



T.C.

ANKARA YILDIRIM BEYAZIT UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

**BRITISH IMPERIALISM, ADMINISTRATION, AND
SOCIETY IN COLONIAL GHANA, 1874-1957
(KOLONYAL GANA'DA İNGİLİZ EMPERYALİZMİ,
İDARE VE TOPLUM, 1874-1957)**

Ph.D. THESIS

By

USMAN ABASS

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

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ANKARA 2023

ONAY SAYFASI

Usman ABASS tarafından hazırlanan “Kolonyal Gana’da İngiliz Emperyalizmi, İdare ve Toplum, 1874-1957” adlı tez çalışması aşağıdaki jüri tarafından oy birliği ile Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Tarih Anabilim Dalı’nda Doktora tezi olarak kabul edilmiştir.

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I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented per academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material that is not original to this work and that this thesis has not been presented, either in part or in whole, for another degree elsewhere.

07.06.2023

Usman ABASS





To My Family

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ABSTRACT

BRITISH IMPERIALISM, ADMINISTRATION, AND SOCIETY IN COLONIAL GHANA, 1874-1957

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This study explores the impact of British imperialism on states in colonial Ghana. The study attempts to examine colonial Ghana states' social, political, and economic structures both within the context of the colonial power structure and among the local states. Extensive literature exists on the history of Ghana as well as on colonialism. However, most of the works shed light on African responses and reactions to colonialism rather than how their approaches aided the social transformations that occurred. The present study seeks to challenge that by highlighting the role of the Traditional Rulers and educated Gold Coasters in tandem with the British imperial policies.

To unravel this, the study requires the explanation of longitudinal social transformations, overtime politico-economic activities, natives' propositions, British imperial policies, and their denouement. In brief, the work seeks to highlight the role of the Traditional Rulers and educated Gold Coasters in what could be classified as the processes of institutionalization and bureaucratization in colonial Ghana. The study used archival sources with secondary sources. A corpus of first-hand data on colonial records, chieftaincy, reports of committees of inquiry, etc., provided vital information on imperial and local policies that profoundly influenced change in Ghana. The archival documents explicated how deeply the Traditional Rulers were involved in establishing Indirect Rule in the country. Adding information from the memoirs of both imperial and local officials further clarified the nature of their interactions.

Keywords: *Ghana, Britain, Society, Colonisation, Native Administration System*

ÖZET

KOLONYAL GANA'DA İNGİLİZ EMPERYALİZMİ, İDARE VE TOPLUM, 1874-1957

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Bu çalışma, İngiliz emperyalizminin kolonyal Gana'daki devletler üzerindeki etkisini araştırmaktadır. Çalışma, kolonyal Gana devletlerinin sosyal, politik ve ekonomik yapılarını hem sömürgeci güç yapısı bağlamında hem de yerel devletler arasında incelemeye çalışmaktadır. Gana tarihi ve sömürgecilik üzerine kapsamlı bir literatür mevcuttur. Bununla birlikte, çalışmaların çoğu, yaklaşımlarının meydana gelen sosyal dönüşümlere nasıl yardımcı olduğundan ziyade Afrika'nın sömürgeciliğe yanıtlarına ve tepkilerine ışık tutmuştur. Bu çalışma, İngiliz emperyal politikalarıyla paralel olarak Geleneksel Hükümdarların ve eğitilmiş Gold Coast'ların rolünü vurgulayarak meydana gelen sosyal dönüşüme yaklaşımlarının nasıl yardımcı olduğuna ışık tutarak meydan okumayı amaçlamaktadır.

Bunu çözmek için çalışma, boylamsal toplumsal dönüşümlerin, fazla mesai yapan politik-ekonomik faaliyetlerin, yerlilerin önermelerinin, İngiliz emperyal politikalarının ve bunların sonuçlarının açıklanmasını gerektirmektedir. Özetle, çalışma, kolonyal Gana'daki kurumsallaşma ve bürokratikleşme süreçleri olarak sınıflandırılabilir alanda Geleneksel Hükümdarların ve eğitilmiş Gold Coast'ların rolünü vurgulamayı amaçlamaktadır. Çalışmada ikincil kaynaklarla birlikte arşiv kaynakları kullanılmıştır. Sömürge kayıtları, amirlik, soruşturma komitelerinin raporları ve diğerleri hakkında ilk elden verilerden oluşan bir külliyat, Gana'daki değişimi derinden etkileyen emperyal ve yerel politikalar hakkında hayati bilgiler sağladı. Arşiv belgeleri, Geleneksel Hükümdarların ülkede Dolaylı Yönetim kurmaya ne kadar derinden dahil olduklarını açıkladı. Hem imparatorluk hem de yerel yetkililerin anılarından bilgi eklemek, onların etkileşimlerinin doğasını daha da netleştirdi.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Gana, Britanya, Toplum, Sömürgeleşme, Yerel Yönetim Sistemi*

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ABBREVIATION

ARPS - Aborigines Rights Protection Society

AWAM - Association of West African Merchants

C.C. - Chief Commissioner

CPP - the Convention People's Party

CYO - the Committee on Youth Organisation

D.C. - District Commissioner

N.A. - Native Administration

N.L.C. - National Liberation Council

N.L.M. —National Liberation Movement

N.P.P. - the Northern People's Party

N.T. - Northern Territory

N.T.T.C. – Northern Territories Territorial Council

PRAAD – Public Records and Archives Administration Department

P.W.D. - Public Works Department

U.G.C.C. - the United Gold Coast Convention

U.P. - the United Party

W.P.C. - Western Provincial Council

p. - page

pp. - from page to page

DEFINITION OF KEYWORDS

Administrative structure

This comprised the colonial administration system's political and technical services and developmental departments.

Adontenhene

This person is the chief or head of the main body fighting regiment (the word Adonten, is the main body of fighting men, and *hene* means chief or Head)

Amanhin

The paramount chiefs collectively or head chiefs of states.

Asafu

It refers to the common people of the coastal towns divided into companies.

Destoolment

It is a terminology associated with chieftaincy in West Africa. It simply means the removal of a chief from a Stool. This terminology is synonymous with “dethronement” in other parts of the world.

Enstoolment

It is a terminology associated with chieftaincy in West Africa. This is because most West African chiefs sit on Stools. In other parts of Africa, like in northern Ghana, “enskinment” is used instead of “enstoolment”, because their chiefs sit on “skins” of animals. Thus, the terms “enstoolment” and “enskinment” are synonymous with “enthronement” in other parts of the world.

Executive Council

This is an advisory body to whom the governor submitted all bills before proposing them to the legislative council.

Governor

He is the appointed officer and the chief executive authority in charge of a colony and represented the Crown.

Gyasehene

He is the chief captain of the head chief's household guard.

Kyidomhene

He is the head of the rear guard or reinforcements.

Legislative Council

The body appointed to represent the Crown's power and jurisdiction, with powers and authority to legislate for the colony; composed of the officials of the executive council who were Europeans, in addition to a few African chiefs and educated Africans.

Mantse

The chief of a town or village, among the Ga tribe of the coast.

Nyame or Nyakupon

The word means the Supreme Being, in reference to God. This word is commonly used by the Akan tribes. The other tribes have their own words for God, which are quite distinct from the word Nyame.

Odikro

It refers to the head of a village.

Ohene

A chief of a sub-division or town, or a chief next in rank to the Omanhene.

Oman

It means a native State.

Omanhene

The paramount or head chief of a native state.

Provincial Council

This refers to the council of heads of native states and their elders in the colony who met periodically to deliberate on issues brought to their attention by the colonial office and matters to do with the welfare of their various native states.

Tindana /Timdana

It means earth priest and is widely used in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast to refer to the custodians of the land.

Treaties

They were agreements entered by the Crown with the native chiefs – usually verbiage, aimed at protectionism and were usually economic in character.

Tufuhene

The head of all the fighting men of a native state or division.



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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

As a European policy, colonialism has harmed the African continent and other areas where the imperialists operated more than any good it brought. It may be held that it stripped the African of his integrity, pride, and sense of belonging turned kins into enemies introduced cupidity for wealth and eroded vital intrinsic elements of the African culture and people thus creating new classes of people who either were rustic, churlish or servile to the imperial leviathans. However, the burning question is how a handful coterie of administrators and imperialists easily subjugated a territory like the Gold Coast or to a larger scale Africa. The answer to that is the crux of the thesis in the proclivity and stratagem of the Traditional Rulers, in the case of the Gold Coast, when they decided to work with the British administrators in the aftermath of the defeat of Asante in 1874. Much has been written on colonization in Africa, especially about the role of Europeans, but much is yet to be written on how the nefarious functions of the Traditional Rulers contributed to establishing the colonial enterprise.

Thus, this essay examines the sedulous role of the Traditional Rulers between 1874 and 1957, who in some instances allied with the educated Gold Coasters¹ to demand reforms but most of the time worked in tandem with the British imperial regime to ensconce their political position in the extractive machinery. The focus of the research is to show how the ardent participation of chiefs in the native administration has led to social change and in turn created new socio-politico-economic contexts in colonial Ghana. The study further compares the disposition of the chiefs in the early and latter stages of colonialism and how the new political context created a new set of educated-native leaders who came to challenge the political position of chiefs thus changing the status quo.

The question of how far chiefs' participation in the native administration system ended up undermining the chieftaincy institution in sight of natives and European

¹ The term "educated Gold Coasters" refers to the autochthonous people who were educated in schools established by the Europeans along western line. They were locally called "Krakyi" or "scholars". It sometimes included the offspring of European administrators procreated by their native concubines. Initially, these individuals were educated from standard I to standard VII (elementary level, in the modern sense of it). The clique widened in the twentieth century with the education reforms from the 1920s when higher education, up to the university level, was introduced. However, the term also included semi-educated natives, who could read and write because of spending some few years at the standard levels. **See 4.4.** for more on western education in colonial Ghana.

administrators can be understood by perusing the system in practice. Chiefs were deified in the olden days. However, from 1874 their position underwent significant changes. They moved from being occupants of the highest position in the traditional society to being placed under European administrators, in the provincial councils, through enacted ordinances with their consent in most cases. Arhin Brempong advanced that their function under the provincial council included the maintenance of a good treasury, and providing new welfare services such as roads, schools, and health centres. Also, their tribunals were reorganized, graded, and authorized to try cases arising from their states sanctioned by the colonial administration.² The cases they could try at their graded tribunals were restricted and specified by the imperial administrators and were generally civil; with criminal proceedings being transferred to the courts of the European commissioners.

Before 1874, the native states were largely independent and formed trade and protection alliances with their vassals and other equally powerful native states in their quests to forge lasting kingdoms. European fortresses existed along the coast of modern Ghana, but they were engaged in merchandising with the natives. In the nineteenth century, Asante's resolve to extend their trading influence from the interior-forested region to the coast brought them face-to-face with the coastal tribes, particularly the Fantees, who entered protection treaties with the British merchants on the coast. Such protection treaties led to greater British influence in the internal affairs of the coastal tribes and eventually led to a united native-British force against Asante from 1805 to the defeat of Asante in 1874.

This success prompted the British to establish an administrative machinery over the coastal chiefs and people four years after the Asante campaign. However, the Traditional Rulers objected to such a scheme as the British attempted to strip them of their customary authority. Nonetheless, the chiefs agreed to a revised Administrative Ordinance in 1883 because the said ordinance had offered them more authority than what they had under customary law. The chiefs' change of heart was because the Asante campaign had weakened their old alliances with other vassals and native states, as many of them contemplated severing from such old alliances. But more importantly, the Asante campaign brought the European administrators to the fore as commanders and embedded in the 1883 document signed by the chiefs was a clause granting the European administrators the power to "remove" native rulers from their Stools. Thus, the chiefs teamed up with their educated

² Brempong A., "Transformations in Traditional Rule in Ghana, 1951-1996". Sedco Accra, Ghana, 2001, p. 3.

natives in the period 1883-1910 to get the removal clause repealed. Its failure led the chiefs to draft the 1927 resolution where they agreed to work with the British administrators in administering the territory; a move that sowed discord between the chiefs and the educated natives.

The fact is when the educated natives protested the emerging alliance between the chiefs and their European counterparts in the years leading up to the promulgation of Order in Council 1927, which formed the basis of implementing the native administration system due to its undermining influence on the chieftaincy institution, the chiefs through Nana Ofori Atta put up that they desired to work with the European administrators to establish the same, thus, betraying their people. Furthermore, as custodians of communal land, they were engrossed in leasing land to European mining firms and merchants to the extent that European administrators had to admonish the chiefs to consider the future generation as they deplete the country's resources. For instance, on 22 February 1934, the commissioner of the Central Province, Honourable Fieldgate, addressed the provincial council on why the government decided to protect the valuable timbers of the forests by defining some regulations, which the chiefs objected to. This timber protection ordinance has been in force since 1907 but was deliberated upon by the council in 1931. The main hankering of this ordinance was to fend off the cutting of immature timber.

During that period, whilst valuable timber was being destroyed through indiscriminate felling, on one hand, timber varying in quantities from 80 000 to 500 000 cubic feet was being imported into the country per year.³ Thus, the commissioner pointed up that although it was the government's commitment to see that the interests of children yet unborn were cared for, it was also the chiefs' duty to see that their people did not deprive their children of the rights that they should enjoy in the produce and wealth of their states.⁴ Thus, he called on them to preserve the young trees of some selected species just as they protected immature cocoa trees. The chiefs took objection to amending regulations that called for "all timber cutters in addition to those who cut mahogany for export" to be registered. The commissioner aired that:

"... as it is our duty to protect the lives and limbs of the people living in the present day so it is our duty to preserve the natural assets of this country. It

³ "Minutes of Council Meetings of the 25th Session of Central Provincial Council of Chiefs", 20 Feb. 1934, pp. 1-16, **24D File No. 1440/31**, pp. 4-16, in CSO 21/2/19, PRAAD, pp. 12-13.

⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 13-14.

*is the duty of (the) Government to initiate measures to this effect and (the) Government asks for and expects to receive your hearty co-operation. ... Government has no intention of taking the land from the people or of unduly interfering with the rights of the people over their land, but I am afraid that certain uninformed people still think that Government has these intentions. ... Government has on repeated occasions said that the land belongs to the people and will remain with the people. ... I desire to bring to your notice the views of the Provincial Council of the Western Province on this very important subject. ... They consider the proposed regulations to be in the best interests of the country as a whole. ... The land is yours and the timber is yours. The timber is there for your use. All we say is that you shall not waste this timber and that you shall provide timber for the future”.*⁵

It may be true that the Gold Coast economy was developed as a peripheral capitalist economy supplying resources like gold, cocoa, timber, etc., and labour, in the form of slaves, to fit into the core capitalist countries of the nineteenth century,⁶ yet landownership remained overall in the hands of traditional authorities, who not only leased them but participated sedulously in those ventures. Thence, it comes as no surprise when Brempong submitted that by participating in the colonial venture, *“chiefs came to engage in money-making ventures, built houses and rented them to strangers, traded and became cocoa brokers and rubber processors, employed artisans to work for others, opened bank accounts and built houses in the name of relatives”*⁷ and in some cases, they used their administrative positions to *“collect taxes and rents through other stool and land revenues”*, whilst many others *“ascended to power by bribing voters with public funds”*.⁸ They thus initiated the local capitalist drive alongside their compeers.

Some scholars believed that Traditional Rulers participated in the colonial enterprise to combat them,⁹ but ended up with political backing and protection¹⁰ of the regime. Yet, political developments from the 1940s indicated otherwise and exposed the chiefs with their

⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 15-16.

⁶ See for example, R. Howard, “Colonialism and Underdevelopment in Ghana”. New York: *Africana Publishing Company*, 1978, pp. 16-25.

⁷ Brempong A., “Transformations in Traditional Rule in Ghana, 1951-1996”, p. 4.

⁸ N. Sackeyfio-Lenoch, “The Politics of Chieftaincy: Authority and Property in Colonial Ghana, 1920-1950”, University of Rochester Press, 2014, p. 76.

⁹ C. Coquery-Vidrovitch, “Africa and the Africans in the Nineteenth Century: A Turbulent History”. *Translated from the French by Mary Baker*. New York. M. E. Sharpe, Inc., 2009, p. 207.

¹⁰ N. Sackeyfio-Lenoch, “The Politics of Chieftaincy ...”, p. 76.

political grandiosity but lacked the political finesse to oversee the politico-economic crisis of the era. When the Ghana Revolution of 1948 broke out, it became too obvious to the British administrators that it was only a matter of time before they handed over the country's administration, not to the chiefs but to a group of educated natives led by Nkrumah. That was the ineluctable fact. In this context, this thesis explores the *modus operandi* and *modus vivendi* employed by these actors to initiate the social change that occurred.

1.1. Justification of the Study

There are varied causes of change in colonial Ghana. They ranged from the politics of succession, and religion to issues of imperialism. The final defeat and inclusion of the Asante State in the British colony in 1901, and the declaration of the "Protectorate of the Northern Territories" under the colonial administration in the same year, accelerated and affirmed social change in the territory backed by the enacted colonial policies. Beginning immediately from about 1897, hitherto non-existent organized groups such as the Gold Coast Aborigines Rights Protection Society (A.R.P.S.) appeared, to demand among other things, control of traditional lands and inclusion of qualified and trained Africans in the colonial administration. This group, a political protest movement against British rule, subsequently led to the inception of formal clubs, unions, and political parties in the Gold Coast. The British administration's application of the policy of Indirect Rule as a system of governance further deepened social stratification and pitched the "esoteric" elite groups against the "veranda" boys embosomed in "exoteric" philosophical underpinnings toward the ongoing societal transformations. This development over time, debilitated the orthodox chief-subject relations and availed opportunities for the educated elite to establish its superiority.

The year 1874 is momentous in the history of the Gold Coast because it marked the commencement of the "effective occupation" of the British administration in the newly created "Gold Coast Colony" that extended upcountry from the coast to the extremities of the Asante Kingdom. The idyllic relationship between the Fanti Chiefs and the British in the form of the Bond of 1844 was ephemeral and turned into one of "ruler and ruled". The actualization of the Treaty of Fomena in the year 1901, which ended the seemingly incessant Asante-British wars, led to the latter gaining complete dominion over both the coastal, inland regions and the Northern Territories. Thus, the need to consolidate this advantageous

position ushered in a holistic period of transformations. This study sets out to probe the *modus operandi* of the traditional ruling class and the educated natives about British policies.

1.2. Research Questions and Objectives

The following research questions guided this study: what was the nature of the relationships between the native states before their encounter with Europeans? What evidence is there in the intra-relations of these states that led to greater European interference in local affairs? What were the earliest socio-political decisions taken by the British colonial administration in the Gold Coast, and how did they affect the conventional social order in the region? What colonial policies altered the power relations between chiefs and their subjects, and how did the former react to such policies? What was the capacity of the local educated elites in the ongoing transformations, and what was the effect of their attitude?

The objectives of this study are: to examine the relations among the native ethnic groupings on one hand, and between them and the British to establish the seed of colonization; to probe the Gold Coast-British encounters from the pre-colonial to post-colonial period; to cross-question the traditional authority and educated elites' propositions to the emerging British socio-political imperium; and to analyse the extent to which these encounters integrated the various ethnic groups, among an array of issues that influenced the encounter. In this regard, the study will contribute to further understanding of debates on social stratification in present Ghana.

1.3. Methodology

The questions posed in this study require the description and explanation of longitudinal social transformations, overtime politico-economic activities, and natives' propositions to British imperialism as well as its denouement. The study used the orthodox method of historical inquiry which is archival sources with secondary sources in the form of published materials. The study made meticulous use of primary data derived from a compendium of empirical data on the relationships between the people of Gold Coast and their counterparts. These primary sources were obtained from PRAAD and comprised archival materials such as colonial records, chieftaincy, native affairs, reports of Committees of Enquiry inter alia under the following documents: ARG 1; ARG 2; CSO 21; C.S. 85; C.S.

6; and C.S. 130. These were then supplemented by secondary sources in the form of journal articles, books, monographs, periodicals, and unpublished theses. Furthermore, the study adopted a multifaceted approach by using facts from other disciplines, particularly political science to augment the historical sources.

1.4. Literature Review

A study of the Gold Coast-British encounters must consider the literature on Ghana and Britain, colonial rule, and social change on the Gold Coast. An ample volume of written literature exists on the Gold Coast and colonialism in it. The earliest written literature is contained in the works of European writers. Brodie Cruickshank's *Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast of Africa* contains useful facts albeit from a European perspective.¹¹ His work gives a comprehensive insight into the native tribes and their dealings with Europeans, the latter's civilizing influences and settlements, treaties, customs of the natives and the essence of their governments, and external effects of other colonies on administration in the Gold Coast. The above corpus purveys an experiential exposition of the foundation of the written history of the Gold Coast, and its economic and socio-political dynamics. This historical narrative is significant to this study as it offers sequential perspectives into the dealings of the Gold Coast and Great Britain.

In "Nine Years At The Gold Coast", Dennis Kemp furnishes an exhaustive chronicle of nineteenth-century missionary works on the Gold Coast.¹² He discusses the challenges the missionaries faced in introducing Christian ideas, and commercial values of the Gold Coast to the missions and the British Administration leading to the establishment of English Law in the colony as well as the Gold Coast Constabulary (including military and civil police), fetishism, and the intrinsic customs and ways of life of the native countries, as well as the impact of educated natives, who were fluent in the English language on their communities. His work is thus relevant to this study as it provides perspicacity into the traditional social organization of the local people.

H. Meredith examines the topography and opportunities the British merchants, the public and imperialists could obtain should they pay particular attention to the Gold Coast

¹¹ Brodie Cruickshank, "Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast of Africa", Vol. I, London: Hurst and Blackett Publishers, 1853.

¹² Dennis Kemp, "Nine Years at The Gold Coast". London: Macmillan and Co. Limited, 1898.

on the Guinea Coast.¹³ The author further discusses the effects of the abolition of the slave trade in West-India colonies on Britain. The luxuries Britain obtained from those colonies, particularly sugar and rum, were projected to decline in quantity with a price increase, an occurrence which would be disadvantageous to the British public. The author encourages British imperialists, merchants, and the Legislature, to turn their attention to the Gold Coast since it supplied the British West-India colonies with slaves, and its coast was filled with gold and ivory. The work of Meredith was limited to the benefits Britain could derive from the region and argues that the hills are stored with various metals and minerals with fertile valleys, rich soil, season, and climate, and projects its cultivation to surpass even those of the West Indies. Thus, in effect, it could produce every item that Britain needed and continue to offer employment to different classes of Britons in tandem with its cheap land and labour. Nonetheless, her work is relevant to this thesis because it purveys sightings into native government, laws, customs, and dispositions.

In “Administration in Tropical Africa”, Chauncey Hugh Stigand offers a detailed account of the rationale for British Administration in Tropical Africa. He discusses the background to the foundation of the British Administration, its economic and social objectives, and its modus operandi.¹⁴ The author opines that British policies are toward good governance and civilization of the African colonies along European lines through justice, development of trade, introducing them to new wants, and finding external markets for the colonies outside their country. The African is to be made a useful citizen through education to read and write, arithmetic, and geography, among other subjects, and then he could benefit from Queen Victoria’s proclamation of 1858, i.e., to be admitted to offices in her service which they may be qualified by their education regardless of race or faith. His work offers much detail into the relations of nineteenth-century Gold Coast-British, which is useful to this study.

On the other hand, Albert Burdon Ellis examines the diplomatic policies of the British with areas outside the Gold Coast colony, since about 1874, particularly against Asante and Juabin, the two strong states of the Asante Confederacy.¹⁵ He discusses the tactics employed by the British Administration to enhance its commercial interests in the colony proper by playing off Juabin against Asante, i.e., using one to keep the other in check, and offering to

¹³ Henry Meredith, “An account of the Gold Coast of Africa with a brief history of the African company”, London: Longman, 1812.

¹⁴ Chauncey Hugh Stigand, “Administration in Tropical Africa”. London: Constable & Company Ltd., 1914.

¹⁵ A.B. Ellis, “The Land of Fetish”. London: Chapman and Hall Limited, 1883.

support the one or the other by force of arms to maintain a balance of power. His work is pertinent to this study because it elucidates internal diplomatic and political strategies between the then-dependency state of Asante, the Gold Coast colony proper along the coast, and the British leading to socio-political compromises of varied kinds.

Major-General Baden-Powell's diary on the British expedition to Ashanti of the campaign of 1895-6,¹⁶ highlights how the native levy, composed of different tribes including Krobo, Mumford, Adansi, Bekwai, and Abodam among others, played different roles against Asante and thus resulting in the subsequent capture of Asante and large territories beyond it. The expedition is purportedly undertaken at the request of the Gold Coast inhabitants in tandem with the local Government's accusation against Asante of obturating civilization, trade, and interests of the people following the refusal of the Asante king to fulfil provisions of the treaty of 1874 (i.e., to end human sacrifice, to keep an open trading path from Kumasi to the Coast, and his failure to honour payment of the war indemnity imposed on Ashanti at the end of the 1873-4 battle). Albeit the subtle object of this move is to defend and maintain the gargantuan revenue the United Kingdom obtained from the Gold Coast colony and even more to further benefit from trade beyond the colony proper of which Asante is accused of stagnating, his work offer descriptions of the towns, villages, staple food, dispositions of the people, and organizations.

Frederick D. Lugard, a British administrator and the originator of British native policy in West Africa, outlines the origin, method, and machinery of the system of British rule and its intent in Tropical Africa.¹⁷ He explains how British colonial policy impacted land tenure, labour, Courts of Law, the system of education, and a sense of individual responsibility to the natives to propel progress. His work provides a first-hand account of this study on the theoretical underpinning for analysing the encounters of the two distinct administrative types of machinery.

Whilst the above-mentioned literature was written by Europeans, some earlier written works by the natives themselves also exist such as the works of Reindorf, Sarbah, Hayford, and Johnson. Carl Christian Reindorf's work¹⁸ is phenomenal from a native perspective. It is the earliest comprehensive Gold Coast history written by a native. He examines from a

¹⁶ R.S.S. Baden-Powell, "Downfall of Prempeh: A Diary of Life with the Native Levy in Ashanti, 1895-96". London: Methuen & Co., 1900.

¹⁷ F.D. Lugard, "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa". Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1922.

¹⁸ Carl Christian Reindorf, "History of the Gold Coast and Asante". Basel, 1895.

native standpoint the constitution of the countries, their customs, forms of government, military, means of communication, the outset of schools by the European governments on the Gold Coast and their effect and the starting of the wrangle of the intelligentsia in not conforming to the examples of the civilized nations. The thesis of his work is to set the pace toward writing an accurate history of the experiences and traditions of the people of the Gold Coast from within.

In “Fanti Customary Laws”, John Mensah Sarbah advances an expounded elucidation of the application of Customary Law in almost every facet of the Fanti country and the Akan districts. He discusses the clan system, marriage, social stratification, patriarchal family system, property, tenure of land, etc., embedded in the philosophies of native laws. These laws consist of laws that have come about from their usage over time, laws or commands made by chiefs or rulers, headmen, the village council, headmen of clans, and company captains,¹⁹ as generated by the native people themselves on the quest to civilization which is handed down by oral tradition to succeeding generations. His work is relevant to this study because it proffers to the colonial administration the application of native customary laws in internal dealings with native affairs instead of the Supreme Court Ordinance of 31 March 1876 or they should cite the former laws into the latter.

J. W. de Graft Johnson in his work²⁰ highlights how beliefs in African thought and faith, law, morals, and social structures should be made the bedrock of life in Africa leading to the emancipation and freedom of African nations from the yoke of colonial rule toward nationhood. He further examines the bureaucratic structure of the Gold Coast society, the role of the educated Africans in the nation’s welfare, events leading to the emergence of the Gold Coast Aborigines Rights Protection Society, and juxtaposes the working machinery of the native legislature against the British system. Also, his work sheds light on three exploratory underpinnings upon which the Gold Coast could become independent and rely on its connate institutions to establish self-government on its own terms. These three dynamic forces are education, wealth and law understood from the natives’ philosophical perspectives, which provide a basis for a more exhaustive inquiry.

¹⁹ John Mensah Sarbah, “Fanti Customary Laws: A Brief Introduction to the Principles of the Native Laws and Customs of the Fanti and Akan Districts of the Gold Coast”. London: William Clowes and Sons Limited, 1904, p. 24.

²⁰ J.W. de Graft Johnson, “Towards Nationhood in West Africa: Thoughts of Young Africa Addressed to Young Britain”. London: Headley Brothers, 1928.

Regarding colonial rule, Carola Lentz, in her book *Ethnicity and the Making of History in Northern Ghana*, recounts the history of the North-West societies of the Northern Territory of the Gold Coast, comprising Dagara, Sisala, Wala, and others, from the last third of the nineteenth century, and examines the impact of British colonial officials on administrative structures and chiefdoms, labour migration, religion, and educated class in revised colonial ethnic and political boundaries.²¹ Lentz's work referred to how colonial officials, missionaries, chiefs, and educated elite inter alia modified ethnic groupings in the districts and reconstructed various socio-political agendas.

In his Ph.D. thesis,²² Salim looks at the protest and resistance of Africans in southern Ghana to the British colonial policy of indirect rule in the second quarter of the twentieth century. He analyses the reasons why chieftaincy survived late into the colonial era by adducing reasons such as the accommodative posture of the chiefs to education and social changes, their role in the emergence of nationalist movements, the desire of the imperium to work with the chiefs, the respect the educated natives showed to the institution, and more importantly the people by then possessed the power to destool their chiefs should they defy their wishes to support "unpopular colonial policies" under the indirect rule system. The substance of his work is on how the educated Africans rely on especially the press, to protest against the chiefs as agents of indirect rule and indirect rule policies such as direct taxation, stool treasuries and the native administration system itself, which in turn weakened the authority of the chiefs and led to the failure of indirect rule. Despite failing to explain how the chiefs rather made it possible for the British to rule them, his work is relevant to this study as it touches on key issues pertinent to this study.

Similarly, Kwabena O. Akurang-Parry explores African intelligentsia's response to British colonial policy in the Gold Coast between 1912-1920, when the colonialists decided to use the chiefs as the main agents of local administration. His article looks at how the educated elite used two indigenous presses, *the Gold Coast Nation* and *the Gold Coast Leader*, as protest tools against the indirect rule in the Gold Coast. According to him, the "intelligentsia class used both newspapers to call attention to the adverse effects of the

²¹ Carola Lentz, "Ethnicity and the Making of History in Northern Ghana". *International African Library* 33. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006.

²² Muhammad Saad Muhammad Salim, "The Reactions and Attitudes of Africans in Southern Ghana to the British Colonial Policy of Indirect Rule, 1925-1951". Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Edinburgh, Faculty of Arts, 1975.

indirect rule on chieftaincy”.²³ The intelligentsia was against how indirect rule changed chieftaincy because they could read and understand the subtlety of colonial policies that they deemed would harm them and their native institutions. His article is relevant to this work as it sheds light on the relationship between the chiefs and the intelligentsia class.

F. Pedler in his work, examines the latter stages of colonialism and the beginning of decolonization in West Africa from 1940 to 1978.²⁴ He discusses the impact of the war years on the region that expedited the rejection of the colonial system and paved the way toward institutional changes. The author briefly mentioned the Gold Coast under British rule, as the pacesetter for socio-political revolution. His work is relevant to this study as it provides grounds for further research.

In “Class Struggle in Africa”, Kwame Nkrumah recounts the history of class structures in Africa and the changes brought to bear on the cleavages by the colonial experience. He examines how colonial rule succeeded in pushing to the fore capitalism, individualism, and private ownership in place of communalism, a system well established and at its highest stage in Africa.²⁵ Nkrumah expounds on the thoroughness to which the colonial policy of exploitation and local bourgeoisie ties with the bourgeoisie in highly industrialized countries contributed to class stratification on the Gold Coast and Africa. Nkrumah’s work is useful to this study in assessing the locus of cleavages in socio-political modification in the context of the Gold Coast.

Kwame Nkrumah in “Revolutionary Path”²⁶ – once the deleterious effects of colonialism and its accompanied extractive capitalist policy have become vivid for all to see – recounts how such ruthless exploitation accompanied by political oppression against the people of Africa inspired him to participate in political struggles towards liberating Ghana and Africa. This is a useful book for this study as it contains some key documents about the development of Nkrumah’s political thoughts from his days in the USA. It mentions political organizations Nkrumah started or worked with such as “The Circle”, the Pan-African movements, and how he entered the Ghanaian political arena in 1947. It further contains

²³ Kwabena O. Akurang-Parry, ‘Disrespect and Contempt for Our Natural Rulers’: The African intelligentsia and the Effects of British Indirect Rule on Indigenous Rulers in the Gold Coast c.1912-1920. *The International Journal of Regional and Local Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 1., pp. 43-65. Routledge: Taylor & Francis Group, 2006, p. 43.

²⁴ Frederick Pedler, “Main Currents of West African History 1940-1978”. London: The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1979.

²⁵ Kwame Nkrumah, “Class Struggle in Africa”. New York: International Publishers, 1970.

²⁶ Kwame Nkrumah, “Revolutionary Path”. London: PANAF, 1973.

some editorials from his newspaper outlet *The Accra Evening News* which informed the natives about the agenda of imperialism and brought pressure to bear on the colonial regime, what he meant by Positive Action as a political tool, and more importantly his speech towards grant of self-rule independence, which was dubbed ‘The Motion of Destiny’.

Martin Staniland has recounted the political history of Dagbon and how the traditional administrative structure of Dagbon confronted the changes brought by colonialism.²⁷ His work is limited to political disputes of the paramountcy of the Yendi Skin of the Dagomba people in northern Ghana and concerns itself with the policies which the rulers of the Skin adopted to protect and subsume political changes due to external influences. Notwithstanding its drawbacks, Staniland’s work is pertinent to this thesis because it helps in understanding Dagbon-colonial administration relations and the compromises made and could be applied to other parts of northern Ghana.

On institutional changes, particularly with regards to the constitution, R. Gocking reconstructed the history of the influence of British administration and justice on native courts (the native tribunals) in the Gold Coast colony proper, particularly concerning Cape Coast and Accra from the mid-nineteenth century to the middle of the twentieth century and the changes they underwent under colonial rule.²⁸ He describes some of the judicial and structural changes that occurred in the activities of the native courts during colonial rule as well as the challenges they faced in gaining recognition from the colonial government. Although Gocking’s work is limited to only the southern coastal towns, it provides a basis for exhaustive research into how the two legal systems (the chiefly courts and the British courts) co-existed and could further be applied to other areas of the nineteenth and twentieth-century Gold Coast.

O. Omosini, in “The Gold Coast Land Question, 1894-1900”, examines the economic implications of the colonial government’s development policy on the Gold Coast traditional land tenure system.²⁹ He examines the legislation attempts made in 1894 and 1897 to place all unoccupied lands under the Crown to give authority to the colonial administration to offer concessions to European firms, and in turn to reduce the supremacy of the chiefs in the public

²⁷ Martin Staniland, “The Lions of Dagbon: Political Change in Northern Ghana”. Cambridge University Press, 1975.

²⁸ Roger Gocking, “British Justice and the Native Tribunals of the Southern Gold Coast Colony”. *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 34, No. 1, 1993.

²⁹ Olufemi Omosini, “The Gold Coast Land Question, 1894-1900: Some Issues Raised on West Africa’s Economic Development”. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 5 No. 3, 1972.

eyes. Omosini highlights the resistance of the African lawyers and chiefs and the function of the A.R.P.S. in the amendment of 1900. Omosini's work is useful to this study for understanding land policy transformation in nineteenth-century Gold Coast.

The amendments to the land bill 1897 seemed to have settled land issues on the Gold Coast and resulted in a concessions ordinance in 1900. The 1900 ordinance granted authority to a tribunal under the Supreme Court to handle matters to do with the area and duration of a concession. However, the chiefs and educated Gold Coasters continued to resist any legislation to vest "unoccupied lands" under the Crown to control minerals and timber exploitation. Although the British administrators failed to set up their intended land and forestry ordinance between 1894 and 1900, they succeeded in setting up a forestry ordinance in 1927 through the chiefs. C. P. Hansen's article³⁰ has shown that the 1927 forestry ordinance "allowed the British to classify some 6000 square miles of land as forest reserves".³¹ The success of this ordinance was because of the collapse of the alliance of the Traditional Rulers and the ARPS. Hansen's article peruses the commencement of land control and the role of the ARPS. He makes an important contribution to land bills in colonial Ghana, when other literature about this matter had ended in 1916, to show the passage of the 1927 forest ordinance.

Susan B. Kaplow also reconstructs the history of how the capitalist society of the Gold Coast merchants through imitations of Europeans changed existing social relations in surrounding communities to accumulate wealth and human resources to operate their enterprises in the nineteenth-century Gold Coast.³² Kaplow describes how their continuous reliance on European creditors led to increasing indebtedness, which in turn led to increasing interference of the latter in their trading activities resulting in dictations of which and what product to market. Kaplow's work is constructive to this study because it shows how the merchants went against conventional social norms to accumulate wealth and labour through commercializing family lands and moved away from the extended family unit to the nuclear family unit, and how they undermined the political authority of the chiefly courts to seek redress in British courts.

³⁰ Christian Pilegaard Hansen, "To Reserve or not to reserve: the battle over forest conservation in the Gold Coast, 1899-1927". *Journal of Historical Geography*. ELSEVIER Ltd.

³¹ *Ibid*, p. 1.

³² Susan B. Kaplow, "Primitive Accumulation and Traditional Social Relations on the Nineteenth Century Gold Coast". *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 1, 1978.

Roger S. Gocking examines how the application of the indirect rule policy by the colonial government in the twentieth century transformed political life, led to the invention of new traditional positions, and application of matrilineal lineage for claims to Stools in the colony.³³ Gocking describes how some educated and Christianised natives who had volte-face on Stools came to compete for offices in the native states following the capacious reforms made toward indirect rule, first under Governor Clifford, and then further catalysed by Governor Guggisberg's constitution of 1925. Further, the work states how some other communities and associations incorporated in the indirect rule system, such as the Muslim community, which was composed of members of diverse ethnicities in the town, competed for control over local mosques and other religious-related issues. Gocking's work provides a basis for thorough research because it highlights the contest between traditional and westernized classes and how the encounter created new political players, how some illiterates relied on their fluency in the colonial language to gain offices, how incentives that came with the native offices led to varied struggles to control sources of revenue, money from rent or sale of lands, inter alia, and the changes made by the colonial administration to curtail the subverting effect of such competition on its indirect rule policy.

Richard C. Crook, in "Decolonization, the Colonial State, and Chieftaincy in the Gold Coast", recounts the link between the colonial state and the chieftaincy system in the Gold Coast through land law, class formation, and the structure of the indirect rule system from 1940 to 1960.³⁴ He attempts to explain why the imperial administration abandoned the native authority system after 1952. He describes how and why the colonial administration abandoned its intended reforms of the chieftaincy to partner with the educated elite in providing suitable leadership to run the state machinery in the decolonization process, and how the imperial policy shifted in the years following the Second World War from indirect rule to a need for democratic self-government. His work is relevant to this study because it shows how the once fervid relationship of chiefs-colonial administrators in the nineteenth-century volte-face in the twentieth century.

Brempong Arhin in "Transformations in Traditional Rule in Ghana, 1951-1996"³⁵ looks at the position of chiefs from 1951 following the passage of the Coussey Constitution

³³ Roger S. Gocking, "Indirect Rule in the Gold Coast: Competition for Office and the Invention of Tradition". *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, Vol. 28 No. 3, 1994.

³⁴ Richard C. Crook, "Decolonization, the Colonial State, and Chieftaincy in the Gold Coast". *African Affairs*, Vol. 85, No. 338, 1986.

³⁵ Arhin Brempong, "Transformations in Traditional Rule in Ghana, 1951-1996". Accra: Sedco Publishing Limited, 2001.

Report, and the changes the chieftaincy as an institution underwent in the years leading up to independence, and the waning authority of traditional rulers from 1930 due to the passage of various ordinances by the legislative council, which firmly placed them under the command of the governor. He peruses how some chiefs, especially those of Asante and Akim Abuakwa aligned with the National Liberation Movement to oppose CPP's policies towards independence and how in turn the CPP Government ushered in changes to side-line chiefs from openly engaging in politics. His work is important to this study as it exhibits how tribal politics pursued by the chiefs and former leaders of the UGCC delayed the independence proclamation by some years.

In his article, "Nationalism and Social Classes in British West Africa", Martin L. Kilson Jr. examines how western influence resulted in the emergence of new social classes in West Africa, particularly the middle class, and its role in cultural, political, and economic changes.³⁶ He describes how the rise of currency and export economy replaced traditional social order to create economic and class stratification, urbanization, entrepreneurs, African farmers producing cash crops for export, wage labour, how the middle class utilized their intellectual advantage to push for changes needed in the colonial society to advance their status, and how they used their financial wealth to found and fund political movements toward an Africanised state machinery.

C.L.R. James in "Nkrumah and the Ghana Revolution" explains Africa's contribution to revolutionary theory. He analyses the intellectual thinking and self-organization of the people towards a creative revolutionary force³⁷ from 1947. He further looks at how the resolves of the masses gave rise to the emergence of political parties within the setting of the revolution, and the bond between the people and their political leaders. His work is important to this study as he attempts to dissect Nkrumah's relationship with the masses and the reasons that led to the 1948 riots and beyond.

The African Education Commission in 1920, sets out to assess and provide factual data on educational contexts and exigencies in colonial Africa. The scope of the work is centred on providing improved educational systems to address individual and communal health, economic, social, and religious conditions of the natives' own history, and needs to

³⁶ Martin L. Kilson Jr., "Nationalism and Social Classes in British West Africa". *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 20, No. 2, 1958.

³⁷ C.L.R. James, "Nkrumah and the Ghana Revolution". Duke University Press, 2022.

improve overall social welfare.³⁸ The commission's object is for school programs to be reshaped to train the youth to tackle constructively the problems of their country, albeit with Christian teaching subtly embedded at all levels of education. The work shows how the lack of cooperation between missions, governments, and commercial concerns-cum-less participation of the natives has failed educational systems. The work is relevant to this study because it touches on the evolution, management, and financing of education on the Gold Coast, and the history of how chiefs along the coast, who have had centuries of contact with Europeans readily accepted educational opportunities for their people; whilst many Ashanti chiefs needed convincing that education would not subvert their influence and harm their subjects, the people of the northern territories, who were less touched by a European influence, did not develop any attitudes to schools.

On the issue of nationalism, Charles A. Boateng explains the impact of Nkrumah's political ideas and actions on Ghana and Africa toward political consciousness and nationalism in his book.³⁹ His work is a challenge to western conventional assumptions that fail to recognise leaders' contribution in the developing world toward evolving political ideologies. He explores Nkrumah's emphasis on the primacy of politics couched in his *consciencism* philosophy towards political, economic, social, and cultural developments. The work is relevant to this study because it purveys sightings into Nkrumah's philosophy, which was towards uniting the natives, creating a top-notch class of political thinkers to protest the colonial situation and press for changes, towards the growth of nationalism, common identity, and development. His work provides a basis for further research in Ghana and the extent to which ideologies contributed to Gold Coast's progress.

1.5. Limitations

Due to financial constraints, I could not travel to the United Kingdom to obtain experiential archival sources, especially Parliamentary Papers, to corroborate those I obtained from Ghana. That exercise would have provided insights into certain adopted colonial policies. Nonetheless, this does not affect the authenticity of the work in any way.

³⁸ Thomas Jesse Jones, "Education in Africa: A Study of West, South, and Equatorial Africa". *The African Education Commission*. New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1922.

³⁹ Charles Adom Boateng, "The Political Legacy of Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana". *African Studies*, Vol. 66. New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2003.

1.6. Description of the Study

The study is organized thematically into the following chapters: **Chapter One: Introduction:** The chapter commenced with an introductory note highlighting the thesis sentence of the work and cross-questioning the motives of the chiefs in accepting to work in the provincial councils, thus, relinquishing their authority to the British administrators. Also, it justified the study in accessing the *modus operandi* and *modus vivendi* of the chiefs and the intelligentsia in the colonial enterprise. Most literature on colonisation in Africa focuses on the role of the Europeans with little or no attention to how the native rulers made colonisation possible. Thus, this work set to do the opposite by inquiring into how the native chiefs especially contributed to establishing colonial rule in Ghana through archival and secondary sources. The chapter also stated the research questions and objectives, and reviews of existing literature pertinent to the topic of study. **Chapter Two: Background Study of Ghana before 1874:** The chapter attempted a reconstruction of the history of Ghana in tandem with the histories of the major tribes. It looked at the migrations of the various tribes from their cradles to their present locations, how Islam influenced the northern ethnic groups and how the arrival of the Mande groups altered the socio-political structures of the people and expedited the formation of trade and kingdoms. Ghana is a heterogeneous territory with numerous ethnic groups, so, for this reason, the section selected the largest three centralised kingdoms, i.e., Gonja, Dagbon, and Asante states, and provided their eclectic histories. Furthermore, the chapter provided glimpses of how British merchants and administrators came to immerse themselves in the affairs of the native states between 1805 and 1874. Trading squabbles between two native states, Asante and Fanti, precipitated a series of battles between them, and the Fanti states solicited British administrators' support against Asante, an act which eventually led to British dominance over the coastal Fanti states and eventual imperial declaration of 24 July 1874 by the Crown. **Chapter Three:**

Institutionalization of Society: The chapter looked at the society's orthodox power structure and social structure in addition to how Paramount Chiefs are enstooled and destooled. It looked at the hierarchical structure from the regnant class to the common people. Much space was given to the stages involved in the making of Paramount Chiefs, especially among the Akan ethnic, which is the largest ethnic group in Ghana. There are three stages involved: these are nomination, election, and installation stages. **Chapter Four: To the Gold Coast for God:** This chapter examines the religious facet of imperialism including fetishism in the Gold Coast, the 'civilizing' mission of the Christian missionaries, and how they merged leading to the emergence of "new classes". It opened with an exhaustive account of the natives' religion and their gods. There are two main gods, *Tando* and *Bobowissi*, from whose deputation other gods originated and proliferated to other areas. These gods are worshipped in shrines and they have commercial value. The example of the Gare Fetish was provided to exhibit its commercial value. The native religion encountered Christianity from about 1481 through the Portuguese. However, the missionaries became profoundly active after 1874, following the abolition of the slave trade. Various missionaries arrived in colonial Ghana because the chiefs and their people showed interest in understanding it, and because the European merchants had requested the missions to educate the natives, along with their proselytization, as they needed labour for various purposes. Thus, it was through such exercises that western-typed education was introduced into colonial Ghana as early as the 1530s. The first two agents of change in colonial Ghana were religion and education as they introduced new stratifications. **Chapter Five: Europeans, Chiefs, Treaties, and the Imperial Quest:** It offers an expository account of the historiography of imperialism, explains the history of European settlements on the Gold Coast, competition for mineral wealth, treaties with chiefs, and the factor leading to the imposition of colonial rule. Finally, it examines the proletarian class's emergence and the

civil service's Africanisation. Modern Europeans began forming their settlements in colonial Ghana in 1482, beginning with the Portuguese. The English first reached Ghana in about 1553. However, it was only in the seventeenth century that they succeeded in establishing their first settlement along the coast. Other European nations followed suit in pursuit of commerce, and later in the spread of Christianity and its canons. They were offered lands of which they paid ground rents to the local chiefs for their activities. The chiefs over time expanded this role of theirs and entered protection and commercial treaties with these European merchants. Thus, these treaties, by and large, were the seed which led to greater European influence and subsequent subordination of the native states. The commercial treaties led to a colossal inflow of wealth into the native states and the rush for the same created a new stratum of working-class and a wage payment system. The native chiefs participated ardently in this new venture and even recruited labour for the foreign firms. The recruited natives occupied the lowest echelons of the commercial and administrative structures. The natives started to take senior public positions in the administration through the Africanisation policy of the mid-1940s. **Chapter Six: Imperium and the Native Administration System:** This chapter examines the colonial administrative machinery, how it emerged, its structure, and its workings. Finally, it looks at how the chiefs were made to fit into the emerging stratification with their consent. The British merchants started to exert their influence along the coast in the nineteenth century. Their alliance with the Fanti states against Asante further entrenched their authority, and their role in the defeat of Asante in 1874 paved the way for the formal establishment of the Gold Coast colony in the same year. The established colonial structure had a governor at its apex, who was supported by executive and legislative councils, and a group of political and technical staff. Between 1878 and 1927, several attempts were made towards establishing a lasting native administration ordinance. However, the lack of cooperation between the chiefs and their educated natives

thwarted this British imperial policy and made its implementation insuperable. Between 1925 and 1927, the native chiefs, through Nana Ofori Atta's efforts, broke ranks with the educated natives to team up with the British administrators to draft and implement the 1927 Native Administration Ordinance. This step placed the chiefs directly under European supervision, gave the Europeans authority to make or unmake chiefs, and led to the creation of provincial councils of chiefs for periodic meetings of the chiefs to offer their advice to the central government. As the chiefs worked in those councils as agents of the colonial administration, they argued and used offensive expressions against each other. Such acrimonious encounters in the councils further derailed and subordinated the chiefs to the colonial course.

Chapter Seven: Political Change and Its Denouement: This chapter discusses the Gold Coast Aborigines Rights Protection Society in the context of cultural and political nationalism. Finally, it examines the political context of the period 1947-1957 in terms of its mimesis to British politics aimed towards freedom. The ARPS was a vital movement in the cultural and political history of Ghana. It united the regnant and educated classes, as well as the commoners towards defending their territory from European encroachments. However, it became moribund following the 1927 decision of the chiefs to work with the British administrators. Most of the chiefs disassociated themselves with the society and left only the intelligentsia. Thus, until 1947, when the UGCC was formed, the people of colonial Ghana did not have a united voice. The UGCC was an elitists political party formed by a group of educated natives backed by some chiefs. Another political party, the CPP, was formed by another group of educated natives in 1949. Both parties demanded independence for the territory because the chiefs had failed the people. However, their strategies differed. Whilst the UGCC anticipated "independence within the shortest possible time", the CPP called for "self-government NOW". Eventually, it was the CPP that championed independence for the people.

CHAPTER TWO

BACKGROUND STUDY OF GHANA BEFORE 1874

2.1. History of Colonial Ghana

This section's theme is to reconstruct the history of colonial Ghana, including migrations of the various tribes to their current communes, the influence of Islam on the northern ethnic groups by the Mande interlopers, the establishment of various trading outposts and towns, which combined and expedited the establishments of kingdoms chronologically from north to the coastal belts of modern Ghana. Since there are numerous ethnic groups whose entire histories cannot be penned in this essay, the section will end by providing eclectic histories of the largest three kingdoms to have emerged in the territory. These were the Gonja, Dagbon and Asante kingdoms. History is the mainstay of civilizations, empires, kingdoms, and states. The past and what is to happen thereupon are inextricable from the present day. It thus becomes necessary to delve into the social history of the Gold Coast⁴⁰ to make sense of its social structures and the nature of interactions among different groupings of societies and elements embodied in it before encounters with Europeans and then colonization.

Literature abounds on Gold Coast history both from among African scholars and European travellers.⁴¹ The name "Gold Coast" was the quondam name of present-day

⁴⁰ The term "Gold Coast" was first used by the Dutch in the seventeenth century to denote the plenitude of gold in the colony which aroused the Europeans, thus, the term will be used hereafter in reference to Ghana. *see for example* F.M. Bourret, "Ghana: THE ROAD TO INDEPENDENCE, 1919-1957", Oxford University Press, 1960, p.1.; Abass U., "Gana'da Kimlik ve Siyaset: 1969-1993 Demokratik Geçiş Döneminde Milli Siyasette Kadının Konumu (*Identity and Politics in Ghana: The Position of Women in National Politics through a Period of Democratic Transition, 1969-1993*)". Unpublished MA Thesis, Dokuz Eylul University, Social Sciences Institute, Izmir, 2017, p. 10.

⁴¹ *See for example* A.A. Boahen, "Ghana: Evolution and Change in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries", Accra: Sankofa, 2000; L.P. Bowler, "Gold Coast Palaver: Life on the Gold Coast", London: John Long, Limited, 1911; Arhin K., & Ki-Zerbo, J., "States and Peoples of the Niger Bend and the Volta". In J.F.A. Ajayi (ed.). "General History of Africa, VI: *Africa in the Nineteenth Century until the 1880s*", California. UNESCO, pp. 662-698, 1985; Berry J., & Aidoo A.A., "An Introduction to Akan", Illinois. Northwestern University, 1975; A.A. Boahen, "The States and Cultures of the Lower Guinean Coast". In Ogot B.A. (ed.). "General History of Africa, V: *Africa from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century*". California. UNESCO, pp. 399-433, 1992; Brackenbury H. Capt. & Huyshe GL. Capt., "Fanti and Ashanti: Three Papers Read on Board the S.S. Ambriz on the Voyage to the Gold Coast". Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1873.; A.W. Cardinal, "The Natives of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast: Their Customs, Religion and Folklore". London: George Routledge & Sons Ltd., 1891; Claridge WW. & Clifford H., "A History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti: From the Earliest Times to the Commencement of the Twentieth Century", Vol. II, London: John Murray, 1915; B. Cruickshank, "Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast of Africa: including an account of the Native Tribes, and their intercourse with Europeans". Vol. I, London: Hurst and Blackett Publishers, 1853; J. Dupuis, "Journal

Ghana, a country located in West Africa. It borders Cote d'Ivoire to the west, Togo to the east, Burkina Faso to the north, and the Gulf of Guinea to the south. The territory can palpably be partitioned into four effortlessly identified areas of the coastal lands, the Ashanti plateau, the Volta plains and its tributaries, and the northern plateau grasslands.⁴² Within the Ashanti plateaux are the Southern Uplands and the Kwahu Plateau. Here, the Afram and Pru rivers proceed into the Volta on its eastern sector, whilst the Pra, Birim, and Tano inter alia meander southward into the sea. On the other hand, the Volta basin makes up approximately 45 per cent of Ghana's total land surface. North of the Volta basin lies the Gambaga Scarp, and the Konkori Scarp is to the far west of it.⁴³ The Akuapem-Togo ranges, a belt of hills and ridges, extending from Accra to Togo are to be found on the eastern boundary. Located a few degrees above the Equator, Ghana has two main climatic conditions: dry and wet seasons. The southwestern and forested areas receive more rainfall than the east coast or the northern areas. Whereas the southwest monsoon winds from the Gulf of Guinea bring rain across the country, with the greater amount to the south-western sector, from May to September, the Harmattan winds, dry dust-laden gales, blow from the dessert from November to February across the country, and it is intensely felt to the northern sector. The figure below (Fig. 1.1) depicts Ghana's physical and relief landscape.

of a Residence in Ashantee". London: Henry Colburn, 1824; A.B. Ellis, "A History of the Gold Coast of West Africa". London: Chapman and Hall, LD., 1893; A.B. Ellis, "The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa: their Religion, Manners, Customs, Laws, Languages, etc." London: Chapman and Hall Ltd., 1887; C. Lentz, "Ethnicity and the Making of History in Northern Ghana". Edinburgh, International African Library, 2006; G. Macdonald, "The Gold Coast, Past and Present: A Short Description of the Country and its People". Longmans, Green and Co., 1898; J.M. Sarbah, "Fanti Customary Laws: A Brief Introduction to the Principles of the Native Laws and Customs of the Fanti and Akan Districts of the Gold". Second ed., London: William Clowes and Sons, Limited, 1904; D.P. Henige, "Kingship in Elmina before 1869: A Study in 'Feedback' and the Traditional Idealization of the Past", 1974.

⁴² F.M. Bourret, "Ghana: The Road to Independence, 1919-1957", p. 2.

⁴³ Owusu-Ansah D & McFarland DM., "Historical Dictionary of Ghana". 2nd ed., N.J: Scarecrow Press; 1995, pp. 1-3.

Fig. 1.1. Ghana's Physical Landscape and Relief



Found within the above-delineated territory centuries ago, were numerous tribal units. Some were autonomous kingdoms and empires,⁴⁴ while others were acephalous states⁴⁵ with distinct languages,⁴⁶ social structures, and economic activities. These tribal units interacted intricately with each other and had 'soft' intra-borders delineating tribal boundaries. According to Adu Boahen, the Akan, Ga, Ewe, and the Gur speaking ethnic groups of northern Ghana had emerged in Ghana over a thousand years ago before the arrival of the Europeans and had developed means of communicating among themselves, appropriated definite social and political institutions, exploited the natural resources of their regions, established contacts with surrounding people both by sea and land and formed states.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Gonja, Asanti, Mole-Dagbani and the Wala kingdom were some of the centralized states.

⁴⁵ Like the LoDagaa of northern Ghana. Albeit they were not centralized under any chiefship, individuals enjoyed a far greater freedom. *For further reading, see for example* Jack Goody, "The Theft of History", New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006, pp. 48-60; Jack Goody, "the Bagre and the Story of my Life". *Cambridge Anthropology* 23, no. 3 (2003), pp. 81-89. The acephalous units were the indigenous settlers before the coming of the later invaders.

⁴⁶ Linguistically, Ghana is made up of two main sub-families: the Gur and the Kwa language groups, north and south respectively. The Gur is divided into three; Gurma, Grusi and Mole-Dagbani. The Kwa is also divided into the Akan, the Ga-Adangbe and the Ewe. Aside from these divisions, there is several smaller language divisions, which seem to be outright distinct from these major divisions. *See for example* A.W. Cardinal, "The Natives of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast", 1891; A.A. Boahen, "Ghana: Evolution and Change in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries". *Sankofa Press*, 2000; J.A. Braimah, H.H. Tomlinson, & O. Amankwatia, "History and Traditions of the Gonja". Calgary: University of Calgary Press, African Occasional Papers, No. 6, 1997.

⁴⁷ A.A. Boahen, "A New Look at the History of Ghana", *African Affairs*, 65(260), 1966, pp. 215-216.

The area of modern Ghana has been inhabited since the early Stone Age. Agriculture and pasturage developed first in the savanna districts by the opening of the second millennium B.C.E., and this was followed by settled village communities.⁴⁸ Archaeologists have furnished us with accurate and extensive data on what became known as the Kintampo Culture.⁴⁹ From the second century C.E., iron technology enhanced farming in the south, in the denser vegetation of the rainforest region. This was then followed by beives of migrants who had sophisticated machinery and succeeded in subjugating the autochthonous inhabitants of the areas. The Akan and the Ga-Dangme were the first to surface as *sui generis* folk in the region around the tenth century.⁵⁰

Nonetheless, centralized states first emerged in the savanna north, many under Islam, and became important centres of Islamic culture.⁵¹ For instance, Wa, Salaga, and other Gonja towns. Up north around the Black Volta region, relatively small mobile groups of relatives existed, with overlapping networks and flexible boundaries in the pre-colonial period.⁵² In the thirteenth century, the Mande invaders from the decaying Mali empire exacted their precedence over the autochthonous people to form states such as Mamprugu, Dagbon, Nanumba and later Gonja. The presence of low-grade iron ore and wood for fuel filliped iron-smelting industries in the Volta Basin of northern Ghana,⁵³ among other things, accounting for the emergence of settled communities. The first settlement to emerge was the Akan town of Bono-Manso. It was a commercial town that offered security to the Muslim Mande traders, who came with religion in pursuit of gold. The invaders would eventually conquer the indigenous people, settle there permanently and thus transform the socio-political structures of the natives profoundly.

The savanna location enabled the northern states to establish control over the commerce between the rain forest and the north on the Niger River, through to the Hausa lands and thence led to the centralization of these states toward the latter part of the fifteenth

⁴⁸ Roger S. Gocking, "The History of Ghana", p. 11.

⁴⁹ Kintampo Culture is an archaeological name of an early culture which developed as early as 1300 B.C. Archaeologists from Christian Village have unearthed sites near Accra to Ntereso, in the Northern Region. These sites are concentrated around the market-town of Kintampo. The evidence found at these places pointed to domesticated animals and early agriculture, *see for example*: Owusu-Ansah D & McFarland D.M., "Historical Dictionary of Ghana". *Second ed.*, p. 132.

⁵⁰ Roger S. Gocking, "The History of Ghana", p. 11.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, p. 12.

⁵² Carola Lentz, "Ethnicity and the Making of History in Northern Ghana". Edinburgh, *International African Library*, 2006, p. 14.

⁵³ Roger S. Gocking, "The History of Ghana", pp. 18-19.

century.⁵⁴ Gold and kola nuts were the main articles of trade, which were battered for grain, cloth, and salt. As accounted by Anne Philips, the Gold Coast became a prepotent provider of the world's gold need by the sixteenth century, and competition for the metal led to the establishment of many trading outposts along its coastline⁵⁵ by rival European imperium in the latter decades of the seventeenth century.

In almost all the savanna states of the north, the invaders took control of the land from the *tindanas* or the earth priests. Nonetheless, in some cases, Dagbon allowed the *tindanas* to survive as village headmen under divisional chiefs of Dagbon.⁵⁶ For instance, Tamale provides a clear example, where the chief, known as the *Dakpema*, is said to have descended from the earlier *tindana*.⁵⁷ Their rulers are called *Na* (king or chief). Their symbol of power or authority is by sitting on skins. In the case of the Gonja, they grouped the indigenous people under *Nyamase* men⁵⁸ who are seen as the custodian of property on land. The Gonja are ruled by the “-wuras”, a suffix signifying chiefs or rulers of specific areas of the kingdom. Succession to the office was patrilineal. An extensive exposition of the social and political structures of Gonja and Mole-Dagbani will be offered in the next sub-unit.

To the south, coastal, and western sections were the Akan settlements. In the forest region, south of the northern states grew the most powerful of the Akan states, the Asante Confederation, in the seventeenth century. According to Albert Adu Boahen, the period 1500 to 1800 marked the finalization of the exoduses of the people from their diverse outsets into their current locations, the boosting of commerce and ethnic bonds between them and those of western Sudan, the Sahara, and the Maghreb, the commencement of new trading routes with Europe and the Americas, the systematic coadunation of their polities and the transformation of larger political units, social and cultural changes, and the alteration of new groupings and new religions.⁵⁹ Their cradle was around modern Adansi and Amanse in the Ofin-Pra basin, and they were divided into eight matrilineal clans— the Ada, Osudoku, Shai,

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 19-20.

⁵⁵ Anne Philips, “The Enigma of Colonialism: British Policy in West Africa”. London. Lames Currey Ltd., 1989, pp. 16-17.

⁵⁶ Roger S. Gocking, “The History of Ghana”, p. 20.

⁵⁷ Martin Staniland, “The Lions of Dagbon: Political Change in Northern Ghana”, p. 4.

⁵⁸ They are the numerous tribes (subjects) speaking a slightly different language or dialect in areas invaded by the Gonjas. The Gonja gave them the collective name *Nyamase* (singular *Kanyamase*); meaning “He has it but won't give it away unless he is forced to do so”. See for example H.H. Tomlinson, “The Customs, Constitution and the History of the Gonja People”, p. 69. In J.A. Braimah, H.H. Tomlinson, & O. Amankwatia “*History and Traditions of the Gonja*”. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, African Occasional Papers, No. 6, 1997, pp. 65-152.

⁵⁹ A.A. Boahen, “The States and Cultures of the Lower Guinean Coast”. In Ogot B.A. (ed.). “*General History of Ghana, V: Africa from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century*”. California, UNESCO, 1992, p. 399.

La, Ningo, Kpone, Gbugbla, and Krobo clans.⁶⁰ They were divided into two broad coteries, i.e., the Eastern and Western Akan, and further divided into sub-groups along political lines. The Eastern Akan are the Asante, Akuapem, Akyem, Akwamu, Bron (Abbron) or Gyaaman, Wassa, Kwahu, Fante, Assin, Denkyira, and Gomua, speaking nearly the same language, Twi. The Western Akan comprise the Anyi, Baule, Nzima, Ahanta, Sanwi (Afema), Aowin, and Sehwi, who speak lucid Akan dialects.⁶¹

The Ewe sub-group occupies the eastern province of the territory. They migrated in about the same period as the Akan from their ancestral home, Notsie, now in modern Togo, to their present location in Ghana. The final phase of their dispersions intensified in the 1600s and early 1700s. According to Boahen, their dispersions were necessitated by three main factors, i.e., economic reasons (to benefit from the gold and kola-producing regions); social reasons (because of population pressure), and political reasons (to elude their oppressive ruler, Agokoli).⁶²

From Notsie, the Ewe moved into two divisions, the southern Ewe (Dagboawo or Dizieheawo) and the northern or interior Ewe (Demeawo or Numeawo).⁶³ The former group moved toward the coast and comprised the Anlo and the Tongu, whilst the latter group settled in the central and northern districts of the Oti and Volta regions of modern Ghana, which until 2019 was referred to as the Volta Region collectively. The Asogli, Hopke, Akpini, and Awudome made up the present-day southern Volta region.⁶⁴ The settlements of the Ga-Dangme people in the Accra coastlands were also transformed by movement. Archaeological attestation shows that the plains of Accra were populated in the past four millennia B.C.E. by late Stone-Age hunter-gatherers. The development of iron technology in this area between 500 and 1400 C.E., played a part in the rise of towns. *Ga* lore specifies that over thirty communes in the central Accra area had been fused into an amalgamated kingdom by the fifteenth century with its capital at Ayawaso. The Ga tribe, due to its proximity to the gold-producing districts of southern Akan, became an important supplier of gold to European traders from the sixteenth century. Acting as middlemen, they exchanged

⁶⁰ **Ibid.**

⁶¹ **Ibid.**, p. 402.

⁶² **Ibid.**, p. 400.

⁶³ C.M.K. Mamattah, 1979 as cited in Albert Adu Boahen, "The States and Cultures of the Lower Guinean Coast", p. 400.

⁶⁴ A.A. Boahen, "The States and Cultures of the Lower Guinean Coast", p. 402. The Ewe speaking group with their multitude village and tribal gods are deeply rooted in the culture of animism and rituals. For further reading on this group, *see for example* A.B. Ellis, "The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa: their Religion, Manners, Customs, Laws, Languages, etc." London: Chapman and Hall Ltd., 1890.

Ga articles such as salt, fish, corn, and European goods like firearms, textiles, metal goods, and alcohol for goods such as gold, slaves, ivory, foodstuffs, and livestock acquired from people in the hinterland.⁶⁵ In the course of their dispersion from inland to the coast for greater economic openings, the Ga-Mashi, Nungua, and Tema began to migrate in the sixteenth century followed by the Osu and Teshi people in the seventeenth century. The Adangbe, their kinsmen, also dispersed into the Accra plains about the same period, with some of them moving to the coast and establishing settlements such as Ningo, Prampram, and Ada.⁶⁶

The Adangbe also developed similarly to the people of Ga. They also formed an amalgamated polity with an inland capital at *La*. They developed into liaisons between the European merchants on the coast and the natives in the interior. *La* became renowned for its cotton textiles, which originated from Europe and were sought-after up to the Akwamu settlements. A civil war in the early seventeenth century caused the ruination of *La*, and its inhabitants migrated to Labadi on the Atlantic coast. The original overlords of the Adangbe were devout personages known as *wulomei* but the association with Europeans on the coast aggrandized the position of secular leaders, the most important of whom became the state father, or *mantse*.⁶⁷ Thus, by the sixteenth century, the Ga-Adangbe and the Ewe dwelt in interspersed individualistic communes in minor and major patrilineages and clan groups.⁶⁸

The Adangbe, for example, are classified into nine kinship groups. These are the Asinodze, Blaka, Kpoku, *La*, Lekpodze, Lenodze, Nangla, Sepote, and the Shalom. Each lineage coterie held its senior god whose priests were its leaders. The Akan, on the other hand, dwelt in conurbations headed by paramount chiefs and villages superintended by chiefs. The units were constituted of families belonging to the eight matrilineal clans into which they are sundered—Ekoona, Oyoko, Asenee, Agona, Bretuo, Asakyiri, Aduana, or Atwea. Each family, village, settlement, or clan had an *abusuapanin* (head, leader) and its god or gods. The priests acted as religious and political leaders among the Ga and Ewe. Thus, these societies were classified with a regnant class, comprising priests and kings, subjects, and a proportionately small number of domestic slaves.⁶⁹ Philips Anne posited that slaves in the states of pre-colonial West Africa were widely utilized as labour in agriculture, mining, and war. Slaves made up the core of the standing army and were a major source of labour

⁶⁵ Roger S. Gocking, "The History of Ghana", pp. 24-25.

⁶⁶ A.A. Boahen, "The States and Cultures of the Lower Guinean Coast", p. 400.

⁶⁷ Roger S. Gocking, "The History of Ghana", p. 25.

⁶⁸ A.A. Boahen, "The States and Cultures of the Lower Guinean Coast", p. 402.

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 402-403.

for subsistence and commercialized farming. Also, they were used in the production of armaments, mainly bullets.⁷⁰

The coastal area did not produce any powerful kingdoms. The Guan-speaking peoples began occupying an area from the Volta River basin to the plains of Winneba by the fifteenth century. They did not establish centralized states but lived in small states or chiefdoms. The Ga-Dangme vanquished them in the sixteenth century to form Great Accra. Later, the Borbor Fante also succeeded in displacing or conquering the Etsi, a Guan people who had dispersed along the coast from the Pra River to the Plains of Winneba to form the Fante country. By the early years of the eighteenth century, Fante territory comprised an isthmus of the coast from the Iron Mount, near the villages of Mori, to the Plains of Winneba.⁷¹

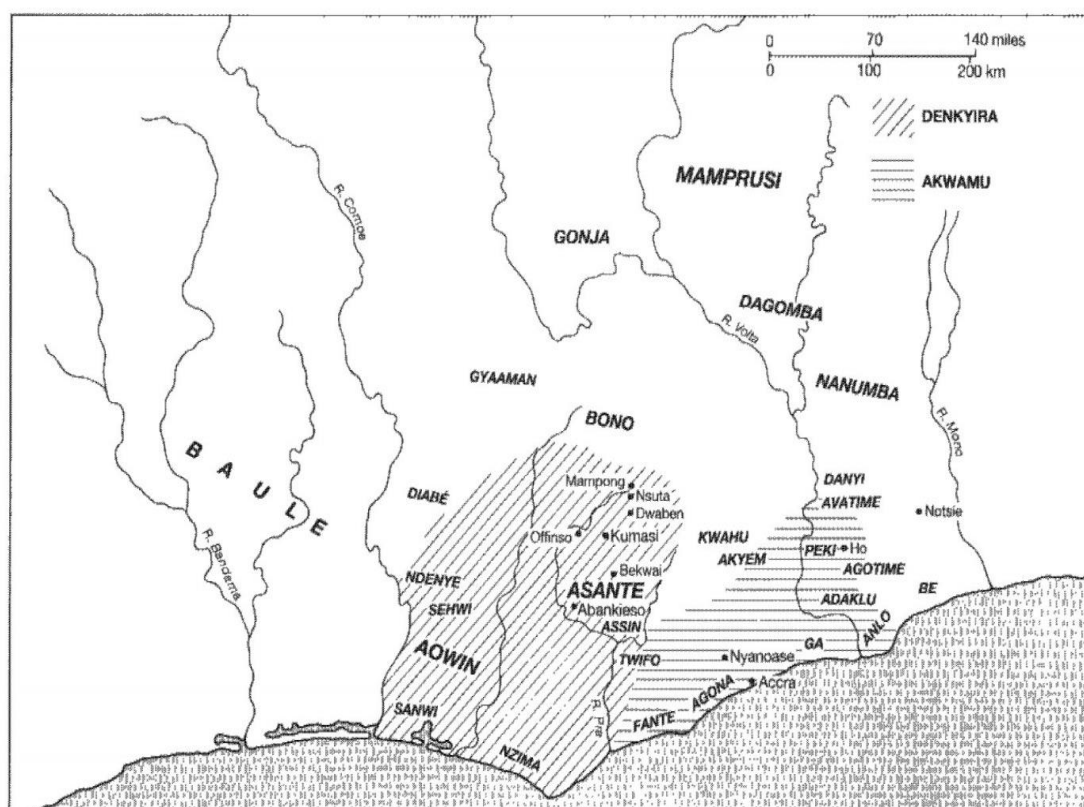
To maintain their middleman position on the coast with the lucrative commerce with Europeans, the Fante tried to exert control on the small coastal states like Eguafo, Fetu, Asebu, and Agona. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the Fante succeeded in controlling the coast from the Pra River to the borders of Accra in the east. The Asante expansion toward the coast also stimulated the Fante expansion and consolidation. However, they never developed into a truly unified state but entered several alliances with Asante dependencies like Akyem, and Denkyira, and states to the west such as Nzima, Twifu, and Wassa.⁷²

⁷⁰ Anne Philips, "The Enigma of Colonialism: British Policy in West Africa", p. 17.

⁷¹ Roger S. Gocking, "The History of Ghana", p. 24.

⁷² **Ibid.**

FIG. 1.2. States of the Lower Guinea Coast up to 1700



<https://images.app.goo.gl/HGWxPqFSAjZVKbnq9>

This intricate relationship paved the way for the inception of specialization and expansion of social, economic, and political frontiers starting with gold mining in the forest areas in the fourteenth century, especially in Asante, Kwahu, Akyem, Brong Ahafo, Bron or Gyaaman, and Baule. Both internal and external trade expanded extensively. Internally, collecting especially kola nuts, agriculture, pasturage, hunting, fishing, salt making, and gold mining greatly expanded.⁷³ The collection of kola nuts constituted the mainstay of trade between the Akan, Gur, Mande, and Hausa ethnic groups of the savannah and western Sudan. The main economic activity of the Ewe, Ga, Fante, Ahanta, Nzima, and the lagoons were fishing. Salt was produced by nearly all the coastal inhabitants,⁷⁴ with only Daboya producing salt in the interior. Internally, these states traded among themselves. For instance, fish and salt churned out by the Ewe, Ga, Fante, and Adangbe pottery were bartered for the gold, *tweapea* (chewing sticks), ivory, and iron or metalware churned out by the Akan of the

⁷³ K.B. Dickson, 1969 cited by A.A. Boahen, "The States and Cultures of the Lower Guinean Coast", p. 403.

⁷⁴ A.A. Boahen, "The States and Cultures of the Lower Guinean Coast", pp. 403-404.

upcountry. Ga, Ewe, and the Akan also created trading linkages with the Guan and the Gur to the north in gold, kola nuts, textiles, slaves, and salt.⁷⁵

The external trade was first with the savannah and western Sudan, the Barbary states over the Sahara, and across the Atlantic Sea with Europe and America. Salaga became the main southern entrepot for the northeast trade during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Kola nuts from the area were re-exported from Hausa-land into the Sahara and Barbary states in exchange for cotton cloths, blankets, Turkish carpets, sandals and other leather goods, natron, brassware, and red glass beads.⁷⁶ The trade with Europe and the Americas first began with the arrival of the Portuguese in 1471. They were followed by the French, British and Dutch in the sixteenth century, and the Danes, the Swedes, and the Brandenburgers⁷⁷ in the seventeenth century. Nonetheless, the last two left the Gold Coast respectively in 1661 and 1732. The commodities sold to Europeans varied both from the region and in time. Before the 1690s the Akan between the Bandama and the Ankobra rivers traded principally in ivory, whilst the Akan and Ga between the Ankobra and the Volta rivers traded mainly in gold. The Dutch and the Danes operated from the 1650s with the Ewe between the Volta and the Mono rivers, mainly in slaves. Thus, this development brought about the division of the coastline of Lower Guinea into three, i.e., the Ivory Coast, the Gold Coast, and the Slave Coast, by European traders.⁷⁸ In modern terms, they are Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana, and Benin respectively.

These trade routes, connecting different states and people led to the emergence of several urban centres which acted as trading posts, markets, or terminals including Kong, Bobo-Dioulasso, Buna, Begho,⁷⁹ and Bonduku to the north-west; Salaga, Yendi, and Sansanne-Mango to the north-east and Tiassale, Sakasso, Yakasso, Krinjabo, Kumasi, Kete-Krachi and Akwamufie in the south, Mouri, Asebu, Cape Coast, Fetu, El Mina, Aguafu, Anomabo, and Mankesim on the coasts.⁸⁰ Thus, when the European countries of the

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 404-405.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 405-406.

⁷⁷ The Brandenburg-Prussian Company used German soldiers but depended in most cases on the Dutch to run their posts on the Gold Coast. They held posts at Pokoso, Takrama, and Akwida before the end of the seventeenth century. However, the company transferred to the Dutch in 1720 though the arrangements started in 1716. *See for example*, Owusu-Ansah D. & McFarland D.M., "Historical Dictionary of Ghana", p. 64.

⁷⁸ A.A. Boahen, "The States and Cultures of the Lower Guinean Coast", p. 406.

⁷⁹ It was a fifteenth century trading centre, uncovered in the present Brong Ahafo Region of Ghana. Its capital was Bono-Manso. The exact date of its foundation is speculative. However, it antedates the rise of both Asante and Gonja. It was possibly a Mande colony where Muslim traders from Jenne and the Niger came to trade for gold. *See for example* Owusu-Ansah D. & McFarland D.M., "Historical Dictionary of Ghana", p. 55.

⁸⁰ A.A. Boahen, "The States and Cultures of the Lower Guinean Coast", p. 410.

eighteenth century turned to Africa, it was West Africa that mattered,⁸¹ particularly Lower Guinea due to the abundance of ivory, gold, and then slaves.

2.1.1. Histories, Peoples, and States

The historical narrative of tropical Africa is an old institution. The historians of the ancient Mediterranean world and the medieval Islamic civilization provided scanty and fitful information, especially about West Africa since the time of Herodotus. However, the Arabic authors were much informed as they had established systematic dealings with West Africa and the settlement of North African traders in the major towns of western Sudan. The writings of men like Al-Masudi (d. c. A. D. 959), Al-Bakri (1029-94), Al-Idrisi (1154), Yacut (c. 1200), Abu Al-Fida (1273-1331), Al-Umari (1301-49), Ibn Battuta (1304-69) and Al-Hassan Ibn Muhammad (known to the west as Leo Africanus, c. 1494-1552) are relevant for the reconstruction of African history between about the ninth and the fifteenth centuries, markedly the history of the western and central Sudan. But ibn Khaldun (1332-1406), a native of Tunis, is one of the best early modern historians of Africa. He stood out because he sought historical truth through processes of criticism and comparison. Thus, ibn Khaldun is regarded as “the father” of the earliest surviving fragment of the written history of tropical Africa.⁸²

When Islam crossed the Sahara, it brought literacy in Arabic and the native Africans embraced it to produce written histories, away from maintaining their histories by oral means. The most sophisticated written histories now known are the *Tarikh al-Sudan* and the *Tarikh al-Fattash*,⁸³ both written in Timbuktu in the seventeenth century. They give accounts of developments, with analysis and interpretation, prefaced with pivotal chronicles of the extant oral traditions relating to earlier times. Other early African historical accounts in Arabic including the *Kano Chronicle*, which appeared in a written form in the nineteenth century, the *Kilwa Chronicle* in the sixteenth century, the *Gonja Chronicle* (*Kitab al-Ghunja*) of central present-time Ghana in the eighteenth century, which contained hundreds

⁸¹ Philip D. Curtin, “The Image of Africa: British Ideas and Action, 1780-1850”. London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1964, p. 6.

⁸² John Donnelly Fage, “The Prehistory of African History”. *Paideuma*, 19/20, 1973, pp. 146-161, pp. 146-147.

⁸³ The *Tarikh al-Sudan* (History of the Sudan) and the *Tariqh al-Fattash* (History of the Seeker for Knowledge) were completed in 1665. See for example Basil Davidson, “The Growth of African Civilisation: A History of West Africa, 1000-1800”. New ed., England. Longman Group Ltd., 1977, pp. 139-140.

of examples of Arabic literacy, and Ethiopia's Semitic languages of Ge'ez and Amharic, have produced and preserved continuous literary tradition for some two millennia.⁸⁴ However, contacts with Western Europeans from the fifteenth century like the deuce produced indispensable literary works for modern historians. Gonja happens to be one of those States that has its histories well documented in Arabic. The next sub-section will examine the socio-political evolution and structures of the Gonja, Mole-Dagbani, and Asante states holistically. Whereas the Gonja state emerged as the most powerful of the savannah north, Asante was the most powerful state of all the Akan groups, and it dominated almost the entire territory, bar a section of the coastal settlements toward the nineteenth century. Since the structures of the Mole-Dagbani are nearly similar, attention would be on Dagbon, its powerful kingdom.

2.1.1.1. The Gonja State

The Mande group has greatly impacted societies of western Sudan and the savannah north of the Gold Coast. Vansina Jan & others have identified three main sources for studying the historical influence of the Mande; these are oral traditions, linguistic documents, and ethnographic data. The Mande is a very old linguistic group, and their dialects differ widely, one from the other. Evidence from the above-mentioned sources showed that some of them spread from an early period over a great deal of West Africa, either as traders (*diula*) or as conquerors. For instance, in the Banda area, four successive Mande groups are distinguished: a) the first group derived from the southern Mande; b) a group of proto-Diula; c) a Diula group; and d) the Mandingo⁸⁵ themselves. The second and third groups were traders, whilst the last was the conquerors.⁸⁶ Thus, the latter, a group of horsemen armed with swords and iron spears⁸⁷ founded the Gonja state around the mid-sixteenth century.

⁸⁴ John Donnelly Fage, "The Prehistory of African History", pp. 148-149.

⁸⁵ The history of the Gonja tribe was recorded by Arab Muslims who accompanied them to their present location in Ghana. The Arabic manuscript and oral tradition said the Gonjas were originally Mandingo (Gonja Dingo-ebi), or Mandinka and had migrated from the Mande, from the Mali Empire, many years before the Hejra Year 1000. See for example J.A. Braimah, "A History of the Gonja State". In J.A. Braimah, H.H. Tomlinson, & O. Amankwatia, "*History and Traditions of the Gonja*". Calgary: University of Calgary Press, African Occasional Papers, No. 6, 1997, pp. 1-64, p. 5.

⁸⁶ Vansina Jan, R. Mauny, & L. V. Thomas (ed.), "The Historian in Tropical Africa: studies presented and discussed". London: Published for the International African Institute by the Oxford University Press, 1964, p. 91.

⁸⁷ J.A. Braimah, "A History of the Gonja State", p. 11.

The Banda area was of great importance with complex identities. Situated just to the south of the Volta bend and just to the north of the forest boundary, it connected the Niger and the forest regions. Goody Jack has provided us with a breakdown of its population. There are groups speaking Asanti (Kwa-Akan), Dumbo (Kwa-Guang), Senufo (Gur-Nafana), Koulango (Gur), Degha (Gur-Grusi), and Mande languages (Ligby, Hwela, Numu, Dyula). Of these various groups, the autochthones seem to have been the Kwa speakers, the 'Brong' (Abronfo), and the Dumbo. They appear to provide the Earth Priests (*Asaasewuura*) for a large part of this area, which is usually an indication of autochthonous status.⁸⁸

When the Gonja arrived in the Akan forest country of Bono Manso, they settled at Beawu (Begho) and Ndziau around the Banda area. Due to their attachment to horses, the Banda people refer to the towns of Beawu and Ndziau as the *Ponkowura Krom*, the village of the "Horse-Chief".⁸⁹ Horses were important to the ruling class in several ways. For example, in many parts of the savannah region, chiefs are expected to ride on horseback. During wars, they acted as cavalry and were equipped with iron spears and swords. The Paramount Chief, the *Yagbumwuura*, is sometimes referred to as *Gbanya*, meaning Horse. This title was also held by the founding hero, or the most famous of them, called Jakpa, whose name to many people means 'holder of the spear'. A bundle of iron spear tips is part of the regalia of Gonja divisions, just as a copy of the Koran and other manuscripts serve the same purpose for the Muslim priests (*limami*) of these areas. The pre-Gonja inhabitants of western Gonja spoke the Guang language. According to Goody, the ruling group of Gonja (the *Gbanya*), learned their new language, not within the present boundaries of the Gonja state, but south of the Black Volta in Brong.⁹⁰

Manwule was the first capital town established by Gonja on the northern bank of the Black Volta River. The Gonja state was ruled by kings.⁹¹ After the death of the first two kings, Lata Jakpa traversed the Black Volta River and settled at Kapuyase, where he established a state between the White and the Black Volta Rivers known as the Dibir area.⁹² At this juncture, Jakpa was said to have advanced by way of Bui at the nearby village of

⁸⁸ Jack Goody, "The Mande and the Akan Hinterland". In Vansina Jan, R. Mauny, & L. V. Thomas (ed.), *The Historian in Tropical Africa: studies presented and discussed*", (pp. 193-218), pp. 193-194.

⁸⁹ J.A. Braimah, "A History of the Gonja State", p. 13.

⁹⁰ Jack Goody, "The Mande and the Akan Hinterland", pp. 197-199.

⁹¹ The first eight kings in order were: Lamba (Naba'a) who reigned in about 1564/5; Wam; Lata or Lanta (popularly known as Dingoro Jakpa); Lemu; Jaffa; Manfu; Manwura [Chari]; Jakpa [Ndewura Jakpa, who became the actual founder of the Gonja Empire]. See for example, J.A. Braimah, "A History of the Gonja State", p. 13.

⁹² *Ibid*, p. 15.

Jamma, now occupied by the Degha. His footprints are to be seen upon a rock as well as the marks made by his wife as she knelt to offer him water to drink. The main traditions of western Gonja recount that Jakpa was first met by the Vagella people of Sakpa. According to Sakpawuura, who is now one of the paramount's permanent councils, and was formerly the eunuch in charge of his wives, Jakpa came through Lembu (or Lambo, towards the bend the Volta makes into central Gonja), then Simbu (between Fumbo and Wasipe) to Wakawaka and then to Sakpa.⁹³

In his old age, Jakpa established the Burre Chieftainship and became the Burrewura in 1634/5. This institution, i.e., the Burre Chieftainship, became the most senior chief and the most powerful senior office in the Gonja political system, even superseding the Yagbonwura, who is the effective head. Lemu, Jaffa, and Manfu, also commanded some men of the Gonja army and subdued the following countries, northwest of Bonduku: Palaga, Kong, Jimin, Awuasu, Kongolu, Kwayini, and Samata. Jaffa further marched to the east of Bole and conquered the Kparba countries north of Salaga and the area of Kpanshogu, Kakpande, and Jantong. Manwura (Chari Manwura) the seventh leader also crossed the Black Volta River at the head of the remaining Gonja Mande army and settled at Manwule, which became his first capital, albeit the Gonja capital would later remove to Gbipe (Buipe).⁹⁴

The Gonjas were pagan Mandingos and were converted to Islam by Mallam Mohammed Labayiru (known also as Fati Morukpe), following their triumph over the Kolo troop during Chari Manwura's reign. Albeit the Gonjas had accepted Islam, they remained nominal Muslims, and many of them worshipped idols. In eastern Gonja, where the more orthodox elements are found, it used to be taboo for Gonja Chiefs to enter Mosques to pray.⁹⁵ These chiefs sustained copious autochthonous rituals through "priests of the land", the *Nyamase Chiefs*, and transformed items of Islamic origin such as fragments of manuscripts, into amulets and medicine.⁹⁶ The incorporation of Islamic elements into its socio-political

⁹³ Jack Goody, "The Mande and the Akan Hinterland", p. 200.

⁹⁴ J.A. Braimah, "A History of the Gonja State", pp. 15-16.

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 23.

⁹⁶ Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, "Africa and the Africans in the Nineteenth Century: A Turbulent History", p. 35.

systems led to the emergence of three rigidly defined social estates: chiefs, Muslims, and commoners.⁹⁷

However, it was Ndewura Jakpa, the son of Lata Dii Ngoro Jakpa who demitted and ceded sovereignty to him in 1675/6, that broadened the Gonja state by subjugation. His conquests were all Dagomba territories. He began first by moving west from Dibir country, towards Gbipe, through Sakpa into western Gonja, where the elders of Bel (Bole), Mandari, and Gbenfu surrendered to him. He then designated the Bolewura chief for the territory and proceeded north to Gbongori, a Dagomba town, and the Dagombas called it *Bunduraya*. He took the town after two months and appointed Jafow Sonni as the Chieftainess of the town, and further renamed the town to “Mankuma”, that is “Man ko ma” meaning “a stare that fights me”. He further advanced to Nyanga, then to Damango (this town was known as Jingbaripe), Kusawgu, came to Sala through Kafaba, Salaga (Salaga was occupied by the Nanumbas and the Konkombas, but the area was deserted when the people heard about Ndewura Jakpa’s advance). He stayed at Kpembe for a while then continued eastward, after appointing a chief for the areas, through the Alfai (Kpanda) area, which has also deserted and there, planted the Nawuras he had brought with him and appointed the Kanakulaiwura as the chief of the area.⁹⁸

From the Alfai area, he went to Sensane-Mango and settled the Owin (Aowin) and Nzima people he took with him as captives, mercenaries, and refugees in the wars with the Akan. These people are the present Chakosi and are the Gonja’s joking mates. He furthered his conquests up to Kagbaful in the Busari country and went as far as the Zugu boundary where his people mutinied. At this juncture, his army included mercenaries and refugees of many different tribes, some of whom he recruited during his advances. This mutiny stopped his advance further east and he returned to Kpembe where he finally settled to administer his Kingdom.⁹⁹ In 1697, Ndewura heard of an Asante invasion, but there was no time for him to get reinforcement from all the Divisions of Gonja due to distances. He met the Ashanti army at Talkpa, “Tar kpa”, meaning “where one stops”, crossing the Volta River near Kafaba. The war-weary people of Kpembe were reluctant to fight and tried to persuade him

⁹⁷ Levtzion Nehemia, “Muslims and Chiefs in West Africa: A Study of Islam in the Middle Volta Basin in the Pre-Colonial Period”, London: Clarendon Press, 1968, p. 190 as cited in Gockings S.R. (2000). “History of Ghana”, p. 21.

⁹⁸ J.A. Braimah, “A History of the Gonja State”, pp. 29-30, 33-35.

⁹⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 35-36.

not to leave Kpembe. However, he was not to be persuaded. The battle took place with Ashanti and Ndewura Jakpa was mortally wounded and died at Shirminchu.¹⁰⁰

The Gonja state, the most powerful of all the savannah kingdoms, founded in about 1550 reached its peak under Jakpa, who unified the state, consolidated it, and then divided it among his sons. However, the success of the later Asante invasion led to the eruption of a civil war among his sons in the closing decade of the seventeenth century after his demise. This war permanently weakened the state and led to Asante's influence and eventual invasion in 1732.¹⁰¹ Sulemana Kabong Jakpa (ruled between 1697-1709) usurped the paramountcy after Ndewura's death. He was a protege of Asante. The Asante supported him, and he even married an Asante woman. He was followed by Tuluuwewura Abbass, after a 12-Year War for power between Lata Ngbanya (Ndewura's people) and the Manwura's (the Manwule people) that controlled then the Longoro area, i.e., the Mo country respectively.¹⁰² Abbass was killed on 25 May 1709 by the Tonawa (Ashanti) one hundred days after his installation. Kpembewura Maham Labayiru (another son of Lata Jakpa) succeeded Abbass as Yagbongwura but died after only two and a half years. After his death, power was no longer left in the hands of one person as sovereign and the different divisions of Gonja became semi-independent states under a loose federal constitution. The Yagbongwura became a titular head only, absent a standing army.¹⁰³

The Gonja people are ruled by descendants of Ndewura Jakpa and their sons. There are nine divisional chiefs, i.e., Yabum, Buipe, Kpembe, Tuluwe, Bole, Kusawgu, Wasipe, Kong, and Kandia, out of which only five are Gates to the Paramountcy.¹⁰⁴ Succession to the skin is through the Gates of Kpembe, Tuluwe, Bole, Kusawgu, and Wasipe. Every divisional chief except for Kpembewura is enrobed by a Kanyamase chief. The divisional chiefs meet to choose a successor from amongst their number when a Yabumwura dies.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*, p. 37.

¹⁰¹ Benedict G. Der, "The Slave Trade in Northern Ghana". Accra: Woeli Publishing Services, 1998, p. 8.

¹⁰² J.A. Braimah, "A History of the Gonja State", pp. 42, 47.

¹⁰³ *Ibid*, pp. 47-48.

¹⁰⁴ Divisional Chiefs of Buipe, Kandia and Kong are exempt for the following reasons: In the case of Kandia, long ago Kandiwura Jewu renounced his rights to succeed to the Yabum skins. It was an old Division which extended over a great part of the present Wala District, as far as Walembele, Chasie and Ducie. Kong, on the other hand was a Division that included villages in Northwestern Gonja and Southern Wala, but its right of succession to Yabum was withdrawn due to the perfidious action of Abdulai Kongwura, nicknamed Kabondogodam, in invoking the aid of Samori to further his claims to the Yabum skins, having already usurped the Kong skins from Nantachi, the rightful and rival claimant. The case of Buipe was somewhat like that of Kong. In Buipe, the brother of Buipewura Mahama Jarrawari seized the Silima skin from his younger brother, an act that shook the local people because nothing of that nature had been done before. See H.H. Tomlinson, *"The Customs, Constitution and the History of the Gonja People"*, pp. 87-88, 113.

Every chief of whatever rank provided he has a village, his elders and advisers, the most important of whom will be the chief of the Nyamase of the village, and if there are Moslems, their *Limam*, will have a court, which is the miniature of the divisional chief's court, his *Nsawura* and *Dogtes* (heralds), *Mbongwura* (leader in war), archer, ferryman (if his lands include a river), drummers, master of horses, sword bearers and horn blowers, *Bisepu* the guardian of the ancestral walking sticks and *Begbangpo* or traditional advisers. Every person has access to him in a system that could be described as a constitutional monarchy.¹⁰⁵ There also existed the *Ewurichibi* chiefships that handled the male issue of marriages between Gonja princesses and either non-Gonja Moslem or Nyamase men, but the occupants of these chiefships are not eligible for *Ewuribi* skins,¹⁰⁶ i.e., the position of the 'queen'.

Inheritance is copiously patrilineal. When the family head dies, his brothers may succeed in order of seniority, then by his children and their children. The issue of inheritance is well established. For instance, male and female heirs inherit a man's property including his widows who are free to contract new marriages. In the event of no heirs, the property goes to the family head, or if the deceased man was a "stranger" to the divisional chief through the local chief. Similarly, the property of a deceased woman goes to her sisters, if there are none, to the deceased's elder child, and if there are none, to the head of her own family. During the demise of an important chief, property belonging to the skin is taken care of by traditional custodians appointed according to the local custom. Property in land goes to the divisional chiefs through the *Kasalewuras*, who are chiefs of the Nyamase tribes.¹⁰⁷

Polygamy is also practiced. Marriage contracts usually involved winning a woman's parents' consent by presenting them with kola nuts. This could be done by the man himself or his brothers. Furthermore, a man usually marries within his family with the belief that he would be better looked after by relatives of his family than by an outsider, even though there is no restriction on marrying outside the family circle. The marriage procedure requires the presence of witnesses and a contract specifying the bride price, which could be money or goods presented by the groom or his father to the bride's father. Marriages are concluded by the tying of the bridal knot or *Furu* by the Moslems of the town which is done to the

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 87-88.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 69, 85.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 73-74.

accompaniment of readings from the Koran. Food is bought by the new husband and distributed to prominent people, and he gives his wife new cloth.¹⁰⁸

Also, legal ideas were well developed amongst Gonja, both regarding individuals and their neighbours, and the state at large. Conceptions of succession, property, inheritance, and contract exist in civil law. Contracts were verbal and made before witnesses. Offences such as murder, witchcraft, theft, gambling, defilement of infants, adultery with a divisional chief's wife, adultery in the bush or farm, stealing from a farm, arson, and intercourse with an animal were regarded as criminal meriting punishment. The punishments for these crimes were as follows: murder and witchcraft were punished by instant beheading; theft, gambling, and fornication with a divisional chief's wife were punishable by death on a second offence. For the first time, the man had to provide a cow in indemnification as well as swear the "Ntang" oath on the divisional cushion not to repeat the act whilst the woman was whipped; defilement of an infant was indictable by death if the victim died as a result of the rape, otherwise, payment of monetary compensation by the rapist to the child's parents or guardians; adultery in the bush or farm and stealing from a farm was punished by public exposure and whipping; arson and intercourse with an animal were regarded as the acts of a lunatic and the offended was secured by the leg in a log bored for the purpose.¹⁰⁹

Both civil and criminal cases were adjudicated by the chief and his elders on whose land the offence had been perpetrated, that is including the *Limam*, the Islamic religious head, who is an important elder of the divisional chief. The *Limam* settles disputes and resolves questions of law that are brought forth by the people¹¹⁰ in matters of adjudication because he could read and write. Gonja festivities were greatly influenced by Islam. Some of the highly celebrated ones include Damba which is the most important (commemorating the Prophet Muhammed's birth), the Festival of the Guinea Fowls, Jintigi (Ambatigi or Jumbenti), the Festival of New Yam, Gbangdawu, and Den.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 70-71, 107-108.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 74-75.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 107.

