AKYEM ABUAKWA C.1874 - 1943:
A STUDY OF THE IMPACT OF MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES
AND COLONIAL RULE ON A TRADITIONAL STATE

by
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Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Ghana,
Legon, Accra.

April, 1980.
DECLARATION

I hereby declare that except for references to other works which have been duly acknowledged, this thesis is the result of my own original research, and that this study has not been presented, either in whole or in part, for another degree elsewhere.

Robert de Vening
(Candidate)

(Supervisor)
ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study of the nature and extent of the pressures - social, economic and political - that the Basel Missionaries and British colonial Administrators brought to bear on Akyem Abuakwa society during the period 1874-1943. The study also examines the State's responses to these pressures and the extent to which they were conditioned by her pre-european historical experience, her ethos, the strengths and weaknesses of her institutional arrangements, the quality of her political leadership and her resources.

The general conclusions that emerge from this study are that missionary activities and colonial policies brought a great deal of material progress to Akyem Abuakwa society: the quality of life was improved by the spread of western-style education, by the adoption of new skills, by improved medical care and by infrastructural developments; changes in the customary penal system made the administration of justice more humane; while the evolution of a modern-style bureaucracy at the courts of the chiefs and the adoption of certain administrative routines enabled the complicated and diverse functions of modern government to be effectively discharged.

These positive results were, however, offset by negative and harmful results: the spiritual foundations of Akyem Abuakwa were seriously undermined by widespread and wilful violation of time-honoured customary taboos by missionary converts in the name of religious freedom as well as by the introduction of a dichotomy between 'church' and 'state', between religion and politics; the cohesion
and solidarity of Abuakwa society suffered great damage by the creation of salams whose Christian inhabitants held aloof from the life of the wider community; existing social conflicts were sharpened while new, more serious and harmful ones were introduced by the concept of territorial jurisdiction as embodied in the N.J.O., by the distortion of the character and role of chieftaincy, and by the destruction of the religious conformity of the state; the weakening of extended family ties, the growing emphasis on individualism and the failure of Christianity to deal adequately with the trauma of rapid social and economic change created problems of security which expressed themselves in alcoholism and neurosis; above all the exploitation of Abuakwa’s immense resources, human and natural – for the greater benefit of her alien rulers resulted in the under-development of the State.
PREFACE

This thesis is the outcome of part-time research into the history of Akyen Abuakwa begun in 1973. First and foremost I am indebted to Professor A. Adu-Boahen, my teacher and, subsequently, colleague who not only suggested the topic of this thesis in the first place, but also supervised it with great diligence and enthusiasm. His critical remarks and suggestions were most invaluable.

I thank the staff of the Ghana National Archives, Accra, the Regional Archives, Koforidua and the Okyeman Archives, Kyebi, for their help in gathering material for this work. I am obliged to my colleague Dr. A. Van Dantzig for helping me with the translation of issues of the Dor Evangelische Heidenbote.

To all those who granted me personal interviews, I am most grateful, particularly the late Osagyefo Ofori Atta III, Okyenhene, Opanin Samuel Ofori Dei, Twum Barina, Odehye Apeakoran, Oheneba Kwaku Anoa, Opanin Kofi Agyei, - all of Kyebi; Barina Antwi Amun III of Begoro, Barina Kwakye Ababio II of Kwen, Barina Sakyi Akomea II of Takyiman, Nana Akakyewaa of Ahweneaso, Barima Apagya Fori III of Apapam, Barima Asuman Adu of Wankyi, Banfo Amin Kwatia II of Adadentam and Mr. A.M. Kojo-Aboagye, ex-Apinamanhen.

Finally, I thank Mr. S.N. Adumuah and Miss Mary Asaah of the Department of History Legon, especially the latter, for the retarial assistance they provided.
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INTRODUCTION

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It was at Kyebi that Clifford 'held the first meeting of chiefs' after his assumption of the governorship of the Gold Coast in 1912; and it was with Ofori Atta I that he 'first had an opportunity of discussing the affairs of the Gold Coast'.

Kyebi was the first state capital to be visited by Guggisberg in 1919 and the Abuakwa people were 'the last to whom he went' to say good bye' in 1927. In fact during all the time he was in the Gold Coast it was to Kyebi that he repaired whenever he 'wanted to have a restful and pleasant visit'.

Notwithstanding the crucial role which Akyem Abuakwa, through its paramount chief, played in the formulation of colonial

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excellent book ⁷ also provides a very useful and illuminating insight into the late 19th century and early 20th century economic history of Akyem Abuakwa. Other references to Akyem Abuakwa History may be found in journals such as Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana; Universitas; the Ghana Social Science Journal; Sankofa, the Legon Journal of Archaeological and Historical Studies; Mitteilungen Der Basler Afrika Bibliographien and the Canadian Journal of African Studies.

Two doctoral theses have also appeared recently on Akyem Abuakwa: The first, by Jarle Simenson, ⁹ is concerned primarily with a discussion of local conflicts in Akyem Abuakwa in the context of colonial policies. One finds very little information on cultural and economic development in this work. The other, by K. Afrifah, ¹⁰ is the first serious attempt at a historical study of the Akyem States as political entities in their own right. Until this study, such history as there was of Akyem existed mainly in the form of footnotes to the history of other states, notably Asante. The research for the thesis, however, appears to have been less thorough on the Abuakwa and Bosome States. For instance, the treatment of the origins of Akyem Abuakwa is self-contradictory, while its traditional government as outlined in Appendix A is very unsatisfactory and appears to

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7. See Bibliography.
8. See Bibliography.
9. See Bibliography.
be based largely on sheer conjecture. Events that occurred in the 19th century have been interpreted in the light of present day norms, precedents and practices as though there has hardly been any institutional change.

In the late 1930s Dr. J.B. Danquah is believed to have embarked upon serious research with a view to writing the history of Akyem Abuakwa. The project was, however, abandoned following the loss of his notes in a fire outbreak that gutted his Christiansborg home in January 1941. This thesis is a modest attempt to satisfy, if only partially, the long-felt need for a well-researched and comprehensive history of Akyem Abuakwa. I am not unmindful of the fact that a pioneering work of this nature can be said to be comprehensive only in scope. Indeed major topics like the Amanankese Secession attempt, inter-communal unrest and "asafo" - chief relations which by themselves, can easily form separate topics for doctoral theses are dealt with only to the extent that they illuminate certain arguments and support certain conclusions.

A wide range of sources has been used in the preparation of this thesis. For the pre-colonial period, I have drawn upon the rich, and largely untapped, nine of information contained in Paul Jenkin's Abstracts from the Gold Coast Correspondence of the Basel Mission deposited in the Balne Library, University of Ghana. The correspondence emanating from Missionaries in the 99 Minutes of 33rd Session of Provincial ab. 1914.
field in the Gold Coast deals with political cultural and economic affairs of Akyen Abuakwa dating from 1852. The correspondence of the Basel Mission has been supplemented with oral evidence gathered during some five years of extensive field work in Akyen Abuakwa.

For the late 19th century and the 20th century, the Secretary for Native Affairs papers in the Ghana National Archives, the District Commissioners’ Quarterly (Birrin) Reports and Diaries at the Regional Archives, Koforidua, and the Abuakwa State Council Minutes Book, Civil Record Books as well as the personal correspondence of the Anoako Attas and Ofori Atta I at the Kyebi Palace Archives have been invaluable. Use has also been made of periodicals and newspapers such as Der Evangelische Heidenbote, the Gold Coast Leader, the Gold Coast Times and the African Morning Post.

The first chapter of this thesis is devoted to a discussion of the origins of the Akyen Abuakwa State and the evolution, elaboration and functioning of its political, economic and social structures in pre-colonial times. The next two chapters deal with the intrusion of the Basel Mission and British imperialism into the state and the consequent usurpation of the State’s sovereignty. Chapters four, five and six focus on the social economic and political impact of the Basel Mission and the Colonial Government; while Chapter seven attempts a final assessment of the missionary and colonial impact of the missionary and colonial kwa’s culture, politics and economy.
CHAPTER ONE

PRE-COLONIAL ABUAKWA STATE AND SOCIETY

The modern state of Akyem Abuakwa occupies much of the
western half of the Eastern Region of modern Ghana. It is
bounded on the north and north-east by Kwawu; on the east and
south-east by Krobo and Akuapem; on the south by Agona; and
on the west by Akyem Kotoku. Extending from Jejeti and Kankan
in the north to Adeiso in the south, and from Begoro in the
north-east to Akyease in the south-west, the state straddles
the Nsawm-Nkawkaw railway line with the greater portion lying
west of it.

Much of Akyem Abuakwa is lowland, and for the most part
its vegetation consists of dense luxuriant tropical forest.
The 'Akyem hills', known collectively as the Atewa Range, run
conspicuously almost down the centre of the state in a north-
south direction from the neighbourhood of Anyinam to that of
Asemankease, cutting off western Akyem Abuakwa from the state
capital, Kyebi. An important landmark on the Akyem Abuakwa
landscape, the densely forested Atewa range is separated in
the north by the Birem valley from the Kwawu and Begoro mountains.

1. See Map 1. . . . In 1904 the size of Akyem Abuakwa territory was
estimated at about 2,750 square miles. See V.C. Climo, Precis
of Information concerning the Colony of the Gold Coast and
Ashanti, March 1904.
to which it runs 'at right angles'. From a point in the range near Apapam, the State's main river, the Birem, flows in a loop, first northwards and then south-westwards until it empties itself into the Pra. Into the Birem itself flow numerous small streams. The state enjoys a good amount of rainfall and possesses some of the best agricultural lands in Ghana.

The Adanse Phase

The history of Akyem Abuakwa falls into three distinct phases: the Adanse phase, the Banso phase and the Kyebi phase. The first two phases are shrouded in myths of obscurity with oral traditions providing the main source of information. Existing traditional accounts trace the origins of the state to what is today the Akrokyere district of Adanse. Here the embryonic state of Akyem Abuakwa was established, probably in the fourteen century, under Nana Apeanin Kwakramoa. Throughout its existence in Adanse, Abuakwa was not a territorial entity. Oral tradition suggests that it consisted of a number of Asona (clan) settlements interspersed among other settlements founded.


3. The Birem takes its source from the Doki hills near Apapam.

by other clans. The Asona settlements - Adaboye, Akrokyere, Kokobiante, Sebenso etc., - were united by ties of kinship as well as by the acknowledgement of a common clan head and a common clan god, Bona or Odomankoma. The headship of the Asona clan was vested in Nana Apeanin Kwaframoa and his matrilineal family (abusua) who regulated the affairs of the clan from their successive capitals of Adaboye, Akrokyere, Kokobiante and Sebenso. As suggested by K.Y. Daaku, the Abuakwa Asona settlements probably collaborated with the other clan settlements in 'a loose confederation of clans ...' formed for purposes of common defence.

It is not known for certain when and why the embryonic Abuakwa state was transplanted in the territory east of the Pra. Basel Missionary Stromberg, on the basis of information gathered at Kyebi in 1862, put the beginnings of modern Akyem Abuakwa history 'in the middle of c.16'. It is probable that


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the second half of the 16th century saw the beginnings of Asona migration from Adanse for three reasons. First was the political insecurity arising from the struggle for hegemony that occurred in the Adanse area after the death of Awurade Basa, king of Agyaase and the supposed creator of the Adenakwa sword, the symbol of political supremacy in 16th century Adanse. The struggle for hegemony continued into the 17th century, during the early part of which the Abuakwa Asona were subjected to increasing pressure from the neighbouring state of Denkyira with its capital at Ntibanso on the Oda river.

From the north also came pressure in the 1640s from the nascent Asante nation then established under Oti Akenten at Abadwimu north of Akrokyere. Adanse tradition has it that the Asona migration occurred after the Akimhene had been defeated by the Asantehene long ago. This is apparently a reference to Oti Akenten's wars against the Asona of Kokobiante in the 1640s. The wars originally caused by conflicting claims over territory adjoining the Oda river ultimately developed into a war of attrition, and it was in consequence of the sustained

10. K.Y. Daaku, Oral Traditions of Adanse, p. 363; See also N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1126, Chapter from Kotoku and Abuakwa History by Tawia and James Kai.
pressure from the nascent Asante state that the Asona began to flee from Kokobiante. The imminence of the Adanse-Denkyira War of 1659 increased the sense of insecurity felt by the remnant Asona families in Adanse and sent further waves of Asona migrants out of Adanse. Recalling the circumstances of the war before Justice Roger Hall in 1929, Akwasi Kyere, linguist of Adansehene, Kwabena Fori, declared that Ofori Panin, then an Odikro in Adanse, 'ran away from the Denkyira War and never returned'.

The second reason for the Asona migration from Adanse was an alleged dissension within the Asona clan. The cause of this dissension is not known for certain though it is suggested that it had to do with a precious bead, the Bodom, which was capable of self-reproduction. A third probable cause of the Asona migration could be the attraction of the opportunities of trade with Europeans on the coast. From 1471 till the end of the 16th century the Portuguese from their base at Elmina carried on a lucrative trade in gold with the inland Akan people; and it might well be that the Asona migration from

12. N.A.G. Adm. 11/1/1105 Award Published at Nsawem, 29 Sept. 1929, parag. 99; K.Y. Danku, Trade and Politics pp. 147, 156.
Adanse eastwards of the Pra was in part motivated by a desire to exploit the rich auriferous lands of the Birim basin.

The Banso Phase

By 1629 the Akyem Abuakwa state was well established as a fully-fledged state east of the Pra as shown unmistakably on the Dutch map drawn at Moure in December of that year. On that map, Akim or 'Great Anamij' lies contiguous to such inland states as Akwamu, Asen and Agona. Except for Akwamu, the rest have remained Akyem Abuakwa's neighbours to the north-east, west and south respectively to this day.

Controversy rages over the identity of the founder of the first Abuakwa dynasty at Banso, the first capital of the state to be established east of the Pra. An overwhelming majority of Abuakwa citizens to-day believe it to be a fact that Ofori Panin was the founder and first king of the modern state of Akyem Abuakwa, a myth which has been perpetuated since the mid-nineteenth century. In 1862, for instance 'a grey-haired elder of Kyebi', Apesemakahene Apeatu, supplied Basel Missionary Stromberg with the king-list of the state which named the

17. See K.Y. Daaku, Trade and Politics, p. 199; Ghana Notes and Queries No. 9, November 1966 last page.
18. For explanation of the title of Apesemakahene see pp.33-34.
reigning Okyenhene, Atta Obuom (1859 – May 1867), as the twelfth king. By implication this king-list made Ofori Panin the first Okyenhene of modern Akyem Abuakwa. This impression is misleading.

Danish sources record the date of Ofori Panin’s death as 1727; and according to oral tradition he died at the ripe age of ninety-nine years. Presumably then, Ofori Panin was born during the third decade of the 17th century, by which time modern Akyem Abuakwa was already a fully-fledged state.

Bosman writing at the end of the 17th century described the reigning king of Akyem as ‘being yet but young’. This cannot

20. Ole Justeson, ‘Aspects of Eighteenth Century Ghanaian History as revealed by Danish Sources’ Ghana Notes and Queries No. 12, June 1972
22. See page 6; Kumi Attobrah dates Ofori Panin’s birth to 1630. See Kumi Attobrah op. cit. p. 8.
23. William Bosman, A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea, London, 1705, p. 78. The name Akim or Akyem as used in 17th century context apparently refers to Akyem Abuakwa. Barbot named the eastern neighbours of ‘Inta or Assiante’ as ‘Akim and Achen’, adding that the territory of Akan had ‘Inta or Assiante’ on the west, and Akim on the south. K. Afrifah identifies Akan with Assante-Akyem and concludes from Kotoku traditions that at least the ruling family inhabited the district from about mid 17th century to early 1820s. As far as one can see it was only from the first decade of the 18th century that the word ‘Akim’ was also applied to the Kotoku owing to their collaboration with Abuakwa against Akwamu and Assante. Significantly it
obviously be a reference to Ofori Panin if we accept 1630 as his probable birth date. Furthermore, Ofori Panin is first mentioned in European records by name in 1704, and it is possible, as Afrifah suggests, that that year marked the inauguration of his reign and of his dynasty.

