls	27.6%	22.8%	12.6%
Okra	23.0%	36.3%	18.7%
Eddo	18.4%	31.8%	32.0%
Banana	16.9%	27.2%	32.0%
Plantain	10.7%	22.8%	16.0%

## PERCENTAGE OF PRINCIPAL CROPS RAISED BY HOUSEHOLD HEADS

TABLE 30

The number of household heads reporting rice farms is surprisingly small. This may be due to the fact that they did not feel it necessary to report rice production, since it is obvious that every household has a rice farm. It may, however, reflect a desire to raise other crops and purchase rice. These data require further checking.

Almost all of those interviewed indicated that they planned to sell some of their crops. Table 31 reports the percentage who wished to sell all, most, part or none of their crops.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
All	3.1%	0.0%	0.0%
Most	37.0%	27.2%	22.0%
Part	35.5%	54.5%	59.2%
None	15.5%	13.6%	12.6%
No answer	8.9%	4.7%	6.3%

## PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS SELLING FARM CROPS

TABLE 31

THE NEAR EDGE OF CHANGE  
A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SURVEY OF EIGHT TOWNS  
IN BONG COUNTY, LIBERIA  
BEFORE THE BUILDING OF A ROAD

111

More than half the households report having gardens in addition to the farms. These gardens are located near town. A tremendous variety of crops is reported for these gardens. The percentage of the household heads who answered the question reporting the principal crops is given in Table 32

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
Pepper	42.8%	54.0%	35.8%
Okra	46.2%	15.4%	60.8%
Bitter ball	52.4%	54.0%	23.9%
Eddoes	42.8%	46.0%	47.8%
Potatoes	16.7%	38.4%	23.9%
Banana	21.4%	15.4%	23.9%
Cassava	11.9%	0.0%	12.0%
Pumpkin	11.9%	0.0%	12.0%
Greens	14.3%	23.2%	23.9%

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS RAISING GARDEN CROPS  
TABLE 32

The bulk of the crops raised in gardens are the ingredients for the soup that is customarily put on rice.

Table 33 shows that nearly the same percentage of household heads plans to sell these garden crops as plan to sell the farm crops.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
All	6.2%	4.6%	6.3%
Most	17.0%	22.7%	16.0%
Part	27.8%	31.9%	18.7%
None	34.0%	0.0%	28.2%
No answer	25.0%	41.4%	32.0%

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS SELLING GARDEN CROPS  
TABLE 33

Table 34 reports the other commodities sold by household heads. Only the principal commodities are listed, since, as in the case of the garden crops, there was a great variety reported.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
Palm Oil	23.0%	45.4%	22.0%
Cacao	7.6%	9.1%	9.4%
Palm Kernels	12.2%	4.5%	12.6%
Palm Wine	6.1%	9.1%	12.6%
Cane Juice	9.1%	18.1%	12.6%

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS SELLING GOODS  
TABLE 34

These commodities are primarily products of the forest, and are obtained by processing forest crops. Cacao and palm kernels are for overseas export through merchants in nearby towns, whereas the other three commodities are sold to local people.

Table 35 reports how household heads market their products, including those from farm, garden and forest.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
Town merchant	16.7%	59.1%	42.4%
Sell in town	42.5%	63.8%	45.4%
Sell elsewhere	22.8%	68.4%	66.6%
Send by car	18.2%	31.8%	42.4%

PERCENTAGE OF LOCATIONS OF SALE OF GOODS  
TABLE 35

There is clearly about an equal use of market facilities in the town in which the household head resides as in other towns. Moreover, a large number of persons took their goods out to the end of the road, where they could pick up a car to transport their goods.

Table 36 reports the percentage of household heads who reported being helped by others to do their work.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
Relatives	30.3%	36.5%	69.0%
Work Group	27.5%	27.8%	9.4%
Friends	50.0%	27.8%	6.3%

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS HELPED BY OTHERS  
TABLE 36

It is probable that these figures are low, since several persons did not respond. However, the figures indicate that most help on the farm is from friends and family.

Table 37 reports the percentage of household heads who report paying any wage labor on their farms.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
	9.1%	9.1%	9.4%

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS WHO PAY WORKERS  
TABLE 37

The amount paid is less than \$.50 per day in every case.

Table 38 reports very approximate figures on the average number of livestock possessed by the household heads. These figures are only suggestive, and should not be taken as precise, because of the difficulty in obtaining the data.

THE NEAR EDGE OF CHANGE  
A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SURVEY OF EIGHT TOWNS  
IN BONG COUNTY, LIBERIA  
BEFORE THE BUILDING OF A ROAD

113

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
Chickens	5.6	5.7	3.8
Ducks	.8	1.0	.9
Goats	.9	.9	.9
Sheep	.5	.4	.5
Cows	.3	.1	.3

AVERAGE NUMBER OF LIVESTOCK OWNED BY HOUSEHOLD HEADS  
TABLE 38

Clearly it is the unusual person who owns a cow or a sheep, whereas almost every home has several chickens.

The main sources of income include sales and wage labor. Table 39 summarizes the main sources of sales income as reported by the household heads.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
Rice	24.6%	13.6%	25.0%
Palm oil	18.4%	9.1%	12.6%
Cane Juice	13.8%	18.1%	18.7%
Vegetables	7.7%	4.5%	0.0%
Peanuts	7.7%	9.1%	3.2%
Palm kernels	9.2%	9.1%	6.3%
Meat	7.7%	0.0%	9.4%
Cacao	7.7%	13.6%	16.0%

MAIN SOURCES OF SALES INCOME OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS  
TABLE 39

A tiny percentage reported working for wages. This may be because the question was misunderstood, or it may be because, as household heads, they do not have access to such employment. We noted no clear pattern when we asked household heads what special work they were able to do. A great variety of skills were reported, including farming, hunting, mat-making, diamond-mining, rubber tapping, and cooking, as well as such specialized trades as carpentry, mason work, iron-working, and sewing. None of these occupations except for farming and hunting was known by a large number of the household heads.

The wives of the household heads also reported that their main sources of cash were through sales. Only a very small percentage of the wives did not report such sales, and it may be that those not reporting it in fact engaged in the practice.

We turn next to the question of how the household head spends his income. Table 40 reports the percentage of the household heads that bought all, most, about half or very little of their food during the past year.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
All	7.7%	22.8%	16.0%
Most	4.6%	27.2%	0.0%
Half	6.2%	9.0%	12.6%
Little	78.5%	41.0%	69.0%

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS WHO BOUGHT FOOD

TABLE 40

The results are somewhat surprising for Baokwele. It seems strange for the household heads of a town farther into the forest to spend larger amounts of their income on food than for a town nearer to the main road. These results should be checked further.

Table 41 reports the kinds of food on which persons spent the most money.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
Fish	28.0%	13.6%	28.2%
Meat	24.0%	27.2%	22.0%
Rice	20.0%	31.8%	18.7%
Other	28.0%	27.4%	31.1%

PERCENTAGE OF TYPES OF FOOD BOUGHT BY HOUSEHOLD HEADS  
TABLE 41

It is at least consistent with the results of Table 41 that more rice was purchased in Baokwele than in the other towns.

Table 42 reports the single largest expenditure made by the household head. The percentage of each of the main expenses is given.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
Taxes	72.4%	59.0%	69.0%
Bridewealth	0.0%	13.6%	3.1%
Kwii medicine	4.6%	13.6%	9.0%
Kpelle medicine	4.6%	4.5%	3.2%
Relatives	0.0%	4.5%	0.0%
Court cases	6.6%	4.5%	0.0%
House building	6.6%	0.0%	9.4%
Funeral	4.6%	0.0%	0.0%
Other	7.2%	0.0%	6.3%

PERCENTAGE OF MAIN EXPENDITURES OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS  
TABLE 42

Clearly the largest single expenditure in both towns is taxes, which is perhaps a reason why so much produce is sold.

Table 43 indicates the item on which persons said they spent much money, other than the single most costly item.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
Cane juice	24.5%	9.1%	18.7%
Kwii medicine	23.0%	0.0%	22.0%
Enjoyment	20.0%	18.2%	25.0%
Taxes	17.0%	40.9%	25.0%
Clothing	15.3%	9.1%	12.6%
Bridewealth	15.3%	18.2%	18.7%
Travel	13.8%	50.0%	12.6%
Improving house	13.8%	0.0%	6.0%
School	12.0%	0.0%	3.2%
Tools	10.7%	18.2%	18.7%
Kpelle Medicine	10.7%	13.6%	6.3%

PERCENTAGE OF LARGE EXPENDITURES OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS  
TABLE 43

THE NEAR EDGE OF CHANGE  
A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SURVEY OF EIGHT TOWNS  
IN BONG COUNTY, LIBERIA  
BEFORE THE BUILDING OF A ROAD

115

Table 44 indicates the other principal items on which the household heads report having spent some money, after listing the costly item and other items on which they spent much money.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
Relatives	32.2%	41.0%	56.2%
Clothing	26.5%	31.8%	50.0%
Tools	23.0%	45.5%	37.5%
Improving house	23.0%	18.1%	25.0%
Cane juice	18.3%	45.5%	34.5%
Church	15.4%	18.1%	9.4%
Funeral	17.0%	27.2%	9.4%
Kpelle medicine	13.9%	0.0%	16.0%
Social Clubs	17.0%	13.6%	18.7%
Travel	13.6%	22.8%	25.0%
Court cases	13.6%	13.6%	9.4%

PERCENTAGE OF OTHER EXPENDITURES OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS  
TABLE 44

Tables 45 and 46 look more closely at the expenditures on taxation as reported by the household heads. Table 45 gives the percentages of the household heads reporting paying taxes of each type.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
Hut	100.0%	95.5%	100.0%
Birthday	93.5%	91.0%	90.8%
Education	28.0%	36.3%	72.0%
Health	30.8%	45.5%	37.5%
Income	29.7%	22.8%	28.2%
Head	17.0%	50.0%	56.2%
Local	23.2%	50.0%	50.0%

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS PAYING TAXES  
TABLE 45

It may well be that those who report paying a birthday tax remember having paid it for a year earlier than 1970. Birthday taxes were paid in different county every year, and President Tubman's birthday was not held in Balama's county in 1970.

Table 46 reports the average expenditure on each of these types of taxes by the household heads. These expenditures are recorded as stated by the household heads and may well be in error.

ROBERT CHRISTIANSEN  
JOHN GAY  
SYLVESTER TAMBA

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
Hut	\$ 15	\$ 16	\$ 14
Birthday	17	18	17
Education	8	12	4
Health	7	9	2
Income	3	4	1
Head	10	10	6
Local	3	5	2

AVERAGE TAX EXPENSES BY HOUSEHOLD HEADS REPORTING THOSE TAXES  
TABLE 46

The figures are probably somewhat inflated, and may represent more than one year. It is likely that a household head would try to tell the world that he had paid every tax known to man and paid handsomely, in order to avoid further trouble.

Table 47 indicates the principal types of work done by the household head.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
Rubber tapping	70.5%	45.5%	59.2%
Diamond mining	10.8%	0.0%	0.0%
Carpentry	6.2%	0.0%	0.0%

PERCENTAGE OF TYPE OF WORK DONE BY HOUSEHOLD HEADS  
TABLE 47

All other types of work from driving to grass-cutting, were done by fewer people. Those who were rubber tappers primarily worked at Firestone Plantations.

Table 48 indicates why persons left their jobs.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
Low wages	43.0%	9.0%	6.3%
Build home	13.7%	0.0%	6.3%
Help family	28.8%	36.4%	18.7%
Fired	4.6%	4.5%	3.2%
Tired of work	9.1%	27.3%	6.3%

PERCENTAGE OF REASONS FOR HOUSEHOLD HEADS LEAVING JOBS  
TABLE 48

Clearly those engaged in wage labor do not look on their jobs as permanent. Further data supporting this observation are not precise, but indicate that the typical household head spent only a year or two at each outside job.

Table 49 reports the percentage of household heads that claim to hold a deed of title to their land, instead of holding it through the traditional tribal claim to land.

<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
12.3%	31.9%	9.4%

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS OWNING LAND

TABLE 49



THE NEAR EDGE OF CHANGE  
A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SURVEY OF EIGHT TOWNS  
IN BONG COUNTY, LIBERIA  
BEFORE THE BUILDING OF A ROAD

117

The final fact to report about the economic system in the towns is that almost all the household heads in all the towns reported either that they built their own houses or had a member of their family built it for them. The data are given in Table 50.

<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
100.0%	90.9%	90.8%

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS WHO BUILT OWN HOUSE  
TABLE 50

#### F. POLITICAL SYSTEM

Table 51 indicates the percentage of household heads indicating as head of the town, the town chief, the chief elder of the town and other elders. Data are not sufficiently clear from the other towns to be reported in either Table 51 or 52.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>
Town chief	57.0%	68.2%
Chief elder	32.4%	27.3%
Other elders	10.6%	4.5%

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS NAMING PERSONS AS TOWN HEAD  
TABLE 51

Clearly there is rivalry for the leadership of the towns. The town chief is not the undivided authority in the town. In the case of Balama the chief elder is an old man, with considerable respect in the town. The chief elder of Baokwele is the chief of his clan, which does not include Balama. The presence of a small minority in favor of still other persons indicates further challenges to the political authority of the town chief and the town elder.

Table 52 indicates the percentage of household heads stating the same three men, as well as the chief medicine man, as the person who has the last word in the town. The person with the last word can hear appeals from decisions taken by the chief or other head of the town.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>
Town chief	27.7%	45.5%
Chief elder	52.4%	45.5%
Other elders	6.2%	9.1%
Medicine man	3.1%	0.0%

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS NAMING PERSON WITH LAST WORD  
TABLE 52

ROBERT CHRISTIANSEN  
JOHN GAY  
SYLVESTER TAMBA

The relative positions of the town chief and the chief elder are reversed in this table, indicating that the chief elder functions most often as the final court of appeal. However, once again there are many exceptions to this pattern, with the town chief, other elders, and even the chief medicine man of Balama being named.

The data concerning the matters which the head of the town settles are too fragmentary and vague to be reported in statistical form. All deal with disputes which arise in the town, such as stealing, quarrels over women, fighting, debts, secret society matters and injury. More precisely stated are the matters which are referred to the clan chief and to the county headquarters. Table 53 reports the percentage of each type of dispute which the household heads assert are taken to the clan chief.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
Murder	40.2%	31.8%	28.2%
Land disputes	15.5%	9.0%	16.0%
Tax disputes	7.8%	9.0%	3.2%
Stealing	18.5%	9.0%	34.5%
Divorce	7.8%	9.0%	6.3%
Women disputes	6.2%	4.5%	6.3%
Fighting	9.2%	13.6%	9.4%
Money disputes	6.2%	4.5%	3.2%

PERCENTAGE OF DISPUTES REFERRED TO CLAN CHIEF  
TABLE 53

Table 54 reports the matters which are taken from the town to the county headquarters in Gbarnga. Here they may either go to the paramount chief, the district commissioner, the circuit court, or even the county superintendent.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
Murder	74.0%	59.0%	75.0%
Land disputes	1.6%	13.6%	12.6%
Tax disputes	7.8%	4.5%	9.4%
Stealing	3.2%	4.5%	3.2%
Divorce	3.2%	0.0%	6.3%
Woman disputes	7.8%	13.6%	3.2%
Fighting	3.2%	13.6%	3.2%
Money disputes	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

PERCENTAGE OF DISPUTES REFERRED TO GBARNGA  
TABLE 54

Clearly the major problem taken to the highest courts is murder, with others in much lower position.

Table 55 records the percentage of household heads who have voted.

<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
86.2%	95.5%	84.5%

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS WHO HAVE VOTED

TABLE 55

THE NEAR EDGE OF CHANGE  
A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SURVEY OF EIGHT TOWNS  
IN BONG COUNTY, LIBERIA  
BEFORE THE BUILDING OF A ROAD

119

It is clear that a high proportion is involved in the political process, at least to the extent of voting.

Table 56 records the percentage of household heads who have voted for particular offices.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
President	27.6%	54.5%	53.0%
Superintendent	9.2%	27.2%	22.0%
Paramount chief	47.6%	45.5%	59.2%
Clan chief	43.0%	45.5%	28.2%

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS WHO HAVE VOTED FOR LEADERS  
TABLE 56

Table 57 reports the percentage of household heads who report having seen the president on any occasion.

<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
100.0%	100.0%	84.8%

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS WHO HAVE SEEN PRESIDENT  
TABLE 57

Apparently only those in the most remote areas have never seen the president of Liberia, who is thus a figure of high political visibility.

Table 58 reports where household heads have seen the president.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
Monrovia	32.4%	22.8%	25.0%
Gbarnga	33.8%	59.0%	43.8%
Cuttington	7.8%	13.6%	0.0%
Other	30.0%	14.6%	16.0%

PERCENTAGE OF PLACES WHERE HOUSEHOLD HEADS HAVE SEEN PRESIDENT  
TABLE 58

Table 59 reports the percentage of household heads who have seen other public figures of importance. Only the most common responses are listed.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
Superintendent	69.3%	95.5%	91.2%
Police, soldiers	40.0%	36.4%	35.3%
Vice-President	9.2%	18.2%	11.8%
Legislators	9.2%	9.1%	8.8%

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS SEEING IMPORTANT FIGURES  
TABLE 59

ROBERT CHRISTIANSEN  
JOHN GAY  
SYLVESTER TAMBA

It is probable that every household head has seen policemen and soldiers. What is significant is that such a high percentage should report the fact. It is also significant that the vice-president has so little political visibility.

Table 60 reports the most important problems which the household heads see facing their town.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
Road building	29.4%	50.0%	37.5%
School	32.4%	13.6%	9.4%
Taxes	14.0%	31.8%	22.0%
Money	17.8%	9.1%	9.4%
Clinics	9.2%	13.6%	9.4%
Sickness	4.6%	13.6%	0.0%

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS REPORTING IMPORTANT PROBLEMS  
TABLE 60

Table 61 reports what the household heads would do if they were made town chief to help the people of the town.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
Build school	32.4%	9.0%	25.0%
Build up town	12.3%	18.1%	12.6%
Settle cases	18.4%	4.5%	9.4%
Reduce taxes	4.6%	13.6%	6.3%
Help sick	4.6%	9.2%	16.0%

PERCENTAGE OF ACTIONS IF HOUSEHOLD HEADS WERE TOWN CHIEF  
TABLE 61

Table 62 reports the changes in the life of their town which the household heads say they approve, as they see them taking place.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
Zinc houses	77.0%	54.5%	72.0%
Road	17.0%	13.6%	3.2%
Kwii people	10.8%	13.6%	9.4%
Radios	15.4%	4.5%	6.3%
Church	6.2%	0.0%	0.0%
Less people	0.0%	13.6%	9.4%
Education	3.1%	0.0%	0.0%

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS NAMING CHANGES THEY APPROVE  
TABLE 62

This table reflects the actual changes which the people see and appreciate, and not the changes they wish for. It is notable that the most important things are material possession, and that education and health do not appear as important changes.

THE NEAR EDGE OF CHANGE  
A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SURVEY OF EIGHT TOWNS  
IN BONG COUNTY, LIBERIA  
BEFORE THE BUILDING OF A ROAD

121

Table 63 reports other changes that the household heads would like to see take place in their towns.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
Schools	55.5%	41.0%	40.5%
Stores	21.5%	45.5%	22.0%
Road	24.5%	22.8%	16.7%
Clinic	20.0%	27.2%	25.0%
Hospital	9.3%	22.8%	12.6%
Better houses	3.2%	31.8%	16.0%
Electricity	0.0%	13.6%	3.2%

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS DESIRING FURTHER CHANGES  
TABLE 63

The changes desired as reported in Table 63 parallel closely the problems reported in Table 60 and the actions the household heads would take if they were town chief as reported in Table 61.

Table 64 reports the changes the household heads actually think will come about as a result of the new road.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
Schools	40.2%	41.0%	59.2%
Zinc houses	4.6%	0.0%	0.0%
Stores	37.0%	45.5%	47.0%
Hospital	4.6%	27.2%	18.7%
Clinic	20.0%	13.6%	18.7%
Lebanese trader	7.7%	22.8%	9.4%
Easy travel	9.2%	9.1%	6.3%
Church	4.6%	0.0%	3.2%
More production	4.6%	9.1%	0.0%
More people	6.1%	0.0%	12.6%

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS PREDICTING CHANGES FROM ROAD  
TABLE 64

The last item under the political system is the self-evaluation of the household heads. They were asked whether they considered themselves to be important elders who participate in town decisions. The results are reported in Table 65.

<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
40.0%	36.4%	50.0%

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS WHO SAY THEY ARE TOWN ELDERS  
TABLE 65

Clearly a large percentage of the household heads consider that they play an active part in village affairs as elders and advisors. The local political process thus has a broad base.

### G. HOUSING

Table 66 reports the percentage of houses which have mud and stick construction, plaster and mud construction and concrete construction.

	<u>Balama</u>	Baokwele	Other Towns
Mud and stick	68.5%	86.4%	90.8%
Plaster on mud	23.8%	13.6%	6.3%
Concrete	7.7%	0.0%	0.0%

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSES OF VARIOUS CONSTRUCTION TYPES  
TABLE 66

Table 67 reports the percentage of houses with thatch roofs and zinc roofs respectively.

	<u>Balama</u>	Baokwele	Other Towns
Thatch	34.3%	68.5%	71.8%
Zinc	59.6%	31.5%	28.2%
Mixed	6.1%	0.0%	0.0%

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSES WITH VARIOUS ROOF TYPES  
TABLE 67

Table 68 reports the percentage of houses with access to latrines.

	<u>Balama</u>	Baokwele	Other Towns
	23.8%	9.0%	0.0%

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSES WITH ACCESS TO LATRINES  
TABLE 68

### H. MEDICAL PROBLEMS

Table 69 reports the percentage of household heads who think it is necessary for everyone to drink boiled water.

	<u>Balama</u>	Baokwele	Other Towns
	83.0%	95.5%	81.2%

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS WHO RECOMMEND BOILING WATER  
TABLE 69

This clearly is at variance with the actual observed practice, in that almost no persons in any of the towns drink boiled water. It reflects a belief which has been advertised widely, to the point where it is conventional wisdom.

THE NEAR EDGE OF CHANGE  
A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SURVEY OF EIGHT TOWNS  
IN BONG COUNTY, LIBERIA  
BEFORE THE BUILDING OF A ROAD

123

Table 70 reports the percentage of household heads who claim they use a latrine all, most, some and none of the time.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
All	7.6%	18.1%	6.3%
Most	13.7%	4.5%	25.0%
Some	56.2%	63.7%	37.5%
None	22.5%	13.6%	32.0%

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS CLAIMING TO USE LATRINES  
TABLE 70

These data are inconsistent with the reported availability of latrines and probably reflect the desire to give a favorable image.

Table 71 gives the percentage of household heads reporting various numbers of serious illnesses during the previous year.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
0	7.5%	9.0%	12.6%
1	24.7%	59.0%	47.0%
2 - 5	52.3%	31.0%	32.0%
Over 5	15.5%	0.0%	9.4%

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS REPORTING SERIOUS ILLNESSES  
TABLE 71

Table 72 gives the percentage of household heads who travelled various distances to get their last illness treated.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
In town	34.0%	50.0%	40.5%
0 - 1 hour walk	6.2%	9.0%	6.3%
1 - 3 hour walk	21.5%	4.5%	16.0%
1 day walk	9.2%	18.1%	12.6%
Car trip	24.5%	13.6%	16.0%

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS WHO TRAVELLED FOR TREATMENT  
TABLE 72

Table 73 considers these household heads who reported receiving medical treatment, and gives the percentage who paid various amounts for the treatment.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
Nothing	6.6%	6.3%	9.4%
\$0.25	16.6%	6.3%	6.3%
\$0.26 - \$1.00	13.3%	62.5%	28.2%
\$1.00 - \$5.00	30.0%	12.5%	18.7%
More than \$5	33.3%	12.5%	28.2%

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS PAYING AMOUNTS FOR TREATMENT  
TABLE 73

Table 74 gives the percentage of household heads who report having bought an injection within the previous six months for themselves or for a member of their family.

<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
62.4%	71.6%	56.2%

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS HAVING BOUGHT INJECTIONS  
TABLE 74

Table 75 gives the percentage of household heads who bought these injections from travelling dressers, defined as itinerant sellers of medicine passing through town.