¹¹¹ *Ibid*, pp. 82-83.

2.1.1.2. Dagbon State

Mole-Dagbani refers to the Mamprugu, Dagomba, Mossi, and Nanumba states. Their traditions contend that their forebears emerged from Hausa or Borno area.¹¹² They were a group of invaders who infiltrated the lands south of the Niger Bend from the northeast about the thirteenth century. Fage J. D. cast doubt on who the invaders were and where they had come from and maintained that their origin was not certain. However, the traditions of their descendants who still reign in Wagadugu, Yatenga, Mamprussi, Dagomba, Nanumba, Wa, etc., and in particular the traditions of Dagomba, suggest they were ‘red men’, characteristically horsemen, many of whom married with the women of the territories they occupied.¹¹³ Marriage represented the contact in a political revolution when the newcomer murdered his father-in-law,¹¹⁴ the *tindana*, and imposed himself on the people. Whatever the case, their folklore cites a common ancestor, Tohajie, “the red hunter”, whose grandson Na Gbewa, settled at Pusiga in north-eastern Ghana and had 17 children, the eldest being Zirile who succeeded him.¹¹⁵

Na Gbewa (Bawa in Mossi) was identified as the one in charge of the whole group at the time of their arrival from the east. Na Gbewa’s daughter, Yantaure, ran away on horseback and married a (Mande) hunter named Riale, by whom she had a son Widraogo, meaning ‘stallion’. Widraogo established Tenkodogo, “the old place”, out of which the Mossi kingdoms developed. Succession contestations following the demise of Na Gbewa created disputes, break-away, and the eventual establishment of other states. For instance, the Mamprussi kings descend from Tohago as he founded the kingdom, and Sitobu founded Dagbon but his son Nyagse was the first Na of the Dagomba. The third son Ngmantombo founded the minor state of Nanumba.¹¹⁶

The Dagomba state was established in its form in c. 1480. From Walewale, Sitobu sent his son Nyagsi to conquer western Dagbon to set up a kingdom. Later, eastern Dagbon was conquered too. A series of conquests were sent against the *tindamba* by Dagomba, who

¹¹² James Kwaku Brukum Nana, “The Northern Territories of the Gold Coast under British Colonial Rule, 1897-1956: A Study in Political Change”. Unpublished PhD. Thesis, University of Toronto Graduate Department of History, Toronto, 1997, p. 35.

¹¹³ J. D. Fage, “Reflections on the Early History of the Mossi-Dagomba Group of States”, pp. 177-178.

¹¹⁴ A.W. Cardinal, “The Natives of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast: Their Customs, Religion and Folklore”, pp. 3-4.

¹¹⁵ Martin Staniland, “The Lions of Dagbon: Political Change in Northern Ghana”, p. 3.

¹¹⁶ J. D. Fage, “Reflections on the Early History of the Mossi-Dagomba Group of States”, pp. 183-184.

killed and replaced them.¹¹⁷ However, the *tindana* institution was not destroyed. They repulsed the Konkomba and founded divisional chiefs among them. Their main towns, such as Nakpali and Zabzugu, had the attribute of outposts, strategically located on the east bank of the river Oti. They took over the Konkomba town, *Chare*, and renamed it Yendi, which eventually became their capital as a consequence of wars with Gonja.¹¹⁸ The wars with Gonja in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were political-cum-economic in nature towards establishing control of the trade routes of the Asante hinterland, the conflux of two important caravan routes; one went north-west from Begho via Bondoukou and Kong (in the Ivory Coast) to Djenne on the Niger, whilst the other went north-east from Salaga via Sansanne-Mango in Togo and Nikki in Dahomey to Kano. Along these routes moved kola nuts, gold, salt, and other merchandise, and the Islamic creed. Gonja under Jakpa, reigned supreme; he seized control of Daboya, the salt-mining town, and made himself overlord of the Tampolensi, and he further defeated Na Dariziegu in battle at Yapei.¹¹⁹

However, in the early eighteenth century, Na Zangina evicted Gonja from Dagomba. The Gonja, under Kumpati, had waged a new campaign against western Dagomba. The Seven-Year War ended with the death of Kumpati and loosened Gonja's grip on Dagomba. Zangina is the king that brought Islam into Dagomba, after his travels to Timbuktu and Hausa land as a young man and as a trader. Islamisation of the social and political structures was expedited by the location of Yendi on the trade route from Salaga to Kano.¹²⁰ The conversions of the Na's led to the creation of Muslim officials (*limamnema*) attached to the court at Yendi and the courts of the lesser chiefs. It also modified the two social estates: the ruling class became more Islamised than the commoner estate (*dagbandaba*). The Muslims performed functions such as holding the office of *limam*,¹²¹ washing the corpses of paramount and other chiefs (*Yidam Kambara*), circumcising the royal males (*Yidam Kafa*), chief butcher (*Yidam Baba*),¹²² etc. Overall, Islam manifests strongly in the towns and at the courts of the aristocracy, even though the ruling class blends Islam and animism. For the village culture, animism and the cult of ancestors are highly practiced.

¹¹⁷ James Kwaku Brukum Nana, "The Northern Territories of the Gold Coast under British Colonial Rule, 1897-1956: A Study in Political Change", pp. 38-39.

¹¹⁸ Martin Staniland, "The Lions of Dagbon: Political Change in Northern Ghana", pp. 4-5.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 5.

¹²⁰ *Ibid*.

¹²¹ *Ibid*, pp. 6, 14, 32.

¹²² James Kwaku Brukum Nana, "The Northern Territories of the Gold Coast under British Colonial Rule, 1897-1956: A Study in Political Change", p. 34.

Dagomba had to contend with Asante after successfully expelling the Gonja. In about February 1745, Opoku Ware entered the town of Yendi with 300 000 men. The wealth of Dagbon was said to have aroused the cupidity of Opoku Ware. The Dagombas were not able to stand against Asante because they were equipped with unsophisticated tools such as bows and arrows, lances, spears, and swords, whilst the Asantes were accoutred with superior weapons, including Danish guns. The former's horses were frightened by the shooting of the guns and would not advance on the Asante army.¹²³ In the latter decades of the nineteenth century, the authority of the Ya-Na weakened over his divisional chiefs. The crisis was caused by the development of a court bureaucracy. Internal disputes arose and the pressures made Dagbon lose its independence as some princes teamed up with the Zabarima mercenaries, under Babatu. However, the major loss was due to European politics in the territory. For instance, around 4 December 1896, a Dagomba army, estimated to be around 7000 was routed by a small German force at Adibo near Yendi.¹²⁴

The next move came from the British. Under pressure from commercial interests at home, the Government in 1892 dispatched a mission led by G. E. Ferguson, to arrange commercial treaties with the native states in Dagomba, Gonja, Grunsi, and Mossi. In 1901, the British established, by Order-in-Council, "the Protectorate of the Northern Territories" under a chief commissioner accountable to the governor of the Gold Coast. The north was thus partitioned into three provinces: North-Eastern, North-Western, and Southern. The latter consisted of three districts, eastern Gonja, western Gonja, and western Dagomba (also known as Tamale District).¹²⁵

Kinship in Dagomba settlements is predominantly patrilineal. Each household (*yili*) is made up of two or more men, their wives, and other dependents. The senior man acts as the household head (*yili yidana*) and exercises authority in the group's daily activities. A Dagomba village consists of quite closely grouped circular compounds divided into wards, and each is identified by its head, with the chief's domed hut standing above the rest. Typically, there is a quarter for a chief (*nayilifong*), an imam's quarter (*limamfong*), a soldiers' quarter, a butchers' quarter, one for the drummers, etc. The commoner population

¹²³ Benedict G. Der, "The Slave Trade in Northern Ghana", pp. 9-10.

¹²⁴ Martin Staniland, "The Lions of Dagbon: Political Change in Northern Ghana", pp. 8-9; James Kwaku Brukum Nana, "The Northern Territories of the Gold Coast under British Colonial Rule, 1897-1956: A Study in Political Change", pp. 40-41.

¹²⁵ Martin Staniland, "The Lions of Dagbon ...", pp. 9-11.

cut across the village without distinctions of status indicated by the naming of wards and was not physically segregated from the ruling class.¹²⁶

The *tindamba* controlled the land and are without secular political functions. Following conquests from the fifteenth century, the Ya-Na claimed the prerogative to dispose of land and handed this task to the divisional and village chiefs, thus creating a compatible interconnection between the *tindamba* and the new rulers. The village chief became the political agent of the paramount chief by performing administrative and judicial functions. The *tindana*, as a fetish priest, performed sacrifices and cared for the shrines of the spirits of the land. The chief provided him with food and animals for sacrifice.¹²⁷ Sovereignty resides in the personage of the Ya-Na in Yendi. He is the highest judicial authority, who appointed chiefs and elders and conducted the administration of the state. In the patrimonial sense, he was the patriarch of the dynasty around whom everything revolves.

Under the monarch were several hierarchies of chiefdoms and a complex network of dynastic politics. The kingdom was divided into three provinces: Karaga, Mion, and Savelugu. Each division consisted of several villages, each village having a chief under the divisional chief. Embedded in the chieftaincy was an interesting system of promotion. Young royals started the ladder by appointment to small villages, climbing up until they reached divisional capitals, and even the paramount chieftaincy itself if they were qualified. However, promotion and competition for office were guided by one canon: “no man could rise higher than his father”. Every chief had a court, a council of elders, warriors, and attendants, which moved with him as he climbed the leadership ladder. For the Yendi skin, only the Karaga-Na, Yo-Na, or Mion-lana could be considered. The nomination of a new Ya-Na upon the demise of the incumbent was delegated to a council of three elders of Yendi (Kuga-Na, Tuguri-nam, and Gomli), and the Gushie-Na (the chief of Gushiegu and a senior commoner divisional chief). Any of them desiring to succeed for the Yendi Skin was required to give to the Ya-Na’s relatives, a set of objects for burial with the corpse, which includes the skins of a lion and a leopard, and clothes in which to dress the body. The nomination process is related to the series of rituals leading to the funeral of the deceased Ya-Na.¹²⁸

¹²⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 14-15.

¹²⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 15-16.

¹²⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 16-17, 20, 23.

2.1.1.3. Asante State

The Asante state was one of the many Akan states to have emerged across the territory, first at the extremity of the rain forest in the northwest, the savanna, and the Adansi at the convergence of the Pra and the Ofin rivers. Ivor Wilks opined that the existence of the Akan society was due to a change in production mode manifested in changes in the economic activities and reorganization of the social relations of production, and the advent of new political structures.¹²⁹ In simple terms, organized farming and forms of socio-political structures took over hunting and gathering. These changes first manifested in the Asante cradle of Adanse and Amansie, where the earliest towns of Abuakwa, Atwumamanso, Asenmanso, and Abankesieso were founded; and approximately thirty miles of present-day Kumasi in the settlements of Tafo, Amakom, Ohwhim, Asantemanso, Kwaaman, etc., from the sixteenth to the early seventeenth centuries.¹³⁰

The Ashantis surmise that their forefathers emerged from the north,¹³¹ from a remote country behind Salaga. This land was said to be open, flat, and grassy supplied with oxen, sheep, and goats. However, they were deposed by a different ethnic group, a red people, purported to be the Fulas. To prevent such spoliation, they started to migrate into the bushlands far away to the south and west and started forming settlements.¹³² The Asante kingdom was founded by Osei Tutu in about 1700. The Asante-Denkyira war between 1699 and 1701 marked the beginning of the Asante dynasty from the enstoolment of Osei Tutu. Before the war with Denkyira, Osei waged several small wars in about 1695.¹³³ Part of the reason for the war with Denkyira was the desire to control the gold and kola trade of the Pra-Ofin basin, which Denkyira monopolized at the time. However, by the early eighteenth century, the Oyoko state of Asante managed to eclipse the trade. In a series of wars (1699-1701) the Denkyira empire was defeated by the Asante Confederation of states. Asante further conquered all Denkyira's former vassal states: the Sehwi States (1701-2), Twifo (1712-13), Wassa (1713 and 1726), Aowin (1715-21), Nzima (1715), and the Anyi state of Ndenye (1715) to the south-east. Aside from Denkyira, the Asante Confederation further conquered other states such as Wenchi (1711-14), Bono (1723-4), the Bron state (1731-40),

¹²⁹ Ivor Wilks, "The State of the Akan and the Akan States: A Discursion". *Cahiers d'études africaines*, 22(87-88), 1982, pp. 231-249, p. 234.

¹³⁰ *Ibid*, p. 235; A.A. Boahen, "A New Look at the History of Ghana", p. 217.

¹³¹ Francis Fuller, "A Vanished Dynasty: Ashanti". London: John Murray, Albermarle St., W.I., 1921, p. 1.

¹³² George MacDonald, "The Gold Coast, Past and Present: A Short Description of the Country and its People". Longmans, Green and Co., 1898, p. 229.

¹³³ Francis Fuller, "A Vanished Dynasty: Ashanti", p. 9.

and Gonja (1732) to the north-west; Akyem Kotoku and Akyem Abuakwa (1742), and the Ga state (1744-5) to the south; eastern Gonja and the Dagomba (1744) to the north of the Volta river; and the Krakye and Bassa states (1744-5) to the north-east.¹³⁴ Thus, by the nineteenth century, the Asante empire had stretched to nearly the whole territory, except south to the sea where the Fante states were. The latter, with their diplomatic skills, solicited support from the British.

Osei Tutu was assisted by Komfo (priest) Anokye, his fetish priest in settling down with Kumasi as the chief town of the state. He became Osei Tutu's confidant and adviser. Osei Tutu established the Asante aristocracy when he emerged as the king. Kumasi became the head of the military structure. Osei Tutu bestowed titular dignity upon his important chiefs who built large towns near the capital. He made conquered people adjutant to his state and checked any endeavour to rebel by constraining periodic attendance to the capital on political festivities and occasions of customs.¹³⁵ Kumasi, the capital, was the centre of a network of caravan routes connecting it with the provinces. These provinces and tributaries were administered by powerful families and some important chiefs who lived in Kumasi, and who only visited these tributary states to collect the king's yearly payment. The Asantehene reigned over the land-based and military oligarchies of the traditional chiefs. Appointment and promotion of senior public officials by the Asantehene in the eighteenth century rested on their ability to amass assets in gold dust, slaves, weapons, and their success.¹³⁶ The annual tribute from the vassal states differs from state to state. For instance, Dagomba, as a vassal state had to give a yearly tribute of 1000 slaves, 1000 cattle, 1000 sheep, and 1000 fowl.¹³⁷

The "bureaucratization" of the Asante state occurred under *Asantehene* Osei Kwadwo. He emphasized meritocracy over descent or birth. According to Gocking a shedload of the stools or offices in Kumasi and the regional commissioners for the conquered states became appointive rather than hereditary. This was also confirmed by MacDonald George, who pointed out that Osei Kwadwo, wherever possible appointed his favourite captains to the vacant stools and often united three or four vicinities under the newly appointed chiefs, who

¹³⁴ A.A. Boahen, "The States and Cultures of the Lower Guinean Coast", pp. 419-420.

¹³⁵ George MacDonald, "The Gold Coast, Past and Present: A Short Description of the Country and its People", p. 264; Roger S. Gocking, "The History of Ghana", pp. 22-23.

¹³⁶ Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, "Africa and the Africans in the Nineteenth Century: A Turbulent History", pp. 112-113; George MacDonald, "The Gold Coast, Past and Present: A Short Description of the Country and its People", p. 271.

¹³⁷ Francis Fuller, "A Vanished Dynasty: Ashanti", pp. 34-35.

pledged an oath to him to be loyal to the constitution of the Confederation.¹³⁸ The structure of Ashanti, up to the beginning of the nineteenth century comprised three estates: the Asantehene (King), the Aristocracy (four in number), and the great Assembly of the Captains or *Caboceers* (chiefs). The king, in the execution of his judicial prerogative, retired in private with his four counsellors to hear their viewpoints, after which the general assembly of the captains would be convened to enunciate the decrees reached by the king and his aristocracy or only the will of the former.¹³⁹ The announcement is made by the linguist attached to the *ohene's* court. This is a hereditary position. The linguist is the spokesperson of the *ohene* and the council. In cases involving parties, he is responsible for disclosing the two sides of the case and giving judgment.¹⁴⁰

Albeit despotic and military authority was vested in the king, Alfred Burdon Ellis posited that the chiefs had influence and control over the king. He said the king could not make peace, war, or enter any arbitrations or treaties, concerning the welfare of the tribe without the assent of the chiefs.¹⁴¹ Furthermore, the king's authority was kept in check by a council called *Ashanti Kotoko*, literally Ashanti Porcupine, meaning that it cannot be molested without injury. This council comprises the king, the queen mother (considered as number two in the state, after the king), the chiefs of Juaben, Bekwae, and Mampon, the general of the army, and a few other principal chiefs of Kumasi. This council holds absolute authority and governs the entire kingdom.¹⁴²

Daily activities were like those of most early societies. Whereas male progenies emulated the occupation of their father, female progenies tended to the domestic chores of the house, till they were ready for wives. Children were cared for by the women, and they are named after the day on which they were born and in some instances from the order in which they are born. Their staple diet consisted of mashed corn (kenkey), yam, cassava, or plantain mashed together after boiling (fufu) over which palm soup is poured, or boiled herbs and peppers, to which fish was added. A piece of dried meat was preferred in the interior instead of fish. Drinks were palm wine, and later rum and tobacco. On the other hand, time was calculated based on the moon for planting and harvesting. Each day of the week has a

¹³⁸ Roger S. Gocking, "The History of Ghana", p. 23; George MacDonald, "The Gold Coast, Past and Present", pp. 272-273.

¹³⁹ George MacDonald, "The Gold Coast, Past and Present", pp. 287-288.

¹⁴⁰ Francis Fuller, "A Vanished Dynasty: Ashanti", p. 20.

¹⁴¹ A.B. Ellis, "The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa: Their Religion, Manners, Customs, Laws, Languages, etc.", pp. 274-275.

¹⁴² *Ibid*, pp. 276-277.

name in the local vernacular. Superstition was rife among Asante. Nearly every part had its deity, known as “fetish” and “bossum” in the *Twi* language. This deity is believed to reside in animals, forests, mountains, trees, and rivers. The rivers Tano and Prah were the favourite idols of the Ashantis. Families had their household fetishes given by priests, which consisted of rude wooden figures of people and animals of different shapes, kept in houses, and upon customs and festivals, they received offerings and drinks.¹⁴³

Their professions were largely leather works (sandals, cushions, belts, pouches, saddles, cases for knives and swords, and coverings for bottles), pottery (of two kinds: black and brown, made of clay), agriculture, weaving, washing for gold, manual arts (wooden and earthen cups, matting, brass or copper ointment boxes, and ornaments of gold, silver, and ivory), and smith work (implements of war, and agricultural tools).¹⁴⁴ The Asante communities were regulated by law, and succession is matrilineal. Some of them were that: the sisters of the *ohene* could marry with whom they desired, provided that the man was very strong or affable; the king was devisee to the gold of all his subjects from top to the bottom; subjects of any tributary, unsatisfied with the verdict of their own ruler could move their case for re-evaluation to Kumasi, subject to payments of certain fee in gold dust; royals could not be put to death, but if found felonious in a serious crime, the culprit was ordered to be drowned; a man found in intrigue with a woman, either in a house or in the bush, both became the slaves of the person who came upon them, but were redeemable by their families; it was forbidden to compliment the beauty of another person’s wife; a woman, involved in a suit was said to have compromised her family, not her husband; intriguing with the wife of a king attracted death;¹⁴⁵ parents could not force a daughter to marry a man; a man who inveigle a virgin was impelled to marry her, or to pay the equivalent of the head money, if her parents will not agree to the marriage; if a man killed a slave, he was obligated to pay the value to the owner; accidental injuries to property were recompensed for by a fine; murder was penalized either by putting the murderer to death or by fine. In the latter, the inheritors of the murdered fixed the amount required as compensation. Failure to pay the requested sum resulted in death; theft was penalized by a fine and the restoration of the stolen items or their value, but death could be meted out in serious theft cases.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³ George MacDonald, “The Gold Coast, Past and Present”, pp. 39-40, 42, 45-47.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 51, 53, 55-56.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 288-290.

¹⁴⁶ A.B. Ellis, “The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa”, pp. 285-286, 298, 301, 303.

The successes of the Asante state in wars were due to its leadership and war formation. With regards to the latter, it included scouts, advance-guard, the main body, the commander-in-chief, carriers, camp followers, and the rear guard. The central column was flanked, five bodies apiece, on both sides by the right and left wings. These bodies were made of clans irrespective of their numbers, and their assigned positions were fixed. The most important was the left wing because the king if he partook in a campaign, was the fourth body on that side. Each group of men advanced to war with its supply of ammunition, its rations, and its doctors (*Esumankwafo*).¹⁴⁷ Its strictness was something of note. For instance, non-compliance with orders was said to have resulted in court-martial punishments such as death, depredation, and fines meted out depending on their merit. Acts of pusillanimity on the battlefield were penalized with death. Military service was compulsory, and its evasion attracted death.¹⁴⁸

Leaders are born with innate qualities that would either expand and take empires to greater heights or their end. The Asante empire began its decline under Asantehene Kwaku Dua Panin (1834-67). Coquery-Vidrovitch stated two reasons for the decline: the first was due to increased pressure from the Europeans, especially the British, who sent support from the coast for the Fante courtiers; and for the second, the king was said to have become more autocratic and forced his subjects to pay huge sums in the form of taxes and other contributions since he wanted a trade to be reserved for Muslim Hausa. His successors the Asantehene Kofi Kakari (1867-74) and Mensa Bonsu (1874-83) were said to have left behind solid reputations for incompetence and corruption that eventually led to civil war between 1883-88 and prepared the ground for in 1898, British annexation.¹⁴⁹

The Asante-British encounter is a chapter on its own. It first started in the 1760s intertwined with the Asante-Fante wars. The war with Fanti led to the former marching to the coast for the first time in 1807. The Asante state defeated and sacked the village of Cormantine and completely routed its people and houses, and then occupied the Dutch Fort there. Furthermore, they then proceeded to Anamabo, where the encounters with the British started. However, with British reinforcement from Cape Coast, a truce was reached by which Asante pledged not to assault British forts on the coast, provided Britain heeded strict neutrality between Asante and Fanti. In 1817 Asante invaded the Fanti country again as deep

¹⁴⁷ Francis Fuller, "A Vanished Dynasty: Ashanti", pp. 12-13.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p. 13.

¹⁴⁹ Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, "Africa and the Africans in the Nineteenth Century: A Turbulent History", p. 113.

as Cape Coast and only withdrew upon receiving the payment of a large tribute from the Fantis. In that same year, the British sent Mr. Bowdich to Kumasi to negotiate a peaceful resolution, upon which a treaty was concluded in September 1817. The treaty was left because the paramount chief of Denkyira attempted to cast off the Asante hegemony. This led to Asante declaring war on the former. In 1819 another British government envoy, Mr. Dupuis arrived in Ashanti on a mission. He got the Asantehene to renounce his averment to a fine over Fanti territories and to sign an entente of fidelity to the British Crown, by promising a system of trade with the coast towns, and a promise to recognize Ashanti sovereignty over the Fantis. The local merchant government, however, refused to sanction this treaty. So, Asante reacted again. They carried a British sergeant from Anamabo and executed him for speaking disrespectfully of the Asantehene, and wrote a letter to the then governor, Sir Charles McCarthy, demanding his head. This led to a military engagement in 1824. Sir Charles McCarthy with a force of about 500 men plus extra 200 men joining with Major Chisholm, and their native allies took up arms against the Ashantis, who were about 10 000 strong.¹⁵⁰ The British were defeated decisively.

However, in 1826 at the battle of Dodowa, the British avenged this defeat. In 1850 and 1863 war was staved off. However, between 1869 and 1872 Asante instigated an assault that brought about the annexation of nearly all the southern and coastal states. In 1874, under General Garnet Wolseley the British organized its best campaign and sacked Kumasi. This defeat disintegrated the empire. With the Treaty of Fomena, Asante acknowledged the sovereignty of all subordinate states south of the Pra. Likewise, the subordinate states to the north and the Volta River also became independent. Asantehene Prempeh I, who emerged in 1888 attempted to revive the empire. Within three years he reunited the Asante Union. Alarmed by this renewed enthusiasm and the fear of either the French or Germans taking over Asante, the British offered Asante protectorate status, which Prempeh refused. He complained in 1895 to the Queen in England, but the British government refused to see the Asante deputation. In 1896, a British expedition under Sir Francis Scott was sent against Asante. Without a confrontation, Prempeh and his council of advisors accepted British protection, and he was then deported to Sierra Leone. The last war between the two was in 1900, when the British deposed anti-British chiefs and replaced them with unqualified ones, imposed a tax of 4s per head as a war indemnity in 1897, and Governor Arnold Hodgson

¹⁵⁰ George MacDonald, "The Gold Coast, Past and Present", pp. 297-302.

boldly demanded the Golden Stool, the symbol of Asante authority, so he could sit on it.¹⁵¹ The Asante fought the British from April to November 1900 when Yaa Asantewa, the queen mother of Ejisu and the leader of the Asante forces, was apprehended and exiled to Seychelles together with other generals.

Ashanti was annexed to the British Crown on 26 September 1901 by an Order in Council. This order was effectuated by the “Ashanti Administration Ordinance” of 1 January 1902, which partitioned Ashanti into four provinces, established a chief commissioner’s court with the powers and jurisdiction of a Judge of the Supreme Court of the Gold Coast colony, except in divorce and matrimonial causes. The four provinces were: The central, which was composed of the towns of Kumasi, Agona, Ofinso, Mampon, Nsuta, Kumawu, Bompata, and Obogu; the southern province comprised Bekwai, Adansi, Mansu Nkwanta, Kokofu, and Danjiasi; the western province comprised Berekum, Wam, Ahafo, Jaman, Wenchi, and Techiman; and the northern province comprised Nkoranza, Atebubu, Kratchi, and Banda and Mo.¹⁵² To ingest how the British came to immerse themselves in the affairs of Fante-Asante, the next sub-section chronicles the events between the two native states that eventually gave rise to a series of battles between Asante and Fante, the eventual acclivity of Fante-British tryst, Asante-British affrays and accords, and finally the defeat of Asante.

2.2. Native Affairs: The Fanti-Asante Battles, 1805-1874

The Fanti state was bounded on the north by the country of the Assin, a tributary to the King of Asante. Assin was divided into two; one part was under the authority of Otibu and Opotai, whilst the other part was under a chief named Amo. In about 1804, upon the death of one of Amo’s captains, a lot of gold and valuable clothes were buried with the body. One of Opotoi’s people saw this and his cupidity led him to rifle the grave and remove the treasure. Amo complained to the two chiefs but did not receive restitution, so he complained to the king of Asante, Osei Bonsu, who summoned the accused.¹⁵³ Nana Osei Bonsu ruled

¹⁵¹ M. Gueye & A.A. Boahen, “African Initiatives and Resistance in West Africa, 1880-1914”, pp. 114-148. In A.A. Boahen (ed.). *General History of Africa, VII: Africa under Colonial Domination, 1880-1935*, California. UNESCO, 1985, pp. 131-132, 143.

¹⁵² Francis Fuller, “A Vanished Dynasty: Ashanti”, pp. 214, 216.

¹⁵³ B. Cruickshank, “Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast of Africa: including an account of the Native Tribes, and their intercourse with Europeans”. Vol. I, London: Hurst and Blackett Publishers, 1853, pp. 62-63; Francis Fuller, “A Vanished Dynasty: Ashanti”, p. 39.

in favour of Amo. However, Otibu and Opotoi were displeased with his ruling and defied him and sought protection at Essikuma, in the Fanti Confederation of states. Thus, the pursuit of these two fugitives marked the beginning of the Fanti-Asante battles.

To obtain a peaceful passage through the Fanti territory to seize his rebellious chiefs, the Nana Osei Bonsu presented twenty ounces of gold to Accom, the chief of Essikuma, who communicated to the king's captain, Appia Dankwa, the readiness of the Fanti chiefs to grant his request. This happened to be a trap. The next day, the Asantes were attacked by a large body of Fantis. The Fanti council of chiefs refused to hand the two over. Accom later tricked the Asantes again by offering to sell provisions to the Ashanti army. A section of the army came to his town unarmed to get the provisions and they were ambushed, killing as many as 1000 of them, and seized and sold the remainder. Nana Osei Bonsu, the Asante king, was infuriated and in revenge attacked Abrah and several Fanti towns. The survivors fled to the British fort at Anamabo for protection, whilst the two fugitives sought the protection of Colonel Torrane, the governor, at Cape Coast. The Ashanti army advanced to the sea and occupied the Dutch fort, Fort Amsterdam at Koromantin.¹⁵⁴ However, Colonel Torrane subsequently succeeded in capturing Otibu, a gesture which the Nana Osei Bonsu received with gratitude, and led to peace with the British (the protectors of the Fanti States). In about 1811 the truce was broken when the Fantis tried to take reprisal on Elmina and Accra for repudiating to aid them in 1807. This triggered Asante again.

The next Asante invasion of Fanti occurred in 1817 when they advanced deep into the heart of the Fanti territory, Cape Coast. They blocked the city and only withdrew after receiving a large tribute from the Fantis. This money was loaned by the British.¹⁵⁵ This invasion brought about the sending of Mr. Bowdich's mission to Ashanti in 1817 to negotiate for a peaceful road map to end the Ashanti troubles on the coast, out of which a treaty arose in September 1817 that left a British resident in Kumasi, and in turn, the British recognized that the pay-notes, annually paid to the Ashantis as an endowment to maintain friendly trade relations, should be continued. This was also followed by the Dupuis treaty with Asante, which recognized the authority of the Ashantis over the Fantis. However, Governor McCarthy, who assumed his position in 1821 refused to hand over the sovereignty of the Fantis to the Ashantis and thus supported the former's course. McCarthy and his native allies

¹⁵⁴ **Ibid**, pp. 66-67, 74-75; Francis Fuller, "A Vanished Dynasty: Ashanti", pp. 39-40.

¹⁵⁵ H. Brackenbury & G. L. Huyshe, "Fanti and Ashanti: Three Papers Read on Board the S.S. Ambriz on the Voyage to the Gold Coast", p.3; George MacDonald, "The Gold Coast, Past and Present", p. 301.

were utterly defeated in 1824. McCarthy was killed and his head was cut off. He sacrificed his life for the cause of the Fantis. To this end, they immortalized his name in their songs, the names of their children, and their sacred oath “By Wednesday and McCarthy”.¹⁵⁶

In 1826, the Fantis and other tribes allied with the British against the Ashantis in the Battle of Dodowa, which resulted in the defeat of the latter. The Asantehene, in September 1827, sent his messengers to the coast for a truce. British envoys were sent to Kumasi for negotiations and a treaty was reached in December 1827 but was not fully ratified, till 1831 when a final settlement was reached. The Asantehene was obligated to deposit 600 ounces of gold in addition to delivering two young royals as security to keep the peace with the parties. The gold was sent back after six or seven years of peace. As stated by Brackenbury, the parties to the treaty were the kings of Ashanti, Cape Coast, Fanti, Anamabo, Denkyira, Tufel, Wassa, Assin, and all other chiefs in alliance with Britain, and Maclean as the representative of the king of England. In this treaty, it was agreed that any dispute between the kings was to be referred to the British governor for arbitration. Also, the king of Ashanti renounced all rights or titles to any tribute from the kings of Denkyira, Assin, etc., and they, on the other hand, were to refrain from insulting their former masters.¹⁵⁷

Fresh troubles started in about 1863, and Governor Pine decided to do battle to protect the Fantis from another Asante invasion. This trouble was started by the demand for the return of two natives of Ashanti, who had fled from Ashanti and claimed British protection. The Asantehene threatened to invade Fanti territory if the two were not returned. Governor Pine refused and wrote home for Imperial aid, which was refused because West Africa was less regarded, and the British government could not entertain such an expedition from England. To maintain the peace, Governor Pine planned to assault the Ashantis with the native troops at his command, but the expedition had to be aborted when disease attacked the troops.¹⁵⁸ Thus, war was averted until 1873. The 1873 troubles were related to events from the 1850s, which culminated in 1868.

For effective control of the states, the Dutch, and the British exchanged forts in 1868. The natives detested being handed over from one imperial power to the other without their

¹⁵⁶ A.F. Mockler-Ferryman, “Imperial Africa: The Rise, Progress and Future of the British Possessions in Africa. British West Africa”, Vol. I, London: The Imperial Press Limited, 1898, p. 74.

¹⁵⁷ H. Brackenbury & G. L. Huyshe, “Fanti and Ashanti: Three Papers Read on Board the S.S. Ambriz on the Voyage to the Gold Coast”, pp. 14-16.

¹⁵⁸ A.F. Mockler-Ferryman, “Imperial Africa: The Rise, Progress and Future of the British Possessions in Africa. British West Africa”, pp. 76-77.

consent. The Fantis, Ashantis, and Elminas started the rife. The Fantis had asked the Elminas to ally against Ashanti, but they refused. This refusal led to the Fantis attacking the Elminas, in a great battle where the Elminas emerged victorious because the Dutch shelled the Fantis off. Meanwhile, England and Holland were on friendly terms, and after some negotiations in 1872, England purchased all the Dutch forts. The Elminas were against losing the backing of the Dutch and execrated being ceded to British rule. As regards the Fantis, they were already under British protection. However, surrounded by hostile tribes, the Elminas agreed to accept British protection. The Ashantis on the other hand protested the transfer to the British and claimed ownership of Elmina from their conquest of Denkyira in 1701. The Dutch in Elmina were tenants of the king of Ashanti to whom they paid a sum of money annually. The English government then decided to satisfy the Ashanti claim by doubling the amount of the payment hitherto made by the Dutch, on the understanding that there should be no question of England owing allegiance to the Ashanti. Ashanti was pleased¹⁵⁹ and this contributed to a section of Elmina being handed over to Britain.

Other causes of the 1873 war were also related to the abolition of the slave trade. This affected the Ashantis when the Dutch, who had been buying war captives from the Ashantis, departed from the coast. It affected Ashanti trade with the coast as the Fantis prevented direct Ashanti trade with the coast. Also, the Ashanti alliance with the Elminas, who were equally placed with their enemies, the Fantis, and the Ashantis' desire to protect them infuriated the Fantis. War in 1873, was therefore inevitable between the Ashantis and the Fantis, who had the backing of the British.

The war started in January when about 12 000 Ashanti armies crossed the Pra, first at Prasu and then later at Atasi, and plundered and burned several Assin villages. This invasion was because of trade disputes with the king of Elmina. The British colonel, Harley, and Governor Hennessy did not believe Ashanti would invade the protectorate when a letter and a message from Chibu, the king of Assin was received on 31 January. He sent Doctor Rowe as special commissioner to Anamabo, Abakrampa, and Assin to ascertain the truth, and if true, to impress upon the kings to unite for action. Soon, chief Bentil of Mumford, the Commander-in-Chief of the Fantis, offered to collect an army of 20 000 men. The Cape Coast Volunteers and some fifty Hausa Police were ordered up to Dunkwa. In the meantime, the Ashanti army was under the supreme command of Amankwa Tia, the chief of Bantama.

¹⁵⁹ **Ibid**, pp. 78-81.

His army had three divisions: one of which was to advance into Akim, another under Adu Boffo, was sent against Denkyira, whilst the main body followed the Prasu-Cape Coast Road. However, the allied tribes lacked cooperation and were ill-prepared to the extent that the Assins were left to face Ashanti alone. The Assins were completely defeated on 9 February.¹⁶⁰

Meanwhile, Governor Hennessy was replaced by Mr. Robert W. Keate on 7 March. Keate did not live long enough as he succumbed to fever and died within ten days of his arrival. This resulted in the promotion of Colonel Harley as the governor. On 10 March, the allies advanced, under the command of Lieutenant-Hopkins of the 2nd West India Regiment, to attack the Ashantis. However, within a few hours of hostilities, the allies started to retreat, and Hopkins fell back to Cape Coast without firing a shot. This bitterly angered the allied chiefs. The Ashantis gained grounds within thirty miles of Cape Coast. The Fantis and the people of Cape Coast were alarmed by the proximity of the Ashanti forces. On 20 March, the allies this time round formed a new and extensive camp at Dunkwa with about 250 000 men; in addition to a reinforcement of an officer and 100 men of the West India Regiment, which had arrived from Sierra Leone. They, however, hesitated in attacking the Ashantis, who in the end attacked them on 8 April, in a battle lasting five hours. By the end of the day, the Hausas had lost 17 men, and the allied tribes with an estimated strength of over 56 000, had 221 men killed and 643 wounded. The Asante losses were unknown. The next morning, Hopkins could not persuade the chiefs to battle. The war-weary allies would not reorganize to fight but sent several detachments to protect the villages and farms from pillage.¹⁶¹ The Asantes, on the other hand, at this point could have marched directly onto Cape Coast without any opposition, but content with their victories, they decided to camp at Dunkwa, where they remained for some time, only to suffer food scarcity-cum-small-pox and dysentery.

The Asante army broke camp about the middle of May and moved toward the direction of Jukwa, where Denkyira had established its capital. The Denkyiras were alarmed by the movement of the Ashanti army and thus requested assistance from the Fanti chiefs. However, the chiefs excused themselves by saying they had to defend their towns. Some skirmishes occurred on 3 and 4 June. The Asantes attacked the place in force on 5 June. The

¹⁶⁰ Walton W. Claridge & H. Clifford, "A History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti: From the Earliest Times to the Commencement of the Twentieth Century", Vol. II, London: John Murray, 1915, pp. 10-13.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid*, pp. 20-25.

battle concluded with the defeat and retreat of the Fantis into Cape Coast.¹⁶² Fear and panic gripped the Fanti towns, and between 15 000 and 20 000 people¹⁶³ trooped to shore for Castle protection. Following the defeat of the allies at Dunkwa, England sent a fleet on 8 June to the Gold Coast with a force of 110 officers and men of the Royal Marine Light Infantry and Artillery, and a large supply of arms and ammunition of war¹⁶⁴ under the command of Colonel Festing.

Colonel Festing placed Elmina under martial law. Elmina at this point was divided into two: the west of River Benya joined the Ashantis, whilst the mulattos and other inhabitants of the Garden Town remained loyal to the British. Colonel Festing held a legislative council meeting on 12 June to introduce a strong garrison and proclaim martial law in Elmina. The troops marched into Elmina on Friday 13 June. They formed a cordon from River Benya to the sea. This part of the town stood immediately outside the Castle. With the proclamation of martial law, the inhabitants were ordered to surrender all arms and munitions of war at the Castle gate within a total time of 3 hours and 30 minutes. They were told failure to comply would result in the destruction of their town. That was exactly what happened. On 15 June, the Castle guns opened heavy fire on the town, and in less than twenty minutes little remained of the king's quarter.¹⁶⁵ The Ashantis advanced with about 3000 men to attack the British forces upon seeing the flames of the British attack,¹⁶⁶ however, they were bombarded and chased out of the protectorate by Festing and some of his men.

Later, Major-General Sir Garnet Wolseley was sent as Governor to take command of the force of the colony and to undertake the punishment of the Ashantis. He arrived with thirty-six special service officers at Cape Coast Castle, and by October the Ashantis had been cleared from the states near the coast. An expedition for the destruction of Kumasi, the Ashantis' capital, was planned. According to Johnston, the force consisted of 2400 British, over 7000 West Indian Negroes of the West India Regiments, levies of native auxiliaries from the Fanti and other native tribes, and some British seamen and marines.¹⁶⁷

The 1873-4 war ended with the ruination of Kumasi, the capture of the Asante king, and thus the disintegration of the Asante empire. The Treaty of Fomena was signed and the

¹⁶² **Ibid**, p. 26; George MacDonald, "The Gold Coast, Past and Present", p. 310.

¹⁶³ Walton W. Claridge, & H. Clifford, "A History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti ...", p. 27.

¹⁶⁴ George MacDonald, "The Gold Coast, Past and Present ...", p. 311-312; Walton W. Claridge, & H. Clifford, "A History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti ...", p. 29.

¹⁶⁵ Walton W. Claridge, & H. Clifford, "A History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti ...", pp. 30-31.

¹⁶⁶ George MacDonald, "The Gold Coast, Past and Present ...", pp. 311-312.

¹⁶⁷ H. Johnston, "Britain Across the Seas ...", p. 287-288.

Asantes recognized British protection south of the Pra River. They were to further pay an indemnity of 50 000 ounces of gold,¹⁶⁸ abolish human sacrifice, and keep their trade routes open to the coast. As for the Fanti, the expedition saved them from the yoke of the Ashanti invasion but was firmly gripped under British protection. The immediate consequence of the 1873-4 war was the formal declaration, on 24 July 1874, of a new Charter, the proclamation of the Gold Coast colony. This was nothing short of a presage to the Article on “effective occupation” to be formally discussed and adopted at the Berlin West African Conference of 1884-1885. The “Protectorate” status of the same native states was now replaced with “the Gold Coast colony”.

¹⁶⁸ George MacDonald, “The Gold Coast, Past and Present ...”, p. 314.

CHAPTER THREE

INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF SOCIETY

3.1. Traditional Social Organization

The theme of this chapter is to peruse the social stratifications of the native states from the regnant class to the base; however, emphasis is placed on the processes involved in the making of the Traditional Rulers or *Amanhin*, which comprised nomination, election and installation stages, as well as destoolment procedures. The denizens of the Gold Coast were clustered into communities by ties of kindred. The organization and authority at the state level were different from the family unit in descending order down to the individual. There was a nearly similar composition of administration of towns and families across the Gold Coast colony and its dependencies, bar slight variations at the state level where some states lived in autonomous communities, others were acephalous, but members were connected through kinship and religion, and then the politically organized kingdoms with many dependant states.

The Gold Coast states are predominantly patriarchal societies, but in some instances and among some tribes, women in a few cases wielded authority. How were these societies organized? The organization of these societies took root during their foundation. According to Sarbah, the towns had grown from villages originally founded and occupied by single-family groups.¹⁶⁹ Suffice it to say that the expansion of the family unit led to the formation of villages with dispersed populations higher than the family households, and an eventual increase in the village households resulted in the formation of communities of common interests, customs, and traditions, and eventually into a town or state. Thus, the social relationships of individuals and burgeoning family units and households in the newly composed organization and their social status were, as put forward by Kimble, “*determined largely by lineage, kinship, and age*”.¹⁷⁰

A typical state is made of several different important communities federated to one central paramount authority, in the personage of ‘the king’. The character of the king is such that he was believed to be the finest and doughty of all in the traditional society and whose

¹⁶⁹ John Mensah Sarbah, “Fanti Customary Laws: A Brief Introduction to the Principle of the Native Laws and Customs of the Fanti and Akan Districts of the Gold Coast”, pp. 20-21.

¹⁷⁰ David Kimble, “A Political History of Ghana: the rise of Gold Coast nationalism”, p. 126.

schtick would have brought the people together to withstand external threats and eventually to progress in its present form. The king, thus, in a modern sense could be regarded as the executive officer of the state, in whose hands resided the supreme authority of the society, or as Hayford postulated, he “*represented the sovereignty of the entire Union under the same laws, customs, faith and worship, same language, and all owing allegiance to him*”.¹⁷¹ Kinship among the Akan tribes emanated from the most powerful tribe to have led the groups during troubled years and narrowed down to the clan whose members rose to lead the people thereby establishing a ruling dynasty.

However, in the Northern Territories, as established by Wolseley the chiefs were not of the blood of the land. The first arrivals of the chief families seized and slew the *tindana*¹⁷² of the land to usurp overlordship. Before the establishment of the chief family, the family head of a unit or household was the leader in the Northern Territories. Similarly, the Ga tribes on the Coast, who are not part of the Akan-speaking group, were not one people. Their six coastal towns were each independent with their territories and unique set of customs. There was never a paramount chief. They were just clusters of extended families who formed discrete settlements and lived by farming. The head of each settlement functioned also as the head of its religious rites which were purely agricultural. Their amalgamation into towns was purely for protection when slave-raiding became rife and their farming settlements were imperilled with extermination.¹⁷³ So began the Ga state with the coastal towns of Tema, Nungua, Labadi, Teshi, Osu, and Accra united under the authority of the *Mantse*.

Attached to the office of the king is the state council or council of elders. It constitutes the councillors to the king. This if you like, is the legislative arm of the traditional society. According to Hayford men of this council were selected by “their experience in political and judicial matters by the head of the community to assist him with their counsel in the affairs of the community”. The other subordinate chiefs were ex-officio members of the council, and the king may include other men such as captains, headmen, or otherwise competent men to help with deliberations. The councillors hold their office for life.¹⁷⁴ This council represented the voice of the people. It formulated and enacted laws concerning the welfare of the people. The king respects it and likewise, the body pays homage to him. It has the

¹⁷¹ Casely Hayford, “Gold Coast Native Institutions with Thoughts Upon a Healthy Imperial Policy for the Gold Coast and Ashanti”, p. 19.

¹⁷² Alan Cardinal Wolseley, “The Natives of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast”, p. 16.

¹⁷³ “Stool Palavers in the Ga State”, 1938. **1A No. 1246/31/S.F.13**, in CSO 21/4/18, PRAAD, p. 1.

¹⁷⁴ Casely Hayford, “Gold Coast Native Institutions with Thoughts Upon a Healthy Imperial Policy for the Gold Coast and Ashanti”, p. 73.

authority to call the king to account should he defy established laws and customs and could demand his deposition.

Next in line after the state, is a province of such a state, which also consisted of several towns and villages and whose principal town or capital is the town of the head chief. The head chief is next to the king. However, in terms of rank the *Tufuhin*, Captain-General, and head of the military system of the community, is next in rank to the king.¹⁷⁵ Next came the other towns, villages, and hamlets of the province, headed by headmen. The head of each of these provinces and towns pays the king the highest deference, for as Hayford stated, he is “*the arbiter in cases of dispute between two provinces within his State, and his ruling was always and generally obeyed; he never directly interferes in the internal government of a province, but he can bring external pressure to bear in suitable cases*”.¹⁷⁶ A unique feature of the Fanti towns upon the sea coast is that their towns were divided into wards, and those residing within these divisions are formed into companies, *Asafu*, who have their distinctive flags, drums, and other equipment.¹⁷⁷

The *Asafu* or Company System is found among nearly all the Akan-speaking communities. In several of the larger towns, there were as many as seven, but the Elmina state had ten and Eguafu had nine such companies. Every Fanti or every Akan belongs to some *Asafu* on the father’s side as he or she belongs to some *Ebusua* (Clan) on the mother’s side. As an institution, the *Asafu* is constituted of both men and women. The principal officers of each *Asafu* are usually the *Supi* (one or two) and *Safuhin* (two or more). A *Supi* is a chief captain, who is generally an elderly person of some competence, whilst the *Safuhin* is a junior captain and assists the *Supi* to control the members. Each *Asafu* also has *Asafu-Mpanyin* (elders), *Bombaa* (provosts), *Asikanmbahin* (head of the supporters of the Company’s flags), and *Asikanmbafu* (supporters of the flags), *Frankakita* (flag bearers), *Kyirema* (drummer), *Dwintufu* (singing leader) and *Abrafu* (executioners).¹⁷⁸ In the coast towns, each company is represented on the *Oman* council by a *Supi* or other *Safuhin*. In some instances, the whole of the Company is represented by the *Tufuhin* (Captain-General). These companies form themselves into wings during battles. The known wings were: *Dontsin* or

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid*, p. 65.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 22-23.

¹⁷⁷ Brodie Cruickshank, “Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast of Africa: including an account of the Native Tribes, and their intercourse with Europeans”, p. 245.

¹⁷⁸ *ARG* 2/1/13, “The Gold Coast Chiefs List, 1928-29”, PRAAD, p. 3.

Adonten (the main army, with Twafu or Tuaful as the Van); *Nyimfa* or *Nifa* (right flank); *Benkum* (left flank); and *Nkyidom* (reserve or rear army).¹⁷⁹

During council meetings in towns along the coast, headmen of the companies sit in the council as judges with the chief representing their division, in addition to other town elders. Cruickshank, a British administrator on the Gold Coast had attempted to explain what it was that they do in council. In his words, these headmen and elders appeared “*to be the official representatives of the town, and wear, as a badge of office, a very rusty broad-brimmed straw hat, with a huge wisp of grass for a band. ... Their duty, properly speaking, is to look after the police of the town, to suppress nuisances in the street, to clean the paths and roads in its neighbourhood, and to promulgate the edicts of the chief and his counsellors, as well as any other notice which it is necessary to make public. It is also part of their duty to perform, on behalf of the town, certain ceremonial rites connected with their superstitious observances at stated seasons of the year*”.¹⁸⁰ The democratic character of this sitting was vivid in Cruickshank’s observations, for in addition to official members of the council, he postulated that “*any person of respectability assumes the right of attending councils and of assisting in the settlement of palavers, which, if the subject be of much general importance, are conducted in the open air, and in the presence of as many as it pleases to attend. On such occasions, anyone, even the most ordinary youth, will offer his opinion or make a suggestion with an equal chance of its being as favourably entertained as if it proceeded from the most experienced sage*”.¹⁸¹

Loyalty to the king is paramount for all provincial chiefs and people of the state. The chiefs were required to respond to the summons of the king either by day or night. The headmen with huge responsibility were the heads of a village community, a ward in a township, or a family. They were influential because they dealt directly with the common people. Loyalty to traditional authority was taught at this level. For instance, with regards to the head of a family, Hayford asserted that he was “to train up his wards in the ways of loyalty and obedience to the powers that be”, to conform “with the customs, laws, and traditional observances of the community with the assistance of female members of the family”, i.e., either the aunts, sisters, cousins or the nieces of the headman.¹⁸² Also, he

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid*, p. 4.

¹⁸⁰ Brodie Cruickshank, “Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast of Africa: including an account of the Native Tribes, and their intercourse with Europeans”, p. 250.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid*, p. 251.

¹⁸² Casely Hayford, “Gold Coast Native Institutions with Thoughts Upon a Healthy Imperial Policy for the Gold Coast and Ashanti”, p. 77.

supervised sanitary arrangements of the ward by getting the womenfolk “to sweep out the whole ward, with women of each family doing the cleaning up to their portion of the ward”.¹⁸³ The menfolk were not exempt. They engaged in heavy work necessary for their wards. Thus, the head of the family is the domestic judge and settles disputes between members and wards.

One other important institution in the organization of the traditional society is the Linguist. All chiefs have linguists. According to Hayford, the linguist “*is the repository or a walking encyclopaedia of all traditional knowledge and information in connection with the stool under which he serves*”.¹⁸⁴ He is well-versed with the functions of the state and plays crucial roles during the enstoolment of a new chief. His office is often hereditary. He is the ‘mouth’ of the chief or king. The latter speaks at public functions through his linguist. He is present at all council meetings, and during arbitration, he presents the case involved to the parties and before members of the council, and once a verdict had been reached, he further conveys the edict or command of the king and the council to those concerned.

At the base of the structure stood the people. Before the abolition of the slave trade by Order in Council in 1874, Hayford roughly divided the inhabitants of the Gold Coast into two echelons: “freemen and slaves or pawns”.¹⁸⁵ The freeman traced his origin to his ancestors, who were the aborigines of the country, up to a remote materfamilias. He was eligible for any important office in the body politic, and he could always hold up his head among his fellows, however poor his condition. Hayford said they “formed the bulk of the people”.¹⁸⁶ Slaves were ranked the lowest. When a slave obtained his freedom, he was holistically embraced into society and could own private property. Family heads sometimes pawned their members for loans from other families or individuals in the same community. Until repayment had been completed the family member remained in servitude under another family head. Hayford opined that the system of pawns was practiced “among persons of the same community when they were sorely pressed and wanted aid”. In such cases, “the uncle pledged his nephew, or his niece, for a sum of money, with a proviso for redemption upon the first opportunity”.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸³ **Ibid**, p. 110.

¹⁸⁴ **Ibid**, p. 69.

¹⁸⁵ **Ibid**, p. 81.

¹⁸⁶ **Ibid**, pp. 81-82.

¹⁸⁷ **Ibid**, pp. 82-83.

The *Oman* in a nutshell was tripartite and fully representative. It was constituted¹⁸⁸ in brief, by:

- a) The Paramount Chief, principal male (and female) elders of his blood group, principal members of the household body or bodyguard, known as the Gyase, including the Ankobia and the children and grandchildren of the Stool, that is to say, all people who are collectively known as the bogyadom and the gyasidom;
- b) The principal chiefs, important subordinate chiefs, principal members of their respective bogyadom and gyasidom (blood groups and household groups); and
- c) The rest of the community not falling within either (a) or (b), generally regarded as the Asafo or common people with their various leaders.

The *Asafo* is the largest section of the community, and the term ‘Asafo’ is regarded as synonymous with the term *Oman*; however, it is seen that the latter is more comprehensive and includes everyone. Thus, the *Oman* had a tripartite character in the form of the *Ohene*, his *elders*, and *Asafo*. This was confirmed by the Joint-Provincial Councils’ Report, which stated that “*Oman wotaa no mukyia miensa*”, i.e., the state can only be securely established on three legs or hearthstones. This constitution of the *Oman* makes it easy, in case of a misunderstanding or dissension arising between any two sections, for the third and generally neutral party, to intervene and offer the olive branch. It went further to state that the maxim governing the issue is: *se baanu rekõ a dza otsia ebiasã no ye patafo*, i.e. when two are fighting the third party must be the peacemaker.¹⁸⁹

There was an important development that requires mention. According to Johnson, up to 1872, i.e., the time of the Fanti Confederation, in all the treaties with Britain and other historical records of the government, the title “King” was applied to the head or paramount native rulers and corresponded to the African term “Omanhene”. However, following the failure of the Confederation¹⁹⁰ in the land legislation, the attitude of the colonial government changed regarding the usage of this title. The people of Cape Coast, who by the Bond of

¹⁸⁸ “Interpretation of Section 9 and 13 of the Native Administration Ordinance”, 4 September 1936, file 20A in “*REPORTS OF 1938 SUB-COMMITTEE*”, **File No. 102/34**, 1936, pp. 1-12, enclosed in CSO 21/4/37, PRAAD, p. 2.

¹⁸⁹ **Ibid**, p. 3.

¹⁹⁰ J.W. de Graft Johnson, “Towards Nationhood in West Africa: Thoughts of Young Africa addressed to Young Britain”, p. 40.

1844 had given the British the right to adjudicate their internal affairs once approached Pope Hennessey, the Governor-in-Chief with a memorial in which among other things they prayed for his sanction for the election of a new king for Cape Coast, he replied as follows:

*“As your friend, I could not approve of the re-election of any Chief bearing the title of King. The title of King is a European one, not suited for the leading native authority in a place like this. If, however, you would wish to select a headman, who might be useful both to you and the Government, as the highest native authority at Cape Coast, I would gladly recommend Her Majesty’s Government to grant your request, and to ratify the choice you might make”.*¹⁹¹

The above-cited incident was not the first of its kind on the Gold Coast. In 1865, Governor Pine refused to recognize King Aggrey, the king of Cape Coast any longer as king, because the latter claimed jurisdiction upon the ground within a few yards of the British forts. Some months later Colonel Conran, administering the government in place of Governor Pine, made a prisoner of King Ortabil of Goomoah, who had made war on another king in the Protectorate; and went on to arrest Aggrey a few weeks later, ‘shipping’ him off at the end of 1866 to Sierra Leone with the sanction of the Home Government, and allowed him a pension of £100 for life.¹⁹² These were the imperial tactics employed by the Crown and its officers in disposing of very powerful native kings, whom they regarded as threats to British imperialist motives on the colony.

3.2. Making of the Omanhene/Paramount Chief

Thus, in nearly every native state, the Omanhene, or the Paramount Chief stood at the head of the state as the chief magistrate and chief military leader.¹⁹³ He is the persona of the state in all its intercourse with the outside world. The state, as demonstrated above, is an aggregation of units of families, communities, villages, towns, divisions, or sub-divisions administered by hierarchical councils. So that the *omanhene*’s office stands at the zenith of

¹⁹¹ **Ibid**, p. 41.

¹⁹² Capt. H. Brackenbury & Capt. G. L. Huyshe, “Fanti and Ashanti...”, pp. 34-35.

¹⁹³ Casely Hayford, “Gold Coast Native Institutions with Thoughts Upon a Healthy Imperial Policy for the Gold Coast and Ashanti”, p. 32.

the hierarchy. Some of the titles¹⁹⁴ of these officeholders in the colony and the protectorates used by the tribes include:

Omanhene (people of Akan origin)
Mantse (Ga and Adangme)
Fia (Ewe and Krepi)
Konor (Krobo)
Boi Koro (Mo)
Nakaragu (Nanumba)
Ejudele (Adele)
Wurubong (Nawuri)
Owura (Nchumuru)
Ewura (Eastern Gonja)
Osurowura (Adjuati)
Na (Mole-Dagbani)

There are other titles for the different ilk of functions including military divisions, headman of a village, deputy for an *omanhene*, a village or family elder, war headman, etc., associated with the *omanhene*'s office. Nonetheless, some of the most important figures are the Gyasehene, with whom is usually the Ankobeahene (head of the head chief's bodyguard), and the *ohemaa* (queen-mother), i.e., Stool mother or head of all the females of a state or division. The Gyasehene is the chief captain of the head chief's household guard and is involved in the making or selection of a paramount chief. The largest political kingdoms to have been established on the Gold Coast, i.e., Asante, Gonja, and Dagomba all had two types of offices requiring the election of office holders. Arhin has grouped them into (a) royal stools, headships of political units, the state, division, or village; and (b) service stools, headships of administrative units.¹⁹⁵ However, the object of this section is to look at how paramount chiefs or *amanhene* assume their office within the context of the Akan groups.

The *omanhene* is elected, and he could be removed if he abuses his authority and the tradition or customs of the state. Under the old customary law of Asante for instance, a would-be *omanhene* must satisfy or suit the following criteria¹⁹⁶ for a Stool:

¹⁹⁴ See for example, "The Gold Coast Chiefs List, 1928-1929", in **ARG 2/1/13**, PRAAD, p. 1.

¹⁹⁵ Kwame Arhin, "The Political System of Ghana". Lagos: Ford Foundation, Project No. 34, 2002, pp. 52-53.

¹⁹⁶ **ARG 2/2/69**, CONFIDENTIAL, "Declaration of Native Law and Custom", 1953, pp. 1-7, PRAAD, p. 2.

1. To be eligible for a Stool a candidate must be a member of the royal family to the Stool.
2. He must not have been circumcised.
3. He must not suffer from blindness or deafness or dumbness or leprosy, or epilepsy.
4. He must not be maimed.
5. He must not be impotent.

Royals, who are potential candidates for a Stool could see that right forfeited if they make improper advances to Stool wives, or if they are jailed for any offence involving dishonesty or gross immorality,¹⁹⁷ or aided and abetted with others to commit such offences. There are three stages involved in the process. These are (i) nomination; (ii) election; and (iii) installation.

3.2.1. The Nomination Stage

Royal family members are qualified for the position of the *omanhene*. Asante has eight clans or *abusua*, and the Asantehene is usually from the Oyoko clan, one of the oldest, if not the oldest clan. Once a Stool becomes vacant the council of elders asks the queen-mother, through the *Gyasehene*, for a candidate. All vacant stools must be filled within forty days of becoming vacant. However, if the Golden Stool becomes vacant for forty days without an heir apparent, it then becomes the duty of the *Mamponghene* to “*query the Kumasi Chiefs and charge them with neglect of duty if possible*”. He then ensures that a candidate is elected before he returns to Mampong.¹⁹⁸ It must be made clear that the queen-mother herself is elected by a chief for his stool. That is, the incumbent *omanhene*, elects a queen-mother upon the demise of one. She consults the *Gyasehene* with her nominee because he is in direct contact with public opinion and could speak to the character of the nominee and the public’s perception of the chosen candidate. Once the *Gyasehene* has informed the queen-mother, a day is then set for the meeting of the *Oman* or state by elders of the state council at which they formally ask the queen-mother for a candidate for the Stool.

¹⁹⁷ Some of the offences regarded as dishonest and immoral by the State Council, include stealing, robbery, burglary, housebreaking, false pretences, all kinds of frauds, personation, forgery, blackmail, rape, defilement of females, incest, counterfeiting, perjury, and practising noxious or poisonous or offensive juju. See for example, **ARG 2/2/69**, CONFIDENTIAL, “Declaration of Native Law and Custom”, p. 5.

¹⁹⁸ **Ibid**, p. 5.

She appears at the meeting in person to announce the name of her nominee if she has found one or she can do so by proxy if she is incapacitated. However, if she appears before the council without a nominee, she could ask for an extension to make up her mind. In this case, she is usually given a week to decide.

Once the stipulated period is up and she comes up with a nominee, the elders who constitute the electoral body will meet to approve the candidate if there are no doubts about the person's eligibility and character. However, in the event of any opposition from members of the royal family, the disagreement is dealt with in camera. After which, the nominated candidate would be asked to pacify those whom he had genuinely offended. Furthermore, if the objection comes from individual members of the state, and they are personal, they would be dealt with privately. However, if such objections are on public grounds, the *Oman* Council takes over. Thus, the candidate is rejected if he is found guilty; but accepted if he manages to win against his complainants. The queen-mother has three chances of submitting and resubmitting a candidate. If all her chances result in the rejection of her nominated candidate(s), the *Oman* then assumes the right to select a suitable candidate from the royal family members.

In the case of *Mo* (this tribe is in the Kintampo and Bole districts) for instance, where the stool serves another stool, the elders need to obtain the approval of the senior chief for their candidate before proceeding with the public ceremony. The elders would present another candidate if the senior chief rejects their earlier candidate. However, if the senior chief's objection was on personal grounds and had nothing to do with the eligibility or character of the candidate, he is not rejected, but made to apologize and pacify the senior chief. Succession to the throne of *Mo* is a bit different from Asante or other Akan groups since *Mo* is a tributary State. Succession is patrilineal whilst that of Asante is matrilineal. In *Mo*, the *Asasewura* nominates a candidate for the stool, normally the oldest son of the former chief to occupy the stool. That right is extended to the next senior brother in line if the first one declines on grounds of age.

3.2.2. Election Stage

The next stage after selection or nomination is confirmed is for a day to be fixed for the election. The chief-elect is required to pay "aseda", thanks money, before taking the oaths of office to his people, who in turn pledge their allegiance to him. If the *omanhene* is

the head of one of the divisional Asante towns, he is obliged to take the oath of allegiance to the Asantehene, the supreme leader of the Asante dynasty. During the election of a divisional chief, the paramount chief is represented by his linguist; whilst at the election of a paramount chief, the Asantehene is represented by his linguist, in that hierarchy. However, at the election of the Asantehene, the *Amanhene* are represented by their linguists, and only the *Kokofuhene* attends the election of the Asantehene in person.

3.2.3. Installation Stage

Installation is the final stage of the enstoolment process. This is where the elected chief is physically put on the stool. Thus, by sitting physically on the stool, the *omanhene* assumes the right to fully exercise powers attached to the stool. Asantehene's installation is the most important in Asante traditions. During his installation, all the *Amanhene* are obliged to be physically present, not represented by their linguists. The Asantehene takes his oath of office before the firing of guns at Pampaso, Kumasi. After which all the *Amanhene* pledge their allegiance to him, in the form of oath-taking. The ceremony concludes with the Asantehene being physically put on the stool. It is worth noting that if two or more stools become vacant at the same time, the senior stool must be filled first.

3.3. Destoolment

Destoolment means removing the *omanhene* from the stool. For the removal of the *omanhene*, only those who enstooled him could de-stool him with the approval of the senior chief. In the past, the grounds for his removal commenced when charges are brought against him, which may include excessive drinking, adultery, dealing in a domineering way with his subjects, neglecting the advice of his counsellors, and getting in a rage and flogging the young men.¹⁹⁹ Such offences were regarded as damaging the respect for the state.

Although the queen-mother was actively involved in the nomination of a paramount chief, she has nothing to do with destoolment. Similarly, a royal or a stranger, i.e., someone not holding allegiance to the stool where he resides, has no role to play in destoolment directly or indirectly. Any royal who partook in rebellion against a chief "shall forfeit his

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 2.

right of succession to the stool”.²⁰⁰ Thus, the procedure for initiating destoolment before 1952 involved receiving the approval of the senior chief, who then summons a meeting of the elders. If the chief was found to have acted unsatisfactorily in his conduct, he was warned by the elders. Charges may then be brought against him if he continued to behave in the same unsatisfactory way after several warnings. If the charges were not too serious to warrant destoolment, the chief was made to apologize through an elderly person to the elders who after accepting the apology, received pacification. However, if the charges were serious and they were proven against the chief he was destooled. Furthermore, if a chief was acquitted of charges brought against him the malcontents were asked to drink fetish and renew their allegiance to him.²⁰¹ On the other hand, a chief might falsely be accused by individuals in a subversive way. In such instances, the individuals involved, once established that their accusations were unfounded, were beheaded in the olden days. The latter custom was later replaced with banishment from the division.

Some changes were made in the customary law by the state councils ordinance, 1952, precisely section 18 (2) concerning the enstoolment and destoolment of chiefs. The ordinance made clarifications to native customs to avoid ambiguities. For instance, it clarified what a vacant stool meant, and who the senior chief is, and made clear who the electors were. A stool could become vacant in three ways: upon the demise, abdication, or destoolment of a chief. Afterwards, the Krontihene (i.e., caretaker of the land, as the senior chief) or the next senior chief summons a meeting of the state, at which he sends the Gyasehene and a linguist to the queen-mother with this message: “*The Oman is assembled, and you are asked to give the name of your candidate for the Stool*”.²⁰² She then consults *gyase*, but it is her sole responsibility to nominate a candidate. The chosen candidate is accepted by the *Oman* if: (a) he is of unblemished character; (b) his pedigree is not challenged by any member of the Stool family, any member of the Wirempi or similar electoral body; and (c) he does not suffer from any tabooed physical disability.²⁰³ She could submit a candidate three times, but once rejected the *Oman* then selects a suitable candidate from the royal family members. The Asantehene is to be informed beforehand whenever a

²⁰⁰ **Ibid**, p.6.

²⁰¹ **Ibid**, pp. 2-3.

²⁰² “The State Councils (Ashanti) Ordinance, 1952, 30A-D”, 12 January 1953, pp. 1-4, in **ARG 2/2/69**, PRAAD, p. 1.

²⁰³ **Ibid**.

paramount chief is to be selected. Also, significant modifications were made to procedures leading to destoolment.

In lodging complaints against a chief, a subject must first report to his immediate stool elder or any other chief in his clan, division, or state who will take up the matter with the chief concerned. The issue would only be reported to the state council or the Asanteman Council if they failed to settle the matter privately. Under normal circumstances, it is only the *Ohene* who can summon a meeting of the state council. However, only when he refuses to do so because he is involved in a case to be discussed that the onerous falls on the next senior chief, who would inform the *ohene* anyway, and then convenes a meeting of the council. Also, if an elder or chief decides not to act after due process has been followed, the complainant can report in writing to the state secretary for the information of the state council. Likewise, if no action is taken by the state council, the matter is then reported in writing through the state council to the Asanteman Council,²⁰⁴ chaired by the Asantehene.

Thus, destoolment occurs if charges brought against a chief are proven. He suffers the consequences of his actions alone. Stool elders are exempt from the same fate unless individuals, who aided and abetted the chief in committing those offences. Hitherto any person who opposes the rule of an acquitted chief was made to drink fetish to renew their allegiance to him. However, under the modifications, such individuals are to be found “guilty of undermining” and are to be referred to an appropriate court. Furthermore, any royal who would induce or encourage the electorate to enstool him during the pendency of a dispute would “*be guilty of undermining and shall lose his right of succession to the stool*”.²⁰⁵

A destooled chief was to be reasonably compensated. A chief who suffers from blindness, deafness, dumbness, or becomes maimed whilst on the stool is not to be destooled but set aside and maintained by the stool. Conversely, those who suffer from leprosy or epilepsy are to be destooled and compensated.²⁰⁶ Irregularities in the deposition of chiefs were so rife in the colony that from about 1936, the chiefs called on the governor to make it compulsory for every state council to submit a list of the electors of the state to the government and the provincial council to make it difficult for any person to prefer charges against a paramount chief with a view to deposition. So that only the furnished individuals on the electors’ lists were to have that prerogative of initiating depositions against paramount

²⁰⁴ **Ibid**, p. 3.

²⁰⁵ **Ibid**, p. 3.

²⁰⁶ **Ibid**, p. 4.

chiefs. This led to the drafting of a questionnaire respecting procedure in the deposition of chiefs, termed “Form 6”. It contained a series of questions about states and their traditions and constituted the basis of the election and installation of chiefs.²⁰⁷ The chiefs found themselves in such situations because of their subordinate positions under the native administration system, which pushed them into competing with their subjects in moneymaking ventures. Thus, having established the hierarchical structure of the traditional society and how paramount chiefs come to take their positions, the next chapter will explore the religion of the *Oman* and how it coped when it encountered other creeds.

²⁰⁷ See for example **Appendix A**, “Form 6”, pp. 291-293.

CHAPTER FOUR

TO THE GOLD COAST FOR GOD

4.1. Fetishism

This section's theme is to exclusively explore the religion of the native states and their gods; how the gods proliferated from two original gods (the gods, Tando and Bobowissi), their shrines, and commercial values. With regards to the latter, the example of the Gare Fetish with its bye-laws is provided. The knowledge of God, if you like of whatever eminence, assessed at the level of thinking of the people and their civilization is a key fundamental doctrine of each and other religion known to mankind. For in every society, be it primitive or "civilized", man has evolved the notion of the *first cause*; that is society or man himself could not have come from nothing but created or came from a far superior or Supreme Being. Thus, when inhabitants look around them, they are hemmed by trees, rivers, forests, sea, birds, animals of different varieties, etc., and then they began to ponder; who made these things? Where did they come from? With what and how were they made? These kinds of cerebrations immediately introduce the concept of life and the soul into the minds of the people, for they cannot account for their coming into existence. The latter notion affirms the existence of a God, even in primitive societies.

African societies in their earliest histories believed in one Supreme Being. However, like the Catholic Christians who worship God through Jesus and Saints or the Protestants who regard Jesus as God himself or in some instances as the son of God, the Africans too believed God was far too great to be worshipped directly but must be worshipped through intermediaries. The intermediaries they chose differed from those of the Christians, for they resorted to smaller deities, who would convey their requests, wishes, and needs to God. It was no surprise then, that the Portuguese have been familiar with such lesser objects of worship in their own country, and applied the word, *feitiço*, for such objects in Africa during their era of voyages from about the fifteenth century, out of which the word "fetish" emerged. Thus, "fetish" is a European word of Portuguese derivative.

A fetish, as put forward by Ellis, "is something tangible and inanimate, which is believed to possess its power".²⁰⁸ No one knows the exact origin of fetishism on the Gold

²⁰⁸ A.B. Ellis, "The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa ...", p. 178.

Coast. The circumstances leading to the appearance and veneration of the deities keep changing with each passing generation. Religion occupies so important position in African societies. Its beliefs manifest daily in every facet of their daily life, customs, and thought, to the extent that even the cries of babies or the humming and chirping of birds are linked to some unseen forces either working for the benefit of the people or as a warning toward imminent destruction. Nothing happens through sheer coincidence. Nassau argued that this thinking of the Africans is not totally out of place. For the Africans believed that God, after creating the world and everything in it, retired to some remote corner of the universe, and allowed the affairs of the world to come under the control of evil spirits. Hence, instead of worshipping God, the Africans worshipped these spirits to court their favour or ward off the evil effects of their displeasure²⁰⁹ since the spirits were deputed by God to act concerning matters of the various localities.

Polytheism was dominant among the tribes. Even today, among the so-called Christianised communities of the coastal, forest, and interior regions, and some Muslim communities of the northern regions, traces of it abound. It is common to meet Muslims and Christians who still venerate these spirits, and who from time to time offer sacrifices to these spirits. A man goes to Church or Mosque every Sunday or every day in the case of the Muslim, but when his affairs become so difficult, he turns to these deities for assistance. These subordinate deities of *Nyame* or *Nyakopun* are believed to reside in seas, trees, fast-running streams, lakes, forests, and rocks. There are deities for a whole town, for a particular household, and for individuals.

On the Gold Coast, most of these spirits were malignant, and every misfortune is ascribed to their action. Each has its special name, with nearly similar characteristics. Some are male and some are female. The Akan tribes believed in the existence of several deities, upon whose favour or indifference man and his fate depend. Ellis has classified the Akan gods into four heads: 1) General Deities, which were few, and venerated by an entire tribe or by more tribes; 2) the Local Deities for inhabitants of certain towns, localities, or districts. They reside in rivers, sea, forests, and hills; 3) those worshipped by special families or town companies; 4) the Tutelary Deities of individuals,²¹⁰ whilst those belonging to the Ewe tribes on eastern Gold Coast were classified into three heads: 1) General Deities; that is gods

²⁰⁹ Robert Hamill Nassau, "Fetichism in West Africa: Forty Years' Observation of Native Customs and Superstitions". New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904, p. 39.

²¹⁰ A.B. Ellis, "The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa ...", pp. 10, 12, 17-18.

worshipped by the Ewe tribes as a whole; 2) Tribal Deities; that is those worshipped by one or more tribes, and 3) Local Deities; that is those found within particular towns or villages.²¹¹

Two gods were said to be the main gods on the Gold Coast before the proliferation of several gods in all locations. There existed the god *Tando*, who was worshipped by the northern tribes and Asante. It is by him that the various local deities are believed to have been appointed. His name means “Hater”, and *Tando* is the god of the river of the same name, located to the northwest of Kumasi. He is of human shape and in appearance resembles a mulatto. He wears long flowing robes and carries a sword in his hand. He is malignant. Human beings were sacrificed to him. He specially protected the Ashantis and kept them informed of the secret machinations of their enemies. The driver ants (*inkran*), which march in armies, are sacred to *Tando* and were not molested. He wields lightning and displays his anger through storms, pestilence, and floods. *Tando* has a wife, *Katarwiri*, the spirit of the river of the same name. She is also like a mulatto and very large stout. Women were sacrificed to her whenever her assistance was invoked, and the crocodiles of the river are sacred to her.²¹² *Bobowissi* is the other god. This god was worshipped by the southern tribes. Its residence is near Winneba. He too was believed to have appointed the local deities, the spirits of the woods, rivers, hills, valleys, and sea. He was the lord of thunder and lightning, and persons killed by the latter were believed to have provoked his anger. The god’s name means “blower of clouds” and thus, “rain-maker”. The great day of sacrifice to *Bobowissi* was termed *Kohbot* and fell at the end of August. Persons from all the western districts of the Gold Coast as far as Appollonia, as well as from the interior villages and towns of Fanti and Assin gather on this day. Human victims were sacrificed, and the image of the god and his stool were washed with their blood.²¹³

From the deputation of these two gods came the gods of the Cape Coast district, which included *Fohsu*, the chief deity, who supplies salt for her people; *Adzi-anim*; *Kottorkrabah*, *Djwi-j’ahnu*, *Mi-impahno*, “my beach” as the guardian of the landing-place at Cape Coast; marine gods including *Tahbi*, the chief god of the sea in Cape Coast; *Tahbi-yiri*, “Tahbi’s wife”; *Cudjo*, the god of a shoal or reef; *Ahtoli-enteffi*, “where someone spits”; *Abroh-ku*, “snake-like fish”²¹⁴ among others. Some of the gods of the Ewe tribes include *Mawu* “sky, firmament, rain, and is a proper name” and ranked first in their religious system;

²¹¹ A.B. Ellis, “The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa ...”, p. 30.

²¹² A.B. Ellis, “The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa ...”, pp. 32-33.

²¹³ *Ibid*, pp. 22-23.

²¹⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 39-40, 42-45.

Khebioso “a bird-like creature that is the lightning god and a flying one too; *Legba* the god exciting sexual desires, whose image is made of red clay and always entirely nude; *Dso* is the deity of fire’ *Anyi-ewo* is the rainbow-god, who manifests himself in the form of a serpent, and only appears when he is thirsty; *Huntin* and *Loko* are the gods of the indwelling of the silk-cotton and *odum* or poison trees respectively; *Aizan* is the protector of markets, public places, gates, and the doors of houses; *Hoho* is the tutelary deity of twins, and worshipped only by twins; and *Sapatan* is the small-pox god, who lives in deserts and hidden recesses of the forests. Flies and mosquitoes are his messengers.²¹⁵

The gods are worshipped in shrines. Most of these shrines are located deep in thick forests, on hilltops, and some along the coasts. Priests, priestesses, and in some instances human wives of the gods take care of the various shrines. The gods appeared regularly to their priests and priestesses. Priests and priestesses attend to the needs of the gods and convey their messages to individuals, villages, or towns in general. The priests kept the belief in these deities alive with their utterances of meeting the gods, predicting, or interpreting their omens, and the like. Chiefs of the various towns do not take these interpretations or utterances lightly and are followed by recommended sacrifices to appease the gods in case of offending them or making offerings to solicit favours.

The gods do not manifest openly for all to see but they possess their priest or priestess and speak through them. Observers could hear the priest or priestess speaking in another voice other than his or hers. The author had witnessed a priestess in a fetish dance in the town of Agona, some fifty minutes drive from Kumasi. The fetish dance starts with the beat of drums and incantations, and the priestess performs rituals to consult with the god. Sometimes liquor, fowl, eggs, the blood of animals, or mashed yams are offered to consult the god. The priestess wore a kilt of palm leaf fibre, with two long strings of beads cutting across each of the shoulders to the lower abdominal region. The face and body of the priestess were painted with white powder. The dance starts gradually with different movements but mostly included darting back and forth in a circle. The tempo of the dance increases when the spirit or god possesses the priestess. Once possessed the priestess spoke in a male voice if the spirit is male and vice versa, to convey the message to the locality.

²¹⁵ A.B. Ellis, “The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa ...”, pp. 31-32, 37, 41-42, 46-47, 49, 52.

The most interesting thing about these gods is that they could be shared with other localities with the approval of the priests. Once approved shrines deemed fit to the god would be created in a particular town, and members enlisted for it with the prescribed mode of worship not deviating from the source region or town. It is not just the borrowing, but they also have commercial value. A fixed amount of proceeds from such a venture would then be remitted to the hometown of the god. Worshippers are distinguished by wearing objects regarded as sacred to the god, this could be a ring, amulet, etc. They are worn for the protection of the god. This is a cult system, and they were numerous to recount all. However, the example of the *Gare Fetish* should suffice.

The commercial value of the shrines of Tigare played out in 1944 in Kwahu. Tigare is a native of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast. The mother fetish is at a place called Yerepada in the Northern Territories, from where an Ashanti man went and brought it to Wenchi. The fetish then extended to a place in Ashanti called Ampomadoa and subsequently to Nkwantanang. However, the Tigare fetish at Nkwantanang had no knife because the priest was unable to pay for the whole cost and as such the greater part of the profit realized went to the fetish owner at Ampomadoa and then to the Northern Territories. The fetish at Nkwantanang was owned by the *Kyidomhene* at Pepease. At the Nkwantanang shrine, the *Omanhene* received two shillings from the two shillings and six pence initiation fee charged from each applicant, which he shared with the *Kyidomhene* and the *Odikro* of Nkwantanang.²¹⁶ However, the decision of the *Omanhene* to “open another branch” of the shrine caused some consternation in Pepease, an event that invited the Gold Coast Police, the Secretary for Native Affairs’ Office, and the district commissioner.

The *Kyidomhene* and his people at Nkwantanang were alarmed by the *Omanhene*’s decision. They then decided to construct a motorable road from the shrine to the boundary of the Northern Scarp Forest Reserve (West Block), presumably hoping thereby to avoid the heavy loss of patronage which must occur if pilgrims to Nkwantanang had to walk for three hours or more on a difficult and hilly path after reaching road-head. The *Kyidomhene* informed then-acting D.C., G.F.A. Hibberd of his intention to apply for permission to cut the road through the Forest Reserve as soon as his line reached the boundary to build a practicable lorry road down the scarp from Pepease to Nkwantanang.²¹⁷ An investigation

²¹⁶ ARG 2/2/119. “Tigare Fetish, 1944”. **Letter No. 1645/C4/30**, “Tigare alias Gare Fetish”.

²¹⁷ **Ibid.**

was opened concerning the fears of the *Kyidomhene* and his people that patronage of their shrine would be affected should the *Omanhene* proceed to open a new shrine at Abetifi.

On 15 December 1944, the Gold Coast Police acting upon the directives of the district commissioner submitted a report on Tigare. According to the Sergeant in Charge, Tigare had a priest in Abetifi called Yaw Tawiah. Yaw Tawiah had brought the fetish to Abetifi from Yerepada. The cost of the whole fetish had been paid, thus, avoiding the prospects obtained to be sent to the Northern Territories. The fetish was exactly in form with the one at Nkwantanang. Its customs have been observed every 40 days or any other day as the priest may think fit. The paraphernalia of the fetish included a small bag containing the fetish, a stick, kola nuts, white clay, and a knife. The fetish started functioning and even enlisted over 8 persons before the shrine was established. A spacious place on the left on Nkwatia-Abetifi road had been cleared for the purpose. As there had been no shrine built yet the fetish was in the possession of Ntiri Amponsam, the *Adontenhene* of Abetifi. According to the priest, Yaw Tawiah, the fetish belonged to the *Omanhene* and the *Adontenhene* of Kwahu who deputed him to the far Northern Territories for the same.²¹⁸

The deity had some bye-laws, which the priest gave to persons who wanted to be enlisted. The priest would let the person go and think over the laws for three days; when the person was willing and desired to abide by the laws he will then kneel before the priest, pay 2 shillings and 6 pence, and will repeat after the priest the bye-laws in a form of prayer and at the conclusion, chew a kola-nut provided by the Priest. Some of the white clay was then designed on the forehead and the sides of the face for the common. Gentlemen and Christians had these designs on their chest and abdomen as having pledged themselves to the care and protection of the Tigare fetish. The bye-laws²¹⁹ were as follows:

1. Member shall not commit murder,
2. Member shall not practice witchcraft against his neighbour,
3. Member shall not curse,
4. Member shall not think evil against a friend,
5. Member shall not steal,
6. Member shall not bear false witness,

²¹⁸ ARG 2/2/119, Confidential. "Tigare Fetish – at Betifi". Gold Coast Police, Mpraeso, 15 December 1944, p. 1.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

7. Member shall not commit adultery.

Thus, the *Omanhene* of Kwahu was accused of imposing an unauthorized tax upon his people through the fetish once he decided to forge ahead with his Abetifi branch; an accusation he repudiated. He was also accused of allowing the worship of the fetish “Kunde”, which had been outlawed. Writing to the district commissioner on 17 January 1945, to explain his position, Nana Akuamoia Akyeampong, the *Omanhene* of Kwahu said: “... *I would like to explain on the outset that, speaking personally, I have no belief in any form of fetish as I have been a Christian throughout my life. I am therefore very sorry to observe that your letter seems to impute to me personally, the responsibility of “running” a prohibited fetish in the State. I strongly deny the idea because I would, if I possess the power, enforce the Christianisation of the whole of my subjects, but I believe that will be against one of the fundamental principles of British rule which allows every person the right to worship God according to his own religious inclinations*”.²²⁰

That’s the extent of the disagreement between *Omanhene* and *Kyidomhene*. An attempt was made to prevent the Abetifi shrine from being established. The *Omanhene* in his letter of 17 January further stated that “... *I am further aware that fetish “Tigare” is worshipped by thousands of people all over the Gold Coast and Ashanti and for quite a considerable number of years ago I have witnessed the adherents making (an) occasional pilgrimage to the cult centres at Nkwantanan within the State, Asuboasu and Nkaneku within the Nsuta Division in Ashanti and Tongo in the Northern Territories*”. He further added that “*in fact, this has become a national fetish of the people, and I have heard nothing deleterious about its practices.*” Concerning the initiation fee charge by the priest, he said “... *what I have been informed is that the fetish priest is to pay a percentage proportion of the initiation fee of 2 shillings and 6 pence to my Stool after obtaining permission from the senior priest at Ashanti. I further understand that the local priest has gone to Ashanti about 4 months ago to ask for the necessary sanction to pay this royalty but has not returned. I shall certainly direct that any fees due to my Stool be paid to the Treasury as soon as I hear news from the priest*”.²²¹

Despite the *Omanhene*’s strong Christian conviction and denial of supporting fetish worship, he procured the services of the Priest, Yaw Tawiah, and further paid all the cost to

²²⁰ ARG 2/2/119. **Letter No. 15/26/1930.** Nana Akuamoia Akyeampong’s letter to the Acting District Commissioner, “Tegare alias Gare Fetish”, 17 January 1945.

²²¹ **Ibid.**

obtain the fetish to Abetifi, including the knife, which gives the owner full authority over the fetish, from Yerepada. With the knife, all proceeds from followers now went directly to the *Omanhene* without any remittances to Yerepada in the Northern Territories; the competition the *Kyidomhene* of Pepease wanted to avoid. In a confidential correspondence from Hibberd on 12 May 1945, it was further understood that the Abetifi shrine was not the only shrine of the Tigare fetish. There was already an old shrine, which existed at Sadang, and another new shrine was said to have been recently opened at Obo. However, the commissioner reported that “*contrary to expectation, the establishment of these branch shrines does not appear to have affected the popularity of the Nkwantanang shrine in any way*”.²²²

This should offer some relief to the *Kyidomhene*, who after cleaning a line thirty feet broad from Pepease to the Northern Scarp Forest Reserve (West Block) in the direction of Nkwantanang to popularise his shrine and to maintain pilgrimage, had asked the *Omanhene*, under whose jurisdiction he falls to petition the government to permit him to build a road through the Forest Reserve to the shrine. The *Omanhene* did not comply with the request of the *Kyidomhene* because Hibberd stated that “*the Kyidomhene of Kwahu Pepease ... has long since requested the Omanhene to request the permission of Government to continue the road through the Forest Reserve, but I have received no communication from the Omanhene, and suspect that he wishes to extend the already existing Abene-Sadang Road to Nkwantanang instead*”.²²³ Tired of the back and forth with the *Omanhene*, the *Kyidomhene* himself according to Hibberd, travelled to the Nsuta district of Ashanti a few days ago to settle the terms of an agreement with the fetish priest there as to the exact percentage of fees which should be paid to the Kwahu native authority treasury, and it was hoped that one-third of the revenues collected by all the shrines in Kwahu would go to the treasury.²²⁴

4.2. Christian Missionaries on a ‘Civilising’ Mission

Writing in 1851, William Fox said “*the Africans are all ignorant, guilty and depraved, earthly, sensual and devilish, sitting in darkness in the region of the shadow of death, having no hope, and without God in the world*”.²²⁵ This assertion stemmed from the

²²² ARG 2/2/119. No. 967/65/1936. “Tigare Fetish”. District Commissioner’s Office, 1945, p. 1.

²²³ *Ibid.*

²²⁴ *Ibid.*

²²⁵ William Fox, “A Brief History of the Wesleyan Missions on the Western Coast of Africa”, p. 238.

parlous repercussions of the slave trade upon West African societies with its attendant bloodshed, barbarism, demoralization of existence in itself, the enmity between kins, and social destruction of the advancement of the people in general. To this end, these peoples of West Africa were deemed to be in dire need of guidance to be uplifted at least into the light of the “civilized” nations of Europe. Thus, it was thought that such an upliftment could only occur through the introduction of the civilizing precepts of Christianised Europe.

Before delving into how Christianity was introduced to the Gold Coast, it’s only prudent at this juncture to inquire into what constitutes civilization and its guiding principles. In doing so, William Cooke Taylor’s *Essay on the Natural History of Society in Barbarous and Civilized State* comes to mind. In this treatise, he set out to probe what the origin of civilization was in societies and the human tenets that held society together; how those principles were either perfected in others or corrupted on the other hand and applied to the growth and decline of states. Taylor posited that the state, as a society is founded on existing rights designed for man by his creator. It consisted of the duties and rights of members individually or collectively. In turn, these rights and duties are to be enforced by certain machinery, which he identified as the instrument of government. This instrument is to work in tandem with other principles: the principles of knowledge, which was viewed as society’s great principle since popular ignorance is perilous to every government, and security of obedience, which is to be found in the knowledge.²²⁶

Thus, civilization as an element of humanity does not create the principle, but controls and modifies its action as it advances until it’s accepted by all without conflict; to the extent that slavery replaces murder until a time they are recognized as men or brothers; or instead of brute force to decide disputes of nations, a tribunal is gradually set.²²⁷ He concluded that all human races stand an equal chance of being civilized because it’s the natural state of man, and barbarism is not “a state of nature” because there is no evidence for assuming it to be the original condition of man.²²⁸ He thus regarded progress in social life as the main function of civilization.²²⁹

²²⁶ W. Cooke Taylor, “The Natural History of Society in the Barbarous and Civilized State”. Vol 1. London: Longman, Orme Brown, Green, & Longmans, 1840, pp. 93-95.

²²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 130.

²²⁸ Philip D. Curtin, “The Image of Africa: British Ideas and Action, 1780-1850”. London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1964, p. 391.

²²⁹ W. Cooke Taylor, “The Natural History of Society in the Barbarous and Civilized State”, pp. 4-5.

Acting upon the latter belief, Harry Johnston classified the world's people into two: the supposed "civilized" nations whom he termed as the forward people and the backward or un-progressive people. He considered the people, races, and nations of the Christian and Jewish religions as those having the power of enforcing their will on the rest of humanity.²³⁰ Based on this classification, he further clustered the civilization and cultures of the world into seven categories considering the following factors: religion, education (especially knowledge concerning astronomy, the history, and geography of the planet), standard of living, respect for sanitation, infant death rate, bodily strength, manner of government, regard for law and order, position in agriculture and manufactures.²³¹ Almost the entire African continent was regarded as backward, except in white South Africa. Except for Uganda, Abyssinia, and Madagascar, the rest of the backward people were not Christian.

Against the backdrop of this, European Christians regarded Christianity as the source of their progress and change and sort to transmit its ideals to non-Christian societies. They considered societies beyond Europe and those which did not imbibe European civilization as barbarous societies in need of an exorcism. In the mid-nineteenth century, the urge to civilize non-western nations increasingly emerged as a new trend in Western political thought, beginning with the Abolitionists and Missionaries. The missionaries in particular, according to Curtin, believed that somehow "paganism" caused "barbarism" and blamed traditional African polytheism "for the failings of West African" societies.²³² They viewed African "barbarism" as a "natural" condition that could be changed only with "artificial" stimulation from outside by relying on civilizing programs that included a combination of British law, trade, economic development, and religious and secular education.²³³ When the various missionary societies started trooping in for their mission in West African societies, they first and foremost were against the practice of slavery (although slavery was abolished in the UK in 1807, it was abolished on the Gold Coast in 1874), brought with them education for the natives, opposed polygamy in traditional African societies, opposed African deities and human sacrifice.

²³⁰ Harry Johnston, "The Backward Peoples and our Relations with them". London: H. Milford Oxford University Press, 1920, p. 7.

²³¹ *Ibid*, p. 7; For a complete list of the countries in each of these categories, see for example, Harry Johnston, "The Backward Peoples and our Relations with them", p. 8.

²³² Philip D. Curtin, "The Image of Africa: British Ideas and Action, 1780-1850", pp. 406-407.

²³³ *Ibid*, p. 419.

The over 400 years connection of West Africa with so-called civilized Europe has been a purely commercial one,²³⁴ leaving the Africans susceptible to the material gods of the white man, as embodied in the trinity of imperialism, capitalistic exploitation, and militarism.²³⁵ Dennis Kemp, in his journal, confirms this assertion on the Gold Coast. He said: *“The Gold Coast Government staff were said to be without feelings, particularly to the period up to 1852. The native existed only to satisfy the greed of England’s representatives. Until the abolition of slavery in 1807 not one single lasting benefit was conferred upon the people, but a few isolated advantages on individuals”*.²³⁶ Thus, under the new venture, the merchants on the Gold Coast constantly demanded missionaries to provide training and impart knowledge to the natives to augment their activities. When the missions arrived, they focused first on industry and education and received support from the colonial government.

The burning questions to ask are, how did Christianity spread on the coast among motley tribes that were called heathens or barbarians? Did the traditional rulers readily accept the alien religion? Was it imposed on individuals and societies, or it was accepted at their prerogative? How accurate was the account of the practice of human sacrifice? About the first question, Christianity was introduced into the colony in about 1481. The king of Portugal sent some priests as missionaries to Elmina out of which knowledge of Christianity and civilization started to disseminate to other parts of the territory. However, by 1723 nothing was ever heard from the Portuguese mission.²³⁷ These early missionaries were stationed on the coast in their countries’ respective forts. In 1751 an Anglican Church mission was attempted with Reverend Thomas Thompson who had to return to England due to failing health after only four years on the Gold Coast. In 1756, he took with him to England three native youths to have them educated and trained as missionaries. Two of them died in England, and the third, Philip Quacoe spent nine years in London and Oxford. He was said to have graduated from Oxford and was ordained. From 1765 when he came back to Cape Coast, he served as chaplain there for over fifty years, until he died in 1816.²³⁸

However, it was not until 1828 that the next phase of serious mission activities started. It commenced with the foundation of the Basel evangelical mission in 1828 after obtaining authorization from the king of Denmark to inaugurate Christian missions in the

²³⁴ George Macdonald, “The Gold Coast, Past and Present ...”, p. 316.

²³⁵ Edmund Denne, “The Black Man’s Burden”. Manchester: The National Labour Press, Ltd., 1920, p. 9.

²³⁶ Dennis Kemp, “Nine Years at the Gold Coast”, p. 14.

²³⁷ **Ibid**, p. 24.

²³⁸ **Ibid**, p. 25; George Macdonald, “The Gold Coast, Past and Present ...”, p. 319.

Danish protectorate of the Gold Coast colony, first at Christiansborg on the coast, and later into the interior, with Akropong, the capital of Akwapim, as the headquarters of the mission. Due to the severity of the climate with its accompanied high mortality among the missionaries, Mr. Riis, one of the earliest surviving missionaries, in company with Mr. Widmann proposed to introduce from the West Indies some of the liberated Christian Africans to assist in establishing the mission on the Gold Coast. To that end, they brought twenty-four of them from Jamaica to assist. It's worth noting that, the missionaries were well received by the natives of Akwapim upon their arrival. In about 1847, the mission opened a preparatory school at Akropong to train native assistants for the mission. Mr. Mohr, who arrived in 1847, erected good houses as mission stations and used the West Indians in the formation of coffee plantations and other produce.²³⁹

In the early years of this Basel missionary enterprise, the missionaries preached only to Danish officers, mulattoes, and mulatto children at Christiansborg, where a school had been opened. In 1848 there were about forty native Christians, twenty West Indians, and some three hundred children receiving regular instruction. From 1858 the crowded nature of the Christiansborg school led to the establishment of new stations including Aburi, Abokobi, Kyebi, Begoro, Addah, Abetifi, Odumase, etc., resembling well-organized Christian schools in Denmark. Thus, at the end of 1858, the mission had three hundred and eighty-five members, with some ninety candidates for baptism. A decade later, there were thirty-one missionaries, nineteen ladies, twenty-five catechists, fifteen schoolmasters, twelve female teachers, fifty-two native assistants, and one thousand five hundred and eighty-one regular church members.²⁴⁰ However, by January 1879 the total population of individuals of the mission including agents of the mission (European missionaries, missionary ladies, deacons or native pastors, Christian teachers, female teachers, catechists, and evangelists), those under the care of the mission (children, communicants, non-communicants, members, catechumens), and those in schools (boarding school boys/girls, Christian boys/girls visiting the schools, heathen boys/girls visiting the schools, middle school, training institution, theological seminary) stood at nine thousand seven hundred and thirty-one.²⁴¹

The mission engaged in trade and set up a Trade Society based on Christian principles. It was a joint stock company working for the benefit of the mission and its

²³⁹ George Macdonald, "The Gold Coast, Past and Present ...", pp. 320-322.