In all probability, the founder of modern Akyem Abunkwa was Aninkwatia. Adadientam tradition names him as the first Okyenhene to rule and die at Banso. The traditions of Pamen and Takyiman corroborate this assertion. Further weight is lent to the Adadientam tradition by circumstantial evidence. First, it was during Aninkwatia’s reign at Kokobiante that Denkyira began to exert pressure on the Abunkwa Asona. It is therefore likely that Aninkwatia led one of the earliest waves of migrants out of Adanse early in the 17th century. Second,

25. Interview with Opanin Kofi Agyei, an Odehyee of Adadientam and elder brother of Odikro Aninkwatia II of Adadientam, Dec. 1976. For over 10 years Opanin Kofi Agyei served at the palace at Kyebi as a close attendant of Ofori Atta I.
26. Fraser Ofori-Atta, Amantoammensa, p. 23. According to these traditions Aninkwatia carried the paramount stool from Abranase near Lake Bosomtwe to Banso.
27. See Kum Atoobrah op. cit. p. 6.
Tradition recorded in 1887 referred to Aninkwata as the wife of Akromoko and a contemporary of Kotokuene Denso Brepon. She reigned at Amanz in the first half of the 17th century. Although Reindorf and Kwaben tradition agree that Aninkwata was Ofori Panin's predecessor, they nonetheless say that he was not born in Adanse. However, granted that modern Akyem history was a fully-fledged state by 1629, that Ofori Panin did not receive from the stool till the 1650s, and that he only reigned at the stool at the turn of the 18th century, then the man generally acknowledged to be his immediate predecessor, could not possibly have reigned and died in Adanse during the second half of the 17th century. The available evidence would then suggest that it was Aninkwata rather than Ofori Panin who founded the first Adaklu dynasty at Panin.

From the evidence of Bosman and Barbot it seems that Akyem Abunkwa experienced a short period of political confusion and disunity between the death of Aninkwata and the accession of


30. See p. 5; Also K.Y. Danku, Trade and Politics, p. 1.
Ofori Pannin, as a result of the inexperience and cruelty of the 'young' man chosen originally to succeed Aminkwatin. Probably it was to avert civil war and preserve the integrity of Okyen Abuakwa that the 'young' king mentioned by Bosman was replaced, after only a brief reign, by the old sagacious and experienced Ofori Pannin, an Odehwee and a former Odikro in Adanse.

The government established at Banso by Okyenhehene Aminkwatin in the 17th century appears to have been centralised. Writing about the state at the end of the century Bosman remarked:

This country, as far as it is known to us, was formerly under a Monarchical Government; but the present successor being yet but young, and betraying too palpable signs of a cruel Nature, had not been able to make himself Master of the whole land, but is obliged to be content with a part.

It is highly probable that the government consisted of the king and his principal councillors all of whom must have lived in the capital, Banso, or a short distance away. The important offices of state were all probably appointive and in the gift of the king who must have had the last word in decision-making.

31. See William Bosman. A New and Accurate Description, p. 78.
Centralization, presumably, was greatly facilitated by a number of factors. The first might have been the proximity of the Asona settlements to the capital. At the time of the expulsion of the Akwasu in 1730 the state was, by and large, coterminous with the north-western district of present day Akyem Abuakwa. Among the leading Asona settlements in the area, still known by the name of Abuakwa, were Takyiman, Banso, Panen, Aginman, Akropon and Kwaben. All these settlements, like the core states of the Asante Union presided over by Osei Tutu, were situated within twenty kilometres radius of Banso.

The second factor that possibly made for effective centralization was clan solidarity among the Asona settlements. As members of one great "family" tracing descent from a common ancestor, the Asona settlements could easily be swayed by blood ties to defer to the wishes and judgement of the occupant of the "big" Asona stool at Banso in all matters, political, religious and social. Also of great importance as a factor in the centralisation of government at Banso would be the imperative need for collective security against Akwasu and Asante.

Indeed from mid 17th century to 1826 the raison detre of the Akyen Abuakwa state was warfare. In the 17th century the state fought no less than three wars, and in the 18th century no less than five wars, against Akwaru. Against Asante, she fought no less than seven wars in the 18th century and five in the first quarter of the 19th century. 

The fundamental cause of Abuakwa-Akwaru hostility was relentless rivalry for control of the auriferous lands of the Birim valley as well as of the trade routes to the coast.

At the time of the re-establishment of the Abuakwa state at Banso, the greater part of present-day Akyen Abuakwa was included within the Akwaru kingdom which lay athwart the Atewa range and extended eastwards, probably as far as the middle reaches of the Densu river. From their original home in the basin of the Pra and Ofin, the ancestors of the Akwaru are said to have migrated under the leadership of Agyen Kokobo and settled at Kunkunso about thirty miles inland behind Elmina at the beginning of the 16th century.

35. The dates were 1659, 1682, 1699, 1700, 1719, 1722, 1723 and 1730.
36. The dates for these were 1707, 1702, 1717, 1742, 1764, 1765, 1772, 1811, 1814, 1816, 1824, 1826.
38. See Map 1; Also Ivor Wilks, Akwaru, 1650-1750, pp. 1-2.
In the course of the 16th century they drifted slowly eastwards till their 7th ruler, Akotia, founded Nyanawase, about twenty miles north of Accra at the end of the century. By the middle of the 17th century Akwamu had established her authority over the 'petty states lying on the trade routes to Accra'; and their role as middlemen in the trade between European merchants on the coast and the gold producers of the interior gave rise to the gold mart of Abonse in or near Nyanawase. Ultimately Nyanawase was transformed into the centre of a powerful kingdom.

The Akyen Abunkwa state found the growing power of Akwamu, and especially her control of the trade routes to Accra, intolerable, and she was forced to build up a strong army to challenge the Akwamu ascendency. In 1659 Akyen Abunkwa fought her first major war against Akwamu as allies of the Ga, and after a truce which lasted till 1681, hostilities were renewed. In October 1682 the Akyen Abunkwa army numbering about 12,000 men confronted an Akwamu army of identical strength 'some thirty miles north of Accra'.

Given such a formidable Abukwa army it is not surprising that by the last decade of the 17th century Akwamu power was 'very terrible to all their neighbouring countries except Akim'.

Indeed according to Bosman the Akyem dynasty was by the beginning of the 18th century already 'pretending a Feudal Right over the [Akwamu] and subsequent thereto demanding an Annual Tribute...'

From 1715 the Kotoku state now firmly based in Asante-Akyem, allied with Akyem Abukwa against Akwamu, and together they overthrew the Akwamu empire then ruled by Ansa Kwo in November 1730. The conquered Akwamu territory, including the capital Nyanawase was partitioned with the lion's share going to Akyem Abukwa. In addition to its overlordship of James Fort, Crèvecoeur and the Adangme and Akwapem districts, the Ofori dynasty integrated the Nyanawase kingdom with Akyem Abukwa.

The Abukwa-Akwamu wars overlapped the Abukwa-Asante wars of 1701-1826. Unlike the former, the latter originated in Asante vindictiveness – the desire to punish the Abukwa for preferring alliance with Denkyira during the Asante-Denkyira

43. William Bosman, A New and Accurate Description, p.65.
In 1701, Asante defeated Akyen Abukwa but in the following year, with the help of her allies, Abukwa temporarily reversed the Asante victory and 'caused consternation and panic at the courts of Akuamu and Asante'. Although Osei Tutu avenged the Asante defeat a few months later, the two Akyen states, Abukwa and Kotoku, refused to acknowledge themselves as vassals. They refused to pay the fine imposed on them and carried defiance of the Asantehene a stage further by molesting Asante traders who passed through Akyen territory on their way to the coast.

In the latter part of 1717, the Akyen forces 'covertly assisted by Akuamu' ambushed an invading Asante army and killed Osei Tutu thereby inflicting on the Asante what Danku considers as 'the greatest disaster in its history'. After the conclusion of peace lasting eleven years, Opoku Ware renewed the war against Akyen. Thereafter the Abukwa lived in daily anticipation of an Asante invasion and importuned the Danes for guns. Indeed the state knew no peace until after the

50. The Treaty was signed in March 1719. Butler to Amsterdam, IC 108, Quoted in K. Afrifah, Akyen, p. 76.
battle of Akantamansu (1826) which ended Asante pretensions to sovereignty over her. 52

**Effects of the Wars**

Akyem Abuakwa's wars against Akwamu and Asante between the 17th century and 19th century had a profound impact on the course of her history. The defeat of Akwamu and the partition of her territory between Abuakwa and Kotoku resulted in an enormous extension of the Abuakwa State. Okyenene Baa Kwante (1727–1742) exercised sovereignty over lands extending from Nyanawase (near Nsawm) in the south to Asuom in the north, and from the Begoro hills in the east to Akyem Swedru in the west. 53

A direct consequence of the enormous expansion of Abuakwa territory was the dispersal of her population over a wide area. In the next seventy years members of the Asona family groups moved out of the Banso area into lands evacuated by the conquered Akwamu. The people of Akyem Heman (Fankyeneko), for instance, moved from Apinaman to settle at the ruined village of Obokosua near Osino. After living with the Osino and Abompe people for some time, they moved again to found Fankyeneko, now Heman. 54

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52. By article 3 of the Treaty of 1831, Asante renounced 'all and every right to collect tribute (as a token of dependency) from any of the... nations in alliance with Great Britain' and acknowledged 'each and all of these states to be free and independent'. See Ivor Wilks, *Asante in the Nineteenth Century*, Cambridge 1975, p.186.

53. See Map I.
The Asona of Begoro also moved from Banso to settle for several decades at Osino where one of their leaders, Oben Kokro, lies buried today.55 At the beginning of the 19th century they moved under their Chief Kwaa Kotoko (c.1800-1821) to found present day Begoro.56 The Asona migrants in the Banso area were reinforced by successive waves of new Asona immigrants from Adanse in the course of the 18th and 19th centuries.57 Non-Asona immigrants also arrived in Akyem Abunkwa after 1730. The ancestors of the Oyoko ruling family of Asiakwa, for instance, reported to Okyenhene Ban Kwante at Banso on their arrival in Abunkwa and were given 'somewhere to stay'.58

The expansion of the Akyem Abunkwa state and its transformation into a multi-clan polity created political and administrative problems for the Okyenhene. In the first place the dispersal of the Asona subjects over an immense area of territory undermined clan cohesion and solidarity, and ipso facto,


57. See Kumi Attohrah op.cit. pp.30, 32, 39; Also Reindorf, The History, p.61.

the effectiveness of the centralised control that had characterised the Okyenhene's administration in the pre-1730 period when the Asona lived in close proximity to the state capital at Benso. For instance, at the beginning of the 19th century the newly built Asona settlement of Begoro from the safety of her distance, defied Okyenhene Atta Musu Yiakosan over an order to surrender an elephant tusk seized from Asiakwa, and went to war with Okyenan. The war coincided with the Asante invasion of 1811 and it is probable that the force used by the Asante Resident Commissioner, Tandoh, to expel Atta Musu from his kingdom was provided in part by chief Kwan Kotoko of Begoro rather than by Queen Bruku of Asiakwa as suggested by Afrifah. Thereafter the Begoro and their Kanana subjects migrated to Gyakiti in present day Akwamu and returned only under an Asante guarantee of protection against Okyenan. Begoro was only re-integrated with Akyon Abuakwa around 1820. Another Asona settlement, Apinmean, also tended to be recalcitrant.


Problems of internal and external security were also caused by the presence of remnant Akwamu subjects in the Akwamu settlements such as Asamankese, Akwatia, Kwan, Otwe-reso, Okyinso and Tafo which remained neutral in the war of 1730, as well as by the influx of non-Asante immigrants, especially the Cyoko clan. For a decade after the integration of Akwamu territory with Abuakwa, Baa Kwante found it necessary to organise periodic punitive expeditions against recalcitrant Akwamu chiefs to curb their external intrigues. In mid 1738 he invaded Old Akwamu, and in 1741-1742 a strict surveillance had to be mounted against the Akwamu chiefs to prevent them from taking advantage of an imminent Asante invasion to cause trouble. In 1823 Asiakwahene Tano was killed for allowing his kinship ties with the Asantehene to undermine his loyalty to the Ofori stool. Finally, the greatly extended boundaries of Akyen Abuakwa increased her lines of defence and reduced her capacity to contain the Asante threat effectively.

In order to cope with the changing circumstances of the state, it became necessary to adopt certain measures for the reform of the existing political structure. One of the first measures taken was to make the integration of old Akwamu more complete. This necessitated the re-establishment of the Abuakwa

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62. The invasion occurred early in the year and by March 1742 the Akyen forces had been defeated. See Afrifah, Akyen,
capital in a more central position beyond the Atewa range in old Akramu territory. The date of the foundation of Kyebi as the new capital is difficult to establish with any degree of certainty. Ivor Wilks, K. Afrifah and J.B. Danquah date it to the 1770s, 1780s, and about 1815 respectively. Fraser Ofori-Atta, using oral tradition, suggests that the site for the Kyebi settlement was originally chosen by Ofori Panin who for several years used the grove between three trees, Nyaduas, as the hide out for the Ofori Stool. The etymology of 'Adadientan' would seem to support Fraser's claim. According to Adadientan tradition, the village derived its name from its situation between Banso and Pamra where the royal family lived and the future site of Kyebi where the stools were hidden: hence 'Adadientan' (between treasures).

Circumstantial evidence, however, points to the reign of Baa Kwante (1727-1742) as the period of the actual foundation of Kyebi township. Generally portrayed as an alcoholic and an ineffective ruler, Baa Kwante ironically enjoys the singular


65. Fraser Ofori-Atta, Amantoomiena, p. 25.

honour of having his name immortalised by the drum language
used from time immemorial to herald Adae festival at Kyebi.

In it, he is hailed as 'a native' of Kyebi:

Wufiri Kotoko, wie Kotoko
Wufiri Kyebi, Baa Kwante Brempon ba Brempon,
Sekyere Bonti Brempon ba Brempon Kokuroko,
Ma wo ho nmere so! 67

Literally,

You hail from Kotoko, and end up in Kotoko
You hail from Kyebi, Baa Kwante the Great
Son of a Great king,
Mighty king, son of Mighty Bonti of Sekyere
Assert your self!

That the state drums should single him out for special men-
tion and hail hin as a 'native' of Kyebi and not Banso suggests
strongly that Baa Kwante was more closely identified with the
establishment of Kyebi township. Contrary to the claims of the
records that he fell into the hands of the Asante during the
Benna war, the tradition at Kyebi has it that he blew himself
upon a keg of gunpowder to avoid capture and that his remains were
buried at Kyebi on the piece of ground that to-day constitutes
Bamu (royal mausoleum). He is believed to be the first Okyemhene

67. Ofori Atta (ed.) Abakwaman Amanee, Miara ne Myahyee, Kyebi
1920 p.54. According to Odehyee Akeakoran, Baa Kwante's fa-
thor was an Asante. Fraser Ofori Atta, a celebrated State
Drummer, translates 'Kotoko' in the above context not as the
Porcupine, symbol of Asante, but as the land of the bell-
Porcupine. symbol (go and meet war).
to have been buried there. 68 Furthermore, Nana Apeatu, the centenarian Apesemakabone speaking to Stromberg in 1862 attributed the atrophy of Kyebi, in contrast to Akuapem Akropon, to its destruction by the Asante during the Benna War. If we accept 1742 or even 1764 as the date of the Benna War, then Kyebi must have been established prior to the 1750s. 69

The second far-reaching measure adopted by the Ofori dynasty to deal with her changed circumstances in the 18th and 19th centuries was the institutionalisation of the asafo or warrior organisation. This was intended to cope with the numerous and frequent wars in which the state was engaged. While the state was confined to the north-western corner of present day Akyem Abuakwa, the smallness of its territory and the proximity of its villages to Banso must have facilitated the mobilization of warriors in times of crises. From mid-18th century, however, the remoteness of some of the Abuakwa villages from the capital, the increasing frequency of wars and the danger of surprise attacks made it imperative to devise a machinery for the expeditious mobilization of warriors. The problem was solved by the institutionalisation of the asafo organization.