<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
88.2%	93.1%	83.2%

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS BUYING INJECTIONS FROM DRESSERS  
TABLE 75

The remainder of the injections were either bought in stores or from nurses or from hospitals.

Table 76 gives the percentage of household heads who have ever attended Phebe Hospital, a mission hospital located approximately four miles from Balama.

<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
47.0%	35.0%	32.0%

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS WHO HAVE ATTENDED PHEBE HOSPITAL  
TABLE 76

A great variety of complaints were listed for which persons attended Phebe Hospital. Table 77 lists the percentage reporting the principal complaints, based on the total number who went to Phebe.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
Stomach pain	35.8%	28.6%	20.0%
Body pain	16.2%	28.6%	40.0%

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS REPORTING AILMENTS TREATED BY PHEBE  
TABLE 77

Table 78 gives the percentage of household heads who said that a reason for not liking Phebe Hospital was the high cost of the treatment.



THE NEAR EDGE OF CHANGE  
A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SURVEY OF EIGHT TOWNS  
IN BONG COUNTY, LIBERIA  
BEFORE THE BUILDING OF A ROAD

125

<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
50.0%	54.5%	55.8%

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS FINDING PHEBE TOO EXPENSIVE  
TABLE 78

Since this reason was not specifically requested, it must have high prominence for the household heads.

Table 79 reports the percentages of household heads who prefer various modes of treatment for various diseases. In some cases, the household heads gave two modes of treatment.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
Cough			
Home remedy	39.9%	40.0%	56.2%
Kpelle doctor	9.2%	23.0%	9.4%
Strong Zoe	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Kwii doctor	4.7%	0.0%	3.2%
Hospital	47.2%	36.4%	34.5%
Fever			
Home remedy	33.6%	40.9%	37.5%
Kpelle doctor	15.4%	27.4%	12.6%
Strong Zoe	0.0%	4.5%	0.0%
Kwii doctor	6.2%	0.0%	3.2%
Hospital	46.8%	27.4%	47.0%
Sore			
Home remedy	30.6%	31.9%	43.8%
Kpelle doctor	15.4%	23.0%	0.0%
Strong Zoe	1.5%	4.5%	0.0%
Kwii doctor	10.8%	13.6%	12.6%
Hospital	47.7%	27.4%	43.8%
Witchcraft			
Home remedy	1.6%	0.0%	0.0%
Kpelle doctor	50.0%	50.0%	50.0%
Strong Zoe	43.6%	50.0%	53.0%
Kwii doctor	3.2%	0.0%	0.0%
Hospital	1.6%	0.0%	0.0%
Hernia			
Home remedy	3.2%	0.0%	6.3%
Kpelle doctor	4.8%	9.1%	9.4%
Strong Zoe	4.8%	9.1%	0.0%
Kwii doctor	13.8%	36.4%	32.0%
Hospital	76.4%	50.0%	56.2%

ROBERT CHRISTIANSEN  
JOHN GAY  
SYLVESTER TAMBA

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
Diarrhea			
Home remedy	38.7%	27.4%	56.2%
Kpelle doctor	16.9%	27.4%	9.4%
Strong Zoe	3.1%	0.0%	6.3%
Kwii doctor	9.3%	13.6%	3.2%
Hospital	32.5%	31.9%	25.0%
Worms			
Home remedy	20.1%	9.1%	34.5%
Kpelle doctor	18.4%	31.9%	16.0%
Strong Zoe	1.5%	4.5%	9.4%
Kwii doctor	13.8%	18.2%	6.3%
Hospital	53.9%	36.4%	34.5%
Broken bone			
Home remedy	4.6%	0.0%	3.2%
Kpelle doctor	60.1%	22.7%	53.0%
Strong Zoe	15.3%	59.1%	34.5%
Kwii doctor	3.1%	0.0%	6.3%
Hospital	18.5%	18.2%	6.3%
Infertility			
Home remedy	1.5%	0.0%	0.0%
Kpelle doctor	20.0%	9.1%	9.4%
Strong Zoe	16.9%	54.5%	34.5%
Kwii doctor	4.6%	0.0%	0.0%
Hospital	57.0%	36.4%	59.2%
Leprosy			
Home remedy	1.5%	0.0%	0.0%
Kpelle doctor	1.5%	9.1%	6.3%
Strong Zoe	10.8%	36.4%	22.0%
Kwii doctor	3.1%	4.5%	12.6%
Hospital	78.5%	50.0%	59.2%
Epilepsy			
Home remedy	30.8%	9.1%	22.0%
Kpelle doctor	15.4%	22.7%	16.0%
Strong Zoe	41.5%	59.1%	56.2%
Kwii doctor	3.1%	0.0%	0.0%
Hospital	9.2%	9.1%	9.4%
Insanity			
Home remedy	29.1%	9.1%	18.7%
Kpelle doctor	15.4%	18.2%	25.0%
Strong Zoe	47.6%	73.6%	50.0%
Kwii doctor	1.5%	0.0%	0.0%
Hospital	9.2%	9.1%	9.4%

PERCENTAGES OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS PREFERRED MODES OF TREATMENT

TABLE 79

THE NEAR EDGE OF CHANGE  
A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SURVEY OF EIGHT TOWNS  
IN BONG COUNTY, LIBERIA  
BEFORE THE BUILDING OF A ROAD

127

There are clearly many more cases of disease which would be brought to Phebe Hospital if the prices were cheaper.

### I. SOCIAL SYSTEM

Table 80 records the principal means of enjoyment which the household heads attribute to the young persons in town.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
Drinking	46.2%	31.9%	25.0%
Dancing	44.0%	63.6%	47.0%
Eating	30.4%	27.3%	32.0%
Singing	9.1%	9.1%	3.2%

PERCENTAGE OF YOUNG PERSONS' PLEASURES NAMED BY HOUSEHOLD HEADS  
TABLE 80

Table 81 records the principal means of enjoyment which the household heads attribute to themselves.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
Drinking	58.5%	27.3%	32.0%
Dancing	24.6%	45.5%	28.2%
Eating	46.2%	54.5%	32.0%
Singing	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

PERCENTAGE OF PLEASURES ENJOYED BY HOUSEHOLD HEADS  
TABLE 81

The household heads do less dancing and singing, and more drinking and eating than they imagine is the case with the young people.

Table 82 states the percentage of household heads who feel that people are able to have a better time in Monrovia than in the country.

<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
38.0%	63.7%	56.2%

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS THINKING MONROVIA MORE ATTRACTIVE  
TABLE 82

Table 83 states the percentage of household heads who belong to the various social groups in town.

ROBERT CHRISTIANSEN  
JOHN GAY  
SYLVESTER TAMBA

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
Poros society	84.5%	91.0%	90.8%
Savings group	43.0%	13.6%	28.2%
Social club	58.5%	36.3%	40.5%
Church group	38.5%	18.1%	6.3%
Work group	38.5%	59.0%	69.0%
Medicine group	23.0%	0.0%	3.2%
Snake society	7.7%	0.0%	0.0%
U. B. F.	3.0%	4.5%	0.0%

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS BELONGING TO SOCIAL GROUPS  
TABLE 83

It is the case that every household head belongs to the Poro. It is thus noteworthy that not all were willing to admit membership to the interviewer, a fact which indicates the secrecy of the society. There are more social groups nearer the main road, except for the cooperative work groups. The U. B. F. is the United Brothers of Friendship, a kwii secret society to which aspiring members of the elite belong.

We asked a series of questions of the household heads concerning persons to whom they would go for special reasons.

Table 84 records the percentage of the household heads in Balama who listed the six most frequently mentioned persons in each of these categories.

	<u>Town Chief</u>	<u>Town Elder</u>	<u>Medicine Man</u>	<u>Store Keeper</u>	<u>Rival Elder</u>	<u>Old Chief</u>
Best friend	24.7%	1.5%	10.8%	10.8%	7.7%	1.5%
Money help	16.9%	3.1%	3.1%	15.4%	1.5%	3.1%
Medicine help	3.1%	1.5%	35.4%	3.1%	3.1%	0.0%
Work help	4.5%	1.5%	4.6%	0.0%	1.5%	3.1%
Advice	21.6%	6.1%	15.4%	3.1%	4.6%	0.0%
Respect Most	30.8%	13.8%	13.9%	3.1%	7.7%	3.1%
Wealthiest	41.6%	9.2%	16.9%	13.9%	1.5%	3.1%
Best on kwii	49.2%	6.1%	1.5%	16.9%	0.0%	0.0%
Best in money	36.1%	6.1%	3.1%	13.9%	0.0%	6.1%
Most feared	30.8%	18.5%	7.7%	1.5%	6.1%	4.6%
Bringing new	43.1%	0.0%	15.4%	21.6%	1.5%	0.0%
Knows trad.	7.7%	23.2%	20.0%	3.1%	16.9%	0.0%
Changing old	41.7%	7.7%	6.1%	9.2%	1.5%	0.0%
Gov. help	80.0%	20.0%	3.1%	1.5%	6.1%	0.0%

PERCENTAGE OF BALAMA HOUSEHOLD HEADS ASSIGNING ROLES TO PERSONS  
TABLE 84

The principal rivals to the town chief are clearly the town elder, the medicine man and the store keeper, each in his area of specialty. However, none of these rivals has as high an overall score as the town chief, whose only really weak areas are in medicine, helping find work, and knowing the tradition.

Table 85 records the percentage of the household heads in Baokwele who listed the six most frequently mentioned persons in each of these same categories.

THE NEAR EDGE OF CHANGE  
A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SURVEY OF EIGHT TOWNS  
IN BONG COUNTY, LIBERIA  
BEFORE THE BUILDING OF A ROAD

129

	<u>Town Chief</u>	<u>Town Elder</u>	<u>Clan Chief</u>	<u>Church Leader</u>	<u>Mandingo Trader</u>	<u>Young Man</u>
Best friend	9.1%	9.1%	18.2%	18.2%	0.0%	18.2%
Money help	4.5%	0.0%	18.2%	13.6%	9.1%	4.5%
Medicine help	4.5%	4.5%	4.5%	9.1%	9.1%	9.1%
Work help	9.1%	4.5%	0.0%	0.0%	4.5%	4.5%
Advice	9.1%	18.2%	4.5%	0.0%	9.1%	9.1%
Respect most	45.5%	4.5%	18.2%	4.5%	0.0%	9.1%
Wealthiest	31.9%	13.6%	54.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Best on kwii	54.5%	0.0%	36.4%	4.5%	0.0%	0.0%
Best in money	27.3%	23.7%	22.7%	0.0%	4.5%	0.0%
Most feared	31.9%	4.5%	36.4%	4.5%	0.0%	4.5%
Bringing new	13.6%	9.1%	22.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Knows trad.	18.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	13.6%	0.0%
Changing old	22.8%	0.0%	31.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Gov. help	36.4%	4.5%	45.5%	9.1%	4.5%	9.1%

PERCENTAGE OF BAKWELE HOUSEHOLD HEADS ASSIGNING ROLES TO PERSONS  
TABLE 85

In this case the clan chief is the principal rival of the town chief, and in several cases exercises more influence than the town chief. The town elder, the church leader, the Mandingo trader, and a popular young household head all follow well below the two leaders.

The data for the other six towns are not reported. It is obviously meaningless to combine the figures, since they refer to different persons in each town. And the towns themselves are too small to be reported separately.

## J. VALUES AND RELIGION

Table 86 records the percentage of household heads who believe it is important to keep the ceremonies for respecting ancestors.

<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
58.4%	63.7%	56.2%

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS RESPECTING ANCESTORS  
TABLE 86

All but one of those who keep the ceremonies do so by sacrifices. The one exception said he did so by praying.

Table 87 records the percentage of the household heads who consult diviners.

ROBERT CHRISTIANSEN  
JOHN GAY  
SYLVESTER TAMBA

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
Often	15.3%	9.0%	37.5%
Seldom	38.3%	50.0%	28.2%
Never	43.0%	31.5%	25.0%

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS WHO CONSULT DIVINERS  
TABLE 87

Finally, Table 88 gives the percentage of household heads who report that members of their family belong to various churches.

	<u>Balama</u>	<u>Baokwele</u>	<u>Other Towns</u>
Methodist	38.4%	36.3%	16.0%
Lutheran	41.5%	31.5%	50.0%
S. D. A.	23.0%	45.5%	6.3%
Episcopalan	6.1%	9.0%	3.2%
Baptist	7.6%	4.5%	12.6%
Muslim	6.1%	4.5%	0.0%

PERCENTAGE OF FAMILY MEMBERS BELONGING TO CHURCHES  
TABLE 88

The questionnaire which was used in the survey is given below. Not all the results were included above, since some questions did not elicit useable answers.

RURAL DEVELOPMENT QUESTIONNAIRE

- A. Personal data
  - 1. Date
  - 2. Place of interview
  - 3. Name
  - 4. Sex
  - 5. Approximate age
  - 6. Languages spoken
- B. Travel
  - 1. Where were you born?
  - 2. Where have you traveled, and how many times?
  - 3. Where have you spent time or worked, and for how long?
- C. Education
  - 1. What kwii schools did you go to, and in what grade did you stop?
  - 2. Who paid your school fees?
  - 3. Up to what grade do you wish to send your sons to kwii school?
  - 4. Up to what grade do you wish to send your daughters to kwii school?
  - 5. What kinds of school would you want to have in this town?

THE NEAR EDGE OF CHANGE  
A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SURVEY OF EIGHT TOWNS  
IN BONG COUNTY, LIBERIA  
BEFORE THE BUILDING OF A ROAD

131

D. Family Structure

1. Answer the following questions concerning each of the wives you have had.
  - a. What is your wife's name?
  - b. Where was she born?
  - c. How many children did she bear?
  - d. How many of these are still living?
  - e. Is she still living with you? dead? divorced? separated? other?
  - f. In what kind of ceremony were you married? (traditional, civil, Muslim or Christian)
  - g. How did you pay bride price? (none, money, cattle, work)
  - h. What school has she attended and for how long? (bush school, kwii school, other)
  - i. What work does she do?
2. Answer the following questions concerning each of the children of these wives.
  - a. Full name
  - b. Sex
  - c. Relation to head
  - d. Age
  - e. Birthplace
  - f. Year came here
  - g. Bush school
  - h. Kwii school
  - i. Occupation
  - j. Marital status
  - k. Children
  - l. Location (if away)
3. Answer the following questions concerning each of the other persons who live in the houses in your household.
  - a. Full name
  - b. Sex
  - c. Relation to head
  - d. Age
  - e. Birthplace
  - f. Year came here
  - g. Bush school
  - h. Kwii school
  - i. Occupation
  - j. Marital status
  - k. Children
  - l. Location (if away)

ROBERT CHRISTIANSEN  
JOHN GAY  
SYLVESTER TAMBA

4. In what ways do you help out your relatives or kin or are you helped by them?
5. When your children are grown do you think they should settle and work in this town, or go somewhere else?
6. Why do you think this?

E. Economic system

1. Are you now making farm?
2. What crops do you raise on your farm?
3. Do you plan to sell all, most, part or none of your crops?
4. Who in this household has a garden?
5. What things are grown in these gardens?
6. How much of the garden crops are marketed?
7. What else do you sell?
8. How do you sell your products?
 

<u>      </u> Local merchant purchases	<u>      </u> Head load to larger town
<u>      </u> Market in this town	<u>      </u> for merchant
<u>      </u> Vehicle transport to another town	<u>      </u> Market in another town
	<u>      </u> Other (specify) <u>                    </u>
9. How much livestock belongs to this house?
 

<u>      </u> Chickens	<u>      </u> Ducks	<u>      </u> Rabbits	<u>      </u> Guinea hens
<u>      </u> Cows	<u>      </u> Goats	<u>      </u> Sheep	<u>      </u> Other (specify) <u>                    </u>
10. Who helps you to do your work?
11. Do you pay those who help you?
12. How much do you pay them?
13. How do you get supplies you need for your work (goods, materials, seeds, tools, money)?
14. What special work do you know how to do?
15. How did you learn your work and where?
16. To whom are you teaching this work and how?
17. What were your main sources of cash last year?
18. What does your wife (wives) do to earn cash?
19. In this house what part of the food you ate last year did you buy?
 

<u>      </u> All of it	<u>      </u> Most of it
<u>      </u> About half of it	<u>      </u> Only a little of it
20. What kinds of food did you spend the most money on?
21. What one thing did you spend the most money on last year? (A below)
22. What other things did you spend much money on last year. (B below)
23. What things did you spend some money on last year? (C below)

- |                                 |                                     |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <u>      </u> Dowry             | <u>      </u> Schooling expenses    |
| <u>      </u> Brideprice        | <u>      </u> Church or mosque      |
| <u>      </u> Funeral expense   | <u>      </u> Society or club       |
| <u>      </u> Building a house  | <u>      </u> Enjoyment             |
| <u>      </u> Improving a house | <u>      </u> Employing workers     |
| <u>      </u> Buying land       | <u>      </u> Tools and equipment   |
| <u>      </u> Country medicine  | <u>      </u> Magical protection    |
| <u>      </u> Kwii medicine     | <u>      </u> Court cases           |
| <u>      </u> Taxes             | <u>      </u> Travel                |
| <u>      </u> Clothes           | <u>      </u> Cane juice, beer, gin |
| <u>      </u> Helping relatives | <u>      </u> Rent                  |
| <u>      </u> Other             | <u>      </u> Other                 |



THE NEAR EDGE OF CHANGE  
A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SURVEY OF EIGHT TOWNS  
IN BONG COUNTY, LIBERIA  
BEFORE THE BUILDING OF A ROAD

133

24. What taxes did you pay and how much last year?

_____ Hut tax	_____ Income tax
_____ Education tax	_____ Head tax
_____ Birthday tax	_____ Local tax
_____ Health tax	_____ Other (specify) _____

25. What work have you done for wages?

<u>Type of work</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>How long</u>	<u>Wages</u>	<u>Why left</u>
---------------------	-----------------	-----------------	--------------	-----------------

26. How much land do you own deed to?

27. How much land do you farm?

28. How did you obtain the house you live in?

_____ Built it	_____ Bought it	_____ Rented it
----------------	-----------------	-----------------

F. Political System

1. Who is the head of the town?
2. Who has the last word in the town?
3. What matters does he settle?
4. Who helps him settle these matters?
5. What sort of matters leave this town to go to the Clan Chief?
6. What sort of matters leave this town to go to Gbarnga?
7. Have you ever voted? For what office?
8. Have you ever seen the President? Where? When?
9. Name any other government officials you have seen or met?
10. What do you see as the most important problem facing the people of this town?
11. What do you see as the most important problem facing the Kpelle people?
12. If you were the town chief what would you do for the people of this town?
13. What changes in life in this town do you see, and which do you like?
14. What other changes would you like to see in this town?
15. What changes do you think the new road will bring to this town?
16. Are you a town elder?
17. When important decisions are made in this town, do you participate in making them, and what role do you play?
18. Rank respondent High (H), Medium (M) or Low (Low) one these qualities.

_____ Wealth	_____ Power
_____ Prestige	_____ Influence
_____ Kwii status	_____ Traditional status

G. Housing

1. What are the outside walls made of?

_____ Mud and stick	_____ Mud bricks	_____ Cement blocks
_____ Plaster on mud	_____ Mats over sticks	_____ Other (specify) _____

2. What is the floor made of?

_____ Dirt	_____ Concrete	_____ Other (specify) _____
------------	----------------	-----------------------------

3. What is the roof made of?

_____ Thatch	_____ Zinc	_____ Other (specify) _____
--------------	------------	-----------------------------

4. How many windows are there?

5. Does the house have a latrine?

ROBERT CHRISTIANSEN  
JOHN GAY  
SYLVESTER TAMBA

6. What is the source of water?  
☐ Rain barrel ☐ Well ☐ Stream ☐ Other (specify)
7. What lighting is available at night?  
☐ Pressure lantern ☐ Aladdin lamp ☐ Kerosene lantern
8. How many doors has the house?
9. How is the outside finished?  
☐ Rubbed mud ☐ Whitewash ☐ Paint  
☐ Other (specify)
10. How many rooms are in the house?
11. What type of furniture is in the house?  
☐ Mostly traditional ☐ Mixed ☐ Mostly Kwii

H. Medical problems

1. Do you think drinking boiled water is necessary for which of the following?  
☐ infants and children only ☐ women only  
☐ men only ☐ foreigners only  
☐ everyone ☐ no one
2. Do you use a latrine?  
☐ All the time ☐ Most of the time ☐ Seldom  
☐ Never
3. If you do not, would you use one if one were built near your house?
4. How many serious illnesses have you had in the past year?  
☐ None ☐ One ☐ 2-5 ☐ Over 5
5. How far did you travel to get your last illness treated?  
☐ in town ☐ under 1 hour walk ☐ 1 - 3 hour walk  
☐ 1 day walk ☐ car trip ☐ cost of car trip
6. How much did you pay for the treatment?  
☐ \$.25 ☐ \$.26 to \$1.00 ☐ \$1.01 to \$5.00  
☐ More than \$5.00
7. Have you bought an injection for yourself or someone in your family in the past six months?
8. If yes, from whom?  
☐ Store ☐ Nurse in town ☐ Hospital ☐ Travelling dresser
9. Have you ever attended Phebe Hospital?
10. For what illness or illnesses?
11. What did you dislike about their services, or if you did not go, why not?
12. Where do most people go for medicine for the following illnesses?  
 Code A (home remedy), B (Country doctor), C (Powerful Zoe),  
 D (Kwii doctor), E (Hospital)  
☐ Cough ☐ Fever ☐ Sore ☐ Witch ☐ Hernia  
☐ Running stomach ☐ Stomach worms ☐ Broken bones  
☐ Infertility ☐ Leprosy ☐ Falling out  
☐ Talking out of your head

I. Social system

1. What do young people do in this town for a good time?
2. What sorts of things do you do for a good time?
3. Do you feel that people in a big city like Monrovia are able to have a better time than those in the country, and why do you say so?

THE NEAR EDGE OF CHANGE  
A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SURVEY OF EIGHT TOWNS  
IN BONG COUNTY, LIBERIA  
BEFORE THE BUILDING OF A ROAD

135

4. What societies do you belong to?  
     \_\_\_ Poro     \_\_\_ Snake society     \_\_\_ Medicine society  
     \_\_\_ Savings group     \_\_\_ Social club     \_\_\_ Cooperative work group  
     \_\_\_ UBF     \_\_\_ Church society     \_\_\_ Other (specify) \_\_\_
5. For each of the following list the top two persons in town, the highest first.
- a. Who is your best friend?
  - b. Who would you ask to help you in money business?
  - c. Who would you ask to help you in medicine business?
  - d. Who would you ask to help you in finding work?
  - e. Who gives you advice on difficult matters?
  - f. Whom do you respect most in town?
  - g. Whom do you place as wealthy in town?
  - h. Who works best on kwii matters?
  - i. Who works best in money matters?
  - j. Whom do you fear most in town?
  - k. What person brings new things to the town?
  - l. Who knows most about the old ways of the Kpelle in this town?
  - m. Who is changing the old ways the most in this town?
  - n. Who can help persons in town on government matters?

J. Values and Religion

1. Do you think it is important to keep the ceremonies for respecting ancestors?
2. How do you pay respect to your ancestors?
3. How often do you consult an oracle or diviner?  
     \_\_\_ Frequently     \_\_\_ Seldom     \_\_\_ Never
4. Do you or anyone in your family now belong to any of the following? Specify who it is.  
     \_\_\_ Islam     \_\_\_ Methodist     \_\_\_ Church of the Lord  
     \_\_\_ Lutheran     \_\_\_ Episcopal     \_\_\_ Seventh-day Adventist  
     \_\_\_ Baptist     \_\_\_ Catholic     \_\_\_ Assembly of God  
     \_\_\_ Jehovah's Witness     \_\_\_ Other (specify) \_\_\_



THE POSSIBLE APPLICATION OF THE  
STANDARDIZED AFRICAN SITE ENUMERATION SYSTEM (SASES)  
TO LIBERIA

Charles M. Nelson

INTRODUCTION

In a recent article in this journal Frederick McEvoy<sup>1</sup> has urged adoption of a unified site numbering system for Liberia. As prehistoric studies continue at an ever increasing pace in Liberia and throughout Africa, it will become necessary to adopt widely standardized methods of processing and recording data. It has been recognized for some years now<sup>2</sup> that such standardization is essential to the meaningful intergration of information at regional, national, and continental levels of generalization. The widespread use of a standardized site notation system would constitute a major contribution in this field by creating an organized and internally consistent body of information on the location, distribution, and nature of prehistoric sites. Two such systems are currently available for application in Liberia. Both deserve the careful consideration of Liberian prehistorians.