²⁴⁰ Otto Schott, "The Basel Mission on the Gold-Coast, West Africa". Basel: Felix Schnieder, 1879, pp. 6, 8-10.

²⁴¹ *Ibid*, p. 48.

operations in the colony.²⁴² With this enterprise, they were able to invest more in schools and other industries of the mission on the coast. They opened boarding schools and day schools in almost all the districts where they operated for both boys and girls. The boys and girls of the boarding schools were instructed in handiwork, the girls, especially in sewing. A great number of the children under instruction were either orphans or belonged to heathenish families or children of unconverted parents.²⁴³ At these schools, most of the boys could obtain apprenticeships in a mercantile business or a government office; whilst others may become farmers or learn a trade in the industrial establishments for instance as wheelwrights, locksmiths, blacksmiths, shoemakers, and book-binders, still, others could become teachers or catechists by entering Teachers' Training School or Theological Seminary respectively.²⁴⁴ The boarding school system made it easier for these children to be indoctrinated into the ideals of the mission without parental interference.

It must be pointed out that education in the Basel mission was not free. The natives who wished to have their children educated were bound to bear expenses for it. According to the missionary report, there was a fixed sum for the pupils of the boarding schools, and middle schools, and there was a projection for the seminarists and training scholars to also contribute to the expenses of their studies.²⁴⁵ The mission needed funds to pay for its realty because land for establishing missionary stations was not obtained for free, but they were purchased from the traditional authorities. In addition to the sums obtained from pupils, the mission charged a regular church fee every year to meet wants regarding the building or repair of chapels, schoolhouses, the dwelling of pastors, teachers, etc., and free donations were expected too. The funds were to be used to pay the salaries of those who worked for the society.²⁴⁶

Credit must be given where it is due. The Basel society, in its attempt to disseminate its message among the native people, chose two of the main vernacular tongues, the Ga and Twi, to become written languages. They went further to translate the Bible into these two languages, produced a series of grammar and hymn books, and translated other Christian books into these languages. However, as members of the society surged, the mission sought to moderate the lives of Christian natives and pitched them against their non-Christian kin.

²⁴² George Macdonald, "The Gold Coast, Past and Present ...", p. 326.

²⁴³ Otto Schott, "The Basel Mission on the Gold-Coast, West Africa", pp. 11-12.

²⁴⁴ **Ibid**, pp. 12-13.

²⁴⁵ **Ibid**, pp. 32-33.

²⁴⁶ **Ibid**, p. 19.

For instance, a period came when the mission appointed elders to settle minor cases of jurisdiction, adapted church regulations became the standard of life in communities of Christian natives, and subdued polygamy and domestic slavery.²⁴⁷ The society in 1874/5 during the British campaign against Asante, offered several native Christians as soldiers under the division of Sir John Glover. The catechists were not left out but allowed to accompany them as pastors. Also, the different artisans in the congregations and industrial establishments were made to render all kinds of services to the army.²⁴⁸

British victory against Asante paved the way for the constitution of the Gold Coast colony. Subsequently, by order of the Queen, Governor Sir G. C. Strahan abolished slavery in the colony; a success of which the Basel mission claimed a share. The role of the mission in the war attracted a government grant of £100 a year for the Basel mission's schoolwork and construction, as well as the repair of roads to the interior. A regular letter post between Christiansborg and Odumase (a missionary station) facilitated intercourse between the interior and the coast.²⁴⁹ Tropical Africa was called the "white man's grave" in the period before the discovery of quinine. Europeans were susceptible to malaria and lots of them died within a few days or weeks of arrival. In fact, between 1828-1878, about thirty-nine European missionaries of the Basel mission died on the Gold Coast, in addition to about seventeen other missionary ladies of the mission up to 1878.²⁵⁰

The missionary enterprise was the by-product of the abolition of the slave trade. The Basel mission society was not the only society to operate on the Gold Coast. The Wesleyan mission started at Cape Coast in about 1834, and by the latter part of the nineteenth century had established churches in every town of the coast and the interior districts of Wassaw, Assin, Adansi, Ashanti, Akim, and Peki. They were followed by the North German mission, which started its operations in 1847 in the eastern part of the Gold Coast colony and the western part of the neighbouring German colony of Togoland; the Roman Catholic mission was also established at Elmina in 1881 with important centres at Cape Coast, Anomabu, Saltpond, and Accra.²⁵¹ The Catholic mission by 1896 had established sixteen schools that included boys' schools from standard I to standard VII, girls' school, and an infant school, whose pupils amounted to two hundred and fifty boys and girls combined; whilst the

²⁴⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 10-11.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p. 16.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p. 17.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 45-46.

²⁵¹ Dennis Kemp, "Nine Years at the Gold Coast", p. 26.

Wesleyan mission had fifty-three schools, the Government had six and the Basel mission had forty. Thus, by 1896 there was a total of one hundred and ninety-eight schools on the Gold Coast; one hundred and fifteen of them were inspected schools, which received a government grant, and some eighty-three other schools belonging to the various missions that were not in receipt of a government grant.²⁵²

It's fascinating how the Wesleyan society started on the coast. It began upon the request of a group of a few young, educated natives on the coast, led by William de Graft. The group had requested copies of the Bible from England to enable them to peruse the ethos and assertions of the Christian religion. De Graft was said to have presented this request to Captain Potter, a merchant, who frequented the Gold Coast. Upon a series of interactions, Captain Potter resolved to get them the Bible and a missionary on his next visit.²⁵³ In 1834 upon this promise, Joseph Dunwell was sent to the colony and later other missionaries of the society followed suit. However, it was the advent of Mr. Thomas B. Freeman in 1838 that changed the narratives of the Wesleyan society. His journey into the heart of the Asante kingdom in 1839 took the missionary's activities to a greater height.

Mention must be made of Mr. Cannell, who took it upon himself to learn Fanti, one of the dominant coastal languages, and to procure for it a literary basis by producing it in a script. At that time nothing of written literature existed in the south. This was followed by a dictionary to secure the spelling of words, a books depot, and then the publication of the Gospels in Fanti with the help of the Reverend A.W. Parker, an African minister of the British and Foreign Bible Society.²⁵⁴ It must be noted that the missions were most successful along the coast, especially among the Fanti tribes, which have had long contact and interactions with Europeans, and with the English language fairly used among the populace. The Wesleyan mission in its early years set up Sunday schools to teach Christian ideas and the English language to the natives. Between 1887 and 1896 the Wesleyan mission had extended north, west, and east, and had established one hundred and eleven chapels funded by native funds. The population of the society in 1896 included four European missionaries, twenty-three natives, two hundred and sixty-three catechists, and day-school teachers, seven thousand six hundred and sixty-four church members, five thousand four hundred and ten junior members, three thousand three hundred and eighty-seven catechumens, eleven

²⁵² George Macdonald, "The Gold Coast, Past and Present ...", pp. 331-332, 334.

²⁵³ *Ibid*, p. 330.

²⁵⁴ G.G. Findlay & W.W. Holdsworth, "The History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society". Vol IV. London: The Epworth Press, 1922, pp. 183-184.

thousand nine hundred and eighty-four Sunday scholars, and five thousand seven hundred and forty-three day-scholars.²⁵⁵

From 1885 the Society began to introduce measures against the polygamous attitude of the natives and restricted its members from marrying non-Christian natives. Polygamy was said to be rife in the social condition of Africa. Free men, when they have the means, immediately resorted to a plurality of wives. According to William Fox, some private individuals had six, eight, or even ten wives, and many concubines; whilst the higher classes and the native chiefs took wives almost without number.²⁵⁶ In that year, the Wesleyan synod reached a decision not to allow Church members to marry a heathen man or woman; no woman church member was to be allowed to marry a man who had a wife; no man having more than one wife was to be admitted as a Church member; wives of polygamists were to be investigated and with the final decision to admit them into church fellowship left with the superintendent minister.²⁵⁷ The latter decision was arrived at because of arranged or forced marriages in which brides were not consulted before marriage.

In 1890 the Synod made the following recommendations to regulate marriages of native members: first, the *“perfect mutual agreements of the parties proposing to marry”* was to be *“imperatively insisted on”*; second, *“the consent of the parents of both parties is highly desirable, and should, if possible, be obtained”*; and third, that *“there should be no extravagant expenditure, a breach of which rendered the offending parties amenable to discipline.”* Furthermore, in 1893, the Synod insisted on the Christian rite of marriage as a condition of membership and went ahead to license a great number of chapels for the solemnization of marriage.²⁵⁸ Members who married according to the native customs were refused full church membership until they abided by the Christian rite of marriage.

The institution of marriage is as old as the hills on the Gold Coast. How was marriage contracted in native custom before the introduction of the Christian one? There were significant differences between the two of course since the people and their customs were unique. To begin with among the Akan tribes, once a girl reaches the age of puberty, she was sent to the waterside by other females and washed. Her family then makes an oblation of “boiled yam, mashed and mixed with palm oil, which was scattered upon the banks of the

²⁵⁵ Dennis Kemp, “Nine Years at the Gold Coast”, pp. 31, 268-269.

²⁵⁶ William Fox, “A Brief History of the Wesleyan Missions on the Western Coast of Africa”, p. 240.

²⁵⁷ Dennis Kemp, “Nine Years at the Gold Coast”, pp. 50-51.

²⁵⁸ **Ibid**, pp. 51-52.

stream, calling upon the local gods to inform them that the child had reached marriageable age”.²⁵⁹ Upon completion of such an initiation ceremony, the girl was then “*adorned with all the ornaments and finery in the possession of the family*”, such as silk cloth, beads worn around the waist, the hair was covered with gold ornaments, necklets, armlets, anklets, and her bosom and upper part of her body was left uncovered and marked with white clay in very fine lines.²⁶⁰ The girl was then taken through the streets of the town by several young females to inform the men that their friend was now of marriageable age.²⁶¹ The marriage ceremony would proceed immediately after this provided the girl was already betrothed,²⁶² with libation poured onto the ground to invoke the favours of the gods.

Marriage festivals were arranged once a girl’s family had agreed to a suitor, who satisfied the payment demanded by her family. Once the condition has been satisfied, rums, gin, and other intoxicants, with tobacco and pipes, were sent by him to the family of the bride, for distribution amongst their kinsmen and friends.²⁶³ In cases of betrothal, without an application and consent of a woman’s family, Sarbah said “*there can be no betrothal*”. If the woman’s family did not wish for dowry, the man is not bound to pay anything. Among the poorer classes, Sarbah said the man and woman could live together without any dowry having been paid at all, and yet such marriage is perfectly legal.²⁶⁴ What’s more, where the consent of a woman’s family cannot be gained, due to either their refusal to give consent or because of distance that it is impossible to obtain such consent, a man and woman, who voluntarily agreed to live as a man and wife for life, can contract a valid marriage in the presence of credible and respectable witnesses or the presence of the chief or headman of the place.²⁶⁵

During the era of high tides of the patriarchal age, and when slavery was rife among the communities, children and other members of a family were regarded as “wealth” by the family head and he could dispose of them as he deemed necessary to maintain his authority. Cruickshank said that marriages in that period were contracted by the father purchasing a

²⁵⁹ A.B. Ellis, “The Tsi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa”, pp. 234-235.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p. 235.

²⁶¹ *Ibid*, p. 236.

²⁶² This was a common practice among the tribes. Marriages of these nature were agreed upon long before the arrival of a girl at marriageable age. Sarbah believed it was done when “a person desires to be connected with the family of a friend or desired his child or relative to be so connected with a desirable family”. *See for example* John Mensah Sarbah, “Fanti Customary Laws ...”, 1904, p. 45.

²⁶³ A.B. Ellis, “The Tsi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa”, p. 236; John Mensah Sarbah, “Fanti Customary Laws ...”, p. 45.

²⁶⁴ John Mensah Sarbah, “Fanti Customary Laws ...”, pp. 46, 48.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid*, p. 49.

wife for his son to preserve for himself the authority of a master and the respect of a progenitor over their offspring; failing any suitable collateral relation for his daughter, he united her to a favourite slave or allowed her to co-habit with an adopted son or friend on conditions that secured him an addition to the consequence of his house in their children since until the actual sale of the female takes place, the children of such bondages were considered as belonging not to their father's family, but subjected to the authority of the head of the mother's relations, and there was no limit to the number of a man's wives.²⁶⁶ With regards to the latter assertion, Sarbah concurred with it that "*a man can contract other marriages, and only informs the first wife out of courtesy*", or he could choose not to. Also, some women lived in concubinage. Wealthy natives and Europeans alike kept a host of women under their protection as concubines, called friends. These women had neither the status nor rights of a wife and were also "at liberty to terminate the immoral relation at any time they pleased".²⁶⁷

Among the natives of the Northern Territories, particularly the Kassena, Nankanni, Builsa, and other tribes, there were three methods of obtaining a wife. According to Cardinal, these included the method of conciliating her parents by frequent visits and small presents such as salt, fowls, etc.; the second was when a married woman after visiting her father's compound bring back a younger sister to help her in the housework. This girl was looked on as a new wife to her husband, no matter what her age. Even if the girl only remains for one night in her brother-in-law's compound, it was considered a marriage; and the third way of obtaining a wife was by capture-- this was said to be common among the Kassena tribe and prevalent among other tribes too but died out under British influence. The latter method was adopted with consenting girls whose parents dissented. The girl was carried off by men or women in the man's compound. She was exceptionally well treated but kept prisoner by the women. After receiving countless presents, she infrequently agrees to the marriage, after which her parents were informed and usually pacified.²⁶⁸ In parts of the Nankanni district, there was a fixed price for a woman. It was four cows, payable only after the birth of children. The price then conveys the ownership of the children to the father. However, in Kassena and Builsa there was no such fixed price or present accepted which would convey a woman from her family to that of her husband. Nonetheless, the consequence of this was that a married

²⁶⁶ Brodie Cruickshank, "Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast of Africa ...", pp. 316-317, 323.

²⁶⁷ John Mensah Sarbah, "Fanti Customary Laws ...", pp. 50-51.

²⁶⁸ A.W. Cardinal, "The Natives of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast: Their Customs, Religion and Folklore", pp. 76, 79-80.

girl could be “*given to another man when she returns to her father’s compound for funeral customs*”,²⁶⁹ and other customs. Girls did not always heed the choice of their family, and they sometimes ignored their family’s wishes to settle with a husband of their choice. Such women having tasted emancipation were said to go to other men at the smallest provocation and would not be satisfied until “they have tried as many as ten husbands”.²⁷⁰

Currently, the law of Ghana recognizes two types of marriages: non-Christian and Christian marriages. This was facilitated, in 1884, by the Marriage Ordinance, which validated certain marriages in the Gold Coast. As put forward by Allott, “marriage under the ordinance may either be by religious rites or civil rites before a registrar”.²⁷¹ The “non-Christian marriage” refers to marriages by African customs and by Islamic law. The “Christian marriage” is the marriage as recognized by the law of England. Therefore, marriages in Ghana could be contracted in three ways: ordinance, customary, and Islamic. Allott thinks that the English definition of “Christian marriage” is inapplicable to traditional African marriage because the latter were and are polygynous, and the government has not restricted polygamous marriages.²⁷² Thus, the ordinance marriage, which was meant to curb the salience of polygyny and to hinder contracting marriages with another person, is in effect merely a representation on paper.

From the preceding pages, it surmised to answer questions one and three as follows: that Christianity spread rapidly from the coast and among the numerous tribes with the cooperation of the native tribes without coercion in nearly every district. Individuals chose to either become Christians or offered their children to become Christians for the benefits they could obtain. The natives in their natural disposition disliked manual labour and hated “to make their hands dirty” attending to farms or raising animals. These educated children of the natives became known as “*krakyi*” or “scholars” and took appointments in the government and mercantile services, and other establishments. In fact, towards the latter decades of the nineteenth century, the native missionaries took over proselytization roles and sought to convert their kin to the new religion and further encouraged them to abide by its rules.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid*, p. 76.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 76-77.

²⁷¹ A.N. Allott, “Marriage and Internal Conflict of Laws in Ghana”. *School of Oriental and African Studies: Journal of African Law*, Vol. 2, No. 3, 1958, p. 174.

²⁷² *Ibid*, pp. 172-173.

Concerning the second question, the chiefs were not left out of the influence of Christianity. In the early years, with a few exceptions in Asante and Kyebi, they took a keen interest in also understanding it. The first-hand journal of Mr. Freeman, into the interior of the country in 1839, shed enormous light on the attitude of the chiefs towards the idea of Christianity. For instance, Corintchie, the chief of Fomunah, had requested personally to hear the gospel in his town from Freeman before he proceeded into Kumasi in the presence of his entourage.²⁷³ Due to his curiosity about Christian teaching, Corintchie went to the extent of keeping Mr. Freeman longer in his town than necessary, thus, delaying his intended visit to Kumasi by several weeks. The chief occasionally attended Christian gatherings and even posed questions for answers to the Christian missionaries.

The chiefs were interested in European staff settling amongst them.²⁷⁴ It was no wonder then that the chiefs themselves insisted on having chapels and schools for their people. For instance, Assin Chibboe, the chief of Yankumasi, a town in Fante, called on Freeman and consented to assist in erecting a chapel in his town if Freeman could send a person or two to direct the work. The chief agreed to find men to do the greater part of the work.²⁷⁵ When Freeman finally got to Kumasi, the Asante king, Nana Kwaku Duah was reluctant to meet him. When he finally met with him and proffered his mission to Kumasi, i.e., to establish schools and to teach the people about Christianity, the Asantehene suggested to Mr. Freeman to visit again another time to allow him time to ponder over the proposition. In a letter Freeman wrote to the Wesleyan missionary committee in London on 17 September 1839, Freeman expressed the agreement of the Asante king respecting the establishment of a school in Kumasi.²⁷⁶

The Asante ruler knew the dangers and disturbances Christianity would bring to his kingdom. These missions foment troubles by drawing their converts away from the traditional community into a new one, thus, dividing the people. Converts ended up not following towns' or villages' prohibitions and taboos and undermining the powers of the chiefs. Thus, it was reported in 1853 that *"the state of the work of God in Asante is rather discouraging at present, from the circumstance of the people being afraid to expose*

²⁷³ The London Wesleyan Methodist Magazine. "Missions in West Africa including Mr Freeman's Visit to Ashantee". New York: Carlton & Porter, 1842, p. 31.

²⁷⁴ F. Burton & V.L. Cameron, "To the Gold Coast for Gold", Vol. II. London: Spottiswoode and Co., 1863, p. 123.

²⁷⁵ The London Wesleyan Methodist Magazine. "Missions in West Africa including Mr Freeman's Visit to Ashantee", p. 125.

²⁷⁶ **Ibid**, p. 113.

themselves to the ire of the king, whose frown is indeed death for the people becoming Christians. Many of the Asantes are wishful to embrace Christianity, but they are afraid to come forward ... They always do whatever the king sanctions, whether good or bad, so that, the king himself being a pagan still, they all remain pagans still".²⁷⁷ It was not until 1896, with the exile of Asantehene Nana Prempeh to Seychelles, that missionary work was sustained in Asante.

Unlike the Wesleyan society in Asante, the Basel society had troubles with the king of Kyebi, who was not a friend to the mission, in about 1861. He used his authority to restrain his people from receiving them to the extent that missionaries were persecuted and openly dissented. The king was said to have even accused a native member of the society of stealing a quantity of gold dust and began to ill-treat the accused person and other members of the Basel society's station at Kyebi. The government was appealed to and upon an investigation, the king's charge could not be upheld so the accused person was acquitted. The king, ordered to the coast by the government to explain his conduct, died in the meantime, and the native members of the society were accused of being party to his death. The mission station was attacked, property destroyed, and many people ill-treated. It took the intervention of the government to restore order which resulted in the society removing its headquarters, in 1876, to Begoro.²⁷⁸

The final question posed was the true situation of some African societies of the pre-twentieth century, and even before the advent of Christianity. These societies were inflicted with the menace of human sacrifice and superstitions, which were focal to their beliefs and customs. Whilst the former might have disappeared in most countries and societies today, the latter still lingers on. As pointed out correctly by William Fox, hundreds or even thousands of human beings, men, women, and children, were deliberately executed in Asante and Dahomey for various reasons. For instance, at the commencement of wars, on the achievement of victories, and the death of distinguished personages.²⁷⁹

Human sacrifices occurred on a large scale with the deaths of royals. Among the Asante, for instance, the reason for such sacrifices, especially upon the death of rulers or royals, rested on the belief in the next life. They believed the dead would continue to be a

²⁷⁷ **Report of the Rev. T. Laing**, cited by David Kimble, "A Political History of Gold Coast Nationalism ...", p. 154.

²⁷⁸ George Macdonald, "The Gold Coast, Past and Present ...", pp. 324-325.

²⁷⁹ William Fox, "A Brief History of the Wesleyan Missions on the Western Coast of Africa", pp. 251-252.

chief in the future life and therefore would need his/her servants in the same way as in the present world. Ellis opined that “the practice of sacrificing human beings at funerals arose from a feeling of affection, respect, and awe for the dead”. The number of persons sacrificed depended upon the wealth and rank of the deceased, with the greatest slaughter taking place at the decease of a king of Ashanti. For instance, in September 1873, when Prince Mensah Kuma the brother of the king died, nearly one hundred and fifty men were planned to be sacrificed at his funeral; in 1871 at the funeral of an uncle of Nana Kofi Karikari, two hundred human beings were sacrificed; and in 1816 at the funeral of the mother of Nana Tutu Kwamina, the king was said to have sacrificed three thousand victims,²⁸⁰ the highest recorded figure.

Furthermore, Mr. Freeman reported three incidents of human sacrifice whilst in Fomunnah and Kumasi respectively. In Fomunnah, he reported two instances. The first, was upon the death of Corintchie’s sister on Tuesday 19 February 1839, where a female slave was beheaded in sacrifice; secondly, on 2 March 1839, another human victim was sacrificed on account of the death of a person of rank in the town. In Kumasi in April 1839, the king had lost one of his relatives by death. As a consequence of this, a total of forty human victims were sacrificed in two days.²⁸¹ Similarly, Burton and Cameron reported an incident of human sacrifice in 1863 on their journey to buy gold mines in the southern Gold Coast, precisely, in Apollonia. It involved the death of the King of Apollonia, upon whose death some twenty men were said to have been sacrificed every Saturday till the “great customs” took place six months afterwards.²⁸² The heads of these victims were generally separated from their bodies and left in the streets to putrefy.

Generally, slaves, wives of the deceased, fugitives, free men, and war captives were sacrificed. The victims were trapped and captured. As recounted by the German missionaries who were prisoners in Kumasi in the 1870s, before publicly announcing the death of royals, royal servants, in this case, *odumfo* (executioners) were made to occupy all the streets to catch the fugitives. In addition to those captured by the *odumfo*, “every great chief would offer a gift of human life”.²⁸³ Although a term of the Treaty of Fomena signed in 1874

²⁸⁰ A.B. Ellis, “The Tsi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa: Their Religion, Manners, Customs, Laws, Language, etc.”, pp. 159-160, 164.

²⁸¹ The London Wesleyan Methodist Magazine. “Missions in West Africa including Mr Freeman’s Visit to Ashantee”, pp. 41, 49, 82-84.

²⁸² F. Burton & V.L. Cameron, “To the Gold Coast for Gold”, Vol. II., p. 79.

²⁸³ A.B. Ellis, “The Tsi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa: Their Religion, Manners, Customs, Laws, Language, etc.”, pp. 160-161.

between Sir Garnet Wolseley and the representative of the Asantehene, Nana Kofi Karikari, included stopping the practice of human sacrifice, the practice is still believed to be carried out on the death of an Asantehene. For instance, in 1999 when the Asantehene Nana Opoku Ware II died, the author witnessed and suffered the scare of an attempted capture for such a purpose. The author in company with other youths was chased by royal executioners whilst playing football on a football field called *Cricket* in the neighbourhood of Manhyia on the evening of the day the chief died. Thankfully, all the youth escaped without being captured. Similarly, an aunt of the author suffered a similar fate around Brehman, a suburb of Kumasi where departed *Asantehenes* are buried. She used to trade until late at night. On the day of the king's burial, she was out selling her merchandise when she encountered the royal entourage. However, she survived the chase at the cost of her merchandise, which she was forced to abandon and took to her heels. Some sorts of curfews are observed whenever reports of royal deaths are announced, and parents always ensure their children do not stay out late for fear of falling victim to such heinous practices.

4.3. Fetishism vs. Christianity: Emergence of 'New Classes'

It has been established from the aforementioned pages that the earliest Europeans to have arrived on the Gold Coast did not care about the welfare of the natives as they were only interested in the material wealth of the people and enslaving them. In the early decades following the abolition of the slave trade, the Africans were right to have rejected Christianity, and regarded it as the "white man's thing". The Africans never forget. Generation upon generation the atrocities of the slave trade and its denouement is fresh in their minds. As Morel opined, the people of Africa are the ones carrying the "Black Man's" burden. They have not withered away before the white man's occupation, who has massacred the Africans in heaps in trying to establish himself in Africa.²⁸⁴ With the abolition of the slave trade, the European wore his 'sainted' garment in the nineteenth century to proselytize to the Africans on the virtues of his religion, which had been discarded and never followed by fellow Europeans, for centuries on the West Coast of Africa. This time around European slave-trading ports became centres for conversion and education.

The propagation was at first moderately accepted, but later with the inclusion of and the increasing role of African ministers, it became widely accepted. Its spread resulted in

²⁸⁴ Edmund Denne, "The Black Man's Burden", p. 7.

social changes and the creation of new stratifications, especially through education. These changes have been the marked difference between Christianity and Fetishism. The latter is regarded as the bane of the natives, for it coerced them to submit to nature's will, without attempting to understand or harness occurrences around them, nor did it assist them to produce literary work. Kingsley had commended the Basel mission for a great deal of good work in giving technical instruction to the natives, and more so to the Wesleyan mission, which was the largest Protestant mission on the West Coast of Africa, for adding a technical department to its scholastic and religious one. The Wesleyans taught smith's work, carpentering, bricklaying, wagon-building, etc. However, it was the Roman Catholic mission that taught the thing most important to the natives, i.e., improved methods of agriculture, and plantation work.²⁸⁵

There were marked differences between the people of the Gold Coast, depending on the length of interactions with the missionaries or Europeans in general. Kemp identified the bushman, the coast man, the illiterate, and the scholar. The bushman retained "*the primeval simplicity of his manners*". He was courtly in his welcome and simply wore a native cloth, like the Roman toga, thrown over the left shoulder, and hung in folds down to his knees, or rolled around his waist. Conversely, town men and educated natives adopted European dress, which they found suitable because of their association with the merchant and government. The coast gentleman usually required the service of a boy to carry even the smallest parcel. The "scholar" of the Gold Coast was said to have spent only sufficient time at school to enable him to read and write. There was also the "lady" and the "woman". The "lady" wore a European dress, and the "woman" only wore cloth. "Ladies" when in their advanced dress, do not perform all the menial duties that their less favoured sisters do.²⁸⁶

These different classes of people, especially the 'scholar' class, started forming clubs in the nineteenth century as more and more people became educated. For instance, from about 1859, the educated natives started forming clubs in a more Europeanised fashion, with people of common interests. They formed Reading Rooms and Literary Clubs. Beginning in that year was the Try Company, which was a private literary club in Cape Coast, started by J. P. Brown with four of his young friends; in 1862 the Anomabu Temperance Society was founded by R. J. Ghartey; the Philanthropic Society of Cape Coast was formed in 1864 with the object of raising public funds, but met with little success; the Rifle Club of Cape Coast

²⁸⁵ Mary H. Kingsley, "Travels in West Africa". London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1897, p. 28.

²⁸⁶ Dennis Kemp, "Nine Years at the Gold Coast", pp. 58-61.

was formed in 1874; the Good Templars, in 1877, was founded by the General Superintendent of the Wesleyan mission and the Commanding Officer of the Castle garrison, with the help of J. P. Brown, who was made Lodge Deputy Grand Chief Templar; the Oddfellows was formed in 1880, and the Young Ladies' Christian Association was formed in 1897 at Cape Coast, among others.²⁸⁷ However, nearly all of the above-mentioned clubs did not survive for long due to poor management. The snobbishness of the organizers was cited by the editor of the *Gold Coast Times* as the reason for their failures. They were accused of "never using words of less than three syllables, looking down on others as inferior, and taking their main delight in wearing gold chains and green chokers for club meetings".²⁸⁸

Apart from these clubs, the literacy and technical education introduced by the missionaries also led to the emergence of new cleavages unknown to traditional society. Boahen has identified three such new unknown classes. The first comprised people employed by Europeans as masons, carpenters, bricklayers, interpreters, writers or secretaries, gold brokers, civil servants ambassadors, and public relations officers; the second comprised Africans, individuals or groups, who, through their efforts in farming or trade, became wealthy and more powerful even than traditional rulers; and the third group consisted of the mulattoes, who were the product of miscegenation between European traders and African women.²⁸⁹ Individuals of these cleavages, especially those with literacy and technical skills, were employed in the lower echelon of the missionaries and government operations. Kimble has shared some of the numbers of those employed. In 1891 occupations in sixteen coastal towns²⁹⁰ were classified as:

Farmers and agricultural labourers ...	3 510
Mechanics ...	3 091
Civil servants ...	1 376

²⁸⁷ David Kimble, "A Political History of Gold Coast Nationalism", pp. 146-148.

²⁸⁸ "Report of 1st anniversary celebrations in *The Gold Coast Times*", 12 Nov. 1881 as cited in Kimble, "A Political History of Gold Coast Nationalism", 1963, p. 147.

²⁸⁹ A.A. Boahen, "The States and Cultures of the Lower Guinean Coast", pp. 426-427.

²⁹⁰ "Report on the Census of the Gold Coast Colony for the Year 1891" (London, n.d.). as cited in Kimble, "A Political History of Gold Coast Nationalism", p. 40.

Also, the 1911 Census²⁹¹ gave figures for twenty-nine Colony towns²⁹² as:

Farmer	8 802
Labourers	5 198
Clerks	2 349
Carpenters	1 445
Bricklayers and masons	557
Engine drivers	15

The above numbers were obtained from the early census figures, which captured only a few towns and villages of the colony proper, thus, not giving a true reflection of the occupation of the entire territory. No data was captured for either Ashanti, the Northern Territories, or the Ewe country.

What's more, the mission schools trained and educated individuals who later became leaders of Gold Coast nationalism. Kimble asserted that the churches provided some African leaders with a forum in both the pulpit and the press. The Wesleyans for instance introduced a printing workshop and were responsible for some of the earliest Gold Coast newspapers, such as *The Christian Messenger and Examiner* produced in Cape Coast by the Rev. T. B. Freeman and the Rev. H. Wharton in 1859. This was succeeded by *The Christian Reporter*, which had a brief career, and then *The Gold Coast Methodist*, which was edited by the Rev. W. T. Coppin and the Rev. W. M. Cannell in 1885. *The Gold Coast Methodist Times* had a much wider influence and appeared more frequently. The latter, although originally intended to follow a strict religious policy, became the outlet for major political grievances, under the editorship of the Rev. S. R. B. Solomon, and made a lasting reputation by its successful handling of the Lands Bill agitation.²⁹³ Having observed the effect and changes of education

²⁹¹ The first census in Ghana occurred in 1891, with others occurring in every tenth year, thus, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931, 1948, 1960, 1970, 1984, 2000, 2010, and 2021. World War II delayed 1941 census to 1948. According to Ghana Statistical Service, in the first census "*Chiefs were asked to carry out the counting which, in accordance with native custom at the time, was done by heads of families placing in a bowl or other receptacle a cowry for each female or a grain of corn for each male member of the family. The cowries and grains were counted and the numbers of each communicated to the District Commissioner by the Chief ...*" See for example, "Ghana Statistical Service, IPUMS- Country Report: Ghana", 2007, <https://unstats.un.org/unsd/dnss/docViewer.aspx?docID=2349>; however, it was the 1931 census, in which enumerators presented forms to households for the head of the household or occupier to insert particulars of each member, that captured the entire population individually.

²⁹² "Census of the Population, 1911" (Accra, n.d.). as cited in Kimble, "A Political History of Gold Coast Nationalism", p. 41.

²⁹³ David Kimble, "A Political History of Gold Coast Nationalism", pp. 161-162.

on the disposition of the indigenes, it is only prudent to fact-check how Western education was introduced and the actors that made it happen in tandem with the reforms it underwent.

4.4. Introduction of Western-type Education

Education mode in the Gold Coast before the introduction of Western-style education involved kids taken after their parents' professions. In a typical native household, boys were trained in the skills and professions of their fathers, whilst girls or female children were taught domestic 'science' on how to manage the welfare of individuals in the household by their mothers. To this end, female children engaged in household chores such as cooking, looking after their siblings, cleaning the compounds, and fetching water, inter alia. There was nothing like a classroom for imparting or learning such knowledge; the acquisition was mainly through day-to-day experience. Despite the non-existence of modern classrooms as they are known today, Wiafe posited that the kind of education that existed before the introduction of Western-type education, which could be described as informal education, trained and introduced "young people into society through music, (*oral*) history, rhetoric, taboos", etc. and in some instances through some form of trade such as "hairdressing or auto-mechanics"²⁹⁴ to conform to the civilization of the era. Western-typed education, in effect, only came to the fore as spin-offs from missionary activities starting from the sixteenth century.

The commencement of European-styled education in the Gold Coast, as postulated by Kimble, was "not in response to any pre-existing demand",²⁹⁵ but rather through the efforts of the various religious denominations whose purpose was evangelization, and as such, they used education as a means to that end.²⁹⁶ Nonetheless, in the long term, missionary activities helped to bridge the gap between multitudinous people from different tribes and regions.²⁹⁷ Several decades later, the latent intent of many of those young people who were attracted to the missionary schools became as plain as a pikestaff, in the form of nationalism. Harker believed these young people used the mission schools not as a source of faith in Christianity

²⁹⁴ Ernestina Wiafe, "Formal Education in the Gold Coast-Ghana: An Overview of Colonial Policies and Curriculum from 1919 to 1927", *Educational Considerations*, Vol. 47, No. 2, 2021, p. 2.

²⁹⁵ David Kimble, "A Political History of Gold Coast Nationalism", p. 61.

²⁹⁶ La Fern Harker, "A Survey of Education in Ghana, 1751-1962", Department of Educational Foundations, Master of Education Thesis, Edmonton: University of Alberta, 1965, p. ii.

²⁹⁷ Philomena Osseo-Asare, "The Impacts of Language and Literacy Policy on Teaching Practices in Ghana: Postcolonial Perspectives on Early Literacy and Instruction". New York: *Routledge Research in Literacy*, 2021, p. 4.

but as an escape from tribal restraint and the arduous labour of subsistence farming. In so doing, they sought power. What's more, the collaboration of the government with the missions in education to provide clerks and minor civil servants²⁹⁸ only came to intensify and strengthen the development of nationalism among the recipients of the new education and religion.

So, how did the missionary societies achieve it? The natives of Gold Coast first encountered Western education in European slave forts and castles beginning with the Portuguese from the fifteenth century. In 1529, King Joao III of Portugal tried to establish a school by instructing the Governor of Elmina to provide reading, writing, and religious teaching for African children,²⁹⁹ with the subtle end of introducing an alien religion (Catholicism). The Portuguese endeavours were short-lived. However, the Dutch and Danes picked up from the Portuguese and in the eighteenth century, they opened schools in their coastal forts mainly for their mulatto children, which also drew some children from the surrounding villages. The British authorities re-established a school in Cape Coast in 1766 under Rev. Philip Quaque³⁰⁰ (this school was started by Rev. Thompson in 1751). This school became the main source of teachers³⁰¹ for other colonial schools to be established later. The activities of the Basel mission from 1824, after an interregnum due to the high mortality of its staff between 1771 and 1821, ushered in a period of revived interest in mission work and education. The Cape Coast Castle School this time under the British was renamed the Colonial School, and it churned out the first generation of English-educated Africans.³⁰² Men such as George Blankson, and deGraft Johnson, among others, were the products of this school, whose descendants became leaders of the Fanti Confederation, formed in 1867, out of which developed the A.R.P.S.

Although there were other denominations, the Basel and Wesleyan missions were said to have been the two frontrunners in the educational needs of the Colony. By 1844 the Wesleyans had schools in eighteen towns, largely along the western part of the coast including Accra, Winneba, and a short attempt in Kumasi.³⁰³ The Basel Mission, on the other hand, opened its first boys' school in 1843 and followed it with a girls' school in 1847. When

²⁹⁸ La Fern Harker, "A Survey of Education in Ghana, 1751-1962", pp. ii-iii.

²⁹⁹ David Kimble, "A Political History of Ghana: the rise of Gold Coast nationalism", pp. 62-63.

³⁰⁰ David Kimble, "A Political History of Ghana...", p. 63.; La Fern Harker, "A Survey of Education in Ghana, 1751-1962", p. 19.

³⁰¹ David Kimble, "A Political History of Ghana", p. 63.

³⁰² La Fern Harker, "A Survey of Education in Ghana, 1751-1962", p. 19.

³⁰³ David Kimble, "A Political History of Ghana ...", p. 63.

1880 arrived, the Basel mission had forty-five schools with an admission of 1200 students. The basis of the mission's education system was on training teachers, educating girls and boys, and giving practical as well as academic studies to evangelize, to provide merchants, officials, clerks, and teachers for the government and the missions.³⁰⁴ Education only became an official government policy from the 1850s onwards. To ensure its development, an attempt was made in 1852 to introduce a poll tax³⁰⁵ towards educational provision and development. However, it was not successful. In 1856 the British succeeded in establishing nine more schools at Cape Coast, comprising one for girls.³⁰⁶ The Basel and Wesleyan missions had been shouldering the whole cost of education until the government in 1874 introduced annual grants of £100 to the Basel mission and £50 to the Wesleyans³⁰⁷ in support of their efforts. Governor Ussher, in 1880 raised the Wesleyan's grant to £200 as they kept up expanding the quantity and extent of their schools. However, the General Superintendent of the mission expressed his disappointment in the figure by expressing that they *"had an enrolment of over 3,000 whereas the Government was spending £300 annually on its own 170 scholars, he thus asked for a minimum annual grant of £500"*.³⁰⁸

The governor did not want to approve the requested increment to the mission schools because he favoured the development of secular education. However, he was advised otherwise by Lord Kimberly, who held the notion that a secular system was not the best for "these ignorant Africans". Lord Kimberly urged him to go through the mission and give them aid according to the results.³⁰⁹ Thus, from 1881 some progress was chalked in education. The colonial government established two schools in Accra and took over the first Anglican school in Cape Coast; the Basel and Bremen missions had fifty-one schools; the Methodists eighty-four; and the Roman Catholics one. In that year, the colonial government spent £900 on its three schools and paid £425 to the missions to help defray the expenses of their schools.³¹⁰ Thus, colonial education came to be classed into two: schools in the hands of the Government and non-Government schools. The latter were of two kinds, i.e., assisted

³⁰⁴ La Fern Harker, "A Survey of Education in Ghana, 1751-1962", p. 20.

³⁰⁵ David Kimble, "A Political History of Ghana ...", p. 70.

³⁰⁶ **Ibid**, p. 71.

³⁰⁷ **Ibid**, pp. 71-72.

³⁰⁸ **Ibid**, p. 72.

³⁰⁹ "Minute of 4 June 1880 by Kimberly", as cited in Kimble, "A Political History of Ghana...", pp. 72-73. Aid according to result meant schools would only get aid if their pupils were able to pass examinations.

³¹⁰ La Fern Harker, "A Survey of Education in Ghana, 1751-1962", pp. 21-22.

and non-assisted. The assisted schools were those which had attained certain standards of efficiency and hence received a government grant.

The ongoing progress in education led to the passage of the first Education Ordinance in 1882 for British West African Colonies. The main object of the ordinance was towards promoting education and standardizing its methods as used by the missions. A Board of Education was constituted to lay down conditions for opening new schools, make grants, and award certificates to teachers, and it appointed an Inspector of Schools.³¹¹ An important section of this ordinance was the “*compulsory attendance clause for all children under a certain age*”.³¹² New legislation was drafted in 1887 thus enlarging and empowering the Board of Education to enact its own rules for administering grants-in-aid.³¹³ Instead of payment-by-results, grants came to be awarded based on efficiency evinced in management, staffing, and the general ability of the schools.³¹⁴ An Education Department was created and the first Director of Education was appointed in 1890. According to Harker, in 1890, there were five thousand and seventy-six pupils in all schools, i.e., government and assisted mission schools, and thousand and thirty-seven of them were girls.³¹⁵ The educational system was a ten-year elementary school, classed from standard I to standard VII. School started at about the age of six. The standards were further classed into the infant, junior primary, and senior primary; the first two were three years each, and the last was four years. Upon completion of the entire programme, pupils were issued Standard Seven Leaving School Certificates by the Education Department. This primary education sufficed in the early years for individuals to be employed in the numerous vacancies available as teachers, and clerks, among others.

In 1902, for instance, there were seven government primary schools and one hundred and seventeen mission schools. Some fifty-nine certificated teachers were employed in that year, fifteen of whom worked in government schools. These schools were inspected by the Director of Education or his representative. Aside from the inspection, the mission schools

³¹¹ **Ibid**, pp. 22.

³¹² David Kimble, “A Political History of Ghana...”, p. 73. Aside the other conditions laid down by the Board of Education, for a school to be given a grant, it must have assembled at least 300 times during the year, with an average attendance of not less than 20 scholars. *See for example*, Colonial Reports – Annual **No. 397**, “Gold Coast Report for 1902”, p. 40.

³¹³ David Kimble, “A Political History of Ghana ...”, p. 74. Grants were paid based on a code used earlier in England. According to the 1902 Rules of the Gold Coast Board of Education, payments were to be made by results, i.e., 2s. per head for each ‘pass’ in arithmetic, reading, and writing, and additional amounts for other subjects, these being calculated on a sliding scale based on average attendance. ... **Ibid**, p. 75.

³¹⁴ La Fern Harker, “A Survey of Education in Ghana, 1751-1962”, p. 23.

³¹⁵ **Ibid**.

were under the direct management of ordained European or native missionaries, each of whom was appointed by his society to a district, in which he exercises full authority appointing and dismissing teachers, fixing salaries, etc.³¹⁶ Parents paid school fees for their wards. The government schools (except for Insuaim, which was free) charged a fee of 3d. a month for children in the infant classes, and 6d. a month for scholars in the standards. Fees varied in the assisted mission schools, but some were free too. Those in the coastal towns were said to have charged from 1s. to 5s. a quarter, whilst the inland ones imparted instruction free. In 1902, fifty-eight schools (of which twenty-nine were under the Wesleyan mission) charged fees, whilst sixty others were free. The Basel Mission's upper standard boarding schools charged about 10s. per annum, which included lodging; whilst no fees were collected at the Bremen mission schools.³¹⁷

The syllabus was entirely English in origin, and lessons were mainly through rote learning. Later, Sir John Rodger made some attempts to improve the content of education after visiting Afro-American schools in the United States. This occasioned the opening of an integrated school for elementary technical education and training of teachers in 1909 in Accra.³¹⁸ Primary school subjects included speaking, reading, and writing in the vernacular and English, arithmetic, singing, duties, and rights of a citizen, drawing, nature study, hygiene, handwork and for girls, domestic science, and child welfare. There was variance in handwork done in urban and rural schools. In the case of the former schools, it included woodwork and simple metalwork; whilst for the rural schools, it included gardening, mat-weaving, basket-making, brush-making, net-making, etc.³¹⁹ As far as post-primary education was concerned, by 1931 there were only three secondary schools. These were Achimota College in Accra, Mfantsipim, and St. Nicholas' Grammar Schools both at Cape Coast. Their curriculum was based on the sine qua non of the Cambridge School Certificate Examination. In addition to the above, a technical school was established in Accra (The Accra Technical School, the only school of its kind), for a three-year course (practical and theoretical) in engineering and woodwork. Three junior trade schools were also set up to render a more elementary form of technical education in woodwork, masonry, agriculture, and metalwork,

³¹⁶ Colonial Reports, **No. 397**, "Gold Coast Report for 1902", pp. 40-41.

³¹⁷ **Ibid**, p. 41.

³¹⁸ David Kimble, "A Political History of Ghana ...", pp. 76-77.

³¹⁹ "Annual Report on the Social and Economic Progress of the People of the GOLD COAST, 1935-36". Colonial Reports **No. 1785**, 1936, p. 54.

with the object of providing preparatory training for boys who desired to become skilled artisans.³²⁰

With regards to the training of teachers, in particular male teachers, five training colleges were offering a full four-year course around 1931. These were Achimota College, Akropong Training College, St. Augustine's College, St. Nicholas' Training College, and Wesley College. They had a combined number of 466 trainees in 1931 distributed as 172, 112, 55, 17, and 110 respectively. Women were trained separately in a small training college opened by the Roman Catholic Mission at Cape Coast.³²¹ Trained teachers at Achimota College were for government, non-denominational schools, and schools of the smaller missions, whilst the other colleges trained teachers for their missions. The training was free at all the colleges. However, each student was made to sign a bond to teach for at least five years in a government or assisted school³²² upon completion of training. This bond scheme was introduced in 1902 by the government in its attempt to improve the substandard qualifications of the teachers in assisted schools, due largely to the small salaries paid to them.³²³ It cost £33 to train a single teacher. The Government in 1935 changed its policy of absorbing all fees for the teachers trained at Achimota College by paying £30³²⁴ of the £33. Subsequently, most of the teacher training colleges became co-educational with isolated cases of single-sexed-colleges.

Nearly all the earliest schools were in the Colony. The first government school to be established outside the Colony was in 1909 in Kumasi and Tamale; Sunyani and Gambaga followed in 1912, and in 1914 a government girls' school was established in Kumasi.³²⁵ The Northern Territories lagged in educational provision. Kimble believed they were deliberately isolated due to reasons such as the reluctance of parents to allow their children to learn reading and writing for fear that they would not be content to return to live with them again;

³²⁰ "Annual Report on the Social and Economic Progress of the People of the GOLD COAST, 1931-32". Colonial Reports **No. 1602**, 1933, p. 46; Achimota College was the first government secondary school in the Gold Coast founded by Governor Guggisberg in 1923. It was instrumental in training and educating Africans and was the only higher institution that provided some university programmes before the establishment of universities in the colony. *For further reading on the role of Achimota College, see for example*, Cati Coe, "Educating an African Leadership: Achimota and the Teaching of African Culture in the Gold Coast". *Africa Today*, Vol. 49 No. 3, pp. 23-44, 2002.

³²¹ "Annual Report on the Social and Economic Progress of the People of the GOLD COAST, 1931-32", **No. 1602**, p. 47.

³²² **Ibid.**

³²³ Colonial Reports, **No. 397**, "Gold Coast Report for 1902", p. 42.

³²⁴ "Annual Report on the Social and Economic Progress of the People of the GOLD COAST, 1935-36". Colonial Reports **No. 1785**, 1936, p. 55.

³²⁵ David Kimble, "A Political History of Ghana ...", p. 79.

the missions, which appeared in 1901 were not allowed freely into the north to develop educational and social work as elsewhere due to Islam, which was already established in the north and was regarded as helping to spread civilization and encouraging “a more decent life”, and supporting trade.³²⁶ As of 1919, the Northern Territories had only four government schools, with no assisted schools.³²⁷

By 1931 the same four government primary boarding schools existed at Tamale, Wa, Gambaga, and Salaga, with the addition of a Government Junior Trade School at Tamale, and four mission primary schools all in receipt of government assistance-- three of the mission primary schools were controlled by the White Fathers’ mission from Wagadugu, who managed to operate there since 1906, and one by the Roman Catholic mission--, and a veterinary school at Pong-Tamale.³²⁸ Meanwhile, in the same 1931, the colony and Ashanti had nineteen government primary schools (fourteen in the colony and five in Ashanti), three hundred and twenty-eight mission-assisted schools, and two hundred and forty non-assisted schools. Also, there were sixteen schools in the colony for the education of girls in addition to their attendance at the ordinary primary schools,³²⁹ plus a few other Technical and Trade schools.

Governor Gordon Guggisberg introduced his special educational scheme for the north when he came in 1919. Before he was appointed Governor of the Gold Coast, the north was said to have no “*clearly articulated educational policy and the curriculum was unrelated to the social life of the people*”.³³⁰ In this scheme, a central school was built in Tamale as a model for infant and primary education. It became the centre of the educational system of the region. However, unlike in the south, Brukum said the standard of education in the outstations was not to exceed Standard III, i.e., six years of primary education. The school at Tamale trained pupils in vocational training such as typing, bookkeeping, road and bridge building, hospital dressing, specialized agriculture, and veterinary work.³³¹

Guggisberg’s educational reform was influenced by the research of an American-based Foundation, the Phelps-Stokes Fund. In 1920, they carried out research to evaluate the

³²⁶ **Ibid.**

³²⁷ **Ibid**, p. 84.

³²⁸ “Annual Report on the Social and Economic Progress of the People of the GOLD COAST, 1931-32”. Colonial Reports **No. 1602**, pp. 48-49.

³²⁹ **Ibid**, pp. 45-46.

³³⁰ N.J.K. Brukum, “Sir Gordon Guggisberg and Socio-economic Development of Northern Ghana, 1919-1927”. *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, New Series No. 9, pp. 1-15, 2005, p. 2.

³³¹ **Ibid**, pp. 2-3.

nucleus and excellence of education offered to the colonies across the west, south, and equatorial Africa. The presence of multiple native dialects and languages in the colonies was one of many problems that hindered the education of native Africans. As a solution, the Commission proffered that native African leaders should endeavour to know at least one European language as a means of access to the great accomplishments and inspirations of civilization; it was further recommended to governments and educators in the colonies that tribal vernacular should be utilized in the lower elementary standards; a lingua franca of African origin should be introduced in the middle classes of school if the area was occupied by large native groups speaking diverse languages, and the language of the European nation in control should be taught in the upper standards.³³² Also, the Report showed that the British had neglected the provision of proper education for their African subjects; an American interference the colonial office was not comfortable with. This compelled the Secretary of State for the Colonies to create the Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa in 1923,³³³ to advise and assist on matters related to improving native education and progress.

Influenced by the Phelps-Stokes Fund, Guggisberg established an Education Committee in the 1920s to assess the country's education. It was concluded that the system of education in the colony as a whole needed a change due to ill-paid and inefficient teachers, inadequate textbooks which were unsuitable, and the lack of technical education,³³⁴ so the British began to give heed to education, particularly at the primary and secondary levels and more so towards the provision of universities for Africans.³³⁵ As a result of this, Achimota College was inaugurated in 1923 to act as the bedrock of higher education. The consequence of this reform was the emergence of two distinct schemes for the needs of the people of the southern and northern Gold Coast. It was decided that education in the south would progress from the primary school stage to the University level at Achimota College, whilst in the north, education was to be controlled and kept at the basic level to produce handymen and

³³² Thomas Jesse Jones, "Education in Africa: A Study of West, South, and Equatorial Africa", pp. 25-26.

³³³ Appollos O. Nwauwa, "The British Establishment of Universities in Tropical Africa, 1920-1948: A Reaction against the Spread of American "Radical" Influence". *Cashiers d'études africaines*, Vol. 33 No. 130, pp. 247-274, 1993, p. 251.

³³⁴ N.J.K. Brukum, "Sir Gordon Guggisberg and Socio-economic Development of Northern Ghana, 1919-1927", p. 4.

³³⁵ Appollos O. Nwauwa, "The British Establishment of Universities in Tropical Africa ...", p. 252.

clerks. This decision denied most of the pupils the opportunity of acquiring Standard VII education.³³⁶

The establishment of native administrations in the 1930s came in handy for the north as it expedited the establishment of schools by the authorities; first at Bawku, Lawra, and Wa. Enrolment increased as the government needed educated native administrators. Chiefs were thus encouraged to send male members of the tribe to schools. The outlay of these schools was defrayed partly by the government and partly by the native administrations. The subjects taught at these primary schools were mainly craftwork which included raffia work, mat-making, rope-making, rough carpentry, leatherwork, weaving, and spinning of cotton into garments, agriculture, and lacemaking.³³⁷

In 1936, government junior schools at Gambaga and Salaga were converted into native administration schools, i.e., making the number of such schools six, distributed as Bawku, Lawra, Wa, Gambaga, Sandema, and Kpembe. In that same year, the schools combined had a total number of 371 pupils, including 23 girls. There were also four mission-assisted primary schools with 338 pupils in attendance in 1936, of whom 88 were girls.³³⁸ Pupils coming from the junior and various native administration schools proceeded to the two government boarding schools at Tamale (one being a junior school and the other a senior school) for education in standards IV and VII. Thus, except for the two Tamale schools, all government schools were converted into native authority schools in 1936. As the number of girls receiving education increased, the Tamale boarding schools were divided, one for senior boys and the other for senior girls.³³⁹

The missions were the pioneers of secondary education, just like with primary education, with the government joining in later. The Wesleyans opened the first High School at Cape Coast in 1876. In 1889 the school became known as the Collegiate School providing post-primary education and including classes in carpentry, printing, and metalwork. This school became the foundation of a modern system of secondary education. Between 1903 and 1905 the natives Mensah Sarbah and W.E. Sam opened another school in Cape Coast which later amalgamated with the Wesleyan Collegiate School and took the name of

³³⁶ **Ibid.**

³³⁷ "Annual Report on the Social and Economic Progress of the People of the GOLD COAST, 1935-36". Colonial Reports **No. 1785**, pp. 56-57.

³³⁸ "Annual Report on the Social and Economic Progress of the People of the GOLD COAST, 1936-37". Colonial Reports **No. 1836**, 1938, p. 60.

³³⁹ "Annual Report on the Gold Coast for the year 1946", p. 49.

Mfantsipim. This was followed by the Accra Grammar School in Accra and, in 1910, the Adisadel College in Cape Coast.³⁴⁰ The government lagged although since 1850 it had shown some interest in the development of education. Kimble pointed out that by 1913 not a single secondary school was established by the government.³⁴¹ The government's interest only intensified in the provision of secondary schools after the establishment of Achimota College in 1923.

From the 1930s, British higher educational schemes in Africa focused on what Nwauwa termed as *"checking the American virus"*.³⁴² The natives had become highly incentivized to higher education that they sought education in America. Kwame Nkrumah was one such figure. He studied in America for ten years, i.e., from 1937 until his return in 1947. The American adventure exposed these Africans to new socio-political ideals which made them regard British education in the colonies as substandard. Thus, they came to demand reforms in education and agitated for universities to be provided. The colonial administration itself was said to have regarded the influx of Africans into American universities as a danger to its colonial machinery in Africa. To curb such occurrences, the administration was compelled to strategize on how to provide or develop some of the existing institutions into universities to educate Africans at home. The aim of this transformation was not just to provide universities, but to also curtail the number of educated Africans who could ferment political troubles. Nwauwa believed this scheme by the colonial administration was *"to enable African governments to regulate the number of graduates who would clamour for high posts in the colonial service or destabilize the effective operations of the indirect rule system predicated upon often illiterate chiefs"*.³⁴³

The natives' demand for universities was initially opposed by the colonial regime for fear of producing more educated Africans than they could control. However, in 1940, the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies gave the green light by endorsing the recommendation of the West African governors on higher education to provide universities. The proposal was only agreed upon due to the impacts of the war and rising nationalistic sentiments, or to Nwauwa, the realization that indirect rule was becoming anachronistic.³⁴⁴ Thus, significant changes in education occurred in the 1940s which propelled the direct

³⁴⁰ David Kimble, "A Political History of Ghana ...", pp. 84-86.

³⁴¹ *Ibid*, p. 86.

³⁴² Appollos O. Nwauwa, "The British Establishment of Universities in Tropical Africa, 1920-1948: A Reaction against the Spread of American "Radical" Influence", p. 257.

³⁴³ *Ibid*.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 265-267.

involvement of the natives in governance, beginning with Alan Burns Constitution of 1946.³⁴⁵

Different schemes were developed to put the changes in motion. First, starting with pre-tertiary institutions, in 1946 the Government came up with a ten-year plan for the large-scale development of facilities for education. It included plans for providing an extension of facilities for primary education,³⁴⁶ the production of many thousands of teachers, the establishment of new types of institutions for trade and technical education, and a progressive improvement in the quality of secondary schools and an increase in their number and output towards universal education.³⁴⁷

However, barely five years into the scheme, the Ten-Year Education Plan gave way to the Accelerated Development Plan for Education,³⁴⁸ which was approved by the Legislative Assembly in 1951, and in 1952 it introduced free primary education.³⁴⁹ The ten-year primary course was redesigned because it was regarded as discouraging pupils from pursuing any form of post-primary education. To attract more children and make education accessible to them all, all fees for primary education were dropped but free primary

³⁴⁵ It was the first constitution post-World War II and made significant provisions for the involvement of the natives and chiefs. It made provisions for an Executive and Legislative Councils. The Executive Council had eleven members, of whom eight were officials and three unofficial. The Legislative Council formed because of this constitution had thirty-one members, with the governor as the president. Six of the thirty-one members were official members whilst twenty-four were unofficial members. The latter included thirteen chiefs elected by the Joint Provincial Council, five elected persons representing Accra, Cape Coast and Sekondi-Takoradi, and six nominated members (three of whom were Gold Coasters) representing the Chamber of Commerce, mining and banking.

³⁴⁶ Three main principles of policy were adopted towards this end. These were, 1) the opening of new schools was to be carefully controlled; 2) the native authorities were to put a strict limit to the number of schools they added each year to those they were already assisting financially; 3) they were to select a number of primary schools based on their financial strength for improvement or development, i.e., for the appointment to them of trained teachers whose salary bills they would have to meet a substantial part. The denouement of this policy was the re-categorisation of primary schools into 4 categories: Government schools; assisted schools supervised by missions and a few by NA-- all in receipt of grants from the Central Government amounting to about 80% of their salary bills; designated schools, i.e., schools conducted by missions, churches and NA and received substantial grant-in-aid from native authorities; and non-assisted schools, which included a very considerable number of schools receiving small grants of a few pounds a year from NA. The 'designated schools' only came into force in 1947 following principle 3 of the government's policy. *See for example*, "Annual Report on the Gold Coast for the year 1947", p. 55.

³⁴⁷ "Colonial Report for the year 1947", p. 54.

³⁴⁸ The scheme brought some changes in education, chief among them were the provision of a basic six-year primary course (formerly infant-junior course) for all children at public expense, to be followed by a four-year course of middle-school education (formerly the senior-primary course) for chosen pupils at a fee, subjected the various types of schools, i.e., government, mission and church, and NA, to the general control of the Government, it regrouped the 4 categories of primary schools into just 2 categories: assisted and private. The changes were geared toward the introduction of universal free primary education. *See for example* "Report on the Gold Coast for the year 1951", pp. 32-34.

³⁴⁹ "Report on the Gold Coast for the year 1952". Colonial Office, 1953, p. 46.

education was not made compulsory due to challenges with facilities to accommodate everyone in the age group. Nonetheless, elementary education only became free and compulsory under Nkrumah with the passage of the Education Act of 1961.³⁵⁰

Also, the Phelps-Stokes Fund proposal was implemented. The means of instruction at the six-year primary course was the pupil's own vernacular, with English taught as a subject. The post-six-year primary course was taught entirely in English as pupils could then speak, read, and write in English. What's more, significant attention was paid to the training of both male and female teachers. Would-be teachers underwent general training courses either under a four-year post-primary course or a two-year post-secondary course for "Certificate A", which qualified the holders for employment in the senior primary and basic school; whilst a two-year post-primary course for "Certificate B", qualified the holders for work in the basic school.³⁵¹

Before the government started paying all teachers' salaries in January 1962,³⁵² schools used to entice teachers into their schools. In 1951 for instance, one educational unit reported to the Education Department that some native authorities offered salaries more than the approved rates, which were set by the Mangin Report, "*as a means of inducing teachers to leave their educational units to teach in the schools of those Native Authorities*". This was said to have been practiced in Ashanti to meet their staffing difficulties.³⁵³ Not only that, but some teachers were also accused and found guilty of acting against their schools by receiving bribes from parents, overcharging school excursions, and in some instances withholding large sums collected as fees without paying them to Managers.³⁵⁴ However, this challenge

³⁵⁰ La Fern Harker, "A Survey of Education in Ghana, 1751-1962", pp. 45, 48, 82; Some other reforms were pursued post-independence towards improving education in the country. For instance, in 1996 the World Bank funded the Free and Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE), whose object was to ensure access and free education for all children of school-going age by 2005. Also, Junior and Senior High Schools system was introduced to replace the old system of primary and middle school thus reducing pre-tertiary education from 17 to 12 years. Furthermore, there is the introduction of a 2-year kindergarten programme for children aged 4. Plus, the current government since 2017, has implemented its Flagship programme dubbed "Free SHS" for all Senior High Schools in the country. For further reading on postcolonial reforms in education, *see for example*, Philomena Osseo-Asare, "The Impacts of Language and Literacy Policy on Teaching Practices in Ghana: Postcolonial Perspectives on Early Literacy and Instruction", 2021.

³⁵¹ "Annual Report on the Gold Coast for the year 1947", p. 57.

³⁵² La Fern Harker, "A Survey of Education in Ghana, 1751-1962", p. 86.

³⁵³ Ag. Assistant Director of Education, Ashanti, "Salaries of Teachers", CONFIDENTIAL, **Ref. No. 666A/4**, 4 April 1951, enclosed in ARG 1/13/1/1, PRAAD.

³⁵⁴ Director of Education, "BRIBERY, EXTORTION AND MISAPPROPRIATION OF FUNDS IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS", **Ref. No. Conf.156/ii/57**, 16 January 1951, pp. 1-4, enclosed in ARG 1/13/1/1, PRAAD, pp. 1, 4.

was overcome through the training and employment of more teachers, and the payment of teachers' salaries by the government.

Second, the Elliot Commission, which was constituted to dig into the provision of a university for the Gold Coast had recommended that Achimota be developed first into a university college and subsequently to full university status. However, public opinion in Britain was against such a move. The Britishers held a view that Achimota *"should not provide courses beyond the intermediate level and should send students who had reached that level to a central West African university college to be established in Nigeria"*.³⁵⁵ The intention was to have only one university in Lagos serving the entire people of British West Africa. Why did the colonial administration opt for such a provision? The first reason had to do with financing. However, the most important rationale was to be able to control the "scholars", who were increasingly becoming vocal and criticizing the British administration in the colonies. Thus, the people of Gold Coast vehemently opposed that decision to demand their university.

In the wake of that, a committee under the chairmanship of Mr. K.G. Bradley, C.M.G., the Acting Colonial Secretary, was appointed to advise the Governor as to the wishes of the people about the future advancement of higher education in the Gold Coast and offer recommendations. In November 1946, it recommended the establishment of an independent university college, which under the aegis of London University and the Inter-University Council, would grow into a fully-fledged university.³⁵⁶ The Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the colonies came to the Gold Coast in January 1947 and agreed with the Secretary of State to establish a university college on the Gold Coast.³⁵⁷ Thus, the University College of the Gold Coast (now the University of Ghana) was formally opened by the governor on 11 October 1948. An ordinance was passed by the legislative council establishing it as an autonomous institution under a body corporate council with complete control of the general policy and property of the college. An Academic Board was also established for it with the main functions of advancing research and academic policy and regulating courses of study and examinations held by the College.³⁵⁸

³⁵⁵ "Annual Report on the Gold Coast for the year 1946", p. 50.

³⁵⁶ **Ibid.**

³⁵⁷ "Annual Report on the Gold Coast for the year 1947", p. 58.

³⁵⁸ "Annual Report on the Gold Coast for the year 1948", p. 53.

Later, in 1951 a Regional College was started at Kumasi to provide technical and technological education at the post-secondary level and professional courses. In 1952, this College became known as the Kumasi College of Technology³⁵⁹ (now Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology). The next University to be established was the University of Cape Coast in 1961, and four years later Institute of Professional Studies (now the University of Professional Studies) was established. Currently, Ghana has about fifteen public universities with several other private ones.

³⁵⁹ “Report on the Gold Coast for the year 1951”, p. 56.

CHAPTER FIVE

EUROPEANS, CHIEFS, TREATIES, AND THE IMPERIAL QUEST

5.1. Imperialism: A Historiographical Context

*“Imperialism is like tick fever. Animals that suffer from it are never healthy. So are the nations that are controlled by imperialists. Their economic situation is never healthy ...”*³⁶⁰ The above statement reflects the situation of almost the entire African continent since the nineteenth century. Since then, Africans are not shown any iota of respect across the world due to the history of enslavement, colonization, and imperialism suffered at the hands of Western European countries. Historically, the unprecedented transformations of the nineteenth century, both in scale and intensity, altered the fundamental relationship between European imperial powers and their peripheries. These changes were brought about by imperial expansion and colonialism. Albeit some writers regarded colonization as agathokakological, its evils outweigh whatever good was in it. The denouements of colonization on the peripheries or in a much simpler term the colonies, particularly on the African continent, were human and material exploitations, economic dependencies on the so-called ‘super’ states, and the reduction of practical and technical knowledge of means of advancement to abstract and nugatory curricula, which met the requirements of European need on African territories.

When did this intricate aggregate system of world-imperial relations begin? This imperial motive of the West emerged ardently with the capitalist economy of the long sixteenth century. Its precipitous wealth amassment, conveyance of surplus from proletarian to bourgeois and from the periphery to the core, patterns, and phases of economic expansion and stagnation, combined to shape the boundaries of the world economy. These new boundaries in turn led to direct colonial overrule, ‘informal imperialism’, and sometimes direct conquest followed by direct colonialism. The integration of the core and the periphery into the world economy entailed two major changes for the incorporated zone: (i) reorganization of production structures so they contribute to the overall division of labour in the world economy; and, (ii) reorganization of political structures so they facilitate the flux

³⁶⁰ Aquino de Braganca & Immanuel Wallerstein (eds.), “The African Liberation Reader: The Anatomy of Colonialism”, V. 1. London: Zed Press Ltd., 1982, p. 3.

of factors of production in the world economy.³⁶¹ The latter resulted in the creation of colonial states and imperial struggles among white settlers for control of resources, whilst the former led to further stratification of socio-political structures into new and varied classes.

Of course, Europe could not have taken this path without peace among the various European nations. Among other treaties, the ratification of the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 by most of the European countries, systematized certain rules of interstate relationships that regulated the issues of correlative hegemony. These precepts were later expanded under the rubric of international law.³⁶² This treaty ended the Thirty-Year War, and set Europe on the path of lasting peace, sovereignty, and defined the borders of the states. This in tandem with the Renaissance resulted in great social change in Europe. The political and economic changes that followed this relative peace in Europe brought about the development of alliances and interstate systems in Europe.

Emil Reich was apt to regard empires not as a matter of choice, but of geographical and historical circumstances. Histories of nations are the outcome of conflicts with other nations. He stated that in combating “favourable neighbours”, provided nature has equalized chances, a nation will become what without those conflicts she could never have become.³⁶³ Thus, the outcome of such conflicts shapes the next strategies to be adopted by the participants, which is either to emerge as a puppet state, monarchical one, spiritual state or even develop into an empire. Instead of continuing to fight among themselves, the nations of Europe after emerging from conflicts formed powerful and connected networks of alliances superseding all other social processes and structures in harnessing their transformations. According to Charles Tilly, European intellectuals of the nineteenth century formed ideas, in reaction to the analysis of social change. That was changes related to growing population, production, capital, coercive force, and organizational power around them, to treat and balance imbalances connected to ideas of societies and complex structures.³⁶⁴

³⁶¹ Aquino de Braganca & Immanuel Wallerstein (eds.), “The African Liberation Reader: The National Liberation Movements”, V. 2. London: Zed Press Ltd., 1982, p. iii.

³⁶² Immanuel Wallerstein, “World-Systems Analysis: An Introduction”. Duke University Press, 2004, p. 42.

³⁶³ Emil Reich, “Imperialism: ITS PRICES; ITS VOCATION”. London: Hutchinson & Co., 1905, pp. 14-15.

³⁶⁴ Charles Tilly, “Big Structures, Large Processes, and Huge Comparisons”. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1984, p. 2.

Central to this idea was imperialism, as the nub of European ideas about the conquest and administration of non-western countries and peoples.³⁶⁵ There are three elemental precepts in the conceptual analysis of imperialism. These precepts are those of exploitation, “trusteeship” or “partnership”, and “assimilation”.³⁶⁶ In short, it was an abstruse strategy to take wars away from mainland Europe into non-European continents, the emphasis of which was presented in the guise of great Western intellectual ideas and civilization. This in turn set the tone for colonization.

Wallerstein posits that colonies originated from the economic expansion of the world system. In that expansion, strong states at the core tried to incorporate new zones into the processes of the modern world system, although they sometimes confronted strong bureaucratic units enough to become defined as sovereign states even if not strong enough to stay out of the expanding world system. Such areas were incorporated into the world system by conquest and installation of colonial regimes.³⁶⁷ These peripheries were then administered not by the local population, but by administrators sent from the imperial country, who in most cases perceived the culture of the local population as barbaric, inferior, and backward in civilization. Imperial powers were guided by one rule: to keep expanding their empires to an extent that they either took their dependencies as the same as the imperium itself or regarded them as distinctively different.

Imperial relations are parasitic in nature. As put forward by Jeppe Mulich, it involves spatial and political configurations that transcend well-bounded units to include negotiation, transformation, and redrawing of boundaries, fashioning new polities, blurring existing demarcations, and imposing altered hierarchical relations in the process.³⁶⁸ The colonial state was the weakest in the interstate system, with the lowest autonomy, and was subject to exploitation by firms and persons from the metropolitan country. Strong states relate to weak states by pressuring the latter to keep their frontiers open to flows of factors of production that are useful and profitable to firms in the former, whilst resisting any demands for reciprocity in the flows of agricultural products or textiles that compete with their own products from states in peripheral zones; they further pressure them to install and keep in power persons whom the strong states find acceptable, to get them to conform to the policy

³⁶⁵ Philip D. Curtin, “Imperialism”. London and Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1971, p. ix.

³⁶⁶ Kwame Nkrumah, “Towards Colonial Freedom: Africa in the struggle against world imperialism”, p. 1.

³⁶⁷ Immanuel Wallerstein, “World-Systems Analysis: An Introduction”, p. 55.

³⁶⁸ Jeppe Mulich, “Transformation at the margins: Imperial expansion and systemic change in world politics”. *Review of International Studies*, pp. 1-23, 2018, p. 6.

needs of the strong states; they pressure them to accept cultural practices in the nature of linguistic policy, educational policy, and media distribution that will reinforce the long-term linkage between them;³⁶⁹ they reduce colonies to non-manufacturing dependencies; they prevent the colonial subjects from acquiring the knowledge of modern means and techniques for developing their own industries; they make colonial subjects simple producers of raw materials through cheap labour; and they prohibit the colonies from trading with other nations except through the “mother country”.³⁷⁰

There are two groups of colonies. These are settler colonies and non-settler colonies. European colonization strategy was determined by whether they could settle in a country or not. They set up extractive institutions in places where they could not settle, whilst they settled and replicate European institutions in favourable colonies.³⁷¹ European contact with the rest of the world took various forms. They came first as traders, missionaries, and settlers, and were in limited contact with the indigenous population. However, over time, the need for a surer context within which to live and work led to the demand by them for the establishment of a colonial administration, which would enable various kinds of economic exploitation and cultural aggrandizement they deemed necessary.³⁷²

For instance, whilst British imperial policies in India and South Africa were largely towards economic supremacy and settlement, their policies in the Gold Coast and other West African countries were purely towards economic hegemony devoid of settlement (although they set up a few trading fortresses as would be seen shortly along the coasts of West Africa). In India, the British Raj or rule spanned from 1858 to 1947. Its success, like in the case of the Gold Coast, was due to the efforts of an agglomerate of British traders who constituted the East India Company and obtained a charter from Queen Elizabeth in 1600, for the exclusive rights to trade in the Eastern seas. By the eighteenth century, what started as a tiny British settlement had led to the permanent establishment of British settlements at Surat, Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta.³⁷³ British hegemony in India was accompanied by numerous socio-political changes such as the making of British administrators as adjudicators in civil

³⁶⁹ Immanuel Wallerstein, “World-Systems Analysis: An Introduction”, pp. 55-56.

³⁷⁰ Kwame Nkrumah, “Towards Colonial Freedom ...”, p. 10.

³⁷¹ Daron Acemoglu, S. Johnson, & J.A. Robinson, “The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation”. *Department of Economics Working Paper 00-22*. Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2000, pp. 1-2.

³⁷² Immanuel Wallerstein, “Social Change: The Colonial Situation”. John Wiley & Sons, Inc. New York, 1966, p. 3.

³⁷³ See for example, Wheeler J. Talboys, “India under British rule From the Foundation of the East India Company. USA: Gutenberg e-Book #46151, 2014.

and criminal cases, imposition of household taxes and land revenues, introduction of British administration through conquests and invasions, etc.

In South Africa, British settlement spanned from about 1795 to 1961. The Dutch were the dominant European power before the British took over. In 1806 when the British took the Cape Colony, the British government took a decision, according to Meredith, “*to populate the area with immigrant settlers from Britain and the Parliament in London voted £50 000 to transport volunteers to the Zuurveld and set them up as agricultural farmers on allotments of about a hundred acres*”.³⁷⁴ Governor Sir Benjamin D-Urban annexed Xhosa lands to make them available for white settlement, and by 1834, they made English the only official language of the territory.³⁷⁵

What were the consequences for those colonies where the Europeans settled? Their settlements created deeper problems for such colonies, for they resulted in further stratification of the society with the creation of quasi-western society within alien societies. This pitched the traditional cultures against Western cultures. The advantages of technology, i.e., scientific and medical, at the disposal of the latter, brought to the fore the first real theory of imperialism; that is the desire to dominate the internal affairs of the natives and the need to develop a domestic administrative policy to entrench the aliens’ rule. To this end emerged imperial policies such as assimilation or association by the French or indirect rule by the British settlers.

What were the fundamental pull and push factors for European Imperialism across Africa? The fundamental factor to talk about at this juncture is economics. European countries like Portugal, Spain, Holland, and Britain set out on a mission to locate sea routes to the East to maintain the supply of items such as silk, cotton, spices, sugar, inter alia, and a market for European manufactured goods. However, their impetuses surged when they met African societies and their resources on their quest for locating sea routes. When the Portuguese showed up on the Gold Coast, for instance, their cupidity for wealth, especially gold led them to enter negotiations with native chiefs of the coastal tribes, of course under duress by demonstrating the military might of the king of Portugal, and soon laid claims to

³⁷⁴ Martin Meredith, “Diamonds, Gold, and War: The British, the Boers, and the Making of South Africa”. Great Britain: Simon & Schuster UK Ltd, 2007, pp. 1-2.

³⁷⁵ **Ibid**, p. 4.

the territories. Other European nations joined later and turned the Gold Coast into an arena of European imperial warfare.

The story of the Gold Coast was like that of South Africa. British takeover of South Africa was precipitated by the discovery of mammoth diamond deposits in Griqualand in 1871 and even more by the gold deposits of Witwatersrand in 1886. The British pursued all manner of rough tactics to gain supremacy in these mining areas. For instance, the Cape Colony's colonial secretary, Richard Southey was said to have hatched a plan with David Arnot, the agent of Chief Waterboer of Griqua to solicit British protection as various factions laid claims to diamond fields in his town, which he did.³⁷⁶ The British swiftly sent a magistrate there signifying their intent to support Waterboer and to prevent the diamond fields from falling into the hands of the Boers. The magistrate, Keate, in September 1871 ruled that the diamond fields belonged to Waterboer. Waterboer then put his territory in Sir Henry Barkly's trust. Barkly, without approval from London, proclaimed the annexation of Griqualand West on 27 October 1871. Afterwards, Kimberly expressed that "although Sir Henry Barkly had made a mistake in annexing the territory before the passage of the Bill by the Cape Parliament, they had no alternative but to approve it".³⁷⁷

Meanwhile, this period coincided with the consolidation of State formation by the several native polities on the Gold Coast and elsewhere, and so, the continent was already engaged in a series of warfare. The Europeans took advantage of this to side with one enemy or the other in what could be best described as "divide-and-rule". The alliances made by a particular European nation with its tribal counterpart metamorphosed into "protectionism" for the supply of resources, particularly gold and slaves. This period thus entrenched enslavement in local societies to satiate European imperial and colonial interests. This trade in slaves to the Americas and West Indies, of able-bodied population, impaired the socio-political and economic evolution of Africa in general. Therefore, the apt definition of colonialism was best captured by Holden Roberto. According to him, it is a system established by force against the will of the people, "ideologically presented as being one whose evolution has been arrested, impermeable to reason, incapable of conducting its own affairs", thus requiring "the permanent presence of a trustee or guide".³⁷⁸

³⁷⁶ See for example, Martin Meredith, "Diamonds, Gold, and War: The British, the Boers, and the Making of South Africa", pp. 24-25.

³⁷⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 25-26.

³⁷⁸ Aquino de Braganca & Immanuel Wallerstein (eds.), "The African Liberation Reader: The National Liberation Movements", V. 2., p. 75.

Albeit powerful societies that marched or even superseded European might such as the Moguls, the Turks, the Chinese, Japanese existed, and in Tropical Africa strong states existed till, after 1800, the western world regarded the non-west as an anomalous to the social, historic, or economic patterns they ascertained in their society. Non-Europeans were seen as exotic and expected to behave in curious and unexpected ways, thus creating identity issues of “us” against “the other people”.³⁷⁹ This superiority complex approach led to theories of the cultural revolution and the application of biological knowledge to explain the success or failure of the varied human race. First, Christianity, then Social Darwinism, economic theory, and political theory were greatly utilized in the imperial business to espouse the superiority of the white race and viewed the rest of humanity as in need of redemption.

Up to about the sixteenth century, Europeans relied on Christianity to assess the level of civilization. However, the maritime revolution from the sixteenth century introduced pristine know-how of the non-west and began to change the nature of this superiority feeling.³⁸⁰ Europeans came to grasp that the world was vast beyond their initial imaginations. There were different civilizations and peoples, who contributed to world history in diverse ways and those religious differences had little or no impact on their skills and authority. However, with the intense expansive effect of the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century, in tandem with the application of empirical scientific knowledge to explain phenomena, pseudoscientific theories were applied to justify why certain societies flourished whilst others did not.

As posited by Philip D. Curtin, the period from the 1870s into the 1920s and beyond “*was filled with the reliance and believe that physical racial appearance was an outward sign of inborn propensities, inclinations, and abilities*”. Biologists of repute, such as Georges Cuvier, Charles Darwin, Gustave Le Bon, and Robert Knox, stepped in to assert confidently on human history and society and were anxious to popularize the knowledge of biological advances.³⁸¹ Prominent among these scientific publications was the work of Charles Darwin, in what became known as Social Darwinism. According to Darwin:

“Species had not been independently created but had descended, like varieties, from other species. ... Organic beings when exposed to several

³⁷⁹ Philip D. Curtin, “Imperialism”, pp. xiii-xiv.

³⁸⁰ **Ibid**, p. xiv.

³⁸¹ **Ibid**, p. 1.

*generations of new conditions undergo a great amount of variation. And once the variation kicks in, it generally continues varying for many generations. The conditions of life appear to act in two ways – directly (there are two factors to the direct action – namely, the nature of the organism, and the nature of the conditions) on the whole organization or on certain parts alone, and indirectly by affecting the reproductive system. ... Variations follow from the struggle for life. Owing to this struggle, variations will tend to the preservation of such individuals, and will generally be inherited by the offspring. The offspring will then have a better chance of surviving, for, of the many individuals of any species which are periodically born, but a small number can survive”.*³⁸²

Darwin called the principle of the “preservation of favourable individual differences and variations, and the destruction of those which are injurious” the natural selection or the survival of the fittest. He further described the severe competition undergone by all organic beings, which includes the dependence of one being on another, the life of the individual, and the success in leaving progeny, as the struggle for existence. In this struggle, man initiates “his selection by some half-monstrous form; or at least by some modification prominent enough to catch the eye or to be plainly useful to him”.³⁸³ This knowledge was incorporated into the philosophical tenets of western imperialism, which regarded the white race as the favoured “species” that survived the severe competition, to the extent that high European mortality in the tropics was attributed to the climate instead of the result of unfamiliar diseases.

One other basis for extending European imperialistic motive to the African continent was to be found in the theory of strategic politics. European nations following the major unification of their states saw the losers on mainland Europe turn to conquest in Africa to compensate for losses in Europe to maintain peace. Actual European occupation in Africa began with French colonial policy between 1879 and 1880, and even much so with the British subjection of Egypt in 1882. This changed the hitherto passive European policy to a more proactive one. Before the Berlin Act (1884-5), Uzoigwe postulated that Europeans obtained some degree of political influence through treaties, settlements (for both merchants

³⁸² Charles Darwin, “1809-1882: On the origin of species by means of natural selection, or preservation of favoured races in the struggle for life”. London: John Murray, 1859, pp. 27, 32-34, 99.

³⁸³ **Ibid**, pp. 100-101, 125.

and missionaries), and commercial posts. The treaties were important means and were of two kinds: (i) between Africans and Europeans; and (ii) bilateral agreements between the Europeans themselves. The former was further of two kinds: (a) the slave trade and the commercial treaties, which led to European interference in African affairs; and (b) the political treaties by which African rulers either surrendered their sovereignty in return for protection or decided not to enter treaties with other European nations.³⁸⁴

Suffice it to say, the African states did not just hand over their independence and sovereignty to the Europeans on a silver platter. They had options, and three of such options were opened to them against the Europeans between 1880 and 1900. These according to M'Baye and Boahen were those of confrontation (which involved open warfare, sieges, guerrilla tactics, scorched earth policies, and diplomacy), alliance, and of acquiescence or submission.³⁸⁵ For instance, against the French, Lat Dior Diop of Cayor chose the strategy of confrontation from about 1864 to 1886 when he died; Ahmadu of the Tukulor empire chose the strategies of alliance and military confrontation to maintain his independence and sovereignty, albeit the French headed by Lt.-Colonel Borgnis-Desbordes, betrayed this alliance to invade his empire in 1881 and 1890;³⁸⁶ and Samori Ture of the Mandingo empire chose the strategy of confrontation. He fought the longest series of battles against the French from 1882 to his capture in 1898. Samori Ture was deported to Gabon and died two years later. As for the British on the Gold Coast, they entered peaceful diplomacy with the northern polities of the Gold Coast in about 1896 but engaged in a series of confrontations with Asante from 1824 to about 1901.

Thus, with conquest establishing claims to overseas empires, the European legal framework of international relations became the premise for settling rival claims. This ethnocentric body of ideas and procedures started on the premise that all nations are equal before the law, and European cultural standards were used to measure the progress of territories outside of the European mainland.³⁸⁷ Emer de Vattel, in the Law of Nations, defined the societal paradigms that make a non-western enclave predispose to European arrogation. For Vattel, the Law of Nations “*will only recognize the ownership and sovereignty of a Nation over unoccupied lands when the Nation is in actual occupation of*

³⁸⁴ G.N. Uzoigwe, “European Partition and Conquest of Africa: an overview”. In A. A. Boahen (ed.). “*General History of Africa, VII: Africa under Colonial Domination, 1880-1935*”. California: UNESCO, 1985, p. 31.

³⁸⁵ G. M'Baye & A.A. Boahen, “African initiatives and resistance in West Africa, 1880-1914”. In A.A. Boahen (ed.). “*General History of Africa, VII: Africa under Colonial Domination, 1880-1935*”, p. 117.

³⁸⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 117-121.

³⁸⁷ Philip D. Curtin, “Imperialism”, pp. 41-42.

them when it forms a settlement upon them, or make some actual use of them". According to him, *"a Nation may occupy a territory where wandering tribes, whose small numbers cannot populate the whole country were to be found"*. To him the tribes' *"occupancy cannot hold as a real and lawful taking of possession, and when the Nations of Europe come upon such lands that the savages have no special need of and are making no present and continues the use of, they may lawfully take possession of them and establish colonies in them. When a Nation takes possession of a distant country and establishes a colony there, that territory, though separated from the mother country, forms naturally a part of the State, as much so as its older possessions. Hence, whenever the public laws or treaties make no distinction between them, all regulations affecting the mother country should be extended equally to the colonies"*.³⁸⁸

This absurd proposition was applied to alienate African lands. In the French colonies, the natives' territories were taken by force and incorporated into metropolitan France. The British also succeeded in alienating African lands, in almost its entire colonies in West, East, and Central Africa, except in the Gold Coast, where the A.R.P.S., through a series of petitions and delegations to London got the Land Bills of 1896 withdrawn; the 1894 Towns Ordinance repealed in 1906 and opposed the Forestry Bill of 1910 in 1911. The British had attempted to establish direct control over all unoccupied lands and to give them to the local government,³⁸⁹ create forest reserves, and offer land as concessions to European planters and concessionaires.³⁹⁰

The political prestige of owning overseas colonies manifested in Europe before the Second World War when there was an attempt to grant Germany a footing in Africa in the hope that Germany might become amicable, and Hitler might even become a "good German". The Plymouth Committee, appointed by Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin on 9 March 1936, was tasked to handle Germany's formal mention of colonial issues. The Germans believed that if they had an empire, they too would be prosperous. Also, the overseas bases would be of use to Germany in case of war, and the colonies were to redress the unjust Versailles settlement and its implication that the Germans were unworthy as colonists.³⁹¹ The German's request was not just political, but economic as well. The

³⁸⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 44-45.

³⁸⁹ G. M'Baye & A.A. Boahen, "African initiatives and resistance in West Africa, 1880-1914", p. 146.

³⁹⁰ M.H.Y. Kaniki, "The Colonial Economy: The Former British Zones". In A.A. Boahen (ed.). *General History of Africa, VII: Africa under Colonial Domination*, p. 388.

³⁹¹ Roger W. Louis, "Colonial Appeasement, 1936-1938". *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, pp. 1175-1191, 1971, pp. 1175-1177.

champion of Germany's colonial cause, the banker, Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, reported that Germany's colonial demand was due to shortages of foodstuffs, particularly oils and fats, which could be produced in the West African colonies.³⁹²

This brings us to the most important basis for imperial expansion: the economic theory. The quest to make a profit for the "mother country" was the underlying motive for imperialism. The myth surrounding the abundance of arable lands and resources in tropical Africa, and the mission to utilize the abundant manpower of the African States to produce goods for export to the world, led to the imposition of various taxation by the British, such as the hut tax in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Sierra Leone, Uganda inter alia, and the poll tax in the Gold Coast, on Africans to force them into production and to develop a cheap proletarian class. The significance of the economic motives of the British, and to a larger extent other imperialists, could better be grasped in the words of the British Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, before Parliament in 1895. He said: *"It is our business in all these new countries to make smooth the path for British commerce, British enterprise, the application of British capital, at a time when other paths, other outlets for the commercial energies of our race are being gradually closed by the commercial principles which are gaining more and more adhesion ... In a few years it will be our people that will be masters, it will be our commerce that will prevail, it will be our capital that will rule ... My Lords, this is a tremendous power, but it requires one condition. You must enable it to get to the country where its work is to be done. You must open the path"*.³⁹³ What kind of path was he talking about? The kind that legitimized economic, human, and material exploitation of resources of the colonies.

Salisbury held a Darwinian view. He together with Cecil John Rhodes championed British imperialism to greater heights in Africa. For Salisbury, the British Empire persisted only to strengthen the supremacy and wealth of Britain. His administration pushed Britain to pursue establishing a sphere of influence stretching from the Cape northwards into Central Africa, southwards into Sudan from the Nile delta, and from Zanzibar westwards to control the headwaters of the Nile. He maintained control of the route to India due to its importance and impressed for Britain to retain Egypt. In his disquisition to the Primrose League, Salisbury said: *"You may roughly divide the nations of the world as the living and the dying.*

³⁹² **Ibid**, p. 1179.

³⁹³ R.D. Wolff, 1974 as cited in M.H.Y. Kaniki, "The Colonial Economy: The Former British Zones", pp. 383-384.

*On the one side you have great countries of enormous power, growing in power every year, growing in wealth, growing in dominion, growing in the perfection of their organisation ... By the side of these are communities which I can only describe as dying ... In them, misgovernment is on the increase, decade after decade they are weaker, poorer and less provided in men or institutions in which they can trust ... ”.*³⁹⁴

Salisbury was not the first British premier to hold such economic views. As early as 1874, the Tory government of Benjamin Disraeli had sought to expand British influence outside of Britain by pushing a far greater imperial agenda. Meredith predicated that Disraeli had “*regarded the Cape Colony and its naval facilities at Simon’s Bay as being the most important link in the imperial network outside Britain itself, upon which the safety of the whole empire might one day depend*”.³⁹⁵ Nonetheless, what Salisbury misconceived was that change, like in the words of Wallerstein is eternal³⁹⁶ and its inherent dynamics affect societies and groups progressively. In the case of African states and societies, for instance, change was already in motion, in its natural progressive course, before sowing the seed of European imperialism. However, it must be added that the momentum of change as an ideology greatly altered with colonial rule. As Afigbo asserted, African rulers and their European counterparts consciously came to embrace change. Traditional institutions and rulers served as media for introducing reform in ways acceptable to the colonial authority.³⁹⁷ The main agents of change were western education, Christianity, waged labour, and capital accumulation. Thus, interrogating these changes will enable us to come to terms with the roles of the actors involved.

The first two agents of change have already been discussed in the previous chapter, thus, the next sub-sections will concentrate on the last two agents, and include, first the steps taking to establish permanent European presence on the Gold Coast, the role of the Traditional Rulers in opening up their states to the imperialists and merchants during the gold rush of the nineteenth century and repercussions of the capital it came with, the various trade treaties they signed with the British imperialists and merchants, the land bills of 1894 and their denouements, the colonial government’s investment in agriculture when it failed to control all the native lands, standardization of taxes, the role of merchant companies in

³⁹⁴ “The British Empire 1815-1914”, www.britishempire.me.uk/lordsalisbury.html.

³⁹⁵ Martin Meredith, “Diamonds, Gold, and War: The British, the Boers, and the Making of South Africa”. Great Britain: Simon & Schuster UK Ltd, 2007, p. 63.

³⁹⁶ Immanuel Wallerstein, “The Modern World-System I”. University of California, 2011, p. 3.

³⁹⁷ A.E. Afigbo, “The Social Repercussions of Colonial Rule: The New Social Structures”. In A.A. Boahen (ed.). “General History of Africa, VII: Africa under Colonial Domination”, p. 489.

development who also doubled as moneylenders to the Chiefs, since 1929, to undertake development projects in their native states, the development of a wage-earning class and the role of the chiefs as recruiters, and the gradual Africanisation of the administrative system in the years leading up to independence.

5.2. European Settlements and the Onset of the Imperial Quest

Before 1500, a few European traders, explorers, and some historians had sailed to West Africa. For instance, the earliest people to have sailed around the coasts of West Africa were said to be the Phoenicians around 600 B.C., during the era of Necho II, Pharaoh of Egypt. After them, between 520 and 470 B.C., was the Carthaginian fleet, under Admiral Hanno, which sailed along the west and north-western coast of Africa; they were followed by a Greek, Euthyminus, who visited the coast of West Africa between 400 and 300 B.C., who came upon the Senegal River; a century later, there was another Greek explorer and historian, Polybius, who visited the same coast; and between 300 and 200 B.C., another Greek, Eudoseus of Cyzicus, sailed from Arabia down to East Africa, then to West Africa, up to the Straits of Gibraltar.³⁹⁸

Modern Europeans, particularly Frenchmen from Normandy were the earliest to contact the West African coast in the late fourteenth century. The Portuguese, however, were the foremost to land on the coast of modern Ghana in 1471. What were the motivating factors prompting European adventures on the open seas? Perhaps the first was Catholicism, then European commercial interests, nationalism, and above all new shipbuilding techniques. Hitherto the Chinese and then the Arabs were masters of the latter. DeGraft-Johnson posited that the search for new trade routes to the Far East was because of the Ottoman Turks' conquest of Syria, Egypt, and Constantinople during the fifteenth century.³⁹⁹ The Ottoman activities had blocked the eastern trade routes and there was the need to go around Africa through the open sea, in search of new routes to Asia. The Portuguese, under the instruction of Prince Henry, were quick to start voyages in the open sea.

In 1471 Joao de Santarem and Pedro d'Escabar, on their return voyage after sailing past Cape Palmas and going as far south as the Island of St. Thomas, embarked on the Gold

³⁹⁸ J.C. DeGraft-Johnson, "African Glory: The Story of Vanished Negro Civilizations". Baltimore, Black Classic Press, 1986, pp. 120-121; On the accounts of the Phoenicians, *see for example*, A.B. Ellis, "A History of the Gold Coast of West Africa", p. 8.

³⁹⁹ J.C. DeGraft-Johnson, "African Glory: The Story of Vanished Negro Civilizations", p. 123.

Coast, Elmina to be precise, where they obtained a large quantity of gold.⁴⁰⁰ Gold from Elmina and its vicinity provided the Portuguese with substantial revenues, especially with the succession of John II as King of Portugal in 1481. To expand this trade, John II dispatched an expedition under Diego d’Azambuja to build a fort near the Elmina goldmines and to protect their interests. All materials required for building this fort were shipped from Lisbon. They sailed on 11 December 1481 and embarked near Elmina on 19 January 1482. On 20 January 1482, Diego d’Azambuja paraded himself on Elmina beach, seated on an imperial chair. He hoisted the royal flag of Portugal and sent an invitation to the chief of Elmina, Chief Kwame Ansa. This was done through a Portuguese resident, who had come to the coast in search of gold. His name was Juan Bernardo, and he knew the country as well as the native language on the coast. Through the interpreter, Azambuja praised the generosity and kindness shown by Chief Kwame Ansa to the Portuguese traders, after which he requested permission to build a fort at Elmina.⁴⁰¹ Azambuja tried to convince the chief by stressing the might and power of Portugal. In response to his request, Chief Kwame Ansa had this to say on 20 January 1482:

“I am not insensible to the high honour which your great master the Chief of Portugal has this day conferred upon me. His friendship I have always endeavoured to merit by the strictness of my dealings with the Portuguese, and by my constant exertions to procure immediate lading for the vessels. But never until this day did, I observe such a difference in the appearance of his subjects: they have hitherto been only meanly attired, were easily contented with the commodities they received; and so far from wishing to continue in this country, were never happy until they could complete their lading, and return. Now I remark (on) a strange difference. A great number (of them) richly dressed are anxious to be allowed to build houses and to continue among us. Men of such eminence, conducted by a commander who from his own account seems to have descended from the God who made day and night, can never bring themselves to endure the hardships of this climate; nor would they here be able to procure any of the luxuries that abound in their own country. The passions that are common to us all men will therefore inevitably bring on disputes; and it is far preferable that both our nations should

⁴⁰⁰ A.B. Ellis, “A History of the Gold Coast of West Africa”, p.17; J.C. DeGraft-Johnson, “African Glory ...”, p. 128.

⁴⁰¹ **Ibid**, p. 18; **Ibid**, p. 128.

