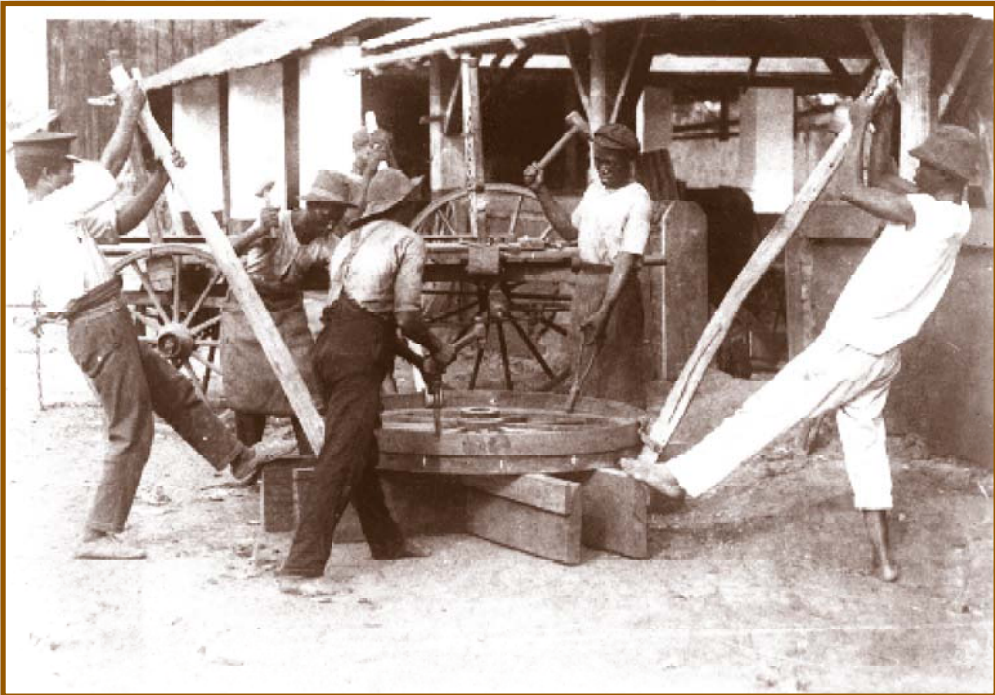


# Locality, Mobility, and “Nation”

Periurban Colonialism in Togo's Eweland  
1900-1960



Benjamin N. Lawrance

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# Rochester Studies in African History and the Diaspora

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Periurban Colonialism in Togo’s Eweland,  
1900–1960

BENJAMIN N. LAWRENCE



UNIVERSITY OF ROCHESTER PRESS

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First published 2007

University of Rochester Press  
668 Mt. Hope Avenue, Rochester, NY 14620, USA  
www.urpress.com  
and Boydell & Brewer Limited  
PO Box 9, Woodbridge, Suffolk IP12 3DF, UK  
www.boydellandbrewer.com

ISBN-13: 978-1-58046-264-9

ISBN-10: 1-58046-264-2

ISSN: 1092-5228

**Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

Locality, mobility, and "nation" : periurban colonialism in

Togo's Eweland, 1900-1960 / Benjamin N. Lawrance.

p. cm. — (Rochester studies in African history and the diaspora,  
1092-5228 ; v. 31)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN-13: 978-1-58046-264-8 (hardcover : alk. paper)

ISBN-10: 1-58046-264-2 (alk. paper)

1. Ewe (African people)—History—20th century. 2. Ewe (African people)—Politics and government—20th century. 3. Nationalism—Togo. 4. Togo—History. 5. Togo—History—Autonomy and independence movements. 6. Decolonization—Togo—History. 7. France—Colonies—Africa—History—20th century. 8. Rural-urban relations—Togo. I. Title.

DT510.43.E94.L38 2007

966.81—DC22

2007012886

A catalogue record for this title is available from the British Library.

This publication is printed on acid-free paper.

Printed in the United States of America.

*This book is dedicated to my parents,  
Pamela and Robert,  
whose love and support knows no bounds.*



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# Preface

In one of those moments that every Africanist hopes for and yet fears, the death of Togo's longtime dictator Gnassingbé Eyadéma on Saturday, February 5, 2005, propelled the tiny nation into the international spotlight. While working on this book a month earlier, I had toyed with all sorts of witty, amusing, and admittedly less than profound opening statements for a preface. None of those seemed even remotely appropriate any longer. Indeed, the violent and contested election resulting from the failed coup d'état of Eyadéma's son, and the constant rumors of an imminent Rwanda-style north-south, Ewe-Kabyé conflict, underscores the deep legacy of French colonialism, despite France's relatively brief forty-year occupation.

Eyadéma, a captain in the French colonial army who allegedly served alongside Jacques Chirac, is widely blamed for the 1963 assassination of Togo's first president, Sylvanus Olympio, as he attempted to seek refuge in the U.S. embassy. After the overthrow of Olympio's regime, Eyadéma ruled from the wings until seizing formal power in a second coup in 1967. Although he was Africa's longest-ruling leader, the broker of several important international trade deals, and a promoter of ECOWAS and the African Union in regional peacekeeping and conflict-resolution activities, few international dignitaries attended the burial of Le Baobab. And despite the continuing tensions and refugee crisis in Togo, Eyadéma's death is a cause for hope for scholars of the region. Perhaps now, participants in the nationalism of the 1940s and fifties, and those who survived the military crackdowns and violent political purges by fleeing abroad or hiding in Togo, will come forward and tell their versions of the path to independence.

Until such a time, however, historians will continue to construct an account of Togolese nationalism glorifying Olympio, bewailing Eyadéma, and ignoring the role of the wider citizenry. Understanding the significance of 1940s and fifties for Togo's national trajectory is therefore made doubly difficult: on the one hand, the miserable fate of the fledgling Togo nation has provoked an almost incontestable torrent of hagiography; on the other hand, few are

willing to come forward to tell their personal stories, whether or not they sit well with the conventional wisdom. In the absence of reliable oral testimonies from participants in Olympio's movement, then, I have tried to approach the history of Togolese nationalism from a sideways angle. What began as a critique of Ewe concepts of ethnicity and nation has deepened into an archaeology of the social, political, and economic life of French colonial Eweland. Instead of setting out naively to debunk the mythology surrounding Olympio among a community still reeling from the despotism of his nemesis, I shifted gears to recover a history of people occupying the urban and rural regions he claimed to represent. In so doing, I have developed a new approach to the history of colonialism spanning the rural-urban divide.

Archival research for this book was conducted between March 1999 and July 2005 in Lomé at the Archives Nationales du Togo and the Bibliothèque Nationale; in Accra, Ghana at the Public Records and Archives Administration Department; in Porto Novo, Bénin at the Archives Nationales du Bénin; and in a small regional archival depot in Ho, Ghana. In Europe I consulted the archives of the Public Records Office, Kew; the Archives Nationales de France in Paris and the Centre des Archives d'Outre Mer in Aix-en-Provence; the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society; the Paris Catholic Library and Archives; the former Centre de Recherche et de Documentation Africaine-Fondation Houphouët-Boigny in Paris; and the Archives of the League of Nations in Geneva. In Togo, Ghana and in Bénin, between July 1999 and July 2005, I conducted oral interviews with over 150 men and women. Copies of the audiocassette recordings and transcripts of the interviews have been prepared. With respect to methodology, each chapter pursues a story that I located in the archives, and then about which I sought out oral information from witnesses to substantiate and develop.

A project of this size and scope is a product of rich and rewarding friendships and accumulates many intellectual, personal, and financial debts. I am grateful for support provided by the Andrew T. Mellon Foundation; the Rotary Foundation; the Department of History and the Dean of the School of Humanities and Sciences at Stanford University; the James T. Birdsall Foundation; Yale University's Gilder Lehrman Center for the Study of Slavery, Abolition, and Resistance; a University of California Davis Faculty Development Grant, a Davis Humanities Institute Fellowship, and an Institute of Government Affairs Faculty Research Grant; and the generous support and encouragement of colleagues and staff in the Department of History at the University of California at Davis, and formerly California State University San Bernardino. Numerous people have read and commented on the whole or parts of this book. I appreciate the time, energy, and feedback of Paul Nugent, Kate Skinner, Gareth Austin, Jim Lance, Yves Marguerat, Sandra Greene, Judith van Allen, Amir Weiner, Joel Beinin, Judy Rosenthal, Sara Berry, Arzoo Osanloo, Gerri ter Haar, Walter Hawthorne, Emily Osborn, Michael Callahan,

Alice Conklin, Gregory Mann, Allen Howard, my dissertation writing group at Stanford, and especially my dear friend Ruby Andrew.

While conducting research, I benefited from the expertise and guidance of the staff of numerous research facilities. Among those I would like to mention are Blandine Blukacz-Louisfert and Bernhardine Pejovic of the League of Nations Archives in Geneva; Hartmut Bergenthum of the Bildarchiv der deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft, Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main; Delphine Dorier and Louisa Lightfoot of the Ligue pour le Defense des Droits de l'Homme in Paris; and Karen Fung and the Africana Collection staff of Green Library and the Hoover Institution and Library at Stanford University; the staff of the Archives Nationales du Togo; the Ghana National Archives in Accra; the regional station in Ho; the Archives Nationales du Bénin in Porto-Novo, Benin; the Centre des Archives d'Outre Mer, Aix-en-Provence; the Archives Nationales de France, Paris; the Bibliothèque Nationale de France; the Public Record Office in Kew, United Kingdom; the Archives Diplomatiques, Quay d'Orsay, Paris; the Archives of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society, Paris; the Catholic Library and Archives, Paris; and the Branner Earth Sciences Library Map Collection of Stanford University. Kim Wilkinson provided important research assistance. Don Pirius developed superb maps.

Much of my time in Togo and Ghana was part of a Rotary Foundation Ambassadorial Scholarship. I would like to thank my local sponsor club, Palo Alto University, and my host club in Togo. In particular, I would like to thank the following Rotarians for all their support and encouragement: Dodji Pedanou, Mariko Hirano, Kwame Soo, Joseph Achana, Kofi Osei-Afoukwa; the Rotarians of Ho, Ghana, Yves Hans Oswald-Moevi, Adotei Brown, Nicholas Mancus, and especially Kofi and Abigail Dom.

In Togo I was fortunate to have many friends and assistants. Great thanks go to my assistant and translator, Kouakou Atsou Daniel Adadjo, and his brothers Benjamin and Yawo; Rick and Rose Bock; Kathryn B. Brown; Dopé; Stephanie Martz; Yawo Ed Hiheta; Jean-Yves Byll; the entire Dagbovie clan; and Dialo Morou.

Deep appreciation goes to my colleagues, friends, and graduate students in Davis, each of whom in their own way contributed to the final product: Clarence Walker, Bettina Ng'weno, Cathy Kudlick, Kevin Bryant, Eric Rauchway, Sergio de la Mora, Susan Mann, Lorena Oropeza, Marcus Filippello, Chau Kelly, Louis Warren, and Joan Cadden. My deepest appreciation goes to my colleague and friend Cynthia Brantley, who not only read and commented on the entire manuscript but has been unflinchingly faithful throughout my career at UC Davis.

Other people helped me in so many different ways, from providing research leads to offering sustenance, encouragement, and a place to write. I wish to list in no particular order: Mimi Noukey, Laessi Lawani, Martin Eglo,

Patrick Wurster, James Apelete, Elom Togbe-Wonyo, Komla Adadjo-Binder, Leonard Adonkovi and Radio Planète Plus, Fritz Dagbovie, Togbe Afede XIV, Irmela Wendebourg, Diane Mooney, Jackie Hawthorne, Holger Bernt Hansen, Mikkel Hansen, Brenda Schoonover, Christopher and Marguerite Davis, Peter Sebald, Koffi Sama, Angèle Aguigah, Jean-Lucien Savi de Tové, Latekoe Lawson, Stephanie Dyer, Kokouvi Moka, Chief Fiaty of Kévé, Mathieu and Ingeborg Fumey, Father Marian Schwark, Charles Piot, Dennis Laumann, Melanie Tossou, Delai Togbo, Christine Abotsivia, Noël and Marie Coulet, the Association Paul-Albert Février, Jean-Marie Balfourier, Phillipe Blanche, Bernard Bel, Boniface, Jeff and Jenny Crudgington, Paul Winestock, Chris Schaefer and Amy Robinson, Olivier and Christian Poilvet, Hervé Franco, the late Gertrud Pacheco, Ann Totterdell, Beverley Binda, Simone Schechtman, Mike Bryant, Antonio Ramirez, Abosede George, Mark Phillips, Aaron Belkin, Carolyn and Dave Lougee, and the many other people who helped in little but either time-saving or even life-saving ways.

I extend my profound appreciation to Suzanne Guiod, Toyin Falola, Katie Hurley, Sue Smith, and all the staff at the University of Rochester Press.

Finally, words cannot express the depth of appreciation and admiration I have for my academic advisor, mentor and friend, Richard Roberts. During the six years I spent at Stanford, he was in constant communication as a scholarly and mental resource. It was Richard who introduced me to Africa, enabled me to make the long transition from ancient Europe, and without whose unflinching support none of this would have been possible. I can only hope to maintain the exceptionally high standards he sets for intellectual rigor and pedagogical training.

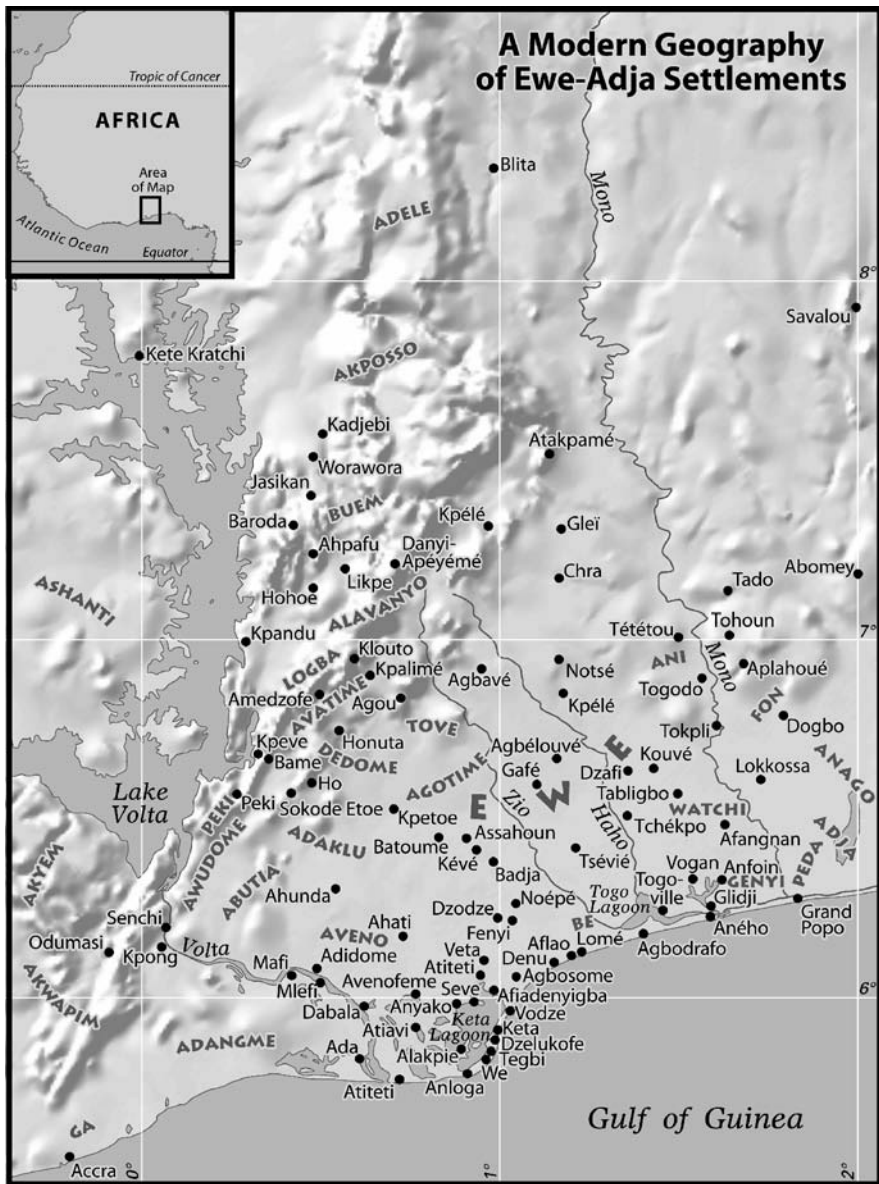
## Notes on Orthography

In this book two Ewe words are spelled with as close a rendering as possible to the preliterate era Ewe original but without diacritics. Both *dukɔwo* and *evɛgbɛ* are key terms, the orthography of which changes little throughout the Ewe-Adja-Mina speaking communities. In this book these Ewe words are also conceptual terms. Other Ewe words used have numerous dialectal variants, and the author uses a simple Anglicization of the Ewe pronunciation.

This book uses the term periurban without a hyphen. Within the scholarly literature, there is no clear convention for the use of a hyphen, but the trend in contemporary historical scholarship against deploying hyphenation formed the basis for this decision.

Town names adopted are the preferred in-country contemporary spelling.





Map I.1: A Modern Geography of Ewe-Adja Settlements.

# Introduction

## Conceptualizing Periurban Colonialism in Sub-Saharan Africa

On December 4, 1947, Sylvanus Olympio stepped off a Pan American clipper at New York's La Guardia Airport. Olympio's quest was to press the case for the unification under a single government of "his people, the Ewe tribe" before the United Nations Trusteeship Council.<sup>1</sup> He was not there as a representative of the Africans living in French-administered Togo, but as an envoy from the All Ewe Conference (AEC), an umbrella group of ethnic nationalist organizations spearheading the independence drive of "his people." UN officials were apprehensive. In the words of one observer, "we had heard that there was a petitioner coming from Africa and didn't know quite what to expect. None of the delegates knew much about Africa, and I sincerely believe many of them expected someone to come rushing into the Council in a leopard skin and accompanied by a rumble of drums."<sup>2</sup> Although Olympio's unexpectedly Westernized appearance and eloquent delivery drew considerable comment, what really captured media attention was the clarity and vision of his sustained attack on British and French colonial practices.

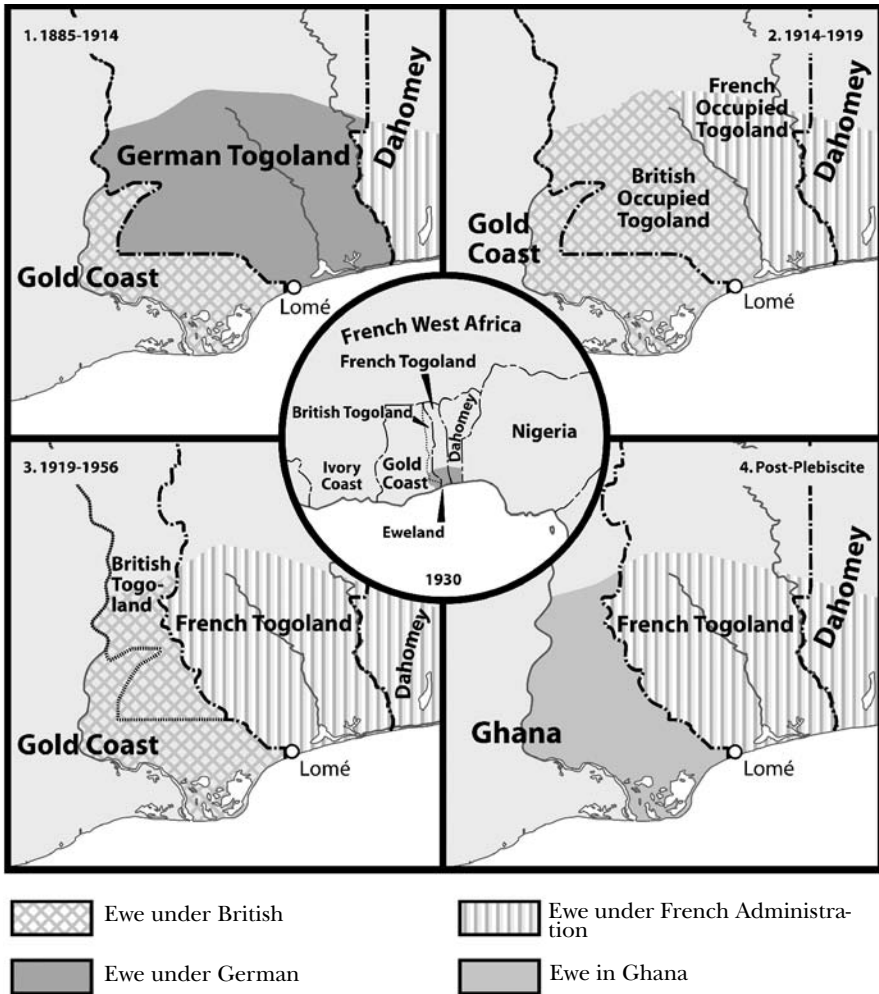
From today's perspective what is striking about Olympio's 1947 speech is how fleeting was his commitment to one definition of nation. Over the course of the 1950s, Olympio moved swiftly from asserting Ewe ethnic nationalism to an embrace of Togolese territorial nationalism that deemphasized ethnic identities and emphasized territorial integrity. He steered French Togoland to independence in 1960. But as president of the multiethnic Togolese nation he supervised a very different political regime from that which he had championed so passionately in 1947. Togo was a multiethnic state led by Ewe men, but it was no Ewe homeland (see map I.1). Olympio was less a visionary and more an opportunist, and he was raised in a culture of political opportunism. We will reexamine the social, political, and economic antecedents to the Ewe unification movement in order to account for the disjuncture between the roles played by ethnic and territorial nationalism in the African independence struggle.

Many histories of African nationalism fail to account for the involvement of multiple human and territorial constituencies in the political endeavors of ethnic and territorial nationalism, while simultaneously maintaining that the independence struggles between the 1940s and 1970s were nationwide endeavors. This failure is a consequence of the proliferation of narrowly defined urban and rural studies of the colonial African experience. Nationalist historiography overstates the significance of urban, male, and elite power. Literature about state, authority, and the invention of tradition exaggerates the importance of chieftaincies and their entourages, and undervalues the roles of the rural-dwelling population in the development of anticolonialism. *Locality, Mobility, and "Nation"* argues that two concealed narratives existed in Eweland: the tensions between village-level social and political cultures, and indigenous political movements that operated within the framework of "nation." To recover these concealed stories it is necessary to reunite the urban and rural experiences of mature, or post-World War I, colonialism by focusing on the particular spatial processes at play in the region—what I describe as periurban colonialism.<sup>3</sup> The parallel concept of a periurban zone draws attention to small-scale conflicts during the interwar period that were determined more by spatial and geographical considerations than elite machinations. By looking at the periurban zone and periurban colonialism together, a periurban lens significantly reshapes our historical understanding of the contours of the later nationalist struggle.

Later in this introduction, I discuss how social-historical scholarship hints at a role for a periurban zone in the processes of colonialism and nationalism in Africa. I then proceed with an elaboration of the concept of the periurban zone. At this point, however, it is useful to define both the concept of the periurban zone and the process of periurban colonialism. The term *periurban zone* describes a region of nonurbanized land that lies within a manageable or knowable distance from either a main urban center, a secondary market town, or a village. The periurban zone does not have a set perimeter, but is determined by people's capacity to move around it within manageable time frames, that is to say, to maintain their lives in the periurban zone without significant disruption. The periurban zone fans out from nodes, such as *dukɔwo* (collective plural of small clanlike village units; singular *dou*, collective *duko*), and transportation routes, such as roads, railroads, rivers, and lagoons. Before modern transportation, the periurban zone was relatively small and relegated to the outskirts of towns. People traveled by foot from this region, which narrowed its scope. In contrast, the periurban zone of the mature colonial period was much larger. Ewe men and women moved from any village to a transportation hub or town within two to three hours by foot or bicycle, and thence to a market town or major urban center. The periurban zone is thus a rural zone within the orbit of a major market town or urban center.

I use the term *periurban colonialism* to highlight the fact that there was a special space where the urban and rural worlds conjoined in complex ways that were neither rural nor urban, but instead shared characteristics and social processes of change. This periurban zone played a major role in the development of African “modernities” and in the constellation of forces that yielded the peculiar forms that nationalism took in Togo. I argue that only by breaking down the dichotomy between rural and urban during the mature colonial era of the interwar period can we understand the trajectories of change in Eweland and by extension in much of sub-Saharan Africa. Periurban colonialism is thus the social historical process whereby individuals (in this book Ewe men and women *and* French colonial administrators) operationalized the functions of the periurban zone. When I use the term *operationalizing a function*, I mean that historical actors adopted strategies of political, economic, and cultural opportunism and risk aversion based on their knowledge of the functionality of the periurban landscape. Ewe villagers, for example, reorganized their market attendance and planting and harvesting schedules as opportunities or threats arose. They migrated to cocoa-farming regions in search of vacant land, and to avoid or to raise revenue to pay the head tax. The French chose Ewe chiefs to represent colonial interests, but they operated at the pleasure of their superiors, and the proximity of the French administration underscored this. French administrators and their paramilitary support could travel from an urban center or market town by car or truck and make a definitive statement about colonial rule if it were necessary. The French could respond to a particular challenge to their authority and do so rapidly. In this sense then, the spatial concept and the social process come together, insofar as the power enforcing the functions of locality, mobility, and proximity can be interwoven in the provocative phrase “within striking distance.” By the mature colonial period the entirety of Eweland was within striking distance of urban centers and market towns, but simultaneously physically and culturally autonomous. Eweland as a remote or rural hinterland had ceased to exist. The relationship between space and process played an important role in the historical experience of Ewe men and women and French administrators.

This study is geographically situated in the region known as Eweland (see map I.1), the southern part of modern-day Togo, West Africa, which underwent a unique colonial experiment. Indeed, the population of this region experienced the vicissitudes of colonial administration like no other in Africa. Between 1900 and 1960, the region fell not only successively under German, then British and French control respectively, but the League of Nations Mandate, the United Nations Trusteeship systems, and the Nazi-backed Vichy regime also played prominent roles (see map I.2). The form of government, the level of indigenous involvement, the locus of power, and the nature of colonial rule shifted rapidly. Togo was not politically “unstable” in a contemporary sense, but the continually evolving modalities of rule meant that



Map I.2 Periodization of Colonial Rule of Eweland, ca. 1884–1960

relationships between Africans and Europeans were fraught with the tensions born of opportunism and strategies of risk aversion.<sup>4</sup>

Unlike the relatively stable colonial administrations of the neighboring regions of the Gold Coast and Dahomey, the Eweland region of southern Togo experienced shifting and episodic colonial governance that provided intermittent and varied occasions for interaction between indigenous Africans and Europeans. This book narrates the reconfiguration of spatial relationships at the village and town level in response to the different challenges of German, British, and French colonialisms. The ethnonationalist struggle,

often referred to as the Ewe Reunification Movement, was doomed to fail from the outset because the Ewe never constituted a coherent, self-conscious group capable of sustaining a national political agenda. Framed as a critique of Ewe ethnonationalism (1945–56) and Togolese nationalism (1956–60) more generally, my research has uncovered evidence for social and political developments among Ewe *dukwo* that raise important questions about the efficacy of the anticolonial nationalist enterprise. I argue that after the departure of the Germans (1914) and the demarcation of the border between the two mandated territories (1919), the southern area of French Togoland known as Eweland was the site of significant political and social change, with important implications for the trajectory of the anticolonial nationalist struggles during the post–World War II period.<sup>5</sup>

Periurban colonialism profoundly shaped relationships among Ewe men and women and helped the Ewe nationalist leadership negotiate an outcome to the anticolonial struggle. *Locality, Mobility, and “Nation”* contends that among the Ewe there existed an indigenous tradition of political opportunism, a by-product of the rapidly shifting terrain of colonial rule and the varying proximity of the interactions characteristic of colonialism.<sup>6</sup> Far from being a Westernized political tradition imported into Togo (and elsewhere in Africa) in the late 1940s by African expatriates keen to capitalize on the post–World War II transformative moment, the underlying framework for the form and structure of the nationalism of the 1940s and fifties was determined by preexisting local challenges. As one opportunity after another to realize limited local objectives presented itself, men and women, old and young, peasants and proletarians challenged the local operations of colonial authority during the 1920s through the 1940s. In so doing, they substantively transformed the relationship between Africans and Europeans, providing the framework for the final nationalist challenge of the 1950s and sixties. The post-1945 Ewe reunification movement hinged on a broadly defined Ewe political identity but lacked a coherent social and cultural basis with which to achieve its goal of an independent Ewe homeland.

The three terms in the title of this book—*Locality, Mobility, and “Nation”*—allude to the spatial relationship between the *dukwo* of periurban Eweland and concepts of Ewe nationhood. Because they do not speak with any sense of authenticity or agency about nonelite involvement in historical change, I reject approaches that focus explicitly on political activity alone, such as the growth of parties and the creation of political networks, although in a broader context these are surely relevant.<sup>7</sup> What interest me are the dynamics of ground-level tensions that may or may not lead individuals or groups to become aware of or active in geographically or numerically larger-scale sociopolitical acts, and subsequently how and why they make the choices they do.<sup>8</sup> The term *locality* focuses attention on the social history of the spatial dynamic, particularly the existence of a periurban zone, and the interwoven community ties to Eweland. *Mobility* advances the significance and complexity

of physical geography, demography, and population movements for the formation and diffusion of ideas of community. And incorporating "*nation*" allows me to approach the goal of nationalists and critique the structuring and deployment of the various forms of ethnic and territorial nationalism that operated in Eweland. Individually, these terms resonate with important historical writing on gender, nationalism, and African social history. Collectively, they underscore the need for a new approach to the physical geography of the African colonial experience.

In summation, reexamining the history of colonial Eweland allows me to make several arguments with implications for the wider subregion and for African historical scholarship. First, both failed and successful nationalist programs operated within a Eurocentric framework of the nation-state, but assessing the qualitative difference in the lives of Africans in multiple colonial milieus requires a new methodology and framework. Second, a periurban lens—a descriptive methodology incorporating space and process that unites outlying rural constituencies with the urban and market centers to which mature colonialism tied them—reveals qualitative differences in the lives of communities that were neither wholly urban nor rural as represented in the existing historical literature on urban and rural colonialism in Africa. Third, periurban colonialism unites historical writing on nationalism and gender by focusing on the role of an indigenous space, *dukɔwo*, as a primary vehicle in the development of community and power relations. Fourth, studies of rural and urban Africa anticipate the emergence of a periurban zone. Fifth, periurban communities actualized local knowledge, such as mobility and accumulation, to offset the challenges of colonialism. Sixth, political opportunism flourished because the expansion of a periurban zone rendered communication and movement easier among Ewe *dukɔwo*, permitting certain individuals to imagine an Ewe "nation." Seventh, case studies exploring the dimensions of this periurban zone enable me to "test" the relative veracity of Sylvanus Olympio's claims to represent "his people, the Ewe tribe."

### How Periurban Social History Unites Histories of African Nationalism and Gender

My interest in Eweland grew partly in reaction to the narrow focus of historical writing about the nationalist period.<sup>9</sup> On the one hand, the scholarship on the Ewe and Togolese independence struggles constitutes a body of hagiographical literature with an exclusively political focus, one that ignores the regional differences fomented by the dispersed "traditional" authority structures, the *dukɔwo*. The Ewe are treated as a "tribe" like any other in West Africa, and the expansive variations in authority and power are rendered meaningless. On the other hand, the transition from the ethnonationalism of



the reunification movement to the ostensibly multiethnic nationalism of the Togolese independence movement remains largely unexplained. Olympio is portrayed as a charismatic and visionary pan-African leader, whose star shone brightly but was extinguished all too quickly. Olympio does not merely loom large in the nationalist narrative but eclipses all other political and social figures and forces.<sup>10</sup>

Shifting the focus away from Europeanized elites and toward the *dukwo* is particularly important because change and continuity within the clanlike unit is integral to any critical evaluation of the evolving role of chieftaincy, tradition, and Ewe ethnoideology. Periurban colonialism is an interpretative framework that unites the conceptual terrain of nationalist, social, and gender historiographies. Chieftaincy in its contemporary form in Eweland is a relatively recent development among the region's political agglomerations, the *dukwo*.<sup>11</sup> Depending on the size of the village (anywhere from a hundred to several thousand persons) and the structure and history of settlement, the term *dou* could apply to a clan or a larger group that might be described as a "community." Chapter 1 describes the ethnography of precolonial and periurban colonial Eweland. It is important to note at this point that within any given *dou*, the lineage heads, in the form of a council of male elders headed by the most senior, directed the clan-community on a *primus inter pares* system.<sup>12</sup> But although scholars of African nations and nationalism have given considerable attention to the complexity and role of ethnicity, the masculinist narratives require further critique.<sup>13</sup> Although the hierarchy and institutions of authority continued to change significantly throughout the duration of the Togoland mandates, *dukwo* present a relatively stable spatial "node" of analysis while also disrupting the role of male elites.<sup>14</sup>

This observation notwithstanding, both the sociopolitical climate in the Eweland and Olympio's objectives changed considerably over a period of more than two decades. But although Olympio's metamorphosis from French loyalist in 1938 to militant nationalist after 1945 is reasonably well understood, the general currents of social and political history that furnished the larger architecture for the shift from Eweland to nation remain unclear. A biographer of Olympio might thus ask the question: how was it possible for an elite, métis Afro-Brazilian merchant and professional economist to represent himself as the natural leader of a large ethnically based nationalist movement? One might continue, how did Olympio and his acolytes conceive of their relationship with the "Ewe tribe"? A social historian, however, interested in incremental change wrought by complex social processes, would frame such an enquiry altogether differently by asking what social and cultural forces arose during the ethnonationalist period that made it possible for an individual such as Olympio to consider himself the leader of an otherwise very diverse collection of Ewe subgroups? These paths of inquiry are different sides of the same coin, but pursuing them leads historians into starkly different territories.<sup>15</sup> The first has



been tried and tested in various contexts, but the second is only now beginning to bear fruit.<sup>16</sup> Although African social historians have broadly rejected both trends, one self-referential, the other teleological, the same scholars have been rather reluctant to move forward with critiques of the nationalist projects of the 1945–60 period, leaving the work incomplete.<sup>17</sup>

Incorporating gender broadens the scope of social-historical analyses of nationalism.<sup>18</sup> Over the past several decades, historians of women have made considerable progress in demonstrating the pivotal role of gender in African social history. Because much colonial documentation is generally uninformative for women's history, historians were from the outset concerned with eliciting the doubly silenced voices of African women and the racial and sexual biases of colonial officials.<sup>19</sup> Subsequently, scholarship sought to recover entire women's lives, partly to demonstrate, in Charles Tilly's words, how women "experience the big events."<sup>20</sup> Another important trend in the 1980s attempted to reclaim women's consciousness as a way of highlighting the ways in which women can respond to historical processes in order to maximize benefits to themselves.<sup>21</sup> This, in turn, provoked historians of women to reintegrate their actors into the narratives, and studies proliferated that used gender as one of several categories situating women as subaltern or marginalized subjects within wider gendered realms of power.<sup>22</sup>

In contrast, historical writing on male power, and more broadly on African masculinity, has only recently begun to evolve into a substantial subfield of inquiry, in spite of the fact that colonial rule "was essentially a male project."<sup>23</sup> Although some early scholars of women's lives argued that African colonial history was, in its very formulation, male history, even important scholarship on men neglected the complexity of masculinity.<sup>24</sup> This was in spite of the fact that African men wrote intimately and at length about their manhood.<sup>25</sup> Studies of male conscripts were among the first to shed light on the value that colonial empires placed on manhood.<sup>26</sup> Subsequently, male life histories became an important area of research.<sup>27</sup> A focus on men, both white and black, is also important to theorizations of the relative power of the colonial state.<sup>28</sup>

The last few years have seen a trend toward recentering gendered theorizations of colonialism by highlighting how colonial officials emphasized gender divisions in the articulation of colonial power.<sup>29</sup> Rather than taking the gender of the actors as the focus, or "compartmentalizing gender," the concept of periurban colonialism accentuates the utility of the individuals and groups to the colonial project, enjoining gender as an all-encompassing, all-pervasive category of power relations.<sup>30</sup> Furthermore, "the study of space-forming activities integrates gender at every territorial scale from the local to the macro-regional by examining power and representation, competition and collaboration."<sup>31</sup> *Periurban colonialism* as a conceptual term acknowledges the importance of the gendered spheres of power and

authority, but embeds it into the narrative as one of several important aspects of a social historical analysis of the antecedents of anticolonial nationalism. The seemingly unassailable rise of Olympio to the leadership of the Ewe Reunification Movement within French Togoland in the 1940s was largely a product of the massive spatial reconfiguration that took place in Eweland in the 1920s and thirties. I am thus attempting to recover the “interior architecture” of periurban Eweland.<sup>32</sup>

### Of Town, Country, and the Space Between: How Social History Anticipates the Emergence of the Periurban Zone

If the inadequacies of nationalist historiographies in accounting for the failure of Ewe nationalism were what drew me initially to this study, it was my interest in incorporating spatial theory into the social history of the anticolonial struggle that pushed me to delve deeper. In the colonial Eweland context, previous definitions of the “urban,” the “rural,” and the relationship between both and towns hold little conceptual value.<sup>33</sup> The *dukwo* transcend arbitrary and Western organizational strategies. Moreover, Eweland does not fit neatly into the parallel literature of African peasants and rural change.<sup>34</sup> Only small, discrete Ewe communities can be folded into the historical literature on urbanization, industrialization, and the creation of a working class. It is inadequate to divide Eweland in rural and urban during the colonial period, just as it would be in many other regions under colonial control. Much of coastal Eweland was dotted with small urban and mercantile centers that existed well before formal colonialism. But with the new economic demands of colonialism, and its attendant dynamic inland markets, village centers, and transportation routes, colonial rule restructured rural life significantly.

By the 1920s, little if any of rural Eweland was beyond a short trip by foot or vehicle from either coastal entrepôts or interior market centers.<sup>35</sup> Indeed, as if to underscore the ever-expanding propinquity of French and British colonial officials, Ewe villagers turned increasingly to illicit borderland transactions to circumvent colonial purview.<sup>36</sup> My interest lies with how these changes were interpreted by, “actualized,” and incorporated into the lives of the local population, using their indigenous knowledge systems, such as knowledge of distance, time of travel, dangers, weather, value and perishability of goods, and so on.<sup>37</sup> My research reveals the significance of this proximity and these emerging ties, but a new formulation focusing on the experience of colonial rule in the periurban zone is necessary in order to explore the modalities of African and European interaction in this complex zone, which is neither exclusively urban nor remotely rural.<sup>38</sup>

Drawing on Judith Carney, Allen Howard identifies a number of important contributions rendered by spatial analysis.<sup>39</sup> He argues,

Tools of spatial analysis enable scholars to avoid simplistic models about the derivation and carryover of culture and instead to trace the movement and reworking of technologies, social practices, and ideas and to examine the processes by which people constituted groups and identities.<sup>40</sup>

Examining sociohistorical change in a given area or among particular communities may certainly produce important and interesting narratives, but some of the complexities of African societies are often silenced in studies that focus on narrowly defined locales or Westernized settings.<sup>41</sup>

Over the past several decades a number of social-historical studies of rural life and peasants examining the African experience during "mature" colonialism have alluded to the emergence of a periurban zone. For example, cocoa farmers straddled two worlds: they functioned within networks of precolonial lineage systems that operated as mechanisms governing inheritance, and they maximized their output by securing credit.<sup>42</sup> Similarly to these social-historical studies, rural social protest studies recalibrate the rural hinterland and urban space into a periurban zone and provide an important focus in agriculture and peasantry studies.<sup>43</sup> The inarticulate colonial rural "exodus" model has been displaced by fluid formulations emphasizing mobility.<sup>44</sup> Peasantization as process—embedded in legal and political processes, social relations, and culturally constructed understandings that influence patterns of authority and obligation, the division of labor and output, and the meaning of exchange—reveals how peasant societies have always been sites of contested access to resources and struggles over power.<sup>45</sup> And peasant studies have approached the problem of labor scarcity by studying how Africans invested in multiple networks, which increased status and prestige.<sup>46</sup>

Social histories of African capitalism, proletarianization, industrialization, and urbanization refashion many of the same conceptual problems, such as the transition to semi-industrial capitalism and the way people experienced labor policy on the ground.<sup>47</sup> Urban Africans belong to multiple communities, however, and historians should be cautious not to advance one at the exclusion of others; qualitative differences in experience are an important part of theorizing the periurban space.<sup>48</sup> Scholarship on the outward- and inward-looking urban arena captures the attraction of both urban and nonurban space for accumulation and consumption.<sup>49</sup> Shifting away from the countervailing forces of proletarianization, to consciously urbanizing spaces and multivalent identities emerging in African cities in the twentieth century, new research reveals how precolonial and colonial identities embedded themselves within cities.<sup>50</sup> Characterizations of the city include viewing it as a site of "struggle," but also as the classical colonial hub of hubris.<sup>51</sup> A focus on *who shapes* the city puts the people back into the more traditional formulation of urban studies—*what makes* a town.<sup>52</sup> Cities in Africa both fascinated and terrified European colonials, particularly because of the omnipresent fear of

“detrribalization.” John Parker observes that “size does not matter. . . . [A]ny distinction between ‘town’ and ‘city’ [is] redundant. . . . [T]he city must never be analyzed as an isolate, but as a nodal point within wider societal systems.”<sup>53</sup>

Underscoring the incommensurability of a rural-urban division in colonial Africa, Jean Dresch famously observed in 1950 that the African town “is an invention of Whites, populated by Blacks.”<sup>54</sup> The social history of peasants and proletarians displays several important and recurring themes and incongruencies that anticipate a new conceptual framework theorizing the space that is neither town nor rural backwater. First, the grander terms such as peasantization, proletarianization, and urbanization unjustly compromise complex processes and subjectivities. Not only do their inherent teleologies obfuscate historical change and African agency, but such narratives foreground all-encompassing transformative Western categories of analysis to the detriment of autochthonous historical change. These terms are not ahistorical, but they strip the social and cultural context from historical process. Second, African colonial subjects have a remarkable capacity for carving out space within European colonial projects to accomplish specific or diffuse goals, ranging from network creation and family security to time management and the development of various forms of consciousness incorporating class, gender, ethnicity and age sets, among others. Third, writing that consciously decenters categories of analysis, such as “peasant farmer” or “mine laborer,” permits discussion of space and dis/location, providing an important segue to formulating a category that engages some of the criteria of periurbanism. Fourth, few studies have considered the possibility that frequently their subjects inhabit a broad spectrum of spaces and environments that do not fit the neat categories of city and country, while simultaneously cognizant that the urban is most often the site whence emanates colonial social, political and economic change. Some studies, attempting to engage aspects of this paradoxical relationship between subject and space, fail to realize the full potential of their formulations. Finally, there seems to be an increasing realization that African colonial experiences rarely fall within one or the other colonial space. How to interpret the fluid movements back and forth between towns and their respective interlocking zones, and how to feed this variable into explanations of historical change, is the subject of the next section.

### Locality, Mobility and Proximity: Describing the Periurban Zone in Africa and Beyond

It is difficult to categorize and conceptualize the African colonial experience that preceded failed nationalisms without addressing the multivalent spatial dynamics of locality and urban-rural mobility. Identifying and defining periurban zones helps resolve many of the problems of analysis explained above.

The periurban zone is an attempt to answer Michel Arnaud's call to "update the relationship" between the countryside and the town.<sup>55</sup> The surge of interest in mobility and locality that arose among historical anthropologists during the 1980s and nineties has shed light on how "space and time are themselves socialized and localized through complex and deliberate practices of performance, representation, and action."<sup>56</sup>

The periurban zone is very much a response of local knowledge systems to the perils of colonialism. Arjun Appadurai's interrogation of the phenomenology of locality provides some critical insight:

Much that has been considered local knowledge is actually knowledge of how to produce and reproduce locality under conditions of anxiety and entropy, social wear and flux, ecological uncertainty and cosmic volatility, and the always present quirkiness of kinsmen, enemies, [and] spirits.<sup>57</sup>

Furthermore, "local knowledge is not only local in itself but, even more important for itself."<sup>58</sup> In Eweland there does indeed seem to be a sense of a periurban locality, one that might be described in "cosmological or ritual" terms.<sup>59</sup> Locality resides in specific indigenous and multivalent notions of belonging and personhood.<sup>60</sup> Ideas of locality and spatiality can be thought of as "sites constructed in fields of unequal power relations."<sup>61</sup>

Instead of seeing the Ewe as tied to a Eurocentric nationalist notion of an Ewe nation, the concept of periurban colonialism draws somewhat on Homi Bhabha's formulation of homeland as un-localized space of and between sites, and one with spiritual overtones.<sup>62</sup> In Eweland this formulation reveals itself to be a conundrum: "locality often appears subsumed within the notion of belonging itself, which serves to provide collective identity and a sense of cohesion and cultural commensality."<sup>63</sup> The periurban thus draws on the concept of habitus, as formulated by Marcel Mauss and expanded by Pierre Bourdieu, insofar as the politicocultural associations of a periurban zone extend to aspects of culture that are anchored in the body and in the daily practices of individuals and groups, including a person's beliefs and dispositions.<sup>64</sup> Like Sandra Barnes's description of Ogun, Ewe cosmology and geography are interwoven: "through a complex web of bodily images, connections are established between humans and the landscape which they inhabit."<sup>65</sup>

The "non-fixity and movement" of people and deities are central to production and reproduction.<sup>66</sup> And Ewe vodou "cosmology highlights [the] inherent mobility across potentially habitable territories."<sup>67</sup> Nadia Lovell explains the crucial role that Ewe vodou plays in the expression of locality thus:

The vodhun [*sic*] contribute to a sense of belonging to the place of settlement, and provide a subsequent justification to such a claim, but they are not alone in doing so. Humans are dialectically involved in the shaping of the identities of their deities, and

in allowing their presence on earth in the first place. The processes involved in the shaping of vodhun's identities, shrines and receptacles such as pots also involve humans in the direct shaping of their environment and in the appropriation of nature. Creating a cosmology positions gods in the human community, legitimising claims on territory and movement through time and space, and ensuring the continuity of human life itself; but it also maps out cosmological territories which humans come to inhabit through their association with vodhun. Knowing the world therefore implies a direct knowledge of earthly territories transferred onto metaphysical landscapes of belonging, enacted and made implicit through this process, nor is it simply socialised to bring it within human bonds. Nature in this sense does not exist simply in society, but it is also viewed as society. The image of nature within human society is thus matched by an image of humans within nature.<sup>68</sup>

But although the spiritual and cosmological components are important, people are heavily involved in creating a sense of space.<sup>69</sup> Indeed, "meanings become externalized in the social, cultural, and natural environments through processes that provide a certain stability in time."<sup>70</sup> In this sense, then, the periurban zone incorporates endogenous or indigenous senses of spatiality and locality; it is much more than an aggregation of *lieux de mémoire*.<sup>71</sup>

Examples abound of the ways in which African indigenous conceptualizations of locality and mobility construct "functional," "relational or interactive" regions.<sup>72</sup> Portuguese Maputo created the circumstances ripe for a fluid movement of people and cultures back and forth from the city to the periurban outlying zone.<sup>73</sup> South Asian settlers in Durban straddled the rural-urban divide and developed occupations to realize the possibilities of their predicament.<sup>74</sup> The dynamic agricultural sector of West Africa also stimulated the expansion of the periurban zone.<sup>75</sup> Accumulation and mobility among Yoruba kinship networks presents a community that both spans the urban-rural divide and "actualizes" the possibilities of life in the periurban zone.<sup>76</sup> Indeed, accumulation, a function of conscious mobility, is an effective way to engage the periurban.<sup>77</sup> Although I am not particularly concerned with accumulation per se, a study of the conditions of production and accumulation, specifically mobility and locality, requires the development of strategies that illuminate interrelations between economic change, the processes of differentiation, class formation and political mobilization.<sup>78</sup>

A framework sensitive to locality and mobility permits an elaboration of shifts over time: from precolonial forms of accumulation, through membership in social units (house, lineage, and so on), to newly evolving dynamics in colonial and postcolonial kinship networks stimulated by changes in production, trade, and wage labor. Sara Berry describes the peculiar historical and geographical circumstances that gave rise to a Nigerian periurban zone thus:

In the rural sector the growth of agricultural production for export created a mass of small-scale commercial farmers, but not a class of self-reproducing peasant house-

holds. Because juniors worked on their senior kinsmen's farms in return for future assistance in establishing independent farms or other enterprises of their own, over time individuals tended to cycle in and out of a given farming enterprise, and often in and out of the farmer's household as well. The same thing was true of capital. Even in colonial times, although the spread of cocoa growing and commercial food-crop production created widespread opportunities for modest increases in income, the best opportunities for accumulation lay not in agriculture but in trade, the professions, and the civil service. Hence, agricultural surplus was often invested in nonagricultural enterprises (or in education), and successful farmers (or their children) tended to leave farming in pursuit of wealth and influence in the wide regional economy. Even hired laborers, who often had farms or other resources, moved in and out of agricultural employment on a casual or seasonal basis, in search of cash rather than subsistence. Thus the commercialization of agriculture created neither a peasantry nor a stable rural structure of agricultural capitalists and proletarians; rather, it facilitated participation by farmers and their descendants in the emerging regional and national division of labor.<sup>79</sup>

And although Berry does not use the term "periurban" explicitly, in many regards her Marxist dialectical analysis, which focuses on material processes and resource access, might quite aptly apply to colonial Eweland.

Berry's later work continues this interest in the "fluidity of social networks," and drawing on Gary Ferraro's work, she describes a community of Kikuyu as "periurban residents" although she does not pursue the analysis.<sup>80</sup> Ferraro used the term initially to capture the ethnographic reality in the early 1970s of densely populated areas around Nairobi, which, at the time, were not officially incorporated into the city itself. Although the everyday lives of these residents were very much integrated into the urban economy and social structure, the areas themselves were administratively outside of the jurisdiction of the Nairobi municipal government.<sup>81</sup> In a not dissimilar disciplinary context, the concept of the periurban has also been used to explain life in village structures that have not yet reached the dimensions of towns.<sup>82</sup> It is quite reasonable to see the expansion of village structures and the eventual incorporation of groups of villages into towns as a consequence of increasing wage labor and market activity, consumption, and accumulation.<sup>83</sup> Furthermore, an important contextual aspect of the periurban zone is the expansion of preexisting settlements outside the major towns and urban centers, which underscores the role of the urban in transforming the outlying rural sector.<sup>84</sup>

In some writing, a developmental teleology suggests that all villages will expand and merge into towns when consumption and accumulation patterns expand.<sup>85</sup> In contrast, an important aspect of the periurban zone is that it is always located beyond urban centers and yet within striking distance, a position afforded by rapid changes in communication and transportation. The periurban does not simply consist of overlapping peripheral zones, because



its locus or loci are not all-determining.<sup>86</sup> If one were to leap forward to a contemporary setting (for example, to the rapidly expanding African cities of the present), one would find that the periurban zones beyond are regions that are constantly shifting outward from urban zones.<sup>87</sup> The zone is not fixed, and in the colonial period it is not moving so rapidly; but just as the locus expanded, so too did the outlying periurban zone.<sup>88</sup>

Aside from early, limited, and uncritical use by social scientists, the periurban zone as both a descriptive and an analytical category has remained ignored until recently.<sup>89</sup> A number of contemporary legal and development studies manipulate *periurban* to encompass a qualitative deviation from the Western “norms” of urbanization and modernization.<sup>90</sup> Jean-Marie Cour interpolates the periurban zone into a statement about increasing rural-urban interdependency, particularly the proximity of markets and urban services.<sup>91</sup> Abdou Fall and Cheikh Guèye draw attention to the importance of factoring Dakar’s periurban interactions into development planning, and argue against compartmentalizing rural and urban.<sup>92</sup> While describing it very blandly as “dynamic terrain,” Malini Ranganathan considers the periurban zone the “one of the most dynamic arenas of the cultural landscape.”<sup>93</sup> Raja Devasish Roy employs *periurban* in a negative sense, as a place “where the influence of customary social rules based upon oral traditions, ritual, and ceremony are relatively weaker than in the rural areas.” Roy’s choice reflects his desire to foreground the backwardness of Bangladeshi modernity.<sup>94</sup> For Don Paterson, however, the “periurban” environment of South Pacific island communities, like the urban, “is more diverse and allows for greater access to new information and ideas.”<sup>95</sup> It is certainly helpful to emphasize population fluidity, something seen in Yorubaland and in the cultural dualism and societal bifurcation in the Zambian copper-mining region explained as “localism.”<sup>96</sup> Furthermore, most of this contemporary treatment must be set against the backdrop of an academic obsession with the rapid urbanization of Africa.<sup>97</sup> But most references to *periurban* are shallow and slippery, and more often than not the term is used interchangeably with “urban” and “suburban,” with little categorical consistency.<sup>98</sup>

Notwithstanding this academic insouciance, a focus on the concept of a periurban zone and processes of periurban colonialism substantially enhances our understanding of the modalities of colonial rule by putting aside many mistaken categorizations of African space and experience. Although one might make the case that a *periurbanism* has existed in sub-Saharan Africa for as long as urban centers have, the formal colonization of Africa and the deepening processes of high colonialism marked a particularly important qualitative shift in the extension of and significance of this spatial zone.<sup>99</sup> During the 1910s and twenties this zone expanded rapidly as roads, railways and market towns grew and multiplied (see fig. I.1). No longer can we refer to the region beyond the city as a hinterland, backwater or outlying zone, because these regions are connected in new ways by the transformative and



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Figure 1.1 : Transportation in periurban Eweland, ca. 1910–40: Bicycle, canoe, truck, and train. Reproduced with permission from Bildarchiv der deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft, Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main.

transportive powers of colonialism.<sup>100</sup> What form the processes of extraction, exchange, and “désenclavement” took—voluntary, forced, “market driven”—is not so significant as the existence of a new relationship mediating historical change.<sup>101</sup> Not all rural and hinterlands were part of this process, but only those landscapes within a reasonable proximity of a nodal point (in Eweland, primarily *dukwo*), a condition which in other Eurocentric contexts has been explained as “space-time compression.”<sup>102</sup> Within the course of a generation or two from the beginning of formal colonization in German Togoland, all of Eweland was within an hour’s drive or several hours’ walk of an important nodal point.<sup>103</sup>

Attention to what Lynn Hunt calls “the boundary between urban and rural, modern and backward, in the places of confrontation, and in the positions occupied by outsiders and intermediaries” has substantially shifted the way historians and other scholars see the directions of historical change and the rural-urban divide.<sup>104</sup> New communities of people from outlying regions made claims on the urban political, economic, and social realms, while simultaneously maintaining their foothold in rural homes. The “simple moral dichotomies between city and country” are “called into question” by numerous cultural phenomena, such as “urban vice, the flight of farm children, the squalor of the countryside, the difficulties of agrarian cooperation, the need for rural education and ‘improvement.’”<sup>105</sup> The intractability of the urban-rural divide obfuscates how “all people, rural or urban, share with each other and with all living and unliving things . . . the abstraction called nature.” There is *no* divide, but rather a “subtle and complex” continuum, the characteristics of which are historically contingent.<sup>106</sup>

The concept of the periurban should now be quite clear. Let us reiterate some of its aspects before examining in chapter 1 how it came into being, specifically in Eweland. The existence of an African colonial periurban zone requires several factors:

- the existence of multiple urban and market centers of varying size and pull;
- the expansion of transportation routes (roads, railways, harbors, footpaths, cyclable paths);
- the expansion of communication routes (telegraphs, telephones, electricity);
- an increasingly mobile population moving between farms and urban occupations and markets;
- expanding pressures and incentives to move back and forth from village to market;
- increasing affordability of transportation (bicycles, canoes, trucks, cars, the antecedents to the modern bush taxi) and increasing numbers of able drivers;
- a thinly spread European administration;
- an increasingly important and mobile African bureaucracy; and
- a capacity to move considerable distances inside the zone within several hours and up to one day.

After a few decades of colonial presence, the once remote and isolated Ewe *dukwo* were all within striking distance of European colonial officials and the expansive African cadre of the colonial state, a shift that fundamentally transformed the rural colonial experience.

By the 1920s and thirties, no part of Eweland could be considered "rural," or at least "rural" in the sense used by conventional Africanist literature about rural life and experience as surveyed above. Instead, Ewe men and women inhabited a colonial sphere of influence not so omnipresent as that of an urban setting, but not so removed as the remote rural hinterlands of many colonies. Changes in communications and transport did not affect rural lives evenly. Although those living hundreds of kilometers from any significant colonial presence may have been able to communicate by telephone or telegram as quickly as those within fifty kilometers of the regional capital, only the latter knew that the sphere of colonial authority was within a few hours by foot or vehicle. This framework is not designed to reify colonial power or magnify the violence of colonialism. On the contrary, identifying the periurban zone and the processes of periurban colonialism is an attempt to arrive at a more nuanced elaboration of the African colonial experience, and it is an extension of my earlier response to Tom Spear's call for a more sophisticated explanation of the operational modalities of power.<sup>107</sup> It cannot be applied uniformly throughout Africa, but the experience of Eweland is certainly emblematic of that of many communities. How Ewe men and women interpreted and mediated colonial authority was tied closely to their locality, and the specificities of locality and the zones of influence under which a specific locality might fall are intrinsic elements of this mediation.

## Sources, Methodology, and Organization

This book pursues multiple and overlapping social historical narratives of the French colonial rule of Eweland, and the shifts in chapters are both thematic and temporal. Thematically, the book focuses on periurban colonialism as outlined above. This descriptive framework drives each chapter, and in different ways each chapter addresses important debates in the scholarship of nationalism, gender, and social historical writing.

This introduction described what I consider a fundamental problem with African nationalist historiography. It then proposed a solution: rethinking the Eweland experience as periurban colonialism. Chapter 1 develops this new descriptive framework and demonstrates the emergence of a periurban zone in Eweland. This introduction to Eweland will make clear why I chose the particular case studies explored in chapters 2 through 6. Because one of my goals is to underscore the operation and spread of localized conflict and its significance in determining the nature of later nationalism, chapter 1 situates periurban colonialism and the Togo mandate within the French colonial paradigm.

Chapter 2 looks at the social and political architecture of periurban colonialism, specifically the chieftaincy, the taxation and labor systems, and the role of agricultural production. It begins with an examination of a dispute over the leadership of an important periurban town, Aného. In 1922, the French regime moved to replace the traditional dual chieftaincies of two conjoined villages with a single individual chief loyal to France's political mandate. In restructuring the chieftaincy, the French revealed a central bias in their political operation: the imposition of hierarchical relations of power. Whereas the role of the chieftaincy has received considerable attention from African historians, chapter 2 shifts our focus to the political dimension of periurban colonialism.

Chapter 3 turns attention to the colonial capital, Lomé, and the relationship between the city and the periurban zone. Cities and urban space have received plenty of attention from historians, but a city is not always the nodal point or locus of authority. In this story, the periurban zone descends on the city and challenges the operations of French colonialism. Between 1922 and 1932, a quasi-democratic body, the Conseil des Notables, assisted in the governance of the city and its outlying periurban region, the Cercle of Lomé. This experiment in elected office displaced the role of urban lineage heads and village chiefs in the governance of the town, and produced conflicting lines of authority that were exploited by youths and periurban market women. In 1933, however, the French governor decided to curtail the power of the Conseil by creating a Conseil Municipal, stripping the original body of the power it wielded over the periurban zone. The outcome of this conflict, the first major victory in the anticolonial struggle, was a new economic and political order that significantly altered life in the periurban zone.

Chapter 4 analyzes the capacity of the state to exert authority over the periurban zone, and the manifestations of Ewe culture that challenged colonial rule. Through another fractious conflict in the hamlet of Tchékpo-Dévé, we learn of the intrinsic importance of proximity to the operation of periurban colonialism. From the very beginning of permanent European presence, the social and political influence of vodou priests slowly eroded, and by the 1920s an exclusively political chieftaincy became the preferred colonial model. Between 1925 and 1935, however, the chief of one village sought to enhance his power by combining his office with that of vodou priest. In order to accomplish this, he deviated from the practices of the region and terrified his local population into submission with sporadic bouts of human sacrifice. Chapter 4 reveals how periurban colonialism operated on the ground by demonstrating the rapid response to challenges to the colonial order. Furthermore, it demonstrates the intrinsic role of religion in dispute formation and resolution, as local communities struggled to negotiate the political environment created by the French colonial presence.

The purpose of chapter 5 is to shed light on an important manifestation of the periurban zone: the mobilization of political constituents, in this case

a protonationalist lobby group. The German Togo-Bund began as a community united in a demand for a return to German colonial control, but it quickly morphed into a more provocatively anti-French body and was forced to relocate to the Gold Coast. Although almost solely Ewe in membership, it maintained a pretence of being Togo-wide. The Bund was active from the 1920s into the late forties and took a strong interest in ameliorating the impoverished lives of peasant communities, all of whom happened to be within periurban Eweland. It pursued a strategy of legal intervention and documented what it described as human rights abuses.

Chapter 6 explores a final important aspect of periurban colonialism: the circulation of ideas and the dissemination of knowledge via newsprint. The story begins during the heyday of the Bund and narrates the role of Jonathon Savi de Tové's publications in effecting the transition from the ethnonationalism of the Ewe Reunification Movement to the nation-state platform of the Comité de l'Unité Togolaise. Because most prominent political and cultural figures in French Togoland were ethnically Ewe or Ewe-speaking Afro-Brazilian elites, it is hardly surprising that the first organized political parties viewed periurban Eweland as their primary constituency. The Ewe Reunification Movement, with constituents in the British-controlled Gold Coast, British Togoland, and French Togoland, had as its goal the reunification of all Ewe-speakers under one independent government. They mobilized their constituents by focusing on local issues, such as land management, schools, and taxation. And their tactics and discourse demonstrated that many Ewe nationalists were heavily indebted to the earlier interwar struggles. As international political developments made an independent Ewe state increasingly unlikely, the French Togo-based activists reshaped their organization into an independence movement, mirroring the experience of neighboring French-speaking possessions.

In the final section of the book, the epilogue, I discuss the postindependence manifestations of Ewe nationalism and their significance in shaping debates about the failures of the African independence struggle. The regime of Sylvanus Olympio, the chief beneficiary of the struggles examined in chapter 6, was overthrown after only three years in power, in what was sub-Saharan Africa's first military coup. The epilogue will allow me to make some concluding comments explaining the role of periurban colonialism in producing an unstable, ethnocentric nationalism. In this brief reflection on the successes and failures of the African independence struggle I will provide suggestions for future avenues of research.

# 1

## Mobility, Locality, and Ewe Identity in Periurban Eweland

On the boundary between urban and rural, modern and backward, in the places of confrontation, and in the positions occupied by outsiders and intermediaries—there the new gospel of participation and innovation was most warmly received.

—Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class*, 211

In 1925, Governor Auguste Bonnacarrère's administration promulgated a law mandating that markets in Eweland conform to a new twice-weekly, three-day cycle accompanied by a day of rest on Sunday. The law abolished the four-day cycle operating throughout Eweland, and fixed particular days of the new seven-day week as market days in various *dukwo* throughout Eweland. The new law was designed to amplify the role of Lomé as a market town and the central node of a market zone. Bonnacarrère sought to curtail the sprawling periurban markets and redirect commerce from the outlying periurban region through the capital. He also sought to manage competition.<sup>1</sup> Without explicitly stating it, the new law was also designed to facilitate the taxation of periurban markets and commerce along the international border. Smuggling and unregulated trade imperiled colonial authority both financially and politically. Furthermore, because such monitoring and restructuring required the physical presence of French officials, this new seven-day cycle was designed to harmonize their work schedule. For a short while, the law was grudgingly tolerated. Market women substantially reorganized their lives, families, and livelihoods.<sup>2</sup> More goods flowed through the city, only to be carried back to outlying market towns on subsequent market days.

This chapter explores how periurban Eweland came into being by following key shifts in lives and communities from the period prior to formal colonialism until the creation of the League of Nations mandates.

## Regulating Periurban Markets

Bonnecarrère's attempt to regulate the market shows how significant the periurban zone was by the mid-1920s. But periurban Eweland did not simply come into being overnight. Markets and market cycles have a rich history in West Africa. The order and tradition of regional market networks follow time-honored patterns, and their uneasy coexistence with the Western seven-day week in the colonial and postcolonial period is suggestive of the depth and importance of these patterns. Eweland and neighboring areas, such as the Adangme, Fon, and Akposso regions, have long had four-day cycles. Fanti and neighboring regions have for a long time used a six-day calendar. North of the Volta basin, in much of the Sahelian region, a three-day cycle is the norm. Contemporary Eweland's pattern ascribes one of four named days to each of the towns and villages of the region, from Ho, Kpalimé, and Kpandu in the north, to Anloga, Keta, Agbodrafo, and Aného on the coast, to Notsé, Tagbigbo, and Tsévié in the Haho and Zio valleys. This fixed calendar permits itinerant market women to move around, adopting their own cycles. Some women follow each other in groups; others pick and choose which markets to attend. And above all else, much of the choice depends on the weight and portability of goods and produce sold by an individual, as is apparent from the photographs in figure 1.1. Today, the forward-looking entrepreneur and the infrequent market itinerant may purchase locally printed booklets and pamphlets to plan their schedules.<sup>3</sup>

In contrast to this flexible scheme, the new French model assigned particular days of the Western week to important regional towns. Communities perceived as less significant were apportioned days in a haphazard fashion without regard for geographical proximity or distances to be traveled. Thus, Kpalimé's market was fixed on Tuesday and Saturday, and Lomé's on Wednesday and Saturday. No markets were to be held on Sunday. In British Eweland no such interference took place, which meant that the four-day cycle operated simultaneously with the new seven-day cycle. On occasion the markets of adjacent towns, such as Lomé and Aflao, or Kpetoe and Kévé, could fall on the same day, with complex and overwhelmingly negative economic and social implications.<sup>4</sup> The new French market system facilitated the monitoring duties of French colonial officials, who no longer had to learn the local vernacular or ask each and every day which were the important markets of a particular locale. It allowed better tax collection, but also precipitated the decline of markets in smaller *dukwo* on adjacent sides of the border. It also led to changes in the vernacular attributions for each market day and the development of a new vocabulary pertaining to market cycles.<sup>5</sup>

Periurban market women, however, did not remain silent. They let their dissatisfaction be known. They related their concerns to their husbands and brothers, and the chiefs of the various *dukwo*. These men, in turn, passed on

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Figure 1.1: Markets in periurban Eweland, ca.1910–30. Top left clockwise: Kpalimé, Aného, Lomé, and Vogan (?). Reproduced with permission from Bildarchiv der deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft, Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main.



their concerns to the quasi-democratic indigenous advisory body that supervised Lomé and its periurban surroundings, the Conseil des Notables. Members of the Conseil discussed the implications of the law, and the French noted their concerns.<sup>6</sup> The law was indeed a dismal failure. On September 29, 1929, the governor finally abandoned his project. As the commandant of Lomé noted:

The measure directed at an old local custom caused enormous and lively emotion among thousands of natives. For the longest time . . . throughout the region corresponding to the actual Cercle of Lomé, the large markets have always taken place every four days. [Even] the Germans and the British respected this tradition.<sup>7</sup>

This passage demonstrates the centrality of the existence of a periurban zone to the operation of an idea of Eweland, even when Ewe itself is not invoked. In these phrases, the commandant of the Cercle of Lomé referred to the existence of a vast territory of connections lying beyond the actual city itself, connections brought to life by the flow of goods, services, and people following and adapting time-honored patterns. Furthermore, the periurban zone of Eweland transcended the frontier and zone of French control, to include lands that were once under German control and those at the time under British control.

What the passage does not convey, however, is the newness of the centrality of Lomé to Ewe women's market cycles. The Lomé markets—there were several within the city limits and numerous others peripheral to the city—were relatively recent developments in 1925. In the words of Heinrich Klose:

The city of Lomé, which owes its existence to German colonization, was in 1884, at the time of Nachtigal, little more than a miserable little fishing village, composed of several African huts.<sup>8</sup>

The city itself was barely a cluster of warehouses in the 1890s and did not feature prominently in any market cycles until the later years of German control, when greater quantities of imported goods arrived at the port. The origins of Lomé may reside in trading posts designed to avoid Gold Coast customs duties. But these illicit and frequently shifting sites of clandestine trade had been markets in which women rarely played the leading role.<sup>9</sup>

The precolonial market cycles, which Bonnacarrère so poorly understood, operated between the key *dou* of significant *dukɔwo*, with the largest *dukɔwo*, such as Aného, Ho, or Notsé, having several markets on different days. Markets were usually located in a public space in the principle *dou*, a site where funerals, chiefly enstoolments, and other important religious celebrations were also held.<sup>10</sup> Each market space was also a sacred spiritual site; the guardians of the market spirits were market women.<sup>11</sup> In a cultural and economic shift not

dissimilar to that in colonial Rhodesia as described by Timothy Burke, and as a consequence of the flood of new commodities through the port of Lomé and the city's rapid but planned growth, many women came to Lomé in search of new commercial opportunities. Some added Lomé to their market cycle.<sup>12</sup> It would be very difficult to graph the fluctuating shifts and movements and the waxing and waning of specific markets.<sup>13</sup> Market cycles, and individual women's participation in and shaping of them, demonstrate the importance of mobility and locality in the construction of a periurban Ewe identity. Bonnacarrère's attempt to control market life was thus an ironic reinforcement of a qualitative shift in the lives of market women that reveals Eweland's evolving periurban identity. This is one of many policy decisions the French colonial regime enacted that capitalized on the existence of the periurban zone, and part of the wider social process of periurban colonialism.

The trend toward regulation of colonial subjects characteristic of the 1920s and thirties has been interpreted as symptomatic of a sense of moral urgency with respect to the identification of ethnic groups and characteristics.<sup>14</sup> In French-controlled Africa this task was framed by colonial anthropology. In British territories and in international venues, such as the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, discussions of regional cultural and "tribal" particularities were widespread. A study of periurban Eweland thus injects new energy into the heated debate about the evolving relationship between ideas of ethnicity and ethnically based nationalism. Although Togoland contained many diverse ethnolinguistic groups, the Ewe-speaking family—including Anlo, Guin, Watchi, Mina, Adja, and its Afro-Brazilian elite, and other subgroups—was the largest and by far the most vocal. As invented traditions (such as chiefly amalgamation ceremonies), educational policies, and other social forces accelerated the process of political centralization, the Ewe ethnic unit came into being.<sup>15</sup> Ewe-centered projects spearheaded wider Togolese protonationalism and nationalism during the interwar and post-1945 periods.

In his influential work on ethnic identity, Frederick Barth called for renewed attention to boundaries and borders as core "creative forces."<sup>16</sup> Much has been said about the impact of changing international and political boundaries on the political unity of the Ewe people.<sup>17</sup> But I want to move the question further, to examine the *internal* spatial and geographical conditions among rival subgroups as they struggled for legitimacy, if not hegemony. How did the presence of internal space, locality, and proximity delimit conflict? How did local conflicts foster commonality? What forms of political, social, economic, and spiritual capital were deployed in conflict? And in what way did French colonial policies reflect a growing awareness of the existence and import of the periurban zone?

In the following section I explain why the Ewe never constituted a political state. But not unlike the Oyo-led Yoruba ethnogenesis described by John Peel

and Robin Law, the steady centralization wrought by European political and economic policies stimulated various ideas about Ewe identities over a large geographical region that was home to mutually intelligible, politically fragmented clans, villages, and subdivisions varying tremendously in size, from fewer than a hundred people to tens of thousands.<sup>18</sup> The precolonial Ewe lived in "microstates" lacking a unifying organizational structure, but they were not acephalous communities in the manner described by Walter Hawthorne.<sup>19</sup> Under the colonial regimes that came and went, the territory known as Eweland was reorganized, reordered, splintered, united, divided, and reunited. And as a consequence, by the end of World War I there were several powerful chiefdoms in different regions, surrounded by lesser, more dispersed communities. Some of these had historical roots as powerful centers, such as Ho, Notsé, and Keta. Others, such as Aného and Kpandu, had expanded on the largesse of the slave trade or later colonial privileges. Others still, such as Hohoe and Worawora, had become Ewe "colonies" via emigration.<sup>20</sup> And then there was Lomé, the new capital of French Togoland and the effective headquarters of organized Ewe political and social activity. Lomé drew its political strength from commerce and its moral strength from the ancient priesthoods and chiefs living in nearby Bè. This summary covers only some of the centers of the Ewe community, and they cannot be separated from their respective hinterlands, towns, and villages. Together they operated as Eweland, a site marked and delineated clearly on European and African colonial maps, but their residents did not necessarily agree on what it meant to be Ewe.

In discussing ethnicity we enter complicated and contested scholarly terrain. I understand Ewe ethnicity to be the social relationship produced of inequalities and equalities between and among peoples cooperating in a common project, whether that is village organization or national self-determination.<sup>21</sup> This social relation has a history, in many cases particularly enriched and informed by a colonial presence, yet it is fluid and oriented toward the future. Both intra and inter social processes mold and shape ethnic identity. My purpose here is not to describe an Ewe ethnic identity. And I certainly do not wish to enter the interminable debate about the invention of ethnicity. Rather I wish to narrate the evolving relationship between ideas of *euegbe* or "Eweness" and ethnically framed projects of nationalism. In other words, I am investigating the sociopolitical processes whereby the conflicts in *dukwo* and parallel institutions undergirded Ewe elite "imaginings" of an Ewe nation.<sup>22</sup> In order to do this, I will first narrate the precolonial sociopolitical history of the Ewe people and the birth of a periurban zone encompassing Eweland. I will then introduce some of the events and experiences that shaped the emerging periurban zone after World War I, which form the basis for the successive chapters. Finally, I will situate the periurban colonial experience of Togo within the French colonial paradigm as a segue to the specific case studies of the remaining chapters.

## From the Precolonial Period to the Emergence of a Periurban Eweland

According to oral traditions, the people now referred to as Ewe once consisted of various groups or clans that settled in their respective areas by the mid-seventeenth century.<sup>23</sup> In the course of multiple migrations over several centuries, the Ewe and other peoples pushed away from Tado and then Ketu, urban agglomerations in present-day Bénin, as a consequence of the expansion of people who are known today as Yoruba. The displaced peoples, speaking mutually intelligible dialects of the Kwa branch of the Niger-Congo language family, moved westward, founding the town of Notsé (also known as Notsie or Nuatja), between the Mono and Haho rivers, in about 1600.<sup>24</sup> A myth retold by many Ewe clans describes how the cruel king of Notsé, Agokoli, tormented his people by forcing them to pound earth and thorns with their naked feet. To escape from his tyrannical rule, the Notsé people moistened the earthen ramparts, typical of precolonial towns in the Bight of Benin, until the walls ruptured.<sup>25</sup> The archaeology of these walls and the wider Notsé settlement supports some of these claims.<sup>26</sup>

Three groups left Notsé and migrated south, west, and east, forming separate settlements in vastly different topographical and environmental conditions. Spreading over the Volta River basin to the west and the Mono River basin to the east, the Ewe branch of the Adja-Tado peoples founded small collective “communities” of *dukɔ*, sometimes referred to as states, from the early seventeenth century.<sup>27</sup> Each *dou* was headed by a chief (*fia*), hence the title *dufia*. Little is known of the political and economic organization of these Ewe divisions, but it is improbable they ever constituted a united kingdom. Kate Collier refers to them somewhat cautiously as “acephalous,” and considers the “sub-imperial” machinations of the Peki Ewe as exceptional.<sup>28</sup> Debates about the specific terminology notwithstanding, Eweland consisted of a series of separate, autonomous divisions operating independently, allying themselves with others only when political necessity arose. These communities operated under a system of political and religious leadership organized along kinship lines with a limited hierarchy led by lineage heads. Political authority ultimately derived from ancestors, and succession passed from senior son to senior son. Within any given *dukɔ*, a council of elders headed by the most senior lineage head directed the clan-community in a *primus inter pares* system.<sup>29</sup> In some cases, such as the *dukɔ* centered on Kpandu in modern-day Ghana, a three-wing division modeled on military detachments was led by a paramount chief (*fiaga*).<sup>30</sup> Among the Anlo the paramountcy tradition (*awoamefia*) developed more rapidly, partly because of regular contact with Akwamu and other neighboring political traditions. To the east there was no strong tradition of centralization or paramountcy—simply important *dukɔ* such as Glidji, Togo (the origin of the name of the German colony), Vogan, Abobo, Tsévié, Bè, and so on.<sup>31</sup> Over many decades, the mixing of various kinship

groups (some matrilineal, and many of non-Ewe origins), descent, and ancestry became more mythical than real, and regional variations arose.

Regional difference was reflected in political customs, vodou traditions, and dialectal variances. Regional names that have survived into the twenty-first century—Anlo, Watchi, Guin, Mina, Adja, Bè among others—have their roots in these early settlements. Villages and divisions rose to local prominence on wealth accrued from fishing, trade, spiritual power, or agriculture. Those which aspired early to leadership positions in the west included Ho, Kpandu, and Peki; along the coastal strip, the Anlo of Keta and Anlogā and their environs were the most powerful; and to the east, the towns of Aného and Glidji, founded by Fanti communities that intermarried with local inhabitants, date their establishment to the mid-1600s.<sup>32</sup> Notsé, which had long since lost its suzerainty, maintained a mythical and religious influence over the dispersals south, east and west.<sup>33</sup>

Over the next two centuries *dukwo* were drawn closer together by the encroachment of European trade, most importantly the trans-Atlantic slave trade, on the West African coast. Although the extent of involvement of Ewe in the trade remains poorly documented, archival and oral sources demonstrate its deep impact on the social and political culture of Anlo.<sup>34</sup> The presence of Ewe names and religious traditions, especially of vodou in Haiti, Brazil, and the southern United States, attests to the fact that Ewe were enslaved in great numbers by the neighboring Asante and Dahomey kingdoms as well as by their own kin.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, the large numbers of Afro-Brazilians returning to the region in the nineteenth century to settle and begin commercial enterprises indicates that many Ewe and their mixed-marriage descendents were slavers themselves.<sup>36</sup> The slave trade and its abolition affected Ewe divisions differently, however. Anlo was the site of several forts around which supporting industries and market farming grew.<sup>37</sup> The lagoon inlet near Aného was briefly a funnel for slaves and other commerce from Dahomey, but was quickly overshadowed by Ouidah.<sup>38</sup> Inland Ewe communities were frequently prey to external slavers and warlike neighbors. This prompted smaller divisions often to engage in defensive and occasionally offensive alliances. One such alliance, formed in the early nineteenth century under the leadership of the *dukwo* of Peki, sought to throw off the shackles of Akwamu, an expanding Akan state that had dominated the inland region for almost a century.<sup>39</sup> Many Ewe divisions formed similar alliances in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and others resurfaced during the Ashanti Wars (1869–74).<sup>40</sup> This militarization of the Ewe *dukwo* was a significant factor in the social and political reorganization of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>41</sup>

Another legacy of the slave trade, and a common phenomenon that united Ewe people north, south, east and west, was the spread of slave-spirit-possession ritual as part of the local Ewe vodou. Spirit possession and its related

ceremonies have been part of traditional Ewe vodou forms since their inception. But the arrival in the region of thousands of slaves from beyond Eweland heralded changes. Many slaves were bought by local Ewe men and women, and over a period they became incorporated into the village community, blurring the patrilineal descent lines.<sup>42</sup> These “bought people” (*amefefle*) created wealth for Ewe lineages. Greene argues that exogamous marriages contributed to significant political reordering of the *to-fome* (patrilineage) along gender lines.<sup>43</sup> Ewe cosmology holds that when these former slaves died, their spirits became part of the local vodou system. Initiates were and still are possessed by the spirits of exogenous “kin,” and honoring their memory remains the fundamental core of *gorovodou* (kola vodou) and *atikevodou* (medicine vodou) across the length and breadth of Eweland.<sup>44</sup>

The trans-Atlantic slave trade had deep and lasting consequences for the diverse Ewe communities, but it did not completely reshape Eweland in the way it did the political economies of Ashanti, Dahomey, or Fanti. The majority of Ewe were neither servicing subsidiary industries nor sailing the Atlantic slaving routes, but remained engaged in subsistence agriculture. The remote and mountainous Ho and Kpandu regions remained sparsely settled, but the population increased as yams, maize, and plantains became more widespread. Anlo and the lagoon town of Aného and its environs were oriented around fishing, coconuts, and palm oil production. The shift from slave trading to “legitimate” commerce, however, resulted in the complete reorientation of trade networks and agricultural patterns, and heralded major political and social change.<sup>45</sup> The first coastal plantations produced palm oil, while the north-south trade operated by Hausa-Fulani directed gum arabic, kola, and salt through Eweland.<sup>46</sup> Afro-Brazilians in Aného and Keta provided financial backing for the inland-to-coast trade, and profit from these investments, coupled with a growing European demands for vegetable oils, led to larger-scale enterprise, including the first coco palm plantations around the 1840s.

Plantation farming and market cash-cropping were not an immediate success, however, but hinged on the goodwill of local farmers and accessible roads in the nineteenth century. On the coast, Ewe in Keta, Agbedrafo, Aného, and elsewhere were accustomed to European material goods, and many Ewe and Afro-Brazilians furnished the support industries for the tentative European presence. Individual chiefs, especially those of Keta and Aného, saw their power enhanced and centralized by merchants who demanded private property, order, and hierarchy. Inland, political fragmentation and a subsistence peasantry remained obstacles to the penetration of the plantation-style agriculture that was to deeply mark the Ewe political economy of the twentieth century. The centralization of political authority went hand in hand with streamlined and increased economic productivity. Chieftaincies grew powerful if they were located on important north-south junctions and market

routes.<sup>47</sup> And just as Keta looked north to the Voltaic floodplain and lagoons for produce, so too Aného served as a "metropole" to the "periphery" divisions of the Watchi plateau and Mono river valley. When the first missionaries of the Norddeutsche Missionsgesellschaft (NMG) pushed inland to Peki and Ho (ca. 1847), they found organized farms and complex market cycles. Both provided a good basis for the establishment of colonial trade and distribution networks.