One, developed by McEvoy, is designed specifically for use in Liberia.<sup>3</sup> It groups sites by chiefdom locations within the several counties of Liberia and is patterned on the American system first employed by Wedel.<sup>4</sup> The other developed by the author in collaboration with Glynn Ll. Isaac and H. V. Merrick, is designed to be applied through Africa.<sup>5</sup> It utilizes an internally subdivided grid based on latitude and longitude, and is modeled after the Canadian system first proposed by Borden.<sup>6</sup> Either of these systems could be used successfully in Liberia, but it remains for Liberian prehistorians and antiquities authorities to decide whether the advantages of an integrated international system outweigh whatever benefits might be forthcoming from the use of a county system of classification. This article argues the case for an international system and describes such a system which has already been employed successfully in Ethiopia, Kenya, and Uganda.

1. Frederick D. McEvoy, "Some Proposals for Liberian Archaeology," Liberian Studies Journal, III (1970-1971), 129-141.

2. W. W. Bishop & J. D. Clark, Background to Evolution (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), 872.

3. McEvoy, "Some Proposals."

4. Waldo R. Wedel, "Prehistory and the Missouri Valley Development Program: Summary Report on the Missouri River Basin Archaeological Survey in 1947", Smithsonian Institution Miscellaneous Collections, III, No. 2 (1948).

5. Charles M. Nelson, "A Standardized Site Enumeration System for the Continent of Africa," Bulletin of the Commission of Nomenclature and Terminology for the Pan-African Congress of Prehistory and Quaternary Studies, No. 4 (1971), 6 - 12.

6. Charles E. Borden, "A Uniform Site Designation Scheme for Canada," Anthropology in British Columbia, III (1952), 44-48.

## THE NEED FOR A CONTINENTAL SYSTEM OF SITE NOTATION

Between 1967 and 1969, while integrating information on the Later Stone Age from Kenya and Uganda, numerous difficulties had to be overcome in adapting personal systems of site notation and national systems of cataloging artefacts to a format compatible with the use of computers. It was obvious for East Africa that large-scale regional studies in which massive amounts of data had to be recorded systematically and dealt with in a single logic system had never been adequately foreseen. A brief examination of data management practices elsewhere in Africa revealed that many countries had no clearly stated or uniformly applied standard for recording or describing archaeological sites. The few extensive site surveys which existed were not compatible with one another. In short, there was a need for a simple site enumeration system which could be used at the national level or in large physiographic regions such as East Africa, southern Africa, the Congo Basin, the Sudanic zone, or the rain forest of West Africa. By considering the principal applications which such a system might come to have, a set of criteria were developed. The more of these criteria a system fulfill the more likely it will be widely and successfully applied.

1. Any site enumeration system must be capable of total integration and easy application at the national level if it is to be accepted for use in most African countries. The antiquities services and national museums of almost all African countries are under staffed and under budgeted. The system should provide these authorities with a convenient device for specifying and administering the terms of research permits, archiving data, accessioning specimens, and organizing the storage of collections. It should not create a heavy administrative burden.
2. The system should be equally applicable, however, to large physiographic regions which cut across national boundaries. Duplicate site designations should be prevented in such regions, and, if practical, throughout Africa.
3. The system should be easy to learn and simple to operate. If possible it should have an internal logic which allows the user to deduce the approximate location of sites without resort to special lists or devices.
4. The system should be readily adaptable to computer applications, particularly to data management systems and distribution studies.
5. The system should generate survey data in a standardized format easily summarized and published by an appropriate international authority, such as the Pan-African Congress' Committee for the Atlas of African Prehistory.
6. The system should be totally a-political. It should not represent the extension of the cataloging system of any one country's national museum and it should not require that disputed territory be assigned to a particular country so that site designations may be applied.

## REVIEWING ALTERNATIVE SYSTEMS

Potentially available systems are based on (1) physiographic proveniences, (2) politically defined territorial units, (3) grids of latitude and longitude which are applied within countries, (4) the Universal Transverse Mercator (UTM) Grid based on equal metric areas, and (5) grids based on equal areas of latitude and longitude.

1. A continental system based on a series of nested physiographic areas would most closely reflect the gross environmental relationship between sites which were occupied under more or less modern geomorphic regimens. The exact delineation of physiographic provinces would be difficult, but might be accomplished through drainage basin analysis and the use of stream orders or related concepts. The result would be a nested series of basins with four or five levels classification which could be

manipulated to construct a wide variety of geographic areas for analysis. Though such a system would be an effective analytical device for working with the Later Stone Age or Iron Age, it has a number of serious drawbacks which make its use impractical at this time.

First, it would require a great deal of experimentation and painstaking analysis before a general set of workable rules could be devised. Each new application would then require a thorough geomorphological analysis in order to establish the stream-basin configurations best utilized. The tremendous investment of time and energy in these initial stages of development and application would discourage use of the system. Second, numerous practical problems would also arise. Even when dealing with current maps on a 1:1,000,000 scale there are some areas, e. g., along the border between Liberia and the Ivory Coast (see ONC, 1-1, ed. 3), where there are insufficient data on relief to provide accurate topographic detail. Drawing basin boundaries at a 1:50,000 scale is a far more exacting business and topographic detail may be lacking even in heavily populated and economically important areas (e. g., see current coverage of the Nakuru Basin, Kenya). Finally, such a system would have little value for the analysis of older materials laid down in paleogeographic contexts which were quite different from their modern counterparts (e. g., the Oldowan occurrences at Olduvai Gorge).

2. Systems based on politically defined territorial units have a number of inherent weaknesses. Perhaps the most useful system of this type has been developed for use in the United States. It is based on state and county boundaries and works because the boundaries are stable and county sizes usually quite small in relationship to site density. When Borden<sup>7</sup> was working on a system for Canada he found that political units covered far too much territory to form a meaningful basis for site enumeration. This objection would clearly apply to many African countries where some counties or districts may cover well over 100,000 square km. and may contain tens of thousands of sites.

Many African countries are also involved in boundary disputes or are still experimenting with internal administrative procedures which may in the future effect the boundaries of counties and districts. Any system based on potentially unstable political boundaries has potentially meaningful political content. Such a system would have to have a cipher for country and county. Since any widely applied system will be used by at least some official antiquities services, there will inevitably be pressure from the governments which they represent to reflect the political *status quo*. This could produce situations in which costly and time consuming revisions were necessary or conflicts in which prehistorians were caught between disputing parties.

Finally, political units are highly variable in size and shape. As a result, they are not highly amenable to computer applications.

3. The Smithsonian Institution currently uses an international system which has a letter cipher for the country followed by additional ciphers which specify a grid location within the designated country. This system has two major drawbacks. First, it is based on national boundaries and may therefore inherit international boundary disputes. Second, it is the system of the National Museum of the United States. Many countries would object to its imposition on grounds arising out of nationalism.

7. Ibid.

4. The Universal Transverse Mercator (UTM) Grid exists in various versions for much of Africa and might serve as a basis for site enumeration. It consists of a 10,000,000 m. base grid which is then divided into subunits of 100,000 m. If the smaller squares were further subdivided into areas 25,000 m. (25 km.) on a side they would approximate 1:50,000 scale maps, an ideal size for the tabulation of sites. Use of the UTM Grid has a number of serious drawbacks, however.

The single greatest drawback is the absence of a continental system. Different areas use slightly different Transverse Mercator projections. Moreover, in many regions of Africa there is a complex history of changes in the Transverse Mercator projections which have been utilized. For example, in East Africa the currently available series of 1:50,000 and 1:250,000 maps, printed between 1960 and the present, utilize at least three different sets of projections. One is the East African Grid Belt Transverse Mercator projection using a modified Clarke 1880 spheroid and  $32^{\circ}30'E.$ ,  $0^{\circ}0' N/S$  as the point of origin. The second is the UTM Zone Grid using a modified Clarke 1880 spheroid, an origin of  $33^{\circ}00'E.$  and  $0^{\circ}00' N/S$ , and the 1950 Arc Datum with a scale factor of 0.9996. The third is also a UTM Zone Grid, but it uses the 1960 Arc Datum which produces offsets between 10 and 40 m. along the east-west axis of the grid. In addition, there are some maps (e.g., the Kisumu Sheet; Y503, Sa-36-4, Ed. 1-GSGS) which use a UTM Zone Grid but fail to specify the Arc Datum which was used. Comparisons of the Kisumu Sheet grid and known 1950 and 1960 arc grids suggest it may be slightly different from each. If this is true, four grids would have to be dealt with in East Africa. It is true, of course, that the UTM 1960 Arc Datum grid is now replacing the other systems, but this process may take decades to complete and there is no assurance whatever that the new system would not be replaced in a few years time.

The use of Transverse Mercator projections as a basis for site numbering would also produce other minor problems. For example, although the standard quadrangle series for any country is normally printed with the grid superimposed, many special maps, such as those for game parks and hunting reserves, will contain no grid references of any kind. Another minor problem is notation. Specifying small areas within Transverse Mercator grids requires long, uneconomical ciphers. The E.A. Grid Belt series would require a minimum of five characters before the site number could be listed. The UTM Zone grids would each require a minimum of six characters. As we shall see in a moment, a grid of comparable scale based on latitude and longitude can be constructed which will use four cipher codes.

5. Almost all African countries, by international agreement, use multiples of 7.5 and 15' latitude and longitude for constructing quadrangles having scales of 1:25,000, 1:50,000, 1:250,000, and 1:1,000,000. The 15' intervals are also used as a basis for grids used to number the maps which many countries produce, and international grids of continental scope are available at 1° intervals. Latitude and longitude are also stable, internationally recognized, a-political units of measurement and have been employed successfully in Canada in a large-scale site enumeration system.<sup>8</sup> These facts make latitude and longitude an obvious choice for constructing a grid system for the numbering of archaeological sites. The exact size of the grid squares, the construction of ciphers, and rules of application involve more difficult choices.

Experimentation in areas of high site density and a review of the available map coverage for Africa makes it clear that a 15' interval, an area of ca. 28 km. on a side at the equator, is the best compromise between location specificity, degree of grid complexity, and adequate map coverage. Maps are widely available at this scale

8. Ibid.



(1:50,000) or slightly larger scales, but are only occasionally available at more detailed scales. Moreover, 1:50,000 maps correspond exactly to 15' squares in most countries and are frequently printed with air photo run positions and numbers superimposed. They are not too large for field use and are also relatively inexpensive. The area they cover is small enough to prevent the accumulation of thousands of sites in the same grid square and to be meaningful in regional distribution studies or as a basis for organizing research permit specifications and the storage of museum collections.

Unfortunately, the numbering or ciphering of such a grid is a more difficult question. Universal or continental systems at the 15' interval do not exist, and most national systems are inadequate because of their limited geographic coverage, cumbersome notation systems, and the tendency to be revised from time to time. An international 1° grid might be utilized as a basis for notation, but the most efficient would require at least five ciphers prior to the site number (e.g., the World Geographic Reference grid which is available on Operational Navigational Charts). The length and complexity of the cipher is important for two reasons. First, it should impart, directly upon reading, some feeling for the location of the site. Second, it should be as compact as possible so that it can be written, together with site and specimen numbers, on small artefacts such as microliths.

In order to meet these criteria, a grid has been designed from scratch so that it uses only four ciphers prior to the site number, with latitude specified first and longitude second so that anyone familiar with the system can calculate the approximate position of a site anywhere in Africa in a matter of seconds. The grid utilizes 15' intervals so that the grid designations can be easily converted into national grid units with the use of overlays, simple conversion rules, or automatic computer programs if desirable.

#### THE STANDARDIZED AFRICAN SITE ENUMERATION SYSTEM (SASES)

Grid Origin. The Standardized African Site Enumeration System, abbreviated to the acronym SASES, has its primary grid origin at 40° North Latitude and 20° West Longitude. It extends south and east of this point.

Primary Grid. The primary grid consists of areas each subtending 6° of latitude and 6° of longitude. These grid areas are rectangular in any standard Mercator projection and can be superimposed accurately on maps of any scale. Each grid square, as well as its range in latitude and longitude, is specified by a system of capital letters. These begin with A in the square adjoining the point of origin and proceed alphabetically to the east and south.

Secondary Grid. Each 6° square is further subdivided into an internal grid of 576 15' rectangles which are identified through the use of standard lower case letters. Application of the grid system to Liberia may be seen in Figure 1.

Site Numbers. Using standard Arabic numerals, specific site numbers are assigned within each of the internal grid units. These site numbers are not designed to replace site names or map references. They are designed to catalog sites.

Notation. When listing full site numbers, latitude is listed first, longitude second, and the site number third. The notations for latitude and longitude list the primary grid square first and the internal grid square second. Thus, in the notation FuBw2, the F stands for the latitude (4° - 10°N.) of the primary grid square, the u for the latitude (4°45' - 5°00' N.) of the internal grid square, the B for the longitude (8° - 14°W.) of the primary grid square, the w for the longitude (8°15' - 8°30'W.) of the internal grid square, the 2 for the second site formally recorded from that grid square.

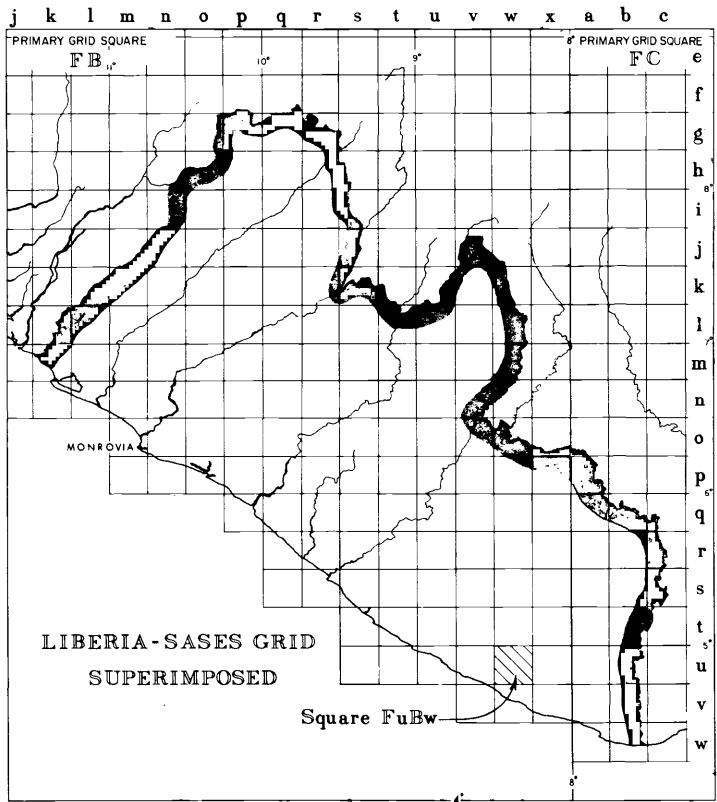


Figure 1

APPLICATION OF SASES

Introduction. Although the basic structure of SASES is simple, the application of any system of such scope is bound to produce administrative complications. The following guidelines are proposed in order to maintain consistency and efficiency in the application of SASES.

Administration. The administration of SASES will most frequently fall within the jurisdiction of an appropriate governmental authority, such as a conservator of antiquities, national museum, inspector of monuments, or university department of archaeology. This administrative authority should maintain up-to-date records on all cataloged sites, allot site numbers to research personnel, and arbitrate cases in which SASES may have been improperly applied. Used to the best advantage, SASES should constitute a useful administrative device for documenting and coordinating archaeological research.

Assignment of Site Numbers. All site numbers should be assigned under the direction of an archaeologist or qualified field technician whose judgement should be considered binding. Gross changes in the allocation of specific numbers should be undertaken only in cases of momentous or easily reversible error and at the disgression of the central administrative authority.

Physically separated occurrences found at the same geographic location may be given a blanket designation or separate site numbers at the disgression of the principal investigator. An archaeologist working at a previously surveyed, multi-occurrence site which has been given a blanket designation may opt to redesignate the separate occurrences if he corrects all previously accrued records, catalogs, etc. In such cases the old site designation may be retained for one of the occurrences or as a general designation applicable to associated surface material of ambiguous association.

If a site simultaneously lies in two or more SASES grid squares, the principal investigator must follow his best judgement in assigning a site number, but in no event should he attempt to subdivide the site on the SASES grid lines for the purpose of assigning site designations. To do so would make site excavation much more difficult and introduce an unnecessary arbitrary factor into a system which otherwise deals with naturally definable units.

The same general rules apply to sites whose exact map location is ambiguous. Such situations are not likely to occur often, especially if aerial photographs are used in conjunction with maps, but when they do arise the archaeologist must decide which grid square most likely covers the site. When errors deriving from this procedure are uncovered, they may be dealt with in one of two ways. The site may be reassigned to the appropriate grid designation and all records appropriately modified, or, if this proves to be inconvenient, the original site number may be retained and the error prominently noted and crossreferenced under the appropriate grid square designation.

Isolated artefacts, miscellaneous objects of uncertain provenance, and material from other questionable contexts should be assigned the site number zero (0). Thus, FuBw0 would refer to such quasi-associated finds from the grid square FuBw. Blocks of catalog numbers for grid square zero designations may be allocated to field investigators in the same manner as normal site numbers. Records for all 0 designations should include specific find locations, preferably in local metric Mercator coordinants.

Relationship of SASES to International Boundaries. If SASES is to be administered by country, then grid squares which overlap the boundaries of two or more nations are a potential source of error and administrative confusion. To obviate this potential problem, it is suggested that the country whose border lies closest to the origin of the SASES grid utilize the first 50 of every 100 numbers for any particular grid square in question. The country whose border is further from the point of origin can use the last 50 of every 100 numbers. If a grid square overlaps three countries, site numbers

may be divided 33, 33, 34 for every 100 possible site numbers. If an overlap of four countries occurs, blocks of 25 can be used. Dissociated, zero site designations can be handled in an analogous manner.

International Coordination. It is recommended that the Commission on the Atlas of African Prehistory, in cooperation with the administrative authorities of participating countries, gather, coordinate, and publish the general information generated by the application of SASES.

Extension of SASES to Non-Archaeological Sites. If workable administrative arrangements can be generated at the national level, there is no reason why SASES could not be extended to paleontological, ethno-archaeological, and historic sites.

### STANDARD USE OF SITE NUMBERS

Formally assigned site numbers are not intended to replace site names, but it is deemed advisable in all reports to place the full site number in an accessible place, such as the title, introduction, or formal map reference.

It is also recommended that both site and specimen numbers be placed on all individually cataloged or analyzed specimens in order to provide firm documentation for all subsequent analyses. Our experience in Kenya demonstrates that even small Krukowski micro-burins can be labeled with up to 12 separate characters.

It should also be stressed that a SASES site number in no way replaces a standard map reference. The SASES system is designed to catalog sites geographically and so prevent the duplication of site numbers. Though related, the location, description, and evaluation of sites are separate

### BENEFITS

Two decades of experience with extensive site designation systems in the United States and Canada indicate that the application of SASES should generate a wide variety of benefits to African prehistorians. Some of the major foreseeable benefits can be summarized as follows.

1. The principles and application of SASES are easily learned. Once mastered, they allow the initiate to quickly calculate the approximate position of any site with an SASES designation. Site proximity is also quickly estimated. Moreover, in working with large survey or museum collections, isolated and questionably associated finds are instantly recognizable.
2. Proper application of SASES will prevent the duplication of site designations. Ambiguities arising from vague or highly personalized notation systems will be eliminated, comparative studies will be simplified, museum and other institutional records clarified, and all site references standardized.
3. Use of SASES will encourage rapid and accurate dissemination of information about the designations, locations, and density of archaeological sites.
4. SASES will encourage the systematic accumulation of survey data and will help to enforce a uniformly high standard in the recording and description of archaeological sites. Such a bank of reliable information will be invaluable in countless tasks, including areal distribution analyses, the formulation of research objectives, and the evaluation of survey techniques and results.
5. SASES will provide the governments of African nations with an easily applied device which will aid in the coordination and administration of archaeological research.

Since this is apt to lead to the standardization of certain aspects of application procedures and permit fulfillment, it should enable archaeologists and administrators to understand and fulfill their respective roles more effectively.

6. SASES will promote efficiency in the physical handling of material and data by standardizing recording procedures. For example, if museums and other repositories adopt SASES as a primary cataloging system, many incoming collections will not have to be completely recataloged. Such a procedure would eliminate the errors which frequently occur during the reprocessing of original data. SASES would also provide an ideal framework for organizing and storing large collections from many sites. It would also eliminate the need to retrain field and laboratory technicians in countless personalized notation systems.

7. SASES is ideally suited to computer applications. It not only promotes compatibility in recording systems, but is also well designed for quantitative areal studies of all sorts. It would also be invaluable as the basis for a computerized data bank.

#### APPLICATION OF SASES TO LIBERIA

The application of SASES to Liberia would contribute to the growth of a truly international system of data management for archaeologically important information. In return Liberia would be getting an easily operated system which would be familiar to almost all African prehistorians. Research workers coming to Liberia and prehistorians reading the literature on Liberia would fully comprehend the system and its use.

Whether the adoption of SASES in Liberia would provide other internal advantages over a system based on counties and chiefdoms<sup>9</sup> is a more difficult question to answer. It would unquestionably provide units of classification more easily adapted to computer use. In other respects it appears about equally matched with a county-based system, whose single greatest drawback is the fact that it can't be utilized as the basis for an international system.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author wishes to thank Frederick McEvoy for critically reviewing the text of this article, and J. Desmond Clark, Glynn L. Isaac and Harry V. Merrick for their help in constructing and testing SASES. Thanks is also extended to the National Science Foundation, the Ford Foundation, and the Department of Anthropology of the University of California at Berkeley for financial support during the development and initial application of SASES.

9. McEvoy, "Some Proposals."



## THE PRESS IN LIBERIA

Henry B. Cole

When a group of philanthropists of the Massachusetts Colonization Society collected the sum of nearly \$600.00 in 1825 to purchase a small hand operated press for Liberia, they laid the foundation for a free press in this part of Africa long before the Rev. Mr. Townsend started the same process in 1834 with the News in English and Yuroba in Lagos, Nigeria. Thus the task of initiating and spreading the locally printed word in West Africa was an honor and privilege for Liberia just as she was privileged to introduce ideas of nationalism, independence and the African personality to the continent of Africa through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

On February 7, 1826, Charles L. Force, American Negro printer and journalist, arrived in the colony of Liberia in the brig Vine with the small hand-operated printing press. It had been purchased for \$591.96 and donated with the promise to provide enough money to operate it for one year. Mr. Force did not waste any time in setting up his press. For nine days later, on February 16, 1826, he produced what he called a prospectus "for publishing a newspaper entitled The Liberia Herald to be printed at Monrovia (Cape Mesurado)." Actually this issue of the Liberia Herald was in every respect a first class newspaper all by itself. For the first statement in this issue of the Liberia Herald was, "A printing establishment having been generously contributed by a few friends in Boston, and sent out in the brig Vine, it is deemed very important to have it go into immediate operation." This four column issue of the first newspaper in Liberia was very newsy. Published once a fortnight, the subscription was \$1.00 annually or \$1.50 semi-annually, and if the subscriber fails to pay "No paper will be discontinued until all arrearages are paid." It is reported however that Mr. Force did not live long. He died a few months after he came to Liberia, hence only a few issues of the Liberia Herald appeared under his editorship, and such issues are now difficult to find.

It was not until several years later that the paper was revived. On March 6, 1830, John B. Russwurm of Maine, one of the founding editors of Freedom's Journal, first Negro weekly newspaper in America, arrived in Liberia and revived the Liberia Herald, and began a new series. The subscription was increased to \$2.00 annually. Russwurm, who is buried in Harper, Cape Palmas, published the Herald until 1836, when he was appointed governor of Maryland in Liberia, now known as Maryland County. He therefore had to leave Monrovia to take up his new post.

Hilary Teage, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, succeeded Russwurm and published the paper until 1847, when his editorship ceased through ill health. Then Hilary R. W. Johnson took over the editorship. He ran the paper successfully for eight years; he left when he was made private secretary to President Stephen Allen Benson in January, 1856.