*continue on the same footing they have hitherto done, allowing your ships to come and go as usual; the desire of seeing each other occasionally will preserve peace between us. The Sea and Land being always neighbours are continually at variance, and contending who shall give away; the Sea with great violence attempting to subdue the Land, and the Land with equal obstinacy resolving to oppose the Sea ”.*⁴⁰²

This clearly showed the unwillingness of the chief to allow European settlement on the coast of modern Ghana. However, d’Azambuja was said to have had his way only through veiled threats backed by promises, presents, and bribes to induce Chief Kwame Ansa to give in.⁴⁰³ Thus, in 1482 they started to form their settlements in Elmina and would remain on the Gold Coast for 160 years. The first fort upon completion was termed Sao Jorge da Mina, marking the first European settlement on the Gold Coast. In about 1623, the Portuguese built the Ursu Lodge at Christiansborg, which was occupied by the Swedes by 1645.⁴⁰⁴

Next, after the Portuguese were the English. The first English expedition to Guinea and Benin occurred in 1553 under Captain Windham and a Portuguese named Anes Pinteado. Pinteado had fallen out of favour at the Portuguese Court and moved to England where he showed the English the way to the coast of West Africa, and where the Portuguese obtained pepper and gold. In 1554 Captain John Lok, sponsored by English merchants set foot on the Gold Coast and sent home a cargo of 400 lbs. of gold, grains or Guinea pepper, and 250 elephants’ teeth, and in 1555, William Towson brought back gold dust and ivory.⁴⁰⁵ However, the British did not stay on the Gold Coast during this time as they were targeted as pirates by the Portuguese who had monopolized trade on the coast. The actual British settlements started in the seventeenth century, with the first settlement in 1618 at Kormantine with others to follow in the subsequent years.

The Dutch started making trading voyages to the coast in 1595 and they immediately sought to establish settlements. In 1598 they built a small trading lodge at Mouree and built

⁴⁰² W.W. Claridge, “A History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti” as cited in J.C. DeGraft-Johnson, “African Glory ...”, p. 129.

⁴⁰³ A.B. Ellis, “A History of the Gold Coast of West Africa”, p. 20; J.C. DeGraft-Johnson, “African Glory ...”, p. 129.

⁴⁰⁴ “Annual Report on the Gold Coast for the year 1947”, p. 110.

⁴⁰⁵ C.P. Lucas, “A Historical Geography of the British Colonies”. Vol. III, West Africa. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1894, pp. 52-53; H. Johnston, “Britain Across the Seas: A History and Description of the British Empire in Africa”. London: Spottiswoode and Co. Ltd, 1910, pp. 47-48, 50; Harry H. Johnston, “The Opening Up of Africa”. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1911, p. 215.

others later at Butri and Cormantine. In 1624 they built Fort Nassau in Mouree. In 1637 they took the Elmina Castle from the Portuguese and Fort St. Anthony in 1640. They further built Fort Vrendenburgh in 1688 at Kommenda.⁴⁰⁶ By 1642 they had ended the Portuguese monopoly on the coast. The Danes joined in the slave trade and drove the Swedes out of Christiansborg in 1657. They also built Fort Fredericksborg close to Cape Coast Castle.⁴⁰⁷ In 1672 the English built new forts at Sekondi, Kommenda, Anamabo, Winneba, and Accra. The Brandenburgers (the Prussians) on the other hand, in 1682, built the fort named Great Fredericksburgh at Cape Three Points, Fort Dorothea at Akwidah, and a lodge at Takrama.⁴⁰⁸

The Europeans built about forty-one trading castles⁴⁰⁹ on the Gold Coast. Albeit in building these many European castles on the Gold Coast, merchants landed and settled with permission from the local chiefs and paid rent for the land on which their forts were built,⁴¹⁰ they did not exercise sovereignty or enjoy territorial ownership on the West African coast and their authority did not extend past the lines of their settlements.⁴¹¹ These settlements on the Gold Coast and the Gambia were solely in the interest of the slave traders.⁴¹² This was observed in their earlier postures. They allied with a great number of tribes and made mutual treaties with them confined to trading operations.

However, the discovery of America and the West Indies switched this trade and led to the horrors of the slave trade⁴¹³ by the eighteenth century. Of course, the orthodox social stratification of the native states, in the form of master-servant, made the slave trade successful. It was this trade in slaves that brought back the English in 1618 to the Gold Coast. Boahen has identified three main reasons why the slave trade superseded that of gold on the Gold Coast toward the eighteenth century. These were: (i) due to the great increase in the demand for slaves owing to the sugar plantation of the Caribbean Islands and the mainland of America from the 1640s; (ii) the rise in the number of war captives owing to a great increase in the incidence of [native states'] wars, and the growing use of fire-arms from

⁴⁰⁶ A.B. Ellis, "A History of the Gold Coast of West Africa", pp. 40, 44, 46, 64; C.P. Lucas, "A Historical Geography of the British Colonies", p. 65.

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid*, p. 51; *Ibid*, p. 67.

⁴⁰⁸ A.B. Ellis, "A History of the Gold Coast of West Africa", pp. 62-63.

⁴⁰⁹ Basil Davidson, "The Growth of African Civilisation", p. 210.

⁴¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 211.

⁴¹¹ C.P. Lucas, "A Historical Geography of the British Colonies", pp. 199-200; A.W. Lawrence, "Trade Castles and Forts of West Africa". Reviewed by M.D. Ozinga, *Caribbean Studies*, 1966, 5(4), 49-53, p. 50.

⁴¹² Fox Bourne, "Natives Under British Rule in Africa". In *"The British Empire Series: British Africa with Four Maps"*, Vol. II, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd., 1899, (pp.195-218), p. 205.

⁴¹³ W.H. Quayle-Jones, "Our West African Colonies". In *"The British Empire Series: British Africa with Four Maps"*, Vol. II, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd., 1899, (pp.334-365), p. 336.

1650; and (iii) the increase in the number of slaves collected as tribute from vassal states.⁴¹⁴ In support of the latter reason, the examples of the Gonja and Dagbon, as the vassal states of Asante, who had to provide 1000 slaves to the Asante kingdom each year could be cited.

In 1618 James I granted a charter to some merchants of London, who raised a joint stock for a trade to Guinea. Also, in 1631 Charles I, created a second merchant company for trade to Africa called “the African Company”. Its objective was to build forts and trading posts on the African coast to protect British interests in the slave trade. The company obtained permission to build its settlements from the chief of the states outside the Dutch jurisdiction on the Gold Coast and built a fort at Cormantine before 1651. In 1662, Charles II granted the Royal Adventurers of England Trading to Africa, a charter to supply three thousand slaves to the British West Indies. In a proposed settlement plan dated January 1663, the Company was to settle in Cape Coast, Anashan (Anchiang), Kommenda, Aga (Egyah), and Accra. In 1672 the Royal African Company was formed on 27th September to replace the Company of Royal Adventurers trading to Africa. It began to build new forts at Sekondi, Kommenda, Anamabo, Winneba, and Accra⁴¹⁵ to boost the volume of trade. This Company was succeeded in 1750 by “The African Company of Merchants”, which was constituted by an Act of Parliament, with liberty to trade and form establishments on the West Coast of Africa.⁴¹⁶ In 1821 the Company of Merchants was dissolved and its settlements and possession on the Gold Coast were transferred to the Crown and placed under the local government of Sierra Leone. From 1824 onward, the British government nearly abandoned its responsibilities on the Gold Coast following the defeat to Asante in which the governor, Sir Charles McCarthy was killed. In 1827 the Crown handed the possession to British local merchants on the coast, and George Maclean became its governor.

In 1840, Dr. Madden was sent out by Lord John Russell as Commissioner of Inquiry to report on the slave trade. He advised in his report of July 1841 that the colonies of the Gold Coast should be retained as the local government favoured the trade. In acting upon this advice, a Select Committee of the House of Commons was set up to evaluate British possession on the West Coast of Africa, and it recommended the resumption of the government by the Crown in 1842. It further recommended agreements to be made with the

⁴¹⁴ A.A. Boahen, “The States and Cultures of the Lower Guinean Coast”, p. 408.

⁴¹⁵ A.B. Ellis, “A History of the Gold Coast of West Africa”, pp. 48-49, 51-53, 62; Harry H. Johnston, “The Opening Up of Africa”, pp. 216-217.

⁴¹⁶ W.H. Quayle-Jones, “Our West African Colonies”, p. 337.

native tribes beyond the immediate radius of the forts.⁴¹⁷ The Crown resumed its activities on the coast in 1843 and appointed Commander H.W. Hill as Lieutenant-Governor of the colony in 1844. Mention must be made of the tact diplomacy of George Maclean toward the powerful native chiefs for laying the foundation of the Gold Coast colony. In 1844, a treaty, the Bond of 1844, was signed between Commander Hill and Maclean acting as a judicial assessor to the native chiefs on one hand, and the Fanti kings and chiefs of Denkyira, Abrah, Assin, Donadie, Donomassie, Anamabo, and Cape Coast, by which these states acknowledged the power and jurisdiction of her Majesty, and consented to their customs to be shaped according to the principles of British law.⁴¹⁸ Thus, granting the British the entitlement to mediate in the internal administration of these states.

In 1852, the British administration of the Gold Coast engaged the chiefs of the protectorate at a general meeting at Cape Coast Castle. This meeting constituted itself a legislative assembly, with the power to enact laws. For the natives to get British protection, the assembly proposed a poll tax as means of the natives' contribution in support of the government.⁴¹⁹ The meeting occurred in April 1852. The assembly of chiefs and elders together with the British governor and his council agreed on a shilling for every man, woman, and child in the area under British protection. The proceeds were to be used as salaries for the chiefs and public service. However, general opposition to the tax emerged in 1854; the ordinance was amended in May 1858, but after 1862 there was no attempt to collect the tax.⁴²⁰

Meanwhile, the British inability to operate freely due to other European interests prompted British negotiations to purchase the possessions of other Europeans on the coast. First, they negotiated with Denmark and bought their possessions of Christiansborg and the coastline between the fort, close to Accra, and the Volta River for a sum of £10 000. In 1867-8 they negotiated with Holland. The British surrendered its claims in Sumatra (from the Napoleonic wars) to Holland in exchange for all the Dutch possessions on the West Coast of Africa.⁴²¹ Thus, leaving Britain as the only European nation on the coast to push its imperialist interest.

⁴¹⁷ H. Brackenbury & G. L. Huyshe, "Fanti and Ashanti: Three Papers Read on Board the S.S. Ambriz on the Voyage to the Gold Coast". Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1873, pp. 16-17.

⁴¹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 18; H. Johnston, "Britain Across the Seas ...", p. 283.

⁴¹⁹ H. Brackenbury & G. L. Huyshe, "Fanti and Ashanti ...", p. 19.

⁴²⁰ Owusu-Ansah D. & McFarland D.M., "Historical Dictionary of Ghana", p. 189.

⁴²¹ H. Johnston, "Britain Across the Seas ...", pp. 284, 286-287.

Up until the early 1870s, Africans oversaw their affairs. They exercised authority over their states and their rulers entered trade or whatever alliances with the European merchants at their own pace and demands. However, from the 1880s the tables started to turn and by 1900, European powers wielded authority in virtually the whole of Africa, except Ethiopia and Liberia. The speed with which the conquest of African states occurred led historians to describe this phase of African history as “the Scramble for Africa”. To understand the tempo of the European occupation of Africa, the following questions could be asked. What accounted for such a rapid take-over of African states by the European powers? From what period did the European powers develop an interest in the internal affairs of the African states? What factors were the game-changers since African rulers had maintained their sovereignty until the last two decades of the nineteenth century or so? Answers to these questions are in the narratives below.

It all began with the adventures of James Bruce, a Scottish nobleman, to Ethiopia to see for himself the source of the Blue Nile in 1768. He was awed by the splendours of the royal court at Gondar, and upon his return to Europe in 1783, he narrated Ethiopia’s grandeurs to fellow Europeans. In 1788, a group of wealthy English men formed the African Associations to send an expedition to the city of Timbuktu, to investigate the course of the river Niger. Between 1788 and 1877, several European travellers and explorers, such as Mungo Park, René Caillié, the Lander brothers, Burton, Speke and Grant, Livingstone, the Germans-- Barth and Nachtigal, Stanley, etc., set out into the heart of Africa to traverse its major rivers and major trade routes.⁴²² The truth was that these travellers and explorers were not just financed by European powers for the mere intrigue of the African continent, but embedded in these expeditions was the desire to locate the untapped raw materials of the African states for the exploit of their home governments, in the form of mineral resources chief among them gold and diamonds, rubber, ivory inter alia.

The Franco-German War was also a pull factor. The war resulted in the dawn of European nationalism and in particular, the unification of Germany and Italy. France on the other hand, having lost Alsace-Lorraine, turned to Africa to compensate for that. Another main factor was the industrial revolution leading to surplus production of manufactured goods in Europe with its resultant competition, notably first in Britain, and then the emergence of other strong economies like France, Germany, and the United States. This

⁴²² Kevin Shillington, “History of Africa”, Revised ed., 1995, pp. 294-295, 299.

competition prompted the need for external markets to offload the surplus products and led to protectionism. Why were the European powers successful over their African counterparts? Two reasons could be cited here. The first was that these European nations exploited the already existing rivalries between the African states, and pitched one against the other offering protection, treaties, and alliances in the process. The second and the most important was the military technology and medical knowledge (development of quinine in particular) of the nineteenth century. The Europeans had the maxim guns, whilst the Africans were using outmoded guns that took much labour to reload and rudimentary weapons. The Europeans knowing their intentions, further refused to sell the Maxim guns to Africans.

How did the scramble begin? It started with French activities in the Niger region in 1879 with the building of a railway from Dakar to the Upper Niger valley to control the Sahelian market, and in 1882 the French went on to proclaim protectorates over Porto Novo and lower Congo.⁴²³ Before this French act, both France and Italy had gained ground in North Africa. For instance, Italy in 1880 had a foothold at Assad Bay, north of the French Obock on the Red Sea coast. In 1881 the French had declared a protectorate over Tunis, adjoining Algeria.⁴²⁴ However, the one area that set the ground rules running was European activities in the Congo. In September 1876, King Leopold formed an International African Association for exploring and civilizing Africa. It included geographers, explorers, philanthropists, and well-known men from leading European nations, including Great Britain. Stanley, representing the interest of Leopold, arrived at the mouth of the Congo by August 1879 and started making treaties with native chiefs and setting up posts. On the other hand, the French Government and the French Committee of the International Association also despatched the French explorer De Brazza at the end of 1879 to the Congo. He reached there in 1880 and made treaties, obtained concessions, and founded posts. The French Parliament in 1882 endorsed and voted for the money to confirm his work.⁴²⁵

The actions of both Leopold and the French aroused the Portuguese interest. This was because Portugal as early as 1783 had built a fort at Kabinda, north of the mouth of the Congo. They also laid claims and pressed for recognition. Portugal entered negotiations with Britain to acknowledge its claims in the Congo. Thus, the two signed a treaty in February 1884, by which Britain supported the Portuguese claim in the Congo. The French

⁴²³ **Ibid**, p. 304.

⁴²⁴ C. Lucas, "The Partition & Colonization of Africa", p. 79.

⁴²⁵ **Ibid**, pp. 79-81.

Government refused to accept this treaty. The Congo Association also did not want Portugal to have the mouth of the river. The Germans, on the other hand, supported the French.⁴²⁶ The Portuguese suggested to France and Germany for an International Conference to resolve the impasse. Bismarck called a Conference of all the Powers in November 1884 in Berlin. This conference became known as “the Berlin West African Conference”. In attendance were nineteen plenipotentiaries, with fifteen assistants, representing fourteen Great Powers.⁴²⁷ Its objective was to promote commerce, Christianity, and the civilization of African states. It recognized the Congo Free State as the property of Leopold.⁴²⁸ It further agreed upon free trade for the Congo basin, free navigation on the Niger, and agreement on future annexations of territories to be backed by “effective occupation” of the occupying power. It ended on 26 February 1885 with the signing of the General Act.

Immediately in 1884, Bismarck proclaimed German protectorates over Togo, Cameroon, Namibia, and Tanganyika in 1885; Portugal made claims to Angola and the Congo mouth, and Mozambique.⁴²⁹ The Conference brought about a third of the African continent into the hands of Britain; another third to France, whilst the other third was divided between Germany, Portugal, and Belgium.⁴³⁰ Britain had the best possession on the coast of West Africa-- Sierra Leone had the best harbour and streams which brought the product to the sea; and the richest, the Gold Coast, belonged to Britain; the Gambia had its wide, deep, and navigable river; Lagos, the lagoon colony is at the outlet of a network of lakes and rivers that brought products of coastal trade to be shipped to Europe in exchange for European wares; and the Niger carried boats and launches far into the interior.⁴³¹

5.3. Chiefs, Administrators, and Merchant Companies

Land, all of it, in the customary sense, is the property of the state, kept for use by all its members, but entrusted to the guardianship of the chief. The Gold Coast Blue Book for 1902, has elucidated landownership in colonial Ghana. Among the principal coastal towns, for instance, the land was “*mainly owned by families or individuals and conveyance*

⁴²⁶ **Ibid**, pp. 81-82.

⁴²⁷ T. Pakenham, “The Scramble for Africa”. London: Abacus Little, Brown Book Group, 1991.

⁴²⁸ For the terrors that accompanied Leopold’s activities in the Congo Free State, *see for example* A. Hochschild, “King Leopold’s Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa”. New York. Mariner Books ed., 1998.

⁴²⁹ Kevin Shillington, “History of Africa”, Revised ed., p. 305.

⁴³⁰ Fox Bourne, “Natives Under British Rule in Africa”, p. 197.

⁴³¹ C.P. Lucas, “A Historical Geography of the British Colonies”, pp. 36-37.

*by lease or sale follows the forms of English law”, with price variations over time and space. Conversely, in the interior villages and towns, “land is generally the property of the tribe, sub-tribe, or community, represented by the head chief or king, chief, or headman. Lands unallotted by a tribe or sub-tribe remain attached to the office of its head chief or chief as “stool lands”. Its permanent alienation, except compulsorily to the Government for public purposes, is unusual, and is mainly confined to the sale of stool lands for the redemption of debts incurred by the stool-holder for the time being on account of litigation”.*⁴³²

These chiefs leased lands for building forts to the Europeans, with annual payments fixed in gold⁴³³ or other payment methods as agreed by the parties involved. Subsequently, individual merchants and firms were granted land on which to build their houses and stores, in exchange for a percentage levy upon their trade.⁴³⁴ With these sorts of payments and levies, the chiefs were able to maintain security and a peaceful environment for trade to flourish. The native chief obtained his income largely from trade. For instance, in about 1870 when the French fort at Assini became vacant following the withdrawal of the French, the Swanzy Company took over the fort. The Company’s agent agreed to pay 300fr. per annum as the rent of Assinee fort and paid Amatifou, the chief, a small subsidy for maintaining the peace of the country. In the words of Andrew Swanzy, the President of the Company, their operations at Assinee were thus *“practically carried on under the protection of this chief”*.⁴³⁵ For the British merchant, administrators on the coast cared only about the customs duties, and not the welfare of the merchants or the native towns under them. From about 1841 to the death of Maclean in 1847, a duty of 10s. per cent was levied on all goods imported into the settlements directly into the colonial chest by the importers.⁴³⁶

5.3.1. Treaties

The first treaty of any kind with native kings on the Gold Coast is found in the treaty of 1693, between the Royal African Company and the kings of Akanna, Saboe, and Fetu.

⁴³² Colonial Reports, **No. 397**, “Gold Coast Report for 1902”. London: Darling & Son, Ltd, p. 32.

⁴³³ David Kimble, “A Political History of Gold Coast Nationalism”, p. 19.

⁴³⁴ **Ibid.**

⁴³⁵ Andrew Swanzy, “Trade on the Gold Coast: Remarks on Trade in West Africa with and Without British Protection”. London: ANN ECCLES & SON, 1874, p. 23.

⁴³⁶ **Ibid**, pp. 4, 15.

However, the Company had little authority over Cape Coast. Ellis narrated how submission was eventually attained. According to him:

*“Under Governor Archibald Dalzel (1802) some attempts to control the natives were made and the first material point gained was in 1803. Prior to 1803, complaints against natives, other than the Company’s servants, were made before native tribunals ... However, in 1803 the Governor imprisoned one of the headmen of Cape Coast for passing false gold. The natives took up arms, but the Castle defended itself by opening fire on the town destroying a number of houses, and the natives (were) forced to submit to the innovation. In 1805 the jurisdiction was further extended when some canoe-men of Accra who had stolen gunpowder to the value of £100 from the Commandant, were brought to trial and punished at Cape Coast. Thus, before the first Ashanti invasion of Fanti (1807), it had come to be recognised that the native inhabitants of the towns under the guns of the forts were amenable to British laws for offences committed against the Company or its servants. The invasion and destruction of Fanti by the Ashantis materially assisted the British in bringing the natives of these towns more under control, and the years immediately preceding Mr. Bowdich’s treaty show a gradually increasing influence”.*⁴³⁷

In the wake of the Ashanti assault, a peace treaty was signed on 7 September 1817, between the Asantes and Fantis, known as ‘the Bowdich Treaty’. This treaty sought security for the people residing under the protection of the Company’s forts and settlements on the coast. The Ashanti king by this treaty agreed to complain to the Governor-in-General of any aggression on the part of the natives under British protection to obtain redress without instantly resulting in hostilities. More importantly for the merchant company, the kings of Ashanti and Djuabin agreed to endorse and encourage the trade of their subjects with Cape Coast and its dependencies,⁴³⁸ among other things.

Also, in 1819, there was the Dupuis Treaty, although it was later rejected by the governor and the Home Government. This treaty would have subjected the people of Cape Coast to the mercy of the Ashanti king, Osei Tutu Kwamina, and would have further stripped

⁴³⁷ A.B. Ellis, “A History of the Gold Coast of West Africa”, pp. 134-135.

⁴³⁸ *Ibid*, p. 132.

them of any British protection. The governor of Cape Coast, Mr. Hope, to ensure the continuity of the Bowdich Treaty of 1817, induced the people of Cape Coast to pay the six hundred ounces demanded by the Ashanti king, which caused tension. Furthermore, in 1831 a tripartite treaty was signed following the defeat of the Ashanti in the Battle of Katamanso in 1826. It was between the Ashantis, on one hand, and the English and their native allies, which ensured peace and free traffic between the coast and the interior. In this treaty, the Ashanti king relinquished his claim to dominion over the Fantis, and the English governor was recognized as the future referee and arbitrator in the case of native quarrels.⁴³⁹

Furthermore, on 6 March 1844, the Fante tribes signed an agreement by which they renounced human sacrifices and agreed that serious cases and offences, such as murder, robbery, etc., be tried by British officers. Also, on 30 November 1868, Governor Blackall made a peace treaty with the Awunas stipulating that the Volta River should be kept open for all lawful trade and that all disputes should be referred to the Governor-in-Chief, whose decision should be final. Since the governor failed to include the allies of the Awuna, i.e., the Ashantis and Akwamus at this meeting, the treaty only succeeded in detaching the Awunas from the alliance. Only a few days after it had been signed Akwamu and Ashanti invaded Krepi (the Awuna town) and again put a stop to the navigation of the Volta.⁴⁴⁰

The fact was that, except in the case of small strips of the seaboard, most of the treaties, which have been made with native chiefs and have been ratified by the Home Government, have been treaties involving British protection and jurisdiction, but not actual cession of territory. The natives recognized the authority of the Queen and her representative the governor of the Gold Coast, as their guardian and referee rather than as the owner of their lands.⁴⁴¹ Following the Berlin West Africa Conference, which drew up a plan to effectively occupy African territories, Britain issued Royal Charters on the Elizabethan model to three companies to operate in Africa. These were the Royal Niger Company in the west (July 1886), the Imperial British East African Company in the east (1888), and the British South African in the south (1889), with Mr. (later Sir) Goldie, Sir W. Mackinnon, and Mr. Cecil Rhodes as their founders respectively. Lugard posited that in numerous of the British protectorates, no treaties were made with outlying tribes, and regions yet unexplored were included. He further asserted that the civilized nations entered “*the competition with avidity*”

⁴³⁹ Charles Prestwood Lucas, “A Historical Geography of the British Colonies”, p. 119.

⁴⁴⁰ A.B. Ellis, “A History of the Gold Coast of West Africa”, pp. 259-260.

⁴⁴¹ Charles Prestwood Lucas, “A Historical Geography of the British Colonies”, p. 200.

and produced treaties “by the cartload in all the approved forms of legal verbiage” aided and abetted by distorted translations of ill-educated interpreters. For instance, an intelligent Mallam was said to have interpreted the phrase “*The Protectorate of N. Nigeria*” as “*The instruction of compassion of the Sultan*”, thereby making absolute nonsense of the context.⁴⁴²

Economic developments from the middle of the nineteenth century, particularly the rush for gold mining concessions by overseas prospectors, created the urge for control over commercial lands and capital injection; and was further catalysed by the British victory over Ashanti in 1874, which opened the interior for European concessions. Land prices and value shot up as soon as these foreign firms joined the pursuit of the yellow metal. Kimble asserted that the “mere hint of gold was enough to drive up” bidding for concessions. The capital it came with soon quashed any reluctance of the chiefs to allow large-scale development. Regular sums were agreed as rents or royalties, and large down payments were sometimes offered. European capital brought ‘big money’ into villages at a time when the range of goods available from abroad was rapidly increasing and often distorted the age-old system of stool finances.⁴⁴³ The role of the chiefs and their elders in negotiating with concession seekers, according to Ilegbune, “led chiefs to attempt to lay claim to as much land as possible”, and thence “led to numerous disputes as to the title and boundaries of stool lands”.⁴⁴⁴ This thus was part of the colonial government’s pretext for attempting to introduce the land bills of the late nineteenth century.

According to the Colonial Reports, in 1901 due to the ingress of European mining prospectors and the establishment of agencies for the mining companies in the interior of the colony and Ashanti, a square foot of land cost as much as £1 at Cape Coast. The passage of the concessions ordinance of 1900 led to a large tract of lands being leased for long-term to European mining companies, mainly through the agency of middlemen from the coast.⁴⁴⁵ The terms of the agreement were such that a gold mining concession of five square miles was usually leased for 99 years. The procedure for procuring concession land in the eastern part of the colony included a preliminary payment of £50 (called consideration money). This was followed by an annual rent of £12 until mining with machinery started (called

⁴⁴² F.D. Lugard, “The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa”, pp. 14-15.

⁴⁴³ David Kimble, “A Political History of Gold Coast Nationalism”, p. 21.

⁴⁴⁴ Charles U. Ilegbune, “Concessions Scramble and Land Alienation in British Southern Ghana, 1885-1915. *African Studies Review*, Vol. 19, No. 3. Cambridge University Press, 1976, p. 17.

⁴⁴⁵ Colonial Reports **No. 397**, “Gold Coast Report for 1902”, p. 32.

occupation rent), and then a mining rent of from £100 to £250 a year. In Ashanti, the terms in force for concessions of five square miles included £100 consideration money, £12 to £24 annual ground rent, and £200 to £300 mining rent; though, larger sums were said to have been paid for concessions in some cases.⁴⁴⁶

Some of the mining companies included the African Gold Coast Company (April 1877), being the first to arrive in the Wassaw districts. It obtained a concession at Tarkwa in February 1878 in the Apinto district of Wassaw. It was then followed by the Swanzey, Effuenta, and Gold Coast Mining Companies; a French Company termed the Abosso Gold Mining Company, established at Abosso, about twelve miles from Tarkwa. In 1882, two more companies appeared: the first was the Akanko Gold Mining Company, at Akanko, about 26 miles up the Ankobra River; and the second, the Guinea Coast Mining Company, at Izrah, about six miles from the sea to the west of the Ankobra.⁴⁴⁷ Traditional authorities on the Gold Coast were not the only ones who profited from this new source of wealth. The services of African lawyers were contracted, and they acted on behalf of the chiefs and sometimes for the concessionaires, to the extent that some of them were tempted in buying up concessions from the chiefs and then renegotiate them with European companies. Some even tried to form companies to undertake direct mining. For instance, Dr. Africanus Horton, in association with Fitzgerald of *The African Times*, attempted to float the Wassaw and Ahanta Gold Mines Syndicate in 1880 but found it difficult to raise capital.⁴⁴⁸ Also, In 1882, the Gold Coast Native Concession Purchasing Company was formed, with F. C. Grant (proprietor of *The Gold Coast Times* newspaper) as chairman, in association with J. F. Amissah, John Sarbah, James Brew, G. E. Emisang, and J. W. Sey.⁴⁴⁹

Burton F., who obtained the Izrah mines on the Gold Coast from Kwamina Blay of Attabo, King of Amrehia, western Apollonia in 1882 shed his experiences on the coast. According to him, interactions with African “kings” required compliments, “dashes” (presents or heave offerings), and what was popularly called “liquoring up”. Gifts were a sign of affection. Money, however, was considered pay; curiosities were presents, and drink was ‘dash’. He and his team persuaded the chief and his counsellors to sign the document enabling him formally to take possession of the ‘Izrah’ Mine, after doing all the required

⁴⁴⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 32-33.

⁴⁴⁷ A.B. Ellis, “A History of the Gold Coast of West Africa”, pp. 370-371.

⁴⁴⁸ David Kimble, “A Political History of Gold Coast Nationalism”, pp. 21-22.

⁴⁴⁹ “The Gold Coast Times, 22 Apr. and 30 Sept. 1882”, as cited in Kimble, “*A Political History of Gold Coast Nationalism*”, p. 22.

things to please the traditional authorities. The paper was duly attested and witnessed.⁴⁵⁰ Burton said Axim was the threshold of the gold region. After heavy showers, the naked eye could “note spangles of the precious metal in the street roads and could be panned out of the wall swish”. Axim, he opined was “richer in sedimentary gold than California was in 1859”.⁴⁵¹

After the removal of Prempeh in 1896, the government concluded treaties with the hinterland and hoped to open the new territory. The governor, Sir William Maxwell indirectly invited traders and prospectors to extend their operations to Ashanti in his address to the legislative council in 1897. E. A. Cade, who had journeyed through Adansi in 1895 struck the most lucrative bargain. He secured from a group of African concessionaires, including J. P. Brown, J. E. Ellis, and J. E. Biney, a written agreement leasing 100 square miles of land from the chiefs of Adansi and Bekwai. Kimble asserted that the government was unable to either recognize or disallow Cade’s negotiations since they took place in Ashanti (Ashanti was not part of the colony at that time). In 1897, Cade formed the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation and subsequently secured the right to undertake mining, trading, rubber and timber extraction, roadmaking, and town building. A fresh agreement was later drawn up, with the government, as a third party, receiving a certain royalty itself and passing on to the chiefs the sums originally promised them. In effect, the chiefs of Adansi and Bekwai were to receive £100 and £66 annually, respectively, whilst the government would get a royalty of three percent on profits, plus a commuted royalty of £500 for each of the first five years.⁴⁵²

Thus, until 1874 the gold mining industry was in the hands of the natives. From 1880 the exportation of gold dust, the produce of native mining, was replaced by that of gold bars because of European operations. When 1901 arrived, it brought remarkable development in the mining industry of the Gold Coast. The colony was overrun by prospectors, and during the year no less than 2 825 concessions were taken up and filed in the colony.⁴⁵³ In 1902, the whole export of Gold according to the colonial report was due to the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation and its offshoot, the Ashanti Sansu Mine. In the same year, there were seventy-one mining properties in the Wassaw District; twenty-one mining properties in the Dixcove

⁴⁵⁰ F. Burton & V.L. Cameron, “To the Gold Coast for Gold”, Vol. II, pp. 98, 102.

⁴⁵¹ *Ibid*, pp. 111, 113.

⁴⁵² David Kimble, “A Political History of Gold Coast Nationalism”, pp. 23-24.

⁴⁵³ Colonial Reports **No. 397**, “Gold Coast Report for 1902”, p. 28.

District; and there were fourteen properties in the Axim District⁴⁵⁴ (these were only in the Colony, excluding Ashanti and beyond).

In essence, the development of the modern capitalistic exploitation of the mining sector was the first serious effect of Western economic power on traditional social organization. Mair maintained that *“the sudden increase in land values, and hence in the wealth at the disposal of some chiefs, was to become an increasing source of friction between the traditional authorities and the educated, cash-conscious, and politically restless minority”*.⁴⁵⁵ In 1889, the governor, Sir Brandford Griffith, started planning on how to curb excessive land alienation as the chiefs were just leasing lands without limit. The conflict between indigenous landholders and colonial restrictions was initially provoked by the conditions of the Public Lands Ordinance enacted in 1876. By 1886, King Tackie, a chief of Ussherstown, Accra, objected to new boundaries drawn by the government under the Act for construction purposes on the edge of Accra. His protests were successful and when the government sought to strengthen the Act, the request was turned down by the Secretary of State for the Colonies in London.⁴⁵⁶

In fact, despite all the rush and capital injection in the mines of the Gold Coast, Kimble posited that there was no provision even for the registration of companies, although the English Companies Acts of 1862 and 1867 had been applied to the Gold Coast under the Supreme Court Ordinance of 1876.⁴⁵⁷ So Governor Griffith proposed a remedy for state versus chiefship land control. He proposed in 1889 that the whole colony should be taken over as “Crown land” and administered to *“greater advantage than the inhabitants could do it for themselves”*.⁴⁵⁸ However, Omosini was of the view that Griffith’s proposal was just a policy that would give free rein to European investment and enterprise.⁴⁵⁹ For Griffith thought that a policy *“of non-interference further than is absolutely necessary would be the best to adopt, with a view not to check the development of the mines, which should they*

⁴⁵⁴ **Ibid**, pp. 28-30.

⁴⁵⁵ Cf. L.P. Mair, “Native Policies in Africa”, 1936, as cited in Kimble, *“A Political History of Gold Coast Nationalism”*, p. 21.

⁴⁵⁶ G. Richard & F. Toyin, “Chiefs, Boundaries, and Sacred Woodlands: Early Nationalism and the Defeat of Colonial Conservationism in the Gold Coast and Nigeria, 1870-1916”. *African Economic History*, 1996, p. 9.

⁴⁵⁷ David Kimble, “A Political History of Gold Coast Nationalism”, pp. 22-23.

⁴⁵⁸ G. Richard & F. Toyin, “Chiefs, Boundaries, and Sacred Woodlands ...”, p. 9.

⁴⁵⁹ Olufemi Omosini, “The Gold Coast Land Question, 1894-1900: Some Issues Raised on West Africa’s Economic Development”. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 1972, p. 455.

*succeed, will bring about so great a revolution in the prosperity and opening up of this part of the Colony”.*⁴⁶⁰

In 1891 the Chief Justice of the Gold Coast, J. T. Hutchinson was asked to consider a proposal that would bring all “wastelands or unoccupied lands” under government control. He immediately pointed out to Griffith that land, whether occupied or unoccupied, had an owner in traditional African law. Expropriation would bring enormous revenue to the government through sales and leases and benefit the community in its creation of indisputable titles derived from the crown, but these would be overshadowed by the hostility of the people to a government takeover. The authority of the chiefs would be reduced in the eyes of their people. Besides, monetary compensation to the owners of expropriated land would be an onerous strain on government finances. For these reasons, he suggested that legislation should be confined to minerals and forests rather than cover all wastelands.⁴⁶¹ The crux of the bill was towards controlling minerals and timber exploitation, which was to be declared as Crown land and administered on behalf of the chiefs and their people by the British administrators.

The governor, Brandford Griffith paid no heed to Hutchinson. Instead, his son, who was a former Chief Justice of the colony in Jamaica, proposed the introduction of a land tax, which if not paid, would render lands forfeit to the Crown. In response, Hutchinson pointed out that two obstacles stood in the way of such a policy: firstly, the country had never been surveyed and lacked any fences or boundary marks; secondly, the chiefs, who had never accepted the principle of trusteeship, were already selling land to speculators, and to each other often utilizing English property law (*since 1876*) thus, such transaction could not be undone.⁴⁶² In 1894 Hutchinson drew up a memorandum that formed the basis of the Crown Lands Bill of 1894. This was due to the continued disputes over concessions because of the expansion of the timber trade and the need for legislation to regulate it and to secure a fair share of proceeds for the colonial government. With this Bill, it was intended to end the system whereby rural chiefs could conclude mining or timber rights over vast and ill-defined areas of the country.⁴⁶³ All unoccupied lands, forests, and minerals were to be vested in the

⁴⁶⁰ **Griffith to C.O.**, 25 June 1889, C.O. 96/202, Public Record Office, London, as cited in Omosini, “The Gold Coast Land Question, 1894-1900 ...”, p. 455.

⁴⁶¹ **J.T. Hutchinson to Griffith**, 7 April 1891, enclosed in Griffith to C. O., 29 August 1894, C. O. 96/247, P.R.O., as cited in Omosini, “The Gold Coast Land Question, 1894-1900 ...”, p. 456.

⁴⁶² G. Richard & F. Toyin, “Chiefs, Boundaries, and Sacred Woodlands ...”, p. 9.

⁴⁶³ Olufemi Omosini, “The Gold Coast Land Question ...”, p. 457; G. Richard & F. Toyin, “Chiefs, Boundaries, and Sacred Woodlands ...”, p. 10.

Crown. All future concessions were to be made subject to the approval of the governor, and royalties were to be paid by concessionaires to the government. However, protection was given to all traditional rights on occupied lands and those used for shifting cultivation.⁴⁶⁴

The Bill was approved by the Gold Coast legislative council in 1894. Immediately after it was approved, protests erupted both from the chiefs and the educated elite. They argued that there was nothing like waste or unoccupied land. Every land has an owner. This amounted to taking over their country and weakening the authority of the chiefs. With strong opposition and some pockets of violence in the colony, even with the support of some British traders and residents, the Bill was withdrawn in 1895. Governor William Maxwell, who succeeded Governor Brandford Griffith in 1895 did not recognize the authority of the chiefs to give concessions to foreigners. He viewed it as illegal and that the imperial power had to take over the authority of the chiefs automatically. He immediately, as put forward by Falola & Grove, urged the adoption in the Gold Coast of the system applied on the Malay states, whereby land sales concessions by chiefs would only be valid if countersigned by British authorities.⁴⁶⁵ He had recently returned from Malay and had hoped to apply its land policy on the Gold Coast. However, it proved unworkable and in 1896-7, Maxwell dropped the Bill.

It was Chamberlain who repealed the bill thus affirming African ownership and customary system upon the colonial office. This decision predisposed the government to the indirect form of administration and agricultural production through the traditional peasant economies. Section III of the Bill, which claimed wide powers for the government and caused the protest was amended and became law in 1900 as the Concessions Ordinance. It constricted the size of concessions and made no claims to public lands or interference in African proprietorship. It offered the government only a supervisory role to prevent fraud in land alienation, and all clauses relating to forest protection were removed.⁴⁶⁶ The concessions ordinance led to the creation of a tribunal under the Supreme Court and granted authority *“to check concessions and determine the area and duration of a concession”*.⁴⁶⁷ Although the chiefs were the ones selling concessions without an account before the government intervened between 1894-1897, the outcry was rather directed at the British

⁴⁶⁴ Olufemi Omosini, “The Gold Coast Land Question ...”, p. 457.

⁴⁶⁵ G. Richard & F. Toyin, “Chiefs, Boundaries, and Sacred Woodlands ...”, p. 11.

⁴⁶⁶ Olufemi Omosini, “The Gold Coast Land Question...”, pp. 465-467; G. Richard & F. Toyin, “Chiefs, Boundaries, and Sacred Woodlands ...”, p. 13.

⁴⁶⁷ Christian Pilegaard Hansen, “To Reserve or not to Reserve: The Battle over Forest Conservation in the Gold Coast, 1889-1927, *Journal of Historical Geography*, pp. 1-11, ELSEVIER Ltd., 2022, p. 6.

administration instead of the chiefs. Kimble said it was due to the economic frustrations that had been building up⁴⁶⁸ before the Bills.

The colonial government continued to push for land and forest protection ordinances after 1900. For instance, with the introduction of cocoa plantations (*discussed below*) in the late nineteenth century, which required large tracts of land and led to the destruction of timber species, the government, in 1907, passed the Timber Protection Ordinance⁴⁶⁹ to salvage timber species. Here as in the case of the mining concessions, the chiefs were implicated for their roles in selling land for cocoa production. Amanor said large areas of land were sold to enterprising migrant cocoa farmers, with many other poorer migrants acquiring lands on sharecropping contracts from chiefs and large landowners.⁴⁷⁰ The 1907 Timber Ordinance was to protect some selected timber species by restricting their cutting diameters. However, Hansen has shown that the West African Chamber of Commerce opposed this ordinance because of “the inclusion of certain timber species in the legislation”. The Chamber was not alone in its opposition. Mensah Sarbah, a native legislative member and a barrister, argued that “the legislation was detrimental to local uses of timber for housing and furniture that posed no threat to the forest”, and so he “advocated for it to be applied to only timber harvested for export”.⁴⁷¹ Although this ordinance survived the opposition, it remained inefficacious and was never applied.

In the early years of the twentieth century, well-nigh-all land authorisations were issued to mining firms. According to Ilegbune, by 1910, ninety-five percent of all concessions were granted for mining. Also, concessions granted between 1910 and 1915 were solely for the cultivation of rubber and oil palm.⁴⁷² Thus, by 1917 agricultural utilisation of land had led to a contraction in the overall mining acreage to seventy-five percent from ninety-five percent seven years earlier. One drawback of the rush for lands either for mining or agricultural purposes was unruly land disputes or stool disputes over land. The consequences of such disputes were observed in protracted legal tussles and the eventual defalcation of Stools’ treasuries. But what accounted for the land disputes? Ilegbune

⁴⁶⁸ David Kimble, “A Political History of Gold Coast Nationalism”, p. 21.

⁴⁶⁹ Christian Pilegaard Hansen, “To Reserve or not to Reserve: The Battle over Forest Conservation in the Gold Coast, 1889-1927”, p. 6.

⁴⁷⁰ Kojo S. Amanor, “Land Administration, Chiefs, and Governance in Ghana”. In Shinichi Takeuchi (ed.), *African Land Reform Under Economic Liberalisation: States, Chiefs, and Rural Communities*. Springer, 2022, p. 26.

⁴⁷¹ Christian Pilegaard Hansen, “To Reserve or not to Reserve ...”, p. 6.

⁴⁷² Charles U. Ilegbune, “Concessions Scramble and Land Alienation in British Southern Ghana ...”, p. 18.

traced the root cause to the practice of “making overlapping grants”, to which he identified four causative factors: (i) absence of, or uncertainty to actual boundaries of stool properties; (ii) inability of some chiefs and their councillors to appreciate the extent of land already conceded by them because they were not well acquainted with the English land measurements usually used in delimiting conceded areas; (iii) the uncertainty of traditional methods of demarcation; (iv) the fact that some chiefs, in their ambition to make more money, sometimes knowingly conceded or laid claims to tracts of land to which they had no right.⁴⁷³ The latter factor appears to be the main cause even today.

Between 1919 and 1927, a series of forestry bills were passed. First, in 1919, the government used the chiefs of the colony as the main expeditors to pass a new forestry bill. The aim of this bill according to Hansen was “*to create awareness, facilitate, and conserve forests*” through by-laws. Even though this bill was endorsed in 1920, Hansen said no chiefs passed the by-laws as they either rejected or ignored the proposals⁴⁷⁴ because of ownership concerns. Seven years later, the bill was revised and approved by the provincial councils of chiefs on the understanding that the forestry reserve ordinance would not change land ownership. This thus paved the way for the implementation of the forestry reserve’s administrative policy. The administrative approach included “the requirements of six months’ notice of intent where all present uses and owners could put forward their claims; the introduction of the institution of the reserve settlement commissioner to lead the process; the prohibition of new clearing and cutting of trees in the reserves without the written consent of the Forestry Department”.⁴⁷⁵

The colonial government, after failing to control land in the Gold Coast from 1900, resorted to taxation, and granting of loans for development projects, particularly through the Bank of British West Africa Ltd., and some individual firms, which were granted to chiefs for development purposes. Also, it constructed road and railway lines to link up all zones producing cash crops. With regards to taxation, before the British occupation, local chiefs exacted a toll from caravans passing through their districts. However, this power of levying a toll on caravans was taken out of the chiefs’ hands and vested in the administration to ensure the safety of the roads. By 1902 a regular scale of charges was approved by the governor, which was collected at Attebubu, Mampon, and Sikassiko, in Ashanti, and at Wa,

⁴⁷³ **Ibid**, p. 23.

⁴⁷⁴ Christian Pilegaard Hansen, “To Reserve or not to Reserve ...”, p. 9.

⁴⁷⁵ **Ibid**, p. 10.

Bole, Kintampo, Gambaga, Walewale, and Tumu, in the Northern Territories. The scale⁴⁷⁶ was as follows:

	s.	d.
For each horse	5	0
For each head of cattle except calves	3	0
For each calf -----	1	6
For each sheep or goat -----	0	6
For each lamb or kid -----	0	3
For each donkey -----	2	0
For each carrier's load of trade goods or country produce not being grain or kola -----	2	0
For each donkey load of similar goods -----	4	0
For each carrier load of kola -----	3	0
For each donkey load of kola -----	3	0

Even though a standardized scale was established as early as 1902, chiefs and private individuals continued to exact tolls on roads built by them. It was only in March 1929 that the Attorney General tried to discourage and criminalize the exacting of tolls on what was regarded as “public highways”. A public highway was a highway that the public have a right to use even though it may have been constructed by a private person and run over privately owned land. The Attorney-General’s minute said such roads in all probability were “*public highways as they appear to have been constructed for public use and the public user has only just been interrupted*”, by exacting tolls and thus, “*any person who obstructs a public highway can be punished under the Criminal Code*”.⁴⁷⁷ The provincial commissioner for Koforidua tried to apply this statement of the Attorney General to discourage the exacting of tolls on Chiefs’ Roads on the Larteh-Mamfe motor road by the *Benkumhene* of Akwapim. The commissioner warned that tolls were illegal and if he did not desist from such practices the police had orders to act.⁴⁷⁸

The chief on his part requested to be furnished with a copy of the decision said to have been given by a judge prohibiting the collection of tolls before he could comply with the directives. With the decision of the judge in hand, the chief said he “*may be able to explain (the) same properly to the Oman of Larteh*” so that they may understand him and

⁴⁷⁶ Colonial Reports – Annual No. 397, “Gold Coast Report for 1902”, p. 11.

⁴⁷⁷ Attorney General, “EXTRACT from C.S.M.P.1479/29”, 21 March 1929, enclosed in CSO 21/4/3, PRAAD.

⁴⁷⁸ Commissioner, Eastern Province, No. 5992/1971/29, 30 August 1929; No. 639/325/1929, 9 July 1929, enclosed in CSO 21/4/3, PRAAD.

“keep to the said order of the Commissioner given”.⁴⁷⁹ Neither the government nor the district commissioner could furnish such a decision because it did not exist. The colonial secretary on 16 October confirmed that no judicial pronouncement⁴⁸⁰ existed on the prohibition of exacting tolls on roads constructed by chiefs without the assistance of the government, but merely a tendered advice to the government by the law officers. In fact, during a meeting of the Central Road Board in 1929, representatives of both Elders and Swanzys Transport Cos. expressed themselves as *“being strongly in favour of the Chiefs being permitted to collect tolls to meet the cost of constructing and maintaining these roads”*.⁴⁸¹ This was no surprise as the merchant companies were the financiers of the chiefs, who in turn mortgaged Stool properties as a consequence of non-payment of contracted loans (see 5.3.2).

There were two sections of the Mamfe-Ayikuma road, i.e., the Mamfe-Larte section and the Larte-Ayikuma section of the Mamfe-Mahem Road. The *ohene* of Larte collected tolls on the former. The first section namely, that from Mamfe to Larte was constructed about 1918 by or at the expense of the Larte people and was subsequently placed under the Roads Ordinance for maintenance purposes. The district commissioner paid an amount of £20 to the *ohene* on 3 August 1925 and another £8 on 19 August 1926. The attorney general pointed out that the fact that the road was placed under the ordinance with the consent of the *ohene* and further that he had accepted payment of road dues in respect of it should be enough proof of its dedication to the use of the public.⁴⁸² Conversely, the Ayikuma-Larte section was constructed by an Italian Contractor and cost £7 000. This road was taken over by the P.W.D. for maintenance purposes within a few months of its opening. The attorney general, thus, believed that the *ohene* was probably induced to collect tolls in respect of the Mamfe-Larte section only because the Larte people constructed it.⁴⁸³ The attorney general suggested that legislation should be enacted to prohibit the levying of tolls on roads as there were other sources of legitimate revenue from which a Stool should be able to reimburse itself for expenditure on a road.⁴⁸⁴

⁴⁷⁹ “Benkumhene of Akwapim to the District Commissioner”, **M.P. No. 10614/29, File 1b**, Akwapim-Mampong, 8 July 1929; “Benkumhene to the Provincial Commissioner”, **M.P. No. 10614/29, File 1a**, Koforidua, 3 August 1929, enclosed in CSO 21/4/3, PRAAD.

⁴⁸⁰ “Acting Colonial Secretary to the Commissioner of the Eastern Province”, **No. 6468/M.P.10614/1929**, 16 October 1929, enlisted in CSO 21/4/3, PRAAD.

⁴⁸¹ Acting S.N.A. “Extract from S.N.A. Case 5/1928”, 24 September 1929, enlisted in **CSO 21/4/3**, PRAAD.

⁴⁸² **M.P. No. 10614/29**, “File 22”, 23 January 1930, pp. 1-3, enlisted in CSO 21/4/3, PRAAD, p. 1.

⁴⁸³ **Ibid**, p. 2.

⁴⁸⁴ **M.P. No. 10614/29**, “File 20”, 10 January 1930, pp. 1-2, enlisted in CSO 21/4/3, PRAAD, p. 2.

A meeting of the executive council was convened on 7 March 1930, and the majority of the members agreed that a Bill on Tolls of Chiefs' Roads should be introduced into the legislative council thus prohibiting the imposition of tolls on any Roads except with the approval of the governor in council.⁴⁸⁵ In June 1930, a drafted Bill in connection with the regulation of Tolls on Roads was prepared for the consideration of the legislative council. The building of roads by private persons or companies to utilize them as commercial assets were to be discouraged since the land was controlled by the Stool. It was agreed that the collection of tolls should only be allowed as a repayment to the Stool for communal work in construction.⁴⁸⁶ The change was necessary because it was feared that an unscrupulous chief might gift land to a contractor which it was proposed to use as a road on the understanding that the contractor would pay the chief a certain percentage of tolls.⁴⁸⁷ The three provincial commissioners agreed with the draft bill and urged that tolls should be authorized on certain roads, but should not be extended to private persons or companies and that such permission is limited to Stools and native authorities.⁴⁸⁸ The colonial secretariat agreed with the provincial commissioners and laid down the following conditions⁴⁸⁹ which it believed to be required before any road was scheduled:

1. a road must be of certain construction, gradient and width, and be kept in good order to the satisfaction of the district commissioner.
2. Rates must be approved by the government.
3. A toll gate is to be placed on the road only until such time as the district commissioner considers the Stool has been reimbursed for its outlay. If the cost of maintenance for the road is expensive in view of its nature (e.g., Kwahu Plateau Road) a reduced toll might be levied to pay for that upkeep.

Apart from these conditions, the Secretary for Native Affairs made it clear that *“in the event of the Public Works Department taking over the road, the Stool must be given clearly to understand that Government could not in any way grant compensation for the loss*

⁴⁸⁵ “Acting Clerk of the Executive Council”, **M.P. No. 10614/29, File 31**, 8 March 1930, enlisted in CSO 21/4/3, PRAAD, p. 1.

⁴⁸⁶ S.N.A. to the Commissioner of the Eastern, Western and Central Provinces, “Regulation of Tolls on Roads”, **No. 415/S.N.A.5/1928**, 10 June 1930, enclosed in CSO 21/4/3, PRAAD, p. 1.

⁴⁸⁷ Commissioner, Central Province, “Regulation of Tolls on Roads”, **51A No. 415/S.N.A.5/1928**, 10 June 1930, in CSO 21/4/3, PRAAD.

⁴⁸⁸ Acting Secretary for Native Affairs (S.N.A.), “Regulation of Tolls on Roads”, **No. 162/S.N.A.5/1928**, Acc., 4 July 1930, pp. 1-2, enclosed in CSO 21/4/3, PRAAD, p. 1.

⁴⁸⁹ **Ibid**, p. 2.

*of these tolls, which must not be regarded in any way as a profit-making scheme”.*⁴⁹⁰ The Hon. J. Glover-Addo, an Accra-based barrister and an Unofficial member of the legislative council, when asked about his opinion on the proposed Tolls Ordinance consented to it but he drew the attention of the colonial office to the fact that a clause should be inserted showing that the consent of the paramount chief of the district in which the road was to be made had also been obtained.⁴⁹¹ On that request, the consent of the council of chiefs for the three provinces was sought. Thus, the Effutu state (Winneba) of the Central Province agreed with the ordinance with a letter issued to the Acting Colonial Secretary by Nana Acquah Panyin Fie,⁴⁹² likewise, the *Omanhene* of Mankessim and the people of his state⁴⁹³ and Nana Sir Ofori Atta, *Omanhene* of Akyem Abuakwa, Kibi, all accepted the terms of the ordinance and even proffered advice on how to improve it. The latter recommended that to avoid doubt as to the status of any person claiming to be a government official or a servant of an official, *“it may be convenient if such official or servant – particularly in case of a servant travelling not in (the) company of his master – had a note or ticket which he could produce on the necessary occasion”.*⁴⁹⁴

Ofori Atta’s remark was from the fact that the Tolls Ordinance of 1930 exempted the passage of any troops, military stores, and equipage on their march, or any police officers or any person or property in their custody or any government officials when travelling on duty or of their servant’s baggage or stores from paying tolls. It could be seen that legislative members, chiefs, and Europeans alike agreed with the principle of the bill. Permission for levying tolls on roads was agreed to be given to only stools and native authorities, but not to private persons or companies. A contravention of this simple rule attracted punishments. For instance, the Tolls Ordinance made a provision that persons who collected or levied unlawful toll without authority from the governor for the use of any road *“shall be guilty of an offence and shall on summary conviction be liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months or to a fine not exceeding fifty pounds or to both”.*⁴⁹⁵ The ordinance brought

⁴⁹⁰ **Ibid.**

⁴⁹¹ “Hon. J. Glover-Addo to the Acting Colonial Secretary”, **M.P. No. 10614/29, File 68**, Accra, 3 September 1930, enclosed in CSO 21/4/3, PRAAD.

⁴⁹² Nana Acquah Panyin Fie, Winneba, **No. 55/30/E.S.8/1927**, 9 September 1930, in CSO 21/4/3, PRAAD.

⁴⁹³ **No. G.L./M.S./64/30**, Mankessim, in CSO 21/4/3, PRAAD.

⁴⁹⁴ Ofori Atta, *Omanhene*, Akyem Abuakwa, **No. 974/16/30**, 13 October 1930, enclosed in CSO 21/4/3, PRAAD.

⁴⁹⁵ “Regulation of Tolls on Roads”, 33A The Tolls Ordinance 1930, **No. 415/S.N.A./1928**, 10 June 1930, pp. 1-2, in CSO 21/4/3, PRAAD, p. 1.

orderliness to roads until such time when the government's Department of Public Works took charge of all roads.

The public debt due to loans granted by the imperial government as of 31 December 1902, stood at 537 568 14 4; the breakdown⁴⁹⁶ of which was:

	£	s.	d.
1. Ashanti Expedition, 1896 -----	98 075	8	6
2. West India Regiment (expenses 1897-1898) -----	10 051	15	2
3. Loan for the erection of telegraph lines in the Northern Territories -----	29 441	10	8
4. Loan for Ashanti War, 1900 -----	400 000	0	0

Not only that but there also was an amount of 1 035 000 0 0 due to Stockholders on account of the Gold Coast Government's three percent stock for the construction of the Sekondi-Kumasi Railway. Furthermore, there were advance debts obtained by Crown agents in anticipation of the further loan of £665 000 for railway purposes. Thus, by the close of 1902, the total loan account of the colony stood at £2 082 717 18 3.⁴⁹⁷ The external debt by 31 March 1954 stood at £8 410 000 contracted for developmental projects as well as some £500 000 internal debt as of that date for rural water projects.⁴⁹⁸

With the increasing interest of the government in agriculture, production for different types of cash crops received a boost. The main articles for export came to include kola nuts, cocoa, ginger, gold, guinea grains, gum copal, ivory, lumber, monkey skins, palm kernels, palm oil, rubber, and other articles of colonial produce and manufacture. The government, for instance, planted some 15 000 rubber plants in the forest land it acquired, with the expectation that its success would induce the natives to take interest in the planting of rubber trees. Furthermore, the government planted some 9 000 kola trees and further distributed 40 bags of South American cotton seed to the various chiefs in the neighbourhood of the Volta River and planned to bring a cotton expert to the districts to recommend areas for experimental plantations and methods of cultivation. At Christiansborg, 8 000 coconuts were planted to encourage the growth of this palm by the natives to produce copra and coir.⁴⁹⁹

The one cash crop that made the most difference was cocoa. It was brought into the colony by Tetteh Quashie, a native of Accra in 1897 from Fernando Po. He made a small

⁴⁹⁶ Colonial Reports **No. 397**, "Gold Coast Report for 1902", p. 15.

⁴⁹⁷ **Ibid.**

⁴⁹⁸ "Colonial Reports for the year 1954", p. 171.

⁴⁹⁹ Colonial Reports **No. 397**, "Gold Coast Report for 1902", pp. 22-23, 31.

plantation and within four years, sold cocoa pods in the neighbouring villages. The first consignment of 121 lbs. of cocoa was shipped to England in 1895 and realized £6 1s. The industry was firmly established by 1901. With the support of the government and the Basel mission stations, 6 000 000 plants were planted in one district alone. Accra was the chief port of shipment, connecting with market towns in the district in which the greater portion of the cocoa exported was grown by excellent roads.⁵⁰⁰ By 1924, cocoa exports amounted to nearly 220 000 tons and in 1936 reached a peak of 311 151 tons. During the 1952-53 and 1953-54 crop years, the total marketing of cocoa was 247 376 tons and 210 693 tons respectively; and for 1954-55 it was about 220 000 tons. The decrease from 1936 was due to the swollen shoot disease which killed most of the trees. It was later found to be caused by a virus transmitted by insects called mealybugs. It affected farms and plantations in the Eastern Province, Ashanti, and Western Province. A cure could not be found for it despite intensive research, and to prevent the spread, infected trees were destroyed. Compensation was given to farmers for the loss of their crops, and grants were also offered to assist in the replanting of the lost cocoa trees. Steady progress was achieved by 1952. By the end of 1954, a total of 13 142 294 trees were destroyed, and a further 6 698 285 trees were subsequently cut out on reinspection.⁵⁰¹

For easy transportation of cocoa and other resources from the interior to the coast, the government in February 1898 began the construction of a railway from Sekondi to Kumasi, the construction of which continued in 1902. On 24 December 1902, the first train from Sekondi entered Obuasi, the headquarters of the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation, some 124 miles from the coast. Several networks of the road were constructed under the supervision of the Roads Department under the Public Works Department from Cape Coast to Kumasi; from Saltpond through Mankessim to near Nyameu, and a bridge over the Amissa River, and to be extended to Denkyira and Ejumaku, and finally to Nsuaim; whilst in the Northern Territories by 1902, a road between Gambaga and Salaga via Karaga, Kpatenga, and Kpabia, had been completed and provided with rest-houses, and was much used by caravans. It was later extended from Salaga to Padjai, etc. A large number of bush paths were maintained too, the cleaning of which the native chiefs were made responsible under “the Roads Ordinance of 1894”, and for which they were paid 10s. per mile per quarter.⁵⁰²

⁵⁰⁰ *Ibid*, p. 23.

⁵⁰¹ “Colonial Reports for the year 1954”, pp. 54-56.

⁵⁰² Colonial Reports **No. 397**, “Gold Coast Report for 1902”, pp. 55-58.

No other road construction was undertaken in Ashanti up to 1902, except for the one from Cape Coast (Prahsu section)-Kumasi, and Kumasi-Nkoranza-Kintampo roads. For the scanty or lack of roads in Ashanti, the chief commissioner for Ashanti, F. C. Fuller, as early as 1910 had advocated for the formation of an Ashanti Roads Department. However, the colonial office informed him in a reply that a European supervisor was not then available⁵⁰³ thus his demands could not be met. Immediately upon the assumption of Sir Hugh Clifford, as governor of the Gold Coast Colony in 1912, the Kumasi Chamber of Commerce on 28 December 1912, sent him a letter requesting better transport facilities in Ashanti. The Chamber requested for certain roads, and one road of about twelve miles in length to be cut from Affiduasi to Intonsu. Affiduasi was the centre of a large cocoa district, and according to the Chamber, this small road would be of immense assistance to them.⁵⁰⁴ As mentioned earlier the roads ordinance of 1894 put chiefs in charge of certain roads. In Ashanti, the chiefs had been engaged in road building under the supervision of a district commissioner. The Chamber lamented that such roads as constructed by the Chiefs were of very little practical value and maintained that *“five miles of road constructed scientifically, as the Kumasi-Ejura Road, is worth more than twenty miles of the Chiefs’ roads, and in the end must prove to be far cheaper”*.⁵⁰⁵

They asked for a motor road to be constructed from Affiduasi to join the Ejura road. They hoped that the road would be ready for use before the next cocoa season in September. Also, they requested other transport facilities between Kumasi and Bompata districts, which was second in importance to the Affiduasi–Intonsu road; and a road in Sunyani district to open the districts. These roads were necessary according to the Chamber to enable them *“to cope with the largely increasing quantities of cocoa which are available”*.⁵⁰⁶ Their concerns were summed as: *“A road was constructed recently between Affiduasi and Agoona, but the gradients are difficult, and it is only possible to get a small puncheon along this road with three labourers– it takes a day to do the single journey– whereas on the roads built by the Engineers we can roll a butt with three boys from Agoona, 22 miles, in the same time. The*

⁵⁰³ F.C. Fuller, C.M.G. to the Colonial Secretary, Accra, 30 December 1912. **M. P. No. R 20/1912**, pp. 1-3, enlisted in ARG 1/1/54, “Urgent necessity of better transport facilities in Ashanti”, PRAAD, p. 1.

⁵⁰⁴ “Kumasi Chamber of Commerce’s Letter to Sir Hugh Clifford”, Accra, 28 December 1912, pp. 1-2, enlisted in ARG 1/1/54, PRAAD, p. 1.

⁵⁰⁵ **Ibid**, p. 2.

⁵⁰⁶ “Kumasi Chamber of Commerce’s Letter to F.C. Fuller, C.M.G.”, Kumasi, 28 December 1912. **No. 923**, pp. 1-2, enlisted in ARG 1/1/54, PRAAD, pp. 1-2.

*object of the road being cut from Affiduasi to Intonsu is to avoid the extra haulage which is entailed by the Affiduasi–Agoona road”.*⁵⁰⁷

F. C. Fuller, in his letter to the colonial secretary, supported the demands of the merchants and earmarked £1 000 out of the £4 000 provided estimates for “construction and maintenance of district roads” for the year 1913 to be retained for the construction of roads in outlying parts and for compensating chiefs generally throughout Ashanti for annual maintenance work. However, he cautioned that no scientific surveys of the respective lines of roads had been undertaken and until that was done no costly permanent work could or should be put down. Ashanti had witnessed surprising agricultural development in recent years and warranted the formation of a Roads Department. Per F. C. Fuller’s view, the Roads Department if established should carry out all survey and new construction work and draw up a building programme for the whole of Ashanti with the superintending engineer, and once approved, it could be spread over a series of years.⁵⁰⁸

Contrary to his demands, the governor failed to agree with him only a few days after his letter because of the inconsistent nature of the data presented to him. For the commissioner failed to provide any estimate of the probable cost of the roads advocated by the Chamber of Commerce; no particulars which might enable the governor to judge the value of the roads when constructed, i.e., their probable length, the character of the country they will traverse, the produce they were likely to tap, and why if £1 000 was likely to suffice for the construction and maintenance of district roads, £4,000 was asked to be provided in the first place.⁵⁰⁹

F. C. Fuller furnished the colonial secretary and the governor with all the explanation that they required, and added that “... *if the Government wishes to further the economic development of the country [Ashanti], transport facilities must be provided to obviate (if nothing else) the present waste occurring in Eastern portion of Ashanti, where an appreciable percentage of cocoa is allowed to rot every year owing to want of transport-carriers not being sufficient to meet the demand*”.⁵¹⁰ Yet still, the governor refused to

⁵⁰⁷ **Ibid**, p. 2.

⁵⁰⁸ F.C. Fuller, C.M.G. to the Colonial Secretary, Accra, 30 December 1912, **M. P. No. R 20/1912**, p. 2.

⁵⁰⁹ Colonial Secretary to F.C. Fuller, C.M.G., 23 January 1913. **No. CASE 1046/1913**, enlisted in ARG 1/1/54, PRAAD.

⁵¹⁰ F.C. Fuller, C.M.G. to the Colonial Secretary, 17 February 1913, **M.P. No. R.20/12**, pp. 1-6, enlisted in ARG 1/1/54, PRAAD, p. 3.

construct motor roads, and instead, he opted to develop the country between Kumasi and Bompata, and the Kwahu frontier by rail.⁵¹¹

The Kumasi Chamber of Commerce was relentless in its push for development in Ashanti. When Brigadier-General Sir F. G. Guggisberg became governor of the Gold Coast colony and Ashanti, they met with him in Kumasi on 17 November 1922 and proffered the developmental needs of Ashanti and other matters related to commerce to him. About nineteen merchant companies were in attendance.⁵¹² At this meeting, although they were pleased to see the export tax on cocoa reduced, the Chamber advocated for the further reduction of taxes; the abolition of export taxes; requested for reduction of the railway freights due to hard times and the worldwide depression; they advocated for railways and roads in the Western Province, and waterworks for Kumasi. However, Guggisberg's remarks concerning a reduction of taxation were that export duties were necessary owing to the absence of any form of direct taxation and that the government had certain duties to fulfil, and in performing some of those duties it had to inflict a certain amount of hardship in that direction.⁵¹³

With a forecast of having a sum of two million pounds in the pocket for the next four or five years from revenue, Guggisberg promised the Chamber that should the financial situation of the country be better at the end of the year (1912), he would certainly recommend a reduction either of duties or of railway rates. By then, his administration had recorded a surplus revenue balance of £250 000. He thus assured the Chamber that if the current trajectory should continue when he summons the council in March, he was going to make a recommendation for further reductions. On that score, he enjoined the Chamber to communicate to him by letter after careful consideration of their views as to what direction they would like the reduction in taxation to be made.⁵¹⁴ After halving the cocoa duty, he further removed the kola duty, reduced the rates on the Accra-Tafo Railway; made an

⁵¹¹ Colonial Secretary to F.C. Fuller, C. M. G., 19 March, 1913, **No. Case 1046/1913**, enlisted in ARG- 1/1/54, PRAAD.

⁵¹² Companies such as Messrs Kumasi Cocoa Co., Messrs H.B.W. Russel Ltd., Messrs African and Eastern Trade Corporation Ltd., Messrs W. Bartholomew and Co., Crombie Steedman and Co. Ltd., Messrs West African Lighterage and Transport Co. Ltd., Messrs Societe Commerciale de l'Ouest Africain, Messrs Millers Ltd., Messrs Cme. Commerciale Franco-Africains, Messrs Commonwealth Trust Ltd., Messrs F. and A. Swanzy Ltd., Messrs Tarquah Trading Co. Ltd., Messrs Henderson Ltd., Messrs Pickering and Berthoud Ltd., Messrs Gold Coast Machinery and Trading Co., Messrs Bank of British West Africa Ltd., Messrs Colonial Bank, Messrs Compagnie Francaise de l'Afrique Occidentale, and Messrs Raw Products Ltd, were in attendance. *See for example*, "Governor Meeting with the Kumasi Chamber of Commerce at Kumasi", 17 November 1922. ARG 1/1/99, pp. 1-14, PRAAD.

⁵¹³ **Ibid**, pp. 2-3.

⁵¹⁴ **Ibid**, pp. 5-6.

estimated budget of £750 000 for the supply of water to Kumasi. In the meantime, the water supply of Winneba was to be ready by March, and that of Cape Coast was planned to start next year,⁵¹⁵ i.e., 1913. It is no wonder that Guggisberg was deemed as the instigator of the economic revolution in the Gold Coast and an advocate for future African state government.

Unlike Hugh Clifford, Guggisberg set out not only to supply water to Kumasi but also of draining the town. With the assistance of the chief commissioner, he inaugurated a scheme to delegate the responsibility and funds for the improvement of Kumasi town to a body that will be charged entirely with the work of laying out Kumasi town roads, drains, open spaces, recreation grounds, etc. Kumasi was already generating a large revenue itself. This scheme, Guggisberg hoped would develop into a kind of modified Town Council or some similar body in the meantime. Also, he pointed out that Gold Coast motor roads were up to a certain point, *“purely temporary expedients necessitated by the demands of trade”*. To address transport difficulties, Guggisberg turned to railways and feeder roads as the only solution. Up to that point, the colonial government had been voting £75 000 a year for the extension of the motor road system. He proposed to use £30 000 of that in 1913 to convert routes on which there was the greatest amount of traffic into what he described as “the Tarmet system”, which cost about £1 000 per mile. The importance of such a conversion was to enable merchants to run lorries carrying loads up to 3 tons, which was aimed at decreasing their running costs appreciably. Up to 1912, the Gold Coast Colony and Ashanti had something like 2 000 miles of trade routes that were being used for the transport of cocoa. Guggisberg projected that it would take the colony *“a very long time at the rate of 30 miles a year to convert these roads into the Tarmet system”*.⁵¹⁶

He advocated for the construction of the Central Province Railway instead of that of the Western Province as proposed by the Chamber. The production of which was anticipated to further result in the reduction of taxation, as every mile of the railway opened up brought greater trade and greater spending power to the native, and in turn, all that the colonial government expected for revenue was a sufficient export of cocoa and other raw products to enable the native buy the merchant companies’ imports.⁵¹⁷ The Central Province, due to a lack of transport facilities at that time could not bring its seven thousand tons of cocoa to the market. In his argument for opting for a railway in the Central Province, Guggisberg stated

⁵¹⁵ **Ibid**, pp. 6-7.

⁵¹⁶ **Ibid**, pp. 7-9.

⁵¹⁷ **Ibid**, p. 10.

that “*at present from Kade it costs about £12 to get a ton of cocoa to Accra. From Wioso or in Sefwi it costs them £23 to get a ton of cocoa to Seconde. The Central Province Railway, for example, with its terminus at Kade, will take that cocoa for £4.7.0, a sheer saving of some £7 to £8*”.⁵¹⁸ His policy was to provide cheaper transport, which would end up increasing trade and offering great turnover and eventually reducing taxation. In his quest for the welfare of the country, he said his policy was to “*only save the situation by taking off the export duty on cocoa and by providing cheaper means of transport than motors and head-carriage*”.⁵¹⁹

In a nutshell, the merchant companies, although were looking for avenues of reducing haulage costs and maximizing their revenue, indirectly ended up as instruments of development. They forced the hands of the colonial administration to extend development and infrastructure such as roads and rail systems, water supply, electricity, schools, postal, telegraph, and telephone services, and other means of communication to different parts of not only the colony proper but to the protectorates as well. In some instances, they partnered with the government to provide infrastructure in the towns of their operations. They were not in this alone. The chiefs, who were the custodians of the lands and with their newly acquired taste and wealth went for loans themselves from some of these merchant companies to provide essential developmental projects they deemed necessary for their people.

5.3.2. Chiefs and Merchant Companies’ Loans

In 1929, the chief of Aguna Duakwa approached General Grey of the United Africa Company Limited for an advanced loan of three thousand pounds (£3 000) to erect a new senior school building and certain town improvements. General Grey suggested that the loan should be secured by the signatures of the chief and his councillors who will pledge “stool” property in addition to being personally liable for the loan.⁵²⁰ As far as the records go, this is the first instance a chief is borrowing from a merchant company. In the wake of that General Grey enjoined the government, since it is not in a position to provide funds for many of the reasonable requirements of the colony to allow for commercial firms to finance what he called public utility proposals to “*enable certain towns or chiefdoms to be developed and*

⁵¹⁸ **Ibid**, p. 13.

⁵¹⁹ **Ibid**, p. 12.

⁵²⁰ General Grey to the Colonial Secretary, “Financing African Chiefs for Town Improvements”, 17 September 1929, **M.P. No. 10333/29**, pp. 1-3, enlisted in CSO 21/4/14., PRAAD, p. 1.

*to have (the) advantage of more up-to-date facilities (electric light, water supplies, drainage, schools) at a more rapid rate than may be reasonably expected if they continue to depend on Government grants”.*⁵²¹

Before advancing the loan, the United Africa Company Limited put forward the following terms⁵²² which it was prepared to agree to with the chief if the government does not object. That: *“A loan of three thousand pounds (£3 000) to be repaid in four annual instalments, the first payment to commence not later than the 30th of November following the date upon which the loan agreement is signed. The idea is that the loan should be repayable by cocoa or the proceeds of cocoa sales, and it should be possible for the Chiefs to be able to make annual payments during each cocoa season regardless of the fact whether the whole of the loan has been advanced or whether only a portion has been taken up. This would practically make the loan a current account; there would be no difficulty in arranging the accountancy work for this. The loan (is) to bear interest at 8% per annum. Both interest and loan (are) to be paid back by instalments by deliveries of cocoa at market prices subject to a clause to the effect that if the Chiefs are not satisfied with the market price offered, they will be entitled to sell their cocoa to other buyers but in such case, the interest on the loan will be 10% per annum instead of 8% per annum. The loan (is) to be secured by the Chief and sub-chiefs by a mortgage on stool property including any works constructed out of the loan money”.*

One could see the economic and political chicanery in the above-quoted agreement terms. For the mere want of better welfare for their people the chiefs were patted on one hand and slapped on the other hand. The government as final arbiter made it clear to the company that it would not hold itself responsible for the repayment of any portion of the loan because of non-payment by the chief and his councillors. Thus, the government on 26 October 1929 issued a letter giving the green light for the agreement to be entered and admonished the company to ensure that the terms of the mortgage drawn, and its contents were understood by the *ohene* of Duakwa and his people. To regularise this sort of agreement, the government came out with a guideline consisting of four conditions, which

⁵²¹ **Ibid**, pp. 1-2.

⁵²² **Ibid**, pp. 2-3.

must be satisfied before granting loans to chiefs or native authorities. These conditions⁵²³ were as follows:

- a) The chief and his elders (are) to inform the district commissioner of the works which they desire to carry out.
- b) If the district commissioner is satisfied that these will be of general benefit to the community, he will request the district engineer to prepare an estimate of the cost.
- c) The district commissioner will subsequently convene a meeting of the chief and his people, (to) inform them of the estimated cost, and ascertain if they are prepared to meet it by contributions.
- d) If the chief and his elders decide to raise a loan to allow the works to be commenced without delay, they will approach the district commissioner for a copy of the estimate and his certificate that the works are necessary for the improvement of the town. This estimate and certificate will then be shown to the company from whom they seek the loan as proof of the government's approval of the work but not of liability for the repayment of any portion of the loan.

In March 1930 the agreement was agreed upon. According to the Company, the terms of the mortgage had been explained to the *ohene* of Duakwa and his councillors, and they were prepared to accept the terms. The *ohene* and the people of Duakwa were further made to understand that *"no money is to be paid to them until the layout of the town, already commenced, has been completed by the Survey Department"*.⁵²⁴ Thus, the carrying out of schemes under such loans became firmly established. However, whether the contents and terms were duly interpreted by the company to the chief and his people is another issue altogether.

Following in the footsteps of the chief of Duakwa, Nana Atta Fuah II, *Omanhene* of the Stool of Akim Kotoku in the Central Province of the Gold Coast with the advice and consent of the principal elders and councillors of the Stool entered into a similar agreement with the Bank of British West Africa Limited. The Bank was to pay the *odikro* (headman)

⁵²³ Colonial Secretary to R. Harris (Provincial Agent of United Africa Company Limited), Accra, 26 October 1929, **No. 6714/M.P. 10333/29**, pp. 1-2, enlisted in CSO 21/4/14, PRAAD, pp. 1-2.

⁵²⁴ "Central Province Commissioner (Cape Coast) to the Colonial Secretary", Accra, 1 March, 1930. **No. 530/C.P. 890/1929**, enlisted in CSO 21/4/14, PRAAD, p. 1.

of Ewusa, a sub-chief of the Stool of Akim Kotoku the sum of £500 to be expended on the erection of a school.⁵²⁵ The principal sum loaned was to be repaid in three equal annual instalments on 31 January in the years 1931, 1932, and 1933 calculated at the rate of 10 percent per annum. In the event of default in payment of any instalment of the principal sum for a period of one calendar month after the date on which the same became payable,⁵²⁶ the liability of repayment would be made against the Stool of Akim Kotoku. Due to cases of embezzlement and mistrust levelled against some chiefs when they were removed or became unpopular, the government, even though not the financier of these projects directed the various chief commissioners to ensure due diligence was done concerning the projects and that the money was used for the objects in view.

In this project, the governor directed the commissioner of the Western Akim district to render in six months a further report and to exercise careful vigilance⁵²⁷ concerning the project. Within a few weeks, the district commissioner informed the colonial office that the school had been completed and reported on it as follows:

*“the new school is a very fine building of swish covered with cement, with foundation and floors laid in concrete, and was built at a total cost of £800. It contains 4 good sized classrooms with accommodation for about 150 pupils. It is up-to-date in every respect and lacks little in the way of school furniture and effects”.*⁵²⁸

The governor was full of praise for the *odikro* of Ewusa for building and equipping a school in his town and further conveyed his approbation to the *Omanhene* and the *Oman* of Akim-Kotoku. However, he requested for further information to be furnished concerning the source of the extra £300 and the person who paid the balance; whether or not the first instalment in the redemption of the loan, which was due on 31 January 1931, had been duly paid; and who will manage, staff and supervise the school.⁵²⁹ On 22 August 1931, the acting

⁵²⁵ “Commissioner Central Province (Cape Coast) to the Colonial Secretary”, Accra, 23 April 1931. **No. 1202/31/C.P. 890/29**, pp. 1-2, enlisted in CSO 21/4/16, PRAAD, p. 1.

⁵²⁶ **File No. 1108/31/S. 3. 1A 844/31**, 3 November 1930, pp. 1-3, enlisted in CSO 21/4/16, PRAAD, pp. 1-2.

⁵²⁷ “J.V. Shaw (Colonial Secretary) to the Acting Commissioner of the Central Province”, Cape Coast. **1108/31/S.3. No. 610/31/7**, 16 June 1931, enlisted in CSO 21/4/16, PRAAD, p. 1.

⁵²⁸ “Acting Commissioner Central Province to the Colonial Secretary”, 1 July 1931. **No. 1732/31/C.P.890/1929. C. S. No. 292**, enlisted in CSO 21/4/16, PRAAD, p. 1.

⁵²⁹ “J.V. Shaw to the Acting Commissioner of the Central Province”, Cape Coast, 24 July 1931. **No. 610/31/13**, enlisted in CSO 21/4/16, PRAAD, p. 1.

commissioner for Central Province provided the following details⁵³⁰ to the inquiries of the governor:

- I) *“The balance of £300 was paid from Stool funds. These Stool funds were raised from the sale of produce, over a number of years, from land originally cultivated by strangers. These strangers being unable to obtain more land for further extensive cultivation evacuated what they had and returned to Ashanti and the revenue from the sale of cocoa from this land now goes to the Stool funds.*
- II) *The first instalment for the year 1931 has already been paid and interest on the loan has been paid up to the end of June 1931.*
- III) *The school was built by the Odikro of Ewusa for the Presbyterian Mission and is run entirely by the latter. The local Manager is the Rev. T. H. BOADI who is responsible for supervision.”*

The governor was eventually pleased that so well-built and well-equipped a school has been erected mainly out of local funds.⁵³¹ This scheme that provided native chiefs with avenues to undertake development projects with locally generated funds was pushed by Governor Slater. Owing to the failure of the Lands Bill of 1894-7, and the inability of the colonial office to control entirely the lands and resources of the colony and its dependencies, Slater first pushed for the native administration on 18 February 1930, in which he aimed to make the native authority, i.e., the Gold Coast state council presided over by the chief, a living part of the machinery of government. For its realization, Slater insisted that they *“be provided with funds, with which to pay the salaries of their officials and to inaugurate schemes of development”*.⁵³² It was on this premise that in 1931 the native administration ordinance was established, thus, granting chiefs the legal basis to establish a regulated Stool

⁵³⁰ “Acting Commissioner Central Province to the Colonial Secretary”, Accra, 22 August 1931. **No. 2115/31/C.P.890/29. C. S. No. 355**, enlisted in CSO 21/4/16, PRAAD, p. 1.

⁵³¹ “Colonial Secretary to Acting Commissioner of the Central Province”, Cape Coast, 17 September 1931. **No. 1108/31/S.3/25**, enlisted in CSO 21/4/16, PRAAD, p. 1.

⁵³² Stanley Shaloff, “The Income Tax, Indirect Rule and the Depression: The Gold Coast Riots of 1931”. Vol. 14, No. 54, pp. 359-375, 1974, p. 360.

Treasury into which funds for development will be collected by the object of direct taxation of persons under each native administration.

In 1931, Nana Bekyire Yankeh II, *Omanhin* of the Dutch Sekondi state, and his council reached a consensus to negotiate with the government for the formation of a Stool Trust to take care of the assets and liabilities of their state because it was heavily involved in debts. This according to them was a necessary measure until “*the State may be freed and to raise loans for the liquidation of the said liabilities and for the general improvement of the State upon the Security of the Revenues of the State including all rents receivable, moneys derivable from the annual levy initialled on the 12th May 1931, and a grant of £25 per month from the receipts of the Tribunal*”.⁵³³

The *Oman* by this resolution enjoined the district commissioner to approach Barclays Bank for a loan of £2,000 for the Stool Trust which it intended to create, to be paid off in instalments of £600 per annum. The indebtedness of the state amounted to some £1,600; whilst the remainder of the principal sum was needed for improvements to the state. How the state came to be in such a situation was not clear, but it owed individuals and some firms £1,565. 17. 10d. the breakdown⁵³⁴ of which follows:

F. A. Williams	£422. 5. 0.
G. J. Christian	113. 9. 6.
Stephen Foli	138. 0. 0.
Amba Akyire	150. 0. 0.
Urias A. Quarm	270. 0. 0.
Chief Kofi Awotwi	155. 13. 4.
A. S. Dadzie	110. 0. 0.
J. E. Davies	100. 0. 0.
Chief Kofi Esia	88. 10. 0.
Chief Kodwo Dadzie	18. 0. 0.

⁵³³ R.S. Kweku Barnes, Oman Secretary Dutch Sekondi, “RESOLUTION MADE BY DUTCH SEKONDI STATE COUNCIL AT AHINFIE DUTCH SEKONDI”, 31 July 1931. **1B No. 1108/31/S.4.**, enlisted in CSO 21/4/18, PRAAD.

⁵³⁴ Nana Bekyire Yankeh II to the District Commissioner, Sekondi, 11 September 1931. **1A No. 1108/31**, pp. 1-2, enlisted in CSO 21/4/18, PRAAD, p. 1.

The total revenue of the state amounted to £617. 0. 0. per annum,⁵³⁵ and it mortgaged approximately £600 of it for the loan. The source of the revenue is made up of the following:
SEKONDI GROUND RENTS:

G. J. Christian (Rust's property)	£40. 0. 0.
G. J. Christian (Boham's property)	12. 0. 0.
U.A.C. (McLaren, Poasi Road)	25. 0. 0.
U.A.C. (Kamel's Poasi Road)	6. 0. 0.
Urias Quarm (Poasi Road)	6. 0. 0.
Thompson, Moir & Galloway, (Poasi Road)	12. 0. 0.
From Takoradi Ground Rent	116. 0. 0.
Grant from Tribunal Revenue per annum	400. 0. 0.

The intention of the government in approving loans of this nature was solely for development and improvement purposes. In this instance, the loan was needed for servicing the Stool's Debts, from the burden of which it suffered. According to the commissioner for Western Province, many other states in the province were in such situations. The commissioner instructed the colonial office to grant the wishes of the chief, for the *omanhene* had asked the district commissioner to be a trustee. Thus, the commissioner saw this as "*an opportunity of exercising some control over the Stool finances and putting them on a proper footing*", and added that approval should be given for "*until the Stool debts are paid off, it is impossible for the Stool Treasury to proceed with any other useful programme*".⁵³⁶ Borrowing money in traditional Gold Coast society attracted a customary interest of 50% for all time to be added to the money. Nonetheless, the Bank, i.e., Barclays Bank, only placed a maximum of 10% interest on the loan.⁵³⁷ The request was granted by the colonial office.

Securing loans for projects without the involvement of the district commissioners was abhorred by the government due to the mistrust it had of most of the chiefs. The *omanhene* of Enchi once negotiated with Mr. McCullough, General Manager United Africa Company, to lend him £1 000 for town improvements around mid-1931 without following the laid down procedures, i.e., presenting a report on the object of the loan to his district

⁵³⁵ *Ibid*, p. 2.

⁵³⁶ Commissioner Western Province to the Colonial Secretary, 19 September 1931. "Confidential", **C.S. No. 313. No. 67/Conf.83.**, pp. 1-2, enlisted in CSO 21/4/18, PRAAD, pp. 1-2.

⁵³⁷ Commissioner Western Province to the Colonial Secretary, "Proposed £2,000 Loan by Omanhene of Dutch Sekondi", 14 October 1931. **C.S. No. 340. No. 3447/Conf.83.**, enlisted in CSO 21/4/18, PRAAD.

commissioner and abiding by the rules of engagement as established by the colonial office in 1929. Even though Mr. McCullough was aware of the conditions laid down for gaining the government's approval, he handed the money to Bedentu, the *Omanhene*, without any certificate from his district commissioner. When the provincial commissioner got wind of the deal he investigated and issued a memorandum detailing what had been agreed upon between the two. According to the memorandum, the *omanhene* and his elders had agreed to repay the loan contracted at an interest rate of 8% within two years, and the object for which they secured the loan was to carry out the following public works:⁵³⁸

- 1) Making gutters and drains
- 2) Native Court House
- 3) Clerks Quarters and Police Barracks
- 4) Native State Prison
- 5) Rest Houses for Strangers
- 6) New Market Shed.

The commissioner expressed his displeasure that the *omanhene* did not take the acting district commissioner for Enchi, Mr. Darling, into his confidence and secured a loan without government approval. Also, he neither submitted any estimates nor plans in conjunction with the Public Works Department. However, the commission blamed Mr. McCullough more than the *omanhene* in the matter for infracting the terms of the law when he should have known better. The Central Western Province (C.W.P.) commission thus concluded that Chief Bedentu had "*probably no intention of spending it on the town, otherwise, it would have been obviously much better for him to have got a proper estimate for the works and the assistance generally of the D.C. and P.W. Dept*".⁵³⁹

A pattern of borrowing and mortgaging appeared to have been adopted by the chiefs. It became worrying for the district commissioners, when such chiefs procured loans without their knowledge since they were the "ears" of the government on the ground, and they were required to report the progress of each district to Victoriaborg, the seat of the colonial office. One such commissioner was Mr. Newlands, the chief commissioner for Ashanti. He was so concerned that on 10 September 1932, he made certain recommendations to the colonial

⁵³⁸ "MEMORANDUM", Central Western Province, 1931. **No. 1108/31/S.2**, EXTRACT FROM File No. 897/31, enlisted in CSO 21/4/15, PRAAD.

⁵³⁹ "EXTRACT FROM DIARY OF C.W.P. FOR MAY 1931". **No. 897/31 in No. 1108/31/S.2**, enlisted in CSO 21/4/15, PRAAD.

secretary on ways to adopt to bring under control the incessant stool debts. It suffices to quote the entire content of the letter⁵⁴⁰ at this juncture:

“Sir,

I have the honour to recommend that it be made unlawful in Ashanti for a Head Chief, Chief, or Sub-Chief without the consent of his District Commissioner to do any of the following acts: -

- a) to contract a stool debt, or*
- b) to sell, mortgage, or pledge any stool property.*

2. I am emphatically of opinion that there can never be any hope of establishing sound stool treasuries and preparing (an) annual estimate of stool revenue and expenditure until the contraction of stool debts is controlled by (the) Government. An all-too-common method of saddling a stool with debt is for a newly-elected Chief to get his elders to agree that the “expenses” (Anglice: bribes) which he disbursed in obtaining election to the stool shall become stool debts. At present all plans for the just disbursement of stool revenue can be set at nought at any time by a Head Chief, etc., by the simple expedient of borrowing money on the security of the “stool”, i.e., with the consent of the stool elders. Such a loan must by native customary law be repaid out of the stool revenues, failing which the creditor may by English law sell stool land in satisfaction of the debt.

3. Neither method of repayment can commend itself to Government for the stool revenues are allocated in the annual estimates to certain purposes while the disposal of stool land will inevitably end in ruining the power of the stool. The exemption of stools, paraphernalia, and stool houses from seizure was the first step in curbing the propensity of Head Chiefs, etc., of running into debt, the next step required to place stools on a more secure financial footing is what I recommend above.

4. Existing stool debts must of course be honoured so soon as the revenue of the stool is sufficient to pay them off but this liquidation of debt will be useless if (a) new debt can meanwhile be created behind the back of the District Commissioner. I would emphasize that the sooner my recommendation is carried out the better it will be for all concerned – there is no need first to await the occurrence of some future event, e.g., the passing of the Colony Native Revenue Ordinance, or any other preliminary to indirect rule. It is the latter which

⁵⁴⁰ Mr Newlands to the Colonial Secretary, 10 September 1932. No. 83/C.20/29, pp. 1-2, enlisted in CSO 21/4/34, PRAAD.

can only become a reality after the scandal of plunging stools into debt has been effectually stopped.

5. *The Prohibition of the selling or mortgaging of stool land is scarcely less important than the proposal to prevent the indiscriminate contraction of stool debts. At present, stool land can be sold without let or hindrance or thought of the future. This was not so in German colonies before the war and it is sensibly, but only partially, controlled in Togoland by Article IV (5) of the Mandate. Some enlightened Colony Chiefs refuse to sell land already and will only grant leases over it but it is essential that the disposal of stool property should be made subject to control by Government – (the) Chief's bye-laws and alleged declarations of native customary law are useless for the purpose.*

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

Signed: Newlands

CHIEF COMMISSIONER

*THE HONOURABLE,
THE COLONIAL SECRETARY,
VICTORIABORG, ACCRA."*

Acting upon the content of the above-cited letter, the acting governor requested an outline of proposed legislation,⁵⁴¹ with which the chief commissioner's office wished to be introduced to make a debt incurred by a chief without the permission of the district commissioner irrecoverable before the courts. The acting chief commissioner of Ashanti, Hugh Thomas, concurred in his words that "*a stool debt incurred by a Chief without the permission of the District Commissioner should be considered irrecoverable*", furthermore "*a sale, mortgage, or pledge of a stool property without the permission of the District Commissioner should be declared invalid ab initio*".⁵⁴² He proposed legislation for the consideration of the law officers that a section might be inserted after 75A of the native Jurisdiction Ordinance and be drafted on the following lines:⁵⁴³

⁵⁴¹ "Acting Colonial Secretary to the Acting Chief Commissioner of Ashanti", Kumasi, 15 October 1932. **No. 843/32/12**, enlisted in CSO 21/4/34, PRAAD.

⁵⁴² Hugh Thomas to the Colonial Secretary, Accra, 21 October 1932. **No. 96/C.20/29**, enlisted in CSO 21/4/34, PRAAD.

⁵⁴³ **Ibid.**

“75B. No Head Chief, Chief, or Sub-chief shall contract a stool debt without the consent of the District Commissioner in writing. Any debt so contracted without the consent in writing of the District Commissioner shall be irrecoverable in any Court, or any Native Tribunal.

No Head Chief, Chief, or Sub-chief shall sell, mortgage, or pledge any stool property without the consent of the District Commissioner in writing. Any sale mortgage or pledge of a stool property so made without the consent of the District Commissioner in writing is hereby declared invalid.”

To understand how such debts were incurred by the chiefs on the Stool and denizens of the Stool in Ashanti, which were then liquidated through a levy imposed on the people, Mr. Hugh Thomas listed the cases⁵⁴⁴ given rise to Stool debts as:

1. Expenses in connection with installations or depositions of Chiefs.
2. Expenses in connection with funeral customs of Chiefs.
3. Litigation.
4. Erection of Stool buildings, e.g., Ahinfie.
5. Purchase of Stool paraphernalia.
6. Purchase of iron sheets for markets, and latrines.
7. Construction of roads.

The above-cited speculation and unaccountability were not only a phenomenon in Ashanti, but the entire colony and its dependencies. For instance, the Ga state located along the coast was in a state of chaos to the extent that the government considered, in several areas in the colony a re-arrangement of allegiances to establish a real native administration. Chiefs of the Ga Mantse were said to be involved in cases in the region that came before them, and together with their associates, they divided the spoils of such cases. The Ga state council was caught in stool disputes. Dr. M. J. Field, the Government Sociologist was put on this issue. She deplored the wickedness of the Ga state council and the scrupulous methods employed by that body. The government sociologist, with regards to Stool disputes

⁵⁴⁴ Hugh Thomas to the Colonial Secretary, Accra, 4 November 1932. **No. 99/C.20/29**, enlisted in CSO 21/4/34, PRAAD.

in the state, recommended “*amending the Commissions of Inquiry Ordinance so as to give legal effect to the Governor’s decision after due consideration by him of the report of a Commission appointed thereunder*”.⁵⁴⁵

The amendment was to give the governor the power to create stool treasuries by which all fees and fines accruing from tribunals and state councils will have to be deposited. This would then be a means of checking the nefarious acts of state councils. In the long run, it was hoped that chiefs in the Ga state will possibly begin to display a lack of interest in the cases when they were no longer able to divide the spoils as they did before, and a change for the better may be expected.⁵⁴⁶ Thus, such necessary interventions by the colonial government weakened the authority of the chiefs in time for they could not act on their own accord without the approval of European administrative officers. Over time, what happened was that chiefs were sued in their private capacities for their actions, in this case for a personal debt incurred, which in ere time they imposed on their people to pay, just as ordinary individuals were sued. As their influence and authority waned, it was transferred to another force; the intelligentsia who would inherit the administrative role of the European supervisors as independence approached.

5.4. The Proletarian Class

The ‘Stool’, as an institution was held in reverence in Gold Coast societies. In effect, occupiers or custodians of these stools were accorded respect for the positions they held. The authority of the chiefs and headmen was somewhat limited and controlled by laws governing the “Stools”. However, social changes occurred with the introduction of plantations and extractive capitalist industry on the Gold Coast. The capitalist scheme became the sole policy of the imperialist, Joseph Chamberlain, who became the Secretary of State for the colonies in 1895. His policy was for turning the colonies into sources of raw materials and markets for British firms. Anne opined that in the first twenty years of the British administration, the administration faced problems with labour supply and difficulties in creating ‘free’ labour.⁵⁴⁷ For it needed labour for infrastructure development, particularly railway and roads, for the

⁵⁴⁵ Hugh Thomas (S.N.A.) to the Commissioner, Eastern Province, “STOOL PALAVERS IN THE GA STATE”, 20 September, CONFIDENTIAL, No. 1246/31/S.F.12/4, pp. 1-2, 1938, enlisted in CSO 21/4/18, PRAAD, p. 1.

⁵⁴⁶ **Ibid**, p. 2.

⁵⁴⁷ Anne Philips, “The Enigma of Colonialism: British Policy in West Africa”, pp. 27-28.

haulage of minerals and agricultural products. It thus came to count on the chiefs and headsmen as agents for securing labour for the government and mining firms and turned a blind eye to domestic slavery since it was the main source of labour for operations. This role of the chiefs weakened the native institution as they came to be defied in their coercive approach to supply labour to the administration.