Commerce was by no means the sole medium of political change among the *dukwo* during the precolonial period. Change wrought by the proximity of the Akan states was also an important precursor to the emergence of a peri-urban zone. The belligerence of Anlo during this period was rooted in this tradition.<sup>48</sup> David Brown and others argue that the Ewe system of political leadership altered after the defeat of the Peki Ewe by the Akan Akwamu in 1833.<sup>49</sup> This may have been a military reorganization in response to the Akwamu threat or a "conscious attempt to imitate the Akwamu system so as to show parity of status with, and independence from, the Akwamus."<sup>50</sup> In the Kpandu region, and probably most of the western portion of Eweland, chieftaincy as it exists today was first introduced at the highest level, that of the *dou*, in the 1830s and forties. Brown explains the implications that arose thus:

The grafting of the forms and practices of the Akan chieftaincy system upon the pre-existing lineage head system created several problems concerning the location and nature of political authority, which have persisted in various forms, throughout the present [twentieth] century.<sup>51</sup>

Elements of the chieftaincy, which was to become such an intrinsic element of the periurban French colonial administration, probably came to individual villages in the 1870s and eighties, gaining further ground with the establishment of formal German control.

Knowing little of Africa beyond scant details about the kingdoms of Asante and Dahomey, the NMG missionaries were unaware of this dynamic political situation.<sup>52</sup> Emboldened by the havoc caused by the Asante Wars of 1869–74, during which many Ewe were killed or forced to flee, the NMG clergy positioned themselves as defenders of the weak and opponents of the domestic slave trade. Birgit Meyer explains their ideology thus: the "missionaries represented the Ewe as people living in fear of their cruel and mighty neighbors, whom they depicted as wild barbarians." Part of the Eurocentric logic of the proselytizing mission among the Ewe also involved selecting a capital as an important base point.<sup>53</sup>

The missionary presence increased steadily over half a century, and its two lasting contributions were laying the terrain for the creation of an independent Ewe Protestant church, and the standardization of the Ewe language. In the early period (1850–90) the German and Swiss missions, including the



influential NMG missions, cooperated in the creation of a grammar and orthography that drew extensively on the Anlo and Ho dialects. The large Germanic mission presence was to prove fortuitous in 1884, when Togoland was declared a protectorate (*Schutzgebiet*) of Kaiser Wilhelm II. The arrival of Roman Catholic missionaries from 1892 accelerated the process of standardization, although it also opened the door to competition for German government resources.<sup>54</sup> Over the next thirty years Germanic missions collaborated actively with the colonial government, with uneven consequences for different regional Ewe communities.<sup>55</sup>

In contrast, the British Wesleyan missionaries never obtained such influence. To the east from about 1850 they maintained only a limited presence within Aného and along the lagoon. Focusing their meager resources on educating the children of the Afro-Brazilian elites (who had relocated from Keta due to British abolitionism), they eagerly sought to secure avenues into the British, French, and German colonial economies. But the Wesleyan station remained little more than an outpost of the Lagos headquarters, and frequently fell short of its goals.<sup>56</sup> One consequence of this was that the Watchi plateau north of Aného was never subject to the kind of intense missionary activity characteristic of the Ho-Kpandu-Peki region. Yet the growth of the Afro-Brazilian commercial class along the coast prior to German colonization had facilitated the spread of plantation agriculture inland, especially that of palm oil and coconut. And so it was that on the eve of German annexation, Eweland—stretching from Anlo in the West, to Ho and Peki in the northwest, and to Aného in the southeast—was the site of uneven but mature European missionary and African commercial activity. Political alliances formed and ruptured, trade routes shifted, and Ewe villagers grew more cognizant of the economic opportunities that a mission education afforded.

Prior to formal colonization, several opportunities arose whereby certain Ewe *dukwo* accelerated the process toward a powerful chieftaincy.<sup>57</sup> An earlier alliance between the Peki Ewe and the British against Asante led Peki to accept the British suzerainty. Incorporation into the British “protectorate” drew Peki, like the Anlo Ewe a decade earlier, closer to British models of indirect rule via powerful, centralized chiefs. Anlo Eweland, with its coastal fisheries, slave forts, oil and coco palm plantations, provided the material with which to lure British traders, but Peki’s commercial sector remained undeveloped in contrast.<sup>58</sup> North-south trade axes ran through the area, but the actual terrain and economic potential remained poorly understood.<sup>59</sup> The British gambled that, in order to prevent a German westward expansion that might be damaging to British commercial interests, they had to establish an eastern frontier for their new colony. When Gustav Nachtigal arrived on the Agbedrafo beach in July 1884 and crossed the lagoon to the village of Togo to claim “Togoland” as



a German protectorate, his action significantly raised the stakes in European colonial expansion. After Nachtigal concluded "treaties" with the poorer lacustrine Ewe *dukwo*, the British (1890) and the French (1896) delimited their north-south boundaries from the ocean's edge.<sup>60</sup>

The 30-mile stretch of coast under German rule began in the east at Aného and terminated in Anlo territory at a sparsely settled beachhead. Inland, a much broader swath of Eweland came under German rule, with significant implications for hierarchy, status, and authority. Jakob Spieth estimated that at least 120 *dukwo* were under German administration in 1906.<sup>61</sup> Brown argued that because of the bias toward the village chieftaincy characteristic of German colonial rule, the chieftaincy developed into the dominant position of political authority at the village and *dou* level, oftentimes resulting in the complete reversal of the relative status of the different lineages and clans within a given *dukwo*. In some cases, the wing of the village that had been senior, in that it had provided the village head, was now junior to the clan that had the chieftaincy. In others, conflicts emerged between branches of the lineage over which would provide the chief (*fia*), the "chief's father" (*fiato*), and other leaders. Rivalries over relative roles and powers gave rise to conflicts between the "informal, flexible, and uninstitutionalized Ewe system" and "formalization and rigidity" of the "packaged for export" Akan practices.<sup>62</sup> These shifts in the location of political authority fomented interminable inter-clan disputes.

As Peki and the larger part of the coastal Anlo Ewe came under British control, some of the *dukwo* that had been subservient to these powerful chieftaincies regained a limited autonomy, albeit within the colony of German Togoland. Drawing lessons from their earlier experiences with the Fanti, the British administered the Ewe via principal chiefdoms, a system that was to evolve over several decades into classic Lugardian "indirect rule." The German native policy, conversely, if it can be described so simply, was a case of "divide and rule."<sup>63</sup> "Refugees" from German rule described how colonial officials splintered and weakened larger *dukwo* authority into their constituent village units or *dou*.<sup>64</sup> Indeed, British mandate administrators were later to explain the German policy as a refashioning of Ewe divisional chiefs into independent head chiefs, impeding the establishment of larger political units. German policy evidently differed in the non-Ewe north and center of Togo, beyond the operating periurban zone.<sup>65</sup>

German rule, a brief and complex period of the Ewe colonial encounter, remains an adversarial subject for historians. During the interwar years, German writers anxious for the return of their former colonies portrayed German rule as benevolent and beneficial to the Togolese population.<sup>66</sup> Hyperbole about the railways, roads, and port system, and the growing number of German firms with headquarters in their *Musterkolonie*, went unchecked.<sup>67</sup> The post-World War II transfer to United Nations trusteeship

and the stirrings of African nationalism set historical writing on a very different footing. Manfred Nussbaum's polemic charged the German regime with the most atrocious excesses and returned the African experience to center stage.<sup>68</sup> Subsequent writers, such as the former French governor Robert Cornevin and the historian Arthur Knoll, refocused Nussbaum's analysis on European economic achievements and portrayed the indigenous actors as a passive, dominated population.<sup>69</sup>

A more critical reappraisal of German rule began in the 1980s, as historians argued that colonial officials had manipulated statistics, relied on import and export data from coastal regions not under their control, claimed success in northerly regions that in fact operated with little German intrusion, and exploited indigenous labor to previously unfathomed depths. This "creative accounting" was deployed in lieu of the information that otherwise would have been necessary to attract German companies to Togo.<sup>70</sup> An emphasis on resistance portrayed slave labor and wage labor as a continuum.<sup>71</sup> Evidence from mines and plantations supports this claim. As more German companies invested in Togo, so too grew the demand for the transportation of produce. Consequently, a regime of forced labor (*Pflichtarbeit*) was instituted as a form of direct taxation.

The German innovation with the most lasting influence for the future orientation of the mandate *and* the development of a periurban zone that encompassed most of Eweland, however, was the relocation of the capital from Zébé to Lomé (Bey Beach). From the turn of the century, this neglected beachhead, between the small Gold Coast Anlo settlement of Aflao (known formerly as New Sierra Leone and "Fish Town") to the west and the home of the Bè Ewe along the lagoon to the east, grew steadily into a modern, planned colonial city.<sup>72</sup> If elsewhere in Eweland the Germans were fragmenting Ewe divisions and stripping chiefs of divisional judicial authority, the creation of a new colonial capital served as a counterpoint by providing a new central home to the influential Afro-Brazilian community (the most important member of which was Olympio's father Octavian), as well as to leaders from Aného, Bè in Togo, Keta in the Gold Coast, and Agoué in Dahomey. The most unusual aspect of life in Lomé was a freehold tenure system, which facilitated the rapid emergence of a bourgeoisie attracted to Lomé by its wharf, railway termini, and extensive road network. Cocoa, coffee, cotton, and copra were drained from the emerging periurban regions of west, north, and east Eweland by three railway lines, and entrepreneurial Ewe worked as middlemen, clerks, and agents for British firms.<sup>73</sup>

The early colonial experience of the Ewe continued the steady trend of economic centralization of previous decades. On the one hand, the Fanti experiment under British control was refashioned for Anlo Ewe and resulted in the rise of the Anlo *awoamefia*, for example. On the other hand, although under German rule rural *dukwo* were splintered, the creation of Lomé

contributed to an overall urban centralization of economic and, to a lesser extent, political power in the hands of Ewe chiefs and the Afro-Brazilian bourgeoisie. When German control was terminated abruptly by the arrival of British, French, and African troops in 1914, the British were by some accounts impressed by the order reigning in German Togo.<sup>74</sup>

Although small pitched battles occurred beyond Eweland in what was the first Allied victory of World War I, Lomé residents and those in the outlying periurban zone adjusted quickly to the change. They particularly welcomed the British decision to suspend direct taxation in line with their policy in the Gold Coast. This brief interregnum (1914–19) placed the greater part of Eweland, including the colonial capital Lomé, under British military rule.<sup>75</sup> With the exception of Aného and part of the Watchi plateau, little of Eweland came under French influence. And whereas under German rule Ewe merchants were not allowed to export products directly to Europe, under the British they relished their newfound commercial privilege. British firms operating with Ewe agents assumed control of the export of cash crops, although in Aného French authorities endeavored to acquire former German firms for French companies based in Cotonou. Following the signing in 1919 of the Treaty of Versailles, which formally stripped Germany of its colonies, the British pulled back to approximately one-third of former German Togoland. The large eastern part of Eweland, including Lomé, became a French mandate, while the western portion was mandated to Britain. Since some Anlo territories were already part of the Gold Coast, this redivision meant that Eweland was geographically split fifty-fifty (see map 1.2).

Meyer interprets the aforementioned narrative myth of the flight from Notsé as a rejection of past political centralization as tyrannical and an embrace of dispersion as liberating.<sup>76</sup> It follows that many Ewe may have regarded the establishment of British and German colonial administrations, which to a considerable degree further fragmented Ewe political divisions, as central to their conception of “self” and of “collective” political and social units. Indeed, with the onset of the mandate administration, the legacy of these divisive policies emboldened many individual chiefs and families to lay claims and counterclaims against each other. And yet, although on the surface the direction of change was seemingly toward political fragmentation, from an economic and cultural stance it moved steadily toward the centralization characteristic of the emergence of a periurban zone. First, Ewe communities were being drawn and were engaging themselves in larger, internationalized networks of market economies anchored at a common coastal entrepôt. Second, colonial administrative policies, directly or indirectly, provided political leverage for the more determined Ewe chiefs to attain regional hegemony, whether in the periurban zone or in the new urban setting provided by the foundation of Lomé. Third, the city of Lomé furnished a new, elected consultative body and heralded the establishment

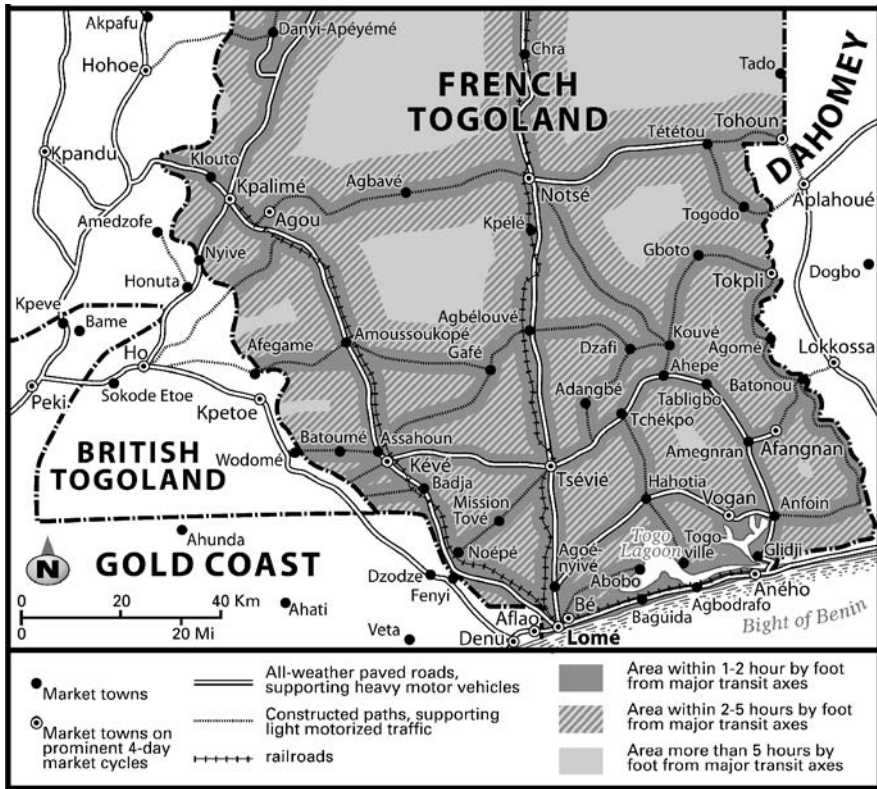
of similar, lesser institutions in regional centers, further shifting authority away from rural chiefs and toward urban-dwelling and commercial elites. And fourth, missionary and government education policies and opportunities provided an expanded and standardized linguistic basis for increased mobility and communication throughout Eweland.

Periurban Eweland's experience toward the end of the German occupation encapsulates a period sometimes explained as the "colonial encounter."<sup>77</sup> In some ways the "encounter model" restores a balance to the relationship by turning attention to African economic forms and cultures and recognizing the uniqueness and particularity of African involvement. Recently, however, the "colonial encounter" model has been criticized for its oversimplification of relationships and its narrow applicability.<sup>78</sup> The encounter marginalizes interactions between bodies and space, and fails to account "for the range of cultural responses that emerged as a result of these encounters, a range that included minimalist appropriations of surface characteristics and more profound responses that involved the abandonment of whole ways of thinking about self and the world."<sup>79</sup> Like David Cohen's disaggregation of Womnafu's Bunafu, the "history of the region is, in one sense, the aggregated histories of individuals and groups on the move," and it can be approached neither top down nor bottom up.<sup>80</sup> In this sense, periurban colonialism might be thought of as a "sideways" approach that reunites the narratives of rural communities with those of the urban environments and the market town economies to which colonization tied them.

### The Expansion of Periurban Eweland under French Mandate Rule

When the French assumed control over most of Eweland between 1914 and 1920, the processes cementing the presence of a periurban *zone* were largely underway. The operationalization of the processes of periurban *colonialism*, however, was only just beginning. Understanding the distinction between spatiality and social process is crucial at this point. The differences between the German and French colonial periods are many, but the most important of them involved the deliberate creation and deployment of administrative policies that drew on the processes and opportunities of the emerging periurban zone. These policies invoked distinct approaches to chieftaincy, agricultural development, borders, migration, education, and religious practices.

Map 1.1 provides an overview of how Eweland's periurban zone in French-mandated Togoland operated around 1930. The map conveys the relative spatial configuration of proximity, locality, and mobility by highlighting all-weather and seasonal transportation axes, market centers of varying importance, and distances on foot. By the interwar period, all of French-mandated Eweland was accessible and navigable, and individuals and groups



Map 1.1: Periurban Eweland under French Mandate, ca. 1930.

would rarely have had to set aside more than six to eight hours at most to move from origin to destination. Someone setting out on foot from a remote village at dawn might plan on a journey of three to five hours to a transport route, followed by a waiting period for a vehicle. Depending on whether the *duko* was situated close to an all-weather route or a seasonal route, and depending on the time of year, a market woman might wait some minutes to several hours for a motorized vehicle, such as those in figure 1.1. Map 1.1 details only primary and secondary *dukwo* with important market centers. Eweland was dotted with dozens of small village agglomerations that, if added in, would render the map indecipherable. This schematization also conveys only the main transportation axes, but Eweland is similarly crisscrossed by innumerable footpaths and paths navigable by bicycle if not by motorized transport, as well as canoe routes across the lagoon and up the major rivers (Haho, Zio, and Mono).

Periurban Eweland in French Togoland was never densely forested, as were Buem and Akposso to the north (see map I.1), but rather was covered by low-lying scrub and bush reminiscent of savanna. Togo is situated in a curious ecological break in the high-rainfall, forested zone of West Africa that stretches from southern Senegal as far east as Nigeria, and south to Congo and Angola.<sup>81</sup> The lighter rainfall and the absence of dense forest meant that wide swaths of Eweland were accessible to motorized transport for the greater part of the year.

The French administration molded the periurban chieftaincy into a vehicle for the dissemination of power and authority and the collection of revenue in several ways. Administrators devoted particular attention to chieftaincies in key agricultural production regions (the coffee-growing region of Danyi, for example), giving rise to a new Ewe name, *agblegawo*, meaning “farming chiefs.”<sup>82</sup> The French also created a network of administrative divisions that emphasized Eweland as a single unit.<sup>83</sup> They promoted a system of population management, designed to minimize the movement of Ewe communities.<sup>84</sup> French colonial officers also encouraged resettlement and internal colonization, particularly of Kabyé and Losso, to Ewe farmlands.<sup>85</sup> Movements of Ewe and patterns of settlement in cocoa fields mirrored that of British Togoland.<sup>86</sup>

This reorganization of space marked a shift away from “topographical and biogeographical units” toward units defined by technical needs and physical possibilities.<sup>87</sup> On the ground this meant that the French initiated policies and regulations made possible by the presence of roads, railways, wharfs, canoe stations, and numerous market *dukwo*.<sup>88</sup> This spatially cognizant colonial model, reflecting both fiscal prudence and a wider transformation in French colonial policies (discussed below), was anchored by two powerful new institutions.<sup>89</sup> The first was the Department of Agriculture, created in 1924, the centerpiece of the program best interpreted as *mise en valeur*.<sup>90</sup> The second was the *Sociétés de Prévoyance*, or rural farming cooperatives, created at approximately the same time.<sup>91</sup> By 1947, 20 percent of active farming households were involved in these programs.<sup>92</sup>

Throughout periurban Eweland, the French attempted to capitalize on their new colonial holdings’ agricultural potential, including the expansion of cocoa, coffee, copra, cotton, and oil palm production. France ostensibly abandoned the *Pflichtarbeit* of the German regime. In its place they imposed direct or indirect labor-control and revenue-raising methods. As I will explain in chapter 2, the head-tax, or *l’impôt*, is a lens through which all other memories, positive and negative, are channeled.<sup>93</sup> But though eager to encourage the conversion of virgin forest in Akposso to cocoa-producing farms, French officials were concerned by the movement of Ewe farmers to the British sector and their inability to steer the cocoa harvest away from Accra and southeastward through Lomé’s port.<sup>94</sup> The French did what they could to attract the greatest amount of cocoa through Lomé’s export channels, and Accra frequently criticized Lomé for monopolistic policies.



One of the important ways in which Ewe men and women exercised their discretion and choice within this system was through opportunities presented by commerce across the international frontier.<sup>95</sup> No less than settler societies, periurban Eweland straddled two levels of articulation: that between the metropole and the colony as a whole, and that within the territory itself.<sup>96</sup> To discern elements of the multiple, condensed, and contradictory Eweland economies, it is necessary to grapple with the very boundaries imposed on these economies.<sup>97</sup> Building on the research of Paul Nugent, who considers borders to be simultaneously African and European "discrete decisions," and on the social processes of land tenure described by Berry, the case studies in the subsequent chapters offer new insight into the intersection of local economies and African social change.<sup>98</sup> The most important economic development in periurban Eweland during the period was undoubtedly the extraordinary growth of small tenant cocoa-holdings, the next generation of Polly Hill's "economic innovators."<sup>99</sup>

The pushing and pulling forces that combined to produce irregular waves of westward emigration from French Eweland were not simple processes, but part of wider social, political, and economic changes unfolding throughout the West African forest region.<sup>100</sup> Nevertheless, the nature of Ewe cocoa production sets it apart from the cocoa rush in other parts of the Gold Coast; it defies a simple "push/pull" analysis.<sup>101</sup> The economic changes that ripped through the region cannot be understood without reference to the social and geographical origins of the farmers: internal migration from Gold Coast and southern British Togoland, and external migration from French Togoland. The colonial borders, internal and external, manufactured microeconomies, conflicts over land, and new trade routes. Borders also play prominent roles in the construction and reinscription of the political, social, and cultural identities of periurban Ewe, such as through the spread of vodou worship, the taxation of periurban market women, and the operation of anticolonial and nationalist organizations, such as the Bund der deutschen Togoländer.<sup>102</sup>

Nationalist movements and anticolonial activity also grew out of the unusual educational and religious context in periurban Eweland. In more conventional histories of nationalism, education—particularly religious education and the role of religious elites—looms large.<sup>103</sup> Western religious forms were interwoven with the Western political ideologies adopted by West Africans and pan-African elites.<sup>104</sup> Shula Marks, however, interprets Westernized elites as developing something akin to class-consciousness.<sup>105</sup> Education and polyglossia were two characteristics of a small, discrete community of individuals who capitalized on the commercial, social, and political opportunities of colonialism for personal advancement. For example, Robert Cole, a for-hire letter writer during the British occupation of Lomé, used his knowledge of English to open the courts to preliterate periurban Ewe communities, and invested his enormous profits in property.<sup>106</sup> Not all educated

periurban residents were so self-serving, however. Prominent educated religious men and women played key roles in the independence movement in both Ghana and Togo, as well as in the failed Ewe unification struggle.<sup>107</sup> In the French West African Federation, the drive to inculcate Africans with the ideologies of evolutionism and republicanism reflected the belief that Africans “were barbarians, in each instance, capable of—and in the process of receiving—republican civilization.”<sup>108</sup>

But although the German regime launched a grand scheme for the Germanization of Togo in 1903, no such similar francophone trend marked the French occupation of periurban Eweland. French education policy and the French regime’s attitude to religious observance were dispersed, contradictory, and irregular.<sup>109</sup> The role and influence of the church in education was sometimes hindered, and at other times welcomed; educational institutions were scarce and funding was stagnant. Education policy was frequently little more than another form of social engineering, with different trends and approaches expressed grandly but obscurely as segregation or assimilation.<sup>110</sup> The processes of scholarly development countrywide suggest that some important changes were afoot, however.<sup>111</sup> If education policy during the French rule of Eweland had any lasting consequences, they were the accentuation of class difference and bourgeois privilege via learning, and the discouragement of education and schooling among the rural population.<sup>112</sup> Religious change and educational developments are two forces that formed part of the broader struggle to define and order the periurban region politically and socially. Political and social cohesion—or lack thereof—during this period, however, was deeply tied to the periurban formulation of power unfolding in French-mandated Eweland. It is to the place of the mandate within the maturing French colonial paradigm that I now turn.

### Periurban Colonialism, League of Nations Mandates, and the French Colonial Paradigm

French colonialism in Africa has a much longer history than the Republic’s relatively brief dominion over Togo and periurban Eweland. The French colonial milieu into which the greater number of Ewe *dukwo* were drawn after World War I was markedly different from that of the earlier military campaigns to “pacify” West Africa. The League of Nations and its Permanent Mandates Commission (PMC) were the centerpiece of a reformed colonial model, a model that discreetly addressed some of the excesses of the colonial scramble and assuaged colonialism’s most vociferous critics.<sup>113</sup> It may be an overstatement to say that these forces significantly shaped the operation of French colonialism on the ground, but as Michael Callahan argues, it is important to weigh the impact of international purview afforded by the mandate structure insofar as it provided a form of global legal supervision and accountability.<sup>114</sup>



A secondary consideration is the League's reliance on an international press to scrutinize its agenda and activities. Periurban colonialism in French-mandated Togo, therefore, needs to be situated between two mutually informing and occasionally countervailing forces. On the one hand, interwar France espoused policies of economic autarky, pronatalism, the civilizing mission, and an unquestioned faith in science and engineering. On the other hand, the mandates were born in the context of the larger struggle between European socialists and progressives committed to the internationalization of universal human rights (such as leaders of the British Labour Party) and political and religious conservatives (such as Woodrow Wilson and Lord Robert Cecil).<sup>115</sup> We must understand the social and political "personality" of periurban Eweland within the context of a more mature French colonial program, but one that faced new international and anti-imperial challenges.<sup>116</sup>

Over the past several decades, literature on French colonial policies and paradigms in Africa has focused on several key themes, primarily motivation/direction, form and structure, identity, and francophone distinctiveness vis-à-vis British colonialism.<sup>117</sup> French colonial policy in general is currently benefiting from renewed scholarly interest, particularly related to crucial—albeit brief—moments such as the interwar period and Vichy rule.<sup>118</sup> Early French colonial rule during the formative "encounter" period, roughly 1880–1920, debased the power of the chief, centralized authority, and exhibited a fiercely republican bent. Microstudies of resistance and collaboration interpret these ideologies as they operated on the ground; resistance was never a unified, integrated revolt, and the French exploited interethnic tensions.<sup>119</sup> In response to fierce resistance, the French developed a policy that attacked the productive base of Africans.<sup>120</sup> There is no place for the *mission civilisatrice* in such narratives. When considering the *mission civilisatrice*, Alice Conklin was struck by its capacity to obfuscate the contradiction between democracy and the forcible acquisition of empire.<sup>121</sup> The *mission civilisatrice* embodied a program of eradicating African culture, language, social structures, labor relations, and legal systems. The key to tapping the potential of Africa was *mise en valeur*, which dissolved assimilationism into a racist ideology of African reeducation.<sup>122</sup>

With the conclusion of World War I, French administrators in Togo spearheaded a renewed interest in colonialism, one that paralleled developments throughout French West Africa. Furthermore, something that frequently escapes French colonial historians of the period is the fact that the French empire expanded after 1919 with the addition of Togo and Cameroun; these mandated territories experienced a new mix of established colonial practices and untested administrative theories. The Ministry of Colonies and the governors-general believed that a more efficient and rational colonialism would benefit everyone, and the postwar French government exhibited a willingness to consult "scientists." Who the leading partner was in this marriage of conve-

nience, however, remains the subject of intense debate. Emmanuelle Sibeud argues that the “ascendancy” of *administrateurs-ethnologues* reflected an attempt by amateurs to establish their value in France, because professional administrators remained uninterested in serious science.<sup>123</sup> And indeed, a scientific fervor gripped almost every aspect of the renewed colonial enterprise, from agricultural production and rural irrigation to urban religious and ethnic community “management.”<sup>124</sup> In the words of Robert Launay, this new “project correspond[ed] to a different phase of the colonial enterprise: if classification was essential during the period of inventory and appropriation, then characterization emerged as vital for consolidation and rule.”<sup>125</sup> The more conservative aspects of the *mission civilisatrice* were never entirely abandoned, but Brunschwig’s distinction between imperialism and colonialism is a provocative if not entirely satisfactory explanation for the interwar recalibration of the colonial project.<sup>126</sup> Was it the case that with the debut of the mandate form of colonialism, French, British, and other colonial powers attempted to espouse a clearer conscience?<sup>127</sup> In carving out a new relationship in order to make good on something that had gone so badly awry for Europeans, the French colonial administration in fact exposed itself to international criticism, if not blackmail.<sup>128</sup>

Despite their contested international legal basis, *African* mandates as a form of colonial praxis have been almost completely ignored by historians.<sup>129</sup> The Ewe periurban experience interfaces with some of these scientific and ethnographic trends, because the French Togoland mandate, like other colonial states, invented “traditional” councils and offices such as new paramountcies and the Conseil des Notables. Furthermore, although the League of Nations permitted British-mandated Eweland to be governed as an integral component of the Gold Coast, the French tried in vain to restructure their mandatory obligations into an administrative union with Dahomey and the French West African Federation.<sup>130</sup> And yet the nature of mandate rule—the interrelationships among duties, responsibilities, and avenues of power—meant that Togoland’s case does not fit neatly into any of the preexisting models of colonial rule described most recently by Mahmood Mamdani.<sup>131</sup> Callahan argues that “the League of Nations mandates system fused two of the predominant and compelling global forces of the twentieth century: imperialism and Wilsonian internationalism.”<sup>132</sup> Although there was previously limited recourse to petitioning in both colonial empires, the right to petition directly to the League of Nations operated as an innovation in both territories.<sup>133</sup> Moreover, the annual report submitted to the Permanent Mandates Commission in Geneva, its very reception process, and the few demands for changes in policy or operation were mechanisms of control that moderated the development of the mandate state apparatus.<sup>134</sup> The French tried vainly for a few short years to annex Togo and Cameroun, but the failure of annexation provided for different architectures and economies of power.<sup>135</sup>

Article 22 of the League of Nations Covenant, the specific mandate agreements, and the operation of the Permanent Mandates Commission with respect to Eweland are, however, but a backdrop for far more interesting developments with important legal implications. Because the mandate operated with no collective legal apparatus for dispute resolution, parties in conflict along the Ewe border region, such as Buem and Akposso, had little alternative but to bring suit in the respective British or French legal systems.<sup>136</sup> Borderland chiefs capitalized on this omission by the League to aggrandize power and foment anticolonial protest to evade the law. As expressions of anti-colonial sentiment escalated in the 1930s in the wake of the depression, regulating the flow of human and cultural capital became increasingly important to both French and British administrations. On the one hand, European regimes were deeply apprehensive of the newer social trends such as labor organization, urban migration, and religious revivalism. On the other hand, the rise in German militarism and renewed calls for the return of former German colonies, in tandem with the national obsession with *Lebensraum* (often directed via the League of Nations Mandate Commission), unsettled Britain and France. The mandate legal apparatus, however, provided no incentives for cooperation between the two powers, and both Germany and Eweland residents regularly exploited this tension. Thus, when allegedly new vodou "cults" posed a security threat to French authority in Lomé and Cotonou, the administration was enjoined by the West African governor-general to conduct a "census" of activities and ultimately decipher the "derivative" from the "normal." The antivodou witch-hunt was indicative of a more general French rejection of the previous policy enshrined in the *mission civilisatrice* aptly described by Conklin, in favor of a more "scientific" understanding of colonial subjects via anthropology.<sup>137</sup>

Just as mandates differed from colonies, mandate rule in periurban Eweland between 1920 and 1960 was qualitatively different from colonialism in French West Africa in several regards. First, the French immediately set about undoing many of the policies implemented by Germany, and briefly by Britain, with respect to labor, taxation, customs duties, and native tribunals. Partly because of a shortage of manpower, and partly because both nations were reluctant to invest in a territory for which there was no guarantee of permanence, a series of experiments gave rise to new forms of native administrations: in British Eweland the amalgamation of chieftaincies, and in French Eweland the directly elected Conseils des Notables.<sup>138</sup> Second, France (unlike Britain), saw no future for Germany, Germans, or even German Swiss in Eweland and refused to allow missionaries or teachers to resume their nonpolitical positions after the cessation of hostilities. Subsequently, the colonial state was compelled, among other things, to assume a greater role in education than in other colonies and could only watch with dismay as the Ewe Presbyterian Church blossomed into a full-fledged independent African

church.<sup>139</sup> Third, an annual report submitted to the League in Geneva required regular updates on a series of commercial and political issues that had achieved a level of international oversight, including the arms and liquor trades, labor policies, freedom of expression and religion, free-market access (to all League members) and prohibitions on the dispossession by Europeans of African private property and land tenure.<sup>140</sup> Fourth, the creation of the PMC was followed by the creation of other international organizations, including the International Labor Organization, with the right to oversee and intervene in disputes, and to police violations of the burgeoning compendium of international laws and treaties governing colonial practices. Thus, the mandate period should be viewed as a crucial moment in mature colonialism. Indeed, some of the articles of the mandate suggest an effort to quell the rising tides of anti-imperialism in the United States and anticolonial rhetoric from Ethiopia, Haiti, and nonstate organizations and public interest groups.<sup>141</sup>

Because Ewe men and women were particularly active in the anticolonial struggle, attention to the qualitatively different colonial environment of periurban Eweland reinvigorates the debate about colonial administrative practices and ideologies and African involvement. Just as the mandates and later, to an even greater extent, the United Nations Trusteeship system gave rise to a different form of French colonial practice, what might be described as “mandate colonialism” also produced a qualitatively different form of engagement by and of colonial subjects. This form of engagement involved input from three communities: the colonized, the colonizer, and the PMC.<sup>142</sup> This tripartite mandate structure contained an obscure understanding that colonial subjects were not always to remain “subjects” and could imagine their autonomy, thereby giving rise to two new terms: “administered persons under mandate” and “natives of Togo protected under mandate.”<sup>143</sup> This is not to deny that colonial subjects in all colonial environments imagined nationhood, independence, and equality, but it underscores that a small community of elite, educated Africans in mandated territories were fully cognizant that, in certain circles in Europe, the processes of concession and conceptualization of an ill-defined autonomy had given way to the understanding that the question was no longer if, but when and how.

The political context in mandated territories differed sharply from that in the formal French, British, and Belgian colonies first established in the late nineteenth century. Furthermore, European colonial officials knew that a small cadre of elites was aware of the concessions that led to the mandate agreements. Indeed, the post-World War II UN Trusteeship system contained language expressing an even deeper and more specific commitment to “self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory.” Just as the indeterminate status of British Togoland caused infinite headaches for the administration in Accra, the

French mandate period was particularly tense because control of Togo and Cameroun ultimately brought into question the future of the entire French West and Equatorial African Federations. Although it may be difficult to account fully for the impact of this political climate, it is equally surprising how little attention has been paid to the role of mandates and trusteeships in germinating a sense of the imminence and the inevitability of the collapse of colonialism.<sup>144</sup>

## 2

# Intervention and Dissent

## Manufacturing the Model Periurban Chief

Lomé may be the capital of Togo, but in Aného resides its heart.

—Attributed to Governor Auguste Bonnacarrère, ca. 1925

Interview with Hubert Kponton, 1971

At a 1922 investiture ceremony for the chief (*fia* or *fio*) of Aného, song cards were circulated proclaiming Lawson the king of kings and the “supreme” leader of the Ewe “race.” This pomp and circumstance was part of a long struggle between two rival chiefly families, rooted in the precolonial period, that continues to this day. But the decision to invest Frederick Body Lawson V as paramount chief of Aného, one of the first administrative decisions taken by the French governor Auguste Bonnacarrère (in Togo, 1922–31), set the tone for the interventionist native policy characteristic of the French mandate. Lawson, who had had extensive communications with the French prior to the invasion of 1914, was a staunch French loyalist. He was also the most influential chief in southern Togo, and his early support for the French project was of inestimable value. The paramountcy in Aného, however, was very much an invention of Bonnacarrère, one that destabilized a delicate political balance between the rival Lawson and Adjigo-Gaba clans jostling for control of periurban farming, fishing, and commercial dividends. It is a story worthy of closer examination, for although the chiefly status and authority of Lawson were unparalleled, the decision was the harbinger of significant change among the periurban Ewe *dukwo*.

Chieftaincy or “stool” disputes offer exceptional vantage points from which social historians can unpack the details of the resource conflicts that reveal the inner workings of the colonial state.<sup>1</sup> Stoolship disputes among Ewe *dukwo*, moreover, have the added value of narrating the process of social conflict and political centralization that characterized the mandate period.<sup>2</sup> The Lawson-Adjigo stoolship rivalry has all the makings of a classic resource

dispute: two rival parties, each claiming suzerainty over the other and the wider Ewe periurban region; important economic resources, such as the collection of taxes and customs duties; colonial largesse from the tax-collection role; the trappings of chiefly and religious office; and even control over historical memory and settlement narratives. Furthermore, the choice of Aného as the first chieftaincy to be reorganized, and its location at the entrance to the great Togo lagoon, reflect critical issues in the development of a periurban zone. In the wake of this dispute, chieftaincies and the villagers of the respective *dukwo* throughout periurban French Togoland were confronted with a range of possible actions, the extremes of which might crudely be reduced to a choice between collaboration and resistance. The narrative of the Lawson-Adjigo dispute over the chiefly office and all its responsibilities and powers thus provides a segue into a broader discussion of resistance to periurban colonialism in French-mandated Togo.

The move toward paramount chieftaincies reflected both a European desire for order and control and the interests of Ewe chiefs vying for power. Chiefs in the periurban zone were much more than simple "auxiliaries to the administrative hierarchy."<sup>3</sup> In terms of status, tradition, and authority, the Lawson-Adjigo dispute is rich and revealing. Both families constructed themselves as *original* inhabitants of the region and custodians of its spiritual and cultural traditions, even though the carefully documented migration of the Mina peoples from El Mina in the Fanti territory to the west, to the lagoon region would seem to undermine the Lawson family claim. In making this claim, the Lawsons' purpose was partly to secure the financial rewards guaranteed by chiefly office. The new colonial economic order envisioned by France made village and cantonal chiefs responsible for collecting and distributing taxation revenues. This new responsibility marked a departure from the role of arbiter and ally to one of lord and lackey, and it meshed well with the French model of powerful centralized chiefdoms as devices mediating the flow of goods, services, and people between the capital and its outlying periurban regions.

This new chieftaincy was not a simple adaptation of the French *mission civilisatrice* in West and Central Africa. French periurban native policy in the mandated territories was a carefully articulated form of colonial rule, ever so slightly checked by the restrictions enforced by the Permanent Mandates Commission. The neighboring British mandate regime threatened French colonial control, and the urgency and intransigence with which the Aného paramountcy was enacted suggest a revisiting of early Franco-British colonial competition. Finally, although the Lawson-Adjigo dispute dwarfed other chiefly Togolese conflicts in scope and magnitude, the upheaval set the stage for an even larger struggle over the leadership of the Ewe people. On one level the victor could assert chiefly authority over the entire periurban southeast of Eweland; on another level the dispute presented an opportunity to lay

claim to the leadership of the emerging indigenous elite within the colonial administration.

The periurban colonial administration was the bedrock of the French colonial economy in Eweland. Direct taxation, collected by chiefs whose authority rested ultimately in the hands of the local commandant, was the largest periurban source of revenue. A chieftaincy, handicapped and obese, formed the centerpiece of a repressive periurban regime. The French were nonetheless sensitive to the fact that the Germans had fractured traditional units of authority and that repartition into two mandate territories exacerbated instability. Thus, superimposed over preexisting traditional units were *cercles* and *subdivisions*, each with its respective officers, and local *chefs du canton* and *chefs du village*, each with an array of responsibilities in a descending hierarchy of power. Chiefs installed by the French became known as *yovofia*, or “white chiefs.”<sup>4</sup> Their most important functions were the census and the collection of the poll tax (*impôt*). And by demanding that the local chiefs supervise the collection of regular and sizable direct taxes, the administration significantly weakened the traditional bonds of authority and respect between a chief and his subjects, provoking political instability and widespread periurban discontent.

The periurban zone was also a space of acute colonial anxiety. Because the periurban zone was beyond the purview of but a handful of colonial officials and yet threateningly close to the center of the administration, the currents of political and social tension emanating here were cause for immense concern. In the periurban Ewe cantons resistance usually took one of two forms: delayed payment and evasion of taxes, or migration to the expanding cocoa farms of the Gold Coast and British Togoland. The authorities were at a loss as to how to explain the resulting fluctuating periurban populations and the massive displacement. They attributed the movements to various forces and coined a panoply of terms. The migrations were an acute embarrassment for the French, but throughout the mandate period no serious investigation was made as to the causes, nor were measures taken to alleviate the pressures on the periurban population. Quite the contrary occurred. During the depression and World War II, metropolitan demands for palm oil and exportable foodstuffs reached insufferable heights. Thus, the story of chiefly authority and French mandate practice is inextricably intertwined with that of periurban population movements.

Evidence for the stoolship dispute itself abounds, although the vanquished patrilineal Adjigo-Gaba clan is overrepresented in the documentary record.<sup>5</sup> Adjigos and Gabas repeatedly wrote and sent petitions to the various governments, colonial and metropolitan newspapers, human rights agencies, and, especially, the PMC.<sup>6</sup> The matrilineal Lawsonists, for their part, seem to have enjoyed the unequivocal support of Bonnacarrère, which is perhaps why they themselves generated very little documentation to support their claims.<sup>7</sup> In



re-creating their case, we must instead turn a critical eye toward the minutes and memoranda of French colonial officers and members of the PMC. In oral testimonies, informants were less inclined to discuss the dispute openly than they were to reflect more generally on French periurban policies.<sup>8</sup> The deep pain caused by the dispute is still evident; the political fallout continues to the present day. The copious oral testimonies from informants residing in the periurban zone convey a vivid narrative of life in Eweland under the French mandate.

This chapter thus examines the social history of periurban space via the deployment of an administration model, beginning with the story of the stool dispute in Aného. First I present a chronology of the dispute itself; I then narrate the changing role of chieftaincy and the form and structure of periurban resistance within the borders of the French mandate.

### Trouble in "l'oeil droit du Togo"

The influence of Frederick Body Lawson, already considerable during the German period, grew rapidly after 1914.<sup>9</sup> Although the first French governor, Alfred Louis Woelffel (1919–21), favored the Adjigo family, he was more concerned with profiting personally from requisitioned enemy property than with *la politique indigène*.<sup>10</sup> Bonnacarrère, however, arrived in Lomé in 1922 with the desire to restore the "grand principles that have guided our colonial policy."<sup>11</sup> And although there is some confusion as to whether he came to Togo with the intention of demoting the Adjigo clan's chieftaincy, Aného was certainly foremost in his mind before his disembarkation.<sup>12</sup> The potential for tension between the two chiefly families and its administrative consequences, on the other hand, seem not to have occurred to either the governor or the wider colonial administration.<sup>13</sup> To be sure, the French were aware of divisions among the twenty-eight quarters of colonial Aného, and somewhat cognizant of the different origins and migration narratives on which the rivalry was based.<sup>14</sup> But nothing in the documentary record suggests that Bonnacarrère knew the depth of the mire into which his policy was to plunge him.

The decision itself dates to March 10, 1922. Why Bonnacarrère made this choice, however, remains shrouded in mystery. The Adjigo-Gaba family had displayed pro-French sentiments, and since part of their family was based in Agoué, Dahomey, the chiefly leadership was well connected with France. Perhaps Bonnacarrère was disturbed by the incongruity of one town governed by two chieftaincies. It would certainly seem as though he was following the grand republican tradition of the West African governor-general William Ponty's *mission civilisatrice* with respect to the role of chiefs.<sup>15</sup> From conflicting accounts it appears that Bonnacarrère summoned the male population of the town and held an ad hoc census and quasi-election. It was a census insofar as the menfolk were counted and divided into groups, relatives of the two fami-

lies. It was a vote insofar as Bonnacarrère allegedly asked the population which clan constituted the majority, in lieu of asking whom they wished to have as leader.

In the strict sense, neither census nor election accurately represents a process that seems to have taken place over several days, and partly in secret.<sup>16</sup> There are several versions of the speech reportedly given by the governor in Aného. The clumsy speech that follows was most certainly delivered in (poor) English.

As a Frenchman I must work on the principles of Republic with justice. The man whom the greater part of the people votes for is the one I shall make a King, but I shall not make that King was [*sic*] [who] has less people. . . . I want you to know that I am not dealing with old papers and I do not want to hear old matters, but I am dealing on what happens today and what I know [and] see. . . . The Lawsons are more than the Adjigos and I therefore appoint Frederick Bodie Lawson to the Chief of Anecho from this time.<sup>17</sup>

The confusion caused by this *ex tempore* political manipulation lies at the core of the ensuing conflict.

Bonnacarrère was surely also motivated by administrative efficiency to designate Lawson “Chef Supérieur d’Aného.” The location of the town at the mouth of the important Togo Lagoon, or Lake Togo (see map 1.1), provided the French administration with an important opportunity to manage this major entrepôt for goods and services; it fanned out over the lacustrine periurban zone. Taxing the flow of goods and services throughout the periurban region could not be achieved by focusing on rail and road terminating in Lomé alone, because the lagoon permitted too great an opportunity for evading customs duties. The French needed a reliable and centralized revenue system operating on land *and* water. Abobo, Sevagan, Togoville, Glidji, Hahotoe, and countless other *dukwo* could evade tariffs if the chiefly authority of the main entrepôt remained contested. A successor to Chief Lawson explained in an interview that the Adjigo family was composed largely of *piroguiers*, or “canoe couriers,” who navigated the shallow waters of the lagoons better than anyone else. Indeed, tensions between the families first erupted over the canoe trade.<sup>18</sup> It came as no great surprise once the power of Lawson was cemented over Aného town and the outlying periurban zone, that Lawson issued new laws concerning canoe traffic.<sup>19</sup> And once the French learned the value of movement across the lagoon network, they also capitalized on it.<sup>20</sup>

Notwithstanding this interpretation, what prompted the urge to reconfigure the regime in Aného at this specific time remains unclear. There is no record of any sudden rise of interclan tension.<sup>21</sup> Perhaps Bonnacarrère seized on the death of the head of the Gaba family (ca. 1921) and the mandatory

three-year mourning tradition after which a new chief could be enstooled as a suitable juncture for ending a dual chieftaincy that had been in operation for a century in one form or another.<sup>22</sup> One uncorroborated story concerns gunpowder supplies necessary for the installation of Amoussou Bruce as the new chief of the Gaba clan. Gunpowder is used in vodou ceremonies and burned at the feet of priests and chiefs. The chief also controls hunting in his domain, and it is from him that villagers purchase powder and licenses to hunt. Testimony collected by J. E. Casely-Hayford from Bruce alleged that a request for gunpowder during the Woelffel governorship became somehow embroiled in the corrupt dealings of the governor and his junior officers.<sup>23</sup> Although Bruce was cleared of any wrongdoing before the departure of Woelffel, the case was reopened on the arrival of Bonnacarrère. Bruce claimed that he was detained in Lomé. Bonnacarrère's deputy, used the opportunity presented by the investigation to canvass the various sectors of Aného to order to confirm the numerical superiority of the Lawson clan.<sup>24</sup>

Of all the explanations circulating, however, the most intriguing concerns the role of the local vodou priests. According to Hubert Kponton, two Lawsonists residing in Porto-Novo, Dahomey in 1920 convinced Bonnacarrère (then the lieutenant governor of Dahomey) that because France was a republic, a chief could become chief only if he presided over a numerical majority. In Aného, the vodou priests (or *féticheurs*, as Kponton called them) conspired to ensure that members of the Lawson family were the majority. One day, during a heavy thunderstorm, lightning killed a man. The priests laid out his corpse in the forest. When Governor Woelffel learned of this, he reportedly stated, "Are you so very savage that you would expose a corpse to the elements? That which you call a fetish is nothing more than an electric current caused by lightning." After this, he entered the enclosures of the priests and disposed of all the fetishes, whereupon the priests sought the help of the Lawsonists to restore their power. Whereas previously the Adjigo clan, because of its hereditary links to the theocracy in nearby Glidji, was the beneficiary of spiritual interventions, from the hasty actions of Woelffel was born a powerful politico-religious pact between the priests of Aného and the Lawson family.<sup>25</sup>

Evidently, from the very first moment of the arrival of the new governor, Lawson had lobbied for the leadership of Aného. Bonnacarrère came to Aného for his first visit as a guest of Lawson, and the announcement was made at a banquet in Lawson's residence.<sup>26</sup> Whereas the Adjigo-Gaba clan complained that they could not possibly win an open vote, being outnumbered and subject to threats, the Lawson family attested that a fair and free election was held from which everyone received his just due.<sup>27</sup> A letter addressed to the Minister of Colonies by Bonnacarrère, however, shows that he had actually made his decision to invest Lawson with the paramount chieftaincy *before* his visit to Aného.<sup>28</sup> Both Lawsonists and Adjigo petitioners regularly refer to

Bonnecarrère's presence in the town on 9 and 10 March, but the *arrêté* designating Lawson as chief can be dated as early as 6 March, when Bonnecarrère was still in Lomé.<sup>29</sup>

Within a day after the decision was handed down, the objections of the Adjigo clan began in earnest. The regent of the clan, also known as the Regent of the Family of Kuadjovi, delivered to the commandant of the Cercle of Aného a petition, signed by 137 of the most senior men of the family, which was passed on to Bonnecarrère. Then followed a long wrangle between the governor and his opponents in Aného. The aforementioned Bruce, still detained in Lomé, was used as a bargaining chip: he was informed that he would be freed if he convinced his clan brothers to withdraw their petition.<sup>30</sup> After almost a month and a half, on April 26, Bonnecarrère decided to send into exile key members of the rival party. In a continuation of a great European colonial tradition employed with such devastating effect among the Fon, the Ashanti, and the royal family of Madagascar, on April 30 the leader of the Gaba family and forty of its men and women were ordered to meet at the Aného train station within the hour for their exile.<sup>31</sup> On 1 May, they were sent to Lomé, where Bruce joined them, and the commandant of the Cercle of Lomé pronounced the sentence of exile. Thereafter they boarded a train north to Atakpamé.

The journey north for the Adjigos, "a veritable march of calvary," lasted some thirty days.<sup>32</sup> Numerous testimonies from the deportees suggest that deliberate and sadistic measures were taken to increase the distance traveled on foot from Atakpamé, to withhold food and water and medicines, and to deprive the exiles of adequate sleep and rest.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, the exile was conducted with an effort to minimize the cost to the colonial budget, and villages along the route were forced to provide food and supplies to the deportees. Those who tried to lighten the burden imposed on the deportees were punished.<sup>34</sup> The attorney J. E. Casely-Hayford, in taking up the Adjigo cause for the first time in 1924-25, wrote that the cruelty perpetrated was "so revolting as to set Africans against European suzerainty and against the mandatory system which makes such practice possible."<sup>35</sup>

The exile drew international attention to the affair. Exile, as has already been noted, was a classic European element of "divide and rule," but one more often associated with the nineteenth century and the "pacification" campaigns of the 1890s than the post-Versailles settlement. In revisiting one of the less commendable practices of colonial conquest, Bonnecarrère drew further attention to the decision of the Lomé administration. Telegrams, such as the following from Dansi Tormety, a member of the Adjigo-Gaba clan, to the PMC, were sent around the world pleading for intervention:

anecho togoland may first honour inform you france introduced forced labour our district atrocities unbearable chief gaba and sons number other people deported

north for protesting constitutionally chieftaincy matter all representation colonial minister paris ineffective pray you intervene our behalf and order deported men send back pending mixed commission inquiry appointed by League situation precarious.<sup>36</sup>

Furthermore, Bonnacarrère was mistaken in thinking that in isolation, the Adjigo-Gaba clan would be incapable of threatening his reorganization of traditional chiefly power, and unable to continue their media and letter-writing campaign. Quite the opposite was the case: the campaign escalated, with the exiles relying on the willingness of local people to disseminate reports and convey letters and messages.<sup>37</sup> The French government went on the defensive. Bonnacarrère denounced the Adjigo clan members as “inveterate adversaries of Chief Lawson” and “competitors for the command of the city.”<sup>38</sup> In characterizing their behavior as “revolt” and the media campaign as “subversive,” he claimed that exile was a solution forced on him.<sup>39</sup>

Colonial journalists and metropolitan “human rights” advocates, however, connected Bonnacarrère’s actions to a longer history of French misadministration.<sup>40</sup> Even European colonial papers followed the story.<sup>41</sup> The French fought hard to discredit widespread press reports of wrongdoing, and struggled with both the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines’ Rights Protection Society in London and the Paris-based League for the Defense of the Rights of Man and the Citizen.<sup>42</sup> The governor himself received accusatory letters, while others sent directly to Geneva attacked his leadership.<sup>43</sup> One charged him, rather poetically, with satisfying only the “cravings of his own despotic humour.”<sup>44</sup>

The Lawson clan, meanwhile, relished their victory. On May 4, they began a week of festivities in Aného for the “coronation” of Lawson V. It was a well-planned celebration, and the urgency with which the Adjigos were deported was motivated partly by the timing of the event, or at least so claimed Mensah Gaba.<sup>45</sup> One of the most extraordinary documents from the entire affair, the above-mentioned card on which was printed a coronation sing-along, dates from this celebration.<sup>46</sup> The text (with my annotated comments), as it appears on the card, is as follows:

1. All hail the power of Fio Lawson (Fio = *fi*a = chief in Ewe)  
 Let Djigos prostrate fall;  
 Bring forth the royal Diadem, (traditional chiefly crown)  
 To crown him Fio of them.
2. Crown him ye wicket [*sic*] Adjigos,  
 Evil planners to do avail;  
 Now hail the strength of Lawson’s might,  
 Crown him Fio of Djigos
3. Yet seed of Djigos['] chosen race, (i.e. the Ewe “race”)  
 Ye disgraced from the fall;

- Hail him who saves you by his grace,  
Crown him Fio of your Fios (i.e. chief of all Ewe chiefs)
4. Hail him ye Adjigo tribes,  
Whom Adjigos deceived (or menaced);  
By false wrong politic to gain (or claim),  
The Crown of Ahuato. (chiefly crown of the *dou*)
5. Yet Djigo sinner never forget,  
Your wicket [*sic*] plans frustrated;  
Surrender to the Supreme Fio,  
And crown him Fio of all.
6. Let every tribe and every tongue, (i.e. the collected Ewe)  
Before him prostrate fall,  
And shout in universal song. . . .

Bonnecarrère, playing the role of archbishop, anointed the new Ewe leader, and the Lawsonists evidently used this to their maximum benefit.<sup>47</sup> At the lavish banquet, the vestiges of the Adjigo inner-circle of Aného must have been the subject of intense ridicule.<sup>48</sup> This triumphalist behavior only fueled tensions in the town.<sup>49</sup>

Far from the storm clouds gathering over Aného, the PMC met to examine the annual reports of the mandate and to consider petitions submitted by subjects under mandate rule. The Lawson-Adjigo dispute was the subject of one of the first “indigenous” petitions. Thus, for a new body such as the League of Nations, it provided early precedents for the formulation of petition protocols, standards of admissibility, and even alliances among representatives of member states.<sup>50</sup> Beginning in 1922, members of the Adjigo-Gaba clan wrote directly to Geneva, begging for redress. Many of these letters have already been examined above, but the correspondence was so voluminous, creating enormous work for the ill-equipped novices in the League’s Secretariat, that the commission adopted a resolution forbidding the admission of petitions not submitted via an official of the mandatory power.<sup>51</sup> Petitions that arrived in Geneva after this date were returned to the senders with an explanation, and copies were passed on to the mandatory government.

It would seem that this policy was deliberately designed to thwart petitioners, because it significantly restricted the scope for frankness, stripped anonymity, and thus inhibited a petitioner’s ability to make a case. Petitions that arrived in Geneva and came before the commission without prior knowledge noticeably chagrined France and other governments, but it was no secret that the European powers frequently cooperated to protect each other from embarrassment. Thus, after petitions fell on deaf ears for two years, the Adjigo-Gaba clan, still in exile in Mangu, engaged the services of Casely-Hayford, an author, lawyer, and leader of the National Congress of British West Africa. He was active in the Gold Coast Colony branch of the Aboriginal

Rights Protection Society, and the author of the autobiographical pan-African treatise *Ethiopia Unbound*.<sup>52</sup> Despite these credentials, his first attempt to have the case of the stool dispute examined met with little favor. In what can be described as overt racism, the committee dismissed the petition from "a native attorney," and adopted the following vague resolution: "the mandate commission does not doubt that the local authorities will leave no stone unturned in maintaining public order."<sup>53</sup>

Notwithstanding this treatment, Casely-Hayford persisted with his petitions.<sup>54</sup> Rarely dissuaded, he saw evidence of colonial injustice in the French handling of the Lawson-Adjigo dispute. Although the French government derided his actions as an attempt to "prolong a dispute that is personally beneficial," he sent new petitions.<sup>55</sup> His 1925 petition was oriented around respect for traditional customary law and authority, which he considered disrupted by the governor's executive decision. To support his case, he included a confused account of the settlement of the Mina-Ewe people in the Aného region.<sup>56</sup> A petition a year later, detailing the ordeals of the deportees, and containing testimonies from members of the family, was disputed by the French representative, Count Clauzel, and brushed aside by the PMC when a new communication from the French government conveyed the promise that a solution was imminent.<sup>57</sup>

The "solution" to the dispute, however, was also largely of Bonnacarrère's invention. And it proved to be not the end of the fracas, but rather the beginning of the next stage of disputation. Bonnacarrère entered into negotiations with Chief Lawson and Octaviano Olympio, president of the Conseil des Notables in Lomé and easily the most influential Afro-Brazilian in Togo. The latter apparently appointed himself proxy negotiator for the Adjigo-Gaba clan.<sup>58</sup> Before the collected Conseils des Notables of Lomé and Aného, on September 30, 1926, the three men presented the following three-point plan of reconciliation to Chief Quam-Dessou, a senior member of the Adjigo-Gaba clan:

1. All members of the Adjigo-Gaba clan were to acknowledge Lawson as supreme chief;
2. Quam-Dessou would be the new chief of the Djjiye-Hue clan (also of Kodjovi, another name for part of the rival clan); and
3. the Adjigo-Gaba clan would respect public order in Aného.

But when Quam-Dessou asked for time to consult with members of his family council—as would be expected of the chief of an Ewe *dou*, whose authority is collective and consultative—Bonnacarrère interpreted this as a deliberate and personal insult. The far-reaching implications for traditional, ancestral customs—particularly point 3, which further displaced the rightful heir,



Amoussou Bruce—made it was hardly surprising that Quam-Dessou asked for a consultation period.

The non-negotiable nature of the first planned treaty became clear when, several days later, the exiles themselves returned to Aného.<sup>59</sup> On October 5, at 9:00 A.M., they were brought to Fantécomé Square. Under the looming threat of renewed exile, they were forced to sign a four-point plan.<sup>60</sup> This plan was the same as the above-mentioned one, with the addition of an apology to Bonnacarrère for the offense caused the previous September (that is, when Quam-Dessou asked for time to consult with his family council). The humiliation of the exiles did not end there, however. After the signing of the peace treaty, the clan members were made to enter Lawson's palace and prostrate themselves before him—very much an invented “tradition,” modeled on that of the Ashanti monarchy.

The “peace treaty” brought a semblance of calm to the town of Aného, entrenching the new hierarchical native administration imposed by Bonnacarrère, but a small faction of the former exiles and their allies continued to complain. From the Gold Coast and elsewhere, various family members continued to feed their attorney with information for new petitions.<sup>61</sup> After complaining about the forced “peace treaty,” Casely-Hayford also drew attention to the implications for Adjigo property and traditional customary rights that ensued from the hierarchization of the Ewe chieftaincy.<sup>62</sup> But for the ineffectual Mandates Commission, French native policy, cloaked as recourse to “law and order,” was sufficient and justified. Once news of a settlement reached Geneva, all further discussion ceased, and new petitions were ignored.<sup>63</sup>

Although other parties tried to reopen the case, the conclusion to the interwar chapter of this dispute was very anticlimactic.<sup>64</sup> Even after the death of Casely-Hayford (ca. 1931), petitions from the Adjigo-Gaba family arrived in Geneva, despite the French government's tactics to block them.<sup>65</sup> The petitioners addressed the PMC as their “final Court of appeal.” Yet their largest petition, amounting to over one hundred pages and including no fewer than thirty appendices, was never examined.<sup>66</sup> Nonetheless, the PMC used it to lambaste Casely-Hayford as an “agent profiteur” (i.e., a lawyer seeking personal gain), and to pin the blame for the endless squabble more firmly on fringe elements of the Adjigo-Gaba clan.<sup>67</sup> Nothing could have been further from the truth.

Exactly why Bonnacarrère chose Lawson remains a subject of hot dispute and requires additional research. Either or both chiefly families could have provided the support necessary for an efficient colonial administration, but for some reason he deemed only one necessary. But although this chapter begins with a dispute, the story is but a means of opening discussion about French native policy in periurban Togo. Instead of poring over the evidence



above and personal family narratives, we might find a broader answer to the question, why Lawson? in the pattern of colonial practice over the ensuing decades. The underlying suggestion is that the Lawson pronouncement was an impulsive and poorly considered move that set a precedent for future administrative decisions. The dispute was a product of colonial meddling in traditional authority and speaks volumes about the French reorganization of the Ewe chieftaincy over a twenty-year period. The next section explores further examples of French periurban policy.

### "Une Situation Satisfaisante": The Periurban Chief in French Eweland

In terms of periodization, the first half of the mandate, 1919–29, was marked by the creation and institutionalization of the new role for chiefs coupled with a relatively prosperous economic climate.<sup>68</sup> The second period, 1930–45, was marked by a severe economic downturn caused by the worldwide depression, periurban economic stagnation throughout the 1930s, and a sharp increase in economic exploitation for the "war effort." Additionally, regional differences in the periurban zone meant the changes were felt unevenly in Eweland.<sup>69</sup> The role of the chief under the mandate administration was ostensibly the same as in Dahomey and elsewhere in French West Africa, but the economic and administrative pressures brought to bear varied significantly. The chieftaincy was the traditional local authority to which judicial and administration powers and responsibilities were delegated, and via which policies were announced and executed. The *chef du village* was directly responsible to the *chef de canton*, the latter to the *chef du cercle* (when the post existed), and then to the *commandant du cercle*, and ultimately to the governor.<sup>70</sup> Except for the chief in Aného, there were no other "supreme" or "paramount" chiefs among Ewe *dukwo* under French mandate rule.

The governor himself sanctioned the chief, and Bonnacarrère enacted the laws concerning this power of his office soon after his arrival in 1922.<sup>71</sup> But although the governor generally invested as chief a candidate designated by the senior male villagers, he could choose not to accept the nominee and unilaterally impose a solution.<sup>72</sup> The investiture of Quam-Dessou as the Adjigo family chief was not exceptional.<sup>73</sup> The new assigned duties changed the way villagers perceived their chiefs.<sup>74</sup> Foremost among the traditional daily duties were the operation of civil judicial tribunals and land management.<sup>75</sup> The most important and most consuming new administrative obligations ushered in by Bonnacarrère's reforms included maintaining the village census list, collecting *l'impôt*, and furnishing laborers.<sup>76</sup> The evidence below demonstrates that these new burdensome tasks weakened the bonds of trust and respect between a chief and his people.

Over a period of several decades the chief ceased to be judge and conciliator, becoming instead census officer, taxman, informant, lackey, and

collaborator.<sup>77</sup> The disjuncture between the traditional and the new indigenous networks of chiefly power resulted in a chief often being forced to decide between serving his village and obeying the French.<sup>78</sup> Mawuenyigan Tikata, from Noépé, Togo, was particularly clear on this point:

During that time, the people were often furious with the chief. When the soldiers arrived [in the village], they would go to the chief to receive his accord, and then if you had no money, the soldiers would arrest you. You would naturally think that it was the chief who was responsible for your arrest, wouldn't you? But is it not indeed the case that someone else is behind this decision?<sup>79</sup>

At the same time, French officers operated as periurban despots, and, in the eyes of some Ewe villagers, they became incorporated within the traditional power hierarchies. Although oral evidence of this situation is not common, the chiefs of Notsé spoke of a dual chieftaindom in Notsé, with duties divided between the blacks and whites.<sup>80</sup> Another informant, Adzwoa Eklou, explained that by being carried around the country in hammocks, the white chief eclipsed the sovereignty of the village chief.<sup>81</sup>

The first years of the mandate were particularly difficult. The Lawson-Adjigo dispute focused international attention on *la politique indigène*, and much of the documentary evidence for abuse, hardship, and brutality comes from reports prepared by the many anticolonial activists. The Bund der deutschen Togoländer, examined in chapter 5, had considerable support among periurban chieftaincies, particularly in regions such as Klouto and Ho, where German and Swiss missions had been active until 1914. Many periurban chiefs were also involved in the revolt of 1933 (the subject of chapter 3), and reprisals were particularly severe in the cantons of Kévé and Akposso-Sud. Indeed, the governor's new powers provoked such significant social conflict in the periurban political topography during the French mandate period that even Chief Lawson himself would not emerge unscathed.

The administration preceding Bonnacarrère's gained a reputation for incompetence and brutality, which attracted the attention of the League for the Defense of the Rights of Man and the Citizen (LDRMC) and provoked an investigation by the French National Assembly.<sup>82</sup> The arrival of Bonnacarrère brought an end to some of the abuses, although litigation, petitions, and demands for compensation continued for decades.<sup>83</sup> The new regime was nevertheless subjected to increasingly pointed criticism. The Paris-based LDRMC noted that Bonnacarrère himself was responsible for the introduction of direct taxation and, in so doing, inaugurated a system that further destabilized the traditional status of the village chief. They cited stories of abuse from villages across the length and breadth of southern Togo: Jagblé, Abobo, Dekpo, Aképé, Agouévé, Kpomé, and Gati.<sup>84</sup>

The number of complaints against the periurban administration increased steeply in 1923–25, and an organized anti-French movement coalesced among Ewe in the neighboring British territories. This movement used local newspapers to disseminate its message, simultaneously sending reports and evidence directly to Geneva.<sup>85</sup> A handwritten letter from Emmanuel Fulegbenu of Lomé, dated October 10, 1923 alleged that “the treatment meted out to the native population could hardly be believed by the outside world” and included original signed, sealed, and dated orders from French commandants to individual chiefs. One reads: “failure to comply with this order will be severely dealt with.” A second from Tsévié reads, if “you did [*sic*] not act according to my order you will be punished.” Accompanying the letter and orders were two photographs showing nasty skin lacerations, caused by a whip or stick (see fig. 2.1).<sup>86</sup> Although the PMC took no action with respect to such letters, individuals such as Emmanuel Dosu continued to send reports of “rampant” abuse and “flagitious [*sic*] and nefarious acts” against traditional chiefly authority, including a destoolment in Noépé, the imprisonment of ten chiefs in Tsévié, the murder of a mission teacher in Kpalimé, and general disrespect of chiefly office. Dosu stated that “the administration in Togoland by the French is quite contrary to what was laid down in the covenant of the League of Nations.”<sup>87</sup>

Opponents of the French regime continued to collect testimonies and reports of injustice, especially those against chiefs.<sup>88</sup> Building on their 1926 criticism of the periurban administration, members of the Bund alleged that between 1928 and 1930 the French arrested the following chiefs: Akli, Kumako, and Anakli of Bê-Lomé; Sewu II of Mission Tové; Siabi and Neglo of Koviefé; Akutsa of Badja and others in neighboring Kévé and Awé; Vidza II of Noépé; and Alose, Mitsadi, Moevi, Koley, Sofatu, Kudeha, and Bakpa, all of Abobo and its environs.<sup>89</sup> Many of these allegations are supported by oral testimonies.<sup>90</sup> Reports also came in from Kpalimé alleging that on arriving in Adjanufiagbe on April 2, 1930, Commandant Henri Gaudillot found no one to greet him, and so he punished the villagers with hard labor. On July 18, 1930, Commandant Jean-Louis Mahoux arrested the chief of Djolo (near Agou) and others for not paying taxes. Several chiefs from Atakpamé and Aképé were imprisoned for the same offense, and various members of the Conseil des Notables of Kpalimé were dismissed.<sup>91</sup> And although not all members of the Bund were ardently pro-German, they viewed French periurban policy much less favorably than German periurban policy.<sup>92</sup>

This unfavorable view is hardly surprising, for it was indeed mutual. In general, French officers held Ewe chiefs in very low regard. Although it was rare for a colonial officer to make extended observations about a chief not already the subject of a particular inquiry, the events of 1933 offer a window into their attitude. The population of the canton of Awé, led by Chief Aleke, accused of orchestrating a rural uprising, was given a severe sentence.<sup>93</sup>

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Figure 2.1: Man with arm severed and man with whip lacerations on back submitted as evidence to Permanent Mandates Commission, ca. 1930. Reproduced with permission from the United Nations/League of Nations Library and Archives, Geneva, Switzerland.

Commandant Nativel held a low opinion of the “old timer,” although he was conscious of the size of the chief’s following.<sup>94</sup> Calling for heavy punishment for the chief’s involvement in the 1933 events, despite the circumstantial nature of the evidence, Nativel freely admitted that his purpose was to engineer a succession favorable to the French (that of Fiaty I in 1938).<sup>95</sup> Farther north, in the canton of Akposso-Sud, Commandant Gaudillot envisioned a fresh new breed of chiefs. Of those in place in 1933, at the most twelve of fifty-four “seem capable of fulfilling the functions which were bestowed upon them.” The rest were “unintelligent, incapable of clear-thinking and chief only in name.”<sup>96</sup> In a letter to Governor Robert de Guise (1931–33), the commandant asked for permission to replace those he considered “imperfect,” such as Chief Ouledji, the main imperfection being an indisposition toward the collection of *l’impôt*. A month later, Gaudillot even went so far as to call for Ouledji’s deportation to Mangu after evidence came to light of his collecting funds for the Lomé revolt.<sup>97</sup>

Periurban chiefs closer to Lomé were more active in the urban events of 1933 and thus feature in the revealing "renseignements confidentiels."<sup>98</sup> These files, usually one page in length, provide clear evidence of the deep antipathy between the French colonial officers and the periurban chiefs. Agouévè and its chiefs were accused of "insolence and cynicism" and a general "disrespect for authority." Chief Dorkenoo of Aképé was accused of being an "inveterate and notorious anglophile," "secretive," and "party to every kind of intrigue." The chief of Assahoun, Kodjo Avlime, was accused of passing on information to Chief Aleke in Kévè. Chief Zevor of Ahounde was held responsible for bringing armed men to Kévè to be sent south to Lomé and fled with his family to the Gold Coast. His title was subsequently revoked and a new chief named. Both Pedro Sohoun of Mission Tové and Edoh Toffa, the chief of Abobo, were reported to have sent financial help to Chief Adjallé in Lomé. The latter was accused of being a "notorious Germanophile," as was the cantonal Chief Maglo of Agbatopé. Collecting this information increased instability among the periurban chiefs, however. Rival deputy chiefs betrayed Siabi, the *chef du canton* of Akoviépé. They informed the commandant of the Cercle of Lomé that he had participated in the events in Lomé and was "weak, lazy and non-compliant." Chief Tokpo Evou of Ati also informed against chief Aleke.<sup>99</sup>

The end of the Bonnecarrère governorship in 1931 and the succession of brief governorships in the 1930s only exacerbated the climate of distrust between the chiefs and the French officials. The events of 1933 demonstrate that throughout Eweland chiefs were communicating and cooperating—holding meetings, circulating letters, and collecting funds.<sup>100</sup> Thereafter, the French administration viewed every chief with suspicion. Even the "Supreme Chief" of Aného, Lawson V, was suspected of harboring pro-British sympathies and agents from British Nigeria and of keeping a cache of arms in his palace.<sup>101</sup> Of greater concern to de Guise, however, was Lawson's continued correspondence with his predecessor, Bonnecarrère.<sup>102</sup> The Adjigo-Gaba clan, sensitive to the change in the political climate, furnished information detrimental to Lawson.<sup>103</sup> Evidence even suggests that the increasing rapport between Quam-Dessou and de Guise gave some Lawsonists cause for concern.<sup>104</sup>

But although tensions were simmering all over southern Togo after the 1933 revolt, very few outlets remained. The punishments meted out starting in June 1933 were severe; thousands of days of unpaid labor were demanded; "meddlesome" chiefs were destooled. Recalcitrant opponents of the regime could only flee to the Gold Coast or less often to Dahomey.<sup>105</sup> In 1934, with the launching of a human rights journal, *Le Cri du Togo*, a new vehicle for voices opposing the French mandate was born. In its first year it published several stories of abuse of power and intimidation of chiefs, including the taking of thirty tax hostages in the Cercle of Aného.<sup>106</sup>

Condemnation of French colonial practices was never universal, however.<sup>107</sup> There was no uniform response to French mandate rule, and the diversity of resistance and engagement requires further exploration.

### Through the Lens of *l'Impôt*: Periurban Resistance to the French Mandate

As indicated in the introduction, the periurban zone in French-controlled Eweland was quite expansive. Although events such as the 1933 revolt drew the two populations together in concerted action, for the duration of the French occupation, the experience of the periurban Ewe man and woman contrasted starkly with that of the town dweller. More than 90 percent of the periurban population was engaged in agriculture and/or animal husbandry, tying it closely to the land and to the chainlike network of village settlements, *dukwo*, typical among the Ewe. This close relationship allowed close monitoring of the population, the compilation of the census, and the collection of *l'impôt*. Nonetheless, the periurban population was poor, isolated, and underserved. Periurban administrative hierarchies were characteristically exploitative and mismanaged, facilitating the growth of autocratic chiefdoms and despotic colonial officers. The *impôt* is the metatheme of the oral testimonies from residents of the periurban zone. It is the lens through which all other memories, positive and negative, are channeled. Indeed, at almost any point in any given interview, the respondent could return to theme of taxation. In many cases the memory of *l'impôt* completely overshadows that of the French presence.<sup>108</sup> Similarly, the end of French rule and the culmination of the independence struggle are explained often as the end of paying *l'impôt*. Although some informants recalled individual chiefs protecting their population from the most capricious colonial officials, most remember the period as one of suffering, humiliation, and struggle. The villagers struggled to pay the head tax, they conspired to evade the census and by implication the tax, and when things became too much to bear, they packed up and departed. The Ewe villager was routinely calculating and engaging, and exercised discretion in his or her tax-avoidance initiatives. Refusing to pay the tax was a dangerous path, however, and usually led to physical punishment and imprisonment. It was rarely repeated. In most cases, tax avoidance and the consequent punishment were followed by voluntary displacement.

Resistance to *l'impôt* often culminated in the decision to migrate internally to another part of French Togo, or to quit the French mandate altogether and move west to British territory. Equally risky, this tortuous choice exposed remaining family members to additional pressure and danger, and was thus executed with speed and secrecy. Those who moved to a new periurban location, as opposed to migrating to a larger town or city, had to gain the confidence of a new chief and village for work purposes. Those who drifted to the larger towns, especially Lomé, first actively sought to blend in with the

urban crowd and then pursued housing, employment, and education or training. The largest movements however, were neither internal nor toward towns, but toward the British-mandated Togoland—a sanctuary from *l'impôt* and a veritable El Dorado of new cocoa farms.<sup>109</sup> Here, however, I am more interested in evidence for *internal* resistance—principally tax avoidance and periurban displacement.

For the periurban peasant, *l'impôt* was the defining element of French colonial rule. Some informants never saw the French except at the turn of the year for the tax collection. When asked to describe her relationship with the French, Soenyameto Adeti replied that “it was only tax . . . and uniquely for tax” that the French ever came to her village.<sup>110</sup> Koffi Dekou affirmed that the French were “really only interested in tax” and nothing else.<sup>111</sup> Gomado Klu explained that when he was young his parents told him two important things; one was the list of things his personal vodoun and *afa* (roughly, divination identity or horoscope) forbade, and the other was that the *afa* of the French in general was tax collection.<sup>112</sup> The head tax was introduced almost immediately on the arrival of the French and continued until the last year of their presence. Several informants explained that independence for them meant the end of paying *l'impôt*.<sup>113</sup>

The change in the taxation structure in 1923 was Bonnacarrère's own creation, although he registered mixed feelings about its efficiency as a system of fiscal administration. The new tax replaced the *impôt de travail*, a vestige of the German regime, which was “outmoded, indicative of feudalism, and not in harmony with our modern ideas.”<sup>114</sup> The new direct taxation was mirrored elsewhere in French West Africa and its operation was considered “a sign of obedience to the rule of law and means of collecting census data.”<sup>115</sup> It was the governor's intention that the *chef du canton* and *chef du village* would continue to act as intermediaries, and as we have seen above, this role caused severe ruptures in the political and social climate in the villages. The chief ceased to be first a member of the village. Instead, in the words of Koku Amedzro, the primary function of the village chief became the collection of *l'impôt*.<sup>116</sup>

The chiefs were responsible for maintaining the *grand livre* in which all the names of all the villagers were listed.<sup>117</sup> This book was regularly updated; newly eligible men were listed, and the deceased removed.<sup>118</sup> The chief was responsible for removing the names of the deceased promptly; otherwise families would be liable for their tax too.<sup>119</sup> The census itself is described in a memo from the governor as having five main functions: first, it was “a mine of precious information upon which one can draw at any moment”; second, it enabled the “fair division of fiscal charges”; third, it allowed colonial officers “contact with those they administer”; fourth, it permitted government to “track population movements”; and fifth, it provided “demographic statistics.”<sup>120</sup> But although the first, and fifth items might have well been true, there



is no evidence for the success of the fourth, nor any attempt on the part of periurban colonial officers regarding items two and three.<sup>121</sup>

When the *impôt* rose in 1927 from 28 francs to 40 francs, the Conseil des Notables of Lomé made it clear that the population could not support the increase.<sup>122</sup> Governor Bonnacarrère insisted that 40 francs was a sum that reflected changes in currency values, and that collection followed the letter and spirit of the law.<sup>123</sup> The age for first payment varied, being anything between twelve and twenty-five. Some informants attested that the French would measure boys against a stick, and if they were taller than the stick they were deemed taxable.<sup>124</sup> Sometimes the chiefs themselves would ring the traditional chiefly two-bell “gong gong” heralding the tax collection; sometimes they escorted soldiers as they collected payments.<sup>125</sup> On rare occasions French officers themselves collected the money.<sup>126</sup> Payment was acknowledged with a receipt.<sup>127</sup> For the chiefs themselves, tax collection also caused personal hardship. Mawuenyigan Tikata demonstrated that it was no wonder the tensions between chiefs and villagers escalated; his father, a village elder, was regularly imprisoned for fifteen days at a time (the maximum permissible without charge under the moderated Togo version of the French West African *indigénat* or “native judicial code”) when his villagers did not pay their *impôt*.<sup>128</sup>

When instituting the new system, Bonnacarrère did not ponder the ability of periurban peasants to pay. A petition to the League of Nations in 1926 by the Bund der deutschen Togoländer addressed this aspect of taxation. They argued that “in spite of heavy unemployment, the poll tax has been raised from year to year, that both old men unable to work and apprenticed children are taxed, and that the tax is exacted from the chiefs in a lump sum, calculated on a census of the taxable population several years old and with no account taken of deceases [*sic*] and emigrations during the census period.”<sup>129</sup> But in dismissing the petition, Anna Bugge-Wicksell, the Swedish rapporteur to the PMC, stated that “the slight increase which has taken place is certainly not in excess of the devaluation of the franc during this period; it probably stays below.” She even suggested that the French taxation method had the potential to result in a net loss.<sup>130</sup>

Because the vagaries of French colonial accounting procedures had no bearing on quotidian experience, most periurban informants, unlike some urban respondents, frequently attested that assembling the sum for payment was indeed very difficult.<sup>131</sup> The often-cited sum for the 1920s and thirties was six English shillings. In order to pay the taxes, villagers sold a variety of goods, ranging from personal possessions to the coffee harvest, family livestock, fish or maize, palm oil kernels, wild rubber, and firewood.<sup>132</sup> Amouzou Viagbo recalled frequent “famine” in Tabligbo during his childhood; he maintained it was caused by the French taking all the foodstuffs as tax.<sup>133</sup> One informant even stated that he served as a soldier, presumably in the British army, to pay



his family's *impôt*.<sup>134</sup> Other interviewees stated with certitude that both foreigners and women paid, and that proxies were designated to pay for those who had left for the Gold Coast.<sup>135</sup> Frequently throughout the 1920s, thirties and forties, when individuals could not pay, their parents would pay for them if they were young; if they were already in charge of a household, the only solution was to borrow money from friends or family.<sup>136</sup> Alternatively, they sent money back from abroad to pay for themselves and their families.<sup>137</sup> Pawning of children was also noted in the contemporary press.<sup>138</sup> If all else failed, there was a burgeoning moneylending business, run mainly by Hausa traders.<sup>139</sup>

Besides the growth of moneylending, the difficulty people encountered in payment had other implications. Although the Conseil des Notables in Lomé encouraged the deployment of "policemen," villagers resented the arrival of soldiers in their villages.<sup>140</sup> The *bérets rouges* acted with impunity, often stealing livestock or constructing roadblocks at which they extorted money from those who could not produce the receipt proving payment.<sup>141</sup> That many of these soldiers were non-Ewe, often Kabyé, caused additional resentment, although there is undoubtedly a large element of anachronism in these statements.<sup>142</sup> Individual colonial officers too—Gaudillot, Maillet, Goujon, and Dulos, to name but four—were notorious for their cruelty. Of all the officers recalled by name and deed, Commandant Jean-Lucien Maillet was the most detested. "La rudité de Maillet" was recalled clearly by eight informants.<sup>143</sup> He demanded of his canton the regular delivery of tons of palm kernels and palm oil. Mawuenyigan Tikata affirmed that this happened every Thursday and was above and beyond the requirement for *l'impôt* (see fig. 2.2).<sup>144</sup>

Yet villagers rarely knew the purpose or the destination of their funds, let alone the motivation of individual profiteers such as Maillet. Some informants astutely interpreted the tax as a vehicle of governance, but for what remained unclear.<sup>145</sup> The chiefs of Tchékpo explained that although they knew the money was ostensibly to develop the land, build roads, and so on, it was they themselves who built the roads, a service for which they were not paid.<sup>146</sup> The Conseil des Notables in Bè also understood the collection as a fund to enable development, but stated that the French "cheated" by taking all the money back to France, using none of it in Bè.<sup>147</sup> Kokou Amedzro relayed that some of the money was taken by the chief himself to pay for his food and transport.<sup>148</sup> Another stated that the chief was paid by the French to collect *l'impôt* in his canton.<sup>149</sup> In some parts of the mandated territory, however, the encouragement to save money won adherents.<sup>150</sup> *Sociétés de Prévoyance* were an extension of *l'impôt*, as far as many peasants were concerned, but they were not viewed in a wholly negative light.<sup>151</sup>

Regardless of the final destination of the money, when peasants could not pay, they had no legal recourse to appeal. According to Angèle Parkoo, after the 1933 revolt, the French simply increased male taxation in place of the

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Figure 2.2: Palm oil production in Togo, ca. 1920. Reproduced with permission from Bildarchiv der deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft, Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main.

failed attempt to impose a levy on women.<sup>152</sup> Thus, if an individual could not pay or borrow money, he could only flee. The chiefs of Togoville recalled that many nights the menfolk of the village slept in the fields to avoid the soldiers, while in other villages men took to the bush.<sup>153</sup> The women of Bè stated that men would often hide in the lagoon itself.<sup>154</sup> Even members of the Conseil des Notables in Lomé warned the governor that people were quitting Lomé and villages to avoid taxation, and one member suggested replacing *l'impôt* with indirect taxation like that in British Togoland and the Gold Coast.<sup>155</sup> Risking arrest on the road and imprisonment, other villagers would decamp and work in other villages where their names were not registered.<sup>156</sup> Sometimes one of them might be brought before the chief to explain certain behavior, while at other times hostages would be taken from an absconder's family.<sup>157</sup> The elders of Togoville recalled that the tactic employed with greatest effect in their canton was to arrest someone's paternal grandmother, thus exploiting the most important custodial relationship in Ewe kinship.<sup>158</sup>

According to one informant, the French assisted certain people in their payment of *impôt* by creating oil palm plantations in the Watchi district near Tabligbo.<sup>159</sup> If an individual could not pay, he could relocate to these plantations and work directly for the French.<sup>160</sup> People also left their villages and moved to Lomé, blending into the crowd and avoiding detection. The city experienced quite rapid growth during the second and third decades of French rule, partly due to periurban displacement. In its 1926 petition, the Bund complained of rising unemployment, by which it was surely referring to Lomé itself. But again Bugge-Wicksell accepted the official line, stating that "the French Government observes that unemployment is an impossible thing in Togo, where every adult man has or can have his own plot of soil."<sup>161</sup>

### The Uneven Legacy of Periurban Administration

Kodjo Toukpeyi's comment about the chieftaincy during the French mandate is very enlightening. He stated that "yes, fleeing was easy during that period; so even the chiefs could flee. Many people fled during the French; it was just like the time of the rule of Agokoli. Many people fled."<sup>162</sup> In linking the colonial period to the mythical flight of the Ewe people from Notsé and its evil King Agokoli, the Ewe were writing a new chapter in their migration narrative.<sup>163</sup> This new chapter was a free adaptation of the traditional narrative as well as a continuation of it, in that the peaceful resistance employed by the Ewe in Notsé could last only so long, after which the ultimate solution was to pack up and move elsewhere. The experience of the periurban Ewe under the French occupation was indeed like their traditional narrative. They struggled with the difficulties and obstacles created by the French presence, including meddling with the traditional networks of power, taxation, hostage-taking, and other violence. And as it became clear that there would be no end to the

trauma, many simply decamped to other parts of the country, to the city of Lomé, or to the British-mandated territory.