68. I am indebted to Fraser Ofori Atta for information on Ban Kwante's burial. See also Ivor Wilks, Akwamu, pp. 128, 132; Kwamena-Poh, Government and Politics in Akuapem State 1730-1850, Longman 1973, p. 77; K. Afrifah, Akyem p. 115.
69. Paul Jenkins Abstracts, p. 507. Kwamena-Poh accepts 1742 Benna War, but Afrifah dates it to 1764.
The Akyem Abuakwa asafo was a two-tier organization, the village asafo and the 'national' asafo. The former comprised all the able-bodied men of the village who were not holders of any office connected with the stool. Its leader, the asafoakye, was until the mid 19th century, appointed by the Odikro (village chief) and his npaninfo (stool elders or councillors) and held office during their pleasure. Hence the saying among the Abuakwa that asafoakye ye asafoo, meaning that the asafoakye's tenure of office is no more enduring than red clay marks daubed on a woman's arms. The office of asafoakye existed for the sole and limited purpose of ensuring the prompt mobilization of warriors during an emergency. Acting on orders from the Odikro and his elders, the asafoakye summoned the asafo to assemble by means of asafotwene (twene=drum). Once assembled, each warrior joined his fighting unit or nposua, and from that point took orders not from the asafoakye but from his asafohene (unit commander) who invariably was a stool elder. Unless assigned a special duty in his unit by his asafohene, the asafoakye reverted to the position of an ordinary warrior or citizen. Each asafo group had its own drun, gong-gong, oath and bye-laws.

The 'national' asafo known as the Amantocniensa was composed of the asafo of eight villages which were situated within only

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a few kilometres of Kyebi, the State capital. The villages
were Apapan, Afiesa, Ahwenease, Adadientan, Tete (Asikan), Pano
Wirenkyiron and Apedwa. These villages were divided into
three sub-groups, hence amantoo (group of villages) mienesa
(three). The first sub-group headed by Apapan included Afiesa,
Ahwenease and Adadientan; the second headed by Tete included
Pano and Wirenkyiren. The third consisted of Apedwa alone. The
Amantoomienesa was created for the specific purpose of guarding
the Ofori Stool and its occupant against sudden invasions at a
time when the Abuakwa lived in daily anxiety about an invasion. Hence the Amantoomienesa is often referred to as
Ofori Nkonwuaho asraafo (soldiers of the Ofori Stool). It was
the nearest Akyem Abuakwa got to creating a national standing
army.

The origins of the asafo organization in Akyem Abuakwa
are rather obscure and controversial. There can be little
doubt that the village asafo organization was not indigenous to
Akyem Abuakwa, if the foreign derivation of the titles of its
leading officials - 'Asafoakye' and 'Serpi' is anything to go by. Most probably the idea of village asafo organization
was borrowed by the Abuakwa from their Ga and Fante neighbours.

72. See Map 2.

73. Kye or tse in Ga means 'father'. Supi in Fante was and
still is the title of the leader of the asafo. In Abuakwa
still is the +1+1ative leader of the asafo with the

during the 18th century. In a recent work, Fraser Ofri Atta has accepted the possibility of an external origin of the village asafo or Asafo Kyiren as he calls it. On the other hand he argues from oral traditional sources in favour of an indigenous and independent origin of the Anantooniensa dating back to the reign of Ofori Panin.

According to Fraser Ofri Atta the institution evolved in stages. Its nucleus was constituted by the Adumpufo (scouts) who accompanied Aminkwata to Banso and later founded Tete, and the people of Pano who owned the land on which Tete was built. Together the two villages became known as Asiabronyawafo (patrol men or scouts). The next stage was the inclusion of Apapam, then known as Kwawiredu, probably early in the second decade of the 18th century. The third stage came in 1718, the first anniversary of the killing of Osei Tutu when Apedwa was admitted to membership of the band of protectors of the stool. By 1718 then the principal member villages of the Anantooniensa had been commissioned as soldiers of the Ofori Stool. The remaining five were appointed under Ofori Panin's successors and placed under the leadership of Apapam and Tete.

Fraser's account contradicts the existing popular account which regards the Anantooniensa as the creation of Choonaa

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74. Fraser Ofri Atta, Anantooniensa, p.18.
75. Fraser Ofri Atta, Anantooniensa, p.18.
Dokua (1817-1835), a claim that is difficult to sustain. For one thing the only two occasions in Dokua’s reign when the security of Akyem Abuakwa was dangerously threatened were 1824 and 1826. From the death of Okyenhene Obirikoran in 1783 to 1811 Akyem Abuakwa was at peace with Asante. By contrast she was continually at war with Asante from 1717 to 1783. Between 1742 and 1746 Okyenhene Pobi Asomanin (1742-1763) and his subjects abandoned their homes and became fugitives in ‘the hill country’. identified by Afrifah as the Bogoro hills but which might well be a reference to any of the several hills that surround Kyebi.

In 1764 Asantehene Osei Kwaedwo destroyed Kyebi. executed more than 400 of the Abuakwa and sold others into slavery.

Osei Kwaedwo again defeated Okyenhene Obirikoran (1765-1783) in 1772, chased him out of his kingdom early in 1773 and replaced

76. N.A.C., Adm. 11/1/1738 Memo by Jones D.C. 28 Feb., 1922.
77. Obirikoran’s death in 1783 brought Twum Lapofo to the Ofori Stool. He was disposed to acknowledge Asante over-rule, and until Atta Musu’s rebellion in 1811 Abuakwa dutifully paid her annual tribute in gold dust, hyiro (line) and slaves. She also supplied a contingent of troops on demand estimated at about 16,000 during the first decade of the 19th century. See Afrifah, Akyen, p. p.157; N.A.C. Adm. 11/1/1094 J. Simon’s Notes 28 Dec., 1886; Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p.507; Ivor Wilks, Asante in the 19th century p.126.
78. Examples of the hills rising up to 2470ft. are Atewa, Kotoko and Pintan near Apedwa.
79. See p.22
80. K. Afrifah, Akyen, p.141.
hin in 1775 by his 'younger brother' Twin Ampofo. 81 This was indeed a period that called for the greatest security and military preparedness and it is to this period that the origins of the Asafo might be traced. Circumstantial evidence also points to an 18th century, rather than a 19th century, date for the creation of the Anantoomiensa. First the composition of the Anantoomiensa suggests that it was intended to hedge Kyebi, the state capital, whose foundation has been dated to the 1740s or earlier. 82 Indeed the choice of the Anantoomiensa villages was no accident. Apapan, Afiesa, Ahwencase and Adadientan lay on the line of march of an invading Asante army which, more often than not, used the Asuon-Akron-Kyebi route; Tete and Pano guarded the approach through Anyinan and Asieakwa; while Wirenkyiron (Ananfron) and Apedwa secured the approach from the south. 83

Second, it is reasonable to conclude that if the Anantoomiensa had been created by Dokuna on her accession to the stool in 1817, and only five years before her abortive journey to Kumase was undertaken, it is doubtful that the institution would have already achieved the organizational strength and independence of action suggested by the confidence with which its leaders unilaterally defied the Queen and two of her Nkakanfo and sought

81. Ibid pp.147, 156; Ole Justeson, Aspects, p.12.
The third measure adopted in an effort to adapt Okyenhene to changing circumstances was to develop and expand the existing bureaucratic machinery. In the Banso phase the diminutive size of the state and clan solidarity enabled the Okyenhene to rule effectively with a small band of courtiers and officials resident in the capital or its immediate environs. From the late 18th century, however, this became impracticable. The increasing diversity of clans, and the remoteness of the peripheral districts from the capital made it expedient to continue to concentrate power and decision-making in the hands of officials in the capital. First, in lieu of a professional standing army the Okyenhene was dependent upon the goodwill and loyalty of the rural Adinkrofo for the mobilization of their subjects to the national cause. Second, the need to collect tribute, prevent subversion and settle minor disputes among his subjects far removed from the capital made it expedient

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84. In 1823 Asafohene Tano using his influence with Queen Dokua by virtue of her marriage to his younger brother Gyekye planned to take the Queen to Kumase to commit her to an alliance against the British Government with the help of Kwabenhoune. The plan was foiled by the Amantoonionsa chiefs who attacked and killed Tano at Okumanin Abope. The Queen was brought back into the capital, Kyobi, and compelled, under pain of forfeiture of her stool, to join the alliance of the coastal chiefs and the British Government. N.A.G. Ldn. 11/1/959; C.C. Reindorf, The History, pp.175-176; Interview with Bafoo Agyeman, Asafohene.
for the Okyenhon to delegate authority to representatives in
the remote parts of the state.

For the above reasons the late 18th century and early 19th
century saw the evolution of a new political hierarchy. More
Adikrofo were appointed to take charge of the small settlements
that mushroomed; 85 while some of the older Adikrofo in the
remote districts were raised in status to the rank of Divisional
or Wing chiefs and entrusted with authority over a specified set
of villages. The Otweresohene, for instance, whose original
domicile was Osenase was appointed a 'frontiersman' (Aponuvohene)
with residence at Otwereso in the late 18th century or early
19th century to keep an eye on the movements of the Asante
army. 86 Similarly Odikro Osan Panin of Osino, Ofori Ware of
Kwaben (c 1807-1830), Kwakwa Tiefun of Mankyi (c.1826-185 ) and
Antwi Awua Panin of Bogoro (c 1821-1863) were elevated in rank
and appointed to the command of one or other of the five
military wings (mpasua) into which the Abuanwen national army,
like other Akan armies was divided. 87

85. The original appointment of an Odikro is the prerogative
of the Okyenhone. See N...G.K. Adm. 29/6/2 Amoako Atta
to W.... Pritchard 11 August 1908.

86. N...G. Adm. 11/1/739 Osenase Native Affairs; Also Heiden-
bote No.6 1880.

87. These were Adonten (van), Nifa (Right), Benkum (Left),
Gyroso (Household Guard) and Kyidon (Stool and Rear Guard).
Up to the end of Queen Dokur's reign these appointments remained ad hoc and in the gift of the Okyenhene. The office of Bonkanhene, commander of the left wing, for instance, is believed to have been held successively by Apinannahene and Osinohene in the 18th century before becoming permanently vested in the occupant of the Begoro stool from about 1820 onwards. The command of the Osecwua division is also said to have been held first by Okyinsohene and subsequently by Wankyihene. By virtue of their appointments as heads of the military and political divisions of the state, the five apakanfo became important members of the central Government of Akyem Abuakwa.

Growth and Development of Abuakwa Institutions c 1831-1874

The process of political and bureaucratic evolution touched off by the wars against Awamu and Asante continued in the relatively peaceful era that followed the Treaty of 1831. From that time till the eve of colonial rule the Kyobi Court, the Amancooniensa and the Divisional chiefs constituted the main pillars of Central Government. The Kyobi Court known as LorkoJon, Lopesenaka ne Kyidon, or the Kyobi Executive Council, comprised the Atrafoo (courtiers or councillors), Leyinatufoo (counsellors) and Npaninfo (elders) of the Okyenhene who were resident in the capital. These officials were occupants of

88. Begoro, Osino and Okyinso Traditions.
stools which either originated from Adanse or were created locally for then in the course of the 19th century by successive kings.

The Ankobeaehene, otherwise known as Okonahene, occupied one of the only two stools in the Kyebi Executive Council believed to have originated from Adanse. The first known holder of the office in the 19th century was Adu Santeni. As head of the Ankobee (palace guard) the Ankobeaehene had ultimate responsibility for the security of the palace and protection of the king's person. Directly subordinate and responsible to the Ankobeaehene was the Kyebi Gyeasohene, occupant of the Amoako Panin Stool specially created in the 19th century for Kweisi Amoako, one of the greatest slave owners of the state. Kweisi Amoako was first mentioned in Eisenschmid's report of 1868 and again in Lodholtz report in April 1870. He died in 1881.

93. See p. 76.
The Gyansahene was responsible for the direct supervision of the ghodeefoo (functionaries) of the Ofori Stool. These included the Akveve (linguists), Fotosanfo (treasury officials) Nkonwoosanfo (stool carriers), Kradwerefo (souls of the king) Neenseefoo or Amumi (court criers of heralds), Ascanfoo (carriers of the king's person), Tutufoo (gun bearers), Nnenufo (fan-bearers), Nkoneefoo (sword-bearers), Isiokwaafoo no Akveveeewadefoo (horn blowers and drummers), Kyiinyetufoo (Umbrella holders), Mpiininkafoo (Mpiintin drummers) and the Dabeheeno (chief of the Royal Chamber and living quarters). 95 The above offices were all appointive and in the gift of the Okyenhene. He could confer any of them on any one or vest them in a particular family. 96

In appointing the above-mentioned functionaries collectively called Nhenkwna, the Okyenhene made formal applications to their respective abusuapanin (head of family) and provided money and drinks as seeda (thanks money). It was necessary for every Nhenkwna to have an okyiginafoo (sponsor or security). 97 The Nhenkwna enjoyed certain immunities and privileges. They might not be insulted or assaulted (vensun no nso yeveno no).

95. For details of duties, investiture, dress etc. of the functionaries see Ofori Atta(ed.) Abuakwaman Anane, pp.14-30.
97. Ibid p.31.
The penalty for a breach of this custom consisted of a fine and the slaughter of two sheep. If an Ahonkwa provoked an assault against himself then he became liable for the slaughter of the sheep.\(^98\) Among the perquisites of the Ahonkwa was entitlement to specified portions of sheep slaughtered in the palace.\(^99\)

The second group of courtiers and councillors within the Kyebi Executive Council was the Aposenaka made up of all adehvee (members of the royal family) and ahenpoma (princes). The head of the group, the Aposenakahene, was appointed from among the respectable and sagacious surviving sons of deceased kings. He was a close confidant, indeed, the chief adviser, of the Okyenahene.\(^100\) The first known holder of the office of Aposenakahene was Apeatu who was first mentioned by Basel Missionary Stronberg in January 1863 and again by Eisenschmid in July 1867 at which time his age was estimated as 100 years. The last mention of Apeatu's name occurs in the records in 1877.\(^101\)

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98. Ibid pp.15, 20; N.A.G. Adm 11/1/3 J.S. Fulbury Smith to Ag. Col.Sec. 7 March 1868.


100. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p.539 Eisenschmid's Report 7 July 1867.

As head of 'all members of the Stool family' he had power to settle any differences or disputes among them without reference to the Okyenhene. The Apesenakohene was also responsible for pouring libation at the stool house. Though independent and of a higher status than any other member of the Kyebi Executive Council, the Omena (Queenmother), occupant of the Ponna Stool, was included, for all practical purposes, in the Apesonaka.

The last component of the Kyebi Executive Council was the Kyidon. The head was the Kyidonhene whose stool was the only other stool, besides that of the Ankobenhene, to have originated from Ldanse. The Kyidonhene exercised supervisory control over all activities or ceremonies connected with the Birin river in Kyebi in the capacity of Chief Priest. Ranking behind the Kyidonhene was the Kyidon Panin whose stool was created in the 19th century by the Okyenhene. The first Kyidon Panin is believed to have been Opanin Yeboa who was in office from about 1870 till 1902.

The heads of Ankobea, Apesenaka and Kyidon were looked upon as 'the most responsible persons in the management of all affairs' in Akyan Abuakwa. They assisted the Okyenhene in

103. Fraser Ofori Atta, Anantoomiena, p.30
105. 28/3/07-5/9/07 No.3 p.263 Kyebi Palace
the day to day administration of the state and dealt with cases of 'immediate but not of very great importance'.106 Between then, Ankobea, Aposenaka and Kyidon provided the okyenhen with the only independent striking force at his direct and immediate command. Apart from the men under the direct command of the Ankobea, Aposenakahene and Kyidonhene at Kyebi, they exercised military command over certain villages.107 It was this independent force that formed the core of the okyenan army that fought against the Kotoku people at Gyalana in March 1860.

The office of Aposenakahene apart, there was one other office, that of Sunnehene, which was reserved exclusively for Ahenomene (princes) whose fathers were dead. The son of an incumbent okyenhen was ineligible. The first prince to hold this office is believed to have been Apea Nuana. His successor, Ane Yaw, was appointed to office in 1877.109 The okyenhen maintained several fotoo (treasury bags) in different parts of the state. The most important of them, the fotokese (the grand

107. The Aposenakahene controlled Tweapase, Adasewase and Topremen; Ankobenahene, Nuoso and Ankaaase; Kyebi Gyansehene, Akrofufo. See Ofori Atta(ed.) Abukwaman Amanee p.11.
treasury bag) was kept at Kyebi. It contained gold weight, scales and scoops used for weighing gold. On the eve of colonial rule the sanan (treasury) at Kyebi consisted of three treasury chests (nnaka) besides the fotokose. In the chests was kept gold dust tied in several bundles and weighed every eight days. The sanaahene or Fotoanfohene was responsible for the security of the sanan. He slept in the treasury room every night. In the first decade of colonial rule the Kyebi treasury contained 437 prodwam (£3,500) made up of gold tied up in 48 bundles.