Teage was succeeded by Edward W. Blyden, the great Liberian scholar, professor of Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Arabic literature, whose widely known book Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race is now considered a classic. Blyden published the Herald until 1862

when he was appointed a professor at Liberia College. During his editorship the Herald became more of a literary gazette than a newspaper, for instead of news on the front page Dr. Blyden substituted literary essays such as "An Essay on Shakespeare's Tempest." Some felt the paper died during Blyden's tenure because it ceased to be a newspaper in the real sense in that it failed to carry news of events in Liberia. But in any case, its demise became official when Blyden took up his academic appointment. The largest collection of this newspaper is in the Maryland Historical Society library in Baltimore. The Massachusetts Colonization Society withdrew its financial support of the Herald when Liberia became independent in 1847, but the Liberia government continued the subsidy throughout the remainder of the paper's life.

In the meantime three more newspapers had started in Liberia. In 1839 the Liberian Star, the Amulet and Africa's Luminary, were founded. All three were relatively short lived, but the Luminary existed for seven years as a semi-monthly publication. It lived so long because it was subsidized by the Methodist Episcopal Church, which supervised its publication through a committee of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church of New York, and it was printed by the Methodist Mission Press in Monrovia under the editorship of the Rev. John Seys. He used the missionary paper to foster his political ambitions and proceeded to organize the "Seys Party" to oppose Governor Thomas Buchanan at the polls. When he failed, he resorted to violent attacks on the legislature and the governor. He went so far as to defy the authority of the American Colonization Society to impose two customs duty of one-half per cent on goods sent out by the Methodist Missionary Society.

Governor Buchanan instituted a law suit against the Mission but the paper was never sued and Seys continued its publication until he was appointed U. S. Agent for Recaptured Africans in 1845. He was succeeded as editor by the Rev. Mr. Burns who stayed on for one year only and died. After this no more was heard of the paper. A few copies are now in the Yale University Library and at the Library of the New York Historical Society. One important edition of the Luminary, is an issue in which the full text of the Constitution of Liberia was first published a few days after its adoption. An enlarged copy of this issue is now exhibited at the museum of the E.J. Royce Memorial Building in Monrovia. Like the Liberia Herald, the Luminary prescribed penalties for defaulting subscribers. The annual rate was \$2.00, but if not paid within six months it rose to \$2.50 and if not paid by the end of the year it rose to \$3.00!

It has been thought that only two newspapers entered the field of journalism during the fifty years following the colony's declaration of independence. Research by this writer indicates that between 1846 and 1900 nearly twenty newspapers and magazines came into existence. Truly the Liberian printing establishment flourished shortly after independence.

Beginning with the Liberian Advocate of 1846, the following papers were published: The Liberian Sentinel, the True Whig, The Republican, The Liberia Official Gazette, which subsequently reappeared as the Liberia Gazette, the Liberia Official Bulletin, changed to the Liberia Bulletin, the Weekly Spy, the New Africa, the Cape Palmas Reporter, the Liberian Teacher, Youth's Gazette, the Baptist Monitor, and the Liberia Recorder.

The Monrovia Observer was a forceful newspaper which began publication in 1878. Its editorials were powerful, and one on the duties and responsibilities of cabinet ministers, apparently dictated by the arrogant attitude adopted by certain incumbents clearly indicates complete freedom of the press. The editor was E. S. Morris and its motto was "Christian Liberia, the open door to heathen Africa." It crusaded for tribes and the Muslims. It argued for temperance and campaigned for education. The last known issue was published in 1883, and copies are in the British Museum Newspaper Library.



The Liberian Sentinel was started by Edward James Roye, a self-made man, who arrived in Liberia on January 7, 1846. Roye had earlier been a businessman in Terre Haute, Indiana, where records show he dealt in real estate and founded the first barber shop, called in those days "bath houses." Roye, who had been educated at Ohio University in Athens, Ohio, began to study law on arrival and shortly thereafter entered politics. His flair for the mercantile developed and grew in Liberia and he became the country's wealthiest merchant. In politics he ran successfully for the House of Representatives and later the Senate. He was also one of the nation's earliest Speakers of the House of Representatives to which post he was elevated in 1849. Roye began publication of the Sentinel in August, 1854 to further his political ambitions, but suspended it when he began the practice of law.

His interest in politics never abated. He joined the True Whig Party which had been founded by Congos and the St. Paul river settlers in opposition to the Republican Party. To further his ambitions for the presidency he helped sponsor the establishment of the newspaper called The True Whig in 1868. During that year Roye was nominated by the True Whig Party as its presidential candidate for the election of 1869. The True Whig flourished for only two years. But its issue of January 7, 1869, is historical in that it announced the True Whig Party's first successful election ticket and publicized the principles and platform of the party as adopted at its convention. Copies of the paper discovered and brought to Liberia by this writer are now enlarged, framed and hung in the Museum of the E. J. Roye Memorial Building in Monrovia.

In 1892 a government publication called the Liberia Official Gazette was started. It stressed information about changes in government, official notices, revenue statistics, administrative circulars, registration of patents and trade marks but also found room for the obituaries of prominent citizens. The Gazette was published by the Bureau of Information in the Department of State. By 1897 its name had been changed to The Liberia Gazette.

By the turn of the century only few of the papers listed above had survived. But new newspapers, such as the Liberia and West Africa, The African League, and the Agricultural World had appeared to fill the places of the perished.

The Liberia Recorder was one of the great newspapers of Liberia and can be compared with the Monrovia Observer, one of its predecessors. The Liberia Recorder was begun by T. W. Howard, Sr. who was Government Printer. The paper started simply as The Recorder on October 28, 1897, and published semi-monthly. Its first editor was Charles Dunbar Burgess King.

The paper was re-organized and named The Liberia Recorder with its issue of October 26, 1899. Its size was enlarged and its type-faces changed. Mr. King was still the editor and under him the paper flourished. It was a paper of especial interest for historians, because it made a particular effort to record all events in the republic of public interest. Its report on the resignation of President William David Coleman because of his interior policy is of great historical interest.

One of the things for which the Recorder campaigned was for a second political party to oppose the party in power. This was all the more interesting because the founder of the paper, T. W. Howard, was for some time Chairman of the National True Whig Party, the party in power. And when an opposition party was indeed formed, the paper had this comment to make: "Now then, as the political campaign is opened; and it is known to all that there are two opposing parties in the field, viz., the National True Whig Party, and the (recent) Peoples Party; let none be alarmed at this the latter - whatever. As it demonstrates democracy which evolves the sole right of all."

But politics was not the sole preoccupation of the Recorder. It was also concerned with agricultural problems. It urged cooperative farming, it championed the cause of the farmers and sought better prices for their products. The farmers in turn supported the paper.

On February 28, 1901, the son of the founder, Mr. T. W. Howard, Jr., who had been serving as assistant editor, succeeded editor Charles Dunbar Burgess King after his more than three years of successful editorial direction. The paper was evidently flourishing, its April 15, 1902 issue reported that after a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Recorder, the Directors and Editors repaired to a banquet "where we enjoyed an excellent repass" - the first press dinner recorded in Liberian history.

Mr. Howard did not remain long as editor because he had been appointed Postmaster of Monrovia. On May 3, 1902 he was succeeded by Dr. N. H. B. Cassell, who had been an assistant editor since the founding of the paper.

Under the able editorship of Dr. Cassell, the Liberia Recorder continued to prosper. By this time its entire front page was covered with numerous advertisements. The paper was departmentalized into various special columns on social, educational, religious, racial, editorial, and political subjects. No longer were letters to the editor scattered throughout the pages, but were now under a regular Letters Column. Historians of today can find in its pages much Liberian history as it was made in that period.

Dr. Cassell enjoyed the longest tenure of the Recorder's several editors. He resigned to become president of Liberia College. A new editor was then appointed, Mr. Howard B. Hayes, B. A. He had been an associate editor of the Recorder for some time. But for some reason Hayes was unable to produce the paper regularly, even though his experience had included service with the Liberian Teacher, The Baptist Monitor, and the Monrovia Weekly. The paper ceased to appear by June 1906. The finest collection of this great newspaper of Liberia is in the possession of Dr. C. Abayomi Cassell, former Attorney General of Liberia, and eldest son of Dr. N. H. B. Cassell.

Another press production of that era was The African League published in Buchanan by the Rev. J. H. Green. A highlight of its history was a special magazine issue of 1905 carrying pictures of Monrovia, of the wives of Presidents Arthur Barclay and Joseph Cheeseman, as well as that of Mrs. Joseph D. Summerville, wife of Vice President Summerville. This issue also carried short biographical sketches and pictures of leading Liberian personalities of that time such as Sir Samuel G. Harmon and wife, explorer J. H. Hughes, Dr. B. W. Payne, J. A. Dingwall, M. D., and included President Gibson's last message to the nation.

The first decade after the turn of the century did not see the rise of many newspapers in Liberia. With the demise of the Recorder, the scene was dominated by only two newspapers namely, Liberia and West Africa and the African League. This last newspaper was not even to see the close of the first decade, for only after six years of existence it closed down in 1909. Nevertheless it is remembered for the strong position it took during the administration of President Arthur Barclay in a move to amend the Liberian Constitution and lengthen the presidential term of office from two to four years.

Liberia and West Africa was published by the Methodist Printing Press and edited by the Rev. A. P. Camphor, who was president of the College of West Africa, a Methodist High School in Monrovia. The paper devoted its pages more to the work of the church and the schools, and its restraint in coverage of local affairs was not appreciated by many. When Camphor returned to America, the Rev. Dr. Ebenezar Ward became the editor. Dr. Ward maintained Camphor's editorial policy until 1924 when he resigned to become president of Liberia College. He was succeeded by the Rev. Dr. J. F. B. Coleman who edited the paper until 1932 when the Rev. R. L. Embree, a missionary from America, took over. Because he was opposed to the policy of the paper, he immediately closed it down.

Between the years 1930 and 1933, a period when Liberia was undergoing an international crisis with the League of Nations, several new newspapers came into existence, many of them for political purposes. They were the Weekly Mirror, the Bensonville Whip, the Crozierville Observer, the Liberian Patriot, the Whirlwind, the Youngmen's Literary Companion, the Trumpet, African Watchman, the Liberia Crisis, the African Nationalist, and the Maryland News. Unfortunately nearly all of these papers perished for lack of capital, good management, or just plain lack of interest in the causes which they espoused.

It must be mentioned however, that one of the specialized newspapers mentioned earlier, the Agricultural World, could have continued to serve agricultural interest if it had been properly supported. Devoted exclusively to matters of interest to farmers, its editor was P.O. Gray, an employee of the Bureau of Agriculture which sponsored its publication. The World crusaded for better methods of farming and urged a high standard for export products. But when the world-wide economic depression hit Liberia in 1932, the paper closed down even though Gray had tried to continue it at his own expense.

Of the crop of newspapers that sprang up in the early '30s, the Liberian Patriot perhaps could have made a great impact but, like the Weekly Mirror, founded, published and edited by the Rev. J.F.B. Coleman, it was a one-man show. Unlike the Mirror however, the Patriot was a product of a strictly commercial press. Its editor, Mr. T. Kɛa-Williams, was a lecturer in Liberia College. By dividing his attention between the press and his teaching job, his editorial and business effectiveness declined and the Patriot had to fold when hit by the economic depression. Its assets were taken over by the African Nationalist, founded as a weekly paper by Mr. C. Frederick Taylor, a West Indian immigrant. But Taylor fell into disgrace by libelling the President of Liberia. He was tried, convicted, and sentenced to a long term in prison. After fifteen years he was pardoned by President Tubman. The African Nationalist collapsed with his imprisonment.

The last of the group of third decade newspapers, the Maryland News, survived a little longer than the others, but its publication was sporadic. It started as a weekly provincial paper edited by S. A. D. Thomson of Cape Palmas and often did not appear for several months. Mr. Thomson had at his disposal the printing facilities of the late Rev. S. D. Fergusson, son of the late Bishop Fergusson, who had been producing an excellent church periodical called the Silver Trumpet which started in 1907.

During the period between 1930 to mid-1940s, there were no new developments in the newspaper field except that the Weekly Mirror plant was sold to Mr. Charles C. Dennis who conducted commercial printing.

On May 14, 1946 however, a new newspaper was established by Mr. Jacob A. Browne, called the Liberian Age. It was published fortnightly. Two years before, the Whirlwind had also been established, but its publication was erratic. The Age however, became a weekly, and then twice weekly, appearing on Tuesdays and Fridays, and still meets this schedule. Starting as a private venture by Browne, the paper soon became a mouthpiece for the National True Whig Party which subsidizes it.

With the growth of opposition political parties in the 1943 elections and with an eye to the elections of 1951, several new newspapers cropped up under one or more political aegis. Thus the first daily paper in Liberia, the Daily Listener was born. Published by Mr. Charles C. Dennis, it was established on May 22, 1950.

Almost at the same time came The Friend, an opposition paper which was started as a bi-weekly by Mr. Samuel Richards. Political groups, incensed by some of its articles, broke into the printing works and destroyed the press. When President Tubman heard of this, he condemned the action and offered the proprietor the use of the Government Printing Press until he could reorganize his press, but Mr. Richards refused the offer and The Friend never re-appeared.

Then came The Independent Weekly as a spokesman for another group of opposition leaders headed by former President Edwin Barclay and former Attorney General Nete Sie-Brownell. This group had strong financial backing and did make a show of real organization in many parts of Liberia during the 1953-55 election campaign, which was marked by a high degree of tension. The editor of the Independent Weekly, an American immigrant, Mrs. Bertha Corbin, was not a trained journalist and apparently did not know the press and sedition laws of the country. The paper became a bitter critic of the Tubman Administration, and of the Legislature. It supported the Independent True Whig Party launched by former President Edwin Barclay. In 1955, after the general elections, Barclay, who was an unsuccessful candidate, challenged the election results. Because of his petition against the elections sent to the National Legislature, a special session was convened to consider the petition. After the investigations, the Legislature found that Barclay's petition could not be sustained because he had no valid grounds for his allegations. It found against him, and he was made to pay the cost of the special session which was \$19,000.00.

The Independent Weekly attacked the Legislature's decision and was abusive of its members. A committee was set up to investigate the matter and the Legislature held the paper and the editors in contempt. Both Mrs. Corbin and the author of the article, Mr. Tuan Wreh, were sent to prison and the paper was banned.

Since that period more newspapers established included the Liberia Herald, published by the Consolidated Press of Liberia and later, in 1964, the Liberian Star was organized. In 1965, Palm Magazine came into existence and in 1968, The Journal of Commerce and Industry began publication.

#### THE POLITICAL CLIMATE

George Fox Mott and others, in An Outline Survey of Journalism, suggested that:

The concept of the freedom of the press has evolved historically to mean an absence of definite restrictions. ... Press freedom, moreover, means that no court or administrative order may be placed against a newspaper to prevent publication of information or opinions, even though such publication would be libellous.

Legal action against the newspaper must come after publication of the offending matter. Freedom of the press means the freedom to criticize the government, its officials in their conduct of government, and all other persons and organizations whose activities affect the public welfare.

In theory the press in Liberia enjoys these conditions, since the Constitution provides that no laws should be made to restrict this freedom; and that every man is free to speak or write on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty.

No license is required in Liberia to start a newspaper or open a press, but naturally there are laws which do affect the press. The Act of February 8, 1924, makes it a criminal libel for any person to maliciously make, publish, or expose for sale to the public view any writing, printing, engraving, drawing or effigy, falsely charging the

President of Liberia or the diplomatic representatives of any foreign government with the commission of any act which, if true, would warrant a criminal prosecution against such official, if the intent for doing so is to defame, degrade, revile or expose to the public hatred, ridicule and contempt any of the aforesaid officials, or to disturb the friendship or peace between any foreign government and Liberia. The penalty against any person convicted of this offence is a fine of not less than \$300 nor more than \$1,000, together with imprisonment for from six months to two years, depending on the gravity of the case.

In 1925 a False Publication Act was passed. It placed restraint on any person making "harmful and false" statements, even though carelessly. Anyone guilty of this is liable to a fine of \$50 to \$100.

According to the Civil Code, it is not an injury to make true statements of fact, or express an opinion, whether such opinion be correct or not, as to the qualifications of any person for public office. Nevertheless, the statutes of 1924 and 1925 are open to so broad an interpretation that editors have been wary of expressing opinions on the fitness of candidates for public office.

It is quite evident to every reader of Liberian publications that, while the liberty to criticize individual government officials and departments is often taken, all papers support the government of the day. Both the Daily Listener and the Liberian Age are subsidized by the government. The extent to which this subsidy affects the freedom of the press can be seen from the fact that editorial opinions on government activities and policies are almost negligible. This does not mean that the press in Liberia is openly censored. But public officials are very resentful of criticism and can be quite vindictive. It is probably this unhappy situation which caused Ernest Yancy to write in his Historical Lights of Liberia's Yesterday and Today:

It is indeed discouraging to note that the exercising of one's right or liberty to write, speak or print his opinions about the proceedings of the Legislature or any other branches of Government has been disfavoured and, in some instances, frowned upon by the Government as well as by individuals. This of course should not be wondered at.

However, there have always been a few courageous citizens who have made use of this right in spite of intimidation and disfavour. These individuals have been considered foes of government and of the administration, whenever they criticize its policies.

As a result of this situation, C. Frederick Taylor, publisher and editor of the African Nationalist, was convicted by the Legislature in 1939 for seditious libel and contempt, and was imprisoned. After he was released on parole he published libellous matter against James F. Cooper, a candidate for the presidency in the 1943 general elections. Cooper entered a suit against him and he had to publish a retraction. Taylor still later published libellous articles on President Tubman, as a result of which he has been imprisoned for several years. He was pardoned and released by President Tubman in 1969.

As noted above, in 1955, the Legislature held in contempt Mr. Tuan Wreh for an article in The Independent criticizing that body. He was arrested and tried by the Judiciary Committee of the Legislature and sentenced to six months imprisonment. Another writer, Mrs. Bertha Corbin, editor of the Independent, was arrested by the Legislature for contempt, fined \$1,000.00 and imprisoned for six months. The Legislature also banned the Independent and stopped these writers from writing for or publishing a newspaper. This ban on Wreh has, however, been removed and he is now assistant editor of the Liberian Age.

### ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL FACTORS

The press in Liberia is woefully lacking in proper financing, hence its economic condition and technical facilities leave much to be desired. Because the local press is poorly financed it cannot undertake the services it should provide such as improved transportation of newspapers, bicycles for news vendors, or qualified circulation and advertising managers, nor can it obtain the type of modern equipment which can make mass circulation possible.

There has been some improvement in production facilities during the past few years. Utilization of photo-offset equipment for magazine production may be cited, but until such time as the provincial newspapers can be economically developed and readership fostered on a planned basis, the economic and technical improvement hoped for will be long delayed.

There are no consistent or permanent training facilities in Liberia for journalists. The University of Liberia in 1957 employed the author to offer lectures in journalism. This was done for more than a year, but it became apparent that no journalist is properly trained if he has no knowledge of the history of the press in his own country or the laws governing his profession. Since there were no research or publication on the history of the press, nor a systematic textbook on the press laws of the country, it was decided to temporarily suspend the journalism class until research could be undertaken and appropriate textbooks published.

The University of Liberia at that time had no funds for research. However in 1959 the Congress for Cultural Freedom, in association with the Universities of Ibadan, Dakar, and Ghana, sponsored a program for a report on the press in West Africa. This writer conducted the research on the Liberian press and in association with three other journalists produced a book entitled The Press in West Africa, which was published by the three universities, in preparation for the International Seminar on the Press and Progress in West Africa conducted at the University of Dakar, May 31 to June 4, 1960. The section on the press in Liberia has been reproduced and used extensively in Liberia. After ten years, the material became outdated. The writer decided to do research on the history of the Liberian press and write a full scale history that can be used as a textbook. This research has been going on for five years.

In 1970, the United States-Liberia Education and Cultural Foundation awarded the author a grant for three months research in the United States on the Liberian press. Some very important finds were made and the roster of Liberian newspapers grew from twenty to nearly seventy! The research is continuing and it is hoped that, with further grants, it will be completed by 1972. UNESCO is being approached for help in this matter.

The suspension of the class in journalism in the University of Liberia did not prevent periodical seminars for those interested in writing or in journalism. The Department of Information has sponsored several such seminars, in association with other interested bodies, such as the United States Information Service, and the International Federation of Journalists.

At a recent meeting of the Liberian Research Association it was suggested that the University of Liberia be asked to re-open the class in Journalism. A Fulbright Professor is presently engaged by the university to teach writing skills, and job clinics have been organized at the university. The Society of Liberian Authors has asked the Liberian Government to extend the terms of service of this professor for another tour of duty to permit him to concentrate on teaching writing skills and journalism to interested parties.

The interest of the profession of journalism among high school students has increased in recent years. Consequently an Inter-High School Journalistic Association has been formed and several schools are now producing their own school newspapers. The president of this association is Horatio Flomoku of St. Patrick's High School.

In other directions, training of journalists has been gradually intensifying. Several Liberians have had six-month courses in Lagos, and others attended the London Polytechnic and obtained their diploma in journalism. In the past four years more than a dozen Liberians have studied in Indiana University, Ohio University, Columbia University, and Cornell University, and have taken masters degrees in journalism, communications and writing skills. Most of them who have returned home have been employed in the service of the government.

The quality of practicing journalists in Liberia has improved in the last ten years. Most editors are either college trained or hold degrees from Universities. At one time the Liberian Star had two persons with doctorate degrees working for them in the editorial department (Drs. Scott and Amachree).

Some papers have college graduates as reporters and all reporters are high school graduates and many have some college training. The trend to upgrade editorial and reportorial staff is continuing.

The chief executives of the government's Information Service hold masters degree in communications, journalism or related subjects and the general manager of the Liberian Broadcasting Service, Mr. G. Henry Andrews, holds in addition to his other degrees, a law degree (*magna cum laude*).

Working conditions and salaries for journalists and journalistic executives has improved considerably. One editor commands \$7,200 a year - more than a cabinet minister! Another highly placed journalist earns \$9,600 a year. Sub-editors and assistant editors earn as much as \$4,000 a year while good reporters can expect \$2,000.00 or slightly more annually. The journalists now have an organization which is inappropriately called the Press Union of Liberia instead of an Association of Journalists. It is not a trade union in the strictest sense, but seeks to protect the interests of journalists. The Union has made many gains in recent years in its objectives and has plans for further improvement. Because of the Union's activities and the acumen resulting from better training, Liberian journalists no longer go to prison as before. The traditions of the Liberian press and the present status of the profession may be favorably compared with conditions in other African states.





# CLAN AND CHIEFDOM MAPS FOR THE MÃ (MANO) AND DÃ (GIO)<sup>1</sup>

James C. Riddell  
Kjell Zetterstrom  
Peter G. Dorliae  
Michael J. Hohl

These maps attempt a clearer establishment of the major boundaries for the Mano and Gio<sup>2</sup> peoples of North Central Liberia. The ethnic boundaries are far from sharp due to interpenetration and intermixture. In the Mano towns of Gbannah, for example, some of the minimal sibs have food taboos common to the Gio area even though they have become assimilated both culturally and linguistically.

As the maps illustrate, the traditional ethnic regions and the modern administrative units do not coincide. In the border areas the towns are bilingual. Some towns historically considered Mano have been declared Gio for administrative purposes and vice versa.

## MANO AND GIO CLANS AND CHIEFDOMS

The Mano and Gio do not represent tribes in any hierarchical organizational sense. Rather, they are primarily linguistic units and refer to themselves as such. The town was the largest normally constituted political unit. There are some exceptions where one or two smaller towns were conquered by a larger town and consequently under the influence and direction as vassal towns. Neither tribes nor towns were traditionally integrated at the chiefdom or state level politically. For example, people in Sanniquellie could not even venture as far as Sakimpa, 3 miles away, without the fear of being captured and killed.

The "clans" and "chiefdoms" of the Mano and Gio are political units which were imposed by the national government after pacification for administrative purposes. These administrative "clans" were created out of named territorial units comprised of a group of villages that historically derived from the first town founded in the area. Since each constituent town jealously guards its territory, these "clans" have regional integrity. In the wars with the Mandingoes there were instances, related by elders, of "clans" organizing for defense. This appears, however, to have been sporadic and the unity dissolved as soon as the crisis was over.

1. We wish to acknowledge here our gratitude to all our Mano and Gio informants who have made our research so enjoyable. A special note of thanks is extended to Tom B. Sonkarley, Joseph Yeaneah, William Wallace, M.D. and Mary P. Cooper for assistance in collecting the data and to Professors L. Johnson and E. Coleman for their aid in making the maps.