The Lawson-Adjigo stoolship dispute is a well-documented series of events that is a useful *porte d'entrée* to the wider experience of the periurban mandate administration. The different quarters of Aného, a small town oriented toward a large periurban zone, were for many centuries ruled by different families in a fractious but workable arrangement. Within a few months of his arrival, however, Governor Bonnacarrère ended this lateral authority, imposing a vertical hierarchy of power. The specifics of this decision remain mysterious, but it could conceivably have its roots in the rationalizing and streamlining *mission civilisatrice* of Ponty and others. Bonnacarrère was opposed not only by the losing family, but also by a heterogeneous group of anticolonial lobbyists, lawyers, journalists, and human rights advocates. Bonnacarrère faced down this surprisingly vocal opposition, but his policy drew undesired attention to the capricious and illogical processes of the French mandate administration. The undemocratic means and brutal force with which this decision was enacted caused immense suffering and hardship to the vanquished Adjigo-Gaba family and sowed seeds of distrust and hatred that still yield a harvest today.

Although the extent of hardship perpetrated against the Adjigo clan was unequalled in French Togo, the episode set a benchmark for the extensive interference in periurban political systems. Other examples abound, such as the dethroning of the Mlapa family of Togoville and the designation of an opposing family head as chief. Togoville's rival dual chieftaincy, dating to the earliest days of the French administration, continues to this day. Indeed, throughout the mandated territory, chiefs were dethroned, replaced, and imposed at the most arbitrary impulses of the local commandant or governor.<sup>164</sup> Over a period of more than two decades, the chief ceased to be guardian of peace and law, conciliator, and community leader, and became instead a collaborator, lackey, flunky, and puppet. Respect for the periurban chief was shattered and villagers were left wondering how it was that a man from their village could be the same person escorting soldiers in their collection of taxes, imprisoning their family members, and taking tax evaders hostage. The ironic legacy of this social conflict, wrought by administrative change, was that it set the stage for centralization-minded authoritarian chiefs and urban elites, such as Lawson, Olympio, and others, to rise to prominence by championing the leadership of all Ewe *dukɔwo*.

By no means were all chiefs loathed by their respective villagers. Many chiefs were unwilling to collaborate with the French and actively sought to overthrow the French mandate, either by providing financial support to the 1933 revolt or by supplying information detrimental to French interests to lobbyists or anticolonial organizations. When all else failed, though—and it usually did—many chiefs reluctantly fled their natal villages. Some, such as

Ouledji of Akposso-Sud, moved to the British sector and continued with various schemes designed to destabilize French control.

It was not the chiefs themselves, but rather the introduction of *l'impôt* and its collection that was the fountainhead of periurban discontent with French rule. The poll tax, although not entirely new itself, was accumulated through a new system deleterious to traditional authority structures. The chief was made census operator and tax collector, and *l'impôt* became the vehicle through which peasant hatred met and destabilized the periurban chieftaincy. Villagers sent countless petitions complaining of the misuse of funds, the extortion of monies, drunkenness, incapacity, and other behavior unbecoming a chief.<sup>165</sup> Indeed, in dozens of oral interviews *l'impôt* serves as lens through which all memories of the French period—from its earliest beginnings to its termination with independence in 1960—are channeled. Many respondents saw their French administrators only once a year, at the time of the poll tax. They suffered greatly in attempting to gather the funds for payment and rarely saw their taxes put to good use. The French had a total disregard for the difficulties encountered by the semimonetarized periurban population. Moreover, taxes were assessed regardless of the ability to pay. This produced a climate of extraordinary tension and distrust, ultimately spawning waves of internal migration and even larger waves of emigration beyond the borders of the French mandate.

Thus the periurban chieftaincy was both strengthened and weakened in terms of its relationship with its constituency and the French administration. Certain chiefs, such as Lawson V, owed their very trappings of authority to French invention. And many were to join the conservative Parti Togolais du Progrès in the late 1940s.<sup>166</sup> But such strength, drawn from an external source, was also a weakness. Lawson's subjects were increasingly resentful of and hostile to his administration. Elsewhere, chiefs gained great respect by holding their own against despotic local commandants. They risked imprisonment or destooling; many ultimately fled their villages and joined bands of "malfaiteurs."<sup>167</sup> Chiefs in Togoville, Glidji, and elsewhere ran important periurban bases for Olympio's Comité de l'Unité Togolaise. The topography of periurban resistance was very uneven, but meddling and interference over a period of several decades increasingly tilted the traditional *dukwo* toward the centralizing tendencies of French periurban colonialism.

### 3

## Crisis in an Ewe “Capital”

### The Periurban Zone Descends on the City

The rioters were mainly composed of the lower classes of natives, peasants from the outskirts of the town, market women, young boys . . . the usual thieves and bad characters.

—Vice-Consul George Howells, January 1933

In 1932 the governor of French Togoland, Robert de Guise, announced an increase in taxes and the levying of new fees for Lomé market women in order to “rescue” the territory from the economic malaise caused by the worldwide depression.<sup>1</sup> He similarly proposed the replacement of the municipal structure operating in Lomé since 1922 with a *commune mixte*. Although both the city council (the Conseil des Notables) and a relatively clandestine organization called Duawo (an Ewe word meaning “the people” from the root *dou*) presented petitions and voiced widespread opposition to these broad plans, warning of social unrest, de Guise continued undeterred. The Conseil saw the *commune mixte* as an attack on its authority; Duawo interpreted it as a step back from the cautious democratization of the 1920s; the market women saw the tax as an infringement on their right as women not to be taxed. Instead of heeding the warning, de Guise arrested two leaders of Duawo. This triggered a protest by market women from Lomé that quickly drew communities from the periurban zone into the colonial capital.<sup>2</sup> Others joined this protest, which rapidly grew beyond its core of market women to a much broader employment base. It drew on deep undercurrents of economic and political frustration in the Ewe periurban zone.

These events, the “révolte des femmes” of 1933, loom large in the history of Eweland and Togo. Although the immediate circumstances are well documented, the wider context of political change between the wars remains poorly understood. Extending the analysis in chapter 2 of chieftaincy structures and political authority as envisioned within the French colonial system

and moving into the urban environment of Lomé, this chapter explores the divisions of political and social power in the colonial capital and its relationship with the surrounding periurban zone. The key question here is, What can a reexamination of the city contribute to our understanding of the periurban dynamic? Lomé is a unique city in many respects, and its political development is especially unusual in light of the prevailing climate in colonial Africa. Two simultaneous revolts came to fruition as a consequence of the arrests made on January 24, 1933. An organized, male, political campaign joined with a socioeconomic protest led by market women. Elsewhere I have argued against the economic focus of previous writers by exploring the women's performance of vodou ritual as a vehicle of shame and protest.<sup>3</sup> This chapter expands this analysis and resituates the periurban market women's actions within wider developments, particularly the emerging male political authority of the Conseil des Notables and the alternative Duawo movement of the 1920s and the post-revolt reforms of the mid 1930s, revealing the mutually constitutive relationship between the urban and periurban zones.

Between 1932 and 1933, Lomé market women were provoked into action when a political stalemate created a power vacuum among three male political groupings incapable of resolving the impasse created by new taxes. De Guise's administration attempted unilaterally to impose new taxes, in addition to creating a *commune mixte* in Lomé. Over a period of several years prior to the events of 1933, the Conseil des Notables (henceforth Conseil)—the unique elected council system created by French Togo's fourth Commissaire de la République, Auguste Bonnacarrère in 1922—shifted away from deliberating French legislation to selfishly strategizing for political power as "democratic" participation increased and the *commune mixte* beckoned.<sup>4</sup> Duawo, formed by the defeated candidates of the 1931 elections ostensibly as a vehicle communicating the urban population's views to the Conseil, offered a quasi-legitimate political alternative in a pluralizing masculine city environment. The French administration, led by Governor de Guise, the Conseil, and Duawo repeatedly challenged each other's political authority, leaving little hope for resolution.

Since the grand republican reforms of the 1880s, urban communities in metropolitan France were accorded the right to elect their municipal councils (*conseils municipals*) by universal male suffrage. Each council, the size of which depended on the number of inhabitants, elected a mayor to direct the affairs of the community. In the case of the *commune mixte*, the French administration intervened more or less deeply in the colonial municipal realm on various levels (*degrés*). The most conservative *degré* provided for a council appointed entirely by the state; the mayor was also the state official in charge of the district and oversaw the council. The most liberal *degré* provided for a fully elected council that elected its chairman, but the functions of the mayor were still handled by a senior administrator nominated by the state. The functions of the *commune mixte* ranged from taxation to highway maintenance and

sanitation. On one level, the difference between the Conseil des Notables and *commune mixte* can be explained as a distinction between consultative and budgetary: the former discussed, whereas the latter acted. The *commune mixte* was required to operate with a balanced budget based on the revenue it accrued. Most important for our purposes here, however, is that the spatial configuration differed: although the Conseil made pronouncements concerning the Lomé and the periurban lands encompassing the Cercle of Lomé (about two-fifths of periurban Eweland), the *commune mixte* confined the men's deliberation to the precise confines of the city and its revenue-raising powers also terminated at the city's boundaries.

Although an elected Conseil was, starting in 1925, a "democratic" structure unique to French Togo, by the late 1940s most cities in francophone Africa had one form or another of *commune mixte*, comprising appointed and elected members. Following Porto-Novo, Abidjan, Conakry, Kayes, and Bamako in 1921, Lomé joined this elite club in 1932, with an exclusively appointed body.<sup>5</sup> The tension in Lomé over the transition from one to the other must be understood as a tension between progressive and regressive action. It was *not* the case that one would replace the other. The Conseil existed for the whole of the Cercle of Lomé, not just the city. Yet Lomé-residing members of the Conseil would naturally be the same men from which the new *commune* would be drawn. On the one hand, Lomé's increased budgetary powers would permit its menfolk unparalleled involvement in the day-to-day running of the city. On the other hand, a *commune mixte* of the *premier degré* heralded a return to appointed, not elected, office and applied only to the city of Lomé, not to the entire Cercle of Lomé, the majority of which was periurban. The *commune mixte* could draw only on revenue from within the city, not from the periurban lands beyond. Furthermore, the simultaneous existence and operation of both, one elected and one appointed, with apparently overlapping loyalties and powers, generated confusion, if not chaos.

The following narrative traces the changing and evolving role of men and women within the wider social and political networks of power in the city of Lomé and its outlying periurban region. I first examine the evolving political architecture of Lomé. I then explore the effect the depression had on Eweland and Lomé in particular, culminating in the eruption of violence in January 1933. I then look at the post-revolt reforms and the shifting political terrain in Lomé in later 1933, which deeply shaped the emerging political coalitions of Eweland's nationalist elite. Prior to the events of 1933, Governor Bonnacarrère groomed elite men for political leadership in an experimental system of participatory democracy without parallel in French West Africa. As this experiment took root, cleavages emerged. Young men and those disinclined to collaborate were excluded. Furthermore, women understood that particular avenues to political and social change existed, albeit limited, through their menfolk.



The crisis of the depression shattered this political experiment. Young, unemployed men were disaffected and ignored; women's capacity as "hearth-holders" was deeply compromised.<sup>6</sup> Not only were periurban market women central to the outbreak and resolution of political unrest, they also were motivated to participate because of a series of historical benefits to which they had become accustomed. These entitlements, although clearly Togo-wide in their application, were internalized by many as "rights," indicating that they were a central component of what it meant to be a market holder.<sup>7</sup> This reassertion of the cultural/social force of vodou as a vehicle of economic and social power seriously threatened elite African male and French colonial control. But in so acting, women enabled a small Westernized male elite to entrench themselves further as the legitimate voice of a Westernizing, republican political system, and to exclude women from these political processes, with significant implications for the later nationalist period.

### The Periurban Politics of Lomé and Beyond: The Conseil des Notables, the *Commune Mixte*, and Duawo

Two political bodies composed of Africans were active in Lomé in 1932 as the new de Guise administration began its term of office. During the previous decade, the incremental process of democratization and the expanding constitutionality in Lomé had a paradoxical consequence in that it created a power vacuum into which periurban women poured their energies. A deadlocked triumvirate of urban political authorities composed of the French government, the Conseil, and Duawo, was unable to effect the economic changes necessary to revitalize the local economy. Furthermore, although the worldwide depression was beyond their collective control, various additional local factors contributed to this climate, including the emphasis on the popular political process; the new governor's distrust of his predecessor's political liberalism; and the presence in Togo of an official *mission d'inspection* conducted by Jacques Cazeaux of the Ministry of Colonies. The resultant political inertia accentuated the domestic economic pressures on the periurban market women (as illustrated in fig. 1.1 earlier), provoking their action.<sup>8</sup>

On the eve of the revolt, three groups contested a Westernizing, constitutional sphere of political power manufactured during the first decade of formal French mandate rule (1922–31). The French government shifted its style and focus in 1931 with the installation of de Guise. The Conseil des Notables, a group of thirty leading men and chiefs, entrenched itself as the "legitimate" democratic voice of *la cité indigène*.<sup>9</sup> This maneuvering produced Duawo, a self-proclaimed intermediary committee relaying information from the population to the Conseil.<sup>10</sup> Thus, the period from 1931 to 1933 was marked by a struggle for political authority among three effectively new bodies in a pluralizing periurban milieu: the new de Guise-led administration,

the newly elected Conseil, and a new opposition forum, Duawo. The Conseil challenged de Guise; Duawo challenged the Conseil; and its grassroots operations pushed Duawo toward political legitimacy.<sup>11</sup>

The Conseil in 1933 was radically different from that created by Bonnacarrère ten years earlier.<sup>12</sup> Already in 1925 the Lomé body had made the transition from being a solely appointed group to one that was elected from a selective suffrage composed of cantonal, village, quarter, and family chiefs.<sup>13</sup> A 1927 *mission d'inspection* report made the following observation about the unique political climate in Lomé and its environs: "The mandatory power has achieved in Togo, by a series of judicious measures, a true *politique d'association*, one that can but only produce positive results."<sup>14</sup> Indeed, the Conseil was only one of a number of bodies operating that delegated considerable power to elite African men. There were also a Conseil Supérieur d'Hygiène et de Salubrité Publique, a Conseil d'Arbitrage, a Commission des Patentes et des Licences, a Commission de Surveillance de la Prison de Lomé, a very influential Conseil Economique et Financier, and an elected Chambre de Commerce. Over several electoral terms, during which Lomé's men participated regularly in economic planning, as the suffrage increased, and as members came and went, local interest in the consultative role waxed and a Western-style electoral process was born.<sup>15</sup>

The circumstances of the 1931 Conseil election, the hardest fought up to that point, demonstrate the increased sense of indigenous ownership of the political process.<sup>16</sup> Real electioneering and lobbying, during which "palpable divisions manifested themselves" with respect to how best to "defend the common interest," prompted one French official, Jean Bouquet, to observe that the March election was "the most striking event" of the year. The report continued, "elevated rivalries, notably between two groups each representing an important faction of the wealth of Lomé," emerged, which permitted periurban chiefs to "regain some of their former authority."<sup>17</sup> A second round of balloting was actually needed.<sup>18</sup> But as pluralism matured, so did evidence of growing economic disparity and a shift from the social concerns toward the personal financial impact of legislation and the worldwide depression.<sup>19</sup>

The Conseil's new members, eager to influence the colonial economy, were offended by de Guise's patronizing dismissal of their apprehensions.<sup>20</sup> To their credit, they indicated both their immediate opposition to the proposed increases and to the pressures of the tax system generally.<sup>21</sup> But although their letters addressed diverse issues, they saved their greatest energies for the proposed land tax and the *commune mixte*.<sup>22</sup> Members couched their criticisms as concern for the unemployed "petits propriétaires," but the view that the *commune mixte* was "premature" was clearly motivated by financial and political anxieties.

By severing Lomé from its periurban zone, the *commune mixte* threatened the enormous influence members wielded over the periurban Cercle of

Lomé. After the 1931 ballot almost half the membership comprised chiefs from the periurban zone beyond Lomé, including Kévé, Agoènyivé, Aképé, Assomé, Tsévié, Gamé, Dekpo, Mission Tové, Noépé, Assahoun, Zolo, Dafié, Bè, and Lébé.<sup>23</sup> Those who regularly attended the meetings, however, were much more likely to be from the city itself.<sup>24</sup> Thus, Lomé residents were able to discuss and direct the affairs of the periurban zone in a manner surely not envisioned by the Conseil's creator. Over the previous ten years, the membership had grown accustomed to influencing the lives of its periurban constituents.<sup>25</sup>

A clarification: the *commune mixte* did not displace the Conseil. Rather, the two operated simultaneously from 1933. But the shift in functions and the added financial responsibilities of the *commune mixte* substantially decreased the significance of the deliberations of the Conseil. In a subsequent meeting, after its restructuring by de Guise, the Conseil seemed further weakened by a number of issues: its failure to resolve the issue of taxation; the public's impression that members were not serving their constituencies; and the growing public disgust with the personal payments to and profits made by members.<sup>26</sup> A communication from Duawo and rumors about a public demonstration panicked the Conseil into writing a final plea to the Minister of Colonies.

Duawo, spawned in the same competitive climate, took a different organizational path. By most accounts it came into being as a consequence of the "highly politicized environment" of 1931.<sup>27</sup> Sometime during 1932 its name changed from "Conseil Local de la Ville de Lomé" to Duawo ("the people"), perhaps to broaden its base into the periurban zone.<sup>28</sup> It is ironic that a government proud of its elected creations did not imagine that such a process would precipitate undercurrents of change and reform.<sup>29</sup> Opposed to Bonnacarrère's liberalism, de Guise determined to eliminate political "factions."<sup>30</sup> Subsequently, Duawo went underground, operating illicitly and clandestinely, becoming easily the target for allegations of subversive behavior.<sup>31</sup> Was it a bolshevist, British, or German plot? Was it "but a trompe-l'œil" of a larger conspiracy?<sup>32</sup> Unless new material comes to light, it is unrealistic to imagine ever establishing the exact nature or significance of this organization.

Whereas de Guise considered Duawo a "secret society," some French colonial officials considered Duawo a political party.<sup>33</sup> Indeed, in some ways it seems to have operated as an alternative to the elected Conseil, preparing for future elections.<sup>34</sup> The one surviving photograph (fig. 3.1) shows that its male membership crossed generations and included a number of bourgeois Afro-Brazilians. If, however, Duawo was motivated by the contemporary economic malaise, then it would more accurately be described as a broad-based resistance movement with unspecified objectives. Together, the two motivations make an organized insurrection seem quite plausible.<sup>35</sup> The French administration's

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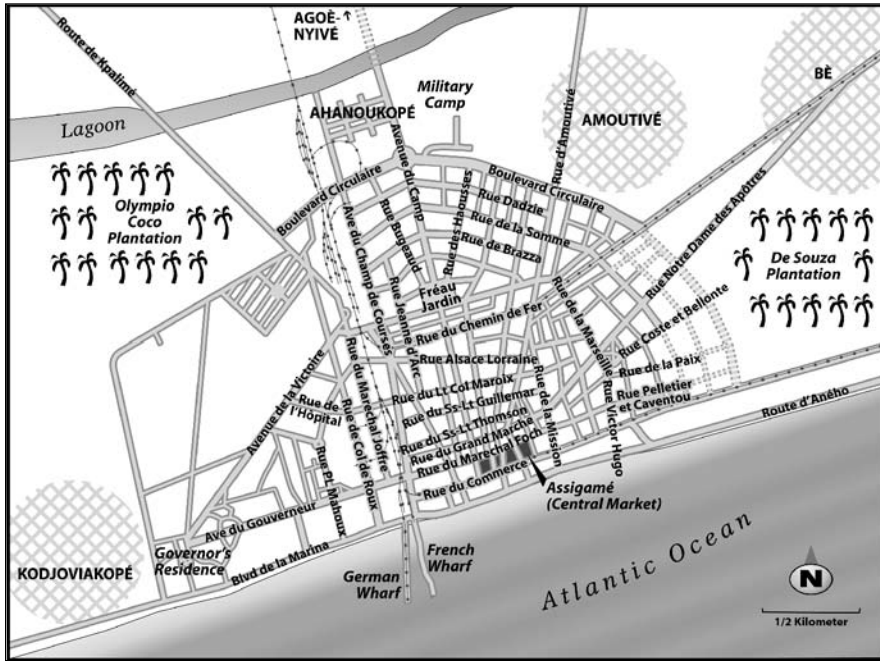
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Figure 3.1: Duawo, meeting at Tonyéviadji Dancing Hall, Lomé, ca. 1933. Reproduced with permission from the United Nations/League of Nations Library and Archives, Geneva, Switzerland.

view that a “organized revolt” was in preparation rested entirely on the “discovery” of literature in Duawo leader Kobina Ghartey’s possession about a similar revolt in France.<sup>36</sup> The tidiness of Inspector Cazeaux’s final report reflects a determination to make Duawo the scapegoat. On the other hand, evidence is persuasive that an organized plan was afoot.<sup>37</sup> Whether it came to fruition is impossible to establish, for like the women’s plans, Duawo’s scheme was rapidly overtaken by events as they unfolded.

The motivations of Duawo are extraordinarily difficult to establish, but there is no question that a protest, if not a revolt, was being planned. Like all political organizations, it must have had factions. Antoine d’Almeida, a clerk in the Department of Finance, affirmed this when he identified himself as the author of a December 18, 1932 letter.<sup>38</sup> To some degree the political stalemate over taxation in mid-January was partly caused by Duawo’s own hasty action. Unfortunately for the members of Duawo, the events of January caught them unawares, and they were subsequently blamed for the entire violent episode. The arrest of the leadership was a blow, but with the periurban market women’s involvement, the “revolt” quickly developed a different dynamic. The male leadership of Duawo may have planned a revolt, but it was not the revolt



Map 3.1: City of Lomé, ca. 1930.

that actually came to pass. French reports blurred these events, and they were not alone in misconstruing the circumstances of 1933.<sup>39</sup>

### “La journée des pierres”: The Events of Early 1933

Lomé was an unconventional colonial city, a product of “African civil society” in which poor lived alongside rich and where political and commercial power lay, unlike elsewhere, in the hands of African entrepreneurs who traversed the periurban zone in search of product and markets (see map 3.1).<sup>40</sup> Far from static, it was a dynamic and changing urban center. The local population quickly adjusted to French colonial rule and sought to capitalize on its political and economic opportunities. The Lomé bourgeoisie hastened to move beyond its earlier opposition to French rule; its members consolidated their authority as the city’s power brokers.<sup>41</sup> The poor looked to the French for economic and social stability and employment growth. And periurban market women, who moved regularly throughout the periurban zone with regular stops in Lomé, sought ways to minimize the impact of the international border with the Gold Coast.<sup>42</sup>

The first signs of social tension appeared in mid-1932, when members of the Conseil expressed to de Guise their concern that the poorer classes were finding it difficult to sustain their tax burden under the current economic climate.<sup>43</sup> Subsequently, in October, they lodged further objections to the new tax regime as part of the reorganization of Lomé into a *commune mixte*, scheduled for January, following the constitutional process to which they had become accustomed.<sup>44</sup> Three verbal expressions of concern, followed by a letter in December warning of very serious consequences, were ineffective.<sup>45</sup> When another month passed with still no sign of relief, a previously undocumented organization, calling itself Duawo, addressed its own letter to the governor.<sup>46</sup> De Guise ordered Lomé's Police Sergeant to investigate. The tax regime came into effect on January 2, whereupon collectors immediately implemented their new powers.<sup>47</sup> A florid and hyperbolic petition from members of the Conseil in Aného only exacerbated tensions.<sup>48</sup>

In late January, the frustrated members addressed their concerns directly to the Minister of Colonies.<sup>49</sup> This bypassing of gubernatorial authority, coupled with challenges from Aného and Duawo, infuriated de Guise. Investigations into the operations of Duawo led to the arrest of two leaders on January 24, just as a final threatening ultimatum from the otherwise unknown "Révolutionnaires du Togo" arrived on the desk of Jean de Saint-Alary, the administration's chief financial officer.<sup>50</sup> Michael Johnson and Kobina Ghartey, both clerks working for British export firms, were fined and sentenced to fifteen days' imprisonment followed by deportation for spearheading an illegal organization.<sup>51</sup> The seizure of these two served as a catalyst for an outpouring of popular unrest.

Within an hour, as if from nowhere, market women (some with children) descended on the administrative quarter from the various markets in and outside the confines of the city, congregating outside the prison. Marching, dancing, and singing, they chastised and threatened the French and their African collaborators. Equipped for an all-night vigil, the crowd grew larger, moving from the prison to the Palais du Gouvernement. De Guise summoned members of Conseil, while armed police barricaded government offices. A crowd of three to five thousand people, 80 percent female, swelled at the end of the workday with men and boys.<sup>52</sup> As the tone became more menacing and stones crashed through the palace windows, the police fired blanks into the air.<sup>53</sup> As the threat of bloodshed increased, de Guise authorized the release of Ghartey and Johnson. Within minutes (around 6:00 P.M.) the crowd departed for the commercial center (Assigamé, see map 3.1) "triumphantly" carrying the two detainees.<sup>54</sup>

Although the exact relationship between the detainees and the crowd is difficult to gauge, de Guise testified that by dusk the question was no longer one of taxation. Silivi d'Almeida-Ekué, however, states that if this were so, it was only because "in the eyes of the population Ghartey and Johnson repre-

sented the sole, valid intermediaries, who via their action, made possible the cancellation of the taxes." She continues, "also, their arrest constituted a loss of hope and this first demonstration was really a spontaneous manifestation of hopelessness."<sup>55</sup> Regardless of the difficult causal links among the arrest, the tax revolt, and the women's involvement, de Guise was not mistaken in thinking that by releasing the two, he had averted a full revolt. With reinforcements insufficient, he telegraphed his colleagues in Cotonou for a corps of *tirailleurs*. As the evening wore on, there were further acts of violence in Amoutivé, the "effervescent" periurban community adjoining Lomé, and patrolling soldiers were stoned. The home of the Conseil's secretary, Jonathon Savi de Tové, was sacked, its wells polluted, and his name cursed and his family shamed by traditional offensive female displays performed by *gorovodou* priestesses (*gbitélé*).

The following morning, movements began afresh: before dawn men and women in periurban villages headed toward Lomé.<sup>56</sup> At about 8:00 A.M., a large crowd of youths attacked the railway, the telecommunications offices, the customs office, and the wharf. To protect buildings and personnel, *corvée* labor was suspended and all soldiers recalled. A general alarm was sounded, and all European men were requested to make themselves available to the police, while their families were sent to the Palais du Gouvernement for protection. This next series of attacks, however, was directed at commercial houses and offices of public works. The European quarter was never threatened, although those unfortunate enough to be caught in the town center, such as the British vice-consul, George Howells, came under attack. He reported to Accra that

the rioters were mainly composed of the lower classes of natives, peasants from the outskirts of the town, market women, young boys, with a collection of the usual thieves and bad characters. Very few of the better class natives could be seen in the crowds.<sup>57</sup>

After receiving news from Cazeaux that a crowd armed with knives and clubs was heading toward the center of Lomé, de Guise ordered his Lomé commandant to announce publicly the suspension of tax increases.<sup>58</sup> By midday, order was restored in most of the town. At nightfall, *tirailleurs* patrolled the streets and maintained a fragile peace.

Calm reigned for several days. As Cazeaux, Henri Fréau, Lomé's commandant, and de Guise scurried to collect reports and testimonies, debris was cleaned from the streets. Troops from Côte d'Ivoire replaced the Dahomeans on February 1.<sup>59</sup> This larger battalion began a "cleansing" (*épuration*) of the neighborhoods considered the principal sites of unrest: alleged protesters and looters were arrested, and troops operated as if martial law were in effect.<sup>60</sup> Numerous violent incidents against local

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Figure 3.2: Individuals murdered on February 4, 1933, submitted as evidence to the Permanent Mandates Commission. Reproduced with permission from the United Nations/League of Nations Library and Archives, Geneva, Switzerland.



women and men were reported, and large numbers fled to the Gold Coast to escape the brutality of the Ivoirian *tirailleurs*. On February 4, the single worst incident occurred, when a deranged *tirailleur*, Moussa Diarra, went on a shooting spree in the Ahanoukopé neighborhood of Lomé, killing seven and wounding several others (see fig. 3.2).<sup>61</sup> To most Togolese, this horrific incident was the violent culmination of the entire affair, and no mere accident. In the logic of many and the historical memory of others, it was part of a calculated program to brutalize the city.<sup>62</sup> It fell to the periurban market women to oversee the purification of a city polluted by violence and death.

The final episode involved the trial and sentencing of those involved in the violence and the members of Duawo. Individuals and entire periurban *collectivités* (villages and quarters) were punished for their roles in the violence.<sup>63</sup> Men and women were made collectively to pay thousands of francs in fines and many thousands of days of forced labor.<sup>64</sup> Indeed, periurban villages were personified in court briefs to emphasize guilt.<sup>65</sup> Duawo members were tried in person and in absentia and sentenced to various fines and prison terms. Entire runs of several of Dahomey's newspapers (relatively free and deeply critical of many French policies) were seized and the printing presses destroyed.<sup>66</sup> Finally, de Guise himself and his colleagues were effectively "tried" by Cazeaux's report of inquiry: de Guise and Fréau were recalled to Paris, their colonial careers in tatters; and Saint-Alary was dispatched to the arid northern Cercle of Mangu.

### Periurban Markets and the Anticolonial Struggle

Eweland's periurban market women had their own agenda in 1933. Although the immediate origin of this agenda was the economic downturn, its long-term basis rested on protecting the economic livelihood that the periurban market women had created for themselves since the inception of colonial rule. Their agenda, which differed significantly from that of urban men discussed above, was expressed in direct political action, and its expression was marked by female and religious identity. Market women's expressions were shaped by gendered and culturally embedded social conventions, namely an adaptation of a seven-day pollution and cleansing ceremony performed by female members of the *gorovodou* cult. These two points underscore another important observation: there were *two* different revolts in January 1933 that were conflated by the sudden turn of events.

The events of 1933 signify a departure from previous women's action in periurban Eweland.<sup>67</sup> There are no records of any individual women or collectives seeking redress under the earlier German regime, and there are only isolated examples of political action prior to the depression.<sup>68</sup> Nevertheless, the types of activities detailed below do have some striking parallels in neigh-

boring trading communities, each with a large outlying region that might be considered a periurban zone.<sup>69</sup> Togolese market women had been feeling the pinch in a not entirely dissimilar way to their Igbo sisters.<sup>70</sup> Since 1922, the introduction of French currency throughout the periurban zone made revenues, expenditures, and taxes deeply confusing and contentious.<sup>71</sup> Enforced currency changes created microeconomies, within which unscrupulous currency speculators profited from women's periurban commercial transactions.<sup>72</sup> Additionally, colonial authority began to encroach on periurban market spaces, trying to control and reorganize women's operations. Unlike his German and British predecessors, Bonnacarrère did not like the markets scattered throughout the periurban zone, and tried to regulate the market calendar as I explained in chapter 1.<sup>73</sup> By 1929, in part because of a wider dissatisfaction with economic controls, Bonnacarrère was forced to abandon these measures, although what form the women's resistance took remains unclear.<sup>74</sup>

Both taxation and representation, coupled with other measures, had a significant impact in terms of their gendered conceptualization. Female heads of households and periurban market women were exempt from taxation, just as they were excluded from the Westernizing political process. Over time, Ewe women came to see exemption from taxation as a "right," an integral component of their conception of an individual self and a collective womanhood, which served as a platform for the 1933 uprising. Exclusion from the political process, on the other hand, became paradoxically both a cause of women's political disaffection and an opening for women's collective political subversion.

As the depression hit West Africa, the economic and social climate in Lomé made such displays of cultural/social power—the power to embarrass, to shame and to wound morally—increasingly unavoidable.<sup>75</sup> By dividing the female activities of importance into three groups, the following discussion will make apparent that the entire episode was a free adaptation of an important women's *gorovodou* pollution and cleansing ceremony. Broadly cultural and performative in nature, singing, chanting, and dancing on January 24 as the news of the arrests of Duawo members spread constituted the first display of moral authority. Vulgarity and offensive gestures to Savi de Tové and others, emphasizing the sensual, visceral, and physical, composed the second. The spiritual and moral cleansing constituted the third.<sup>76</sup> Although the first and second parts have been noted previously, only incorporating this third component, undocumented in the historical literature, will make it clear that this was a ritualized women's vodou performance.

Much has been made of the fact that periurban market women descended into the administrative quarter to lead the first wave of protests in Lomé, but because the commotion of the protesters has gone almost undocumented, one could be forgiven for thinking the protests were quiet affairs. On the

contrary, the marchers invented several songs and chants.<sup>77</sup> The periurban market women had leaders, and they sustained the overall cohesion of the protest.<sup>78</sup> The participants, however, clearly considered the march itself spontaneous, and the chants should be considered in the same light.<sup>79</sup> The three chants discussed below substantially alter the received wisdom that men and women formed a broad coalition. As an eight-year-old schoolboy, François Amorin watched the women march past by his Catholic boarding school. He remembered the song they sang in Ewe thus:

A German lady will come from the sky,  
A German lady will come from the sky.  
The Germans will come to save us,  
To save us from the French.<sup>80</sup>

The women sang happily, and were not angry or violent. Their parade resembled a "friendly demonstration" or "procession of honor."<sup>81</sup> It had a distinct tone of liberation and freedom. The song itself referred to the imminent landing of a female German aviator in Lomé, although how they knew of this event remains unclear.<sup>82</sup> But the details of the visit are secondary to the fact that the market women clearly saw this woman as their "savior" from the new burden of taxation. In January, the market women were organized and resistant, but they were clearly not despondent.

In Cazeaux's assessment it was difficult to separate the imprisonment from the taxation. Only after speaking with de Guise was he convinced of the economic angle of the protest. Other informants reported that the crowd turned menacing as it entrenched itself in the parks and grounds around the building where the two men were detained. In the words of the anticolonial campaigner and journalist Antoine d'Almeida,

The arrival . . . of the fetish priestesses from Bè, like furious goddesses, augmented the tension. The women had with them a baton around which hung a type of mat with which they kept rhythm for the songs they used to demonstrate that they were not ready to go anywhere and would in fact pass the night until they were satisfied, that is to say by the release of the leaders of Duawo.<sup>83</sup>

The batons or sticks were probably *kpotiwo*, percussive devices.<sup>84</sup> The women carried oil lamps and mats indicating an all-night protest. Additionally, when boys and men arrived after the end of the workday, there was a distinct shift in the atmosphere and the adoption of a threatening tone.

Doussi Ekué-Attognon, a market woman and a participant in the events, reported that insults were "spat" at the French and that women recalled and improvised a traditional Ewe war chant.<sup>85</sup> This second chant, called "*Alaga*," was historically sung when the spirits were destroyed or dishonored (*gble*), by

adepts (*alaga*) of the god Héviéssó, the "collective" thunder god, incorporating seven vodoun (spirits), Agbade, Aklobe, Adayro, Atissu, Sakadja, Sogbo and Ayali.<sup>86</sup> According to Ewe tradition, the arrival of the *alaga*, clad in palm fronds (*aza*), signals a day of vengeance.<sup>87</sup> In the words of Ekué-Attognon:

Today we are the Alaga!  
Today we seek vengeance against the affront of the French!<sup>88</sup>

As this chant was sung, the women tore down palm fronds, threw off their shoes and sprinkled their clothing with ashes and dust.<sup>89</sup> This chant was a new performance of cursing and shaming; it effectively apportioned blame for the terrible situation on the Conseil and the French. Gunfire from the balcony above their heads only incensed the crowd further and the women goaded the French with cries, such as "You've nothing but air in your guns," and "For only two shillings you use guns; if we take it back, will you really die of hunger?"<sup>90</sup>

The third chant comes from an interview with Hubert Kponton, a teacher who witnessed the events. The chant was recorded by d'Almeida-Ekué:

We're making war on Savi!  
We're making war on the French!<sup>91</sup>

The content of this chant demonstrates that periurban market women felt betrayed by both the French and their own menfolk. It also shows the absurdity of the French account, which described the crowd as returning to town "in triumph."<sup>92</sup> The traditional city leaders and village chiefs had come to signify self-interest and inactivity; locals punned the French "notable" with the English "*not* able."<sup>93</sup> That the women organized themselves and resolved to close all markets in the periurban zone until their demands were met demonstrates the political resolve of a highly competitive economic subgroup notoriously averse to collective social action.<sup>94</sup>

Why the collective crowd singled out Savi de Tové, the secretary of the Conseil des Notables, leads to the second component of the cultural/social political action by the market women. Displays of vulgarity were used not so much against the French, though this did occur, as against other Africans.<sup>95</sup> For Ewe women they constituted the single most powerful weapon of social control, as they literally and spiritually polluted the physical person and memory of an individual. Savi de Tové's house and shop were sacked as the crowd moved toward the commercial capital, away from the site of detention. According to Ekué-Attognon, the priestesses turned their naked buttocks toward his house and skidded along the ground of the courtyard enacting a curse (*gbilété*) and apportioning blame for the calamities. His wells were filled with rubbish and human excrement, and his

possessions looted. Savi "was punished thus for his complicity with the government." So terrifying was this punishment that the "servant" who witnessed the sacking and denounced the looters dared not reveal the names of the priestesses involved.<sup>96</sup>

The involvement of women's vodou practices is a neat segue into the third example of the periurban market women's power, the spiritual cleansing of the city after the violence. Lomé's population viewed the Ahanoukopé massacre not as an isolated incident, but rather the violent culmination of a series of repressive acts intended to stifle opposition to French rule.<sup>97</sup> To be sure, de Guise did request the presence of *tirailleurs* and thus must be held accountable for any action, even that of a deranged soldier.<sup>98</sup> From a local cultural perspective, however, the gunfire and death were not simply tragic circumstances, but a series of sacrilegious events for which atonement had to be made.<sup>99</sup> Local vodou communities—predominantly *gorovodou*—forbid gunfire.<sup>100</sup> Death by gunfire is considered a "hot death," an unnatural act like drowning or traffic accidents, which necessitates a special funeral ceremony in the afternoon.<sup>101</sup> The market place, home to many spirits, had been desecrated. And for many women, the threat of taxation was the underlying cause of vodoun anger.<sup>102</sup> After a curse had been enacted, a cleansing ceremony was required. Failure to appease the vodoun was unthinkable. Indeed the spirits "demanded" appeasement.<sup>103</sup>

Following the massacre, the priestesses of Bè again took the initiative, this time in the healing process.<sup>104</sup> The victims were buried according to local custom, though some were given Christian ceremonies.<sup>105</sup> These unfortunate men and women were interred quickly in the Beach Cemetery.<sup>106</sup> After the funeral services, women throughout the city joined with those of the periurban community of Bè to perform the *dodédé* ("chasing away disease") and "sweep clean" the pollution.<sup>107</sup> The Bè head chief explained this women's ceremony thus,

If there are troubles or sickness in the country, the traditional public authorities gather together to sweep clean the entire land. We throw away all the rubbish that traditionally expedites epidemics. Afterward a satisfactory process is followed by the disappearance of the disease. Every time there are epidemics or deaths in large numbers this ceremony is performed.<sup>108</sup>

The magnitude of the event is indicative of the size of the "illness." The chief extrapolated this analogy: just as an injection cures only one illness, this women's ceremony cures the entire land.

As women performed the *dodédé*, they sang a special prayer only uttered on such occasions, possibly to the god Nyigbla in addition to Héviéso.<sup>109</sup> Although informants were reluctant to share the contents of this prayer, Bruno Gilli recorded one version:

You have entered the forest,  
 Because of something,  
 The *So* have obliged the child  
 To come into the forest,  
 Because they know the child is afraid of the *So*.<sup>110</sup>

As this prayer was recited to the *So* (a.k.a. Héviéssó), some women shook wooden "war castanets," and others bathed in an herbal solution.<sup>111</sup> Male priests (*honoun*) arrived from Notsé, the ancestral home of the Ewe, and performed a sacrifice.<sup>112</sup> The women again removed their shoes, dressed in palm branches, used fronds to collect the trash, and abstained from sexual relations, salt, and spices for the entire week.<sup>113</sup> This ritual cleansing was performed throughout the city and the immediate periurban communities of Bè, Agoé-nyivé, Amoutivé and Kodjoviakopé, and women threw the refuse into the ocean.<sup>114</sup> A Bè priest also explained that this ceremony was sometimes combined with another episode of *gbilété* as a vehicle of emphasizing blame.<sup>115</sup>

Despite the traditional women's weeklong cleansing ceremony, there was still considerable tension and sadness. The repeal of the new taxes, coupled with the *dodédé*, was not enough to appease the vodoun. In the simple words of one very old market woman and witness, Affiwa Joséphine Gagna, "people began to die." Something strange was happening, because the people of Bè "don't die like that. The people of Bè live long lives."<sup>116</sup> Clearly, further appeasement was necessary, but now it fell on the shoulders of the French, the true offenders. And so when a few months later the commandant of Lomé, Fréau, proposed the renovation of a park in the center of the city, many local residents interpreted the gesture as an effort at reconciliation.<sup>117</sup> Tradition holds that the site of the "Fréau Jardin," as it is still called today, is also the "home" of some of the oldest vodoun in Lomé (see map 3.1). Constructing a building on the site where the vodoun "fell from the sky," the phrase used repeatedly to explain from whence the divinities came, would have been very contentious.<sup>118</sup> But by creating a garden and public space on the site of the spirits, Fréau unwittingly completed the process of healing.

Over a period of several decades, Ewe women in the flourishing periurban market communities solidified commercial ties and cemented their role as familial providers. Cyclical market schedules were responsible for the daily revenue that placed food on the table, and their tax-free status facilitated accumulation for other provisions. At the same time the patterns that developed became identifiable with women, and especially periurban trading Ewe women, who moved throughout British Gold Coast, British Togoland, French Togoland, and southern Dahomey. Their economic roles carried over into their gender and religious identity. They began to feel entitled to certain structures, elements such as free border passage, favorable customs

treatment, and tax-free status. After all, direct taxation did not exist in the Gold Coast, only a short distance away for many, and relocation was a simple question of moving in with kin.

Direct taxation of both womanhood *and* women's market holdings met with general disbelief. Although it is difficult to interpret oral evidence to explain how this sudden change constituted such an offense, as a social historian, I can only repeat the phrases used by my informants and speculate about possible lines of interpretation. Thus the proposed tax was an "offense" and their tax-free status a "right," necessitated by their roles as mothers and providers.<sup>119</sup> Women, as defenders of the hearth, first appealed to their own menfolk, who in turn looked to the new democratic urban authority, the Conseil. When depositions by the elected official had little effect, the rumored arrival in Lomé of a German woman must have seemed like a miracle.<sup>120</sup> The periurban market women probably thought the Germans, who had never attempted such an inhospitable attack on the role of women, had sent this woman to rescue them from the French.

At the same time, if we look through a "vodou lens," it is not implausible that the women associated the aviator with Héviéssou and other vodoun, who had "fallen from the sky." Then, several weeks later, a seemingly unrelated event, the arrest of two popular men, presented an opportunity for the women to express outright their dissatisfaction with the new taxes. They marched, chanted, and danced according to Ewe vodou tradition, deploying their political authority via cultural/social acts. They insulted the French and their accomplices, following time-honored patterns. And when the whole scene, although initially successful, exploded into bloody violence, offending the spirits, this violence was linked to the offence of taxing the spirits' loyal followers. Subsequently, the periurban market women reworked a performance of spiritual cleansing.

In revisiting these cultural and gendered actions, Ewe women were asserting their religious, cultural, and gendered authority. Women's political authority was dynamic, threatening, and highly successful on many levels. The gendered parameters of these actions were not of their own invention, however. Women's exclusion from Westernized, republican politics was new and largely of French "invention." The public and violent events of 1933 were read by elite African males as an open display of the gendered division of responsibility and action, and subsequently rearticulated to further women's marginalization from the new Westernized political process. Lomé's male elite may well have been drawing on earlier precedents, rather than creating an entirely new field of political discourse and action.<sup>121</sup> But it is important to mention that although Ewe women had been socialized to express domestic disaffection through cultural/social protest, oral informants emphasize that no other avenues of action were open to women at this time.<sup>122</sup>



Thus, the events of 1933, though in part continuing along culturally marked channels disposed toward collective women's protest, do not belie a "choice" on the part of women. Ultimately, the women's actions may have been reread by male elites as indicative of their marginalization from what was to become the formal Westernized political realm, but we should not assume that women were complicit in this restructuring of the boundaries of women's decision making, protestation, and lifestyle choices. At the 1945 "protonational conference," only two women—one a teacher, the other a midwife—participated, and they both remained and were kept silent throughout.<sup>123</sup> In the postwar Ewe reunification struggle, women's marginalization from ethnonationalist politics was almost complete.<sup>124</sup> Indeed, Collier asserts that the post-World War II exclusion of women from political power and policy making was cemented by their incorporation into Sylvanus Olympio's Comité de l'Unité Togolaise as the "moral guardians" of Ewe manhood.<sup>125</sup>

### Hierarchies of Power in Periurban Social Conflict

In many respects, the depression was the underlying cause of the violent events of January 1933. Economic data from the French-mandated territory between 1922 and 1933 demonstrate that Governor Bonnacarrère's policies, although designed to enhance the long-term productivity of the territory, left Togo exceptionally vulnerable to internal "hemorrhaging" if primary export values were to fall.<sup>126</sup> Restructuring the tax base and shifting the economic burden away from imported goods and onto the periurban population may have worked during economically favorable years, but in a crash it caused a double deficit, in that export levies were negligible, and producers themselves were less able to pay taxes.

The machinations of Bonnacarrère's extravagant successor combined with an unstable tax regime created a climate ripe for disaster.<sup>127</sup> Not only did de Guise increase official expenditure during a crunch period, but also he did so by restructuring the periurban tax base and by increasing the overall tax burden of the greater part of the periurban population.<sup>128</sup> Messan Aduayom, echoing an edition of the *L'Étoile du Dahomey* from the period, referred to the "general economic malaise" coupled with de Guise's mishandling of the economy as the "temple of Janus," whence came the events of January 1933.<sup>129</sup> At the same time, however, it is easy to overplay both the intensity of external forces and the local population's lack of comprehension.<sup>130</sup>

The local population was only too aware of the causes and personal impact of the depression. The revolt's economic causes lie clearly with the depression and de Guise. Political responsibility, however, rested solely on de Guise's treatment of the Conseil and his handling of the consultative process. He shattered the emerging democratic experiment by creating a *commune mixte* and



punishing those who engaged the political process. His decisions reveal how oblivious he was of the collaborative arrangement between Lomé and its periurban zone. His administration marked a significant departure from Bonnacarrère's in that he distrusted the Conseil and preferred executive rule. As a new governor, he was clearly unsure of his authority, and in Cazeaux's opinion, demonstrated serious weakness and misjudgment, including ignoring the growth of Duawo.

Periurban market women, as guardians of the hearth and family, bore the brunt of rising costs and falling market prices. Their line of protest was usually restricted to expressing their concerns to their husbands or their male lineage heads. Alternatively, however, when men's inaction warranted complaint, they could pursue collective action by using cultural/social performance to express their dissatisfaction. They protested, not like men with petitions or weapons, but with chants and rituals. They embarrassed French and African men with offensive and shameful displays. And with vodou ritual, they cleansed the evil that accompanied the violent upheaval. But the action, because of its cultural/social form, remained obscured from French colonial officials. Thus, the women avoided immediate accountability in the eyes of the French, though not of the terror and punishments ultimately inflicted on the periurban masses.

This chapter has argued not only that the traditional historical narrative has conflated several events, but also that this conflation has concealed the extent of the action and power of the periurban market women as a collective political force. Instead of one nascent revolt, there were two distinct movements, that of the periurban market women and that of Duawo. Neither came to fruition, because both plans were overtaken by political events. The tools of political power that the market women used were marked by their gender and cultural/religious identities. Although their motivations were primarily economic—in that for many years they had suffered from intrusion into their domestic economic sphere, the creation of direct taxation simply being the final insult—the cultural/social appearance of their collective political protest was of a markedly different flavor. Rooted in women's power to shame and embarrass, their authority vastly outweighed the direct political leverage they sought via their menfolk and the Conseil.

Revolts, such as that of 1933, necessitate the reexamination of precolonial forms of female authority, the avenues of protest open to women during the interwar period, and their relation to the religious, social, and cultural identities in the periurban community. Although an element of the gendered division is now evident, what drew men and women together in collective action remains unclear. Periurban market women were successful in winning the release of Ghartey and Johnson and ensuring the repeal of women's taxation. The operation of the *commune mixte*, however, persisted, perhaps because it was never a driving concern of women. Notwithstanding their significant

achievements, women did not escape punishment for the events of 1933. They, like their menfolk, were pressed into *corvée* labor to build roads throughout the Cercle of Lomé and the periurban zone.

*La révolte des femmes* reasserted women's diverse positions as guardians of the domestic economy, as mothers, and as political authority figures. It also drew attention to their spiritual authority by revisiting women's time-honored roles in the vodou communities prevalent through periurban Eweland. Market women's tax-free status was only one of a number of entitlements that facilitated extensive trade networks throughout periurban Eweland and beyond. Ultimately, however, a small male elite reified women's political action during this extraordinary revolt as indicative of a woman's role as a moral guardian. And although many women warmed to this formulation, the sidelining of women and women's issues by this same elite in the postwar Ewe ethnonationalist movement is surely rooted in women's exclusion from the interwar political process.

## 4

# Vodou and Resistance

## Politico-Religious Crises in the Periurban Landscape

Chiefs and Notables have seen just how strikingly *goro*—in enabling them to procure wealth, and in restoring to them the influence they have lost—puts in their hands, and the things that result with it, the reconquest of local autonomy.

—Monsignor Jean-Marie Cessou, 1936

In the summer of 1935, Datschi a clerk, staggered into the office of the commandant of the Cercle of Aného. He had come by bicycle and foot over 20 miles to alert his superior to a horrific event in his home village of Tchékpo-Dévé. Chief Aglao and the head vodou priest had killed and eaten his twelve-year-old daughter the day before. Immediately, the unwieldy forces of colonial law enforcement sprang into action. The commandant dispatched his French assistant commandant and several African gendarmes by car to Tchékpo-Dévé. They arrived in the village only forty-five minutes later and hastily searched for Aglao and his “consorts,” i.e., his “shrine adherents.” Aglao, Honsou, and others ran for their lives but were soon captured, shackled and thrown in the car. Several others fled into the forest and made their way toward the frontier with British Togoland. The gendarmes located the vodou shrine. After carrying away numerous body parts, bones, and skulls, they set about burning the huts and destroying all vestiges of the religious site. That evening they returned to Aného with their evidence and threw their captives in jail.<sup>1</sup>

Among the most striking developments in periurban Eweland during the French mandate are the simultaneous emergence of independent churches and the resurgence of interest in healing vodou cults. The arrival of British and French forces in German Togo led swiftly to the quasi-autonomous operation both of Protestant evangelical and Roman Catholic churches. Within a

few years the former was operating as the Ewe Presbyterian Church, while the latter was struggling to find the necessary European leadership. At about the same time, colonial officials noted the appearance of what seemed to be many new Ewe vodou forms. These religious manifestations were responses to numerous political changes, including the perceived relaxing of control after the German occupation. The British and French treated Ewe-speakers and Eweland differently than had their German predecessors. To be sure, they had obscure objectives, but “liberation” had taken place, and a change in administration created a permissive environment, one conducive to change and experimentation.

If the late 1910s and early twenties was a period of cautious indigenous cultural and religious experimentation, the 1930s by contrast witnessed a European reaction against forces perceived to be weakening the colonial state. During this period the emerging autonomy of African churches was curtailed, and vodou was reevaluated for its positive and deleterious components. In the early 1920s, French colonial administrators paid very little attention to the operation of churches or parochial schools. By the 1930s the relative merits of missions were again in the spotlight. Missionaries new to the field found religious education under assault by traditional, “primitive” practices and called for reforms to curtail the activities of vodou adepts.

Evidence of indigenous religious expression during the colonial era is notoriously difficult to discern because of the context of production, i.e., the vodou shrines are secret and private. In chapter 2, I briefly related the alleged role of priests in the Aného dispute. By and large, vodou and other animist practices such as *afa* divination are seldom described by, or in the terms of, their practitioners. Scholars have documented how information about Ewe *gorovodou* and *atikevodou* healing cults has been filtered through the colonial religious lenses of European missionaries and African acolytes.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, the broader literature on witchcraft highlights the social struggles of religious communities within the peripheral view of the colonial or the postcolonial state, the perils accompanying the displacement of customary law by European colonial legal models, and the ways in which witchcraft functioned to control the gendered crises that erupted in wake of the imposition of indirect rule.<sup>3</sup> The vodou narratives emerging from periurban Eweland substantiate and contradict many of these compelling arguments in various ways.

This chapter explores the context surrounding a conflict with similarly fractious dynamics to that of *la révolte des femmes*, in the rural hamlet of Tchékpo-Dévé, a community situated forty-five minutes’ drive by car from Aného and one hour from Lomé. Continuing the theme of politico-religious challenges to colonial control addressed in chapters 2 and 3, this chapter directs attention to the deployment of vodou as a vehicle to reclaim political authority within the context of the reshaped periurban chieftaincy of the French mandate administration. Throughout the countryside, in

villages and hamlets, Ewe chiefs conceived of mechanisms to further tilt the balance of political authority, already enhanced by many of the earlier shifts narrated in chapter 2, in their favor. The political authority exercised via the judicial tribunals of the German period was abolished, but in its place the French made chiefs responsible for the census and poll tax. In many communities this sufficiently advanced political authority and quashed dissent. In other Ewe *dukwo*, however, chiefs turned to the power of religion. From the very beginning of a permanent European presence, the social and political influence of vodou practitioners slowly eroded, and by the 1920s an exclusively political chieftaincy became the preferred colonial model, as elaborated in chapter 2. Between 1925 and 1935, however, the chief of one village sought to enhance his power by combining his office with that of vodou priest. In order to accomplish this, he deviated from the practices of the region and terrified his local population into submission with "human sacrifice."

Far from reinscribing the primitivist narratives of much scholarship on vodou and animism, this chapter demonstrates the intrinsic role of religion in dispute formation and resolution, as local communities struggled to negotiate the political environment of the periurban zone. I first examine contextual issues pertaining to the significance of independent and indigenous religious movements during the mandate period. I then turn to two European anxieties accompanying the perceived growth in vodou activity. The first, a description of animism by French Togoland's Catholic primate, Monsignor Jean-Marie Cessou, depicts vodou as a major religious threat to the fledgling indigenous Christian community. The second, the interwar French periurban policy, interprets vodou as a political rather than religious threat. Both, however, envision a solution that involves filtering the good from the bad in traditional religious practice. The final section turns to the chieftaincy dispute in Tchékpo-Dévé, to demonstrate that the religious and the political cannot be separated in the periurban Ewe context.

### Vodou Histories and Religious Historiographies

For a long time scholars have struggled with the difficulties of writing a history of African religious expression during colonialism. Throughout history, but particularly during the colonial period, Africans converted to monotheistic religions in great numbers. Scholars have asked why people converted, what conversion entailed, how we can explain conversion, and if conversion had any unintended consequences. The nature of the sources used significantly shapes the questions asked. The explosive rise of religious movements in colonial Africa between 1910 and 1940 has been interpreted in a variety of ways, each approach offering a method of writing the history of religious expression.<sup>4</sup>

Conversion to Christianity among the Tswana of South Africa opened up the way for both resistance to and reproduction of colonial systems of domination and oppression.<sup>5</sup> Conversion within any African society and the subsequent practice of Christianity are always grounded in the precolonial reality of African societies. But the practice of Christianity was simultaneously an act of mimicry and of creation, in which certain symbols were reproduced in the spirit of missionary teachings. Tswana, attempting to restore power and dignity, reappropriated other symbols of resistance. Resistance was often grounded in the realm of the symbolic, and conversion cannot be easily classified as either collaboration or resistance to colonial rule. In Zambia, by contrast, the “revival” Watchtower movement, led by the Malawian exile Elliot Kenan Kamwana, threatened the colonial order.<sup>6</sup> Followers of Watchtower resisted both colonial rule and the policies of missionaries. Missionaries introduced fees in order to give Africans a sense that they were not getting something for nothing. Africans responded to material benefits, but also to the messages of sin and salvation. Baptisms were overt political acts, but also a reconnection with African tradition, in which the renunciation of sin was often associated with witchcraft. The movement attacked recurrent and new problems, but its ideas did not necessarily subvert customary order. It was, however, a revolt against the abuse of local practices; chiefs and peasants used the political mechanism of witchcraft eradication for their own means.

Witch-hunting constitutes revolt because it subverts and ignores colonial rule and strengthens customary rulers. A multiplicity of factors leads to conversion, blurring distinctions among African political, spiritual, and economic motives for conversion. Drawing on the early work of E. E. Evans-Pritchard, Tim Lane offers the following definition of witchcraft: it “involves an individual’s appropriation of supernatural powers in order to cause death, sickness, or other forms of harm and misfortune to other individuals, or in order to bring exceptional good fortune to themselves.”<sup>7</sup> Other scholars on witchcraft interpret it less as a morality struggle and more as an indicator of the nature of Africans’ clash with modernity.<sup>8</sup> Peter Geschiere’s important observation that “each political innovation [in Africa] confronts the narrow link between power and the occult” draws attention to the spiritual implications of shifts in the operation of chieftaincy.<sup>9</sup> Expanding on this repositioning of postcolonial outbreaks of witchcraft as not in opposition to but part of “modernity,” current scholarship focuses on the moral dimensions of the phenomenon. Stephen Ellis and Gerri ter Haar call witchcraft outbreaks signifiers of “some of the clearest expressions of a search for justice in a spirit idiom.”<sup>10</sup> This framework highlights the desire of all participants for a shift in the political context in the respective village, town, or state. These are useful observations for understanding the power of vodou in periurban Eweland, although what I am concerned with here is not the implications of

witchcraft trials, but rather how chiefs deployed the spiritual authority of vodou to garner political power.

The rise of the independent Ewe Presbyterian Church in the 1920s is the Eweland microstory of a continental phenomenon. Hybridized forms of Christianity and Islam functioned as vehicles for expression of political and social tensions, and have been interpreted as crystallizing new forms of religious and ethnic identities.<sup>11</sup> And yet the animist and traditional elements of the process of syncretism and hybridity have always been subservient to the omnipotence and omnipresence of transcendentalism. Reading Monsignor Cessou's interpretations of vodou challenges this historiography by alerting historians to equally powerful and pervasive forms of conversion and mobilization among nontranscendental cults. These cults adapted and molded their practices to shield them from the eyes of administrators and missionaries, but also capitalized on the climate of relative religious freedom enshrined in the mandate covenant to spread quickly throughout Eweland. The narrative from Togoland reflects deeply the binary of resistance and collaboration as examined in historical literature.<sup>12</sup> The independent Ewe church and the influence of missionary settlements in the region, Protestant and Catholic, were central to urban and rural mobilization for the nationalist struggle, as they consolidated a sense of *evegbe*.<sup>13</sup> The contemporary struggles within the church also reveal how indigenous concepts of evil and morality permeate African Christian theology.<sup>14</sup> Yet the extent and influence of vodou in religious and historical change, and its relationship to the wider anticolonial and nationalist struggle in the region, remain neglected fields of study.

Scholars of Christianity have portrayed vodou during the colonial period as backward, apolitical, socially disruptive, and in decline.<sup>15</sup> This is surprising, as many accounts, including theological scholarship, describe manifestations of vodou as arguably the most pervasive social and cultural practice among Ewe-speakers and even their neighboring groups during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.<sup>16</sup> Except for spoken linguistic forms, animist practices are the single most influential unifying phenomena in Eweland.<sup>17</sup> Anthropology implicitly acknowledges this important role by examining a range of related institutions and practices.<sup>18</sup> Judy Rosenthal, for example, turns attention to the modernist and hybrid character of *gorovodou* and *Mama Tchamba* by focusing on law and morality in the healing vodou orders.<sup>19</sup> In a nearby setting, Kathryn Linn Geurts interprets vodou as a "kind of sensorium beyond the body yet continuous with it . . . an extension of the inner sensorium and one that is manipulable," a form of metaphysics that, like prayer and meditation, creates a leveling effect on the body and the mind, empowering one's sense of both balance and well-being.<sup>20</sup> Indeed, according to Suzanne Preston Blier, vodou is an all-encompassing force and represents "a deep-seated commitment to certain forms of human conduct in life . . . in an ideal sense what it means to be human and how one's life should be lived."<sup>21</sup>

Vodou permeated all aspects of periurban colonial Ewe life and disrupted the Western assumption that the religious and political realms were separate. Decisions by individuals and collective groups were made through consultation with the *vo* (ancestors), either by sacrifice and prayer or by exploring the question with a *bokono* (priest) specializing in *afa*. Just as Ellis and ter Haar demonstrate that in the contemporary Togolese and Beninese context, vodou is deployed politically, trial records and oral historical interviews conducted with aged vodou practitioners demonstrate that vodou was an integral component of the political and social transformations sweeping periurban colonial Eweland.<sup>22</sup> Notwithstanding this important observation, colonial Europeans tended to see a simple binary relationship between animist activity and social change. Cessou interpreted the spread of *goro*, as he called it, as a religious threat. His less than receptive audience in Lomé, Cotonou, Dakar, and Paris, however, considered indigenous religions benign in their idealized form. Any deviations from an idealized norm posed a serious political threat to the stability of the French colonial order. The next two sections explore this perplexing dichotomy.

#### “Une dérivation de la ligne primitive”: The Religious Threat of Periurban Vodou

The apparent resurgence in vodou activity threatened the advance of Christianity in Togo in the view of French Togo’s Catholic primate, Jean-Marie Cessou.<sup>23</sup> His critique of vodou cults was both a warning to administrators and missionaries in Togo about the sinister propensities of the local animist forces and a preemptive strike at the heart of Christian syncretic practices throughout West Africa. Cessou’s core concern lay with the spread of *goro* or *kunde* from the Gold Coast, via British Togoland, into the Ewe heartland in French Togo. He explained *goro* as a dangerous healing “religion new to West Africa,” the origins of which lay with Christian Science in America.<sup>24</sup> Although he believed the genesis of the cult lay in the Western hemisphere, the prevalence of Christian syncretism in West Africa dating back to the “African Church” of Edward Blyden in Liberia and Sierra Leone was fundamental in creating a climate that could sustain diverse religious expression.<sup>25</sup>

This section explores the perceived religious threat that vodou activity posed to the nineteenth-century project of Christianization throughout periurban Eweland. Although the greater part of Cessou’s criticisms demonstrated little more than the complete incommensurability of the Christian Weltanschauung and Ewe practices, Cessou identified several important reasons for conversion, the most important of which was a belief in vodou’s healing properties and its ability to restore and/or accumulate prestige, wealth and power.<sup>26</sup> In the context of his religious practices, his observations



were characteristic of a discursive shift in missionary activity after World War I, away from passive resistance and toward active intolerance of animism.

The assumption underlying Cessou's description was that Ewe religious forms ultimately had a pure and undiluted origin, from which all else was derivative. This *Ur-vodou* had been less threatening and marked the *indigène* as naïve and primal, the preferred state prior to conversion. Indeed, the characterization of indigenous Ewe religion as undergoing a steady process of corruption and syncretism can be traced back to the first German Protestant missionaries among the Peki Ewe (in present-day Ghana) in the mid-nineteenth century. Meyer has explained the suppositions guiding the ecclesiastical zeal of Spieth, the single most influential missionary-ethnographer of this earlier period, thus:

Though Spieth did not mention this myth [the Tower of Babel] in his ethnographies, it is clear he considered the Ewe to have originally believed in one high God; and in the course of time, to have degenerated into "tribes" with "dialects" and "local gods." Making use of horticultural metaphors he stated that their original state [of being] was overgrown (*überwuchert*) and overwhelmed (*erdrückt*) by other beliefs. He thus distinguished between the Ewes' original state, which had been close to the divine, and their further development, which he and his colleagues considered to be dominated by the Devil.<sup>27</sup>

Catholic missionaries joined this refrain, and the Ewe were identified as ripe for conversion and their religion singled out for special treatment.<sup>28</sup> Thus, on one level Cessou's contribution was only another chapter in a romanticization that ranked Ewe cultural forms above others in the coastal region.<sup>29</sup>

Cessou endeavored to portray Togo's "new" cult as a danger and an impediment to administrative order, public health, religious progress, the new Ewe elite, and the colonial project in general. Many components of *goro* were characterized as threats to public order, including, but not limited to, that the inheritance of initiates would bypass the patrilineal descent network and pass to the fetish priest; that the fear of *goro* drove whole families from their villages and that those who tried to combat it simply "disappear[ed]"; and that *goro* jeopardized the stability of traditional chiefdoms and colonial institutions. I will comment on the latter two threats at length below.<sup>30</sup> Among the many public health issues raised by Cessou were the idea that women in trance had miscarriages, that old people died of fright, and that bodies remained unburied if families did not pay the *sofo*, the vodou priest. A French priest, Father Auguste Hermann explained that in many villages "twenty or thirty old people have died. . . . [E]ntire villages have been abandoned because of this dangerous cult." His Ewe colleague, Father Georges Folikwe-Kpodar wrote that in "Batoumé . . . there has not been a single normal birth in the two years that Goro [*sic*] has reigned as master."<sup>31</sup> With respect to religious development, Father Hermann

noted that the locals “desired” to be “spiritual” but because of *goro* they “do not have the courage.”<sup>32</sup> But *goro* was also a trap into which Christian Ewe elites fell, as they sought “a derivative of their religious needs, and a calming force for their alarmed consciences.”<sup>33</sup> Drawing on Robert Delavignette’s elaboration of the colonial project, Cessou argued that periurban Eweland reflected “the subtle, complex, never-ending struggle, between the white administrator and the African chiefs for the African political and social lives.”<sup>34</sup>

Thus, Cessou’s data and analysis implicitly addressed a central issue in the historiography of religion: why people convert. The “decadence” of African Protestantism, epitomized by Blyden, provided a foundation in the mid-1920s for the spread of the “new” *goro* cult and other cults.<sup>35</sup> The popularity of the “African Church” as expounded in the theology of Edward Blyden was that “the ‘Message’ of Christ . . . benefited the Black Race with fraternal and liberationist ideas.” Blyden’s famous phrase “the Fatherhood of God, the Brotherhood of Men” was a theological turn that meant Christ’s message could adapt itself to race and geography, legitimizing different cultural practices such as polygamy as “an African necessity.” From this, Cessou concluded that religion in Africa was made to serve African needs and became “convenient.” This theological doctrine impeded the work of many Protestant missionaries, who were unable to offer an authoritative riposte, but eventually terminated in a form of “idolatry” with its concomitant “practices of magic and sorcery which constitute the basis of African fetishism.”

Cessou wrote that the Africanization of Protestant churches (explained so beautifully by Peel as “the leaf becoming soap”), was not a “stage” in religious development, but a “stage of deterioration.”<sup>36</sup> He continued, “Africa is seeking something else.” But although the message of Protestantism “is a message more or less adulterated,” full of “doctrinal errors and moral tolerance judged fitting and necessary,” the African relished being accorded “a space for selection and choosing.” Cessou even attributed to some of the more “simple” Protestant Africans who were considering converting to Catholicism the phrase “my heart has vomited up that religion.” Although the “African Church” of Blyden “lost much of its force,” its legacy, as Cessou saw it, lay with the large numbers of African “pagans who toss their head with an air of refusal and doubt, saying, ‘When all’s said and done, between the Church and us, where is the difference?’”

Folikwe-Kpodar suggested that *goro* arrived in the area about 1914 from Dukuma near Kete-Krachi in the Gold Coast. Hermann noticed its appearance in Ho and Kpandu, British Togo, in 1926. The roots of its ready reception however, were traced to the highly educated and literate urban population of British West Africa, among which “the newspapers and English language reviews are widely circulated and read.”<sup>37</sup> Cessou described an ambiguous causal link between *goro* and Christian Science but affirmed vodou’s derivative syncretic nature.<sup>38</sup> Hermann and Folikwe-Kpodar similarly

described various ceremonies and elements in deeply syncretic terms and believed vodou to be “a sort of intermediary religion between fetishism and Christianity.”<sup>39</sup> To both priests, however, *goro* was an anomaly, and they struggled to label it both as a “new form of fetishism” or “devil worship” and as a bastardized Protestantism. Neither observer distinguished between the “*tron*” or “fetish” and the actual role of the kola nut, *goro*. Hermann translates *tron* as “fetish” and notes that *kunde* is one such *tron*, but then undoes his work by calling *atike* and *goro* both *tron*. At one point Folikwe-Kpodar referred to kola as “le symbole du Dieu Goro [*sic*].”<sup>40</sup>

*Gorovodou* practices allegedly attempted to break into the region earlier, during the German occupation.<sup>41</sup> But “the German government—by nature vigilant and hostile to anything originating from the Gold Coast”—never allowed it to take root.<sup>42</sup> German cultural and political hegemony waned because of the constant seasonal migration between Togoland and the Gold Coast Colony. Cessou attributed this regular migration back and forth to three factors: the small size of Togo, which made it impossible to cater to the entire population; the lure of cocoa plantations in the neighboring colony; and preexisting, precolonial currents of migration. Ultimately, “English ideas” infiltrated the German *Musterkolonie*, “contaminating the goodwill of the Togolese.”<sup>43</sup> And although particular vigilance by Europeans between 1918 and 1925 seemed to hold syncretic religions at bay, there were some lapses.

Cessou apportioned much of the blame for the reception *goro* received in the 1930s to the arrival in Lomé of the Faith Tabernacle in 1922. This organization, about which very little is known, circulated a review among Christians in Togo. According to Cessou, it was a spin-off “organ” of Christian Science, which spread from British Togoland into French Togoland via the Danyi Plateau (the cocoa-growing Ewe hinterland). “The apostles of this new cult, for the most part Protestant Christians and Catholic, apostate or polygamous, are really aggressive.” They apparently “mocked” pastors and priests, and claimed that both brands of Christianity were “powerless.”<sup>44</sup> They championed their own religion, which “healed the sick without man’s medications.” While Cessou only speculated as to the “esoteric” content of this cult and of its practices, “very soon after, one saw appear, on the edges of villages, shrines characteristic” of cultic devotion.<sup>45</sup> Soon after these appearances, names of gods were also circulated, such as Kunde-Tsali, Goro, Atiké, Amatsi and Kpévodou.<sup>46</sup> Healers attached themselves to these village cults and attracted adepts to the new shrines. Cessou’s description of the arrival of cults in villages is fascinating and mysterious, leaving one craving further detail. For their part, Hermann and Folikwe-Kpodar furnished wonderfully naïve descriptions of prayer; the Hausa, Ewe and Twi music; trance “convulsions,” “hysteria” and “fainting fits”; legal “commandments” and “proscriptions”; and *afa* divination. The vodou house itself is described as a “kennel,” a “baker’s oven,” and a “chicken coop.”<sup>47</sup> (See fig. 4.1, for large vodou house.)

The initial foothold of *goro* in the mandate territory met with little governmental resistance, permitting it to “spread rapidly . . . in the two zones of Togo.” The British, perhaps out of a desire to set themselves apart from the crueller and more arbitrary elements of German rule, were concerned with mass movements among the indigenous population only when they threatened “public order.”<sup>48</sup> Moreover, Cessou claimed that the postwar redivision of Togo only exacerbated the preexisting conditions for population movements: the French were awarded the “pipe,” the British the “tobacco,” with the result that no one could smoke.<sup>49</sup> French Togo “refreshed” the Gold Coast constantly with people, livestock, and agricultural produce. With this constant ebb and flow of people and products came new “cultural ideas” and material forms.<sup>50</sup> Cessou emphasized both the foreign and introduced aspects of *goro*, and employed the language of epidemiology. Togolese residents of the Gold Coast, returning to Togo to visit their kin, were the “vectors” of *goro*.<sup>51</sup> By depicting *goro* as an introduced and foreign phenomenon—a disease, no less—he hoped to convince the French authorities of its threatening political nature.<sup>52</sup>

Propagation and reception are separate issues, and Cessou described various reasons for conversion to this “new” cult. According to Cessou, apostasy went hand in hand with polygamy. Polygamy in turn was equated with “notability” among Africans. The circuitry of this argument obscures an important reason for conversion, the role of what should more correctly be called polygyny for the spread of *goro*. Many Ewe people (especially in periurban communities), were frustrated by the limitations of monogamous marriages. Lineages decreased, and household heads had fewer able bodies on which to draw for labor in their cocoa farms. “Notability” was linked to prestige, and prestige to accumulation. It was only logical that migrant farmers would be receptive to the labor and accumulation opportunities afforded by a “lapse” into polygyny.

To his criticism of polygyny, Cessou added a broad attack on the role of the traditional chiefs, who were particularly likely to convert. Traditional chiefs were by and large “polygamous” and indeed proselytizers of the benefits of “polygamy.” Christianity and its opposition to polygamy presented the greatest challenge to the village chief, the pinnacle of traditional conceptions of “notability.” Christianity was the “principal stumbling block” to “acquiring and maintaining” influence over a lineage and village unit.<sup>53</sup> Moreover, the German administration and German missionary activity had significantly downgraded the influence of many Ewe divisional chiefs and disrupted hierarchies of authority. Cessou asserted that far more than “sexual passion,” the “desire for influence” remained the primary motivation for people to join religious and cultural orders such as *goro*.<sup>54</sup>

As “chiefs and notables have but one desire: to recapture their leadership of local political life,” *goro* became a vehicle for the restoration of hierarchies

of power in village and divisional units. This force, which championed structural change, became in Cessou's eyes an "organized movement."<sup>55</sup> Chiefs and fetish priests began to acquire letters of certification or birth certificates, and even official diplomas affirming their role stamped with the *timbres fiscales* of the French West African Federation. He reproduced one such bizarre document, signed and dated Lomé, January 31, 1935, in full.

This document hereby permits the individual Sanvi-Mahnon of Kovie-Woume to take control over those hapless and in a state of vagabondage who come from the Cold-Coast [*sic*] via the false name of the cult of Kundi [*sic*]; and at the same time, in order to avoid misfortune, have them come to me and submit themselves as pupils and colleagues in the adoration (the veneration of the cola nut) with the attendant formalities. I, the undersigned, Kodjo-Kouma, founder, in the Gold Coast and in Togo, hereby state that the veneration that my pupils must respect and obey, and of which each of them is obliged to maintain, must be strictly adhered to by the local administrative order. . . .

After this follow eight rules for compliance. Cessou phrased this development as a major challenge to French authority in the territory, in that miscreants emboldened with such fraudulent documents were able to exploit the illiterate peasant.<sup>56</sup>

The final and most important attributes of *goro*, however, which accounted for its popularity and rapid spread in the region, were its healing properties. Just as Christian Science was structured around *séances de guérison*, *goro* partook of the "central and private idea [of] faith healing."<sup>57</sup> A central tenet of Christian Science reads simply: "[I]n so far as the disease is a lack of faith, just so far is the cure of the disease a matter of Faith."<sup>58</sup> Cessou charged that the popularity of *goro* during this period was largely due to its claim as a cure-all: "[T]he adepts . . . absolutely refuse—one might even say fiercely—to care for or to be cared for with the aid of medicines, whether European or indigenous." This claim is particularly interesting in that the outbreak of the cult is dated roughly the same as the pandemic of Spanish Influenza (1919–21), which took an enormous toll on West Africa. Throughout the world, in the wake of this catastrophe, many localized alternative remedies developed, and the claims that the Ewe men and women in Mission Tové and elsewhere "steadfastly refused to be moved to hospitals or dispensaries" seems in line with the common perception that such institutions were little but mortuaries.<sup>59</sup> But although he mentioned other types of vodou—particularly *atiké* and *amatsi*—which translate literally as "medicine," he ironically only touched on a core action associated with *gorovodou*—the eating of *goro*, the kola nut.<sup>60</sup>

Of course a number of individuals could have explained the differences and particularities of *gorovodou* to Cessou and his colleagues. One such man

was the journalist and anticolonial campaigner Blaise Kuassi. During the early 1930s Kuassi came to the defense of various *sofowo* (priests) when they found themselves on trial for witchcraft, and his advocacy brings us to the final pressing element of Cessou's agenda: the role of indigenous elites in the protection and shielding from criticism of vodou practices. In his newspapers, Kuassi published a statement to the effect that the *gorovodou* "fetish" was "recognized as inoffensive by the distinguished authorities" of Lomé and publicly acknowledged as "high spiritual power."<sup>61</sup> Cessou thus directed his anger toward the "Protectors of Goro [*sic*]," identified as "chiefs, notables, administrative assistants and journalists."<sup>62</sup> The actions of these "elite" people, accorded special and honored roles in the colonial project, now cast doubt on their motivations and allegiances.

The momentous events of 1933 discussed in the previous chapter marked a turning point, after which French officials could not presume that their Conseils des Notables were filled with like-minded men. Cessou's final appeal appropriated these fears by arguing that the urban and periurban elites, previously the unfailing right arm of *la mission civilisatrice*, were now degenerating morally. He reminded his readers of their responsibility to uphold "noblesse oblige."<sup>63</sup> He warned those who had "abandoned the righteous path to follow the more convenient" and criticized "negligence in state duties, a loss of control to passion, absence of integrity, [and] idleness." He called for a "notabilité oblige" to resonate with the role of these men as community leaders, and he singled out for special criticism those elite men who could not see the inherent harm they were doing by acting as "sympathizers" of *goro* and enlisting the "suspect services" of the Paris-based League for the Defense of the Rights of Man and the Citizen (LDRMC). Individuals, such as the editor of the *Courier du Golfe du Bénin* and the LDRMC Dahomey branch president, Blaise Kuassi, betrayed the public trust and ultimately wished to derail the colonial regime.

Far from revealing an adulterated form of Christianity or Christian Science, however, Cessou's analysis highlights the deeply syncretic nature of vodou in the Volta Basin. Rosenthal has argued that this adaptive and evolving nature constitutes the inherent modernist outlook of *gorovodou*. To this I would add that the revival and spread of vodou, particularly *gorovodou*, is part of a much broader upsurge in religious observance characteristic of the period. Christian and Islamic revivals and their animist and syncretic elements have been examined in minute detail in a variety of African locations, but never before has attention been focused on an animist revival. And yet people "converted" to *goro* for very similar reasons: to accumulate wealth via polygyny, to restore power or prestige lost under colonial domination, to combat illness and disease (see fig. 4.1).

Cessou sought to initiate a government campaign against periurban vodou and all animist practices. He saw evidence for a revival of paganism *and*

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Figure 4.1 “Féticheurs du Togo.” Postcard produced for official governmental distribution, circa 1925, possibly Watchi region. Private collection of the author.

evidence for growing support of these practices among certain elite groups. Both constituted outright challenges to Christian orthodoxy, and both needed to be checked, lest they grow to the uncontrollable proportions seen in the Gold Coast.<sup>64</sup> Cessou was an influential cleric, and his appeals did not fall on deaf ears. Although a full-scale vodou inquisition did not begin, however, his concerns led to a general survey of animist practices in French West Africa.

*“Le fétichisme n'existe pas ... il n'y a que des féticheurs”:*

**The Political Threat of Periurban Vodou**

Although Cessou's interpretation of Eweland's animism did not usher in a vodou witch-hunt, his status as a senior cleric of the Catholic church (with over twenty-seven years' service in the French empire) assured him a good hearing in administrative circles. Within French-controlled Eweland he drew the attention of local administrators to the extent of animist practices, and over several years he developed good relationships with individual officials. If Cessou identified the threat of vodou as largely religious, the French administration, in Togo and more widely in West Africa, viewed all animism as a broad threat to the political objectives of colonialism.