The second important institution of Central Government, the Anantooniensa, also acquired more responsibilities, power and privileges in the half-century that elapsed between their confrontation with Dokuaa and the beginning of colonial rule. By mid 19th century the Anantooniensa were attempting to constitute themselves into a sort of pressure group and claiming certain prerogatives. In October 1861 for instance, the Madientan asafo which was said to have 'come to an agreement with Apapan against the Kibi people' forcibly slaughtered two sheep at Kyebi and took them away. On joining Teto (Asikan) to form the nucleus of the Anantooniensa in the 18th century, Apapan was assigned

110. Interview with Oheneba Kwaku Anoa ex-Sanahone and 3th in line. The previous holders were Apea Nuama, Anoa Yaw, Apea Doto, Apemrin, Apemrin Kwafraana, Anoa and Apea Gyeno.

the special duty of guarding and blocking the path to Kyebi whenever necessary. As such they became known as Asinkwamfoo. Their role survives today in the custom of blocking the Okeynhene's access to the Stool House until he has provided them with a live sheep. Perhaps Adadientan as part of the Apa-pan sub-group was by their action seeking an extension of this privilege to themselves. To avert a bloody confrontation between the two towns, okeynhene Obuon availed himself of the good offices of Basel Missionary Kroner.

If as suggested above, this sort of confrontation with Kyebi was intended by the Amantoomiensa towns as one of the strategies for pressing their claims to greater political recognition and privilege, then it paid off, for it became an established practice from the mid 1860s to invite the Amantoomiensa to participate in the emergency deliberations of the Kyebi Executive Council. In 1865, for instance, a serious land dispute involving the stools of Manse, Asafo and Kukuran-turi was referred to 'the King's Elders, 12 from Kibbi and 30 from 3 neighbouring places [who] function as the peoples' representatives'. Again in 1868 the Amantoomiensa

113. See Fraser Ofori Atta, Amantoomiensa, p.36.
Adikrofo of Apapen, Tete and Apedwa were hurriedly summoned to Kyebi at night to investigate a charge of assault pressed by Okyenhenem Anoako Atta I against Duko, a christian servant of Gyanaschene Kwasi Anoako. 116

The Anantooniensa acquired other important roles in the political affairs of the state. As soldiers of the Ofori Stool, they were entrusted with the security of the black stool at the death of the King as well as the consecration of a new stool to the memory of the departed King and the arrangements for the election and enstoolment of his successor. 117 In that role they were known as Werenpefoo. According to tradition, the duties of Werenpefoo were originally performed by the people of Apedwa who migrated into Akyen Abuakwa from the village of Krobo in Denkyira after the Asante-Denkyira war of 1699-1701 and founded Krobo now Apedwa. 118 Presumably the inclusion of Apedwa in the security network of the 18th century which later blossomed into the Anantooniensa, and the lapse of time, blurred the special role of Apedwa as Werenpefoo and resulted in its being imperceptibly subsumed under the general security role of the Anantooniensa. According to W.J.A. Jones, however, the

117. See Fraser Ofori Atta, Anantooniensa, Appendix 5B. fn.20.
In Akwamu the head of Gyaase supervises werempe rites; while in Asante the Gyaase constitutes the core of the werempefoo.

It is highly likely that the duties of Werempe in Akyem Abuakwa were originally discharged as in Akwamu, by the Gyaasehene of Kyebi on behalf of the Gyaasehene of Akyem Abuakwa. The duties were probably taken over by the Amantoomiensa in 1881 when newly elected Kyebi Gyaasehene, Joseph Bosompem, as a christian and leader of the Kyebi congregation, absolutely refused to accept custody of, or perform customary rites even for, his own stool. The discharge of the duties of werempe by the Amantoomiensa is unique among the Akan and provides evidence of the flexibility, growth and development of Akan institutions.

Equally important was the power wielded by the Amantoomiensa in the enstoolment and destoolment of an Okyenhene.

125. See chapter 2. The Amantoomiensa was strongly opposed to the retention of the services of christian functionaries at the palace. See Thomas Yao Kani, Kristofo Tse, Kyebi n.d. p.16.
In the event of a vacancy on the Paramount Stool the Ohemaa, in response to a request by Okyeman, consulted with the Abusapanin and other members of the royal family and nominated one of the Adehyee as a candidate. The name of the candidate was announced to a joint meeting of Ankobea, Apesemaka, Kyidom and Amantoomiensa. If the candidacy of the Odehyee was approved by the meeting, he was formally presented to the Okyeman Council made up of Mpakanfo and Adikrofo for endorsement which was almost invariably secured.\textsuperscript{127} It was the exclusive privilege of the Amantoomiensa to carry an Okyenhene-elect shoulder-high and parade him in a procession marked by drumming, singing and firing of musketry to proclaim his election. This exclusive privilege gave them a strong bargaining power in the election of an Okyenhene.

Destoolment of an Okyenhene was initiated by Ankobea, Apesemaka and Kyidom acting in collaboration with the Amantoomiensa in keeping with the Akan maxim, \textit{ne a oyi ohene na oti ohene} (those authorised to choose a king are those entitled to depose him).\textsuperscript{128} In the trial which invariably preceded destoolment the Amantoomiensa usually played the role of the

\textsuperscript{127} Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p.533 Eisenachmid's Report 7 July 1867.

\textsuperscript{128} N.A.G. Adm 11/1/3 Ad. Mohr to Rottmann 29 Jan. 1905; N.A.G. Adm 11/1/1096 Chiefs' letter dd. 27 Nov. 1912; N.A.G. Adm 11/1/5 Chiefs and Captains to Ag. Col. Sec. 16 Nov.
Prosecution while the Mpakanfo constituted the panel of arbitrators. In the event of the Okyenhene being found guilty and sentenced to deposition, the execution of the verdict was left in the hands of the Amantoamiensa. The role of the Amantoamiensa in enstoolment and destoolment enhanced their influence over the Okyenhene. Indeed they constituted a political barometer of sorts, for as pointed out by District Commissioner W.J.A. Jones, an attack by them on the Okyenhene invariably 'proved as it were, a skirmish preceding a general assault by the ahensio'. It was in this sense that Jacob Simmons described the Amantoamiensa in 1886 as 'really the King's masters and advisers'.

The Amantoamiensa was indeed an interesting and unique Akan institution. Created in the 18th century to deal with a military contingency, it evolved through the years to become an important political institution for exerting popular pressure and control over the Central Government at Kyebi and ensuring that decision-making did not become the special prerogative of a clique in the capital. The institution provides a good

130. N.A.G. Adm 11/1/3 Ag. Col. Sec. to Ag. Governor 21 Nov. 1900.
illustration of the dynamism and innovativeness of the Akan traditional system and shows that it was far from being fossilized or static.

The last important institution of central government in Akyem Abuakwa was the state (Okyeman) Council. Composed of 'all the stool occupants of the Abuakwa State', it constituted the supreme governing and legislative body in the state, with competence to deal with 'all the affairs concerning the state from the Omanhene to the least or smallest child'. The real power of the State Council rested with the five wing chiefs, namely Adontenhene, Nifahene, Benkumhene, Gyapahene and Oseawu-ohene. The civil power of these chiefs derived directly from their predominant role in the military affairs of the state. Indeed attendance of the five wing chiefs or their accredited representatives or deputies was necessary for the validity of major decisions of the Council. By mid-19th century the offices of Divisional chiefs had become hereditary.

133. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1105, Award, 1929 parag. 60.

134. The first 19th century holders of these respective offices are believed to have been Apeanyo, Awua Panin (c 1821-1863), Tano (c 1815-1823), Ofori Ware (c 1807-1830) and Kwakwa Teyfun (1826-1853). Oral Traditions of Kukurantumi, Bogoro, Asiakwa, Kwaben and Wamkyi; Also Paul Jenkins, Abstracts,

135. Interview with Odehyee Apeakoran and Cheneba Amoa 5 Jan. 1977. See also Fraser Ofori Atta, Amantoomiena, p.10
Ranking with the five wing chiefs, but without control of separate divisions of their own, were three other chiefs promoted to the status of Divisional Chiefs as a reward for loyal services between 1830 and 1873. These chiefs were Otwerosehene, Asaman-kosehene and Akyeasahene who ranked second to Benkumhene, Osean-wuhene and Asiakwahene respectively. In addition to being a reward for services rendered in the past the promotion of the three former Adikrofo whose villages were situated in the western extremity of the state might be viewed as part of the process of bureaucratic evolution touched off by the exigencies of the Akwamu and Asante wars. The object was not only to insulate these chiefs against the temptation of secession, but also to entrust them with the supervision of villages in the western extremity of Abunkwa which were far removed from their respective divisional headquarters.  

At the head of the Central Government of the state was the Okyenhene. He was distinguished from his Divisional and sub chiefs by his exclusive use of golden sandals, a palanquin, swords with golden hilts, golden headgear or crown, and two

136. From 1861 to 1871 a state of war prevailed between newly established Kotoku state with its capital at Nsuaem(Oda) and Abunkwa. A few Abunkwa villages seceded to join Kotoku. See N.A.C. Adm 11/1/1126 chapter from Kotoku and Abunkwa history; Hull to Ag. Governor 26 Oct. 1893.
The Okyenhene-in-Council was a powerful man. In 1852 Zimmerman observed that King Atta Panin had 'strict control over his people...'

Gyaasehene Kwasi Amoako was fined a total of $90.00 (about £20 5/- or £40.50) by King Amoako Atta I's Court for negligence of duty in 1868. In 1870 Benkumhene Kwaku Fening was fined heavily by the same court for violating the ban on salt trade with Asante. Nevertheless, the Okyenhene's power was circumscribed by custom, that restrained him from becoming an absolute ruler. Amoako Atta I summed up the Okyenhene's position under the Abuakwa constitution when he said in an address to the Okyeman Council in 1886:

You chiefs here know that I am the King, but you are the people who rule the Government of this Kingdom. You are the River and I am the fish living in it who can do nothing without your aid and council(sic)...

The Okyenhene was liable to removal from office for persistently ignoring advice of his council or violating the customs of the land. While in office he worked hand in hand with

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138. Bomaa drums are the huge 5 feet high Drums.


140. Heidenbote, No.11, Nov. 1870 pp.121-122.

141. N.A.G. Adm 11/1/1094 J. Simmons Notes taken at Kyebi 28
the Abakomahene, occupant of the Abakomadwa and the person generally acknowledged as heir apparent. This office was always held by an odehyee trodoo (a man of true and pure royal blood) who more often than not succeeded to the stool on the death or deposition of an Okyenhen. The government at the Divisional and village levels was closely modelled on the Okyenhen's government. The whole collectivity of people in the village was known as Oman and its affairs were administered by an Odikro with the help and advice of his mponinfo (stool Elders or Council of Elders). The Odikro was elected from a particular matrilineal stool (royal) family. The Oman reserved the right to reject his candidature on grounds of unsuitability, such as physical deformity or moral depravity; and in the event of an impecc between the stool family and the Oman regarding the election of an Odikro, the final decision rested with the Oman which could proceed to elect and instal any eligible heir of

142. Between 1840 and 1859 Odehyee Asase was Abakomahene to the Ofori Stool. He was, however, passed over in favour of Atta Obuom because of his bad conduct. Odehyee Kwabena Dente, son of Nana Dede is believed to have been the last occupant of the Abakomadwa. He was an unsuccessful candidate for the succession to Amoako Atta I in 1887. Thereafter the office fell into abeyance at Kyebi but it continued to exist in several Abuakwa towns such as Begoro and Asiakwa. See State Council Record Book 3/10/32-31/10/38 Acc. No. 145 p.108, Kyebi Palace Archives; Interviews with Odehyee Apeakoran (Kyebi) and Boafoo Agyeman (Asiakwa) Jan. 1977; Also Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, pp.35-36, 529-30, 690.
their choice. 143

The procedures for the election and installation of Divisional chiefs were the same as for Adikrofo. The Divisional Chiefs like the Adikrofo, discharged military, legislative and judicial functions with the assistance of their respective councils of Elders reinforced from time to time, as occasion demanded, by the co-option of representatives of the villages constituting their respective divisions. The Adikrofo in a division were required by custom to attend the enstoolment ceremony of their divisional chief as well as his annual Odwira festival. 144

Like the Okyenhene both Divisional Chiefs and Adikrofo were liable to destoolment if they violated custom or persistently ignored advice.

The Judicial System

The political authority of the Ahenfo (chiefs) in Akyem Abunkwa as elsewhere in the Akan world derived primarily from the fact of their having been 'placed' on a blackened stool of their predecessors which enshrined the soul of their community. In the relatively peaceful era that followed the Treaty of 1831, the political authority of the Ahenfo came to be closely identified not with military command as in the past but

143. N.A.G., Adm.11/1/490 Kwabena's answer to Questionaire on election and installation.

144. See pp 27-30
with their judicial functions. The state's judicial system was closely modelled on the political constitution with courts arranged in a hierarchical order. At the bottom was the Odikro's court and at the top was the court of the Okyeman (state) Council. Between them were the courts of the Opakanni (Divisional chief) and that of the Okyenhene. The Odikro's court was constituted by the Odikro and his Council of Elders. So also was the Opakanni's Court except that it was, as and when necessary, strengthened by the co-option of representatives of the villages that formed the Division. The Okyenhene's court was composed of the King sitting with Ankobea, Apesomaka and Kyidom and, occasionally, the Amantoomiensa.145 The court of the State Council was constituted by the Okyenhene sitting with all stool occupants in the State.

The State Council was the highest court in Akyem Abuakwa and exercised both original and appellate jurisdiction. It had power to adjudicate in cases involving differences between the Okyenhene and a chief or subjects. It's jurisdiction in all cases that came before it was unlimited and it had unfettered right to assess pacification and other fees as well as impose fines.146 Cases from the courts of Opakanni and Odikro went to the Okyenhene's court on appeal. All such appeals were tried

145. See pp.23-24, 30-35.
146. E.P. to S.N.A. 21 May 1925.
by the Okyenene. Appeals from an Odikro's court could go to the court of an Opakanni. The courts of Mpakanfo and Adikrofo had competence to hear all cases properly brought before them except those involving Ntamkoko or the personal oath of the king.\(^{147}\)

There were two main processes for commencing an action in the various courts: by verbal summons and by oath. In the former case an aggrieved person approached an okyenene, laid his complaint before him and paid a fee for the summoning of the defendant. Both parties appeared before the court and stated their case. Their witnesses were examined and judgement given 'upon the weight of evidence'.\(^{148}\) This was usually the process used in cases involving claims of money.\(^{149}\) The oath was the principal means for bringing an action before a court. Whenever a dispute arose between two parties, one of them swore the Okyenene's oath, Wukuada ne Kwanyako in support of his case. Almost invariably the other party did the same as failure to reply to an oath was normally held to imply a tacit admission of guilt. The swearing of the king's oath rendered the case a criminal case triable by the court of an Odikro, Opakanni or the

\(^{147}\) See pp.53-54.


\(^{149}\) N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1138 N.J.O. Bill Criticism on by Omanhene and the Chiefs of Eastern Akim. 31 Dec. 1906.
Okyenhene. 150

It was the duty of any by-stander or passer-by who heard the oath sworn to arrest the swearer (fa no dedua) and take him before an Okyenene who in turn took the prisoner before the court. The person who performed the arrest demanded and received apsobodee or Ntcho (arrest fee) from the swearer before bringing him before the Okyenene. In the case of the Okyenene's court apsobodee was proportionate to the distance between Kyebi and the place of arrest. Failure to arrest the swearer of the king's oath was an offence punishable by a fine. 151

At the beginning of a trial each of the parties to the case provided a surety (okyigyingfoo) who, in the event of the judgment going against him was to be held as security against payment of the necessary fees and costs. In other words, if the litigant failed to pay the necessary court fees himself or fled, the security became liable and might be kept in custody until his relatives arranged to have the fees paid. 152 Before giving their respective statements, the parties were sworn on abosom (gods) in addition to taking the state oath. Swearing by

abosom (naadie) involved invoking the curse of a god against one's life should one's testimony be false. Witnesses were similarly sworn. After both sides to the dispute had been heard, the court retired to consider the verdict (ko agyina).