2. The Mano and Gio are linguistically very similar and are members of the eastern branch of southern Mande. Both groups extend beyond Liberian borders, the Mano into Guinea and the Gio into the Ivory Coast. The Mano have a fairly consistent self referent, *Ma-mia* (Ma people). The Gio, on the other hand, refer to themselves as *Gɛ* in south and as *Dã* or *Sã* in the north.

JAMES C. RIDDELL  
KJELL ZETTERSTROM  
PETER G. DORLIAE  
MICHAEL J. HOHL

The Mano and Gio "clans" are grouped into seven paramount chiefdoms under paramount chiefs. These paramount chiefdoms do not represent indigenous units nor do the grouped clans have any necessary historical relationship with each other.<sup>3</sup>

Both paramount chiefdoms and "clans" are cross-cut by patrilineal sibs having common food taboos which establish putative kinship bonds between members. At the maximal level the sibs are agamous and unorganized, but at the minimal level they are exogamous and highly organized.

#### TERRITORIAL DIVISION BY PORO MEMBERSHIP

The impression is given in the writings of Harley that the Mano and Gio are "Poro tribes".<sup>4</sup> All the Mano and Gio groups have secret societies but only a portion of the Mano have Poro. In fact, the possession of Poro serves as one of the principal sources of division among these people. Those who do not possess Poro are just as proud of the fact as are those who do.

On many of the older maps a group called the Geh is listed. This is the result of the Mano reference to the Gɛ mia -- people who speak Mano but do not have Poro. By extension it refers also to those Gio bordering on non-Poro Mano.

\*\*\*\*\*

These maps represent only a preliminary attempt to establish Mano and Gio boundaries. The authors look forward to the comments and corrections their efforts might generate.

On the accompanying maps, place and administrative unit names are given in their most common "official" governmental spelling. This has been done to aid the reader in comparing these maps with those already in his possession. The chiefdoms, clans and principal towns have been listed below with major variations in official spellings and a phonetic rendering of the indigenous names.

3. A Mandingo Chiefdom was created for the administrative purposes of collecting taxes, settling disputes related to Islamic traditions, etc.

4. George W. Harley, "Notes on the Poro in Liberia," Papers of the Peabody Museum (Cambridge, Mass.), XIX, 2 (1941).

## PRINCIPAL MANO AND GIO TOWNS SHOWN ON MAP 1

<u>Official Names</u>	<u>Indigenous Names</u>
Sanniquellie, Saniquelli, Sanokole, Sanokqellie, Saniquetti	Seingbeir
Saclepea, Sageipie, Sakripie	Saklepia
Ganta, Gompa, Ganpa, Gahnpa	Gaapa
Flumpa	Flumpa
Kpain, Kpein	Kpei
Mehnla, Mehla	Mẽẽla
Zeekepha, Ziketa, Zikepa, Zikeple	Zikepa
Karnplay, Karnple, Kample	Kaaple
Diaplay, Diaple	Diaple
Bahn	Baan
Toweh Town, Towei, Towai	
Toway, Towehplay	Towei
Kpiarplay, Kpiaplay, Kpiaple, Kpeaple	Kpeaple
Tappita, Tapita, Tapi Town, Tapeta, Tapipa	Tapiple
Grai, Grei, Gray, Grayee, Gloie	Grei
Yarmein	Yamein
Zor Gowie, Gowie	Gowii
Garplay, Garple, Gaple	Gaple
Ganaglay, Ganagle	Ganagle
Tieyee, Tiayee, Tieyi	Tayε
Zuluyi, Zuluyee	Zuluyii
Zahnboi, Zahnbaie, Zahn, Boi	Zaanboi
Duayee, Duyee	Duyε
Gblolay	Gblola
Butulu, Butuo	Butuo
Dialah, Diala	Deiala
Gran town, Granta, Granple	Gran
Kwendein, Kuindin, Kuidein	Kuide
Ganwee, Gunwee	Gawee
Karnwee, Gunwee	Kawee

## MANO CHIEFDOMS AND CLANS

<u>Official Spelling</u>	<u>Phonetic Spelling</u>
Sanniquellie-Mah Chiefdom	
1. Yarmein Clan	yaamein
2. Sehyi Clan	sei
3. Garr Clan	gaa
4. Gbein Clan	gbein
5. Bain	bein

## Saclepea-Mah

1.	Gbannah Clan	gbana
2.	Lao Clan	lao
3.	Lissonoh Clan	lissono
4.	Wei Clan	wei
5.	Zahn Clan	zaan
6.	Gbei Clan	gbei

## Yarwein-Mehnsonoh

1.	Mehnsonoh	mesono
2.	Yarwein	yaawein
3.	Zenla	zenla

## GIO CHIEFDOMS AND CLANS

## Gbehlay-Geh Chieftdom

1.	Zor Clan	zoo
2.	Solay Clan	solei
3.	Gbehlay Clan	gbelei
4.	Kpiarplay Clan	kpeaple
5.	Slalay Clan	slalei

## Zoe-Geh Chieftdom

1.	Zoe Clan	zoo
2.	Gbao Clan	gbao
3.	Gbor Clan	gboo
4.	Yarlay Clan	yalei
5.	Butulu Clan	butula

## Boe-Quella Chieftdom

1.	Boe Clan	boo
2.	Quella Clan	kelei

## Amalgamated-Gio Chieftdom

1.	Doe Clan	doo
2.	Gbear Clan	gbeo
3.	Gblor Clan	gblao

## Kpiarplay Chieftdom (Kran)

1.	Kpiarplay	kpeaple
----	-----------	---------

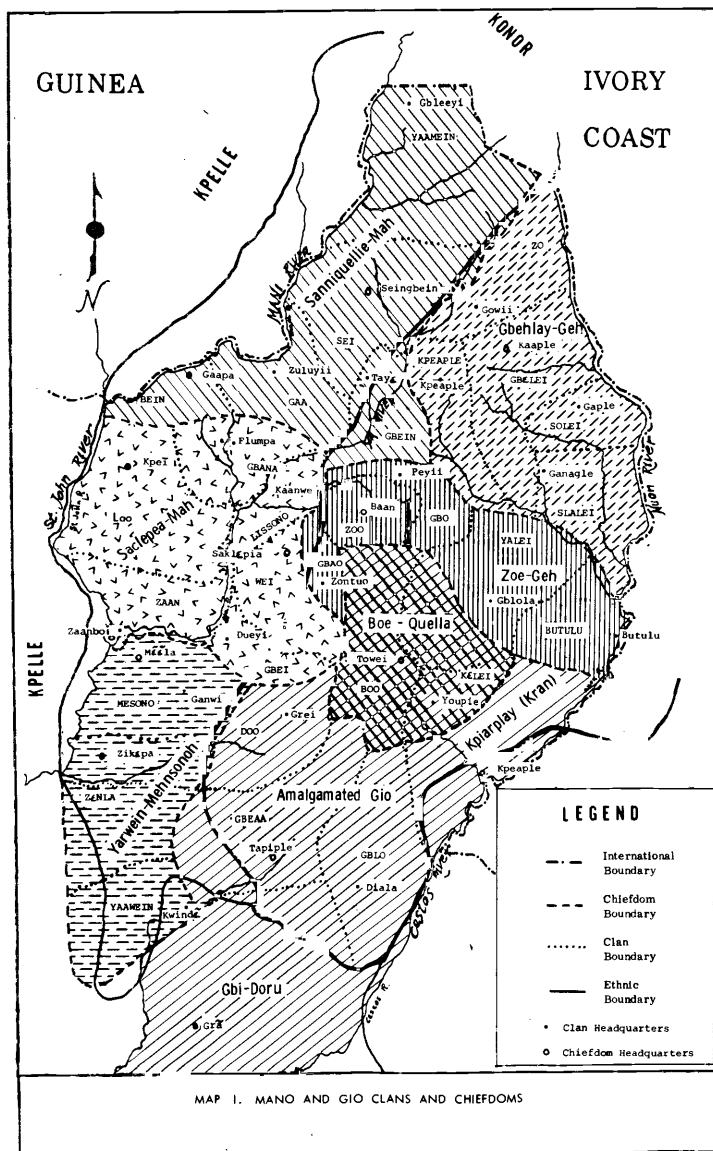
## Gbi-Doru Chiefdom

- |    |      |      |
|----|------|------|
| 1. | Gbi  | gbi  |
| 2. | Doru | doru |

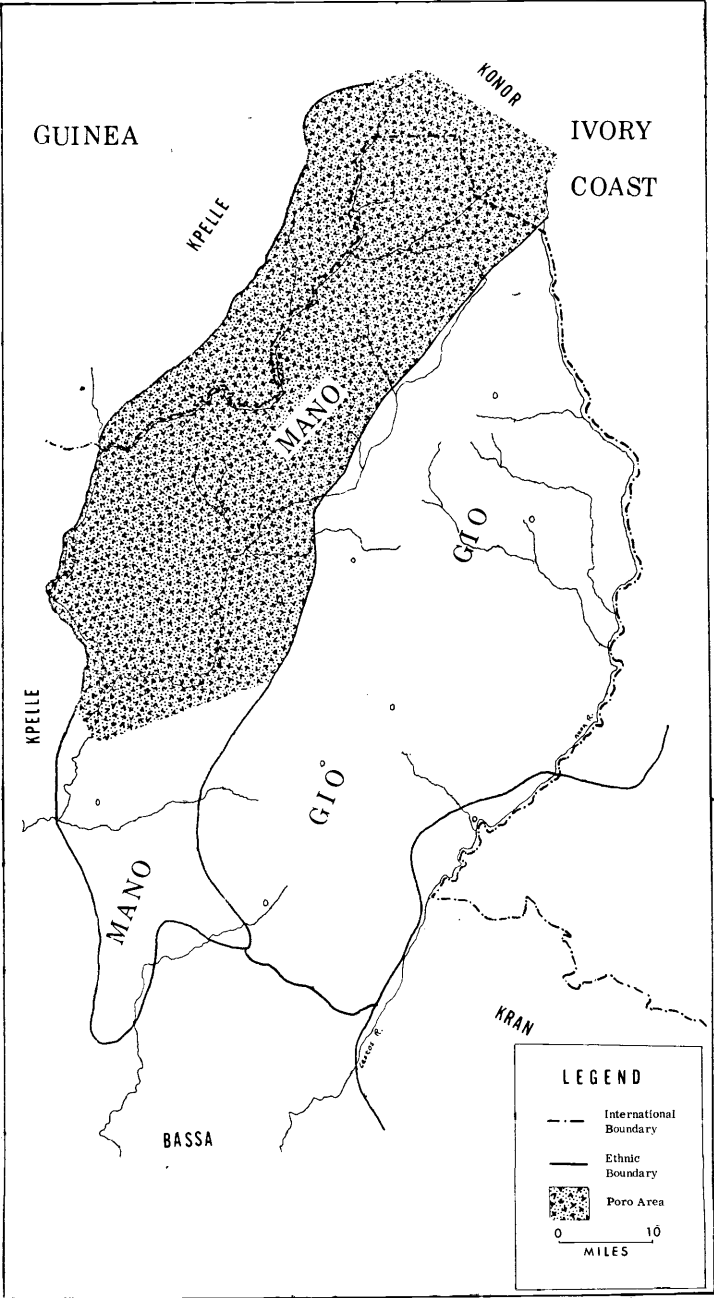
## Mandingo Chiefdom

malinke

- |    |              |    |          |
|----|--------------|----|----------|
| 1. | Sanniquellie | 3. | Saclepea |
| 2. | Ganta        | 4. | Bahn     |



JAMES C. RIDDELL  
KJELL ZETTERSTROM  
PETER G. DORLIAE  
MICHAEL J. HOHL



MAP 2. AREA OF MANO PORO

## THEODORE CANOT AT CAPE MOUNT, 1841-1847

Svend E. Holsoe

By January 1841, a new historical period for the Vai people of the Cape Mount area had begun. During the preceeding years they had successfully carried out a revolution and had been able to throw off domination by the Gola people, members of an inland ethnic group who had subjugated the Vai during the latter part of the eighteenth century. Political control after the revolution did not fall, however, on the legitimate Vai ruler of the Gawula Vai area, Dwalu Fagbana,<sup>1</sup> but rather to a war-leader named Fan Tolo.<sup>2</sup> Although this man did not hold spiritual legitimacy, his physical power allowed him to reign supreme over the Gawula and Tombe areas. Such was the political situation when Theodore Canot arrived to settle in Cape Mount in January 1841.<sup>3</sup>

Canot, a native of Tuscanny,<sup>4</sup> was a well-known slave trader on this part of the West African coast. He had traded in the Pongas river area (now part of the Republic of Guinea), and in the Gallinas (today's Kife river area of Sierra Leone) and finally, had built barracoons at New Cestos (in the Little Bassa area of modern Liberia) where he acted as an agent for Pedro Blanco. Blanco formerly held large and profitable slaving establishments in the Gallinas region, but in 1838, retired from active trading to establish his own company in Havanna, Cuba.<sup>5</sup> He, however, left agents on the coast, such as Canot. But, by the beginning of the 1840's, it was becoming increasingly difficult to ship slaves from the coast as the British and United States Slave Squadrons continued to increase their vigilance. Thus, Canot began to contemplate giving up the trade.

In the early part of 1839, while returning from the Gallinas to New Cestos, Canot brought with him a boy who was the son of "the chief of Cape Mount," probably either Fan Tolo or Dwalu Fagbana. As a consequence of this visit, Canot became enchanted with the area and when the chief, out of gratefulness for the return of his son, offered him a location to establish a lawful trading factory, Canot vowed that at some future time he would return. At that time he still had obligations to Pedro

\*I wish to acknowledge here my debt and gratefulness to Christopher Fyfe of the University of Edinburgh for his generous assistance in locating references on Canot in the Public Record Office, London. This paper was originally given at the Fourth Annual Conference on Liberian Studies held at Western Michigan University, May 11-13, 1972.

1. Probably the King Grey of Mando found in the literature.

2. Phonetically his name should be spelled Fan Tolo. In the literature he is called Fanatoro. The Gola people refer to him as Gotolo.

3. For a more general survey of the Vai see, Svend E. Holsoe, "The Cassava-Leaf People, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Anthropology, Boston University, 1967, *passim*.

4. Certificate, Canot to Segram, Nov. 21, 1840, in Admiralty (hereafter, Adm.) July 15, 1841, Public Record Office, London (hereafter PRO), Colonial Office (hereafter CO), 267/167.

5. H. W. Macaulay before Parliamentary Committee, June 15, 1842, questions 5476, 5477, 5496, Parliamentary Papers (hereafter PP), (1842), XI, 322-323.

Blanco which had to be extinguished before he could make such a move. Therefore, he returned to his factories at New Cestos.<sup>6</sup>

During the summer of 1839, Canot decided to go to England. He took passage on the schooner, Gil Blas and had a comfortable trip until he reached the English Channel. There the Gil Blas was rammed by another ship while sailing through bad weather. Although everyone was rescued, all personal belongings were lost. Thus, Canot landed on English soil barefooted. Shortly afterwards, he met George Clevering Redman, the owner of the Gil Blas. Through this contact an agreement was concluded between them that they would purchase the Cape Mount territory together, and that Canot would become Redman's representative on the coast.<sup>7</sup>

Canot then proceeded to Cuba where he tried to break his obligations with Blanco. He was not able to free himself immediately, but retained hope of doing so in the near future. He sailed for the African coast on the ship Crawford of New York which he reached in about April 1840.<sup>8</sup>

Upon his return, Canot shipped off at least one cargo of slaves from New Cestos in August on board one of Blanco's vessels, the Scorpion or Valador, Captain Jose Urresti. However, by November 1840, Canot was finally prepared to make his break with the slave trade and Blanco. The British squadron vessels had been lurking off his factory at New Cestos for several months, thus making it impossible to ship any more slaves from his barracoons. In addition, the recent destruction of the slavers barracoons at the Gallinas by the British Slave Squadron Lieutenant, Joseph Denman, must have had its effect on him. Finally, he was having increasing difficulties with the local Bassa people on whose land he had established his factory.<sup>9</sup>

On December 5th, 1840, Canot made an agreement with Lieutenant H. F. Seagram of the British Squadron to give up the slave trade and to turn over to him 104 slaves in his possession. These slaves were to be taken to Freetown, Sierra Leone and there freed.<sup>10</sup> In return Seagram offered to help Canot move to Cape Mount.<sup>11</sup>

Canot moved his possessions to Monrovia.<sup>12</sup> At the same time he was permitted to enter Sierra Leone and was granted a provisional residency permit by the Governor until he heard definitely from the home government. The response from the Colonial Office was that the Governor should decide.<sup>13</sup> For the time being, Canot was allowed to visit freely.

6. Mayer Brantz, Captain Canot; or, Twenty Years of an African Slaver (New York, 1854), 391, 396-7.

7. Mayer, Captain Canot, 392-393; G. C. Redman before Parliamentary Committee, questions 2755, 2756, PP, XI (1842), 145-149.

8. Buchanan to Wilkeson, April 6, 1840, American Colonization Society Papers, Library of Congress (hereafter ACS), Despatches of T. Buchanan, 1839-1840, nos. II4592-II4624.

9. Denman to S. L. Commissioners, Jan. 1, 1841, enc. in Jeremie to Russell, March 4, 1841, CO 267/163; Canot to Seagram, Nov. 12, 1840, in Adm. July 15, 1841, CO 267/167.

10. Buchanan to \_\_\_\_, Dec. 13, 1840, American Colonization Society, Annual Report, XXIV (1841), Appendix 38, 43-45; Jeremie to Russell, Jan. 4, 1841, no. 2 with enclosures & office notes, CO 267/163.

11. J. Denman before Parliamentary Committee, June 24, 1842, Questions 6903, 6939, 6943, PP, XI (1842), 430, 433.

12. W. Fuller to R. O'Ferrall, Mar. 19, 1841, No. 25 in Adm. July 15, 1841, CO 267/167.

13. Ibid.



In the meantime, Canot visited Fan Tolo at his town, Toso, and was able to obtain an agreement on February 23rd, 1841 for the cession of the area between the Lofa river and Sowi (Sugury) from him and Dwalu Fagbana.<sup>14</sup> Under the terms of the treaty Canot and Redman received exclusive rights to trade in the area, but the territory and treaty would remain subject to the authority of the British crown.<sup>15</sup>

Two days previously, on February 21st, Lieutenant Seagram had been successful in concluding a treaty with Fan Tolo prohibiting any further slave trading in the area in return for an annual present from the British crown.<sup>16</sup> In addition, in order to reassure Fan Tolo that conditions had not changed drastically, on March 13th, Captain William Tucker signed an additional agreement with Fan Tolo stating that the British would continue to pay their usual "custom" when trading, i.e. 1 demijohn of rum, 10 bars of tobacco and 1 piece of cloth to him or his successors.<sup>17</sup>

Denman and Seagram's willingness to assist Canot in settling at Cape Mount was a natural consequence of the thought of the time. They had faith that Canot had ended his slave trading and would now turn to legitimate trade. This was the general hope of the abolitionists of the period, and therefore it was natural that Denman and Seagram should give Canot aid in his new venture.<sup>18</sup> Generally, there was support for Canot by most of the British, and there was the belief that he genuinely had given up the slave trade. However, in order to dampen any lingering suspicion Canot signed an agreement whereby if the Squadron found him engaged in slave trade, he agreed to allow them to destroy his buildings.<sup>19</sup>

An additional reason for the Squadron's willingness to support Canot was due to the latter's ability to give them information concerning sailing conditions along the coast and the location and status of slavers. For instance, on April 30th, 1841, Canot, writing from Monrovia at the time, gave instructions to Denman on how to ascend the Mana river to reach Tom Cole's town, opposite an island where a slaver, Ygnasio P. Rolo, had his barracoons. He also reported that a schooner had sailed from the coast carrying several slavers, including Thomas R. Buron, Pablo Alvarez (Simidel), Crespo and McBuron. They had left a Frenchman behind, however, to take charge of their warehouse at Sowi.<sup>20</sup> Later in the year, in October, Canot, who at the time was visiting Freetown, reported that slaving activities were going on within the Liberian colony at Bassa Cove.<sup>21</sup> The truth of this statement does seem to be somewhat questionable.

Nevertheless, there still remained latent suspicions among some who dealt with

14. In this reference Dwalu Fagbana (alias King Grey) is said to be Fan Tolo's son; possibly it was meant figuratively. Enc. in W. Tucker to R. O'Ferrall, Mar. 19, 1841, No. 25 in *ibid*.

15. See treaty in appendix; Mayer, *Captain Canot*, 414-415.

16. See treaty in appendix; "Convention with King Fanatoro and Prince Grey of Cape Mount," *State Papers* (hereafter SP), XL (1850-51), 895; F. E. Forbes, *Six Months' Service in the African Blockade* (London, 1849), 32; the treaty does not make any mention of an annual present.

17. Fuller to O'Ferrall, Mar. 19, 1841, enc. in Carr to Russell, May 27, 1841, CO 267/167.

18. Denman to Parliamentary Committee, July 19, 1842, PP, XII (1842), 512.

19. *Ibid*.

20. Canot to Denman, Apr. 30, 1841, enc. in Carr to Russell, May 27, 1841, CO 267/167.

21. Declaration of T. Canot, Oct. 13, 1841, enc. No. 15, Ferguson to \_\_\_, No. 18, Nov. 20, 1841, CO 267/166.

Canot, and this tended to cause all official decisions relative to him to be cautious. For instance, Canot tried to obtain British citizenship and requested Denman to plead on his behalf.<sup>22</sup> The reluctance on the part of the British officials to commit themselves was too great to approve the application.<sup>23</sup> Even the settlers at Freetown were not always cordial to him. When he tried to purchase some produce from Hannah Hazely, she refused to have anything to do with him.<sup>24</sup>

Latent fear towards Canot's motives also came from another direction. His relations with the Liberian colonists were always cordial, and he even married one of them, Rosaline Smith, who had emigrated from the United States in August of 1835 to Liberia. In 1841, Canot had a daughter by her, named Pamela.<sup>25</sup> Nevertheless, the colonists were worried that the Cape Mount area would fall permanently into British hands.<sup>26</sup> Governor Buchanan had even tried to have the Liberian flag hoisted along side the British flag shortly after Canot's & Redman's treaty was signed, but Fan Tolo refused to let them. Therefore, they were anxious to have this treaty set aside.<sup>27</sup> Although they were not immediately successful, their interest in acquiring the area remained throughout the decade with period flashes of greater hope.

During the next couple of years, Canot tried to establish a business that would pay for itself. In an attempt to form a permanent settlement, he was encouraged by Lieutenant Seagram and Captain Tucker, officers of the British Slave Squadron, to petition Lord Stanley, at the Colonial Office, to grant him one hundred recaptured Africans to use as apprentices at his settlement at Cape Mount. Canot sent one request in October 1841 through the Governor of Sierra Leone.<sup>28</sup> Again in July 1842, he submitted another application via Captain Oake, a member of the Squadron, relative to obtaining the recaptives.<sup>29</sup> Even though a negative decision had been made in London as early as April 1842, the Governor of Sierra Leone, G. McDonald, did not inform Canot of the decision until October 1843. It was also at this time that Canot was informed that any thoughts which he might have entertained of British protection were also rejected, as the treaty of February 23rd, 1841, granting rights to the British crown were not accepted.<sup>30</sup>

In the meantime, Canot became involved with the French Slave Squadron. In March 1843, a French armed force from the *Nisus* landed at Cape Mount and demanded \$1000 from Fan Tolo for supposed debts which he had with French merchants. Fan Tolo and his fellow chiefs stated that they were unable to pay the sum immediately. On March 11th, the French burned the town of Toso and threatened

22. Canot to Denman, April 30, 1841.

23. Carr to Russell, May 27, 1841, CO 267/164.

24. Roberts to Gurley, Aug. 31, 1842, ACS, Despatches of J. J. Roberts, 1840-1848.

25. American Colonization Society, Tables Showing Number of Emigrants ... Sent to Liberia (Washington, 1845), 321.

26. Buchanan to Wilkeson, Feb. 24, 1841, ACS, Despatches of Buchanan, 1839-1841, nos. 114457-59; Buchanan to Wilkeson, Mar. 24, 1841, *ibid.*, nos. 114377-97; Roberts to Gurley, Aug. 31, 1842, African Repository (hereafter AR), XIX (1843), 21.