In the mid-1930s, the administration of Togo moved from Lomé to Cotonou and became subordinate to that of Dahomey, a colony within the



French West African Federation.<sup>65</sup> Thus, vodou activity in Togo became the concern of the Dakar administration. In 1936, the governor-general of West Africa communicated to the Minister of Colonies in Paris the view that it was unnecessary to enact any new statute to deal with “fetish crimes.” He included extracts of a study of “l’activité fétichiste” in the region. The study was conducted by Christian Merlo, an official based in Togo, who in retirement wrote several articles on *bocio* ritual objects.<sup>66</sup> This brief report provoked in a series of significant trials and prosecutions.

For a number of years, Merlo, aided by Judge E. P. Thébaut and others, had observed and described the extent of fetishism. Their synthesis noted that fetish activity was widespread in the periurban administrative divisions of lower Togo and Dahomey: within Togo, in the Cercle du Sud comprising the former Cercles of Aného and Lomé; within Dahomey, including the Cercles of Athiémé, Cotonou, Porto-Novo, Abomey and Savalou.<sup>67</sup> The “fétiche *goro*,” identified as the main cult, was “probably identical” to that in the Gold Coast and British Togoland. Merlo and his co-authors noted that *goro*, having spread from the Gold Coast via British Togoland to French Togoland, was found to have entered Dahomey, specifically the Subdivision of Parahoué, Cercle of Athiémé, in 1935. Indeed, he wrote it might even be “presently” spreading into Nigeria. Ominously he added that those villages in Togo opposing the “ascendancy of the fetishists” had “literally disappeared.” And although he did not elaborate, he indicated that several hundred Togolese had “disappeared.”

The authors continued to note that because *goro* was “the highest state of fetishist deception,” “the remedy [wa]s nothing but a complete war against this fetish.”<sup>68</sup> Building on information furnished by Cessou and Hermann, he stated that *goro* was not a “deformation or derivative of animism, but a pure and simple invention.”<sup>69</sup> As a judicial officer rather than a man of the cloth, Thébaut took a different approach to *goro*, focusing on its criminal content and public order implications. Among the “crimes et délits” committed by adherents of *goro* were “violence,” “abortions,” “rape” and “poisoning.” In Thébaut’s eyes, fetish activity was equated with witchcraft, the *goro* cults were witches’ “covens,” and the matter was becoming too serious to be dealt with on a purely administrative level. He explained that during his several years in Togo, villagers from Aného and Lomé had often come to him for help. He had authorized his juniors to “destroy the fetish, scatter the morsels to the wind and oppose its reestablishment.”<sup>70</sup>

Unlike Cessou, Merlo and Thébaut were inclined to prosecute only those practices which constituted criminal acts, while elsewhere they stressed the “need for ethnographical studies” so that a fuller understanding of the religion, and hence its people, could be reached.<sup>71</sup> Their attitude and its reception in Dakar are indicative of a discursive shift in the administrative philosophy of the French colonial project toward incorporating a scientific



understanding of the human condition in all its diversity, an understanding furnished by colonial anthropology. Their "ethnographical" summary drew an arbitrary line between "two absolutely different phenomena": first, the "exceptionally spiritual religion" of "fertility," the "essence of which lay with the family and the a creator god and spirits, uniting the cult of the ancestors with that of the earth"; second, a "monopoly of audacious exploitation of the beliefs of a people terrorized by a priesthood without shame." The priests were themselves described as "strangers to the family . . . dissolving of institutions" and "destroying custom." Ultimately, the Dakar leadership credited the officers with "deducing" the difference between animism and fetishism.<sup>72</sup>

In Dakar, the distinction between the two forces was validated on one level, but colonial analysis extended to include an "intimate interpenetration" between fetishism and animism, with the accompanying warning that overzealous tactics could lead to the persecution of legitimate "mystical customs." Léon Lanfranchi, an agent of the Department of Administrative and Political Affairs, proposed a "plus nuancée" analysis of the status of animism and fetishism in Togo and West Africa to aid the development of policy for the combating of illegal acts. He characterized the fetish as "a talisman" or representation of the "divine power," nothing more than a "cultic object." Drawing on several influential colonial anthropologists—Henri Labouret, Maurice Delafosse, Salomon Reinach, and Louis Tauxier, to name four—he explained first the etymology of "fetish," then the role of "blood sacrifice" in transferring the "objet confectionné" from the profane to the sacred domain. Delafosse's *Noirs de l'Afrique* was invoked: first, to demonstrate that fetishism existed in all world religions regardless of their respective level of development; and second, to correct missionary misrepresentations of "the religion of the Blacks of Africa . . . [which was] in reality, animism," a world full of spirits but not a dualist world of good and bad.

The employment of Delafosse's categorization established a distinction between Ewe fetishism and criminal behavior, a distinction that was to have a significant role in Togo over the next few years. Delafosse emphasized the anima, the breath or life force, and its relationship with the physical body. Physical death was explained as a struggle between different spirits, and hence, he explained, "every death among the Blacks is attributed, not to natural causes, which are to them only secondary, but to the psychic influence of an ill-meaning spirit." The role of priests was explained as that of a conduit between people and spirits. Delafosse's formulations of animism and fetishism filtered throughout the colonial administration. And thus Lanfranchi was in no hurry to exterminate one or the other for fear of the social ramifications: "a poorly thought out intervention may have unimaginable consequences."<sup>73</sup> Not only was fetishism condemned to die out naturally, but making "martyrs" would only send it underground, fomenting political activism such as that of Blaise Kuassi.<sup>74</sup>

This argument provided the basis for the prosecution of fetishists for “*délits et des crimes*,” acts that constituted a threat to public order. The constituent nature of vodou remained unaltered, but a theoretical basis whereby *goro* could be assaulted was reframed to reflect the republican legal tradition. Moreover, the emphasis on “victims” of “ritual crimes” provided an additional legal imperative.<sup>75</sup> Lanfranchi asserted that the basis of all primitive religion was sacrifice and charged fetishism with “charlatanism,” “clandestine evil,” and abuse and ritual crimes. He listed “trial by poison” as the most feared ritual. *Goro* posed a threat to public order and had to be “banned and extinguished from Black civilization.” Lanfranchi informed the governor-general that the necessary legal articles were in existence to accomplish this task, and that no additional legal measures would be necessary.<sup>76</sup> But when no pressures were brought to bear by fetish priests, and when people acted of their own volition, fetish activities would be tolerated within the broad panoply of religious observance protected by French republican principles.<sup>77</sup> Above all else, however, it behooved the ethnographer-administrator actively to “penetrate the most secret mores and beliefs of his administrés.”<sup>78</sup>

Reponses to this circular can be read as a “census” of vodou activity, and indeed a later government proposal called for cataloging the extent of animist practices in villages during the regular census for tax purposes. Governor Louis Blacher of Guinée assured his superior that all vodou conspirators would be brought to justice.<sup>79</sup> The governor of Senegal confirmed that everything was under control within the Four Communes and that no fetish activity had been reported.<sup>80</sup> Governor Ferdinand Rougier of Soudan sent a copy of the telegram he had addressed to all the Cercles authorizing the arrest and prosecution of all fetishists.<sup>81</sup> Governor Jean Louis Beyries of Mauritania affirmed that his entire population was Muslim and there was consequently no fetish activity.<sup>82</sup> The governor of Côte d’Ivoire directed an elaborate circular to his commandants, emphasizing that legal articles existed that permitted the “confiscation of the fetish.”<sup>83</sup>

In Eweland, the vodou census took a different turn. With the shield of anthropology and the sword of criminal law, the governor-general authorized the lieutenant governor to proceed with the extermination of *goro* from Togo.<sup>84</sup> He characterized *goro* (which he spelled “*gôlô*”) as “collective black magic” and a “secret society of poisoners with political inclinations.”<sup>85</sup> Muslims and Christians would be suitable allies in the war against the societies.<sup>86</sup> Governor Henri Étienne Martinet affirmed that *goro* had entered Dahomey from Togo in 1933 and that a certain customs officer, Robert Manavi, was the principle priest in the city of Cotonou.<sup>87</sup> The size of the cult was estimated at thirty people, each person paying twenty francs to join and then five francs and a cache of kola nuts at each meeting. Manavi’s meetings in the village of Akpapa near the cemetery took place every Sunday at 3:00 P.M. in a building inscribed with the words “Before the Door to Happiness.”<sup>88</sup> Although the meetings focused on

healing certain illnesses and female sterility, according to the governor, the biggest concern of the leader was to remain secret.

In Ouidah, Martinet continued, the cult was also prominent. Earlier it had been "thrown into the sea" by the wives of Chief Tidakpe. But in 1932 Jean Adjovi, the fetish priest Agofadji, and another priest by the name of Ledi returned from the Gold Coast with *goro*. The fetish, which had been "discovered" some fifteen years earlier in Tongeviadjji's house in Aného, was installed at the home of one Locoh-Donou at a cost of 1,000 francs. Recently the priest had celebrated the fetish in a special ceremony and had invited the participation of priests from the Gold Coast and Togo. At this ceremony a major disagreement about the fetish and the debts owed to various people significantly weakened the role of the cult in Ouidah. The local commandant continued to monitor the tense situation.

Martinet was deeply concerned about the extent of fetish activity in Eweland and cautioned all his officers against the "recrudescence of practices" that had caused "customary anarchy," a reference to the resistance to French colonialism in Dahomey in the late 1890s.<sup>89</sup> He dismissed the possibility of syncretism with Christianity or Islam: animism was a separate field of spirituality, and fetishism a dangerous organizational deviation.<sup>90</sup> Moreover, the unchecked growth of fetishism threatened the stable coexistence of chiefs and village priests overseen by local commandants. Not only was fetishism largely political activity, but when it united fetish priests, it operated like a veritable "theocracy" with "monarchic" inclinations. By riding roughshod over administrative divisions and threatening to "mobilize" peoples in different territories (i.e., Togo and Dahomey), the "fetish service" activity constituted the greatest threat to colonial control.<sup>91</sup>

Because of this clear and present danger, Martinet ordered his officers to include the exact extent of "normal and abnormal" fetishism in their divisional censuses and trimester reports in Togo. Funds were made available to provide for informants to infiltrate vodou cults.<sup>92</sup> The goal was to acquire a profile of the membership, the head priests, the names of the fetishes, the cults, the clan of the cults, the participation of men and women, and any other distinguishing factor. Although the ultimate goal of creating a "register of control of fetish activity" was to map the extent of the practice, all criminal acts would be prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law. This directive meant that new officers arriving in Eweland were actively encouraged to seek out fetish activities, and it helps explain the eruption of conflict in the late 1930s, to which we will now turn.

### Behind "the Door to Happiness": Periurban Vodou on Trial

Understanding the period 1935–38 is central to understanding the interwoven nature of religious and political power in periurban Eweland, because the aforementioned moral campaign came to fruition in a series

of criminal trials of vodou sect members. The reclassification of animism practices into “normal” and “derivative,” partly a consequence of Cessou’s campaign for the total eradication of fetish activity, created a platform for particularly officious administrators to prosecute animism pursuant to public-order ordinances. Although no substantive change took place in vodou organization, sect members were brought to trial by administrators empowered by the knowledge that their mission did not contradict France’s and the League of Nations’ stated goal of “liberty of conscience.” And as individual sects and local cults were threatened, members struggled to avoid prosecution by recasting their practices as politically and socially neutral. Though a relatively brief historical interlude, and one curtailed by the outbreak of war in Europe, the trial of vodou practitioners raised fundamental questions about the operation of colonial authority on the ground and in more remote rural settings.

Following the governor-general’s “census,” a Commission of Enquiry was set up in the Ministry of Colonies to survey of “acts of sorcery, anthropophagic rituals” and other “reprehensible acts” within the broader context of assessing the “aspirations of the natives.”<sup>93</sup> The Togo administration responded with a dossier of all trials since the inception of the mandate (1919). There were two clusters of trials: the first in 1919, and the second during the mid- to late 1930s, with little in between. The documentation for this period, enhanced by information supplied in interviews, permits an examination of the nature of vodou activity in the 1930s and its sociopolitical outlook.

Trial and sentencing records are formulaic documents, requiring careful and intuitive reading.<sup>94</sup> And because the clusters of trials largely concern poisoning, they have a complex relationship with actual cult membership. The previous section demonstrated that by essentializing and neutralizing a core component of traditional animist practices, the French administration also created a periphery of deviance that permitted the prosecution of poisoners and other “witches” within the remit of French republican law. This discursive shift meant that prosecutors did not investigate individual membership of cults or groups, but instead pursued the social and kinship background of cases as the source of crimes. This means that defendants were not asked, as they might have been in the past, if they were members of cults, but rather specific questions such as from which fetish priest had they procured the poison and whether trial by ordeal was part of their customary law. A careful reading of these detailed trial transcripts and abridged accounts, however, reveals new information about the form and membership of particular cults in operation and the relationship between vodou activity and sociopolitical tensions. The second cluster of trials is particularly interesting, as the “account of the events” and the “interrogation” of the defendants seem to posit a link between the criminal act and the individual’s Ewe ethnic background.

In this first cluster, the crimes were less substantive and vaguer: affirmation of any fetish association established criminality. Acts of sorcery were the primary concern of the prosecution, and any bizarre activity could be brought within this spectrum. In one alleged instance in the villages of Agnerakopé and Holokoué, Cercle of Aného, the putrefying bodies of four women killed by lightning were exposed on scaffolding, possibly resembling a gallows, for a period of three days. One of the deceased was displayed with her legs open with her dead newborn still attached by the umbilical cord, while next to the scaffolding a small fire burned. Five fetish priests of Héviéssou were identified as responsible by the chief of the village and sentenced to five years in prison, and the village chiefs themselves were fined.<sup>95</sup> Another trial, also of priests of Héviéssou, involved the disinterring of a young woman, and related the displaying of her body on a scaffold and the serving of her brains as an appetizer. Several days later her mother's body suffered the same fate. Six priests and one woman were sentenced, but not every tale was so gruesome.<sup>96</sup> Other trials were simply for "witchcraft" and "deception," with little additional explanation.

In these early trials, there is no discussion of the link between the practice and the local cult of Héviéssou. Membership of a cult was used as *prima facie* grounds for a criminal conviction. In one trial, Fioki, a washerman from Adjido, near Aného, alleged that Atisse, in his role as "healer" and "intermediary" between individuals and "the great Mawu" (god *or* God), had abducted his wife, Latré, after the stillbirth of their child. Although Atisse "had the means to poison anyone who bothered him," Fioki dared to demand the return of Latré after two years.<sup>97</sup> Another trial pitted Vasaka of Adjido against his wife, Chisekin-Dédénen, and a local cultic priest, Bamesen.<sup>98</sup> Chisekin imbibed a potion and became "bewitched," after which she fled her husband and went to the fetish house. When Vasaka went to the priests in search of his wife he was tricked, taunted, and beaten for entering the compound, and eventually fled in fear of his life to Porto Seguro (Agbo-drafo). Chisekin for her part explained how she was "driven mad" by a potion, which made her run to Bamesen. There he violated her, tied her to the fetish, and forced her to perform fellatio.<sup>99</sup> While fleeing, she witnessed priests beating her husband. Because Vasaka violated the sanctity of the compound, they were both forced to escape to Porto Seguro, although his second wife (identified as *tronsi*, which is also the general name given bonded shrine adherents) did not leave, as she was the daughter of an "old and very distinguished fetish priest and she had nothing to fear." Bamesen was sentenced to one year in prison and a 200-franc fine.

These early cases reveal fascinating details about the nature of village conflicts, but was the prosecutors made no attempt to sentence the individuals with reference to "abnormal" practices" or "public order." Instead the

offenses were interpreted as crimes of association. The next sequence of trials is also full of titillating village intrigue, such as divorce, abandonment, and chiefly and marital jealousy. Yet by focusing on the public-order dimensions and in collapsing categories, the cluster of trials from the latter period marks a departure from the first approach. It is also worth mentioning that the gap in the textual record of criminal prosecutions of witchcraft coincides roughly with the tenure of Governor Bonnacarrère (1922–31). Indeed, the next trial dates from 1931, only several months after Bonnacarrère left the territory.<sup>100</sup>

Under the next succession of governors, however, trials and prosecutions for fetish activity recommenced. Although the exact impact of Cessou's campaign cannot be established, the coincidence is striking. From 1935 to 1938, a succession of trials marked by radically different definitions of criminality and mechanisms of prosecution coincided with both Togo's political union with Dahomey and the growth of interest in animism among French administrators. These trials have several aspects of note. First, the ethnicity and origins of the individual(s) were recorded, as were less occasionally those of the family. Second, there were explicit attempts to link practices with cultural traditions and customary law. Coupled to this was an attempt to cast activities as "abnormal" or deviating from the norm. Third, criminality was established not by association, but by the threat to public order caused by the event(s).

Although the 1919 cluster of trials did not specify a "race," the greater part of the second cluster marked the litigants by "tribe." The format for the "cause des nommés" included the name, date and place of birth, name of father and less often mother, residence, "coûtume" and "race" or "tribu," and occupation. Thus, Adagla Samenia listed his details as a farmer and resident of Kougnohou in the canton of Akébou, Central Cercle, born in 1900 of Ouomessou and Tiétré, of Akébou "coûtume" and "race."<sup>101</sup> In another case, Tchakpa Guéli, a.k.a. Niéfo, a farmer and resident of Doufouli, Subdivision of Atakpamé, Central Cercle, was described as being of Aniagan "coûtume" and "race," born of Tchakpa and Matiessi around 1902.<sup>102</sup> In the longer trial transcripts, such as those of Tchakpa Guéli and N'Téssukui, the "tribal" origin and family of each of the witnesses was listed before cross-examination, part of an attempt to establish a link between origin and ritual, and thus between normative and deviant.

Throughout, defendants and witnesses for the prosecution were asked to address the link between the alleged criminal act and the "racial" background of the litigants, either directly or indirectly. In the face-off between Kégnikéré and Samenia Adagla, the latter explained that poison manufacture was not part of their custom, and that one had to cross the border into British Togoland and visit the village of Bréniassé for secret knowledge. Later in the trial the attention of the tribunal was drawn to the "tribal" necessity of the trial by ordeal:

This man here [Samenia Adagla] did nothing more in acquiring the poison than obey customary law as demanded by the victims. A belief in witchdoctors (*sorcières*) and their role is anchored among the natives of Akébou, and one should not punish severely the accused for something he himself cannot comprehend.<sup>103</sup>

The defense in another trial followed a similar tactic by arguing that the two accused were but victims of fetishistic beliefs bequeathed to them by their ancestors.<sup>104</sup>

In the same poisoning trial, a witness explained that trial by poison was more a challenge than a form of customary trial and sentencing.<sup>105</sup> The second witness was asked directly if "custom in Doufouli authorizes poisonings similar" to that under examination. The fourth witness was asked whether it was normal "to consult a fetish priest to know who caused the death of someone."<sup>106</sup> A fifth witness explained that the fetishist was Fon (from Dahomey), and that an earlier *afa* divination ritual had not alluded to "witchcraft."<sup>107</sup> The accused Fon man, Ahosse, suggested that the charges were laid against him perhaps because he had married one of the women from the village (i.e., an exogamous marriage). And this ethnic tension was revisited when Guéli Tchakpa was cross-examined.

A trial of fetishists from Anfouin, north of Aného, took a slightly different approach by casting the activity as exceptional and deviant. In an investigation of "abductions and sequestering of individuals," certain men were accused of kidnapping, physically harming, and imprisoning women under the "pretext of serving the fetish cult."<sup>108</sup> Unlike in earlier trials, when even association constituted a criminal act, the distinction was made between simple cultic "tradition" and "pretexts" shrouding criminal behavior. A Christian catechist who had learned of the *tronsi* and/or *trokosi*, (women and girl adherents to cults), seems to have generated this particular trial. Again, the emphasis was on establishing what constituted the abnormal and deviant, and this in turn was part of the new approach recasting criminal activity as a threat to public order. Traditional bereavement, burial, and ancestor worship were not only tolerated, but rendered normative. Local administrative officials were actively encouraged to record and synthesize the rituals of their "administrés."<sup>109</sup> The boundaries of this synthesis were not hard and fast, but rather flexible.<sup>110</sup> Threats to public order and misappropriations of ritual and tradition, however, were not tolerated. Kengnikéré was sentenced to five years' imprisonment and Samenia Adagla to three years' because "tradition did not prescribe, nor excuse this infraction" and because of the "results caused in terms of public order."<sup>111</sup> Both Tchakpa Guéli and N'Téssékui were sentenced to ten years in prison based on the same judgment.<sup>112</sup> The fetishists from Anfouin, for their part, were sentenced to imprisonment and banishment because their "sect terrorized the village of Anfouin for a very long time."<sup>113</sup>



Not every vodou practitioner stood on the sidelines and watched as his or her traditions were reduced to the two extremes of custom and crime. Blaise Kuassi continued to advocate for the maligned people of Klouto right up to the outbreak of the war.<sup>114</sup> Elsewhere, Robert Mamavi defended *goro* as a form of healing called *Atiké Hlouen Amegan* or “the Medicinal Savior of Man.”<sup>115</sup> Emphasizing the importance of the kola nut, Mamavi objected to the criticisms of *goro* as sorcery and witchcraft, and argued instead that “it protected men against the force of secret societies called *aze* . . . against ill-wishers who perform black magic . . . [and] against all dangers and accidents [i.e., drowning, car accidents, night attack, etc.]” *Goro* also healed women who “become deranged during pregnancy”; because of *goro*, “mothers who previously delivered still-born children (*abikou*) were today with babies.” Mamavi listed the various taboos and rules of *atiké*, including proscription from alcohol and sexual activity. He also explained that *atiké* was useful to anyone consumed by “vengeance, hatred, rancor, fury, thievery, mendacity, hotheadedness, irreverence” because it “repays evil with evil . . . and thus serves as a lesson to others.” Festivals, drumming, banquets, and financial contributions were all part of the communal activities, with the largest events drawing over three hundred “spectators.” Unfortunately for Mamavi, he was allowed to continue his job as an assessor to the *Cour d’Appel* only after he promised to abandon his beloved *goro*.

The court transcripts detailing vodou or perceived witchcraft activity during the mid- to late 1930s are suggestive of a variety of political and social conflicts embroiling the colonial state. But for the greater part, they are all too brief and raise more questions than they answer. Accounts of witchcraft and trials of fetishists have received considerable attention in historical scholarship, and theories abound as to the importance of “outbreaks” of social or administrative hostility to indigenous religious activities. The tendency is to overinterpret these sporadic events, however, and to neglect more banal explanations. In countless cases in periurban Eweland, priests and chiefs were prosecuted for acts that were blatant attempts to regain the political influence they had lost during the French colonial period. Until the arrival of Germans in the mid-nineteenth century, Ewe chieftaincy was a religious-political office. Indeed the religious and the political were deeply interwoven. The trial of Aglao and his accomplices, examined next, makes this simple observation transparently clear.

### ”L’affaire Aglao et ses Consorts”: Periurban Chieftaincy and Vodou

Dansi Mitodaho Aglao, Lanta Essé, Douna Honsou, and their accomplices were put on trial in 1935 for “murder, abduction and kidnapping and disturbance of the peace” disguised as vodou activity, part of an attempt, in the words of the judge-prosecutor Jean de Saint-Alary, to confer on Aglao “absolute power in the region.”<sup>116</sup> From court and missionary records and



interviews with witnesses, the Aglao affair stands out as a most extraordinary sequence of events; and indeed, as a rare case leading to the execution of three men, it was quite exceptional. On closer examination, however, the conflict reveals itself to be not about "cannibalism" and "human sacrifice." Rather, on the African side, it is suggestive of a discrete transformation in the exercise and aggrandizement of chiefly power in a restrictive periurban milieu; on the European side, it is the logical culmination of a discursive shift in the interpretation of indigenous ritual, deploying the arguments of Cessou, Lanfranchi, Delafosse, and others surveyed earlier.

On October 18–19, 1935, fourteen individuals were put on trial in the most deliberate and systematic prosecution of vodou during the French administration. The record of this trial is the most detailed of any such process and involved a stream of witnesses as well as victims of the alleged perpetrators. The circumstances of the case garnered considerable attention, and copies of the trial transcript circulated among missionaries in Paris and elsewhere, perhaps as a means of mobilizing support for additional missionary work. The alleged events spanned almost ten years, but the fear that gripped the village of Tchékpo-Dévé was so great that it was not until Aglao and Lanta misguidedly chose as their next "victim" the daughter of an Aného clerk and interpreter that news of the crimes reached the French. Even today the Aglao affair remains a source of fear and shame among the people of Tchékpo-Dévé. With allowance for fascinating cultural and social detail, the court records largely document just the "crimes" of the perpetrators. It is only from interviews with witnesses that the nature of the village dispute becomes clearer.

The story really begins in the late nineteenth century when, according to the stories told by Togbui Abgloeonu Sika's father, a German *Berzirkshauptmann* (local district official) arrived in the village and asked to speak with the chief. Elders replied that they had no one chief, but a council of elders. The unnamed German replied that he would return the following day, by which time they should have picked a chief from among their group.<sup>117</sup> The villagers hurriedly chose a chief, without any clear comprehension of what was involved—a story repeated throughout Africa at the inception of formal colonial rule. On the German's return, the designated man, Agbudu Amenu (a kinsman of Lanta Essé, on trial in 1935) was duly made chief. He was given a pith helmet, a German flag, and a document or warrant that provided him with the "authority" to exercise power on behalf of the German administration, including supervising a local judicial tribunal and assembling workers for the numerous rail and road projects. The presumption was that the chieftaincy would become an inherited position, passing from father to first-born son.

In the wider narrative of periurban Eweland there is nothing too unusual about these events. Similar stories can be found throughout the subregion. Although villagers deposed chiefs who took their roles a little too seriously, and others simply fled to the Gold Coast rather than work on the road and

railway projects, Lanta's predecessor was not known for a particularly vicious temperament. He "would not cease his fetish activities," however. Problems thus arose with the chiefly succession. Moreover, many of these chieftaincies became vacant because of death, illness, or destoolment in the mid-1910s, which coincided with the eviction of the German regime and its replacement by the French. The French model for chieftaincy, as we have seen, had some significant differences from the German model. For one thing, extending the approach taken in Lomé into the periurban zone, the French administration supported "electing" the chief by summoning all the menfolk in the village and having them line up behind the candidate of their choice. The chief's title and supporting documents were bestowed directly by the governor, but succession was not hereditary. The chief was also made responsible for the collection of the poll tax and the provision of *corvée* labor. Thus infused with the power of the chieftaincy, but unsure about the extension and continuation of power within his family line, the chief was always wary of the precarious tenure of his office.

Some time in the early 1920s the French began to grow tired of Agbudu Amenu, perhaps of his cultic activities. Agbudu Amenu died soon after the arrival of the French, and Lanta Essé became chief. Without much explanation, "the French took away the chieftaincy" from Lanta's family line.<sup>118</sup> In frustration Lanta turned to Aglao, his kinsman, and a priest from the Ewe homeland in Notsé, who had also assisted his father. Although a neighboring chief warned Lanta to steer clear of Aglao, he refused. The court records do not seem to accuse Lanta of trying to regain the chieftaincy as such, but more broadly to "exercise complete control over the entire region."<sup>119</sup> Togbui Sika recalled simply, "when this thing was happening there was fighting over the stool of the family, therefore one became a juju man in order to become chief."<sup>120</sup>

Lanta and Aglao's collaboration in the region thus dates from the mid 1920s. They first erected a shrine. The nature of the shrine is difficult to discern from the court transcript, but details of clothing and objects were recorded and informants were able to explain the significance of each. The shrine operated as a healing cult—*atikevodou*. "If Aglao liked a woman, he would make the woman sick to bring her to him to be married (and cured)."<sup>121</sup> The *tron*, or deity, of the vodou shrine was "found" by Aglao, and Lanta was the one who conducted the sacrifices, but no one interviewed was able to recall how Aglao obtained the vodou. According to Togbui Kossi Abaga Medzago, Togbui Kossi Adonu Doku, Togbui Kwasi Kolo Nuodzru, and Togbui Yawo Paul Doku, the two main *tron* were Tometi Makasha and Dan, the serpent. Tometi Makasha was "different from Héviéssso in name only; it means, the stick will be water and never burn."<sup>122</sup> Héviéssso is the god of lightning; his cult was one of the most powerful in the region. Aglao and Lanta also maintained a shrine to Nyigbla, the earth god.

Written and oral accounts of the method whereby Aglao and Lanta attempted to exercise authority over the village and subvert the control of the new chief converge and diverge at different points, and they reveal how the events were viewed externally and internally. The prosecution's *exposé des faits*, or pretrial statement, explained that

when an individual disobeyed the fetish, she was summoned by the head-priest. If she resisted, she was brought by force and sequestered in one of the compounds of the fetish. Aglao forced her to drink a preparation. The victim usually died. Sometimes, if she had greater strength and didn't die, it was said the fetish pardoned her. In such a case, Aglao probably had the victim imbibe an antidote. To calm the temper of the fetish, people gave gifts of money and goods to the priest. The head-priest Aglao was opposed to returning the corpse of the deceased to the family. The inhumation of the corpse usually took place at the dead of night, within an enclosure inside the fetish compound. After the burial, Gouna (known as Honsou) would cut the head off the cadaver. . . . The investigation led to the discovery and explanation of a number of mysterious disappearances of several people, the greater part over a number of years . . . people who died shortly after arriving in the temple of the fetish. All of them drank the ritual brew. The majority had refused to marry the said Aglao or one of his accomplices.<sup>123</sup>

Informants from the village begin their story with the construction of the shrine, however. The first thing Aglao and Lanta did was "use [Agbo's] *tron* to kill the other ones and [so] they had no power." Every chief needed to be able to consult the vodou and the *afa* in matters of importance to the village. Although chiefs were rarely priests themselves during this period, they operated within a community of elders that included priests and soothsayers. By eliminating any alternative spiritual outlets, which were essential for every village and every chieftaincy regardless of the level of Christian activity in the region, they effectively neutralized the sitting chief.

The trial itself focused primarily on Aglao. All the others were rendered culpable for specific individual acts or more generally by association. Twenty-nine witnesses were called, each recalling how he or she was terrorized or controlled by Aglao. Each witness provided details about him- or herself as well as information about the threat as it permeated the village. Hounlédi, a farmer aged forty-four, explained that his sister was married to Aglao. One day Aglao demanded she accompany him to a vodou celebration in Akoumapé. When the farmer refused, "Aglao, in a fury, said that the fetish would kill her." He repeated his prediction and four days later she died, in mid-1928. Another farmer, Fovi, aged fifty-eight, claimed that Aglao had sought to marry his daughter, Néhinon, although the entire female contingent of his extended family was opposed. Aglao then demanded she become a fetish shrine adept (*trokosi*). When she refused again Aglao exclaimed, "You have refused to

marry me and to become a fetishist. The fetish will kill you!" When she fell ill, Aglao came to claim her and took her to be healed. He gave her a drink but she died, sometime in 1927. Fovi was made to wait several days before he was allowed to reclaim the body, and then only after paying 13 shillings. Gbohoubé, an unemployed forty-year-old man, claimed his sister entered the fetish shrine in 1925 for an undisclosed period of time, perhaps to repay a debt. The son of Aglao, Ezin, demanded her hand in marriage, but she refused and fled the compound. That night Aglao and his accomplices came to their hut and played the tam-tam. Gbohoubé's sister fell ill with a stomach ache and died the following night. Gbohoubé claimed that Aglao "killed many people at Tchékpo-Dévé."<sup>124</sup>

Witness after witness recounted similar stories. Women who refused to marry Aglao or participate in fetish activities were cursed and then died, and their families were forced to pay large sums either to retrieve or to bury the body. Houedémé's sister had died only several months earlier, despite their paying Aglao 3 shillings, chickens, palm oil and gin to assuage the fetish. Hédi's sister, who married Aglao after the death of her first husband, also one of the fetishists, could not be saved despite paying two goats, some corn, bottles of lemonade, 3 shillings, yams, beans, oranges, and two bottles of gin. Depending on how one tallies the deaths, as many as seventeen people were alleged to have died as a consequence of curses or witchcraft between 1925 and 1935. The deaths sometimes began as illnesses exacerbated by witchcraft; others began with a curse; others resulted when women were brought to the fetish compound and forced to drink a liquid. Hédi explained, "Lanta knows the herbs used to make ritual potions." Dadalomé, a farm woman aged twenty-six, said, "[I]f you disobey Aglao, he possesses the power to ask the fetish to punish you."<sup>125</sup>

The witnesses recounted a great deal of hearsay about Aglao and the case more generally, indicating an extreme level of fear. Hounlédi, Fovi, and numerous others stated that they "had heard that they decapitated the corpses," but had "never seen it done." Gbohoubé stated that the "entire village says that it's Honsou who decapitates the corpses." Another, a farmer named Kokorko, aged fifty, stated, "[T]hey say Honsou decapitates the corpses and then turns them to face the village." Furthermore, only members of the sect could watch its activities, for a "curious stranger, who participated, would surely die. That's why no one approaches Aglao and his acolytes." Dadalomé claimed she had seen a "head in the shrine of Héviéso, wrapped in a white cloth." Acakpo, a farmer and policeman aged thirty, stated that Aglao and his assistants "have done a great deal of evil. . . . After their arrest . . . I heard that there was a human skull in one of the fetish compounds. In the compound itself, I, myself, found nothing." Acakpo explained further that the fetishists operated as a moral police force in the village. "If a native does not respect the fetish, nor obeys the injunctions of the fetishist, or even simply during the course of a ceremony, laughs out loud and someone witnesses it,

Aglao will see it, or hear of it from one of the sect members" and the person would be summoned to the enclosure to give account. "The individual soon falls ill and her body expands. Three or four days later, she dies." Some of the claims were frightful. Togbui Medzago, Togbui Doku, Togbui Nuodzru, and Togbui Doku stated that "when they would cannibalize people, they would do it in public and they would eat both men and women."<sup>126</sup> The most memorable act in the minds of witnesses and villagers today involved the last killing, the daughter of Datschi.<sup>127</sup>

One witness, Mahoulé, a farmer aged thirty-five, explained that fear of Aglao was compounded with confusion:

The fetishist Aglao operated the following way: when he was ready for action, he and his folks would play the drums from midnight until three in the morning. People would wake up and jump out of bed, but not know what to do, being terrified of the stories circulating about the power of the fetish. If the next day, he visited a home, people would fall sick.

Fear was not the only emotion enveloping the community, however. Many of the villagers were envious, if not downright jealous of the fetishists' lifestyle. Kokorko alleged, "Aglao and his acolytes keep a good life. They have many women and don't work much, but live very handsomely." People alleged that they were greedy people who benefited from the hold they had over the village. Dadalomé explained that "the fetish of Aglao rendered ill many people in the village. Those who chose to appease the anger of the fetish bring forth many presents; those who bring forth nothing die."

As each witness came before the judge, he or she specified his or her ethnic origin, profession, and relationship to the accused. These interviews provide an overview of the periurban Ewe demography. But more importantly, because many of the accusers were themselves members of vodou shrines and were asked to comment on the practices of Aglao and his accomplices, the division between normal and derivative vodou was reified. The interviewees occasionally reveal information about their own religious practices, including their own vodous or *afa* proscriptions, such as which foods or objects were taboo to them or their kin. All of the witnesses self-identified as ethnically "Watchi." The majority, men and women, were farmers, while others were cooks or laborers, declined to list a profession, or were cult adepts themselves. Indeed, Zogbéma, the chief of the neighboring village Tchékpo-Dédékpó, was careful to point out that "every village has its cult" and "I can affirm that in Dédékpó, nothing similar has ever happened." Togbui Medzago, Togbui Doku, Togbui Nuodzru, and Togbui Doku concurred: "[A] lot of people say vodou does good and bad."<sup>128</sup>

Aglao was the center of the cultic community, and it was through him that power flowed and decisions were made. Togbui Sika, who witnessed Aglao's

attempted flight and arrest in 1935, described him as an impressive man. “Aglao was tall, he was copper-colored; he was handsome; women were attracted to him; he would wear normal clothes; plus jewelry of [the vodou] Dan, Héviéso and Aholou.” He carried a *womedito*, a walking stick for a priest of Héviéso. On the one hand, Aglao was clearly terrifying the village for personal financial gain. On the other hand, he was evidently a sexual parasite. Again, in the words of Togbui Sika, “if you were married, and he liked your wife he would have sex with your wife and if she refused he would kill her.”<sup>129</sup> In his defense, Aglao stated simply that “the fetish punished” each of the witnesses’ family members. He claimed to “heal sterility, and sick infants” and that women came to him for help. Some of them purportedly broke vodou taboos, such as eating chicken and pork, and *sssoglossso* fish, or using metal cooking utensils. He denied that he had ever made anyone ill and claimed that people died naturally. He also claimed that he never intervened in domestic conflicts. He never attempted to profit from the deceased and never asked for monies from their families, he said, pointing out that he had thirteen wives (*trokosi*, no doubt) working for him, numerous animals, and plenty of grain.<sup>130</sup>

The judge also cross-examined the other defendants. They fervently disputed any charges of wrongdoing. Lanta claimed not to be a fetishist but only an auxiliary. He asserted that some people died because the vodou was punishing them, for example for stealing cloth. He was unable to explain how they died, adding simply, “I don’t know how the fetish kills people, but I know that those who offend it, those who commit perjury, or ignore its proscriptions, die after being struck by its anger.” Honsou, for his part, firmly denied ever decapitating bodies. “The population of Tchékpo-Dévé is lying.” Honsou stated that he was part of the sect because his “wife was sterile. Now she knows the joys of motherhood, thanks to Aglao.” In his testimony, however, he inadvertently raised the possibility of an “intermediary between the fetishist and the victim” who may have assisted in the deaths of the victims.

As the trial unfolded the accused further incriminated themselves, while the French judges expanded and clarified the distinction between normal and derivative animism. Criminal actions by fetishists constituted a combination of volition and ill will via the deployment of a form of religious control. The intervention of Aglao and the actions of many of his adherents were interpreted as attempts to control the village for personal gain, principally the acquisition of wealth and wives. As Woantossi, another of the accused, explained, “[T]hose guilty who do not confess their responsibility, are killed by Héviéso. . . . The fetish of Aglao makes them ill. And it is to him that we bring our sick.” Aglao prohibited people from leaving the cult. Atipou, a drummer in the sect, explained, “I wanted to quit, but Aglao threatened me with death. I quit regardless. . . . Having left, however, I was constantly fearful that Aglao and Lanta would kill me.” Aglao’s actions set women against each other, creating social disorder. In Honsou’s words: “Akossihoua is dead because her mother injured

the head of a fetish priestess with a stick. The fetish made Akossihoua ill. She was brought to Aglao, but she never recovered. Her grandmother explained that the fetish exercised its vengeance on her granddaughter." This story also sheds light on animism's concepts of inherited punishment, and collective perpetual punishment, the latter of which gave rise to the concept of the *trokosi*, girls bonded or enslaved to fetish shrines.<sup>131</sup>

Aglao was portrayed as a power-hungry and ruthless individual who deceived his adherents and terrified his opponents. Gognon, another accused, related how he joined the cult because "Aglao promised me that my sons would not die. They died despite everything. . . . I never quit the cult because I feared the fetish would kill me." Klouvi, another accused, had similar fears. Houdjehoukon, the wife of Aglao, explained that "[T]he fetishes [of Aglao] are very powerful. They kill all who disobey them." Aglao's son provided a similarly vague and unhelpful defense: "I never saw my father take a knife to kill anyone. But I know that he heals the sick." In spite of all the misinformation, hearsay and fear mongering, the unnamed defense counsel stated that "because of the primitive mentality of the accused, it is difficult to appreciate if they are feigning belief or fervent believers in the power of the fetish." He insisted that "in any case, no material proof of the culpability of the accused has been presented; there exists only presumption." Therefore, they should be granted "the benefit of the doubt."<sup>132</sup>

Saint-Alary then permitted the accused to speak in their defense, after which he pronounced judgment. Aglao explained that "Agbudu Amenu installed the fetish cult in Tchékpo-Dévé. It was he who demanded that I take care of the fetish because his role as chief prohibited him from doing this." One by one the accused affirmed that no one was killed and no one in the cult decapitated bodies; it simply was not allowed. Somehow, however, the image of decapitation and murder had gripped the court. Togbui Sika stated that when the French came to arrest Aglao "they [soldiers] entered the house [and] they saw many human remains." After arresting Aglao and the others, "they came to Aglao's house to collect the remains [and] they carried them away in a basket on their head." Togbui Medzago, Togbui Doku, Togbui Nuodzru, and Togbui Doku further explained that the families "were too scared to collect and bury their deceased." Indeed, the court interpreted the existence of shallow graves wherein were found the deceased, the fact that the deceased had not been buried by their kin but by Aglao and his consorts, and the degree of fear permeating the community with respect to the burials as incontrovertible evidence of heinous crimes. Aglao, Lanta, and Honsou were sentenced to death. Three others were sentenced to life in prison, and a further seven individuals to ten years' imprisonment in Mangu, in the far north of Togo.<sup>133</sup>

The execution of Aglao, Lanta, and Honsou was an exceptional conclusion to a strikingly unruly decade of tension in periurban Eweland. And although



the French destroyed all material evidence of the vodou cult, apocryphal stories about the executions still circulate. Togbui Medzago, Togbui Doku, Togbui Nuodzru, and Togbui Doku recalled that “Aglao was shot with one bullet only, but [Chief] Lanta needed to be shot several times by a pistol before he would die.” Punishment for their actions also extended to their respective families. “The Lanta family was arrested. They did not stay in the village again. They moved to a new village and built a house with a zinc roof that very day, and they slept in the house that very night and they all died of cold (10 of them) because the walls were not yet dry.” Furthermore, it is said that the curse still resides within the village and that “Aglao’s family remains ashamed to this day.”<sup>134</sup>

### Religion, Chieftaincy and Colonialism in Periurban Eweland

The Aglao affair, a village power struggle of almost mythical proportions, leaves many questions unanswered. In the village I was dissuaded from speaking to certain families, for fear of reminding them of the shame they had brought on the village. For example, it remains unclear what role the village chief, the rival of Lanta and Aglao, played throughout the events. There is no mention of the chief in the trial, and none of the interviews shed any light on his story. The transcript makes reference to one Togbe (an Ewe word, *togbui*, meaning “chief”), who fled the village but was tried and sentenced in absentia with the accused. His absence from the written and oral narratives is perhaps suggestive of his marginality to the events and the power vacuum of his weak leadership. Without testimony about his role, however, it is difficult to interpret the complete dimensions of the chieftaincy dispute of Tchékpo-Dévé. Nevertheless, what is transparent is how the entire village conflated the political authority of the chief with the religious role of the fetish priest. In spite of European attempts to recast chieftaincy as a solely political office and French attempts to distinguish between normal and deviant animist practice, the operational model of a religious-political leadership was deeply pervasive in periurban Eweland.

This chapter has explored religious dimensions of rural political authority in colonial Eweland. Ellis and ter Haar have argued persuasively that to understand fully the implications of political change in colonial and postcolonial Africa, we have to consider the religious as equal to and interwoven with the political. More simply, “religious thought plays a key role in political life because the spirit world is commonly considered the ultimate source of power.”<sup>135</sup> In periurban Eweland this is abundantly clear. Chiefs embraced vodou cults to solidify their authority in a period of instability and upheaval. Chiefs engaged priests, or in some cases became priests themselves, to centralize decision making in complex times. Ewe chiefs were unconvinced of the local efficacy of the French model of a political



chieftaincy incorporated within the architecture of the colonial administration. Chieftaincy was destabilized by the demands placed on it, such as collecting taxes and conducting censuses, examined in Chapter 2. Local authority rested on the capacity to provide answers to local questions, to understand and interpret illness, and to consolidate and extend kinship lines via marriage and children.

Not all Ewe enthusiastically embraced *goro* or other fetishism. Members of the various churches took a stand. An Elder in the Ewe Presbyterian Church, Erhardt Paku, railed against the appropriation of Christian words and deeds by fetishists.<sup>136</sup> And future President Sylvanus Olympio, during the "Jubilée Sacérodotal" of Monsignor Cessou in 1933, is reported to have stood and proclaimed, in the name of the Comité Catholique de Lomé, "the recognition of the population to the Catholic Mission, for the work of liberation accomplished by it: the liberation of souls, snatched from the anguish and fear that their beliefs in 'génies malfaisants' weigh upon them." And "a liberation of the body indeed—as thanks to the cooperation of Christian governments and missions, thanks to decisions taken by leadership to prevent the violence, the threats and the poisonings of fetishists—Christianity has set them free."<sup>137</sup> Other lay individuals resented the implication of association with fetishism. A. Nicoué, for example, earlier accused of *gorovodou* membership, demanded to know the name of the accuser and the nature of the accusation because he wished to press charges of defamation of character.<sup>138</sup> William Lawson moved heaven and earth to find his son Télé Acapovi and accused the French administration of being complicit in covering up a fetish crime.<sup>139</sup>

Olympio, Lawson, and Nicoué were members of the urban coastal elite, however. They were literate and educated, and their experiences were unlike those of the majority of periurban Ewe, who lived in villages beyond the capital, farming maize, yams, and cash crops. The lives of villagers were permeated with religious power, and religious authority governed the political life of periurban Eweland. Just as the British amalgamation of Ewe *dukwo* in British Eweland resulted in striking social and political resistance, when the French reorganization of the chieftaincies of Eweland had numerous unintended consequences. In many villages, incumbent chiefs assumed that the German policy of inherited "stools" would continue. When individual chiefs objected to their new role as tax collectors and census auditors, they were surprised to learn that another village rival had replaced them. The shame of destooling was so great that many migrated to the cocoa farms of Akposso, Buem, and neighboring regions. Others, such as Lanta, became rural despots by turning to the all-encompassing influence of spiritual forces such as vodou. Attention to vodou and to other animist practices reveals the conflation of political and spiritual power in periurban Eweland at the micro level.

## 5

# The German Togo-Bund and the Periurban Manifestations of “Nation”

Certainly if the members of the “Bund der Deutsch Togoländer” were operating in good faith, they would not be so narrow-minded as to send to the League such vague accusations.

—Unidentified Clerk, Ministry of Colonies, France, March 9, 1928

In late 1925 a document came before the League of Nations Permanent Mandates Commission (PMC), bemoaning the fate of the subjects of the former German protectorate of Togoland. The German text read, “[I]n the past, we Togolandese willingly placed ourselves under German protection, only to be now thrust under French domination.”<sup>1</sup> It demanded immediate redress of the fate visited on them by the Treaty of Versailles and explicitly called for the return of Germany as the colonizing power. Germany had yet to be admitted to the League of Nations, however, and the petition did not find a warm reception among the victorious allied nations seated on the committee supervising the former German territories. The request was dismissed, but not before the story was picked up by a number of German newspapers. The extraordinary character of the group that authored this and additional documents—the Bund der deutschen Togoländer, or German Togo-Bund—raised important questions about what constituted a nation, which individuals were appropriately placed to speak for collective entities, and the differing attitudes of Europeans and Africans as to the legitimacy of nations.

This chapter and the next move from exploring how localized indigenous responses reshaped and reconstituted political authority to considering how “national” discourses about political and social reform drew on the existence of the periurban zone. This chapter examines the role of an organization, the Bund der deutschen Togoländer, in the anticolonial nationalist struggle in Eweland. Originally formed to champion the reunification of the former German colony of Togoland and the return of the German administration, it offered the first recorded collective expression of a *Togolèse* identity. But

although its aims were ostensibly Togolese, its membership and individual actions were markedly Ewe in flavor: the amorphous idea of Togolese unity was superimposed on a more tangible concept of Ewe unity, reflecting the political climate in periurban Eweland. The organization's commitment to *Deutschtum*, or "Germanness," was vague. The Bund described the Togolese as migratory peoples who had settled in the Volta Basin over several generations, and who owed their unitary impulse to several unique external and internal phenomena, including German colonization. Although this story has a kernel of historicity, it is suspiciously similar to that of the Ewe who migrated and settled in the periurban zone.

This organization's periurban agenda had important implications for post-World War II ethnonationalism. Its political activities operated as a national "performance" of a periurban Ewe political program. On an empirical level, this chapter provides new information and reunites disparate sources cited by previous authors. On a conceptual level, I shift the lens of analysis toward the Bund as a periurban Eweland project of Togolese nationalism. Previous scholarship on the Bund has produced two conflicting trends. On the one hand, echoing early African nationalist historiography, some writers have attempted to see this organization as a maligned direct precursor to Togolese nationalism. On the other hand, scholars are at loggerheads as to whether the Bund was Togolese *or* Ewe in orientation. Although these are important issues, this binary framework misrepresents the nature of the problem. I thus argue first, that Bundism was an evolving and changing Ewe expression of Togolese nationalism, with discernible stages of development that attained a particular tenacity in the periurban zone; and second, that its failure provides an important explanation for the failure of the postwar Ewe Reunification Movement.

Natalie Davis explains that, although previous generations of historians have zealously excised the fictional from the factual in supplicatory documents, within this fictional web lie subtle stylistic and empirical details with which historians can reconstruct the social historical context of the petitioners' lives.<sup>2</sup> Evidence of this organization is sparse and particularly problematic. The greater part of the documentary record exists in the form of petitions sent by members of the Bund to the PMC in Geneva. Supplementing these data are colonial administration records, a small body of correspondence and speeches by the Bundists, and information supplied by various oral informants.<sup>3</sup> In spite of this paucity of documents, it is possible to reconstruct the ebbs and flows of Bundism over a period of approximately two decades.

Benedict Anderson's "imagined communities" complements Davis's argument for a close reading of the petitions in the Togolese context.<sup>4</sup> Anderson's interests lay with the print media via which Asian communities imagined homeland and nation. Although to my knowledge no *exclusively*

Ewe newspapers existed until the wartime "newsletters" of Daniel Chapman, Ewe and Togolese men and women active in the Bund drew on the extensive corpus of German ethnographic literature as a print medium for imagining a sense of *veegbe* and to a lesser extent a Togoland identity.<sup>5</sup> German rule had exceptional importance for the consolidation of Ewe identity, because under the administration, German and Swiss missionaries succeeded in standardizing the grammar and orthography of the Ewe language. The newly publishable and teachable language, the most influential component of which was the Ewe Bible (1914), provided the previously disparate and divergent literate and preliterate urban and periurban Ewe subgroups a mutual intelligibility on which they could build cultural, political, and social objectives.<sup>6</sup> Germans and other Europeans published numerous treatises on different regions and aspects of Eweland and Togoland during their colonial rule and continued to do so throughout the interwar period. Moreover, this interwar period was also the beginning of a fundamental organic interpolation of *veegbe*, or what Peel might call an Ewe "ethnogenesis," as important community leaders began to write their own histories of Eweland.<sup>7</sup>

Many historians and political scientists, glancing at the role of the Bund, interpret it as "proto-nationalism."<sup>8</sup> But to date there is no in-depth examination of the political orientation of the Bund and how these political pronouncements diverged markedly among members and regions. By and large the organization has been characterized as pro-Togoland, pro-German, anti-French, and anticolonial.<sup>9</sup> It has escaped serious consideration as credibly anti-British, or as a progenitor to the pan-Ewe unification movement after 1945.<sup>10</sup> Its anticolonial program drew extensively on periurban Ewe communities, it harnessed itself to a rapidly consolidating Ewe identity, and it operated, albeit ineffectively, as an Ewe lobby group with clear nationalist goals. The divergence between stated objectives and activities reflected a disjuncture between an amorphous Togolese identity and an evolving periurban Ewe identity. What was supposedly an organization calling for Togolese reunification was to all intents and purposes the first vehicle for the collective expression of Ewe identity that moved beyond a solely linguistic frame of reference.

The changes in the Bund's political objectives through the interwar period can be separated into two main periods, each marked by a rise and a decline in fortunes. During these two periods the Bund relocated its headquarters and restructured its operations to reflect shifts in the urban and rural alliances in periurban Eweland, as well as emerging trends in German national politics. Over a twenty-five-year period, as more British Togolandians infiltrated the membership, an periurban Ewe core identity began to give way to a nascent Togolese identity. The mobility of Ewe populations in the periurban zone during the interwar period rendered *veegbe*, or "Eweness," a very feeble vehicle for Togolese nationalism.

In 1919, the Ewe were in an auspicious and unprecedented position in terms of the European colonial project, profiting from the previous regime and standing on the threshold of the uncharted territory of a new international administration. The decision to create two mandate structures and a new border, however, was a terrible blow to the political aspirations of many chiefs and commercial agents. Not only were the two colonial powers determined to implement individual and ultimately conflicting interpretations of the terms of the League of Nations mandate, but the new frontier also divided the Ewe groups, inhibited the furthering of political, social, and cultural ties.

Several interwar organizations attempted to mitigate various aspects of periurban French mandate rule, including Duawo, the Cercle des Amitiés Togolaises, the Lomé Union, and the Révolutionnaires du Togo. The Bund, however, was by far the most vocal. The story of the Bund is a narrative of the evolving nature of *evegbe* and the shifting dimensions of periurban Eweland. Its membership purported to represent Togolese interests, but it largely comprised Ewe residing in the periurban zone. Its petitions and correspondence invoked important arguments about identity—about who was Togolese and who was not. And yet its political philosophy sits more comfortably with Ewe unification and nationhood. The philosophical undercurrents, particularly the emphasis on homeland, resonate more with the German nationalist concept of *Heimat*, and yet it struggled to refashion itself in a Togoland mold. The Bund constructed an image of unity, which it broadcast throughout periurban Eweland and beyond, but it was a periurban Ewe project of Togolese nationalism. As such it offers an important framework for analyzing the failures of the later Ewe unification movement.

### Disassembling the Bund and Bundism

The neglect of the Bund is symptomatic of a greater conceptual problem, that of the scholarly conflation of three strands of the anticolonial struggle in the African context; protonationalism, nationalism, and nation building. Although several scholars have noted the flurry of activity that the Bundists initiated during the late 1920s and early thirties, Bundism has always been subordinated to a larger narrative (see fig. 5.1). Historians of nationalism, trying to explain the failure of the post-World War II Ewe reunification movement, turned to the experience of the Bund as a historical progenitor to the lobbying before the UN Trusteeship council, interpreting it as “proto-nationalism.”<sup>11</sup> In fashioning the Bund as isolated and unstructured, this writing ignored the anticolonial, nationalist thrust of Bund actions, as well as its direct correlation to the post-World War II nation-building project.<sup>12</sup>

Bundism is frequently understood as a precursor to “real,” post-World War II nationalism.<sup>13</sup> During the German period a “very tenuous sense of unity

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Figure 5.1: "Unsere treuen Togo-Leute in der Verbannung": Meeting of the Bund in Accra, July 26, 1931 (?). Reproduced with permission from Bildarchiv der deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft, Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main.

[was] *imposed*.”<sup>14</sup> The “task of building new political nationalities” meant that scholars interpreted Ewe political activity exclusively as a response to colonial action.<sup>15</sup> For James Coleman, the stated aims of the Bundists had little in common with the noble and eloquent champions of the independence movement, and the Bund became an inconvenient prelude to organized nationalist activity.<sup>16</sup> The pan-Ewe goals only germinated with the onset of World War II.<sup>17</sup> The Bund is folded into the later postwar “Togoland question.” The Bund’s concerns lay more with “Togoland unification and not Ewe unification.”<sup>18</sup> Bundism is often dismissed as antidemocratic, because “traditional” structures within Ewe *dukɔwo* lent themselves to democracy, but Bundism was naïve Germanic nationalism.<sup>19</sup> Nationalism and Ewe ethnicity are presented as incompatible projects.<sup>20</sup>

In contrast, African resistance scholarship cites the Bund as a shining example of African entrepreneurialism.<sup>21</sup> This emphasis on the positive facets of German colonization revisits some of the pitfalls of early resistance historiography.<sup>22</sup> On one level it ascribes a direct and uninterrupted teleological link from early pro-German (that is, anti-French) activity to the dawn

of independence, without considering the complex political topography of the interwar period. On another level, this African scholarship has an almost hagiographic flavor, lauding the "enlightened" colonial leaders of *la mission civilisatrice*. In so doing, this point of view sidesteps the contentious and conflicting terrain of colonial collaboration. A bourgeois resistance narrative buries the periurban experience.

The personal testimonies of participants, such as Father Henri Kwakumé and Pastor Kofi Erhardt Paku, redress some these imbalances.<sup>23</sup> Paku characterized the Bund as *akakati* or a "guiding flame" for the Togolese nationalist struggle. His testimony evidences some of the political influences of the Bundist leadership, and records detailed membership lists in villages throughout periurban Eweland.<sup>24</sup> The Bundists' activities were part of a much wider "nationalism" (not protonationalism) that can also be interpreted as "patriotism," insofar as they were defending from attack an idea of nation and self.<sup>25</sup> The importance of pan-Germanism and former German administrators in the Bund is the subject of much debate.<sup>26</sup> Germans played more than peripheral roles in periurban agricultural development, but not all were Hitler supporters. Bundism was a chimera, a failed project, which became "rapidly a straw man, or bogeyman" for the colonial authorities.<sup>27</sup>

Collectively, these approaches belie the significance of the Bund's interwar complexity and obscure the contribution of the Bund as a nationalist organization in its own right. As "protonationalism," Bundism is disconnected and chaotic, barely hinting at the future of the nationalist enterprise. As "resistance fighters," the Bundists' motivations blur with those of the continental anticolonial struggle, just as its successes and failures are elided with those of the political leadership under the trusteeship. Collectively, these approaches contribute to the general conflation of protonationalism, nationalism, and nation building. As will become clear, however, distinguishing between these strands is relatively arbitrary and unhelpful. When evidence for the entire interwar period is assembled, Bundism does not neatly fit in any category; indeed, its fluid and evolving political content and form undermines the three typologies.

How the political pronouncements of the Bundist group diverged markedly by membership, region, and activity remains unexplored. By and large the organization has been characterized as pro-Togoland, pro-German, anti-French, and anticolonial. It has escaped serious consideration as a progenitor to the pan-Ewe unification movement of the post-1945 era and has only recently been refashioned for a role, albeit a tentative one, in the nationalist struggle. Detailed petitions and correspondence, however, strongly suggest that although the organization operated on a Togo-wide platform, its activities and membership were almost exclusively from periurban Eweland.<sup>28</sup> And just as petitions rework the narrative, oral histories underscore the remarkable experience of the periurban Ewe population in which the clash of Togoland and Eweland is embedded.



### From Obscurity to Accra: The Bund's Early Periurban Activities

Johannes Kofi Apenyowu Agboka (of Adangbé in periurban Eweland) founded the Bund on September 1, 1924.<sup>29</sup> In an interview, Gabriel Eklunatey claimed to be the vice president.<sup>30</sup> Several documents of a later date state that the Bund was operational in 1922, but the first Bund letterheads, publicity, and a petition received at the PMC appear only in 1925.<sup>31</sup> Documents from 1925 onward speak of the goals and purposes of the Bund and also refer to the membership and structure. Whence came the impetus to its formation between 1922 and 1924, however, is not abundantly clear from either documents or oral records. In this section, I examine the Bund's initiatives and activities, the tactics it employed for the first period (until 1931), and the treatment the petitioners received at the hands of the PMC and European powers. The analysis is structured around two particular questions: what constituted a petition? and how was periurban Ewe identity subordinated to an amorphous Togolese identity? Furthermore, I suggest that the origins of the Bund may lie partly with the short-lived Committee on Behalf of Togoland Natives, and the political and social rupture accompanying the retreat of the British occupying forces after World War I.

The subjects of the petitions recovered from the archival record are expansive and often unrelated. The earliest petition dates from 1925 and the latest from 1937. They were all sent from Accra.<sup>32</sup> Thirteen separate documents span the thirteen years of Bund petitioning. As the Bund's leadership became more adept at formulating a complaint, they entered more ambiguous political waters. The first petition was a simple demand for the return of the mandates to Germany, supported with details of French mismanagement. When this met with little response, they subsequently addressed more specific issues, such as the creation and constitution of the Lomé local government advisory body, the Conseil des Notables, the interference in Aného's leadership struggle, various human rights abuses, rising taxes, emigration, and military recruitment.

The tactics that the petitioners employed changed over time. Although there were no clear precedents for *international* petitioning, some colonial subjects expressed a sense of entitlement to a right to petition.<sup>33</sup> Additionally, under German rule and during the brief British reign in Lomé, the city's leading men had occasionally sought legal redress via a publicly delivered and/or circulated petition.<sup>34</sup> These new petitions were often more impatient in tone and more likely to cite specific data relevant to a case. References to resolutions and actions also reflected the steady institutionalization of the Bund itself. Besides filing these petitions, Bundists maintained contact with journalists and former German colonial officials in the "Fatherland." They held regular meetings, circulated propaganda, collected membership dues, and invited Germans to assist in the development of Eweland, most importantly by inviting an agriculturist to supervise the creation of a rania plantation



in the Ho district. The latter activities drew negative attention toward their organization and led to accusations of espionage for Nazi Germany.

The treatment meted out to petitioners is itself an interesting story. The first petitions to arrive in Geneva, even before the PMC was itself constituted, came from Togoland. The PMC created its rules and procedures for reception partly in response to these surprising, unsolicited documents. Although the Bund began sending its own petitions with no knowledge of the rules of admissibility, after several petitions were rejected on procedural grounds, they reframed their complaints. To ensure that the PMC would at least consider a petition, specific language and a modicum of humility were required. We can examine the implications of this phraseology by looking at the relative success of petitions. The PMC regularly found new and circuitous means to dismiss petitions from indigenous West African sources. The treatment of petitions emanating from the Bund and other groups fueled the campaigns of both supporters and detractors of the League of Nations.<sup>35</sup>

Although the Bund purportedly came into existence in 1924, the first firm evidence originating from the organization is dated a year later.<sup>36</sup> A brief notice from the Bund's president with an Accra letterhead announced its formation, but little else exists.<sup>37</sup> A petition in the League of Nations archives from June 27, 1925 is cited in a document of a later date. The text reads, "[I]n the past, we Togoland.ers willingly placed ourselves under German protection, only to be now thrust under French domination."<sup>38</sup> This first petition from the Bund called for the return of Germany and came before the PMC in October of the same year. The PMC quickly dismissed it and another from September of the same year on procedural grounds and refused to hear requests for a transfer of mandate administration.<sup>39</sup> Since 1923, partly in reaction to the proliferation of complaints from the Adjigo-Gaba clan discussed in chapter 2, petitions that were of a vague or general nature were not considered receivable. Although this decision did not deter the Bund, the German press denounced it with outrage, providing an opportunity to introduce the Bund to its readership.<sup>40</sup>

The *Hamburger Nachrichten* described the "association of German Togoland.ers" as those "who have been driven from their home by the French Mandate authority, or have voluntarily left the country . . . [and who] have shown their feelings as regards the mandatory government of their country, and their aspiration." It viewed the decision to dismiss the petition as "a disgrace to itself and the League of Nations and the Mandate system" which "at the same time, exposes the whole mockery which has been going on." The editor singled out the chairman of the commission for special criticism because of his calling the petition "too general" and "incompatible with the principle of the Mandate."<sup>41</sup> Citing Section 2, Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, he decried the fact that "if the people themselves, the well-being and development of whom should be 'a sacred trust' for the League, make suggestions of

their 'tutor,' then the League hastens to invent some pretext, and to make unproved statements in order to suppress [their] requests" and "is not even willing officially to inform the Mandatory against whom the complaints are directed of their existence" or to "induce [the Mandatory] at least to examine the complaints itself, and apply the necessary remedies." Instead, the editor argued that by using general terms and "not attaching themselves to trifling incidents," the Bund's leaders demonstrate that "what matters to them is to press for a change in the form of the execution of the Mandates through France, and again give their mother country a government . . . well adapted to their conditions." It concluded by praising both German colonial policy and the Ewe people as a whole.<sup>42</sup>

Just as leading European newspapers picked up stories circulating in the African press, German colonial journals continued to cover developments in the former colonies. When a leading Bund member wrote an article in *Afrika Nachrichten* in May 1926, the same year that Germany joined the League of Nations, it provoked concern in the French Ministries of Colonies and Foreign Affairs.<sup>43</sup> Loyalists on the Lomé Conseil des Notables fueled concerns that Johannes Kanyi was positioning himself as an unofficial Togolese delegate to the League.<sup>44</sup> Letters linked him to Frank Gaba and William Agbodjan (from the earlier Aného dispute), impugning his character as a "debtor," "a man of little confidence . . . distinguished by his indiscretion" and his disrespect for the aged, and thus "of little importance." The informants suggested that he was closely tied to his former German bosses, for whom he served as typist and typesetter, though he had worked for the British during the war. The article was of course full of "lies" and "false ideas." As Kanyi was no longer a resident of Togo, following the French administration's foreigner/resident distinction, he became an outside troublemaker. Information about his non-resident status fueled the French contention that the German government lay behind such disturbing allegations.<sup>45</sup>

Thus, by late 1926, the French staged a two-pronged counterattack against complaints originating from the Bund. The first refashioned the pro-German lobby group as a German government-sponsored organization with, as its primary purpose, the destabilization of the new mandate.<sup>46</sup> The second brushed aside each new petition with a procedural irregularity. Two new petitions in 1926, however, made this tactic more difficult, as they contained extensive and detailed complaints.<sup>47</sup> Even the PMC's secretary general, Sir Eric Drummond, could not halt investigation of the allegations of the 1926 petitions.<sup>48</sup> The Bund offered to "present many cases" clarifying its earlier claims that "Togo, our homeland, is once again still suffering greatly under the French mandate regime."<sup>49</sup> Repeating the 1925 call for the return of Germany, the Bundists cited numerous examples of French administrative "incapacité," such as rising "unemployment," annual tax increases, and a collection regime that taxed the aged and feeble, imprisoned uncooperative

chiefs, and failed to account for "each decline in the number of inhabitants from death, illness or emigration."<sup>50</sup>

The petition was a sweeping broadside at the French administration: "the natives of Togo who want to remain in their country find themselves in a lamentable situation."<sup>51</sup> It cited the tax plan, general economic malaise, westward emigration, a fall in the volume of business, and unemployment compounded by an influx in French-speaking clerks from Dahomey as the main concerns. All of these complaints are supported in oral testimonies.<sup>52</sup> The extent of emigration to the British sector alone warranted an inquiry, but the intolerable new French "politique monétaire" was itself a cause of "very great difficulties," because the government's control of exchange rates was "favorable to the French," and market women were being exploited by customs officials. The petitioners added that fishermen were relocating to the Gold Coast because their once-prosperous villages were "transformed into deserts." The fourth section of the petition focused on the "regime of oppression" and "brutality," including an extended description of physical beating, whipping, binding, and hanging as torture.<sup>53</sup> As evidence it cited "an act of villainy," the murder of a chauffeur in Kpalimé in 1925 by two police officers.<sup>54</sup> The fifth section alleged that France was recruiting for the French military in the interior of the country, in contravention of the mandate charter.<sup>55</sup>

But the most important element of the petition was an attack on the centerpiece of Bonnacarrère's new Lomé government, the Conseil des Notables. Although the Bund was broadly sympathetic to the creation of "an association composed of notable natives who have as their mission to in[ter]cede before the government in the interests of the people," it was deeply critical of the method used to select members of the council. Their grievances, which were to be echoed in the letters authored by the Conseil members against the Bund, were oriented around the nationality of the majority of the members, who being "not real natives of Togo" were "not qualified to represent the people." Although some members were truly autochthones, they lived in "fear of the repressive measures" used by the French, and were unable to express themselves. Other government supporters made unrepresentative depositions before the PMC, and rode first class in train carriages! The petitioners stated that "the main role of the said members consists of signing without ample examination every document" of the government to ensure that the PMC has the impression that the local population desired the French mandate over Togo.<sup>56</sup>

The Bund concluded by affirming that it was "composed of members belonging to *all the indigenous tribes* and represents the opinion of the entire people."<sup>57</sup> In so doing, it attempted to position itself as a Togoland-wide organization. The French Ministry of Colonies, however, was determined to undermine this assumed legitimacy by vigorously denying the contents of all

petitions, rarely referring to the Bund by its correct name, and refusing to grant the leadership any status above that of renegade.<sup>58</sup> In denying the core of the 1926 petitions, the French replied that there was land aplenty for those who wished to farm, that taxes were lower than before the war, and that only truly "taxable men" were indeed subject to taxation. It referred to the emigration as solely "saisonnaire" in nature; it denied that taxes were paid in British currency and suggested that currency instability had long since ended; it repudiated all allegations of abuse as "false as they are unjust"; and it denied that military recruitment was conducted in mandate territory. Finally, in response to the criticism of Bonnacarrère's far-reaching experiment in colonial administration, the ministry's submission to the PMC insisted that all members of the Conseil were "originaires du Togo," except a handful from the Gold Coast with important business interests in Togo. Contrary to the Bund's charges, the Conseil was an attestation that "the Togolese population conserved their integral freedoms of speech and thought."<sup>59</sup>

The Bundists complained that their petitions had not been answered. Indeed, it was not until almost a year later that the PMC rapporteur responsible for the two 1926 petitions made her report. Mrs. Bugge-Wicksell stated that the grievances "really rest outside the remit" of the PMC, but she nonetheless evaluated each of the main items. She dealt at length with the question of taxation, including a table comparing the individual taxes over a period of four years. Similarly, she largely dismissed complaints about brutality, emigration, recruitment, administration, unemployment and currency, although the rapporteur queried the extent of the use of British currency in the French mandate.<sup>60</sup> The response to this query also gave the French government additional time to prepare a counterattack. An internal memorandum, the source for which was a communication from Governor Bonnacarrère, shows that the Minister of Colonies considered the Bundists but "a few old German functionaries" disseminating "German propaganda," with "a very small" membership of men languishing in "idleness." Besides the earlier character assassination of Kanyi, the letter suggested that among the other members, Alfred Lawrence was a thief on the run and that Gabriel Agboka was the German consul in Accra. Finally, as no information on either Aloys D. Gagée or Karl Dugamey could be gathered, the Ewe names were simply translated into French as "sur la balance" and "dans la grande ville" respectively, with the implication that they were invented pseudonyms.<sup>61</sup>

From this brief exchange, it is clear that the anticolonial debate very quickly became a tense tussle about identity, nationality, and what it meant to be Togolese. In their next petition of 1928, the Bund dealt head on with the French attempt to translate their membership into anonymity, which essentially ridiculed the Ewe language.<sup>62</sup> Again addressing themselves directly to the PMC, the authors listed the names and birthplaces of fourteen members of the Conseil des Notables, alluding to their nationality.

They insisted that "these foreigners have no right to represent our country."<sup>63</sup> Of the fourteen members named, six were born in Agoué, Dahomey; five in Keta, Gold Coast; and two in Ouidah, Dahomey. Their appointment was effected without the knowledge (*à l'insu*) of the Togolese population; they did "not ever work in favor of Togo," but accepted a "heavy sum of money in recompense for their servility."<sup>64</sup> Only Jacob Adjalle, the chief of Amoutivé, was listed as having been born within the territory of Togo, and he was too scared to speak out.<sup>65</sup> Moreover, the Bund alleged that both Albert Mensah and Wilhelm Agbodjan of Agbodrafo were nominated to the Conseil but had chosen "exile and captivity rather than betray their homeland and place of birth."<sup>66</sup>

In terms of identity and nationality, this was the most powerful of the petitions emanating from Accra, and one not easily brushed aside by the PMC. It provoked a testy response from the Ministry of Colonies, which escalated into heated dialogue, lasting several years, for which the PMC was little more than a conduit. Governor Bonnacarrère replied to its contents with the usual "complete and entire refutation of the allegations."<sup>67</sup> He discoursed with pride about one of his pet projects, the Conseils des Notables, established in urban centers. Whereas later governors were to look with dismay at the liberty exercised by the Conseils, Bonnacarrère considered it justly timed that starting in 1924 the councils were to be "exclusively elected" bodies. Indeed, the councils were part of an elected hierarchy that began in the village or town quarter, and "it is incontestable that the notables are thus designated by popular desire and not by any administrative authority."<sup>68</sup> The Lomé Conseil was but one of seven throughout the territory, and the complaints could not be considered representative of the whole of Togo. Moreover, three of the men named in the petition were not reelected on March 11, 1928, and of the eleven remaining, six were natives of Togo. Bonnacarrère conceded that although five others were indeed born in the Gold Coast, these men "of great culture, established for a very long time in Togo, have there acquired goods—indeed created goods—that have rendered them true Togolese." Their reelection was but further testament to their Togolese-ness, whereas Mensah had only been appointed to the Conseil between 1922 and 1925 and had not continued in office through its transition from an appointed to an elected body. Agbodjan was never a member of the council.

But although André Charles Corbin, in his capacity as French rapporteur for the PMC, fully accepted the explanation offered by Bonnacarrère, the issue did not disappear.<sup>69</sup> Bund members realized that in a debate about national identity and Togolese-ness, the stakes were very high. They prepared another document to maintain pressure on the French government, sent simultaneously to the Vatican and the PMC, containing additional material about violent acts inflicted on "administrés" and about a court case involving a Togolese man.<sup>70</sup> Within French Togo these tactics provoked genuine

consternation.<sup>71</sup> This new document, which followed an earlier telegram, came to the PMC via the mandate administration in accordance with new rules for procedure. Although its object was the French native administration, and with that the system of *Conseils* inaugurated throughout the region by Bonnacarrère, its focus was the actions of Lawson V, the "paramount" chief of Aného. The exact text of the telegram read:

Bundtogo eighteen branches unswervingly devoted [to] interest [of] whole population[.] in duty bound [to] seriously protest chief Lawsons treacherous movement stop all documents signed by Lawson are illegal. . . . stop cables cannot be sent from Togo where oppression and injustice reign similar to slavery[.] the government is informed[.] letter to follow.<sup>72</sup>

Although Paku supplied information on branch activity, there are scant references to the number of branches, or even that branch *offices* existed.<sup>73</sup>

Providing some idea of how and on what basis the organization operated, the petition continued, "[I]ts main object is to protect the interest and the welfare of the people of Togoland and to advocate their cause and watch the progress and advancement of the nation."<sup>74</sup> The document confirms that the first petition was indeed sent in 1925, and that the Bundists themselves considered the 1926 petitions the first detailed and serious litanies of complaint against the absence of "liberty," "freedom," and "light-heartedness of the people," although "regrettably" they had not been "considered on its [*sic*] merits." The Bund viewed its continued battle with the French mandate structure an expression of a "constitutional right," presumably referring to the Covenant of the League of Nations.<sup>75</sup>

This new attack was integrated and threefold, arguing against the native administration, Lawson's paramouncy, and Bonnacarrère's general policies. As such, it differed markedly from earlier criticisms. Bonnacarrère was responsible for appointing Lawson to rule over Aného (see chapter 2), and he created the *Conseils des Notables* in 1922 (see chapter 3). Thus he lay at the core of the Bund's complaints. The Bonnacarrère regime, which the Bund described as a "bluff" and "humbug,"<sup>76</sup>

is disliked and . . . M. Bonnacarrère created an unlawful chief in the person of Fred Body Lawson, whose family has no right to the position as chief of Aného. Aného the principle and civilized town in fact that it was the capital of Togoland whose voice is depended upon in everything and, M. Bonnacarrère therefore worked many secret plans through the chief he created for Aného, who always misrepresents the wish of the people . . .<sup>77</sup>

The Bundists had earlier heard it rumored that Lawson was to travel to Paris to negotiate the transition of the mandate into a full French colony.<sup>78</sup> They

had since learned that Lawson was to attend the Exposition Coloniale of 1931, at which he was to be made a *ch evalier* of the L gion d'Honneur. The Bundists charged that he was, however, unfit for such an honor. Nor did he represent the Togolese peoples' political aspirations.<sup>79</sup> They proffered a list of traditional rulers opposed to Lawson.<sup>80</sup> They insisted that it was Bonncar-r re's intention to undermine Ewe traditions: phasing out the influence of traditional chiefs, reworking Togolese political culture as a mirror of the "French ethic," and providing the Conseils simply as "auxiliaries" to the power of the new King Lawson.<sup>81</sup> At times the prose was just shy of hyperbole.<sup>82</sup>

With provocative rhetoric, the petition asked, "[O]f what use is the mandate to us?" The petition then answered this question with reference to administrative extravagance and the large waves of emigration leaving the French mandate:

Are we to believe that the palatial buildings in Lom  of luxurious styles and [with] no occupants is [*sic*] worth the progress of the state and is welfare of the people? . . . And for what the people are [*sic*] escaping and abandoning the riches of the land to the lands of refuge without milk and honey? Is it not because they are subject to servitude life in their country, which makes all unbearable for them and cannot be called civilization [*sic*]?

The authors decried the "despotisme," "injustice" and "cruaut " of the French administration, epitomized by the execution-style killing of the highwayman Amuzuvi Akpadjaka and his "bande des malfaiteurs" (see fig. 5.2).<sup>83</sup> In transforming the role of chiefs via the creation of Conseils and paramountcies, the French were essentially undoing the traditional way of life.<sup>84</sup> But although life was unbearable in French Togo, the attraction of the neighboring mandate territory, especially the relatively free and open farming land north of Ho, was understated.<sup>85</sup> Despite painting a rather simplistic picture, the authors unswervingly blamed France, the Treaty of Versailles, and the international borders for their current predicament, including a local economic downturn that was part of the worldwide Great Depression.<sup>86</sup> Indeed, the border's damage to Ewe communities features frequently in post-World War II Bund correspondence.<sup>87</sup>

Maurice L on Bourguine, the commandant of the Cercle of Lom  and a future governor, delayed relaying this petition by claiming no previous knowledge of the organization.<sup>88</sup> The Bund chastised the French for this disrespect, and reaffirmed "the authority" by which they "advocat[ed] the cause of . . . kin and kith" thus:

1. We are natives of French Togoland belonging to various states and stools from the coastal towns to the interior. Some of us are eligible to occupy the stools as rulers.



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Figure 5.2: Corpse of Amuzuvi Akpadjaka, dated September 9, 1930. Reproduced with permission from the United Nations/League of Nations Library and Archives, Geneva, Switzerland.

2. Owing to the persecution of the natural and tribal chiefs by the mandated Government always threatening [*sic*] them with deportation when they assert their rights made helpless by intimidations the authority and right to plead their cause automatically pass to us.
3. The authority and right we possess are defensible and recognisable, being natural; would win recognition and support by Governments who respect native institutions [rather] than the authority and rights possessed by any Government appointed chiefs or 'Notables' who are foreigners or appointed from the rank of any Government appointed chief.
4. That you be convinced of the authority and rights we possess as natives of French Togoland and members of the various states, we may add that we represent on the Gold Coast hundred thousands [*sic*] of the inhabitants of French Togoland who migrated and settled here as the result of the unfavorable conditions established since the French took the greater portion of Togoland, who are numerically stronger than those the so-called Notables represent [being] mostly foreigners and irresponsibles appointed by Government who have no right to represent the 750,000 inhabitants of French Togoland than ourselves who are not merely natives of the soil, but members of stools and eligible to rule.
5. With regards the existence of the "Bundtogo," which you said was not known in Togoland, we beg to state that, it came into being or has existed since 1924.



to plead the cause of the inhabitants of French Togoland as there is no means [for] the people by which to place their grievances to the League of Nations, when use is made by Government of the "Notables" against their interest supporting Government blindly in order to escape persecution or to gain favour and awards of honours as we have witnessed since 1920. You are aware of the so-called Council of Notables which was brought into being to be used against the interest[s] of the people, and you will remember that, in the year 1926, the Government had to seek the aid of so-called Notables to refute certain reports (vide reports dated 7th January, 1926 and 9th August 1926) of the people [sent] through us to the League of Nations. . . . It is the same Bund that is functioning now and it is a surprise to hear from the high Official that our Bund is not known in French Togoland.<sup>89</sup>

The Bund alleged that all persons who could adequately represent the voice of French Togoland had actually fled the territory, and thus they offered themselves as mediators. But they also affirmed the fact that their "kin and kith" were largely Ewe.

The Bundists cited the exemplary behavior of the former German governor Waldemar Horn with respect to legal redress.<sup>90</sup> In dismissing the first French governor, Woelffel, the French Minister of Colonies had demonstrated that it could act properly if it so wished. With ten pointed questions about the legitimacy of the Conseils, the Bund raised the stakes.<sup>91</sup> Furthermore, it added that by asking the Conseil des Notables to repudiate the petition at a special hearing that allegedly took place on October 22, 1930, the French administration in Lomé had stooped to a new low.

This scathing review of French colonial policy seems to have had little impact on the general reception of petitions by the Lomé administration. A PMC decision of the mid-1920s to funnel petitions via the chief administrative officer in a mandated region operated successfully as a means of frustrating individual petitions, because it enabled local officials to adopt their own procedures in addition to those of the PMC. Thus, the next petition from the Bund, dated March 28, 1931, was stonewalled on the grounds that the French government now considered inadmissible any petition not written in French.<sup>92</sup> The rejected document focused on the extrajudicial nature of Amuzuvi Akpadjaka's murder and the secrecy surrounding the inspection mission of Ministry of Colonies official, Roger Franceschi.<sup>93</sup> Their concern about Franceschi was that, in meeting with Chief Lawson, the visitor was aiding and abetting the treacherous acts of the Aného leader.<sup>94</sup> The petitioners produced a copy of a "secret address," praising France with which Lawson had "astonish[ed] the other Notables," and an excerpt of a letter from the Reverend Robert Baeta, an erstwhile member of the Conseil des Notables. They continued to dispute the "unconstitutionally formed" Conseil. Unfortunately for the Bund, as for the Adjigo-Gaba family, the protagonists

of chapter 2, Bonnecarrère returned to the senders those petitions composed in any language other than French.<sup>95</sup>

The Bund used all means at its disposal to draw attention to its cause. While sending petitions, it simultaneously enlisted the support of the Gold Coast press. A series of articles and letters attacked the visit of Franceschi and warned various prominent Togolese not to betray the interests of their constituents.<sup>96</sup> The Bund joined forces with the Adjigo-Gaba clan, with whom it shared the goal of unseating Lawson.<sup>97</sup> They may also have deliberately circulated misinformation.<sup>98</sup> The most detailed of a series of letters addressed to the French government listed all the chiefs in French Togo deposed or arrested between 1928 and 1930.<sup>99</sup> They exclaimed with defiance: "[T]he French method of administration in Togoland, for the past ten years, is worse than that of the Germans. The people will gladly welcome a Commission of Inquiry, staffed by disinterested gentlemen appointed by the League of Nations." Although it is unclear what, if any, effect such negative publicity had on French diplomatic efforts in Geneva, copies of all of these papers reached the offices of the PMC.