All councillors and functionaries present except Nkonwasonfoo, Kyimietyufoo and Nseneefoo were entitled to participate in egvinatu (i.e. consideration of the verdict). The above-mentioned functionaries remained behind with the King. Delivery of the judgment was entrusted to the Okyeame who first whispered the verdict into the King's ears and obtained his concurrence before delivering it. This was a mere formality as more often than not the King acquiesced. In delivering judgment the Okyeame stood facing the loser of the action. Behind him stood all the Nseneefoo carrying hyire (white clay or powder) in their palm. Judgment was greeted with an exclamation of approval - Hoe!; but in political or unreasonable cases judgment in favour of the king was greeted with the beating of drums, firing of guns and a dance by the king. The Nseneefoo marked the winner with hyire from the forehead over the centre of the head.


to the nape of the neck. After that the Okyeame announced the
aseda (thanks-money) fixed by the Agyinatufoo. This was invariably reduced after much pleading by the loser.  

The court charges, apart from aseda, were mpata (damages, pacification or claim), mpomatun and oath fine. The mpata was payable to the winner of the action and was subject to bargaining. Mpmatum was an assessment on the aseda (or Abonue) payable to the Okyeane. It was assessed at the rate of 4/- in the pound or 20%. Other charges included a fee for Nsenefoo assessed at the rate of 6d on every Domma (8/-), 1/- on every Nsano (12/-), and 1/6d on every suru (£1) of the aseda. The aseda which was demanded originally from the winner of the action was recoverable from the loser. 

The main means of enforcing judgement was imprisonment or detention in epa (log). The epa consisted of the trunk of a felled coconut tree to which the prisoner was secured by means of an iron staple driven in over the wrist. Contrary to European practice, imprisonment in the sense of deprivation of personal


liberty was not considered as punishment per se. It was only a means of enforcing decrees which generally involved payment of money. As such imprisonment might be indefinite.

Members of the court received no fixed salaries or payments, but rather perquisites in the form of adawadee (sitting allowances). In the Okyenhene's court for instance, the aseda was divided into three parts - $\frac{1}{3}$ for the Okyenhene and $\frac{2}{3}$ for Ankobea, Aposenaka and Kyidon. Out of the Okyenhene's share he paid Ntarkagyire. One half of it went to the person who stood security for the loser of the case. The remainder was divided into two with half going to the Akyeme and the rest sub divided between certain elders and Sanaafoo. The Anko beahene and the Gyanschene got $\frac{1}{2}$ each of the share allotted to the Ankobea section.

Cases arising out of the swearing of Ntampokoo could not be heard in any other court than that of the Okyenhene. Ntampokoo, also euphemistically called Nyira (blessing), was an oath

158. This was assessed as follows:

- Ntakwunan (2/-) = 3d
- Domfala (4/-) = 6d
- Domna (8/-) = 1/-
- Nmeano (13/-) = 2/-
- Suru (£1) = 4/-

159. Civil Record Book 28/3/07-5/9/07 No.3 pp.262-63, Kyebi Palace Archives.

160.
which involved a curse against the life of the King, Ohenea, Odohye or any stool occupant with whom the swearer had no cause of dispute or quarrel. Such an oath was regarded as a capital offence.\textsuperscript{161} On receiving a report that such an oath had been sworn, an Opakami or Odikro was obliged by custom to order the slaughter of up to a dozen sheep in retraction of the curse and in propitiation of the ancestors before reporting the matter to the Okyenhe’s court for trial.\textsuperscript{162} The trial was conducted under the presidency of the Okyenhe though he took no active part in it. Besides the cost of the sheep slaughtered the swearer often paid a fine as high as 10 predwan (£80). Such a fine went exclusively to the King.\textsuperscript{163}

**Stool Revenue**

In pre-colonial Abukwa society there was hardly any distinction between the private purse of the King or Chief and public or stool revenue. By stool revenue therefore is meant all the income available to the stool occupant for the


management of the affairs of the state, town or village.

The sources of stool revenue were varied. One of the important sources, as in Asante and elsewhere in the Akan world, was Fotobó (accession tax). This was a special tax imposed to replenish the treasury for the benefit of a new ruler. This special taxation was resorted to in 1885 to raise an amount of £500 for the support of King Anoako Atta I's administration on his return from exile in Lagos. 164

From the 17th to early 19th centuries war was also an important source of income for the Okyenhen. In return for the expenditure incurred on war in the form of supply of gun powder, provision of subsistence and supplication of the gods, the Okyenhen was entitled to a greater share of war booty. 165 At the end of a war apẹatoo (war levy) might also be levied to defray war debt. After the 1811 war with Asante, for instance, Kwaben, Mmabadan, and Kokoben, and Osino paid thirty-six, eight and thirty, predwan respectively as apẹatoo. 166 In the relatively peaceful era that followed the Treaty of 1831, court fees

166. Interview with Barina Kwakye Ababio II 5 Jan. 1977. Predwan was equal to approximately £8.0.0 or £16.00.
furnished the Okyenhene with a major part of his revenue. The
swearing of the King's oath attracted an oath fine of £1 4/-
(£2.40) while the swearing of Ntampoko attracted a fine of up
to eighty times as much. In 1875, for instance one Katawere
was fined 10 predwam (about £30 or $60.00) for swearing
ntampoko. 167

Trade was also an important source of revenue for the
Okyenhene. King Ban Kwante, for instance earned a reputation
as one of the greatest slave traders of the 18th century. 168
King Amonko Atta I also employed state officials to trade for
him in the 19th century. Emmanuel Yaw Boakye, for instance,
was given various sums of money totalling 7 bendos (£50.8.0d or
about £100.00) to trade on behalf of the King in textiles, salt,
and sheep. In 1870, Boakye on the King's orders seized seven
baskets of salt from traders engaged in illicit trade with Asante
traders at Anyinam and sold them for six Sickles (about £1.7.0
or £2.10). Boakye often travelled as far inland as Daben to
sell salt. 169

167. Heidenbote No.11 Nov. 1870 p.122; N.A.G., S.C.T. 2/5/1
Criminal Record Book 2 Jan. 1879-4 Feb. 1884 Regina vs.
Atta May 4 1880.

168. Walter Rodney, 'Gold and Slaves on the Gold Coast' in Trans-
actions of the Historical Society of Ghana Vol.x Legon
1969; p.22.

169. S.C.T. 2/4/12 Civil Record Book Vol.4B. 5 May 1871-28 May
1879 King Atta vs. Yaw Boakye 3 Jan. 1878 pp.576-578. In
1879 £1 ounce of an ounce and worth 4/6d or about 50p
Another lucrative source of revenue was land. The King himself actively participated in the gold-mining industry exploiting to advantage the large slave labour at his personal command. 170 Besides, he was entitled to a share of epo (a gold nugget valued upwards of £2 or $4.00). The finder of epo was bound by customary law to surrender it intact through his local Chief or Odikro to the Okyenhene. It was broken up and the finder first given 'something... out of the find... for his soul'. This was called Akradee. Thereafter the rest of the epo was divided into three equal parts, one for the Okyenhene, one for the Odikro or Opakanni in whose territory the epo was found and the remainder for the finder. 171 Failure to report the discovery of epo was a serious offence punishable by a heavy fine. 172 Similarly the Okyenhene was entitled to one third share of Ahudée (treasure-trove), Bosre (leg of game) and Awafee.


172. One of the causes of the Gyadan War of 1860 was King Agyeman's refusal to surrender an epo found on Gyadan land to the Okyenhene.
(10% share of big snail harvests). 173

Land Tenure

The sharing of wealth from the land with the Okyenhenene was bound up with the issue of land tenure in the State. The Okyenhenene claimed ultimate sovereignty over all lands in the state based primarily on the fact of the conquest of the erstwhile Akwamu lands under the leadership of the Ofori Stool. 174

In practice, however, the extent of the state lands made it impossible to centralise control over them in the hands of the Okyenhenene. Besides, the smallness of Abuakwa's population, the abundance of land, 175 and the subsistence character of agriculture made land less valuable than it was to become in the late 19th century. Control over state lands in the 17th and 18th centuries therefore never became a serious issue of national politics. Authority over land remained diffuse, being shared in an ill-defined manner between King, Chief and Elders.

In 1824 when the Kotoku took refuge in Akyem Abuakwa Ohemaa Dokua consulted Odikro Kwabena Addo of Abompe before granting them the Gyadam lands. 176 After their expulsion in 1860 Oseawuchene Kwabena Gyanfi (alias Gyaapea) permitted them

175. See p. 61.
to settle on Wankyi lands without prior consultation with, and to the annoyance of, King Atta Obuon. In the case of the Dwaben refugees who entered Akron Abunkwa in 1874-5, Okyenhenene Anako Atta I on being approached by Government for a grant of land for their rehabilitation, told Captain Hughes that the land on which the New Juabins had settled belonged to the stool of Kukurantumi, the land in the neighbourhood of Ajisu belonged to the stools of Kukurantumi, Asafu and Masse.

Consequently, Amonenhene Anpaw was summoned to Kyebi for a discussion of the grant. The Krobo migrant farmers bought their farm lands from the Begoro stool in the 1860s and 1870s without the knowledge and consent of the Paramount Stool of Akron Abunkwa.

In spite of all this the Ofori Stool's claim to the ultimate 'ownership' and control of all lands in Akron Abunkwa was tacitly acknowledged. An event that occurred in 1865 provides support for this conclusion. In that year, the stools of Kukurantumi, Masse and Asafo disputed the ownership of lands in the neighbourhood of Ahabante (near Tinkon) and Bewaase (near

179. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/184 A History of the formation of New
180. 1453 Petition from Mate Kole to Ag. D. C.
Kwanose). After a protracted hearing of the case by the court of Okyenhene Atta Obuom lasting eight months, and the display of intransigence by the parties, the court decided that the lands in dispute should revert to the direct possession of the Paramount Stool. 181 It was as a token of recognition of the Ofori Stool's ultimate ownership of all state lands that chiefs and subjects shared wealth produced by the land with Okyenhene. 182

By mid 19th century the convention had been established that lands were 'owned' in the first instance by the Mpakanfo and Adikrofo stools to which they were attached and only remotely by the Paramount Stool. This was a satisfactory arrangement as the expenses connected with the propitiation of the gods in relation to the land were borne by the stools of the localities concerned. The lands so attached to the stools of the Mpakanfo and Adikrofo were 'held as communal property in trust and to the use of' the members of the various matrilineal families in the state. 183 Hence Basel Missionaries, Weiner and Huppenbauer observed that 'in Akyen legally, the entire country stands open


182. See p.57

legally to each individual and belongs by no means to the
King'. Proprietary right in land began from the time of
occupation and was vested in the family of the first occu-
pant.

The Economy

Land was the most important economic resource in pre-
colonial Ghana, and Akyen Abuakwa was well endowed with it. In
1852 Basel Missionary Widmann noticed that the vast expense of
land lying between Ahabante and Kukurantuni was virtually unin-
habited, except for a few poor farming huts - Oponto, Tunase,
Koforidua, Nkwankwadua, Anosao and Suhyen. By 1857 the
Koforidua settlement had 'at most 20 families' living in it.
Apart from one intervening village about two miles away which
contained six families there was 'nothing but 6 hours of forest
between Koforidua and Kukurantuni'. Christaller was sadde-
ned in 1865 by the extent of lands in Akyen Abuakwa that lay
'unpeopled and uncultivated'. The lands between Krobo and
Begoro were found by Strouberg to be only thinly populated in
1863.

184. Heidenbote No.6 June 1886.
185. J.B. Danquah, Akin Abuakwa Handbook, p.43
186. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p.5 Widmann and Mader to Basel 23
March 1852.
187. Ibid, p.33 Baum to Basel, 1 April 1857.
188. Christaller's Report 31 March 1865.
189. Ibid, p.33 Baum to Basel, 1 April 1857.
In pre-colonial Abuakwa these vast stretches of land were exploited mainly for gold-mining, hunting and agricultural production. The abundance of land, notwithstanding, farming remained at the subsistence level throughout the 17th, 18th and early 19th centuries with each family growing enough food for its own needs. There were three main factors that militated against commercial farming. First was the greater profitability of gold-mining. Second was under-population; and third was the lack of markets. Consequently the 'arts of cultivation' remained under-developed till mid 19th century.

The only areas that achieved some agricultural surplus were the non-auriferous districts of Western Abuakwa, Kukurantumi and Begoro. In Kukurantumi, for instance, 'large farms made', while the people of Begoro were diligent farmers cultivating rice, yams, groundnuts, corn, plantains and cocoyam.

Hunting, fishing and snailing were also important traditional economic activities. Atwee (hunting expedition) was a

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favourite sport for the men and a source of protein in the diet. Fishing was carried out in small rivers by means of fish-traps made of raffia. In a big river like the Birem, a favourite method of fishing was Kwagyan. This method involved the pollution of a river at its upper reaches with a mixture of herbs. As the poison flowed down stream hundreds of fish became dazed and floated helplessly on the water surface waiting to be picked up by the fisherman. Snailing was the speciality of the people of Begoro who were noted for their 'small harvest'. Individual women often gathered as much as 'a 60 lb. load... in the course of a day'.

By far the most important economic activities of the Abua-kwa people in the 17th and 18th centuries were gold trade and slave trade. The gold trade dated from the second half of the 17th century. According to William Bosman, Akyem not only furnished 'as large Quantities of gold as any Land' that he knew of, but also produced 'the most valuable' and purest of all the gold exported from Ghana. Akyem gold was 'easily distinguished by its deep colour'. The gold-trade continued to dominate


197. William Bosman, A New and Accurate Description, p.78.
ill about the third decade of the 18th century, it was steadily replaced, as elsewhere, by slaves as 'the dominant exportable commodity'.

Until then Akyem-Akwasu had not been a keen participant in the slave trade. According to Reindorf, the Akyem 'neither sold nor killed their prisoners as the Akwamu did, but kept and naturalized them'. Romer also commented that the Akyem sent only 'six slaves' but 'plenty gold' to the coast during the early part of the 19th century. The turning point for the Akwasu appears to have been marked by the overthrow of Akwamu which caused 'miserous prisoners' in their hands. Indeed Akyemene Asante (1797-1752) led the way in popularising the slave trade to the state. Trade caravans from Akyem often contained as many as 2,000 men. Most of the slave carriers were exchanged principally for alcoholic drinks, firearms, ammunition, textiles and indies.

...slave trade, followed closely by the promotion of the slave trade and the cessation of war between Abuakwa and Asante... produced significant shifts and changes.

198. K.Y. Danquah, Labour and Politics, p.28; also pp.36-37, 46-47; Ole Jøsset, Asante, p.10.

199. Reindorf, The History, p.78.

200. See E. Africa, Akyem, p.95.

201. Reindorf: The History, p.78.
into the economy of Akyem Abuakwa: the gold-mining industry was revived; commercial farming was given a great boost; local indigenous industries received greater attention; the export and import trade became popular, and new currencies were introduced.

The greater profitability of the slave trade had been responsible for the eclipse of the gold-mining industry during the 18th century and early 19th century. Reporting from Elmina in 1816 Daendels remarked that owing to the export of slaves 'gold digging is practically only done by the slaves of Kings and caboceers...'. The abolition of the trade resulted in the retention of a good number of slaves in the state to operate the mines. Basel Missionary Widmann travelling from Akuapem Akropon to Kyebi in 1852 noticed that the people of Akyem Abuakwa earned their living by gold-mining. Writing in the following year Cruickshank remarked:

The principal supply of gold is received from the Ashante traders... It is also got in abundance in some parts of Akim country, which appears to be as prolific as Ashantee.

204. Ivor Wilks, Asante in the 19th century, p.679.
205. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p.5 Widmann and Mader to Basel 23 March 1852.
206. Brodie Cruickshank, Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast (London 1853) p.278.
Indeed 'digging for gold' remained the 'main business' of the Abuakwa people up to the 1880s. Such was their pre-occupation with it that Baum commented that 'for the Akims gold is their god'.

Gold-digging was hard work and required the participation of the whole family to supplement available slave labour. In 1861 when Stromberg arrived at Apedwa he found 'most of the inhabitants absent either gold-digging or hunting'. Mining was an all year activity though the best time was the rainy season when the ground was soft enough to make digging easy. The ore containing the gold, greyish in colour, was recovered from pits (Nkomon) some of which reached the incredible depth of one hundred feet. Some had 'steps cut into the sides for entry' while in others entry was gained by means of 'ropes made of creepers'.

Washing for gold was done in shallow, cone-shaped wooden bowls (Krowa) which were wide on top and pointed at the bottom.