The chiefs were granted authority by the roads ordinance to get their people to undertake public works. It was thought to be cheaper, and the chiefs were compensated for that. For instance, they obtain 10s. for each mile of a bush path cleared to open their towns for trade. The colonial office termed this kind of work as “minor communal” services. These kinds of services were apportioned among the people according to their fitness to perform them. For instance, women were responsible for sweeping the streets, removing household refuse and similar light duties, whilst the men undertook the heavier work such as the maintenance of roads, linking their village with the main road system, and the digging of pit latrines and refuse pits. The colonial office maintained that the extent of their obligations to the community in which they lived was well understood by the people, so they voluntarily performed these tasks.⁵⁴⁸

For all the labour employed by the native authorities for the execution of public works, the government had under consideration introduced a system of direct taxation, a portion of the proceeds from which would be utilized for the payment of wages. Thus, with this system in mind, the object of the government was the introduction of the payment of wages at full rates so that in the end *“the element of compulsion will disappear as it is anticipated that there will be an adequate supply of voluntary labour”*.⁵⁴⁹ In 1902, the government offered a wage of 1s. a day and 3d. subsistence money for carriers. Contractors at Cape Coast and Accra supplied the government with carriers when required and they were paid at the rate of 1s. per head for their services. Unskilled labour obtained as much as 2s. 6d. per diem at the mines.⁵⁵⁰ Before this type of payment came into force, Kimble said initially payment of labourers, especially with regards to farming or plantations, was often arranged using the *abusa system*; whereby the labourers received a one-third share of the proceeds when the farm came into bearing. With time the arrangement became more

⁵⁴⁸ CSO 21/4/1, “Forced Labour Convention: Report in Respect of The Gold Coast Colony, Ashanti, The Northern Territories and Togoland Under British Mandate”. Enclosure in the Gold Coast No. 895 of 24 November 1932. PRAAD.

⁵⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵⁰ Colonial Reports No. 397, “Gold Coast Report for 1902”, pp. 61-62.

standardized, and labourers received a fixed sum per load for all the cocoa they harvested for their employer, in the form of payment of wages on a piecework system.⁵⁵¹

Kimble credited the full-scale development of the wage-earning system to the operation of overseas firms, especially in mining, and by the government. The huge demand for labour in the mines took the wage-earning system into the hinterlands of the Northern Territories, with assistance from government officials.⁵⁵² The chiefs were the recruiting 'agents' for the mines. According to Kimble, the chiefs were paid 5s. for each man who reported to the district commissioner, and a further 7s. 6d. on his return after completing a nine months contract of service.⁵⁵³ The wages of most of the men were compulsorily saved for them until they completed their service.⁵⁵⁴ Contracts of this nature retarded the development of towns and villages of the Northern Territories as the abled-bodied section of the population was drawn into the mines and plantations of the colony and Ashanti. In instances like this, Kwame Nkrumah postulates that the "*African workers regarded the colonialists, foreign firms and foreign planters as the exploiters*", and thus, their "*struggle became in the first instance anti-imperialist*",⁵⁵⁵ and not directed against the traditional authorities who lured them out.

In this capacity, the chiefs should be seen as the bane of their people in West Africa. It was not only in the Gold Coast that chiefs were paid and employed to supply labour for public works and the mines. It was a common practice in British colonies in West Africa. In Nigeria, Lugard said native chiefs who undertook contracts for the government in "*some cases failed to pay their labourers or paid them a wholly inadequate sum but were apt to keep them for many days unpaid before the material for their work was supplied*".⁵⁵⁶ As a British administrator himself, Lugard proffered that wage should be offered at the lowest rate possible, so long as it would attract voluntary labour. He maintained that the wants of the African peasant were few and were not necessities. Thus, the peasant could generally obtain sufficient cash to purchase them and pay his small tax, where necessary, by the sale of a little produce, and as such there was little incentive to earn wages.⁵⁵⁷ Lugard's statement

⁵⁵¹ David Kimble, "A Political History of Gold Coast Nationalism", p. 40.

⁵⁵² *Ibid*, pp. 40-41.

⁵⁵³ *Ibid*, p. 42.

⁵⁵⁴ "Scheme agreed between Government and Chamber of Mines", enclosed in Letter of 14 June 1921, from Chief Commissioner to Commissioner, S. Province; 1953 Acc. No. 1398, **Case No. 5/1920**, G.N. Archives, as cited in Kimble (1963), p. 42.

⁵⁵⁵ Kwame Nkrumah, "Class Struggle in Africa", p. 15.

⁵⁵⁶ F.D. Lugard, "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa", p. 422.

⁵⁵⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 404-405.

implied that once the peasants had enough to save, the desire to work would cease and they would revert to idleness. Thus, to keep them in work, an “inadequate” wage must be offered by the employer.

According to the Gold Coast Blue Book for the years 1931-32, wages for manual labour were between 8d. and 3s. a day for the unskilled labourer and from 2s. 6d. to 7s. 6d. for artisans and tradesmen. Whereas the cost of a labourer’s food in the rural areas was approximately 3d. a day; it was 6d. a day in the inland towns or large villages, and 9d. a day in Accra.⁵⁵⁸ The following table shows the principal occupations and wages⁵⁵⁹ offered in the colony between 1931-32:

Table 1.1. Principal Occupations and Wages in the Colony, 1931-32

Occupations.	Average rates of wages.	Average hours worked.
Government Departments. Agriculture. Labourers	1s. 4d. a day ...	45 hours a week.
Public Works. Labourers ... Apprentices ... Carpenters, Masons, Fitters, Blacksmiths, etc. ... Artisans ...	8d. to 1s. 4d. a day 1s. 6d. to 3s. a day 3s. to 5s. a day 6s. a day ...	48 hours a week.
Railways. Labourers, cleaners, etc. ... Fitters, drivers, machinists, boiler-makers, etc. ...	1s. 3d. to 4s. a day 2s. 3d. to 7s. a day	
<i>Commercial.</i> Agricultural Labour. Unskilled labour ...	£3 to £10 a year with free board and lodging	No fixed hours
Mines. Unskilled labourers ... Apprentices and skilled tradesmen ...	1s. to 1s. 9d. a day 1s. 9d. to 10s. a day	48 hours a week
DOMESTIC SERVANTS. ... Cooks ...	£4 per month	Usual domestic hours.
Steward Boys ... Washermen ...	£3 per month £1 5s.	

⁵⁵⁸ Colonial Reports, “Annual Records on the Social and Economic Progress of the People of the Gold Coast, 1931-32”, No. 1602, 1933, pp. 43-44.

⁵⁵⁹ *Ibid*, p. 43.

No statistics existed ere 1947 of labour employed in agriculture, commerce or industry, except in respect of government departments, municipalities and the mines. In 1946, regulations were made requiring all employers to keep registers and make returns of their labour⁵⁶⁰ to the statistical department of the commissioner of labour-- the body in charge of supervising all matters affecting the interest of labour in the Gold Coast. The new records showed that cocoa farming and the mining industry employed more labour than the other sectors. Following the 1946 directives, the Blue Book for the year 1948 for instance, showed that cocoa farming alone employed around 250 000 wage-earning employees, and most of these employees were employed on contract terms, either profit sharing or for a fixed amount for the season. The value of which in real wages was estimated to be equivalent to a minimum of 2s. per diem. The mining sector employed some 38 400 with 45 hours of work per week. The next in line was the transport and communications sector. The roads department under this sector employed 8 000 with 48 hours of work per week and 2s. 0. wage, railways employed 6 200 with 45 hours of work per week and 2s. 9d. wage, air employed 200 with 38 hours of work per week and 2/9 wage, whilst sea employed 2000 with 48 hours of work per week and 2/8 wage. The commerce sector employed 13 000 with 48 hours of work per week and 2/6 wage. Timber and forestry also employed 11 400 with 48 hours of work per week and 2/3 wage, whilst building employed 11 000 with 48 hours of work per week and 2/6 wage. Lastly, the manufacturing industries employed 23 000 with 48 hours of work per week and 2/8 wage.⁵⁶¹

By the end of 1951 from the published returns, the number of persons in wage-earning employment had risen from 30 000 to some 185 000 people out of an estimated population of 4 333 000,⁵⁶² representing about 4.3% of the population. The figure was not the overall reflection of the wage-earning group of the colony as several small traders were believed to have failed to submit their returns. Thus, the figure could have been higher than the one recorded. However, the positive news was that between 1947-1951, the number of Africans in the Senior Service⁵⁶³ increased marginally as shown in the table below:

⁵⁶⁰ Colonial Reports, "Gold Coast Report for 1947", p. 18.

⁵⁶¹ Colonial Reports, "Gold Coast Report for 1948", pp. 179-180.

⁵⁶² Colonial Reports, "Gold Coast Report for 1951", pp. 10-11; In 1948, there was "6 770 non-African population of whom 4 211 were British and 1 213 Lebanese. The remaining figure was divided among 26 other nationalities of which Swiss, Dutch, Indian, French, and Syrian formed the greater part". *Ibid*, p. 10.

⁵⁶³ *Ibid*, p. 118.

Table 1.2. Number of Africans in Senior Service, 1947-1951

DEPARTMENTS	1947	1949	1951
<i>Ministries</i>	---	---	21
<i>Political Administration</i>	3	12	38
<i>Accountant General</i>	1	7	15
<i>Agriculture</i>	2	50	83
<i>Air Services</i>	--	4	--
<i>Animal Health</i>	1	1	2
<i>Audit</i>	2	3	4
<i>Broadcasting</i>	--	2	--
<i>Cocoa Rehabilitation</i>	--	--	--
<i>Commerce and Industry</i>	--	3	5
<i>Co-operation</i>	3	4	7
<i>Customs and Excise</i>	7	13	16
<i>Education</i>	6	14	23
<i>Electricity</i>	1	4	8
<i>Housing</i>	--	--	1
<i>Income Tax</i>	--	1	4
<i>Labour</i>	3	4	11
<i>Lands</i>	--	1	1
<i>Medical</i>	18	32	46
<i>Meteorological</i>	--	2	2
<i>Police</i>	4	7	16
<i>Posts and Telegraphs</i>	20	26	39
<i>Printing</i>	1	1	1
<i>Prisons</i>	1	1	2
<i>Public Relations</i>	1	2	9
<i>Public Works</i>	1	13	28
<i>Railway</i>	5	14	37
<i>Secretariat</i>	2	5	--
<i>Social Welfare</i>	--	4	17
<i>Soil and Land Use Survey</i>	--	--	1
<i>Supreme Court</i>	8	15	16
<i>Surveys</i>	1	4	6
<i>Town and Country Planning</i>	1	2	2
<i>Transport</i>	--	1	7
<i>Tsetse Control</i>	--	--	1
<i>West African Court of Appeal</i>	--	--	1
Total	92	252	470

The increasing number of Africans in the senior service was because of the Africanisation policy of the government from that period (*see* 5.5). By 1952, the colony's wage-earning employment for both public authorities and private enterprise had burgeoned for both males and females to about 216 275 people per the statistics reported out of the total population, at mid-1954, of 4 548 000 thus representing about 4.8%. The statistics⁵⁶⁴ are shown in the table below.

⁵⁶⁴ Colonial Reports, "Gold Coast Report for 1954", p. 180; the distribution of the 4 548 000 African population was as follows: 2 496 000 in the Colony; 930 000 in Ashanti, and 1 122 000 in the Northern Territories. The Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship too had an estimated population of 432 000, which was not included in the total population figure. The non-African population in 1954 rose to 13 074 in the Gold Coast including 9 282 from Great Britain, and the remainder divided among other nationalities such as Lebanese,

**Table 1.3. Recorded Numbers of Persons (Male and Female) in Wage-earning
Employment on 31 December 1952**

Major Industry Group	Public Authorities		Private enterprise		Total		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Persons
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing ...	11 684	230	12 765	394	24 449	624	25 073
Mining and Quarrying ...	--	--	40 690	347	40 690	347	41 037
Manufacturing ...	604	92	10 872	208	11 476	300	11 776
Construction	26 711	552	16 874	563	43 585	1 115	44 700
Electricity, Gas, Water and Sanitary Services ...	4 046	8	187	--	4 233	8	4 241
Commerce ...	132	9	22 928	429	23 060	438	23 498
Transport, Storage and Communication ...	14 917	308	3,266	20	18 183	328	18 511
Services ...	32 188	1 164	12 046	2 041	44 234	3 205	47 439
Total ...	90 282	2 363	119 628	4 002	209 910	6 365	216 275

This was the wage-earning system that was handed over at independence. In its development, the illiterate workers relied upon the government to protect their rights because trade unions were slow to develop.⁵⁶⁵ On 1 October 1948, a new labour ordinance became operative. It embodied both previous labour legislation enacted locally and the provisions of those International Labour Conventions which have been accepted by the Gold Coast government, and on the last day of the year, an ordinance to amend the Trade Unions Ordinance of 1941 was also enacted and came into effect.⁵⁶⁶ Thus, modern types of trade

Swiss, Dutch, Indian, French, and Syrian. **Ibid**, p. 22; Currently, Ghana has a population of 30 832 019. The population 15 years and older by economic activity is at 19 873 607, out of which, the economically active population (persons 15 years and older) stands at 11 541 355 (9 990 237 employed, and 1 551 118 unemployed). The Private Informal sector engages 77.1%, Private Formal sector 12.6%, and the Public (Government) sector 9.5% of the employed population, with more than half (53.3%) in the services sector, followed by agriculture (33.0%) with industry having the least (13.7%). *See for example*, "Ghana 2021 Population and Housing Census", General Report, Vol. 3E, December 2021, pp. 2, 27, 37, 41, 45.

⁵⁶⁵ David Kimble, "A Political History of Gold Coast Nationalism", p. 44.

⁵⁶⁶ Colonial Reports, "Gold Coast Report for 1948", p. 13.

unions started to emerge post-Second World War. At the end of 1954, the colonial reports indicated that a total number of 112 trade union movements had been registered under the Trade Unions Ordinance. The report further showed that the majority of the unions were organized as “House” or “Company” unions, and restricted membership to the employees of the company or employer. The main exception to this was the mines employees’ union which dealt with all employers in the mining industry in which, for the purpose of negotiation of wages and conditions, the gold mines and bauxite mines were organized as the Chamber of Mines.⁵⁶⁷

5.5. Africanization of the Public Service, 1947-1954

Since the early years of the colonial administration, very few Africans, especially the mulatto children were appointed to senior public positions. These posts included the professional, technical and higher administrative branches. The early appointments of the indigenes, according to Kimble were the active policy of Lord Grey who “believed in demonstrating the practical advantages of education”. Some of these appointees included James Bannerman (to the post of the civil commandant at Christiansborg in 1850), attachment of some educated Africans to the Supreme Court in 1853 to specialize in the presentation of cases as barristers and solicitors, Rev. T.B. Freeman who replaced Bannerman in 1857,⁵⁶⁸ among others. However, for a considerable period, Africans were largely not included in senior positions in the civil service because (a) there were not many qualified individuals; (b) the expatriates were deemed to be a better fit to govern.

So, at what point were Africans made an integral part of the civil service? That decision was arrived at during the governorship of Guggisberg. On 22 February 1926, he decided to take a different direction to engage more Africans in responsible positions. Two main reasons were said to have influenced this decision of Guggisberg.

“Firstly, it is dictated by the spirit of justice, for it is only fair play to give those inhabitants of the country who are properly qualified for the work, an opportunity of entering and eventually advancing to the highest appointments in the Government Service. Secondly, the policy is dictated by hard facts,

⁵⁶⁷ Colonial Reports, “Gold Coast Report for 1954”, p. 26.

⁵⁶⁸ David Kimble, “A Political History of Ghana”, pp. 65-66, 68.

*namely the necessity of reducing expenditure on the present costly system of staffing the Senior Service by Europeans”.*⁵⁶⁹

Nonetheless, no lasting feat was chalked following his remarks and Europeans continued to occupy senior postings up to 1946. His Africanization scheme was stalled by successive governors. Subsequent governors such as Ransford Slater (1927-1932), Shenton Thomas (1932-1934), and A.W. Hodson (1934-1941) did little to bring the scheme to light until the intervention of the paramount chiefs from 1938. Slater was said to be not enthused in Africanization and expressed that *“it would be difficult..., to find an African with the necessary independence and strength of character who would be reasonably acceptable to the native population who would be placed in his charge”*, whilst Shenton Thomas was said to have *“rejected the notion that Africans should be eligible for all positions under the same circumstances as the expatriate staff”*.⁵⁷⁰ The impression created by their views was that Europeans were those with the expertise and better suited to administer the colony.

In 1938, the Joint Provincial Council of Chiefs bemoaned the lackadaisical posture of the government towards implementing Guggisberg’s scheme. They instructed their member of the legislative council, Nana Sir Ofori Atta, to prompt the government on the importance of the scheme to the country. He did just that by urging *“the appointment of more Africans to mechanical and technical posts instead of lawyers”* and emphasized that *“we are not going to make this country with a host of lawyers. We have plenty of them”*.⁵⁷¹ This speech was a departure from the usual position of the chiefs and a clarion call to the government because the chiefs and Nana Ofori Atta had almost all the time concurred with the government on its policies. In 1939, Governor Hodson resolved to appoint Africans to higher posts in the civil service when they were qualified but opted for a fifty-fifty ratio on the belief that appointing only Africans would weaken the administration and the economy.⁵⁷² Thus, the scheme came to be implemented progressively by successive governors such as George Ernest London (1941-1942), Alan C. M. Burns (1942-1947), Gerald Hallen Creasy (1948-1949), and Charles N. Arden-Clarke (1949-1957).

Following Alan Burns Constitution of 1946, which gave greater inclusion of Africans in the affairs and administration of the Gold Coast, an outright policy of Africanisation of

⁵⁶⁹ Stanley Shaloff, “The Africanization Controversy in the Gold Coast, 1926-1946”. Vol. 17 No.3, pp. 493-504, 1974, p. 493.

⁵⁷⁰ **Ibid**, p. 494.

⁵⁷¹ **Ibid**, p. 499.

⁵⁷² **Ibid**.

the civil service, i.e., African candidates were to be considered first before any appointment to a vacant post in the senior service in any department, was accepted in 1947 and all heads of departments, chief commissioners, and provincial commissioners were obliged to abide by it. Thus, these heads were required when submitting any future applications for the appointment of senior staff personnel to *“give assurance that the claims of African officers have been fully considered, and if their final recommendation is for the appointment of a European officer, they should give a categorical assurance that no suitable African officer is available for the post”*.⁵⁷³ To aggrandize the policy as independence was fast approaching, in 1949, the Select Committee of the legislative council passed the following motion at its meeting:

“a Select Committee of the Legislative Council be appointed to draw up a comprehensive scheme for the progressive Africanization of each Department of the Public Service during the next ten years and for the education and training necessary to provide suitably qualified African Officers in adequate numbers to take up senior appointments in the Civil Service, and further to make recommendations for its implementation”.⁵⁷⁴

This Committee became known as the Africanization Committee. It was composed of the colonial secretary as its chairman, and the following as members:⁵⁷⁵ the chief commissioner of the colony; the Honourable Nana Sir Tsibu Darku IX, Omanhene of Asin Atandasu (Second Provincial Member for the Western Province); the Honourable Nana Kwame Gyebi Ababio, Essumajahene (First Ashanti Member); the Honourable E.O. Asafu-Adjaye, (Third Ashanti Member); the Honourable the Reverend C.G. Bacta, (Fourth Provincial Member for the Eastern Province); the Honourable Nii Amaa Ollennu, (Nominated Member); the Honourable E.C. Obetsebi Lampitey, (Second Municipal Member for Accra), and a Secretary to the Committee. The Committee after its first meeting resolved to obtain first-hand information from the concerned heads of the departments on the following subjects⁵⁷⁶: -

⁵⁷³ Kenneth Bradley, Acting Colonial Secretary, “Circular No. 75/47”, **File No. 2686**, 29 August 1947, Accra, in ARG 2/1/13, PRAAD.

⁵⁷⁴ Colonial Secretary’s Office, “Select Committee for the Africanization of the Public Service”, **No. PL.206/23**, 14 June 1949, Accra, pp. 1-3, in ARG 2/1/13, PRAAD, p. 1.

⁵⁷⁵ **Ibid.**

⁵⁷⁶ **Ibid**, p. 2.

- i. The various branches of each Department in which senior service posts exist.
- ii. The number of posts that could be anticipated within the next 10 years.
- iii. The number of vacancies at present exists.
- iv. The duties attached to such posts.
- v. The number of vacancies likely to occur within the next 10 years.
- vi. The minimum educational qualification required to fill a post in senior service.
- vii. The means by which qualification may be obtained.
- viii. What facilities exist for attaining the necessary qualification.
- ix. The number of years required to train for the qualification.
- x. What departmental facilities (school, etc.) exist for the training of junior officers to qualify for senior posts.
- xi. The extent to which existing facilities for further training should be expanded.

Once the blueprint was ready, Mr. A.L. Adu,⁵⁷⁷ an administrative officer, was appointed as commissioner for Africanization in 1950. Also, as commissioner, he acted as executive officer of the public service commission with numerous responsibilities.⁵⁷⁸ Between 28 April and 30 June 1951, Mr. Adu visited the United Kingdom and Ireland, where the bulk of Gold Coast nationals was in training to survey their number in addition to those who were temporarily resident and might be interested in government jobs back home. Thus, the visit intended to bring to the notice of all students the opportunities for careers in the senior civil service and to give advice to students, both private and on scholarship, on the

⁵⁷⁷ This officer possessed a Master of Arts from Cambridge University. In 1939 he was a Master in Achimota, and he entered the Colonial Service as an Administrative Officer in Ashanti from 1942 until 1949, when he was seconded for special duty as a Secretary to the Coussey Committee on Constitutional Reform. *See for example*, Public Relations Department, "Appointment of Commissioner for Africanization", Press Release No. **849/50**, Accra, 1950, in ARG 2/1/13.

⁵⁷⁸ For instance, he was responsible for "effecting liaison between the Central Government, the various Heads of Departments, the Local Authorities and the country at large, with a view to ensuring that the maximum number of suitably qualified African candidates become available for appointment to the higher grades of the Public Service". Additionally, he concerned himself with the co-ordination of the activities of the Gold Coast Students' Advisory Committee, the Scholarships Selection Board and the Public Service Commission. Also, he supervised the closer integration of the functions of the organisations, both in the Gold Coast and in the United Kingdom, which were responsible for the selection and training of African candidates. **Ibid.**

choice of careers in the government service.⁵⁷⁹ Whilst in those countries, he met the various officers of the colonial office who dealt with the recruitment and training of Africans for the Gold Coast civil service and discussed the problems they encountered in their line of work, and he also met persons and members of various institutions interested in colonial students and nationals. Furthermore, he interviewed students in different fields such as solicitors, accountants, medical and dental students, nurses, printers, arts and crafts students, administrative service, and those in the technical fields. The conclusion drawn from his visit and interviews, especially the technical ones, was that there were not enough Africans in training then that could fill vacancies in the relevant establishments within the next few years. The outcome reached then was the need “*to plan boldly on a broad front and a suitable scale, training in all those fields*”⁵⁸⁰ in which personnel was lacking.

In line with the above-garnered information from the commissioner’s itinerary, the Select Committee of the legislative council made several recommendations about the ongoing Africanization scheme covering the policy of recruitment, the structure of the civil service, improvement of facilities for secondary, technical, and higher education and the reform of the scholarship system, etc. Although there were not enough trained and qualified Africans suitable for an immediate appointment to posts in the public service, about the recruitment policy, it was decided that the high standards of qualifications for appointment to the senior service should not be lowered. Suitably qualified Africans were to be preferred in filling existing vacancies to expatriates, but “*(i) in case an African is not available for an appointment, which needed to be made at once, an expatriate should be appointed on contract; and (ii) promotions within the Service would continue to be made on merit alone without regard for colour, and the claims of meritorious public officers in the Colonial Service would take precedence over those of persons not already in the Service*”.⁵⁸¹ With regards to (i) in default of an African candidate, “*a suitable expatriate candidate should be appointed on pensionable terms when it proved impossible to secure an expatriate candidate on contract*”.⁵⁸² Also, in certain departments, a quota of expatriate candidates was to

⁵⁷⁹ Commissioner for Africanisation, “Report on Visit of Mr. A.L. Adu, Commissioner for Africanisation, to the United Kingdom and Ireland 28th April to 30th June 1951”, 19 July 1951, Accra, pp. 1-16, in ARG 2/1/13, PRAAD, p. 1.

⁵⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁵⁸¹ Mr. A.L. Adu, “Progress Report on the Africanisation of the Public Service”, 14 August 1951, pp. 1-12, in ARG 2/1/13, PRAAD, p. 1.

⁵⁸² *Ibid.*

continue to be appointed on pensionable terms⁵⁸³ until such a time that sufficient and qualified Africans availed themselves.

The above was the immediate solution to the staffing problem. In the long term, however, the following solutions were aimed at (i) the establishment of more secondary schools and the improvement of non-assisted secondary schools. In addition to making economic use of the products of the Secondary Schools; (ii) provision of more facilities for technical education at all levels since there were very few facilities; (iii) the government opted for a policy to work through the Scholarship Selection Board by offering a substantial number of scholarships to local candidates for training in Universities in the UK and at home towards increasing the very low output of graduates and professional men and women because the training of a graduate, a doctor or an engineer takes a long time; and (iv) departments were to offer apprenticeship training schemes internally.⁵⁸⁴

Furthermore, the structure of the civil service itself before these changes consisted of senior and junior branches. However, it was put under the Lidbury Commission for review. Under this new policy direction, the whole structure was to be reviewed and the senior and junior branches were to be abolished, creating a new service in its stead based on: (a) an evaluation of the responsibilities to be attached to each post; and (b) the need for making the maximum possible use of local candidates.⁵⁸⁵ Vacancies thereof were to be advertised to reach all sections of the public. Previously, vacancies were advertised in the Government Gazette but are now placed also in the local press. Even future vacancies once ascertained to occur were listed, and prospective candidates were invited to apply to the Chief Secretary for consideration without reapplication when such positions become officially vacant. Also, in 15 different pamphlets covering a group of related departments, styled “A Guide to Posts in the Permanent Establishment of the Senior Service of the Gold Coast”, the Africanisation Committee set out the duties, qualifications, and salary scales attached to nearly all the posts in the Senior Service and the way those qualifications could be obtained. The pamphlets were sold to the public, and others were distributed to reading rooms, libraries, the University College of the Gold Coast, Secondary Schools, and students in the UK.⁵⁸⁶

⁵⁸³ **Ibid**, p. 2.

⁵⁸⁴ **Ibid**, pp. 3, 8.

⁵⁸⁵ **Ibid**.

⁵⁸⁶ **Ibid**, p. 4.

How were the Lidbury Commission's recruitment policy recommendations applied in practice? One of the commonest vacancies easily filled by the indigenes in the administrative branch was the clerical officer position. Abiding by the new policy, an announcement was published in the Gazette and other outlets specified above about recruitment to the grade of clerical officer on the pensionable scale of £130 × £10 - £280. Prospective candidates were recruited through open and limited-entry competitions. In the case of the former, only candidates possessing the school certificate qualification were to be selected and interviewed for appointment to the new grade of clerical officer. In 1953, 66 candidates⁵⁸⁷ were selected for this position. Conversely, the limited entry was the recommendation of the Lidbury Commission as an additional method of recruitment for those already working as clerical assistants and in possession of the school certificate qualification. Thus, the limited competition was to serve as a promotional outlet for them to enter the clerical class.

The limited entry was opened to both male and female persons to be appointed to the pensionable grade of clerical officer, provided:

- (a) that he possesses the minimum educational qualification of a Primary School Leaving Certificate or a higher recognized educational qualification.
- (b) that he will have completed two years' continuous service with the Government on or before the 31st of March 1953.
- (c) that he will have attained his 21st birthday but will not have attained his 45th birthday on or before the 31st of March 1953.⁵⁸⁸

To review and consider the applications, each head of department was to appoint a Board, composed of three members, of whom one should be an African. The duty of this Board then would be to classify the candidates, in order of preference as (a) Well qualified; (b) Qualified (but with little or nothing to spare), and (c) Not qualified. Such classifications of each Board would then be forwarded to a central Selection Board through the Chief Secretary's office, which might then require candidates, if necessary to appear for an interview. Only after the results of the open and limited competitions were known,⁵⁸⁹ would appointments be made by the chief secretary.

⁵⁸⁷ Circular Letter No. File E/MCSM, "Recruitment to the Clerical Class", **Draft 'E' File No. R. 25**, 12 January 1953, pp. 1-4, in ARG 2/1/23, PRAAD, p. 1.

⁵⁸⁸ **Ibid**, p. 2.

⁵⁸⁹ **Ibid**, p. 3.

How were the vacancies created because of the internal promotion of Clerical Assistants to the grade of Clerical Officer filled? Provision was made to attract candidates outside the government service to fill those vacancies. The Commission recommended that it should be done through an open competition and an ad hoc examination. However, in 1953, neither could be done due to the estimated huge number of candidates beyond what could be handled. Therefore, the appointment of that year was done as follows: permanent secretaries to ministries and heads of department were made to select for an appointment any suitable candidate who had attained 16 years but had not attained his 23rd birthday; had obtained the minimum educational qualification of Primary School Leaving Certificate, or a higher recognized educational qualification, less than four years previously. Although both boys and girls were equally eligible to apply for appointments, heads of departments, when selecting candidates, were advised to give preference to girls on the Clerical Assistants scale £90 × £5 - £120 × £6 - £144.⁵⁹⁰ Such appointments were to be made cautiously to prevent accommodating existing staff members who failed to secure entry to the executive, clerical or secretarial grades, and had expressed interest in retaining their old position. Thus, candidates were to be appointed only when the previous Clerical Assistant's promotion was confirmed and accepted.

Despite all the changes, some departments such as the mining, forestry, animal health, lands, town and country planning, and medical departments (senior nursing service) presented challenges in finding and training qualified Africans to fill senior service posts in them.⁵⁹¹ More importantly, the dangers of starving other fields of community services such as teaching, politics, commerce and industry, the professions, and other fields of private enterprise to the detriment of the balanced development of the country⁵⁹² were advised to be

⁵⁹⁰ Circular Letter No. File E/MCSM, "Recruitment to the Sub-Clerical Class", **Draft 'F' File No. R. 25**, 12 January 1953, pp. 1-3, in ARG 2/1/23, PRAAD, p. 2.

⁵⁹¹ The challenges with these departments were: in the case of Mining Department, a Mining Inspector's course was a very long one plus a three to four years Mining Engineering degree or diploma course in tandem with more than six years' experience of practical mining underground; Forestry Department: - because very few people had shown interest in the forester's career. To solve that, it was proposed that promising junior officers of the department were to be selected for further training at the College of Technology at Kumasi, together with any future response from science graduates at the University College of the Gold Coast to meet the long-term problem; Animal Health Department: - like the latter, students with basic science training had not been interested; Lands Department: - the difficulty here had to do with training of solicitors; Town and Country Planning: - there were no students to be trained as architects to serve this department and the Public Works and Housing departments; Medical Department – senior nursing service: - all Nursing Sisters were to have a minimum of three years hospital experience after qualifying as State Registered Nurses and midwives. Meanwhile, one year hospital experience was required by the Overseas Nursing Association for entry into the Colonial Nursing Service in other territories. The recruitment into the grade of Nursing Sister in the Gold Coast was much concerned to African girls who had trained or were trained in the UK. **Ibid**, pp. 8-10.

⁵⁹² **Ibid**, p. 12.

watched out for as all kind of means were been employed to draw the best talent of the country into the public service.

A pressing issue came to the fore during the ongoing reorganization of the colonial service. It had to do with members enlisted as “Her Majesty’s Colonial Service”.⁵⁹³ There were several of them already employed and in appointment in services in the colony. What was to happen to them once the scheme was fully implemented? All officers of the colonial service were servants of the Crown whose employment and conditions of service were contained in the colonial regulations, under the general direction and patronage of the Secretary of State for the colonies. Steps taken by the Crown in the UK were to enter into a formal agreement with the government of the territory when a territory attained self-government to find a suitable exit for the officers who were regarded to have served not only the Crown but the colonies too. Thus, the following conditions,⁵⁹⁴ intended to be agreed upon in partnership with the territories, were to be observed:

1. So long as they remain in their existing employment, the government of the territory concerned shall not alter their terms of service to make them less favourable than those on which the officers are already serving.
2. The pensions and other benefits for which they or their dependents may be qualified under existing laws and regulations shall be similarly safeguarded.
3. They shall continue to be regarded by Her Majesty’s Government in the United Kingdom as members of Her Majesty’s Service and as such to be eligible for consideration for transfer or promotion to any posts which the Secretary of State may be requested to fill in other territories.
4. The government by which they are employed will not unreasonably withhold consent to their accepting any such transfer or promotion and will preserve their existing pension rights on transfer.
5. They will be given adequate notice of any intention to terminate their employment in consequence of constitutional changes and Her Majesty’s

⁵⁹³ This was a term used to describe the members of the public services of the Colonies, Protectorate and other territories which were dependent upon the Majesty’s Government in the UK. It included officers appointed from Britain or recruited locally from amongst British colonists, with progressive build up from the indigenous population of the territories, or from other Commonwealth countries to meet local needs.

⁵⁹⁴ “Reorganisation of the Colonial Service”, in Circular Letter **No. at/54**, File No. SCR.1815, 2 September 1954, pp. 1-3, enclosed in ARG 2/1/23, PRAAD, p. 2.

Government in the United Kingdom will endeavour to find them alternative employment should they so desire.

6. In the event of premature retirement resulting from constitutional changes they will receive compensation from the government of the territory concerned.

Subject to the above terms, an agreement was reached with Her Majesty's Government to change the effective position of civil servants in the Gold Coast captured by Order in Council in 1954. A new service dubbed "Her Majesty's Oversea Civil Service" came into effect on 1 October 1954 in place of the colonial service. Appointment or any offer of it to officers enlisted in the service by or on behalf of the Secretary of State was to include a clear statement *"whether it carries with it Membership of Her Majesty's Oversea Civil Service or whether the officer's contractual relationship will be solely with the territorial government"*.⁵⁹⁵

Also, in 1954, Nkrumah's government was accused of not following the Africanisation policy in its recruitment in the senior service but engaged in overseas recruitment to fill "established posts" and "development posts"⁵⁹⁶ in the service. In his address⁵⁹⁷ to the legislative assembly, the then Prime Minister, Kwame Nkrumah justified the need for overseas officers in professional and technical grades in fields such as medicine, broadcasting, aviation, electricity, geology, mining, telecommunications, animal health, forestry and public works as there were no qualified Africans to fill them. There were some 200 overseas development staff officers engaged on short-term contracts as architects, engineers, electrical engineers, and the like, providing social and economic services and constructing new roads, new bridges, harbours, institutions of learning, hospitals, water and electricity supplies all over the country in that year. The government was fervent in replacing the high proportion of the overseas officers then on contract with pensionable, permanent African members as the many varied training schemes, including overseas scholarships, started to produce the desired results. Thus, Nkrumah stated that there would be a

⁵⁹⁵ **Ibid**, p. 3.

⁵⁹⁶ These terms were used to describe available posts. The term "established posts" referred to posts in the permanent establishment of the civil service which were to be filled by an African staff on the permanent and pensionable terms, whilst "development posts" were posts required only for the fulfilment of specific projects and would cease to exist once the development projects for which they were created were completed.

⁵⁹⁷ Statement in the Legislative Assembly by the Prime Minister, "Recruitment and Africanisation Policy", Press Release **No. 946/54**, August 1954, pp. 1-4, in ARG 2/1/13, PRAAD.

*“consequential requirement for permanent staff to operate and maintain”*⁵⁹⁸ the projects, which would in effect increase the number⁵⁹⁹ of Africans employed.

⁵⁹⁸ **Ibid**, p. 3.

⁵⁹⁹ Talking about the numbers, in 1954 there were some 2 900 “senior” established posts in the numerous departments of the Civil Service. 600 of them were filled by officers on contract terms (including 140 Africans), 856 pensionable overseas officers, and some 819 pensionable African officers. The African numbers had increased if compared to 1951 figures. In 1951, there were 2 176 established posts in the Senior Service, out of which 1 200 were filled by overseas officers and 351 by Africans. *See for example*, The Prime Minister, “Recruitment and Africanisation Policy”, Press Release **No. 946/54**, August 1954, p. 3.

CHAPTER SIX

IMPERIUM AND THE NATIVE ADMINISTRATION SYSTEM

6.1. Structure of the Colonial Administration

The foundation of the Gold Coast colony was due more to a private agency than to the policy of the Crown. In 1828, in the wake of the abolition of the trade in slaves in 1807, the British government retreated from the Gold Coast and handed its possession of forts to a group of British merchants trading on the Gold Coast. Of course, with a British Parliamentary grant of about £4 000 per annum and protection. These merchants, residing and trading on the coast, formed a local council of administration. According to Lucas five of such merchants at Cape Coast and Accra formed this council, along with a court of Justice of the Peace.⁶⁰⁰ Maclean oversaw this administration and created the protectorate of the Gold Coast as early as 1844 through the Bond of 6 March of the same year signed with the Fanti Chiefs. Thus, with a handful of officers, he was able to maintain peace and security with the inland tribes and the coastal tribes to allow the free flow of trade.

His successes ignited the interest of the Crown in the Gold Coast, and his achievements were also credited to the British government. The Crown returned on the eve of the Bond of 1844. Significant developments were witnessed between 1844 and 1874 on the Gold Coast. First, the Gold Coast was separated from Sierra Leone in 1850, and in 1852 a legislative Assembly of the colony chiefs was created by the British towards revenue mobilisation in the form of the poll tax. The tax was meant to be used to finance the administration, but it soon proved unworkable, and it was eventually abandoned a few months into its implementation. In 1853, the Supreme Court ordinance was enacted. This led to the establishment of English courts for civil and criminal cases and the application of English Law. By 1856, the Supreme Court, as put forward by Salim had enabled the British to further extend their jurisdiction by authorising the court “*to hear cases from the protected territories without the cooperation of any native chief*”, a phenomenon which led to “*British law and courts replacing customary law and the courts of the chiefs*”.⁶⁰¹

⁶⁰⁰ Charles Prestwood Lucas, “A Historical Geography of the British Colonies”. Vol. III, West Africa, p. 120.

⁶⁰¹ Muhammad Saad Muhammad Salim, “The Reactions and Attitudes of Africans in Southern Ghana to the British Colonial Policy of Indirect Rule, 1925-1951”, p. 32.

The colony chiefs, in 1864, became concerned about the growing power and jurisdiction of the British. This led them to present a memorandum entitled “Grievances of the Gold Coast Chiefs” to the British Castle. Their main complaints were that they had been deprived of holding slaves and that had “*greatly reduced their power and dignity as Kings and Chiefs, their influence destroyed and then rendered them helpless*”, and that they were for “very trifling cause” sometimes imprisoned by the officials, which for them meant a “great disgrace”.⁶⁰² In 1865, for instance, King Aggrey of Cape Coast objected to and questioned the source of British authority⁶⁰³ for transferring appeals against his court to their courts. His opposition to the British actions of hearing appeals of civil and criminal cases without his authority led to his dethronement and deportation to Sierra Leone in 1866. Thus, the period from the mid-1860s to 1873 was an era of pure resistance to the increasing influence and meddling of British officers in local affairs. What’s more, the period marked the commencement of the cooperation of the chiefs and the educated natives in protecting native laws and customs.

By 1874, the opposition had declined somewhat following the joining of forces between the coastal states and the British against Asante. In 1874 after the war with Asante, an order in council was passed defining the powers of the British Crown in the Gold Coast. This Act was made and enacted in the session of Parliament, on 6 August 1874 at the Court at Osborne House, Isle of Wight, intituled “An Act to remove Doubts as to the Exercise of Power and Jurisdiction by Her Majesty within diverse countries and Places out of Her Majesty’s Dominions, and to render the same more effectual”. The Act changed the existing relationship between the administration and the people of the coastal areas. Hitherto, the British officers played mediatorial roles between the tribes to keep trade free. In Cruickshank’s words, says he:

“We did not aim at any territorial jurisdiction or attempt to assume any direction in the affairs of the country, beyond the exercise of a certain kind of mediatorial influence, with the view of preventing any interruptions to the trade [slave trade], arising out of the squabbles of the different tribes. ... Nominally masters, we yet exercised no authority, or only such as the natives

⁶⁰² P.R.O., C.O.96.64, memorandum of 9.8.1864 entitled “Grievances of the Gold Cast Chiefs” as cited in Muhammed Saad Muhammad Salim, “The Reactions and Attitudes of Africans in Southern Ghana to the British Colonial Policy of Indirect Rule, 1925-1951”, p. 32.

⁶⁰³ Muhammad Saad Muhammad Salim, “The Reactions and Attitudes of Africans in Southern Ghana to the British Colonial Policy of Indirect Rule, 1925-1951”, pp. 32-33.

*did not care to dispute. They allowed us to instal, and sometimes to depose, their kings and head men, in the one case for the sake of the presents given upon the occasion, and in the other, because the individuals might have rendered themselves as obnoxious to them as to us”.*⁶⁰⁴

The Gold Coast was constituted as a colony on 24 July 1874. That was forty-nine days before the passage of the Parliamentary Act of 6 August 1874. The Act, enacted on 6 August 1874, stipulated that *“it should be lawful for Her Majesty to hold, exercise, and enjoy any power or jurisdiction which Her Majesty then had, or might at any time thereafter have, within any country or place out of Her Majesty’s dominions in the same, and as ample a manner as if Her Majesty had acquired such power or jurisdiction by the cession or conquest of territory”*.⁶⁰⁵ According to the Act, Her Majesty’s settlements on the Gold Coast and of Lagos were erected into one colony, under the title of the Gold Coast, and a legislative council was appointed for the same, with certain powers and authority to legislate for the said colony.⁶⁰⁶ The council was mandated for giving effect to Her Majesty’s power and jurisdiction. Also, a governorship position was created to superintend the government of the colony and to ensure the passage of all ordinances as deemed necessary by the Queen. It must be pointed out that what was regarded as ‘the colony proper’ incorporated some few settlements around the coastal belt. Ashanti was a “dependency” of the colony proper because of conquest, whilst the Northern Territories was classified as a “protectorate”, following a series of treaties with local chiefs for protection against French and German activities in the region.

Whatever that meant, the ‘protectorate’ status changed with time to mean subordination under the directives of the imperium. However, in terms of administration, the colony proper was administered by officers whose heads were called governors, whilst the protectorates were administered by high commissioners. The government machinery of the Gold Coast as described by Bourret was a mixture of direct rule by the central government and indirect rule through the indigenous African institutions. The direct government was administered by a governor assisted by an executive and a legislative council and a staff of political and technical officials, whilst the local government was largely in the hands of

⁶⁰⁴ Brodie Cruickshank, “Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast of Africa”, pp. 30, 32.

⁶⁰⁵ J.M. Sarbah, “Fanti Customary Laws ...”, p. 286; Casely Hayford, “Gold Coast Native Institutions with Thoughts Upon a Healthy Imperial Policy for the Gold Coast and Ashanti”, pp. 345-346.

⁶⁰⁶ **Ibid**, p. 287; **Ibid**, p. 346.

African chiefs and their councils of elders who represented the various sections of the community.⁶⁰⁷

Lucas has furnished us with the composition of those councils. The members of the executive council were the governor, the colonial secretary, the Queen's advocate, the treasurer, and the Inspector-General of police. The legislative council consisted of the same officials with the addition of the Chief Justice and two nominated unofficial members.⁶⁰⁸ Both councils witnessed some changes in their composition by the early 1900s. For instance, the executive council came to consist of the colonial secretary, the chief commissioners of Ashanti and the Northern Territories, the attorney-general, the financial secretary, the director of medical services, and the secretary for native affairs. This council was an advisory body to whom the governor had to submit all bills before proposing them to the legislative council.

Conversely, the legislative council by 1920 included eleven official members— the executive council and heads of several other departments— and nine unofficial members. The unofficial members were usually three chiefs, three educated Africans from the coastal towns of Accra, Cape Coast, and Sekondi, and three Europeans representing commercial interests. They were all appointed by the governor. The legislative council did not represent the entire colony and it had no real power, but it allowed for public discussion of projected laws and provided a means for adapting them more fully to local needs.⁶⁰⁹ In 1903, the number of unofficial members was five-- three of them were Europeans (one of whom was a solicitor; the other two represented the mining and the mercantile interests respectively) and two native non-official members of the council (representing the Eastern and Western Provinces of the Gold Coast). The non-official members were men of business, and they were supposed to support the government.⁶¹⁰

Although the administration upheld the legitimate powers of the chiefs, the colony proper was divided into three districts for easier administration; each superintended by a district commissioner and sub-divided into sub-districts each placed in charge of an assistant district commissioner. In dealing with native affairs, a Secretary for Native Affairs was

⁶⁰⁷ F.M. Bourret, "Ghana: The Road to Independence, 1919-1957", p. 36.

⁶⁰⁸ Charles Prestwood Lucas, "A Historical Geography of the British Colonies", p. 202.; Mary H. Kingsley, "West African Studies", p. 305.

⁶⁰⁹ F.M., Bourret, "Ghana: The Road to Independence ...", pp. 37-38.

⁶¹⁰ Casely Hayford, "Gold Coast Native Institutions with Thoughts Upon a Healthy Imperial Policy for the Gold Coast and Ashanti", pp. 120, 123.

appointed, and tribal affairs and some other matters were transferred to his office from that of the Colonial Secretary. The division⁶¹¹ was as follows:

1. The Western District with headquarters at Sekondi, and sub-districts Sefwhi, Axim, Wassaw, Dixcove, and Sekondi.
2. The Central District with headquarters at Cape Coast and sub-districts Cape Coast, Elmina, Saltpond, and Winneba.
3. The Eastern District with headquarters at Ada and sub-districts Accra, Prampram, Kwahu, Eastern Akim, Volta River, Asa, and Kwitta.

Ashanti, which was conquered in the war and expedition of 1874 and 1896/7 respectively, was divided into four districts under a high commissioner. The whole of Ashanti was then superintended by a chief commissioner, whose headquarters was at Kumasi. The divisions⁶¹² were as follows:

1. The Central district comprised Kumasi, Ejisu, Juabin, Bompata, Obogu, Kumawu, Insuta, Mampon, Aguna, Ofinsu, and Atchima; with Kumasi as the Headquarters.
2. The Southern district comprised Mansu N'kwanta (or Dengiasi), Bekwai, Kokofu, Abodam, Adansi, and Ofuasi, with Kwissa as the Headquarters.
3. The North-western district comprised British Gaman, Wenchi, Techiman, Berekum (Bechim-Ahafo and Borumfu), Wam, and Asunafo-Ahafo, with Sikassiko as headquarters.
4. The North-eastern district comprised Nkoranza, Atebubu, and Abiasi, with Atebubu as headquarters.

The protectorate of the Northern Territories was also divided into four districts, which were placed under high commissioners. These were the White Volta with its headquarters at Gambaga; the Black Volta with its headquarters at Wa; Kintampo with Kintampo as its headquarters; and Gonja with Salaga as its headquarters. Gambaga was the headquarters of the chief commissioner of the Northern Territories.

The administration was organized like the Home Government in London. The governor represented the Crown, but Lugard posited that he combined the functions of the

⁶¹¹ Colonial Reports **No. 397**, "Gold Coast Report for 1902", p. 60.

⁶¹² **Ibid.**

Prime Minister as head of the executive. The councils bore a certain resemblance to the Home Cabinet and Parliament, whilst the other work of the administration was done by a staff divided into the administrative, judicial, and departmental branches.⁶¹³ The administrative branch was made up of political and technical services. The political division included the colonial secretary, the secretary of native affairs, and the division of the political officers who resided in the various provinces and districts. According to Bourret, in 1922 for instance, there were eighty-eight political officers, of whom forty-four were assigned to the colony, twenty-three to Ashanti, and twenty-one to the Northern Territories.⁶¹⁴ The technical service included the medical, agricultural, public works, and survey departments.⁶¹⁵

The function of the administrative branch, according to one of the pioneers of the British Crown colony in Africa was: *“concerned with the supervision of the native administration and the general direction of policy; with education, and the collection and control of direct taxes, which involved assessment and close relations with the native population; with legislation and the administration of justice in courts other than the Supreme Court; and with the direct government and welfare of the non-native section of the population”*, whilst those of the departmental staff were charged *“with duties in connection with transport, communications, and buildings (railways, marine, and public works); with the development of natural resources (mines, collieries, forestry, agriculture, and geology); with the auxiliary services of government (medical, secretarial, accounting, posts and telegraphs, surveys, etc.); and the collection of customs duties”*.⁶¹⁶

The governor was limited by the control of the Secretary of State. The tenure of a governor in office was normally six years. However, the governor was envisaged, like all other government servants, according to Lugard, *“to take leave to England after twelve months’ residence, involving an absence from his duties of upwards of five months”*.⁶¹⁷ The colonial secretary usually acted as governor in the latter’s absence. The former was usually well-versed with all files and minutes in the colony and diverse issues already in the possession of the governor. In his acting role, he was offered the full powers of the governor. In this new capacity, the acting governor had, says Lugard:

⁶¹³ F.D. Lugard, “The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa”, p. 95.

⁶¹⁴ F.M., Bourret, “Ghana: The Road to Independence...”, p. 37.

⁶¹⁵ **Ibid**, p. 38.

⁶¹⁶ F.D. Lugard, “The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa”, p. 95.

⁶¹⁷ **Ibid**, p. 124.

*“The legal right to make or repeal laws or regulations, to inaugurate or abandon important works; and in matters of policy, especially as regards native affairs, he can give rulings and pledges to chiefs in the name of the Government. He occupies the Government House and is addressed as “His Excellency”. He would not, however, in practice be allowed to reverse the policy of the Governor or to initiate radical changes”.*⁶¹⁸

Thus, apart from the office of the governor, that of the colonial secretary, secretary for native affairs, and the executive/legislative councils, which were in the colony proper, the rest of the departments had offices in the protectorates. Some of the important departments would be mentioned below. There were three political divisions under the local administration. They were the offices of the chief commissioner, provincial commissioner, and district commissioner. The provincial councils of chiefs worked under these divisions. Of the three political offices, the chief commissioner oversaw all the other offices in the protectorate. Papers regarding all matters affecting the protectorate were referred to him for his decision, and emanated generally, from the provincial and district commissioners. He held his court and all large meetings in the judge’s court. He was generally not in contact with a large number of Africans.⁶¹⁹ As regards, the provincial commissioner, this officer dealt with all matters under his jurisdiction and only referred to the above officer for his judgment. He only held court occasionally. He had a deputy. Also, the district commissioner functioned like the provincial commissioner, but on a slightly lower scale since the province is bigger than the district. He too dealt with cases and all issues under his administrative unit, which were thereof referred to the chief commissioner.

Whilst the treasury officer was aided by the assistant treasurer, the posts & telegraphs were headed by the postmaster general, who was aided by district postmasters. The latter department was instrumental in opening and connecting the colony with the outside world. It sold postage stamps for postal purposes and telegraphic purposes, including judicial stamps, postcards, and registered envelopes, rented letterboxes, sold postal publications, registered telegraphic addresses, rented telephones, newspapers, and postcards. In 1901, for

⁶¹⁸ **Ibid**, p. 125.

⁶¹⁹ Chief Commissioner, Ashanti to the Colonial Secretary, Accra. “Proposed New Public Offices – Coomassie”, **No. 2309/Case 115/1924**, 24 September 1924, pp. 1-7, enclosed in ARG 1/1/112, PRAAD, 1924, pp. 1-2.

instance, about 3 701 367 letters, postcards, newspapers, books, sample packets, and circulars were received and dispatched during the year.⁶²⁰

The medical department (later to become the Ministry of Health) was responsible for advising the government on policy formulation and its execution in the field of health; for the administration of health services maintained by the central government; for supervision and guidance of health services maintained by local government authorities and bodies receiving financial assistance from the central government; and for the promotion of improved health standards throughout the country. The staff of this department included registered and licensed physicians (government, mission, and private), dental surgeons, nurses, midwives, sanitary staff, laboratory and X-ray technicians, and pharmacists.⁶²¹ There was also the sanitary department, which played an important role in ensuring public hygiene. In addition, the department and its board were responsible for latrines, markets, and any other buildings connected with the municipality.⁶²²

The agricultural department cooperated with the local states for the introduction and cultivation of commercial products such as bananas, castor oil, coconuts, limes, rice, the fishing industry, etc. The department interviewed *Amanhin* in whose localities cash crops could be grown, to advise them as to the proper method of cultivating the same and to supply them with seeds.⁶²³ The Public Works Department, on the other hand, was an important department for developmental projects. It was headed by the Director of Public Works. In the Colonial Blue Book of 1938, its staff included civil, mechanical, electrical, and public health branches, which dealt with the design, construction, and maintenance of public works, including roads, buildings, electric supplies, drainage, and waterworks.⁶²⁴ The heads of these departments were Europeans. In 1912 for instance, sixteen European Officers were residing in Ashanti alone, and the same number in 1913. In the latter year, twenty-four native officials⁶²⁵ were working in the various departments alongside the Europeans.

⁶²⁰ Colonial Reports **No. 397**, "Gold Coast Report for 1902", p. 52.

⁶²¹ "Colonial Reports for the year 1954", pp. 64, 183.

⁶²² "F.G. Guggisberg's Remarks and Decision on the Chief Commissioner's Memorandum on the Town Administration of Coomassie", 17 January 1923, pp. 1-8, enclosed in ARG 1/1/113, PRAAD, 1923, p. 5.

⁶²³ "Minutes of Proceedings of Meetings of the 24th Session of Central Provincial Council of Chiefs", 29 Aug. – 11 Sept. 1933, pp. 1-35, **24C File No. 1440/31**, enlisted in CSO 21/2/19, PRAAD, pp. 25-27.

⁶²⁴ Annual Colonial Reports, **No. 1836**, "Annual Report on the Social and Economic Progress of the People of the Gold Coast, 1936-37", p. 71.

⁶²⁵ "Nominal Roll of European Officials and Duration of Residence in Ashanti Department During the Year 1912", 9 January 1913, **Per. 4/1913**, enclosed in ARG 1/1/54, PRAAD; "Nominal Roll of European and Native Officials and Duration of Residence in Ashanti Department during the Year 1913", 22 January 1913, **Per. 4/1913**, PRAAD.

6.2. The System of Native Administration – Since 1878

The system of native administration, or if you like the indirect rule, was an administrative policy system employed by the British in their colonies in West Africa. The entire concept of the policy hinged on the British colonial government administering a colony through the natural rulers or chiefs. They relied on the chiefs and not the educated natives because chiefs were largely illiterates whereas the educated elites could read and agitated against colonial policies, they deemed would harm them and their native institutions. On the Gold Coast for instance, Governor Clifford (1912-1919) viewed the educated natives “as political parvenus who could not speak for the rest of the population”, and thus, he “conjectured that the non-educated chiefs would be more useful to the largely illiterate population”⁶²⁶ than their educated counterparts. Salim, on the other hand, opined that instead of absorbing the educated natives into the administrative system, the colonial government rather “considered them as troublesome, a nuisance, “denationalised” or “detrified”⁶²⁷ group. But how did the system begin? It began in 1913 under Governor Frederick J. D. Lugard, who united northern and southern Nigeria in 1914. Its development, as Lord Harlech posited, was “*out of sheer local necessities*”.⁶²⁸ The administration did not have enough personnel to administer the entire territory thus they were compelled to rule through the natural rulers. Lugard’s central government included “*an appointed governor, an executive, and a legislative council*”, and the “*local administration and jurisdiction depended on traditional rulers and traditional institutions with a British resident or district officer*” serving as “*the liaison between the traditional ruler and the colonial regime*”.⁶²⁹

Furthermore, the system turned these natural rulers into agents of the Crown performing judicial and administrative duties as required by the colonial office under the supervision of British administrative officers. So, how was the Gold Coast colony administered before the adoption of a philosophized policy of administration? The Native Jurisdiction Ordinance of 1883 was the edict by which the Gold Coast colony was administered until the Native Administration Ordinance of 1927. The blueprint of the 1883 Ordinance was the first attempted Native Jurisdiction Ordinance of 1878, which failed to be

⁶²⁶ Kwabena O. Akurang-Parry, ‘Disrespect and Contempt for Our Natural Rulers’: The African intelligentsia and the Effects of British Indirect Rule on Indigenous Rulers in the Gold Coast c.1912-1920, p. 46.

⁶²⁷ Muhammad Saad Muhammad Salim, “The Reactions and Attitudes of Africans in Southern Ghana to the British Colonial Policy of Indirect Rule, 1925-1951”, p. 15.

⁶²⁸ Lord Harlech, “British native Policy and Administration in Tropical Africa”. *The S.A. Institute of International Affairs, ARCHIVES*, pp. 1-16, 1941, p. 5.

⁶²⁹ “British West Africa”, Encyclopaedia Britannica, <https://www.britannica.com/place/British-West-Africa>.

passed under Governor S. Freeling because the chiefs did not support it and further because Freeling had suggested stipends for the chiefs, which the Home Government was not ready to comply with. An important clause under this ordinance was that for the first time, “*it gave the Government the power to ‘dismiss’ a Chief*”.⁶³⁰ The decision to rule through the chiefs was conceived as early as 1872 by Sir David Chalmers, the then-Judicial Assessor. He proposed that the British administration should: (i) “utilise, regulate and control” the power of the chiefs; (ii) utilise the gradation of authority which existed from the headman of the village through the chief up to the king of a large district as a foundation on which to build up a jurisdiction regulated by the government.⁶³¹ In his design, he advised the government to select chiefs who were “intelligent, humane, and were affected towards Government”, and then get such chiefs “to abstain from all excessive exactions and charges and to conform their conduct generally to the instructions which should be given to them from time to time”.⁶³² However, Chalmers’ proposition was not applied because he had asked the government to offer stipends to the chiefs who would be selected.

Even though the 1878 ordinance did not see the light of day, the “dismissal” clause remained intact in the finally adopted ordinance of 1883 under the governorship of Sir Samuel Rowe. It became the basis of cooperation between the educated natives and the chiefs. The former refused any interferences to reinterpret their institutions. Kimble put forward that “*they argued that the Governor should not have the power to suspend or dismiss Chiefs, ‘on sufficient cause’ without referring to the Oman Council or the people*”.⁶³³ In the traditional sense, the *Oman* council is the kingmaker and has the authority to destool a king in the event of abuse of office. After a long tussle with the colonial administration, the educated natives, led by Mensah Sarbah, was only able in about 1910, to get the word “dismiss” and “dismissal” changed to “depose” and “deposition”.⁶³⁴

An important development, which came to shape future administrative policy, was the proposal of Governor H.T. Ussher in 1879. He suggested the appointment of European district commissioners to the rural areas to rule in conjunction with the chiefs.⁶³⁵ The

⁶³⁰ David Kimble, “A Political History of Ghana: the rise of Gold Coast nationalism”, p. 460.

⁶³¹ P.R.O., C.O.96.697/6903/B as cited in Muhammad Saad Muhammad Salim, “The Reactions and Attitudes of Africans in Southern Ghana to the British Colonial Policy of Indirect Rule, 1925-1951”, p. 39.

⁶³² **Ibid.**

⁶³³ David Kimble, “A Political History of Ghana: the rise of Gold Coast nationalism”, p. 463.

⁶³⁴ “Legislative Council Minutes, 2 and 4 July 1910”, as cited in David Kimble, “*A Political History of Ghana*”, p. 469.

⁶³⁵ David Kimble, “A Political History of Ghana”, p. 461.

rationale was for the European officers to, in the end, take over the mantle of power from the chiefs. Although this did not wholly happen, the office of the commissioner attained a high reputation for supervising every move of the chiefs. It is one office that still lingers today. The implementation of the 1883 ordinance did not go as the British had hoped. So, in the 1890s the government came to believe that the 1883 ordinance failed to yield the needed results because the government was not given enough power of control over the chiefs and their tribunals. Thus, a bill, amending the 1883 ordinance was passed by the government in 1894 with a provision that “*every native tribunal must be recognised by the Governor as a condition of exercising jurisdiction and that no native tribunal or chief besides those recognised by the Governor could exercise jurisdiction*”.⁶³⁶ In 1895, Governor Maxwell repealed the bill because he thought that it had more to do with the native tribunals rather than “with the powers, duties, and responsibilities of chiefs”.⁶³⁷

In 1896, Maxwell went amok in trying to deaden the authority of the chiefs. He attempted to enact a bill codifying the enstoolments of chiefs by their people and making it legitimate only with the sanction of the government. His proposed scheme coincided with the land bills of 1897 and the two were fiercely opposed by the chiefs and the educated natives. The agitations were intense and led to the formation of the Aborigines Rights Protection Society and the eventual withdrawal of the bill. His successor, in 1900, Governor Matthew Nathan rather took a softer but subtle approach to get the chiefs to support the British course. He, for instance, encouraged the chiefs to make by-laws and even went to the extent of creating the Department of native affairs, in 1902, towards continuity of record gathering. In 1904, he passed the Chief’s Ordinance which “*empowered the Governor to confirm the election and installation of a chief*”.⁶³⁸ This was exactly what Governor Maxwell had intended to do in 1897.

He went a step further in 1907 to introduce a bill modifying the 1883 ordinance by clearly stating the powers and duties of the chiefs and made provisions for the first time “*for executive control by the Government over the decisions of the chiefs*”, and empowered the governor “*to suspend or to depose or dismiss any chief who should appear to him to have abused his powers*”⁶³⁹, etc. This was the basis of the 1910 outcome, which brought the chiefs

⁶³⁶ Muhammad Saad Muhammad Salim, “The Reactions and Attitudes of Africans in Southern Ghana to the British Colonial Policy of Indirect Rule, 1925-1951”, p. 48.

⁶³⁷ *Ibid*, p. 49.

⁶³⁸ *Ibid*, p. 52.

⁶³⁹ *Ibid*, p. 54.

and educated natives together to get the bill repealed, but only succeeded in getting the word “dismiss” dropped for “deposed”. The success of amending the 1907 bill in 1910 led further to the introduction of the forest conservation bill of 1911. This time, the ARPS stood firm and argued that the colonial administration possessed no legal right to tell the chiefs how to utilise their lands. The forest bill was then dropped. Thus, whereas the 1883 ordinance brought the chiefs and educated natives together to resist and protect the traditional position of chiefs and prevent their destoolment by the colonial government, the 1927 ordinance pitched them against each other when the chiefs in the colony took a step toward developing a model of a system of native administration during the reign of governor Guggisberg in the 1920s; a situation which the educated natives vehemently opposed.

Between 1925 and 1927, the head chiefs remained perturbed about the dysfunctional relationship they had with their subjects and the government in tandem with growing threats over sub-chiefs severing their allegiance. The main object of this move by the colony-head-chiefs according to Kimble was that *“they wanted to systematize the process of dealing with disputes over election and destoolment thereby removing the growing threat to their position”*.⁶⁴⁰ Yet, another impetus for this decision of the chiefs had to do with the burgeoning population and influence of the educated natives in the face of socio-economic changes in the country. They thus felt threatened by the intelligentsia. Even more, the role of Governor Guggisberg cannot just be swept under the carpet. Guggisberg was keen on working and supporting the chiefs when he assumed the governorship position after failing to get the educated natives on his side. He employed the tact tactics of “divide and rule” to blame the educated natives for the predicaments of the chiefs, which the chiefs bought into it to distance them from the educated natives.

Guggisberg adopted two principal measures, in 1925, to get the chiefs on his side in the name of salvaging their effete position and authority. These were the need to create the provincial councils and enactment of the native administration ordinance. According to Salim, the entire scheme was “to integrate the Head Chiefs into the Government structure both at the central and local levels to consolidate colonial administration by isolating the intelligentsia from political power”.⁶⁴¹ The main architect who got the legislation accepted by the chiefs, was a fellow educated chief, Nana Ofori Atta. For his service to the colonial

⁶⁴⁰ David Kimble, “A Political History of Ghana”, p. 490.

⁶⁴¹ Muhammad Saad Muhammad Salim, “The Reactions and Attitudes of Africans in Southern Ghana to the British Colonial Policy of Indirect Rule, 1925-1951”, p. 74.

government in getting the chiefs to accept the government's proposals, Ofori Atta was "made a Knight Commander of the Order of the British Empire in 1927 and 1928 he was made a Knight of the British Empire".⁶⁴² Chiefs from nearly every community met in Accra, where they scheduled a conference in May 1925 at Nsawam and formulated proposals for legislation, chaired by Nana Ofori Atta. On the other hand, the educated natives opposed this legislation as they thought the chiefs were not the right people to enact proposals for the native administration. Despite all the opposition from the educated natives, the native administration ordinance came into effect in April 1927.

What's more, the provincial councils with formal administrative and judicial powers were thence established to hear stool disputes and to adjudicate matters concerning sub-chiefs upon the request of the government, with the governor as the final arbiter on all stool disputes and matters affecting native custom. The *Oman* Council was also recognized as the highest authority in each state for deciding stool disputes.⁶⁴³ The whole scheme was aimed at increasing and consolidating the privileges of the chiefs beyond what they exercised under customary law. The educated natives' stand on non-interference in chieftaincy affairs was stabbed in the back by the chiefs themselves. In the statement of Nana Ofori Atta, the chief of Akim Abuakwa, it was the chiefs' who wanted the advice of the district commissioners in the administration of justice, after trying it out in practice, with his quote "*an ounce of experience is worth a ton of theory*".⁶⁴⁴

The growing influence of the governor in native customary affairs led to an interesting development. Chiefs, ruling and residing in their ancestral lands came only to be recognized as chiefs with the assent of European officers, who kept a record of all enstoolments at various levels of administration in a scheduled record called *The Gold Coast Chiefs List*. Deletion of a chief's name from this record book rendered a chief destooled.⁶⁴⁵ Aside from

⁶⁴² *Ibid*, p. 82.

⁶⁴³ David Kimble, "A Political History of Ghana", pp. 492-493; the Provincial Council was a council for all the Head Chiefs of a province, who met to deliberate on issues affecting not only their individual States but on Government's policy affecting the Colony in its entirety. The Colony was divided into 3 provinces, meaning they were 3 in number and held a joint-provincial council meetings in matters of national characters. The *Oman* or State Council was like a Standing Committee of the Provincial Council. It dealt with issues affecting a particular State. Every State has an *Oman* Council, whose issues were brought forward for discussion at the Provincial Council level.

⁶⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p. 495.

⁶⁴⁵ For instance, in Adansi in 1934, many of the Wing Chiefs of Kwabena Fori, the Omanhene and Authority, fell out with him and demanded his destoolment, but his elders and Councillors at Fomena, with the right to destool, refused to destool the aged Omanhene. The Wing Chiefs protested that unless he was destooled, they would secede from the Adansi Division and serve Kumasi. Whilst Kwabena Fori was in Kumasi to engage the Asantehene to save the situation, the Chief Commissioner, Jackson, ordered Kwabena Fori not to return to his headquarters, Fomena, till further instructions. A year later, he fell ill at Kumasi and sort permission from the

this record book, chiefs came to be presented with the Union Jack Flag and a Messenger Stick for use as insignia to their positions. These insignia represented a favour of high marks for exceptional service to the people and government. Decisions for granting them were subjected to the discretion of the commissioners. They were only granted upon enstoolment and when the services of chiefs were deemed satisfactory. Chiefs whose performance was appraised as substandard were refused these insignia. The Union Jack, when granted on the first occasion to a chief, as a rule, *“will be granted by Government”*, and *“the responsibility of replacing it when soiled or worn in the future”*,⁶⁴⁶ rested upon the chiefs. Some examples will suffice at this juncture.

Malam Mahama, the Sarkin Zongo (Muslim community) of Obuasi in 1927 wrote a letter to the Obuasi district commissioner, A. F. L. Wilkinson, seeking audience with the chief commissioner for Ashanti for a Union Jack and a Messenger Stick as means of getting the Muslim community *“to respect his call or summon when any case is brought before him”*.⁶⁴⁷ Commissioner Wilkinson’s remark to the provincial commissioner on this letter was that: *“I had already refused this request, but forward this as he asks. I do not recommend it”*.⁶⁴⁸ On the contrary, when Baba Nartha, Sarkin Zongo of Mampong in Ashanti made a similar request through Nana Osei Bonsu, Omanhene of Mampong, his requests were approved. The Sarkin Zongo acknowledged the fact that his dominion was attached to the state or division of Mampong as a subordinate headman. The Mampong division is one of the most important Asante states. Thus, the Mampong district commissioner recommended that the provincial commissioner award Baba Nartha’s request for his character and loyalty needed no recommendation from him. It was approved that he should be awarded a Union Jack for his services to the Mampong town.⁶⁴⁹

Commissioner to return home for treatment. Major Jackson refused and instead sent a European Medical Officer to attend him. The over 80-year-old Omanhene defied Major Jackson’s orders to go back home to attend to his health. In retaliation, Major Jackson deleted his name from the schedule of Native Authorities. Kwabena Fori was not now an Omanhene. The Wing Chiefs demanded a new Omanhene to be certain that Kwabena Fori would not be re-instated. The Elders asked for a nominee and in the line of succession Kwabena Fori appointed his grandnephew Amuaku. Customary destoolment ceremony was held to officially confirm the cancellation of Kwabena Fori’s name from the list in February 1936 and proceeded to enstool and instal Amuaku on 12 July 1937. See J. W. de Graft Johnson, “Memorandum on the Position of the Ohene in the Native Constitution, 1938”, enlisted in ARG 1/26/1/41 pp. 26-30.

⁶⁴⁶ Commissioner, Eastern Province, “Flags for Chiefs – Replacement of”, **No. 1034/E.P. Case 278/1923**, 10 June 1930, enclosed in ARG 1/1/114, PRAAD.

⁶⁴⁷ “Malam Mahama to the District Commissioner”, Obuasi, 6 June 1927, enclosed in **ARG 1/1/114**, PRAAD.
⁶⁴⁸ **Ibid.**

⁶⁴⁹ Baba Nartha to the District Commissioner, Mampong, “Petition of Baba Nartha, Sarikin Zongo of Mampong through Nana Osei Bonsu, Omanhene of Mampong to the District Commissioner, Mampong, E.P.A., Applying for a Flag (Union Jack) and a Message Stick”, 27 Sept. 1928, enclosed in **ARG 1/1/114**, PRAAD.

In August 1930, the Ohene of Effiduasia, who was also the Nifahene (right-wing Chief) of Mampong, was refused a Union Jack for improper conduct in office. In a correspondence refusing him the flag, the commissioner reported that:

*“The Nifahene is at present disregarding Mampong Native Custom by refusing to act as Omanhene, an office which he should fill according to the Mampong constitution. He is therefore responsible to a considerable extent for the existing state of chaos in that Division. Under the above circumstances, the Chief Commissioner will not approve of the Nifahene receiving a Union Jack”.*⁶⁵⁰

Similarly, the chief commissioner for Ashanti in February 1931, failed to approve a flag to the Omanhene of Mampong itself, as he was yet to be confirmed, and further refused a replacement to the Ohene of Asokori, as the latter chief had obtained a flag in June 1930,⁶⁵¹ with the onerous now on him as stated above after receiving the first flag from the government. However, in April 1931, the acting Commissioner approved one Union Jack 6' × 3' for presentation to the Omanhene of Mampong as soon as his enstoolment received the approval of the governor.⁶⁵²

Thus, from 1883 to 1927, although certain powers such as confirmation of the enstoolment of chiefs, the authority to review decisions of the provincial councils, and the governor emerging as the final arbiter on stool disputes were all in the hands of the colonial government, the position of the chief as had always been under customary institution (as the patriarch and authority) remained intact. However, by January 1935, with the enactment of the Native Authority Ordinance of 1935,⁶⁵³ the previously acknowledged jurisdiction of the *ohene* of “exercising certain powers” inherent in the native constitution came crushing. The sovereign powers of the chiefs, in effect, were handed to the government. As pointed out by de Graft Johnson, this ordinance abolished the original position of the *ohene* and substituted

⁶⁵⁰ The District Commissioner, Mampong – Ashanti, “Union Jack for Effiduasihene”, 5 August 1930, enlisted in **ARG 1/1/114**, PRAAD.

⁶⁵¹ Chief Commissioner, Ashanti, **No. 499/81/28**, 10 February 1931, enlisted in **ARG 1/1/114**, PRAAD.

⁶⁵² Acting Commissioner, Ashanti, “Union Jack for Omanhene of Mampong”, 10 April 1931, enlisted in **ARG 1/1/114**, PRAAD.

⁶⁵³ It was intitled “An Ordinance to prescribe the powers and duties of Native Authorities”. Among other things, it laid out and interpreted who an Administrative Officer, Chief, Head Chief, Magistrate’s Court, etc., were in addition to other components in the hierarchical structure of the administrative system in tandem with their duties and powers. It is interesting to observe the ordering-- the administrative officer was placed above the Chief. *See for example, Appendix G* for a copy of the Ordinance, pp. 306-318.

therefor some other position derived from or delegated by the government.⁶⁵⁴ The new ordinance stripped the chiefs of any known customary privileges hitherto associated with their offices. From then on, any decision connected with the office of the *ohene* was validated only if “*permitted or allowed in the Ordinance or by the Ordinance*” thus turning the chiefs, in the words of Johnson, into “*just Government nominees and servants with a higher social dignity perhaps, but still servants*”.⁶⁵⁵

In delineating who a chief is, no distinction was made between who a “Head Chief” was and who a “Chief” was. To quote this section of the ordinance, it merely defined “Chief” as meaning “*a person whose election and installation as such in accordance with native law and custom is recognised by the Governor and shall include “Head Chief”*”.⁶⁵⁶ This was contrary to the traditional hierarchical structure (see 3.1). Thus, the administrative persona of the “Chief” or “a group of Chiefs” as determined by the ordinance came to constitute the native authority. The ordinance defined the authority to mean:

“Any Chief or other native or other person or any native Council or group of natives declared to be a native authority under this Ordinance for the area concerned”.⁶⁵⁷

The choice of words used meant that other natives and non-natives alike outside the royal family could also be made or appointed as native authorities as deemed necessary by the governor. One of the interesting Sections was the first paragraph of Section 3(1) which stated:

“The Governor, by notice published in the Gazette, may declare that there shall be a native authority or native authorities for any specified area or areas and may direct that any native authority shall be subordinate to any other native authority in such manner as he shall think fit”.⁶⁵⁸

This was a gross disregard for the customary institutions of the states. How did we arrive at this point? Were the chiefs pleased or displeased with the new policy? Answers to

⁶⁵⁴ J.W. de Graft Johnson, “Memorandum on the Position of the Ohene in the Native Constitution as Affected by the Native Authority Ordinance No. 1 of 1935 to the Governor”, 2 March, 1938, pp. 1-44, enlisted in **ARG 1/26/1/41**, PRAAD, p. 11.

⁶⁵⁵ **Ibid**, p. 33.

⁶⁵⁶ **ARG 1/26/1/41**, “The Native Authority Ordinance, 1935”, pp. 1-13, PRAAD, p. 1.

⁶⁵⁷ **Ibid**, p. 2.

⁶⁵⁸ **Ibid**.

these questions could well be obtained by excogitating the policy in practice and then concatenating the events of the past years to conclude. The application of the policy differed in the colony proper, Ashanti, and the Northern Territories. Before delving into each of the territories, when the proposed native authorities bill was presented to Captain Dickenson, Ashanti district commissioner, for his observation and recommendations, he pointed out that instead of concentrating most of its powers on the governor, the powers should be delegated to chief commissioners, provincial commissioners, and to the district commissioners. Their roles and influences will be shortly observed. One of the salient additions by this administrator had to do with the issue of financing. He recommended that:

*“The Stools must have money to pay off their debts and they must have money for their upkeep. ... In my opinion, Stools should be given definite legal powers to impose taxation by levy or otherwise. ... Such taxation could be made with the approval of the Governor or Chief or Provincial Commissioners. ... Chiefs must be made to understand that Stool Funds are Trust Funds and that they are Trustees and will be punished if such funds are wasted or wrongfully dealt with”.*⁶⁵⁹

In the appraisalment of the district commissioner for Sunyani, the bill although was the most promising and interesting thing in connection with native affairs he had seen, as far as the colony was concerned, the bill was 20 years too late. For the colonial administration had already in his view:

*“... permitted petty chieftains to become Amanhene (in name only of course) and to have an exaggerated idea of their own importance. In most cases, they are either useless or obstreperous (generally both) and yet we have given ourselves no powers to control them. In addition, in the few cases where a Chief really does try to live up to his title, we have not taken unto ourselves the powers to assist him against intrigue and passive resistance”.*⁶⁶⁰

⁶⁵⁹ Captain Dickenson, “Proposed Native Authorities Ordinance”, 29 July 1933, pp. 1-3, **No. 810/M. 203**, enclosed in ARG 1/26/1/41, PRAAD, p. 2.

⁶⁶⁰ District Commissioner, Sunyani, “Proposed Native Authority Ordinance”, 1 August 1933, **No. 773/S.9/1933**, pp. 1-3, enlisted in ARG 1/26/1/41, PRAAD, p. 1.

6.2.1. The Colony Proper

The colony was divided into three provinces, and each province held its provincial council meetings. The provincial councils were established in 1925 as part of the process towards the establishment of the native administration system. It was an assembly of the chiefs and representatives of states with their retinues. The provincial council was an instrumentality of communication between the central government and the people in matters affecting general native interests. The council dealt with businesses, judicial, legislative, and general issues concerning their states. They deliberated on government bills for legislation laid before them such as various ordinances, issues to do with Stool disputes and agricultural issues, especially with regards to cocoa and the welfare of farmers, and they also heard proposals from individuals requesting capital for their private schemes.⁶⁶¹ Decisions arrived at by the council were then transmitted to their representatives on the legislative council through the provincial commissioner's office.

Issues discussed at this council emanated from the state council, which was the highest native authority within each state in all matters relating to the welfare and government of the state under native customary law. Section 89 of the Ordinances stated that: "... a State Council shall be constituted by the Paramount Chief, Divisional Chief, Chief, Linguists, Headmen, Elders and Councillors, who by native customary law form the State".⁶⁶² Thus, the state council was a representation of all sections of the state whose various leaders formed the provincial council. As the chief linguist of Agona, Kofi Mensah said during one of the council meetings:

"... the main business of the Council was as an Advisory Board to the Government in matters affecting the interests of our people, and that

⁶⁶¹ Such as Mr Sam Duncan's Cassava Scheme (he needed about £2,000 through the Council from the Government to enable him to build a Factory and start operations), Mr Patrick Ofori's African Industries, and Mr Hansen's Pharmacy Scheme. However, the Council made it clear to them that the Council itself had no funds available to make grants for such purposes until a time when the States were enabled to raise Revenues in some form for public purposes. Contrary to the Council's assertion of not been able to support schemes which could employ other natives, the Council in 1933 took much interest in the request of one Mr Hutchinson for subsidy in connection with his work of writing and publishing certain Books for public use; one of which was titled "A Eulogy of White Celebrities of British West Africa". The author expected that this book would be commended by the Chiefs "as a mark of the African's appreciation of the great and beneficial services that had hitherto been rendered for British West Africa by some notable Europeans". They responded to him that the Chiefs would consult their States Councils to see if any financial help could be offered to him. See for example "Minutes of Meetings for the 23rd Session of the Central Provincial Council of Chiefs", 16 – 21 January 1933, Saltpond, **File No. 1440/31 24B**, pp. 1-18, in CSO 21/2/19, PRAAD, pp. 11-13.

⁶⁶² "Interpretation of Section 9 and 13 of the Native Administration Ordinance", 4 September 1936, **File 20A in 'Reports of 1938 Sub-committee'**, File No. 102/34, p. 1.

*as the Amanhin in coming to the Council brought the instructions for their respective States Council, it could not be said that they were legislating for and doing other things in their own interests out of touch with their peoples; but that in truth, they came to the Provincial Council to voice the wishes and aspirations of their people; and by means of the Council to take an active part in the Administrative Machinery of the Central Government ... ”.*⁶⁶³

Since the councils functioned along a similar trajectory, analysing the operation of one suffices to understand the rest. In that case, the Central Provincial Council will be examined. The administrative organization of the council included the president, vice-president, secretary, judicial committees, and the rest of the members. The presidential position was rotational, and a chief was voted as president upon the expiration of the term of one. Provincial council sessions were formally opened by provincial commissioners, representing the government, accompanied by the district commissioners or their assistants, who were Europeans. The commissioner presents the council with any ordinances for legislation that the government intends to pass for their recommendations and opinions.

This council had thirteen chiefs. They ordinarily held three meetings in a year, each lasting for six days. Each chief was paid £4 per day attending council sessions⁶⁶⁴ and transport of two lorries at 1/ a mile.⁶⁶⁵ Council sessions were held at the Methodist Junior School Hall in the Nkusukum state, Saltpond. However, in September 1933, the members took the initiative to arrange to build their meeting hall and to think of devising a scheme for bringing it about as soon as possible.⁶⁶⁶ The council, at any given opportunity, worked to please the government and to exhibit that it was competent enough to handle all native issues, and not the educated elite. They used every medium to discredit the educated natives. For instance, during his opening address to usher in the 22nd Session of such a conference in the

⁶⁶³ “Minutes of Council Meetings of the 22nd Session of Central Provincial Council of Chiefs”, 7 September 1932, pp. 1-13, **24A File No. 1440/31**, enlisted in CSO 21/2/19, PRAAD, pp. 8-9.

⁶⁶⁴ Provincial Commissioner, Cape Coast, 23 Aug. 1934, **No. 1762/C.P.563/26, S.N.A.No.293**, pp. 1-2, enlisted in CSO 21/2/19, PRAAD, p. 1; the 13 Chiefs represented the following native States in no certain order: Ekunfi, Effutu (Winneba), Assin Attandaso, Ayan Denker, Eguafo, Kwamankessi, Hemang, Ayan Maim, Nkusukum, Agona, Akim Kotoku, Mankessim, and Akim Busome. See for example, “Minutes of Council Meetings of the Central Provincial Council”, 1932-1934, in CSO 21/2/19, PRAAD.

⁶⁶⁵ Colonial Secretary, **26 File No. 1440/31**, August 1934, pp. 1-2, in CSO 21/2/19, p. 1.

⁶⁶⁶ “Minutes of Proceedings of Meetings of the 24th Session of Central Provincial Council of Chiefs”, 29 Aug. -11 Sept. 1933, pp. 1-35, **24C File No. 1440/31**, enlisted in CSO 21/2/19, PRAAD, p. 35.

Central Provincial Council on 7 September 1932, the acting provincial commissioner, Captain V. J. Lynch, admonished the chiefs as it were to take:

*“their State Councils strictly into confidence, by getting their definite views on all matters at issue before attending the Council meetings, and on their return to their Capitals, of immediately afterwards convening meetings of the States Councils for the purpose of telling them the results of such States Conferences; for, it was only in this manner that the different States would have the opportunity of knowing exactly the good work that was being done in the interest of the Country and people, so as to enable the responsible men in the States to understand the true position of affairs, whereby they would not listen to stupid stories from malcontents, of whom there appeared to be a good number at different places in the country”.*⁶⁶⁷

The ‘malcontents’ was the intelligentsia whom both the chiefs and government saw as a nuisance, opposing interferences in the customary law and any attempts to arrogate the powers of the traditional authorities. Kofi Mensah, the chief linguist, who had attended several of the educated society’s meetings, for instance, reported that he had never heard any proposals being made to be submitted to the government for progress in the life of the people by that society, besides always acting only in opposition to any such proposals by the government.⁶⁶⁸

What’s more, in 1934 a decision was made to send the country’s deputation to the colonial office in London during a proposed International Cocoa Conference in London in that same year. The decision was arrived at earlier in March 1933 by a joint committee of the provincial councils that had met in Accra and made a request to the government to the effect that an unofficial delegation representing Gold Coast farmers might be allowed to attend the same at public expense. The governor had the final say on whether a delegation should be attached to the imperial government representative. Although the said conference did not occur, the chief of Effutu, Nana Ayeribi Acquah III, labelled the educated class as “the hooligan class” for reporting that the Secretary of State had cabled the Society through government, that it was the Society’s delegation that would be received instead of the

⁶⁶⁷ “Minutes of Council Meetings of the 22nd Session of Central Provincial Council of Chiefs”, 7 September 1932, **24A File No. 1440/31**, p. 2.

⁶⁶⁸ **Ibid**, p. 9.

deputation that had been organized by the chiefs of the provincial councils and Ashanti in concert with the Committee of Twelve at Accra. Nana Acquah III said that the truth of the matter was that *“the Secretary of State had telegraphed through Government to say that he was not prepared to receive any Delegation”*⁶⁶⁹ from the educated society.

The chiefs, in response to Commissioner Lynch’s earlier statement, reiterated their commitment to make the system a success by strengthening the native administration, to court the continuous support of the government. The first line of action afterwards was the drafting of a resolution encouraging members to *“efficiently maintain the Provincial Council and the object of the system by personally attending meetings”*⁶⁷⁰ instead of sending delegates, which was viewed as a source of discouragement to those who tried to be regularly present in person. Thus, in 1933, a resolution enjoining all members the necessity for their attendance at all summoned meetings of the council, except in the case of illness, was passed.

Furthermore, Nana Ayeribi Acquah III and Nana Abutakyi of Effutu and Eguafo respectively, put forward that in the future *“any Member of the Council failing to personally attend a duly summoned meeting of the Provincial Council without any satisfactory explanation should be fined £5”*.⁶⁷¹ Thence, scapegoats were made of some chiefs for non-compliance with the attendance decree. For instance, on 21 February 1934, a fine of £2:8/- was imposed on the representative of Nana Nyarku Kweku IV, chief of Agona, for his non-attendance after offering an unsatisfactory explanation. Also, Chief Andorful, the representative of Nana Egyir Ababio, chief of Ayan Denkera who had obtained leave on an urgent matter, was quizzed about why he came to the meeting alone with only a small boy who was not of age to consult with him on a given matter; and his explanation not being satisfactory, he was fined £2:8/-.⁶⁷² Additionally, the council set up a private fund in support of its operation, and members made a periodical contribution of £3 each payable immediately after the close of each regular session towards that course of action; hitherto the contributions towards this Fund of the council was £10 a year, but it was altered by resolution, unanimously agreed, to £3 per member⁶⁷³ thence totalling £9 per year.

⁶⁶⁹ “Minutes of Proceedings of Meetings of the 27th Emergency Session of the Central Provincial Council”, 9-13 July 1934, pp. 1-13, **25A File No. 1440/31**, enlisted in CSO 21/2/19, PRAAD, pp. 2, 10.

⁶⁷⁰ “Minutes of Proceedings of Meetings of the 24th Session of Central Provincial Council of Chiefs”, 29 Aug. -11 Sept., **24C File No. 1440/31**, p. 27.

⁶⁷¹ Ibid, p. 28.

⁶⁷² “Minutes of Council Meetings of the 25th Session of Central Provincial Council of Chiefs”, 20 Feb. 1934, pp. 4-16, **24D File No. 1440/31**, in CSO 21/2/19, PRAAD, p. 10.

⁶⁷³ “Minutes of Proceedings of Meetings of the 24th Session of Central Provincial Council of Chiefs”, 29 Aug. -11 Sept., **24C File No. 1440/31**, pp. 28, 34.

One bone of contention between the chiefs and their people was the issue of taxation in the form of the Stool Treasury. The taxation system was already in operation in Ashanti and the Western Province. Concerning their inability to convince the people of the need for a system of State Revenue, the chief of Ekunfi, Nana Akini III, accused the educated people of “*foiling it by poisoning the minds of the illiterate classes against it*”.⁶⁷⁴ The masses were said to have been put up against the Native Revenue or Stool Treasuries at meetings of the state councils with all sorts of imaginary evil intentions by the so-called scholars and other malcontents in the coast towns. In the end, the chiefs concluded that without an effective system of Stool Treasuries, an effective native administration was impossible.

Against the backdrop of this, Captain Lynch informed the council that it appeared they were not making any efforts in their different states to strengthen native administration or to undertake any works of public utility for the benefit of the people, except on strivings from “hand to mouth”.⁶⁷⁵ To be seen as proactive, the chief of Eguafo, Nana Abutakyi II, put forward to the council that “*1/3 of all Fines and Summons Fees realized at the Tribunals should be set aside for the payment of Tribunal Officers and other expenses*”, which was agreed to. Furthermore, Nana Regent J.W. Enchill, representing Mankessim state opined that it was time for public levies to be raised in the different states in the form of Stool Treasuries “*for the efficient upkeep of the Stools and Native Administration*”,⁶⁷⁶ otherwise, there was no other way for the council to be as efficient as expected by the government.

It was a sentiment shared by all the chiefs and their councillors in that they were expected to administer the affairs of states to ensure peace, health, development, protection of life and property, and overall, for them to maintain their dignity. Nana Ayeribi Acquah III voiced that he could not understand why so much was expected from them, the chiefs, and yet the people refused some convenient and tolerable form of taxation. He expressed his frustrations in the following statement:

“I could not conceive of any other people in any part of the world, who wished to progress on civilized lines and at the same time refused to raise some form of local Revenue as means of carrying out gradually the desired improvements among themselves and for their own benefit. ... It was impossible to understand our peoples’ frame of

⁶⁷⁴ **Ibid**, p. 5.

⁶⁷⁵ **Ibid**, p. 23.

⁶⁷⁶ **Ibid**.

*mind, and it was a surprising attitude on our part which our well-wishers and friends outside this Country always wondered at”.*⁶⁷⁷

Thus, between 9 and 13 July 1934, the council organized an emergency meeting on establishing the Stool Treasury. It reached a verdict that each state “*should take the necessary steps for bringing it into being as soon as possible*”. The council further set to formulate a scheme of taxation, along with bye-laws to govern the same in each state, which would have to be put into proper legal form to be approved by the governor and published in the Government Gazette.⁶⁷⁸ Thence, the position of the chiefs in the preceding pages was too apparent-- their main object was to please the colonial administration and they appeared satisfied with their subordinate roles.

For instance, in 1933 when the council received the full praise of the governor for its exhaustive inquiry and recommendation in dealing with the Anamabu Stool dispute, which was carried out by the Judicial Committee of the council composed of the chiefs, they were so pleased that they said it was “*a confirmation to the Government that the Provincial Council, composed of the Paramount Chiefs and their States Councillors, was the proper Body to enquire into and advise Government in all matters and disputes affecting Native Administration*”.⁶⁷⁹ When a new provincial commissioner was appointed in 1934, in the person of Honourable Fieldgate, the president of the council said they would always expect his kind advice and assistance in their efforts to cooperate with the government for continued successful administration, and that they “*desired to reaffirm the loyalty of the Ruling Chiefs to the British Crown at all times*”.⁶⁸⁰

6.2.2. Ashanti

The beginning of the end for the Asante Confederation was with Sir Garnet Wolseley’s expedition of 1873/4 to Kumasi. The concluding agreement of the expedition was the imposition of an indemnity of 50 000 ounces of gold upon Asante. The noncompletion of the said indemnity was used partly as a pretence to launch another

⁶⁷⁷ “Minutes of Proceedings of Meetings of the 27th Emergency Session of the Central Provincial Council”, **25A File No. 1440/31**, pp. 8-9.

⁶⁷⁸ **Ibid**, p. 11.

⁶⁷⁹ “Minutes of Proceedings of Meetings of the 23rd Session of the Central Provincial Council”, 16-21 Jan. 1933, pp. 1-18. **24B File No. 1440/31**, in CSO 21/2/19, p. 6.

⁶⁸⁰ “Minutes of Council Meetings of the 25th Session of Central Provincial Council of Chiefs”, **24D File No. 1440/31**, p. 4.

expedition against Asante in 1896/7. Regarding the noncompletion of the payment, Nana Prempeh's (the Asantehene) position was that:

*"If the indemnity had not been completely paid off it was chiefly due to the fault of the British Government itself because it had weakened his power and authority over the Sub-divisions of his country with some of which the British Government had entered into Treaties of Alliance and Friendship behind his back, thus sowing seeds of discord to disintegrate his kingdom".*⁶⁸¹

The other rationale dated as far back as 1894 captured in the Despatch of the Governor, Sir William Brandford Griffith, to the Marquess of Ripon, in a series of attempts by the British government to halt the influence of Asante. He said:

*"Expressing my honest belief to your Lordship, I think that the proper course which should be pursued now is to acquire a thorough and unmistakable control over Ashanti in such a manner as will put a stop, once (and) for all, to the inconvenience, trouble, and expense which that country has been a source of to this Colony from time immemorial".*⁶⁸²

Thence, with the exile of Prempeh in 1896, the Asante Confederacy was left headless and weakened, and annexed in 1901, by an Order, like that of the colony proper. In 1905, Sir Francis Fuller, the then chief commissioner of Ashanti, inaugurated "The Ashanti Council of Chiefs", which was to assist the new administration in maintaining order and peace and to advice. The interregnum of the Confederacy led to what Johnson described as a period of *"breaking up and the severance of old ties of allegiance and loyalty"*, and the *"creation of new States or Divisions and new Ahinfo"*.⁶⁸³ The council of chiefs ruled Ashanti until 1924, when the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance of the colony proper was applied to Ashanti, like in the colony, it made provision for the regulation and exercise of certain powers and jurisdiction by native authorities. In the same year, Prempeh was repatriated from Seychelles as a private citizen. This decision was arrived at by Guggisberg, who

⁶⁸¹ J.W. de Graft Johnson, "Memorandum on the Position of the Ohene in the Native Constitution as Affected by the Native Authority Ordinance No. 1 of 1935 to the Governor", 2 March, 1938, p. 7.

⁶⁸² "Parliamentary Papers C. 7918", as cited in J.W. de Graft Johnson, "Memorandum on the Position of the Ohene ...", 1938, p. 18.

⁶⁸³ J.W. de Graft Johnson, "Memorandum on the Position of the Ohene ...", p. 8.

according to Kimble had listened to the appeals of the Ashanti chiefs, and in 1926, the chiefs of the Kumasi division yet again petitioned Governor Guggisberg to allow Prempeh to be re-elected as their *Omanhene*, and the Secretary of State agreed.⁶⁸⁴ Upon this act, the 1905 Council was dissolved, and on 31 January 1935, the Ashanti Confederacy was restored. It was restored by the native authority ordinance which was passed on the same date, and sort to describe the powers and duties of native authorities in Ashanti.

What was the new direction taken like? First, the ordinance materialized because of the decisions of the colonial office, the chief commissioner for Ashanti in consultation with Kumasi chiefs, and the attorney-general who undertook the final drafting. In 1934, the governor directed the colonial secretary, G.A.S. Northcote, to forward three draft Orders⁶⁸⁵ regarding establishing native authority in Ashanti: the first drafted order concerned the establishment of the Asantehene as a native authority; the second order was about establishing the Asantehene's court, whilst the third order was about establishing various other native authorities in Ashanti. They divided the Confederacy into divisions to reduce the authority of the Asantehene. The most fascinating thing was that the Ashanti model was designed out of the drafted notices under the native authority ordinance of Nigeria, the Nigerian Gazette of 1 March 1934.⁶⁸⁶

The chief commissioner, F.W.F. Jackson, after perusing the orders from the colonial secretary sent various draft orders, rules, etc., to the colonial secretary for assessment by the governor in connection to the restoration of the Confederacy. Ashanti was divided into areas specified as "1st Schedule, and 2nd Schedule".⁶⁸⁷ Jackson said that in providing for the constitution of the council, the Kumasihene informed him that the constitution of the council should be stated in the Order. Thence, the governor was to declare the establishment of a native authority to be called the "Ashanti Confederacy Council" for the area specified in the 1st schedule. The Asantehene was made president of the council of head chiefs of those divisions under the 1st schedule together with the senior chiefs of each of the seven Kumasi

⁶⁸⁴ David Kimble, "A Political History of Ghana ...", p. 485.

⁶⁸⁵ G.A.S. Northcote, "CONFIDENTIAL", No. C./28/33/122, 3 April 1934, pp. 1-2, enlisted in ARG 1/26/1/41, PRAAD, p. 1.

⁶⁸⁶ *Ibid*, p. 2.