27. H. W. Hill before Parliamentary Committee, June 29, 1842, question 7197, PP, XI (1842), 452.

28. Stanley to McDonald, April 18, 1842, CO 267/166.

29. "Index to African Squadron Correspondence," Adm. 124, Ind. 23891/ST Da/12.

30. *Ibid.*; "Index," Adm. 124, Ind. 23871/ST Da/14; Stanley to McDonald, April 18, 1842, CO 267/166.

to do the same with the town of Fanima if the chiefs' promise to pay was not honored. Canot was delegated by the French to receive any money owed them by Fan Tolo and to hand over the funds to any passing French vessel.<sup>31</sup> Apparently the chiefs paid as nothing more was heard concerning the matter.

It was during this period that Canot continued to wait for a response to his requests. It would seem though that he already had begun to anticipate the negative reply from the British. Governor Roberts of Liberia had some indication of Canot's growing disaffection with the British as early as August 1842.<sup>32</sup> Roberts seems to have tried to out-manuever the British, as he apparently offered to grant Canot "the privileges and protection of a Citizen" of Liberia. Canot demurred, but asked that his family who were citizens of Liberia continue to be protected no matter what the outcome of the Cape Mount affair. He, however, established a deadline, that if he did not hear from the British by January 1843, he was then willing to consider transferring the territory to Liberia and accept Roberts' offer. By April 1843 Canot seems to have given up on the British and thus addressed a letter to the American Colonization Society offering to turn over all his holdings granted by the treaty of January 23rd, 1841 to the Society. He felt that he no longer had to acknowledge Redman's part of the treaty as the latter had refused to pay his half of the expenses involved in obtaining the treaty. Governor Roberts added his encouragement to positive action by the Society's board.<sup>33</sup> It appears that no real decision was taken, for the territory remained Canot's.

Canot had come to the conclusion by 1844 that there was little hope of financially maintaining himself on the trade coming from the interior. It just did not exist in the necessary quantity, especially since there were internal political troubles in the Vai country.<sup>34</sup> In addition, the Vai people were generally unwilling to recognize the validity of the 1841 treaty of cession.<sup>35</sup> Therefore, he decided to set up a shipyard, a blacksmith's shop and a sawpit run by Austin Curtis, an immigrant Cherokee Indian.<sup>36</sup> By the Spring of 1844, Canot could claim to have built twenty-five buildings and to be supporting a population of one hundred.<sup>37</sup>

In 1844, Fan Tolo, via Canot, addressed a letter to W. Daniell of the British Squadron stating that from July 18th onwards, he no longer felt bound to the treaty of January 21, 1841, signed with the British prohibiting the slave trade in his territory. His grounds for this action were that the British had failed to send him an annual present as agreed upon by Captain Tucker.<sup>38</sup> The British reaction was immediate and to the point. They would not accept Fan Tolo's rejection of the treaty, stating that it was not his to reject, and that if he persisted in permitting slave trading in his territory, he might be subjected to an "act of superior power."<sup>39</sup> There the

31. Adm. to CO, Aug. 7, 1843, enc. Foote & F.O., Dec. 12, 1843, enc. Canot, CO 267/182.

32. Roberts to Gurley, Aug. 31, 1842, ACS, Despatches of J. J. Roberts, 1840-48.

33. Canot to Roberts, Nov. 22, 1842, ACS, Miscellaneous Letters from Liberia, 1840-1848, no. 115081; Roberts to Gurley, Oct. 21, 1843, ACS, Despatches of J. J. Roberts, 1840-48.

34. Mayer, Captain Canot, 444; Forbes, Six Months, 70.

35. Ibid.; Roberts to Gurley, Aug. 31, 1842, ACS, Despatches of J. J. Roberts, 1840-48.

36. Forbes, Six Months, 70; see also footnote 75. For Curtis' possible connection with the origins of the Vai script, see, S. E. Holsoe, "A Case of Stimulus Diffusion? (A note on possible connection between the Vai and Cherokee Scripts)," Language Sciences, 15 (April 1971), 22-24.

37. Mayer, Captain Canot, 427-428.

38. Canot to Daniell, July 18, 1844, in Forbes, Six Months, 34.

39. Jones to Fanatoro, n.d., in Forbes, Six Months, 35-37.

matter remained. The members of the Squadron suspected that the letter was written at the instigation of Canot and so maintained constant contact with him. They often visited and dined with him, and the surgeon of the sloop Favorite even attended him, his wife and daughter when they were ill.<sup>40</sup>

Early in 1845, civil war broke out in the Cape Mount area. The war was probably due to differences between George Cain<sup>41</sup> and Fan Tolo.<sup>42</sup> During the period in 1841 when Fan Tolo and Dwalu Fagbana signed the treaty of cession to Canot, Cain, a war-leader of some importance, was away in the interior engaged in a war. Upon his return in 1844, Dwalu Fagbana in the meantime having died, Cain discovered much to his dismay and disapproval that the Cape Mount area had been ceded. He thereupon vowed that he would threaten Canot until a disavowal of the treaty was obtained. Cain requested Governor Roberts of Liberia to send two or three colonists to aid him in ousting Canot, but the Governor refused and counseled a peaceful settlement of the matter.<sup>43</sup> Cain apparently did not heed this advice and instead decided to proceed with his war plans alone. Thus, he attacked Fan Tolo and his people for their traitorous action.

Among those affected by the war was a missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church stationed at Cape Mount. During the previous year, A. D. Williams had been sent by John Seys, the Superintendent of the Church, to Cape Mount to negotiate with Canot.<sup>44</sup> Williams was introduced to Fan Tolo. Although Canot reported that Williams left discouraged, yet it seems that he did obtain an agreement with the chief, for the Church decided to go forward with its project and eventually sent a missionary to the area. By April 1845, however, the fighting had become so heated and dangerous to the missionary's safety that he withdrew, regretting that the chief had not lived up to his earlier promises.<sup>45</sup>

It was not until September 1845 that a conference could finally be called in an attempt to find a solution to the civil war. At this meeting Gaje (alias, Sandfish) or, Sanfish), the chief of Sowi, was named as arbiter.<sup>46</sup> It was thought that the war was due to new slave trading in the area, but by whom was not specified. Slave trading, however, certainly still continued. The previous December 1844, a factory at the Lofa river was demolished by the Liberian colonists and six prisoners were freed.<sup>47</sup> Even after the peace settlement was finally agreed upon by the warring Cape Mount chiefs, the slave trade still continued, for in November 1845, a slaver was found off of Cape Mount.<sup>48</sup>

Suspicious began to circulate that other slavers and slave ships had been receiving supplies from Canot at Cape Mount.<sup>49</sup> The Italian captain of the captured slave ship Pons was said to have obtained passage from Cape Mount through Canot's

40. "Trevan Journal," Oct. 6, 1845, fols. 21-22. In private possession of Christopher Fyfe.

41. The name sometimes appears as Bob Cain, but it seems to refer to the same person.

42. Mayer, Captain Canot, 428.

43. Roberts to McLain, Jan. 24, 1845, AR, XXI (1845), 115.

44. Mayer, Captain Canot, 445-446, footnote 1.

45. Seys to Pitman, Apr. 10, 1845, Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the M. E. Church (New York, 1845), 22.

46. "Editorial," Liberia Herald (hereafter LH), XIV (1845), 3.

47. Roberts to \_\_\_\_\_, Jan. 18, 1845, AR, XXI (1845), 140.

48. "[Article]," LH, XIV, 5 (1845), 19, reprinted in AR, XXII (1846), 117.

49. Newton to Jones, Nov. 17, 1845, PP, LXVII (1847), 26.

assistance.<sup>50</sup> In addition, the British brig Lily, Captain Newton, captured a bark, the Brazilian Princeza, at Cape Mount.<sup>51</sup> It was reported that all the slaves were ready to be shipped in a few days.<sup>52</sup> No one, however, seems actually to have seen any of these slaves. Again, it was reported that in the fall of 1846, the Brevidade was seen at Sherbro with slaves on board, and it was said that they were shipped by Canot.<sup>53</sup>

Needless to say, these rumors did not help Canot's image. During the summer and fall of 1846, Canot was closely watched. It may have been due to the increased complications which were occurring in trying to carry on his business activities, that Canot finally decided to visit America. Sometime prior to September 22nd, he left Cape Mount.<sup>54</sup> He stopped at Freetown during the month of October and must have sailed from there for the United States.<sup>55</sup> His visit was quite short, for Canot was back on the coast in late December on board the barque, Chancellor.

Although the British government was unwilling to become involved with Canot, it did continue its interest in the Cape Mount area by suppressing the continuing slave trade and by trying to find alternative means of trade for the people. Thus, when the chiefs of Cape Mount during the latter part of 1846, through the Squadron Commodore Hotham, asked the Governor of Sierra Leone to encourage traders in the colony to trade with them due to their loss of trade through the suppression of the slave trade, the Governor acted quickly and with interest. In April 1847 he issued a proclamation encouraging merchants in Freetown to do business with the Vai people at Cape Mount.<sup>56</sup>

In addition, on January first, 1847, a treaty was concluded between the British government and the chiefs of the Mano river area. The area included in the treaty covered a coastline of twelve miles between the Solymah river to the north and the Mano river to the south.<sup>57</sup> The chiefs had requested the treaty with the British, but it was probably at the instigation of George Cain of Cape Mount.

The Mano river people had for several years been waging a war with the people on the right bank of the Solymah river, the northern boundary of the Mano river area. The people to the north had been encouraged to pursue the war by Spanish slave traders at the Gallinas, as a means of obtaining new supplies of slaves from among the captured warriors. Cain during this struggle had aided the Mano people with supplies and warriors. By obtaining the treaty with the British, they could pressure the British to come to their aid if there were further attacks against them. One chief in the Mano area, however, decided to hold out and not partake in the treaty. This was not surprising as he held 240 slaves in his barracoons which he stood to lose. The other chiefs, nevertheless, vowed to bring him to submission.<sup>58</sup>

50. Lugenbeel to McLain, Dec. 29, 1845, PP, LXVII (1846), 112.

51. Newton to Jones, Nov. 17, 1845, PP, LXVII (1847), 26.

52. "[Article]," LH, XIV, 5 (1845), 19.

53. Enc. 3 & 4 in S. L. Commissioners to Palmerston, Jan. 27, 1847, FO 84/665.

54. Simonds to Read, Oct. 9, 1846, U. S. African Squadron Papers, U. S. National Archives (hereafter, ASP) Microfilm (hereafter FM) 89, Roll 103, No. 78.

55. Enc. 3 & 4 in S. L. Commissioners to Palmerston, Jan. 27, 1847, FO 84/66.

56. Macdonald to Lord Grey, May 8, 1847 & Proclamation of April 15, 1847, CO 267/198.

57. "Agreement with the Chief of Manna-signed at Manna, Jan. 1, 1847," PP, XXXVI (1847-48), 836-837. See treaty in appendix.

58. Murray to Hotham, Jan. 2, 1847, PP, LXIV (1847-48), 7-8.

With all of this activity on the part of the British in the Cape Mount area, and without any encouragement or assistance from them, Canot's position became more and more untenable. In fact, it seems that the British might have been working against him, for by January 1847, the pressure which Prince George Cain, with British encouragement, was making on Canot and his trading practices began to take effect. Although Canot still maintained his factories at Cape Mount,<sup>59</sup> he was finding it difficult to land any further trade goods, especially his last consignment which he had recently brought from the United States.<sup>60</sup> Thus, Canot began to consider selling his factory and property rights. He apparently first made an offer to the British, but he did not receive a favorable reaction. As a consequence, he turned to the Liberian government again, using as an intermediary, Captain Pope of the U. S. Brig Dolphin, with a similar offer, but at a price at least \$5,000. less than that which he had proposed to the British.<sup>61</sup> It would seem, the Liberian government even though anxious to obtain control over the area, did not accept the offer.

By this time, Canot was under very real suspicion of having returned to the slave trade by nearly everyone holding any position along this part of the coast. The saga of how carefully Canot's vessel, the Chancellor, on which he had sailed back from the United States, was watched is a good example of the problem under which he labored.

When Canot returned to Cape Mount early in January 1847, Captain Pope of the U. S. Dolphin, sighted the Chancellor at Cape Mount and on January third, he inspected it, as the barque was flying the American flag. He found that the Captain was an American, James Allen Freeman,<sup>62</sup> that they had had a passage of thirty days from New York and were loaded with a cargo of rum and tobacco, various dry goods, a quantity of planking and a number of oil casks. The vessel had been chartered by Canot, who as we have seen had taken passage on her, along with a Spanish slave trader who had proceeded to the Gallinas. As Pope remained suspicious of the intentions of the captain, he decided to remain at Cape Mount and watch the vessel's activities.<sup>63</sup>

Since the Chancellor had suffered heavily from the trip, she was repainted and recaulked at Cape Mount. On the 4th of February, she sailed to the Gallinas, followed by the Dolphin. The Chancellor unloaded some of her cargo there and took on some other goods, and proceeded back to Cape Mount on the 12th. Pope now was satisfied that the Chancellor would not engage in slave trading on this part of the coast, as he believed that there were no slaves ready for export. Thus, since his supplies were low, he left his station on February 15th for Porto Praya in the Cape Verde islands in order to reprovision.<sup>64</sup> The British Squadron had offered to supply Pope with provision so that he could remain at Cape Mount, but Pope refused the offer.<sup>65</sup>

In the meantime, Canot loaded his vessel with a large quantity of rice, estimated

59. Dacres, "Half-Yearly Report," PP, LXIV (1847-48), 295.

60. Roberts to McLain, Feb. 6, 1847, AR, XXIII (1847), 134.

61. Roberts to McLain, Jan. 29, 1847, AR, XXIII (1847), 133.

62. Read to Mason, Mar. 31, 1847, ASP, FM 89, Roll 103, No. 71.

63. Pope to Read, Mar. 5, 1847, ASP, FM 89, Roll 103, No. 55.

64. *Ibid.*; Lugenbeel to McLain, Mar. 24, 1847, AR, XXIII (1847), 221-222; Mayer, Captain Canot, 446-447.

65. Macdonald to Grey, May 12, 1847, CO 267/198, No. 63.

estimated at three hundred bags.<sup>66</sup> He then took on board his family and some of his movable property and sailed to Monrovia, where he arrived on February 19th, having left behind his brother-in-law, Horace Smith, in charge of his establishment.<sup>67</sup> It is believed that Canot had been forewarned of the imminent danger of his property at Cape Mount and thus had removed his valuables.<sup>68</sup> While at Monrovia he obtained a small supply of bricks, which only added to the suspicion of his intent to purchase slaves, as it was believed that the bricks would be used for a galley to feed slaves.<sup>69</sup>

After leaving Monrovia, the Chancellor proceeded down the coast, ostensibly to pursue legitimate trade, but as Governor Roberts pointed out, they had very few trade goods on board, and the statement that they were going to purchase produce with cash, rang false in Roberts' ears. In addition, while proceeding southward, the Chancellor was rerigged from a barque to a ship. This again added to everyone's suspicions.<sup>70</sup>

Meanwhile, during her whole trip along the coast, the Chancellor was followed by the British Squadron brig, Contest. Off Cape Palmas the Chancellor began to act strangely so the Commander of the Contest attempted to force her to heave to. When Captain Freeman refused to do so, the Contest fired on her. This action was, of course, illegal as the British had no right of search on American vessels, and so Captain Freeman immediately complained to the American Squadron Commodore, Read. What followed was an exchange of double-talk. The Commodore necessarily had to maintain America's freedom from search by the British, and yet he was in full sympathy with the Contest's actions. Thus his correspondence with the British Squadron Commodore, Hotham, though on the surface charging infringement, never amounted to more than a formal protest.<sup>71</sup>

In the meantime, Read had ordered Commander Pope of the Dolphin which by this time had returned from the Cape Verde Islands, to follow the Chancellor.<sup>72</sup> On April 10, Pope fell in with the Chancellor about twenty miles to the leeward from Cape Palmas and under strong suspicions of her intention to engage in the slave trade, he captured her as a prize. He appointed a prize crew to take charge of her and to sail her back to New York for adjudication. First, however, the crew on the Chancellor was ordered to land a number of Kru men and two Spaniards, one of whom was said to be Canot, at Cape Palmas before proceeding to New York.<sup>73</sup> It later transpired that Canot was in fact not landed on account of ill health but was taken farther up the coast. Just where he was landed is not clear. In the meantime, the Chancellor reached New York, but the charges against her were not upheld and so the case was discharged due to a technical defect.<sup>74</sup>

66. Roberts to Read, Apr. 20, 1847, ASP, FM 89, Roll 103, No. 99.

67. "Marine List," LH, XV (1847), 35; Mayer, Captain Canot, 447; ACS, Tables Showing, 321; cf. M'Murdo to Murray, Mar. 16, 1847, PP, LXIV (1847-48), 234. Commander M'Murdo on visiting the factory on March 15th states that he spoke with a man named Jones who said he was in charge.

68. Read to Mason, Mar. 31, 1847, ASP, FM 89, Roll 103, No. 71.

69. Roberts to Read, Apr. 20, 1847, ibid., No. 99.

70. Ibid.

71. Read to Mason, Mar. 31, 1847, ibid., No. 71.

72. Read to Mason, May 12, 1847, ibid., No. 74; Read to Hotham, ibid., No. 97.

73. Pope to Read, Apr. 10, 1847, ibid., No. 100.

74. Pope to Read, July 20, 1847, ibid., No. 102; W. S. Howard, American Slavers and the Federal Law (Berkeley, 1963), 98-99, 226; New York Tribune (Apr. 19 & 20, 1848).

While these events were taking place, things were not going well for Canot's property at Cape Mount either. On March 13th, 1847, Commander A. M'Murdo of the British Squadron arrived at Cape Mount and was informed by Austin Curtis, who by this time had settled and married a sister of George Cain,<sup>75</sup> that thirty-five slaves from the local area had been taken by force to the Gallinas for export. In addition, he reported that within the previous week up to 200 slave irons had been manufactured at Cape Mount. On the 15th, M'Murdo visited Canot's factory, spoke with the man in charge and discovered that slave irons were in fact actually being forged.<sup>76</sup>

As a consequence of this discovery, Commander A. Murray addressed a letter to Fan Tolo demanding that he honor his treaty obligations and destroy all the property and goods belonging to Canot because of his dealing in the prohibited slave trade. Fan Tolo hesitated; it is possible that he really may not have been the effective political leader any longer, for by this time he was an old man. Nevertheless, on March 16th, the premises were burnt to the ground by Prince Cain, himself, the man who was next in authority to Fan Tolo. It was estimated that the value of the property destroyed amounted to between \$5,000 and \$6,000.<sup>77</sup> In addition, Cain vowed that if Canot returned to Cape Mount, he would personally shoot him.<sup>78</sup>

Canot had been suspected, as we have seen, since 1844 of having been engaged again in the slave trade, a suspicion which was without truth according to Canot, himself.<sup>79</sup> He did, however, complain that it was impossible to make a living on legitimate trade. He was constantly hampered by the British suspicion of his actions and had incurred the anger of George Cain for previously siding with Fan Tolo against him.<sup>80</sup> Whether Canot was speaking the truth or whether the suspicions of the coasters and the Squadron Commanders were true is not really clear. It is true that Canot was never caught "red-handed" but was only under suspicion of slave trading. In any case, his days on the Liberian coast had come to an end.

While he was settled at Cape Mount, Canot received aid from the Liberian colonists with whom he maintained a friendship, but undoubtedly they too were relieved to see him leave, for now they were open for their purchase of the area without fear of repercussions from the local chiefs, nor from the British.

For the Vai people, it was also a time of transition. On March 20, 1847, just four days after Canot's factories were destroyed, Fan Tolo died.<sup>81</sup> His career as chief of the area had been stormy. First he had to break the Gola suzerainty over the Vai people of Gawula and Tombe. Once this was accomplished he was faced with pressure from the British government to change age-old practices of slave trading. Not surprisingly, this only created more unrest as reluctant chiefs hesitated to

75. Curtis earlier had been employed as a blacksmith by Canot but in time he came to be an important advisor to Cain and was designated, according to Canot, as Cain's "premier," Mayer, Captain Canot, 444.

76. M'Murdo to Murray, Mar. 16, 1847, PP, LXIV (1847-48), 23-24.

77. "Certificate," Mar. 16, 1847, PP, LXIV (1847-48), 24; another report says, £ 5,000 which would have been a considerably higher value, Macdonald to Grey, May 12, 1847, CO 267/98, No. 63.

78. Ibid.

79. Mayer, Captain Canot, 445.

80. Ibid., 444.

81. Ibid., 448.



abandon a lucrative trade. During his last years of reign he became too weak to rule effectively and thus passed on his power and authority to George Cain, his son-in-law.<sup>82</sup> It has been stated by one writer that Fan Tolo did not leave his position to his son as he was mentally ill.<sup>83</sup> This hardly seems likely, as a powerful chief such as he undoubtedly had many sons upon whose shoulders he could have laid his title. More likely George Cain was a successful war-leader who could not be put off at Fan Tolo's demise, and the latter was perceptive enough not to ignore him.<sup>84</sup> Thus, George Cain now became the leader of the Vai of the Gawula and Tombe sections at Cape Mount.

By the early part of 1847, Canot's attempt to participate in the legitimate trade at Cape Mount had come to an end. There remained one brief incident before the whole venture was dead completely.

During 1849 and 1850, the Liberian government moved into the vacuum left by Canot and began signing treaties of cession with the Vai chiefs.<sup>85</sup> By the middle of 1850 the Liberian government could claim its present territory from Cape Mesurado to the Mano river as under its jurisdiction.

Not everyone, however, was so pleased with the expansion of Liberian authority. In particular, George C. Redman, at one time Theodore Canot's partner, wrote Lord Palmerston, then the British Foreign Secretary, stating that he felt that it would jeopardize British merchants' freedom of trade if the Liberians were permitted to retain Cape Mount. He felt that their five per cent import duties were excessive.<sup>86</sup> His complaint, however, had little result for Palmerston's reply was to the effect that if Redman had any claims, he should direct them to the Liberian government, thus effectively silencing Redman.<sup>87</sup>

The consequences of the abolition of the slave trade were numerous and affected many different kinds of peoples. In this article we have seen the effect which abolition had on one individual, Theodore Canot. His attempt at shifting from the slave trade to legitimate trade at Cape Mount was not successful. His earlier reputation was to haunt him at this stage in his life. It was only later, after he had recorded his memoirs in the 1850's that he began a new life, ending up in Paris where he married Elisa McKinley, the sister of the American President, William McKinley, and eventually obtaining a position as collector of the port of Nouméa in French New Caledonia.<sup>88</sup>

For the Vai people, among whom Canot settled for a brief period, the effects of abolition shook the society and some of the civil conflicts which occurred in the 1840's probably can be attributed to the shift in the economic base for many of the rulers. Nevertheless, the Vai were resilient and by the 1860's and 1870's they had found new bases upon which to build their social system. It is interesting to note

82. A Murray to Gov. of S. L., PP, LXIV (1847-48), 4.

83. Forbes, *Six Months*, 41-42.

84. Mayer, *Captain Canot*, 444.

85. "Convention between Great Britain and Liberia . . . , November 11, 1885," SP, LXXVII (1884-85), 90; "Manna River," LH, XVII (1849), 31; "Acquisition of Territory," LH, XVII (1849), 38; Roberts to McLain, Sept. 22, 1849, AR, XXV (1849), 377.

86. Redman to Palmerston, Dec. 17, 1849, FO 47/2, 50-54.

87. Office note from Palmerston, Dec. 19, 1849, FO 47/2, 56.

88. D. P. Mannix & M. Cowley, *Black Cargoes. A History of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1518-1865* (New York, 1962), 237.

that the Canot episode seems not to have affected Vai memories of their history, for he is not mentioned in any of the oral history. Canot's actions were undoubtedly no different from that of many other Europeans who lived for periods of time along the Vai coast as traders. And yet, the Vai were surely not unaffected by the Europeans' presence. The fact that the Vai were one of the few peoples in Africa who had true chattle slavery may be attributed to the stimulus which European traders had upon Vai society.

### A P P E N D I X I

Convention with King Fanatoro and Prince Grey of Cape Mount. -Signed at Fanama, February 21, 1841.<sup>1</sup>

Convention of Amity and Commerce between King Fanatoro and Prince Grey of the country of Cape Mount, and Lieutenant H. F. Seagram, Commander of Her Britannic Majesty's ship Termagant, on the part of England.