They measured about two feet in diameter at the rim. Washing which was the work of women and children involved whirling the bowl round and round just beneath the river surface till the clay was washed away leaving the gold dust or nuggets as sediment at the bottom of the bowl. Occasionally the miner's labour was rewarded with the discovery of nuggets of up to 30oz or more. In 1859, for instance, a Gyadam miner found a 60oz nugget. 211

The gold fields were nearly all located in eastern half of state in the Biram valley. The richest of these were found east, north-east and north of Kyobi, that is, at Apedwa, Pano, Tete, Asiadwa, Osino and Kwaben. 212 In all these districts hundreds of disused gold pits can be seen today. Except for Wanky, gold was hardly found in appreciable quantities in Western Akyem Abuakwa. Gold miners were allowed to keep small nuggets and gold dust. They sold part of it and retained the rest as wealth, as currency and for making ornaments. 213

211. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p.541, Muller's Report 3 June 1868.


213. See pp.73-75 for the use of gold dust as currency.
In response to the launching of legitimate trade, the Akyem Abuakwa people began to show interest in the cultivation of cash crops. From the late 1840s the oil palm tree was cultivated on a small scale as an economic tree. By 1854 palm oil was featuring on the export list from Abuakwa. This was largely the work of Akuapem migrant farmers who leased lands near Ahabante from the stool of Kukurantumi for the cultivation of the oil palm tree. By 1865 several Akuapem farmers were paying Nana Ampaw tribute in palm oil for the use of his stool lands. Kwame Nyante, linguist of Okunomhene Kwadade who lived at Ahabante was in charge of the collection of the tribute. 214

Coffee and Mangoes introduced by the Basel Missionaries also caught on in the 1860s. By the end of 1864, 500 coffee trees had been planted in the school farm of the Kyobi Boarding School. In 1866 the School's coffee farm yielded its first fruits. In the following year the farm comprising 600 to 800 trees yielded 200lbs of coffee. The success of the farm encouraged christians and non-christians alike to cultivate small coffee farms for themselves. At Kukurantumi, for instance, the christians began making their own coffee farms in 1868. 215

By 1869 'every big village' in Akyem Abuakwa grew some coffee.


Mango trees were also to be found in many places.  

By far the most important cash crops were gum-copal and 'guinea-grain' which grew wild in the forests of Abuakwa. Gum copal (ehwe) became an important item of export in the 1850s and by 1865 it was being described as a leading export item from the State. Muller reported in 1868 that gum copal was exported chiefly to the United States where it fetched high prices. The other important forest product exported from the State was guinea-grain, described as 'a seed like laudanum'.

Local indigenous industries engaged in by the people included pottery, iron, basketry, wood carving and canoe-making. Among the leading centres of pottery manufacture were Oseem, Gyaden and Osino. Zimmerman described Oseem as 'a pottery village' and recorded his amazement at the skill and dexterity of the women potters who worked 'without the traditional European aids'. Black smithery was also an important craft.

At Oseem, Zimmerman observed a carpenter at work, making doors.  

219. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p.37 (a) Zimmerman's reisebericht May 1858.
and shutters with tools which were all of local manufacture except for some saws. The plane blades were fashioned from cutlass blades. 220 Villages along the Biren also specialised in canoe making. Built out of the silk cotton tree, the canoes were used for crossing the Biren where the river was wide. 221

The people of Akyen Abunkwa actively participated in the export and import trade in the 19th century as they had done in the two previous centuries. From their meagre daily earnings from gold-digging, gold washing or employment as porters, men, women and children saved enough capital to begin trading on their own. 222 The main exports were gum-copal, palm-oil, 'guineear-grain', coffee, snails and slaves. 223 Coffee and much of the guineear-grain were carried from 1868 onwards to Cape Coast for sale. 224 As far as imports were concerned the emphasis shifted from 18th century items like cowries, bugles, knives, guns and

220. Ibid. Also Reynolds, Trade and Economic Change, p.22.
221. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p.37(a) Zimmerman's reisebericht May 1858.
222. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts p.105 Mohr's Report on Begoro 10 April 1878; The normal rate of daily earning from gold digging was about #1.00 (4/6d) for a whole team of miners and washers. See also P. Rosenthal, Gold Mining in Ghana 1874-1900 Columbia University Ph.D 1972 p.70; Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p.537 Eisenschmid's Report 14 July 1868.
223. In spite of abolition slave-trade continued illegally till 1874.
As the export and import trade developed an extensive network of roads and markets sprang up. The leading centres of trade included Kyebi, Kukurantumi, Gyadum, Begoro, Anyinam and Atumanosu for the eastern districts of the state; and Asuon, Kado, Oseme and Asiamamfo for the western districts. These were all towns with populations of upwards of 1,000 people by 1874. Anyinam, Atumanosu and Begoro were noted for their salt trade. After the imposition of a trade ban against Asante in 1850 by the British government and their allies, these towns were almost thronged by Asante and Ewedu traders desperately in need of salt. Kyebi and Gyadum were important slave-traders. The price of a slave rose from £3 in the 1850s to £15 in the 1880s.

John Backot, A description, p.165.

Acts, pp.512, 618, 77(a) 114; 1880. Also No.12 1880.


Ghana, pp.35, 523; N. C. 1/12/3 Sec. 22 June 1872. In the 17th slave cost 55-70lbs of rice.
The internal markets were linked to one another, and to
the coast and north by well-defined and well-patronised trade
routes. The markets in western half of the state were linked
to Accra by paths leading from Kade through Osennac, Asamankose
and Okorase. This path linked up with the Apedwa - Old
Sansani - Nkantanum - Kweisinan road which was the one most
used by traders going to Accra. The whole journey took 41 hours
to complete. Another went from Wankyi through Nsuaen (Oda),
Nsaba and Agona Swedru. Western Abuakwa was linked to Kumase
through the Nsuaen-Bronso-Preso path and to Saltpond via Akyem
Swedru and Akyensu.

The eastern half of the state was connected to Accra by two
routes radiating from Kyobi. These were the Kyobi - Apedwa -
Nkantanum - Kweisinan road and the Kyobi - Kukurantumi -
Adweso - Lhabante - Aburi - Abokobi - Legon road. The latter
road became popular with Akyem traders from 1854 onwards.

From Kyobi the trade route went north via Asiakwa, Nsuta,
Fankyenekro, Dwencjo, Abonpe, Adasawase, Kankan to

230. See Map 1.
231. N.L.C., Adm 11/1/1265 Notes taken at Kibi 21 Dec. 1898;
N.L.C., Adm 11/1/1094 Governor's Minute to C.S. 22 Nov. 1
1888; Statement by Chief Yaw Twia of Kade 26 Dec. 1888.
It took 8 hours to go from Kade to Osennac; 6 hours to
Asamankose; 12 hours to Okorase and 15 hours to Kweisinan.
233. Ibid, p.21 Stanger's Quarter Bericht for 2nd Quarter 1854.
Kwawu. In an alternative route to this ran from Kyebi via Tete, Sagyinase, Natum, Fankyeeneko, Domo, Akurum, Atopasin, Begoro and thence to Kwawu. The journey to Kwawu by this route took 4 days to complete. A branch route of the Kyebi-Kwawu road went off from Anyinan to Abonosu which was only five days journey from Kumase.

Until 1874 when slaves were emancipated they continued to form the core of the trade caravans. With emancipation, freeborn Akyen, Kwawu and New Dwaben joined freed slaves as porters and carriers of trade especially the palm oil trade. In 1875 carriers charged up to $2.00 (about 9/-) to go to the coast from Begoro which was about four and a half days journey.

The currency in use in Akyen Abukwaa also underwent changes between the 17th and 19th centuries. During the 17th century the principal currency in use in the state appears to have been cowries. John Barbot recorded that the Akyen sold slaves at Ley

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236. Heidenbote No.11 Nov. 1870.

237. See p.64


to Europeans 'for cauries...'.

In the course of the 18th century the eclipse of the gold trade by the slave trade made gold a rare commodity, and, ipso facto, a medium of exchange of growing importance. By 1840s gold had established itself as the 'commercial currency of the colony'; and in 1857 Basel Missionary, Baum blamed the reduction of trade at Gyadam on the predominant use of gold dust as currency even for sums as small as 4½d. In the absence of standard weights buyers suffered losses through fraud.

In order to eliminate fraud, the Missionaries tried to introduce and popularise the use of silver coins in 1860, by requesting for payment of half of their allowances in silver. The Okyenhene, however, proscribed the use of silver coins so that by 1868 gold-dust was still the predominant and most popular currency in the state. Muller remarked:

242. J.J. Crooks (Major) Records relating to the Gold Coast Settlements 1750-1874 Dublin 1923 p.308. Lt. Governor Wimniet's Report for 1846 showed that all large payments in the Colony were made in gold dust. The net value of an ounce of gold dust (480 grains) remitted to England averaged £3 12.
Gold is the currency in Akin - Silver is now used a little, following the introduction of silver by the Mission, but it is gold which has to be used to buy provisions.245

In spite of the ban on silver coins for the internal trade, they were favoured for the external trade. In 1869 Shrenk, the Basel Mission cashier remarked that he was now having to collect English money for the Akin Missionaries because the Akim were wanting English money for purchases in Cape Coast where the Spanish dollar was worth only 4/2d.246

On the eve of colonial rule, silver coins were coming into increasing use in Akyen Abunkwa and were circulating side by side with gold dust. Cowries were, however, disappearing.247

Social Institutions

Pre-colonial Abunkwa society was made up of three distinct groups of people. At the top of the social ladder were occupants of stools: Mpakanfo, Adikrofo, and nrusunponin (heads of families). These were persons who exercised political authority.


246. Ibid, p.544 Schrenk's Subscript Jan. 1869. Other currencies in circulation in the Colony at this time included British gold, and copper coins, Spanish and South American doubloons, dollars and half-dollars and a few 5 franc pieces.

Next came the free-born commoners. On the lowest rung of the social ladder stood slaves and pawns.

Up to the early decades of the 19th century slaves were more often than not captives of war (Donu). Subsequently, however, indebtedness became the major cause of slavery in Akon Abuakwa. Litigation, funerals and consultation fees for the priests of the various gods, put many people into debt, and such debtors were often forced to pawn themselves or relatives, or in extreme cases, sell themselves outright into slavery.

Kidnapping was also resorted to on a small scale for the procurement of slaves for sale outside the state. Two aggrieved members of the Kyebi royal family are known to have settled in one of the Accra villages and made it a habit of seizing and selling Akon traders into slavery.

Pawns differed from slaves. They were persons placed in 'temporary bondage' to other persons, usually members of the same community, by their heads of families either to pay a debt or to obtain a loan. Pawns were redeemable upon the payment of their

248. See pp. 56, 64.


debts and were usually pledged to well-known persons who were likely to treat them with consideration. In the 1860s, the Basel Missionaries reported several cases of pawning. At Kukurantanumi, for instance, one of the Christian converts, Moses Yaw Badu, who had been pawned for £18.00 (c £4.0.0) to pay funeral expenses of a relative was saved from bondage by a kind-hearted man who advanced him the money to pay his debt and work it off. Sometimes creditors seized debtors and made pawns of them. If they were unable to pay their debts, such pawns lapsed eventually into slavery.

Slaves and pawns were a great economic and political asset. Extensive use was made of their labour by the Abunkwa gold-digger and long-distance trader. Besides providing labour slaves and pawns helped to enlarge the size of families which, among the Akan, was an important determinant of social status and power. There was no family of note that did not incorporate domestic slaves and pawns, because the power of a family was

254. See pp. 64-65, 73.
measured not only by the amount of gold dust in its fotoo, or by the extent of its landed property, but also by its numerical strength. Indeed stools were rarely created for people who did not command a great following. William Bosman observed correctly when he stated that

Kings are obliged in this country [i.e. Gold Coast] to preserve their power by dint of force; wherefore the richer they are in gold and slaves, the more they are honoured and esteemed; and without those they have not the least command over their subjects... 255

It was not by accident then that Kwasi Amoako of Kyebi was appointed Gyaasehene in the 1840s or 1850s. 256

Another great slave owner was Amoa Batafo, father of King Amoako Atta I. He won the hand of Odeyee Ampofoa in marriage because of the great influence which his following gave him. Upon his marriage to Ampofoa he placed his slaves at the disposal of the Ofori Stool. 257 The importance attached to numerical strength partly explains the reluctance of the Akyen to sell their slaves in the early 18th century. 258 In his day Okyenhene Amoako Atta I (1867-1887) was the greatest owner of slaves

255. William Bosman, A New and Accurate Description, p.188; 256. See p. 31 257. Interview with Cheneba Kwaku Amoa, grandson of Amoa Batafo Dec. 1876. 258. See p. 64
and pawns. Many of them were inherited from his father and his predecessors.259 Others were bought by him;260 while a significant number were persons indebted to him in tribunal fees.261

Slaves and pawns were, generally speaking, well-treated. Some of them became so integrated into their masters' families that they often married their owners' daughters and in time ceased to be regarded for all practical purposes as slaves.262 Eisenschnid noted the case of a prospective convert of Kyabi who, though born originally as 'a house-slave', ended up as a slave owner himself.263 A slave could become so integrated into his master's clan as to become eligible to inherit family property.264

Nonetheless, a slave was in the eyes of customary law the property of his master and subject to his will. Unlike pawns, slaves could not sever their ties with their master as and when they pleased; nor did they have legal title to property. The children of a female slave were the property of her master.265


260. N.I.G., Adm 1/12/3 Lees to Hon. Ag. Sec. 22 June 1872.


264. J.E. Caseley Hayford, Gold Coast Native Institutions, p.82 in Akan Law, pp. xxix, 17.
Defending himself against charges of murder of three of his slaves in connection with the celebration of the funeral of Nifa hone Duodu in 1874, Chief Kwaku Ako successor and brother of Duodu stated in 1880:

During his [i.e. Duodu’s] time we were in the habit of buying slaves and could kill them if any one offends - at that time whiteman had not prevented [sic] from buying slaves and kill them (sic). 266

Religion was another important social institution in pre-colonial society. Like other Ashanti people, the Abuakwa had, as the basis of their religious beliefs, the assumption that man was surrounded by a host of spirit beings, some good and others evil. Misfortunes such as death, illness, barreness and other hardships, a constant source of bewilderment and insecurity, were attributed to the machinations of evil spirits. Of these the commonest and most vicious was witchcraft. 267 Witchcraft involved belief in the existence of supernatural forces which could be harnessed into the service of man for good, or for evil, purposes.

Protection against the evil machinations of practitioners of witchcraft (abayifoo) could only be provided by spirit forces


267. In 1866 a woman of Abosu was 'clubbed to death' on suspicion of killing by witchcraft. See Paul Jenkins, Abosu's Report 28 March 1866.
especially the gods (aboson). Hence the Abunkwans people were steeped in aboson (worship of gods). 268 As late as 1882 Basel Mission Deacon Theophilus Opoku found the people 'too much bigoted and deeply rooted in heathenism'. Other Missionaries had previously described Kukurantumi, Kyebi and Osencso as the strongholds of aboson. Apart from aboson, other objects of religious worship and veneration were sunon (fetish) and Nkonawa tuntun (blackened Stools).

Aboson were 'animate powers' or spirits believed to inhabit images or idols, shrines, rivers, trees and other natural phenomena. Among them were well known ones such as Biren, Mankobi, Brenae, Tano and Anokye. These gods were essentially town gods. The gods were supposed to come 'into being' originally through spirit possession of the bodies of individuals earmarked for the role of aboson (priests). They were subsequently 'adopted' by the town which thenceforth assumed responsibility for their


269. Heidenbote No.12 1880 Huppenbauer's Report 21 July 1880. In 1863 Stronberg reported that Kukurantumi had 'far more fetishes than... Kibi' see Paul Jenkins, Stronberg's Report for Kibi Station 24 Jan. 1863; N.A.G. Ldn 11/1/1095.

270. The Tutu Oboson, for instance, consisted of a brass pan with the contents covered with grey baft N.A.G. Ldn 11/1/1094.
propitiation by means of periodic sacrifices. When Theophilus Opoku arrived at Oseem in 1882 the Chief and his elders were nowhere to be seen. They had all 'left on a hunting expedition to find game as their annual festival for their fetish was near'. The 'fetish' in question was Obosom Tano.