What is clear is that the delaying tactics of the French did indeed frustrate the Bund leadership and had a negative impact on its organizational cohesion. On July 26, 1931, the Bund held a special meeting in Accra to discuss the returned petitions. The Bundists unanimously passed a resolution calling for a different approach.<sup>100</sup> "In view of undue advantage so often taken" of the Bund with respect to its petitions, and in view of measures taken simply to "forestall," "it was therefore resolved and proposed and unanimously agreed upon that Delegates should be sent to the next session of the League of Nations in Geneva in September next year 1932 to represent personally the views and grievances of the people of Togoland under . . . French mandate." It was also resolved that a photograph of the meeting would be taken, and that it and the resolution would be sent to Geneva via the Lomé administration (see figs. 5.1 earlier and 5.3).<sup>101</sup>

This was a turning point for the Bund and its activities, and could possibly be considered the summit of its influence. The Bundists were soon beset from all sides. Colonial newspapers attacked them bitterly while defending the French record in Togo; evidently their elevation to "martyrdom" of Amuzuvi Akpadjaka, "a common-law bandit," had struck a wrong chord.<sup>102</sup> The PMC continued to reject their petitions.<sup>103</sup> Membership and revenue problems also surfaced. A subsequent meeting of the General Executive Committee prepared a response to the PMC's latest rejection. It resolved that

unless and until the grievances contained in those petitions [are] investigated on the spot and fully considered by the Permanent Mandates Commission[,] the Bund shall have ground[s] to continue pressing for investigation of the grievances till justice is done to the rights of the people.<sup>104</sup>

Additionally, because the Bundists naïvely considered Bonnacarrère the main obstacle to their nationalist project, they hoped that with a new governor in Lomé, a full review of all the petitions could be made. Little did they realize that de Guise would prove an even greater obstruction.<sup>105</sup> Although the French stalling tactics were not viewed favorably in Geneva, and although a quick volte-face with respect to admissibility in 1933 cleared the backlog, various officials tried new and more discreet means of downplaying the importance of petitions, contributing to the Bund’s continued failure to find redress for its complaints.<sup>106</sup>

### Geneva or Bust: In Decline, Bundism Finds a New Periurban Voice

The Bund’s campaign now entered a new phase. Although it continued to file new complaints and petitions, it had failed to establish its credibility before both the PMC and the French government. With its claim of representing all of Togo repudiated, the Bundists found it increasingly difficult to avoid the label of “German agitators.” The issues they pursued were almost solely Ewe in nature and frequently did more harm than good. They needed new issues

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Figure 5.3: General Meeting of Bund in Accra, July 26, 1931. Reproduced with permission from Bildarchiv der deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft, Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main.

and an injection of new leadership, and the direction they chose is indicative of internal tensions, regional disparities, and the Ewe orientation of the organization. Colonial officials, now including those of British Togoland and the Gold Coast, directed greater resources toward a renewed anti-Bund campaign. They cast the Bund as revolutionary, subversive, and after 1933, pro-Nazi, with only the faintest commitment to the development and prosperity of Togo.<sup>107</sup> Moreover, external developments, most notably Hitler's rise to power and German calls for the return of the colonies, exacerbated their concern.

The next series of events to which an organization ostensibly representing all of Togoland could conceivably gravitate included the revolt of January–February 1933, the forced resettlement of Kabyé throughout the center and south, and a brutally suppressed insurrection among the northern Konkomba in 1936–37. The Konkomba uprising, which led to the deaths of hundreds, and the forced resettlement of Kabyé throughout Togo were never the subjects of Bund petitions.<sup>108</sup> The French supplied only the most elementary information about both in the annual reports. The 1933 "révolte des femmes" presented an excellent opportunity to extend the attack on the ineffectiveness of the Conseil des Notables, while also attacking the authori-

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tarianism of the French administration.<sup>109</sup> Nevertheless, none of the above, nor even a tragic incident involving a *tirailleur*, were the focus of a Bund petition.<sup>110</sup> Voluminous petitions were sent, but only by the protagonists themselves.<sup>111</sup>

Incidentally, the question of anonymity is a curious and interesting entrée into the web of deceit that the French constructed to frustrate Bundism. Notwithstanding the cloud of confusion that enveloped causality, the Lomé administration had no qualms about directly linking the events of January and February 1933 to Bundism. The French administration was unable to identify positively certain members of the Bund, and thus concluded that the names "Gagée" and "Dugamey" were in all certainty pseudonyms. Their purpose was, of course, to assert anonymity and thus render the petitions illegitimate, because anonymous petitions were inadmissible according to the 1923 rules and procedures.<sup>112</sup> By asserting anonymity, they were then able to infer that the Bund was responsible, because the Bund was the only Togoland entity to send anonymous petitions.<sup>113</sup> Thus the French built a circuitous argument whereby all Bund petitions were anonymous and inadmissible, and all anonymous petitions were of Bund authorship. The absurdity of this subterfuge escaped the PMC's Belgian rapporteur, Pierre Orts.<sup>114</sup>

Returning to the Bund's apparent lack of interest in the events of 1933, it seems reasonable to conclude that both the severe organizational and leadership fissures caused by a series of unsuccessful petitions and a general wariness of being labeled violent revolutionaries kept Bund involvement to a minimum. The Bund's goal was never insurrection, and it is safe to say that its involvement in the 1933 events was at best tangential. Not only was a series of meetings in 1932 evidence of genuine frustration among the leaders, but a meeting in October 1933 also demonstrated the growing disparity between the goals of the leaders and those of their local activists. In addition, Bundism was coming under attack closer to its Accra home. Several documents attest to the increase in anti-Bund sentiment beyond the urban setting, although the full significance remains unclear. One letter from a chief's clerk explained that the ultimate goal of the Bund, the return of German rule, is "against the wishes . . . of the chiefs and people in the mandated area."<sup>115</sup> The same letter, however, indicates somewhat surprisingly that certain European circles, most notably that of the newspaper magnate Lord Rothermere, supported the Germans' returning.<sup>116</sup> Another letter, from a French Togoland refugee in the Gold Coast, demonstrates that for many Togoland-ers, the real goal had shifted from the return of Germany to putting "Togo on a sound economic basis" by facilitating the annexation of the whole territory by Great Britain.<sup>117</sup>

About the same time, the French were compiling a report on the activities of the Bund to be relayed to the PMC. The extensive report of Maurice Besson, France's representative to the PMC in 1933, undercuts both

Bonnecarrère's and Bourguine's claims to know "little" of the organization, although it both repeats and reworks much of the information collated from other sources.<sup>118</sup> Although the foundation date of the Bund could never be definitively established, "the organization in question was founded by the Germans while they occupied the territory, and was reconvened, probably in 1922, in Accra." The membership was "shrouded in a certain mystery," although the president, Johan Agboka, was an Accra merchant. Johan Kanyi, who "presided for many years," and whose lineage included the Gaba family of Aného, was an "expeditionary" (i.e., a soldier of fortune) and not, as earlier reported, a clerk. After the presidency of Agboka came that of Aklamake Ousah, of whom nothing further is known.

To explain the goals of the Bund, the rapporteur drew on a "circulaire" from 1925 that was disseminated to garner support for the new organization.<sup>119</sup> It stated that "two years earlier," a "federation" of German Togolanderns formed in Accra to "reclaim the autochthonous right to grow old happily in our country and to extract ourselves from the misery to which the current French administration exposes us." The Bund desired to establish a strong bond with Germany and also to "represent" Togo before the League of Nations and speak for Togo's "benefit." It calls upon the "Brothers of Togo resting among you" (i.e., foreign exiles and refugees in the Gold Coast and British Togoland) to unite in "action" and "voice," and not to be despondent, reminding its audience that "the League of Nations itself incorporated into its charter [the word used is *drapeau*] the right of all peoples for self-determination." It informed its readership of the petitions already sent to Geneva calling for the return of Germany, and asked that this call for support and sign-up list be circulated so that everyone could "help the League of German Togolanderns, the League that fights for liberty, for justice and for peace."

Although Besson used this letter to "demonstrate the spirited state" of its membership, his goal was ultimately to discredit the Bund.<sup>120</sup> He stated that from a financial angle, "the association exists on subsidies provided by certain Europeans in Accra and occasional rare contributions from" Togoland itself. The internal operations of the Bund were described as "more or less secret," although from various other sources, including German colonial journals, it was apparent that correspondence continued regularly with the neocolonial lobby in the Weimar Republic.<sup>121</sup> After a brief résumé of the history of Bund petitioning, "one is forced to ask oneself whether under these conditions the Bund is not abusing the patience of the Commission."<sup>122</sup>

Back in Accra and Eweland, however, the Bund was experiencing its own internal upheaval. The events of 1933, in Lomé and Berlin, prompted a new spirit of cooperation between the British and French intelligence services, and they now united in opposition to the Bund and all things German. For several months the Bund's leadership had been trying to collect money to send a delegate to Geneva, but with no success. Suddenly, as if heaven were answering

their prayers, a German aviator landed in Accra in August bringing with her letters (and possibly financial support) for the Bund. The unwelcome arrival of Elly Beinhorn led to a new communiqué of cooperation between the British secret service in Accra and the French in Lomé.<sup>123</sup>

Increased surveillance of the Bund's activities in Accra was most likely anti-Hitlerian in motivation. But although there is evidence that the organization was attempting to reinvent itself in 1933, it would be misguided to tie this activity too closely to Hitler's rise. Although the advance notice of the October meeting is rich with nationalist metaphors, the mold chosen by the Bund's leadership in 1933 was oriented more toward "patria" and less toward Germany, more anglophone and less Teutonic.<sup>124</sup> A generational shift over two decades meant that few young, active, political Togolanders had any historical memory extending prior to 1914. The nostalgia for Germany was only vaguely superimposed on the un-Germanized generation.<sup>125</sup> Moreover, operating under a Germanic mantle in a largely anglophone environment posed its own problems. Although maintaining the title *Deutsch Togo-Bund*, the group relaunched itself as the Togo National League. The "minutes" of the October 29, 1933 meeting are the most complete record and are invaluable in terms of the insight they offer into the cleavages within the reforming party.<sup>126</sup>

An unnamed infiltrator in attendance remarked that there were but a few new faces in the October crowd.<sup>127</sup> But although the meeting began as usual at 4:30 P.M., it terminated at 6:30 "with dispute and discontent between the two factions, that is to say between the Bund and the lay membership." Indeed, the division can be interpreted as a rupture into two parties—the leadership and the membership—as the informant observed approximately three hundred people present at the meeting, including women. After reading a letter from the former German governor Adolf von Mecklenburg, President Agboka spoke to the crowd.<sup>128</sup> His speech was a strongly worded attack on the cruelties of the periurban experience in French Togo. In particular, he cited a raid by soldiers on the village of Tsévié, perhaps the same one described by Efua Avoka, and the violent upheavals in Lomé earlier that year.<sup>129</sup>

Agboka referred to an earlier proposition to send three delegates to the PMC in Geneva, and to ask for the sum of 500 pounds, or 2 shillings from every Togolander.<sup>130</sup> At this point, according to the informant, two or three people spoke out and asked if the "traditional chiefs of Togo" were aware of and had given their consent to this scheme. To this he responded,

Your chiefs are nothing but tools of the French in Togo, and their own embarrassment is the hindrance that prevents them from even lifting a finger without damaging themselves. Let us then act without their consent in any form. The trouble we are giving ourselves is not for nothing, and we must know in waiting for

a satisfactory solution, even if nothing comes of it; no matter, as the trace of our actions shall always remain.<sup>131</sup>

The young men opposed to the plan retorted that only after the chiefs had given their consent could such a plan proceed. At this point the meeting became a war of words and "des expressions outrageantes" were uttered. Everyone dispersed by 6:30 P.M., and the informant suggested that as an organization, the Bund was dead and would never meet again.

Yet if anything is clear from this narrative, it is that the Bund was never a monolithic or united movement, but one that reshaped itself, beginning at the grassroots. Though initially a top-heavy organization, composed of literate, educated professionals who were relatively familiar with the formalities of correspondence, law, and international relations, it shifted gears in response to the demands of its periurban members. Although its old guard may have failed in its attempt to pass around the collection hat, this closed only one avenue of action; many others remained open. Thus, when the leadership looked again at events in Lomé and began to take an interest in periurban change in British Togo, a new enthusiasm was born. The old Bund was indeed dead. But a new lobby group, while singing from the same hymnbook, was to prove equally annoying to both mandate administrations. The reformed Bund attacked the French *and* British administrations with renewed vigor over the next few years. It telegraphed the PMC about the allegedly treacherous activities of Emmanuel Ajavon.<sup>132</sup> It joined forces with the Adjigo-Gaba clan; berated the sycophancy of Savi de Tové, the editor of *Le Guide du Togo*, the subject of the next chapter; and helped found *Le Cri du Togo* in Dahomey.<sup>133</sup>

The shift in gears, however, was most apparent in the Bund's activities in British Togoland. Whereas Bund members seem not to have disputed the state amalgamation policy embarked on in the Ho district, they now turned their attention to the Ewe heartland around Ho and Hohoe, the site of tremendous advances in cocoa farming.<sup>134</sup> They sought to capitalize on the growth in pro-German feeling in the mid-1930s, a development that had a variety of root causes that varied from region to region. Some of this sentiment, such as that related by Athanaisus Donudenu Djati, had little basis in historical reality.

We liked the Germans very very much. . . . The Germans never interfered with chieftaincy, but anyway at that time there was no discontent. The best thing the Germans did for the Africans was that they taught us to work so that they would never starve. They trained the German soldiers to supervise the people and find out if they were lazy. If they heard talking in a house and found that people were lazing about they would take them . . . [and] they were given a load to carry.<sup>135</sup>



In the Kpandu area, however, nostalgia for German rule was rooted in economic decline during the British mandate, coupled with political instability.<sup>136</sup> In Ho, Hohoe, and elsewhere, moreover, a few German citizens in the area actively fomented the feeling that a return to German rule would solve the political, economic, and agricultural difficulties of the region.<sup>137</sup>

Steadily, over two decades certain British Togolandese cut back the region's economic and political ties to the Gold Coast, and waxed nostalgic for a reunited Togoland (read *Eweland*) free from the new international boundary zone.<sup>138</sup> Although in 1914 there was significant pro-British feeling among chiefs and peasants in the region, by the mid-1930s the cajoling of Ewe *dukwo*, their respective chiefs and peasants, and the imminent threat of direct taxation via the state treasuries provoked widespread anti-British sentiment.<sup>139</sup> The comments of Kwasi Kuada Amabbey are suggestive of the perceived natural affinity for German rule.

The people Dzoanti liked the Germans because when they arrived they tried to educate us by sending us to prison and giving us work. We did not then realize that they were trying to treat us nicely for our own good. The Germans were clever. Compared to them, the British were tricky and they [acted] liked thieves.<sup>140</sup>

Ironically then, though the Bundists did not attack the earlier economic or political policies in the region, it was largely the government interference in Ewe *dukwo* and the lack of economic interference that ensured an audience receptive to German neocolonial goals.

In both British and French Togoland, rumors regularly circulated about the imminent return of Germany.<sup>141</sup> And by the mid-1930s, a number of Germans were actively recruiting Ewe allies. Gilbert Agbesuge traced the resurgence of Bundism to this development.

Before the Second World War some Germans came to Togo as traders, including one called Dr. Humperpower. He told people that there would be a war and that Germany would be sure of victory, and take back their former colonies. He was anxious to get to know who were sympathetic to the Germans so that their names could be known when the Germans came. In Togo he talked to people from Hohoe and that is how it started at Hohoe. It was called the Deutsch Togo Bund.<sup>142</sup>

It seems, then, that the Bund's activities, though ostensibly in abeyance in the 1920s in periurban British Togoland, received a new injection of energy in the 1930s. With this new periurban base, the still small Bund membership wrote to a contact in Germany and requested the services of an agricultural expert.<sup>143</sup> Another German agriculturalist, Robert Riegermann, became quite influential. Among many farming projects, he supervised the commencement of a rania plantation and the construction of thirty-seven shops or

warehouses for cocoa farming improvements before he was expelled at the outbreak of war.<sup>144</sup>

Although it is important to attribute to Bundism a role in the development of political consciousness and organization among Ewe *dukɔwo*, the causal link between the growth in membership and the periurban zone in question during this period is surely agricultural. The Bund grew to be strong immediately prior to the war in the regions where agricultural innovation, largely in the form of cocoa farming, was greatest. Thus, there were at least nine active members in Hohoe, including the chief of Hohoe, Gabusu IV, and his advisor and clerk, Godfried Quame.<sup>145</sup> In Anfoega, Chief Jonuta Dumoga and his successor were Bund activists. Nelson Nyavor and Aloysius Addo related that the most active Kpandu Bundists fled to their cocoa plantations in Akposso, French Togoland, with the outbreak of war.<sup>146</sup> It thus comes as no surprise that the Bund also took sides in the very serious land and resource conflict around Hohoe-Kadjebi, along the new international mandate border.<sup>147</sup>

Despite this major shift, from exclusively anti-French to decidedly grassroots, agricultural, and anti-British, there was little change in the way Bundists were treated by colonial administrators or the PMC. As the storm clouds of war descended on Europe, the Bund's early activities were recalled only vaguely, and the "Bund of absent patriots in Accra" ceased to be a voice of dissent in the soon to be defunct mandate system.<sup>148</sup> Although members reunited in social gatherings, and some even met with the German ambassador to the newly independent Republic of Togo in 1960, the epilogue to *political* activism occurred during the Second World War, when members remaining in British Togo were rounded up and interned in a coastal prison.<sup>149</sup> The scant post-World War II Bund activity has been appropriately interpreted as more an expression of empathy with the partition of Germany.<sup>150</sup> On the members' release in 1945, the political landscape of the Gold Coast Colony and British Togoland had changed beyond all recognition: pro-German sentiment was all but dead, and Togoland was no longer conceivable as a unit. But a genuine Ewe-centered nationalist movement was just finding its voice.

### From Periurban Eweland to Togoland

The story of the Bund is one of conflicting identities. Both the internal and external primary threats to the Bund's ethnonationalist enterprise can be understood as unresolved, and indeed irresolvable, differences between the desire to represent all Togoland on both sides of the mandate border and throughout the periurban zone and the reality of an identity discourse circumscribed by issues exclusively Ewe in content. Over a period of several decades, as the membership and issues shifted, cleavages erupted and the break between the Ewe and Togoland grew increasingly apparent. But the instability

of the composite identity with which the organization pushed on with its agenda does not detract from the potency of their nationalist model. The case of the Bund is a curious example of a fluid series of identities superimposed on a clear and prescient nationalist structure. From both colonial and African voices it is clear that a nation project loomed large in Bundism and that the constitutive identity of the project was highly mutable.

In reevaluating the Bund and its role in the nationalist struggle between the wars, this chapter has reunited many and disparate documents and analyses in order to highlight the stark divergence between the aims and goals lauded, and the struggles waged. Although the Bund's leaders began their campaign for Germany's return in the early 1920s with a powerful vindication of all Togoland's right to self-determination, they ultimately had to choose their battles from those that presented themselves and those of their own creation. It must not be overlooked that the scope for complaint and redress was limited—between petitioning European and international leaders and disseminating arguments through the local press, the Bundists had very little additional room to maneuver. Appearing in person before the PMC in Geneva, which after World War II was to draw such dramatic attention to the "Togoland Question," was but a pipe dream. Moreover, the operational tactics the Bund deployed attest that it was not solely urban and elite in makeup. Although its original leadership was largely part of a Lomé commercial expatriate community, the limited data we have on membership, branches, and periurban activity, coupled with the Bund's frequent adoption of agricultural issues, place it firmly though unevenly in periurban Eweland, among both educated and preliterate Ewe communities.

This balancing act underscores the complexity of the Eweland/Togoland dichotomy created by the coupling of two strands of ethnonationalism. Every case that the Bund brought to the League included Ewe issues. And although several issues crossed the dichotomy, even the argument posited reflected a periurban Eweland focus. The Conseils were created throughout the urban centers of the French mandate territory, the length and breadth of French Togoland, yet the focus of the Bund's attack was on Lomé, Aného, Kpalimé, and periurban Eweland. The Bund's concern with emigration, too, although drawing on the experience of all French Togoland's who had chosen refuge in British Togoland and the Gold Coast—including many Kotokoli and Kabyé—was overwhelming Ewe in content. Even the forced internal resettlement of the Kabyé did not merit attention. In terms of membership too, the Ewe paradigm overrode that of Togoland. The meeting in October 1933, a revolt of the periurban rank and file against the illusory goal of traveling to Geneva was cast as a deep-seated attachment to traditional Ewe leadership hierarchies. That is, if the chiefs, although colonial collaborators, did not agree, the grassroots network would not support the initiative.

The Bund as a nationalist organization experienced a transition between 1931 and 1933, when it moved from being a clear and present threat to the French mandate to one that reasserted its influence in periurban British Eweland. Developments in Germany led to French and British unity at the administrative level in opposition to the Bund, and this reflected concern for the unfathomed danger of Nazism. Whereas in the 1920s Bundism offered a prescient alternative to the mandate regime and the French interpretation of that mandate structure, by the mid-1930s it had evolved into a dispersed network of grassroots activism, focusing on agricultural development in periurban British Togoland. In so doing, it drew deeply on its Ewe support base and metamorphosed into an exclusively Ewe periurban support network. Although cleavages between the various Ewe *dukwo* manifested themselves at various moments, chiefs and peasants could now draw on a common Ewe experience of periurban anticolonial protest.

## 6

# From Eweland to la République Togolaise

## *Le Guide du Togo* and the Periurban Circulation of Knowledge

*Le Guide du Togo*, the sole Togolese newspaper, founded before the Second World War, also published after the war, shows clearly the evolution of political ideas and the elite of Togo: before 1940, it sought as close an assimilation as possible with the metropole; after 1945, France having not responded to its aspirations, it reoriented itself toward the achievement of independence.

—Raymond Guillaneuf, “La Presse au Togo (1911–1966)”

In January 1933 market women stormed the home and garden of Mr. and Mrs. Jonathon Savi de Tové. The house was looted, the home gutted, and their well filled with rubbish and excrement. The protesters proclaimed, “We’re making war on Savi! We’re making war on the French!”<sup>1</sup> The priestesses of Bè turned their naked buttocks toward his house and skidded along the ground, inflicting a curse. According to Dossi Ekué-Attognon, Savi “was punished thus for his complicity with the government.”<sup>2</sup> As the secretary of the Conseil des Notables, with an “indemnity of 300 francs,” Savi de Tové was singled out for special punishment.<sup>3</sup> In a letter to Governor de Guise, Commandant Jean Bouquet stated that “a certain number of distinguished natives are waging a violent campaign against the Conseil des Notables and in particular those participating on the Economic Council, notably Mr. Savi de Tové whom they accuse of treason. . . . [T]his campaign has surpassed the simple form of political polemic and is now causing a state of overexcitement among the general populace.”<sup>4</sup> When calm returned to Lomé, Savi de Tové’s first act was to seek compensation from the French administration for possessions looted and destroyed, including stolen cash and

jewelry, and remuneration for rebuilding his home. In his view, because he was a servant of the French administration, they were morally bound to protect him.<sup>5</sup>

Over the next few years, Savi de Tové continued as secretary of the Conseil and expanded his role in assisting the administration by publishing a private bimonthly newspaper, *Le Guide du Togo*, in November 1934.<sup>6</sup> By 1947, however, this journal and its network of supporters were at the forefront of the anticolonial debate. As a member of the Comité de l'Unité Togolaise, he spearheaded Sylvanus Olympio's campaign to speak before the United Nations Trusteeship Council. By 1960, he was a member of the independent Togolese Republic's first administration.

The introduction to this book began with an overview of the traditional narrative of Ewe nationalism and the role of its flag-bearer, Sylvanus Olympio, but I cautioned that this book was not going to be another hagiography of Westernized elites. I maintain that previous histories of African nationalism have failed to account for the involvement of numerous marginalized constituencies in the political endeavors of nationalism while simultaneously insisting that the nationalism characteristic of the 1940s and fifties operated as a nationwide effort. The paradox of much writing on nationalism is to make it seem only remotely national. But it would be an overstatement to suggest that the anticolonial momentum of the interwar and post-World War II periods rested exclusively with a small, educated cadre of sophisticates. On the contrary, nationalism did resonate with many nonelite communities, but in a variety of subtle and concealed forms.

Recovering the voice of this anticolonial sentiment requires a reformulation of the patterns of authority and the divisions ascribed to state power. Whereas most writing views nonelite Africans in simple binaries of proletarian or peasant, urban or rural, the historical experience in Eweland demands a more nuanced apparatus. Its society reflects the role and impact of the proximity of urban centers and changes in communication, transportation, and population movements.

It would be a profound mistake, however, to abandon organized political and ancillary activity, the classic bedrock of studies of nationalism. My goal is to reunite those represented with those who claimed to represent them; to completely replace one with the other would have less value. In the previous chapter, I narrated the rise and decline of one particular expression of Ewe nationalism that drew its strength from the periurban zone, the Bund der deutschen Togoländer. This final chapter explores the role of communications, specifically print media, in promoting throughout the periurban zone a sense of national consciousness in a variety of forms. I will focus on how this national consciousness ultimately mobilized around territorial notions of Togolese nationhood as the vibrancy of Ewe ethnonationalism waned. Print media played an integral role in both the

formulation of anticolonial sentiments and the dissemination of ideas of nation, ranging from ethnically based imaginary states to self-consciously forward-looking multiethnic communities. The role of print media in anti-colonial movements has been well documented. Some authors, most notably Anderson, ascribe a preeminent role to newspapers and journals, above and beyond that of parties, informal networks, and social organizations.<sup>7</sup> Colonial regimes, beginning with missionary organizations, were also acutely aware of the potential impact of news media; they hastened to involve themselves in the circulation of what they considered appropriate imagery and metaphor through officially or unofficially sanctioned publications.

At first glance, the history of media and publication in Togo, from the German period to the end of the French mandate presence, sits comfortably within this general overview. The first publications to emanate from German Togoland were the tracts of the Norddeutsche Missionsgesellschaft, published in Bremen; other missionary organizations soon followed suit. Publication in Togo itself began in the late nineteenth century, but it was not until the mid-1920s that indigenous publication became more regular. By the mid-1930s, publication and news circulation reached a critical mass. Newspapers challenged official French accounts, and labor unions, left-wing political parties, and lobbying groups sponsored sister publications in Togo. Other international publications, such as the *Christian Science Monitor*, paid close attention to developments in the colonies and in particular to mandate nations. By the mid- to late 1940s, numerous indigenous presses were playing a leading role in the development of Ewe and Togolese nationalism. With the post-Brazzaville Conference liberalization, much illicit activity became lawful, and many political parties used dailies, weeklies, and biweekly journals as their first point of engagement with the communities they purported to represent. The last eight years of Togo's colonial status (1952–60) witnessed an explosion of indigenous publication that remained unequalled until after the collapse of the one-party Togolese state in 1991–93.

Up to this point nothing seems out of the ordinary in terms of the trajectory of publication in periurban Eweland, and in Togo more generally. Newspapers and journals played a leading role in the emerging critique of colonialism in Togo, as they did in the neighboring Gold Coast and Dahomey.<sup>8</sup> Similarly, European regimes hastened to put their best foot forward and circulate information and imagery of prosperous colonies. The strange careers of Jonathon Savi de Tové (1895–1971) and his principle vehicle, the *Guide du Togo*, however, challenge us to rethink this all too simple division. Savi de Tové was at once a member of the Conseil des Notables, a focus of violence of the insurrection of 1933 (explored in chapter 3), and the founding editor of the *Guide du Togo*. The *Guide* was the semi-official voice of the Cercle des Amitiés Françaises, a pro-French social and political organization. Notwithstanding these impeccable collaborationist credentials, over

the course of several decades and mirroring the Cercle's vice president, Sylvanus Olympio, the *Guide* and its editor transformed themselves into a moderate voice first for self-rule and then for independence. And although there were other formerly semi-official colonial government bulletins that, in the hands of indigenous elites, slid steadily into a very different political community of thinkers, the *Guide* is to be distinguished because of two additional negotiated transitions it made over the course of twenty-five years. First, it shifted from being a mouthpiece for predominantly Ewe causes and ethnonationalism to a champion of multiethnic and Togolese nationalism. Second, from seeking an initially exclusively urban Lomé audience, it recast its net farther and wider to incorporate a periurban Togolese audience and to represent those beyond the colony, particularly the growing Ewe and Togolese diaspora abroad.

Perhaps another casualty of scholarly infatuation with Ewe reunification and its great martyr, Sylvanus Olympio, French Togoland's newsprint community remains largely ignored.<sup>9</sup> To grasp a sense of the significance of the press to the wider endeavors of Ewe nationalism and its demise, one has to turn to activities in British Togoland and the Gold Coast. In his explanation of the history of the origins of the free press, Kodjona Kadonga highlighted the influence of the *Gold Coast Leader*.<sup>10</sup> Amenumey and Nugent both devote considerable attention to the English- and Ewe-language postwar *Ewe News-Letter* of the Gold Coasters Daniel Yawo Chapman and Ephraim Amu.<sup>11</sup> Although their approaches differ considerably, both Amenumey and Nugent recognize that the *Ewe News-Letter* was the guiding light of anglophone Ewe ethnonationalism and a vehicle whereby the leading figures in the increasingly splintered Ewe Reunification Movement hoped to disseminate their message to the periurban petite bourgeoisie: the teachers, clerks, and merchants who lived beyond the important market towns of Ho, Hohoe, Kpandou, Kpalimé, Lomé, and elsewhere. Collier ties together both Ewe- and English-language journals and occasional political tracts, and evidences a widespread social and political involvement on the part of lower- and mid-level functionaries (a significant number of them disgruntled former "German school teachers") in the dissemination of nationalist ideas via the print media.<sup>12</sup>

Outside of British Togoland and the Gold Coast, there are few analyses of the role of West African print media. Thus, to conclude my investigation of periurban Eweland under colonial rule, this chapter will explore nationalism and the nationalist press as they shaped and reshaped the terms of reference of the anticolonial debates between 1931 and 1960. As a counterweight to the overemphasized life history of Olympio and the exhaustive analyses of Ewe reunification, I show how other disregarded figures, such as Savi de Tové, played important roles in determining the contours of Ewe ethnonationalism and Togolese nationalism. This chapter will answer several important questions, such as why I began this book with a critique of nationalism; how the



periurban zone enhances our appreciation of this important period of nationalist mobilization; how viable the forms of nationalism circulating among nonurban and nonelite communities were; how Togolese nationhood emerged from the failed Ewe nationalist project; and what role and significance should be attached to prominent figures such as Savi de Tové and to his readership, the forgotten foot soldiers of Togolese nationalism.

I begin with a chronological overview of the nationalist movements in French and British Togoland, reflecting on Olympio and the significance of British Togoland's 1956 plebiscite, which led to the merger of the territory with the independent Ghana, and highlighting the realignment of forces in French Togoland after the plebiscite. I move on to survey the expansive printed media of colonial French Togo and relevant neighboring publications. I then explore the life of Savi de Tové, the Cercle des Amitiés Françaises, the founding of the *Guide du Togo*, and the creation of the Comité de l'Unité Togolaise, and segue to an analysis of the political discourses contained in the *Guide*. I conclude by considering the significance of this journal for the reinterpretation of multivalent nationalism, the involvement of multiple constituencies in the nationalist movements and their orientation toward the periurban zone.

### Locating Ethnic and Territorial Nationalism in Periurban Eweland to 1960

The germination of nationalism in Eweland, as distinct from the anticolonial sentiment and protest explored in the previous chapters, is difficult to date precisely. Whereas the actions and events of groups and individuals in the mid- to late 1940s can be tied, teleologically or otherwise, to the nationalisms of the fifties and sixties, the 1930s and the period of hostilities in Europe (1939–45) remain unanchored. There are sporadic references to the existence of an Ewe nation from the early 1910s and textual references from the mid-1920s. The pro-German sentiment and its attendant forces, however, seem to be the most widespread territorial protonationalism of the interwar period. Whereas in the British West African colonies, political parties were lobbying in a variety of ways locally and in London starting in the 1920s and more vociferously in the thirties, elected office in Eweland was restricted to city councils in Kpalimé, Lomé, and Aného. With the obvious exception of the petitions delivered to the League of Nations Permanent Mandates Commission and the Bund's failed attempt to send a representative to Geneva, there is no evidence of a community of political activists from French or British Eweland lobbying outside a very narrowly defined frame of reference. Indeed, during the 1930s, curtailment of petitioners' access to the commission weakened the access of political groups and individuals.<sup>13</sup>

Regional occurrences evidence an emerging sense of a collective Ewe colonial experience. Between the 1920s and thirties, a series of events in Togoland gave rise to a sense of common experience that extends beyond the *dukɔwo*.

In the previous chapters, I outlined what I consider key moments in the evolution of periurban identities in the face of colonialism in French Togoland. In British Togoland the two critical issues defining the mandate and trusteeship experience (1919–56) in the minds of its Ewe population were surely the reorganization of chiefly power and the expansion of cocoa farming.<sup>14</sup> As the schisms in the Ewe communities of Bankoe and Dome demonstrate, the power structures of the expanded Ewe supra-*dukwo* states recast alliances and networks of power in the British-mandated territory. Ewe communities and their respective leaderships were compelled to articulate a political dialogue with the Accra administration as the British-mandated Togoland Ewe *dukwo* were transformed into administrative satellites of the Gold Coast regime. As Collier cogently argues, the Ewe nationalism characteristic of the 1940s and fifties was firmly oriented toward threats and opportunities emanating from Accra, the emerging Ghanaian nation, and the centralizing tendencies of Nkrumah's coalition.<sup>15</sup>

With a sense of the significance of the 1920s and thirties on both sides of the mandate border, and cognizant that small communities on either side begin publishing and organizing from 1945 onward, we can see that the obvious lacuna in the narrative is World War II. Discerning the significance of the six-year war experience for the emergence of collective political interests and coalitions in Eweland and Togoland, however, is very difficult because of the paucity of the sources available and the rapidly shifting events and alliances of World War II.<sup>16</sup> Although the general import of the literature on Ewe nationalism (until Nugent) was that “the Ewe came to an awareness of their hitherto latent identity in the midst of the hardships occasioned by the Second World War,” the nature of this hardship is poorly understood.<sup>17</sup> Whereas Claude Welch held that the mandate boundary became an *economic* border only as a consequence of the British-French tensions of World War II, Nugent's careful analysis of the economic activity on both sides demonstrates the naïve simplicity of this statement.<sup>18</sup> Shortages of commodities prompted the French regime to facilitate smuggling, and Nugent's interviewees suggested counterintuitively that life in British Togoland was far worse than in French Togoland because of the high market demand in Lomé and elsewhere.<sup>19</sup>

Although the reimposition of forced labor and requisitioning were a source of significant resentment for francophone Ewe, with many fleeing to British Togoland, the French “were powerless to regulate” flows of people, goods, and ideas.<sup>20</sup> Although the penury caused by the war is clear enough, resistance and flight in the form of enlistment by Togolese in the British colonial army remains poorly understood. These Ewe did not simply flee to escape taxes, but they embraced adventure in the world of the *Abongo-sodza* (Abongo soldier). A song recorded by Tétévi Tété-Adjalogo provides perhaps the most powerful example of how the war produced new political and social sentiments.

Ne wo bia tanye se la,	And if they demand yet more of me,
Ne wo be fika me yia,	And if they ask, off I'll go.
Ne wo bia tanye se la,	And if they demand yet more of me,
Na gblobe meyi Abongo.	Tell them I've gone to Abongo
Abongo, Abongo, Abongo.	Abongo, Abongo, Abongo.
Na gblobe meyi Abongo.	You can say that I've gone to Abongo. <sup>21</sup>

Tété-Adjalogo describes traveling by truck or motorcycle to the Gold Coast to enlist and the "beautiful and seductive" allure of khaki uniforms. And Tété-Adjalogo insists enlistment contributed substantially to the development of Togolese nationalism.

Aspects of life in the periurban Eweland mirrored those in other West African colonies during World War II, whereas others can be tied to the specificities of mandate rule.<sup>22</sup> In the first category, we might place deprivation, poverty, and famine caused by increased forced labor; taxation in coin and kind; new restrictions on movement, transport, and commerce; and the requisitioning of goods and services for the "war effort."<sup>23</sup> The expanded use of forced labor was widespread.<sup>24</sup> Numerous chiefs and councils made resolutions in support of the colonizing power and the morality and righteousness of the cause, acts by elites and would-be elites reaffirming their commitment to the colonizing mission. The perilous position of the pro-German Bund during this period, moving back and forth across the Togo mandate border and ending in prison in Cape Coast, illustrates some of the absurdities of the day-to-day experience in a noncombat war zone. These absurdities—aspects of life during World War II tied to the form, structure, and operation of mandate rule—include prohibitions (and their circumvention) of military recruitment and the sale of alcohol and firearms, and League of Nations, stipulations about the free flow of populations and the free trade of all League members in mandate territories. The latter issue was perhaps the most crucial, because when France capitulated to Hitler and the French West African Federation and Togo joined Vichy France, Britain closed all official border crossings to the Gold Coast and the Gambia, and most to Sierra Leone and Nigeria. Whether or not this new affront to the free flow of goods and services helped crystallize sentiments opposed to the division of Ewe *dukwo* by colonialism, circumvention demanded new social and economic strategies.<sup>25</sup>

In Chapman and Amu's *Ewe News-Letter*, the impact of World War II, and colonialism more generally, received considerable attention. Although colonialism writ large placed the British, Germans, and French in bed together, World War II revealed the irreconcilability of European colonial forms on the ground. *Ewe News-Letter* No. 22 of February 1947 lamented, "[I]t is most grievous to think of a people who are united by close ties of kinship, language and culture being divided between two totally different

colonizing powers whose colonial policies are diametrically opposed.” But Nugent’s analysis underscores the inconsistency of this blend of territorial and ethnic empathy:

The reasoning here was in many respects self-contradictory. The complaint that the implementation of different education and administration policies on either side of the line had driven a wedge between sections of the Ewe people was difficult to reconcile with the assertion that they still thought and acted as one “nation.” Hence Ewe nationalists sought to assert simultaneously that colonialism had hardly made any dent on the cultural landscape and, conversely, that it had been acutely divisive. As part of the same stock of arguments, the[y] . . . also asserted that these boundaries had functioned as a barrier to normal social intercourse. The reality . . . was that people and goods had flowed relatively freely across both sets of borders.<sup>26</sup>

If the significance of the economic privations of the war is inconclusive, the sentiments of empathy with communities struggling with the rapidly shifting terrain of mandate colonialism are not in doubt. What seems clear is that although economic life during World War II was complex and frustrating, the capacity of the Ewe to express views politically and publicly was deeply constrained by wartime exigencies.<sup>27</sup> World War II was a crucial turning point in Ewe nationalism, as will become clearer when we examine the *Guide du Togo*, but nationalism “constituted a project and not a description of the world as it actually existed.”<sup>28</sup>

The post-1945 political trajectory of Ewe nationalism, and its farthest-reaching form, the Ewe Reunification Movement, have been documented and critically appraised. For the purpose of this chapter, then, I will continue with a thumbnail sketch of the developments and characters that provide the wider context for understanding the significance of Jonathon Savi de Tové’s *Guide du Togo*. In British Eweland, including the Anlo and Peki territories in the Gold Coast and northern Ewe around Ho and Kpandu in the mandated territory, Ewe unification sentiments first received support in print from Chapman and Amu’s *Ewe News-Letter*, published from 1945. Its first issue boldly proclaimed:

The time has come for us to make a careful study of our problems and look ahead into the future. Today, Eweland is divided into a western zone under British rule, and an eastern zone under French rule. Experience and the march of events have taught us that we must work for the eventual unification of the whole of Eweland. We feel the effects of the partition of our people but the colonial powers hold the key to the problem. For our part however, it is essential that we should achieve without delay, mutual trust and co-operation within each state and among the various Ewe states.<sup>29</sup>

This remarkable and complex passage conveys the dual sense that Eweland was united in its desire to undo the effects of colonialism but historically and traditionally never a single constitutive unit. In 1946, Chapman, representing the newly formed anglophone Ewe Unionist Association, sent a resolution to the United Nations Trusteeship Council. In the same year, he sought to establish the association's presence in French Togoland. Members of the many Ewe-focused organizations—the Ewe Central Committee, the Ewe Working Committee, the Ewe Benevolent Association, the Ewe Speaking Catholic Union, the Ewe Speaking Society, the Ewe Charity Union and the Ewe Central Fund—met together in Accra on June 9, 1946, and formed the All Ewe Conference.<sup>30</sup>

In French Togoland, the first evidence of Ewe unificationist actions is the April 1946 formation of the *Comité de l'Unité Togolaise* (CUT), led by Augustino de Souza, Sylvanus Olympio, and Jonathon Savi de Tové. The CUT joined the AEC and participated in the Accra meeting. The AEC adopted a nonviolent, diplomatic approach toward achieving its goal of a reunited Ewe community within a merger of the Gold Coast and Togoland mandates. It dispatched Olympio to the UN meeting at Lake Success, New York, for example, and submitted numerous petitions to the Trusteeship Council.<sup>31</sup> Subsequent meetings of the AEC took place in Lomé and Kpalimé in 1948, where as many as eight thousand participated.

The Togoland Union (TU), an organization that from 1948 lobbied for the reunification of the two Togoland mandates and the exclusion of the Gold Coast, immediately challenged the primacy of the AEC. In an interesting parallel to the history of Asante nationalism, an important constituency of the TU was the "Youngmen" groups that mobilized throughout the periurban areas around Ho, Kpandu, and other important market towns, constituencies that struggled against the gerontocratic leadership of chiefs.<sup>32</sup> Teachers and lower-level clerks, a disgruntled periurban community examined by Collier, were another constituency of importance.<sup>33</sup> But many chiefs were also involved, and the Natural Rulers Association, so significant in the earlier Bankoe-Dome dispute, reformed to protect the interests of chiefs who felt imperiled by the closer administrative union between British Togoland and the Gold Coast.<sup>34</sup> The French Togoland Ewe community, however, seems more or less absent from the TU. In 1950, members of the TU appeared alongside the AEC leader Olympio before the Trusteeship Council.

Political liberalization, first in the Gold Coast and then in French Togoland, is at the root of the failure of Ewe unification to get off the ground. By 1950, the British regime extended political participation in Accra to British Togoland. This weakened the claim by the AEC and TU that Ewe communities were not adequately represented in the development of the Gold Coast

and Togoland, while simultaneously further entwining the future of the two territories. The Convention People's Party (CPP) began campaigning in British Togoland. The newly convened Togoland Congress (TC)—composed of chiefs, a rump of the TU, and the Togoland National Farmers Union—boycotted these elections, enabling rival TU members to win the new seats. They promptly joined the CPP and Nkrumah's government, with profound implications for the future of the independent Republic of Ghana. Nugent sums up this transition simply: the "successful dyarchy between CPP and the British [government] was built upon the mutual trust that arose out of their working alliance in Togoland."<sup>35</sup>

In French Togoland, on the other hand, Olympio and the CUT had to adjust to the rapidly shifting terms of both French *and* British colonialism.<sup>36</sup> From the Joint Anglo-French Memorandum of 1947, which listed numerous objections to Olympio and Chapman's agenda, to the intransigent Joint Togoland Councils (1948–53), the French and British were united in their opposition to the reunificationist goals of the AEC.<sup>37</sup> The size and significance of the Ewe population diminished when the French mischievously separated Watchi, Mina, Anlo, and Guin from Ewe and thenceforward referred to them as separate "tribes."<sup>38</sup> The number of Ewe living in French Togo was revised downward each subsequent year until 1955, until it accounted for less than half the 1945 figure.<sup>39</sup> While arresting and detaining members of the CUT for subversive activities and seizing written materials and destroying offices, the French supported the establishment of a rival Togo-wide political party, the Parti Togolais du Progrès (PTP) of Nicolas Grunitzky, modeled on the TU in British Togoland. Whereas the CUT was permitted to run in elections for the representative council and for the French Union (it won almost all seats in 1946 and both seats in the French Assembly and the Senate), the AEC was treated as a foreign and subversive organization, its Gold Coast and British Togoland membership was prohibited from entering French Togo, and Gold Coast newspapers were banned. As in British Togoland, exclaiming "*Ablodé!*" (freedom) often resulted in arrest. The beleaguered CUT was further weakened when its radical youth wing, Juvento, broke off in an effort to rejuvenate the Ewe reunification campaign.

Among the most important casualties of this repressive period was the *Guide du Togo*.<sup>40</sup> By supporting inclusion within the French Union, Grunitzky's PTP aligned itself with the French administration. And by 1952, with the decline of the AEC and the rise of the CPP in the Gold Coast, the CUT had to recast itself as a Togo-wide party with an independent, single French Togoland territory as its primary goal. For the next six years Olympio and the CUT struggled to overcome French opposition as well as the conservative PTP and its sister party the Union des Chefs et des Populations du Nord (UCPN) (see fig. 6.1).

# LE GUIDE DU TOGO

*L'important est d'agir,  
le reste est une affaire  
de temps.*

JOURNAL D'EDUCATION POLITIQUE  
ET D'INFORMATION  
BI MENSUEL (FONDE EN 1931)

*Our strength is the  
People whom it is our  
duty to serve.*

Directeur : J. SAVI DE TOVE, LOME (Togo), A.O.F., 44, rue d'Amoutivé ou 2, av. Georges-Clemenceau, Vincennes (S), France

## Renouvellement de la première Assemblée représentative



du  
TOGO

Photo prise à l'issue du vin d'honneur de clôture organisé par la première Assemblée représentative du Togo à Lomé, le 8 décembre 1951. On y remarque Monsieur le Commissaire de la République au Togo, entouré des délégués sortants et d'un grand nombre d'invités, Européens et Africains.

Lire nos informations en page 2.

## PARTICIPATION DIRECTE DES TOGOLAIS aux travaux du conseil de tutelle

De plus en plus, les Togolais s'intéressent aux travaux des Nations Unies qui veillent, avec une continuité de vue remarquable, à ce que les populations placées provisoirement sous tutelle soient amenées, progressivement, par les voies les plus rapides, vers la capacité de s'administrer elles-mêmes ou l'indépendance, conformément aux dispositions de l'article 76 B de la Charte des Nations Unies fixant les fins essentielles du régime de tutelle.

C'est ainsi que lors de sa sixième session, l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies a adopté, dans sa troisième résolution, un ensemble de mesures tendant à donner aux habitants des pays placés sous tutelle la possibilité de participer directement aux travaux de l'O.N.U. et des institutions spécialisées, dans le but de favoriser le progrès des habitants vers une situation d'égalité avec les Etats membres des Nations Unies.

Cette résolution rappelle, fort à propos, que les statuts de ces

taînes des institutions spécialisées et des commissions régionales des Nations Unies contiennent des dispositions spéciales permettant, sur la proposition de l'Etat membre chargé de l'administration des territoires sous tutelle, d'admettre, comme membres associés de ces institutions et commissions, des territoires sous tutelle.

Il y a lieu de relever, en passant, que l'autorité administrante s'est bien gardée, jusqu'à ce jour, d'appliquer cette dernière disposition en proposant l'admission de tel ou tel habitant autochtone du Togo en qualité de membre associé aux travaux des Nations Unies. Elle a préféré s'en tenir aux formules évasives : Quand il sera jugé utile ! En temps opportun ! Or, la meilleure façon de former nos futurs administrateurs et nos futurs chefs de service autochtones est de les mettre en face de leurs responsabilités. Sur le plan administratif et technique, certains Togo-

(SUITE PAGE 3)

Figure 6.1: 1952 edition of *Le Guide du Togo* featuring Sylvanus Olympio (in white headdress) and Nicholas Grunitzky (in dark jacket). Reproduced from the author's private collection, and courtesy of Jean-Lucien Savi de Tové.



The *Guide* was reborn in 1956 with the title *L'Unité Togolaise* and a new editorial committee. A UN investigation supported the CUT's and Juvento's complaints, but Olympio succeeded in regaining the upper hand only in 1958.<sup>41</sup> *L'Unité Togolaise* lasted until mid-1960.

### The Press in Periurban Eweland

Although Raymond Guillaneuf's remarkable survey of the press in colonial Togoland reveals the strong ties binding Eweland and the written medium, it does not address the issues of nationality or ethnicity directly. Although some newspapers of the later colonial period (1952–60) were infrequently available beyond Eweland, the one map in his data collection, a simple hand-drawn map of the Togoland mandates with Eweland marked clearly, is no coincidence.<sup>42</sup> The vast majority of newsprint was directed at the large, mobile southern Ewe-speaking community. And although the *Guide du Togo* was exceptional in many ways, it was also part of a community of publications, one that believed in personhood, rights, nationality, ethnicity, and status. Because this community was large and prolific and because it has been more or less completely ignored by modern scholarship, a fuller comprehension of the *Guide* requires that we have a sense of the dimensions and self-professed purposes of the press in general.

Between 1890 and 1965, at least seventy-one separate publications came and went in colonial Togoland. This figure, based partly on Guillaneuf's catalogue, can be broken down into ten journals of an official or semiofficial character, thirty-seven papers or bulletins devoted to politics, twelve focusing on religious matters, six published by unions of one kind or another, and three others. (One devoted to a school, another to games, and the third was published by a foreign embassy.) With occasional exceptions, all these journals were published in Lomé or in neighboring Dahomey. Before World War II, printing presses operated in both the Catholic and Protestant mission headquarters, and private presses were run by prominent merchants and commercial agents, including J. A. de Souza and G. O. Henry in Porto-Novo, Paulin de Souza, and the Imprimerie Nicoué in Cotonou, all in Dahomey.<sup>43</sup> Running a press was very expensive, and Marie-Antoinette Adissoda notes that "journalistes improvisés" developed unique ways of financing the cost of a run of paper.<sup>44</sup> Sometimes they sought investors, subscribers, and underwriters. At other times single runs were funded by, what might best be described as, passing around the hat. Editors wrote to the government for subventions. Vicent Moreira Pinto's request for assistance with his *Presse Porto-Novienne* was denied because he was an "extremist."<sup>45</sup> Other papers in Dahomey, such as the *Sûpreme Sagasse*, were supported with secret government funds.<sup>46</sup> The government in Dahomey, which also administered Togo between 1934 and 1938, monitored and harassed the press and its sources of



funding.<sup>47</sup> After the war, independent presses proliferated in Lomé, and autonomy from Dahomey deepened. J. A. de Souza, F. Zupitza, and Jonathon Savi de Tové opened new presses. Two others, the *Imprimerie Moderne du Togo* and the *Imprimerie Abuluwaku*, specialized in literature and Ewe publications, respectively. Guillauneuf notes that printers seemed "indifferent" to the political orientation of the journals they printed, and many published political material from opposing parties simultaneously.<sup>48</sup>

Reconstructing a detailed history of the press in Togo is very difficult because of several intractable problems. When Guillauneuf was in Lomé in the early 1960s, he was able to obtain access to collections in the Togolese National Library as well as numerous private collections held by individuals active in religious and political movements. Even with these extensive resources, coupled with materials preserved in archives and libraries in Dakar and Paris, fathoming the origins and termination of specific publications was next to impossible. By the time I examined collections in Lomé, Paris, Geneva, Aix-en-Provence, and elsewhere at the turn of the twenty-first century, the difficulties were even greater. Guillauneuf discerned three "grand periods" in the history of the press: 1911–40, which he called the beginnings of a Togolese press; 1943–58, which was characterized by the role of the press in the nationalist struggle; and 1958–66, the period of nationalist victory and the decline or streamlining of the press. His approach has been emulated elsewhere. For the purposes of this chapter his division works quite well and is worth pursuing.<sup>49</sup>

The birth of a modern press in Togo begins with the aggressive proselytizing activities of the Roman Catholic Fathers of the Divine Word, Styler Mission, who arrived in the mid-1890s. The first recorded issue of *Mia Hôlô* ("Our Friend" or "Our Soulful Friend") allegedly predates 1894.<sup>50</sup> Guillauneuf examined only texts from 1911 onward, however. By this period the Catholic mission had eclipsed the Protestant Bremen mission as the largest force in both the spiritual and educational domains. After the departure of Governor Graf von Zech, the regime set about cementing his *Deutschtum* reforms and divided the German colony into spheres of influence between the two main religious forces. The existence of *Mia Hôlô*, published in Ewe with articles in German, underscores how the language of education initiative launched by von Zech in 1904 unintentionally buttressed the role of Ewe in education and proselytization.<sup>51</sup> The journal was edited by Father Nikolaus Schönig, and featured numerous articles translated into Ewe by Heinrich Aidam, as well as articles by Ewe lay clergy. After the collapse of the German regime, *Mia Hôlô* resumed publication, this time in English and in French. Between 1923 and 1939, the influential Monsignor Jean-Marie Cessou (see chapter 4) and others revived the journal, and increasingly Ewe men took center stage in publication and authorship. By 1947 two Ewe priests, Father Henry Kwakumé and Father Jean Gbikpi, served as directors. Kwakumé was

a prominent member of the growing Ewe nationalist community and the author of an early *History of Eweland*. Notwithstanding this cautious changing of the guard, *Mia Hólô* remained steadfastly committed to proselytization and steered clear of political activity.

As I mentioned earlier, the French were quick to expand official publication soon after assuming control of the mandate territory. Although the previous regime had published an official *Handbuch*, it was edited and printed in Berlin and shipped along with other publications to Lomé, arriving many months, if not years, out of date. The administration of Bonnecarrère, like that of neighboring Dahomey, appreciated the value of rapid dissemination of information and published its bimonthly *Journal Officiel* (from 1920) and the *Bulletin de la Chambre de Commerce du Togo* (from 1923) in Lomé. Only the government's *Rapport Annuel* (1924–39, 1948–57), directed at the League of Nations and subsequently at the United Nations in Geneva, and the short-lived *Annuaire Statistique de l'Afrique Occidentale Française et du Territoire du Togo Placé sous Mandat de la France* (1934–38), which corresponded roughly with the period of administrative union between Togo and Dahomey, were published outside of Togo.

If exclusively religious and administrative publications characterized the 1920s in Lomé, the 1930s witnessed the birth of what might be described as the “free press,” or at least a press with a political conscience. Emulating the explosion in indigenous publication in the Gold Coast, Nigeria, Senegal, and Dahomey in the 1920s, Lomé journalists created a sequence of political journals in a climate experiencing cautious liberalization as a consequence of the adoption of the law of July 29, 1881 concerning the press.<sup>52</sup> The first of these was the *Éveil Togolais* (founded 1931 by Togo and Benin's most famous novelist and poet Félix Couchoro), followed shortly after by the *Courrier du Golfe du Bénin* (1932) and the *Cri du Togo* (1934), “the first political newspapers in Togo.”<sup>53</sup> Although each of these publications was at times deeply critical of the French regime, only the latter two incurred the wrath of the government.<sup>54</sup> Indeed the frequent changes in name and staff suggest a combative stance against the determination of various administrators, most notably Governor de Guise, to shut down operations. The editor of the *Cri du Togo*, Antonio d'Almeida, and of the *Courrier du Golfe du Bénin*, Blaise Kuassi, were swiftly arrested in Dahomey and sentenced to long prison terms. Indeed, Kuassi was frequently arrested on spurious grounds, and on at least one occasion Octaviano Olympio bailed him out of prison.<sup>55</sup> By modern standards some of the journalism was only mildly provocative, but references to the “excesses of colonization” could hardly go unanswered. To be sure, one of the methods of combating negative journalism was to produce yet more information, and in this tense climate was born the *Guide du Togo*.

If the newspapers of this period seem to have had a strong political flavor, it was a flavor very much determined by the conflicts of the epoch,

many of which have been examined earlier in this book. Joseph Lawson, a member of the ruling family of Aného, owned the *Éveil Togolais* (later the *Éveil Togo-Dahoméén*), and he used it to promote the position of Frederick Body Lawson V and his dynasty. In 1932 the *Éveil Togolais* proclaimed, “[W]e have confidence in France. The native crowds are on the march toward a better living, toward progress, towards civilization. The leaders of this expedition are the colonizers.” In 1934 it published editorials “rejecting most forcefully the inevitability of the return of Germany,” and it subsequently accused the former colonial powers of being “irrevocable partisans.” France, on the other hand, was lauded for its commitment to human rights. After all, France abolished the slave trade and “created” such individuals as Blaise Daigne. In spite of its generally pro-French stance, Couchoro granted no mercy to the detested du Guise. After he was forced to resign his post in the wake of the violence of 1933 and return to France, the editor wryly declaimed: “Monsieur du Guise spent twelve months in Togo. The result we know all too well—twelve cadavers!”

By contrast, the *Courrier du Golfe du Bénin* (also known as *Idéal et Réalité* and *Quinzaine Dahoméenne*) represented the voice of the vanquished Adjigo clan under the leadership of Blaise Kuassi and François de Souza.<sup>56</sup> Though the *Courrier* was not necessarily pro-German, the Lawson-Adjigo dispute examined in chapter 2 remained in the minds of many a decade later, still the greatest example of the “nefarious politicking” of Governor Bonnacarrère. The earliest extant volume from 1933, predating the violence of that same January, proclaimed that its editors sought “a correct, friendly, active, loyal and, above all, just collaboration with local government for the improvement of Dahomey and Togo under the tutelage of a generous and peaceful France.” Later editions, however, decried certain French officials as “Negrophobes” and accused them of brutality, prejudice, and calumny. Articles in 1935 about the effect of the depression, taxation, and other economic crises such as the sale of children by parents who could not pay, garnered the attention of the Paris-based LDRMC via its local representatives, and provoked the governor-general in Dakar to issue a warning about administrators who overstepped the rules of the *indigénat*.<sup>57</sup> Bizarrely, the journal also reprinted articles from the extreme right-wing French politician François Coty’s *L’Ami du Peuple*.

The *Cri du Togo*, which operated under the subtitle “the defense organ of the general interests of the country” and ran at least until 1935, directly confronted the abuses of the French regime. The first editorial stated that its goal was to “draw attention to and fight the wrongs that take place far too often in the land that undermine the true image of a generous, maternal and just France.” Several editions preserved only in the League of Nations archives in Geneva drew particular attention to the financial impropriety of adminis-

trators. One article noted that “to reestablish budgetary equilibrium, the government has proceeded to begin the process of licensing all indigenous functionaries.” Another complained that French officials “spend their time in cafes.” Other issues discussed included taking hostages for nonpayment of taxes and the taxing of children. One article entitled “Les Droits de l’Homme: vont-ils être enfin respectés aux Colonies” posed a series of questions to Governor Bourguine. And a letter to Antonio d’Almeida, the editor, signed “Jim Crow,” congratulated him on being “the first native born journalist from Togoland.”<sup>58</sup> The paper seems to be tied to another colonial publication, the *Cri des Nègres*, but the exact relationship is unclear.<sup>59</sup>

Many of these papers were powerful but ephemeral, and for several years until 1940 the *Guide* seems to have been the only indigenous publication in Togo. It, too, ceased printing as the realities of war gripped French Togo. Savi de Tové was employed as the head of the civil service from 1941 to 1946 and was unable to work on the paper.<sup>60</sup> The press community in French West Africa remained under the severe information restrictions of the Vichy regime, and the closure of the borders with the Gold Coast and Nigeria must surely have cut off an important source of printing materials.<sup>61</sup> Only the *Journal Officiel* continued publication. In 1943, on the heels of de Gaulle’s resurgent Free French forces, Acting Governor Albert Mercadier launched the *Togo Français*. From 1945, a revitalized Association des Amitiés Franco-Togolaises, now operating under the title the Comité de l’Unité Togolaise (officially chartered in 1941), looked beyond French Togoland to the tactics of Ewe nationalists in British Togoland and the Gold Coast. The conservative PTP of Nicolas Grunitzky launched the monthly *Progrès* in 1946. And Chapman’s *Ewe News-Letter*, the *Ewe Dispatch* and *Moctabiabia*, among others, provided Savi de Tové with the framework for the relaunched *Guide* in 1947. The federation of trade unions launched its own publication, *Syndicalisme et Profession*, in 1948.

As the extent of political change became increasingly apparent to both the urban and periurban communities, a greater demand for news media resulted in an explosion in publication. Among the important nationalist papers spanning the period 1950–60 were the *Ésperoir du Togo* (1950–?), *Negreta* (1951–59), *Échos du Togo* (1951–53), the *Quotidien* (1951), the *Vigie Togolaise* (1952–59) from Aného, the *Libérateur du Togo* (1953–55), the *Lumière* (1953–55), the *Étandard* (1953–55), *Courriers de Klouto* (1953) from Kpalimé, the *Togoland* (1954–56), the *Phare* (1954–56), *Denyigba-Mia Denyigba* (1954–60) from Lomé and Ghana, the *Muse Togolaise* (1954–58), *Agir* (1954–55), the *National* (1956–59), the *Phare du Togo* (1957), the *Flambeau de la Vérité* (1957–58), the Marxist *Cri du Peuple* (1957), and the *Petit Togolais* (1953–65). The *Unité Togolaise* (1956–60) can be considered a repackaged version of the *Guide*. Newspapers endorsing a more conservative path toward independence and

supporting the Grunitzky's PTP included the *Éveil du Togo* (1953-55), *Japata* (1953-54), the *Flèche* (1955-57), the *Voix du Centre* (1955) from Atakpamé, the *Cloches du Togo* (1955) and *Notre Combat* (1957). One newspaper supported the Mouvement Populaire Togolaise, the *Bloc Togolais* (1954-58). And aside from political papers, there were at least ten new religious publications, five bulletins emanating from unions, and three sports papers.

In Guillaneuf's assessment, a third flourishing of publication began in 1958 with the victory of the nationalists led by Olympio. By this time, however, the *Guide du Togo* was no longer published. The *Unité Togolaise* became the official mouthpiece of the CUT in 1956, and the central conundrum facing the Ewe nationalists had been resolved, albeit not in a manner of their own choosing. A number of new, short-lived publications, many Ewe in focus or language, exist for the period 1958-65. These two important facts mean that extending the survey beyond 1960 and the *Unité Togolaise* would be redundant. What remains to be established, however, before proceeding to the *Guide* and its successor, is a general overview of the political themes in the numerous publications between 1946 and 1960. During this period the political scene was gripped by several important debates, namely the role of chieftaincy, Ewe reunification, the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized, and the expanding role of the international community, especially the United Nations. In their own particular way, each of the papers approached these important questions and helped frame public debate, and the *Guide* and the *Unité* played instrumental roles in this regard.

The first two controversies, the Ewe reunification question and the role of the chieftaincy, are both familiar and need no further explanation at this point. The broader issue of the relationship among France and its "administrés" as well as the increasingly controversial position of the United Nations in the decolonization process are worthy of additional comment. Both feature prominently in the *Guide*. From 1945, the two pivotal political blocs adopted differing views of the path toward independence. The CUT called for "self-government" and deployed the English term following Nkrumah and others, whereas the PTP took the view that the continued presence of France was "indispensable" to the survival of Togo. This division played out in a number of arenas. The CUT championed variously autonomy, self-rule, and independence at political meetings and in the *Guide*, but the PTP journals consistently warned that Nkrumah was becoming too powerful and openly harbored the desire to annex French Togo. All the newspapers reported the goings-on in New York and Geneva. Olympio's appearance before the Trusteeship Council fueled a competition among all political papers about to best report on modernity. For a few brief years the Togolese press basked in international attention, and featured regular updates on UN missions covering speeches by UN members or Togolese politicians, and the pre- and postplebiscite developments in British Togoland.

## Franco-Togolese Amity and the *Guide du Togo*

As Guillauneuf's quotation opening this chapter observed, the *Guide* is unique among the numerous political papers spanning the interwar and postwar periods because it was the sole paper to be published more or less throughout. It covered key events in the political transitions sweeping Eweland. Its leadership was uniquely positioned to observe, critique, and participate in political developments from the mid-1920s until independence. Although the *Guide* was not the official voice of the Cercle des Amitiés Françaises (the *Guide's* founding predated the Cercle), the *Guide's* founders were at once devoted loyalists and inveterate nationalists. They also served on a variety of colonial boards and assemblies, including the Conseils des Notables of Lomé and Aného.<sup>62</sup> Before we embark on a textual analysis of the journal, it is important to get first a sense of the dimensions of the community; its paper; and that paper's contents, format, audience, and style.

The operations of the Cercle des Amitiés Françaises are rather difficult to assess, and few records exist. The most important of those are descriptions of its meetings appearing in the *Guide*.<sup>63</sup> Furthermore, the surrender of France to Germany and the radical shift in attitudes of its African membership over the course of the next decade mean that little attention has been paid to its significance. Like many organizations devoted to fostering a cadre of Westernized elites in French colonies, it comprised prominent local individuals and arranged social, sporting, and cultural events.<sup>64</sup> Again, like many assimilationist communities, many of its African members were métis or, in Togolese parlance, Afro-Brazilian.

In a colonial society in which social cleavages and racial distinctions were intrinsic, the tennis club was an important place for French-Togolese contact. Many of its members had at various times been voted on or off the capital's Conseil des Notables, and the French government and the League of Nations viewed these men as capable of understanding what might be termed "colonial democracy" and political affairs.<sup>65</sup> Others were viewed as playing an important role in mitigating the growth of pan-Africanism and communism in European colonies.<sup>66</sup> Some considered Olympio, for example, "in spirit and heart a Frenchman."<sup>67</sup> His father, however, famously proclaimed in 1926, "I am a full-blooded African."<sup>68</sup> It was in this small community that the *Guide* found an audience. Whether it received government funding, like the Dahomeyan *Sûpreme Sagasse*, may never be known, but the early editions broadcast the paper's close relationship with the French administration as a badge of honor.<sup>69</sup>

Though not a member of the coastal, predominantly Catholic, Afro-Brazilian elite, Jonathon Savi de Tové was without doubt one of Togo's "towering personalities."<sup>70</sup> Born in the small town of Mission Tové, half an hour's drive from Lomé, to an influential family of the Protestant mission



community, he learned German and standardized Ewe after "running away from home" to attend the mission school.<sup>71</sup> He had had a professional life as a law clerk in German Kamerun, and was variously an "interpreter," "spokesperson" and "intermediary."<sup>72</sup> By World War I he was Governor Ebermeyer's personal secretary and followed him to Rio Muni and Fernando Po, and subsequently to the German embassy to the court of King Alfonso in Madrid.<sup>73</sup> After returning from Germany in 1918, he managed to avoid the frustration felt by many suddenly unemployed former German clerks by becoming a language instructor and then the director of the École Protestante (1920–28), where he also worked as Diedrich Westermann's research assistant. While working under the tutelage of Reverend Baeta, he was introduced to his future wife, Miss Kwasi Bruce, a German-born métisse and one of six women brought to Togo in 1922 as deaconesses in the Ewe Presbyterian Church at Baeta's request.

In 1928 Savi de Tové returned to government service as the secretary of Lomé's Conseil des Notables, which included among its members his mentor and best friend, Reverend Baeta.<sup>74</sup> One source suggests he opened his printing press in 1932.<sup>75</sup> Savi de Tové founded the *Guide du Togo* in 1934, shortly after the calamitous events described earlier, which included the sacking of his home. The direction of the paper was orchestrated by a "Committee" presided over by two merchants, L. W. Occanse and Sylvanus Olympio; the physician Pedro Olympio; and Frank Vardon Van-Lare, a United Africa Company agent (like Sylvanus Olympio) and secretary of the Conseil des Notables (like Savi de Tové). Pedro, the "liberal and independent" Octaviano's younger son, was placed under the mentorship of Savi de Tové by his father, who wanted his children to learn "practical things" and wanted to "make his children independent."<sup>76</sup> Other individuals involved included Michel Degboe and Savi de Tové's wife. Perhaps most tellingly, in 1936 he was also appointed head of the Government Press and Information Services by Governor Lucien Montagné.

Savi de Tové's complicated triple role gives some indication of his ambiguous position. Nugent observed that the French regime was weakening in the face of a barrage of criticism from Gold Coast papers such as the *African Morning Post*. He wrote that the government adopted "a conscious effort to cultivate a friendly press at home." The "key to this strategy" he continues, was Savi de Tové, "who was regarded as eminently pliable." The main evidence for this pliability comes from Savi de Tové's switching support from Germany to France over the course of two decades. Nugent accurately refers to the *Guide* as "pursuing a decidedly pro-French line," but it would be difficult to substantiate the subsequent claim that in "their internal correspondence, French officials discussed ways of feeding government propaganda to Savi."<sup>77</sup> Juggling multiple roles, however, seemed to be one of his greatest skills. Of such individuals, we might recall Marks's comment:

It was the weak African intelligentsia—themselves a product of Christianity, colonialism, and the demands the colonial state and mission churches made for literate clerks and functionaries—who first became conscious of themselves as a class on a national stage. Small in number and without the backing of a powerful bourgeoisie, they were both the most ardent believers in the new colonial order and its most vociferous critics.<sup>78</sup>

In 1941 Savi de Tové cofounded the panethnic CUT, a social and political organization that struggled to define itself under Lomé's Vichy regime, in power until 1943.<sup>79</sup> Following the war he was elected to Togo's first assembly. He remained the paper's manager and editor-in-chief until he moved to Paris to become the secretary of the French Union in 1952–53, whereupon it ceased publication. He remained in the assembly until 1963, after which he slowly disappeared from professional life.

If we bear in mind the ambiguous political affiliation of the *Guide*, the journal's efforts at self-description are worthy of note. Extant copies demonstrate that it operated under a number of subtitles, including the following: "A Monthly Journal of General Information," the English title *The Guide of Togoland* (1935–37), and the Ewe title *Togo Kplola*. After the war it was relaunched with the subtitle "A Journal of Political Education and Information," and the English title became the *Togo Leader* (1947–51). Beside specific subtitles, the banners of various editions attempted to describe its remit, and these banners change over time. The earliest copies included the following phrase, attributed to a distinguished African scholar, Professor Aggey: "[C]ooperation is essential for progress regardless of our differences in belief, society or color," and a simpler affirmation, "With France towards Progress!"

After the war, two headers, the first appearing in French and the second in English, indicated a distinct change in tone: "The important thing is to take action; the rest is only a matter of time," and "Our Strength is the People whom it is our duty to serve." The languages employed are themselves interesting. From 1934 until 1937 at least one-tenth of all articles published appeared in English, and another tenth in Ewe; the remainder were in French. From 1938 Ewe publication ceased, and until 1940 publication was exclusively French. From 1947 (the second series), 10 percent of the articles were in French, but again from 1951 until the *Guide's* demise, the French language was used exclusively. This movement back and forth prompted Guillaneuf to conclude that the *Guide* "was read, without doubt, not only in French Togo, but also in British Togo, because of the numerous articles in English."<sup>80</sup> It does not follow, however, that this is the case, because throughout the interwar period English remained the lingua franca of commerce in Lomé, as Guillaneuf himself noted earlier.<sup>81</sup>

Elements of the production standards provide interesting details on the small community of literati active in Lomé. The greater number of articles



were unsigned or attributed to no particular author. However, both François Amorin and Savi de Tové's son, Jean-Lucien, confirmed that the editor and his secretary Arnold Gumodzoe wrote almost all copy.<sup>82</sup> Individual authors are sometimes mentioned, particularly when the *Guide* reprinted material by prominent local individuals, such as Father Henry Kwakumé. François Amorin submitted several articles for consideration, only one of which was printed.<sup>83</sup> The journal was produced in Lomé in several different facilities. The first twenty-eight volumes (until 1936) were printed at a private press owned by J. A. de Souza, which also printed other publications in Lomé and for audiences in Dahomey. One edition was printed at the Protestant Mission. We can only speculate as to why, from volume 30 until volume 69 (1940), the committee moved to the École Professionnelle de la Mission Catholique. The second series was published after World War II, first by J. A. de Souza (1947-48), then by Savi de Tové's own press (1949-51), and finally by the Imprimerie Centrale du Croissant in Paris (the entire final run of 1952). The journal size was similar to that of a modern U.S. tabloid, although this was subject to the paper standards available in Togo at various points. It was sold in shops and on the street, and although the print run of the first series (until 1940) is unknown, by 1947 it was twelve hundred, growing to over two thousand by the end of its lifespan. In the much more competitive environment of the late 1950s, the *Unité* never produced more than a thousand. François Amorin recalled that there could not have been more than five hundred copies of any given issue in circulation in the late 1930s, but that "everyone read it."<sup>84</sup> More important, perhaps, Amorin claimed that the journal was trying to capitalize on the growing community of social and intellectual groups active in Lomé in the 1930s, including the Cosmopolitan Club and the Social and Literary Society, of which he was a member.<sup>85</sup> Its price in 1934 was 1 franc. In 1952 it sold for 20 francs, but pricing differed due the number of pages, which depending on the series and year spanned between two and eight. The *Unité* always cost fifteen francs and every edition was four pages.

Although it is difficult to determine any specific pattern or logic to the page length of the journal, there are clearly two series—an interwar (1934-40) and a postwar (1947-52)—and several distinct forms of journalism. The *Unité* (1956-60), which could be considered a third series, was more consistent in language and substance.

Guillaneuf discerned four or five types of journalese in the *Guide*: political and social life commentary; news and events; studies and ethnographies; sports; and finally advertising and photography. The second series had an additional focus on scandals and malfeasance, while the sports column disappeared. Between 1934 and 1940, political and social life occupied 20 percent of the text. Certain phrases in the *Guide* demonstrate that it sought to establish itself as a guiding light in the development of Togo: "to accelerate the evolution of Togo toward civilization, as its editors are partisans convinced of

the brilliance of European civilization.” It aligned itself closely with France, and asserted “from the first, a program of loyalty to the mandate power of Togo.” Furthermore, it praised France for having “admitted Blacks into its Parliament and its Council of Ministers,” part of a wider program of “civilizing work” (*oeuvre civilisatrice*). The other main political statement repeated time and time again was antipathy toward the pro-German sentiments of certain Togolese.

In spite of this apparently collaborative tone, the *Guide* displayed subtly transgressive, if not progressive, sentiments about colonial rule. It repeatedly called for a “correct collaboration” that would include Africans in the development of public affairs. It professed entitlement to pronounce the desires of the Togolese people, namely the development of education, the reform of the judicial system modeled on the declaration of 1789, and a contributive role in the emerging civilization. When not waxing lyrical about modernity and progress, the *Guide* focused on the achievements of particular individuals; the opening of schools, hospitals, and clinics; and festivals, births, marriages, and deaths. Occasionally it published statistical data on commercial traffic in Togo and notes on the railways. Articles highlighted Togolese customs and traditions; notes on the history, geography, and cultures of the region; football matches; and specials on new developments in administration characteristic of the 1930s. Sporadic advertising covered clothing, tailoring, and hardware, among other consumer goods. It is unclear whether it was actively censored, but extant copies were stamped and signed by a member of the French administration in Lomé.

With the second series (1947–52), the *Guide*, while conforming to a similar division in space and writing styles, became an “outspokenly nationalist” publication.<sup>86</sup> Indeed, it appears so different in tone that Amenumey seemed to indicate that he considered it a new paper when he wrote, “[T]he paper did for French Togoland what the *Ewe Newsletter* [*sic*] did for all three sections [of Eweland].”<sup>87</sup> And in Nugent’s view Chapman, Amu, and others from the *Ewe News-Letter* set out to “co-ordinate their campaign” with Savi de Tové.<sup>88</sup> The relaunched *Guide* determined to build on the concessions in public and private enterprises advocated by the Brazzaville Conference.<sup>89</sup> The first edition of the new series announced its intention to “inform, enlighten and guide public opinion; to demand for the Togolese people a forthright and realistic political climate, one of well-being and respect of human rights, fundamental liberties and local traditions; and to help push Togo toward ‘self-government’ [in English].” Later editions denounced the border dividing Eweland, publicized a “Constitution for Eweland,” called for the reunification of British and French Togoland, and from 1949 advocated “independence.” The *Guide* argued against any attempts to revisit the failed merger between Togo and the French West Africa, as was proposed at the Brazzaville Conference.<sup>90</sup> With an anti-European and anti-Western tone, it noted in 1949 that

"the European is always attached to imposing his Western conceptions on autochthonous collectivities without permitting the latter to evolve in a manner which they themselves have chosen or freely accepted." Certain Europeans (i.e., Frenchmen) "exhibit a vain complex of superiority vis-à-vis their subjects." The *Guide's* editor-in-chief, clearly frustrated at the 1951 electoral advances of his conservative opponent Grunitzky, decried French meddling and fraud in the elections. Notwithstanding the increasing anti-French rhetoric in the 1950s, a 1952 edition explained that the the *Guide* was "not opposed to France, but only to those bad Frenchmen" who schemed but were to afraid to show "their real face."

As the United Nations became increasingly involved in negotiating the changes in British and French Togoland in the early 1950s, the *Guide* demonstrated what seems to be in hindsight a naïve faith in that organization's capacity to withstand colonial pressures. The last editions seem to be addressed to an imaginary international readership. As the significance of Olympio and the CUT's failure to attain power in the early 1950s sank in, the *Guide* turned to detailing specific instances of malfeasance, immorality, and abuse. It decried the state of roads and hospitals, mocked specific teachers who allegedly impregnated their students, and named individual officials suspected of theft or embezzlement. It continued to publish information about important personalities, ceremonies, and events. It also devoted space to history and culture, artistic events, numerous photographs, and considerable advertising, including the Paris-based review *Présence Africaine*.

Finally, it is worth briefly exploring the contents and form of the *Unité Togolaise*, which in many regards can be considered a third series. The *Unité* was the official organ of the Comité de l'Unité Togolaise from May 1956 to at least February 1960, although existing records are scattered. Among its several editors was a nephew of Savi de Tové, Komlavi E. Sanvee, and it was published in a building close to the family residence. Because it was the party paper, its stated goal was to "defend the rights and realize the goals as defined in the Trusteeship Accord." With the announcement of the date of the British Togoland plebiscite, the CUT threw its full political efforts behind mobilizing the party and the periurban community. The paper took a great interest in the activities of the party leadership and of the French administration. It covered stories of abuse and atrocities, particularly the massacres in Vogan during the elections. The decisive vote in northern British Togoland to remain part of the Gold Coast and ultimately of Ghana delivered the fundamental lesson of the electoral process: "tribes" do not choose to be divided, but prefer to remain united.

Although the *Unité* continued in a provocative political line throughout its nearly four-year run, it balanced politics with more banal national and international goings-on. And when Olympio and the CUT assumed power in 1958, it became the de facto "journal officiel" of Togo. While delivering

the message of the party to the party faithful, it was also dutifully aware that it was only one of several dozen papers in existence during this period and had to maintain a broader appeal. In form and structure, if not entirely in tone, it appears to be an impeccable mimic of the *Guide*. Perhaps the most obvious sign of this was its inability to balance Ewe stories and sentiment with Togo-wide and non-Ewe focused text. But to some degree this reflects the problematic membership of the CUT, rather than simply the editorship of the paper itself. From 1959 the editors attempted to reflect better the length and breadth of Togo in text and imagery, and in particular the good works of government. And although Savi de Tové the CUT's secretary-general and was frequently based in Paris during this period, his articles and opinions were scattered throughout the pages of the paper until it folded in 1960.

### Discourses on Nation, People, and Culture in the *Guide* and the *Unité* (1934–60)

The *Guide* and the *Unité* clearly evidence ideas in formation of Ewe and Togolese nationhood. Numerous articles, letters, and commentaries refer to concepts of *evegbe*, ideas of nationality and community membership, and shifting conceptions of the same. The entire archive of the papers still in existence covers some five hundred and sixty pages and is, like the life of Savi de Tové, worthy of a book-length study. Thus, in this final section, I survey some of the more frequent political themes that appeared and how the presentation of these themes changed over time. Between 1935 and 1940, the three most important and recurring themes were the history and culture of the Ewe "race"; the colonial policies and ideology of France, Germany, and Britain; and colonial self-governance, progress, and development.

The history and culture of the Ewe people receives considerable coverage in both runs of the paper. The early editions printed a six-part series, "Notes on the Ewe Peoples," by Reverend Henry Kwakumé.<sup>91</sup> This series consisted of a collection of homogenized oral histories of the Ewe retold with embellishments. Other consciously Ewe narratives include articles about the Yeke Yeke celebrations in Aného, Ewe naming traditions, Ewe proverbs, and Ewe-language education.<sup>92</sup> Not all discussion was uncontroversial, particularly with respect to Aného and the Adjigo-Lawson conflict.<sup>93</sup> From December 1935 the editorship decided to respond to "numerous objections by the public" and publish in Ewe.<sup>94</sup> And the *Guide* picked up the story of Tchékpo-Dévé, if only to underscore its aberrance.<sup>95</sup>

The question of the relative benefit of European colonization, rather unsurprisingly, turned around the Franco-German tension of the mid- to late 1930s. Discussion of the mandate status of Togo was rare.<sup>96</sup> Although the Bund did not publish a paper, *Le Guide* advocated a strongly pro-France, anti-

Germany position.<sup>97</sup> Articles by "Pluto" defended France's attitude to Africans and citizenship.<sup>98</sup> It reprinted articles on similar topics from the *Dépêche Coloniale*—the mouthpiece of the Ministry of Colonies—the *Europe Nouvelle*, *Paris-Dakar* and the *Vie Française*.<sup>99</sup> The paper's management made little effort to conceal its close relationship with the French administration, even going so far as to print an article about what was essentially a planning meeting with Governor Montagné in preparation for 1937.<sup>100</sup> It constantly attacked the position of the Bund and its goal of a rapprochement with Germany by reprinting articles from German newspapers and selections from *Mein Kampf*.<sup>101</sup> The 1935 trip to Lagos of the last German governor, the Duke of Mecklenburg, garnered particular attention.<sup>102</sup> In 1938, an open letter from chiefs and merchants to the Minister of Colonies proclaimed deep antipathy to Germany and Nazism, and from 1939 unrepentantly pro-French sentiment burst forth.<sup>103</sup> More extreme examples of German racism were likewise broadcast.<sup>104</sup> Indeed, as tensions escalated the editors pushed their audience to embrace anti-German sentiment as a pan-African phenomenon.<sup>105</sup> Expressions of what can only be described as pro-French sentiment or loyalism appear regularly, especially any news of French honors bestowed on individuals or meetings of sister organizations of larger French networks, such as the Scouts (*Éclaireurs*), the naming of roads after Frenchmen, or celebrations of French national holidays.<sup>106</sup>

The progress of Togo toward development and modernity, of course, transcended both ethnic networks and colonial rivalries. The *Guide* regularly announced new programs and initiatives that advanced the amelioration of all Togolese, such as health and education.<sup>107</sup> Political units and organizations, visits of French dignitaries, and the administration of justice were regularly featured.<sup>108</sup> The *Guide* publicly endorsed the French program for reorganizing the chieftaincy in a hierarchical way, as explained in chapter 2, as "progress," and interpreted the philosophy of location administration.<sup>109</sup> The development of savings and loans organizations (*Sociétés des Prévoyance*), also discussed in chapter 2, received substantial coverage in several issues.<sup>110</sup> Water supply and provision received several mentions.<sup>111</sup> Much of the reportage on the conditions in the territory seemed to be lifted directly from government publications.<sup>112</sup> Other articles simply informed the readership of important changes in taxation and licensing; newly created infrastructure, such as buildings, roads, and railways; air services; and improvements in exports.<sup>113</sup>

In summary, with only minor exceptions, between 1935 and 1940 the *Guide du Togo* was almost exclusively southern and Ewe in focus.<sup>114</sup> The northernmost town to receive mention in a separate column was Atakpamé. When Togo-wide issues surfaced, they were usually mentioned in the context of a discussion of French-Togolese collaboration.<sup>115</sup> When "Togolese" customs were reported on, they were always southern, Ewe, and Mina customs.<sup>116</sup>

If non-Ewe or southern communities, such as Muslims, received coverage, it was because they had appeared in Lomé or ventured into the south.<sup>117</sup>

The paper recommenced in 1947, but no copies prior to January 1948 remain. The new series displayed relatively little continuity with the prewar editions. Rather, it took a markedly international tone, adopted an overtly political identity, and sought to become a far more commercially viable enterprise. In many regards, the second series might be considered a new journal. But because its structure and editorship remained unchanged, the developments are more accurately described as an expression of the developing political identity of Savi de Tové, an archetype intermediary figure. If the first series was an exclusively southern and Ewe affair, the second series stepped out of Eweland and into the rapidly shifting terrain of postwar decolonization. It no longer portrayed France in the best possible light, and not infrequently made unflattering comparisons with the more “advanced” peoples of the Gold Coast and British Togoland. One clearly discernible continuity, however, was the confidence and self-assurance the paper continued to display as it expounded on regional and world affairs. The journal posited concrete concepts of what constituted an Ewe nation. It attempted to frame the “Ewe question” as a metaphor for African decolonization as a whole, yet it repeatedly called for the independence of Togo. And to cement its claim to speak for an entire community, it began to pay greater attention to periurban goings-on and events beyond Eweland.