It is agreed and determined.

1st. That from this date, the foreign Slave Trade is totally abolished; and that the King and Prince engage to punish any man, being subject to their authority, who shall purchase or sell, or aid and assist in the purchase or selling of any slave for the purpose of embarkation, or for removal out of their territory.

2nd. That all English vessels shall enjoy a free and unrestricted commerce with the natives of this country.

3rd. That all Englishmen, who may land for the purpose of trade, shall be protected.

4th. That the King and Prince engage to allow a British factory to be established.

5th. That any misunderstanding arising between a native or natives and any person or persons under the protection of England, the offending parties shall be delivered over to the country to which they may belong, to be punished according to law.

In faith of which we have hereunto set our hands and seal at the town of Fanama, this 21st day of February, 1841.

H. F. Seagram,  
Lieutenant and Commander

King Fanatoro,  
Prince Grey

their  
X  
X  
marks.

George D. Nobbs,  
Clerk in Charge

1. State Papers, XL (1850-1851), 895.

APPENDIX II

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS, that I, Fana-Toro, King of Cape Mount and its rivers, in the presence, and with the full consent and approbation of my principal chiefs in council assembled, in consideration of a mutual friendship existing between George Clevering Redman, Theodore Canot & Co., British subjects, and myself, the particulars whereof are under-written, do, for myself, my heirs and successors, give and grant unto the said George Clevering Redman, Theodore Canot & Co., their heirs and assigns in perpetuity, all land under the name of Cape Mount, extending, on the south and east sides, to Little Cape Mount, and on the northwest side to Sugarie River, comprised with the islands, lakes, brooks, forests, trees, waters, mines, minerals, rights, members, and appurtenances thereto belonging or appertaining, and all wild and tame beasts and other animals thereon; TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the said cape, rivers, islands, with both sides of the river and other premises hereby granted unto the said G. Clevering Redman, T. Canot & Co., their heirs and assigns for ever, subject to the authority and dominion of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, her heirs and successors.

And I, also, give and grant unto the said G. C. Redman, T. Canot & Co., the sole and exclusive rights of traffic with my Nation and People, and with all those tributary to me, and I hereby engage to afford my assistance and protection to the said party, and to all persons who may settle on the river, by their consent, wishing peace and friendship between my nation and all persons belonging to the said firm.

Given under my hand and seal, at the town of Fanama,  
this twenty-third day of February, one thousand eight  
hundred and forty-one.

his  
King X Fana-Toro (L. S.)  
mark  
his  
Prince X Grey (L. S.)  
mark

Witnesses,

Hy. Frowd Seagram, R. N.  
Geo. D. Noble, Clerk in Charge.  
Thos. Crawford, Surgeon.

of Her Majesty's  
brig Termagant.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mayer, Captain Canot, 414-415, fn. 1.

APPENDIX IIIAdditional Agreement, March 13, 1841.<sup>1</sup>

And it is further hereby agreed between King Fanatoro and Prince Grey, of the Country of Cape Mount, Cape Mount River and its dependencies, and William Tucker, Esq., and Senior Officer in Command of Her Britannic Majesty's ships Wolverine, and Senior Officer in command of Her Britannic Majesty's ships and vessels employed and to be employed on the Western Coast of Africa.

That no slaves belonging to natives not their subjects nor tributary to them or to foreigners (white men), shall be permitted on any account to enter and to pass through the territory of Cape Mount, Cape Mount River and its dependencies either to the eastward or westward, for exportation.

And that this Additional Article shall, to all intents and purposes, have the same force and effect as if it had been inserted word for word in the Convention of Amity and Commerce entered into between King Fanatoro and Prince Grey, and Lieutenant Seagram, on the 21st day of February, 1841.

In witness whereof the respective parties have signed the present Additional Article, and thereto affixed their seals.

Done at Fanama Town, this 13th day of March, 1841.

William Tucker, <u>Captain</u>	King Fanatoro	X
H. M. S. <u>Wolverine</u> , and Senior	Prince Grey	X
Officer in Command.	John Freeman	X
Willm. Hy. Bateman,	Bob Kenyon	X
Acting Purser, H. M. S. <u>Wolverine</u>		
Theo. Canot, Resident Merchant, of		
the House of Redman, Canot & Co.,		
of London.		
A. R. Dunlop, Mate, H. M. S. <u>Wolverine</u> .		

<sup>1</sup>State Papers, XL (1850-1851), 895-896.

APPENDIX IV

Engagements between Her Majesty the Queen of England and the chiefs of Cape Mount, for the suppression of the slave-trade.<sup>1</sup>

At an adjourned meeting and solemn palaver, held on the banks of the river Cape Mount, within, at the bar, this 2nd of January, 1846, between King Fano-toro, the Chief of Cape Mount, his chiefs and head men, and other chiefs of the neighbourhood, on the one part, and Commander J. W. D. Brisbane, Commander of England. The said chiefs, on the part of themselves, their heirs, and successors, have agreed upon the following articles and conditions:-

## Article I.

The engagement between King Fano-Toro, Prince Grey, and the head men of Cape Mount, and Lieut. Seagram, of the British Navy, on the 21st of February, 1841, is hereby fully admitted to be binding on the said King Fano-Toro, his chiefs, and head men, their heirs, and successors.

All the provisions of that engagement, for the suppression of the slave-trade, remain, and are to continue in force, and are hereby conformed, and the export of slaves to foreign countries is for ever abolished, in the territories of the chiefs of Cape Mount; and the chiefs of Cape Mount engage to make and proclaim a law, prohibiting any of their subjects, or any person within their jurisdiction, from selling, assisting in the sale of any slave for transportation to a foreign country; and the chiefs of Cape Mount promise to inflict a severe punishment on any person who shall break this law.

## II.

No European, or other person whatever, shall be permitted to reside within the territories of the chiefs of Cape Mount, for the purpose of carrying on, in any way, the traffic in slaves, and no houses, or stores, or buildings, of any kind whatever, shall be erected for the purpose of slave-trade, within the territory of the chiefs of Cape Mount.

If at any time it shall appear that slave-trade has been carried on through, or from the territory of the chiefs of Cape Mount, the slave-trade may be put down by Great Britain, by force upon that country, and British officers may seize the boats or vessels of Cape Mount, found anywhere carrying on the slave-trade; and the chiefs of Cape Mount will subject themselves to a severe act of displeasure on the part of the Queen of England.

## III.

The subjects of the Queen of England may always trade freely with the people of Cape Mount, in every article they may wish to buy and sell, in all the places, ports and rivers, within the territories of the chiefs of Cape Mount, and throughout the whole of their dominions, and the chiefs of Cape Mount pledge themselves to shew no favour, and give no privilege to the ships and trades of other countries, which they do not shew to those of England.

Given under our hands and seals, in the river of Cape Mount, this 2nd of January, 1845.

King       X Fana-toro  
George    X Cain, Chief.  
Tom       X Leven, Chief.

(signed)   John William Douglas Brisbane,  
                  Commanding H. M. S. Larne

By virtue of the power deputed to me, I hereby declare the approval of the Queen, my mistress, to the above engagement.

APPENDIX IV (Continued)

Given under my hand, on board H.M.S. Penelope, this 2nd, January, 1846.

(signed) W. Jones,

Commodore and senior officer,  
commanding British squadron.

The foregoing treaty was signed, sealed, and delivered in our presence-

R.D. Powel, Lieutenant, Penelope,  
Thomas Etheredge, ditto, Larne,  
E. A. Schomberge, ditto, H.M.S.  
John Hay, acting P. and P. Larne,  
Theodore Canot, settler, Cape Mount.

APPENDIX V

Agreement with the Chief of Manna. - signed at Manna, January 1, 1847. <sup>1</sup>

Alexander Murray, Esq., Commander of Her Majesty's sloop Favourite, on the part of Her Majesty the Queen of England, and the Chiefs of Manna and of the neighbourhood, on the part of themselves and of their country, have agreed upon the following Articles and Conditions:

Art. I. The export of slaves to foreign countries is for ever abolished in the territories of the Chiefs of Manna: and the Chiefs of Manna engage to make and proclaim a law, prohibiting any of their subjects, or any person within their jurisdiction, from selling, or assisting in the sale of, any slave for transportation to a foreign country; and the Chiefs of Manna promise to inflict a severe punishment on any person who shall break this law.

Art. II. No European, or any other person whatever, shall be permitted to reside within the territory of the Chiefs of Manna, for the purpose of carrying on in any way the traffic in slaves; and no houses, or stores, or buildings of any kind whatever, shall be erected for the purpose of Slave Trade within the territory of the Chiefs of Manna.

Art. III. If at any time it shall appear that Slave Trade has been carried on through or from the territory of the Chiefs of Manna, the Slave Trade may be put down by Great Britain by force upon that territory, and British officers may seize the boats of Manna found anywhere carrying on the Slave Trade, and the Chiefs of Manna will subject themselves to severe act of displeasure on the part of the Queen of England.

Art. IV. The subjects of the Queen of England may always trade freely with the people of Manna in every article they may wish to buy and sell, in all the places, and ports, and through the whole of their dominions; and the Chiefs of Manna pledge themselves to show no favour and give no privilege to the ships and traders of other countries which they do not show to those of England.

Additional Articles.

I. The slaves now held for exportation shall be delivered up to the British ships at

APPENDIX V (Continued)

Cape Mount, for the purpose of being carried to a British colony, and there liberated; and all the implements of Slave Trade and the barracks, or buildings exclusively used in the Slave Trade, shall be forthwith destroyed.

11. Europeans, or other persons now engaged in the Slave Trade, are to be expelled the country /sic/ ; the houses, stores, or buildings hitherto employed as slave factories, if not converted to lawful purposes within 3 months of the conclusion of the engagement are to be destroyed.

Power is hereby expressly reserved to His Majesty the King of the French to become a party to this Treaty, according to Article V of the Convention between Her Majesty and the King of the French, signed the 29th of May, 1845.

Given under our hands and seals, on Manna Beach, this 1st day of January, 1847.

Thomas X Cole, Chief of Manna Rock.

George X Robins, Chief of Manna River.

Wm. B. Morrison, for Samuel Caulker.

Jim X Cole.

Alex. Murray, Commander of H.M.'s sloop

Favourite, and Senior Officer of the Sierra Leone Division.

By virtue of the power deputed to me, I hereby declare the approval of Her Majesty the Queen, my mistress, to the above engagement.

Given under my hand, on board Her Majesty's ship Devastation, at Sierra Leone, this 6th day of February, 1847.

Chas. Hotham, Commodore and Commander-in Chief.

The foregoing Treaty was signed, sealed and delivered in our presence.  
Witnesses,

Alfd. Royer, Lieutenant,

E. L. Strangways, Lieutenant, of H.M.'s sloop Favourite.

Wm. A. Parker, Pilot and Interpreter,

A. Curtis, Settler at Cape Mount.

George X Cain, one of the Chiefs of Cape Mount

James X Freeman,

Thomas X Freeman

2 of the Chiefs of Lugary [sic.].

APPENDIX VIAgreement with the Chiefs of Sugury.<sup>1</sup>

Alexander Murray, Esquire, Commander of Her Majesty's ship "Favorite", on the part of Her Majesty the Queen of England, and the Chiefs of Sugury and of the Neighbourhood on the part of themselves and of their Country, have agreed upon the following Articles and Conditions:-

## Article I.

The export of slaves to foreign countires is for ever abolished in the territories of the Chiefs of Sugury, and the Chiefs of Sugury engage to make and proclaim a law prohibiting any of their subjects, or any person within their jurisdictions, from selling or assisting in the sale of any slave for transportation to a foreign country; and the Chiefs of Sugury promise to inflict a severe punishment on any person who shall break this law.

## Article II.

No European, or other person, shall be permitted to reside within the territory of the Chiefs of Sugury, for the purpose of carrying on in any way the traffic in slaves; and no houses, or stores, or buildings of any kind whatever, shall be erected for the purpose of Slave Trade, within the territory of the Chiefs of Sugury; and if any such houses, stores, or buildings shall at any future time be erected, and the Chiefs of Sugury shall fail or be unable to destroy them, they may be destroyed by any British officers employed for the suppression of Slave Trade.

## Article III.

If at any time it shall appear that Slave Trade has been carried on through or from the territory of the Chiefs of Sugury, the Slave Trade may be put down by Great Britain by force upon that territory, and British officers may seize the boats of Sugury found anywhere carrying on the Slave Trade, and the Chiefs of Sugury will be subject to a severe act of displeasure on the part of the Queen of England.

## Article IV.

The subjects of the Queen of England may always trade freely with the people of Sugury in every article they may wish to buy and sell in all the places and ports and rivers within the territories of the Chiefs of Sugury, and throughout the whole of their dominions; and the Chiefs of Sugury pledge themselves to show no favour, and give no privilege to the ships and traders of other countries, which they do not show to those of England.

## Article V.

Power is hereby expressly reserved to His Majesty the King of the French to become a party to this Treaty, if he should think fit, agreeably to the provisions of Article V of the Convention between Her Majesty and the King of the French, signed at London on the 29th of May 1845.

<sup>1</sup>pp, IX (1850), 391-392.



APPENDIX VI (Continued)

In faith of which, we have hereunto set our hands.

(signed) Alex. Murray, Commander of Her Majesty's  
sloop "Favorite", and Senior officer of the  
Sierra Leone Division.

The foregoing Treaty was signed, sealed and delivered in our presence.

Witnesses,

Edw. Dixon, Commander	
Edw. Hill, First Lieutenant	of Her Majesty's sloop "Rapid"
George X Cain, Chief of Cape Mount.	
Jim X. Cole, Chief of Manna Rock.	
Alfd. Royer, First Lieutenant	of Her Majesty's sloop "Favorite"
Wm. A. Parker, Interpreter.	



# A DESCRIPTION OF THE 1970 GRAND CESS BO

Thomas E. Hayden

## THE BO\*

### I - Introduction

This paper is primarily concerned with the initiation of young males into Nyosijle Bo II which took place in Grand Cess, Liberia between the 21st and the 26th of September 1970. The principal function of the Bo is a military one. The Bo is an army which protects the town's interests.

The data used were gained from interviews with ten informants during a six-week period in July and August of 1971 while the writer was in Grand Cess doing research focused principally around marriage customs. Nine of the ten informants were participants of the Bo either as initiates or as instructors.

### II - A Brief Summary of the Social and Political System

The Kru people are relatively recent arrivals to the Atlantic coastal shores of Liberia. They arrived there approximately two hundred years ago. The town itself is called Siklikpo and is situated about forty miles west of Harper. The population of the town is approximately 2500 people and is divided into two principal sections, Krokpo (The Municipality) and Krofue (Big Town). Around the turn of the century the town was a thriving economic center. Trading vessels from Europe stopped at Grand Cess to recruit men to work as deck hands, stevedores, and stewards. For nearly half a century this was the principal source of income for the Grand Cess people. However, the larger freighters stopped coming to Grand Cess before the Second World War. Since that time there has been a great deal of outward migration from Grand Cess and the population has declined to its present level. Several informants estimate that the population in 1920 was at least four times as large as it is today. The sources of income for the Grand Cess people today are fishing, marginal farming, and the harvesting of piassava. However, most of the cash flowing through Grand Cess comes as a result of salaries earned by various members of the town from the Liberian Government.

Prior to 1921 the town was a single unit governed by a king. In 1921 a group of people petitioned the Liberian Government to set up a minicipal government there and since that time people who live in The Municipality are not directly under the jurisdiction of the tribal authorities. Those who live in Big Town are.

Grand Cess is divided into thirteen patrilineal exogamous clans called pantons. The panton is the principal frame of reference when Grand Cess people are discussing their problems. Each panton has an elder called the panton nyefue, who presides over minor disputes and settles problems which are under his jurisdiction and pertain

\* Phonetically the term should be spelled Bo.

principally to matters concerning the internal affairs of the panton. He also represents panton members in disputes with other pantons or panton members, as well as being their representative with higher tribal authorities.

Politically Krofue is ruled by the Paramount Chief, the Kroba. He is assisted by a council of elders. The most important ones are the Bobi (head of the army), the Brulio (the high priest), the Jugbe dio (the man who leads the army into battle), the Tugbe wa (the man who takes up the rear guard in the army), the Jecho (keeper of the calendar), and the Panton Nyefue of each of the thirteen pantons. It is this group which makes the major decisions affecting the Grand Cess people. These might range from how to settle a boundary dispute with the neighboring Picininess people to the rules governing the formation of new farms.<sup>1</sup>

### III - The Function of the Bo

A man is only considered to participate fully in manhood when he is a member of the Bo. Until that time he is considered a Kafa, which is the age set below the Bo, and this group traditionally were teen-agers and young men who worked about the town and could carry materials and food during war time, but were not permitted to actually participate in the wars themselves. Below the Kafa are the Jlakabo and Wlakloti. One informant describes it:

"The Wlakloti (all over the town) were little boys from seven to fourteen years of age. Jlakabo were from fourteen to seventeen years of age. These two groups kept the town clean and kept the roads from Klofue (Big Town) to Tuklo and Pakakpo, two villages to the north of Klofue.

The Kafa did the more difficult duties, e. g., keeping the road to Matie (about three or four miles away). In war they carried water to the Bo, brought back the wounded, and carried weapons to the Bo. They were not allowed to fight."<sup>2</sup>

The main function of the Bo is to be an army. However, it has several other functions. It is a part of the ruling group. The Bobi, the head of the Bo, is next in command after the chief. When important matters are going to be decided they are discussed in the Tubedia (palaver yard) in a general assembly of all the people of the town. The Bo are present and are seated in hierarchical order. Everyone who gets up to speak has to address all the groups in the Bo in descending order before he speaks.

The head of the Bo has a great deal of power. "The bobi must give his consent before a king may be exiled or annointed into office. As he has the support of the soldiers, he is the most powerful man in the community. In him lies the responsibility for maintenance of law and order, and he appoints all minor government officials.

1. For additional information on the political and social structure, please refer to the article by Merran Fraenkel, "Social Change on the Kru Coast of Liberia," Africa, XXXIV (1966), 154ff.
2. Information provided by Bishop P. Kla Juwle.

In addition to his overwhelming temporal powers, he does seem to possess vaguely some of the priestly attributes as well."

The Bo also dances at the funerals of all Bo members whether they reside in Grand Cess or elsewhere. All Bo members are entitled to the war dance when they die and all members are obliged to participate in the dance. Those who do not are fined.

The Bo also has the duty to search for lost people. They are responsible for the cleanliness of the town, the maintenance of the roads and other tasks which require hard labor. The Bo builds the house for the chief and they make a fence around the farm to keep animals out.

Whenever a leopard is killed, the Bo must honor the killer by coming out in full regalia for a war dance because killing a leopard is considered a great act of bravery.

#### IV - Organizing The Bo

A few months before the most recent Bo in Grand Cess, word went out among the people present and to Grand Cess men in other parts of Liberia and elsewhere in West Africa that a Bo was to be organized and that they were called to membership in the Bo. The actual date of the Bo was not given, for tradition makes the actual beginning of the Bo a secret in order to protect the Grand Cess people from being attacked during the time when the Bo would be in progress. Even the young members who participated in the Bo did not know the date of the Bo until actually they heard the beating of the drums and the rattling of the kle (a crescent-shaped rattle) on the very day of the opening of the Bo.

It was the duty of the panton nyefue to see that each member of his own panton who was eligible to become a Bo member was informed of the Bo. The number of men who participated either actively or vicariously in the Bo was 1,013. Only 190 of these were in Grand Cess and actually participated in the ceremonies of the Bo. The remaining Bo members were represented by a palm nut. The palm nut is significant because in time of war the high priest carried a bag full of palm nut with each nut representing a member of the army. When a member was killed in battle, one palm nut was removed from the bag. This ensured an accurate account of the total men in the army at all times. Grand Cess from Monrovia, other areas of Liberia and parts as distant as Accra and Lagos were represented in the Bo in this manner. It is significant that during a time in which tribal customs are said to be dying out, efforts would be made to contact people in such distant areas so that they could participate in the Bo.

Each panton nyefue, or quarter chief, gave the high priest the names of the members who wished to join the Bo, but who could not be physically present in Grand Cess at the actual time of the ceremonies. The panton nyefue gave the high priest fifty cents for every member who made the Bo. This money was a substitute for the gift of a chicken and some rice which was given to the high priest in the previous Bos. These goods were distributed by the high priest among those who conducted the Bo. The high priest also received a share.

The Bobi is a spokesman for the Bo. The Bobi is a tribal position and he is an important man in the council of elders. He is head of the army and not of any particular Bo.

The leader of the Bo is the Che Gbone Bo. He can aspire to this position by request. He can inform the high priest, the chief and the elders of the tribe that he wants to be the Che Gbone Bo. It is only after consultation among themselves and with men who are conversant with medicine of the people that a choice is made. The high priest and the elders consult with people who are known to have strong medicine to assist them in picking the Che Gbone Bo, or the leader of the Bo. The man who is picked is chosen on his ability to make war, to work, and to be a leader of his people. The elders of the tribe not only consult members within the tribe and their own medicine men, but they travel to neighboring and sometimes distant towns to consult medicine men and diviners on the choice of the leader of the Bo. Once they are satisfied with the choice the man is anointed by the Gbotanyo and becomes Che Gbone Bo.

#### V - The Initiation

The young men knew that there was to be a Bo in Grand Cess but not the exact date. Early in the morning of the 21st of September 1970 they heard drums beating and a great deal of activity in town. The older men announced that the Bo was to begin.

The young men were told to go home and prepare for initiation. They were told to bring some sort of sack or loin cloth since they would not be allowed to wear ordinary clothes during the time of the Bo. When they came to the palaver yard they were dressed in loin cloths. The Gbotanyo anointed each initiate by rubbing him with a mixture of burned, dried snake skin and palm oil blessed by the high priest. First they were anointed on the forehead, then the cheeks, nose, chest, shoulders and then the back. After this they were presented with a kle. They were now Bo members and no longer Kafa.

They were then assembled and told the rules which were to govern them during the time of the initiation. Some of the more important ones are as follows:

1. A father and son are not allowed to be in the same Bo. The reason for this is that the Bo is also an age set group by which one generation is distinguished from the next. To admit father and son to the same Bo would be to admit that they are social equals, a concept which is not acceptable to the Grand Cess men.
2. An initiate is not allowed to enter any house or take shelter under the eave of a house during the time he is undergoing initiation. The purpose of this is to make the men strong and brave. Another reason is that they will have practice in sleeping outside in case of war. If an initiate went into a house and the oil or ashes on his body were touched by his wife or children, they would all die because of the power of the medicine. If a man enters into a house during the time of a Bo, he is fined a cow and dismissed from the Bo and is demoted to the rank of Kafa.
3. A member of the Bo is not allowed to have any contact with a woman during the Bo. They are not even supposed to speak to women. If a man has sexual intercourse during the Bo he will become seriously sick and permanently impotent.
4. A man is not allowed to bathe during the time of the Bo, for he has been anointed with powerful medicine and to wash the medicine off his skin would be to lose the protection it will give during the time of the Bo.
5. If a member of the Bo falls when he is practicing war dances he is dismissed from the Bo and his people are fined a cow. The reason for this is that a fall means a man's spirit is not strong and thus he will not be a good warrior.

They are also told that they will not have time to cook and that their families must provide food for them. No one, even a non-family member is permitted to refuse

food to an initiate who asks for it during the time of the Bo.

Each day during the initiation ceremonies the new Bo members practiced dancing early in the morning. In previous Bo's members were taught how to run through the bush and hide as well as the art of warfare. Since the Grand Cess people no longer wage war, this part of the instruction has been dropped.

After the dancing practice which lasted approximately two hours the Bo members went to their homes for food. They were not allowed to enter their homes. Their families brought it outside for them.

One group of initiates was walking on the beach and saw that Fanti fishermen, who are from Ghana but live and work in Grand Cess, had caught a large sea turtle. They asked the Fanti men for it since they were entitled to ask for any food they needed. The Fanti reluctantly gave them the turtle which they cooked and ate. Later they were reprimanded for this by older Bo members who said that it was not fair for the initiates to take advantage of the Fanti fishermen.

After returning to the area where the initiation was taking place, they were sent to cut firewood for the evening fire.

Late in the afternoon they danced again. After this they ate. Later additional instructions on the duties and seriousness of the Bo were related to them by elders. Then they sat in the open around the fire. They were not allowed to sleep.