At different periods, depending on their record of performance based on their capacity to expose and punish evil doers, foretell the future accurately or avert danger, the gods were adopted by the State and their services employed during national emergencies or for diplomacy and the judicial process. During the early part of Dokuaa's reign for instance, the leading national god of Ayem Abunkwa was Tano. The obosom is said to have predicted the birth of twin sons during the Okomfo's pregnancy. Following the fulfilment of the prophecy, Tano's reputation rocketed. It was adopted as a state god and its Okomfo presented with a palanquin and the regalia of an Odikro in recognition of its signal service. The display of those regalia became the highlight of the festival mentioned by


272. Interview with Opanin Kwadwo Mumu and Nana Yebo, first cousin of Okomfo Yebon Aku, the first Okomfo of Tano who originally brought the Obosom from Bantama, 5 July 1977. Yebo Aku, son of Nana Oyi and Oseemho Opoku was a war captive in Asante. The Tano shrine was first built at Tafo and subsequently transferred to Oseem to enable Yebo Aku father.
Theophilus Opoku.

During the third decade of the 19th century, Brosan's reputation outstripped that of Tano. In June 1826 as the Asante invading army numbering some 40,000 men advanced towards the coast, panic-stricken subjects of Dokua abandoned their villages and fled towards Akwapen, the Accra plains and the Volta. In desperation the Okyeman Council consulted Tano and Brosan of Apapam. Both predicted defeat for the state army but the latter promised to turn defeat into victory if Okyeman would give up a prominent citizen for sacrifice. Odeyee Apagya Ofori, heir to the vacant Apapam Stool, offered himself to be sacrificed and after being duly installed as Odikro, the necessary sacrificial rituals were performed. The fulfilment of Brosan's prophecy did not only make her a national god. It also secured the leadership of the Asantoomensa for Apapam Stool. The Wankobi was used as the national god in the 'Asantehene accord' of January 1871 in which the Aduakwa and Kotoku states 'drank gods' (non abooso) to mark the end of eleven years of 'feuding' between them.


274. Interview with Barina Apagya Fori III and Elders, Apapam 9 Jan. 1977. Apagya Ofori is said to have left a dawute (gong-gong) at the spot where he vanished. This is still cherished as part of the Stool regalia of Apapam.


By the beginning of colonial rule, the most renowned national god in Akyen Abukwa was Anokye of Asamana near Abomosu. It's chief priest, Otobo, was described in 1879 as 'chief priest in Akin'.

Indeed since the 1870s till today Anokye has been the obosom invoked in nso die in judicial trials in every traditional court in the state. The formula is: Neka Wulvada, neka Kwanuko, Anokye nkuma se nsena nko yi nko nokware! (I swear by the oath of Wednesday and Kwanyako, May Anokye kill me if I do not speak the truth).

It is clear then that Akyen Abukwa did not have one single 'national' god throughout its pre-colonial history. National gods were ad hoc. Nonetheless the gods at Kyebi such as Biren, by reason of their identification with the Capital, took on the character of permanent national gods and featured prominently in national festivals such as Odwiru and Ohun. Whichever god or gods were adopted as 'national' gods at any given time enjoyed royal patronage and were bountifully maintained and used for political, diplomatic, judicial and religious purposes.


278. See pp.50-51

279. See pp.87-89.

280. See N.A.G., Ldn 11/1/1094 Notes taken by Jacob Simmons at
The neglect of town or 'national' gods could cost a ruler his head. 261

The gods were relied upon by the public to avert famine and epidemics. They were also available for private consultation by individual citizens, through their Akonfuo. In 1866, for instance, Okyenhenene Atta Obon invoked the aid of the gods of the State in an attempt to discover the cause of a serious illness that afflicted him by assembling several Akonfuo at Kyebi. 262 It cost a considerable sum of money for private individuals to consult Akonfuo. 263 Akonfuo were easily recognizable from the rest of the community by their hair style (long and uncut) and their dress of white calico and the white clay marks on their bodies. 264 Apart from 'town' or 'national' gods there were also private, personal or family gods known as suona. These were considered inferior to abosom. 265 King Ameako Atta

... Deputy Assessor, p.5

A further dimension of Abukwa religious worship was ancestor worship symbolised by veneration of Nkonnywa tuntun (blackened stools). The blackened stools were stools actually used during the lifetime of the ancestors and blackened or consecrated and preserved as objects of veneration after their death. The 'most venerable' objects in the family or clan, the stools were believed to encapsulate the spirits of Kings, Chiefs and elders actually known to have lived and died, men who were loved, respected and feared, and of whom reigning kings or chiefs were believed to be an embodiment or a reincarnation. This explains the great respect accorded Kings and Chiefs in the society of the Abukwa. A stool oath was considered to be the greatest oath of the society. In matters of great political moment such as political trust, the ordinary person was not considered to be enough. An oath on a stool had to be taken. This involved drinking water in which the stool had been washed or immersion, 'judicial or natural', was the chief penalty of stool oath.


In Abukwa Handbook pp. 67-68.
Animister worship found its highest expression in the many festivals held periodically in the state. There were two kinds of Adae: Awukudae (Wednesday Adae) and Akwasidae (Sunday Adae) celebrated at intervals of 40 days. The Adae festival was a legacy from the aboriginal Kanana people who formed part of the Akwasu Empire. The celebration of the festival commemorated the supposed emergence of the Kanana from the ground near Bunso.

In pre-colonial days its celebration was not very widespread being restricted to towns and villages that lay by the Birim river. Like Adae there were two kinds - Amea (the first Ohun) and Akumkyire (the terminal Ohun).

The Awukudae was celebrated usually in June, beginning on the Monday immediately preceding Awukudae; and the latter eighty days after, usually in September. Of all the festivals in the calendar, the Adae was the most important and grandest. It was celebrated every three hundred and sixty days and in fact coincided with the ninth Awukudae of the year. The celebration took place in late December or early January. Barren unfruitful circumstances a new Okyenuhene marked the third anniversary of his

290. Ofori Atta (ed.) Akwasuwan Akwamu, p.73.

291. The Kanana people originally formed part of the Akwasu Empire and lived in the area extending from Bunso and Togo districts in the west, to Begore in the east. The majority of them moved away during the second decade of the 19th century and now live in Gyanidu on the Volta. See p.18.
installation with a formal outdooring called Odwiratuo. 292

The purposes of all these festivals were politico-religious: to invoke the help of the ancestors for the prosperity of the state and the punishment of saboteurs and male-factors; to purify the stools or venerate the ancestors; to strengthen solidarity among the chiefs and people and renew oaths of allegiance; and finally, to provide opportunity for as many stool occupants as possible to participate in the discussion of important and outstanding political issues. The veneration of the ancestors and invocation of their help were done in the privacy of the stool house (akomnwafo) through the pouring of libation and the 'feeding' of the blackened stools. Solidarity was promoted through compulsory attendance, mutual exchanges of presents and oaths of allegiance; 293 while transaction of important business of state was facilitated by the congregation of the vast majority

292. For details of the various festivals, see Ofori Atta(ed.) Abukwamacre: Ananse.

293. Okyenhou entertained his chiefs with drinks and food. During Odwiratuo, especially, the Okyenhou distributed cloths and money. Chiefs attending the festival also brought presents of sheep and foodstuffs. At the Odwiratuo ceremony, the Mpakanfo swore oaths of allegiance to Okyenhou on behalf of their divisions. The Okyenhou in turn swore the oath of allegiance to them. The Odwiratuo was also the occasion for a newly installed Opakan to go to Kyobi to be presented and to swear the oath of allegiance. See N.A.G. Ldm 11/1/3.
of stool occupants at Kyebi. Indeed it was customary for the Okyenhene to detain his Mpakanfo at Kyebi for some forty days after the celebration of Odwira before giving them leave to depart.294 These festivals were marked by great public feasting and rejoicing.

Abukwaa-European relations up to 1874

Until 1826 Akyen Abukwaa suffered no European intervention in her internal affairs. Her sovereignty was respected by her European customers. Denmark even paid financial inducements to the Okyenhene to ensure uninterrupted flow of gold and slaves to its fort at Christiansborg.295 Even after the abolition of the slave trade these financial inducements continued to be paid and took on the character of tribute.296 After the Akotampansu war, however, the Danes succeeded in establishing a de facto suzerainty over Abukwaa, by cleverly invoking the spectre of renewed Asante domination. In effect, the states lying in the hinterland of the Accra-Volta coastline were told that the

295. Extracts from Governor Carstensen’s Diary 1842-1850 Translated and Published by I.A.S. Legon n.d. p.31.
296. Ibid. From 1730-1742 Akyen Abukwaa enjoyed hegemony over the Ga-Adangbe coastline with Owusu Akyon as Governor following the overthrow of Akwamu and capture of the Notes. Inspite of the loss of the Notes to Asante in 1742 the payment was maintained for several decades. For details of Abukwaa-Danish relations in 18th century and early 19th century see K. Afrifah, Akyen chapter 3 and 4.
guarantee of the protection and safety of the country... against possible attacks from the Ashantees' was dependence on the Danish Government. In this way they managed to exercise informal overlordship over Akyen Abuakwa.

King Attapapan (c 1835-1859) referred cases of theft, murder etc. to Christiansborg for trial and in 1842 he travelled to Osu to receive the formal recognition of the new Danish Governor Edward Carstensen. The Danes were, however, unable to enforce their overlordship. Despite their payment of 'stipends' to the Ashantees, they were unable to enforce the prohibition against the slave trade or stop Abuakwa from trading with the British forts in gold. In 1842 King Attapapan defied an order of Governor Carstensen leaving him in no doubt about the tenuousness of British control over that State.

The British did not allow the Danish claim of suzerainty over Akyen Abuakwa to pass unchallenged. President George Mac-

297. Extract from Governor Carstensen's Diary, p.46.
298. Governor Carstensen's Diary, p.46.
299. Extract from Governor Carstensen's Diary, pp.4 and 5.
300. Extract from Governor Carstensen's Diary, pp.4 and 5.
In 1842, Topp and Commander Topp re-opened the question of Danish claims to sovereignty over Abuakwa, and the Danish Government was considering a treaty with England for 'joint sovereignty' when ruinous costs of administration forced her to abandon her Guinean possessions. At the beginning of March 1850, Carsten H. band over the fort of Christiansborg together with his country's ill-defined rights of protectorate over Krobo, Akuapen and Akyen Abuakwa to Governor Winniet.

Akyen Abuakwa's relations with Britain were not based on treaty or annexation. She was not a signatory to the Bond of 1826 and her enthusiasm for British protection arose from a sense of gratitude to the memory of Sir Charles McCarthy as well as of the allied victory of 1826 over Asante. The Okyen-hene's enthusiasm for the British connection was amply demonstrated by the pageantry with which she attended the Poll Tax Assembly of 1850. To the extent that the British connection was mutually beneficial, she cooperated with the British.

301. Ibid p.2
303. Extracts from Governor Carstensen's Diary, p.65.
304. For full description of King Atta Panin's retinue see Paul Jenkins Abstracts, Julius Zimmerman's Quartel Bericht Juli 18, 1850, and ibid, The History, p.324.
For instance, she paid the poll tax faithfully till 1859 in expectation of the fulfilment of Governor Pine's promise that the money would in future 'be strictly devoted to the objects for which it was imposed' and that 'as far as practicable it shall be expended in or near the part of the country where it is collected'.

Payment of the poll-tax in no way compromised Abuakwa's sovereignty. In 1857 Charles Bannerman remarked that 'the British authority was hardly acknowledged in Akin'. In that year even King Atta Panin who was most enthusiastic about the British connection refused a Government's order to go to the coast to answer a charge of executing a subject charged with causing the death of the King's mother. Okyenene Atta aben (1852-1861) showed a greater tendency to flout the orders of the British Governor. In March 1860 he made it plain to Major Cochran, who he tried to interfere in his war against the Ashanti State, that he did not recognize the overlordship of

305. N.L.G., Land 1/194, Codrington's birthday the 22nd August 1859 to King Attah of Ashanti. Subscripts from 22 and 26 July 1857.


...the British Government, conceiving that it is merely a thing to speak of, and that the Government has no power capable of compelling him at his distance to accept its verdict, at least not one given on... "his own soil". 308

The Okyenhene's sovereignty over his state was not disputed by the Government. Governor Pine took the view that the Okyenhene's obedience to the Government's orders was required 'in the light of a voluntary act... and as a pledge of his sincerity in wishing to remain under the shield of the English crown'. 309 The Governor went on to explain British policy towards the Protected Chiefs thus:

The protection of English over these settlements does not partake of the spirit of coercion; and neither therefore can the token of good will and obedience required of the native tribes toward the Protecting Power merge into a course of action which is coercive.

In keeping with the spirit of this policy, no British courts were set up in these territories despite of the express extension of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court to that state by the

308. C.O. 96/47 Major Com. to Ag. Governor Bird 8 March 1860 Quoted in W.A. Owen, p. 252.
309. N.A.G., Add 1/11/9 W.A. 6th Capt. de Ruvigny Ag. Comandant James for 6 March 1861
310. Ibid.
Order-in-Council of 4 April 1856. Both the Supreme Court Ordinances of 1853 and 1856 fully recognised the Protected Chiefs' right of jurisdiction over their subjects.

The 1865 Commission which enquired into the judicial system then in operation in the Gold Coast Colony advised that the Chiefs should 'rather be left to exercise their own jurisdictions with only an appeal when necessary to the English Magistracy'. The commission criticised the Judicial Assessor for superseding the authority of the Chiefs 'by decisions according to his own sole judgement' and for introducing 'needless technicalities and expense in connection with the employment of Attorneys'. Up to 1872 the policy of the British Government remained one of allowing the Chiefs 'to exercise jurisdiction without control, except that provided by appeal...'

In 1874 Lord Carnavon refused to countenance an attempt by the officer administering the Government to abolish the jurisdiction of the Protected Chiefs. In a despatch, he made it clear that he was 'not disposed to consider the exercise of civil jurisdiction by King Tackie as a usurpation on his part'.


With their right of jurisdiction over their subjects recognised and no British Resident Commissioners or Courts established in the interior, the Protected States obeyed the British Government only when it suited their purposes to do so. For its part the British Government relied merely on threats of withdrawal of protection to secure obedience from time to time.\(^314\) On the eve of Colonial rule, therefore, no material change had been made in the basis of the political relationship between the British Government and the Okyenhene.\(^315\) Abukwaw's sovereignty had in no way been impaired.

The beginnings of Church-State Controversy

The seeds of church-state controversy were sown in Akyen Abukwaw in September 1853 when the Basel Mission established a mission station at Gyadan and began propagating a new and alien religious faith in the state.\(^316\) The controversy which simmered from 1868 onwards arose basically from the irreconcilability of the attitudes of the Basel Mission and the traditional authorities of the State towards the role of religion. Politics in Akyen Abukwaw, as in other Akan states, was inseparably linked

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\(^316\) The first attempt to introduce Christianity into Akyen was made by Andreas Riis in 1839 without success.
with religion. Traditional religion provided powerful sanctions for political authority as well as solace and security for the community as a whole. The Okyenhene was bound by his oath of office to preserve all the institutions bequeathed to him by his ancestors including the traditional religious heritage.

The Basel Missionaries, on the other hand entered Akropong with the ulterior intention of casting Mfantseman society in the mould of an European society. They aimed at introducing the concept of a secular state as well as freedom of worship for individual subjects irrespective of their duties to the State.

Until 1868, this ulterior intention was not made manifest to the traditional authorities. During this period the Missionaries went about their work cautiously and unobtrusively, refraining from acts of overt provocation or interference in local politics. Consequently they enjoyed the patronage and goodwill of the political authorities in the State.

Okyenhene Atta Obuon did not merely maintain friendly relations with the Basel Missionaries at Kyebi but also counted them among his political

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317. See pp. 84–85.

advisers. On 15 March and again 30 March 1863 the Missionaries were invited to sit with the Kyebi Executive Council to deliberate on pressing political issues. In 1865 they acted as advisers to the Okyenhen in the land dispute between Kukumtumi and Asafo. Obon's nephew and successor, Kwasi Panin alias Akoak Ani, (1867-1887), came to the stool with a fund of goodwill towards the Basel Mission. As a schoolboy at the Kyebi Basel Mission school, he had liked the Christian religion very much. He attended religious service every Sunday 'and paid subscription to the mission'.