On the international front, the *Guide* considered itself to be in a dialogue with the United Nations, but the vocabulary deployed reveals the slippage between ethnic and territorial nationalism.<sup>118</sup> Articles appearing over a number of years were based on petitions, letters, and reports submitted by Ewe nationalist groups to the UN and other organizations. The paper narrated the visit of international dignitaries and editorialized on the legacy of colonial borders.<sup>119</sup> Although many articles reproduced UN documents verbatim, the editors also tried to marshal support for Ewe unification from an extensive and varied community of individuals.<sup>120</sup> Togo’s and Eweland’s “problems” were contextualized with reference to other international developments, but were also distinguished from them.<sup>121</sup>

On the domestic level, many of the concerns of the earlier series were revisited. Issues such as chieftaincy and taxation, common to all anticolonial campaigners, frequently surfaced in articles and editorials.<sup>122</sup> A series of articles on the effect of colonialism on traditional chiefly office, particularly the weakening of the role and influence of chiefs in political life, posited the view that the chief “represents the soul of the Togolese people” and was the source of “force, discipline and personal integrity.”<sup>123</sup> But unlike the previous series, the examples were not exclusively from Ewe *dukwo*.<sup>124</sup> The stories reflect both the readership of the *Guide* and the focus of the authorship of the journal. Other stories, such as an article referring to Ewe as a “vehicular



language" used as far north as the Moba territory in Upper Volta (Burkina Faso), reflect little more than wishful thinking, as the CUT and the *Guide* struggled to reposition themselves as representing the views of all Togolese in the face of the challenge posed by the PTP.<sup>125</sup>

Subjects that might broadly be considered development issues offered greater opportunity for information about the Togo-wide population. Improvement in representation and participation in government, such as the Representative Assembly of the French Union, in which Savi de Tové served in the capacity of "conseiller," were featured prominently.<sup>126</sup> But dubiously democratic maneuvers, such as the Consultative Commission, were frowned on.<sup>127</sup> Education, scholarships, and travel abroad, for example, although surely reflections of privilege, were open to all Togolese subjects.<sup>128</sup> Changes in health services, sanitation, roads, hotels, railways, and aviation were covered.<sup>129</sup> But the tone was less patient and accommodating than that of the previous series; the editor not infrequently resorted to prodding.<sup>130</sup> The paper positioned itself as a promoter of human rights and the observance of law.<sup>131</sup> Moreover, the *Guide* also "exposed" scandals, such as the brutality in Tsévié and Vogan and maladministration in Aného.<sup>132</sup> Unlike the first series, the monthly round-ups of local news from the "cercles et subdivisions" mentioned places beyond Eweland, such as Sokodé and Mangu.<sup>133</sup>

The political critiques appearing in many issues took a delicately adversarial stance. Exploring the relationship between chieftaincy and "the work of civilizing Europeans," one author explained how earlier European colonizers had maintained the unity of chieftaincies in Togoland, whereas more recently they had divided the "tribes."<sup>134</sup> Elsewhere, the authors exploited positive developments in the Gold Coast and British Togoland to criticize French intransigence.<sup>135</sup> Later issues were deeply critical of France's refusal to acknowledge the depth of ethnic division and electoral malfeasance.<sup>136</sup> Another regular contributor, identified only as "G.T.," proclaimed, "[W]e shall not cease to demand that France, which promised to respect our traditions . . . continue to respect [chiefly] traditions and the legitimate aspirations of the natives."<sup>137</sup> In spite of the rhetorical flourishes, the references to Ewe tribes and the absence of any counterexamples from other regions again underscored the ethnocentric perspective of the editor.

Savi de Tové and his board of directors seemed to be acutely aware that conservative elements in the population, the misnamed "progressives," threatened the agenda of the CUT. He used his paper to poke fun at them as stooges of the French, including rhymes and verse.<sup>138</sup> He reopened old wounds, such as the Adjigo-Lawson dispute.<sup>139</sup> He also enlisted into the CUT a most vibrant and unfathomed new constituency, Togo's youth.<sup>140</sup> The newly adversarial and partisan nature of the second series is further evidenced by the appearance of one or more of the following slogans at the end of most editions:

Join the Comité de l'Unité Togolaise!  
Let's Pool the Energy of All Togolese in the Service of our Country!  
Read *Le Guide du Togo* regularly!

Although ostensibly speaking for Togo, the editors saw no conflict in promoting Ewe ethnonationalism and covering Ewe meetings, such as the 1948 and 1951 Kpalimé and 1950 Lomé conferences.<sup>141</sup> Sometimes the struggle was portrayed as part of an apocryphal tension between the forces of colonialism and independence.<sup>142</sup> The CUT meetings were referred to as “wonderful meetings of the all the tribes of Togo,” but the attendance listed only Ewe chiefs and merchants.<sup>143</sup> At other times, the negative effects of colonialism were interpreted in exclusively Ewe metaphors.<sup>144</sup> Another approach that permitted blurring the lines between Togo and Ewe involved the colonial administration indirectly. In one such instance, the paper manufactured a debate between Father Jacques Bertho and Father Kwakumé as to the historical veracity of claims of a precolonial Ewe polity.<sup>145</sup> In another case, the paper repudiated claims appearing in *France d'Outre-Mer* that the Ewe community merited no special consideration.<sup>146</sup>

The *Guide du Togo*, like its editorial board and the CUT membership, was unable to remedy the disjuncture between exclusively Ewe and broadly Togolese concerns, but it did a remarkable job of conflating the two “decolonial” dilemmas.<sup>147</sup> Reducing the question to simply one of whether or not people in the region supported peace and prosperity was to become the rallying cry for many leaders of postcolonial one-party states; Togo's Eyadéma (and his successor) deployed it to great effect. Because Sylvanus Olympio spoke for Ewe and Togolese when he went before the UN, any international action by him garnered particular attention.<sup>148</sup> But as the tide began to turn against Ewe reunification, the editorials become increasingly histrionic. The paper abandoned all pretense of speaking for Togo above or even on equal footing with Eweland.<sup>149</sup> In February 1951 the problem was in its “final hour”; in June the Gold Coast splinter faction had sealed its deal; and by November the European presence in Africa had become the “enemy of the Ewe people.”<sup>150</sup> Indeed, by 1952, if not earlier, the paper was for all intents and purposes an organ of the CUT and its youth wing, Juvento.<sup>151</sup>

The hiatus between 1952 and 1956 mirrors the earlier break in activity in that Savi de Tové occupied himself with other political and administrative tasks in Lomé and Paris. The new *Unité* emulated the form and design of the *Guide*, but the editorship operated more as a rotating board, with Savi de Tové serving only in an advisory capacity. His businesses advertised frequently in the paper, but the production of the paper was relocated to a different press in town. By 1956 Savi de Tové was heavily involved in legitimizing the CUT's claims to the leadership of Togo's (rather than Eweland's) nascent nationalist



movement. As the official organ of the CUT, the *Unité* occupied a fundamental position in his program, but it was only part of a much wider political role for the doyen of Togo's press. Furthermore, its appearance was intermittent; a 1959 editorial explained that the lead-up to the elections of 1958 had diverted CUT attention from the press.<sup>152</sup>

Most of the articles appearing in the extant editions of the *Unité* from 1956, 1959, and 1960 concern the complex political climate of a country in rapid transition. Its first issue appeared shortly after the December 1955 decision by the UN to permit a plebiscite in British Togoland, subsequently set for May 9, 1956. Its stated "goals" included the "imperious necessity" to inform its readership of the "realities of Togo . . . [which] concern primarily the political, economic and social life of our country."<sup>153</sup> Of the many pressing political issues, the primary goal was the "unification and independence of Togo," declared the editorial of S. B. K. Goobyh.<sup>154</sup> Goobyh affirmed the general dissatisfaction with the international borders imposed by Europeans and assured his readership that the paper would "not hesitate" to criticize those who did not allow the free and democratic expression of opinions. Other articles in its first issue concerned the fairness of a similar plebiscite in French Togo.

In 1958, the CUT and Olympio came to power; it is unfortunate that no issues appeared between 1957 and 1958. Between 1956 and 1960 the office of "director" or editor-in-chief was occupied by at least five individuals, but because all were members of the CUT, the paper maintained its political focus. By 1959, however, the paper was the partisan journal of government. A faintly celebratory tone is discernible in the coverage of the administration's achievement and progress. Articles on education praised those achievements, but cautioned that much was still to be accomplished with regard to this "fundamental exigency of democracy."<sup>155</sup> Furthermore, the tone carefully reframed the debate so that its readership might see the deprivations in Togo not as unique, but rather as similar to the "essential problems of all modern nations."<sup>156</sup> The language of nation building was expanded to incorporate the imagined nation. Sylvanus Olympio and Jonathon Savi de Tové alone were not the "reconstruction team," but rather the team consisted of the opposing forces from the 1958 election, and "you and me, all Togolese today."<sup>157</sup> For the first time, articles written by women appeared.<sup>158</sup> The paper also narrated the expansion of the CUT; the growth of the youth wing, Juvento; and the creation of new regional party divisions, which, after all, were to funnel the state's resources to its constituents.<sup>159</sup> But the *Unité* struggled to deliver news that reflected the multiethnic length and breadth of Togo, and it continued to publish a small section in Ewe, indicating that its distribution must rarely have moved beyond the periurban Ewe communities of the south.<sup>160</sup> Like its predecessor, it never fulfilled its goal to speak for Togo in its entirety.

## The Circulation of Ideas in Periurban Eweland

Between the 1930s and the 1960s, remarkable transformations took place in the political and social spheres of colonial Togo. The way information about these changes circulated throughout Eweland, however, is very difficult to assess. In Eweland, word of mouth and newspapers were both very influential, yet little is known of the extent of newspaper circulation. Newsprint is one of the rare sources of African voice and agency—materials about Africans produced by Africans—from this important period. In Togo and Eweland, Jonathon Savi de Tové and his team attempted to narrate these changes and present a viable vision of community and nation. Although their version of community may not sit comfortably with contemporary scholarship on nationhood and identity, the depth of commitment to a concrete political project and the unusually long lifespan of their paper provide unparalleled insight into the evolution of the political sphere.

Until the liberalization of the press laws in 1952, the *Guide du Togo* was the sole political paper written by Togolese and legally available to Togolese. Its editor, Savi de Tové, was not a journalist by training, but rather an exemplary intermediary and one of a handful of men and the occasional woman who translated, mediated, interpreted, and clerked for colonial authorities. And it was because of this unusual position that Savi de Tové found a new outlet for political and social debate during the most perilous years of French colonial rule in Togo—immediately following the violence of 1933. To focus on whether the French gave financial support to the *Guide du Togo* as they did to papers in Dahomey and elsewhere continues the tired line of questioning that produces the binary of collaborator and resister. The political climate of Eweland in the 1930s was so fraught with tension that it would have been impossible to operate a press without at the very least the acquiescence of the colonial authorities. By positioning itself as a journal of information, it secured for itself a protected space where it was able to narrate, investigate, and grow.

In the historiography of nationalism, print media loom large. Histories of African nationalism, however, have failed to account for the involvement of numerous marginalized constituencies while simultaneously insisting that the nationalism characteristic of the 1940s and fifties operated as a nationwide endeavor. If newspapers emanate only from colonial urban centers, how can historians account for the rural-urban interface and the role of the peri-urban communities in the nationalist endeavor? The defining paradox of nationalist historiography seems to be that it is often only remotely national. Nationalism, however, did resonate with many nonelite communities in a variety of subtle and discrete ways. Viewing nonelite Africans in simple binaries as proletarian or peasant, urban or rural, collaborator and resister conceals their more nuanced identities and actions.

Communications, specifically print media, are a rich source of information about the promotion of coherent ideas of identity and nation. Print media played an integral role both in the formulation of anticolonial sentiments and the dissemination of ideas of nation, ranging from ethnically based imaginary states to self-consciously forward-looking, multiethnic communities. Colonial regimes, beginning with missionary organizations, were also acutely aware of the potential impact of the news media and involved themselves in manufacturing appropriate imagery and metaphor through officially or unofficially sanctioned publications. These forces came together in the 1930s, and Savi de Tové was well positioned to capitalize on the opportunities, both commercial and political, that arose therefrom. The structure of ethnic and territorial nationalism that emerged in periurban Eweland was a consequence of this remarkable combination of circumstances and personalities.

# Epilogue

Sylvanus Olympio defeated Nicolas Grunitzky at the ballot box in 1958 and became prime minister. He supervised decolonization negotiations, and on April 27, 1960, became the first president of the Republic of Togo. Olympio engineered significant constitutional changes, however, and the new constitution, born of referendum, has been described as having all the powers of a U.S. presidency and all the weaknesses of Parliament in the French Fifth Republic.<sup>1</sup> After independence Olympio's political trajectory and technique changed markedly. Authoritarianism and paternalism became the order of the day. His personal political goals clashed with those of the Togolese nation and the population as a whole. The most obvious example of this was the widening gulf between Juvento, the youth wing of the CUT, and the CUT proper. Juvento had established itself as an independent party in 1959 (with its own paper, *Negrata*). After independence, however, Olympio criticized the Juvento leadership as subversive and disloyal and imprisoned many of its most prominent members. Olympio felt altogether in the shadow of Ghana's president, Kwame Nkrumah, and a clash over the integration of Togo within a greater Ghana led to the closing of the Ghana-Togo border. Further examples of Olympio's departure in style include the lack of attention given to northern leaders and northern concerns, the impact of the border closure on Lomé commerce, the pressures of taxation on cocoa producers, and a clash with the Catholic archbishop in Lomé.

The change in personal style in 1961–62 mirrored an intensified drive against all organized political opposition. Leaders of other parties and internal threats were imprisoned for alleged plots, opposition parties were disqualified from standing in elections, and excessively strict electoral laws provided the means for political leverage. This political despotism culminated in 1962 with the creation of a one-party state under which all parties were banned except the CUT. The political terror of 1962 coincided with the first serious financial test of the former French colony's internal economy. Olympio unwisely pushed for a balanced budget. In so doing, he awakened

the hostility of the last few remaining sectors of the administrative hierarchy that had not already declared their opposition to him. Fiscal austerity led to conflict with the colonial veterans' association, which was the means whereby serving officers enhanced their collegial credentials. Seeking better pay and conditions for themselves and their veteran allies, the NCO and officer corps led the assault on the president's private Lomé residence on January 13, 1963. Olympio was killed by a group of soldiers. It is widely acknowledged that the future president, Étienne Gnassingbé Eyadéma, fired the shot that killed Olympio as he attempted to scale the walls of the neighboring United States embassy. After Olympio's death, all imprisoned dissidents were released and political activities resumed. Grunitzky, recalled from exile to assume the presidency, convened a national assembly, although the political situation continued to remain unstable until Eyadéma himself seized power in another coup d'état in 1967. Olympio's memory, albeit jaded by his later activities, remained a common point for all opposition to the Eyadéma dictatorship.

Histories of nationalism in Togo, West Africa, and farther afield rarely account for the involvement of the wider population, yet the experience in Eweland demonstrates the significance of periurban social transformations in the nationalist trajectory. Between 1920 and 1960 several constituencies struggled over the structure and substance of the nationalist message as they navigated a path toward independence. These struggling constituencies were not exclusively elite and Westernized. Indeed, as has become clear from the preceding chapters, many of them were nonelite, periurban, farmers, women, and youths, people with local concerns whose minds and worlds were dominated by localized conflicts.

My goal in writing this book has been to investigate the veracity of the nationalist claim to be national by mapping the extent of involvement of the many constituencies in Eweland in the nationalist enterprise. Like Asante nationalism, Ewe reunification was a failed nationalist project. Its ethnonationalist goals were at loggerheads with the territorial nationalism of individuals such as Nkrumah. But the Ewe ethnonationalists did not simply disappear into the wings when their mission seemed close to collapse. On the contrary, they retooled their nationalist message and became leaders of nation-states that closely resembled the colonial entities they had struggled so vigorously against. Sylvanus Olympio, Jonathon Savi de Tové, Ephraim Amu, Daniel Yawo Chapman, and others sharpened their swords on the whetstone of ethnonationalism, but they were foremost political creatures. The failure of one project only opened the door to new challenges.

These exciting and charismatic personalities monopolized the domestic and international stages of nationalism in the 1940s, fifties, and sixties, and their legacy has monopolized narratives of nationalism until very recently.<sup>2</sup> But if nationalism is to be a truly nationwide endeavor, it needs to demonstrate some understanding of the local and domestic struggles that propelled

its leadership to the positions of authority, to the leadership of the people they claimed to represent. Nationalist historiography overstates the significance of urban and elite power, whereas literature about state, authority, and the invention of tradition gives preference to chieftaincies and their entourages and undervalues the roles of the rural-dwelling population in the development of anticolonialism. This book argues that to recover two concealed narratives—the tensions between village-level social and political cultures, and political movements that operated within the framework of “nation”—it is necessary to reunite the urban and rural experiences of mature, or post-World War I, colonialism as periurban colonialism.

The periurban zone—that region of change and exchange within a short distance of urban centers and incorporating these centers, but simultaneously a world away that comes into being with twentieth-century improvements in transport and communication—focuses attention on small-scale conflict. By shifting attention to the lesser upheavals prior to World War I and particularly during the interwar period, these narratives reshape our historical understanding of the contours of the later nationalist struggle. The existence of an African colonial periurban zone requires several factors: multiple urban and market centers of varying size and pull; the expansion of transportation routes; the expansion of communication routes; an increasingly mobile population that moves between farms and urban occupations and markets; a thinly spread European administration; and a capacity to move within the zone considerable distances in a time frame of several hours and up to one day. After a few decades of colonial presence, formerly remote and isolated Ewe *dukwo* were within striking distance of European colonial officials and the expansive African cadre of the colonial state, a shift that fundamentally transformed the rural colonial experience. By the 1920s and thirties, no part of Eweland could be considered rural, or at least rural in the sense of Africanist literature about rural life and experience. Instead, Ewe men and women were within a colonial sphere of influence that was not so omnipresent as the urban experience, but not so removed as the remote rural hinterlands of many colonies.

This study of periurban colonialism is an attempt to arrive at a more nuanced elaboration of the colonial experience and a more sophisticated explanation of the operational modalities of power.<sup>3</sup> It does not apply uniformly throughout Africa, but Eweland’s experience is certainly emblematic of many communities. The concept of periurban colonialism facilitates a better understanding of agriculturalists’ relationships to their urban markets, as well as urban dwellers’ social and cultural dependence on the rural hinterland—the location of their extended families. Transformations in chieftaincy can be reinterpreted in the light of an invigorated sense of the periurban, hence my case studies of political power in Aného and Lomé, and Tchékpo-Dévé, showed how transformations in periurban chiefly power

compelled certain individuals to seek new avenues to centralize authority. Abandoning the urban-rural binary and infusing nationalist narratives with a new sense of agency made possible by highlighting the periurban zone provides a new account of the failures of Ewe nationalism. Instead of focusing on the inabilities of urban elites, it gives a preeminent place to the social, economic, political and cultural concerns of periurban communities in derailing a coherent nationalist project, wittingly or otherwise. The Bund, which operated in Lomé and Accra, drew its strength from rural communities, thus challenging the urban space as a locus of nationalism. And Jonathon Savi de Tové's *Guide du Togo* attempted to spread a political message, partly to counter the actions of the Bund, and included extensive coverage of the lives of periurban Ewe men and women.

The title of this book—*Locality, Mobility, and "Nation"*—brings into play several social historical approaches to sociopolitical change as a means whereby we might investigate the relationship between the *dukwo* of Eweland and concept of Ewe "nationhood." What drew me to this subject was an interest in the ground-level tension that may or may not lead individuals or groups to become aware or active in larger-scale political affairs, and subsequently how and why they make the choices they do. The term *locality* focused attention on periurban colonialism and the interwoven community ties to periurban Eweland. *Mobility* advanced the significance of population movements for the circulation of ideas and communities. And "*nation*" highlighted the end goal of nationalists and evaluated the structuration and deployment of ethnic and territorial nationalism as it operated in periurban Eweland. My hope is that other scholars will find that this study has resonance throughout colonial Africa and beyond.



# Notes

## Introduction

1. *The New York Times*, December 4, 9, 10, 1947.
2. Quaison-Sackey, *Africa Unbound*, 129–30.
3. The best explanation of spatial analysis is provided by Howard, “Nodes, Networks, Landscapes,” 21–33. The formulation of the “concealed narrative” draws on the “hidden transcripts” elaborated by Scott, *Domination*, 4.
4. I do *not* imply the implausible instability characteristic of the work of the worst doomsayers, such as Kaplan, “The Coming Anarchy.”
5. Some of these developments mirrored those in British Togoland; others did not. For British Togoland (modern-day Ghana), see Lawrance, “*En proie*,” Lawrance, “Bankoe v. Dome,” and Nugent, *Smugglers*.
6. For “proximity” see Howard, “Nodes, Networks, Landscapes,” 31.
7. The most recent work to emphasize the processes of political affiliation is Schmidt, *Gender and Nationalism*.
8. Indeed, “the study of spatial change necessarily integrates the social, material, and perceptual.” Howard, “Nodes, Networks, Landscapes,” 25.
9. The scholarship summarized here is that of Coleman, *Togoland*; Adjavon, *Naissance*; Dyke, *Olympio*; Agbobli, *Olympio*; Kwam, *Un despotisme*; Obioha, *Olympio: A Play*; Olympio, *Quelques discours*; Prouzet, *La république*; Tété-Adjolologo, *Histoire du Togo*, vols. 1 and 2; Wiyao, *13 Janvier 1963*; Yagla, *L’édification*.
10. Indeed, Kate Collier has argued that two distinct interpretations of Ewe reunification ideology—the “sentimentalist” and the “primordialist/instrumentalist”—exist, and that their inadequacies are rooted in their preoccupations with explaining the persistence of the postcolonial nation-state. Collier, “*Ablode*,” 32–37, 102–5.
11. Brown, “Kpandui,” 10.
12. Ward, “Social Organisation,” discusses this “first among equals” framework in relation to classic British structural anthropological models.
13. Important texts pertaining to ethnicity that inform this research include Barth, *Ethnic Groups*; Comaroff, “Of totemism”; Comaroff, “Humanity”; Papstein, “The Political Economy”; Bravman, *Making Ethnic Ways*; Amselle, “Ethnies et espaces”; Eriksen, *Ethnicity*; Moerman, “Who are the Lue?”; and Smith, *State and Nation*. Smith, *Ethnic Origins*, 137, defines the “*ethnie*” rather than “ethnic group” as “named human populations with shared ancestry myths, histories and cultures, having and association with a specific territory and a sense of solidarity.”

14. For nodality see Howard, "Nodes, Networks, Landscapes," 36-46.
15. Under the biographical I would include Davidson, *Blackman's Burden*; Hobsbawm, *Nations*; Hodgkin, *Nationalism*; Young, *Politics*; Geiss, *Pan-African*; Langley, *Pan-Africanism*; Irele, "Négritude"; Marks, *Ambiguities*; Bradford, *Taste*; de Moraes Farias and Barber, *Self-Assertion*. Under the sociohistorical I would include Allman, *Quills*; Schmidt, *Gender and Nationalism*; Berry, "Unsettled Accounts," and Berry, *Chiefs*.
16. Thus, in spite of Franz Fanon's dire predictions for the bourgeois nationalist trajectory, early nationalist historical writing generally did one of two things: either it lauded the ambitions and achievements of individual leaders, or it attempted to connect earlier anticolonial resistance movements to the postwar nationalist struggle as part of a strategy to define the modern African nation state. Fanon, *Dying Colonialism*; July, *African Voice*. See also Davidson, "African Resistance"; and Denoon and Kuper, "Nationalist Historians."
17. The most useful critique is that of Ranger, "Connections."
18. Greene, *Gender*, 16.
19. Hafkin and Bay, *Women in Africa*; Hay and Wright, *African Women*.
20. Tilly, "Retrieving." See summary by Hunt, "Placing African Women's History." Examples include, Smith, *Baba*; Mirza and Strobel, *Three Swahili Women*; Strobel, *Muslim Women*; Wright, *Strategies*.
21. Bozzoli, *Women of Phokeng*; Roberts, "Women's Work"; White, *The Comforts*; Robertson, *Sharing*; Clark, *Onions*; Epprecht, "This matter of women"; Schmidt, *Peasants*.
22. See Hunt, "Gendered Colonialism," for a summary. Examples include Allman and Tashjian, "I Will Not Eat Stone"; James, *Songs*; Byfield, *Bluest Hands*; Shadle, "Girl Cases"; Cooper, *Marriage in Maradi*; McClendon, *Genders*; Hunt, *Colonial Lexicon*. Three anthologies have capably narrated the evolution of the historiography of African women and its relationship with the literature on gender: Imam et al., *Engendering African Social*; Hodgson and McCurdy, "Wicked" Women; Allman et al., *Women in African Colonial Histories*.
23. Lawrance et al., "African Intermediaries," 26.
24. Hafkin and Bay, *Women in Africa*, 1. Early scholarship on masculine subjects that did not adopt masculinity or gender as categories of analysis includes Johnson, *Emergence*; van Onselen, *Studies*; van Onselen, *Chibaro*; Cooper, *On the African Waterfront*.
25. White, "Separating the Men," 3. Indeed, one might be mistaken for thinking the explicit power implications of same-sex relationships received more attention. Issacs and McKindrick, *Male Homosexuality*; Gaudio, "Not Taking Straight"; Murray and Roscoe, *Boy-Wives*; Hoad et al., *Sex and Politics*; Epprecht, *Hungochani*.
26. Echenberg, *Colonial Conscripts*; Lawler, *Soldiers*; Lunn, *Memoirs*; Parsons, *African Rank-and-File*; and Mann, *Native Sons*.
27. The most important in this category include Cohen and Atieno Odhiambo, *Burying SM*; van Onselen, *The Seed*; Fair, *Pastimes and Politics*; and Miescher, *Making Men*.
28. Kirk-Greene, "Thin White Line"; and more recently, Osborn, "Circle of Iron." Three anthologies are testament to the burgeoning interest in male narratives and the theorization of African masculinity: Morrell, *Changing Men*; Lindsey and Miescher, *Men and Masculinities*; and Morrell and Ouzgane, *African Masculinities*.
29. See Lindsey, *Working with Gender*. A focus on clerks, intermediaries, and interpreters, for example, shows how "the division between men and women was rein-

forced by policies and procedures and by the composition and organization of the colonial bureaucracy." Lawrance et al., "African Intermediaries," 28.

30. Howard, "Nodes, Networks, Landscapes," 24. See Roberts, *Litigants and Households*. A focus on women's mobilization in the anticolonial struggle in Guinea reverses the effect of this deliberately articulated division. Schmidt, *Mobilizing the Masses*. In a not dissimilar fashion, an emphasis on dress produces a parallel analysis of the gendered articulations of power. In colonial and postcolonial Africa, power and authority are "represented, constituted, articulated, and contested through dress." Allman, *Fashioning Power*, 1. See also the last chapters of Watson, *Civil Disorder*.

31. Howard, "Nodes, Networks, Landscapes," 24.

32. Cohen, "Doing Social History," 195. Far from the enlightened, knight-in-shining-armor characterization of certain Togolese nationalists, Olympio arrived on the scene at a crucial moment in the sociopolitical development of periurban Eweland. The most sophisticated analysis of Olympio's rise to power in the context of the two UN-sponsored plebiscites is found in Collier, "Ablode," 160-252.

33. This classic distinction, which ties the city and country together through the small town, is best exemplified by Mumford, *The City*. Equally frustrating is the emphasis on the uniqueness of "small towns" in Africa, which separates the town from the broader context and privileges one level of interaction. See Baker, *Small Town Africa* and Baker and Pedersen, *The Rural-Urban Interface*.

34. See Jamal and Weeks, "The vanishing rural-urban gap," for a parallel contemporary analysis.

35. There is very little research on the impact of automobiles in Africa. See Gewald, *Impact of Motor-Vehicles*.

36. Nyassogbo, "L'urbanisation et son évolution," 137.

37. Howard, "Nodes, Networks, Landscapes," 26: "spatial analysis is about actualization, about how people find 'platforms' for action in particular places and through linkages that offer them possibilities." See, for example, Lindsey, *Working with Gender*; Rockel, *Carriers*; Sikainga, *City of Steel and Fire*; Kiloh, *A Fighting Union*.

38. Howard, "Nodes, Networks, Landscapes," 21-140. One approach to transportation and communication studies might argue that roads, railways, electrification, and telegraph exchanges were implanted to control and drain colonies. Coquery-Vidrovitch and Lovejoy, *The Workers*; El Badawy, *Transportation*; Fall et al., *Les interactions rural-urbains*. Interwar German neocolonial advocacy only underscores this. Bildarchiv der deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft, Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main, Bildnummer 029-7521-14F and 042-0244-43.

39. Carney, *Black Rice*.

40. Howard, "Nodes, Networks, Landscapes," 25.

41. Fairhead and Leach, *Misreading the African Landscape*.

42. Hill, *Migrant Cocoa Farmers*.

43. McClendon, *Genders*.

44. The main works complicating "rural exodus" models are Pitié, *Exode rural*, and Pitié, *L'homme et son espace*.

45. Cooper, "Peasants, Capitalists, and Historians"; Isaacman, *Mozambique*; Roberts, *Two Worlds of Cotton*; Berry, *No Condition Is Permanent*; Mandala, *Work and Control*.

46. Berry, *Fathers Work for Their Sons*; Lubeck, *Islam*; Marks, *Ambiguities*.

47. Vail and White, "Forms of Resistance"; Lubeck, *Islam*; van Onselen, *Chibaro*.

48. Bradford, *Taste*; Worger, *South Africa's City*.

49. Falola and Salms, *Urbanization*, and Salms and Falola, *African Urban Spaces*.

50. See Howard, "Cities in Africa."
51. See Watson, "Civil Disorder"; Cooper, "Urban Space"; Martin, *Leisure*; Parker, *Making the Town*.
52. Parker, *Making the Town*, xxi, citing Mabogunje, "Urban planning."
53. Parker, *Making the Town*, xxii. See also, Western, "Undoing," 357.
54. Dresch, "Villes d'Afrique occidentale," 200. My translation.
55. Arnaud, "Editorial," 2.
56. Appadurai, *Modernity*, 180.
57. Appadurai, *Modernity*, 181.
58. Appadurai, *Modernity*, 181.
59. Appadurai, *Modernity*, 180; Lovell, "Introduction," 13; also Lovell, "Wild gods," 54.
60. See Diouf, "The Senegalese Murid," 679-81.
61. Gupta and Ferguson, "Introduction," 35.
62. Bhabha, *Location of Culture*.
63. Lovell, "Introduction," 4, writing about Eweland.
64. Mauss, "Les techniques," and Bourdieu, *Outline*.
65. Lovell, *Cord of Blood*, 16. See Barnes, *Africa's Ogun*.
66. The most salient explanation is found in Rosenthal, *Possession*, 100-120.
67. Lovell, "Wild gods," 70-71.
68. Lovell, "Wild gods," 73-74.
69. See Cohen and Atieno Odhiambo, *Siaya*. Howard, "Nodes, Networks, Landscapes," 29.
70. Howard, "Nodes, Networks, Landscapes," 26.
71. Nora, *Realms of Memory*, I: 19. See also Searing, *God Alone is King!*
72. Howard, "Nodes, Networks, Landscapes," 32.
73. Penvenne, *African*. The colonial policies of *shibalo* and *indigenato* were designed to impede freedom of movement and to capture a labor pool, however, and thus circumvented a situation that would enable Africans to maximize choice and strategize. See also Grest, "Urban Management," 147.
74. Freund, *Insiders*. Because Indians were new, indentured laborers, thrust into novel and unknown environments, they developed both peasant and proletarian labor cultures in the most distant outlying parts of town, transcending the rural-urban divide. But just as quickly as their resourcefulness blossomed, the stark realities of apartheid-era labor and group area policies destroyed their emerging periurban communities. Elsewhere in South Africa, Owen Crankshaw uses "periurban" to mean "free-standing" but "informal settlements" or "shanty-towns" within a wider discussion of squatter communities. Crankshaw, *Squatting*, 33-35. The term *periurban* is used extensively in apartheid and post-apartheid era legal and administrative records. See also, Bundy, "The Emergence," 375; Maylam, "Explaining the Apartheid City," 25; and Englund, "The Village in the City."
75. See Baker, "Introduction," 15, for a slightly different analysis. See also, Peil, *Cities*; Rimmer, *Rural*; Winters, *Urban*.
76. Berry, *Fathers*. Sara Berry argued that agrarian change and its place in the development of the political economy of western Nigeria could be explained by a focus on how agricultural production and marketing are organized and how surpluses are absorbed. For "actualization" see, Howard, "Nodes, Networks, Landscapes," 26.
77. Howard, "Nodes, Networks, Landscapes," 25, discusses accumulation with respect to material features within a spatial analysis.
78. Berry, *Fathers*, 5-7.
79. Berry, *Fathers*, 12.

80. Berry, *No Condition*, 165, cited Ferraro, "Kikuyu kinship." For "social networks" see Howard, "Nodes, Networks, Landscapes," 46-54.
81. Ferraro, "Kikuyu kinship."
82. The pioneer sociologists David Bettison and Raymond Apthorpe deployed the term to explain the close-knit relationships between village clusters and the patterns of income and poverty in a rural locale on the edge of a large European settlement. Bettison, *Cash, Wage*; Bettison, *Social and Economic*; Bettison, *Poverty*; Bettison, "The Poverty Datum Line"; Bettison, *Patterns of Income*; Bettison and Apthorpe, "Authority and Residence." O'Conner, *African City*, 183. The "imprecise" developmental framework of this line of thinking both helps and hinders my analysis.
83. The periurban is frequently integrated as a subcategory of analysis. See Howard, "Cities in Africa," 202, 208.
84. Brantley, *Feeding Families*, 45-53.
85. W. L. Barrows considers periurban areas to be "demographic sluiceways." Barrows, "Rural-Urban," 318.
86. As in Milan as described by Foot, "The Urban Periphery."
87. Simone, *For the City*.
88. A good nineteenth-century example is Chicago. Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis*.
89. As David L. Iaquina and Axel W. Drescher note, the "term peri-urban [*sic*] is used frequently in the literature and in policy discussions, yet definitions are largely situational and case-specific." See Iaquina and Drescher, "Defining Periurban." See also, McGregor, Simon and Thompson, *The Peri-Urban Interface*.
90. Williams, Smith, et al., "Literature Review." Williams et al. note that the definitions in the development literature are also "thin and inconsistent," and that the periurban zone is "not a discrete area, but rather a diffuse territory." One conclusion might be that the term can be loosely applied to the interfacial area between rural and urban, encompassing essentially rural processes taking place just within the formal urban boundary (such as urban agriculture), and also processes of urbanization taking place within the rural area.
91. Cour, "Urban-rural interface," 6.
92. Fall and Guéye, *Urbain-Rural*. See also Fall et al., *Les interactions*.
93. Ranganathan, "Neoliberalism," 9, drawing on Baker, *Rural-Urban Dynamics*, and Tacoli, *Rural-Urban Interactions*.
94. Roy, "Challenges for Juridical," 146.
95. Paterson, "New Impulses," 618.
96. Ferguson, *Expectations*, 82-122.
97. Baker, "Introduction," 13. During the final stages of production I was alerted to Garth Myers's work on Central and East Africa.
98. Lobban, Review of I. Evans, *Bureaucracy and Race*; Coetzee, "Providing Care Locally," 803.
99. It does not feature prominently, however, in the best book on this topic, Anderson and Rathbone, *Africa's Urban Past*.
100. As Nyassogbo, "L'urbanisation comme stratégies," 263-67, explains, "hinterland" is relevant to Eweland during the formative phase of colonization, a period sometimes referred to as "pacification."
101. Nyassogbo, "L'urbanisation comme stratégies," 274.
102. Harvey, *Condition of Postmodernity*; Baudrillard, *Radical Thought*.
103. Nyassogbo, "L'urbanisation comme stratégies," argues that the Germans deployed an intentional policy of "urbanization." The same phenomenon has been described in Côte d'Ivoire and Cameroun. See Kipre, *Villes de Côte d'Ivoire*; Champaud, *Villes et campagne*. See also Coquery-Vidrovitch, *Processus d'urbanisation*.

104. Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class*, 211.
105. Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis*, 364.
106. Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis*, 18–19; Skinner, "Introduction," 258. Several factors produce this continuum, including the need to provision surrounding areas, existing local distribution channels, complex connections between markets, and a viable transportation network. Skinner, "Cities and the Hierarchy," 276–77; Skinner, "Introduction," 259. Central place theory has significant limitations. For an evaluation of central place theory in African history, see Howard, "Nodes, Networks, Landscapes," 54–60. Central place theory typology both services and marginalizes my concerns. On the one hand, the "total system" approach unites "nodes" and "hinterlands" to assess varying degrees of "urbanity"; on the other hand, it speaks of a central place with a "dependent" hinterland, a model that reifies the hierarchical juxtaposition of city and country.
107. In Lawrance, "Bankoe v. Dome," I develop my argument about British mandate colonialism, drawing from Spear, "Neo-Traditionalism," 4.

## Chapter 1: Mobility, Locality, and Ewe Identity in Periurban Eweland

1. Interview with Professor Rev. Noah Komla Dzobo, September 2, 2005, Ho, Ghana. French administrators were deeply distrustful of market women. *ANT*, AdCNL, 189.
2. Interview with Fiolete Agbokouse, Mamatouki Nyamati, and Fansi Tossou, Bè, Lomé, Togo, March 24, 2000.
3. Several of these, prepared by Professor Rev. Noah Komla Dzobo, are in the possession of the author.
4. Interview with Professor Rev. Noah Komla Dzobo, September 2, 2005, Ho, Ghana.
5. Interview with Professor Rev. Noah Komla Dzobo, September 2, 2005, Ho, Ghana.
6. *ANT*, AdCNL, 2/8/1932.
7. *ANT*, SAPA, Rapports des Cercles/Lomé/Rapport du Cercle de Lomé, 3ème Trim. 1929.
8. Klosse, *Reisebilder*, 26.
9. Marguerat, *Une brève histoire*; von Trotha, "Sociologie politique."
10. Falola, "Gender, Business and Space."
11. Lawrance, "La Révolte."
12. Burke, *Lifebuoy Men*.
13. *Le Guide du Togo*, vol. 25 (June 1936), 159, printed a list of "Togo markets" in Ewe and French which suggested that some had become fixed on certain days and that markets continued to take place on Sunday.
14. Amselle, "Ethnies et espaces."
15. For amalgamation ceremonies, see Lawrance, "Bankoe v. Dome."
16. Barth, *Ethnic Groups*.
17. Amenumey, *Ewe Unification*; Mensah, "Frontières."
18. Peel, "The Cultural Work," Peel, *Religious Encounter*, and Law, "Local amateur."
19. Hawthorne, *Planting Rice*.
20. Dorm-Adzobu, "The Impact," 48, speaks of Ewe "colonization processes."
21. As I indicated in the introduction, the texts pertaining to ethnicity that inform this research include Comaroff, "Of totemism"; Comaroff, "Humanity"; Bravman,

*Making Ethnic Ways*; Amselle, "Ethnies et espaces"; Eriksen, *Ethnicity*; Moerman, "Who are the Lue?"; and Smith, *Ethnic Origin*.

22. Anderson, *Imagined*.
23. Amenumey, *The Ewe*, 1ff.
24. Following Greenberg, *Languages in Africa*.
25. The most authoritative collection of oral histories on the subject is that of Gayibor, *Les Aja-Ewe*; and Gayibor, "Agokoli." The foundational literature on precolonial Ewe communities includes Spieth, *Die Ewestämme*; Spieth, *Die Religion*; and Westermann, *Die Glidyi-Ewe*.
26. Aguigah, "Le site"; Akakpo et al., *Les recherches*; Aguigah, "À la recherche."
27. Kossi, "Organisation."
28. Collier, "Ablode," 18, 21, 25. For "sub-imperialism," see Brown, "Anglo-German Rivalry." Lovell, *Cord of Blood*, 3, refers to "the 'blurred' status of the Ewe as a whole."
29. Ward, "The Social Organisation."
30. For a detailed account of Kpandu as representative of the "northern Ewe of Ghana," see Bluwey, "Political Systems."
31. See Akyeampong, *Between the Sea*, 24-48; Amenumey, "A brief history." For the eastern region, see Lawrance, *Handbook*.
32. See Gayibor, "Les Rois de Glidji."
33. See Greene, *Sacred Sites*.
34. Greene, *Gender*; Akyeampong, *Between the Sea*, 23-74.
35. See Thornton, *Africa and Africans*. Also, for slavery in north-central Togo, see Piot, "Of Slaves."
36. Upward of four thousand "Brazilians" returned to West Africa after a manumission law of 1831. See Akyeampong, *Between the Sea*, 54. Also, Sorkpor, "Geraldo de Lima"; Manning, "Coastal society." For the Olympio family, see Amos, "Afro-Brazilians." For the de Souza family, see de Souza, *La famille*. For a more general view, see Krasnowolski, *Les Afro-Brésiliens*.
37. The broader process is best described in Law, *From the Slave Trade*.
38. See Law, *Ouidah*.
39. The alliance proved initially successful but remained fragile due to both its linguistic and its cultural heterogeneity, and conflicting desires for autonomy. Wilks, *Asante*, 211. Non-Ewe states also formed part of this union.
40. Greene, *Gender*.
41. Brown, "Kpandu," 8, explains the change that took place in the northern Ewe region.
42. Brown, "Kpandu," 10.
43. Greene, *Gender*, 3-11.
44. Rosenthal, *Possession*, 130-31.
45. See Law, *From the Slave Trade*.
46. Buhler, "The Volta Region."
47. Brown, "Kpandu," 8-9.
48. See Akyeampong, *Between the Sea*, 49-74.
49. Ward, "The Social Organisation." Brown, "Kpandu," 10-11.
50. Brown, "Kpandu," 10-11.
51. Brown, "Kpandu," 11.
52. See Knoll, "Die Norddeutsche"; Meyer, *Translating*.
53. Meyer, "Christianity and the Ewe Nation."
54. Lawrance, "Most Obedient Servants."
55. Schöck-Quinteros and Lenz, *150 Jahre*; Gründer, *Christliche*; Müller, *Geschichte*; Debrunner, *Church*.



56. Lawrance, "Most Obedient Servants."
57. For further details, see Amenumey, *The Ewe*.
58. For Anlo, see Akyeampong, *Between the Sea*, and Greene, *Sacred Sites*.
59. Buhler, "The Volta Region."
60. See Marguerat, *Dynamique urbaine*.
61. Spieth, *Die Ewe-Stämme*: 54. An unpublished manuscript by R. S. Rattray, entitled "Togoland: A History of the Tribal Divisions of the District of Mishoe and of the Sub-districts of Ho and Kpandu," dated 1915 in the Ho Archives in Ghana, suggests there were as many as 160 autonomous units in the entirety of Eweland (i.e., including the area of Eweland that was part of the Gold Coast colony).
62. Brown, "Kpandu," 11–12.
63. Historical memory of the German colonial experience is sparse and problematic, but pro-German policy groups and individuals operated in each of the former German colonies. See Austen, "Ich bin Schwarzer," and the bibliography.
64. Maier, "Slave Labor."
65. For how policy differed in the non-Ewe north, see Norton, *Die Umerziehung*; for the central savanna region, see de Haan, *La région des savannes*.
66. Metzger, *Unsere alte Kolonie*.
67. One map circulating in the neocolonial movement in Germany in the mid-1930s made the ridiculous claim that 5400 kilometers of railways had been built in twelve years in the German empire, "ein Weltrekord." It overestimated by approximately four times the number of miles of rail in Togo. See DKG Bildarchiv, Bildnummer 039-7037-77.
68. Nussbaum, *Togo*.
69. Cornevin, *Histoire*; Knoll, *Togo*.
70. Sebald, *Togo*.
71. Maier, "Slave Labor."
72. DKG-Bildarchiv, Bildnummer unbekannt, "Togo-Land: The German Protectorate on the Slave Coast. After H. Zöller." Printed by J. Bartholomew, Edinburgh, in the *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 1885.
73. For example, Robert A. Cole the letter writer for hire, who is explored in Lawrance, "Petitioners."
74. Marguerat, "La Guerre," 72–88.
75. For this brief administration, see Marguerat, "Histoire et Société," and Marguerat, "La Guerre." Also Lawrance, "Petitioners."
76. Meyer, "Christianity and the Ewe Nation," 171.
77. The most important works invoking this descriptive metaphor are Roberts, *Two Worlds of Cotton*; and Glassman, *Feasts and Riots*.
78. Greene, *Sacred Sites*, 5. Greene's exploration of the management of sacred sites of power situates the "encounter" within a broader cultural studies vocabulary, including such terms as "bricolage," "synthesis," "syncretism," and "adaptation." She argues that "encounter" flattens dynamic relationships and misrepresents uneven categories and forms of power.
79. Greene, *Sacred Sites*, 5.
80. Cohen, *Womunafu's Bunafu*, 5.
81. Attignon, *Géographie du Togo*. See also République Togolaise, *Atlas de développement régional du Togo*.
82. Gu-Konu, "Les mutations," 556, 568.
83. Gu-Konu, "Les mutations," 547.
84. Nyassogbo, "La population Togolaise," 492.
85. Nyassogbo, "La population Togolaise," 504–16. See also Piot, *Remotely Global*.

86. Gu-Konu, "Une pratique foncière," and Gu-Konu, "Débats." For British Togoland, see Lawrance, "*En proie*."
87. Gu-Konu, "Les mutations," 562.
88. Gu-Konu, "Les mutations," 568.
89. Gu-Konu, "Les mutations," 563: "l'application de ces critères au territoire colonisé avait conduit à une recomposition totale de l'organisation spatiale ancienne. Au lieu d'un schéma régional articulé sur des pays différenciés par l'empreinte des civilisations agraires des différentes sociétés, l'espace territorial est désormais articulé sur des 'régions riches' opposées à des régions pauvres, des 'régions peuplées' opposées à des 'régions inhabitées,' des régions de plantation' opposées à des 'régions de production vivrière,' des 'régions d'émigration' ou de 'dessalement démographique' opposées à des 'régions de colonisation agricole.'"
90. Gu-Konu, "Les mutations," 547.
91. The only evaluation of the SIPs in Togo is Gu-Konu, "Les mutations." For SIPs in French West Africa more generally, see Asiwaju, *West African Transformations*, 231–51.
92. Gu-Konu, "Les mutations," 560–61.
93. Indeed, in many oral interviews, respondents returned to the theme of taxation. For example, interview with Komissa Adawofe, Kpélé-Elé, Togo, March 21, 2000.
94. The French experimented with a "cocoa card system" of purchase credits, explored in Lawrance, "*En proie*," 13–18.
95. A concentration on economics provides a foundation for theorizing the unique forms of commerce flourishing in periurban Eweland. See Isaacman, *Mozambique*; Austen, *African Economic History*.
96. See Berman and Lonsdale, *Unhappy Valley*.
97. For "condensed contradictions," see Roberts, *Two Worlds of Cotton*.
98. Nugent, *Smugglers*; Berry, "Unsettled Accounts"; and Berry, *Chiefs*.
99. Hill, *Migrant Cocoa-Farmers*, 11, 81, predicts this. As I argue elsewhere, Ewe migrant farmers straddled the peasant/capitalist economic divide; they simultaneously infused their zones of departure and arrival with their language and the culture of emigration and settlement. Lawrance, "*En proie*." See also Moya, *Cousins and Strangers*.
100. For Côte d'Ivoire–Gold Coast migration, see Asiwaju, "Protest migrations"; and *West African Transformations*, 80–97.
101. See Curtin, *Why People Move*; Asiwaji, "Protest Migrations."
102. See MacGaffey, "Issues and Methods," for a discussion of illicit economies.
103. Hodgkin, *Nationalism*, 14.
104. Geiss, *Pan-African Movement*; Langley, *Pan-Africanism*.
105. Marks, *Ambiguities of Dependence*, 12.
106. Lawrance, "Petitioners." See also Osborn, "Circle of Iron."
107. Amenumey, *Ten Eminent Ewes*. See the biographies of Boniface Foli, Fritz Gabousou, Marthe Aféwélé Kwami, and Martin Akou in Westermann, *Onze*.
108. Conklin, *Mission*, 105.
109. Lawrance, "Language Between Powers."
110. Bunche, "French and British"; Agbobby-Atayi, "L'enseignement français."
111. Lange, *L'école au Togo*.
112. Marguerat, "Les stratégies scolaires."
113. Callahan, *Mandates*, 7, argues that the "mandates system represented an evolving internationalization and reformation of colonialism."
114. Callahan, *Sacred Trust*, 18–23.
115. For the French interwar period generally, see Thomas, *The French Empire*. For interwar social thought, see Beale, *Modernist Enterprise*. For the emerging interna-

tional human rights movement, see Cmiel, "The Recent History"; Rabben, *Fierce Legion of Friends*; Burgers, "The Road to San Francisco"; Waltz, "Universalizing"; Moravcsik, "The Origins of Human Rights"; and Morsink, *The Universal Declaration*. For France's treatment of interwar human rights, see Conklin, "Colonialism and Human Rights"; and Caron, *Uneasy Asylum*.

116. Aduayom and Kponton, "Le Togo," 413.

117. Among the key early works are Betts, *Assimilation*; Kanya-Forstner, *The Conquest*; Brunschwig, *French Colonialism*; Crowder, *West Africa*; Suret-Canale, *French Colonialism*; Suret-Canale, *Afrique Noire*; Asiwaju, "The Alaketu of Ketu"; Johnson, *The Emergence*; Echenberg, *Colonial Conscripts*; Miles, *Hausaland Divided*.

118. See Thomas, *The French Empire*; Wilder, *The French Imperial Nation-State*; Jennings, *Vichy in the Tropics*; Ginio, *French Colonialism Unmasked*; Conklin, "Histories of Colonialism"; also La Guérivière, *Les fous d'Afrique*.

119. Weiskel, *French Colonial Rule*, 211–13.

120. See Saul and Royer, *West African Challenge*.

121. Conklin, *Mission*, 2–3.

122. Conklin, *Mission*, 105.

123. Sibeud, "Ethnographie Africaniste"; Sibeud, *Une science impériale*.

124. See Roberts, *Two Worlds of Cotton*; Goerg, *Pouvoir Colonial*; and van Beusekom, *Negotiating Development*.

125. Launay, "A Question of Character," 40.

126. See Mann, "Locating Colonial Histories," footnote 1: "The terms 'colonialism' and 'imperialism' are frequently used interchangeably. . . . I prefer colonialism, following a distinction laid out by Henri Brunschwig some years ago. For Brunschwig, colonialism, like imperialism, rested 'on the assumption [of] political domination and economic supervision over the territories which had been conquered. But it excluded a third assumption, which was vital to imperialism: *the possession of a clear conscience.*'" Emphasis added by Mann.

127. Until recently, most scholarship saw no difference between French mandate rule and French colonial rule elsewhere in Africa. See Digre, *Imperialism's New Clothes*; Andrew and Kanya-Forstner, *France Overseas*; Cornevin, *Le Togo: des origines*, 233–278; Oyono, *Colonie ou Mandat*.

128. For the impact of World War I on European politics and colonial practice, see Callahan, *Mandates*, 8–27. See also Fussell, *The Great War*; and Stevenson, *The First World War*.

129. Callahan, "Mandated Colonies," 13: "It is easy to dismiss these concepts as only a few soft words that never could match the hard realities of the 1930s. But these words find both meaning and power during these difficult [interwar] years, particularly for those who determined to preserve the postwar peace and considered themselves the guardians of the western conceptions of the rule of law, liberal democracy, and Judeo-Christian religion." The focus of most African historical writing covering Africa and the League of Nations is usually Ethiopia and/or Liberia, the only two independent African states represented in Geneva. See, for example, Pankhurst, "The Italo-Ethiopian War"; and Parker, "Great Britain, France." How typical of the mandate experience Togoland really was, however, can only be assessed after a comparative survey of the seven African mandates. There is some important new work on the French mandates under way in the Middle East. See Thompson, *Colonial Citizens*.

130. Péchoux, *Le Mandat*.

131. Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject*.

132. Callahan, "Mandated Territories," 13.

133. For petitioning in French Africa, see Groff, "The Dynamics," and Roberts, "Text and Testimony." For British territories, see Adewoye, *Judicial System*; Akurang-Parry, "A Smattering," Osei-Tutu, "Petitions," and Lawrance, "Petitioners." For German colonies, see Sebald, *Togo*, 535–85.
134. Callahan, *Mandates*, 117–21, and Callahan, *Sacred Trust*, 19–32.
135. Callahan, *Mandates*, 52–58, 104–21.
136. See Lawrance, "En proie"; and Nugent, *Smugglers*. The Permanent Court of International Justice in The Hague had the power to adjudicate only disputes between a mandatory power and another League member—for example, Ethiopians in Tanganyika. See Callahan, *Sacred Trust*, 53–55.
137. Conklin, *Mission*, 2–3; See Sibeud, *Une science impériale*.
138. For the paramount chieftaincy experiment, see Lawrance, "Bankoe v. Dome."
139. The expense of *cours complémentaires* and the *école secondaire* are documented by Assima-Kpatcha et al., "L'éducation sous domination," 129–59.
140. Callahan, *Mandates*, 67–73.
141. Such as the Aborigines Rights Protection Society, the Anti-Slavery Society, the Ligue pour la Défense des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen, and the Bureau Internationale pour la Défense des Indigènes. Callahan, *Mandates*, 67.
142. For the difference between the League of Nations mandates and the United Nations trusteeships, see Callahan, *Sacred Trust*, 191–93. See Chowdhuri, *Mandates and Trusteeship*, for a discussion of Togo.
143. Callahan, *Mandates*, 107–13, 121, 145–47, 188.
144. Cooper, *Decolonization*, 219, 223, 439. See Douglas et al, *Imperialism on Trial*.

## Chapter 2: Intervention and Dissent

- Berry, "Unsettled Accounts" and Berry, *Chiefs Know Their Boundaries*.
- For the British mandate see, Lawrance, "Bankoe v. Dome."
- Sossou, "Le commandement indigène," 352.
- Aduayom et al., "Les refus," 511.
- Gayibor, *Rivalités politiques* is an edited collection of many primary sources. Quam-Dessu and Quam-Dessou, *Histoire* provides oral accounts from some of the principal actors. Kponton, *Adjigovi* provides an overview of the conflict, a narrative of the forced deportation and many other narratives.
- See Callahan, *Mandates*, 117–20, 149–51.
- Most of the "primary" documentation from the Lawsons' perspective is in the form of oral histories recorded after the events of the interwar period, including interviews with several prominent protagonists, among them the aged Chief Lawson himself. These appear in Gayibor, *Sources Orales de la Région d'Aného*, 43–82. Earlier private correspondence has also been published. See Jones and Sebald, *A Family Archive*.
- Two former Aného residents were still too distressed to talk about the matter in detail. Adoté Akuété-Akué, interviewed Lomé, February 29, 2000, stated: "Yes, in Aného, there were two chiefs; Adjigo and Lawson. There was this governor called Bonnacarrère who was quite terrible. He loved the Lawsons. Bonnacarrère sent the Adjigos of Aného as punishment far in a canoe. That was terrible. I myself do not like to talk about that as it pains my heart. That Bonnacarrère was really terrible. No, no, he was quite unbelievably terrible. . . ." Whereas the crux of Amouzou Viagbo's statement (he was interviewed in Tabligbo, Togo, February 16, 2000), was that both families

were foreign to the Aného region—the Lawsonists from the Gold Coast, and the Adjigos from Bénin—so they were destined to war over the territory.

9. The phrase “l’œil droit du Togo” is used to describe Aného in a letter attributed to John Atavi, directed to the PMC, 2 November 1931. *CAOM*, FM/Aff.Pol./T-C/Cartron: 2662, Dossier 5. Atavi denied all authorship of this letter and others in a letter to the Minister of Colonies, March 6, 1931. *SDN*, R 2337 FMT (2705) N° 2711. They were most probably forgeries written by members of the Bund der deutschen Togoländer. The best overview of the conflict is Gayibor, “Les conflits politiques à Aného.”

10. For Woelffel’s actions see Gayibor, “Les conflits politiques à Aného,” 216–20. The “scandales du Togo” in 1922 abruptly ended Woelffel’s governorship. The suicide of a junior officer in Lomé, apparently after harassment by the governor, and Woelffel’s appropriation of a fire sale of former German estates attracted the attention of several députés in the Assemblée Nationale, including Député Boisneuf of Martinique. Woelffel was suspended while still in Togo and then recalled and put on trial.

11. Report to Minister, 15 February 1922. *CAOM*, FM/Aff.Pol./T-C/609/Dossier 1: Interpellation Boisneuf/Biens allemands sequestrés.

12. The confusion arises from the penultimate phrase in the same letter. In the section italicized below, the “ne” is omitted, making it unclear whether Bonnecarrère’s intention was to establish, reestablish or disestablish the “chef supérieur.” In a discussion with Yves Marguerat, it was concluded that in all likelihood the “ne” was omitted by accident, and thus his intention was not to “reestablish” the role of paramount chief, a decision that he was obviously to retract several months later. Of course the illogic of this argument lies in the fact that such a role did not exist prior to Bonnecarrère’s arrival in the country, but was his own invention. The statement may thus be an allusion to the debate about the matter that the Woelffel administration entered into. The French text reads thus: “En ce qui concerne la politique indigène du Togo, l’impression générale qui se dégage est que la population est particulièrement douce, plus douce même qu’au Dahomey. . . . Les indigènes . . . furent vite déçus et écartés complètement ou repoussés par M. Woelffel. . . . Les esprits sont tournés vers la Gold Coast, beaucoup vers l’Allemagne. Il m’appartient d’apporter le remède. . . . *Mon intention est de pas rétablir le chef supérieur d’Aného par application des grands principes qui ont guidé notre politique coloniale. . . .*” Report to minister, February 15, 1922. *CAOM*, FM/Aff.Pol./T-C/609/Dossier 1: Interpellation Boisneuf/Biens allemands sequestrés.

13. In a minute written for the Minister of Colonies, Paris, the dispute is described as but that of “un simple chef d’une ville autrefois importante.” *ADQO*, *SDN*/622, Dossier 1: Incident Lawson-Adjigo 1926–27, 44 bis.

14. The best description of the divisions of Aného was collected by Hubert Kponton and appears in Kponton, *Adjigovi*, 148–58. According to Mensah Adboko Gaba, Gov. Woelffel had resisted the scheming Lawson. Letter to the Minister of Colonies, February 15, 1922. *SDN*, R 37 FMT (12226) N° 21880.

15. See Conklin, *Mission*, 110–19, 174ff., 182–83.

16. In a neighboring context, Sossou, “Le commandement indigène,” 357, explains that the “elections” were nothing more than a “*mise en scène* designed to give the impression of the popular will of the village.”

17. Speech attributed to Bonnecarrère, March 10, 1922, Aného. *ADQO*, *SDN*/622, 168. All copies of the text itself in archives in Paris, Aix-en-Provence and Geneva, however, are appendices to petitions sent by members of the Adjigo-Gaba clan, and thus require caution with respect to authenticity.

18. Interview, Chief Lawson VII (enstooled in 1960), conducted by N. L. Gayibor in January 1976. Gayibor, *Sources Orales*, 70–71.

19. For example, *ANT*, 8 APA (1933) Carton 1: Reseignements Confidentiels, March 28, 1933: “By the personal instruction of Chief Lawson, canoe operators of Anécho are forbidden to transport people and merchandise between Badji and Adjigo quarters, every weekday. Only on Sundays may canoe operators conduct such traffic. On weekdays only canoe-operators associated with the chief himself may operate in the lagoon and conduct this type of transport. Passengers pay 20 centimes for the roundtrip. The sums thus collected are then passed on by the operators into the hands of the chief. The head of the Kponton family would be only too pleased to furnish additional information about this subject.”

20. Interview, Mawuenyigan Tikata, Noépé, Togo, February 28, 2000. The informant claimed that the French would show up without warning, fill up their canoes with agricultural products, and sail off.

21. Conventional intra- and interfamily disputes over land, lineage, marriage, and inheritance had pitted various members of both clans against each other for centuries. See Interview, Chief Lawson VII, conducted by N. L. Gayibor in January 1976. Gayibor, *Sources Orales*, 76–78.

22. In the same letter to the Minister of Colonies, May 12, 1922, Mensah Agboko Gaba wrote “That according to customary rites funeral customs of a late king must be celebrated by his people before the enstoolment of another, which consist, among other rites, of gun-firing, and to procure trade-gunpowder for the purpose the Governor’s permission must be obtained. According to our custom three years must elapse before the final custom is performed and a new King [*sic*] crowned.” *SDN*, R 37 FMT (12226) N° 21880.

23. Testimony of Mr. Bruce, March 3, 1924. *SDN*, R 37 FMT (12226) N° 22291.

24. Testimony of Mr. Bruce, March 3, 1924. *SDN*, R 37 FMT (12226) N° 22291.

25. Interview, Messanvi Hubert Kponton, conducted by N. L. Gayibor in 1971. Gayibor, *Sources Orales*, 19.

26. A letter from Mensah Agboko Gaba to Minister of Colonies, December 5, 1922, stated that the governor said, “[W]hosoever is dissatisfied with his decision may do what he likes.” *SDN*, R 37 FMT (12226) N° 21880.

27. A letter to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Paris, from the Adjigos, May 20, 1922, complained that “no referendum was made.” *SDN*, R 37 FMT (12226) N° 21795. See also Testimony of Mr. Bruce, March 3, 1924. *SDN*, R 37 FMT (12226) N° 22291.

28. Letter from C. L. Wilson, a Lawsonist, June 18, 1922, to Eric Drummond, President of the PMC. *SDN*, R 37 FMT (12226) N° 21880.

29. A letter from Bonnecarrère to the Ministry, September 10, 1926, explains: “Since my arrival in Togo, in January 1922, I have had to, with the permission of the Inspector of Colonies on service in the territory at the same time, proceed with the organization of the indigenous authority of the town of Aného. After a popular consultation, a veritable plebiscite, the Chief Lawson was named Chief of the town of Petit-Popo by the *arrêté* of March 6, 1922. This designation, having been favorably received by the greater part of the population, provoked the most vehement protests of certain natives, interminable adversaries of the Chief.” *SDN*, R 37 FMT (12226) Doc. N° 22291.

30. Petition from Bruce and Gaba family, March 3, 1924. *SDN*, R 37 FMT (12226) N° 22291.

31. Although other exile stories are well known, less familiar is that of Chief Dagadu Anku III of Kpandu, who was exiled by the Germans to Cameroon in 1913, but returned after the German defeat in Cameroon in 1915. See Brown, “Kpandu,” 9–10. The exact number of exiles to Mangu, as opposed to the original number of men and



women ordered for deportation, is unclear. At least forty men were originally ordered to present themselves at the Aného railway station. Several of these were released from this demand when they demonstrated that they had important jobs with European firms in the town. Women and children were assumed part of the entourage, and no original orders seem to have been directed at women. The oldest deportee was the senior counselor to the Gaba family, approximately seventy years old. The youngest was a girl, possibly a domestic servant, age nine.

32. Gayibor, "Les conflits politiques à Aného," 222. Letter from Mensah Agboko Gaba to Minister of Colonies, December 5, 1922. *SDN*, R 37 FMT (12226) N°21880.

33. The most powerful testimony is that of one of the Gaba brothers, as recorded by Casely-Hayford. Annex to Petition of Casely-Hayford to PMC, February 23, 1925. *SDN*, R 37 FMT (12226) N°22291.

34. Letter from Mensah Gaba to the Secretary of State for Colonies in London, Mr. Ormsby-Gore, August 5, 1922. *SDN*, R 37 FMT (12226) N°22291.

35. Petition of Casely-Hayford to PMC, February 23, 1925. *SDN*, R 37 FMT (12226) N°22291.

36. Telegram, March 5, 1922. *SDN*, R 37 FMT (12226) N°20494.

37. *The Gold Coast Leader*, December 12, 1922, carried an editorial, "Togoland practically done to death in exile for daring to assert their rights." Then again on January 27, 1923, an editorial complains of a return to German cruelty, in addition to several long articles entitled "The French in Togoland," which claimed among other things that "every action of the Germans was being repeated and sometimes exceeded." The same paper also printed "Statements and Interviews held between Captain Lucien and Messrs A. Bruce, W. Ohin, Abraham Gaba and Abokivi Byll, held at Sansane Mangu on the 13th, 14th and 15th November 1922." *SDN*, R 37 FMT (12226) N°22291.

38. Letter from Bonnacarrère to the Minister of Colonies, September 10, 1926. *SDN*, R 37 FMT (12226) N°22291.

39. Letter from Bonnacarrère to the Minister of Colonies, September 10, 1926. *SDN*, R 37 FMT (12226) N°22291.

40. *The Gold Coast Independent*, January 10, 1923, printed an article, "The Gauls in Togoland," written anonymously by "A Togolander." It stated that with the regime of Woelffel, "[w]hole importations of French clerks . . . [were] let loose like wolves upon an unprotected people and some became roving agents in the night." A sequel, January 20, 1923, entitled, "The Deportation of the Gabas," asserted that under the Bonnacarrère regime, "all Togoland in the French sphere of influence is going to the Gold Coast." *SDN*, R 37 FMT (12226) N°22291.

41. A periodical aimed at colonial expatriates and commercial agents, *The African World*, N° 73, November 25, 1922, featured a random comment criticizing brutality in French Togo and questioning the direction of the mandate administration. *SDN*, R 37 FMT (12226) N°22291.

42. Gaba contacted the Christian Science headquarters in New York on May 28, 1922. *SDN*, R 37 FMT (12226) N°22291. An article was subsequently published in the *Christian Science Monitor*. A French government memorandum to this publication accused the Christian Scientists of being on the payroll of France's enemies (namely Germany, and to a lesser extent Great Britain), and retorted: "It is more than clear that the article . . . was published with the goal of serving the campaign of denigration waged against our administration in Togo." *AQDO*, *SDN*/622, 65. A letter, November 7, 1922, addressed to the League's secretary-general, Sir Eric Drummond, asked if Bonnacarrère conducted a judicial enquiry or whether he operated independently in conferring the stool on Lawson. It also asked whether deportees were given a trial, and



for details of the treatment of one Rev. Tekoe, a Wesleyan missionary, in a related matter. *SDN*, R 37 FMT (12226) N°21880. In a January (?) 1925 letter, the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines' Rights Protection Society demanded further information. *SDN*, R 37 FMT (12226) N°22291. Although little is known about the West African colonial activities of the Paris-based LDRMC, it did have operatives in Togo and Dahomey, who forwarded material to the Paris headquarters. In 1922, the Lomé president was Gabriel Gomez; in Dahomey, three men, Félix Mensah of Ouidah, Jossah, the *chef du quartier* Fonsalamme (Cotonou), and Zaunou Codja in Porto Novo were active. This information comes from the *Bulletin* of the LDRMC for 1922-23.

43. A letter to Bonnacarrère from Mensah Gaboko Gaba, November 27, 1922, reads, "2. You have misused the power of France. . . . 3. Since the first of May you began to misuse the power of France against us who offended you not. You packed us in a coach with our luggage and surrounded by soldiers with fixed bayonets to Atakpamé; there you ordered us to be locked up as criminals. You forced us to march to Mangu although we were ready to hire motor cars for our transport. You ordered us to be starved and you treated us as savages. You put us in bad and unhealthy huts with the intention to cause injury to our health. You entrusted your soldiers to abuse us and call us all sorts of bad names. . . . 7. The harm you did to the prestige of France will be hard to redress. If you know the difficulty experienced before Togoland came under French protection you would have been more careful in the treatment of the people whose efforts made it possible for you to enjoy today a good salary and splendid existence. . . ." *SDN*, R 37 FMT (12226) N°21277.

44. Letter from the Gaba family in Lagos, October 7, 1924. Various members of the Gaba clan wrote directly to the League from the Gold Coast, Nigeria, and Cameroun to protest the treatment of their kin. *SDN*, R 37 FMT (12226) N°22291.

45. Letter to the Minister of Colonies, December 5, 1922. *SDN*, R 37 FMT (12226) N°21880.

46. An appendix marked "I" to the petition from 1931 and prepared by Casely-Hayford was a melody revised and enlarged by Sankey, with the title "A special Song for Fio Lawson of Anecho, who was officially crowned by Governor Monsieur Bonnckare [*sic*] on 10th March 1922." *SDN*, R 2337 FMT (2705) N°2711.

47. Indeed, in their letter to the British Foreign Secretary, May 20, 1922, the Adjigo clan, interpreting the festival to be as much a thank-you party for Bonnacarrère from the Lawsonists as it was a coronation party for Lawson himself, wrote, "[A]nd now the notable men of the Adjigo family have been exiled, a public celebration and feast lasting for 4 days in which they propose to honor M.BONNECARRERE for having assigned to them the supreme chieftaincy of ANECHO, are now being held, and for which purpose Saturday the 6th inst. has been officially proclaimed by the Commissaire as public holiday." *SDN*, R 37 FMT (12226) N°21795.

48. The petition annex was accompanied by the following handwritten note: "N.B. This song of provocation was sung by the Lawson party publicly at the banquet held in the premises of the Lawsons in honour of M. Bonnacarre [*sic*] on the 4th of May, 1922 after we were sent away on the 1st of May, 1922. and M. Bonnacarre [*sic*] himself was present at the banquet." *SDN*, R 2337 FMT (2705) N°2711.

49. In a June 1922 letter to Sir Eric Drummond, C. L. Wilson, a Lawson supporter, demanded the deportation of the *entire* Adjigo-Gaba family. *SDN*, R 37 FMT (12226) N°21880.

50. *SDN*, R 20 MT (3099) N°4900 contains one petition that reached the Secretariat before the PMC had even come into operation, causing considerable confusion among the staff. It concerned the division of the mandate into French and British zones and made the rather extraordinary offer of free labor to construct a railway from the

Watchi region to Aného, in return for keeping Lomé and its hinterland under British rule. The Secretariat was unsure how to circulate and respond to, or even whether to acknowledge receipt of, the letter. *SDN*, R 77 Various Questions Concerning Petitions (47157) contains lengthy discussions of the admissibility of petitions.

51. Resolution of the PMC, January 31, 1923, as cited *SDN*, R 37 FMT (12226) N°22291.

52. A file in *GNA*, ADM 11/1/1259: Gold Coast Aboriginal Rights Protection Society, notes that Casely-Hayford was one of the chief agitators who sowed dissent among rival members.

53. PMC resolution N° 281, April 7, 1924. *ADQO*, SDN/622, 142-43.

54. As an anticolonial idealist, Casely-Hayford pinned great hopes on the work of the PMC and the League as a means of regulating imperialism. Petition, February 23, 1925. *SDN*, R 37 FMT (12226) N°22291.

55. He was a *hired* attorney, taking a fee. Memorandum, 1926, *ADQO*, SDN/622, 218.

56. Petition, February 23, 1925. *SDN*, R 37 FMT (12226) N°22291.

57. The French representative, Count Clauzel, denied accusations of cruelty and brutality. He stated that, exiles were not forced to march, nor was the exile as physically debilitating or humiliating as claimed. A hammock was provided for the invalid Gaba, and no one died en route. Letter from Clauzel to Catastini, February 22, 1927. *SDN*, R 37 FMT (12226) N°22291. See Minutes of the PMC, June 17, 1926. *SDN*, R 37 FMT (12226) N°22291.

58. Letter from Bonnacarrère to the Minister of Colonies, October 9, 1926: includes the phrase “[I]n the spirit of reconciliation of several intelligent members of the warring families, I think I have finally found an amiable solution to that most delicate native problem.” *SDN*, R 37 FMT (12226) N°22291.

59. A trip from Mangu, half on foot, half by train, would have taken no less than one or two months. Clearly, then, their return was not conditional on the plan being agreed to, as it had in effect already been decided.

60. *SDN*, R 37 FMT (12226) N°22291.

61. From Keta in the Gold Coast, Casely-Hayford learned of the forced signing and wrote to Sir Eric Drummond on November 4, 1926. *SDN*, R 37 FMT (12226) N°22291.

62. Petition from Casely-Hayford, June 7, 1927. *SDN*, R 37 FMT (12226) N°22291.

63. Minutes of the PMC meeting, June 21, 1927. *SDN*, R 37 FMT (12226) N°22291.

64. The Bund der deutschen Togoländer protested the negotiations with Lawson for the termination of the mandate followed by formal French colonization. Letter from the Bund to the PMC, October 14, 1930. *SDN*, R 2336 FMT (2705) N°2705.

65. The French government unilaterally decided it would pass on to Geneva only those petitions written in the French language. A 1929 petition was thus returned without comment, to which Gaba wrote, June 24, 1931: “The introduction of French into the schools of French Togoland was of a recent date and with which the children are grappling but the language is unknown to the mass of the people and it would be a pity if difficulties of this kind would be placed before the inhabitants of the French government of the mandated territory to prevent the League of Nations from hearing and determining their grievances.” *SDN*, R 2337 FMT (2705) N°2711.

66. *ADQO*, SDN/622, 544.

67. In a PMC minute, the rapporteur Pasterhof accused Casely-Hayford of “abusing the goodwill of the Commission.” *SDN*, R 2337 FMT (2705) N°2711.

68. “Une situation satisfaisante,” an innocuous cliché that litters the trimester reports of the *Commandants des Cercles* of Lomé, Atakpamé, Aného, Klouto and elsewhere, meaning anything from absolute calm to low-level political tension.

69. For example, the Agou-Klouto region, being the most fertile and well serviced by transport; the Watchi plateau, fertile but sparsely settled; and the densely settled, very infertile Notsé region.

70. For further elaboration, see Crowder and Ikime, *West African*.

71. Under Woelfffel's regime, emergency war orders were still in operation.

72. Interview, Peter Abigua, Kévé, Togo, March 20, 2000: "They interfere to settle things between the different protagonists. In effect they would ask the people who they would like from a certain group of pretenders to the throne, and they themselves would choose someone to be presented to the people before being placed on the throne." Interview, Akouavi Ayete, Adangbé, Togo, March 5, 2000. The informant attested that the French proposed a list of candidates from which the villagers then chose the chief.

73. In a village near Kévé, the French placed on the throne a man with no relation to the royal family, creating a new chiefly dynasty. Interview, Peter Abigua, Kévé, Togo, March 20, 2000: "Sure that happened. Such was the case in a village very close to here where the chief was not even sired of the royal family. But as the man still came from this village the French put him on the throne because there was a problem with the line of succession. After the death of this chief, his son reigned in his place." Interview, Kossi Badohoun, Adangbé, March 5, 2000. The informant attested that when he was young the French imposed a chief on his village.

74. Most villagers were at a loss to explain why the chiefs assisted the French in the collection of taxes. Interview, Ehli Amouzou, Ahépé, Togo, February 15, 2000. The respondent stated: "We didn't really know why. During those times the chiefs were not educated, they were just folks placed at the head [of the village]. . . . It was always the chiefs who collected the poll-tax for the whites."

75. Interview, Kodjo Mensah, Kodjotse Afantsao and Kouami Sama, Chiefs of Notsé, Togo, April 19, 2000: "The chief of a village is responsible for maintaining land records, and if you return to the village to farm, he would take you to your grandparents' plot." Interview, Ehlan Adjallo, Wodomé, Ghana, May 17, 2000. Informant explained that the chief distributed parcels of land and took as payment a part of the crop. The same system operated in the cocoa-farming regions of Ghana as in Togo.

76. Interview, Kodjo Mensah, Kodjotse Afantsao and Kouami Sama, chiefs of Notsé, Togo, April 19, 2000: "In order to conduct the counting here for example in Kli quarter, one would go and see the chief and notables to inform them of the purpose. Also, afterward, one counted and wrote the names of each family member, their sex and age. And, when the children reach the age of twenty, the French would know that they too had to pay the poll-tax. It was thus the counting of the people that enabled the French to know the entire population. . . . Yes, I have already said that we have many quarters in Notsé. If the counting were conducted in Kli quarter on a Wednesday for example, everyone would be obliged to assemble at a public place to be counted. When it was all done in Kli, they would move on to Abimé quarter. It was like that that they did the counting. Each of the quarters would have its residents registered. And if at the end the numbers did not add up, the chief was sometimes arrested." Chiefs were not paid for the services they rendered, but sometimes they were honored in various ways with "suitable" gifts. This may not have seemed all that different from the system in operation under German rule described by Knoll, *Togo*, 180, in which chiefs sitting as judges were paid one tenth of the penalty they judged appropriate for the civil or occasionally criminal violation. This was based on Hans Georg von Doering, "Über die richterliche Tätigkeit der Häuptlinge," April 2, 1906, Conseil du Gouvernement, 1903-7, *ANT*, D.2.9. The chiefs were responsible for furnishing manpower. Interview, chiefs of Notsé, Togo, April 19, 2000: "The authority exercised over chiefs

was impressive. In all public works, the order was given to the chiefs to furnish laborers. It was just like the Germans earlier. [The town of] Notsé was beholden to Atakpamé. And during those times we would have to carry all the equipment from here in Kli as far as Wahala. Then those in Wahala would have to transport the government's stuff to Gléi. Then those in Gléi until Datcha and finally to Atakpamé. It was in such a way that we suffered at the hands of the French."

77. Efua Avoka, Tsévié, Togo, February 14, 2000, attested that after an extraordinarily brutal attack by African soldiers, agents of the French administration, the chief of the quarter was instrumental in placating and calming the population and negotiating with the French. Akouavi Ayete, Adangbé, Togo, March 5, 2000, explained that it was the responsibility of the chief to provide the French commandant with up-to-date figures of new arrivals and departures in the village and canton. Soenyameto Adeti, Aképé, Togo, March 18, 2000, explained that the home of the chief became the center for *impôt* collection. "They [the French] would come to the house of the chief. If you had the money you would pay the poll-tax in the house of the chief. But you'd be arrested if you didn't have the money, and well beaten and imprisoned. . . . Oh yes, that was well known. At the moment you received your receipts, if you didn't want any trouble, you'd do exactly as they asked. So you'd wait until you heard the sound of the gong a week before to alert you to the fact that you had to come and pay, and you'd pay it calmly if you had the money. But if you didn't come out at the sound of the gong, you'd be arrested and that was nobody's business but the chief's." Kodjo Toukpeyi, Kévé, Togo, March 27, 2000, explained that people would come to the chief begging him to pay *l'impôt* for them, sometimes as many as thirty or even one hundred, though often the chief himself could not afford to pay. Apelete Agadga-Ahadji Adzikou and Mivesome Fionu, Abobo, Togo, February 10, 2000, stated that the French informed the chiefs a week in advance of their visit to the village to collect *l'impôt*. Koku Asiakpa, Noépé, Togo, February 28, 2000, explained how the chief "recruited" labor for the French: "When for example the chief of the quarter comes to a house, he would take a single person who would work for one week; after that he would be freed and another person would replace him. Thus during those times the ones who were freely at home would go and work in the fields all the while awaiting their eventual turn. That was known as the labor season." Apelete Agadga-Ahadji Adzikou and Mivesome Fionu, Abobo, Togo, February 10, 2000 stated that keeping the village tidy was also one of the menial tasks assigned chiefs: "Formerly, there were weeds and scrubs growing near my house; to get to another house, you'd have to pass through the scrubland. But when the French came the chief deployed the forces of order throughout the village. He made the people tidy up the quarters and remove all the weeds and bad scrubs. After we did this the village became very tidy. The role of the chief is really to keep the village tidy; this initiative came from the French." Kossi Fiagan, Agoényivé, Togo, March 9, 2000, attested that for nonpayment of taxes, he was arrested and taken to the chief, threatened, and beaten. He explicitly used the word "collaborator." "And, if they arrested you but you didn't remain calm, they would beat you and bring you before the chief. I for my part remained very calm, on that day. They brought me also calmly before the chief. I was released after my parents paid up."

78. Chiefs either imprisoned their villagers for nonpayment or were imprisoned themselves, hence their "rage" against those who failed to pay. Interview, chiefs of Notsé, Togo, April 19, 2000.