⁶⁸⁷ The 1st Schedule included the Divisions of Kumasi, Mampong, Juaben, Bekwai, Essumeja, Kokofu, Nsuta, Adansi, Kumawu, Offinsu, Ejisu, Agona, Banda, Wenchi and Mo; whilst the 2nd Schedule was the Seven Kumasi Clans-- Adonten, Akwamu, Ankobia, Gyasi, Korenti, Kyidom and Oyoko. See for example F.W.F. Jackson, 6A No. 18/54/33, 21 April 1934, in ARG 1/26/1/41, PRAAD.

Clans under the 2nd schedule.⁶⁸⁸ Furthermore, the governor declared the creation of a native authority for some specified areas⁶⁸⁹ with administrative powers.

The constitution of the restored Confederacy differed from the provincial councils of the colony. It was understood from the acting attorney general's minutes⁶⁹⁰ that the proposal of Commissioner Jackson meant that the Confederacy Council and not the Asantehene should be the native authority for the Confederacy. Furthermore, it also required the amendment of clause 3 of the Native Authority Bill for a provision to be made for the constitution of the council and the appointment of a president thereof. Unlike in the colony, where the presidency was rotational, Asantehene's appointment would be otherwise. The attorney-general made a recommendation for a Kumasi Clan chief, who was primarily not a chief for an area, to be empowered by amending clause 3 (1) of the Bill by adding power to appoint a native authority for a Clan. Villages outside the Kumasi division were to be aligned to the clan heads who will have jurisdiction over them, thus, making such villages although territorially part of the Kumasi division, "islands" in other Divisions.⁶⁹¹

Authority is hinged on the ability of rulers to adjudicate on issues under their care. With the Confederacy came the provision for providing Appellate Courts for each jurisdiction under the native courts' order. Appellate Jurisdiction was to be given to the Senior Court within any division in all civil cases,⁶⁹² including the Asantehene's court, whose members were to be selected from the various head chiefs of the divisions within the Confederacy and should not have any criminal jurisdiction.⁶⁹³ Thus, commissioner Jackson and L.E.V. M'Carthy put forward that the Asantehene's court was to be graded "A",⁶⁹⁴ Kumasihene was to have a grade "B" Court, and would hear appeals from the Clan Courts which were of grade "C"; the Clan Courts would also hear appeals from certain existing Tribunals, which were to be graded "D". Thus, appeals from the Kumasihene's Court would go to the Asantehene's Court, thence to the Chief Commissioner of Ashanti's Court, and

⁶⁸⁸ F.W.F. Jackson, **6A No. 18/54/33**, 21 April 1934, in ARG 1/26/1/41, PRAAD.

⁶⁸⁹ The areas included the Kumasi Division, Adonten, Akwamu, Ankobia, Gyasi, Korenti, Kyidom, Oyoko, Banko, Sekyire, Agogo, Bompata, Juansa, Wioso, Domiabra, Obogu, Kwamang, Asokore, Beposo, Nkwanta, Bechem, Odumasi No. 1, Odumase No.2, Nsoatre, Kukuom, and Mim. *See for example*, 6C "Native Authorities Schedule", F.W.F. Jackson, **No. 18/54/33**, 21 April 1934, in ARG 1/26/1/41, PRAAD.

⁶⁹⁰ L.E.V. M'Carthy, "Minute by the Acting Attorney General", 2 May 1934, **No. 316/33/S. 2/14**, pp. 1-4, in ARG 1/26/1/41, PRAAD.

⁶⁹¹ *Ibid*, pp. 2-3.

⁶⁹² F.W.F. Jackson, "CONFIDENTIAL", 7 May 1934, **No. 1267/54/33**, pp. 1-3, in ARG 1/26/1/41, PRAAD, p. 2.

⁶⁹³ F.W.F. Jackson, "CONFIDENTIAL", **No. 18/54/33**, 21 April 1934, in ARG 1/26/1/41, PRAAD.

⁶⁹⁴ F.W.F. Jackson, "CONFIDENTIAL", 7 May 1934, **No. 1267/54/33**, p. 2.

thence to the West African Court of Appeal.⁶⁹⁵ However, M'Carthy objected to the above arrangement by pointing up that it was not "a very happy arrangement" and posited that the Bill should have an appeal only to one Native Court of Appeal. So that any person aggrieved by the decision of a native court of appeal was given a right of appeal to the district commissioner or chief commissioner of Ashanti.⁶⁹⁶

Jackson highlighted that such an arrangement came about during discussions about the restoration of the Confederacy when the paramount chiefs made a point that "*appeals from their Courts should be to the District Commissioner who should be empowered to use his discretion to hear or transfer same to the Asantehene's Court*".⁶⁹⁷ It was settled that the Kumasi Clan Chiefs should not be given Appellate powers thus lessening the number of appeal courts in Kumasi by one. Therefore, the final recommendations presented by Jackson were as follows: "

1. *Appeals from subordinate Courts in civil matters within any Division will go to the Senior Court within that Division, i.e., from a "D" Court to either a "B" or "C" Court. In so far as the Kumasi Division is concerned an appeal from a "D" or "C" Court will go direct to the Kumasihene's "B" Court.*
2. *All appeals in civil cases other than those affecting the tenure of land from a "B" or "C" Court (small Head Chiefs i.e., Ejisu, Offinsu, Agona, etc.) will go to the District Commissioner who may hear or transfer it to the Asantehene. Those cases affecting land will on appeal go to the Asantehene.*
3. *From the District Commissioner or Asantehene to the Chief Commissioner.*

In criminal cases, appeals from any Native Court go to the District Commissioner and from there to the Chief Commissioner's Court presided over by the Circuit Judge".⁶⁹⁸

⁶⁹⁵ L.E.V. M'Carthy, "Minute by the Acting Attorney General", 2 May 1934, **No. 316/33/S. 2/14**, p. 3.

⁶⁹⁶ **Ibid.**

⁶⁹⁷ F.W.F Jackson, "CONFIDENTIAL", 7 May 1934, **No. 1267/54/33**, p. 2.

⁶⁹⁸ **Ibid**, pp. 2-3.

That was the extent the colonial office went to distribute the hitherto centralized authority of the Asantehene to “cage” him and prevent his office from rising to its former glory.

6.2.3. The Northern Territories

The borderlines of the Northern Territories as observed today were created by the British in the nineteenth century. According to Saaka, they imposed their damaging colonial policies on the region and exploited its manpower to the south to meet the labour demands of mining companies, cocoa farms, construction sites, and into the security services like the military and constabulary.⁶⁹⁹ The north was to a greater degree isolated from the imperial policies of the British due to a lack of natural resources, until the late 1940s. It has a savanna ecosystem. There was an attempt to cultivate cotton in the Gonja region in 1902, but by 1916 the scheme had failed⁷⁰⁰ due to a lack of labour, as most of the able-bodied young men were sent southwards to the mines and cocoa farms. Governor Guggisberg showed interest in developing the north. According to Awinsong, he had even hoped to extend railways from Kumasi northwards to facilitate the transport of livestock, savannah produce, and passengers to the coast, but Governor Slater abandoned the railway project because the north was deemed unprofitable⁷⁰¹ to the colonial regime. The introduction of the native administrative system from the mid-1930s onwards brought the north in close contact with the south as the British administrators worked with the chiefs to get their imperial policies across. This led in some instances, as would be seen below, to the creation of secular chiefs to rule where they did not exist before and the forceful amalgamation of some native states under different chiefs.

The intriguing question to ask is, how did those few officers succeed in bringing that vast area under British rule? The answer to it lies in fact-checking the role of African and European officers to that end. Between 1890 and 1897, George Ekem Ferguson, the son of a Fanti mother and a British father, undertook a mission to that area and reported back to the colonial government about their political structure and history of expansion. Whilst on this mission, he brokered treaties with the northern rulers in the name of the Crown, as said by

⁶⁹⁹ Y. Saaka (ed.), “Introduction”. In: “Regionalism and Public Policy in Northern Ghana”. *Society and Politics in Africa*, Vol. 10, New York: PETER LANG, pp. 1-11, 2001, pp. 1, 4.

⁷⁰⁰ Moses Diyaane Awinsong, “The Making of a Nation: The Northern Territories and the Colonial Discourse of Nationhood in the Gold Coast, 1897-1950”. *African Historical Review*, Vol. 52, No. 2, pp. 1-30, 2021, p. 14.

⁷⁰¹ *Ibid*, p. 15

Talton, with great help “*from interpreters recruited from the political elite of the centralised polities and not from among the noncentralized communities*”.⁷⁰² It was such treaties that laid the foundation of British rule in the territory. The British targeted the centralised and ethnic-majority peoples to rule through them because they deemed “*diverse peoples and political structures as an impediment to effective control*”, and so, in a vagarious manner they tried “*to incorporate non-centralised societies like Konkomba, into chief-centred political jurisdictions*”.⁷⁰³ This marked the origin of the vicissitudes of conflicts in the northern part from the twentieth century onwards.

Whilst some officers were busily gathering treaties with individual states, others were defining their international boundaries with other major European nations, first by the Anglo-French convention of 14 June 1898,⁷⁰⁴ and then in 1899 with the Anglo-German convention.⁷⁰⁵ The former convention secured a foundation for British administration under a scheme formulated by Lt. Col. Northcott and divided the territory into the Black Volta, White Volta, and Kintampo districts, hitherto the three districts of Wa, Gambaga, and Kintampo. Bening pointed out that the divisions were “*for convenience of military command*”. The Wa district or the Black Volta district was occupied by British troops on 7 January 1898, and the district comprised the country of the Dagarti and Lobi and the territory subject to Wa, Lawra, Bole, and Dorimon.⁷⁰⁶

However, the 1898 divisions were abrogated in June 1902 by an Order in Council constituting the Northern Territories, which in turn gave rise to the creation of new administrative areas guided this time by Governor F.M. Hodgson’s rival scheme. With slight modification to the boundaries, a new administrative unit, the Gonja district, comprising the southern portion of the portioned Neutral Zone was established with Salaga as its headquarters thus bringing the number to four. The modification of provincial and district boundaries, according to Bening, was influenced by three closely interrelated factors: the density, the degree of cooperation, and the ethnic distribution of the population.⁷⁰⁷ It is

⁷⁰² Benjamin Talton, “Politics of Social Change in Ghana: The Konkomba Struggle for Political Equality”. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, pp. 36-37.

⁷⁰³ Benjamin A. Talton, “The Past and Present in Ghana’s Ethnic Conflicts: British Colonial Policy and Konkomba Agency, 1930-1951. JAAS, Vol. 38, No. 2-3, de Sitter Publications, pp. 192-210, 2003, p. 194.

⁷⁰⁴ Raymond B. Bening, “Administrative Boundaries of Northern Ghana, 1898-1951”. In Saaka Y. (ed.), “Regionalism and Public Policy in Northern Ghana”, (pp. 13-33), p. 13.

⁷⁰⁵ James Kwaku Brukum Nana, “The Northern Territories of the Gold Coast under British Colonial Rule, 1897-1956: A Study in Political Change”, pp. 22, 24.

⁷⁰⁶ Raymond B. Bening, “Administrative Boundaries of Northern Ghana, 1898-1951”, pp. 13-14.

⁷⁰⁷ **Ibid**, pp. 16, 20.

interesting to know that the sparsely populated areas rather initiated resistance to the creation of British rule from the south towards the more populated areas in the north. Nonetheless, the widely held notion for redefining provincial and district boundaries was that it was due to a shortage of officers as the north was deemed to be unproductive and did not offer any major outpost for revenue generation.

Indeed, the north did not offer more revenue to the colonial government because of its quiddities to the southern Gold Coast. The colonial government opted for amalgamation not solely due to inadequate officers but because the north lacked the verdant resources of the south, which then compelled the British to devise a strategy to use the cheapest form of administration possible. Thus, they signed treaties and ruled through chiefs of the dominant ethnic groups supervised by a few European officers who lived and worked peripatetically in those districts. Resistance erupted in the North-Eastern Province of the Northern Territory in the early years (1897 and 1911) of the British attempt to redefine the north's political structures and led to riots. For instance, in 1916, a land dispute in the Bongo and Kusanaba areas of the Zuarungu and Bawku districts led to riots in which a constable was killed. The colonial administration "*ruthlessly crushed the revolt to teach an unforgettable lesson*".⁷⁰⁸ Here, the disputes were due to issues of land ownership created by the British who Thomas said had either imposed chiefs or had "*had their powers qualitatively changed and substantially increased, in societies traditionally organised on a kinship basis*".⁷⁰⁹

In 1925, governor Guggisberg took the decision "to define administrative boundaries of the Gold Coast by ethnic lines", and the amalgamation was to be done without coercion.⁷¹⁰ Nonetheless, it was not implemented up to the end of his tenure in 1927. Governor T.S. Thomas during his tenure took up the scheme and "*intimated that indirect rule be introduced so that the indigenes could be given a share in the government of the country*".⁷¹¹ Thence, indirect rule "based on ethnic areas" was introduced in the territory in 1932 and led to the reduction of provincial boundaries into a few administrative districts, and further linked the district commissioners and the chief commissioner at Tamale (the headquarters) facilitated by "*a fair network of motorable roads*".⁷¹²

⁷⁰⁸ Roger G. Thomas, "The 1916 Bongo Riots and their Background: Aspects of Colonial Administration and African Response in Eastern Upper Ghana. *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 24, No. 1, pp. 57-75. Cambridge University Press, 1983, p. 75.

⁷⁰⁹ **Ibid.**

⁷¹⁰ Raymond B. Bening, "Administrative Boundaries of Northern Ghana, 1898-1951", pp. 25-26.

⁷¹¹ **Ibid.**, p. 26.

⁷¹² **Ibid.**

By what means was the amalgamation carried out? And who were the frontrunners in its implementation? Major Jackson, the chief commissioner of the NT, with support from other administrative officers, took charge of the processes and prepared draft ordinances thereof. Three ordinances were to be passed in support of the indirect rule. They were the native authority ordinance, the native tribunal ordinance, and more importantly, the native treasuries ordinance. The main object of the system was to amalgamate districts into authorities for effective administration and development under tribal chiefs and in some instances under secular chiefs, who were in turn supervised by European district officers and provincial commissioners. The native treasuries worked in the north because, as posited by Maasole, the people did not resist it but readily agreed to pay the taxes.⁷¹³ Subsequently, the treasuries became a boon to the provision of social services in the north. Unlike in the south where the educated natives were numerous and zestful and relied on newspapers to stultify the colonial government's attempts to introduce taxation, the north had fewer educated natives who only became solicitous and partook in national affairs in the 1950s.

The chief commissioner of the Northern Territories under Section 15 of the Native Authority Ordinance, was empowered to inflict penalties should a native authority neglect to exercise the powers conferred on him, and, he had the power to make an order with the approbation of the Governor to:

- a) constitute any area and define the limits thereof,
- b) assign to that area any name and description he may think fit.
- c) appoint any Chief or other native or any group of natives to be a native authority for any area for the purposes of this ordinance and may by the same or any subsequent order similarly made declare that the native Authority for any area shall be subordinate to the Native Authority for any other area.⁷¹⁴

Before the amalgamation of the Northern Province, Major Jackson interviewed *"practically all the Tribal Chiefs and discussed the question of the introduction of Indirect Rule"*⁷¹⁵ with them. Satisfied with the outcome of the interviews, the colonial office in 1931 decided to amend the existing laws of the protectorate to enact a native authority ordinance

⁷¹³ Maasole S. Cliff, "Tax Collection in Northern Ghana during British Colonial Rule from 1898-1950 (Part Two)". *Ghana Journal of Development Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 1, pp. 181-202, 2019, p. 201.

⁷¹⁴ Captain Eyre Smith, Asst. S.N.A., **20 File 49/32**, 7 March 1932, pp. 1-6, in CSO 21/2/5, PRAAD, pp. 5-6.

⁷¹⁵ "Chief Commissioner, Tamale to the Secretary for Native Affairs", Acc., **No. 211/57/1931**, 17 February 1932, pp. 1-3, in CSO 21/2/5, PRAAD, p. 1.

for the area. The initially proposed ordinance was to be applied to the southern province, i.e., the Gonja (Gbanya) and the Dagomba states, which were to be administered as two districts instead of four at the time. It then meant that the Northern Territories Order No. 1 of 1927, which was part of the Ashanti and Northern Territories Ordinance needed amending.⁷¹⁶

There were difficulties regarding what to be done with minority tribes, first in the southern district and then across the territory in general. The colonial administration attempted a reorganization of the tribal units, placing hitherto independent states or acephalous states under the more centralized states. Major Jackson pointed up that there will be areas owned by other tribes in each district in addition to the actual Gonja and Dagomba states. Nevertheless, the crux of the matter was that tribal lands belonging to the Konkombas and Chakosi tribes lying in the Northern Section of the British Sphere of Togoland, and all tribal lands subject to the Na of Nanumba were added to land subject to the Na of Yendi. Whilst lands belonging to the Owura of Nchumuru and Owura of Kpandai lying within the Northern Section of the British Sphere of Togoland, together with the Mo tribal lands were added to Gonja lands subject to the Paramount Chief of Yabum.⁷¹⁷

Before the amalgamation, Dagomba had two districts with commissioners at Yendi and Tamale. To preserve and strengthen the prestige of the Na, his representative was stationed at the court of the district commissioner at Tamale. Any instructions issued by the Na to the chiefs of western Dagomba were communicated through this representative to the chiefs in the name of the Na. Thence, this make-shift arrangement was viewed as unsatisfactory and if any real progress was to be made in native administration, Tamale (western Dagomba) should be absorbed into Yendi (eastern Dagomba and the seat of the Na) with the latter as Headquarters and the former as a sub-station.⁷¹⁸ The overall objective of the scheme, as put forward by Jackson was to “*preserve the continuity of policy and ensure*

⁷¹⁶ Major Jackson, **No. 751/130/1930**, “Copied from N.T.N.A. 1/1928”, 29 May 1931, pp. 1-2, in CSO 21/2/5, PRAAD, p. 1. ... The Eastern and Western Dagomba Districts were to be absorbed into one with Headquarters at Yendi and the Assistant District Commissioner at Tamale. The districts were administered by European and African Staff. Whilst the Eastern and Western Districts of the Gonja State, which is the largest in terms of size were also to be amalgamated.

⁷¹⁷ **Ibid**, p. 2.

⁷¹⁸ 2a, “Enquiry into the Constitution and Organisation of the Dagbon Kingdom”, **File S.N.A. 1125/31**, pp. 1-2, in CSO 21/2/5, PRAAD, p. 1. ... Major Jackson had it all figured out. In terms of adjudication, all court appeals would go naturally to the Na, and then to that of the local Political Officer. The duties of the Assistant at Tamale were to be confined to those of Cantonment, Magistrate, Officer-in-Charge of Prison, and the inspection of a portion of the Dagomba Kingdom. Furthermore, Dagomba was to have its own little Staff of permanent and relieving Officers, three in all; so that when the senior Officer of the district was on leave, his place was taken by the next senior, who could also succeed him in command of the district when the turn of the senior Officer comes to go South to qualify for promotion. *See for example*, 2a, “Enquiry into the Constitution...” **File S.N.A. 1125/31**, pp. 1-2.

*that the district would never be left to an Officer unfamiliar with the Chiefs, the language and local politics”.*⁷¹⁹

Concerning the Gonja district, the attorney general had no objection to the inclusion in the Gonja district of the territories of Kpandai and Nchumuru but agreed that it was politically sound if native administrations were to be established.⁷²⁰ It was agreed that when the second provincial council in Ashanti and the second provincial council in the Northern Territory were abolished (as in the amendment to Order No. 1 of 1927), the remaining provincial council in each territory were to be styled *“lands subject to the Paramount Chief of Yabum together with the Mo tribal lands subject to the Chief of Bamboi and the tribal lands subject to the Brong Chiefs of Yeji and Prang”*.⁷²¹ Initially, the S.N.A. suggested Yapei on the Volta as a potential new headquarters of the Gonja district, instead of Bole, which is situated at the extreme west of it. His proposal stemmed from the fact that the head chief was said to have contemplated building a court and offices at Yapei, which he will visit periodically, but he was averse to removing from Yabum owing to the fear that his power would wane if he deserted the abode of his ancestors.⁷²²

However, Major Jackson had a different proposal about which town to become the capital of the Gonja district. He put forward that the Gonja district should be administered from Salaga instead of Bole or Yapei. Bole was regarded as a town of no importance due to the absence of road communication. Thus, Jackson maintained that the district commissioner, owing to this deficiency *“was unable to supervise the more populous and progressive parts of his district with the thoroughness that he desired and realised to be necessary”*. On top of that, about 35 000 out of the around 40 000 population of Gonja were under the direct control of the assistant district commissioner, stationed at Salaga, and the towns at which five out of the six sub-divisional chiefs reside, were more accessible from Salaga than they were from Bole.⁷²³ Due to the vastness of the Gonja district, officers had to spend several weeks on tours to maintain contact with the people. It was suggested that maintaining both the commissioner and the assistant commissioner at Salaga would be useful and more effective for administrative purposes, which in turn was hoped would prevent

⁷¹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 2.

⁷²⁰ **3 File 49/32**, pp. 1-2, 1932, in CSO 21/2/5, PRAAD, p. 1.

⁷²¹ S.N.A., “Extract from File 34/32”, 19 January 1931, pp. 1-3, in CSO 21/2/5, PRAAD, pp. 1-2.

⁷²² *Ibid*, p. 2.

⁷²³ “Chief Commissioner, Tamale to the Colonial Secretary”, Accra, **C.S. 6, No. 77/4/1935**, 10 January 1935, pp. 1-2, in CSO 21/2/5, PRAAD, p. 1.

*“duplication of office work and it would then become possible for one or other of the officers to travel for longer periods than is possible under the present system”.*⁷²⁴

In a correspondence dated 4 February 1935, the governor accepted and approved the proposal to transfer the headquarters of the Gonja district from Bole to Salaga⁷²⁵ having satisfied himself with the above-cited reasons. Despite acceding, the governor has not enthused to station both commissioners at Salaga. He thought it was only good from the economic and clerical standpoint, but he felt that *“such conditions would not enable a District Commissioner to get to know the people of his district so well, nor do the people come into such close contact with their District Commissioner as when he is living with them in the vicinity”.*⁷²⁶

Dealing with the Northern Province of the territory led to a long-drawn-out deliberation between the administrative officers. The Northern Province could be divided into two, Northwest and Northeast. Beginning with the latter, after concurrence with the tribal chiefs of that part of the Northern Province, Major Jackson went ahead to submit a report informing the government that the districts of southern Mamprussi, Kusasi, and Zuarungu should be amalgamated into one district called the “Mamprussi District” with Gambaga as its headquarters and a sub-station at Bawku. Major Jackson, who had earlier on informed the colonial office that he would succeed in persuading the Navrongo district to join the Mamprussi administrative area failed to do so, for the chiefs of the Navrongo district had declined to follow Mamprussi, and they would not hear of Jackson’s idea because formerly the Mamprussi fought against them and treated them cruelly. Instead of being in the same administrative unit with the Mamprussi, the tribes of the Kasenas, Nankanni, and Builsas (Kanjarga) agreed to form a “Native Authority” composed of their respective chiefs and run their combined lands as one, under a council of chiefs.⁷²⁷

The exclusion of the Navrongo district from the Mamprussi district was not welcomed by many. Captain Eyre Smith, for instance, tried to indicate why the district should not be

⁷²⁴ *Ibid*, p. 2.

⁷²⁵ Acting Colonial Secretary to Chief Commissioner, Tamale, **No. 49/32/51**, 4 February 1935, in CSO 21/2/5, PRAAD, p. 1.; the Secretary for Native Affairs also agreed with the Chief Commissioner, Northern Territories, that Salaga should become the headquarters. See for example, S.N.A. to the Colonial Secretary, 22 January 1935, **File No. 49/32**, pp. 1-2, in CSO 21/2/5, PRAAD, p. 1.

⁷²⁶ Acting Colonial Secretary to Chief Commissioner, Tamale, **No. 49/32/51**, 4 February 1935, in CSO 21/2/5, PRAAD, p. 1.

⁷²⁷ “Chief Commissioner, Tamale to the Secretary for Native Affairs”, Acc., **No. 211/57/1931**, 17 February 1932, p. 1.

made independent.⁷²⁸ First of all, the Kasena chiefs in the Navrongo district up till 1929 were said to be pleased to wear the Mamprussi insignia of office as chiefs, i.e., a particular type of red fez. Additionally, the Passankwia chief (of the Builsas) and the Nankanni tribe were also subdued by the Mamprussi. Thus, Captain Smith maintained that the chiefs of Navrongo and Sandema, as a result of their close touch with provincial and district headquarters, had obtained a “backing” that they no doubt will do everything they could to maintain, not to consider their subjects but rather to aggrandize themselves.⁷²⁹

In building a more lasting native administration, he admonished the governor to close the station at Navrongo as a district headquarters and make Gambaga the district headquarters with one district commissioner and two assistant district commissioners. He was of the firm belief that the chiefs of Sandema and Navrongo could run the Navrongo district as a native authority and hoped that in a matter of a few years, they (the Kasenas, the Builsas, and Nankanni) would again recognize the suzerainty of the Na of Mamprussi by having to turn their eyes to Gambaga for official support. In return for recognizing Sandema and Navrongo as native authorities, they would pay revenue derived as the result of European administration into one central treasury at Gambaga for the development of the country as a whole and not for the sole benefit of improvements in a localized area, since in the north the land did not belong to the chiefs. Thence, this would enable them to form part of one large administrative unit and they would have a voice, naturally on the central council at Gambaga.⁷³⁰

In March 1932, the colonial secretary, W.T.A. Jones, under the directives of the governor wrote to inform Major Jackson of the approval of his recommendation by the governor to amalgamate southern Mamprussi, Kusasi, and Zuarungu districts into one, to be called the Mamprussi District. What’s more, the governor declined the retention of a sub-station at Bawku because “*so long as there was an Administrative Officer stationed at Bawku, so long will the Kusasis continue to regard him and not the Na of Mamprussi as their Overlord*”; and further directed that the Navrongo district should not be independent,

⁷²⁸ According to Captain Smith, “originally the Builsas were known as the VARE people whom the Mamprussi imposed themselves upon and became their overlord. Their overlord is the Chief of Passankwia and it is probably due to the boundary between the Gambaga and Navrongo districts, which placed the chief of Passankwia in Gambaga district and isolated him from his subjects in the Navrongo district, that the Chief of Sandema, as the result of his direct communication with the political officers at Navrongo, has usurped the position of head chief of the Builsas”. See for example Captain Eyre Smith, Asst. S.N.A., (20) File No. 49/32, 7 March 1932, pp. 1-6, in CSO 21/2/5, PRAAD, p. 1.

⁷²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁷³⁰ *Ibid.*

but should be included⁷³¹ in the Mamprussi District citing reasons contained in the Northern Territories Annual Reports for 1912 and 1913. These Reports were cited in Captain Eyre Smith's notes.⁷³² According to the Annual Report for 1912:

"At Navoro before a large concourse of Chiefs including those of Kanjarga and Grunshi – H.E. formally appointed the Na (Na of Mamprussi) Paramount Chief of the North Eastern Province".

Whilst the 1913 Annual Report stated that:

"... very satisfactory progress had been made with regard to the question of Paramountcy. The Na of Mamprussi was appointed Paramount by the late Governor of the Colony, and no difficulty was experienced anywhere to his being cordially accepted as such. He has during the year officially visited all the tribes in the Province and was accorded everywhere an enthusiastic reception, especially by the Kanjarga and Nankanni Chiefs, who gave him handsome presents. If his welcome was less warm in Grunshi, it was due more to the avaricious temperament of the Chief of Navoro, who has never been known to give away anything, rather than to the fact that the Grunshi are less proud than the others of being included in the Mamprussi race".

Jackson dismissed the governor's idea that the Na of Mamprussi has been recognized by the people as the overlord of the existing Bawku, Zuarungu, and Navrongo districts in addition to that of Gambaga-- the four districts that made up the old North Eastern Province to which in 1912, Captain (Sir) Cecil Armitage, the then chief commissioner of the Northern Territories, by executive order made the chief of Mamprussi paramount over. In 1912, Cecil Hamilton Armitage appointed Mahama chief of Nalerigu, and his heirs and successors, as the Na of Mamprussi-cum-Paramount Chief of all lands situated within the boundaries of the North Eastern Province of the Northern Territories, in the presence of the chiefs, headmen, and people of Kanjarga and Grunshi at Navrongo.⁷³³

⁷³¹ Colonial Secretary, Accra, **No. 43/32/24**, 24 March 1932, pp. 1-3, in CSO 21/2/5 PRAAD, pp. 1-2.

⁷³² Captain Eyre Smith, Asst. S.N.A., **(20) File No. 49/32**, 7 March 1932, in CSO 21/2/5, PRAAD, p. 6.

⁷³³ This appointment was subjected to three reservations, of which should the said Chief of Nalerigu, his heirs or successors fail to observe any one or more of, shall be liable to forfeit all privileges hereby granted. These conditions were that: "1) they shall safeguard and respect the rights of their Sub-Chiefs, Headmen and people

Commissioner Jackson maintained that as far as he could gather, *“the order in question was never enforced in so far as making the Chiefs visit their newly appointed paramount chief, who in his turn did not take very much interest in matters outside his immediate own surroundings”*. If ever issued, orders were seldom issued through the paramount chief, and commissioners in charge of districts dealt directly with the various tribal chiefs within their jurisdiction.⁷³⁴ This was a sentiment shared by the Bawku district commissioner, J.K. Syme, who proffered that the Kusasi chiefs be given time to assess their relations with the paramount chief of Mamprussi.⁷³⁵

Butting in, P.F. Whittall, the Northern Province’s Commissioner, in his letter of 6 April 1932, showed that the Na of Nalerigu, who happened to be the Na of Mamprussi, had made only two visits to the areas placed under him by Armitage, and that both visits were said to have been arranged by Captain Armitage himself. For instance, the first visit was when he met Governor Thorburn at the Sissili and the second was when the commissioner for the North Eastern Province was ordered to bring him again to meet Captain Armitage at the Sissili River in about 1917 or 1918.⁷³⁶ He was emphatic that the order was done under:

“... misconception, due to faulty interpretation and a fear on the part of the local Chiefs and people to say other than what they thought the

and in every way conform with all such laws and regulations as are now and may be hereafter enacted with regard to the Northern Territories by the Government of the Gold Coast; 2) that they shall when required by the Provincial Commissioner of the North Eastern Province or Officer acting for him, travel through their lands along such roads and through such areas as those Officers may direct; and 3) that they shall give every facility to those of their subjects who desire to appeal from the decisions given in their Native Courts to the District or Provincial Commissioner, and that they shall send an accredited messenger to represent them in such cases”. See for example C.H. Armitage’s “NOTES”, **28A in C.S. 85/472/57/1931**, 14 April 1912, pp. 1-2, enclosed in CSO 21/2/5, PRAAD.

⁷³⁴ Chief Commissioner to the Acting Colonial Secretary, Acc., **C.S. 85/472/57/1931**, 7 April 1932, pp. 1-2, in CSO 21/2/5, PRAAD, pp. 1-2.

⁷³⁵ See for example, J.K. Syme, “Extract of informal Diary of the Kusasi District for the Month of February 1932”, 1 March, 1932, pp. 1-2, **28C File 49/32, C.S. 85/472/57/1931**, enclosed in CSO 21/2/5, PRAAD. ... In this extract, Mr Syme admonished the colonial administration not to expect much of the Kusasis at first in their relationship with Mamprussi. The former’s territory was peacefully penetrated by Na Atabia some 180 years ago and overrun by Na Kulba about 40 years later; the result of which Kusasi paid tributes to Mamprussi. However, Syme pointed out that the tribute of 100 cowries per compound paid by the Kusasis to the Na of Mamprussi was very spasmodic and had ceased altogether long before the appearance of the British. Also, in 1895, the different Kusasi Clans had united in assisting the Kugris against the common foe, when Na Beriga brought an army against the Kugri people, which ended in the ignominious sacking of the Mamprussis back to Gambaga, and never to attack again with the arrival of British soldiers in Gambaga shortly after the incident. Thus, ever since, the Kusasis had emerged from a primitive stage to their well-ordered organisation under 19 responsible Chiefs. Despite this history, in 1931, eighteen of those Chiefs unanimously elected the Chief of Bawku and a Mamprussi, to be their tribal Chief; an act which Syme regarded as indeed an achievement warranting time to consolidate the tribe under the leader, with the hope that in time the Kusasis themselves should be willing and fitted to become full members of the Mamprussi State. ... **Ibid**, pp. 1-2.

⁷³⁶ P.F. Whittall, Provincial Commissioner, Northern Province- Navrongo, “Na of Nalerigu”, **No. 158/25/1931**, 6 April 1932, in CSO 21/2/5, PRAAD, p. 1.

*‘White Man’ wanted to hear. ... The people and Chiefs of this District most emphatically do not recognise the Na as their Over-Lord and have only provided presents etc. from time to time by direct order of the White Man”.*⁷³⁷

Even the acting Secretary for Native Affairs made it known that he was informed by political officers who had been in that area that the Navrongs (the Builsa, Kasena, and Nankanni tribes) never followed the Na of Mamprussi⁷³⁸ as stated by Messrs Jackson and Whittall. Thus, Jackson in asking the acting governor to rescind his decision to administer the Navrongo district separately until a time as the chiefs and people of the district volunteer to come under the Na of Mamprussi, expressed his ‘profound regret’ with this decision of the government, by saying that:

*“... I cannot see why Government should go directly against the wishes of the people and make them follow a Chief whom they abhor and have never followed of their own free will. Surely it is the first duty of Government when introducing Indirect Rule to create and re-establish where necessary the people’s own constitution rather than forcing them to adopt something alien to their desires and custom”.*⁷³⁹

Nonetheless, the acting governor will not budge and directed that he could not see his way to re-open the question of the late Navrongo district remaining a separate entity. Since a district is merely an administrative area, the acting governor believed:

“... the refusal of the Builsa, Kasena, and Nankani tribes to acknowledge their subordination to the Na of Mamprusi is not affected by the inclusion of their territories in the same district as that within which the Mamprusi State lies. Whether these small tribes can, at a later, be attracted or guided to enter the Mamprusi State must be left to the future: it will be all to the good if they do, and the process

⁷³⁷ **Ibid.**

⁷³⁸ Acting S.N.A. to the Acting Colonial Secretary, (33) File No. 49/32, 30 May 1932, pp. 1-2, in CSO 21/2/5, PRAAD, p. 1.

⁷³⁹ “Chief Commissioner, Tamale to the Colonial Secretary”, Accra, “Creation of Mamprussi District”, C.S. 130 No. 750/57/1931, 12 March, 1932, pp. 1-2, in CSO 21/2/5, PRAAD, p. 2.

*of absorption will be facilitated by all the parties being in the same administrative area”.*⁷⁴⁰

Conversely, the North-Western Province was composed of the Tumu-Lawra and Wa districts. There were several minor divisions there such as the Zini, Sissala, Dagarti, and Issalas inter alias. In their amalgamation, the Lawra, Nandom, and Jirapa chiefs, who in the past had been looked upon as the head chiefs for their respective sections of Lobi Dagarti, were said to have all agreed to be formed into a “native authority” represented by a council of chiefs. However, the Issala group under Tumu rejected amalgamation with their brother Issalas under Wa or Lawra; a refusal to which the chief commissioner advised the government to consider the Tumu Issalas as a separate unit until such a time as they would voluntarily join with their kith and kin. Also, the small divisions of Dagarti and Sissala under the chiefs of Lambussie, Ulu, Samoa, Han, and Sabuli were expected to become members of the above “Council of Chiefs” and be represented on the council by the chief of Lambussie; whilst the Walas was to remain under the Wa Na.⁷⁴¹ In effect, the whole Northern Province (including Western and Eastern Provinces) was to be administered by two divisional chiefs, i.e., Mamprussi and Wa councils of chiefs, and a sub-divisional chief in the name of Tumu.

Owing to historical antecedents, Captain Eyre Smith cast doubts on the proposal for the Lawra district, i.e., the joining of Lawra, Nandom, and Jirapa to form a native authority. He believed the approach would not be a lasting measure. Secular chiefs were appointed with grave difficulty in parts of the North-Western Province by the Europeans where they did not previously exist upon their arrival. These chiefs were referred to as the Sergeant Major type of chief, and the man who was appointed chief of Nandom was such a chief.⁷⁴² This being the case, it could be précised that *“the Chief of Lambussie with the consent of his subjects will never be able to recognise a Chief of Nandom equal in status to himself”*.⁷⁴³ Thus, the imposition of secular leaders as chiefs of Lawra, Nandom, and Jirapa over

⁷⁴⁰ Bruce Crall (Acting Colonial Secretary) to Chief Commissioner, Tamale, **No. 49/32/40**, 22 June 1932, pp. 1-2, in CSO 21/2/5, PRAAD, p. 1.

⁷⁴¹ “Chief Commissioner, Tamale to the Secretary for Native Affairs”, Acc., **No. 211/57/1931**, p. 2.

⁷⁴² Captain Eyre Smith, Asst. S.N.A., **(20) File No. 49/32**, 7 March 1932, pp. 1-6, in CSO 21/2/5, PRAAD, p. 4. ... He highlighted that this Chief still “resides within the same Tengani area as the Chief of Lambussie, whose ancestors are the rulers of this area in the eyes of the people. When any matter of moment arises the Chief of Nandom has still to go to the Tengani Shrine at Lambussie. In other words, he and those of his subjects, who live within the Lambussie Tengani depend upon the “goodwill” of the ancestral spirits of the Tengansobes at Lambussie”. See for example, Captain Eyre Smith, Asst. S.N.A., **(20) File No. 49/32**, p. 4.

⁷⁴³ **Ibid.**

complete Tengeri areas been a recent alteration and a mistake by the colonial office, Captain Smith called upon the government to rectify this mistake for, in his words, as soon as:

*“... the people begin to emerge from the metamorphosis our rule has brought in its train they will upset any form of administration we may introduce that divides people from their spiritual home”.*⁷⁴⁴

Instead of Tumu as a sub-divisional chief, he proffered that the Lawra and Tumu districts be embraced into the Wa district-- to which all other native authorities in the North-Western Province would be subordinated-- with Wa as the residence of the district commissioner with two assistant district commissioners, with the hope of emerging into one democratic state in a few years to come. Even more with the introduction of economic rule in the form of central treasuries, the fewer of which could easily combine them into one great whole. Thence, allowing the chiefs of Lawra, Nandom, and Jirapa to aggrandize themselves would make it difficult to embrace the political units into one administrative unit.⁷⁴⁵ Although Captain Smith's proposal that the Wa and Lawra-Tumu districts should be amalgamated to form a large native administrative area with the chief of Wa at its head was acknowledged, it was made clear that, unlike the Na of Mamprusi, the chief of Wa had no historical claim to paramountcy, and for this reason, the chief commissioner's proposals were adopted.

Therefore, the composition of the various districts of the Northern Territories, including the British Sphere of Togoland,⁷⁴⁶ which was drawn up in 1916 because of the partition of the German protectorate of Togoland into two territories, French Togoland and British Togoland in the aftermath of the First World War, were as follow:

1. **Mamprusi District:** comprised all the lands lying within the protectorate occupied by Mamprusi, Talansi, Nabdam, Kusasi, Nankani, Builsa, and Kasena tribes, except the portion of land occupied by the Kasena tribe on the right bank of the Sissili River; and whose Togoland portion comprised all lands lying within the British Sphere of Togoland subject to Na of Mamprusi and occupied by the Kusasi, B'Mawba, and Konkomba tribes.

⁷⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p. 5.

⁷⁴⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 5-6.

⁷⁴⁶ Acting Governor, "Order by the Governor", 25A/25B/25C, pp. 1-6, 1932, in CSO 21/2/5, PRAAD.

2. **Dagomba (Dagbon) District:** comprised all lands subject to the Chiefs of Savelugu and Karaga, Divisional Chiefs under the Na of Dagomba; and whose Togoland portion comprised lands within the British Sphere of Togoland and subject to the Na of Dagomba and all tribal lands belonging to the Konkomba and Chakosi tribes lying within the British Sphere of Togoland and all tribal lands subject to the Na of Nanumba.
3. **Gonja District:** comprised all Gonja lands subject to the Paramount Chief of Yabum together with the Mo tribal lands subject to the Chief of Bamboi and the tribal lands subject to Brong Chiefs of Yeji and Prang; and whose Togoland portion comprised the tribal lands of the Owura of Nchumuru and the tribal lands belonging to the Nawuri (or Gonja) tribe and lying within the Northern Section of the British Sphere of Togoland and subject to the Chief of Kpandai.
4. **Wa District:** comprised all the lands subject to the Chief of the Wala tribe, together with the portion of lands south of the 10 30' parallel occupied by the Dagarti tribe, with the portion of lands occupied by the Isala Grunshi tribe which lies on the right bank of the Kulpawn River, and together with the Divisions of Funsi and Kundungu on the left bank of the Kulpawn River.
5. **Lawra-Tumu District:** comprised all the lands occupied by the Lobi, Dagati, and Sisala Grunshi tribes north of the 10 30' parallel, together with the portion of the lands occupied by the Lobi and Dagati tribes which are subject to the Chief of Jirapa, and together with the portion of the lands which are occupied by the Isala Grunshi tribe on the left bank of the Kulpawn River, and together with that portion of the lands occupied by the Kasena Grunshi tribe on the right bank of the Sissili River.
6. **The Krachi District:** comprised all lands subject to the Head Chiefs of Kete Krachi, Adele, and Adjuati.

Further modifications were not made until the 1940s. Despite the inclusion of the Kasena-Nankani and Builsa ethnic areas under the Mamprussi District, they did not relent in their search for autonomy. They continued to protest from 1932 until they were made autonomous native authorities on 31 July 1940 and formed the Navrongo district. Furthermore, the Lawra and Tumu native authorities were made separate administrative districts in November 1946 because as put forward by Bening, the latter could not be

supervised effectively from the former town.⁷⁴⁷ Some other changes occurred in the territory between 1940 and 1950 as years rolled by.

In 1940 representative local government was put to the test in the NT. It was distinct from the native administration. The experiment, which started with the town of Bawku in 1940, was later extended to Bolgatanga (1942) and Tamale (1943). Under this scheme, these towns, according to Bening, were constituted into town councils “*based on their increasing size, cosmopolitan population, and commercial importance within the framework of the Mamprussi and Dagomba native authorities to manage their own local affairs*”.⁷⁴⁸ Its success led to further wider changes. For instance, it led to the establishment of the Northern Territories Territorial Council (NTTC) in 1946 and gained statutory recognition in 1950. Its main object was to “*deliberate upon matters affecting the welfare and interest of persons in the Northern Territories*”, and in 1948 district councils were formed by regrouping native authorities into larger consultative districts⁷⁴⁹ to perform the function of the NTTC in their respective areas. A combination that led to the present demarcation of regions in the territory.

Whilst the Northern Section of the Togoland was integrated into the protectorate, the Southern Section of the British Togoland was initially formed into one district, called “the South Togo District” and treated as if it formed part of the colony proper. Later, the government extended its amalgamation policy to the area, where fifty-six out of the about seventy-one divisions agreed to join one or other of the four paramount chiefs⁷⁵⁰ (Buem, Asogli state, Kpandu, and Akpini) recognized by the government for administration purposes. The remaining fifteen divisions refused amalgamation and hoped that in due course the policy of the government would change thus granting them their wish to confederate. Some of these divisions included Ve, Gbi, Anfoe, Nkonya, and Likpe inter alias.

In opposition to the Government’s policy of amalgamation, in 1941, the seven divisional chiefs of Gbe-Hohoe, Likpe, Ve, Santrokofi, Anfoega, Tsrukpe, Goviefe, Adaklu, and Agotime Kpetoe, petitioned⁷⁵¹ the governor, Sir Arnold W. Hudson. It was their prayer that they would be allowed to form a “Federation” to maintain their sovereign independence

⁷⁴⁷ Raymond B. Bening, “Administrative Boundaries of Northern Ghana, 1898-1951”, pp. 26-27.

⁷⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p. 27.

⁷⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p. 28.

⁷⁵⁰ “Handing over notes from Mr. V.H.K. Littlewood, Asst. District Commissioner to Mr. J.W. Chalmers, Asst. District Commissioner – Native Administration”, in *CSO 21/2/18*, pp. 1-2.

⁷⁵¹ They structured out their Federation model including the nature of the Government, tenure of office for a President, System of Voting, and Federal Council Meetings. *See for example*, “The Petition of the Head Chiefs of Gbe-Hohoe, Likpe, Ve, Santrokofi, Anfoega, Tsrukpe and Goviefe Divisions ...”, 14 January 1941, pp. 1-3, in *CSO 21/2/18*, PRAAD.

and Stool integrities to prevent “*betraying the sacred trust inherited by Chief or Ruler from his ancestors*”.⁷⁵² However, they received no reply from the governor on their petition. Thus, in 1945 the same chiefs presented yet another petition to the then-governor, Sir Alan Burns on similar matters.⁷⁵³ Failure to amalgamate or join one of the four states meant that they had no native tribunals in their administrative areas, i.e., judicial and political powers enjoyed by the state councils in the Southern Section, as directed by the Native Administration Ordinance, Cap. 90 (Togoland, Southern Section).

S. W. Saxton, the commissioner for Eastern Province through whom the petitioners presented their petition to the governor declared that any change in policy towards the question of amalgamation would in effect produce repercussions politically, and proposed that the governor should utilize his powers under Section 41 of Cap. 90 to:

*“... declare that litigants from Independent States “shall” or “may” take their cases for determination in any one of the already established Tribunals under the Ordinance instead of taking them to the Court and that the District Commissioner shall have the power to direct litigants to this or that tribunal at his discretion”.*⁷⁵⁴

A chief without authority is as toothless or powerless as an infant. Subordination of chiefs or divisions meant the swearing of oaths or allegiance to a paramount chief, who under the amalgamation policy, was conferred with great powers. Besides that, the authority of the subordinated chiefs to exercise judicial functions as chiefs in their tribunals were taken away and added to the paramount chief. Thus, the rationale behind the rejection of the policy by those divisions. In the meantime, S. W. Saxton if his proposal turned unworkable, suggested that the petitioners be informed that the “*government does not propose to depart from its settled policy*”.⁷⁵⁵

Similarly, the chief commissioner for the colony was emphatic in his opposition to the formation of the *Duko–Blanuwo* (the Federal State) of Togoland under British Mandate, and expressed that the vast majority of the Togoland divisions had already accepted the

⁷⁵² *Ibid*, p. 1.

⁷⁵³ See for example, “The Petition of the Head Chiefs of Anfoega, Gbi, Ve, Tsrupke, Goviefe, Likpe, and Santrokofi Divisions”, 19 October 1945, pp. 1-2, in CSO 21/2/18, PRAAD.

⁷⁵⁴ S.W. Saxton, Koforidua, No. 1295/2173/1938, 17 April 1941, pp. 1-2, in CSO 21/2/18, PRAAD, p. 2.

⁷⁵⁵ *Ibid*.

policy, “*some of them unwillingly and only because Government had declared, and they believed, that they would not obtain their ends by refusing co-operation*”,⁷⁵⁶ therefore, a change in policy at that juncture would gravely harm the yet-to-be-strong administrative machinery of the four Togoland states and in the sequel of that create bitterness against and a loss in confidence in government. On 15 February 1946, H.L.G. Gurney, the colonial secretary, under the directives of the governor presented a letter to the chief commissioner of the colony, Cape Coast, asking him to inform the petitioners that the governor was not prepared to give any decision on the matter referred to in their petition.⁷⁵⁷

The issue of Ewe nationalism, occupiers of the British Mandated Togoland, became dominant in the 1950s. In December 1950 the Krachi District, which was added to the Protectorate transferred from the northern to the southern section of Togoland. By 1953 the two sections of British Togoland were faced with a choice of either reunification or integration⁷⁵⁸ into the Gold Coast colony, which was on the verge of independence. The United Nations, in 1956, sponsored a plebiscite to settle the status of British Togoland, the result of which those in favour of a union with independent Gold Coast emerged victorious. A total of 160 587 persons out of 194 230 registered individuals voted; 93 095 (58%) voted for union with the Gold Coast, and 67 492 (42%) voted for separation. The voting result⁷⁵⁹ was as follows:

	Union	Separation
Mamprussi District	17 870	3 429
Dagomba District	28 083	6 549
Gonja District	3 166	2 729
Buem/Krachi District	28 178	18 775
Kpandu District	8 581	17 029
Ho District	7 217	18 981

⁷⁵⁶ “Chief Commissioner, Colony (Cape Coast) to the Colonial Secretary”, Accra, **No. 002. S.F.2/12**, 30 January 1946, in CSO 21/2/18, PRAAD, p. 1.

⁷⁵⁷ H.L.G. Gurney (Colonial Secretary), **No. 5362/13**, 15 February 1946, in CSO 21/2/18, PRAAD.

⁷⁵⁸ Kate Skinner, “Reading, Writing and Rallies: The Politics of “Freedom” in Southern British Togoland”, V. 48 No. 1, pp. 123-147, 2007, p. 126.

⁷⁵⁹ “The Future of the Togolands”, UN Publication, Wayback Machine, Chapter V, pp. 368-376, 2013, p. 365.

The ramification of the British policy of amalgamation, though in some instances purportedly said to have been done in accord with some tribal chiefs, has left an indelible imprint of conflicts, especially in the north, such as the Nawuri–Gonja conflict,⁷⁶⁰ and Konkomba⁷⁶¹ inter-ethnic conflicts with tribes such as Bimobas, Dagombas, Nanumbas, Gonjas, and recently with the Nawuris.⁷⁶² The causes of this are mainly due to allodial land rights and control in tandem with issues of paramountcy and autonomy. Thus, the territories of modern Ghana were established with the 1956 plebiscite, the unification of the colony and Ashante under one legislative body in 1946, facilitated by the Burns Constitution of that year, under a common legislative body, which contained 104 seats,⁷⁶³ and the annexation of the Northern Territory in March 1957.

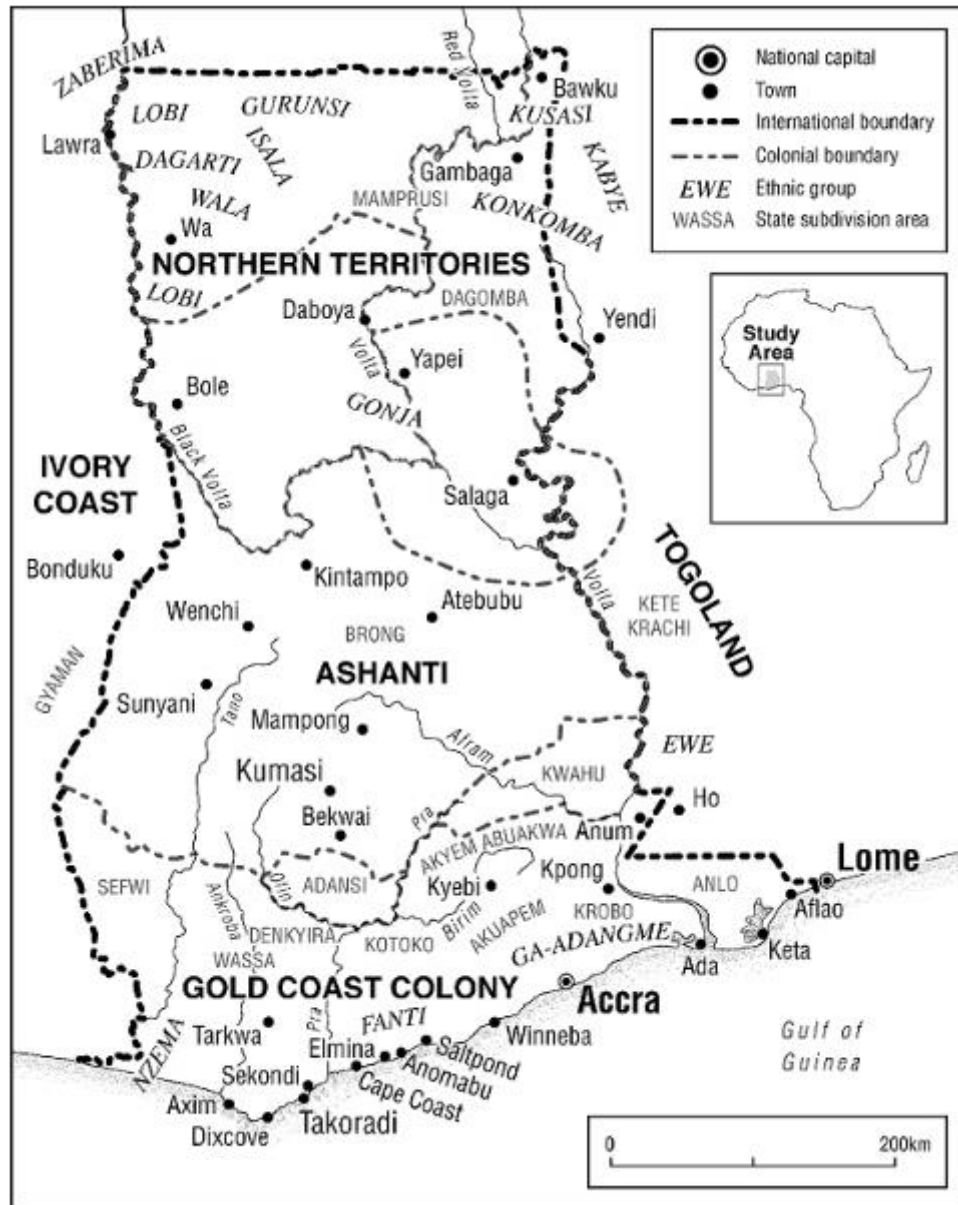
⁷⁶⁰ See for example, Cletus Kwaku Mbowura, “Nawuri-Gonja Conflict, 1932-1996”. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Ghana, Accra, 2012.

⁷⁶¹ See for example, Benjamin Talton, “Politics of Social Change in Ghana: The Konkomba Struggle for Political Equality”, N.Y., 2010.

⁷⁶² See for example, Mohammed Sulemana, “Understanding the causes and impacts of conflicts in the Northern Region of Ghana”, pp. 110-139, Volume 3 Ghana Journal Policy: The Institute of Economic Affairs, Ghana: Accra, 2009.

⁷⁶³ Jean Marie Allman, “The Quills of the Porcupine: Asante Nationalism in an Emergent Ghana”. The University of Wisconsin Press, 1993, p. 22.

Fig. 1.3. Map of the Colony showing the various Districts



The Gold Coast, 1900 — Cambridge University Press

6.3. Decline of Chiefs

The stature of the chiefs as agents of the colonial administration under the native administration system degenerated their importance and heretofore position before their people. Furthermore, the alien political officers and other officers of the administration rubbed salt into the wound by treating the chiefs with total contempt. These together with the malevolence that developed between the chiefs themselves whilst performing their

assigned responsibilities in the various councils and taking instructions directly from their alien European supervisors fused to mark their decline some decades to independence.

On 20 February 1912, in the formative years of British administration, the Omanhene of Mampong was assaulted by a white medical officer, Dr. Donnelly, who also broke the head of three of the chief's drums on his way from Bawku passing through the town of Mampong, during a funeral custom at Mampong. The said medical officer had arrived in the town with one Mr. Pope who was suffering from fever. During the village festivities, Dr. Donnelly regarded the noise emanating from the funeral ground from "*drums-beating, gun-firing, and the beating of empty gin bottles with small stones as drum-sticks*" as awful and detrimental to the health of his travelling companion, whom he said felt "*very much distressed and depressed*".⁷⁶⁴ Donnelly went to the Omanhene's house to tell the chief to stop the noise. He asked a headman to wake the chief who was already in bed and followed that he would do so himself should the headman fail to wake him up. When Donnelly met the chief, after initial three attempts proved futile, he at once "*seized him by the cloth and pushed him about very roughly*".⁷⁶⁵

The chief was apologetic and added that they were making funeral customs and that he was not aware that some white men had come to the town that day, but now that it had come to his attention, he will stop the people from playing any further. As Donnelly was leaving some of the Omanhene's attendants began talking, and then he turned around and produced a revolver saying that if there was any more talking, he would shoot.⁷⁶⁶ Furthermore, he informed the chief, who was said to be in a state of absolute drunkenness that he had insulted the white men by refusing to receive their message, a behaviour for which Donnelly said he would report the chief's uproar and bad management to Kumasi. Surprisingly, upon hearing that, the chief's people begged pardon and made all kinds of apologies.⁷⁶⁷

However, it was the chief who complained to the district commissioner about the assault he had suffered at the hands of the British officer. Whilst F.C. Fuller called upon the Principal Medical Officer to probe the conduct of Dr. Donnelly and if culpable, he said "*the*

⁷⁶⁴ James Donnelly, "CONFIDENTIAL– Letter to the Acting Principal Medical Officer", Obuasi, 3 September, pp. 1-4, **No. 73/12**, in ARG 1/1/53, PRAAD, p. 1.

⁷⁶⁵ Chief Kobina Jima's Statement, 22 March 1912, **No. 87/1912**, in ARG 1/1/53, PRAAD.

⁷⁶⁶ **Ibid.**

⁷⁶⁷ James Donnelly, "CONFIDENTIAL – Letter to the Acting Principal Medical Officer", Obuasi, 3 September, **No. 73/12**, p. 3.

Doctor's conduct was disgraceful and he should be made to pay ample compensation for this unnecessary and wanton outrage",⁷⁶⁸ the acting governor was satisfied with Dr. Donnelly's explanations. The chief of Mampong was said to have treated the medical officer with disrespect⁷⁶⁹ on his ancestral land and in whose hands lie authority.

What's more, in 1930, about 17 members of the royal family of the Stool of Kumawu, in Juaso district, Eastern Province of Ashanti signed and sent a petition to the Governor on behalf of Nana Kwame Affram, Omanhene of the state of Kumawu, and the others who were charged with the murder of one Kwaw Tandoh Bonni and were thence awaiting trial before the court of the chief commissioner of Ashanti. Kwaw Tandoh Bonni was alleged to have been the victim in a case of human sacrifice. In Ashanti, the penalty for such an offence per the law of the town was death and the law also prohibited representation by counsel or a jury in such a heinous offence.

Thus, the petitioners sought audience with the governor as it were and maintained that *"if the accused person, i.e., Nana Kwame Affram, Omanhene of Kwumawu and the others are refused trial by jury, it would have been better if a mill-stone were hung round their necks and cast into the sea, instead of an attempt at mock trial"*.⁷⁷⁰ The petitioners further called on the governor to use his powers to transfer the case from Ashanti to the Gold Coast colony where jurymen were available and there heard on its merits if seven good and upright men were not found in the around 20 000 population of the town of Kumasi.⁷⁷¹

They were inducing interferences in the established laws of Ashanti out of the mere fact that it was going to be applied to a royal member. The chief commissioner maintained that the demand was outside his purview and thus their request could not be granted.⁷⁷² Additionally, the governor informed the petitioners that he *"has no power to transfer an Ashanti case to the Colony"*, and that *"no provision exists for jury trials in Ashanti, thus, he was unable to intervene in the matter"*.⁷⁷³

⁷⁶⁸ "F.C. Fuller, Chief Commissioner, Ashanti to the Colonial Secretary", Accra. **No. P.48/12**, 22 March 1912, enclosed in ARG 1/1/53, PRAAD.

⁷⁶⁹ Ag. Colonial Secretary, "CONFIDENTIAL", **No. Case 67/12**, 30 September 1912, enclosed in ARG 1/1/53, PRAAD.

⁷⁷⁰ "Petition on behalf of Nana Kwame, Omanhene of Kumawu", **File 2004/30**, 17 November 1930, pp. 1-3, CSO 21/4/2, PRAAD, p. 2.

⁷⁷¹ **Ibid.**

⁷⁷² Chief Commissioner to the Colonial Secretary, **No. 2982/8. P/30**, 9 December 1930, pp. 1-2, enclosed in CSO 21/4/2, PRAAD, p. 1.

⁷⁷³ Colonial Secretary, **No. 2004/30/15**, 20 December 1930, in CSO 21/4/2, PRAAD.

During the period of Governor Slater, in his attempts to introduce some reforms in British administration on the Gold Coast, he requested in 1931 from the colonial office for permission to introduce Income-Tax; a tax of 6d or 2 ½ percent on the gross earnings of all males having an income more than £40.⁷⁷⁴ The proposed Income-Tax was meant for development in native authorities payable into the Stool Treasury. When he obtained the green light to introduce his tax regime in September 1931, Slater announced in the legislative council the necessity for direct taxation, which he stressed “had been recognized by every Government in British and foreign tropical Africa, except the Gold Coast”, and the time had arrived “when the Gold Coast Government also must, in the interests of the people themselves, fall into line with the other administrations...” or as he couched it, it had to be willing to assume the “common burden of civilization”, i.e., the income tax to be considered “civilized”.⁷⁷⁵

Both legislative council representatives for Accra and Cape Coast, Frederick Victor Nanka-Bruce and Arku Korsah respectively, spoke against the direct taxation and argued that the people should not be overburdened by bailing the government due to world economic pressures and regarded such a regime as mortifying and against the principles of progressive states.⁷⁷⁶ It was not surprising then that the decision was greeted with protests from across the length of the colony, which included chiefs, the intelligentsia, some European firms, and the denizens. In October 1931 disorders occurred during the anti-Income tax Bill demonstrations at Sekondi, Shama, and Cape Coast, where stones were hurled at cars and some public buildings. In expressing his vexation regarding the disorders, Northcote indicated that *“if the prestige of Government is to remain upheld it is essential that the hooligan element of the population should be taught to respect law and order and that the Chiefs and Elders should come to realise and to perform effectively their duty of assisting Government to maintain its authority”*.⁷⁷⁷

He proposed measures⁷⁷⁸ to be taken by the political and police officers in handling disorders, which included an axiomatic assumption that chiefs and elders will exercise their

⁷⁷⁴ Stanley Shaloff, “The Income Tax, Indirect Rule and the Depression: The Gold Coast Riots of 1931”, p. 361.

⁷⁷⁵ “Legislative Council Debates, 24 September 1931”, as cited in Stanley Shaloff, *“The Income Tax, Indirect Rule and the Depression ...”*, p. 362.

⁷⁷⁶ Stanley Shaloff, “The Income Tax, Indirect Rule and the Depression: The Gold Coast Riots of 1931”, pp. 362-363.

⁷⁷⁷ G.A.S. Northcote to the Acting Colonial Secretary, CONFIDENTIAL “Civil Disturbances”, **Case No. Secret 14**, in ARG 1/1/8, 28 April 1932, pp. 1-4, PRAAD, p. 1.

⁷⁷⁸ **Ibid**, See Appendix J, pp. 324-327.

power to preserve the public peace, and where they fail to act it would be the duty of senior political officers to intervene early to impress that duty upon them by reminding them of their duties as Public and Judicial Officers and as Conservators of Peace; chiefs were to be warned that any form of abetment on their part to encourage or assist illegal processions or demonstrations through the closure of markets to facilitate the holding of such assemblies, which were likely to become disorderly, would be met with prosecution; and the police were to give permits for holding public meetings or processions only where the responsible chiefs undertake to use their full influence to ensure that disorder will not ensue. Although Governor Slater deferred the implementation of the tax regime and focused broadly on establishing Indirect Rule in November 1931 due to mounting opposition and went to the extent of soliciting the support of the chiefs to back it, the adoption of measures as the likes of those put forward by Northcote was a smack in the face for the natural rulers.

With indirect rule now firmly established, a meeting of the three provincial councils was held at Saltpond on 19 April 1932, for the chiefs to deliberate on the Native Revenue Bill, i.e., the Income Tax. Members of the council were given time to reflect and express their opinion on the bill after it had been explained to them. On 21 April, Nana Adu (Omanhene of Mankessim) said that the Central Province did not like the Native Bill in any form at all, a position which was supported by Nana Atta Fuah, and then by Mr. Messa the chief linguist representing the Western Province. However, the Eastern Province chiefs led by their president, Nana Sir Ofori Atta of Akim Abuakwa, asked for leave to deliberate.⁷⁷⁹

Nana Ofori Atta was hooted at by the people after the council meeting who accused him of being the person who was persuading the Government to institute an income tax. The people went to the extent of trying to seize some of his paraphernalia and damage his car. However, when he was interviewed by the Police, he said no harm had been done to him.⁷⁸⁰ The attack disrupted the council's activities to the extent that the Eastern Province chiefs were reluctant to continue the proceedings. They only agreed when it was decided that the Central Province chiefs should pacify them for the insults they had suffered in the province.⁷⁸¹ The commissioner blamed the Aborigines Rights Protection Society for the

⁷⁷⁹ Emmanuel Raphael Quansah "STATEMENT", 17C, 5 August 1932, pp. 1-4, in CSO 21/3/4, PRAAD, p. 1.

⁷⁸⁰ Acting Commissioner, Central Province, "Demonstrations at Saltpond against Chiefs Attending Mass Meeting of Provincial Councils", No. 810/32/C.P.881/29, 28 April 1932, pp. 1-4, in CSO 21/3/4, PRAAD, p. 1.

⁷⁸¹ *Ibid*, pp. 2-3.

troubles who he opined had teamed up with some of the more irresponsible inhabitants of Saltpond to interrupt the peaceful proceedings of the meeting.⁷⁸²

However, the main foment of the disturbance was rooted in a dispute between members of the provincial councils themselves, the denouement of which extended amongst the public. Thus, it was evinced that “*had the delegates behaved in a more dignified manner they would probably have overawed those people who appeared to make trouble*”.⁷⁸³ The dispute started with the Omanhene of Akim Kotoku who was said to have left the meeting in an insulting manner. This chief was said to have been “*seduced by the emissaries of the A.R.P.S. from adherence to the Provincial Council System*”.⁷⁸⁴ During the meeting and upon the return of the Eastern Province chiefs to state their position on the intended native revenue bill, Nana Sir Ofori Atta started to speak whilst sitting through his linguist. This is the customary *modus operandi* by which chiefs in general communicate with their people. Ofori Atta’s attitude did not please Nana Atta Fuah, who objected. He queried why all the other chiefs stood up when talking as was agreed as a council rule, but not Ofori Atta. He demanded that Ofori Atta “*should stand up and show respect to all of the other Paramount Chiefs*”.⁷⁸⁵

The President of the Joint Council, Nana Adu (Omanhene of Mankessim) interjected in defence of Ofori Atta that it was passed in their last meeting that every omanhene should sit down when speaking. Nana Adu’s statement did not go down well with Nana Atta Fuah who responded that if it was so why did the president and other Amanhene stand when speaking at that meeting, and then uttered that “*I will ask leave to go home and let Nana Ofori Atta sit down and speak to you*”.⁷⁸⁶ Upon his departure, the Eastern Province chiefs through Ofori Atta did not say whether or not they agreed to the bill. The meeting ended thus with a majority objecting to the taxation ordinance after which a resolution protesting the native revenue bill was signed by the chiefs.

It was a protocol that before the next council meeting, minutes of the previous meeting were sent to the chiefs for their perusal. When Nana Atta Fuah received the previous

⁷⁸² *Ibid*, p. 4.

⁷⁸³ Acting Commissioner, Central Province, “Joint Provincial Councils at Saltpond”, **No. 862/32/C.P.881/29**, 5 May 1932, in CSO 21/3/4, PRAAD.

⁷⁸⁴ Acting S.N.A., 10 May 1932, **File 389/32**, in CSO 21/3/4, PRAAD.

⁷⁸⁵ “4A Akim Kotoku Meeting RE Provincial Council”, 2 September 1932, pp. 1-2, in CSO 21/3/4, PRAAD, p. 1.

⁷⁸⁶ Emmanuel Raphael Quansah “STATEMENT”, **17C**, 5 August 1932, pp. 1-4, in CSO 21/3/4, PRAAD, p. 2.; “4A Akim Kotoku Meeting RE Provincial Council”, 2 September 1932, p. 1.

minutes in preparation for the 22nd Council meeting, he witnessed that he had been described as “a madman” by the scribes. Incensed at this ridicule, Nana Atta Fuah said the secretaries of the council had corroborated with Ofori Atta and his satellites in doing that. In airing his rage, he said:

*“Bannerman Martin (the Council’s Secretary) has previously had a palaver with me in connection with one of my chiefs – Mansu. I am due an apology. I shall not attend the meeting anymore until I get due amends made. They have treated me as a cat treats a mouse. Until my grievances are redressed, I shall not attend any more meetings of the Council. I now gather that as a result of the contents of the minutes I have incurred the displeasure of the Government. I was put on the stool by the whole of my people. I am calling a meeting of the State Council and I shall put this before them on Friday next. I should add that I shall always be a loyal servant of the Government. If I were to attend another meeting, I do not know what would happen. Therefore, to avoid displeasing the Government I shall not attend any more meetings”.*⁷⁸⁷

It was decided that the grievance referred to by the Omanhene of Akim Kotoku was one for the council to deal with. The colonial office expressed that it would be unfortunate if chiefs were “*driven from the Council by levities and slights which it would be possible for an irresponsible or prejudiced draftsman to introduce into the “minutes” or “notes”*”⁷⁸⁸ of such an important meeting. The governor called upon the president of the council to on his motion, expunge all the irrelevancies and personal comments which did not bear on the subjects discussed, thus, leaving behind only the expurgated “minutes” on record for confirmation.⁷⁸⁹ Nana Atta Fuah was criticized by the Governor that owing to his attitude a very important subject had failed to receive adequate attention and consideration, to which the Omanhin of Akim Kotoku was reminded that he “*will certainly incur the displeasure of Government if he does not support the Provincial Councils*”.⁷⁹⁰

⁷⁸⁷ **Ibid**, pp. 1-2; Phampong Atta Fuah, “The United Mass Conference of the Three Provincial Council Notes of Proceedings of”, 2 September 1932, pp. 1-2, **9C No. 131/32/A.K.25(A)/32**, in CSO 21/3/4, PRAAD, pp. 1-2.

⁷⁸⁸ Acting Colonial Secretary to Acting Commissioner, Central Province, “CONFIDENTIAL”, **No. 606/32/10**, 5 October 1932, pp. 1-2, in CSO 21/4/32A, PRAAD, p. 1.

⁷⁸⁹ **Ibid**.

⁷⁹⁰ **Ibid**, p. 2.

One phenomenon that significantly tarnished the reputation of the chiefs was the allowances they received from the government for their services, which made them malleable to the colonial administrators. In 1931, the chiefs voluntarily reduced their allowance paid to them for attending council meetings to help the government during the dire economic conditions of the period, by sacrificing 25% of it, at the time of general Retrenchments and the Official Emoluments levy.⁷⁹¹ Apart from their sitting allowance, their transport fare was reduced from two lorries at 1/ a mile to one lorry at 7d a mile.⁷⁹² However, in August 1934, the chiefs unanimously voted to request the governor to restore their allowance to its former approved figure, because the Budget Crisis by which they were moved to surrender 25% of the same as their contribution to the balancing of the Budget no longer existed.⁷⁹³

The originally approved figure received by the chiefs was £4 per day per chief.⁷⁹⁴ During the Budget Crisis, they voted to be paid £3 instead of £4. In response to the chiefs' demands, the acting commissioner of the Central Province, put forward that the Government should only agree to the original rate when the head chief attended the council in person and the full allowance should not be paid in cases where the head chief sent a representative to the council (that should remain at £3 per diem), for in his mind the *"representative does not incur the same expense as the Head chief nor is he attended by the same number of followers"*.⁷⁹⁵ The motive for a reduced allowance paid to a representative was to act as a check amongst head chiefs who appointed deputies to attend the council on their behalf. Thus, it was agreed that the cut should be restored to its former figure on 1 April 1935. The Chief Transport Officer further made it clear that a lorry could not be hired at 7d per mile, and so it was recommended that the transport allowance be increased to 1 lorry at 10d a mile to take effect on the same date.⁷⁹⁶

Such allowances were paid to chiefs whose enstoolments were recognized by the government. In 1932, for instance, the Omanhin of Western Nzima, Nana Annor Adjaye was refused his allowance by the secretary of the Western Provincial Council even though he

⁷⁹¹ "Minutes of Proceedings of Meetings of the 27th Emergency Session of the Central Provincial Council", **25A File No. 1440/31**, p. 5.

⁷⁹² **26 File No. 1440/31**, pp. 1-2, August 1934, in CSO 21/2/19, PRAAD, p. 1.

⁷⁹³ Bannerman Martin (Secretary), "Respecting Allowance Paid to Chiefs for Attending Provincial Council Meetings", **No. P.C./252/C.P.N.2/1927**, 13 August 1934, in CSO 21/2/19, PRAAD.

⁷⁹⁴ Acting Commissioner, Central Province, "Allowance Paid to Chiefs for Attending Provincial Council Meetings", **No. 1762/C.P.563/26**, 23 August 1934, pp. 1-2, in CSO 21/2/19, PRAAD, p. 1.

⁷⁹⁵ **Ibid**, p. 2.

⁷⁹⁶ **26 File No. 1440/31**, pp. 1-2, August 1934, in CSO 21/2/19, PRAAD, pp. 1-2.

had attended the council session. Upon queries as to why he would be denied what was due him, the commissioner of the province indicated to him that since his protest (his destoolment by his people) had not been finally settled, it should have been obvious to him that under Order 16(6)⁷⁹⁷ of the Legislative Council Order, 1925, of the Gold Coast colony that he was debarred from attending sessions of the provincial council. Thus, his claim for expenses appeared to be out of order.⁷⁹⁸

The chief was right to claim payment for attendance because, notwithstanding the above-cited order, the secretary of the W.P.C. invited him to attend the session, which the chief said would not be fair for him to suffer for the secretary's mistakes. Furthermore, it would have been difficult to form a quorum and the meeting would have been abortive had he not been present.⁷⁹⁹ Nonetheless, the commissioner stood with the action of the secretary of the provincial council who as custodian of Government Funds was said to have no other course to take but to refuse payment of the allowances as suspension entailed certain forfeitures which could not be altered by the chief's actions.⁸⁰⁰

From 1936, the chiefs came to demand amendment in the native administration ordinance, precisely with the sections to do with Deposition of Chiefs, Sections 9 and 13 of the Ordinance, which was thought to be ambiguous and made it possible for the political officers and even individuals to serve charges upon chiefs demanding their removal from Stools. Customarily speaking, only those who enstooled chiefs (electors) could destool them upon reviewing and having satisfied themselves with the charges levelled against the chiefs (usually through the elders) in consent with the approval of the senior chief.

On 22 February 1936, the Joint Committee of the provincial councils met in Accra to deliberate over the issue of irregularities concerning the Deposition of Chiefs, which they attributed to misapplication of the law dealing with Deposition practice, which they said was *"growing into unhealthy tradition with resultant unsafety for and an evil effect on an*

⁷⁹⁷ The Clauses of this Order stated that: "Where the Stool of a Head Chief is Vacant from any cause (i.e., death, deposition or abdication) the rights of such Stool to attend, or be represented at, or to sit or vote in, or to take any part whatsoever in the proceedings of, the Provincial Council, shall be in abeyance until the election and installation of a Head Chief to fill the Vacancy shall have been confirmed by the Governor", see for example **File No. 673/32 (27)**, 5 April 1939, in CSO 21/4/33, p. 2.

⁷⁹⁸ Ag. Commissioner, Western Province, "Travelling Allowances to Chiefs Attending Sessions of Provincial Councils", **Ref. No. 2084/6/1931**, 19 May 1932, in CSO 21/4/33, PRAAD.

⁷⁹⁹ Omanhin, Western Nzima, "Travelling Allowance to Chiefs Attending Sessions of Provincial Council", 21 May 1932, **No. 152/36/32**, in CSO 21/4/33, PRAAD.

⁸⁰⁰ Ag. Commissioner, Western Province, "Travelling Allowance to Chiefs Attending Sessions of Provincial Council", **Ref. No. 2181/6/1931**, 25 May 1932, in CSO 21/4/33, PRAAD.

occupant of a Stool".⁸⁰¹ They wrote a memorandum on what they required as a remedy in the matter from the Governor. They issued a clarion call to the government to "*remove any possibility of error in interpretation to minimise the chances of misapplication*",⁸⁰² of the relevant Sections of the Ordinance. The principle of Deposition in custom, they reminded the Government was "*only calculated to act as a reasonable safeguard against despotism but not as a means of imperilling the security of Chiefs in their tenure of Stools and exposing them to indignities of a capricious populace on the least provocation*".⁸⁰³

Thus, they approached Government to amend the Ordinance to make it compulsory for every state council in the province of the Stool to submit a list of Electors of such state to government and the provincial council not later than three months from the date of a notice to be inserted in the Gold Coast Gazette; make it difficult for new enstoolments to be gazetted unless and until lists of Electors shall have been furnished to government and the provincial councils within three months of such enstoolment; provide for a special tribunal of Electors to have exclusive jurisdiction to try a Paramount Chief for offences alleged to be committed against individuals or the state; fix a quorum of such special tribunal at three-fourths ($\frac{3}{4}$) of the number of the Gazetted Electors; require each state to compile a Code of the Offences punishable with deposition making provision for condonation; and make it clear that none but the body of Electors in Council may prefer charges against a Paramount Chief with a view to deposition.⁸⁰⁴ This was merely seen as an attempt by the chiefs to salvage their dwindling reputation.

Some of the educated people like Mensah Sarbah, J.W. de Graft Johnson, and J.B. Danquah inter alia waved into the discussion expressing their angst on the matter. Johnson, for instance, thought that in Ashanti, the Government could not depose that which it never created, as there was no provision for such in the Ashanti ordinance unlike in the colony, and had the government consulted any literate or illiterate African in the matter it would have been clarified to it.⁸⁰⁵ For J.B. Danquah, a barrister-at-law and solicitor of the Supreme

⁸⁰¹ President, Joint Committee of the Provincial Councils, "Irregularities in Deposition of Chiefs", 14 March 1936, **No. 49/1/1930**, in CSO 21/4/37, PRAAD, p. 1.

⁸⁰² President, Joint Committee of the Provincial Councils, "10A Memorandum RE the Native Administration Ordinance with Special Reference to Deposition Procedure", pp. 1-2, Accra. 2 March 1936, in **CSO 21/4/37**, PRAAD, p. 2.

⁸⁰³ **Ibid.**

⁸⁰⁴ Nuer Ologo V, "Joint Session – Provincial Councils, Dodowah, 1936 – Report on Certain Subjects Dealt with", **No. J.S./18/P.Cs./D.1/1936**, 12 August 1936, (17B), pp. 1-2, in CSO 21/4/37, p. 1.

⁸⁰⁵ See J.W. de Graft Johnson, "Memorandum on the Position of the Ohene in the Native Constitution", 1938, enlisted in **ARG 1/26/1/41**, pp. 30-31.

Court, he proffered to the Government that one way of making the destoolment of chiefs unpopular was to make it expensive.⁸⁰⁶

It was eventually contemplated that Section 9 might desire re-drafting to emphasize the fact that any complaint or charge against a chief must first be submitted to the electors and only when they were satisfied that the charge(s) were well founded to require public investigation by the state council, would the electors proceed to formulate charges for service on the chief. Despite that, the government had its reservations about proceeding with the amendment. It felt that there was a weakness in the procedure in that “*whatever irregularities may be committed*”, a chief would be safe from investigation provided that he had the support of his electors even if he was “*at loggerheads with all his Divisional Chiefs*”.⁸⁰⁷ In addition to that, it was envisaged that the chief and the electors could form “*a legally unassailable ring*”, as “*the Chief cannot be destooled without the consent of his Elders and the Elders are appointed to their Stools by the Chief and cannot be removed without his consent*”.⁸⁰⁸ In effect, it was feared that when the people get to such a crossroads where they could not find any constitutional instrument to deal with chiefs or elders they have issues with, they might result to riot as the only way out.

Similarly, the chief commissioner (Western Province) was of the view that the object of the council’s resolution was good as it aimed to put a stop to indiscriminate depositions; however, the method by which it hoped to achieve such an end, i.e., to put the whole power into the hands of the Electors in most cases a very small body, was “*impracticable and if adopted would lead to far worse confusion*”⁸⁰⁹ than what was occurring at the time. He maintained that it was not yet time to codify the nebulous native custom, which was rapidly changing towards democracy and self-determination under the influence of factors such as

⁸⁰⁶ J.B. Danquah, 17 July 1937, **23 File No. 102/34**, in CSO 21/4/37, p. 1.; He made suggestions for the consideration of the Colonial Office, with Section 9 of the Ordinance that dealt with Deposition. He suggested that provided that “a Paramount Chief did not oppose an intended deposition, he shall be entitled upon his deposition to a pension or annual grant of a sum of money equal to one-third the total revenue of the Paramount Stool during the year immediately preceding that in which he is deposed, and this shall be the first charge on the revenue or funds of the Paramount Stool or State Council, and could be recovered by civil action in the Court; where a Chief opposes an intended deposition and is still deposed under provisions of Section 10 Subs (1), he shall be entitled to one-tenth the revenue of the Paramount Stool or State Council following same procedure as the first; and where a Chief is deposed after being found guilty by a Tribunal of a Competent Jurisdiction, he shall not be entitled to claim any pension, grant or maintenance from the Stool or State Council”. See for example J.B. Danquah, “Deposition of Chiefs – Amendment of Section 9 of the N.A.O.”, **23A**, in CSO 21/4/37, 1937, p. 1.

⁸⁰⁷ **21 File No. 102/34**, 1936, pp. 1-2, in CSO 21/4/37, p. 1.

⁸⁰⁸ **Ibid**, p. 2.

⁸⁰⁹ Chief Commissioner, Western Province, 22 “Irregularities in Deposition of Chiefs”, **Ref. No. 3925/W.P.639/1925**, 29 December 1936, pp. 1-3, in CSO 21/4/37, PRAAD, pp. 2-3.

education, and the newspapers. The only thing that could be done in that direction might be “to guide it”⁸¹⁰ as it appeared unstoppable. Thus, the stature of the chiefs from the standpoint of the political officers and the government of the era could best be captured in the words of the commissioner who said:

*“... in many cases, the Chiefs themselves have hardly shown that sense of responsibility and unselfish devotion to duty to be expected of them, neither have they shown any great readiness to move with the times; the newer Chiefs possess even less of these qualities than the old ones. For these reasons, I consider that the resolutions, attractive as they are on the surface, are inherently unsound and foredoomed to failure. It would be wiser to leave native custom free to grow and change; to intensify efforts to instil into the Chiefs a realisation of their responsibilities; to build up a firm financial basis for native administration; to allow a new system of democratic government to grow up based on the forms but very far removed from the practices of the old”.*⁸¹¹

Furthermore, in 1938 the governor referred the matter of the alleged deposition of the Omanhene of Dutch Sekondi to the Judicial Committee of the Western Province, Provincial Council. Instead of sitting for an estimated five days,⁸¹² fifty-one days were used by the Judicial Committee to submit its Judicial Enquiry-- the hearing lasted for thirty-one days,⁸¹³ two days for the Committee itself to get certain points cleared towards the close of the inquiry, one other day on which there were no sittings, three holidays,⁸¹⁴ and fourteen days to examine the proceedings.⁸¹⁵ The chairman of the committee admitted that the inquiry should have taken sixteen sitting days, except that the destooling party had clogged the inquiry by sandwiching in a quantum of irrelevancies that took seventeen days out of the total thirty-one,⁸¹⁶ thus, prolonging the hearing. The substance of the case was that the four-

⁸¹⁰ **Ibid**, p. 3.

⁸¹¹ **Ibid**.

⁸¹² Asst. S.N.A., (2), 8 July 1938, pp. 1-2, in CSO 21/3/3, p. 1.

⁸¹³ Ag. Commissioner, Western Province, “Dutch Sekondi State Affairs”, 4 July 1938, **No. 1628/W.P.108/1925**, in CSO 21/3/3, PRAAD, p. 1.

⁸¹⁴ Frank Krakue (Secretary), “Dutch Sekondi State Affairs”, Sekondi, **Ref. No. WPC./PC.2718/66/37**, 23 June 1938, in CSO 21/3/3, PRAAD, p. 1.

⁸¹⁵ Asst. S.N.A., (2), 8 July 1938, pp. 1-2, in CSO 21/3/3, p. 1.

⁸¹⁶ Frank Krakue (Secretary), “Dutch Sekondi State Affairs”, Sekondi, **Ref. No. WPC./PC.2718/66/37**, 23 June 1938, in CSO 21/3/3, PRAAD, p. 1.

member⁸¹⁷ Committee presented a hearing cost of £785.14.0.⁸¹⁸ to the Government as the expenses incurred by them.

The transmitted claim outraged Government, which regarded it as “excessive and out of all proportion to the work”. According to the assistant S.N.A., had the matter gone before the provincial council as a suit or complaint originated by one of the parties, the council, according to the schedule of fees laid down in the native authority ordinance, could not claim more than £10 for summons, £20 for hearing fees (each party paying £10) and £50 judgment fees, totalling £80. The complainant or plaintiff was to deposit £100; a deposit from which the £80 plus such sums as may be awarded to witnesses for their attendance may be met. Thus, the asst. S.N.A. suggested that the attention of the council should be drawn to this information.⁸¹⁹

The assistant S.N.A. was furious because the Committee sat approximately 4 ½ hours on the average per diem,⁸²⁰ so he went a step further to even design a payment scheme on the sixteen days anticipated by the chairman of the committee, including travelling and two Sundays as the limit. His payment plan for the four members was as follows:⁸²¹

Upper Dixcove	16 days @ £4 plus £2.18 Transport	= £66.18.0.
Ajomoro	16 days @ £4 plus £5 Transport	= £69.-.-.
Mpoho	16 days @ £4 plus £1.16 Transport	= £65.16.-.
British Sekondi	12 days @ £4	= £48.-.-.
Total		= £249.14.-.

The assistant S.N.A. did not see why British Sekondi should be paid £4 a day since he lived in Sekondi and need not incur any great expense attending the Committee; but as a paramount chief, he was entitled under the N.A.O. to £4 a day even if he were only a witness in the case. Paramount Chiefs were entitled to £1 a day under the Courts Ordinance as

⁸¹⁷ The members were: Kweku Akyirisuo II, Omanhene – Ajomoro (Chairman of the Committee); Hima Dekyi XII, Omanhene – Upper Dixcove (member); Kobina Nketsia III, Omanhene – British Sekondi (member); and Kofi Adianka II, Omanhene – Mpoho (member). *See for example* 9A Provincial Council of Chiefs, Western Province, “Dutch Sekondi State Affairs”, **Ref. No. WPC/PC.2820/66/37**, 6 October 1938, pp. 1-2, in CSO 21/3/3, PRAAD.

⁸¹⁸ Asst. S.N.A., (2), 8 July 1938, pp. 1-2, in CSO 21/3/3, p. 1.

⁸¹⁹ **Ibid**, p. 2.

⁸²⁰ Frank Krakue, 4A “Dutch Sekondi State Affairs”, **Ref. No. WPC/PC.2740/66/37**, 21 July 1938, in CSO 21/3/3, p. 1.

⁸²¹ Asst. S.N.A., (2), 8 July 1938, pp. 1-2, in CSO 21/3/3, p. 2.

witnesses.⁸²² The Government felt it inapposite for referring the dispute to the provincial council, to the extent that the S.N.A. said the Judicial Committee was “*in reality nothing more than a machine for grinding out allowances out of Government. They rarely submit any constructive decisions of real value to Government*”.⁸²³

The chiefs expressed that the allowances made were “*too inadequate to reimburse them for actual out-of-pocket expenses, let alone any compensation for the loss of time and the inconveniences to some of them*”, but they were “*left with no alternative but to accept the figures allowed by the Government concerning the matter*”. They proffered to the Government to call upon the state of Dutch Sekondi to contribute “*a like sum to what Government has paid so that they may be recouped for their actual expenses for the 51 days they did business*”.⁸²⁴ Eventually, it was decided that their stated claims be paid to them.⁸²⁵ Thus, their conduct led the Government in trying to devise another form of machinery to deal with Stool disputes.

It appeared the chiefs were more concerned with their share of allowances to the point that they had forgotten their status in the country, although the Tufuhene of Enchill impressed on the point that it was foolish to say that it was the mere small travelling allowance granted the chiefs that induced them to attend the provincial councils.⁸²⁶ According to Order 16(6), representatives of Vacant Stools on the council were not to be paid any allowances. It was a condition approved by the Governor. However, the Joint Session of the Provincial Councils disregarded this Order to request that payment of allowances be made to representatives of Vacant Stools attending council meetings. The chiefs were said to be “*perhaps intentionally, unimaginative*”⁸²⁷ in their insistence that these representatives be paid.

It was informed to the council that the government desired that all states should have the right to take part in all the deliberations of the councils; however, to grant caretakers or acting head chiefs or their representatives the privilege of drawing transport and travelling allowances when attending provincial council was to encourage those persons and their

⁸²² **Ibid.**

⁸²³ S.N.A., **5 File No. 1396/31/SF.5**, 6 September 1938, pp. 1-2, in CSO 21/3/3, PRAAD, p. 1.

⁸²⁴ Provincial Council of Chiefs, Western Province, 9A “Dutch Sekondi State Affairs”, **Ref. No. WPC/PC.2820/66/37**, pp. 1-2.

⁸²⁵ Ag. Commissioner, Western Province to the Secretary for Native Affairs, 9 “Dutch Sekondi State Affairs”, **Ref. No. 2540/W.P.108/1925**, 13 October 1938, in CSO 21/3/3, PRAAD, p. 1.

⁸²⁶ Bannerman-Martin (Secretary), “Proceedings of the Last Joint Committee Meeting”, Accra, 30 December 1932, **S.N.A. File 34/25**, in CSO 21/4/32A, PRAAD, p. 1.

⁸²⁷ **27 File No. 673/32**, 5 April 1939, in CSO 214/33, p. 2.

supporters to keep the stools vacant indefinitely. Thus, the remedy was said to be almost entirely in the hands of those who appeared to be affected.⁸²⁸ By and by, it is apodictic from the preceding pages that the struggle towards independence and development of the colony could not have been entrusted to the chiefs for they were unworthy of it nor were they worthy to occupy the political offices of the Gold Coast at independence. In the end, the government did not have its way with the intelligentsia but succumbed to its pressures and handed over the mantle of administration come independence.

The latter feat was aided by the economic crises and political events of the nationalists which started in the 1940s (to be discussed as part of the next chapter), and the unassertive posture of the chiefs in handling those occurrences, which eventually forced the hands of the colonial office to abandon the native authority system after 1951. Crook opined that the change of the administrative policy “*was as a result of the ineffectiveness and lack of cooperation of the chieftaincy itself*” that caused the attempt to turn the indirect rule system in the Gold Coast into a form of ‘modern’ local government between 1944 and 1954.⁸²⁹ The Government’s intention from 1947 onwards was to democratize the chieftaincy institution, which the chiefs were reluctant to agree to. Matters came to a head when the chiefs, to borrow Crook’s words “*appeared incapable of either leading or suppressing*”⁸³⁰ the political and economic protests of the 1940s.

This lack of cooperation and vigour to lead led the colonial office to think of “*bringing in the educated class*”⁸³¹ and backing them to succeed in the political and administrative offices. Therefore, in 1951 (under Nkrumah’s Government) the constitution provided for 37 of the 75 seats in the new Assembly to be elected by the chiefly Territorial Councils;⁸³² in 1952, the local government reforms in the Gold Coast, for the first time separated the chiefly or traditional councils from the new local government authorities, and retained for the chiefs a one-third representation on the latter bodies;⁸³³ and by 1954 the chiefs were ousted from the central legislature and a directly elected assembly of 104 members set up.⁸³⁴

⁸²⁸ Ag. Colonial Secretary to the President, Joint Session of Provincial Councils, Saltpond, 6 April 1939, **No. 673/32/29**, in CSO 21/4/33, PRAAD, p. 1.

⁸²⁹ Richard C. Crook, “Decolonization, the Colonial State, and Chieftaincy in the Gold Coast”, pp. 82-83.

⁸³⁰ **Ibid.**, p. 104.

⁸³¹ **Ibid.**, p. 102.

⁸³² Apter, “Gold Coast”, as cited in Crook, “*Decolonization, the Colonial State ...*”, p. 84.

⁸³³ D. Austin, “Politics in Ghana”, as cited in Crook, “*Decolonization, the Colonial State ...*”, p. 84.

⁸³⁴ **Ibid.**

CHAPTER SEVEN

POLITICAL CHANGE AND ITS DENOUEMENT

7.1. Aborigines Rights Protection Society (A.R.P.S.)

One cannot write about a political transformation in Ghana without first scrutinizing the A.R.P.S., a political movement that came out of the Fanti Confederation. Before colonization, chiefs and priests with their council of elders ruled their communities and defended them against internal and external threats. It began first under Family Heads and as the families multiplied, the most senior of the Heads of Families became Ahenfo, Kings. Thus, they served as arbiters, generals, and administrators of the communal families which eventually developed into states. Their states were independent of one another. However, the struggle for supremacy amongst the native states later brought the southern states under British rule starting from 1844. The chiefs of this area signed the Bond of 1844, the Magna Carta of the people, which made them British subjects.⁸³⁵ Also, it offered protection for the southern Fanti states against Asante, and the trial of murders, stealing, and other crimes committed in the Fanti states were to be adjudicated by British officers. The nub of this Bond was the declaration of barbarous native customs such as human sacrifice and panyarring as abominations.

The Bond worked because according to Agbodeka, the chiefs were paid for by the British “*in the form of stipends which the chiefs did not want to lose*”, and they also agreed to the illegal extension of British activities beyond the content of the bond because they were “*afraid of incurring the displeasure of the local British Government*”.⁸³⁶ Whilst the latter reason may be true due to events recorded between 1802 and 1805 under Governor Archibald Dalzel (who used force and opened fire on the natives to bring them to submit to British control), the same cannot be said for the former. Nonetheless, events of the 1860s changed what was deemed an amicable relationship between the chiefs and the British. These were when in 1865, the then few educated Fanti youths felt that their land had stagnated in progress due to frequent Ashanti Wars, and in 1867 when the British and Dutch divided their

⁸³⁵ V.C.A. Fynn, President, “General Meeting of the Aborigines Rights Protection Society”, 6 October 1969, Cape Coast, pp. 1-2, in **ARG 2/10/2/11**, PRAAD, p. 1.

⁸³⁶ Francis Agbodeka, “The Fanti Confederacy 1865-1869: An Enquiry into the Origins, Nature and Extent of an Early West African Protest Movement”. *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, Vol. 7, pp. 82-123, 1964, p. 83.

land into two under their respective rules. These two reasons effectuated the formation of the Fanti Confederation, between 1865 and 1872, purposefully for the defence of their states and people. It was founded by several of the chiefs and the educated natives at Mankessim.

However, the British authorities did not let it flourish. They imprisoned some of the educated leaders and destroyed the Confederation.⁸³⁷ The spirit of the Confederation was not doused completely and in 1897 the Natural Rulers and the few self-made educated patriots⁸³⁸ formed the Aborigines Rights Protection Society to oppose the Lands Bill of 1897, by which the British colonial government sought to seize native Lands. When the Society failed to get Governor Maxwell to withdraw the bills, it took the issue to London where it succeeded in repealing the bill. Queen Victoria in her repeal order said, *"I prefer the loyalty of the people of the Gold Coast to their lands"*.⁸³⁹ Thus, the Queen gave her recognition and granted it her mandate to represent to her representative in the country (the governor) all grievances of the people. In 1912, another attempt was made by the British to control native Forests, and the ARPS succeeded in preventing the British takeover. It remained the veracious channel of local opinion until 1925⁸⁴⁰ when the provincial councils came to force. Some of its leading figures included Nana Mbra III (Oguaahene), J.P. Brown, J. Mensa Sarbah, Jacob Sey, J.W. DeGraft-Johnson, George Ferguson, C.A.A. Barnes, Chief R. Aquaah Harrison, Rev. S.R.B. Attoh-Ahuma, etc.