This went on for five days. On the sixth day they went to the Grand Cess River. Their heads were shaved as a sign they were Bo members. They washed their bodies and threw their initiation clothes into the river to be carried out to sea. The reason for this is that the medicine on their bodies and clothes is so powerful that it would seriously harm any non-initiate who touched it.

This ended the ceremony, but the members continued daily practice of the dancing each evening until the eleventh of October.

#### VI - The Significance of the Bo

While the military function of the Bo is no longer significant because the Grand Cess people no longer fight wars, the Bo does have a role in what remains of the Grand Cess traditional society. It functions to differentiate generations and gives men full rights among the Grand Cess people. The Bo organizes public works and carries them out. It reinforces the social solidarity of the Grand Cess people. Even Grand Cess men who no longer are there or perhaps have never even been to the town feel a sense of identity with their people through participation in the Bo. Over eighty per cent of the men who "made" the Bo did not live in Grand Cess and did not actually physically participate in the initiation ceremonies. The fact that Bo members are entitled to a funeral dance when they die reinforces the Grand Cess identity among those who do not actually live in the town itself. The Bo functions on many levels as a cohesive force among Grand Cess people wherever they live.

I.  
A LIST OF THE GRAND CESS BO GROUPS

1.	Kono Bo	9.	Ji Bo
2.	Gbeta Bo	10.	Sapi Bo
3.	Pi Bo	11.	Nyosijle Bo I
4.	Ni Bo	12.	Wijla Bo II
5.	Wijla Bo I	13.	Wokwiye Bo 1908
6.	To Bo	14.	Jlato Bo 1924
7.	Nifa Bo	15.	Sakro Bo II 1950
8.	Sakro Bo I	16.	Nyosijle Bo II 1970

II.

<u>The Grand Cess Kings And Paramount Chiefs That Can Be Remembered</u>	<u>Dates of Their Reign</u>	<u>The Gbabi Who Served Them</u>	<u>The Kings' And The Chiefs' Quarters</u>
1. Gblo Kwei		Titi Wia	Ciepo
2. Gbale Cie		Titi To	Klepo
3. Nadi Kle		Kofa Sako	Nyapo
4. Nadi Kwajle		Gbale Wre	Towiopo
5. Wre Kwijle		Kra Due	Klepo
6. Wajo Tugbe-Tukro			Pluka
7. Gboo Wluyo Kopo		Ko Twi	Gmapo
8. To Jlale Na		To Jlale Nimle	Jlagbepo-Nyapo
9. Fane Mie			Juwlepo
10. Gbei To Muna Ki		Belo Nyipa	Juwlepo
11. Nyaku Kuko Wolo		Gbale Wia	Nimlepapo
12. Dugbe Wlo Too			Jlagbepo-Nyapo
13. Too Muna Ki Japa			Juwlepo
14. To Lo Wre		Tie Blamo	Pluka
15. Belo Kra Bete Cie		Wane Wia-To Ko Na	
16. Teplo Wle Sinyino Wle		Due Muna Wle	
17. Wele Due		Gbi Wele Jite	Jlagbepo-Nyapo
18. Jlika Gbei Sugbe		Gbi Wele Jite	Klepo
19. Gmate Celo	1898-1900	Ji Na	Nimlepapo
20. Dagba Nyuno Nyrafo	1901-1908	Ko Na Taplo Wle	Klepo
21. Tati Wlegbe Kopla-Nyipa	1910-1917	Ko Na Taplo Wle	Nitie-Nyapo
22. Ta Nyapo Plenyuno Gbe	1919-1925	Lo Wle Do Wle	Nyapo Wlenimlepo
1st Paramount Chief		Na Ti Do Gblople	Nimlepapo
23. Kro Nimle Pupo Jlaka	1926-1929	Tati Gma Tefle	
24. 2nd Paramount Chief		Twapo Gbei Pupo	Klepo
24. Wise Wolo Topo	1930-1938		
3rd Paramount Chief		Jle Gma Too &	Nimlepapo
25. Lo Wle Nagbe Wle	1940-1942	Gbi Too	Pluka
4th Paramount Chief		Muna Gbi Too	
26. Wle Gbei Na Too	1944-1950		Butodopo-Nyapo
5th Paramount Chief		Gbei Jlopa Wle	
27. Plenyuna Mie Donye	1952		Nimlepapo
6th Paramount Chief			
28. Muna Se Sogbo			Juwlepo
7th Paramount Chief			
29. Too Tapla Donye Mesa			Wle Nimlepo-Nyapo
8th Paramount Chief			



## BOOK REVIEW

Edwin S. Redkey, *BLACK EXODUS: BLACK NATIONALIST AND BACK-TO-AFRICA MOVEMENTS, 1890-1910*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969.

Since its publication over three years ago, Edwin S. Redkey's *Black Exodus* has attracted deplorably little attention. It is not surprising, of course, that books of real merit often go unnoticed during publishing booms, like the current revival in black studies. But the oversight is particularly unfortunate in this instance. Redkey's book is no minor monograph. On the contrary, *Black Exodus* makes a significant contribution to Afro-American history, and its implications go beyond that. It contains important insights and methodological examples for scholars in varied fields, particularly for those who are concerned with what is sometimes called "the history of the inarticulate."

Redkey makes clear at the outset that the little known emigration activity at the turn of the century differed markedly from the "flashy urban mass movement" led by Marcus Garvey in the late 1910's and Twenties. Indeed, this "sporadic, untidy" effort is better understood as a loose collection of agitations than as a single coherent "movement". Yet, despite the amorphous quality of these enterprises, one figure seems to have been involved in almost all of them. Constantly appealing, encouraging, and planning, Bishop Henry McNeal Turner (1834-1915) is the dominant figure in *Black Exodus*.

Free-born in South Carolina, Turner learned to read while sweeping the floor of a law office. In 1858 he joined the African Methodist Episcopal Church, partly, Redkey says, "as an act of defiance against whites and partly from attraction to an autonomous church organization in which he could realize his own ambition for status and power." Completing religious training in Baltimore, Turner began his ministry in Washington, D.C., where, after the outbreak of the Civil War, he vigorously advocated the use of black troops; his fervor led to a chaplaincy. During Reconstruction, he pursued an eclectic political career in Georgia, serving as state legislator, delegate to the constitutional convention, and (until his removal after three weeks at the behest of local whites) postmaster of Macon.

The end of Reconstruction terminated Turner's political prospects, but it did not terminate his ambition. Without resorting to a crude "status anxiety" argument, Redkey shows that the young preacher's exclusion from positions of authority did much to rekindle his interest in emigration. Turner's enthusiasm was certainly heightened, but his interest in Africa was not new. Before the Civil War he had preached in favor of sending black clergymen to "redeem" the natives. Even during the relatively promising war years, he had taken time to hear a speech by Alexander Crummell, the Episcopal missionary and sometime agent of the Liberian government. According to Turner's later account, Crummell's address in 1862 converted him to the cause of repatriation.

Turner used the institutions of his church concurrently to further his own career and to spread the gospel of emigration. As traveling manager of the A. M. E. publishing concern, he built a formidable personal following. In 1880, despite opposition from northern ministers and more established churchmen, Turner's many friends elected him to one of the twelve

bishoprics. Ecclesiastical duties absorbed much of his time during the next decade, Redkey notes, but Turner's devotion to Africa never wavered. Believing that the United States owed blacks an indemnity of forty billion dollars, he suggested that part of the sum could be used to finance transportation and resettlement abroad. He also persistently urged businessmen, both black and white, to establish regular trade relations with Liberia.

Sensitive to popular stereotypes and misconceptions, Redkey emphasizes that Turner never recommended the wholesale removal of American blacks to Liberia or anywhere else. Indeed, the bishop maintained that most of his fellows were no more fit for Africa than they were for paradise. Turner was especially hostile to integrationists, to the nineteenth-century version of the black bourgeois, and to "all the riffraff white-man worshippers, aimless, objectless, selfish, little-souled and would-be white Negroes of this country." Despite these sentiments and his assertion that "two-thirds of the American Negroes would be of no help to anyone anywhere," Turner believed that an annual picked company of 5,000 to 10,000 emigrants could transform Liberia into a great nation. She would become both a potential refuge, and even more important, a symbol for blacks who remained in the United States. "I don't believe any race will ever be respected, or ought to be respected..." Turner said, "who [sic] do not show themselves capable of founding and manning a government of their own creation."

Turner is the central figure in Black Exodus but he is supported by a cast of thousands. Redkey presents solid evidence to show that while the bishop may not have been able to find an elite contingent ready to embark for Monrovia, he did have plenty of grassroots support. Perhaps the most impressive, and certainly the most moving aspect of the book is Redkey's inclusion of eloquent testimony from poor southern farmers who aspired to a better life in Liberia. In newspaper accounts and letters to emigration organizations, he uncovered many poignant expressions of feeling by barely literate "black peasants". With the eye of a novelist, he has masterfully integrated some of these excerpts into the text.

The lower class black fascination with Africa was communicated in deeds as well as words. Redkey tells of the struggles to make monthly payments to legitimate emigration associations, and of sordid exploitation by con men who promised quick transport to Liberia. For a variety of reasons, the excitement was most intense during the 1890's. There had been a general revival of American interest in Africa after the publication of David Livingstone's accounts in the 1860's; this renaissance was further stimulated by Henry Stanley's "discovery" of Livingstone in 1872, the journalist's subsequent exploration, the "scramble" for territory by the European powers, and the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885. American concern, like that of the Europeans, was hardly prompted by unmitigated altruism. When Sen. J. T. Morgan of Alabama, the ranking Democrat on the Foreign Relations Committee, advocated recognition of "The Free State of the Congo," he voiced his hope that some American Negroes would go there. Morgan considered this departure a way to minimize what he euphemistically called "race aversion." Sen. Matthew C. Butler of South Carolina even introduced a widely discussed bill to provide transportation for blacks who wished to leave the South but, more cautious than his Alabama colleague, he stressed voluntary relocation.

Most would-be emigrants were undoubtedly motivated less by the widespread publicity about Africa than by their own personal misery in the United States. The number of blacks seeking information from the American Colonization Society rose as cotton prices declined. Many of the letters, Redkey explains, explicitly referred to their authors' sinking economic status as a reason for seeking a new homeland. Nor was poverty the only stimulus. Rayford Logan has convincingly argued that this era was a low point--if not the lowest point--in the history of American race relations. The late nineteenth and early twentieth century marked the beginning of systematic segregation, the end of black office-holding (and usually of voting) in the South, the spread of a new brand of "scientific" racism, and a substantial rise in the frequency of lynchings.

While threats from American whites made impoverished Negroes highly receptive to black nationalist appeals, difficulties with European whites simultaneously encouraged Liberians to be particularly receptive to new settlers. France, which controlled most of the territory contiguous to the republic, increased its pressure in 1892, claiming some of the coast as well as a portion of the interior. Liberia eventually yielded to superior power (in an 1894 treaty), but in the meantime she frantically tried to attract immigrants. A well-populated hinterland, President Joseph Cheeseman believed, would strengthen his hand against the French. Redkey says that the legislature even authorized a \$6,000 grant in gold to the Colonization Society, hoping to fill the "unoccupied Territory, thereby avoiding international questions and disputes..."

If "black peasants" looked longingly toward Africa, and if the Liberian government desperately wanted to lure them there, then the only problem was transportation. That problem, as it turned out, proved to be almost insurmountable. In 1892, Redkey writes, "the only way" for settlers to reach Africa was through the "venerable", if faltering, American Colonization Society. Despite frequent (and often just) criticism from abolitionists and blacks (including emigrationists like Martin Delany and James Holly who denounced the organization as a device to export the problems of slavery and race, the ACS had sent over 15,000 people to Liberia since its founding in 1816. Although only 1,130 of them had made the crossing since 1872, Redkey suggests that even this was something of an accomplishment. Only two or three ships sailed each year from the United States to Monrovia. The Society could also send small groups indirectly via British ports, but this procedure was employed infrequently, usually to gain publicity or to placate anxious emigrants.

In 1892, the Society faced a great crisis--or, more precisely, a series of crises--which transformed the organization and altered the course of the emigration movement. Stirred by Bishop Turner, disgusted with local prejudice or the sagging economy, and rallied by local leaders of uneven quality, two large companies of blacks journeyed to New York City, expecting the ACS to provide the rest of their passage to Africa. The assemblage from Arkansas, Redkey surmises, was responding to recently enacted Jim Crow legislation and a wave of lynching. The other contingent seems to have been more optimistic. Having once aimed, with Edwin P. McCabe, to build an all-Negro state in Oklahoma, they entrained for New York in the mood of "adventists awaiting the end of the world." Both groups were to be disappointed.

Redkey spends two chapters unravelling the intricate details of the "singularly pathetic" situation. Faced with a mass of buoyant emigrants, the Society was, simply put, "paralyzed." It could not feed them, it could not house them, and it certainly could not transport them to Liberia. It knew nothing of their excursions until the "colonists" arrived in New York; indeed, William Coppinger, the Society's secretary, had deliberately warned some of them to stay where they were. To make matters worse, both Coppinger and the ACS president, John H. B. Latrobe, died shortly before the blacks appeared on the scene. The newly-chosen president was in Europe, unaware of his selection and unable to help. The ranking officials in New York and Washington failed to raise enough money to charter a steamship. In the end, most of the blacks went home or melted into the Negro community of New York City.

Following this debacle, which produced adverse reactions in both black and white newspapers, the Colonization Society drastically changed its orientation. Episcopal Bishop Henry C. Potter, the recently elected president, announced that the ACS would no longer stress emigration. Rather, it would encourage commerce with Liberia and attempt to improve the nation's educational system. Thus, as Redkey puts it, at the time when many blacks hoped to leave the United States, the American Colonization Society "virtually withdrew from colonization activity." The void was filled, with usual vigor, by Henry Turner. He did not, of course, create the conditions which encouraged repatriation, but he was the man most "responsible for the direction taken by black unrest."

Having visited Africa for the first time in 1891, Turner returned to America more devoted to his cause than ever. In January, 1893, he began to publish the Voice of Missions, formally an organ of his church, but operationally his own "personal property and mouthpiece." After a second trip to Africa, he zealously promoted his cause at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago. He even sponsored a national emigration convention which, to his dismay, was unwilling to endorse emigration. Although Turner had to maneuver to prevent a vote on the issue, Redkey thinks that the gathering was noteworthy as "a major attempt by a Southern black man to fill the void in race leadership and ideology." He conjectures, moreover, that black nationalism might have won support if Turner had not "wedded it to emigration."

The bishop's connection with the International Migration Society was more successful--at least for a while--than his convention. A white company assisted by a black advisory board (including Turner), the group proposed to collect a dollar per month from each prospective emigrant until he had accumulated the full fare--forty dollars. Despite dire warnings from the Colonization Society, which predicted that the project would "prove abortive from inexperience and want of sufficient financial backing", the IMS dispatched two ships brimming with settlers. The first, a Danish vessel named the Horsa, left Savannah on March 19, 1895, in a "festive air" of anticipation; Redkey notes that thirty-five local Negroes joined the IMS on the spot. The Laurada, sailing after many delays on March 2, 1896, departed amid similar enthusiasm, hailed in a speech from the wharf by Bishop Turner himself. Unfortunately, although the hopeful blacks on board got closer to a new life than their fellows stranded in New York, their fate was even more dismal.

Getting to Liberia was not even half the battle. Redkey may exaggerate when he says that accurate reports about the "true condition" of the country, instead of the prevalent inflated rhetoric, would have given "little encouragement" to the emigrants; but many colonists seem to have agreed with his judgment. The Republic offered free land to settlers who would cultivate it, but many died before their first crops were in. The IMS was even more careless than the Colonization Society about provisioning and otherwise caring for its charges. After six weeks in Africa, three Arkansas farmers from the Horsa began to work their way back to Philadelphia. By midsummer, 1896, most of the Laurada's passengers were dead or trying to go home.

Complementing the emigrationists who stretched Liberia's virtues, participants in this "reverse exodus" magnified her flaws. Their complaints, fully recorded in the Negro press, mortally wounded the International Migration Society; it never charted another ship. Turner continued to exhort, but even his ardor seems to have waned. Appealing once again for a federal subsidy he claimed that "never before" was "sentiment so strong or interest as intense." Yet he devoted more of his time to domestic politics, attempting to halt disfranchisement in Georgia. Redkey says that the emigration impulse began to subside after the Spanish-American War. The hostility of former colonists, Turner's diminished efforts, opposition by the newly powerful Booker T. Washington, and, ironically, the "deadening effects" of a depression which had helped to spur the campaign, all took their toll. In 1903, Ernest Lyon, the American minister to Liberia and a Washington protege, issued a statement which further battered the fading crusade. Liberia, he cautioned, "was not prepared for indiscriminate emigration." "The first decade of the twentieth century ended, as it began," Redkey sums up, "with emigration in the doldrums."

Black Exodus closes with some brief but stimulating speculations about why the emigration endeavors failed. Although it is hard to imagine Turner doing more than he did,

Redkey suggests that the bishop's dual loyalties to a cause and a religious sect hindered the venture. Possibly the mere paucity of transportation undermined the movement in the 1890's, as it later crippled Garvey. Perhaps circumstances in America were simply not bleak enough to drive the Negroes abroad. Their plight was surely "grim", but it "never approached the intensity of the Slavic pogroms against Jews or the Turkish slaughter of Armenian Christians." Or blacks may have remained in their dreary but relatively stable environment because they did not face the "tremendous social and economic changes" which challenged the European peasantry. Perhaps the explanation lay, not in the United States, but in Liberia. Compared to the "economic magnet" that drew Irish, Germans, Italians and Jews to North America, "the appeal of Africa at the turn of the century was feeble indeed." The land was "mostly bush, and "even when laboriously cleared," Redkey argues, it "yielded only a subsistence income not much greater than blacks already earned in the Southern States."

Considering all of these factors, Redkey still implies (or at least I infer) that the major difficulty was, broadly speaking, ideological. His point is elaborated in a shrewd comparison between black emigration and Zionism, "the only nationalist movement to succeed in repatriating its members to a distant 'homeland'." Not only did American Negroes lack a "conscious cultural tradition based on religion and language" which "gave inner strength to the Jews;" they also lacked leaders willing to stir such a consciousness. By and large, intellectuals were the "foremost advocates of Zionism." Educated blacks, on the other hand, were overwhelmingly hostile to the emigrationist program. Quotation after quotation indicates that even before the ascendancy of Booker Washington, the middle class press and leadership bitterly opposed repatriation, often directing vitriolic criticism at its proponents. Facing almost universal hostility from the black bourgeoisie, surrounded by a white population which "refused to acknowledge that blacks could have a cultural background," attempting to inspire men and women who were "cut off from most of their African memories;" Turner and his fellows tried to develop a systematic rationale in support of their scheme. Unfortunately the resulting Weltanschauung turned out to be "an Africanized American dream." Thus, they lost "one of the basic appeals that has strengthened other nationalisms, the call for a people with a distinct culture to establish a state in which that culture could flourish." Yet the author's final estimation of the movement is sympathetic, even favorable. Even though "mass emigration has never been feasible," he writes, the efforts by Turner and others transmitted "an important but unrefined idea" which later resurfaced in the proposals of Garvey and Chief Alfred C. Sam. Furthermore, their broad "nationalistic reaction to American racism," if not the specific emigration schemes, "may yet help to solve the problems of Afro-Americans."

Black Exodus contains a fascinating, important, and often moving story, skillfully told. It goes without saying that Edwin Redkey has made a worthy contribution to black studies. Too often, Negro history is interpreted with even less sense of the world's complexity than commonly informs American history as a whole. There is a tendency to trace a one dimensional chronicle from Frederick Douglass to Booker T. Washington to W. E. B. DuBois to M. L. King. Redkey shows that, as usual, things are more complicated than is dreamed in the historian's imagination. He not only introduces us to another level of "leaders," slighted by scholars but significant in their own time; but he has subtly analyzed a nearly spontaneous mass movement among "black peasants" who would have considered both Washington and DuBois too optimistic. Even the ACS debacle of 1892, even the "many outright frauds...committed in the name of Africa" illustrate not only "the gullibility and lack of sophistication of Southern rural black but also their desire to escape oppression

in the United States." It is hard to put down Black Exodus without thinking about people like one George Washington, stranded in New York in 1892, still insisting, "I'm gwine to 'Beria, feh I don't think I'll enjoy good yelth till I git dere." History, Prof. Redkey reminds us, happens to ordinary men and women.

Leo P. Ribuffo  
Bucknell University

LIBERIAN STUDIES JOURNAL  
INDEX  
VOLUME IV - 1971-1972 - NUMBERS 1 AND 2

- Black Exodus, by Edwin Redkey, reviewed by Leo P. Ribuffo, 189.
- Blamo, J. Bernard, article: "Nation-Building in Liberia: The Use of Symbols in National Integration," 21.
- Boone, C. C., Liberia as I Know It, reviewed by D. Elwood Dunn, 96.
- Brown, Mary Antoinette, article: "Edward W. Blyden: Educational Views," 47.
- Carter, Jeanette E., review of A Preliminary Report on the Kru, 90.
- Christiansen, Robert et al., article: "The Near Edge of Change," 99.
- Clan and Chiefdom Maps of the Mā(Mano) and Dā (Gio), see Riddell, James C. et al.
- Cole, Henry B., article: "The Press in Liberia," 147.
- A Description of the 1970 Grand Cess Bo, see Hayden, Thomas E.
- Dunn, D. Elwood, review of Liberia as I Know It, by C. C. Boone, 96.
- Edward W. Blyden: Educational Views, see Brown, Mary Antoinette.
- Fulton, Richard M., review of Liberia: Black Africa in Microcosm by C. M. Wilson, 92.
- Hayden, Thomas E., article: "A Description of the 1970 Grand Cess Bo," 183.
- Holsoe, Svend E., article: "Theodore Canot at Cape Mount, 1841-1847," 163.
- Ingemann, Frances, article: "The Institute for Liberian Languages," 88.
- The Institute for Liberian Languages, see Ingemann, Frances.
- An Introduction to the Archaeology of Liberia, see Orr, Kenneth G.
- Korte, Werner, article: "A Note on Independent Churches in Liberia," 81.
- Liberia: Black Africa in Microcosm by C. M. Wilson, reviewed by Richard M. Fulton, 92.
- Liberia as I Know It, by C. C. Boone, reviewed by D. Elwood Dunn, 96.
- Liberian Writing, Liberia as Seen by Her Own Writers as Well as by German Authors, reviewed by Raymond J. Smyke, 89.
- Liberia's Foreign Trade Pattern, 1940-1968, see Neal, D. Franklin.
- Mëni-Pêlee: A Musical-Dramatic Folktale of the Kpelle, see Stone, Ruth M.
- Nation-Building in Liberia: The Use of Symbols in National Integration, see Blamo, J. Bernard.
- Neal, D. Franklin, article: "Liberia's Foreign Trade Pattern, 1940-1968," 1.
- The Near Edge of Change, see Christiansen, Robert et al.
- Nelson, Charles M., article: "The Possible Application of the Standardized African Site Enumeration System (SASES) to Liberia," 137.
- A Note on Independent Churches in Liberia, see Korte, Werner.
- Orr, Kenneth G., article: "An Introduction to the Archaeology of Liberia," 55.
- The Possible Application of the Standardized African Site Enumeration System (SASES) to Liberia, see Nelson, Charles M.
- A Preliminary Report on the Kru by K. Zetterstrom, reviewed by Jeanette E. Carter, 90.
- The Press in Liberia, see Cole, Henry B.
- Redkey, Edwin, Black Exodus, reviewed by Leo P. Ribuffo, 189.
- Ribuffo, Leo P., review of Black Exodus, by Edwin Redkey, 189.
- Riddell, James C. et al., article "Clan and Chiefdom Maps of the Mā (Mano) and Dā (Gio)," 157.
- Smyke, Raymond J., review of Liberia as Seen by Her Own Writers as Well as by German Authors, 89.
- Stone, Ruth M., article: "Mëni-Pêlee: A Musical-Dramatic Folktale of the Kpelle," 31.
- Theodore Canot at Cape Mount, 1841-1847; see Holsoe, Svend E.
- Wilson, C. M., Liberia: Black Africa in Microcosm, reviewed by Richard M. Fulton, 92.
- Zetterstrom, K., A Preliminary Report on the Kru, reviewed by Jeanette E. Carter, 90.