79. Interview, Mawueniyigan Tikata, Noépé, Togo, February 28, 2000.

80. Interview, Chiefs of Notsé, Togo, April 19, 2000.

81. Interview, Adzowa Eklou, Danyi-Apéyéme, Togo, March 22, 2000.

82. In 1921, Commandant (?) Mazoyer was charged with acts of physical abuse in Lomé and the hinterland. In Agou-Nyongbo, profiteering from sequestered German property was also uncovered. Although files in the *CAOM* list the financial abuses of the regime and are full of extensive inquiries and newspaper reports about nepotism, corruption, and so forth, nothing concerning the abuse of the indigenous population is recorded. The LDRMC's Togo and Dahomey representatives sent reports to the Paris headquarters, which in turn wrote letters of complaint to the Minister of Colonies. There were also reports of beatings and forced labor in the region, and the chief of Azo in Agou was allegedly thrown into a river and drowned. Elsewhere, alleged acts demonstrated a profound disrespect for Ewe traditions. For example, the chief of Agoényive was beaten for not working on the day of his brother's funeral. Report entitled "Les Scandales du Togo," October 25, 1922, *Bulletin* of the League, Vol. III, 1922, 506-7.

83. "Our correspondents observe that M. Bonne-Carrère [*sic*], the new governor, is doing good works and that calm has been reborn. But our colleagues have furnished at the same time various abuses and troubles resulting from various incidents that we feel obliged to bring to your attention." Report entitled "Les Scandales du Togo," October 25, 1922, *Bulletin* of the League, Vol. III, 1922: 506-7. For further discussion see, *ADQO*, SDN/622, 246-58, and also *SDN*, R 37 FMT (12226).

84. "The collection of the poll-tax is becoming a cause of extreme displeasure for the chiefs charged with the job. There are a number of nontaxable individuals, most commonly because they are either not in the village in question, or are ill, or have actually left the locality, and when the chief still does not remit the money that is expected of him, he becomes the object of cruel and inhuman retribution." Report entitled "Les Scandales du Togo," October 25, 1922, *Bulletin* Vol. III, 1922, 506-7.

85. In *SDN*, S 1612 SFM N°9: Pétitions Togo s/m Français, there is a copy of *The Voice of the People* (possibly published in Accra) from 1923, containing an article entitled "An open letter to William Rappard, Esq.," which reads, "We are shut up, because the Frenchman thinks the Colony will be taken away from him if he allows the natives to report about their bad and wrong administrations in Togo. . . . Why can't France send men of integrity to rule and administer us?"

86. *SDN*, R 37 FMT (12226) N°32095: Plaintes contre l'administration française dans les territoires sous mandat du Togo (1923-31). The documents date to 1921 and 1922, but the names of the individual chiefs were deleted.

87. Letter, October 1925. *SDN*, R 37 FMT (12226) N°32095.

88. *ADQO*, SDN/622, 348: they complained, "When the chief finds himself in the impossible situation of being incapable of remitting the sums indicated on the poll-tax records, he is thrown in prison, where he stays until his minions gather together the missing funds."

89. Letter from the president of the Bund, *Gold Coast Spectator*, April 4, 1931. *SDN*, R 2336 FMT (2705) N°2705.

90. Interview, Kodjo Toukpeyi, Kévé, Togo, March 27, 2000. The informant confirmed that the chiefs of Badja and neighboring Yoméchin were arrested and later replaced by the French. Other informants with supporting information include: Apelete Agadga-Ahadji Adzikou and Mivesome Fionu, Abobo, Togo, February 10, 2000; Koku Asiakpa, Noépé, Togo, February 28, 2000; the members of the Conseil des Notables of Bè, Lomé, Togo, March 17, 2000.

91. "Series of reports from the various districts of French Togoland received by the Bund der deutsche Togolaender [*sic*] Head Office Accra," October 14, 1930. *SDN*, R 2336 FMT (2705) N°2705.

92. Letter from the president of the Bund, *Gold Coast Spectator*, April 4, 1931. *SDN*, R 2336 FMT (2705) N° 2705.

93. Several thousand days of unpaid labor was demanded.

94. Letter from Natival to Fréau, February 14, 1933. *ANT*, 8 APA (1933) Carton 1.

95. Letter from Natival to Fréau, February 14, 1933. *ANT*, 8 APA (1933) Carton 1: "The succession to Aleke will be very difficult to assure. The chief in question possesses no direct male descendents of an age suitable to be named chief; it would seem then, in principle, to fall back on his nephews, of which there are at least one dozen; each of these men considers himself a pretender to the throne of his uncle, and between them, a choice will be very difficult to enact. In addition, the canton is very important (18 large villages, 8,000 inhabitants approximately), and difficult to control because of a spirit of rebellion [*l'esprit frondeur*] among certain chiefs (Chief Kodjo of Assahoun—Komlan of Agbessia—Akoutcha of Badja). And also, because of the fact that some of these cantonal villages lie right on the frontier, it is clearly very difficult to control the population." Kodjo Toukpeyi, Kévé, Togo, March 27, 2000, explained how the succession came about: "Upon the death of Aleke, there was Sagada and Logossou, both of which wanted to succeed [to the throne]. Two days after, however . . . the French announced that since there was a dispute over the succession, they would choose Fiati to rule. And that's what happened."

96. Report from Gaudillot to de Guise, February 25, 1933. *ANT*, 8APA (1933) Carton 1.

97. Letter and report from Gaudillot to de Guise of a *tournée* in Akposso-Sud by Rodière, March 19, 1933. *ANT*, 8APA (1933) Carton 1: Situation dans l'Akposso-Sud. This was not ultimately necessary, because after his release from two years' imprisonment in 1935, he and his family fled to British Togoland.

98. *ANT*, 8APA: Renseignements confidentiels.

99. *ANT*, 8APA: Renseignements confidentiels.

100. Efua Avoka, Tsévié, Togo, February 14, 2000, attested that the chief of the quarter of Hetsiavi regularly held anti-French meetings in his house which she had participated in, but she was disinclined to reveal the subjects of discussion. Kouassi Klovi-Mawoussi, Kuma-Apéyéomé, Togo, April 3, 2000, also attested to meetings being organized and hosted by the village chief. A copy of a letter apparently circulated among periurban chiefs was found by Commandant Gaudillot in Akposso-Sud. It reads: "Lomé, December 18, 1932; The President of the Local Council of the city of Lomé, known as DUABO [*sic*] to Chief Abraham Woeledzi of Gobe. We are writing you this letter to inform you that we wish to write to the governor to ask him to abandon his project [of new taxes] and to leave things the way they were before. We have been making efforts to this effect in Lomé and the whole of Togo. We wish to write to the governor in French but word[s] fail us [literally, "the words are missing for us to do this well"]. We entirely lack the funds. This is why we wish that you draw attention to this cause among your deputy chiefs and we will collect money to enable us to aid us all. It is not just you that we are leaning upon to write to the grand chief of Togo, but others too. That is why we would like that each man pay five francs, and market women, three, two or 1,50 francs as appropriate. So that you are clear [about our mission] we are sending along also a copy of the letter we wish to write to the governor." *ANT*, 8 APA (1933) Carton 1. For his part, the chief of Akposso-Sud was alleged to have collected the following: 2,382,50 F, being 190 F in "billet de la Banque de l'Afrique Occidentale," 978,50 F in "pièces de jetons togolais" (unknown origin); and 1,214 F in "pièces métalliques anglaises." *ANT*, 8APA (1933) Carton 1.

101. *ANT*, 8APA (1933) Carton 1.

102. *ANT*, 8APA (1933) Carton 1.



103. Informational brief, March 28, 1933. *ANT*, 8 APA (1933) Carton 1.
104. Letter from L. (unnamed) to Bonnacarrère, intercepted by French security in Dahomey, May 14, 1933. *ANT*, 8APA (1933) Carton 1.
105. Akossiwa Akpabli, from Wodomé, Togo, May 17, 2000, stated that Chief Sabla of Wodomé, Togo, was replaced because he was not collecting enough *impôt* from his border village. In the early 1930s the chief of Kpélé-Elé fled, as did his successor several years later. Interview, Kossiwa Berthe Dake, Kpélé-Elé, Togo, March 21, 2000: "He fled. Truly, during the French period we were terribly tormented by the poll-tax. When the soldiers arrived they would entrap the goats and chickens of those with no avenue of complaint. . . . [T]hey would go to the house of the chief and expect their meal. After 6 pm nobody was allowed to venture out because of the soldiers. . . . Thus, despite the fact that his rice fields were ready for harvesting at that very moment, he fled with his wives to the Gold Coast and stayed there a long time farming cocoa." According to Kodjo Toukpeyi, Kévé, Togo, March 27, 2000, fleeing was the path of least resistance.
106. *Le Cri du Togo*, vol. 1, no. 5 (May 1934) named thirty individuals and their villages of residence. Another article was entitled: "Les Droits de l'Homme: vont-ils être enfin respectés aux Colonies?" *SDN*, S 302 Togo French Mandate 1933-38. It is pertinent to mention in passing that some of the chiefs had exhibited their own logic when explaining the relations between the white officers and African chiefs. The chiefs of Notsé, for example, saw the arrival of the whites as the creation of a double chieftaincy with a division of responsibilities: "Yes indeed, before the arrival of the Germans, there was only one chief in Notsé, the chief of the land whom no one could see easily. Then they arrived. The Germans desired the enthronement of a second chief who would occupy himself directly with the day-to-day affairs because the other could not see very well. Thus we arrived at the situation of two chiefs in Notsé; one chief put in place by the whites who concerns himself with relations with the whites and the first chief, who concerns himself with traditions and ancestral ceremonies. I have to emphasize that very little has changed." Interview, chiefs of Notsé, Togo, April 19, 2000.
107. For example, this from the British periodical, *West Africa*, no. 1139 (March 12, 1938): "In connection with the changes in administrative policy, the Commission showed an interest in the selection and appointment of the new cantonal Chiefs, evidently in the fear that these might be too completely 'yes-men' of the European administration. Actually, the new cantons seem to consist, as far as can be arranged, of normal ethnic groups; and their Chiefs, although appointed by the Administrator, are selected only after the wishes of the people have been ascertained, by public inquiry or otherwise. Contrary to what has been reported by travelers in some French African territories, no *ex-tirailleurs* have been chosen to fill such posts." *SDN*, S 1664 SFM N°7: Togo s/m Français. The stories of intimidation, violence, destoolment, and arbitrary justice, however, went unmentioned.
108. Interview, Komissa Adawofe, Kpélé-Elé, Togo, March 21, 2000.
109. See Lawrance, "En proie."
110. Interview, Soenyameto Adeti, Aképé, Togo, March 18, 2000.
111. Interview, Koffi Dekou, Assahoun, Togo, March 23, 2000.
112. Interview, Klu Gomado, Tsévié, Togo, February 1, 2000. *Afa*, or divination, can be conducted for any individual, regardless of origin. This story would suggest that someone conducted a divination ceremony to ascertain the character of the French. For further information, see Rosenthal, *Possession*.
113. Interview, Ehli Amouzou, Ahépé, Togo, February 15, 2000: "We did not benefit from our own resources. They took it all to build their own country. They made war on us; we had to pay the poll-tax and after a while we achieved independence. Even



the war that they fought among themselves, we had to pay poll-tax for that. We only stopped paying poll-tax when we achieved independence.” Also interview, Koffi Dekou, Assahoun, Togo, March 23, 2000.

114. Letter from Bonnacarrère to his commandants, Lomé, April 20, 1922. *CAOM*, FM/Aff.Pol./T-C/2687, Dossier 2.

115. Letter from Bonnacarrère to his commandants, Lomé, April 20, 1922. *CAOM*, FM/Aff.Pol./T-C/2687, Dossier 2.

116. Interview, Kokou Raphaël Amedzro, Kpalimé, Togo, March 29, 2000: “The first role of the chief is the collection of poll-tax. After that, he is the judge and deals with land claims between two people, for example. Currently, he is charged with those things that maintain peace in the village, such as where to throw rubbish, the general maintenance, and so forth. That’s what the chief does. From his angle, state officials give the chief directives with respect to the population.”

117. Interviews, Peter Abigua, Kévé, Togo, March 20, 2000; chiefs of Notsé, Togo, April 19, 2000.

118. Interview, Komissa Adawofe; Kpélé-Elé, Togo, March 21, 2000.

119. Interview, Mawuenyigan Tikata, Noépé, Togo, February 28, 2000.

120. *CAOM*, FM/Aff.Pol./T-C/634, Dossier N°3: Rapport de l’Inspecteur Bourgeois-Gavardin. Memorandum, July 14, 1941.

121. In his report to Vichy, Bourgeois-Gavardin was scathing about the inadequate use of the census. *CAOM*, 14 MiOM 2309/A.O.F./17G/111: “But I was quite surprised at the insufficient use of this fundamental tool, the census, for getting to know the native population. The census material in use was often quite out of date. I found one from 1930–31, and the majority were at least three or five years old. Many were conducted by native census officials, and in those *cercles* where there was sleeping sickness, agents of the health service conducted the census. And conducted as a simple fiscal instrument, the census carries hardly any social or economic value.”

122. Minutes, March 10, 1927, *ANT*, ACdNL, 95–98.

123. Minutes, March 10, 1927, *ANT*, ACdNL, 98. He also insisted that the increase was to provide for medicines, as the expansion of health services included the provision of free medicines.

124. Interviews, Kossi Fiagan, Agoényivé, Togo, March 9, 2000; Klu Gomado, Tsévié, Togo, February 1, 2000.

125. Interviews, Soenyameto Adeti, Aképé, Togo, March 18, 2000; Kodjo Toukpeyi, Kévé, Togo, March 27, 2000. The “gong gong” was sounded at the exact time of tax collection, or sometimes a day or a week in advance. Interviews, Tete Kossi Apaloo, Batoumé, Togo, March 30, 2000; Augustin Koffi Sobo, Lomé, Togo, January 27, 2000; Kokou Zogli, Agbolé Midodzi, Gbadodopé Kloklu, Adjo Assou Zokpplonou, Héto Mikossopo, the Conseil des Notables in Bè, Lomé, Togo, March 17, 2000.

126. Interview, Adoté Akuété-Akué, Lomé, Togo, February 29, 2000.

127. Several informants spoke of the importance of these receipts and the necessity of keeping them on one’s person at all times. Interviews, Afanténoukpo Kadja, Agoényivé, Togo, March 23, 2000; Woekpo Hotse, Notsé, Togo, April 19, 2000; Kodjo Toukpeyi, Kévé, Togo, March 27, 2000: the receipts were paper. Woekpo Hotse, Notsé, Togo, April 19, 2000, was willing to search for his receipts during the interview. Kouassi Klovi-Mawoussi, Kuma-Apéyéme, Togo, April 3, 2000 spoke of a metallic receipt or *jéton*. In *Le Cri du Togo*, vol. 1, no. 5 (May 1934), an article listed the names of seven people who had paid their *impôt* but had never received a receipt. The word used is “plaque,” suggesting perhaps a metallic object. *SDN*, S 302 TFM 1933–38. This is supported by the 1926 petition of the Bund, in which they speak of “a plaque of zinc upon which is impressed a number corresponding to the number of taxable individ-

uals from the previous year," *ADQO*, SDN/622, 348. During a meeting of the Conseil des Notables in Lomé, Jonathon Savi de Tové produced his receipt for 53 F. Minutes, March 10, 1927, *ANT*, ACdNL, 95-98.

128. Interview, Mawuenyigan Tikata, Noépé, Togo, February 28, 2000. For the *indigénat* in West Africa generally see Asiwaju, *West African Transformations*, 33-62. For Togo, see Péchoux, *Le Mandat*, 111-41.

129. Copy of the observations of Wicksell, June 11, 1927. *SDN*, R 37 FMT (12226) N°32095.

130. Copy of the observations of Wicksell, June 11, 1927. *SDN*, R 37 FMT (12226) N°32095.

131. Indeed, only Sowaye Agbovi, Abobo, Togo, February 10, 2000, maintained that paying 6 shillings was not difficult. At the same time, she mentioned that people were taken hostage in her village for nonpayment.

132. Interviews, Peter Abigua, Kévé, Togo, March 20, 2000; Kouassi Klovi-Mawoussi, Kuma-Apéyémé, Togo, April 3, 2000; Gaba Noukey, Afagnan-Kévé, Togo, March 7, 2000; Sowaye Agbovi, Abobo, Togo, February 10, 2000; Kpondé Sofawoude, Kévé, Togo, March 27, 2000; Apelete Agadga-Ahadji Adzikou, Abobo, Togo, February 10, 2000; Mawuenyigan Tikata, Noépé, Togo, February 28, 2000; Hounovissi Adon, and Gameli, Aglamey, and Simesode Amegninou, the headwomen of Afagnan, Togo, March 7, 2000; Adzowa Eklou, Danyi-Apéyémé, Togo, March 22, 2000; Komi Dzeha, Kuma-Apéyémé, Togo, April 3, 2000.

133. Interview, Amouzou Viagbo, Tabligbo, Togo, February 16, 2000.

134. Interview, Koku Asiakpa, Noépé, Togo, February 28, 2000.

135. This claim was denied by French government officials but supported by interviews with Komissa Adawofe, Kpélé-Elé, Togo, March 21, 2000; and Soenyameto Adeti, Aképé, Togo, March 18, 2000.

136. Interviews, Jacob Adjowou, Assahoun, Togo, February 23, 2000; Komi Dzeha, Kuma-Apéyémé, Togo, April 3, 2000; Agobékpè Asimasi, Kpessi, Togo, February 24, 2000; Akossiwa Akpabli, Wodomé, Togo, May 17, 2000; Woekpo Hotse, Notsé, Togo, April 19, 2000; Akowa Zikpi, Kuma-Apéyémé, Togo, April 3, 2000.

137. Interview, Gaba Noukey, Afagnan-Kévé, Togo, March 7, 2000.

138. Although no one mentioned it during interviewing, *SDN*, S 1663 SFM, N°8: Togoland, contains an extract from *West Africa*, June 19, 1937: 794, about the pawning of children and family members because of taxes.

139. Interview, Komi Dzeha, Kuma-Apéyémé, Togo, March 4, 2000.

140. In 1929, the system of tax collection was experiencing difficulties, and the governor sought advice from the Conseil on how to improve it. Among the suggestions was that each chief be accompanied by at least two "policiers." Minutes, July 30, 1929, *ANT*, ACdNL, 129.

141. Interview, Conseil des Notables of Bè, Lomé, Togo, March 17, 2000. Interview, Akossiwa Akpabli, Wodomé, Togo, May 17, 2000. Interview, Jonas Kokou Kpegba Tegli II, Danyi-Apéyémé, Togo, March 22, 2000.

142. Interview, Komi Dzeha, Kuma-Apéyémé, Togo, April 3, 2000.

143. Interviews, Kodjo Toukpeyi, Kévé, Togo, March 27, 2000; Jacob Adjowou, Assahoun, Togo, February 23, 2000; Kpondé Sofawoude, Kévé, Togo, March 23, 2000; Mawuenyigan Tikata, Noépé, Togo, February 28, 2000.

144. Interview, Mawuenyigan Tikata, Noépé, Togo, February 28, 2000: "At that time the president [*sic*] who governed us was called Maillet. After he weighed and took the palm kernels, he put them in a canoe and sailed off with them. We have no idea where he went or what he was going to do with them."

145. Interview, Komissa Adawofe, Kpélé-Elé, Togo, March 21, 2000.

146. Interview, Afasounoudji Gbogbo, Koklou Koukou Agsigbe, Kossi Boby, Kossi Ekpe, Togbui Amouzou Date, Amegnran Goto, and Ekpe Koedjimezo, chiefs of Tchékpo, Togo, February 15, 2000.

147. Interview, Conseil des Notables of Bè, Lomé, Togo, March 17, 2000.

148. Interview, Kokou Amedzro, Kpalimé, Togo, March 29, 2000. This testimony was supported by Kossiwa Berthe Dake, Kpélé-Elé, Togo, March 21, 2000, who stated that soldiers often stole her family's livestock and used it to feed the chief.

149. Interview, Kodjo Toukpeyi, Kévé, Togo, March 27, 2000.

150. Interview, Akouavi Ayete, Adangbe, Togo, March 6, 2000. The informant explained that her mother had told her to save regularly in order to be able to pay the tax and warned her not to dip into the sum before the date of collection.

151. Interview, Kokou Amedzro, Kpalimé, Togo, March 29, 2000. The informant described various village projects that were funded by the SIP program.

152. This information (from Angèle Parkoo, Assahoun, Togo, February 22, 2000; and Amouzou Viagbo, Tabligbo, Togo, February 16, 2000) is not corroborated in any documentary evidence, although the *impôt* was raised throughout the interwar period, and then much more steeply after World War II because of the 75 percent devaluation of the franc by 1945. See Marguerat, "La seconde guerre," 216; Goeh-Akué, "L'effort de guerre."

153. Interview, Anani Placo-Mlapa, Kodjo Ayivon, Messan Tokple, Koudowo Dzade, and Afagnihou Placo-Mlapa, chiefs of Togoville, Togo, March 13, 2000. Interviews, Kossiwa Berthe Dake, Kpélé-Elé, Togo, March 21, 2000, and Lena Massan Ayivon, Lomé, February 19, 2000.

154. Interview, Fiolete Agbokouse, Mamatouki Nyamati, et Fansi Tossou, Bè, Togo, March 24, 2000.

155. Statement by Francisco de Souza, Minutes, March 10, 1927, *ANT*, ACdNL, 99; statement by Theophilus Tamakloe, Minutes, February 27, 1929, *ANT*, ACdNL, 115.

156. Interviews, Apelete Agadga-Ahadji Adzikou, Abobo, Togo, February 10, 2000; Kossiwa Berthe Dake, Kpélé-Elé, Togo, March 21, 2000.

157. Interviews, Tonu Degbe, Vogan, Togo, March 11, 2000; Komissa Adawofe, Kpélé-Elé, Togo, March 21, 2000; Sowaye Agbovi, Abobo, Togo, February 10, 2000; chiefs of Tchékpo, Togo, February 15, 2000. *Le Cri du Togo*, vol. 1, no. 5 (May 1934) included an article naming thirty people taken hostage for nonpayment of taxes in the Cercle of Aného, and their village of origin. *SDN*, S 302 TFM 1933-38.

158. Interview, chiefs of Togoville, Togo, March 13, 2000.

159. Interview, Mawueniyigan Tikata, Noépé, Togo, February 28, 2000. This is not corroborated by any other individual, although plans were made in the 1930s for oil palm plantations in underpopulated parts of the Watchi plateau.

160. This story could be the same issue discussed by Bonnecarrère in a letter to *l'Union Coloniale*, June 18, 1929. *CAOM*, FM/Aff.Pol./T-C/606, Dossier 12. See Lawrance, "En proie."

161. *SDN*, R 37 FMT (12226) N° 32095, copy of the observations of Wicksell, June 11, 1927.

162. Interview, Kodjo Toukpeyi, Kévé, Togo, March 27, 2000.

163. The traditional migration narrative exists in many written versions, the most important being that recorded by Spieth, *Ewestämme*. The first British Togoland League of Nations report reprinted an abridged version of this narrative, reworked by Rattray.

164. Sossou, "Le commandement indigène," 351-70, provides great detail on the replacements of chiefs in the Cercle of Aného, including Gbotto, Vokoutimé, Sevagan, Adamé, and others.

165. Sossou, "Le commandement indigène," 362–63, cites the cases of the chiefs of Amégnèran and Anfoin.

166. Sossou, "Le commandement indigène," 365.

167. ANT, 2APA, Rapports du Cercle d'Aného: Rapport annuel de 1930, listed Chiefs Asama Katé of Djéta, Kouévi of Avévé, Gafan of Momé, and Messanvi of Kpondavé as delinquent and running with a villain by the name of Amuzuvi Akpadjaka (see figure 5.2).

### Chapter 3: Crisis in an Ewe "Capital"

1. In an interview with Jean Martet, Governor de Guise blamed the *crise*, or "depression," for the circumstances preceding the events of 1933, and taxation as the immediate cause. Martet, *Les Bâtisseurs de Royaumes*, reprinted in *Régards Français sur le Togo*, 65.

2. In an interview with Jean Martet, Governor de Guise implied that he was aware of the periurban dimensions of the revolt when he acknowledged that communities neighboring Lomé were also arriving. Martet, *Les Bâtisseurs de Royaumes*, reprinted in *Régards Français sur le Togo*, 67.

3. An different version of this chapter was published as Lawrance, "La Révolte."

4. To be sure, the term *democracy* is employed loosely, as the Conseil evolved from an appointed to an elected body from a restricted franchise. The 1934 electoral college in the Cercle of Lomé numbered 371 men of a population of 26,213, or roughly 1.4 percent (Gbédémah, "La politique," 326). Yves Marguerat estimates the city itself could not have comprised more than fifteen thousand in 1933. The electoral process and electioneering altered the status of the body in the eyes of the Lomé population. The development of an opposition party, albeit fragmented, is one aspect of democratization.

5. Yagla, *Les indigènes du Togo*, 47, claims that Bonnacarrère first suggested this development in 1928.

6. Ekejiuba, "Down to Fundamentals," 48–53.

7. Clearly, tax-free status was rooted in the precolonial period, but the important assertion here is that it was understood as tax-free only when juxtaposed with the experience of taxation under alternative colonial regime.

8. A letter to Cazeaux from de Guise, January 29, 1933, indicates the administrative paralysis. ANT, 8APA (1933) Carton 1.

9. The first major French administrative restructuring, in 1922 under the governorship of Auguste Bonnacarrère, saw the reintroduction of direct taxation for men and the creation of an appointed Conseil des Notables. The authority to do this was granted by AOF Governor-General Martial Merlin on May 5, 1919. Direct taxation returned the economic burden of *la mission civilisatrice* to the adult male population. The new Conseil furnished the "traditional" male leadership—split evenly between lineage and village heads and urban commercial leaders—with a new, consultative capacity in the day-to-day running of the city. From an appointed body, it evolved into an elected cohort, and with the right of suffrage, the property-owning electorate fractured along ideological lines, between those who wanted a broader (albeit still male) democratic base, and those with a more paternalistic, conservative outlook. Schuerkens, *Du Togo*, 87; see also Conklin, *Mission*, 191–94.

10. Aduayom, "Un prélude." Largely composed of the vanquished, it has been described by Aduayom as an opposition *party*, or *Parti Jeune Togolais*.

11. *ANT*, AdCNL, 191. The extent of the official challenge to his authority is clear from the election itself, letters, petitions, and minutes. At the same time, de Guise reported in the meeting of the Conseil on February 8, 1932, that he had received “a considerable number of anonymous letters” complaining and threatening.

12. By all accounts, the Conseil was Bonnacarrère’s pride and joy, and he wielded it as an effective propaganda tool before the Permanent Mandates Commission. *Annual Report to the League of Nations by the Government of France*, 1924, 200: “Je veux d’abord leur faire connaître que la Société des nations a été très satisfaite de la création des Conseils des Notables. Elle a demandé si d’autres pays africains avaient des Conseils des Notables comme le Togo. Il n’y a pas d’autres colonies où ces conseils fonctionnent comme ici; par conséquent, nous sommes en avance sur les autres contrées de l’Afrique.”

13. See Schuerkens, *Du Togo*, 392–97. Article Sixteen of the 1924 law mandated that the *Commandant de Cercle* consult with the Conseil in all matters of taxation and expenditure. *Annual Report*, 200, reprinted in d’Almeida and Gbédémah, *Le gouverneur*.

14. Rapport de détail no. 65 (March 28, 1927) by Picanon. *CAOM*, FM/Aff.Pol/T-C/3060: 30.

15. It is important to note that village chiefs and other positions in Ewe society were also “elected” by a small group of male elders and elites. The distinction made here is between Ewe precolonial and Western electoral processes. See Bluwey, “Political Systems,” and Asamoah, “Social Institutions.”

16. *Annual Report to the League of Nations by Government of France*, 1931; *ANT*, Rapports des Cercles/Lomé/1931: “une campagne électorale vivement menée.”

17. *ANT*, Rapports des Cercles/Lomé/1931: The election “constituent l’événement le plus marquant du premier trimestre. . . . Au cours de la session précédente, des divergences sensibles s’étaient manifestées dans le sein du Conseil, dans la manière d’envisager la défense des intérêts communs. Des rivalités s’étaient élevées, notamment entre deux groupes représentent à eux seuls une importante fraction de la fortune du Cercle de Lomé. . . . La brusque retour à un état de choses normal a rappelé chacun à une saine conception des choses; la collectivité indigène que menaçait une rapide désagrégation s’est resserrée autour de ses chefs traditionnels, et ceux-ci, qui avaient vu leurs influence souvent contrebalancée par des individus nouveaux, auxquels leurs richesses relative donnait une prépondérance morale certaine dans les assemblées villageoises, ont regagné une partie de leur autorité antérieure.” (Report by Bouquet.)

18. *ANT*, AdCNL, March 8, 1931.

19. *ANT*, AdCNL, March 8, 1931: “De plus, la population de Lomé, sensiblement plus évoluée, a un ‘standard of life’ [*sic*] plus élevée et partant, la création de capitaux d’épargne s’y constitue plus difficilement. Nous assistons quotidiennement à la dissolution de cette épargne accumulée au cours de bonnes années, auxquelles était rédevable le développement considérable de la propriété indigène, que nous voyons se grèver peu à peu d’hypothèques et repasser aux mains des créanciers gagistes, eux-mêmes genés.” Also, *ANT*, AdCNL, October 16, 1931, and February 8, 1932: 172–78, 179–94.

20. De Guise style marked a significant departure from that of his predecessor. In his reply to the Conseil’s December 12, 1932 letter, de Guise stated that he could not consider their request to suspend tax increases: “En effet, d’après les statistiques à l’exportation, les produits tels que les palmistes et l’huile de palme continuent à être achetés par les maisons de commerce et même j’ai constaté jusqu’aujourd’hui une augmentation quant à la vente du cacao. Si le prix d’achat a baissé en comparaison avec

les hauts cours pratiqués précédemment, les habitants peuvent facilement compenser cette baisse de prix par une production plus importante.” He refused to believe people were selling land in order to pay their *impôt*, as alleged by members of the Conseil, and stated that Togo only adopted the same age requirement as the AOF: “J’estime qu’un indigène qui n’a pas obtenu à 16 ans son certificate d’études ou qui n’a pas terminé son apprentissage, est incapable de continuer ses études et doit les abandonner pour travailler.” *ADQO*, SDN/622, 726. And de Guise’s style immediately lost him some valuable allies. Indeed, the most powerful traditional chief, Lawson V of Aného (see chapter 2), was distrustful of and distrusted by de Guise, and sent secret letters to his mentor in retirement. One such letter, May 14, 1933, was intercepted in Dahomey. *ANT*, 8APA (1933) Carton 1.

21. *ANT*, AdCNL, October 18, 1932: 202–3: Augustino de Souza “fait par à Monsieur le Commandant . . . des doléances de la population au sujet de la perception de patentes sur les petites revendeuses et sur les boulangères vendant en ville le produit de leur travail. Il demande à ce que la patente ne soit pas exigée de chacune des revendeuses qui n’agissent, pour un grand nombre d’entre elles qui comme employées d’autres déjà patentées.” The extent of economic decline is documented and graphed in d’Almeida-Ekué, *La révolte*, 21–36. See also *CAOM*, FM/Aff.Pol/T-C/622/9461. In his final report to the government, Cazeaux included some estimations, including a two-thirds decline in economic output, a 40 percent fall in personal savings, and a 10 percent rise in unemployment. *ANT*, ACdNL, October 18, 1932, 202–3: de Souza explained that incomes were falling and unemployment was rising, and that all efforts should be made to avoid increasing the economic burden on the indigenous population. Indeed, one reading of the minutes of the Conseil meetings would suggest that the idea of creating a market holding tax was partly in response to a complaint by members of the unfairness of the unevenly enforced “patente” system. *ANT*, ACdNL, October 18, 1932, 202: “Ce que peut être par contre envisagé, ce serait l’établissement d’une taxe de marché en remplacement de la patente, qui aurait toutefois l’inconvénient d’être moins favorable aux revendeuses—les mêmes considérations s’appliquent aux opérations des boulangères.” *ANT*, 8 APA (1933) Carton 1.

22. Letter to Inspector Cazeaux, January 30, 1933 (after some of the events). *ANT*, 8 APA (1933) Carton 1. D’Almeida-Ekué, *La révolte*, 51, notes that the Lomé notables were joined by the Atakpamé and Aného Conseils in protest, although I have located documentation only for Aného. Report by Fréau to de Guise, January 12, 1933. *ANT*, 8 APA (1933) Carton 1. Letter to de Guise, in *La Voix du Dahomey*, Janvier–Février 1933/72–73, reprinted in d’Almeida-Ekué, *La révolte*, 141ff. The Conseil voiced its concern for “energetic solutions” to the economic situation, but cautioned against new and greater taxation. The Conseil explained that many sectors of the community found it hard to pay the current tax rates, and that taxes on market women, inherently unfair, would ultimately be passed on to the consumer.

23. *ANT*, AdCNL, 170–71.

24. The *ANT*, AdCNL minutes inconsistently report attendance, excused absence, and inexcused absence. Although the balance of the Conseil’s membership between Lomé and the periurban zone was ostensibly even, a survey of each of the seventy-three meetings for which minutes exist demonstrates that Lomé residents were consistently in the majority on almost every occasion.

25. An exhaustive list of the subjects addressed at meetings of the Conseil is impossible here. A brief list of the more important topics listed under “Ordres du Jour” spanning the duration of the operation of the Conseil includes: taxation; violence perpetrated against Africans by colonial officers; the circulation of automotive traffic;



electrification; agricultural plantations; education; health, hygiene, and medicine; justice; and construction within and outside the city, including cemeteries, roads, railways, and so on. It was also the most common venue at which visiting dignitaries would present themselves.

26. Arrêté N° 34, January 16, 1933. See Schuerkens, *Du Togo*, 398f. CAOM, FM/Aff.Pol/T-C/622/9461: Cazeaux explained this problem as “Le chefs y gagneront en autorité sur leurs administrés, car ils comprendront qu’ils sont les représentants du pouvoir central et non point l’emanation d’un collège électoral auquel ils doivent obéir et rendre des comptes.” For the salary of Jonathon Savi de Tové and the campaign against him, see *ANT*, 8 APA (1933) Carton 1. See also Ghartey’s letter to Cazeaux, May 19, 1933. *ADQO*, SDN/622, 724.

27. Aduayom, “Un prélude,” 41f; d’Almeida and Gbédémah, *Le Gouverneur*, 72–78; Amenumey, *Eue Unification*, 27; d’Almeida-Ekué, *La révolte*, 99–107; Tété-Adjalogo, *De la colonization*, 194–200.

28. *ADQO*, SDN/622, 738.

29. CAOM, FM/Aff.Pol/T-C/622/9461: Cazeaux, reporting after the events, reflected that the electoral experiment inaugurated by Bonnacarrère “dans le but de pratiquer une politique de collaboration étroite et confiante avec la population” stimulated “l’état d’évolution sociale et individuelle de l’indigène rendu la population apte à comprendre et par conséquent à critiquer les cas écheant, la politique des dirigeants.” But he asserted that the word “election” germinated other related concepts which the native mind was not ready to grasp. Instead, he thought that words such as “choix” or “designation” would be better.

30. See CAOM, FM/Aff.Pol/T-C/622/9461: In the words of Cazeaux, de Guise felt Bonnacarrère’s program provided “for the exercise of powers for which they were not prepared.” Also, Minutes, February 8, 1932. *ANT*, AdCNL.

31. No evidence suggests that women participated. In the interview with Dossi Ekué-Attoignon, in d’Almeida-Ekué, *La révolte*, 83, she explained that Duawo summoned the market women and informed them of the tax rises. She does add that they took longer at it than the Conseil des Notables. According to information from the trial of Duawo members in 1933 and various other informants, Duawo met in the open at a private dancing hall in Tonyéviadji. I found the only known photograph of the group (see fig. 3.1). *SDN*, R4111 FM 1642.

32. All these terms and other conspiracy theories are proposed by Cazeaux, de Guise, Fréau, Nativel, and others. Fréau, particularly, was unable to distinguish one from the other, and blurred the brief troubles in 1921, the general exodus to the Gold Coast, and the events of 1933 in a letter to de Guise, February 21, 1933, and Report to Nativel, February 14, 1933. *ANT*, 8 APA (1933) Cartons 1–2.

33. In an interview with Jean Martet, Governor de Guise stated, “[A]nd we don’t much care for secret societies.” Martet, *Les Bâtisseurs de Royaumes*, reprinted in *Régards Français sur le Togo*, 66 (my translation).

34. A few locals were critical of the Conseil and Duawo, for example, a letter in the *Gold Coast Independent*, March 18, 1933, with the title “Une situation alarmante à Lomé” by an otherwise unknown J. F. Adoku. In his letter to Inspector Cazeaux, March 13, 1933, Ghartey alleges that the organization formed after the 1931 elections and that Commandant Bouquet gave his verbal consent to the body. In another letter, May 9, 1933, Ghartey stated that it had been functioning since March 1933, and he alleges the government was well aware of it. He added that even Bonnacarrère was aware. Reprinted in d’Almeida-Ekué, *La révolte*, 147–50. *ANT*, 8 APA (1933) Carton 1.

35. Aduayom, “Un prélude,” 44.



36. According to Nativel, Ghartey reprinted a copy of *Paris-Soir* containing a story about a strike in Drancy. See d'Almeida-Ekué, *La révolte*, 99–107.

37. A letter by an organization calling itself “Les Révolutionnaires du Togo” was addressed to Saint-Alary, Chief Financial Officer, Togo, January 24, 1933. Duawo sent a circular to all Ewe chiefs requesting funds for a “campaign,” December 18, 1932. *ANT*, 8 APA (1933) Carton 1. According to one report, the staggering sum of 2382,50 F was collected by Chief Oueledji of the Canton of South Akposso, of which 190 F were “billet de la BAO,” and 978,50 F were in “pièces de jetons togolais” and another 1214 F were in “pièces métalliques anglaises.” See *ANT*, 8APA/1/1993 and discussed in Lawrance, “Languages Between. . .” Interview with Hubert Kponton, in d'Almeida-Ekué, *La révolte*, 75.

38. Interview with Antoine d'Almeida, in d'Almeida-Ekué, *La révolte*, 78, in which he stated that Ghartey and others of the “Comité directeur” commissioned him to write a letter, because they were in disagreement with that written by Michael Johnson. He referred specifically to “l'insurrection secrètement organisée devait se déclencher.”

39. One Gold Coast journalist mis-identified “Duawo” as “Gbawo” meaning “jungle beasts” or “the untamables,” and blamed the organization for the violence. *Gold Coast Independent*, March 18, 1933, “Une situation alarmante à Lomé” by J. F. Adoku. *ANT*, 8 APA (1933) Carton 1.

40. As with the “Aba Riots” or the “Igbo Women’s War” discussed by Van Allen, several phrases in French and Ewe refer to the events that emphasize different aspects, including “La révolte des femmes,” “Les journées des pierres,” and “Les Grands Jours.” The second term means “Days of Stones,” referring to stone-throwing. For Lomé’s civil society, see Marguerat, “La Naissance,” 17ff.

41. See Lawrance, “Language Between Powers.”

42. To be sure, this was not a *new* border, but because the French regime did enforce new customs and frontier controls, where German and British customs harmony had previously existed, it was effectively a new frontier *zone*.

43. The Conseil, a deliberative body with no promulgative or executive authority, had an influential role but rarely a unanimous voice. Its members were most concerned with taxes that would affect their personal holdings—the new tax on urban property (*foncier*), which would directly underwrite the cost of the new *commune*. No serious questions were raised about the potential impact on families of women being taxed directly (by the head tax) and indirectly (by the market stall “permit”). The response of the commandant to the initial expression of concern seems disingenuous. Minutes, October 18, 1932. *ANT*, ACdNL, 202.

44. Minutes, October 18, 1932. *ANT*, ACdNL, 202.

45. Minutes, November 18, 1932 and November 19, 1932. *ANT*, ACdNL. On each of these Conseils, eminent Togolese served in an *ex officio* capacity. Letter, December 12, 1932, and reply from de Guise, December 22, 1932. *ANT*, 8 APA (1933) Carton 1.

46. Letter, December 18, 1932. *ANT*, 8 APA (1933) Carton 1.

47. Following a telegram of sanction from the Minister of Colonies in Paris, December 28, 1932. *ANT*, 8 APA (1933) Carton 1. Interview, Ekué-Attognon, reprinted in d'Almeida-Ekué, *La révolte*, 83, supports this statement. Also, interview, chiefs of Bè, Lomé, Togo, March 17, 2000, supports this.

48. *ANT*, 8 APA (1933) Carton 1. The contents of this letter (January 9, 1933) were considered so inflammatory that de Guise refused to meet with the Conseil des Notables of Aného and demanded an investigation and an apology.

49. Letter, January 20, 1933, mentions Duawo, copied to Inspector Jacques Cazeaux who was currently in the territory. *ANT*, 8 APA (1933) Carton 1.

50. This clerk and Duawo member was the immediate superior of Antoine d'Almeida. Letter, January 24, 1933, signed "Les Révolutionnaires du Togo." *ANT*, 8 APA (1933) Carton 1.

51. In a letter from exile in Denu, across the border in the neighboring Gold Coast, addressed to Cazeaux, March 12, 1933, Ghartey explained that as he was being transferred from the commissioner's office to prison, he saw his "boy" and told him to take his bicycle and quickly announce around the town that he and Johnson had been arrested. *ANT*, 8 APA (1933) Carton 1.

52. Interview with Antoine d'Almeida, in d'Almeida-Ekué, *La révolte*, 79; *ANT*, 8 APA (1933) Carton 1. Various sources provide conflicting numbers. Cazeaux's final report notes that Bouquet estimated twelve hundred on the first afternoon, whereas he himself judged the number to be three thousand. De Guise put the figure closer to five hundred. Cazeaux thought five thousand an exaggeration and suggested somewhere between two and three thousand. Various reports substantiate the large youth participation. For example, a report by Léon Bauche, April 24, 1933 says the majority of the crowd in Amoutivé, about a thousand, were "écoliers," speaking half in French and half in English. *ANT*, 8 APA (1933) Carton 1.

53. The question of gunfire is contentious, although it is reported in an interview with Antoine d'Almeida, in d'Almeida-Ekué, *La révolte*, 79.

54. The triumphalist nature of the procession was noted by Cazeaux and de Guise. It was remembered proudly by Antoine d'Almeida and Hubert Kponton, although it represents a conflation of cultural signifiers, as I explain below.

55. d'Almeida-Ekué, *La révolte*, 63.

56. The only report of this comes from Cazeaux. d'Almeida-Ekué *La révolte*, 63.

57. *PRO*, CO/96/710/6.

58. The text of this announcement is very ambiguous: "Monsieur le gouverneur, commissaire de la République, me prie de vous informer qu'il demande à Monsieur le Ministre des Colonies l'autorisation de surseoir à l'application des nouvelles taxes." *ANT*, 8 APA (1933) Carton 1. Bouquet famously disappeared the day after the rioters by taking vacation leave, and was unavailable for cross-examination by Cazeaux.

59. The Ivoiriens arrived on January 30, 1933, and the Dahomeans left on February 1, 1933.

60. The ominous phrase used by de Guise in cable no. 13 to Paris on January 25, 1933, reads thus: "Je vais immédiatement réorganiser et renforcer forces milice et police pour proceder épuration nécessaire. Question budgétaire devient maintenant secondaire et il importe avant toute maintenir notre autorité." *Archives Militaires*, Togo/Dahomey/15H/49/13. See also d'Almeida-Ekué, *La révolte*, 67.

61. Photographs of the dead by A. Accolatse reached the PMC. *SDN*, R4111/FM/1642.

62. Interview with Dossi Ekué-Attognon, in d'Almeida-Ekué, *La révolte*, 84.

63. Letter from Fréau to de Guise, August 31, 1933. *ANT*, 8 APA (1933) Carton 1. This letter detailed the punishments for each "collectivité," including Awé, Agoènyivé, and Bè receiving three thousand days each of compulsory labor. Others listed included Amoutivé and Kodjoviakopé.

64. Interview, chiefs of Bè, Lomé, Togo, February 17, 2000: They explained that the people of Bè were punished by being forced to build a road through the quartier. The road through Bè was planned in 1931-32, and from the minutes of the Conseil, January 8, 1932, it is clear that the residents were opposed to a road through the "faubourg." *ANT*, AdCNL, 181.

65. For example, the village of Agoènyive was described thus: "L'insolence et le cynisme de cette collectivité, surtout des femmes, se sont développés très rapidement

et auraient produit des désordres bien plus graves encore si les troupes. . . . Agouvé a toujours eu un attitude plus ou moins revêche voire indiscipline.” *ANT*, 8APA, Reseignements Confidentiels.

66. Interview with Antoine d’Almeida, in d’Almeida-Ekué, *La révolte*, 81.

67. No informants provided examples of the deployment of this power during the precolonial period.

68. Dansi Tomety was the sole woman invoking her mandate “right” to appeal directly to the PMC in Geneva. During the forced exile of the Adjigo-Gaba clan (ca. 1924) from Aného to Mangu in the north, one woman detailed her suffering. Another woman, exiled in Nigeria, related that of her Togolese kin (letter, July 10, 1924). *SDN*, R37 FMT 12226 No. 20494.

69. In addition to the well-documented case in Igboland, similar events erupted in Keta, Worawora, and Cape Coast. See also Robertson, *Sharing*, 12. For Dahomey see *CAOM*, FM/Aff.Pol/T-C/608, Dossier 6. For Cameroun, see Austen, *Middlemen*, and Schler, “The Strangers.” *Archives Nationales du Cameroun*, FF/APA/11217/B. For Kenya, see Presley, *Kikuyu*. The Igbo, Ewe, and Ga have similar decentralized although by no means acephalous village structures, in which women maintain physical as well as moral distance from their menfolk. In colonial Asante, too, however, the archetypal centralized African state, women operated within and maintained their own moral and social economies, expressing their dissatisfaction informally. See Allman and Tashjian, “*I Will Not Eat Stone*.” Even among urbanized communities, or in the case of the Ewe women, periurban women who obeyed traditional market cycles bringing them into regular contact with urbanized communities, such patterns of separation operated.

70. See Van Allen, “Sitting on a Man,” and “Aba Riots.” By “sitting on a man” Igbo women reasserted control over the political sphere and elements of the domestic economy, the articles with which they maintained and reproduced their roles as domestic guardians.

71. Elsewhere I have documented how resistance to French currency was part of a wider anglophilia among the southern Ewe community. Lawrance, “Language Between Powers.”

72. Interview, Komi Dzeha, Kuma-Apéyéomé, Togo, April 3, 2000.

73. Interview, Fiolete Agbokouse, Mamatouki Nyamati, and Fansi Tossou, Bè, Lomé, Togo, March 24, 2000. Each space designated for a market in Lomé has its own history of formation and ownership. The French were more likely to conceive of markets as simply groups of stalls that could be shifted and reorganized. The following excerpt from an interview with some market women in Bè, Lomé, Togo, is suggestive of the historical importance of naming and location: “Le fondateur du marché est originaire d’AGODO, il s’appelle DIAKPO; c’est pour cela qu’on appelle ce marché ‘marché de DIAKPO’ ensuite ça a pris le nom de ‘marché de NYAMEGBE’ ce qui signifie ‘le marché de celui qui ne veut pas d’histoire.’ Ce marché appartient aux gens de Bè, il s’anime jusque tard dans la nuit ce qui fait même lorsqu’on reçoit un étranger qui arrive dans la nuit on peut toujours lui trouver de la nourriture au marché.” Moreover, markets are spiritually cleansed places, and the formation and designation of a market requires a process of cleansing performed by women, not dissimilar to the spiritual cleansing after the shootings in Ahanoukopé. Again, “Lorsqu’on a créer ce marché nous étions encore petits; on allait dans ce marché de DIAKPO ramasser des branches de cocotiers avec quoi on faisait des balaies pour balayer. On y allait également chercher du bois pour faire le feu; il y avait également là un arbre appelé Anolifoxe dont les branches nous servaient à faire de balaies pour balayer. Avant c’était un champ d’harades qui se trouvait à la place du marché. Le train arrive également au marché et on y décharge des bidons d’huile que les gens vendent. Les rails y

traversaient le marché de Bè.” The French were not alone in their desire to change the markets. Only a few years later, in 1932, Pasteur Baëta, a member of the Conseil, proposed that rural markets should be forced to open earlier in the day, before noon, to ensure that periurban market women were able to return to their villages before nightfall. *ANT*, ACdNL, February 8, 1932.

74. During the same period, an attempt to remove all foreign coins from circulation in the periurban town of Tsévié met with sore resentment and necessitated a cash injection of small coinage, the currency basis of the local market cycle. *ANT*, 8APA/Lome/1929.

75. Interview, Dossi Ekué-Attognon, d’Almeida-Ekué, *La révolte*, 82–85.

76. This third aspect has some parallels with Bastian, “Dancing Women.”

77. Bastian, “Dancing Women,” 116: “The actual songs women sang and danced to spoke directly to [the] pollution and its sources.” For narratives and folk songs as the social history of popular consciousness, see Vail and White, “Forms of Resistance,” 888; see also James, *Songs*.

78. Interview, Fiolele Agbokouse, Mamatouki Nyamati, and Fansi Tossou Bè, Lomé, Togo, March 24, 2000. The women named several of the now deceased protagonists. “Mais on voulait parler de ces femmes bien qu’elles soient mortes maintenant. On veut connaître leurs noms. Parmi ces femmes, il y a SOGNAWA, ADOKPOANOU, ALOUGBA, AHOLUSSI, AMANA, HOUNWOGBE, AGBAGLO, etc. . . . C’est elles qui ont assez d’argent et qui prospèrent dans le commerce au marché. C’est elles qui vont dans d’autres marchés pour acheter des marchandises en gros pour venir vendre de notre marché aux détaillants. Elles achètent du maïs, du haricot, du arachides, du riz, etc. pour venir vendre aux détaillants.” *PRO*, CO/96/710/6: A confidential report, March 17, 1933 from the governor in Accra to London stated that the first riot began the moment the market tax was enforced. “Other than a few hangers-on there were no men in this crowd. . . . [A] trainload of market women arrived from outlying stations but were prevented from opening up the market by the women who demonstrated the day before.”

79. Interview, Dossi Ekué-Attognon, in d’Almeida-Ekué, *La révolte*, 82–85: “Un jour, ça devrait être un mardi, vers midi, nous avons appris que les deux responsables des duawo étaient arrêtés. La nouvelle nous consterna, mais dans un sursaut d’indignation nous nous ressaissîmes. L’une d’entre nous dit: ‘il faut réagir! allons à la prison demander leur libération.’ Tout le marché bouillonnait de colère. On rangea nos affaires précipitamment. Des mots d’ordre circulaient. ‘Toutes les femmes à la prison!’ D’autres disaient: ‘allons voir le commandant!’ Mais, il se trouvait que la prison et les bureaux du commandant de cercle étaient au même endroit, c’est-à-dire là où se trouve aujourd’hui l’Ecole de la Marina.”

80. Interview, François Amarin, Cotonou, Bénin, June 4, 2000.

81. In the words of Inspector Cazeaux: “La foule des femmes, voyant que son interventions n’obtenait pas de résultat, se dirigea vers l’hôtel du commissariat de la République en passant non loin de l’immeuble que j’occupe; aussi ai-je pu voir le flot des manifestants s’écouler le long de l’avenue qui conduit à l’hôtel du gouverneur et ai-je pu, par moi-même, me rendre compte que si certaines d’entre-elles étaient en proie à une vive agitation, la grand majorité ne paraissait pas animée d’intentions mauvaises. Elles semblaient d’autant moins menaçants que je crus tout d’abord à une de ces manifestations amicales faites en l’honneur d’un personnage officiel que l’on veut honorer.” *CAOM*, FM/Aff.Pol./T-C/608, Dossier 6.

82. No fewer than three German aviators landed in Togo in 1933. Sternberg (in Lomé April 7–12); Beinhorn (in Lomé for 24 hours in July); and “Zenta” Dinglireiter (in Klouto July 3). All three are discussed by d’Almeida-Ekué, *La révolte*, 129f, though

clearly she had no knowledge of this chant. According to some records the woman brought a letter for the members of the Bund der deutschen Togoländer and returned with letters for a former German governor. CAOM, FM/Aff.Pol./T-C/608, Dossier 11.

83. Interview, Antoine d'Almeida, in d'Almeida-Ekué, *La révolte*, 77–82.

84. See Gilli, *Héviéso*, 174.

85. Though the insults are not specified in this account, Gilli records six incidents that necessitating ceremonies. The third is “*me nye mi na wo*,” which can be roughly translated as “Go fuck yourself!” Gilli, *Héviéso*, 160ff.

86. Gilli, *Héviéso*, 168, translates *gble* as “abîmé” or “gâté” and occasionally “deshonoré” to indicate both the material and spiritual senses of pollution. The origin of its worship is possibly Hévié in Bénin, though the Yorùbà town Oyo is the mythical birthplace, hence Héviéso is often explained as a “borrowed” god, one not originally Ewe. The name Héviéso translates literally as *Hévié so*, “lightning of Hévié.”

87. Gilli, *Héviéso*, 171, explains the role of the *aza* thus: “Le Alaga qui se trouve en brousse aurait, dit-on, jeté tous ses habits et il se présenterait seulement habillé de branches de palme appelées Aza. Ces branches sont le symbole du danger, des fautes, de l'inconnu et de l'imparfait. Ces branches sont encore utilisées pour barrer un chemin, pour défendre du vol tout fruit de la campagne, pour interdire toute action ou toute approche de quelque chose.”

88. Interview, Dossi Ekué-Attognon, in d'Almeida-Ekué, *La révolte*, 83f.

89. Gilli, *Héviéso*, 171, contends that dust or red earth signifies that the spirits live in termite mounds or at road junctions.

90. Interview, Dossi Ekué-Attognon, in d'Almeida-Ekué, *La révolte*, 83f. Also, *PRO*, CO/96/710/6.

91. Interview, Hubert Kponton, in d'Almeida-Ekué, *La révolte*, 74–77: “*Savi do ahoua, ahoua le gbéadji, Français do ahoua, ahoua le gbéadji.*” Kponton attributes this chant to the following day, though it is likely his memory is eliding several events, as no other informant, French or African, asserted that there was a large crowd of women the morning of January 25. Much of his chronology is confused, and d'Almeida-Ekué notes this on page 106.

92. The triumphalism of the crowd has clearly been exaggerated by the conflation of the use of palm fronds for the *Alaga* chant with another religious ceremony. The only plausible explanation is that French and Christian African observers were inclined to view palm fronds as the triumphal apparatus reminiscent of Palm Sunday.

93. Interview, Matedi Awudi, Lomé, Togo, February 29, 2000.

94. Hafkin and Bay, *Women*, introduction, and Lewis, “The Limitations.”

95. Interview, Chiefs of Bè, Lomé, Togo, March 17, 2000.

96. Interview, Dossi Ekué-Attognon, in d'Almeida-Ekué, *La révolte*, 84: “malediction.”

97. Some informants believed a Frenchman did the killing, but an Ivoirian took the blame. Interview, Matedi Awudi, Lomé, Togo, February 29, 2000.

98. Interview, Matedi Awudi, Lomé, Togo, February 29, 2000. A neat summary of this idea from a Lomé woman's perspective: “Si on ne leur avait pas fait l'appel, ils ne seraient pas venus.”

99. For an interesting exploration of the indigenous cultural logic of the Anlo Ewe with respect to environmental disaster, see Akyeampong, *Between the Sea*.

100. Interview, the chiefs of Bè, Lomé, Togo, March 17, 2000: “Si on tue les gens avec des fusils, on a profané la terre; ainsi on va dans la forêt sacrée pour faire des cérémonies.” Interviews, Affiwa Josephine Gagna, Lomé, Togo February 7, 2000; Matedi Awudi, Lomé, Togo, February 29, 2000.

101. See Rosenthal, *Possession*, 68–70.

102. Gilli, *Héviéssso*, 167-75. Modern *alaga* ceremonies draw these displays together into one. The full, seven-day ritual begins with the *hodoun* (priest) receiving from the vodoun news that offence has been committed. This is followed by the naming and insulting of the offender(s) and culminates with the cleansing and purification that permit the offender(s) to reenter the spiritual fold.

103. In the words of one, the spirits of Bè *demandé* the ceremonies. Interview, Affiwa Josephine Gagna, Lomé, Togo, February 7, 2000.

104. Interview, Matedi Awudi, Lomé, Togo, February 29, 2000.

105. There is little information about the services performed. Elaborate traditional ceremonies, blending Christian and vodou traditions, are reserved for those who die naturally. However, in her interview, Dossi Ekué-Attognon hinted at the palpable tension of one church ceremony: "A l'enterrement des victimes du soldat d'Abidjan, la population mécontente a crié sur le Père Ollier dans l'église quand, dans son sermon, il a demandé de pardonner à ce soldat fou. Le parent d'une victime a dit à haute voix dans l'église: 'vous n'avez qu'une année de fous'." Interview with Dossi Ekué-Attognon, in d'Almeida-Ekué, *La révolte*, 85.

106. See interview with Antoine d'Almeida, in d'Almeida-Ekué, *La révolte*, 80. D'Almeida, supposedly a devout Catholic, was very enlightening about the practices themselves and the blurring of Christian and animist traditions. He stated: "Aussi, je servis d'interprète à de Guise dans cette circonstance. Il disait à la foule que les familles seraient dédommagées et que le gouvernement prendrait soin de l'inhumation des corps. Dans ma traduction, je glissais le propos suivant à la foule: 'n'acceptez pas que vos parents soient inhumés par le Gouvernement.' Je dis ensuite à l'adresse de Guise que la foule s'opposait à l'enterrement officiel des victimes car, elles-ci étant mortes de manière violente, il fallait procéder à un rituel traditionnel avant l'inhumation. De Guise ne s'y opposa pas." Also for death reports and funeral costs, *ANT*, 8APA/2. The French government, which had earlier promised to foot the bills, reacted with some surprise when the final invoices arrived.

107. Interview, Matedi Awudi, Lomé, Togo, February 29, 2000.

108. Interview, the chiefs of Bè, Lomé, Togo, March 17, 2000: "Comme le mal est dans le pays on le ramasse pour aller jeter dans la mer qui l'emporte loin de nous. S'il y a une épidémie on fait cette cérémonie au nom des ancêtres pour se débarrasser de la maladie; et pour que cela disparaisse du pays. Lorsque le médecin te fait une injection tu seras le seul à être guéri, mais si c'est à l'échelle du pays on procède à cette cérémonie."

109. Interview, Matedi Awudi, Lomé, Togo, February 29, 2000.

110. Gilli, *Héviéssso*, 173.

111. Gilli, *Héviéssso*, 173. For the collective gods, see footnote on *Héviéssso* above. The herbs used are known by their Ewe names, *anya*, *ahoema*, *tobolo*, *afideme* and *aflavi*.

112. Interview, Affiwa Josephine Gagna, Lomé, Togo, February 7, 2000. She reported that the Notsé priests sacrificed a chicken. More recently, in a cleansing ceremony the *honoun* demanded twelve bottles of palm liquor, a chicken, a cockerel, and a sheep, in addition to a monetary contribution. See also Gilli, *Héviéssso*, 172.

113. Interview, Affiwa Josephine Gagna, Lomé, Togo, February 7, 2000: "Nous ne pouvons pas chanter cette chanson ici maintenant; c'est seulement pendant la cérémonie qu'on chante cette chanson. En chantant on est en train de faire sortir les mauvaises choses du pays. Avant de chanter cette chanson l'on ne doit pas avoir de vêtement sur lui; ni des chaussures. On ne doit même pas manger du piment ni du sel ce jour là; on se lève de matin pour faire la cérémonie afin de faire sortir le mal du pays."



114. Interview, Matedi Awudi, Lomé, Togo, February 29, 2000. Bastian, "Dancing Women," 115f, states that "sweeping was a prelude—a stirring up of the dust—for the identification of pollution."

115. Interview, the chiefs of Bè, Lomé, Togo, March 17, 2000: "Cependant si le mal est à l'échelle nationale, par exemple, si les gens meurs en grand nombre, s'il y a une épidémie, si une guerre menace, c'est en ce moment qu'on se livre à ce rituel où on traîne le postérieur au sol."

116. Interview, Affiwa Josephine Gagna, Lomé, Togo, February 7, 2000: "Les gens ont commencé par mourir. Avant les gens ne mouraient pas comme maintenant. Les gens de Bè ne mouraient pas comme ça. Il vivent longtemps. A partir du moment où ils ont tiré les gens commencent par mourir. Ils disent que parce qu'on a sali le pays et qu'il faut réparer les dommages. Ce qui fut fait. Pour réparer les dommages, le commandant Fréau a du payer avant de partir."

117. Interview, Affiwa Josephine Gagna, Lomé, Togo, February 7, 2000. In a personal communication, Yves Marguerat has observed that a park was present in German city plans dated 1909. Whether or not the site was home to local vodoun, he suggests that this explanation was part of an *a posteriori* cultural reinscription by local residents.

118. Interview, chiefs of Bè, Lomé, Togo, March 17, 2000: "Cette place appartient au peuple et c'est là que les cérémonies se font pour tout le peuple, ainsi cet homme sait que si les blancs détruisent cet endroit il y aura des conséquences graves qui vont en découler et c'est pour cela qu'il a jeté l'éponge en abandonnant ce lieu au peuple. Cet endroit n'appartient pas au blanc mais à Bè et les blancs ne peuvent pas le détruire; c'est notre lieu de cérémonie. . . . Fréau Jardin est un lieu de rassemblement et de réunion pour les gens de Bè. Donc pour traiter les affaires d'Etat c'est à cet endroit que les gens se rassemblent; les français n'ont pas voulu prendre ce lieu avant de nous le laisser mais ce lieu avant de nous le laisser mais ce lieu appartient toujours au peuple et non aux français."

119. Interview, Fiolete Agbokouse, Mamatouki Nyamati, and Fansi Tossou, Bè, Lomé, Togo, March 24, 2000: "Après la période où les hommes payaient l'impôt, on avait voulu faire payer l'impôt aux femmes mais cela n'a jamais été le cas et les femmes n'ont jamais payé d'impôt."

120. A parallel historical moment of magico-religious symbolism would be the well-documented story of the "Garveyite invasion" of South Africa in the 1920s, described by Hill and Pirio, "Africa for the Africans." On the operation of rumor in the colonial African milieu, see White, *Speaking*.

121. Greene, *Gender*, 7ff., argues that the precolonial pressures that the Anlo Ewe men imposed on the womenfolk ushered in a period of hastened marginalization from the political state. Women turned inward to vodou religious practices and organizations, reifying their "ethnic identity." Even fictive ethnic ties served to further consolidate a notion of Anlo Ewe womanhood. Greene states: "The fact that so many women did not challenge the prevailing pattern of gender relations has a major impact on ethnic relations. By refusing or failing to challenge the gendered way in which their families handled their marital affairs, Anlo women reinforced, whether consciously or not, the notion that there was indeed something different, untrustworthy, and dangerous about the ethnic outsiders with whom their parents had discouraged them from associating." Even fictive ethnic ties served to further consolidate a notion of Anlo Ewe womanhood: "The Anlo increasingly accepted as genuine fictive kinship ties between clan ancestors and recently invented connections to Notsie. They ignored or explained away the earlier emphasis on difference as manifested in naming and funeral customs. They also gave priority to the new, broader identity of being Ewe" (p. 8).



122. The literature on resistance and domination is extensive and complicated, and this argument needs to be situated in a wider discussion of why Africans participated in their own subordination. Scott, *Domination* builds on Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*. Thompson, *Making*, was the first to describe how peasants participate in their own subordination up to a point. Cooper, "Conflict and Connection," provides an excellent critique of this literature.

123. I am indebted to Yves Marguerat for this information.

124. See Ayélé-Kponton, "Rôle et activités politiques des femmes." Amenumey, *Ewe Unification*, makes no mention of women's involvement.

125. Collier, "Ablode."

126. d'Almeida-Ekué, *La révolte*, 16.

127. Letter, March 23, 1933, from the LDRMC cites, among other things, de Guise's purchase of nineteen cars (there were four before his arrival), more than ten new administrative posts, and 150,000 F spent on the six-hour visit of Blaise Daigne. CAOM, FM/Aff.Pol./T-C/608, Dossier 3.

128. Letter, March 23, 1933. CAOM, FM/Aff.Pol./T-C/608, Dossier 3.

129. Aduayom, "Un prélude," 39.

130. D'Almeida-Ekué asserts that local Togolese had no idea about the causes of the depression. D'Almeida-Ekué, *La révolte*, 34.

## Chapter 4: Vodou and Resistance

1. This account is based on an interview with Togbui Abgloeonu Sika, Tchékpo-Dévé, Togo, July 15, 2002, and a subsequent interview on July 21, 2004.

2. Rosenthal, *Possession*.

3. Comaroff and Comaroff, *Modernity*; Geschiere, *Modernity*; Crais, *Politics of Evil*.

4. In some cases the circumstances that gave rise to movements such the Aladura sect in Nigeria, the millenarianism of Harris in Côte d'Ivoire, and the Watchtower supporters in Zambia have been described as the quintessential clash of tradition and modernity. Peel, *Aladura*; G. M. Haliburton, *Prophet Harris*; Fields, *Revival*. The expansion of Kimbanguism in Central Africa and its increasing acceptance among international religious organizations has produced a different literature, one branch of which highlights themes that are broadly emblematic of Western religious practice, and another which focuses on interpreting the meaning of syncretism. Martin, *Kimbangu*; Hastings, *Church in Africa*, 508–13; Thomas, "Kimbanguism"; MacGaffey, "Kimbanguism."

5. Comaroff, *Body of Power*.

6. Fields, *Revival*.

7. Lane, "Pernicious Practice," 13–25.

8. Although this naturalizing analysis is unconvincing in its vagueness, Jean and Jean Comaroff draw attention to the historical contingency of witchcraft accusations, and to a correlation among political, economic, and social crises that they call an "efflorescence of witchcraft." Comaroff and Comaroff, *Modernity*, xiv; Geschiere, *Modernity*.

9. Geschiere, *Modernity*, 7. His examination of Cameroonian Djambe, the Maka word for the power of witchcraft, "indicates, above all, that power constitutes an essential problem. . . . [I]t [*djambe*] translates both profound distrust and an impassioned lust for power." Geschiere, *Modernity*, 41.

10. Ellis and Haar, *Worlds*, 149.

11. Cohen, *Custom*.

12. Hans Debrunner, Eva Schöck-Quinteros, and Dieter Lenz document the freedom of expression afforded by the mandate regime gave that birth to the first independent African Presbyterian church. Müller, *Geschichte*; Debrunner, *Church*; Schöck-Quinteros and Lenz, 150 Jahre.
13. Amenumey, *Ewe Unification*.
14. Meyer, *Translating*.
15. Müller, *Geschichte*; Debrunner, *Church*; Schöck-Quinteros and Lenz, 150 Jahre.
16. Blier, *African Vodun*, 5–21; Herskovitz and Herskovitz, *Outline*. Greene, *Sacred Sites* also explored spiritual flux, the encroachment of Christianity and environmental degradation as historical process in Anloga, Ghana.
17. Gilli, *Naissances*; Maupoil, *La géomancie*.
18. Rivière, *Anthropologie*; de Surgy, *La géomancie*; de Surgy, *Le system*.
19. Rosenthal, *Possession*, 61, 76, 89.
20. Geurts, *Culture*, 177.
21. Blier, *African Vodoun*, 40.
22. Ellis and ter Haar, *Worlds*, 80, 86.
23. A phrase Cessou used used to this effect to describe *goro* is “Déviation de la Ligne Primitive.” Cessou, “Une religion nouvelle,” 19.
24. Cessou, “Une religion nouvelle,” 1.
25. Cessou, “Une religion nouvelle,” 2.
26. The first article is based on data collected from several sites, namely Kovié and Djemeki in the Cercle of Lomé; Kpalimé, Agou, and Adéta, Cercle of Klouto; and Ho and Kpandu in British Togoland, and the observations of Father Auguste Hermann, Father Georges Folikwe-Kpodar, and the Ewe Presbyterian pastor Erhardt K. Paku. The second article included two appendices, a membership document and a statement by Blaise Kuassi, editor of the *Courier du Golfe de Bénin*. The text of Hermann’s article, “Kunde ou un nouveau fétiche expliqué” which appeared in the *Catholic Magazine of Lower Volta*, and that of Georges Folikwe-Kpodar, “Brève Etude sur le ‘Goro,’” are reproduced by Cessou, 21–29.
27. Meyer, *Translating*, 60–61, referring to Spieth, *Ewestämme*, 5–6.
28. Father W. Schmidt, in *Anthropos* 1906, cited by Müller, *Geschichte*, 557–59. This argument is a classic example of the cultural prejudice inherent in an approach that held monotheism necessary for cultural ascendancy. No other Togolese culture was found to have such an “inclination.”
29. For further details of this see Lawrance, “Most Obedient Servants.”
30. Cessou, “Une religion nouvelle,” 22–23.
31. Cessou, “Une religion nouvelle,” 24–28.
32. Cessou, “Une religion nouvelle,” 23.
33. Cessou, “Une religion nouvelle,” 28.
34. Cessou, “Une religion nouvelle,” 16.
35. Cessou, “Une religion nouvelle,” 4. An untitled report by Judge Thébaut notes that the Germans banned the enthroning of the leader of the Togbé-Nyiblin Ewe cult, but that by 1925–26 the cult leaders had begun to appoint new head priests. He noted that there was also a flourish of activity in Bè, residence of the “grand-priest.” *CAOM*, 14 MiOM 2304.
36. Cessou, “Une religion nouvelle,” 4; Peel, *Religious*, 248–77.
37. The community of which he wrote is the same parodied by Kobina Seyki in his play *The Blinkards*: a turn-of-the-century urbanized community, highly Anglicized and deeply wedded to Anglo-American cultural forms. Into these large “milieux évolués” flooded many new ideas from England and America, including the cult founded by Mary Morse Baker Eddy (1821–1910), Christian Science.

38. Cessou, "Une religion nouvelle," 17: "Originally, the 'Goro' or 'Kunde' was nothing more than a transposition and adaptation of the 'Christian Science' of Mistress Mary Baker Eddy. The adaptation was done by Africans for Africans."

39. Cessou, "Une religion nouvelle," 23-27.

40. Cessou, "Une religion nouvelle," 22, 27.

41. In an untitled report, Thébault explained that *goro* was "from the same cult as Yéwé and the same as the old Ewe fetish cult Togbé-Nyigblin," and that the Germans had fought "acharnement" against it and forbade the nomination of the head priest, the "Avé-Fio." *CAOM*, 14 MiOM 2304.

42. Cessou, "Une religion nouvelle," 22. Hermann noted its existence in Kete-Kratchi, Dukuma, and Kpandu. Rosenthal, *Possession*, 92, cites a file from the Ghana National Archives, *PRAAD* 39/1/221: "In 1912/23 the Germans executed the late Head Fetish Priest and his accomplice the Chief of Tariasu by hanging them publicly. The King of Krachi, who is a fetish priest as well, escaped to British Territory."

43. Cessou, "Une religion nouvelle," 5.

44. Cessou, "Une religion nouvelle," 6, 10.

45. He notes that some villages have as many as ten shrines. He is probably speaking here of personal vodoun and *legba* (fertility gods), which reside outside village huts or in central public spaces, such as market spaces. He continues with a note about the "inevitable . . . disputes and schisms," as "everyone pretends to be the found and master of his own 'goro'." Cessou, "Une religion nouvelle," 14.

46. Cessou, "Une religion nouvelle," 26.

47. Cessou, "Une religion nouvelle," 22, 24, 25, 27, 28.

48. Rosenthal, *Possession*, 92; Cessou, "Une religion nouvelle," 6, attributed to the system of "Indirect Rule" a laxity and distance from indigenous affairs that ironically demanded a profound depth of knowledge of indigenous language and produced superb administrators, such as Rattray, Newlands, and Guggisberg. Reflecting on the French administrative philosophy, however, he noted that his countrymen were "handicapped" by depending too heavily on their "administrés" for knowledge of a particular region. Although France had also produced administrator-ethnographers of high esteem such as Delafosse and Delavignette, this lack of linguistic knowledge allowed currents to spread through the indigenous masses unknown to the French.

49. Cessou, "Une religion nouvelle," 8.

50. Cessou, "Une religion nouvelle," 9.

51. Rosenthal, *Possession*, 93.

52. He recruited the support of the Lutheran Bremen missionaries to affirm his case that it was not "illiterate pagans" who came freshly to this cult via praxis, but literate Christians who were "fixated by the initial appearance and sensuality of the new religion," and who propagated it through the literature of Christian Science. In their respective rural villages, they performed "healing" ceremonies and "marvelous cures," drawing the pagans to the fountain of cultic ritual.

53. Cessou, "Une religion nouvelle," 13. In his analysis he distinguished between polygamy and authority on the one hand, and "l'appât du gain" in general on the other, but the distinction is not helpful. Clearly he saw chiefly authority enhanced by *goro*, and other villagers' personal fortunes enhanced, and this would be a logical distinction, but not two entirely separate reasons for conversion.

54. Indeed, he even went so far as to suggest that polygamous Christians, in sowing the seeds of *goro*, could even possibly be laying the path for the future spread of Islam in the region.

55. Cessou, "Une religion nouvelle," 14, 16.

56. Cessou, "Une religion nouvelle," 15.

57. Cessou, "Une religion nouvelle," 14.
58. Cessou, "Une religion nouvelle," 17, citing *Hibbert Journal*, April 1907: 584.
59. Cessou, "Une religion nouvelle," 17-18.
60. Cessou, "Une religion nouvelle," 18, 19-20.
61. Cessou, "Une religion nouvelle," 244. Cessou reprinted verbatim the signed witness statement of Blaise Kuassi, who observed the trial and mediation and licensing of rival *gorovodou* priests in Lomé on October 10, 1934, conducted by the commandant of the Cercle of Lomé, Fréau. The statement appeared in an undated edition of the *Courier du Golfe du Bénin*.
62. Cessou, "Une religion nouvelle," 230.
63. Cessou, "Une religion nouvelle," 232-33.
64. Cessou, "Une religion nouvelle," 231. Cessou explained that "agents communistes" from the Gold Coast were "spies for the government," trying to turn the local population against religion because it was "the opium of the people." Of course this undermines his case that the Gold Coast and British Togoland were hotbeds of revivalist animist practices.
65. The reasons for this short-lived administrative experiment are explained in Péchoux, *Le Mandat*.
66. It should be remembered that this took place during the "Union Personnelle" between Dahomey and Togo (1934-38), during which all officers in Togo were ultimately part of the Dahomey and AOF colonial hierarchy. Letter, Minister of Colonies to governor-general, November 3, 1936; "Extrait d'une Étude de M. Christian MERLO au sujet d'une Synthèse de l'Activité Fétichiste aux Bas Togo et Dahomey." *CAOM*, 14 MiOM 2304. Merlo, "Les 'Botchio'."
67. The reconstitution of the Cercles of Togo into three—Sud, Centre, and Nord—was part of the Union Personnelle between Togo and Dahomey. The Ewe-dominated Cercles of Lomé, Aného, Klouto and parts of Atakpamé were redivided into Sud and Centre. The former divisions were restored more or less completely in 1938.
68. Untitled report from Thébaut missing first page. *CAOM*, 14 MiOM 2304.
69. Letter from Thébaut, May 12, 1936. *CAOM*, 14 MiOM 2304.
70. Untitled report. *CAOM*, 14 MiOM 2304.
71. Untitled report. *CAOM*, 14 MiOM 2304.
72. Report, Office of the Director of Administrative and Political Affairs, September 16, 1936. *CAOM*, 14 MiOM 2304.
73. Report, Office of the Director of Administrative and Political Affairs, September 16, 1936. *CAOM*, 14 MiOM 2304.
74. Report, Office of the Director of Administrative and Political Affairs, September 16, 1936. *CAOM*, 14 MiOM 2304.
75. Circular, February 1, 1937, sent to all capitals in the Fédération. *CAOM*, 14 MiOM 2304.
76. *Décret* of April 26, 1923; the tenth article of the *Arrêté Général* of June 25, 1925; and the instruction article of March 8, 1932, referring to the *Décret* of December 3, 1931, particularly articles 37, 46, and 48. A *circulaire* from Lefebvre, February 11, 1937, listed the articles and fall-back articles in explicit detail. *CAOM*, 14 MiOM 2304.
77. A circular from the governor-general, February 1, 1937, sent to all capitals in the Fédération, used the following phraseology: "Notre doctrine coloniale du respect de la liberté de conscience nous interdit donc, à priori, de combattre le 'fétichisme' dans son principe, même s'il ne nous apparaissait que comme une forme très inférieure de la foi." *CAOM*, 14 MiOM 2304.
78. Circular, governor-general, February 1, 1937. *CAOM*, 14 MiOM 2304.
79. Letter to governor-general, February 24, 1937. *CAOM*, 14 MiOM 2304.

80. Letter to governor-general, April 25, 1937. *CAOM*, 14 MiOM 2304.
81. *Télégramme-Lettre*, May 3, 1937. *CAOM*, 14 MiOM 2304.
82. Letter to governor-general, May 10, 1937. *CAOM*, 14 MiOM 2304.
83. He mentioned the “hommes panthères” and “femmes panthères” in certain cercles and “la danse du dioro.” Circular, June 1937. *CAOM*, 14 MiOM 2304. An article on the extent of fetishism in the colony from *La Côte d’Ivoire Chrétienne: Bulletin Religieux mensuel*, Vol. 42, August 1936 (?) accompanied the report. *CAOM*, 14 MiOM 2304.
84. Letter, February 18, 1937. *CAOM*, 14 MiOM 2304.
85. A secret note from the Director of Administrative and Political Affairs confirmed that employees of the newspaper *La Voix de Dahomey* had political and social ties with a *goro* cult in Cotonou. Another letter from Lieutenant Governor Martinet confirmed that a certain Nicoué was the leader of the group, and that they met near the cemetery. *CAOM*, 14 MiOM 2304.
86. Letter, February 18, 1937. *CAOM*, 14 MiOM 2304.
87. Letter, June 23, 1937. *CAOM*, 14 MiOM 2304.
88. Letter, June 23, 1937. *CAOM*, 14 MiOM 2304.
89. Circular, June 24, 1937. *CAOM*, 14 MiOM 2304.
90. Circular, June 24, 1937. *CAOM*, 14 MiOM 2304.
91. Circular, June 24, 1937. *CAOM*, 14 MiOM 2304.
92. One such report, May 1937, by a Dahomean officer by the name of Louis Hunkanrin, described the cult of *zangbeto* as “pious and charitable.” The chief of police described the report as “hastily” conceived, inaccurate, and more or less useless, and refused to pay the sum of 1,000 francs to the informant. *CAOM*, 14 MiOM 2304.
93. Monsieur Lévy-Bruhl represented the Commission d’Enquête dans les Territoires d’Outre-Mer in an official capacity. A letter of introduction to the governor-general, who was also the Commissaire de la République au Togo during the Union Personnelle, October 25, 1937, was forwarded to the lieutenant governor of Dahomey and Togo. *CAOM* 14 MiOM 2306.
94. Roberts, “The case of Faama Mademba Sy”; Roberts, “Text and Testimony.”
95. Report, November 29, 1937. N°1. Affaire des féticheurs d’Agnera-kopé et d’Holokoué (Jugement N°9 du 19 Avril 1919) Tribunal de Cercle d’Anécho. *CAOM* 14 MiOM 2306.
96. Report, November 29, 1937. N°2 Affaire des féticheurs d’Esse-Anna. Violations de sépulture, acte de barbarie et d’anthropophagie. (Jugement N°9 du 26 Avril 1919) Tribunal de Cercle d’Anécho. *CAOM* 14 MiOM 2306.
97. Atisse was sentenced to two years in prison and a 500-franc fine. Report, November 29, 1937. N°3 Affaire Atissa—Sorcellerie—Escroquerie (Jugement N°11 du 26 Avril 1919) Tribunal de Cercle d’Anécho. *CAOM* 14 MiOM 2306.
98. Report, November 29, 1937. N°4 Affaire Bamesen—Attentat aux moeurs—Sorcellerie (Jugement N°13 du 3 Mai 1919) Tribunal de Cercle d’Anécho, *CAOM* 14 MiOM 2306.
99. The exact phrase was “Dès mon arrivée, je fus prise par Bamésen qui, après m’avoir mis auteur des reins, la ceinture du fétiche, se livra sur moi à des coïts répétés, et me fit ensuite sucer sa verge.”
100. This trial, the only one between 1919 and 1935, is brief and concerned the opening of a tomb and the theft of the corpse of Godfried Doukpo for a “cérémonie fétichiste” in Bè, Cercle Lomé. Six priests were fined, but although the date of the judgment was August 24, 1931, the record is signed January 2, 1938. “Jugement N°154 en date du vingt-quatre Août mil neuf cent trente-et-un du Tribunal de Subdivision de Lomé” *CAOM*, 14 MiOM 2306.