The ARPS came out with the following objectives⁸⁴¹ which it was bound to pursue:

- (i) To protect the Aborigines of the Gold Coast (now Ghana) in the free enjoyment of their ancestral lands and ancient institutions.
- (ii) To promote and effect the unity of purpose and action.
- (iii) To inculcate loyalty to the British Crown.
- (iv) To foster among other things a knowledge of the historical past of the Aborigines and to promote a sound national agricultural scientific and industrial education.
- (v) To be the medium of communication and right understanding between the Government and the people.

⁸³⁷ V.C.A. Fynn, "Address to the Eastern Region House of Chiefs", Dodowa, 14 September 1967, pp. 1-4, in **ARG 2/10/2/11**, PRAAD, p. 1.

⁸³⁸ **Ibid.**

⁸³⁹ "Address by the President V.C.A. Fynn at the Inauguration of Human Rights Protection Society", 8 December 1969, pp. 1-4, in **ARG 2/10/2/11**, PRAAD, p. 1.

⁸⁴⁰ F.M. Bourret, "Ghana: The Road to Independence, 1919-1957", p. 40.

⁸⁴¹ "Address by the President V.C.A. Fynn at the Inauguration of Human Rights Protection Society", 8 December 1969, pp. 1-2.

- (vi) Generally, to promote the interest and advancement of the Aborigines.

In line with objective (iii), the ARPS in 1914 proposed to raise a War Fund to be called the “Gold Coast War Contribution Fund” to be sent to His Majesty’s Government as the Country’s quota of help to the British Crown during World War I. The decision was reached by the kings and chiefs of the colony (i.e., the Western, Central, and Eastern Provinces) in concert with the executive committee of the G.C.A.R.P. Society. The scheme was to provide material support to the British Crown⁸⁴² and to demonstrate the “*unbounded and unswerving loyalty of the people*”⁸⁴³ to the Crown during the war. In its approved scheme for raising funds to support the Crown, the Gold Coast Aborigines War Fund Committee⁸⁴⁴ was formed. Its membership included officers and other members of the Society.

The Fund was to remain open for three months from its opening after which payment would be made over to the British Government in London. The modus operandi of how Funds were to be collected was interesting. Among other things, it said that: (i) each Omanehene or Ohene was to collect a generous contribution, according to the extent of his division or district, from his people and pay over to the Treasuries of the Committee; (ii) all School children, male or female, denominational and non-denominational, were to pay in the sum of -/3 each for adults, and -/1 in case of infants; (iii) all male educated natives, residing outside the colony and protectorate were to pay five shillings, and two shillings in case of females. The uneducated classes were to pay two shillings and sixpence per male and one shilling per female, but they could pay more if they so desired,⁸⁴⁵ etc. As the colony chiefs and people pledged to support the Crown, the local chiefs in Ashanti declined to subscribe to the Fund citing the fact that they were already subscribed to the “Seccondee Imperial War Fund”.⁸⁴⁶

⁸⁴² G.C.A. War Fund Committee, “The Gold Coast Aborigines War Fund”, 5 October 1914, Cape Coast, in **ARG 1/1/65**, PRAAD.

⁸⁴³ T.F.E. Jones, President, “An Appeal”, 24 September 1914, Cape Coast, in **ARG 1/1/65**, PRAAD.

⁸⁴⁴ The President of the Society (T.F.E. Jones) was to be ex officio Chairman of the Committee. He was to be supported by the Ex-President of the Society (J.P. Brown). The Society’s Treasurer was to be ex officio Treasurer of the Committee assisted by two Vice Presidents and a Resident Omanehene of the Financial Board. There was an Honorary Secretary assisted by the Society’s Secretary, a member of the Executive Committee and the Secretary of the Press Committee. See for example, T.F.E. Jones, President, “Approved Scheme”, 1914, pp. 1-2, in **ARG 1/1/65**, PRAAD.

⁸⁴⁵ **Ibid**, p. 2.

⁸⁴⁶ F.C. Fuller, Chief Commissioner, Ashanti, **M.P. E.52/1914**, 9 November 1914, in **ARG 1/1/65**, PRAAD.

Nonetheless, the European community in the Western Province of Ashanti made an odd collection amongst themselves of the sum of £23. 4. 4 towards the Relief Fund.⁸⁴⁷ Apart from that, Ashanti Goldfields Corporation Limited made a subscription of £799. 16. 5 to the Fund voluntarily by the white and native staff of the company. The breakdown of the figure is as follows:⁸⁴⁸

A.G.C. White Staff - -	335. 11. 2
A.G.C. Native Staff - -	397. 9. 3
A.O.T. CO. White Staff --	30. 0. 0
A.O.T. Co. Native Staff and Traders	13. 2. 0
Petty Traders of Obuasi (per Mr. Anderson) --	12. 0. 0
Farmers of Obuasi (per Mr. Hammond) --	6. 14. 0
Appolonians of Obuasi (per Mr. Kwacoe Artcher) - -	5. 0. 0

Between 1918 and 1920, J. Casely Hayford, one of the vice presidents of the Society and who doubled as a nominated member of the legislative council felt that “*Government by nomination was inimical to the interests of the people*” and that such a system of Government “*stifled the people’s inherent right to self-determination*”.⁸⁴⁹ He thus called for direct rule through an election. However, the ARPS failed to support his bid. He eventually left the Society to form the Congress of British West Africa to agitate and demand the grant of direct rule. The British colonial government responded to his call but introduced indirect rule rather by way of the provincial council system to govern the people. It was argued that the indirect rule system “*was introduced deliberately into the Native System to make the Aborigines Rights Protection Society lose its touch with the people*”.⁸⁵⁰

The chiefs were pleased and accepted their new status in the colonial administration although such acceptance in 1927, ended the rule of the chiefs and transferred that right to the British colonial government. They worked with the colonial government to establish the

⁸⁴⁷ “Commissioner Western Province, Ashanti to the Chief Commissioner of Ashanti”, Kumasi, **No. 34/1915**, 13 January 1915, in ARG 1/1/65, PRAAD.

⁸⁴⁸ J.S. Watkins, Manager, “Ashanti Goldfields Corporation List”, 28 December 1914, pp. 1-2, in **ARG 1/1/65**, PRAAD, p. 2.

⁸⁴⁹ “Address by the President V.C.A. Fynn at the Inauguration of Human Rights Protection Society”, 8 December 1969, p. 2.

⁸⁵⁰ **Ibid.**

native administration. This made them enemies of the ARPS who wanted to prevent changes in the conventional structure of society. Thus, the once strong bond between the chiefs and ARPS was left in tatters, and from 1925 to 1957, the fate of the people was decided by the British colonialists.

Having lost its vigour following the breakaway of the chiefs, it came to succour as an “advisory agency” to successive administrations post-colonialism. For instance, when the First Republican Government of Nkrumah was toppled by a joint force of the Army and the Police on 24 February 1966, it cooperated with the caretaker government of the National Liberation Council in drawing up a new constitution. In what the Society called “a special memorandum on Ghana’s National Security”, it passed resolutions⁸⁵¹ to be transmitted to the NLC as it prepared to return the country to civil rule.

In this memorandum, the Society called for reforming the country’s administrative and defence systems. It described the Ghana Armed Forces as “*uneducated, uncivilised mercenary, and improperly disciplined sort of soldiers*” who could not be trusted or relied upon. The Society called for the Forces to be “*disbanded and paid off*”,⁸⁵² and freshmen and women were to be selected to constitute a new army on the basis that the Armed Forces General Commanding Officer, Lieutenant-General Kotoka (the coup leader) was left undefended to be searched by very junior army officers who stripped him of his pistol and died unexpectedly.

Among other things, they further advocated for a two-strata government, i.e., the local government and the central government. This had been in place since the inception of the native administration system. However, an important addition by the Society was that the boundaries of the local government were “*to be fixed, definite, compact and conterminous with the electoral areas*” since the people were then united to a central government and not aligned to a particular stool. Also, larger towns within a local government were to be given the autonomy to administer their local government, i.e., be granted municipal status, provided they exhibited the potential to grow in wealth and population. The Society also put forward that all chiefs on Stools and Skins be known as the

⁸⁵¹ ARPS, “Resolutions at an Executive Committee Meeting of the Aborigines Rights Protection Society, for Transmission to the National Liberation Council, Its Committees and Commissions”, 21 April 1967, Cape Coast, pp. 1-4, in **ARG 2/10/2/11**, PRAAD.

⁸⁵² **Ibid**, p. 1.

elders of the local government Areas because the chieftaincy institution had become obsolete and served only to “*engender tribalism*” and was “*a source of disputes in the Country*”.⁸⁵³

Strangely enough, the Society proposed that the name “Ghana”, from their perspective, had become “*anathema centuries ago*”, so it should be dropped, and the country be named after its former name, the Gold Coast. Furthermore, the BLACK STAR in the National Flag of Ghana was to become SILVER STAR.⁸⁵⁴ Not all of the Society’s proposals received attention. The country is still called “Ghana” and the BLACK STAR in the National Flag is still BLACK. Furthermore, the chiefs instead of forming elders of the local government area were constituted as the House of Chiefs by the constitution but without any administrative, judicial, or any other function connected with the people.

The main founding principle of the Society was for promoting the well-being and advancing the social and political condition of the people through education and industry. In 1969, the Society changed its name to “Human Rights Protection Society”. The change, according to the Society, was necessary because: “*after the promulgation of the Ghana Constitution, this Country has achieved its oneness striven for by our fathers and there is now no Government apart, and no people governed apart to warrant any intervention of the Aborigines Rights Protection Society between Government and People, and as the citizenship of the Country is not made up of Aborigines only, but of settlers and indigenes, the term Aborigines is obsolete and inappropriate*”.⁸⁵⁵ The objects⁸⁵⁶ of the ‘new’ Society, which was to remain independent of any government body or corporation included the following:

- (1) To always protect all citizens of Ghana in the enjoyment of all their human rights and freedoms by any lawful means.
- (2) To foster in the rising generation a knowledge of their historical past; to encourage the study of all laws and customs and the prevailing National Constitution of the Republic of Ghana; to promote a sound national educational policy with particular attention to agriculture, scientific and industrial, and moral training; and generally, to facilitate the spread of thrift in the whole Country.

⁸⁵³ **Ibid**, pp. 2-3.

⁸⁵⁴ **Ibid**, p. 3.

⁸⁵⁵ “Declaration Made by the Executive Committee, with the Approval and Consent of the General Body of Human Rights Protection Society”, 8 December 1969, pp. 1-2, Cape Coast, in **ARG 2/10/2/11**, PRAAD, p. 1.

⁸⁵⁶ **Ibid**, pp. 1-2.

- (3) Generally, to promote the interests, welfare, and advancement of all citizens of Ghana in any lawful manner whatsoever.

The old motto of the Society, “Yetwer Nyame” (We Trust in God), changed to “Truth, Love, and Justice”. Whilst chiefs and educated people formed the nub of the earlier structure, membership under the new name was opened to any citizen of Ghana by law, and individuals could either apply in writing to the Human Rights Society or be proposed by a member at a general meeting.

7.2. Paradigm Shift, 1947-1951

So, the A.R.P.S. laid the foundation for political organization in the country. The first real attempt to organize against colonial policy after the Land Bill and Forest Bill of 1897 and 1912 respectively, was in 1934. During that year, the Sedition Ordinance, aimed at suppressing freedom of speech and the press was passed under Sir Shenton Thomas. The A.R.P.S., as would be expected mounted resistance to it, although they failed to get it repealed. The Society sent a delegation to Downing Street and asked for a constitutional reform that would grant the people the right to make their own laws and express themselves freely. The outcome of this move was the awakening of the young people of the colony to the desire for self-rule. However, the manifestation of that feeling in modern political parties was only formed after the Second World War.

The constitutional reforms demanded since 1934 only appeared gradually, first with the Alan Burns Constitution of 1946. Hitherto membership of the legislative council, which legislated for the colony alone, was composed of civil servants, some chiefs and few educated natives, and members nominated by the governor. However, the introduction of the 1946 constitution merged Ashanti and the colony proper and legislated for them, paved the way for more natives to enter politics and propelled nationalistic movements as it granted the Gold Coast African elected majority, the first of its kind in colonial Africa. This was the first step towards self-government. How did the revolutionary movements of the 1940s start? It was influenced by activities of African students and people of African roots in the diaspora, in what was known as the Pan-African Congresses.

Prominent figures in its organization included George Padmore, a West Indian journalist, Kwame Nkrumah, Dr. W.E.B. Du Bios, an Afro-American scholar, and Dr. Peter

Milliard, a medical doctor from Guyana, among others. The first four such congresses were attended by people of African roots in the USA or the Caribbean. They took place in Paris (1919), London (1921 and 1923), and New York (1927). Nevertheless, the fifth congress in 1945 in Manchester was the game-changer. For the first time, students and workers from mainland Africa attended it under the chairmanship of Du Bois and Milliard. Nkrumah was an integral part of this movement and worked as its secretary.

The 1945 congress adopted socialism as its philosophy and made two declarations to the imperial world: (i) upholding the rights and freedom of colonial people, and condemnation of capitalism; (ii) calling on colonial people to organize into political parties, trade unions, co-operatives, etc. towards political freedom.⁸⁵⁷ Afterwards, the West African National Secretariat was formed to direct the declarations and to assist in organizing programmes toward the independence of British and French colonies in West Africa. Therefore, it was on this basis, plus internal pressures exerted on the colonial administration that ushered in the 1946 changes.

The 1946 reforms were not wholly accepted by the people, especially the intellectual class. This was because the governor still had control and filled the legislature with his nominees. He was still able to pass bills without the approval of the legislative council. So, it was viewed as a trap to stifle any future demands of the people towards independence and freedom. This agitation for the constitution brought about the formation of the United Gold Coast Convention in August 1947, demanding rule be returned to the chiefs and their people. Rooney has put forward that two moribund parties, i.e., the Gold Coast People's League and the Gold Coast National Party, which were dominated by barristers and wealthy merchants, and bedevilled by tribal divisions between the Akan and the Ga peoples merged at Saltpond and adopted the name UGCC.⁸⁵⁸ Pa Grant was the president of the party, and it had some prominent figures such as J.B. Danquah, William Ofori Atta, Akuffo Addo, J.W. de Graft Johnson, V.B. Annan, Francis Awoonor-Williams, and R.S. Blay. It demanded self-government within the shortest possible time.

It pursued what was termed "*a capitalist democratic ideology*",⁸⁵⁹ and dealt with the middle-class elite and the colonial office with very little contact with the ordinary native. It was based on achieving the latter aim that brought Nkrumah into the fold of the UGCC and

⁸⁵⁷ See for example, Kwame Nkrumah, "Revolutionary Path", pp. 42-43.

⁸⁵⁸ David Rooney, "Kwame Nkrumah: Vision and Tragedy". Acc., 2007, p. 47.

⁸⁵⁹ Joseph R. Oppong & Esther D. Oppong, "Ghana". Philadelphia: Chelsea House Publishers, 2003, p. 60.

the Gold Coast political arena. Nkrumah was invited to serve as the secretary of the party in 1947, and in his words, he said they brought him in *“to help them bridge this gap and to draw into their movement the growing anti-colonial, national elements, particularly among the youth”*.⁸⁶⁰ He was reluctant to accept the invitation due to its short-sightedness, as it had no plan whatsoever to effect economic and social change, and also because of its elitist character. He only came after agreeing with the West African National Secretariat and he said emphatically that he *“knew that it might not be long before the basic differences between their long-term objectives might make it impossible for him to continue to work for them”*.⁸⁶¹ It was exactly what happened.

Despite the short period, he worked with the party, he transformed its dormant posture into a proactive one and brought fresh ideas into the party. Within six months, he organized meetings and rallies, delivered numerous speeches, and saw the establishment of over 500 branches of the party. He started with a shadow cabinet to study the functions of the various ministries in preparation for independence. He restructured the UGCC’s organizational framework into three phases: (i) the first was the coordination of all other organizations under the UGCC, the creation of branches in every town and village, and enrolling the chief of each town or village as a Patron of each Branch; (ii) organize demonstrations across the country to test the strength of the party; (iii) convene a Constitutional Assembly of the Gold Coast people to draw up the Constitution for Self-Government, and to use organized demonstrations, boycott and strike to support and pressurize for Self-Government.⁸⁶²

Nkrumah’s role with the UGCC lasted from 1947 to 1948. In 1948 riots broke out in some urban towns of the Gold Coast to kick-start the Ghana Revolution. What were the causes of the Ghana Revolution? Up to 1948, the Gold Coast enjoyed a stable economy, and wealth from cocoa flowed. However, in 1948 there was an outbreak of the swollen shoot disease that attacked millions of cocoa trees. It created problems for especially the chiefs, cocoa farmers, and areas of production. There was no remedy and infected trees were to be cut down. It resulted in the decline of cocoa production, a reduction in cash circulations, and led to rising inflation. Essential goods such as sugar, canned food, etc, could not be easily obtained. Prices of commodities surged without a corresponding increase in wages. The Consortium of European Companies, AWAM (Association of West African Merchants),

⁸⁶⁰ Kwame Nkrumah, “Revolutionary Path”, p. 51.

⁸⁶¹ **Ibid.**

⁸⁶² **Ibid**, pp. 52-54.

which included Lebanese, Greek, and Syrian import and export companies, was blamed for the shortages and hikes in prices.

The criticism of the role of foreign firms in the inflationary crisis was started by Kwabena Nii Bonne, a Ga chief. He was a businessman himself and solicited the support of other chiefs in declaring a boycott of all European goods and shops from 11 January 1948, until they cut down on prices. The colonial government took no action but dawdled around until somewhere in February. James believed that the government lingered around because of *“its belief that the Africans were unable to combine and that the boycott would therefore end in failure”*.⁸⁶³ The government called a meeting in February, attended by the Colonial Secretary (Robert Scott), Nii Bonne, AWAM, the Chamber of Commerce, and the Council of Chiefs. AWAM resolved to *“cut their profit margins from 75 percent to 50 percent”*,⁸⁶⁴ although the margin of reduction was felt to be exiguous, the boycott was agreed to be called off by 24 February 1948.

However, a momentous event occurred on the day that the boycott was scheduled to end, which changed the entire political course of the country. This was the shooting of the ex-servicemen who were on a peaceful procession to present a petition containing their grievances to Governor Creasy at Christiansborg Castle. These were officers who had fought for Britain during the Second World War. According to Rooney, there were about 63,000 ex-servicemen, who had served in the Middle East or the Burma campaign against the Japanese in the 81st and 82nd West African Divisions.⁸⁶⁵ The ex-officers were stopped in the middle of their procession by a European officer, Superintendent Amery, and his small detachment of police officers. However, they did not stop. Amery then opened fire on them killing three officers-- Private Odartey Lamptey, Sergeant Adjetey, and Corporal Attipoe-- and injuring several others. Thus, the cocoa trees crises, the inflationary problems, the boycott declared by Nii Bonne, and the shooting of the ex-officers ushered in riots beginning in Accra and spreading to other major towns of the country.

The ramifications were dire as the riots escalated beyond control: £2 million worth of property was destroyed, 137 people were killed,⁸⁶⁶ several others injured, and more importantly led to the arrest of six leaders of the UGCC, including Nkrumah as instigators

⁸⁶³ C.L.R James, “Nkrumah and the Ghana Revolution”. Duke University Press, 2022, p. 66.

⁸⁶⁴ David Rooney, “Kwame Nkrumah: Vision and Tragedy”, p. 61.

⁸⁶⁵ *Ibid*, p. 61.

⁸⁶⁶ Geoffrey Bing, “Reap the Whirlwind: An Account of Kwame Nkrumah’s Ghana from 1950 to 1966”. Great Britain: Macgibbon & KEE Ltd., 1968, p. 102.

of the riots. They became known as “The Big Six” and were charged with pushing communist conspiracy. They remained imprisoned (in Kumasi for three days, and then transferred to the Northern Territories for six weeks when rumours of attempts to break them out became rife, and then flown back to Accra) until the Watson’s Commission was set up to investigate the causes of the riot in 1948. The Commission was a three-member one. The commissioners were Mr. Aiken Watson, K.C.M., its chairman, Mr. Andrew Dalglish, and Dr. K.A.H. Murray.

It was in prison with the other leaders that it became clear to Nkrumah that he was not welcomed into the party. They blamed him as the bane of their predicament. Nkrumah said he was “the odd man out” because all his suggestions were opposed by the other five.⁸⁶⁷ In the meantime, the Commission completed its work in June 1948. Its investigation showed that the people were angry at the chiefs and their European counterparts. For instance, it showed that the people were not happy with the monopoly of power vested in chiefs under the native administration; the chiefs were seen as sabotaging any efforts towards political freedom; and the codification of destoolment of chiefs, the only tool for the people to destool unfit chiefs, by the government had left the people with nothing. Thus, it recommended the setting up of another commission, to effect constitutional changes towards a more democratic one to replace the Burns Constitution. This move was towards dissolving the native administration and defining a new role for the chiefs. According to Brempong, in the new government structure to be created, one-half of the seats in all the units of local government, i.e., town, district, rural and regional councils, and in the Gold Coast Assembly were to be held by chiefs. However, ‘local government’ authorities were to be separated from ‘traditional bodies’ but in the form of chiefly representation in presidencies of the local government bodies.⁸⁶⁸

The UGCC leaders were acquitted as the government’s ineffectiveness was the cause of the riots. In December 1948, the Coussey Constitutional Committee was constituted. This new Committee was an all-African one and the bulk of its members were UGCC leaders and some chiefs. It proposed the institution of a bi-cameral legislature, in the structure of an Upper House for the elected members and a Lower House for the chiefs. Special seats were to be reserved for chiefs of the colony and the protectorates in the legislative assembly. Chiefs were to become presidents of Confederate states under the local government in a

⁸⁶⁷ Kwame Nkrumah, “Revolutionary Path”, p. 55.

⁸⁶⁸ Arhin Brempong, “Transformations in Traditional Rule in Ghana, 1951-1996”, p. 16.

separate local government and central government structure. Despite that, the chiefs rejected the second chamber. Furthermore, the committee recommended the appointment of knowledgeable magistrates with knowledge of local customs or qualified lawyers for the native or local courts, which would be managed by the local government authorities.⁸⁶⁹

There were other developments between December 1948 and October 1949 when the Coussey Report was published. Nkrumah upon release from prison in April 1948, had set up the Ghana National College, to accommodate and educate teachers and students who were suspended for participating in demonstrations demanding the release of the “Big Six”. He also formed a Youth Study Group, known as the Committee on Youth Organisation (C.Y.O.) as part of the CPP movement. He was asked to resign from the party for acting on his own. The A.R.P.S. did not support his type of agitation against indirect rule since they were inclined to the rule of the chiefs. J.B. Danquah, after the 1948 arrest, reverted in support of the colonial authorities. He said it was his opinion “*that those who go against constitutional authority must expect to pay for it with their neck*”.⁸⁷⁰

The C.Y.O. following the decision taken against Nkrumah decided to part company with the UGCC in June 1949 to create the CPP, a distinct political party, with Nkrumah as its leader. Nkrumah, whilst in the UK had founded and led “The Circle”, an organization whose object was to offer revolutionary training in any part of Africa. He transmitted similar vigour into the CPP. He proclaimed the CPP as a “*mass-based, disciplined party pursuing policies of scientific socialism*”, with the immediate task of obtaining ‘Self-Government NOW’. Unlike the elitist UGCC, the CPP discarded tribalism and pushed for a majority-decision-based approach. This, Nkrumah said is “*the truest form of democratic centralism*”.⁸⁷¹ He established the *Accra Evening News*, a newspaper outlet as the party’s mouthpiece. The formation of the CPP was a blow to the UGCC, especially Danquah, who had hoped to lead the national movement toward independence but lacked the charisma and tenacity because he and his team were waiting for the British to hand over the administration to them whenever they were ready to do so.

When the Coussey Report came out, its proposal for a bicameral legislature was accepted by the Secretary of State. Nkrumah and the CPP, however, rejected the report as

⁸⁶⁹ **Ibid**, p. 17.

⁸⁷⁰ Geoffrey Bing, “Reap the Whirlwind: An Account of Kwame Nkrumah’s Ghana from 1950 to 1966”, p. 115.

⁸⁷¹ Kwame Nkrumah, “Revolutionary Path”, p. 55.

“bogus and fraudulent”, because it opted to provide progressive self-government instead of an immediate one. The Governor still had control, and in the composition of a new legislative assembly, there were to be six special members and three ex-officio members. The latter members were the Minister of Defence and External Affairs, the Minister of Finance, and the Minister of Justice, nominated by the Governor. Aside from this, out of the seventy-two members to be elected, only forty-eight were to be elected directly. The remaining twenty-four were to be indirectly elected from the Territorial Councils of Chiefs. Nkrumah realized that the design was still to use the chiefs to rule and to keep the country under colonial rule.

Nkrumah’s concern was confirmed by Geoffrey Bing, a British administrator himself on the Gold Coast. The Constitution was designed, according to him, on the assumption that it would “*provide for the continuance of Indirect Rule*”, and the position of the “Leader of Government Business”, created as the title of the member of the executive council in charge of the assembly business, was thought, would be a British official, in the person of the attorney general.⁸⁷² The subtle scheme was for the twenty-four nominated chiefs from the various councils to side with the attorney general thus forming a government as before. It was a fatal error, which the CPP capitalized on to win the support of the masses.

Contrary to the expectation of the government, Nkrumah called for a Gold Coast People’s Representative Assembly to decide the fate of the country and not leave it in the hands of the British. Representatives of over fifty organizations were invited to meet on 20 November, but the UGCC, the chiefs’ Councils,⁸⁷³ and the ARPS⁸⁷⁴ refused to attend. Nkrumah and his CPP comrades were left alone. Nkrumah called for a Constituent Assembly to decide on the Report. They worked to draft a memorandum opposing the details of the Coussey Constitution. They demanded an immediate grant of self-government and put forward their version of the structure to be adopted as the basis for the central and local government structures. In the memorandum, the CPP agreed with the Coussey Report on the need to create a separate House of Chiefs and Elders. The chiefs, led by Nana Ofori Atta II and Sir Tsibu Darku rejected the Assembly proposals.⁸⁷⁵ The CPP held an executive meeting where the party decided to inform the governor about its views and the need to amend the

⁸⁷² Geoffrey Bing, “Reap the Whirlwind: An Account of Kwame Nkrumah’s Ghana from 1950 to 1966”, pp. 142-143.

⁸⁷³ David Rooney, “Kwame Nkrumah: Vision and Tragedy”, p. 81.

⁸⁷⁴ Kwame Nkrumah, “Revolutionary Path”, p. 88.

⁸⁷⁵ David Rooney, “Kwame Nkrumah: Vision and Tragedy”, p. 81.

Coussey Report. The Governor was given two weeks ultimatum to accept their proposals, or they would declare Positive Action.⁸⁷⁶

The governor, Arden-Clarke, did not ignore his warnings but emphasized that the position of Britain was to grant “*self-government as soon as it is practicable*”.⁸⁷⁷ However, the colonial secretary, Reginald Saloway, went ahead to warn Nkrumah that declaring Positive Action would disturb the peace of the colony and lead to injuries and death and that Nkrumah would be personally held responsible. Despite his warnings, Nkrumah went ahead to declare Positive Action effectively Sunday 8 January 1950. He called for a general strike; only essential public servants, such as hospital workers, the police, and those providing water conservancy were to be exempt.⁸⁷⁸ When Nkrumah called for the general strike, Otumfuo Osei Agyeman Prempeh II, the Asantehene, denounced it publicly. He sided with the CPP rivals to the extent that he used the Asanteman Council “*to remove any Ashanti Chief who dared to support the CPP*”.⁸⁷⁹ Arden-Clarke responded by declaring a state of emergency and curfews. Nkrumah’s newspaper office was gagged and closed with several party leaders arrested. He further called on the people not to support the CPP’s call and their attempt to undermine the rule of the chiefs.

As the economy ground to a halt, the Joint Provincial Council of Chiefs at Dodowa invited Nkrumah, the Trade Unions, and the leaders of the Union of Ex-servicemen to a meeting with the government to resolve the impasse. Only Nkrumah and three CPP members went to the meeting. The Trade Unions declined to attend because they were warned, and the leaders of the ex-servicemen were arrested on the way. Nkrumah stood by his words that unless a constituent assembly was called to decide whether to adopt or reject the Report, he would not call off Positive Action. He accused the chiefs of siding with the government “*to deny the people’s legitimate demands*”,⁸⁸⁰ and uttered his famous statement that if the chiefs did not support the struggle for freedom “*they will run away and leave their sandals behind them*”.⁸⁸¹ Some few days after this incident, the police targeted and arrested the leadership

⁸⁷⁶ Positive Action is the final stage of resistance to imperialism. Per Nkrumah’s description of it, “is a method of adopting constitutional and legitimate non-violent means, such as legitimate political agitation, newspaper and educational campaigns, and constitutional application of strikes, boycotts, and non-co-operation on the principles of absolute non-violence, to pressurise and cripple the forces of imperialism”. See for example, Kwame Nkrumah, “Revolutionary Path”, pp. 93-94.

⁸⁷⁷ David Rooney, “Kwame Nkrumah: Vision and Tragedy”, p. 82.

⁸⁷⁸ Kwame Nkrumah, “Revolutionary Path”, p. 89.

⁸⁷⁹ Geoffrey Bing, “Reap the Whirlwind: An Account of Kwame Nkrumah’s Ghana from 1950 to 1966”, p. 134.

⁸⁸⁰ Kwame Nkrumah, “Revolutionary Path”, p. 90.

⁸⁸¹ David Rooney, “Kwame Nkrumah: Vision and Tragedy”, p. 85.

of the party, with Nkrumah himself being arrested on 22 January 1950 and imprisoned at James Fort Prison. He was charged with using illegal means to make demands on the government and inciting the masses to participate in illegal actions. Also, he was charged for publishing a seditious article in the *Cape Coast Daily Mail*. Thus, for all the charges he was sentenced to one year each to run concurrently.

The government then went ahead to implement the recommendations of the Coussey Report by calling for an election in February 1951 to bring the constitutional changes into effect. Whilst in prison, Gbedemah took charge of the party and made necessary arrangements for Nkrumah and the party to contest the election. The Ewart Committee, set up by the legislative council with the help of the governor, was tasked with the responsibility of setting up the new electoral system. J.B. Danquah and other lawyers, chiefs, and merchants were the members of the committee. Rooney said that the governor convinced the legislative council that after the election “*there would be 11 African Ministers, each responsible for running a ministry, and each with a European civil servant to help him, not the other way round*”.⁸⁸² The UGCC failed to take advantage though its leaders were part of the committee working with the government as most of the CPP leaders sat in prison.

The election was held on 8 February 1951. The CPP contested in every constituency. Out of thirty-eight elected seats, the CPP won thirty-four. Nkrumah was elected to represent the Accra constituency. The governor, Arden-Clarke, had no option but to order his release, after spending fourteen months in prison, to form a government. He became “the Leader of Government Business” contrary to the expectations of the government. Nkrumah and Arden-Clarke worked to appoint the ministers. The governor’s promise of eleven African Ministers had to wait. The cabinet had eleven members, but the governor was to nominate three-- the Chief Secretary, the Financial Secretary, and the Attorney General. The other eight were to be designated from elected members of the Assembly. Furthermore, Arden-Clarke got the CPP government to give two out of the eight posts to the Territorial Council members of the Northern Territories and Ashanti. On that score, Kabachewura Braimah and Asafu Adjaye⁸⁸³ were appointed respectively.

The ineffective leadership of the UGCC demanded four out of the eight ministerial posts post-election. However, they got nothing. Thus, Nkrumah appointed the remaining

⁸⁸² **Ibid**, p. 87.

⁸⁸³ **Ibid**, pp. 93-94.

five. Thus, the appointees were Nkrumah himself, Botsio, Hutton-Mills, Gbedemah, Ansah-Koi, and Casely-Hayford, as Leader of Government Business; Education and Social Welfare; Commerce, Industry and Mines, Health and Labour; Communications and Works; and Agriculture and Natural Resources Ministers respectively. Whilst the Ashanti nominee Asafu Adjaye was appointed as Local Government Minister, Kabachewura Braimah was without a portfolio.

7.3. Residues Towards Freedom, 1951-1957

Thus, the constitution of 1950 made provisions for the legislative assembly to be opened in March 1951, after the elections. Honourable E.C. Quist, O.B.E., was elected from outside the Assembly to serve as the first speaker. The territories were represented as follows: the colony had thirty-four representations; Ashanti had nineteen; the Northern Territories and the Northern Territory Section of Togoland had nineteen combined; there were three members representing the Southern Section of Togoland; three ex-officio members; and six special members representing commercial and mining interests. The title “Leader of Government Business” was a ceremonial one and so Nkrumah did not have much to do in 1951. However, the position was abolished on 5 March 1952 and replaced by the office of the Prime Minister. Nkrumah was subsequently approved as the Prime Minister, a Portfolio, which gave him a grip over the administrative machinery to effect the constitutional changes he wanted.

He called for discussions for further constitutional changes post-haste his appointment. Already in the Legislative Assembly, there were ex-officio members, those six special members, and chiefs who did not stand for elections but were nominated and appointed by the governor and the council of chiefs. Thus, Nkrumah voiced that “*such state of affairs could no longer be tolerated*”.⁸⁸⁴ He called for the removal of ex-officio Ministers because they did not represent the wishes of the native people nor were they answerable to the electorates for their actions. This meant the establishment of direct elections to elect representatives based on one man one vote. The country was to be divided into separate constituencies for that purpose. Also, matters to do with the role of chiefs and the creation of a House of Chiefs as stipulated by the Coussey Report were to be discussed. Nkrumah called for a constituent assembly in 1952 to provide their views to the government on these

⁸⁸⁴ Kwame Nkrumah, “Revolutionary Path”, p. 99.

matters. The outcome of this occasioned the publication of the Government White Paper in 1953. This document became known as “the Motion of Destiny”.

The Motion of Destiny was moved in the Assembly on 10 July 1953 and called for constitutional and administrative arrangements for independence to be made within the Commonwealth. The country was to be named Ghana, a sovereign and independent state. It sought an amendment to Order in Council 1950 for the legislative assembly to be composed of members directly elected by secret ballot, and that all members of the cabinet should be members of the assembly and directly responsible to it.⁸⁸⁵ A new 104-member legislature was to be established. The country was to be divided into constituencies and electoral districts by a Commission of Enquiry.⁸⁸⁶

The motion was debated in the Assembly by Nkrumah. However, J.B. Danquah followed with an opposition amendment. Despite his opposition, the motion was unanimously approved. A commission under the chairmanship of Mr. Justice Van Lare was constituted to divide the country into 104 constituencies. Upon completion, it upheld Nkrumah’s wishes and recommended that direct elections be held in every constituency by secret ballot in which the voter has the established right to choose a candidate of his choice from a ballot paper, which would then be put into the box. In addition to that, a divisional court of three judges was to be constituted to decide election petitions and its decision to be final.⁸⁸⁷ Once preparations were completed, 15 June 1954 was slated for an election to effect the constitutional changes.

Were the CPP and the UGCC the only political parties? The answer was no. The aftermath of the 1951 election saw the emergence of other parties in different regions. For instance, in the NT were the Northern People’s Party and the Muslim Association Party; the Togoland Congress Party in the Ewe State; and Busia formed the Ghana Congress Party by merging with the UGCC. In the meantime, most of the chiefs declined to stand as candidates for the Assembly⁸⁸⁸ because elections were to be directly based on universal adult suffrage by secret ballot. In December 1953, the Asanteman Council wrote a memorandum to the Governor-in-Council on the position of Traditional Rulers in the Constitution and to maintain chieftaincy as an important factor in the Government and the lives of the people.

⁸⁸⁵ **Ibid**, pp. 100-101.

⁸⁸⁶ “Report on the Gold Coast for 1953”, p. 4.

⁸⁸⁷ **Ibid**, p. 5.

⁸⁸⁸ David Rooney, “Kwame Nkrumah: Vision and Tragedy”, p. 109.

The memorandum was signed by forty-three Asante chiefs under the presidency of Asantehene Nana Osei Tutu Agyeman Prempeh II.

They accused the CPP administration of divesting the influence and dignity of chieftaincy, an institution that was the basis of government in the country, and which was deeply rooted in the political, economic, and social life of the country. For instance, they complained of deliberately being excluded from Statutory Boards, Councils, and Institutions, contrary to the policy of all previous Gold Coast governments (i.e., the colonial government), and were denied their due share of Stool Lands Revenues-- in some instances, revenue and allowances due to state councils were withheld for as long as nine months or more--and had led to unhappy relationships between the new local councils and the state councils and the people.⁸⁸⁹ They beat a hasty retreat to demand, in the interim, the establishment of a bicameral legislature, and the establishment of an Upper House for the chiefs, which they had rejected before the 1951 elections.

They offered the following suggestions to be incorporated into the constitutional reforms before the general elections of 1954, that: (i) Local Councils were to be made to exercise their authority under the Ordinance in the name of the Traditional Ruler, and their duties to the electorates were to be clearly understood; (ii) the Traditional Ruler's fortune should be linked with the fortunes of the Local Council of his area, and the Central Government was to ensure sufficient financial provision so his duties were not impaired in the community; (iii) Traditional Rulers' influence should be felt again at the Central Government level and that a Lower House was not suitable for chiefs, but an Upper House should be created to advise the Government and act as a stabilising influence on hasty Government measures; (iv) Traditional Rulers were to decide constitutional matters as the final body of Appeal, and it was imperative for Traditional Rulers to be at the top of Government and be associated with the Head of State; (v) the Territorial Councils were to be retained as Electoral Colleges for the Upper House in addition to their then functions.⁸⁹⁰

However, the Governor made it clear to the Asanteman Council that it would not interrupt the ongoing constitutional negotiations with the United Kingdom to introduce the issue of a second Chamber. Nonetheless, he gave assurance to the council that it would carefully consider their request once the final constitution of the self-governing Gold

⁸⁸⁹ Asantehene, "Memorandum from the Asanteman Council to the Governor-in-Council", **No. 499/LC/258/51**, 18 December 1953, Kumasi, pp. 1-6, in ARG 2/2/68, PRAAD, pp. 1-2.

⁸⁹⁰ **Ibid**, pp. 2-3.

Coast⁸⁹¹ was ready. The Governor further declined to constitute any other consultative council or body other than the content of the White Paper and discarded their suggestions as not feasible because local constitutional matters at the end of the deliberations were going to be entrusted to a local constitutional commission. Thus, such a commission when established, by the act of a popularly elected assembly, should safeguard the status of chiefs.⁸⁹² The chiefs had asked for the formation of a Privy Council or Council of State which would have a special position in the constitution as a consultative body.

In the meantime, the Prime Minister, Nkrumah, was scheduled to make a statement on the concerns and role of Traditional Rulers in the country in the legislative assembly ahead of the elections. He spoke in the assembly on 11 March 1954 about the attitude of his government toward the future of chieftaincy in the country and the relations between the state councils and local councils. He emphasized the important role chieftaincy had played in the socio-political life of the country and its people. However, like other human institutions, it could not remain static but must adapt itself to the changes of time. Since 1946, the chiefs did not wield any real authority in deciding even local constitutional matters. The powers⁸⁹³ to decide local constitutional matters affecting: (a) the election, installation, deposition, or abdication of any chief, or the right of any person to take part in any such election, installation, or deposition; (b) the recovery or delivery of Stool property in connection with any such election, installation, deposition or abdication; and (c) political or constitutional relations between chiefs under native customary law, were vested in the governor, not the chiefs.

Thus, these powers exercised by the governor were to be exercised by a local constitutional commission under the new constitution, as the country prepared for independence. Nkrumah echoed the words of Arden-Clarke that his government was not able to accede to the request of the chiefs in the constitutional instruments for the reasons that: (i) the proposals were raised late as negotiations towards independence were far advanced and such interjections would cause major drafting difficulties and unforeseen ramifications; (ii) if the proposals were to be accepted, their effect would be that “local constitutional matters” would become a subject reserved from the Government and such reservations would be objectionable; (iii) constitutional changes proposed by the new

⁸⁹¹ Secretary to the Governor, **G/4900/3**, 9 March, 1954, pp. 1-2, in ARG 2/2/68, PRAAD, p. 1.

⁸⁹² **Ibid**, p. 2.

⁸⁹³ “Extracted from Legislative Assembly Debates”, **Daily Issue No. 28**, 11 March 1954, pp. 1-3, in ARG 2/2/68, PRAAD, p. 1.

constitution was been made on the supposition that the Gold Coast was able to govern itself. Thus, it would be illogical to embody in the Order in Council a provision that suggested that the country was not capable of governing itself to the extent of regulating the relationship between its own chiefs and people.⁸⁹⁴ The decision then was taken that to safeguard the position of chiefs, an Ordinance should be enacted by which powers to decide local constitutional matters would be entrusted to the local constitutional commission.

What's more, Nkrumah assured the chiefs that should he win the 1954 election and retain his position as the Prime Minister, he would consult with the Governor to consider the designation of a fully representative Committee or Commission of Enquiry to look at the question of a second chamber. Nkrumah expressed his concern at the financial difficulties of some of the traditional authorities, which had nothing to do with him, but to do with the reluctance or inability of Local Councils to make adequate provisions for their maintenance. He emphasized that chiefs "*must have enough revenue to enable them to play their part with the dignity*" expected from them. Thus, he called on the Local Authorities to see that their chiefs were properly maintained and even presented a Bill before the Assembly that day highlighting that "*financial contributions to Traditional Authorities should be a charge on the local government revenues and other funds of Councils, after the satisfaction of any District Council precepts*".⁸⁹⁵

The 1954 election was a bit different from that of 1951. There were more political parties than in 1951, too many candidates, and rivalry between towns and communities to get their candidates elected to reap the benefits thereof. As the CPP campaigned towards unifying the country, the Togoland Congress Party, the Ewe party, sought secession from the Gold Coast, whilst Busia's Ghana Congress Party sought to win the support of the Akan ethnic group. The Northern People's Party and the Muslim Association Party also concerned themselves with the affairs of the people of the north. Thus, when election day finally arrived, the CPP won 72 out of 104 seats, whilst the NPP won 12 seats to form the official opposition. Busia's Party obtained only 1 seat, and the rest were held by independent candidates. The coming effect of this new constitution curtailed the powers of the governor. This was the first general election based on universal adult suffrage and the use of the secret ballot in the country. Nkrumah, like in 1951, was called upon to form a new Government. The election brought changes including the elimination of the ex-officio members and the 6

⁸⁹⁴ **Ibid**, p. 2.

⁸⁹⁵ **Ibid**.

special members of the commerce and mines as well as the scrapping of the post of Chief Secretary. The Gold Coast was now a fully self-governing colony in managing its internal affairs. The Cabinet⁸⁹⁶ formed by Nkrumah included:

The Hon. Dr Kwame Nkrumah – Prime Minister

The Hon. Kojo Botsio—Minister of State.

The Hon. K. A. Gbedemah—Minister of Finance.

The Hon. A. Casely-Hayford—Minister of the Interior.

The Hon. E. O. Asafu-Adjaye—Minister of Local Government.

The Hon. J. H. Allassani—Minister of Education.

The Hon. A. E. A. Ofori Atta—Minister of Communications.

The Hon. Ako Adjei—Minister of Trade and Labour.

The Hon. J. E. Jantuah—Minister of Agriculture.

The Hon. N. A. Welbeck—Minister of Works.

The Hon. Imoru Igala—Minister of Health.

Independence could have come earlier had it not been because of the opposition of a coalition of discontented chiefs and the intellectual class. All the opposition parties in the 1954 election came together to set up the National Liberation Movement (NLM). It was tribalistic to the core backed by the Asanteman Council and Akim Abuakwa State Council in the Eastern Region. They campaigned for the grant of a federal constitution for the country, and to ensure cocoa farmers obtained good prices for their produce. They could not come to terms with the fact that it was Nkrumah and not any of the chiefs or other Akan leaders of the defunct UGCC, that was going to obtain independence for the country. They despised him until they succeeded in toppling his government post-independence. All that they stood for could be summed up in their demands for “*the revival of Ashanti Legendry and demanded powers the kings had lost*”⁸⁹⁷ to be returned when they had participated and were content with their position under British administrative officers.

⁸⁹⁶ “Colonial Report on the Gold Coast for 1954”, p. 5.

⁸⁹⁷ Charles Adom Boateng, “The Political Legacy of Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana”. *African Studies*, Vol. 66. New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2003, p. 66.

Immediately after the party was formed, they opposed the Cocoa Duty and Development Funds Bill which was passed in August 1954. The bills had fixed the prices of cocoa to be paid to farmers and to use the cocoa funds to expand the economy. They accused the CPP government of using cocoa funds to develop the colony instead of Ashanti, the cocoa-producing area. Their opposition resulted in chasing out CPP members from Ashanti and certain chiefs who sympathized with the CPP were destooled.⁸⁹⁸ Their bitterness knew no bounds. The NLM, together with the Asanteman Council sent petitions to the Queen, asking for the appointment of a Royal Commission to enquire into their proposal for a Federal Constitution⁸⁹⁹ when independence was just a step away. Nkrumah even invited them to discuss their concerns, but they rejected the invitation. Busia, the leader of the party, followed up with London to appeal to the British government not to grant Independence.⁹⁰⁰

Britain was looking forward to granting independence to a united country where all elements would cooperate on common grounds. The Imperial power was left with no option but to call for another general election in 1956 and to grant independence by a reasonable majority. To stand strong against the CPP, the NLM amalgamated with several other parties, including the Northern People's Party and the Muslim Association Party, to form the United Party (UP) for the 1956 elections. The election occurred in July 1956 and the CPP maintained its majority by winning 71 out of 104 seats. With this victory, the Independence Motion was brought back to the Assembly and passed without the attendance of the opposition, the UP, and its cohorts.

The UP did not change its position even after the CPP victory. They called for the secession of Ashanti and the Northern Territory from the rest of the country and declared a sovereign state led by Busia. Nkrumah and the weary governor, Arden-Clarke, pushed tirelessly for the Secretary of State to provide a definite date for independence. That good news finally arrived in a despatch on 17 September 1956. Thus, independence was fixed on 6 March 1957. The Order in Council (Constitution) of 1957 stripped chiefs from partisan politics and any administrative connection with the people. They were mentioned in the Regional House of Chiefs as advisers to governments on customary and then national affairs. In 1959, a Plebiscite was held to define the sovereignty of the country. It was ratified in 1960 to become the national constitution. Sovereignty was vested with the people en masse and

⁸⁹⁸ Kwame Nkrumah, "Revolutionary Path", p. 117.

⁸⁹⁹ "Colonial Report on the Gold Coast for 1954", p. 5.

⁹⁰⁰ Kwame Nkrumah, "Revolutionary Path", p. 120.

all powers of government were centralized in the president. On 1 July 1960 Ghana declared its Republican status.

On 24 February 1966, a dark political element, i.e., the putsch was introduced into Ghanaian politics by a combined army and police zealots. Kwame Nkrumah was on his way to Hanoi at the invitation of President Ho Chi Minh, with proposals for ending the war in Vietnam when his government was toppled. He got the news from the Chinese Ambassador in Accra who was in China with him. The putsch was led by four soldiers and four policemen,⁹⁰¹ who came to form the National Liberation Council to constitute the new government of Ghana. They cited reasons such as the concentration of power in the person of Nkrumah following the adoption of a one-party state in 1964, the passage of the Preventive Detention Act (PDA) to gag ardent critics of his administration, series of corruption-related cases against him and his appointees, and on economic uncertainties in the country. From China, he never stepped foot in Ghana until his mortal remains returned on 9 July 1972 from Romania where he died on 27 April 1972. He lived his last few years in Conakry where he was made a co-President by President Sekou Toure and the people of Guinea.

In all, Ghana has had five putsches. The first was by the military which formed the NLC (1966-1969), the National Redemption Council (1972-1975), the Supreme Military Council I & II (1975-1979), the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (June-September 1979), and the Provisional National Defence Council (1981-1992). Thus, three Republican Constitutions: i.e., the First Republic under the CPP (1957-1966), the Second Republic under the Progress Party (1969-1972), and the Third Republic under the People's National Party had been toppled. Since 1993, Ghana has been under the Fourth Republic which is the longest political run in the country's history.

⁹⁰¹ They were led by J.A. Ankrah, Chairman (Army) and J.W.K. Harlley, Deputy Chairman (Police). The other members were E.K. Kotoka (Army); B.A. Yakubu (Police); A.K. Ocran (Army); J.E. Nunoo (Police); A.A. Afrifa (Army); A.K. Deku (Police). *See for example*, Kwame K., "Dark Days in Ghana". London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1968, p. 33.

CONCLUSION

The contribution of this present study to existing works on colonialism in Ghana, and to some extent Africa, is to show that the native chiefs contributed greatly to the establishment of the colonial regime. The study started with the thesis that Traditional Rulers were pivotal to the socio-political changes that occurred on the Gold Coast. They were a cantle of the colonial regime and thence expressed their astounding credulity in it and its officers. Furthermore, the study has shown how the aggrandization of their status in the native administration led to the decline of the chieftaincy institution and paved the way for the educated elite to surmount the political offices. Chiefs had played indispensable roles in the evolution of politics in the various native states. However, their participation as agents of the Crown during high tides of colonialism was not evocative of their past functions. Thus, when the capitalist tendencies of the Western world in the frame of education, political ideologies, and socio-economic changes were brought to bear on the Gold Coast beginning from the nineteenth century, it became ineludibly clear that the customary structure could not withstand the wind of change thus ushering in significant transformations.

The position of the chief is time-honoured. It is as old as the native state. The different tribal units began forming their states between the 15th and 18th centuries. It has been accentuated that the enclave of modern Ghana has been inhabited since the early Stone Age through agriculture and pasturage. Later iron technology from the second century C.E. enhanced farming in the forest belts and even more by the superior weapons and technologies of the Mande interlopers. The combined effect of this was adumbrated in the settled life, trade establishments, rise of towns, and emergence of centralised states. The first centralised states emerged in the north where the prepotent of the Mande invaders was greatly felt. The first real impact of this encounter was the transmogrification of the regnant class among the northern ethnic groups. For instance, in Dagbon, the authority of the earth priests, who were hitherto overlords of the lands, was stripped and handed over to the Ya-Na, the new overlord of Dagbon; although the *tindana* or earth priest position was not entirely obliterated, they were placed under Dagbon divisional chiefs. Similarly, in Gonja the new ruling class did not scrap the autochthonous overlords but grouped them into the *Nyamase* men, who serve as the custodians of lands and play vital roles in the enskinment of Gonja chiefs. The acceptance of Islam by the ruling class in the north circa between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries further stratified the body politic into three distinct groups: the ruling class, the Muslim scholars, and the commoners.

From the ambits of the northern states to the extremities of the coastal states lay the various Akan settlements, the most powerful of whom was the Asante state. The Akan tribes were divided into two broad coteries, the Eastern and Western Akan and further into various sub-groups. Conversely, the Ewe group occupies the perimeters of the southeast. This group originated from present-day Togo to their current domain, in two divisions: the *Dagboawo* and the *Numeawo* or southern and interior coteries, respectively. The Accra coastlands and the protrusive lands towards the Gulf of Guinea were occupied by Ga-Dangme and the Guan-speakers respectively. The settlement of the former ethnic group became visible between 500-1400 C.E. and the presence of iron expedited the rise of towns, and their search for greater economic motives imbued their dispersion from inland to the coast between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The latter on the other hand never centralised but lived in small chiefdoms and were superseded first by the Ga-Dangme in the sixteenth century and later conquered by the Fantee ethnic groups to form the Fantee state by the eighteenth century.

Thus, the period was characterized by several battles for establishing supremacy and forming alliances. As weaker states were subdued by the stronger ones, on one hand, some of the more tactful ones managed to form alliances with either other native states or mother countries of European merchants trading in the Gold Coast. The Fantee states fit into the latter. The encounter with Europeans on the coast of modern Ghana started in about 1471 with the advent of the Portuguese who succeeded in establishing a permanent settlement circa 1482. Their motives and those of later European nations to follow suit were those of religion, commerce and political prestige. The British first made contact with the Gold Coast in 1553 under Captain Windham and Anes Pinteado but this contact was short-lived. They returned in the seventeenth century and firmly established their first settlement at Kormantine in 1618 and became the only European country on the Gold Coast by 1872 when the Dutch handed over their possessions to them. The local chiefs sanctioned the activities of the Europeans and leased lands to them and received rent payments in return. During that period the chiefs were in sole control of their domains. The augury to the advent of European nations was the activities of European explorers and travellers such as Mungo Park, Rene Caillie, and Stanley, among others who traversed the African continent in search of wealth sponsored by their imperial countries. Thus, during Fantee's battles with Asante, between 1805 and 1874, they solicited British support against Asante, an outcome that led to the signing of the Bond of 6 March 1844, between nine Fantee chiefs and British officers at

Cape Coast Castle. This Bond gave the merchant officers, who ere were tenants and paid rents to the chiefs, the authority to interfere in the internal affairs of the southern coastal states as adjudicators. Also, it subjected native settlements near British forts and settlements on the Gold Coast to British laws and jurisdiction which was duly assented to by the chiefs.

The ramifications of this outcome were dire. First, the British teamed up with their native allies against Asante in 1824, but the former was decisively defeated. However, in the second attempt in 1826, Asante was defeated by the British and their native allies. Second, in 1874, the British launched a campaign into the heart of the Asante state, Kumasi, sacked the town and ultimately caused the collapse of the Asante empire. This British victory changed the course of their intercourse with the native states. Poste-haste this victory the British declared an end to the slave trade, but more importantly, they proclaimed the formal establishment of the Gold Coast colony on 24 July 1874. The cessation of the trade of slaves in the colony was followed in earnest by Christian missionary activities. Thus, Christianity was only introduced into the colony as a by-product of the slave trade. It challenged the native religion, which was copiously fetish in character and succeeded in defenestrating it to a larger extent. Christianity succeeded because of the attentiveness it received not only from among the coastal chiefs who offered lands for churches as well as their children to the missionary services but also the teeming native youth who went to the extent of inviting missionaries from London through the merchants on the coast. The codas to the contact of the two religions were the commencement of major changes in education, family life, personal development, the emergence of new classes, and the accumulation of capital. These changes initiated by the missionaries with the support of the local government were later espoused by the natives and their rulers.

The 24 July 1874 Proclamation was followed tout de suite by the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance of 1878 whose object was to curtail the powers of the chiefs in the colony proper (the coastal states). However, it failed to be passed as the chiefs objected to the attempt to strip them of their powers. It was thus modified into the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance 1883, under Governor Samuel Rowe, and was duly accepted because it gave the chiefs more authority than they had under customary law. The 1883 ordinance significantly undermined the role of the Council of Elders to deal directly with the chiefs. Besides that, a clause for the dismissal of chiefs by Europeans was surreptitiously embedded in this ordinance. Thus, from 1883 to 1910, the chiefs allied themselves with educated natives to get that dismissal clause removed. In the end, they only managed to get the word ‘dismissal’ changed to

‘deposition’. At about the same time, they teamed up to form the ARPS to defend any attempts by the British to alienate native land and forests. Thus, this ‘dismissal’ clause marked the beginning of obliterating the position of the traditional rulers in the colony.

What followed was the secession of subordinate chiefs from unions and federations which they entered in the past with the most powerful states for purposes of protection and commerce. To avert that, the chiefs, between 1925 and 1927, called for a meeting of paramount chiefs in Accra to draw up legislation towards working with the colonial regime to establish the native administration system. This move pitched them against the educated natives who believed the chiefs were not the right people to enter such negotiations with the colonial officers. Although the proposal for the 1927 reforms came from Governor Guggisberg, it was Nana Ofori Atta, one of the educated-native chiefs, who inculcated in the chiefs the need for them to accept the imperial design and to agree to work with the British administrators. He was made a Knight of the British Empire for convincing his fellow chiefs to assent to the 1927 ordinance. Thus, the success of the 1927 Order in Council called forth a nationwide introduction of the Native Administration System in the 1930s, and Provincial and Territorial Councils were formed for the chiefs to participate in the colonial enterprise under European commissioners. Thence, it was based on such contrarities in the administrative praxis of the two systems that this study explores how the chiefs ‘readily’ gave away their autonomy.

Yes, they ‘readily’ gave away their autonomy progressively from the time the three kings of the coastal towns of Akanna, Saboe, and Fetu entered a treaty with the Royal African Company in 1693. Those series of treaties were dubbed “Treaties of Friendship and Protection”. The treaties were numerous and were signed by the chiefs in a pococurante manner absent a clear understanding of their contents. Such treaties encouraged permanent European settlement on the Gold Coast through the merchant companies. Perhaps they were urged by the need to protect their native states from falling prey to the conquest of the powerful ones, and for that reason, they hastily agreed to the terms of the ententes. If one closely scrutinizes the treaty of 1895 between the Agents of the Crown with the chiefs and headmen of Adansi state, the Articles of the said treaty barred Adansi state from entering any treaties with any other foreign power, from entering into wars or committing any acts of aggression on any chiefs within the ambits of their country by which trade shall be interrupted, to refer to the governor who represented the Crown for arbitration in any trade or other quarrels in which they may become involved before engaging physically.

Furthermore, the king of Adansi who before signing this treaty in question had adjudicated matters arising between his chiefs, headmen, and people, was required in this treaty to transfer that right to the British governor or the nearest British administrator whose judgment shall then be final on all those involved. The entire Adansi state was opened to the British subjects to trade and the chiefs and headmen to keep their trading routes in good order and offer facilities to traders. The kings, chiefs, and headmen of Adansi agreed with the conditions and signed the treaty on 18 November 1895. Such treaties entrenched the positions of the merchant companies and were expedited by the willingness of the chiefs to lease lands at cheaper rates than other colonies at the time towards gold mining concessions and other agricultural products. The coda to this was observed in the ingress of several mining companies from the 1880s and beyond. Thus, these treaties, by and large, were the seed which led to greater subordination of the native states.

Between 1874 and 1927 when the chiefs rendered their services to the colonial government willingly, they had actually participated in the capitalist ventures of the imperialists by recruiting workforces at a fee for the merchant and mining companies. Thus, the 1927 declaration was a mere formal acknowledgement of an already ongoing transmogrification of their positions. This set at naught the successes they had achieved when they worked with the educated natives, in the form of the land bills, some years before 1927, and even more rendering their designation of the educated natives as the contumacious group null and void. The boutade of the chiefs into the colonial administrative echelon and the consequences of how they managed their respective native states with their accrued wealth paved the rise of the educated group, whom both the chiefs and imperialists saw as the quixotic group.

Two years after the 1927 Order in Council, the chiefs found themselves fixated on loans from European firms for development in their native states. This further subjected the chiefs to British control. The colonial government capitalised on this opportunity to set loan conditions that must be satisfied before loans were granted including outlining work to be done and obtaining permission from district commissioners. Thus, the overall impact of the 1927 resolution was the creation of a subordinate council, the provincial councils of chiefs for meetings of the chiefs on intended government business under European officers, the right for such administrators to confirm the installation of chiefs by presenting Union Jack Flags or to remove native chiefs from office by deleting their names from the record books,

and the eventual drafting of native authority ordinances for the entire territory by the middle of the 1930s.

The mid-1930s ordinances completely curtailed the sovereign authority of the chiefs by codifying their function under the administration. Their customary authority was transferred to the colonial government and rendered any decision from the chiefs' offices, which went contrary to the established Orders null and void; unless such decision was allowed and permitted in the ordinance or by it. During the implementation of the Orders, it was found that the chiefs were a party to the enactment, bar some selected few in the northern territories and the Ewe region. For instance, in the southern part, the chiefs actively worked in the provincial councils and were pleased to deliberate on any bills presented by the government and offered their advice and recommendations. They utilised any given opportunity to discredit the educated natives by pointing out that they deserved a voice in the colonial enterprise and not the intelligentsia. Some of their deliberations in the councils centred on chieftaincy disputes, agriculture, taxation, and other matters as they might arise and were presented to them. Conversely, in Ashanti, the Kumasi Chiefs worked hand in hand with the colonial office, the attorney-general, and the chief commissioner to draft its ordinance. They, for instance, advised the chief commissioner, F.W.F. Jackson, to include the constitution of the Asante Confederacy in the Order, and further directed that appeals from other Clan Courts should be forwarded to the district commissioner who should have the discretion to hear or transfer such cases to the Asantehene's Court. Thus, the amalgamation policy of the imperial authority succeeded because of the ardent participation of the native chiefs.

The policy was then extended to the Northern Territories. Here, the British officers worked through chiefs of the centralised ethnic-majority groups to get the ordinances implemented. In some cases, secular chiefs were created to rule for administrative purposes. Lands belonging to ethnic minorities, such as those of Konkomba, Chakossi, Kanjarga, Nankanni, Issala, and Kasena, among others, were amalgamated with others to create native authorities and secular chiefs were created for Lawra, Nandom, and Jirapa, among others. The outcome of the amalgamation policy, although carried out in some instances with the approval of the major tribal chiefs, has been that of land-based tribal conflicts in northern Ghana like the Nawuri-Gonja, Konkomba with Bimobas, Dagomga, Nanumba, Mamprussi-Gonja, and in the Bawku district.

The study at one point exhibited how under the directives of the chiefs the Fanti Confederation was formed, and later the ARPS. However, that show of deification and ardour that the educated natives and people expressed in the Traditional Rulers waned over time, and from the 1940s the chiefs came to take the back seat in the colony's affairs thus leaving the educated natives at the helm of affairs. The ascending influence of the educated elite and the consolidation of their place in national discourse had something to do with the Africanisation policy of Governor Guggisberg in 1926. In that year Guggisberg urged that educated and qualified natives should be employed to participate in running the country. The policy was an accidental one as the colonial administration was faced with financial challenges in maintaining its European officers. So, he instituted this scheme to prioritise native appointments over Europeans. However, it was only in 1946 that his decision of 1926 to make Africans the nub of the civil service was implemented progressively.

As the educated natives obtained employment in the colonial administration from 1946 onwards, unlike the chiefs, they demanded greater space to work independently and went to the extent of forming political parties to demand those liberties. The first modern political party to be formed was the UGCC in 1947. Again, in 1949 Kwame Nkrumah who was ere a leading member of the UGCC formed the CPP. The political path and destiny of the country were changed by the 1948 Riots otherwise referred to as "The Ghana Revolution". It started as a peaceful boycott of European goods because of soaring prices and scarcity of essential items but turned bloody following the killing of three ex-soldiers at the command of a European officer, Superintendent Amery.

From Accra, the riots spread to other major towns of the country. It ended in the death and injury of many people as well as the loss of properties. The political escalation led Nkrumah to demand "independence NOW". The Independence struggle to follow was an exigent one. Whilst Nkrumah and the CPP pushed for unity and total liberation of the country, the NLM, Asanteman, and Akim Abuakwa state councils worked to sabotage the grant of independence until their proposal for a federal constitution was accepted. Nonetheless, Nkrumah remained pertinacious until he freed the country from the yoke of colonialism on 6 March 1957.

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APPENDICES

A. Form 6: Questionnaire respecting Procedures in the Election, Installation, and then Destoolment of Chiefs.

229 102 24 CSO 21/4/37

(S.N.A. Form No. 6)

**ELECTION
AND
INSTALLATION OF CHIEFS.**

N115.—Govt. Printer, Accra.—966/345.

S.N.A. Form No. 6.

I.—ELECTION.

- (a) Name of Town, Division and State ?
- (b) Rank or Title of Chief ?
- (c) Position in the Division or State (i.e., whether Head, Foot, Adonten, Nifa, Benkum, Nkyidom, Gyasi, Ankobia or Wirempi, *as the case may be*) ?
- (d) If not the Head Chief or a Wing Chief under which Wing is he ?
- (e) Clan or Tribe of Stool Family ?
- (f) Head of Stool Family.
- (g) Name of House or Houses from which Candidate is selected and in what order ?
- (h) Name of Chief-elect, and what is his relation to the previous, or former occupant of the Stool ?
- (i) Name of House to which he belongs, whether it is its turn, and if not, reason for selection ?
- (j) Is it customary to have a man "sitting behind the Stool" ?
- (k) Was any one "sitting behind the Stool" ?
- (l) Is he the Chief-elect ; if not, give reasons for passing him over ?
- (m) At whose request was the Candidate nominated by the Stool Family ? State name and rank.
- (n) Who nominated the Candidate ; what office or rank does he or she hold ?
- (o) Was it with the full or partial consent of the Stool Family ? If partial, state briefly the cause of opposition and its strength ?
- (p) In the event of the Stool being vacant who is the customary custodian of the Stool, and what is his rank ? Who was the custodian of the Stool during the interregnum now concluded ?
- (q) Who was the acting Chief or Caretaker during the interregnum now concluded and what was his rank ?
- (r) Who are the electors whose participation or concurrence is necessary to a valid election ? Give list showing rank.
- (s) Was the election unanimous ? If not, give list, *pro et contra*, showing rank in the Stool Family or Oman.
- (t) Date and place of election ?
- (u) Is it customary to present the Candidate to the people immediately on his election ; if so, when and where was the Chief-elect shewn to the people ?
- (v) In the event of a disagreement between the Stool Family and the Oman as to the Candidature, with whom does the final decision rest ?
- (w) Can the Oman choose and instal a Chief against the wishes of the Stool Family ?
- (x) State briefly usual local procedure as to election and any local circumstances not covered by previous questions.

II.—INSTALLATION.

- (a) Assuming that the election has been regularly carried out, what is the next step, and who by local custom "directs the proceedings?"
- (b) What preparations were made for the installation and who were invited to take part in it?
- (c) What principal electors were present, personally or by proxy? And whose presence is essential to a valid installation?
- (d) What is the usual route of procession?
- (e) At what place or places are the customary oaths exchanged?
- (f) To whom as representing the Oman does the Chief take his Oath of office or allegiance to his people?
- (g) Who is the first State Dignitary to swear allegiance to the Chief and what is his position?
- (h) State in vernacular the exact words of the different Oaths exchanged together with a literal translation thereof in English.
- (i) Who on behalf of the Oman accepted the Aseda from the Chief?
- (j) Who swore for the Gyasi or other equivalent body the Oath of fealty and allegiance, and accepted the allegiance fee (Sum Kahire or Homodsi, *as the case may be*)?
- (k) Who are the custodians of the Stool properties, i.e., Stool or Stools, Chest of State, Paraphernalia and lands, while the Stool is occupied?
- (l) What are the usual Oaths attached to the Stool?
- (m) Are there any stool debts: If so, state amount?
- (n) Who are the Councillors (a) hereditary, (b) nominated?
- (o) How is the Oman constituted?

District Commissioner.

N.B.—It is essential that these questions be answered. The letter giving the number of the question and answer must be inserted. Where possible the answers should be personally verified by the District Commissioner before transmitting this Questionnaire to headquarters.

B. The Tolls Ordinance, 1930.

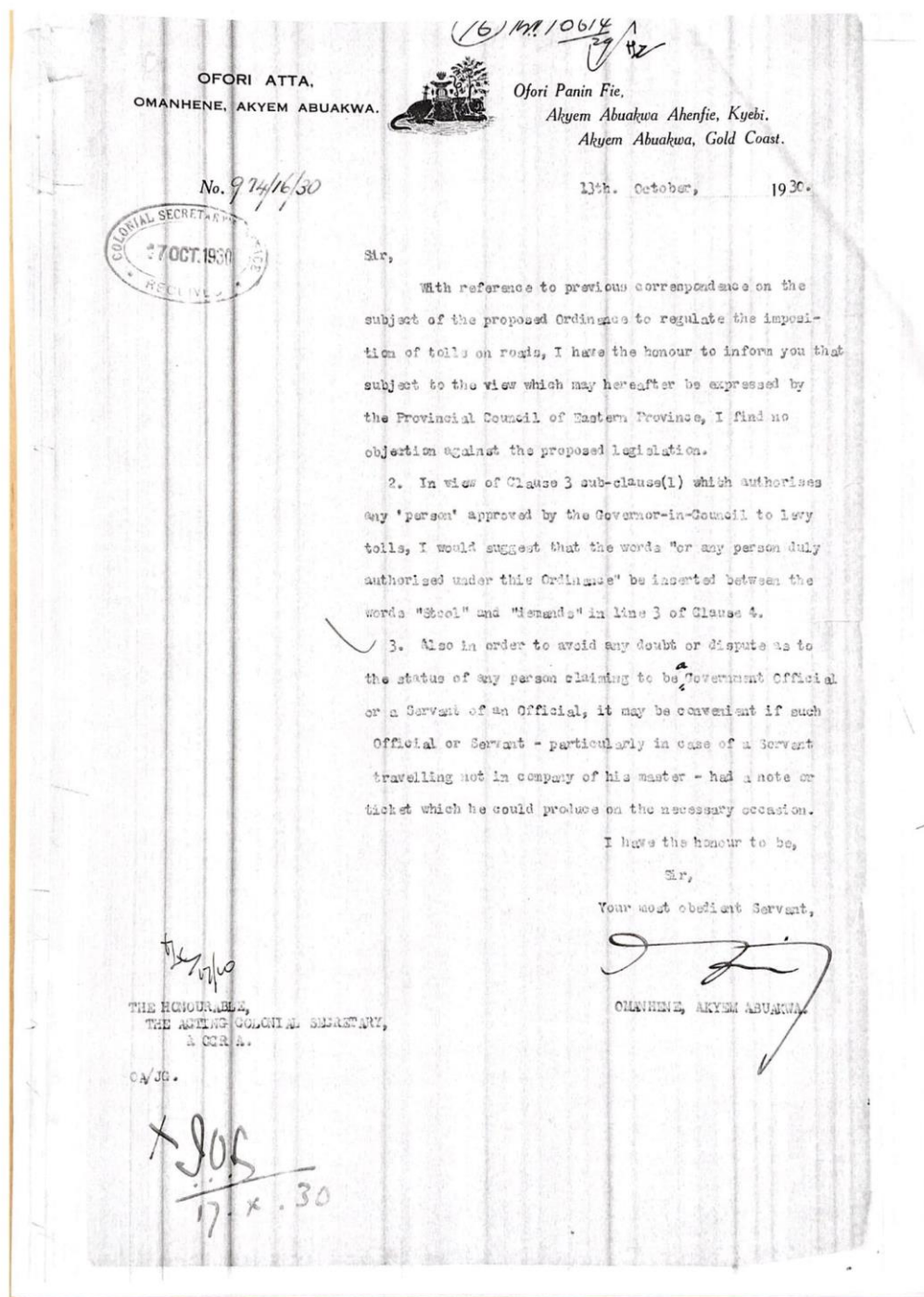
	The Tolls Ordinance, 1930.
	A B I L L
	INTITULED
	AN ORDINANCE to regulate the imposition of tolls on road.
Date of commencement	(, 1930.)
	BE IT ENACTED by the Governor of the Gold Coast Colony, with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council thereof, as follows:-
Short title	1. This Ordinance may be cited as the Tolls Ordinance, 1930.
Illegality of tolls without the consent of the Governor in Council	2. The levying and collection of any toll or charge for the use of any road except with the consent of the Governor in Council given in accordance with the provisions of this Ordinance is hereby declared to be unlawful.
Power to the Governor in Council to regulate tolls	3. (1) The Governor in Council may by Order authorise any ~~person~~ ^{person or state who or} which has constructed or may hereafter construct a road to levy a toll from persons using such road. (2) Any Order made under subsection (1) of this section (a) shall contain a table of the authorised rates; and (b) may exempt any person or class of persons or any person using any vehicle or specified type of vehicle from the payment thereof.
Taking tolls without authority	4. Every person who levies, demands or collects any unlawful toll ^{a charge} and every person who without authority ~~from~~ ^{the road} demands or collects any toll or charge whatever for the use of any road shall be guilty of an offence and shall on summary conviction thereof be liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months ^{or} and to a fine not exceeding fifty pounds or to both.
Exhibition of Order in Council by collector of tolls	5. Any person demanding or collecting any toll shall hang up in a conspicuous position at the place of collection

2.
and shall keep in good order a copy of the Order of the Governor in Council authorising the levying of the tolls and prescribing the rates. Any person who fails to comply with any of the provisions of this section shall be guilty of an offence and shall on conviction thereof be liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months ^{or} to a fine not exceeding fifty pounds or to both.

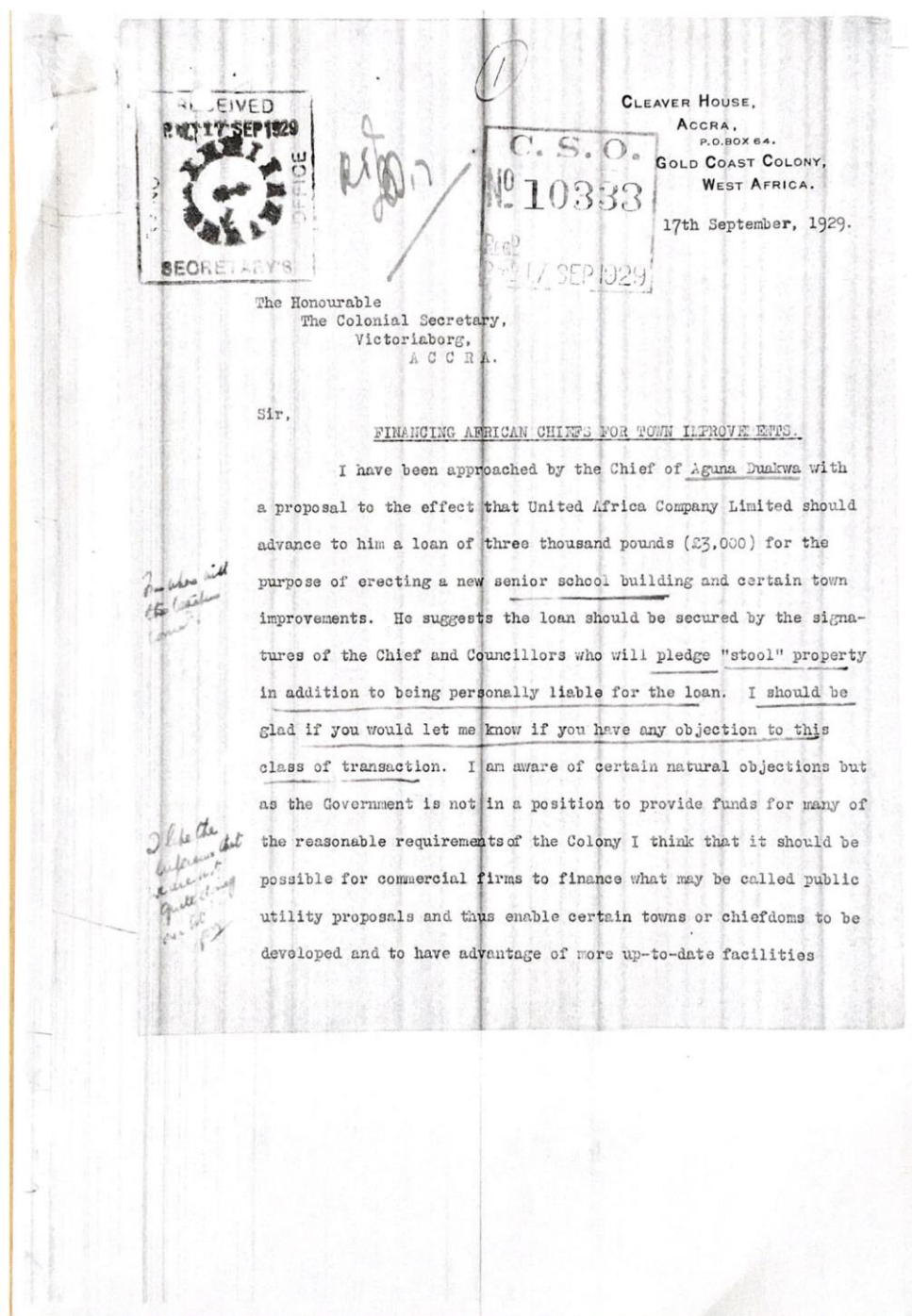
Exemptions from
payment of tolls

6. No tolls shall be paid for the passage of any troops and military stores and equipages on their march or of any police officers or of any person or property in their custody or of any Government officials when travelling on duty or of their servants baggage or stores.

C. Nana Ofori Atta's Letter to the Acting Colonial Secretary in Support of the Tolls Ordinance, 13 October 1930.



D. General Grey's Letter to the Colonial Secretary on "Financing African Chiefs for Town Improvements", 17 September 1929.



TELEPHONE: ACCRA 71.

CLEAVER HOUSE,
ACCRA,
P.O. BOX 64,
GOLD COAST COLONY,
WEST AFRICA.

(2)

*9/12/48
sent at
present*

(electric light, water supplies, drainage, schools) at a more rapid rate than may be reasonably expected if they continue to depend on Government grants. The tendency of the Chiefs and people must undoubtedly be towards helping themselves if the Government cannot provide the necessary funds for reasonable development: education and sanitation. I think it would be a wise move on the Government's part to encourage schemes of development on a small scale provided all agreements are approved by the Government before they are signed by the respective parties. Some such protection of the native interest will certainly be necessary if my views are correct. To enable you to consider a definite proposal I put forward the following terms which the United Africa Company Limited would be prepared to agree to if Government does not object. The Chief approached me with the proposal; I am not in any way responsible for the idea.

A loan of three thousand pounds (£3,000) to be repaid in four annual instalments, the first payment to commence not later than the 30th of November following the date upon which the loan agreement is signed. The idea is that the loan should be repayable by cocoa or the proceeds of cocoa sales, and it should be possible for the Chiefs to be in a position to make annual payments during

TELEPHONE: ACCRA 71.

CLEAVER HOUSE,
ACCRA,
P.O. BOX 64,
GOLD COAST COLONY,
WEST AFRICA.

(3)

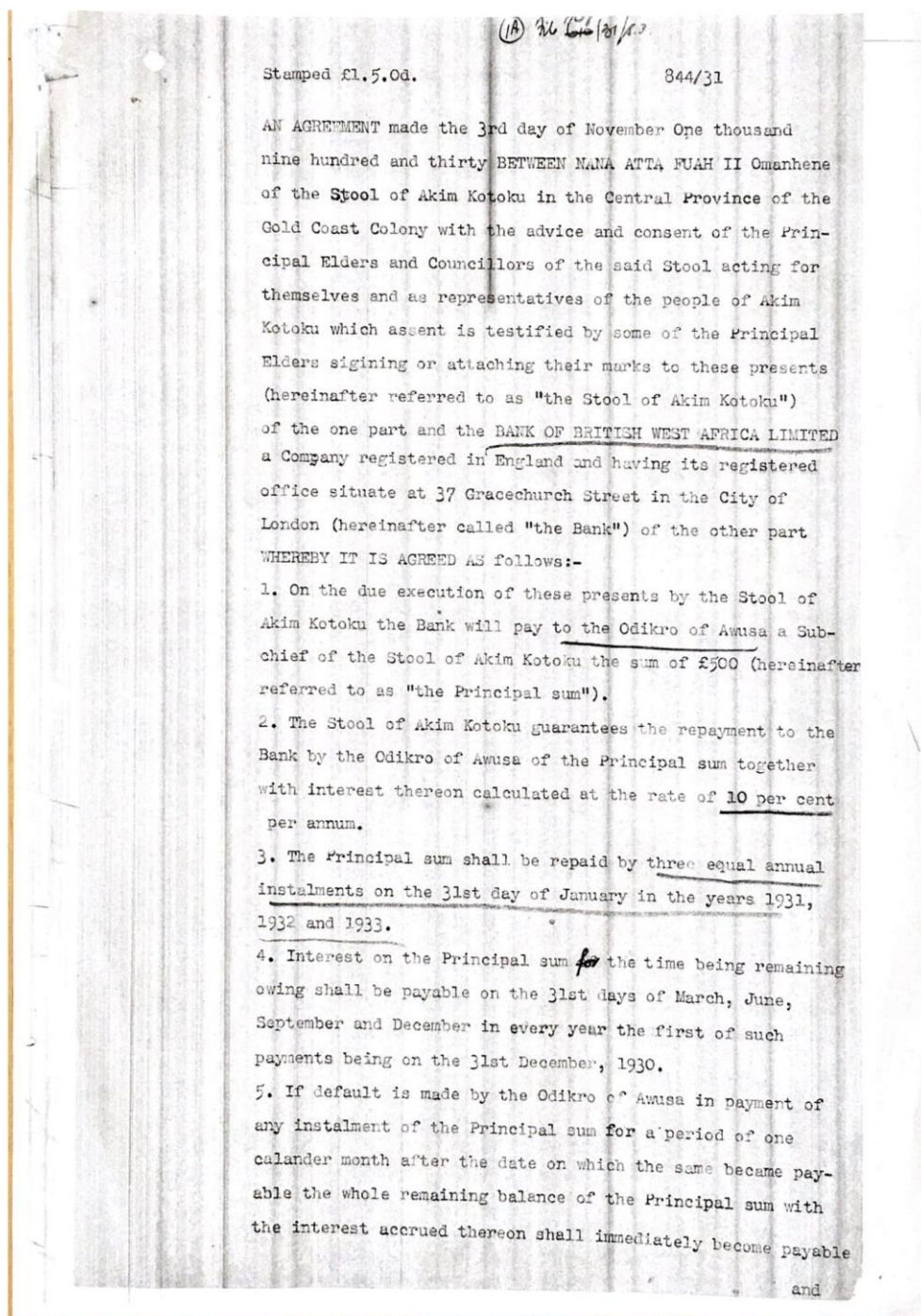
each cocoa season regardless of the fact whether the whole of the loan has been advanced or whether only a portion has been taken up. This would practically make the loan a current account; there would be no difficulty in arranging the accountancy work for this. The loan to bear interest at 8 % per annum. Both interest and loan to be paid back by instalments by deliveries of cocoa at market prices subject to a clause to the effect that if the Chiefs are not satisfied with the market price offered they will be entitled to sell their cocoa to other buyers but in such case the interest on the loan will be 10 % per annum instead of 8 % per annum. The loan to be secured by the Chief and Sub-chiefs by a mortgage on stool property including any works constructed out of the loan money.

I am anxious to get your views on this subject at an early date and will be pleased to call to see you and discuss the matter at your convenience. I expect to leave Accra some time within the next two weeks and therefore would be thankful if you could find it convenient to give the matter special attention so that if possible a decision may be arrived at before I leave.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient Servant,

W. W. Grey

**E. Loan Agreement between Nana Atta Fuah II, Omanhene of Akim Kotoku,
and the Bank of British West Africa Limited.**



and the Bank shall have an enforceable demand in respect thereof against the Stool of Akim Kotoku.

6. If any default is made by the Odikro of Awusa in payment of an instalment of the Principal sum or of any interest thereon for a period of one calander month after the date on which it became payable the Bank shall forthwith give notice to the Stool of Akim Kotoku.

7. If any interest or any interest payable on arrears of interest capitalised under this present cause shall remain unpaid for one calander month after the day on which the same ought to be paid then in every such case the interest so in arrear shall at the expiration of such calander month be added for all purposes to the Principal sum hereby guaranteed and shall thenceforth bear interest payable at the rate and on the days aforesaid.

8. The liability of the Stool of Akim Kotoku hereunder shall not be terminated or affected by the Bank giving time or any other indulgence to the Odikro of Awusa.

9. Any notice to the Stool of Akim Kotoku will be sufficiently given if delivered personally to the Omanhene for the time being of Akim Kotoku or his Principal Linguist or sent to either of them through the Registered Post to Akim Kotoku.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the parties hereto have hereunto set their hands and seals the day and year first above written.

MARKED SEALED AND DELIVERED by the	Mankrado Kwajo Cimah	Their
said NANA ATTA FUAH II Omanhene of	Barima Kwesi Asimeng	x
	(Chene of Anyinase)	
Akim Kotoku and his Elders and	Barima Ayipey IV.	x
	(Chene of Abanase)	
Councillors after this Agreement	Atta Appianing	x
had been read over and interpreted	(Mankrado of Awisa)	
to them in the Twi Language by	Linguist Osei Kofi of	x
	Awisa	
Phampong Attafuah of Oda when they	Presbyter Albert Kotéi	x
	of Awisa	
seemed perfectly to understand the	Barima Abroquah Ababio	x
same before making their marks	(Adontenhene of Akim	
hereto in the presence of	Kotoku)	
	Panin Osei Kwami	x
	(rep. Mfahene Akim	
	Kotoku)	
	Mankrado Kwajo Cimah	x
	(Chene of Anyinase)	
	Barima Ayipey IV.	x
	(Chene of Abanase)	
	Atta Appianing	x
	(Mankrado of Awisa)	
	Linguist Osei Kofi of	x
	Awisa	
	Presbyter Albert Kotéi	x
	of Awisa	
	Barima Abroquah Ababio	x
	(Adontenhene of Akim	
	Kotoku)	
	Panin Osei Kwami	x
	(rep. Mfahene Akim	
	Kotoku)	
	Mankrado Kwajo Cimah	x
	(Chene of Anyinase)	
	Barima Ayipey IV.	x
	(Chene of Abanase)	
	Atta Appianing	x
	(Mankrado of Awisa)	
	Linguist Osei Kofi of	x
	Awisa	
	Presbyter Albert Kotéi	x
	of Awisa	
	Barima Abroquah Ababio	x
	(Adontenhene of Akim	
	Kotoku)	
	Panin Osei Kwami	x
	(rep. Mfahene Akim	
	Kotoku)	
	Mankrado Kwajo Cimah	x
	(Chene of Anyinase)	
	Barima Ayipey IV.	x
	(Chene of Abanase)	
	Atta Appianing	x
	(Mankrado of Awisa)	
	Linguist Osei Kofi of	x
	Awisa	
	Presbyter Albert Kotéi	x
	of Awisa	
	Barima Abroquah Ababio	x
	(Adontenhene of Akim	
	Kotoku)	
	Panin Osei Kwami	x
	(rep. Mfahene Akim	
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	(Chene of Anyinase)	
	Barima Ayipey IV.	x
	(Chene of Abanase)	
	Atta Appianing	x
	(Mankrado of Awisa)	
	Linguist Osei Kofi of	x
	Awisa	
	Presbyter Albert Kotéi	x
	of Awisa	
	Barima Abroquah Ababio	x
	(Adontenhene of Akim	
	Kotoku)	
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	Presbyter Albert Kotéi	x
	of Awisa	
	Barima Abroquah Ababio	x
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	Kotoku)	
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	(Mankrado of Awisa)	
	Linguist Osei Kofi of	x
	Awisa	
	Presbyter Albert Kotéi	x
	of Awisa	
	Barima Abroquah Ababio	x
	(Adontenhene of Akim	
	Kotoku)	
	Panin Osei Kwami	x
	(rep. Mfahene Akim	
	Kotoku)	
	Mankrado Kwajo Cimah	x
	(Chene of Anyinase)	
	Barima Ayipey IV.	x
	(Chene of Abanase)	
	Atta Appianing	x
	(Mankrado of Awisa)	
	Linguist Osei Kofi of	x
	Awisa	
	Presbyter Albert Kotéi	x
	of Awisa	
	Barima Abroquah Ababio	x
	(Adontenhene of Akim	
	Kotoku)	
	Panin Osei Kwami	x
	(rep. Mfahene Akim	
	Kotoku)	
	Mankrado Kwajo Cimah	x
	(Chene of Anyinase)	
	Barima Ayipey IV.	x
	(Chene of Abanase)	
	Atta Appianing	x
	(Mankrado of Awisa)	
	Linguist Osei Kofi of	x
	Awisa	
	Presbyter Albert Kotéi	x
	of Awisa	
	Barima Abroquah Ababio	x
	(Adontenhene of Akim	
	Kotoku)	
	Panin Osei Kwami	x
	(rep. Mfahene Akim	
	Kotoku)	
	Mankrado Kwajo Cimah	x
	(Chene of Anyinase)	
	Barima Ayipey IV.	x
	(Chene of Abanase)	

(B.K.Tawiah
(Kyidom Akim
(Kotoku

	Yau Antwi, Chief Linguist.	Their x
	Asafoa Kye Kwesi Beyeeden	x
	Kweku Frempong, Gyasehene.	marks
	Chief Atta Karikari, Odikro.	

SIGNED SEALED and DELIVERED)
BY FRANK EDWARD TALLAND as)
Attorney for and on behalf)
of the Bank of British West)
Africa Limited in the pre-)
sence of)

[illegible]

In accordance with section 18 of cap. 154 I certify that in the opinion of the Commissioners of Stamps this instrument is chargeable with a Duty of one pound five shillings.

Commissioner of Stamps Office

Accra 23rd March, 1931. (Signed) .. Commissioner of
Stamps.

[illegible]

On the 17th day of February 1931 at four o'clock in the afternoon this Instrument was proved before me by the oath of the within-named Phampong Attafuah to have been duly executed by the within named Mankrado Kwdjo Gimah, Barima Kwesi Asimong, Barima Ayipey IV, Atta-Appianing, Linguist, Osei Kofi, Presbyter Albert Kotei, Barima Abroquah, Panin Osei Kwame, Nana Akosua Saccoom, Barima Dompok III, Chena Duoduah II, Yaw Antwi, Asfoakye, Kwesi Beyeden, Kweku Frempong, Chief Atta Kanikari, Barima Kwesi Tawiah.

Given under my hand and Official Seal

(Signed) H. A. Bonavia

Ag. District Commissioner.

**F. A friendship Treaty entered by Agents of the Crown with the King, Chiefs,
and principal headmen of Adansu State, 1895.**

Treaty of Friendship and Protection made at Prahsue this eighteenth day of October, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-five, between her Most Gracious Majesty Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India, etc., her heirs and successors, by her subject Captain Donald William Stewart, an officer in the Civil Service of the Gold Coast Colony, acting under instructions received from his Excellency William Edward Maxwell, also a subject of her Majesty, Companion of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Gold Coast Colony on the one part, and the king, chiefs, and principal headmen of the country of Adansi on the other.

Whereas Kweku Inkansa, king of the country of Adansi, and the chiefs and principal headmen of that country, for and on behalf of themselves, their heirs, successors, and people, have presented to the Governor of the Gold Coast Colony a request that their country should be placed under the protection of Great Britain, and have agreed to enter into a treaty with her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India, etc., her heirs and successors, by the said Captain Donald William Stewart, acting for that purpose for the said Governor.

Now, therefore, Kweku Inkansa, King of Adansi, and the chiefs and principal men of that country, whose names are hereinafter signed to this treaty, for themselves, their heirs, and successors, and the people of Adansi on the one part, and his Excellency William Edward Maxwell, Companion of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Gold Coast Colony, a subject of and representing her Most Gracious Majesty Victoria, Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India, etc., her heirs and successors, by Captain Donald William Stewart, a subject of her Majesty (acting for the Governor), on the other part, do hereby enter into this treaty containing the following Articles : —

Article I.

The king of the country of Adansi for himself and his lawful successors, together with the chiefs and principal men of the country of Adansi, whose names are hereinafter signed and seals affixed, for and on behalf of themselves and their successors, and people of Adansi, hereby place themselves under the protection of Great Britain, declaring that they have not entered into any treaty with any other foreign power.

Article II.

Her Majesty's subject, the Governor of the Gold Coast Colony, for and on behalf of her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India, etc., her heirs and successors, hereby takes the country of Adansi under the protection of Great Britain.

Article III.

It is hereby agreed that the king, chiefs, and principal men, together with the other people of Adansi, will not enter into any war or commit any act of aggression on any of the chiefs bordering on their country by which the trade of the country shall be interrupted, or the safety and prosperity of the subjects of her Majesty the Queen of England and Empress of India shall be lost, compromised, or endangered, and that the said king, chiefs, and principal men of Adansi hereby undertake to refer to the Governor of the Gold Coast Colony, acting on behalf of her Majesty, for friendly arbitration, any trade or other quarrels in which they may become involved before actually entering upon hostilities.

Article IV.

Should any difference or dispute accidentally arise between the King of Adansi and any of his chiefs and principal headmen, or between any of the chiefs and principal headmen, it shall be referred to the Governor of the Gold Coast Colony, or to the nearest British Authority, for the time being, whose decision shall be final and binding upon all parties concerned.

Article V.

British subjects shall have free access to all parts of Adansi, and shall have the right to build houses and possess property according to the law in force in the Gold Coast Colony; and they shall have full liberty to carry on such trade or manufacture as may be approved by any officer appointed for the purpose by her Majesty's Government, and should any difference arise between the aforesaid British subjects and the king, chiefs, and principal headmen of the country of Adansi as to the duties or customs to be paid to the said king, chiefs, or the principal headmen of the towns in that country by such British subjects, or as to any other matter, that the dispute shall be referred to the officer mentioned in Article IV., whose decision in the matter shall be binding and final, and that the king, chiefs, and principal headmen of Adansi will not extend the rights hereby guaranteed to British subjects to any other persons without the knowledge and consent of such officer.

Article VI.

In consideration of the protection guaranteed on the part of Great Britain to the king, chiefs, and principal headmen and people of Adansi, they hereby bind themselves, their heirs and successors, to keep their main roads in good order, that they will encourage trade and give facilities to traders, and will not cede their territory to, or accept a protectorate from, or enter into any agreement, arrangement, or treaty with, any other foreign power except through and with the consent of the Government of her Majesty the Queen-Empress.

Article VII.

The Government of her Majesty the Queen-Empress will not prevent the King of Adansi, or his chiefs, and principal headmen and their lawful successors from levying customary revenues appertaining to them according to the laws and customs of their country, nor in the administration thereof; and her Majesty's Government will respect the habits and customs of the country, but will not permit human sacrifices; and slave dealing,* when brought to the notice of the Government, will be punished according to the laws of the Gold.

* Extract from report of Captain Stewart and Mr. Vroom, October 2G, 1895.

"The treaty in triplicate we beg to attach. The Adansis objected very strongly to the clause in the treaty with reference to slave-dealing. However, notwithstanding that, they signed the treaty willingly."

Article VIII.

This treaty shall come into force from the date hereof, but power is expressly reserved to her Majesty the Queen-Empress to refuse to approve and ratify the same within one year from the date hereof. In witness whereof the parties to this treaty have hereunto set their hands and affixed their respective seals. Done in triplicate at Prahsue, in the country of Assin, this 18th day of November, in the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety-five, in the fifty-eighth year of the reign of her Majesty the Queen-Empress.

Names of signatories. Their marks and seals : —	Marks.	Seal.
1. Kweku Inkansa, King of Adansi		X
"		
2. Kofi Kwedu, War Chief of Adansi		X
"		
3. Kojo Gimma, Chief of Ayowasi		X
"		
4. Kweku Ashanti, Chief of Edubiasi		X
"		
5. Akwesi Fori, Chief of Dampoasi		x
"		
6. Kweku Afuakwa, Chief of Krofrome, represented by Yow Yamua	X	"
7. Yaw Apia, Chief of Akrochire		X
"		

8. Kwabina Kwantabissa, Chief of Odumasi	X	„
9. Kweku Wia, Chief of Kwisa		X
„		
10. Kwami Iduo, Chief of Brobidiasi X „, 11. Kwami Essifii, Chief of Abejimu	X	„
12. Kwami Apeajo, represented by You Simpson, of Adomemu	X	„
13. Kwabina Chiadi, Chief of Eginasi		X
„		
14. Kwesi Buabin, Chief of Medomma		X
„		
15. Kofi Ammua, represented by Se-Kojo of Kianbusu	X	„

DONALD WILLIAM STEWART, Captain,
Travelling Commissioner, an officer in the Civil Service of the Gold Coast Colony, for and on behalf
of William Edward Maxwell, Governor of the Gold Coast Colony.
(Seal) Signed, sealed, and delivered in our presence, the same having been first read over and interpreted
to the king, chiefs, and people, who seemed perfectly to understand the meaning, conditions, and scope
of the foregoing treaty.

Hk. Vroom, District Commr.
J. H. Cramer, Captain.
R. A. Irvine, Captain.
M. Hawtrey, Captain.
K. F. T. Buee, Ass. Col. Surgeon.