101. Jugement N°7, Affaire Kegnikere et Samenia Adagba, heard on November 23, 1936 in Atakpamé. *CAOM*, 14 MiOM 2306.
102. Jugement N°3, Affaire Guéli Tchakpa dit Niéfo—N°Téssekui, dit Nanekui, heard on May 4, 1937 in Atakpamé. *CAOM*, 14 MiOM 2306.
103. Jugement N°7, Affaire Kégnikéré et Samenia Adagba. *CAOM*, 14 MiOM 2306.
104. Jugement N°3, Affaire Guéli Tchakpa dit Niéfo—N°Téssekui, dit Nanekui. The phrase employed was “victimes de croyances fétichistes que leur ont léguées leurs ancêtres.” *CAOM*, 14 MiOM 2306.
105. The exact wording is: “Agouda répondit qu’il n’était pour rien dans cette affaire, mais Guéli insista avec véhémence et l’invita à prouver son innocence en buvant le poison.” Jugement N°3, Affaire Guéli Tchakpa dit Niéfo—N°Téssekui, dit Nanekui. *CAOM*, 14 MiOM 2306.
106. The phrase employed was “Est-il déjà arrivé, à votre connaissance, qu’on. . .” Jugement N°3, Affaire Guéli Tchakpa dit Niéfo—N°Téssekui, dit Nanekui. *CAOM*, 14 MiOM 2306.
107. The witness stated, “Quand on fit le sacrifice du poulet, rien s’indiqua que l’enfant était morte par sorcellerie.” Jugement N°3, Affaire Guéli Tchakpa dit Niéfo—N°Téssekui, dit Nanekui. *CAOM*, 14 MiOM 2306.
108. N°6 Affaire des féticheurs d’Anfouin—Enlèvements, séquestration de personnes et complicité complot tendant à troubler la paix intérieur du Territoire (Jugement N°9 du 23 Novembre 1935 du Tribunal Criminel d’Anécho). *CAOM*, 14 MiOM 2306.
109. In one instance a junior African colonial official sought permission to attend a ceremony at Gadjaxome, near Atakpamé. And in another case the commandant of the Cercle, Gaudillot, addressed a report based on this and other witnessed ceremonies to the Commissaire de la République au Togo (the governor-general in Dakar), April 11, 1938. *CAOM*, 14 MiOM 2306.
110. In the same document the author Gaudillot stated that the Adélé people (between Kpalimé and Atakpamé) were the “only people authorized by custom and tradition to prepare the poison for use in trial by ordeal.” Although this text is surely more a description than a rationalization of the practice, there is decidedly less hostility and contempt than in the previous cluster of trials and transcripts. Report, Commandant du Cercle, April 11, 1938. *CAOM*, 14 MiOM 2306.
111. Jugement N°7, Affaire Kégnikéré et Samenia Adagba. *CAOM*, 14 MiOM 2306.
112. Jugement N°3, Affaire Guéli Tchakpa dit Niéfo—N°Téssekui, dit Nanekui. It read, “Attendu que la coutume ne prévoit ni ne réprime le crime commis pas les accusés.” *CAOM*, 14 MiOM 2306.
113. N°6 Affaire des féticheurs d’Anfouin. *CAOM*, 14 MiOM 2306.
114. Cessou, “Notes Pour servir à l’établissement d’un Statut Chrétien,” *CAOM*, 14 MiOM 2304.
115. The extracts of his letter appear in a letter from Governor Martinet of Dahomey (and Togo) to the governor-general, Dakar, August 6, 1937. *CAOM* 14 MiOM 2304.
116. N°5 Affaire Aglao et Consorts—Meurtes, enlèvement et séquestration de personnes, complot tendant à troubler la paix intérieure du Territoire et complicité (Jugement N°4 des 18 et 19 Octobre 1935) Tribunal Criminel d’Anécho. Preserved among a collection of missionary records in the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (PEMS) Archives, Microfiche 3790-95.
117. Interviews, Togbui Abgloeonu Sika, Tchékpo-Dévé, Togo, July 15, 2002 and July 21, 2004.
118. Interview, Togbui Kossi Abaga Medzago, Togbui Kossi Adonu Doku, Togbui Kwasi Kolo Nuodzru, and Togbui Yawo Paul Doku, Tchékpo-Dévé, Togo, July 15, 2002.



119. N°5 Affaire Aglao et Consorts—Meurtes, enlèvement et séquestration de personnes, complot tendant à troubler la paix intérieure du Territoire et complicité (Jugement N°4 des 18 et 19 Octobre 1935) Tribunal Criminel d'Anécho. *PEMS Archives*, Microfiche 3790-95.
120. Interviews, Togbui Abgloeonu Sika, Tchékpo-Dévé, Togo, July 15, 2002 and July 21, 2004.
121. Interview, Togbui Kossi Abaga Medzago, Togbui Kossi Adonu Doku, Togbui Kwasi Kolo Nuodzru, and Togbui Yawo Paul Doku, Tchékpo-Dévé, Togo, July 15, 2002.
122. Interview, Togbui Kossi Abaga Medzago, Togbui Kossi Adonu Doku, Togbui Kwasi Kolo Nuodzru, and Togbui Yawo Paul Doku, Tchékpo-Dévé, Togo, July 15, 2002.
123. N°5 Affaire Aglao et Consorts. *PEMS Archives*, Microfiche 3790-95.
124. N°5 Affaire Aglao et Consorts. *PEMS Archives*, Microfiche 3790-95.
125. N°5 Affaire Aglao et Consorts. *PEMS Archives*, Microfiche 3790-95.
126. N°5 Affaire Aglao et Consorts. *PEMS Archives*, Microfiche 3790-95.
127. Interview, Togbui Kossi Abaga Medzago, Togbui Kossi Adonu Doku, Togbui Kwasi Kolo Nuodzru, and Togbui Yawo Paul Doku, Tchékpo-Dévé, Togo, July 15, 2002: "Before they were arrested, he killed one girl. . . . After she died he put sticks in her vagina (her father was Datschi) and put her on the *tron*. When arrested they give the vagina to Aglao and he eats it . . . Aglao chop the vagina raw in public, eat it fresh without preparing it."
128. Interview, Togbui Kossi Abaga Medzago, Togbui Kossi Adonu Doku, Togbui Kwasi Kolo Nuodzru, and Togbui Yawo Paul Doku, Tchékpo-Dévé, Togo, July 15, 2002.
129. Interviews, Togbui Abgloeonu Sika, Tchékpo-Dévé, Togo, July 15, 2002 and July 21, 2004.
130. N°5 Affaire Aglao et Consorts. *PEMS Archives*, Microfiche 3790-95.
131. N°5 Affaire Aglao et Consorts. *PEMS Archives*, Microfiche 3790-95.
132. N°5 Affaire Aglao et Consorts. *PEMS Archives*, Microfiche 3790-95.
133. N°5 Affaire Aglao et Consorts. *PEMS Archives*, Microfiche 3790-95.
134. Interviews, Togbui Abgloeonu Sika, Tchékpo-Dévé, Togo, July 15, 2002 and July 21, 2004.
135. Ellis and ter Haar, *Worlds*, 6.
136. Erhardt Paku, *Journal des Missions Evangéliques* (June 1933), 373.
137. From an extract of Cessou's "Notes pour servir à l'établissement d'un Statut Chrétien," *CAOM* 14 MiOM 2304.
138. Letter, A. Nicoué to governor, September 17, 1937. *CAOM* 14 MiOM 2304.
139. The full story about Télé Acapovi Lawson appears in a letter from the governor-general of the AOF to the Minister of Colonies, July 22, 1937. *CAOM* 14 MiOM 2304.

## Chapter 5: The German Togo-Bund and the Periurban Manifestations of "Nation"

1. *SDN*, R 37 FMT (12226) N°32095: "Wir Togoleute hatten uns s[einer] Zeit *freiwillig* unter deutschen Schutz gestellt, während wir unter die französische Herrschaft *gezwungen* wurden" (emphasis in original).
2. Davis, *Fiction*, provides an excellent example of how to reconstruct the actions of petitioners from the formulaic documentary record.



3. Unlike Helen Bradford's magisterial study of the ICU, few internal documents of the organization exist. Bradford, *A Taste*. It may be that the documents were destroyed by the members themselves in the wake of the anti-Bund sweep through Togoland in the 1940s. In fact this is exactly what happened to pro-German activists in Cameroon as documented by Austen, "Ich bin Schwarzer."

4. Anderson, *Imagined*.

5. Copies of the fifteen newsletters (1943-46) are in the possession of the author.

6. For a history of the translating of the Bible, see Wiegräbe, *Gott*; Fabian, *Language*; Lawrance, "Most Obedient Servants."

7. Peel, "The Cultural Work." The most important example of this is perhaps Pastor Robert Baeta's "History of Eweland and the Ewe People" in the *PEMS* in Paris.

8. Amenumey, *Ewe Unification*, 27, characterizes the membership as "more interested in Togoland unification and not Ewe unification."

9. Pro-Togo: Tété-Adjalogo, *De la colonization*. Pro-German: Pauvert, "L'évolution"; Cornevin, *Le Togo*; Decalo, *Historical Dictionary*. Anti-French: Callahan, *Mandates*, 120, 152, and Napo-Issa and Oloukpona-Yinnon, "Wir Togoleute," 275. Anticolonial: Suret-Canale, *Afrique Noire*, 564.

10. Aduayom and Kponton, "Le Togo," 425, refer to the Bund as the "tremplin au nationalisme togolais" but do not develop the idea. The only scholar to consider seriously the anti-British content of Bundism is Brown, "Kpandu," 235-43, which explores the Bund's activities in the British mandate during the late 1930s, but separates this more or less completely from earlier and wider regional developments.

11. Coleman, *Togoland*.

12. Amenumey, *Ewe Unification*.

13. Coleman, *Togoland*, 3, explained the "Togoland Problem" as "the result of an accelerated effort to apply the abstract ideal of self-determination to a complex milieu in which the criteria for identifying 'self' are indeterminate, unstable, or subject to easy manipulation." Coleman, *Togoland*, 5: "The very name 'Togoland,' notwithstanding its origin, provided a useful symbol for the idealized community—the lost 'Golden Age'—to which latter-day nationalists in the southern areas of both halves of Togoland could relate all things desirable as against the unattractive realities of existing or prospective territorial arrangement."

14. Coleman, *Togoland*, 6-8. Emphasis added. This refers to the period 1914-19, when most of Eweland was under British control.

15. Coleman, *Togoland*, 11: "These differing traditional patterns, coupled with the different policies the Administering Authorities were able or inclined to pursue, has significantly influenced the degree to which the peoples of the respective sections have been predisposed towards and have become involved in modern types of political activity."

16. Coleman, *Togoland*, 32: "Agitation for unification of the Ewe people and the two Togolands did not begin with the provocations and inconveniences incident to the closing of the frontier during the Second World War. This was undeniably a powerful stimulus and precipitant. But resentment against the partitioning of Eweland is deeply rooted. Even during the period of German administration educated Ewe in the Lomé area looked enviously toward their kinfolk under British administration. Between 1919 and 1922 they agitated against the Franco-British partition. . . ." This statement is completely contradicted by the findings of Brown, "Kpandu," 24off.

17. Coleman, *Togoland*, 32f. He cites the formation of the CUT in 1939 and the *Ewe News-Letter* of David Chapman as two examples of this change of content and direction.

18. Amenumey, *Ewe Unification*, 27, cited as PMC, 25th Session, C. 259, 108, 1934-VI. Annex 19. Memorandum prepared by Besson. Bourret, *Gold Coast*, 118-20.

Stoecker, "Germanophile," 495-96, also emphasizes the economic and employment goals of the pro-German lobby in Cameroun. Active among the Germanophiles in Cameroun were employees of formerly German firms, teachers in government and mission schools, interpreters, and so on. "All came out of the German school system in Togo."

19. Pauvert, "L'évolution," 162-91. This is contradicted by Brown. See Brown, "Kpandu," 24off.

20. Pauvert, "L'évolution," 178.

21. Tété-Adjalogo, *De la colonisation*. To some extent Callahan might fall within this category. Callahan was the first to examine the League of Nations archival material. Bundism is just one of many anti-French challenges during the mandate period. For example, Callahan, *Mandates*, 120: "[T]he Bund only posed a mysterious and faintly forboding threat to French colonial officials."

22. Napo-Issa and Oloukpona-Yinnon, "Wir Togoleute," 272-73, express the view that nothing prior to Governor Zech's rule (1904-11) merited celebration, but that his arrival ushered in a "new era" of "political reforms and grand works," emphasizing the economic basis for a nostalgia for German rule. For critiques of early "resistance" historiography, see Ranger, *Revolt*; Ranger, "Connections"; Issacman, *Mozambique*; and Vail and White, "Forms of Resistance."

23. Kwakumé, *Précis*; Paku, *Histoire*; Marguerat, *La naissance*; Cornevin, *Histoire*. Tété-Adjalogo, *De la Colonisation*, corrects some of Decalo's errors by firmly situating an active Bund in Accra in 1924-25. Decalo, *Historical Dictionary*, 39. This work repeats the inaccuracies of the second edition, which themselves come often from Cornevin, *Histoire*, such as characterizing the Bund as "Pro-German quasi-covert . . . set up in 1929 and aided by the German firm Togo Gesellschaft."

24. Tété-Adjalogo, *De la colonisation*, 192f. He is the first to advance the revolutionary nature of Bundism. Tété-Adjalogo, *De la colonisation*, 184. From Suret-Canale, *Afrique Noire*, 564.

25. Tété-Adjalogo, *De la colonisation*, 180.

26. Tété-Adjalogo, *De la colonisation*, 180. Napo-Issa and Oloukpona-Yinnon, "Wir Togoleute," 277, refer to the group as operating both "clandestinely" and "semi-clandestinely" in Togo and the Gold Coast.

27. Tété-Adjalogo, *De la colonisation*, 180.

28. The only scholar to incorporate an analysis of this evidence is Callahan, *Mandates*, 120, 150-52, 261 note 42.

29. The only scholarship of note on Johann Kofi A. Agboka (1893-1972) is Napo-Issa and Oloukpona-Yinnon, "Wir Togoleute," which is based on the extensive post-World War II correspondence between Agboka and Kurt Schlettwein, a colonial official in Togo from 1907 to 1914. It is accompanied by a photograph of Agboka. Interviews with six individuals from Adangbé, Togo, failed to elicit any mention of Agboka. Interviews, Ngtsameva Xixeglo, Yaovi Sena, Sena Gossou, Akouavi Ayete, and Kossi Woledji Badohoun, Adangbé, Togo, March 6, 2000; Amessoume Kpogo, Adangbé, Togo, March 7, 2000. Aduayom and Kponton, "Le Togo," 425, gives 1922 as the date of inception, but provides no evidence.

30. Interview, "No.3 Un artisan maçon, M. Gabriel Eklou-Natey," in Marguerat and Peleï, *Si Lomé m'était contée*, Vol. I, 33.

31. The most frustrating document relating to the foundation of the Bund is transcribed in a report from about 1933. This is a "circulaire" allegedly written on December 19, 1925, in which reference is made to the foundation of the Bund in Accra two years earlier. This document and the implication that the foundation of the Bund should be dated to 1923 are discussed later in the chapter.

32. Interview, "No.3 Un artisan maçon, M. Gabriel Eklun-Natey," in Marguerat and Peleï, *Si Lomé m'était contée*, Vol. I, 33-34: the interviewee explains that he, Agboka, and others moved often between Accra and Lomé for business.

33. This grew out of a deeper British tradition of petitioning the state for redress. See Thompson, *Chartists*; Thompson, *Customs*; Tilley, *Popular*; Epstein, "The Working Class." For Africa there remains very little. See, for example, Callahan, *Sacred Trust*; Lawrance, "Petitioners"; Sebald, "The influence"; and Osei-Tutu, "Petitions."

34. The earliest petitions, composed in German, were full of hyperbole, exaggeration, and sweeping generalizations, though they took pains to emphasize the authenticity of the organization, its membership, and its role. Later petitions were more likely to be in English and French and reflected a growing knowledge of the changing demands of the PMC. For the German period, see Marguerat, *Dynamique*, 189-99. For petitioning during the British occupation, see Lawrance, "Petitioners," and *ANT*, Public Letter Writers E-1 1916, Case 23.

35. Callahan, *Mandates*, 151. Late in the production stages I was alerted to the new work on petitions by Susan Pedersen.

36. If the Bund were composed of Loméens who left for Accra as the French arrived, then this would sit nicely with the narrative provided by Augustin Kofi Sobo, interviewed Lomé, Togo, January 27, 2000, which concerns the first great wave of migration to British Togoland and the Gold Coast.

37. *ANT*, 8APA, Affaires Politiques: N° 15.

38. *SDN*, R 37 FMT (12226) N° 32095. See note 1 above.

39. I have been unable to locate a copy of this petition. The only reference to it besides the minutes of the PMC is the report from the *Hamburger Nachrichten*, February 22, 1926. The French Foreign Ministry files mention a second petition, September 26, 1925, which is possibly the same, and the Bund's 1926 correspondence also cites this date.

40. Both the *Hamburger Nachrichten*, February 22, 1926, and the *Stuttgart Neues Blatt*, November 25, 1925, were translated and filed in *SDN*, R 37 FMT (12226) N° 32095. Callahan, *Mandates*, 261 note 38, mentions a translation of an article from a March 17, 1926 edition of the *Stuttgarter Tageblatt* sent from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Ministry of Colonies.

41. *Hamburger Nachrichten*, February 22, 1926.

42. *Hamburger Nachrichten*, February 22, 1926: "Even the French and the English have admitted and still admit that in virtue of their German education, the Togoland-ers cannot be placed on the same footing as any other negroes or natives. Our Ewe people are in great demand, and very much appreciated in the whole of West Africa as artisans, clerks, supervisors on plantations, etc. and are generally also paid at a higher scale than other natives."

43. *Afrika Nachrichten*, N° 10, May 15, 1926. The colonial implications of Germany's joining the League in 1926 are examined in Callahan, *Mandates*, 122-56.

44. Two letters were addressed to Governor Bonnacarrère and passed on to the Foreign Office: the first by Felicio de Souza, John A. Atayi, O. Olympio, Antonio de Souza, and Alfred Accolatsé, October 16, 1926; the second with the added names T. A. Anthony, Jacob Adjalle, Van Lahre, Robert Baeta, Santos, S. Ahyee and Forson, October 19, 1926. *ADQO*, *SDN*/622, 376-79.

45. The second letter included the phrases: "Les Français après leur arrivée n'ont fait que développer l'oeuvre accomplie par les Allemands et cela dans des proportions considérable. Jamais le TOGO n'a connu situations meilleure [*sic*]. Le pays est sillonné dans toutes ses étendues de routes, les établissements sanitaires se sont augmentés considérablement, les cultures de toutes sortes ont été augmentées. Que nous peuvent

faire les insultes, nous sommes fiers d'avoir été appelés à collaborer à l'oeuvre accomplie par le Gouvernement français à donner notre avis sur les développements à venir." *ADQO*, SDN/622, 376-79.

46. Letter from the Minister of Colonies to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, March 13, 1926. *ADQO*, SDN/622, 525-27.

47. Two petitions, written in German, were addressed directly to the PMC, June 27, 1926 and August 9, 1926.

48. In a letter address to the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Paris, Drummond drew attention to the second paragraph of the August 9, 1926 petition on the grounds that by calling for the return of Germany it was unreceivable. This marks an important development in that the president of the PMC had thus ruled (October 5, 1926) that selected elements of a petition could be investigated, even if only part of a whole. This must surely have been a blow to the French representatives. *ADQO*, SDN/622, 345.

49. *ADQO*, SDN/622, Petition addressed to the PMC, August 9, 1926.

50. *ADQO*, SDN/622, Petition addressed to the PMC, August 9, 1926.

51. *ADQO*, SDN/622, 349.

52. Of the 121 people I interviewed between 1999 and 2000, ninety-five went to the Gold Coast or British Togoland to work on cocoa farms. Others moved because of the general economic malaise of the 1920s and unemployment. For example, Augustine Kofi Sobo, Lomé, Togo, January 27, 2000. Others were simply wooed by the promises of wealth and jobs (interviews, Kokou Raphael Amedzro, Kpalimé, Togo, March 29, 2000; Klu Gomado, Tsévié, Togo, February 1, 2000). Interview, Gaba Noukey, Afagnan, Togo, March 7, 2000: informant spoke of the profits made in the British territories.

53. *ADQO*, SDN/622, 350: "Puis des policiers dont le nombre varie de trois à six font circuler la malheureuse personne et la frappe sans pitié malgré ses violentes souffrances jusqu'à ce que son corps et son visage devissent une plaie sanglante."

54. The phrase is "un acte de scélératesse." *ADQO*, SDN/622, 351: "Il existe au Togo des milliers et des milliers de témoins oculaires qui pourraient donner plus de détails encore au sujet de ces graves plaintes. Il est en effet bien triste qu'un tel traitement soit infligé par une nation européenne et civilisée à un peuple aussi paisible que celui du Togo."

55. This is supported by Komla Kekeli Joseph Adadjo-Binder, Kpalimé, Togo, March 21, 2000; Tete Kofi Apaloo, Batoumé, Togo, March 30, 2000.

56. *ADQO*, SDN/622, Petition addressed to the PMC, August 9, 1926.

57. *ADQO*, SDN/622, 353, emphasis added.

58. A variety of names were used other than the title under which the organization operated. In an internal report, the Ministry of Colonies called the Bund "un certain nombre d'indigènes se disant 'Directeurs d'une Association des Allemands au Togo.'" It was also referred to as the "Bund der Deutsch-Togolaender." *ADQO*, SDN/622, 355, 362.

59. *ADQO*, SDN/622, 356 bis.

60. *ADQO*, SDN/622, 371f: "La deuxième histoire ne paraît pas très plausible. Est-il d'usage que les policiers français soient occupés à la construction des routes et accomplissent un travail très pénible dans la boue? Les policiers suédois ne le feraient certainement pas. . . . J'ai examiné la loi électorale en question; elle est du 4 novembre 1924 et figure dans le rapport de 1924, page 195. Dans la plupart des provinces, les membres du Conseil des notables sont élus par deux corps électoraux, l'un comprenant tous les chefs de canton et de village, l'autre les chefs de quartier et de famille des centres urbains de Lomé, Anécho, Kloute [*sic*], Atakpamé. . . . Il existe des

règlements détaillés et minutieux relatifs à l'établissement des listes électorales et à la procédure des élections."

61. *ADQO*, SDN/622, 372-75.

62. *ADQO*, SDN/622, 386-87.

63. *ADQO*, SDN/622, 393 bis.

64. Members of the Conseils des Notables (at least that of Lomé) were paid 30 francs per meeting, with one meeting per trimester. Whereas this may not have seemed a great sum to a clerk in Paris, it was more than a year's taxes for most periurban Ewelanders. *ADQO*, SDN/622, 393 bis.

65. *ADQO*, SDN/622, 386: "Ce dernier notable (Adjalle) est le seul homme du Togo parmi les notables. Il partage notre opinion, mais s'il n'a pu exprimer son désir dans leurs réunions devant les chefs français, c'est seulement par crainte du despotisme français."

66. *ADQO*, SDN/622, 393 bis.

67. A draft letter to the PMC, 1/29/1929. *ADQO*, SDN/622, 392.

68. *ADQO*, SDN/622, 392 bis: "Ceux-ci sont, en effet, élus par les chefs de canton, les chefs de village et les chefs de quartiers et de famille, qui sont eux-mêmes élus par leurs administrés, pour les chefs de canton et de village, ou désignés suivant les rites coutumiers—pour les chefs de quartier et de famille. Bien qu'il ne s'agisse pas d'une élection au suffrage universel et direct—du reste pratiquement irréalisable il est incontestable que les notables sont désignés par la volonté populaire et non par l'autorité administrative."

69. Corbin's statement before the PMC, February 27, 1929. *SDN*, R 2336 FMT (2705) N° 2705.

70. A letter from the Bund to the PMC, November 26, 1929, complained about an appeal against a conviction of fraud of twenty-two Togolese, overturned in Paris but "deliberately concealed" from the parties involved in Lomé. A separate document from October 14, 1930 detailed a series of reports from the various districts of French Togoland received by the Accra office of the Bund. The incidents listed and dated were: Kpalimé, April 3, 1930, M. Godio (Gaudillot) ordered the villagers of Adjanufiagbe to do hard labour; Kpalimé, July 18, 1930, Commandant Mahoux arrested the chief of Djolo and others from Atakpamé and Aképé for not paying taxes, and various members of Conseil des Notables of Kpalimé were removed from office; Lomé, a written criticism of Chief Lawson for his public support for French rule on August 1930; Kpalimé and Atakpamé, from June to August 1930 people leaving for British Togoland; elsewhere, forty Kabyé died of hunger; Anécho, September 29, 1930, the murder of Akpadjaka; Kpalimé, a petition allegedly circulated in Lomé in August 1930 calling for French annexation of Togo. *SDN*, R 2336 FMT (2705) N° 2705.

71. The draft annual report for 1930 reads, "Se disant mandatés par la population Togolaise ils attaquent l'oeuvre française au Togo. Les requêtes qu'ils viennent d'adresser à la S.D.N. et au VATICAN sont un tis[s]u de calomnies trop facilement réfutables dont le ridicules et la violence empêchent que la moindre attention leur soit accordée. . . Ils placent cette question . . . sur le terrain d'intérêt général non seulement pour Anécho mais pour le Territoire tout entier. . . Ils masquent par l'envergure de leurs agissements l'indigence du nombre de leurs adeptes mais ils ne peuvent pour nous, dissimuler la qualité des gens et nous savons que le Président de la 'BOUND DER DEUTSCH TOGOLANDER ASSOCIATION' [sic] et peu digne de la bienveillance qu'il réclamé." *ANT*, Cercle d'Anécho/ 11-19/1930.

72. "Bundtogo" was the Bund's registered international telegraph address. The telegram exists in English in the *SDN* files and in French in the *ADQO*. The full text of the latter reads: "Association togolaise 18 filiales dévouée entièrement aux intérêts

de la population considère de son devoir de protester sérieusement contre les menées traîtresses du chef Lawson—stop—tous documents signés Lawson sont illégaux, d'où délit et conséquences graves—Stop—un câble ne peut être envoyé du Togo où l'oppression et l'injustice règnent d'une manière qui se rapproche de l'esclavage. Le Gouvernement est informé en conséquence—Lettre suit." *ADQO*, SDN/622, 426.

73. Napo-Issa and Oloukpona-Yinnon, "Wir Togoleute," 278-79, notes 16-17, refer to twenty-one branches in 1955-56, which had split into separate British and French Togo zones. The branches listed are: Adangbé, Agu-Tavié, Agu-Nyongbo, Aného, Atakpamé, Atitogo, Bowiri, Elavanyo, Gbe-Dzigbe, Goviépé, Ho, Klonou, Kovié-Noépé, Kpando, Kuma-Adama, Leklebi, Lomé, Tové-Dzigbe, Ve, Womé-Klo, and Wo-Momè.

74. *ADQO*, SDN/622; *SDN*, R 2336 FMT (2705) N°2705.

75. *ADQO*, SDN/622; *SDN*, R 2336 FMT (2705) N°2705.

76. The French translation uses "bluff," while the English "humbug," *ADQO*, SDN/622, 427; *SDN*, R 2336 FMT (2705) N°2705.

77. From *SDN*, R 2336 FMT (2705) N°2705.

78. From *SDN*, R 2336 FMT (2705) N°2705. "With M. Bonnacarrere [*sic*] the mandate . . . must be converted into French colony to close the way to the people to the League; but this cannot be done without the assent of the people. Lawson would sell us for a mess of potage because he was promised to be made king of the whole Togoland if he could succeed to work out a successful plan for the colony which he could not fairly do out here and, under this agreement in 1928 M. Bonnacarrere managed to arrange for Lawson a visit to France, with our money for effective representation against us. Last November 1928 M. Bonnacarrere wrote a letter in France to his chief Lawson that he succeeded to arrange a visit for him to France a copy of which was published in the 'Gold Coast Truth' in the above year on November 24."

79. From *SDN*, R 2336 FMT (2705) N°2705: "If Lawson is a natural chief of the people he would not support the administration which the whole nation complains against. He would not for position sell the people, and that we would not allow him to sell us."

80. The names listed included Chief Agbane II of Glidji; the Huegbo, Foli, Alofa, Sowu, and Adjale families; Chief Quaje Jiyehue of Aného; the families of Pedro Kuajo, Pedro Ayi d'Almeida, Gaba Kponton, Hunifio, Akue, Ajavon, and Bruce; Chief Mensah of Porto Seguro; the families of Asiakole, Lassey, Tete Aple, and Kpoti; Chief Hodji of Amoutivé in Bê; the families of Adey, Ocloo, Nuku, and Adjalle; Chief Gasu of Baguida; and the Kudolo family.

81. From *SDN*, R 2336 FMT (2705) N°2705. "The mandate began reforming the state into French ethic with great opposition and there is clash of ideals between the administration and the people, when the natives are not allowed to advance constitutionally and to thrive and develop the resources of their land to their benefit. The legislation seek [*sic*] to overrule and to keep all to the white. The condition of the nation is vitally altered for worse. . . . The position given to Lawson and the Notables are [*sic*] not according to custom and merits. A member of the Lawson family a pedigree to the royal family of Anecho [*sic*] is appointed to be the ruling chief and the honour of Notables is conferred on aliens and the worst type of illiterates through whom the Government can gain way to carry the inimical administration. This idea is to divide and rule. The institution like others is but a sneer to the wellbeing of the people."

82. They described the French mandate as "years of conflict" of "increasing embitterment and estrangement" and a "fiery furnace of misfortunes and sudden deaths."



83. *ADQO*, SDN/622, 429. The murder of Amuzuvi Akpadjaka receives further attention below. *ANT*, Cercle d'Anécho/11-19/1930. Aduayom et al., "Le refus de la colonisation," 512-13, refers to him as "Robin des Bois togolais."

84. *SDN*, R 2336 FMT (2705) N°2705.

85. *SDN*, R 2336 FMT (2705) N°2705.

86. *SDN*, R 2336 FMT (2705) N°2705.

87. See Napo-Issa and Oloukpona-Yinnon, "Wir Togoleute," 279, which cites a 1951 letter from Agboka to Schlettwein.

88. *SDN*, R 2336 FMT (2705) Document N°2705. The following letter from Bourguine to the Bund, October 27, 1930, is highly spurious, considering earlier internal ministerial reports and letters from the Conseil des Notables about the membership and activities of the Bund. "Objet: Le Commissaire de la République, p.i. au Togo à Monsieur le président de la Bund der Deutsch Togoländer. . . Je vous accuse réception de votre lettre du 14 Octobre. Vous avez déjà adressé [*sic*] à la Commission permanente des Mandates des pétitions qui, considérées comme sans intérêt, ont été purement et simplement rejetées. Je vous prie de me faire connaître, appuyé de documents authentiques, qui vous a confié le mandat dont vous vous prévaluez de parler au nom de la population, qui compte 750,000 habitants, et des chefs du Togo. Je me suis assuré que votre existence est à peu inconnue ici. Je vous faire remarquer, en outre, que la série de rapports joints à votre communication sont des documents anonymes qui paraissent avoir été fabriqués tout spécialement pour la circonstance et sont rédigés en termes tellement vagues qu'ils ne méritent aucune attention."

89. Petition from the Bund, November 15, 1930, addressed to the PMC. *SDN*, R 2336 FMT (2705) Document N°2705.

90. Petition from the Bund, November 15, 1930, addressed to the PMC. *SDN*, R 2336 FMT (2705) Document N°2705. In contrast, not only were the French, by ignoring the stipulations of the League's covenant and the wishes of the Togolese masses, exercising more or less absolute control, but they were not even inclined to offer a flexible process of review for complaints. "We very much regret that our Government is never willing to allow the League of Nations to make independent enquiries into alleged grievances nor even allowing them to be known in the actual form by the League of Nations, but blessing under good laws and Government."

91. Petition from the Bund, November 15, 1930, addressed to the PMC. *SDN*, R 2336 FMT (2705) Document N°2705. "1. When and how was the Council of Notables formed? 2. When was the 'Election Day' and where? 3. What is the Constitution of the Council? 4. By whom were the Notables nominated? 5. Can they be said to be representative of the people and how is the public made to know this? 6. Were they not nominated by Government to be a challenge against the inspired admonition of irrefragable [*sic*] complaints of the people? 7. Is it not a fact that they have been doing so and that from since 1922 they have not once defended the people but refuted all their petitions? 8. Is the Council not a harm to the nation when the people said to represent them are foreigners on one part and discontented illiterates on the other? 9. Can the Notables be representatives of the people and yet oppose them in their just claims? 10. Can the Notables by a stretch of imagination deny they are unauthorized representatives of the people and therefore subsequently seek their own small interests from Government in the land of bondage? 11. If they deny, how many times they held meetings with the public to discuss national problems, and how many times they have carried the wish of the people to Government, and how many times they ever laid result of the Council and propositions of the Government before the public? last and not the rest [*sic*]; 12. If they truly represent the people how could they support Government against legitable claims of the people they represent?"



92. The petition followed a March 5, 1931 telegram signed "President Bundtogo," sent directly to Geneva, stating: "Secretary League of Nations Geneva several letters report Franceschi arrived Lomé question mandate raised chiefs inhabitants Bundtogo all emigrants Gold Coast seriously protest such threatening one sided mission letter follows." *ADQO*, SDN/622, 403.

93. Petition from the Bund, March 28, 1931 addressed to the PMC objected to French procedural delays. *SDN*, R 2336 FMT (2705) Document N° 2705.

94. The so-called secret mission "was purposely planned and carried to frustrate the activity of the Bund." *ADQO*, SDN/622, 406. The mission of Franceschi was an official Ministry of Colonies Mission of Inspection, which happened relatively sporadically in Togo as it did in other parts of the empire.

95. They were always accompanied by a polite note. Letter from Bonnacarrère to the Bund, October 16, 1931, *ADQO*, SDN/622, 406.

96. *Gold Coast Spectator*, March 28, 1931, article entitled "The End of M. Franceschi's Tour." *Gold Coast Spectator*, April 11, 1931, article entitled "Mr John A. Atayi [sic] warned (not to speak on behalf of the Togolese while in Paris)."

97. Besides a cover letter in 1934 mentioned below, and the frequent mention of Lawson in their petitions, the Bund's involvement with the Adjgo-Gaba clan is unclear. In Anécho, however, the common object of the two parties was apparent to the commandant of the Cercle, who noted in a confidential letter to Bonnacarrère, May 26, 1931, that "Ceci m'à parler du 'Deutsch TOGOBUND' qui groupe un nombre infime de Togolais établis à Accra. Ces indésirables sont pour la plupart éloignés de leur ville natale eu raison de quelques délits, leurs principales ressources sont les subsides donnés par ceux qui voudraient que le désordre régnât à Anécho, afin d'en tirer parti à leur profit. Par eux ou plutôt par leurs émissaires le Chef est étroitement surveillé, ses agissements critiqués, ses intentions suspectées, et le fuit le plus méritoire pour lui c'est de se tenir au dessus de cette sourde hostilité." *ANT*, Cercle d'Anécho/4-10/1928-31.

98. Bund members were the likely perpetrators of a forged letter, November 2, 1931, attributed to John Atavi, in which the author attacked the mandate regime. *CAOM*, Aff.Pol./T-C/ 2662, Dossier 5. Atavi denied all authorship of this and others in a letter to the Minister of Colonies, March 6, 1931. *SDN*, R 2337 FMT (2705) N° 2711. See note 96 above.

99. The *Gold Coast Spectator*, April 4, 1931 printed several names, including Kumako Akli and Anakli of Bè-Lomé, Sewu II of Mission Tové, Siabi and Neglo of Koviéfé, Akutsa of Badja and others in Kévé and Avé, Vidza II of Noépé, and Alose, Mitsadi, Moevi, Koley, Sofatu, Kudeha, and Bakpa, all of Abobo.

100. Minutes and resolution of the Bund der Deutsch Togolaender [sic], November 23, 1931. *SDN*, R 2336 FMT (2705) N° 2705.

101. *SDN*, R 2336 FMT (2705) N° 2705. This resolution was signed by the "Officers and Directors" of the Bund, listed as Johann A. Agboka, president; Carl K. Dugamey, secretary; and Frederico Idelfonso d'Almeida, vice president; and the signatures of "35 Headmen of Togoland emigrants in the various towns in the Gold Coast."

102. G-F Gérand, "La Situation Politique du Togo est satisfaisante," *Le Courier Colonial*, December 25, 1931; *SDN*, R 2336 FMT (2705) Document N° 2705.

103. A letter from the PMC rapporteur Catastini to the Bund's president Agboka, February 19, 1932, reads in part: "I have the honour to inform you that the following conclusions were reached by the Permanent Mandates Commission in the course of its twenty-first session on your petition dated October 14th, 1930: 'The Commission considers that no action should be taken on the petition, its conclusions being inad-

missable under the existing rules of procedure with regard to mandate petitions.” *SDN*, R 2336 FMT (2705) Document N° 2705.

104. This is the first reference to such a committee. Resolution of “the General Executive Committee meeting of the Bund der Deutsche Togolaender [*sic*] held at Accra, Gold Coast Colony, on April 23, 1932,” in *SDN*, R 2336 FMT (2705) N° 2705.

105. A letter addressed to de Guise on June 22, 1932 contained the following explanation: “That the object of this league is to seek and maintain the interest [*sic*] and welfare of Togolanders at home and abroad, and stands as the voice of the people constitutionally politically socially industrially and for the economic development and progress of the State and advancement of the people . . . work together hand in hand.” *SDN*, R 4111 TUFM (1642) N° 1762.

106. “Note pour le Ministre,” Ministry of Foreign Affairs, August 23, 1933. Letter from the Minister of Colonies to the Foreign Minister, November 16, 1933. *ADQO*, *SDN*/622, 446f.

107. The pro-Nazi allegations are based on sound evidence, including the fact that Johann Agboka took the title “Bundesführer” after 1933 and made his deputies “Gruppenführer.” See Napo-Issa and Oloukpona-Yinnon, “Wir Togoleute,” 277; and Stoecker, “Germanophile,” 496. Correspondence and other exchanges with Germany increased just when the British began to consider the possibility of returning the German territories in exchange for a peace treaty. See Callahan, *Sacred Trust*, 63–70.

108. Indeed, the only mention of any Kabyé issue in any Bund document was the allegation of starvation ca. 1930, presumably among migrants in the south. Oral historical narratives, however, attest to the suffering of the Kabyé in the south. The immediate and long-term implications of the forced migrations were far-reaching and have been studied at length by Piot, *Remotely Global*.

109. Memorandum, George Howells to the British Colonial Office. Howells describes the Bund’s involvement as “passive resistance.” *PRO*, CO 96/710/6: Lomé Riots 1933.

110. One telegram (February 11, 1933) was sent by the Bund, and two additional telegrams (February 5, 1933 and February 13, 1933) were signed by a certain “Sosuvi” based in Denu (just over the border from Lomé), although the author’s identity cannot be established. All were sent to Geneva. The author of the latter is referred to variously as “Sosuvi” and “Sosouvi.”

111. The possibility that the chief protagonist, Kobina Ghartey, may have been a member of or involved with the Bund should also be considered. Photographs in *SDN*, R 4111 TUFM (1642) N° 1762. See Fig. 3.2.

112. Yet the Sosuvi petitions—to which the PMC sent an official response—were also identified as anonymous by Maurice Besson, whose report receives further attention below. Reply sent by mail to “Sosouvi” in Denu, Gold Coast Colony, February 7, 1934. *SDN*, R 4111 TUFM (1642) N° 1672. From a memorandum between the secretary-general’s office and that of the French representative, however, we learn that the Bund’s telegram “ne peut être considéré comme une pétition et le Secrétaire Général se contentera d’en accuser réception.” *ADQO*, *SDN*/622, 648.

113. *ADQO*, *SDN*/622, 456. “Ces télégrammes, comme il est dit dans la présente note sont signés ‘Sossouvi’ [*sic*] qui est un nom commun de la langue dahoméenne et n’a jamais été un nom propre, on peut dire que nous sommes en l’espèce en présence de plaintes anonymes. Si les auteurs des pétitions en question avaient pu arguer de faits précis et réels, il est douteux qu’ils se soient cachés derrière une sorte d’anonymat.”

114. *ADQO*, *SDN*/622, 456. Confidential minute, Orts, member of the PMC, June 7, 1934: “‘A disquieting and significant feature,’ says the note in question, is that their signatures are not proper names, but common nouns of a wide variety of meanings,

so that 'they are unquestionably pseudonyms'. . . . In other words, the petitions previously examined by the Commission may have been signed with false names. . . . Now it happens that one of those names appears once more at the foot of the covering letters to the petitions with which we have to deal to-day; or at the foot of the petitions themselves. . . . In view of this concatenation of circumstances, I feel bound to recommend to the Commission to proceed with utmost circumspection in this case. I therefore propose that it regard the petitions emanating from this sources as non-receivable on the same grounds as in the case of anonymous petitions, until such time as the signatories have furnished evidence of their identity and such particulars of the association they claimed to represent as will make it possible to judge its aims and nature." *SDN*, R 4111 TUFM (1642) N° 1762.

115. Letter to Commission of Eastern Province from E. Y. Becr Boni, Nsawam, Gold Coast, March 30, 1933. *GNA*, ADM 39/1/227.

116. *GNA*, ADM 39/1/227 and 670.

117. A letter by a French Togolander living in Koforidua, February 6, 1933. *ANT*, 8APA (1933) Carton 1.

118. This anonymous and undated report was most likely submitted to the PMC on December 15, 1933, as a note from M. Orts from 1934 refers to a special report prepared by the mandate authority. "Note sur le 'Bund der Deutsch Togoländer'," *ADQO*, SDN/622, 451-56.

119. *Lettre circulaire*, December 19, 1925 addressed to "Gentlemen and Compatriots." *ADQO*, SDN/622, 453-54.

120. Report of Besson, *ADQO*, SDN/622, 453-54: "En conséquence, les précisions demandées aux autorités français du Togo ont bien confirmé le peu de valeur qu'il y avait lieu d'attribuer ainsi que l'avait fait remarquer le Représentant accrédité à des plaintes rédigées en territoire étranger et signées de noms d'emprunt."

121. A certain German doctor by the name of Bell is alleged to have been a key influence in the formulation of the Bund's petitions, because a January 7, 1926 petition repeated *in extenso* an earlier article by Bell in *Afrika Nachrichten*.

122. From M. Orts' report to the eleventh session of the PMC, 1927. Besson cites also representative Ruppel, who during the twenty-first session delivered a similarly stinging review of what he called an organization "with neither a statute nor goals."

123. Service de Police et de Sûreté, Lomé, September 15, 1933. *CAOM*, FM/Aff.Pol/T-C/ 608, 11.

124. A flyer posted "all over the city of Accra, and sent to the villages of the interior where Togolese interested in Bundist ideas reside" read thus: "DEUTSCH-TOGO-BUND—AT ACCRA (THE TOGO NATIONAL LEAGUE) beg to announce to all Togolandrs at home and abroad that there will be a Mass Meeting on Sunday the 29th October 1933, at 2 pm precisely at Accra on the Play Ground opposite the Roman Catholic Mission Church. The AGENDA will be to discuss matters of sending a delegate to League of Nations at Geneva. All Chiefs therefore are requested to present their reports or grievances to the Bund's Office at Derby Avenue, House N° W.336/6 opposite the Catholic Mission House. Everyone of Togo extraction is requested to attend this Meeting and to contribute towards the fund of the Bund in her appeals for freedom of our Fatherland. DEUTSCH-TOGO-BUND, P.O. BOX 286—ACCRA OCTOBER 6th, 1933. *CAOM*, FM/Aff.Pol/T-C/ 608, Dossier 12) Notice for Bund Meeting.

125. The most illuminating example of this is a letter written by the otherwise unknown Theo Dzovo of Ho-Ahoe, May 6, 1936, in which he exclaims his pleasure that his nine-month-old son has learned the Hitler salute and is thus a "Hitler Jugend." [*sic*] DTB-Bildarchiv, Bildnummer # 101,3-3503-21.

126. CAOM, FM/Aff.Pol/T-C/ 6o8.
127. Frederic d'Almeida, Martin Abibu-Suhum, and Godfrin of Akusé sent apologies via Secretary Clement Amartey.
128. A reply to the letter carried by Elly Bienhorn in August of the same year.
129. Interview, Efua Avoka, Tsévié, Togo, February 1, 2000.
130. He seems to have greatly underestimated the administrative obstacles to such a trip. CAOM, FM/Aff.Pol/T-C/ 6o8, Dossier 11: "Mais à la suite d'une entente entre le Service de Police et de Sûreté du Togo et la Police de la Gold-Coast (Capitaine WINGROWE [*sic*], Commissaire de Police anglaise), tout projet de départ d'un délégué de la ladite ligue sera immédiatement signalé par la Police de la Gold-Coast au Service de Police et de Sûreté du Togo."
131. CAOM, FM/Aff.Pol/T-C/ 6o8. For the full text, see appendix I.
132. Telegram from Bund to PMC, December 1, 1934: "Emmanuel Ajavon d[i]spatched by French Government to League Geneva secret mission stop aborigines ignorant of his departure as a delegate stop cable from togoland difficult due oppression prevailing under mandate tantamount to autocracy stop government informed accordingly—Deutsch TogoBund." Like the previous petitions, this one was subsequently rejected. A letter from PMC to Bund, June 22, 1935 stated that their petition were interpreted as anonymous and therefore unreceivable. *SDN*, R 4111 TUFM (1642) N° 1762.
133. Petition cover letter, February 19, 1934, accompanied by a copy of the long petition used in the Lawson-Adjigo dispute. *SDN*, R 4111 TUFM (1642) N° 1762. An organ of the French administration designed to combat the propaganda from Germany and the Dahomey free press. Letter printed in *The Provincial Pioneer* February 2, 1935. *PRO*, CO 96/719/3. A confidential report from CAOM, FM/Aff.Pol/T-C/ 6o8, Dossier 13) reads: "Le Phare du Dahomey dans son N° de novembre annonce la parution au TOGO d'un nouvel organe 'Le Cri du Togo' qui serait dirigé par le Dahoméen Félix d'Almeida. Il pourrait s'agit de Félix d'ALMEIDA, ex-secrétaire du DEUTSCH-TOGO-BUND, signalé à par la récente communication de notre Agent consulaire à ACCRA."
134. See Lawrance, "Bankoe v. Dome."
135. Interview, Athanaisus Donudenu Djati, Abaun, Ghana, July 2, 1973, by David Brown. Brown, "Kpandu," 241.
136. Brown, "Kpandu," 240.
137. Whereas the French were reluctant to allow any Germans to return to French Togoland, the British allowed first missionaries and later businessmen to move more or less freely in their mandated territories. A German businessman, Riegermann, allegedly promised the independent *duko* Ve the paramountcy of a "Lukusi State" if its chief backed German restitution claims. *GNA*, CSO 20/21 Native Affairs Togoland, No. 20. Theodora Dikpo claimed to have met Riegermann. Interview, Akossiva Dikpo and Theodora Dikpo, Ho-Ahoh, Ghana, May 12, 2000.
138. This is the hypothesis of Brown, "Kpandu," 241.
139. See Lawrance, "Bankoe v. Dome." In Kpandu, Dagudu Anku is reported to have said on February 13, 1918: "I shall be very glad to be under the English flag again. My people used to travel from here to the Gold Coast, traders in cocoa and other things. After their return from the Gold Coast the Germans used to catch them and fined them £1 each and sometimes imprison them for three weeks. Everybody who came from the Gold Coast was punished in this way. Through this people used to escape and stay there. My people used to help me in the town but when they escaped I had no help. . . . We didn't like the Germans and we thank God that he decided that the

English were to take over the country.” This was recorded by J. T. Furley, Secretary of Native Affairs, letter to Colonial Secretary, April 17, 1918. *GNA*, ADM 11/1621.

140. Interview, Kwasi Kuada Amabhey, Dzoanti, Ghana, December 13, 1972, by David Brown. Brown, “Kpandu,” 241.

141. Letters in *African Morning Post*, January 18, 1935 and *Gold Coast Spectator*, December 29, 1934. *PRO*, CO 96/719/3. Such rumors were also a key ingredient in the 1933 Lomé riots. In British Togoland there was also the “yearly rumour that the Germans are coming back.” See Report by Lilley, June 30, 1938, *GNA*, ADM 39/1/710. For the operation of rumor in the colonial African context more generally, see White, *Speaking*.

142. Interview, Gilbert Agbesuge, Anfoega, Ghana, July 22, 1973, by David Brown. Brown, “Kpandu,” 411 note 12.

143. Interview, Clemence Djame, Tsakpe, Ghana, February 21, 1973, by David Brown: the informant suggested that the British imprisoned as many as fifty Bundists during World War II. See Brown, “Kpandu,” 242.

144. Tété-Adjalogo, *De la colonisation*, 186–87.

145. Interview, Godfried Quame, Hohoe, Ghana, June 30, 1973, by David Brown. Brown, “Kpandu,” 411, notes 14 and 15.

146. Dionisius Nyavor fled with Aloysius Addo and others in 1940. Interviews, Nelson Nyavor, Gabi, Ghana, March 22, 1973; Aloysius Addo, Aloi, Ghana, March 22, 1973, by David Brown. Brown, “Kpandu,” 411 note 16.

147. *GNA*, CSO 20/21; *PRO*, CO 96/751/8 and *SDN*, R 4123 BMT (4245) N° 4245.

148. *SDN*, S 1664 SFM N° 7. Extract from *West Africa* N° 1139, December 3, 1938: “In its capacity to hear petitions, the Commission received one from the Bund der Deutsch Togolander, which also dealt with the land dispute; but obviously nothing could be done while the appeal was pending. The most interesting point, from a French point of view, is the British recognition of the Bund, which is an association of Togolanders, chiefly from the French territory, which has its headquarters at Accra. ‘Recognition’ of the body of course, confers upon it no official status; and it must be remembered that in earlier days there was a Bund of absent patriots at Accra, which was equally sensitive over questions of the Germans in Togoland, but it achieved little beyond the publication of a number of critical articles in the Gold Coast Press.” Bourgeois-Gavardin remembered the Bund thus in a 1941 report: “Quoiqu’il [*sic*] en soit, il ne semble pas qu’il existe ici un parti allemand. On a parlé jadis d’un ‘Togo Bund’ dont les adhérents les plus actifs se seraient trouvés, singulièrement, en Gold-Coast; dans la région de Kumassi. Leur action ne semble vraiment pas avoir eu d’effets sensibles au Togo proprement dit.” *CAOM*, 14 MiOM 2309/AOF/17G/111: Rapport de Mission Bourgeois-Gavardin.

149. Napo-Issa and Oloukpona-Yinnon, “Wir Togoleute,” 276, state that in 1959 the Bund was a registered political party, but by the time of its termination in 1980 it was solely cultural. For the harrowing accounts of incarceration, see Tété-Adjalogo, *De la colonisation*, 187–90.

150. Napo-Issa and Oloukpona-Yinnon, “Wir Togoleute,” 274.

## Chapter 6: From Eweland to la République Togolaise

1. Interview, Hubert Kponton, conducted by Silivi d’Almeida-Ekué, ca. 1973.
2. Interview, Dossi Ekué-Attognon, in d’Almeida-Ekué, *La révolte*, 84.
3. *ANT*, 8 APA (1933) Carton 1.

4. Letter, January 20, 1933. *ANT*, 8 APA (1933) Carton 1; Gharthey letter to Inspector Cazeaux, May 19, 1933. ADQO, SDN/622, 724.
5. Letter, Savi de Tové to de Guise, February 17, 1933; reply letter, February 28, 1933. *ANT*, 8 APA (1933) Carton 1. Dossier: Troubles de 1933; lettre du Sieur SAVI de TOVE au Commissaire de la République a/s dégâts enregistrés par lui suite aux événements.
6. No copies of the first issue are known to exist. Volume 18 (second year), November 1935, refers to the appearance of the *Guide* on November 11, 1934.
7. Anderson, *Imagined*.
8. Adissoda, "La Presse," and Jones-Quartey, *History*.
9. The two exceptions are Guillaneuf, "La Presse," and Kadanga, "La Presse."
10. Kadanga, "La Presse," 206.
11. Amenumey, *Ewe Reunification*, 39-40, 43-46, 49, 51; Nugent, *Smugglers*, 118, 160-65.
12. Collier, "Ablode."
13. The underhanded treatment of Togoland petitioners begins with the initial reception of petitions, as Amenumey demonstrates. Amenumey, *Ewe Unification*, 23-26.
14. See Lawrance, "En proie," and Lawrance, "Bankoe v. Dome."
15. Collier, "Ablode." See also Skinner, "Reading."
16. Very little has been written about Eweland during World War II; only the very short Fol, "Le Togo"; also Tété-Adjalo, *Histoire du Togo*, vol. I, 60-75; Marguerat, "La seconde guerre mondiale"; and a thesis by Goeh-Ekué, "L'effort du guerre."
17. Nugent himself refers to the wartime period as a "political hiatus." Nugent, *Smugglers*, 117. Amenumey asserts that the war provoked "an Ewe cultural renaissance" but provides no examples to substantiate this claim. Amenumey, *Ewe Reunification*, 35. Also, Nugent, *Smugglers*, 157. Toulabor notes, all too vaguely, that during this period "ideas matured." Toulabor, "La Presse."
18. Welch, *Dream*, 63-64; Nugent, *Smugglers*, 43-48, 162-63.
19. Marguerat, "La seconde," 214; interview, Arnold Gidiga, by Paul Nugent, Likpe-Abrani, May 29, 1986. See Nugent, *Smugglers*, 163.
20. Nugent, *Smugglers*, 162.
21. Tété-Adjalo, *Histoire du Togo*, vol. I, 74. My translation.
22. The increase in World War II exports is documented by Goeh-Akué, "L'effort du guerre"; the collapse in imports is documented by Fol, "Le Togo," 71.
23. Interview with François Amarin, Cotonou, August 19, 2005; Marguerat, "La seconde guerre mondiale," 216.
24. See Fol, "Le Togo," 75. Goeh-Akué, "L'effort de guerre," reports that in 1937 there were 2,032 disciplinary sanctions, 39,130 F in fines, and 5,008 days in prison (corvée labor), whereas by 1945 those figures had risen to 9,337, 841,635F, and 25,942 respectively.
25. A petition by the chiefs of Asogli in British Togoland to annex the Ewe territories of French Togoland suggests that such sentiment existed in certain quarters. Amenumey, *Ewe Reunification*, 37-38. Welch's suggestion that funerals were interrupted remains unsubstantiated. Welch, *Dream*, 64-65.
26. Nugent, *Smugglers*, 162.
27. Marguerat, "La seconde guerre mondiale," 213, states that the Vichy phase in Togo was in economic terms "relatively benign" and the Gaullist period "oppressively hard," but no oral informants provided anything to substantiate this statement.
28. Nugent, *Smugglers*, 163.
29. *Ewe News-Letter* No. 1, May 1945.



30. See Nugent, *Smugglers*, 158–59, 164–65.
31. Amenumey, *Ewe Reunification*, 47–52, summarizes its goals and approach.
32. Allman, *Quills*; see Nugent, *Smugglers*, 172–73. Nugent and Amenumey have provided various explanations of its origins and strengths, the most compelling being the roles of the Buem leadership and Togoland's discontent with Anlo (Gold Coast) Ewe control of the AEC.
33. Collier, "Ablode."
34. Nugent, *Smugglers*, 173.
35. Nugent, *Smugglers*, 183.
36. The best overview of this is Gbédémah, "L'échec."
37. United Nations Trusteeship Council Official Records, Doc. T/58, November 17, 1947.
38. *Rapport Annuel du Gouvernement Français aux Nations Unies sur l'administration du Togo placé sous la tutelle de la France* (1947). This tendency has a long history. For example, in the censuses for the Cercle d'Anécho, sometime during the late 1920s the commandant decided in favor of a "Répartition des Races." ANT, 8APA, Rapports de Cercles, Cercle d'Anécho, Rapports trim. 1°–4° 1931; also Lettres confidentielles, May 26, 1931, Commandant to Gouverneur, Rapports périodiques des cercles; dossier 10: "La population du Cercle d'Anécho se présente sous deux aspects très différents suivants que nous considérons les races de la côte: les Minas, ou la race de l'intérieur les Ouatchis. Les premiers, plus évolués que les autres offrent à l'Administration des points de contact très délicats en raison des luttes politiques qui les divisent. Les Ouatschis ignorent ces dissensions acharnées, toutefois certains chefs déclarant leurs sympathies pour l'un ou l'autre des partis Minas, suivant la politique des derniers." Another example comes from the paper *Empire français*, 1931, in an article entitled "La vie sociale en AOF: les Nigritiens, peuples guinéens": "[N]ous arrivons à un pays sous mandat, le Togo. Là encore, se rencontre un ensemble de population évoluées; désignées sous le nom d'Ewhé, en raison de la langue qu'elles parlent. Les Ewhé peuplent, avec une faible partie de la Côte d'Or, le Bas-Togo, tant anglais que français. Ils ont été l'objet d'études tout à fait remarquables, d'un savant missionnaire allemand, M. Spieth. Ils ont gardé leurs dieux, leurs coutumes juridiques, leurs littératures orales comprennent en particulier les contes qui supportent fort bien la comparaison avec ceux des Oulof et des Mandigues . . . quelques populations, en général plus primitives du Togo et du Dahomey . . . les Minnas (ou Guen), dont le centre d'expansion est Anécho, qui sont fortement imprégnés d'éléments Fanti, de la Côte d'Or." [sic].
39. Governor Notary, in a speech on June 18, 1945, published in a special issue of *Togo Français* 1945, noted that as 389,721 Ewe lived in the British territories, whereas 1,161,749 lived in French territories (comprising 411,749 in French Togo and 750,000 in Dahomey), reuniting the minority under the majority would be "much more logical and much easier." The numbers decrease in each subsequent version of the *Rapport Annuel* to 1955. Further examples can be found in the reports of the UN Visiting Missions. The United Nations Visiting Mission to the Trust Territories in West Africa, 1952, *Special Report on the Ewe and Togoland Unification Problem* (Geneva, 1952); United Nations Trusteeship Council Official Records, Doc. T/1105 Para. 34; United Nations Visiting Mission to the Trust Territories of Togoland under British Administration and Togoland under French Administration, 1955, *Special Report on the Togoland Unification Problem and the Future of the Trust Territory of Togoland under British Administration* (Geneva: 1955); United Nations Trusteeship Council Official Records, Doc. T/1218, Para. 82.
40. Amenumey, *Ewe Reunification*, 64–80, provides important detail on this representative period.



41. United Nations Trusteeship Council Official Records, Doc. T/1238, Para. 111-16 and Doc. T/1392 Para. 236; United Nations Visiting Mission to the Trust Territories of Togoland under British Administration and Togoland under French Administration, 1955, *Report on Togoland under French Administration* (Geneva: 1955).
42. Guillaneuf, "La Presse," [iii].
43. Interview, "No. 19 Les débuts de l'Imprimerie: M. Adoté Richard Akue-Adotevi et M. William Gonou," in Marguerat and Peleï, *Si Lomé m'était contée. . .*, vol. II, 263-72.
44. Adissoda, "La Presse," 11.
45. *Archives du Nationales Senegal*, 8G 13/17.
46. See Suret-Canale, "Un pionnier."
47. Archives Nationales du Bénin, 1 D5: "Renseignements secrets sur la presse et des diverses publications locales (1936)."
48. Guillaneuf, "La Presse," 10.
49. Toulabor, "La Presse."
50. Amégléamé, "Essai d'analyse"; Toulabor, "La Presse," 134.
51. Lawrence, "Most Obedient Servants."
52. The 1923 version of the Third Republic law of July 29, 1881 enacted for French Togo mandated that: (1) newspapers and periodicals may be published with the authorization of the government; (2) two copies of any publication must be deposited with the office of the Procurer General; (3) any depositions must be accompanied by the title of the journal, the name of the director/editor, and the address of the printing press. See Toulabor, "La Presse," 135.
53. Ricard, *Naissance*, 19-33. Interview with François Amarin, Cotonou, Benin, August 19, 2005.
54. In the words of Comi Toulabor, these journals of opinion "appeared and disappeared in tandem with the events and the fortunes of their founders." Toulabor, "La Presse," 135.
55. Interview, François Amarin, Cotonou, Benin, August 19, 2005.
56. For details on the Dahomey side of this publication community see Adissoda, "La Presse," 22-44.
57. The LDRMC representative for Togo and Dahomey in 1935 was Vincent Pinto. *Ligue Bulletin* 1935 p.756. *Télégramme-Lettre* N°35c, Lomé, 4 July 1935: "Crois devoir vous signaler ce sujet qu'actuellement journaux Gold-Coast mènent campagne persistante contre nos méthodes administratives et que campagne risque avoir ses échos à Genève." A Dakar Circulaire, N°620, October 26, 1936, addressed to all heads of government issued a warning about the brutality of certain French officers. *ANT*, 8APA, Cercle de Klouto, Dossier 6, 1924-46.
58. A list of tax hostages from the Cercle of Aného for 1933 included thirty.
59. *SDN*, S 302, Togo French Mandate 1933-38. N°6-8, June-Aug. 1934, mentions a newspaper salesman imprisoned for three months and fined 1,500 francs for selling the *Cri des Nègres* in Lomé.
60. Interview, Jean-Lucien Savi de Tové, Lomé, Togo, August 17, 2005.
61. In Dahomey all twenty-three private newspapers ceased publication by 1939-40, with the exception of the journal of the Roman Catholic mission. See the "Tableau synoptique des journaux parus au Dahomey du 1890 à 1939" in Adissoda, "La Presse," 198.
62. Many in Lomé viewed the Conseil des Notables as a collaborationist body. Aného's local community apparently viewed its council in a similar light. From the 1934 draft report to the League of Nations, we learn that "l'organisation du Conseil des Notables qui a permis à une certaine partie de la population à collaborer aux affaires du pays tend à être l'objet des critiques des jeunes noirs qui malgré leur jeune

âge et leur inexpérience voudraient eux-aussi pouvoir faire partie de cette assemblée consultative.” *ANT*, 8APA, Cercle d’Anécho, Rapports périodiques des cercles, Dossiers 20-26: 1934-35, Rapports et tournées diverses.

63. *Guide du Togo*, vol. 28 (Sept. 1939), 182; *Édition Spéciale* (Oct. 1936) was devoted exclusively to the inauguration of Le Cercle des Amitiés Françaises; vol. 30 (Nov. 1936), 192-93.

64. The classic study of these assimilationist communities is Johnson, *Emergence*. Martin, *Leisure and Society* explores elite urban cultures. For the cultivation of African *évolués* in metropolitan France see Genova, *Colonial Ambivalence*.

65. The report of the 1932 session of the Permanent Mandates Commission referred to the election in Lomé: “Estime-t-on que le système d’élection choisi pour le Territoire convient bien à la mentalité des Togolais.” *CAOM*, Aff Pol/T-C/605.

66. *ANT*, 8APA, Carton 20; *CAOM*, Aff Pol/T-C/622, Dossier 9466.

67. “Etat moral de la population européenne et indigène 1940-41,” by M. Bourgeois-Gavardin, *CAOM*, 14 MiOM 2309/A.O.F./17G/111, Dossier: Rapport de Mission Bourgeois-Gavardin, Page(s): 1-74.

68. Interview, François Amarin, Cotonou, Benin, August 19, 2005.

69. Kadanga, “La Presse,” 209, provides no evidence for his allegation. Both François Amarin and Jean-Lucien Savi de Tové agreed that it was possible the French underwrote the publication costs, but were unable to confirm this. They both confirm, however, that the paper was not a profitable enterprise but a “labor of love.” Interviews, Jean-Lucien Savi de Tové, Lomé, Togo, August 17, 2005; François Amarin, Cotonou, Benin, August 19, 2005. *Le Guide du Togo*, vol. 32 (Jan. 1937), 200, reported on a meeting with Governor Montagné: “Clearly the Committee have [*sic*] done their best. They are determined to continue along the lines laid down in their program: to work in the general interest of our country and country-men. The good results which we report in our columns to-day are due to a large extent to the sympathy which the Governor shows in all matters affecting our country and its population.”

70. Decalo, *Historical Dictionary*; Nugent, *Smugglers*, 164, incorrectly identifies Savi de Tové as a member of “the Afro-Brazilian elite” along with Augustino de Souza and Sylvanus Olympio.

71. Interview, Jean-Lucien Savi de Tové, Lomé, Togo, August 17, 2005.

72. Interviews, Jean-Lucien Savi de Tové, Lomé, Togo, August 17, 2005; François Amarin, Cotonou, Benin, August 19, 2005.

73. Savi de Tové delivered a baby gorilla to King Alfonso of Spain, a gift from a chief in Cameroun. Interview, Jean-Lucien Savi de Tové, Lomé, Togo, August 17, 2005.

74. Interview, Jean-Lucien Savi de Tové, Lomé, Togo, August 17, 2005.

75. Interview, “No. 19 Les débuts de l’Imprimerie: M. Adoté Richard Akue-Adotevi et M. William Gonou,” in Marguerat and Peleï, *Si Lomé m’était contée. . .*, vol. II, 269.

76. Interview, François Amarin, Cotonou, Benin, August 19, 2005.

77. Nugent, *Smugglers*, 156.

78. Marks, *Ambiguities*, 12.

79. Copy of the Statutes and Constitution of the Comité de l’Unité Togolaise (UNITOGO), approved by *Arrêté Local* No. 121 bis, March 13, 1941, in the possession of the author.

80. Guillaneuf, “La Presse,” 8/3.

81. Lawrance, “Language Between Powers”; Guillaneuf, “La Presse,” 6.

82. Interviews, Jean-Lucien Savi de Tové, Lomé, Togo, August 17, 2005; François Amarin, Cotonou, Benin, August 19, 2005.

83. Interview, François Amarin, Cotonou, Benin, August 19, 2005.

84. Interview, François Amorin, Cotonou, Benin, August 19, 2005.
85. Interview, François Amorin, Cotonou, Benin, August 19, 2005. A letter by Kofi Boas in the *Guide du Togo*, vol. 31 (Dec. 1936): 196 refers to the formation of a journalists' or press association.
86. Guillaneuf, "La Presse," 8/1.
87. Amenumey, *Ewe Unification*, 128.
88. Nugent, *Smugglers*, 161.
89. CAOM, 14 MiOM 2329/A.O.F./17G/187, Dossier: Conference de Brazzaville: "Programme Général de la Conférence de Brazzaville (Jan. 1944); Exécution de la Circulaire N° 673/CAB du 29 Novembre 1943": "Tout au contraire la puissance mandataire s'est évertuée et tient dès le début à faire bénéficier l'autochtone d'une large participation à la gestion des intérêts généraux et locaux. Au sein du conseil d'Administration, des conseils des notables; des commissions d'hygiène, de la commission municipale de Lomé, des communes indigènes, de la commission économique et financière, de divers organismes qui établissent chaque année les rôles de patentes et de licences, l'indigène a été admis à faire entendre sa voix et par suite ses desiderata. . . . En un mot, elle adopté une politique en harmonie avec les principes démocratiques en vigueur dans la Métropole."
90. CAOM, 14 MiOM 2329/A.O.F./17G/187, Dossier: Conference de Brazzaville: "Programme Général de la Conférence de Brazzaville (Jan 1944); Exécution de la Circulaire N° 673/CAB du 29 Novembre 1943": "Les races du Togo et du Dahomey ont de nombreuses affinités, les cultures y sont les mêmes. Un seul territoire pourrait comprendre: le Togo, le Dahomey et l'ouest de la colonie du Niger, la partie Est à partir de Maradi étant rattachée au Tchad."
91. "Notes sur les Peuples de Race Eve," parts I-VI, appeared in vols. 17-22 (Oct. 1935-Apr. 1936) respectively; a further article appeared in vol. 36 (May 1937).
92. Vol. 18 (Nov. 1935), 109; vol. 19 (Dec. 1935), 117; vol. 25 (June 1936), 154-55; vol. 29 (Oct. 1936), 187-88; vol. 52-53 (Sept.-Oct. 1938), 43-44; vol. 54 (Nov. 1938), 46-48, 50.
93. Letter from Richard Lawson, vol. 25 (June 1936), 159; response from Kwakumé, vol. 29 (Oct. 1936), 189 and vol. 30 (Nov. 1936), 193-94; vol. 46-47 (Mar.-Apr. 1938), 11; vol. 52-53 (Sept.-Oct. 1938), 40-41; vol. 55 (Dec. 1938), 55-56.
94. Vol. 19 (Dec. 1935), 116: "It is completely natural that, making ourselves better understood by our compatriots, particularly the masses, with respect to certain pressing questions such as the benefits of civilization to Togo, would best be accomplished in our own idiom."
95. Vol. 21 (Feb. 1936), 130-31; vol. 22-23 (Mar.-Apr. 1936), 139-40; vol. 24 (May 1936), 148.
96. Vol. 27 (Aug. 1936), 169-70.
97. Vol. 28 (Sept. 1936), 179-80.
98. August and September 1935.
99. Vol. 18 (Nov. 1935); articles by Robert Delavignette in vol. 22-23 (Mar.-Apr. 1936), 140-41; vol. 24 (May 1936), 146-47; vol. 31 (Dec. 1936), 196.
100. Vol. 32 (Jan. 1937), 197.
101. Vol. 18. (Nov. 1935), 107; "La mentalité des coloniaux allemands," vol. 27 (Aug. 1936).
102. Vol. 20 (Jan. 1936), 126-27.
103. Vol. 49 (Jun. 1938); vol. 56 (Jan. 1939); vol. 63-65 (Aug.-Oct. 1939), 17-20.
104. Vol. 19 (Dec. 1935), 118, covered the ban on a dance "grotesque, ridiculous and Negro in origin." Vol. 24 (May 1936) contained a trilingual (French, English, and

German) article, "Are the Negroes semi-monkeys?" exposing some of the sentiments expressed by Adolf Hitler. Vol. 28 (Sept. 1936), 182, covered an exposé of German brutality on plantations in Cameroun.

105. Vol. 55 (Dec. 1938), 56-57.

106. Nov. 1935, 108; vol. 19 (Dec. 1935), 116-17, covered Armistice Day and the admission of Chief Paul Kalipe of Vogan into the Legion of Honor. Vol. 22 (Mar.-Apr. 1936), 141, covered Emmanuel Adjavon's admission. Vol. 27 (Aug. 1936), 174, and vol. 39 (Aug. 1937), covered naming of Avenue Briand.

107. Vol. 50-51 (July-Aug. 1938); vol. 52-53 (Sept.-Oct. 1938); vol. 57-58 (Feb.-Mar. 1939); vol. 59-60 (Apr.-May 1939).

108. The formation of the Commune Indigène at Aného for example, vol. 18 (Nov. 1934), 108; elections to the Chamber of Commerce, vol. 22-23 (Mar.-Apr. 1936); meetings of the Lomé Conseil des Notables, vol. 24 (May 1936), 148-49; vol. 27 (Aug. 1936), 174. Visit of a French parliamentary group, vol. 33-34 (Feb.-Mar. 1937), 201-2. Visit of Marius Moutet, vol. 35 (Apr. 1937). Election coverage, vol. 48 (May 1938), 16; vol. 61-62 (June-July 1939).

109. Vol. 20 (Jan. 1936), 123; vol. 27 (Aug. 1936), 172-73 and vol. 28 (Sept. 1936), 180.

110. Vol. 19 (Dec. 1935), 113; vol. 20 (Jan. 1936); vol. 48 (May 1938).

111. Vol. 36 (May 1937); vol. 37 (June 1937); vol. 41 (Oct. 1937).

112. Vol. 55 (Dec. 1938).

113. Vol. 19 (Dec. 1935), 114; vol. 21 (Feb. 1936) campaigned against plans to move the railways and wharf to Dahomey; vol. 29 (Oct. 1936), 188.

114. The first major article about the interior of Togo appeared in vol. 31 (Dec. 1936).

115. Vol. 43 (Dec. 1937).

116. Vol. 54 (Nov. 1938), 46-48.

117. Vol. 46-47 (Mar.-Apr. 1938), 12-13; vol. 68-69 (Jan.-Feb. 1940), 4.

118. Vol. 18 (Jan. 1948) reprinted the text of the UN deliberations under the heading "[T]he Unification of Togo and the Ewe question before the UN." A similar vague overlap runs throughout an accompanying editorial on the operation of missionaries in Togo. Togolese are equated with Nazarenes and the author proclaims, "[R]ender unto Caesar, that which is Caesar's." In the following paragraphs, however, the Ewe are referred to as a "Christian" people "in near totality for a long time," whose desire to be reunified must be respected by European missionaries in the field.

119. "L'Unification du Togo," vol. 43 (Sept. 30, 1949).

120. Vol. 24 (Apr. 15, 1948); vol. 29 (July 1948); vol. 44 (Oct. 15, 1949); vol. 36 (June 1949), 127; vol. 38-39 (July 1949), 135; vol. 46 (Nov. 15, 1949), 164-65.

121. Vol. 40 (Aug. 1, 1949), 140; vol. 41 (Aug. 15, 1949), 142; vol. 47 (Dec. 10, 1949); vol. 48 (Dec. 31, 1949).

122. Vol. 42 (Sep. 15, 1949), 147.

123. Vol. 21 (Feb. 1948), 73; vol. 22 (Mar. 1948); vol. 23 (Apr. 1948).

124. Vol. 22 (Mar. 1, 1948), 79; vol. 40 (Aug. 1, 1949); vol. 41 (Aug. 15, 1949).

125. Vol. 36 (June 1949).

126. Vol. 23 (Apr. 1, 1948), 83; vol. 36 (June 1949), 126; vol. 38-39 (July, 1949), 133-35; vol. 79 (May 1951), 264-65; vol. 80 (June 1951); vol. 86 (Dec. 15-30, 1951), 293-94.

127. Vol. 66 (Oct. 1, 1950), 230-33.

128. Vol. 23 (Apr. 1, 1948), 82; vol. 24 (Apr. 15, 1948); vol. 25 (May 1, 1948); vol. 42 (Sept. 15, 1949), 148; vol. 43 (Sept. 30, 1949), 151-52; vol. 93-94 (Apr. 1-15, 1952); vol. 95 (May 1, 1952); vol. 96 (May 15, 1952); vol. 97-98 (June (1-15, 1952)).
129. Vol. 23 (Apr. 1, 1948), 84; vol. 29 (July 1948), 109; vol. 34-35 (Dec. 1948), 123-24; vol. 44 (Oct. 15, 1949), 155; vol. 45 (Oct. 30, 1949), 161.
130. Vol. 25 (May 1, 1948), 90; vol. 28 (June 15, 1948), 103.
131. It reprinted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights along with several interpretative articles. Vol. 50 (Jan. 31, 1950) and vol. 51-52 (Feb. 15-28, 1950), 183-86; vol. 53 (Mar. 15, 1950), 190-91; vol. 56-57 (Apr. 30-May 15, 1950), 199; vol. 59-60 (June 15-30, 1950), 208-9. It also covered women's rights in vol. 65 (Sept. 15, 1950), 228-29.
132. Vol. 50 (Jan. 31, 1950), 180-81; vol. 51-52 (Feb. 15-28, 1950), 185; vol. 58 (May 31, 1950), 203-4; vol. 59-60 (June 15-30, 1950), 207; vol. 82 (Aug. 1951), 277; vol. 83 (Sept. 1951); vol. 85 (Nov. 15-30, 1951), 288-89; vol. 93-94 (Apr. 1-15, 1952), 3-4. See Kponton, "Reactions populaires."
133. Vol. 36 (June, 1, 1949), 128; vol. 41 (Aug. 15, 1949), 143; vol. 42 (Sept. 15, 1949), 14[9].
134. Vol. 23 (Apr. 1, 1948).
135. Vol. 24 (Apr. 15, 1948).
136. Vol. 69-70 (Nov. 30-Dec. 15, 1950), 242-44.
137. Vol. 18 (Jan. 1948), 83.
138. Vol. 25 (May 1, 1948), 91-92; vol. 26 (May 15, 1948), 96; vol. 28 (June 15, 1948), 105.
139. Vol. 18 (Jan. 1948); vol. 37 (June 15, 1949), 130.
140. Vol. 26 (May 15, 1948).
141. Vol. 24 (Apr. 15, 1948), 88; vol. 25 (May 1, 1948), 91; vol. 26 (May 15, 1948), 94; vol. 27 (June 1, 1948); vol. 28 (June 15, 1948); vol. 29 (July 1948); vol. 58 (May 31, 1950); vol. 71-72 (Jan. 15-31, 1951); vol. 73-74 (Feb. 15-28, 1951), 251-52.
142. Vol. 46 (Nov. 49) declared the goal of independence by 1955.
143. Vol. 46 (Nov. 15, 1949), 163.
144. Vol. 45 (Oct. 31, 1949) spoke of the "Ewe problem" and the "Togo problem" as one and the same.
145. Vol. 47 (Dec. 10, 1949), 168.
146. Vol. 61 (July 15, 1950).
147. Vol. 53 (Mar. 15, 1950). Vol. 56-57 (Apr. 30-May 15, 1950) published two articles side by side, entitled "Les peuples d'outre-mer et la paix du monde" and "Le Nord-Togo devant le problème éwé."
148. Vol. 61 (July 15, 1950), 212-13; vol. 62 (July 31, 1950), 214-16; vol. 63 (Aug. 15, 1950), 218-20; vol. 64 (Aug. 30, 1950), 222-24; vol. 65 (Sept. 15, 1950), 226-27; vol. 86 (Dec. 15-31, 1951); vol. 87-88 (Jan. 15-31, 1952), 1-4; vol. 89-90 (Feb. 15-29, 1952), 2-4; vol. 91-92 (Mar. 15-31, 1952), 4.
149. Article entitled "Le problème éwé en 1951" in vol. 82 (Aug. 1951), 274-75.
150. Vol. 73-74 (Feb. 15-28, 1951); vol. 75-76 (Mar. 15-31, 1951); vol. 85 (Nov. 15-30, 1951).
151. Vol. 95 (May 1, 1952), 2-4; vol. 97-98 (June 1-15, 1952), 2.
152. *Unité*, vol. 3, New Series, Edition 1 (Apr. 10, 1959), 1.
153. Vol. 1 (May 10, 1956), 1.
154. Vol. 1 (May 10, 1956), 1.
155. Vol. 3, New Series, Edition 1 (Apr. 10, 1959), 1-2.
156. Vol. 3, New Series, Edition 1 (Apr. 10, 1959), 2.

157. Vol. 3, New Series, Edition 1 (Apr. 10, 1959), 2.
158. Vol. 3, New Series, Edition 1 (Apr. 10, 1959), 4.
159. Lomé, May 31, 1959, "Discours-Programme," vol. 3, New Series, Edition 5 (June 16, 1959). 2; "Togo Nyawo," vol. 3, New Series, Edition 10 (Sept. 15, 1959), 4.
160. One of the few articles about and photographs of Muslim Togolese concerned the Muslim Zongo in Lomé. Vol. 3, New Series, Edition 10 (Sept. 15, 1959), 1.

## Epilogue

1. Prouzet, *La république du Togo*, 26.
2. Allman, *Quills*; Nugent, *Africa Since Independence*.
3. Lawrance, "Bankoe v. Dome," 245-46

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*Afagnan, Togo*

Adon, Hounovissi, March 7, 2000  
Aglamey, Gameli, March 7, 2000  
Amegninou, Simesode, March 7, 2000  
Noukey, Gaba, March 7, 2000

*Agoényivé, Togo*

Adabra, Kodjo Alla, May 3, 2000  
Avogan, Komlavi, May 3, 2000  
Fiagan, Kossi, March 9 and May 3, 2000  
Kadja, Afantenoukpo, March 24, 2000

*Agotimé-Batoumé, Togo*

Apaloo, Tete Kossi, March 30, 2000  
Denyo, Adjo, March 30, 2000

*Ahépé, Togo*

Amouzou, Ehli, February 15, 2000

*Akepe, Togo*

Adeti, Soenyameto, March 18, 2000  
Toga, Jacques, March 18, 2000

*Assahoun, Togo*

Adjowou, Jacob, February 21 and February 23, 2000  
Akakpo-Numado, Timothy Koffi (Tomas), January 21, 2000  
Aziadjo, Ayao, February 23, 2000  
Aziadjo, Komi, February 23, 2000  
Dekou, Koffi, January 21 and February 23, 2000  
Egle, Eya, February 23, 2000  
Gake, Robert Amouzou (Komlan), January 22 and February 21, 2000  
Kodjovi-Numado Elom Komlan, January 21, 2000  
Parkoo, Akouavi Angèle, January 22 and February 21, 2000

*Bè, Togo*

Agbokouse, Fiolete, March 24, 2000  
Agbole, Midoji, March 17, 2000  
Degbe, Tonou, March 11, 2000  
Dogbe, Koulekpató, March 17, 2000  
Nyamati, Mama Touki, March 24, 2000  
Tossou, Fansi, March 24, 2000  
Xeto, Miko Sokpo, March 17, 2000

*Cotonou, Bénin*

Amorin, François, June 7 and June 8, 2000; August 19, 2005

*Danyi, Togo*

Eklu, Adjowa, March 22, 2000  
Kpegba Tegli II, Togbui Jonas Kokou, March 22, 2000

*Ho, Ghana*

Afiatoa II, Togbui Akodor, May 22 and May 23, 2000  
Akoli, Emmanuel Wilberforce Kofi, May 12, 2000  
Amegashi, BCB Komla, May 13, 2000  
Asamoah, Togbui Keteku II, May 22 and May 23, 2000  
Asase, Togbui Moses Kofi, May 22 and May 23, 2000  
Atikpo, Enoch Kokou, May 15, 2000  
Avo, Togbui Kofi, May 22 and May 23, 2000  
Dzobo, Noah Komla, May 15, 2000  
Dikpo, Akossiwa, April 25 and May 12, 2000  
Dikpo, Theodora, April 25 and May 12, 2000

*Hohoe, Ghana*

Avugla, Kossiwa, February 25, 2000

*Kévé, Togo*

Abigua, Peter, March 20 and April 12, 2000  
Atiamo, Abra, March 20 and April 12, 2000  
Sofawoude, Kpode, March 27, 2000  
Toukpeyi, Kodjo, March 27, 2000

*Kouma, Togo*

Dzaha, Komi, March 4, 2000  
Klovi-Mawoussi, Kouassi, March 4, 2000  
Zikpi, Akuwo, March 4, 2000

*Kpalimé, Togo*

Adadjo-Binder, Komla Kekeli Joseph, March 21 and March 29, 2000  
Amedzro, Kokou Raphael, March 29, 2000  
Folly Gbedze, Monica Akossiwa, March 29, 2000

*Lomé, Togo*

Savi De Tove, Jean-Lucien, August 17 and August 19, 2005



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In this original interdisciplinary study of Togo and African colonial history, Benjamin Lawrance synthesizes political, gender, and social history by documenting the contributions of rural-dwelling populations in anti-colonial struggles. Anchoring his arguments on the premise that nationalist historiographies have overstated the role of urban and elite power while undervaluing the strategic place of rural constituencies, Lawrance uses the Ewe nationalist movement of southern Togo as a case study in what he terms “periurban colonialism”—a historical paradigm that reunites the urban and rural experiences of post-World War I colonialism. By reconciling the marginal and non-elite communities and the social upheavals of the two World War periods, Lawrance offers a new perspective on the colonial experience and the anti-colonial struggle. In focusing on an African country uniquely colonized by the Germans, British, and French, he provides a wealth of information not readily available to the English-language audience. Accessible to scholars of African social history and African culture in general, *Locality, Mobility, and “Nation”* will occupy a distinguished place among studies of African colonial history and anti-colonial struggles.

Benjamin N. Lawrance is an assistant professor of African history at the University of California, Davis, where he teaches undergraduate and graduate African and World history. He is the editor of *The Ewe of Togo and Benin* (2005) and the co-editor of *Intermediaries, Interpreters and Clerks* (2006).

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University of Rochester Press  
668 Mt. Hope Avenue  
Rochester, NY 14620, USA  
P.O. Box 9, Woodbridge  
Suffolk IP12 3DF, UK  
[www.urpress.com](http://www.urpress.com)