Blue Book [C. 7917], February, 1896

Sarbah: pp. 306-310

G. The Native Authority Ordinance

	The Native Authority Ordinance, 193 .
	A B I L L INTITULED
	AN ORDINANCE to prescribe the powers and duties of Native Authorities.
Date of commencement	(, 193 .)
	BE IT ENACTED by the Governor of the Gold Coast with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council so far as the provisions hereof relate to the Colony, as follows:-
Short title, application and commence- ment	1. This Ordinance may be cited as the Native Authority Ordinance, 193 ; it shall apply to the Gold Coast (including Togoland under British Mandate) and shall come into operation on a date to be fixed by the Governor by Proclamation in the Gazette.
Interpretation	2. Interpretation:- "Administrative Officer" means the Adminis- trative Officer in charge of the District concerned and includes any Administrative Officer acting under his directions; "Chief" means a person whose election and installation as such in accordance with native law and custom is recognised by the Governor and shall include "Head Chief". "Division" means a territorial area under the supervision of a Head Chief and a Divisional Council; "Head Chief" means the person whose election and installation as head of the Division in accordance with native law and custom is recog- nised by the Governor; "Magistrate's Court" means a Court consti- tuted by a District Commissioner acting as a Magistrate under the Courts Ordinance, 193 ; "Native" means a person of African descent ordinarily
No. of 193 .	

2.

ordinarily residing or being within the Gold Coast (including Togoland under British Mandate) who is subject to the jurisdiction of native tribunals in the community to which such person belongs;

"Native Authority" means any Chief or other native or other person or any native Council or group of natives declared to be a native authority under this Ordinance for the area concerned;

"Native Court" means a Native Court established under the Native Courts Ordinance, 193 ;

"Provincial Commissioner" means the officer appointed by the Governor to be in charge of the Province concerned provided always that in its application to Ashanti and the Northern Territories the expression shall mean the Chief Commissioner of Ashanti and the Northern Territories respectively;

"Divisional Council" means the highest native authority within the Division in all matters relating to the welfare and Government of the Division in accordance with native law and custom.

establishment
of native
authorities

3. (1) The Governor, by notice published in the Gazette, may declare that there shall be a native authority or native authorities for any specified area or areas and may direct that any native authority shall be subordinate to any other native authority in such manner as he shall think fit.

Provided always that a Division which prior to the coming into operation of this Ordinance has not been subordinate to any other Division shall not be directed to be so subordinate under the provisions of this section except on the application in writing of the Divisional Council of such Division.

(2) When

(2) When establishing a native authority, or at any time thereafter, the Governor may direct that such authority shall exercise only such of the powers conferred upon native authorities by this Ordinance as he may specify, and when any such direction shall have been given this Ordinance shall be deemed to confer upon such authority only such powers as the Governor shall have specified.

(3) The Governor may direct that any or all of the powers conferred by this Ordinance shall not be exercised over such persons or classes of persons as he may designate, and so far as regards such powers the native authority shall not be deemed to have jurisdiction over such person or persons within the meaning of this Ordinance.

(4) The Governor may at any time by notice published in the Gazette order that any person recognised as a native authority or as a member of a native authority shall cease to be so recognised, and may declare any other person to be a native authority or a member of a native authority in his place.

(5) Where under the provisions of sub-section (4) the Governor has ordered that a person recognised as a native authority or as a member of a native authority shall cease to be so recognised the Governor may, if he is satisfied that it is necessary for the re-establishment or maintenance of peace, order and good government in the area in which such person has been recognised as a native authority or as a member of a native authority, that such person should leave such area, by order under his hand direct that such person shall leave the said area within such time as shall be specified in the order and that he shall not return to such area without the consent of the Governor.

(6) Any person in respect to whom an order has been made under the preceding sub-section, who shall refuse or neglect to leave such area as aforesaid, as directed by the Governor

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or who having left such area, shall return thereto without the consent of the Governor, shall be liable, on conviction before a Magistrate's Court, to imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months, and the Governor may, by writing under his hand and seal, order such person to be deported, either forthwith or on the expiration of any term of imprisonment to ~~which~~ ^{which} he may have been sentenced as aforesaid, to such part of the Gold Coast as the Governor may by such order direct.

(7) Where for any area there is no native authority the Governor may by notice published in the Gazette appoint any administrative officer to have for such area all the powers of a native authority or such of those powers as the notice may specify and no act done by such administrative officer in the exercise of such powers shall be deemed to be invalid by reason only of the fact that the act was not done within such area.

(8) The Governor may at any time revoke, suspend or vary any declaration, direction or order made by him under this section.

Duties and
powers of
native au-
thorities

4. It shall be the duty of every native authority to perform the obligations by this Ordinance imposed and generally to maintain order and good government in the area over which its authority extends, and for the fulfilment of this duty it shall have and exercise over the natives residing or being in such area the powers by this Ordinance conferred in addition to such powers as may be vested in it by virtue of any other Ordinance or by any native law or custom and subject to any directions given by the Governor under subsections (3), (4) and (8) of section three all such native shall be deemed to be ~~subject to~~ subject to the jurisdiction of the authority.

Duty of natives
to assist
native authori-
ties

5. It shall be the duty of every native subject to its jurisdiction, when thereto required by a native authority to assist in carrying out the duties imposed upon such authority

Prevention
of crime

5.

authority by this or any other Ordinance or by any native law or custom and every native so required by a native authority shall be deemed to be empowered to do all that may be reasonably necessary to give effect to any lawful order given by such authority.

6. (1) It shall be the duty of a native authority to interpose for the purpose of preventing, and to the best of its ability to prevent, the commission of any offence within the area of its authority by any native subject to its jurisdiction.

(2) A native authority knowing of a design to commit an offence within the area of its authority by any native subject to its jurisdiction, may arrest or direct the arrest of such native, if it appears to such authority that the commission of the offence cannot be otherwise prevented. Any native so arrested shall, unless he be released within twenty-four hours of his arrest, be taken forthwith before a Magistrate's Court or a Native Court having jurisdiction over him.

(3) Every native authority receiving information that any native subject to its jurisdiction who has committed an offence for which he may be arrested without a warrant or for whose arrest a warrant has been issued, is within the area of its authority, shall cause such native to be arrested and taken forthwith before a Magistrate's Court or a Native Court having jurisdiction over him.

(4) Every native authority receiving information that property of any description which has been stolen, whether within or without the area of its authority, is within such area, shall cause such property to be seized and detained pending the order of a Magistrate's Court or a Native Court having jurisdiction in the matter, and shall forthwith report such seizure and detention to such Court.

7. (1) It shall be the duty of every native subject to its jurisdiction, when so directed by a native authority, to attend before such native authority or before a Provincial
by
city

duty to attend
before Govern-
ment officers
and others when

6.

Provincial Commissioner or an administrative officer or a Native Court having jurisdiction over such native.

(2) Any such native who when so directed to attend before any such authority, officer or court, shall, without reasonable excuse, neglect or refuse to attend as and when directed, may be arrested in accordance with a warrant obtained under section twenty and taken before such authority, officer or court.

Powers of native
authority to
issue orders

8. Subject to the provisions of any Ordinance or other law for the time being in force, a native authority may, subject to the general or specific directions of the native authority, if any, to whom it is subordinate, issue orders, to be obeyed by such natives within its area as may be subject to its jurisdiction, for all or any of the following purposes:-

- (a) prohibiting, restricting or regulating the manufacture, distillation, sale, transport, distribution, supply, possession, and consumption of intoxicating liquors;
- (b) prohibiting, restricting or regulating gambling;
- (c) prohibiting, restricting or regulating the carrying and possession of weapons;
- (d) prohibiting any act or conduct which in the opinion of the native authority might cause a riot or a disturbance or a breach of the peace;
- (e) preventing the pollution of the water in any stream, water-course, or water-hole, and preventing the obstruction of any stream or water-course;
- (f) prohibiting, restricting or regulating the cutting or destruction of trees;
- (g) preventing the spread of infectious or contagious disease, whether of human beings or animals, and for the care of the sick;

(h)

- (h) requiring natives to report the presence within the area of its authority of any native who has committed an offence for which he may be arrested without a warrant or for whose arrest a warrant has been issued, or of any stolen or believed to have been stolen whether within or without such area;
- (i) requiring the birth or death of any native subject to its jurisdiction to be reported to it or to such person as it may direct.
- (j) prohibiting, restricting or regulating the movement in or through the area of its authority of livestock of any description;
- (k) prohibiting, restricting or regulating the burning of grass or bush, and the use of fire or lights in any manner likely to ignite any grass or bush in contravention of any law or regulation;
- (l) for the purpose of exterminating or preventing the spread of tsetse fly;
- (m) prohibiting, restricting, regulating or requiring to be done any matter or thing which the native authority, by virtue of any native law or custom for the time being in force and not repugnant to morality or justice, has power to prohibit, restrict, regulate or require to be done; and
- (n) for any other purpose, whether similar to those hereinbefore enumerated or not, which may, by notice published in the Gazette, be sanctioned by the Governor, either generally or for any particular area.

Paulgation
Orders

9. Every order given under section eight of this Ordinance shall be made known to the persons by whom it is to be obeyed in such manner as is customary in the area of the native authority by whom the order is given, and thereupon the order shall be binding on the persons by whom it is to be obeyed.

Powers

10. (1) Whenever in the opinion of a District Commissioner it is expedient for the good order and government of the area of a native authority that any order should be issued which such authority is empowered to issue by section eight, the District Commissioner may call upon the native authority to issue and enforce any such order, and if the native authority shall neglect or refuse to issue the order which it is so called upon to issue, the District Commissioner may himself issue such order and thereupon such order, when made known in the manner prescribed by section nine, shall have the same force and effect as if it had been issued by the native authority.

(2) When a District Commissioner is of opinion that any order issued by a native authority should not have been issued or should not be enforced, he may direct the native authority to revoke such order or to refrain from enforcing such order, or may himself revoke such order and may, with the consent of the Governor, require the repayment of any fine imposed by a Magistrate's Court or a Native Court or the release from custody of any person sanctioned to imprisonment by any such Court for contravention of such order, whether before or after his direction to revoke or to refrain from enforcing such order, or his revocation of such order, was issued.

penalties for offence

11. (1) A native shall be liable to a fine of twenty-five pounds or to imprisonment for six months with or without hard labour, or to both such fine and imprisonment, if

- (a) he contravenes or fails to obey any order or direction which by this Ordinance he is bound to obey;
- (b) he obstructs or interferes with the lawful exercise by a native authority of any powers conferred by this Ordinance.

(2) A

(2) A native shall be liable to a fine of fifty pounds or to imprisonment with or without hard labour for one year or to both such fine and imprisonment if, not being a person exercising administrative functions with the approval of the Governor, or a native authority, or a Chief he shall profess to exercise administrative functions, or hold himself out to be a Chief or assume the powers of a native authority; provided that, except in so far as the Governor may by order otherwise direct, no proceedings shall be taken for an offence against this sub-section without the consent of the Governor.

(3) Any native accused of an offence against this section may be arrested in accordance with a warrant obtained under section twenty and may be tried before a Magistrate's Court or a Native Court within the area of whose jurisdiction the offence was committed; provided always that no Court shall be deemed to be authorised by this Section to impose heavier penalties than such Court is authorised to impose in the exercise of its ordinary criminal jurisdiction.

Penalty for in-
triguing against
native authority

12. (1) Any person who intrigues against the powers and authority of any native authority or shall do any act or thing with the purpose of undermining the authority of any native authority shall be guilty of an offence and shall be liable on conviction thereof, before a Magistrate's Court constituted in the Colony by a Provincial Commissioner and in Ashanti and the Northern Territories by a Chief Commissioner on whom such jurisdiction is hereby expressly conferred, to a fine not exceeding one hundred pounds or to imprisonment for one year or to both such fine and imprisonment and shall be liable to be deported from the Division into any part of the Gold Coast.

(2) No

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(2) No appeal from a conviction under this Section shall lie except by petition to the Governor who may, if he thinks fit, require or allow the person convicted to appear in person before him or be represented by Counsel and may in his discretion affirm set aside, or vary any decision given by such Magistrate's Court.

(3) Except in so far as the Governor may by order otherwise direct, no proceedings shall be taken for an offence against this Section without the consent of the Governor.

13. The Governor may at any time grant to any person deported as aforesaid permission in writing to return to the Division from which he had been deported and may grant such permission unconditionally or subject to any conditions he may think fit to prescribe and any person who having been deported from a Division, returns thereto without such permission or having received such permission infringes any conditions attached thereto may be arrested without warrant wherever found and shall be liable on conviction before a Magistrate's Court to imprisonment for a period not exceeding three months and the original order of deportation as confirmed by the Governor shall again be put into effect.

Power of District Commissioner to effectuate order of deportation

14. It shall be lawful for the District Commissioner to take all such action as is reasonably necessary for the purpose of carrying into effect any confirmed order of deportation made as above.

Powers of Native authorities to make rules

15. (1) Subject to the provisions of any Ordinance or other law for the time being in force, a native authority, with the concurrence of the native authority, if any, to which it is subordinate, and subject to the approval of the Governor, may make rules providing for the peace, good order and welfare of natives within the area of its authority, and imposing as penalties for the breach of any

rule

rule a fine of fifty pounds or imprisonment for two years or both such fine and imprisonment.

(2) Every rule made under sub-section (1) shall be made known in such manner as is customary in the area of the native authority by whom it is made, and thereupon shall be binding on all natives residing or being within the jurisdiction of the native authority making the rules, and without prejudice to any other mode of proof, a certificate purporting to be signed by a Provincial Commissioner or an Administrative Officer shall be sufficient evidence of the terms of any such rule, that the concurrence of a superior native authority, if any, has been obtained, that the approval of the Governor has been given and that the rule has been made known as required by this sub-section.

(3) The Governor may at any time revoke any rule made by a native authority under this section and such revocation shall be made known in the manner herein prescribed for the promulgation of such rule and shall thereupon have effect.

(4) A person subject to the jurisdiction of a native authority who may be accused of an offence against rules made under this section may be arrested in accordance with a warrant obtained under section twenty and may be tried before a Magistrate's Court or a Native Court within the area of whose jurisdiction the offence was committed; provided always that no Court shall be authorised by this section to impose heavier penalties than such Court is authorised to impose in the exercise of its ordinary criminal jurisdiction.

Native Treasuries

16.(1) A native authority may, with the approval of the Governor, establish a native treasury in the area under the control of such native authority. All monies received by a native authority by way of dues, rates, fines, fees or grants shall be paid into such treasuries.

(2) T

(2) The Governor may from time to time make rules for the general management, supervision and control of such treasuries.

Revenue of Native Authority.

17. A native authority may, with the approval of the Governor, levy upon the natives living within the local limits of its jurisdiction rates, dues and fees for such purposes as the Governor may from time to time direct.

Expenses of Native Authority.

18.(1) All expenses incurred by a native authority in the execution of the powers and duties conferred and imposed upon it by or under the Ordinance or in discharge of any liabilities legally incurred shall be defrayed out of the funds of the native authority.

(2) The expenditure of every native authority shall be controlled by the native authority subject to the direction and approval of the Governor and any expenditure not so approved shall, if the Governor so direct, be surcharged against the person authorising it.

Reservation of jurisdiction of Courts concerned in the issue of orders and rules

19. No Court shall be precluded from trying an offence under this Ordinance by reason of the fact that such offence, if committed, was a breach of an order, direction or rule, issued or made by any member of the Court as a native authority or member of a native authority.

Procedure for arrest under certain sections.

20. Where a native authority desires that any person should be arrested under sub-section (2) of section seven, sub-section (3) of section eleven or sub-section (4) of section fifteen the native authority shall apply to any Court having jurisdiction over such person for a warrant issued by the Court so directs, the native authority itself may cause such person to be arrested.

Delegation of powers

21. The Governor may delegate to a Provincial Commissioner such of the powers vested in him by this Ordinance as he may deem expedient, and subject to such conditions as he may impose, and may order that the

exercise of any such delegated powers shall not require publication in the Gazette but shall be notified in such manner as is customary for the native community in the area concerned.

Power of Governor

22. The Governor may make rules for the better carrying into effect of the purposes and provisions of this Ordinance.

Repeal

23. The enactments specified in the first column of the Schedule to this Ordinance shall be repealed to the extent indicated in the second column thereof.

**H. Handing over Notes from Mr. V.H.K. Littlewood, Asst. District
Commissioner to Mr. J.W. Chalmers, Asst. District Commissioner.**

5362 ~~that~~ 19
HANDING OVER NOTES FROM
MR. V.H.K. LITTLEWOOD, ASST. DISTRICT COMMISSIONER
TO
MR. J. W. CHALMERS, ASST. DISTRICT COMMISSIONER.

NATIVE ADMINISTRATION.

that

✓The original
policy was to
recognise no
amalgamation

You are familiar with the policy of amalgamation. Of the 71 Divisions 56 have joined one or other of the 4 states. This has been the position for some years - The 15 other Divisions having held out in the hope that Government policy would be changed. The leaders of the opposition to amalgamation are, Ve, Ubi and Anfoe. Nkonya, too, is a large Division which holds out, but they do not appear to have a great deal to do with the other unamalgamated Divisions. When the Recruiting Campaign started Ve, Ubi, Anfoe, Goviefe, Likpe and Santrokofi interviewed Captain Walker and told him that although they were anxious to play their part in the war they felt they had not been altogether fairly treated in the past. I was not present at this interview but Captain Walker told me that there was no question of boycotting the Recruiting campaign or refusing to help unless Government policy was changed. In fact recruits have come forward from all the unamalgamated Divisions. These Chiefs suggested to Captain Walker that they be allowed to form a group, the presidency of which would rotate among them. Captain Walker made no promises, but he did say that their request would be given consideration. He himself was sympathetic and thought that there was a lot to be said for their proposal. Personally I think that this would be a great mistake. Had confederation and not amalgamation been the original policy things might have been considerably easier. But Government decided on amalgamation and I think Government must stick to its policy. A number of Divisions reluctantly joined the States thinking that Government's policy was final. Were we to change now it would teach them and others that they have only to hold out for long enough to gain their will. Some thought that amalgamation was Captain Lilley's own policy and that it would die when he left. They have hoped that Captain Walker would change it. I think it is necessary for them to learn that the policy is the policy of Government and not of any particular District Commissioner. Ve and others protest against amalgamation as being against custom and their traditions. But all of them approved of the policy so long as there was a chance of their becoming paramount. Ve, in fact, did more than any other Chief to spread its gospel. Once they learn that we propose to be firm on this matter others will join. Likpe who is among the Chiefs who saw Captain Walker about forming a confederate group told me in December that he wished to join Buem. Two of his subchiefs hold out, but he and the majority then wished to join. Santrokofi was in the old days under Buem and should go back. Avame is divided over a stool dispute. One faction led by the Divisional Chief has already joined Akpini. Part of Goviefe wish to join Akpini. In the south the majority of the Abutias wish to join the Asogli State. The village of Agove alone holds out. The Chiefs of Taviefe and Agotime also wished to join this State but some of their people oppose. Adaklu too has a faction in favour of amalgamation unless the whole Division agreed. On this basis 56 Divisions joined the States. But I think this is asking too much. Every policy that calls for change will have its opponents and it would be surprising were

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we to get unanimity in all cases. It is not desirable to count heads, but I think we should be in a position to estimate the opinions of a Division and where the weight of opinion is in favour of amalgamation we should recognise it. A further difficulty has been that none of the States has really justified its existence. We continually preached the benefits of unity, but they have not been forthcoming. The fault is largely ours. The States need careful guidance, but we have not had the time to give this. We have not supported the chiefs sufficiently over the question of State Treasuries. The people are intensely "divisional" and their organisation for administration, public works, etc. is on a divisional basis. Beyond the privilege of having a Tribunal, they get no advantages from being members of a State. On the subject of amalgamation we need first to be firm and insist on the permanence of our policy and secondly to make the benefits of uniting apparent to all. On this second point the only basis for improvement is the State Treasury, which could maintain roads and carry out other public works.

I. The Petition of the Head Chiefs of Gbe-Hohoe, Likpe, Ve, Santrokofi, Anfoega, Tsrukpe, and Goviefe Divisions to Governor Arnold Wienhold Hudson, 1941.

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TO HIS EXCELLENCY, SIR ARNOLD WIENHOLD HUDSON KNIGHT
COMMANDER OF THE MOST DISTINGUISHED ORDER OF SAINT
MICHAEL AND SAINT GEORGE, GOVERNOR AND COMMANDER-IN-
CHIEF OF THE GOLD COAST COLONY ETC. ETC.

THE PETITION OF THE HEAD CHIEFS OF GBE-HOHOE, LIKPE, VE,
SANTROKOFI, ANFOEGA, TSROKPE AND GOVIEFE DIVISIONS, ALL
OF TOGOLAND UNDER BRITISH MANDATE, SHENETH:-

1. That Your Excellency's Petitioners are the Head Chiefs
of the above named 7 Divisions all in Togoland under British
Mandate, who are affected by the Native Administration
Ordinance, Cap.90(Togoland, Southern Section) and the
proclamations thereunder.

2. That Your Excellency's Petitioners most humbly submit
that the object of the said Ordinance provided for "Paramount-
cy and State" is one that they can not but appreciate as
aiming at the better Political and Judicial Government of
this part of Togoland under British Mandate, but Your
Excellency's Petitioners most humbly beg to point out that
the object will be achieved by Your Excellency's Advisers
finding a formula under which these Head Chiefs of the
various Divisions may co-operate with one another in forming
a Political or Administrative Joint Divisional Council under
a "President" without sacrificing their sovereign indepen-
dence and territorial or Stool intergrities, for no sovereign
Division, however, insignificant but conscious of its
position can ever satisfy it without betraying the sacred
trust inherited by Chief or Ruler from his Ancestors.

3. That Your Excellency's Petitioners most humbly beg to
point out that the Definitions of "Divisional Chief",
Paramount Chief" and "State" as well as the interpretation
of the terms in text of the Ordinance, imply and postulate
subordination of one independent Stool or Division to
another Stool or Division and the purpose of this Petition
is to show that this idea of subordination and inferiority
or the desire for annihilation of the stool's territorial
independence is not needed to secure the Political and
Administrative reconstruction of the several Divisions in
Togoland but that the same object may be otherwise secured
by means of a "Presidency" without doing any injury to the
requirement of the Crown or the right of the Petitioners.

4. That Your Excellency's Petitioners humbly beg and
crave the indulgence of Your Excellency for amendments
necessary in the present Ordinance referred to or of any
subsequent Ordinances or Rules and Regulations made there-
under.

5. That Your Excellency's Petitioners are aware that some
of the Divisional Chiefs of Togoland (whether voluntary or
by coercive persuasion which is not within Your Excellency's
Petitioners' province to meddle with) have already availed
themselves of the provisions of the Ordinance and have sworn
Oaths of allegiance to particular Divisional Chiefs for
certain purposes of the Ordinance but Your Excellency's
Petitioners are persuaded and well advised and they verily
believe that the suggested amendments shall not affect those
who have already on their own accord attached themselves to
particular Divisions. The Petitioners are further advised
and verily believe that the suggested amendments are not
such as in any least way to derogate from the Authority of
the Crown or of His Majesty's Government, and care has been
taken that the Judicial and Political Administration of
Togoland shall not in any way be placed in jeopardy or
insecurity.

6. That Your Excellency's Petitioners to facilitate the
work of amendments in this connection, and to enable Your
Excellency's Advisers to appreciate fully in what way they,
the Petitioners consider that interest and intrust of their

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Trustees, will be served without prejudice to either side, Petitioners crave leave to solicit and to beg for throwing open to them a franchise as a body of Judicial and Political powers, constituent of a Joint Divisional Council in a running manner of rotation of a Presidency of a two year's duration of Office or Trust by each member or to any extended period that may be deemed expedient, with such franchise granted to be under the direct control and supervision of our worthy Friend, Captain Duncan Newlands Walker, Esqr. District Commissioner in charge of the Ho District, Togoland under British Mandate.

7. That Your Excellency's Petitioners, though are not declaiming the Authority, yet most humbly beg to point out that the purpose for which their respective Native Tribunals have since 1932 been closed namely: because they were not and still not prepared to accept the subordination and inferiority to the sanctification of their Stool or Divisional intergrities by swearing Oaths of allegiance to some particular Divisional Chiefs as provisioned by the said Ordinance is by far inconsistent with the fundamental principles of the British Empire to which we are proud to belong, as can be justified by a letter No. 681/69/1931 of 23rd July, 1932, being His Excellency's reply to the Petition from Anfoega and Tsurukpe Divisions in which the Petitioners were informed "It is not Government's intention to force any Division to join a State, as the essence of amalgamation lies in its voluntary nature". Your Excellency's Petitioners can not therefore appreciate the interpretation of compulsion embodied in Section 3 of the said Ordinance.

8. That Your Excellency's petitioners humbly beg to repeat that this part of Togoland under British Mandate is not yet matured for "Paramountcy" then "Presidentship" for in the former case the Judicial powers are once for all vested in particular person called "Paramount Chief" who waster or not conscious of discharging his duties in such capacity; but the later invites and admits all the Head Chiefs of the various Divisions to equal Judicial Power under a President which is alternatively opened to any member of the suggested Joint Divisional Council by vote.

9. That Your Excellency's Petitioners on the strength of motive underlying the provisions of the Article contained in the Proclamation of the League of Nation by which this part of Togoland was placed under the Mandatory Power of the British Empire namely: to Politically, Economically and Statistically protect and to educate the inhabitants as one of the backwards races to the realisation of the British Laws, this at a glance, substantiates the inconsistency of the Ordinance referred to by which Your Excellency's Petitioners though components of that vast Empire and still unswerving loyal subjects of His Majesty's Government were overlooked and excluded from the required education.

10. That Your Excellency's Petitioners for several and diverse reasons assigned above regarding the principles of subordinations required by the said Ordinance most humbly pray that the Petitioners may be allowed to form themselves into group as sought for under a President similar to the Provincial Council of the Gold Coast Colony for the better Government and Education by bringing the people of the various Divisions into harmony against crashes.

Your Excellency's Petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray.

We have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your Excellency's Most Obedient and humble

	Servants,	
Gabusu	H/Chief of Obe Division	x x
Akoto Tse	" Likpe	x x
Tetteh Kalsi	" Santrokofi	x x
Delume	" Ve	x x
Sakrafo	" Goviefe	x x
Braupa VIII	" Tsurukpe	x x
E.N.H. Hodo	" Anfoega	x x

(Sgd) Mks

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- 3 -

W/W to marks & sign.
(Sgd) T.M. Bissabah
Pro Tempore Secretary

Dated at Honoe this 14th day of January, 1941.

I Thompson Mensah Bissabah of Anfoega Adame
now at Kpandu in the Ho District, Togoland
under British Mandate, Pro Tempore Secretary
to the suggested Joint Divisional Council witness
to the signature and marks of the Petitioners,
do hereby certify that this petition has been
read and explained by me to the Petitioners
herein named, who are personally known to me,
and that the Petitioners declared in my presence
and hearing that they substantiate them, and in
my presence they affixed their marks and signa-
ture to this petition this day.

J. G.A.S. Northcote, Measures against Civil Disturbances, 1932.

CONFIDENTIAL.

Acting Colonial Secretary,

The disorders which characterised the anti-Income tax Bill demonstrations in October last at Sekondi, Shama and Cape Coast indicate that if the prestige of Government is to remain upheld it is essential that the hooligan element of the population should be taught to respect law and order and that the Chiefs and Elders should come to realize and to perform effectively their duty of assisting Government to maintain its authority.

2. The measures which can be taken to these ends by Political and Police Officers can be classified as follows :-

- (a) General propaganda;
- (b) Preventive and precautionary measures in specific cases;
- (c) Counteraction in specific cases.

3. General propaganda. It is not suggested that, ordinarily, more is necessary than that in all intercourse between Political or Police Officers on the one hand and Chiefs and Elders on the other, there should be an axiomatic assumption that the latter will take all steps in their power to preserve the public peace. Where facts patently belie that assumption it is the duty of senior Political Officers to seek an early opportunity to impress that duty upon them.

4. Preventive

4. Preventive and precautionary measures in specific cases.

(i) When, as should usually be the case, there is reason to be aware beforehand that a disorderly demonstration is likely to occur it is of the first importance that immediate steps should be taken to prevent, or, failing prevention, to counteract its occurrence.

(ii) Of such steps, the first should be to communicate at once with the Chiefs concerned reminding them that their duties as Public and Judicial Officers and as Conservators of the Peace require them to do all in their power to prevent any disorder or breaches of the law.

Among the measures within a Chief's power are:-

- (1) The issue of directions to his people to act strictly in accordance with Police Regulations under section 42(a) (3) of Cap.131 and the local laws which deal with the public peace(Cap.29, Title 24) and
- (2) Firm prohibitions against any interference with other citizens, against the commission of any damage to property and against acts of disrespect to Government.

(iii) An exhortation of this nature should be followed, if there is reason to believe that a particular Chief may assist or encourage an illegal procession or any demonstration which is likely to become disorderly, by a warning that abetment on his

part

part will meet with prosecution. [The closing of markets in order to facilitate the holding of such an assembly exemplifies the sort of encouragement that is in mind.]

(iv) A further preventive measure, the use of which should be considered when such an event impends, would be to bind over the probable leaders to keep the peace.

(v) It is pertinent here to add that as regards the issue of permits under the Police (Control of Traffic) Regulations above-mentioned, it is not intended to suggest that refusal should necessarily be given to applications for permission to hold public meetings or processions which have a political object. Where such demonstrations are held peacefully they can serve a useful purpose and their absolute prohibition would react to the public disadvantage. It is, however, important that permits should be given only where the responsible Chiefs undertake to use their full influence to ensure that disorder will not ensue.

(vi) Precautionary measures should include careful consideration of the time, places etc. at which trouble may be expected and of the disposition of the Police which will best meet the anticipated case; in this connection it should be borne in mind that timely action by the Police is likely to be more effective than stronger measures taken when the situation has got out of hand.

(vii) Consideration

(vii) Consideration should at the same time be given to the sufficiency of the available Police Force and, if re-inforcement is required, the request should go to the Inspector-General of Police at the earliest possible moment.

5. Counteraction in specific cases.

(i) Counteractionary measures must depend on the circumstances which give rise to their necessity.

The Confidential Instructions regarding the use of troops in civil disturbances, issued in 1931, should be borne in mind.

(ii) The essential objectives at such a time are the maintenance of Government's authority and the preservation (or restoration) of the peace. On both grounds it is of extreme importance that the Police should take action to cope with public disorder whenever it occurs and that they should do so with effect and success.

(iii) The withholding or withdrawal of the local Police Force in the face of such disorder, even though undertaken with pacificatory or humane motives, is to be avoided as tending towards reactions injurious to Government's prestige and administration. Such steps can only be justified when it is clear that the force available at the moment would not be able to hold its own and that premature action would lead to a more serious situation.

(SGD.) G.A.S. NORTHCOOTE.

28th April, 1932.

K. ARPS, "Resolutions at an Executive Committee Meeting for Transmission to the National Liberation Council, Its Committees and Commissions", 1967.

Aborigines Rights Protection Society

Motto: "YETWER NYAME"
(We Trust in God)
Founded 1897

Telegraphic Address: "ABORIGINES"

Secretary:
V. C. A. FVNN



THE SECRETARY'S OFFICE
D8/2 COMMERCIAL STREET
P.O. BOX 409
CAPE COAST

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT AN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING OF
THE ABORIGINES RIGHTS PROTECTION SOCIETY HELD AT CAPE
COAST ON FRIDAY, 21ST. APRIL, 1967, FOR TRANSMISSION TO
THE NATIONAL LIBERATION COUNCIL, ITS COMMITTEES AND COM-
MISSIONS

1. That as the sad, unexpected death of Lieutenant-General Kotoka, was apparently undefended by any body of soldiers on the spot, except his individual seemingly personal attendants of exceptional courage and sympathy, that is, as the Lieutenant-General, the General Officer Commanding the Armed Forces, was left singularly alone to be searched by very junior army violent assailants, and stripped of his only means of self-defence (his pistol), to fight in self-defence alone, a very junior army officer, armed, in the presence of some rank and file without anyone to take his orders, or to go to his aid, is lamentably, a clear indication of an uneducated, uncivilized mercenary, and, an unfortunately improperly disciplined sort of soldiers of the mercenary type unsuitable for a National Army and cannot be relied upon or trusted; and, that as a similar low standard of morale was exhibited in a mutiny by a section of this so-called Ghana Army in the Congo, it is hereby deemed necessary that the Ghana Armed Forces be disbanded in due course and paid off, and a fresh body of choice men and women selected to form the Regular Armed Forces of Ghana.

A soldier must be long-suffering and forbearing, and free from barbarous practices, and, ever ready to defend his country and people.

2. That as part of the preparation to hand over power to Civil Rule, the National Liberation Council do take quick steps to settle or set up the Country's Administrative and Defence Systems in order, and, to improve the means of, or provide the means of transportation and communication throughout all the Local Government Areas.

3. That as the Security of the State is the weakest link in any administration or administrative set-up; and that as the Security of the State is dependent upon the Public Services, namely: The Civil and the Local Government Servants, the Judicial Officers, the Police and the Armed Forces, the National Liberation Council's Administrative Committee do look into the National Security Measures with all due urgency in preparation for the Civil Government.

The Aborigines Society hopes to submit a special memorandum on Ghana's National Security.

4. That as the Public Services and the Armed Forces herein-named are on the British Colonial Pattern, and as events during and since independence (6th. March, 1957) prove them false to our national safety, and, as the Constitution and Electoral Commissions do not have such matters as affect the security and re-delimitation of the Layout of the Country on their terms of reference, which Layout is to make for such things as,

- (1) Easy contact by the Central and Local Governments with the people;
- (2) Smooth Call-out for men for the National Defence Services;
- (3) Easy Contact and Relations among the citizens by transport and communication,

the National Liberation Council do appoint either, another Commission of a few competent men composed of a competent surveyor, a competent educated and experienced soldier, and, a competent Supreme Court Judge, to look into the Security Measures of the State by hearing evidence from the general public, or widen the terms of reference of the Constitution and Electoral Commissions, or call upon the N.L.C. Administrative Committee (Decree No. 31 of 1966) to review the National Security Measures in the light of the following proposals resolved by the Executive Committee of the Aborigines Rights Protection Society, A Country with a weak and vacillating local government is insecure.

5. That as the Government of the People, for the People, by the Elected representatives of the very People, can only have and should have two strata, namely: the Local Government and the Central Government.

6. That as the people today are united not by common allegiance or affiliation to a particular stool, but by social and economic interests owing a common allegiance to a Central Government, the areas or spheres of jurisdiction of the Local Government must be fixed, definite, compact and conterminous with the electoral areas.

7. That as the Stool (traditional) areas used in the past as the areas of the local governments brought untold conflicts between the Chiefs occupying such Stools in the areas and the elected representatives on the local councils, as to who is the legitimate ruler of the people with the result that there was no development by the local governments, that as the Rule of Chiefs ended throughout the Country owing to the transfer of that Right to Rule to the British Colonial Government through their acceptance of Indirect Rule in the year 1927; to wit: the inception of the Native Administration Ordinance and the Provincial Council System; and, that as the Stool Lands Acts of 1959 and 1960 transferred the last right of all Chiefs to represent their Stool Land Interests to the Central Government, now inherited by the National Liberation Council (the Caretaker Government), the Administrative Districts whose populations are sparse and thin, e.g. Enchi, do form the limits of the Local Government; the Administrative Districts whose populations are 50,000 or more should be divided into compact areas conterminous with the Electoral Areas.

8. That as example, (1) In the Cape Coast District, the area stretching from Yamuransa Junction to Asebu and Asuansi, thence across Kakum to Jukwa Area, thence through Krobo and Abrem Areas to the River Prah, and along the River Prah to the Sea, thence along the Sea Shore to the sea near Yamuransa, do form one Local Government called Cape Coast West Local Government with area councils and committees for the Wards. From the east of the Cape Coast West Local Government proposed herein to Mankessim or so could be another Local Government Area. From Mankessim or so to the Western Boundary of Winneba District and spreading Northward of the Cape Coast Administrative District, do form another Local Government with Area Councils and Committees for the Wards.

(2) In the Asankrangwa Administrative District all areas from the Centre or near Centre of the District stretching to the Eastern Boundary of ENCHI District do form the Asankrangwa West, and all places to the East of the District do form the Asankrangwa East Local Government with Area Councils and Committees of the Wards.

(3) The Enchi Administrative District is large; but its population is sparse and thin; e.g. 15,000 according to the 1960 Census. It could form one Local Government with Area Councils and Committees. The inhabitants could be encouraged to concentrate their developments around the Enchi Town. The large Forest Area could be reserves selected for peculiar industries of economic value.

9. That single, large and important towns in a local government area having enough means or that may grow in wealth and population to be able to run their own Local Government, could be granted the City or Municipal Council or Local Government Status with the right to elect candidates to the Second Chamber of the Legislature, called in these proposals the House of Elders.

10. That the Administrative Districts of the National Liberation Council

Council be the Local Images of the Ministries through which the Executive could contact and pass Central Government development aids to the Local Governments; and be the Offices responsible for keeping up-to-date records of the local population, and of the accounts, or the local revenue and expenditure.

11. That the Stool Lands Acts of 1959 and 1960 be repealed and all Stool Lands be vested in the Local Governments of the People as the management authority. The lands are the property of the local people.

12. That Stools owning lands in the local government areas be allowed their due share of one-third of the Royalties accruing from the Stool Lands. What the Central Government is rightly due to have is its income tax on incomes of individuals and corporations. Stools are at best corporations.

13. That Paramount Chiefs who in lieu of their one-third share of royalties agreed to have annual grants or salaries must be paid due compensation, should Government Funds be not adequate to guarantee a regular payment of this annual grant.

14. That as Chieftaincy, an obsolete and absolute institution engenders tribalism, and, is a source of disputes in the Country, that as Chieftaincy does not fit in any part of the new Social Structure, all Chiefs on Stools and Skins be known as the Elders of the Local Government Areas, and that all matters arising out of nomination, election, installation and destoolment or deposition of ELDERS be the subject of the elected Local Government.

15. That as Regional Administrations are the design of the erstwhile British Colonial Government, continued by the toppled Kwame Nkrumah Government, to carry out the policies and orders of the Central Government in which the people had no effective share, for a number of local governments; that as the Regional Administrations are go-between the Central and Local Governments not befitting the Government of the people, by the people's own elected Representatives, because it tends to make the Central Government superior, dictator or alien; that as the Regional Administrations create duplication of powers; that as the Regional Administrations hang, delay action, engender tribalism, offer a safe avenue for misappropriation of Central Government Development Funds to the Local Governments, act as a screen for subversion and treachery difficult to detect; and that as the Regional Administrations are invariably suspected of twisting or misrepresenting facts, thus becoming a source of annoyance to the people, they should be scrapped, and the Regional Administrative Officers posted at the District Offices as the Local Extension of the Ministries, and, the District Administrative Officers posted at Executive Secretaries to the Local Governments.

16. That as the name Ghana, was anathema centuries ago, and, as the name has been so in recent times, this Country be named after its former name Gold Coast.

17. That the BLACK STAR in the National Flag of Ghana be SILVER STAR.

18. That the National Liberation Council, the Caretaker Government assumes itself the nature of a Transitional Government, and speed up its programme of preparing the way for a true Civil Rule in a Country having its Security Measures safe and sound.

19. That as Security matters in re Public Services and the Armed Forces, Delimitation of definite, compact Local Government Areas conterminous with the Electoral Areas, a network of roads and communication throughout all the Local Government Areas, to make at-call-out of men and women for National Defence Services easy and mobile, being matters of urgency and the proper function of a transitional Government, preparing the way for a stable civil rule, the National Liberation Council do leave such matters as Salary Structure, Agricultural and Educational Development Programmes and Housing which are the proper function of an Elected or permanent Government, and concentrate on the Security matters aforementioned.

20. That as the majority of the indigenous traders of this Country are illiterate and ignorant and do not understand valuation, the police be requested to accompany price inspectors to explain the new price system and to teach the proper conversion of prices from the old cedi currency to the new cedi currency.

N.B. Paper bags which used to sell for six old pesewas and should now sell for five new pesewas, sell for eight new pesewas. Coca Cola, Fanta, or Sprite which used to sell for eight old pesewas, now sell for eleven new pesewas; in some places for eight new pesewas instead of for six and a half new pesewas. If this is not checked before the old cedi currency becomes an illegal tender, the inflated prices will stay.

21. That the National Liberation Council be congratulated on its delicate task which it is carrying out patiently; and, that it may please the Almighty to cause His face to shine upon the deliberations of the National Liberation Council is the fervent prayer of the Aborigines Rights Protection Society.

Yours in the Service of Fellowmen,

K. A. J. J.
SECRETARY

FOR THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE
ABORIGINES RIGHTS PROTECTION SOCIETY

THE CHAIRMAN,
NATIONAL LIBERATION COUNCIL,
THE CASTLE, OSU, ACCRA.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE,
NATIONAL LIBERATION COUNCIL,
THE CASTLE, ACCRA.

THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE,
PARLIAMENT HOUSE, ACCRA.

THE LEGAL COMMITTEE,
ACCRA.

THE ECONOMIC COMMITTEE,
GHANA COMMERCIAL BANK, ACCRA.

THE REGIONAL COMMITTEES OF ADMINISTRATION.

THE CONSTITUTION COMMISSION,
PARLIAMENT HOUSE, ACCRA.

THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION,
PARLIAMENT HOUSE, ACCRA

22/1/61 Amadi

The Chairman

Manli Repur Committee of Ad.

Kumasi

P. 22/5

L. Turkish Summary / Türkçe Özet

KOLONYAL GANA'DA İNGİLİZ EMPERYALİZMİ, İDARE VE TOPLUM, 1874-1957

Giriş

Proje, amir sınıfın ve eğitimli sınıfın meydana gelen değişimlere karşı direnişi yerine onların rolünü tasvir etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Sömürgecilikle ilgili gördüğüm hemen hemen tüm çalışmalar, bu iki sınıfın rollerinden ziyade direnişe odaklıydı. Bunu yaparken, boylamsal toplumsal dönüşümlerin, siyasi-ekonomik faaliyetlerin, İngiliz emperyalist politikalarının ve bu yöndeki sonuçlarının bir açıklamasını sunmaktayım. Araştırmanın amaçlarından biri, yerli devletler ile İngilizler arasındaki ilişkide sömürgeciliğin tohumunu ve bunun sosyal tabakalaşmaya ve yeni hiyerarşik oluşumlara yol açan ortodoks statükoyu ne ölçüde değiştirdiğini belirlemektir.

Araştırmanın Amacı ve Önemi

Bu çalışmanın amaçları şunlardır: bir yandan yerli etnik gruplar arasındaki ilişkileri incelemek ve onlarla Avrupalılar arasındaki sömürgecilik temel nedenini belirlemek; sömürgeciliğin onaylanmasına yol açan sonuçta ortaya çıkan sosyal dönüşümleri kurmak; Gana-İngiliz karşılaşmalarını sömürge öncesi dönemden sömürge sonrası dönemlere kadar araştırmak; yerlilerin yeni ortaya çıkan İngiliz sosyo-politik imparatorluğuna önermelerini sorgulamak; ve bu karşılaşmaların çeşitli etnik grupları ne ölçüde bütünleştirdiğini, karşılaşmayı etkileyen sorunlar dizisi arasındaki tepkilerini analiz etmektir. Bu bağlamda, çalışma Gana'da sosyal tabakalaşma konusundaki tartışmanın daha iyi anlaşılmasına katkıda bulunacaktır.

Araştırma Soruları

Aşağıdaki araştırma soruları bu çalışmaya rehberlik edecektir: Avrupalılarla karşılaşmadan önce yerli devletler arasındaki ilişkilerin niteliği neydi? Bu devletlerin iç ilişkilerinde, yerel işlere daha fazla Avrupa müdahalesine yol açan hangi deliller bulunmaktadır? İngiliz Sömürge Yönetimi'nin Gana'da aldığı ilk sosyo-politik kararlar nelerdi ve bunlar bölgedeki geleneksel sosyal düzeni nasıl etkilemiştir? Hangi özel sömürge politikaları, Amirler ve onların tebaası arasındaki güç ilişkilerini değiştirdi ve ilki bu tür politikalara nasıl tepki vermiştir? İngiliz Yönetiminin bölgede artan etkisini engellemek için ne gibi girişimlerde bulunuldu ve ne kadar başarılı olmuşlardır? Devam eden dönüşümlerde yerel elitlerin kapasitesi neydi ve tutumlarının etkisi neydi?

Yöntem

Bu çalışmada sorulan sorular, toplumsal dönüşümlerin, politik-ekonomik faaliyetlerin ve yerlilerin Avrupa emperyalizmine ve onun akıbetine tepkilerin tanımlanmasını ve açıklanmasını gerektirmektedir. Çalışmada hem arşiv hem de ikincil kaynaklar kullanılmıştır. Çalışma, kolonyal Gana halkı ile İngiliz meslektaşları arasındaki ilişkiye ilişkin birincil verileri kapsamlı bir şekilde kullandı. Bu birincil kaynaklar PRAAD'den elde edilecek ve arşiv materyalleri, kolonyal kayıtlar, amirlik, yerli meseleler, diğerlerinin yanı sıra aşağıdaki belgeler kapsamında araştırma komitelerinin raporlarından oluşacaktır: ARG 1; ARG 2; CSO 21; C.S. 85; C.S. 6; AND C.S. 130. Bunlar, dergi makaleleri, kitaplar, monografiler, süreli yayınlar ve yayınlanmamış tezler şeklindeki ikincil kaynaklarla desteklenecektir. Ayrıca, çalışma, tarihsel kaynakları artırmak için başta Siyaset Bilimi olmak üzere diğer disiplinlerden gerçekleri kullanarak çok disiplinli bir yaklaşımı benimseyecektir.

Alanyazın İncelemesi

Gana-İngiliz karşılaşmalarına ilişkin bir çalışma, sömürge yönetimi ve sosyal değişim hakkındaki literatürü dikkate almalıdır. En eski yazılı literatür, Avrupalı yazarların eserlerinde bulunur. Bu tür yazarlardan biri Brodie Cruickshank'tır (1853). Çalışmaları, yerli kabileler ve onların Avrupalılarla ilişkileri, Avrupalıların uygarlaştırıcı etkileri ve yerleşimleri, antlaşmaları, yerlilerin gelenekleri ve hükümetlerinin doğası ve diğer kolonilerin Gana'daki yönetim üzerindeki dış etkileri hakkında kapsamlı bir fikir vermektedir. Kitap, Gana'nın yazılı tarihinin temellerini ve ekonomik ve sosyo-politik dinamiklerini ilk elden anlatmaktadır. Kitabı tezle ilgili olan bir başka Avrupalı yazar Dennis Kemp'tir. Kemp (1898), Gana'daki on dokuzuncu yüzyıl misyonerlik çalışmalarının ayrıntılı bir açıklamasını sunmaktadır. Kitap, misyonerlerin Hristiyan fikirlerini tanıtırken karşılaştıkları zorlukları; Gana'nın misyonlar için ticari değerleri ve kolonide İngiliz Hukuku'nun ve Gold Coast Zabıta Teşkilatı'nın kurulmasına yol açan İngiliz Yönetimi; fetişizm; anadili ülkelerinin içsel gelenekleri ve yaşam biçimlerinin yanı sıra İngilizceyi akıcı bir şekilde konuşabilen eğitimli yerlilerin toplulukları üzerindeki etkisi tartışmaktadır.

Chauncey Hugh Stigand (1914), kitabında Tropikal Afrika'daki İngiliz Yönetiminin gerekçesinin ayrıntılı bir açıklamasını sunmaktadır. İngiliz politikalarının, adalet, ticaretin gelişmesi, onları yeni ihtiyaçlarla tanıştırmak ve ülkeleri dışındaki koloniler için dış pazarlar bulmak yoluyla Afrika kolonilerinin Avrupa çizgisinde iyi yönetim ve uygarlığına yönelik

olduğunu savundu. Afrikalı, okuma yazma eğitimi yoluyla yararlı bir yurttaş haline getirilecek ve daha sonra Kraliyet'in 1858 bildirisinden yararlanabilecek, yani, eğer nitelikleri varsa, ırkı veya dini ne olursa olsun hizmetindeki bürolara kabul edilebilecek. Ayrıca, Gana hakkında çok şey yazan bir diğer yazar da Albert Burdon Ellis'tir. İngilizlerin Gana kolonisi dışındaki bölgelerdeki diplomatik politikalarını, yaklaşık 1874'ten beri, özellikle Asante Konfederasyonu'nun iki güçlü Devleti olan Asante ve Juabin'e karşı incelemektedir (Ellis, 1883). Juabin'i Asante'ye karşı oynayarak ve bir güç dengesini korumak için birini veya diğerini silah zoruyla desteklemeyi teklif ederek İngiliz Yönetimi tarafından Kolonideki ticari çıkarlarını artırmak için kullandığı taktikleri tartışmaktadır. Kitap, Asante Eyaleti, sahil boyunca uygun olan Gana Kolonisi ile İngilizler arasında çeşitli sosyo-politik uzlaşmalara yol açan iç diplomatik ve siyasi stratejiler gösterdi.

Bir İngiliz yönetici ve Batı Afrika'daki İngiliz Yerli politikasının yaratıcısı olan Frederick D. Lugard (1922), İngiliz yönetim sisteminin kökenini, yöntemini ve mekanizmasını ve Tropikal Afrika'daki amacını özetlemektedir. İngiliz sömürge politikasının arazi kullanım hakkını, emeği, Hukuk Mahkemelerini, eğitim sistemini ve ilerlemeyi geliştirmek için yerlilere karşı bireysel sorumluluk duygusunu nasıl etkilediğini açıklamaktadır. Kitap, iki farklı idari mekanizmanın karşılaşmalarını analiz etmek için faydalıydı.

Yerlilerin kendileri tarafından daha önce yazılmış bazı eserler de vardı. Carl Christian Reindorf'un eseri (1895), Gana'nın bir yerli tarafından yazılmış ilk kapsamlı tarihidir. Kitap, ülkelerin anayasasını, geleneklerini, hükümet biçimlerini, ordularını, iletişim araçlarını, Avrupa Hükümetleri tarafından Gana'da okulların kurulmasını ve etkilerini ve medeni milletlerin örneklerine uymayan eğitimli toplumda çekişmenin başlamasını yerel bir bakış açısıyla tartışmaktadır. Reindorf'un kitabı, kolonyal Gana halkının deneyimlerinin ve geleneklerinin doğru bir tarihini içeriden yazmaya yönelik hızı belirlemektir. John Mensah Sarbah, yazıları sömürge döneminin zorluklarını gösteren bir başka yerlidir. Sarbah (1904), klan sistemini, evliliği, sosyal tabakalaşmayı, ataerkil aile sistemini, mülkiyeti, toprak mülkiyetini vb. yerel yasaların ilkelerine gömülü olarak tartışmaktadır. Bu kanunlar, zamanla kendiliğinden ortaya çıkan kanunlar, uygarlık arayışındaki yerli halkın kendi ürettikleri şekliyle amirler veya hükümdarlar, muhtarlar, köy meclisi, aşiret reisleri ve bölük reisleri tarafından yapılan kanun veya emirlerden oluşmaktadır. Bunlar sonraki nesillere sözlü gelenekle aktarılır.

Carola Lentz (2006), Gana Kuzey Bölgesi'ndeki Kuzey-Batı toplumlarının on dokuzuncu yüzyılın son üçte birinden itibaren tarihini anlatıyor ve İngiliz sömürge yetkililerinin idari yapılar ve şeflikler, işçi göçü, din üzerindeki etkisini; ve revize edilmiş kolonyal etnik ve politik sınırlar içinde eğitilmiş sınıfları incelemektedir. Lentz'in çalışması, sömürge yetkililerinin, misyonerlerin, amirlerin ve eğitilmiş seçkinlerin, diğerlerinin yanı sıra, ilçelerdeki etnik gruplaşmaları nasıl değiştirdiğine ve çeşitli sosyo-politik gündemleri nasıl yeniden yapılandığına atıfta bulundu. Brempong Arhin (2001) ise Coussey Anayasa Raporu'nun yürürlüğe girmesinden sonra 1951'den itibaren amirlerin konumuna ve bir kurum olarak şefliğin bağımsızlığa giden yıllarda geçirdiği değişikliklere bakmaktadır. Arhin'in çalışması bu çalışma için yararlıdır, çünkü UGCC'nin amirleri ve eski liderleri tarafından izlenen kabile siyasetinin bağımsızlık ilanını birkaç yıl geciktirdiğini göstermektedir.

Kolonyal Gana'nın Tarihi

Gold Coast, Batı Afrika'da bir ülke olan bugünkü Gana'nın eski adıydı. Batıda Fildişi Sahili, doğuda Togo, kuzeyde Burkina Faso ve güneyinde Gine Körfezi ile sınır paylaşmaktadır. 2021 nüfus sayımına göre 33.475.870 nüfusa sahiptir. Güneyden kuzeye, arazi fiziksel olarak kıyı bölgelerine, Ashanti platosuna, Volta ovaları ve kollarına ve kuzeydeki otlaklara bölünebilir. Bölge erken Taş Devri'nden beri yerleşim görmüştür. Bununla birlikte, MS ikinci yüzyıldan itibaren demir teknolojisinin ve çiftçiliğin gelişmesi ve ardından çökmekte olan Mali İmparatorluğu'ndan gelen göçmen grupları, nüfus artışına ve Devletlerin oluşumuna yol açtı. Böylece, bölge, bazıları özerk, diğerleri ise farklı diller, sosyal yapılar ve ekonomik faaliyetlerle başsız olan birçok kabile birimine sahip oldu. Merkezi devletler ilk olarak kuzeyde İslam'ın etkisi altında on üçüncü yüzyılda Mole-Dagbani'nin ve daha sonra Gonja ve Wala Devletlerinin kurulmasıyla ortaya çıktı. On beşinci yüzyılda, savan devletleri yağmur ormanlarından Nijer Nehri'ne ve Hausa topraklarına kadar olan uzun mesafeli ticaret üzerinde kontrol kurmuştu. Başlıca ticaret ürünleri, tahıl, kumaş ve tuz için dövülen altın ve kola fıstığıydı. Böylece, on altıncı yüzyılda Gana, dünyanın altın arzının çoğunu sağlıyordu.

Güney, kıyı ve batı kesimlerinde ise 1500 ile 1800 yılları arasında bugünkü yerlerine göçleri tamamlanmış Akan Devletleri yer almıştır. Ewe alt grubu, bölgenin güneydoğu eyaletini işgal ediyor. Akanlarla aynı zamanda Notsie'den göç ettiler. Dağılımları 1700'lerin başında tamamlandı. Son olarak, Accra kıyı bölgelerinde, on beşinci yüzyılda krallıklarını

oluşturmak için bir araya gelen Ga-Dangme halkı yaşıyor. Bununla birlikte, hareketleri ve ayrılıkları on altıncı ve on yedinci yüzyıllar arasında daha küçük birimler halinde devam etti. Kıyı bölgesinde güçlü krallıklar gelişmedi. *Guan* konuşan insanlar, on beşinci yüzyılda Volta Nehri havzasından Winneba ovalarının ötesine kadar bölgeyi doldurdu. İlk olarak on altıncı yüzyılda Ga-Dangme tarafından fethedildiler ve daha sonra Borbor Fante tarafından yerlerinden edildiler ve böylece on sekizinci yüzyılda Fante bölgesini oluşturdular.

Genel olarak, hareketler sosyo-politik ve ekonomik faaliyetleri genişletti. İkincisi iki çeşitti: iç ve dış ticaret. Dahili olarak, devletler kendi aralarında takas yaptı ve böylece avcılık, balıkçılık, tuz yapımı, çiftçilik, kola fındık toplama ve altın madenciliği gibi uzmanlıkların ortaya çıkmasına neden oldu. Dışarıda, savan ve batı Sudan, Sahra, Avrupa ve daha sonra Amerika ve Berberi devletleri (Kuzey Afrika'da günümüzde Fas, Cezayir, Tunus ve Libya'nın olduğu bölgeler) ile ticaret yaptılar. Kola fıstığı diğer bölgelerle ticaretin ana maddesi iken, 1471'de Portekizlilerin gelişiyle başlayarak Avrupa ve Amerika ile altın ve köle ticareti yapıldı. Böylece, 1471'den 1957'ye kadar, farklı Avrupa ülkeleri, bölgenin kaynaklarından ve insan gücünden paylarına düşeni almak için Gana'ya ayak bastı.

Devletler arasındaki iç çekişmeler, kalıcı büyük krallıkların ortaya çıkmasını engelledi. Bu, Avrupalı tüccarları yerli devletlerin iç işlerine dahil etti. Örneğin, 1805 ve 1874 arasındaki Asante-Fante Savaşları, Fanti kıyı bölgesinde ticaret yapan İngiliz tüccarlardan yardım istediğinde İngilizleri davet etti. Fante Amirler'in, Asantehene Osei Bonsu'ya meydan okuyan ve Asikuma'ya sığınan iki Asante kaçağı (Otibu ve Opotai) iade etmeyi reddetmesinden kaynaklandı. Böylece 1807, 1811, 1817 ve 1824'te ikisi arasında çatışmalar çıktı. İlk üç savaşta Asante, Fante ile tek başına savaştı, ancak Fante İngilizlerin desteğini aldı. 1824'te Fanteeler İngiliz valisi McCarthy tarafından yönetildi ve Asante'ye karşı kaybettiler. Düşmanlıklar 1826'da yeniden başladı ve Asante, İngilizlerle ittifak yapan diğer kabileler tarafından yenildi. İngilizlerin Fantees'e verdiği destek, ikisi arasında 6 Mart 1844 tarihli Bond'un imzalanmasına yol açtı. 1863'te daha fazla sorun vardı ve Vali Pine, Fantileri Asante istilasından korumak için silaha sarıldı. Hollandalıların kolonyal Gana'dan ayrılması, köle ticaretinin kaldırılması (Fanti bir aracı olarak hareket ettiği için Asante'nin sahille ticaretini etkiledi) ve Asante'nin Elmina'yı savunma kararlılığı 1873 ihtilafının nedenleri olarak eklendi. Savaş Ocak 1873'te Pra Nehri'nin güneyinde, Assin köylerinde başladı. 1874'te İngilizler Fanti savaşını devraldığında Asante'nin yenilgisiyle sonuçlanmıştı. Kumasi yıkıldı, Asantehene ele geçirildi ve Fomena Antlaşması imzalandı. Bu yenilgiyle Asante, Pra Nehri'nin güneyinde İngiliz korumasını tanıdı. Ayrıca Asante,

tazminat olarak 50.000 ons altın ödeyecek, insan kurbanını ortadan kaldıracak ve ticaret yollarını kıyıya açık tutacaktı. Bu zafer böylece 24 Temmuz 1874'te Gold Coast (Gana) Kolonisi'nin resmi ilanına yol açtı.

Üstün Amirler ve Toplumun Kurumsallaşması

Kolonyal Gana halkı, akrabalık bağlarıyla topluluklar halinde kümelenmişti. Bununla birlikte, toplumlar, az sayıda kadının otoriteyi elinde bulundurduğu bazı birkaç durum dışında, genellikle ataerkil niteliktedir. Topluluklar, tek aileli gruplardan, köylere, mezralara veya kümelere, bir il, kasabalara ve ardından sırasıyla aile reisleri, muhtarlar, amirler ve üstün amirler tarafından yönetilen Devletlere dönüştü. Tipik bir yerli Devlet, toplumdaki herkesin en iyisi ve korkusuz olduğuna inanılan Üstün Amir'in şahsında, tek bir merkezi üstün otoriteye bağlı birkaç farklı önemli topluluktan oluşur. Böylece, en üstün amir, elinde en yüksek otoritenin bulunduğu ve ona bağlılıklarını borçlu olan halkın egemenliğini, inancını, geleneklerini ve yasalarını temsil eden toplumun cisimleşmesidir. Akan aşiretleri arasında akrabalık, sıkıntılı yıllarda grupları yöneten en güçlü aşiretten kaynaklanmış ve üyeleri, halkı egemen bir hanedan kurmaya yönlendirmek için yükselen klanlara kadar daralmıştır. Tersine, NT'de, amirler toprağın kanından değildiler, ancak bu konumu Tindana'dan ele geçirmişlerdi. Ayrıca, Ga kabilelerinin hiçbir zaman üstün bir amiri olmadı. Çiftçilik yaparak yaşayan ve yerleşimlerini köle akıncılarının tehditlerinden korumak için yalnızca *Mantse* altında birleşen geniş aile kümeleriydiler.

Devlet Konseyi veya Yaşlılar Konseyi, en büyük amirin ofisine bağlı önemli bir tabakalaşmadır. Onlar amirin konsey üyeleridir. Konsey, Devlet işlerinin yürütülmesine yardımcı olmak üzere siyasi ve adli konulardaki deneyimlerine göre seçilen erkeklerden oluşur ve re'sen üye olan alt amirleri ve kaptanlar ve muhtarlar gibi diğer adamları içerir. Bu meclis halkın sesidir. Her ne kadar en büyük şefe saygı gösterse de, Devletin örf ve kanunlarına aykırı hareket etmesi halinde şeften hesap sorma ve onun ifadesini talep etme yetkisine sahiptir.

Bir kasabanın baş amirinin makamı, kralın makamından sonra gelir. Bununla birlikte, rütbe açısından, Yüzbaşı ve ordunun başı Tufuhene, kraldan sonra rütbededir. Bir sonraki önemli konum, dilbilimcinin konumudur ve tüm amilerin dilbilimcileri vardır. Bunlar, Devletin işlevleri konusunda bilgili kişilerdir ve yeni amirlerin yetiştirilmesinde ve görevlendirilmesinde kilit rol oynarlar. Bu ofis kalıtsaldır ve en büyük amir, dilbilimci aracılığıyla kamu işlevlerinde konuşur. Sıradan insanlar yapının temelindedir. Özetle, Devlet

üç zümreden oluşuyordu: En büyük amir ve hanesi, başlıca amirler ve önemli alt reisler ve hanehalkının üyeleri ve sıradan insanlar.

Devlete bağlı olarak en büyük Amir için çeşitli unvanlar vardır. Örneğin *Omanhene*, Akan kabileleri arasında kullanılan unvandır; *Mantse* (Ga ve Adangme); *Fia* (Ewe ve Krepi); *Nakaragu* (Nanumba); *Wurubong* (Nawuri); *Owura* (Nchumuru); *Ewura* (Doğu Gonja), *Na* (mole-Dagbani), vb. Ancak Büyük Amirler'in Akan grupları arasında nasıl görev aldığına çok dikkat edildi. *Ohemaa* (Kraliçe-anne) ve *Gyasehene* (amirin hane muhafızının Baş Kaptanı) olağanüstü bir amirin seçilmesine katılır. *Omanhene* seçilir ve yetkisini veya Devletin geleneklerini kötüye kullanırsa görevden alınabilir. Bir *Omanhene* aday, kraliyet ailesinden gelmeyi de içeren Taht kriterlerini karşılamalı ve körlük, sağırlık, dilsizlik, cüzzam veya epilepsi gibi hastalıklardan muzdarip olmamalıdır. Süreçte yer alan üç aşama vardır. Bunlar adaylık, seçim ve yerleştirmedir. Adaylık aşaması ile ilgili olarak, bireyin kraliyet ailesinden gelmesi gerekir. Kraliçe anne, bir Taht boşaldığında adayının adını Danıştay'a sunma hakkına sahiptir. Kraliçe annenin bir aday göndermek ve yeniden göndermek için üç şansı vardır. Ancak, tüm bunlar reddedilirse, Devlet o zaman kraliyet üyelerinden uygun bir aday seçme hakkını üstlenir. Seçim aşaması, seçilmiş amir tarafından halkına görev yemini etmeden önce kendisine bağlılık sözü veren halkına "aseda" (teşekkür parası) ödemesini içeriyordu. Son aşamada, seçilen amir fiziksel olarak tahtaya yerleştirilir. Bunun önemi, *Omanhene*'nin tahtaya bağlı yetkileri tam olarak kullanma hakkını üstlenmesidir. Tersine, Tahttan İnme, *Omanhene*'yi Tahttan çıkarmak anlamına gelir. Sadece onu tahtaya koyanlar, Kıdemli Reisin onayı ile onu tahttan indirebilirdi. Geçmişte tahttan indirilme gerekçeleri, hakkında aşırı içki içmek, zina yapmak, danışmanlarının tavsiyelerine uymamak, öfkeye kapılıp gençleri kırbaçlamak gibi suçlamalar gündeme geldiğinde başlardı. Tahttan indirilen bir amir makul bir şekilde tazmin edildi. Körlük, sağırlık, dilsizlikten muzdarip veya taburede sakatlanan bir amir tahttan indirilmemeli, tahta tarafından bir kenara bırakılmalı ve bakılmalıdır. Tersine, cüzzam veya epilepsiden muzdarip olanlar tahttan indirilecek ve tazmin edilecekti.

Gold Coast'ta din ve 'uygarlaştırma' misyonu

Afrika toplumları, oluşumlarından itibaren tek bir Yüce Varlığa inanmışlardır. Bununla birlikte, Tanrı'nın doğrudan ibadet edilemeyecek kadar büyük olduğuna, ancak araçlar aracılığıyla ibadet edilmesi gerektiğine inanıyorlardı. Böylece talepleri, dileklerini ve ihtiyaçlarını Tanrı'ya iletecek daha küçük tanrılara yöneldiler. Afrikalılar bu ruhlara veya

tanrılara tapıyorlardı, çünkü çeşitli yörelerin meseleleriyle ilgili olarak hareket etmek üzere Tanrı tarafından görevlendirildiklerine inanıyorlardı. Fetiş ibadeti böyle ortaya çıktı. Bu tanrıların denizlerde, ağaçlarda, hızlı akan derelerde, göllerde, ormanlarda ve kayalarda yaşadığına inanılır. Bütün bir kasaba, belirli bir hane ve bireyler için tanrılar vardır. Tanrıların isimleri vardır. Bazıları erkek iken, diğerleri kadındır. Gana'da iki ana tanrı vardı. İlk olarak, kuzey kabileleri ve Asante tarafından tapılan Tando tanrısı vardı. İkincisi, güney kabilelerinin taptığı Bobowissi tanrısı vardı. Böylece, bu iki tanrının temsilcilerinden çeşitli tanrılar ortaya çıktı. Tanrılara, çoğu sık ormanların derinliklerinde, tepelerde ve bazıları kıyılarda bulunan türbelerde tapılır. Rahipler, rahibeler ve bazı durumlarda tanrıların insan eşleri çeşitli türbelerle ilgilenir.

Hristiyanlık ise kolonyal Gana'ya yaklaşık 1481'de tanıtıldı. Portekiz kralı, Hristiyan bilgisinin bölgenin diğer bölgelerine yayılmaya başladığı Elmina'ya misyoner olarak bazı rahipler gönderdi. 1751'de, Gana'da sadece dört yıl geçirdikten sonra sağlık sorunları nedeniyle daha sonra İngiltere'ye dönmek zorunda kalan Rahip Thomas Thompson tarafından bir Anglikan Kilisesi görevi başlatıldı. 1756'da yanında üç genç yerliyi misyoner olarak eğitilmeleri ve yetiştirilmeleri için İngiltere'ye götürdü. İkiisi İngiltere'de öldü ve üçüncüsü Philip Quacoe, atandığı Londra ve Oxford'da dokuz yıl geçirdi. Böylece, 1765'ten Cape Coast'a döndüğünde, 1816'da ölene kadar papaz olarak görev yaptı. Ciddi misyon çalışmalarının bir sonraki aşaması, kıyıdaki Danimarka kalelerinde ve daha sonra iç kısımlarda Danimarka Kralı'ndan izin alındıktan sonra oluşturulan Basel Evanjelik misyonunun kurulmasıyla 1828'de başladı. Ayrıca, Wesleyan misyonu 1834 yılında Cape Coast'ta kıyı kasabalarında başladı ve daha sonra Wassw, Assin, Adansi, Ashanti, Akim ve Pekyi'nin iç bölgelerine yayıldı. Bu topluluk, William de Graft tarafından yönetilen, kıyıdaki birkaç genç, eğitilmiş yerliden oluşan bir grubun talebi üzerine başlatıldı. Bunları, Gold Coast kolonisinin doğu kesiminde ve komşu Alman kolonisi Togoland'ın batı kesiminde 1847'de faaliyetlerine başlayan Kuzey Almanya misyonu izledi; Roma Katolik misyonu da 1881'de Elmina'da Cape Coast, Anomabu, Saltpond ve Accra'daki önemli merkezlerle kuruldu. Misyonerlerin, geldiklerinde yerliler tarafından iyi karşılandığını belirtmekte fayda var. Başlangıçta Avrupalı subaylara, melezlere ve melez çocuklara vaaz verdiler, ancak daha sonra eğitim ve dini yaymak için okullar açmaya başladıklarında faaliyetlerini yerlilere de genişlettiler. Misyoner istasyonları kurmak için arazi geleneksel yetkililerden satın alındı.

Hristiyan toplumlarına üyelik arttıkça, misyonlar Hristiyan yerlilerin yaşamlarını yumuşatmaya çalıştı ve onları Hristiyan olmayan akrabalarına karşı kışkırttı. Örneğin,

küçük yargı davalarını çözmek için yaşlıları atamaya başladılar, çok eşliliği ve ev köleliğini bastırdılar ve yeni yaşam tarzı olarak kilise düzenlemelerini belirlediler. Görevler, Avrupalılarla uzun süredir iletişimin kurulduğu ve İngilizce dilinin halk arasında oldukça yaygın olarak kullanıldığı kıyı boyunca en başarılıydı. Hristiyanlığın kıyılardan ve yerli kasabalar arasında yerli kabilelerin kendi işbirliği ile yayıldığını söylemek yeterlidir. Bireyler ya Hristiyan olmayı seçtiler ya da çocuklarını Hristiyan olmaları için teklif ettiler ve bu doğrultuda eğitim gördüler. Yerlilerin bu eğitilmiş çocukları hükümette ve ticari hizmetlerde ve diğer kuruluşlarda istihdam edildi. On dokuzuncu yüzyılın son on yıllarına doğru, yerli misyonerler din değiştirme rollerini üstlendiler ve akrabalarını buna dönüştürmeye çalıştılar. Amirler de Hristiyanlığa ilgi duydular. Bazı bölgelerde, halkları için şapel ve okul olması konusunda ısrar ettiler.

Hristiyanlığın yayılması, özellikle eğitim yoluyla toplumsal değişimlere ve yeni tabakalaşmaların oluşmasına neden olmuştur. Fetişizm ve Hristiyanlık arasındaki fark buydu. İlki, yerlilerin baş belası olarak görülür ve onların çevrelerindeki olayları anlamalarını engeller ve onları doğanın iradesine boyun eğmeye zorlar. Böylece insanlar hakkında ayrımlar yapılmaya başlandı. Ormancı, sahil adamı, okuma yazma bilmeyen ve bilgin vardı. Bir de "bayan" ve "kadın" vardı. Bilginler ve hanımlar, Avrupa kıyafeti giymekle gurur duyarken, ormancı, okuma yazma bilmeyen ve bayan yerel giysiler giyiyordu. 19. yüzyılda bilgin sınıfı, sayıları arttıkça Avrupa tarzında kulüpler kurmaya başladı. *Try Company, Anomabu Temperance Society, the Philanthropic Society of Cape Coast, the Good Templars, the Young Ladies Christian Association* gibi Okuma Odaları ve Edebiyat Kulüpleri kurdular. Ayrıca misyonerlerin getirdiği teknik eğitim nedeniyle yeni bölünmeler ortaya çıktı. Bunlar arasında duvar ustaları, marangozlar, tuğla ustaları, tercümanlar, yazarlar, altın simsarları, memurlar vb. Bu sınıfların bireyleri hükümet ve misyoner operasyonlarında iş buldu.

Avrupa Yerleşimleri ve Sömürge İşletmesinin Başlangıcı

Modern Avrupalılar ilk olarak Portekizlilerle başlayarak 1471'de geldiler. Portekizliler, 1482'de Amir Kwame Ansa'yı modern Gana kıyılarında Avrupa yerleşimine izin vermeye ikna etmeyi başardı. Elmina'da yerleşimlerini kurdular ve 160 yıl kıyıda kaldılar. İngilizler, yaklaşık 1553'te Kaptan Windham ve Anes Pinteado komutasında geldi, ancak kısa sürdü. Ancak, asıl yerleşimleri 17. yüzyılda geri döndüklerinde, 1618'de Kormantine'de bir yerleşimle başladı. Hollandalılar ayrıca 1595'te kıyıya ticaret seferlerine

başladılar ve 1642’de kıyıdaki Portekiz tekeline sona erdirmeyi başardılar. Danimarkalılar köle ticaretine katıldılar ve İsveçlileri 1657’de sürdüler. Brandenburgiers (Prusyalılar) kalelerini 1682’de inşa ettiler. GÜdÜleri din, ticaret ve medeniyet olarak özetlenebilir. Avrupalıların faaliyetleri, kiraladıkları topraklarda toprak kirasını kabul eden yerel amirler tarafından onaylandı. Böylece, amirlerin sömürge girişimine ilk katılımı, ticaretin gelişmesi için güvenlik ve barışçıl bir ticaret ortamı sağlamak ve sürdürmektir. İngilizler, kıyıdaki diğer Avrupalıların mallarını satın almak için pazarlık yaparak otoritelerini kurdular. Bu müzakerelerin başarısı, İngiltere’yi on dokuzuncu yüzyılın son on yıllarında kıyıdaki tek Avrupa ülkesi olarak bıraktı.

Afrika kolonileri çoğu durumda koruma ve ticaret anlaşmalarıyla elde edildi. Diğerlerinin yanı sıra Mungo Park, Rene Caillie ve Stanley gibi Avrupalı kaşiflerin ve gezginlerin faaliyetleri, anakara Avrupa’daki savaşlar, teknolojik üstünlük ve artı üretim, on dokuzuncu yüzyıl boyunca anlaşmaların doğasını belirlemeye başladı. İngilizlere gelince, onların otoritesi 1802’de başladı; ancak, kabileler diğer yerli devletlerle devam eden çatışmalar nedeniyle ticaret ve koruma için İngilizlerle karşılıklı anlaşmalara girdiğinde belirgin değişiklikler başladı. Yerli meselelere ilk doğrudan İngiliz katılımı, Fanti-Asante savaşlarında yaklaşık 1805’te oldu. Geçmişte, yerlilere karşı şikayetler yerel mahkemelerde yapıldı. Ancak, 1803’te Vali, sahte altın sattığı için Cape Coast’un bir muhtarını hapse attı. Yerliler protesto edince İngiliz Kalesi onlara ateş açtı. 1805’te, Komutan’dan 100 sterlin değerinde barut çalan bazı Accra kanocuları, yerel mahkemede değil, Cape Coast’taki İngiliz Kalesi’nde yargılanıp cezalandırıldıklarında, yargı yetkisi daha da genişletildi. Bu nedenle, Asante 1807’de Fanti’yi işgal etmeden önce, İngiliz kalelerine yakın kasabaların yerli halkı, İngiliz tüccarlara veya onun hizmetlilerine karşı işlenen suçlar için İngiliz yasalarına tabiydi. Asante istilasını, bir barış antlaşması olan 1817 Bowdich Antlaşması’nın imzalanmasına yol açtı. Daha sonra 1819’da Dupuis Antlaşması yapıldı. 1831’de bir yanda Asante ile İngilizler ve onların yerli müttefikleri arasında barışı ve serbest ticaret trafiğini sağlamak için üçlü bir anlaşma vardı. Bu antlaşma, Asante’nin 1826’da İngilizler ve yerli müttefikleri karşısında aldığı yenilgi nedeniyle ortaya çıktı. Böylece, 1826’dan itibaren antlaşma ancak 1831’de kararlaştırıldı. Ayrıca, 6 Mart 1844’te Fanti kabileleri bir antlaşma imzaladılar ve bazı yerel geleneklerden vazgeçtiler, ancak bazı ciddi suçların İngiliz subaylar tarafından yargılanması konusunda anlaşıldılar. Böylece imzalanan tüm antlaşmalar kıyı kabilelerini korumaya ve ticarete yönelikti.

Ayrıca, 30 Kasım 1868’de Vali Blackall, Ewes ile nehirlerinde ticaret yapmak için bir barış anlaşması yaptı. Ancak anlaşma, Asante ve Akwamu'nun o toplantıya davet edilmemesi nedeniyle başarısız oldu. Asante ve Akwamu, Volta’nın navigasyonunu durdurmak için Ewe kasabası Krepi’yi istila etmek için bir araya geldi. 1874’te Asante’ye karşı İngiliz zaferi, ülkeyi büyük ölçekli Avrupa ticari faaliyetlerine açtı. Amirlerle madencilik anlaşmaları imzalamak için Avrupalı maden arayıcıları akını oldu. Anlaşmanın şartları, 99 yıllığına kiralanan beş mil karelik bir madencilik imtiyazı içeriyordu. Tüccar şirketleri daha sonra, sömürge yönetimini, diğerlerinin yanı sıra, yollar ve raylı sistemler, su temini, elektrik, okullar, posta, telgraf ve telefon hizmetleri gibi kalkınma ve altyapıyı koloninin farklı bölgelerine genişletmeye zorladıklarından gelişmeler için katalizör görevi gördüler. Aynı şekilde amirler de yeni kazandıkları zevk ve zenginlikleriyle halkı için gerekli gördükleri kalkınma projelerine katılmışlardır.

Buna ek olarak, amirler topluluklarını geliştirmek için ticaret şirketlerinden borç almaya gittiler. Türünün ilk örneği 1929’da Aguna Duakwa’nın amiri *United Africa Company Limited*’e diğerlerinin yanı sıra yeni bir üst düzey okul binası inşa etmek için kullanılmak üzere 3.000 sterlinlik bir kredi için başvurduğunda oldu. Verilecek kredi için Amir ve Danışmanları, ‘tahta (tabure)’ mülkünü rehin aldılar ve krediden şahsen sorumlu olmayı kabul ettiler. Ayrıca, kolonyal Gana Merkez Eyaletindeki Akim Kotoku Tahtasından (Taburesinden) *Omanhene* Nana Atta Fuah II, *Bank of British West Africa Limited* ile benzer bir anlaşma imzaladı. Banka, Tahta’nın yardımcı amiri Ewusa’nın Odikro’suna (reis) bir okul inşa etmek için kullanılmak üzere toplam 500 sterlin ödeyecekti. Ayrıca 1931’de Nana Bekyire Yankee II (Hollanda Sekondi Eyaletinin Omanhene) ve Konseyi, Bölge Komiseri aracılığıyla Tahta’nın borçlarını kapatmak için Barclays Bank’tan 2.000 £ kredi aldı. 1931’in ortalarında, Bedentu, Enchi’nin Amiri’si, şehrinin geliştirmek için Birleşik Afrika Şirketi’nin Genel Müdürü ile 1.000 sterlinlik bir kredi için pazarlık yaptı. 1929’da hükümet, amirlere kredi verirken izlenecek yol gösterici bir ilke geliştirdi. Avrupa komiserinin onayı olmadan bir amire borç verilmeyecekti. Amaç, komisyon üyelerinin Tahta’nın mali durumu üzerinde bir miktar kontrol sahibi olmalarıydı. Daha fazla amir kredi aldı ve tabure mülklerini teminat olarak verdi. Bunu kontrol etmek için, 1932’de bir yasa çıkarıldı, böylece Bölge Komiserinin izni olmadan bir amirin maruz kaldığı bir borç mahkemeler önünde geri alınamaz hale getirildi. Sömürge hükümetinin bu tür müdahaleleri, zaman geçtikçe amirlerin otoritesini zayıflattı.

Bölgede plantasyonların ve sömürücü kapitalist sanayinin tanıtılmasıyla birlikte bazı değişiklikler daha yapıldı. Avrupalı firmalar, maden ve tarım ürünlerini taşımak için iş gücüne ihtiyaç duyuyordu. İşçileri güvence altına almak için aracılar olarak amirlere ve muhtarlara güvenmeye başladılar. Bu rol, yerli kurumu daha da zayıflattı, çünkü halk, sömürge yönetimine emek tedarik etme konusundaki sömürücü yaklaşımlarında amirlere meydan okumaya geldi. İlk olarak, Yol Yönetmeliği kapsamındaki amirlere, halkını bayındırlık işleri yapmaya zorlama yetkisi verildi. Kasabalarını ticarete açmak için temizlenen her bir kilometrelik çalı yolu için amirlere 10 şilin ödendi. Daha sonra hükümet, bir kısmının yerel yetkililer tarafından bayındırlık işleri için istihdam edilen tüm emeğin ücretlerini ödemek için kullanılacağı bir doğrudan vergilendirme sistemi getirdi. Böylece denizaşırı firmalar ve devlet sayesinde ücretli sistem ortaya çıktı. Bundan önce, işçiler plantasyonlara yardım ettiklerinde gelirlerin üçte birini alıyorlardı. Maden işçiliğine gelince, amirlere her adam için 5 şilin ve bir firmayla dokuz aylık bir sözleşmeyi tamamladıktan sonra dönüşünde 7 şilin 6 peni daha ödendi. Devlet daireleri, belediyeler ve madenlerle ilgili olanlar dışında, tarımda veya ticarete istihdam edilenlerin 1947'den önce hiçbir iş istatistiği yoktu. Sadece 1946'da işverenlere kayıt tutma ve emeklerini Çalışma Komiserinin İstatistik Departmanına sunma yetkisi verildi. 1948'den itibaren, kakao çiftçiliği, madencilik sektörü, ulaşım ve iletişim sektörü, ticaret sektörü, kereste ve ormancılık, inşaat ve imalat sanayileri en fazla işçiyi istihdam etti. 1951 yılına gelindiğinde ücretli istihdam edilen kişilerin sayısı artmaya başlamıştı. 1947 ve 1951 yılları arasında üst düzey hizmet pozisyonlarındaki Afrikalıların sayısı artmaya başladı.

Üst düzey hizmet pozisyonlarında artan Afrikalı sayısı, hükümetin Afrikalılaştırma politikasından kaynaklanıyordu. Sömürgeciliğin ilk yıllarında, çok az Afrikalı üst düzey kamu görevlerine atandı. Görevler, mesleki, teknik ve daha yüksek idari dalları içeriyordu. 1926'da Guggisberg, iki ana nedenden dolayı Afrikalıları kamu hizmetinin ayrılmaz bir parçası yapmaya karar verdi: nitelikli olan ülke sakinlerine girişime katılma şansı vermek; ikinci olarak, Avrupalılarla birlikte üst düzey hizmet kadrosuna yönelik harcamaların azaltılması gerekliliği nedeniyle. Ancak, 1946 yılına kadar Ransford Slater, Shenton Thomas ve A. W. Hodson gibi ardışık valiler tarafından durduruldu. Aslında, 1938'de, Üstün Amirler müdahale etti ve Afrikalıların bu tür pozisyonlara atanmasını talep etti. 1939'da Vali Hodson, Afrikalıları nitelikli olduklarında daha yüksek görevlere atamaya karar verdi, ancak elli-elli oranını seçti. Böylece politika bağımsızlığa kadar aşamalı olarak uygulanmaya başlandı. 1946 Anayasası'nın ardından, 1947'de kamu hizmetinin açık bir

Afrikalılaştırılması politikası kabul edildi. Bununla, Afrikalı subaylar, üst düzey pozisyonlara herhangi bir atama için düşünülecekti. 1949'da Yasama Konseyi Seçici Komitesi tarafından Afrikalılaştırma Komitesi'nin kurulması yönünde bir önerge kabul edildi ve 1950'de Bay A.L. Adu komisyon üyesi olarak atandı. Kolonide ve Birleşik Krallık ve İrlanda'da kolonyal Gana'da hükümet işleri almak için nitelikli Afrikalıları işe almakla görevlendirildi. 1952'de kamu hizmeti, gözden geçirilmek üzere Lidbury Komisyonu'na verildi. 1954'te, bağımsızlık yaklaşırken, Avrupalı subayları zaten kolonide istihdam edilmiş ve atanmış olan Kraliyet, onlar için uygun bir çıkış için müzakere etti. Kraliyet onları başka bir koloniye veya yere transfer edene kadar istihdamda kalacaklardı.

Sömürge İdari Sistemi

Koloni Yönetimi nasıl kuruldu? 1874'te, Asante'nin yenilgisinin ardından, Gana'daki Taç'ın yetkilerini tanımlayan bir Konsey Düzeni kabul edildi. Emir, 24 Temmuz 1874'te önceden ilan edilmiş olan Gold Coast kolonisinin ilanını yürürlüğe koymak için İngiltere'de 6 Ağustos 1874'teki Parlamento oturumunda kabul edildi. Koloni için belirli hakimiyet ve yetkilere sahip bir yasama konseyi atandı. Koloninin işlerini kararnameler şeklinde yönetmek için bir valilik pozisyonu oluşturuldu. Valiye yardımcı olacak bir yürütme konseyi de vardı. Bölge, güneyden kuzeye Koloni, Asante ve Kuzey Toprakları Koruyucusu olarak sınıflandırıldı. Bununla birlikte, zamanla 'Koruyuculuk' statüsü tabi olmaya dönüştü. Koloni, vali denilen memurlar tarafından yönetilirken, Asante ve Kuzey Toprakları, valiye rapor veren yüksek komiserler tarafından yönetiliyordu. Koloniye iki idari sistem uygulandı: yürütme ve yasama konseyleri tarafından desteklenen vali yönetimindeki doğrudan hükümet ve büyük ölçüde yerli amirlerin ve onların yaşlılar konseylerinin elinde olan dolaylı yönetim veya yerel yönetim. Üç ana ayrım ayrıca ilçelere ve illere bölündü ve idari, adli ve şube yönetimlerine bölünmüş bir personelin yardım ettiği ilçe veya il komiserleri tarafından yönetildi. İdari şube, siyasi ve teknik hizmetlerden oluşuyordu; siyasi departman, sömürge sekreteri, yerel işler sekreteri ve çeşitli il ve ilçelerde ikamet eden siyasi memurlardan oluşan personeli içeriyordu; teknik servis, diğer görevlilerin yanı sıra tıbbi, zirai, bayındırlık ve araştırma departmanlarını içeriyordu.

Batı Afrika'da Dolaylı Kural, 1913'te Kuzey Nijerya'da Lord Lugard ile başladı. Basitçe "geleneksel otoriteler aracılığıyla yönetim" anlamına gelir. Gana'da, 1878'de Yerel Yetki Nizamnamesi'ni uygulamaya koyma girişimi oldu, ancak Amirler bunu desteklemediği için başarısız oldu. Bu kararname revize edildi ve amirlere 1883 tarihli Yerel

Yargı Yetkisi Yönetmeliğinde geleneksel hukuk kapsamında sahip olduklarından daha fazla yetki verdi. Daha sonra Koloni'nin Olağanüstü Amirleri, 1925 ve 1927 yılları arasında sömürge yönetimiyle birlikte, 1927 Yerli Yönetim Yönetmeliği'ni hazırlamak için çalıştı. Bununla birlikte, 1883'te İngilizler, kendilerine yerli bir amiri görevden alma gücü veren yönetmeliğe bir "işten çıkarma" maddesi eklediler. Daha sonra şefler, görevden alma maddesini yürürlükten kaldırmak için eğitimli sınıfla birlikte çalıştılar, ancak yalnızca 1910'da 'görevden almak' kelimesini 'tahttan indirmek' ile değiştirmeyi başardılar. 1927 kararnamesinin taslağı, amirler ve eğitimli yerliler arasındaki ilişkiyi bozdu. Yönetmelik, amirleri Avrupa bölge ve il görevlilerinin gözetimi altına aldı. Amirlerin, hükümetin yerel meseleler hakkında sunduğu sorunları tartışmak üzere periyodik olarak toplanmaları için il meclisleri oluşturuldu. Bu değişikliklerin etkileri, amirlerin, "*Gold Coast Chiefs List*" adlı bir kitapta tüm görevlendirmelerin kaydını tutan Avrupalı subayların onayıyla amir olarak tanınmaya başlamasıydı. Bir amirin adının kayıttan silinmesi, tahttan indirilmesi anlamına geliyordu. Ayrıca, amirlere pozisyonları için nişan olarak kullanmaları için bir *Union Jack* Bayrağı ve bir Haberci Çubuğu verildi. Bayrak ve Mesaj Çubuğu, halka ve hükümete yapılan istisnai hizmetlerin tanınmasını temsil ediyordu. 1930'ların ortalarına gelindiğinde yerel otorite yönetmeliği tüm bölgeler için kabul edildi. Yönetmelik, amirlerin işbirliği ile hazırlandı. Amirlere, konseylerinin toplantılarına katılmaları için 4 sterlin ve ulaşım ödeneği ödendi. Bununla, amirlerin egemenlik yetkileri hükümete verildi. Yerli otorite yönetmeliği, eğitimli sınıfın milliyetçi faaliyetleri ve savaşın etkileri nedeniyle İkinci Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra ezilene kadar yerinde kaldı.

Bağımsızlığa Yönelik Siyasi Değişiklikler

Yerel yönetim sistemi altında amirlerin aracı olarak rolü, amirlik kurumunun önemini yozlaştırdı. Ayrıca, Avrupalı idari görevliler, amirleri hor gördüler. Bu, amirlerin kendi aralarında gelişen düşmanlıkla birlikte, bağımsızlıktan birkaç yıl önce düşüşlerini başlatmak için bir araya geldi. İkinci Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonraki ilk büyük değişiklik, 1946 tarihli Burns Anayasası'nın getirilmesiydi. 1946 Reformları yerlilere hükümette çoğunluk hissesi vermesine rağmen, valinin hala istediğini yapma yetkisi olduğu için anayasa halk, özellikle eğitimli sınıf tarafından tam olarak kabul edilmedi. Bu reforma karşı gelinmesi, 1947'de kuralın amirlere iade edilmesini talep eden UGCC'nin kurulmasına yol açtı. Nkrumah, 1947'de UGCC'nin bir parçasıydı. Ancak, kenara atıldı ve daha sonra diğerlerinin yanı sıra 1948 isyanlarını kışkırttığı iddiasıyla istifa etmesi istendi. Ancak isyanın nedenlerini araştırmak üzere atanan Watson Komisyonu onu temize çıkardı. Yine de

partiden ayrıldı. Haziran 1948’de yayınlanan Komisyon Raporu, halkın amirlere ve onların Avrupalı muadillerine kızgın olduğunu gösterdi. Bu nedenle, 1946 anayasasının yerini alacak değişiklikler çağrısında bulundu. Bu amaçla Aralık 1948’de Coussey Anayasa Komitesi oluşturuldu. Bu arada 1949’da Nkrumah CPP’yi kurdu. UGCC “mümkün olan en kısa sürede özyönetim” için kampanya yürütürken, CPP “ŞİMDİ özyönetim” için kampanya yürüttü.

Coussey Komitesi, seçilmiş üyeler ve amirler için iki meclisli bir yasama organı önerdi. Nkrumah, Komite’nin önerisini “sahte ve hileli” olduğu için reddetti çünkü öneri ülkeyi sürekli sömürgecilik altında tutmak için tasarlandı. Amirler dolaylı olarak seçilmeye devam edecekti, valinin kontrolü hâlâ elindeydi ve önemli bakanlık pozisyonları İngilizlerin elindeydi ve hepsi vali tarafından aday gösterildi. Nkrumah, 22 Ocak 1950’de Coussey Komitesinin Raporuna karşı çıktığı için tutuklandı. Hapishanedeyken hükümet, Komite Raporunu uygulamak için bir seçim düzenledi. Nkrumah, hapiste olmasına rağmen 8 Şubat 1951 seçimlerinde yarışmayı başardı. CPP 38 sandalyeden 34’ünü kazandı ve Nkrumah hükümeti kurmak için serbest bırakıldı. Nkrumah, “Devlet İşlerinin Lideri” oldu, ancak bu pozisyon 5 Mart 1952’de kaldırıldı ve yerine Başbakanlık makamı getirildi. Nkrumah, istediği değişiklikleri gerçekleştirmek için yönetim üzerinde kendisine hakimiyet sağlayan bir pozisyon olan Başbakan olarak onaylandı. Nkrumah, vali tarafından yapılan atamalara artık müsamaha gösterilmeyeceğini söyledi ve bir kişinin bir oya dayalı olarak temsilcilerin doğrudan seçilmesi çağrısında bulundu.

1952’de Nkrumah, Kader Önergesini yasama organına sundu. Önerge 10 Temmuz 1953’te Meclis’e taşındı ve İngiliz Milletler Topluluğu içinde bağımsızlık için anayasal ve idari düzenlemeler yapılması çağrısında bulundu. J.B. Danquah önergeye karşı çıktı. Buna rağmen onaylandı. Bunun üzerine 15 Haziran 1954’te anayasa değişikliğinin yapılması için seçim yapılması kararlaştırıldı. 1954’te 1951’dekinden daha fazla siyasi parti vardı. CPP ülkeyi birleştirmek için kampanya yürütürken, Togoland Kongre Partisi (Ewe Partisi) kolonyal Gana’dan ayrılmak istedi; Busia’nın Gana Kongre Partisi, Akan etnik grubunun desteğini kazanmaya odaklandı. Kuzey Halk Partisi ve Müslüman Dernek Partisi de kuzeyin işlerine odaklandı. Bununla birlikte, CPP 104 sandalyeden 72’sini kazandı. Bu CPP zaferiyle tüm atanan adaylıklar rafa kaldırıldı. Böylece Gold Coast, iç işlerinde tam anlamıyla kendi kendini yöneten bir koloni haline geldi.

Amirler ve diğer partiler, özellikle Akan partileri Nkrumah ile işbirliği yapsaydı bağımsızlık daha erken gelebilirdi. 1954 seçimlerinden sonra tüm muhalefet partileri NLM'yi oluşturmak için bir araya geldi. Kabileseldi ve Asanteman Konseyi ile Akim Abuakwa Devlet Konseyi tarafından destekleniyordu. Federal bir anayasa çağrısında bulundular, kakao vergisi ve Kalkınma Fonları Yasasına (Ağustos 1954'te kabul edilen ekonomiyi genişletmek için kullanılması amaçlanan yasa) karşı çıktılar ve CPP hükümetini Ashanti yerine Koloniyi geliştirmek için kakao fonlarını kullanmakla suçladılar. Bağımsızlık sadece bir adım uzaktayken, Kraliçe'ye Federal Anayasaları için bir Kraliyet Komisyonu atanmasını isteyen dilekçeler gönderdiler. Partinin lideri Busia, İngiliz hükümetine bağımsızlık vermemesi için çağrıda bulunmak üzere Londra'yı takip etti. Bu, emperyal gücün ellerini, 1956'da makul bir çoğunluk ile bağımsızlığı halletmek ve vermek için bir kez daha başka bir seçim düzenlemeye zorladı. NLM, 1956 seçimleri için Birleşik Parti'yi oluşturmak üzere kuzey partileri de dahil olmak üzere diğer birçok partiyle güçlerini birleştirdi. Seçim Temmuz 1956'da yapıldı ve CPP 104 sandalyeden 71'ini kazanarak çoğunluğunu korudu. Bu zaferle, Bağımsızlık Önergesi Meclis'e geri getirildi ve muhalefet UP'nin katılımı olmadan kabul edildi.

UP, kaybetmesine rağmen sonucu kabul etmedi. Ashanti ve Kuzey Bölgesi'nin ülkenin geri kalanından ayrılması ve Busia liderliğindeki egemen bir Devlet ilan edilmesi çağrısında bulundular. Ancak, arayışlarında başarılı olamadılar. Nkrumah, son vali Arden-Clarke'ın işbirliğiyle, yorulmadan bağımsızlık için kesin bir tarih için bastırdı. Bağımsızlığın 6 Mart 1957'de sabitlendiği haberi nihayet 17 Eylül 1956'da bir sevkıyatla geldi. 1957 konseyindeki emir böylece amirleri partizan siyasetinden ve halkla herhangi bir idari bağlantıdan çıkardı.

M. Stools in Ghana: The Golden Stool and the ‘Funtumfunefu’ Stool of Asante



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