The friendly relations between the Basel Mission and the political authorities in Aburawas began to undergo severe strains from 1868. Fifteen years of active proselytization had yielded disappointing results. Mission stations and churches had been built at great cost; several preaching tours had been made of neighbouring villages, and yet the number of converts


321. In 1859 a New Mission Station was started on the Diedi hill near Osino at an estimated cost of £30.0.0 or 576 Thaler. The Kyebi Mission House was completed in 1863 at a cost of about £537. See Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, pp.40, 509; N.A.G. Adm 11/1/1440 Notes of Evidence 23 July 1906.

remained very small.\textsuperscript{323} Converts were recruited from two main categories of people: school pupils and slaves,\textsuperscript{324} because free born subjects of the state tended to demand pecuniary inducement as a condition of becoming christians.\textsuperscript{325} By 1868 the Missionaries were convinced that they could not rely to any great extent on school pupils as a source of recruitment of converts as parental opposition led to irregularity of attendance and to instability of enrolment.\textsuperscript{326}

From 1868 onwards the Missionaries became less discreet and cautious in their attitude to traditional society. First they showed contempt for the traditional judicial system and the sovereignty of the Okyenhene by intervening to shield a convert, Duko, from justice and threatening to report the Okyenhene to the Governor for punishment 'if any harm should come to Duko'.\textsuperscript{327}

\textsuperscript{323} At Kukurantumi the strength of the congregation rose from 12 in 1862 to 20 in 1868; at Kyebi from 13 in 1863 to 42 in 1868. See Paul Jenkins, Abstracts pp.508, 525, 535, 511, 518.

\textsuperscript{324} Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, list of school pupils in Korrosp. 1859; Also pp.39, 92, 99, 100.

\textsuperscript{325} Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p.43 Hass to Basel 1 Dec. 1859;


\textsuperscript{327} Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, pp.5338-5339 Eisenschmid's Report dd. 3 Oct. 1868. Duko was accused of striking a blow at the Okyenhene during a night brawl involving palace functionaries. In customary law this was a treasonable offence.
Missions became less discreet in their recruitment of converts. The earliest slave converts had been recruited from the ranks of redeemed pawns and manumitted slaves or from among slaves whose owners were Christians. But now they considered all slaves, including those of the royal household, as potential converts to Christianity and directed their religious propaganda indiscriminately towards them all. Third the missionaries encouraged converts to the Christian faith to abandon their homes in the main township and settle at the Selon, otherwise known as the Christian Village or Oburonikron (the whites’ village).

The reaction of the Kyenhene and his chiefs to these growing tendencies on the part of the Basel Mission was one of alarm and dissatisfaction. The encouragement to Christians to resettle outside mission stations was suspected to be a deliberate attempt to reduce interaction between the nascent Christian community and the non-Christian community as a first step towards...
the eventual creation of a dichotomy between church and state.

As early as 1863 Stromberg reported that there was an assumption on the part of the local people that they [i.e. Missionaries] intend to set up a state within a state - withdrawing people from their normal allegiance.330

The encouragement of christians to live in physical isolation from the general community was not only alien to Akan conception of social organization; but also intolerable to a community that found security in greater numbers.331

The policy of segregating Christians was even more dangerous in so far as it applied to State functionaries. It was genuinely feared that if such functionaries were allowed to be baptised and eventually enticed to reside at the Salem they might be persuaded to give up their normal duties at court in connection with ancestor worship and the propitiation of the gods. Okyen-hene Amoako Atta I could ill-afford to risk the loss of the services of his drummers, horn-blowers, sword-bearers, stool carriers etc. as they were the mainstay of the politico-religious festivals and ceremonies deemed essential for the stability and...


231 In1879, for instance Chief Obunaben of Anyinan made it a condition of a grant of land for a Salem that it 'should not be sited too far away from the town as this night ruin the town' see Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p.116 Mohr to Basel the town' see Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p.116 Mohr to Basel
and well-being of the state. Accordingly he decided to act to nip the threat in the bud, after his council had tried unsuccessfully to impress upon Rev. Hass that it was politically inexpedient to baptise royal slaves and pawns.

Early in 1870 one Sakyi, a functionary within the Gyana sub-division at Kyebi was fined two sheep by his osafohene for 'taking baptismal instruction and intending to be baptised'. The Okyenhone's court dismissed an appeal filed by the Missionaries on behalf of Sakyi and Gyanaosho Kwasi Amoako reprimanded the missionaries for giving baptismal instruction to his slaves without his knowledge and permission. He warned that he would prevent such infringements of his rights in the future. He stressed that his slaves were his 'sons' and he would insist on their obedience to his orders. Most of the King's courtiers spoke in the same vein. 332

The Okyenhone was no less determined to prevent the 'seduction' of his slaves and functionaries. For the first time since his enstoolment as King, he publicly rebuked the missionaries and declared his irrevocable opposition to the proselytisation of his slaves and servants because of its veiled threat to his authority, his personal prestige and the politico-religious

332. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p.554 Lodholtz Report for 1st Quarter of 1870, April 1870; Rev. Hass succeeded Eisen-
ceremonies of his state. With indignation he queried:

Must I let my horn-blowers, my drummers, my pipers... my sword-bearers and executioners, my hammock-carriers etc. become Christians? If I do, then I can no longer carry out my... ceremonies, nor can I receive foreign embassies worthily. Who ever has an obligation to serve me will never be allowed to become a Christian. 333

Amoako Atta I rejected Kroner's accusation of ingratitude to God for his deliverance of Akyem Abuakwa from the Asante yoke by retorting: 'Do you mean, Kroner, that if you go away I shall have to carry stones from Accra to Kumasi like my fathers?'

He then got up and walked out of the court in great anger. 334

It is clear from the King's speech that he was not opposed to the proselytisation of his people as a whole. He specifically objected to the conversion of state functionaries who performed duties considered crucial to the political, social and spiritual well-being of his state. Unfortunately the Missionaries failed to appreciate the reasons for the King's concern. In their ethnocentrism and racial arrogance they insisted that there must be freedom of religion for all the

King's subjects irrespective of their duties to the state. 335

They argued that since 'almost every one' at Kyebi had 'some small office at some ceremony to perform' acquiescence in the King's ruling would reduce them to dependence on their boarding school intake for converts. 336

The intransigence of the Missionaries increased hostility to missionary work in the state from the end of 1870. While the Obenehene and his Elders turned a deaf ear to appeals from the Basel Missionaries for more pupils for the Kyebi Boarding school, the worship of the various gods prohibited the Basel Mission agents from preaching in several villages. 337 Indeed by 1872 there was 'a systematic attempt to prevent anyone, slave or free, becoming a Christian.' 338 The asafo imposed sanctions in the form of a fine of several sheep against any freeman who tried to become a Christian. The fear of being put into debt effectively curbed the zeal of prospective converts and inhibited the growth of the congregations up to 1874 when colonial rule was inaugurated. 339

335. Ibid p.559
336. Ibid p.554
338. Paul Jenkins Abstracts, p.572 Lodhol
In this chapter an attempt has been made to describe briefly the political, economic and cultural system of Akyen Abueskwa before the imposition of colonial rule. It is clear that the state with its capital at Kyebi was a far cry from the Banso days. The state was governed under well-established and well-tried institutions and conventions, sanctioned by usage, the gods and the ancestors. Power was shared between the capital and the five political divisions, between the Okyenhen and his chiefs sitting as the State Council. Most of the important offices of state had become hereditary in certain families and the Okyenhen had no say in the selection of an incumbent. Similarly, at Divisional level, the Mpakanfo shared power with their subordinate chiefs - the adikrofo - whose election and destoolment were the prerogatives of their own families and subjects. The decentralisation of political power and the liability of chiefs to destoolment made traditional government in the state, as elsewhere in the Akan World, essentially democratic in character.

Political sovereignty was firmly anchored in the traditional religious belief system. As occupant of the ancestral Ofori Stool, the Okyenhen was regarded by his subjects as the reincarnation of the 'founding fathers' who together with the gods controlled their destiny and protected them from evil. The people

his chiefs to propitiate the ancestors
and the gods to banish evil and bring prosperity and happiness. Hence they not only showed the Okyenhene great respect but also accepted him as the supreme political and judicial authority in the state.

The propitiation of the gods found expression in the many socio-religious and political festivals whose essential ingredients were the pouring of libation, offerings to the gods and drumming - duties that were discharged by specially trained functionaries who were an indispensable part of the King's court. The religious beliefs of the people were, however, on the verge of being challenged by those of an alien faith introduced by the Basel Mission.

The economy of the State was undergoing changes though the traditional arrangements were still effective enough to provide support for both the public and private expenditure of the King and his Chiefs. Revenue from private trade and court fees were supplemented by a share of the wealth from the land. As Chief custodian of land, or Chief landlord the Okyenhene was entitled to a share of gold, snails, game etc. found on the land; and as the largest slave owner and trader through the Bate (royal trading establishment) he was easily the wealthiest individual in the state. In the succeeding chapters the impact of colonial rule on the traditional, political, economic, social of colonial rule on the traditional, political, economic, social outlined above will be examined.
CHAPTER TWO

THE CHURCH-STATE CONTROVERSY AND
THE IMPACT OF COLONIALISM 1874 - 1887

The society of Akyem Abuakwa as described in the last chapter had its peace and harmony disturbed in the period 1874-1887 by the effect of certain measures taken by the British Government following the establishment of the Gold Coast colony on 24 July 1874. First was the proclamation of authority which purported to define the Queen's powers and jurisdiction within the Gold Coast Colony and Protectorate; second was the passing of an Order-in-Council, dated 6 August 1874 which 'for the first time' authorised the Gold Coast Legislative Council to legislate for the Protected Territories; and third, was the passage of two Ordinances in December 1874 which not only abolished slave dealing but also emancipated 'existing slaves throughout the Protectorate'. These measures marked the initial steps of a long-term goal of subverting the autonomy of the Protected Territories.

1. David Kinble, A Political History of Ghana 1850-1926, Oxford 1963 pp.302-303. John Grace, Domestic Slavery in West Africa 1896-1927 Barnes and Noble N.Y. 1975 p.36. The first Ordinance abolished all forms of slave-dealing; the second, 'An Ordinance to Provide for the Abolition of Slavery in the Protected Territories', fell short of complete abolition. Clause 3 declared all born in the Gold Coast Protectorate after 5 Nov. 1874 free persons to all intents and purposes; Clause 4 stated that no claim or alleged right over or affecting the liberty of any person should be allowed in any court or tribunal. Clause 5 provided for the punishment of any who another.

2. As far as Akyem Abuakwa was concerned the impact
of the above-mentioned measures, especially of the last one, manifested itself immediately in the escalation of the church-state controversy which had been simmering in the state since 1870. ³

Before the passage of the Emancipation Acts, Governor Strahan had summoned the Kings of Eastern and Western Districts of the Gold Coast Colony and Protectorate to a meeting. The obvious purpose of the meeting was to anticipate and enasculate opposition to a measure that struck at an immemorial institution, which as shown in Chapter one, was an important corner-stone of traditional society. ⁴ At the meeting the Kings were assured that the Ordinance was not 'intended forcibly to separate households or disturb the old relations whilst the members themselves desired no change'; that every emancipated slave was free to leave his former master's household if he so desired, but was not to be forced to do so if he was happy and contented to remain in the service of his former master. ⁵ Notwithstanding this spirit of the Ordinance, the Basel Mission was determined to see it enforced to the letter; for her agents in Akyen Abuakwa

3. See chapter one pp.95-103
4. See chapter one pp.77-78
considered it as providing then with a leverage against the traditional authorities and a rare opportunity of advancing the cause of the Mission which had stagnated since the ban on conversion of royal slaves in 1870.  

By an irony of fate the person entrusted with the task was Rev. David Asante a cousin of Okyenhene Anoako Atta I. Born on 23 December 1834, Asante was the son of Owusu Akyen a former King of Akuapen. He entered the Mission house in Basel in August 1857 and returned to Ghana in June 1862 as an ordained Minister. Before his transfer to Kyebi he worked at Lateh, Akropon and Kukurantumi. David Asante's appointment to the headship of the Kyebi Mission pleased Okyenhene Anoako Atta I very much; for he had every reason to hope that David Asante as the first African head of the Kyebi Mission, an Akan, and the son of a former Okuopenhene might be relied upon to protect and help defend the cherished beliefs and customs of the Kyebi court, especially when one considered the cultural affinity between Akyen Abuakwa and Akuapen as well as the consanguinity between the Ofori Panin dynasty of Kyebi and the Ofori Kuna dynasty of

6. See Chapter One pp.100-103.
7. Heidenbote No.2 Feb. 1878 p.11; Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, pp.207-8; Also Fr. Chr. Dieterle and D. Eisenschnid to H.E. Freeling 3 Jan. 1878; See also Hans W. Dobrunner A History of Christianity in Ghana, Accra 1957 pp.126, 148, 164.
Akropon. Indeed the Okyenhene rightly regarded David Asante as the son of his 'uncle' while the Basel Missionary considered Anoako Atta I as his 'father'. Naturally Anoako Atta I had little doubt that Asante would show understanding and sympathy for the Kyebi Court over the indiscriminate conversion of royal slaves and palace functionaries. Unfortunately, the King's confidence proved to be misplaced.

Between 1875 and 1877 David Asante took certain measures that were calculated to undermine the Okyenhene's authority and prestige while advancing the cause of the Basel Mission. First, he enthusiastically gave widespread publicity to the Emancipation Ordinances at Kyebi. Slaves who visited the Mission Station to seek an explanation of the implications of the Ordinances were prodded to make good their freedom by severing their ties with their former masters and seeking refuge at the Mission Station. Some were enticed with promises of employment and encouraged to accept baptism. The slaves were told that they no

8. The Kings of Akropon are blood relations of the Kings of Kyebi. The former are descendants of a collateral line of the Kyebi dynasty which was transplanted at Akropon to rule over the hill people after the overthrow of the Akwan dynasty in 1730, for details see M. L. Kwanana-Poku, Government and Politics in the Akropon State, pp. 43-44.

longer required the prior consent of their former masters in order to become Christians, nor did they have to worry about the invocation of customary sanctions against them. Indeed as pointed out by Chief Justice David Chalmers in his judgement in 'David Assanti vs King Attah', the Basel Missionary, 'really acted in some instances in a way... not required either by the letter or the spirit of the Emancipation law'.

During Dr. Goulabury's visit to Kyebi in February 1875 David Asante sought and obtained 'definite powers' to report for prosecution and conviction any person who obstructed the enforcement of the Emancipation Ordinance. Armed with this authority he frustrated the King's efforts to secure the return of his former slaves who had fled to the mission station. Time and again the Okyenhen went to the Mission Station, in the spirit of the Ordinance, to explain why a particular slave had left his household and to request Asante to effect a reconciliation and persuade the ex-slave to return to live with him. But Asante invariably refused to oblige and rather upheld the right of the King's ex-slaves to leave his household to seek a new life at the Mission Station.

11. Maidenbute No.9, 1875 Assant's Report dd. 29 April 1875.
Asante's conduct became persistent, the Basel Missionary wrote to Christiansborg drawing the attention of the Civil Commandant to alleged molestation of ex-slaves at Kyebi and appealing for police protection for them. 13

For some inexplicable reason, Asante appears to have singled out the King for discrimination and embarrassment. While he consistently refused to allow the King to take back any of his ex-slaves from the mission station he occasionally permitted other former slave masters to do so. In one instance, he allowed a Dzaben woman called Tonewa to take back home her ex-slave who fled to the station as a result of alleged maltreatment, although only a few hours before he had turned down a similar request from the King. 14

The second strategy of David Asante was to tamper with the loyalty of those servants who were content to remain in the King's service. In 1876 Obrayena, an ex-slave and a drummer serving in the palace, visited the Mission Station to look for a job to earn some money to pay off his debts amounting to $9.00 (c.£2.0.0.). Asante offered to lend him the money on condition that he declared himself free and left the king but Obrayena refused and made a report to the King. 15 On another

occasion Asante mistook Kwasi Ntow of Amealenta, another
drummer in the service of the King, for a slave and tried to
instigate him to leave the King's household. Ntow told Asante
that he was not a slave but a relative of the King and he was
happy to remain in the palace. 16

By 1876 Asante had succeeded in baptising several of the
King's functionaries. Among them were Mfenanseafoo like Johannes
Bosentwe, Asekwafoo like Noah Duodu, Abrafoo like Thomas Anoadoo-
foo and Akwezenadefoo like Emmanuel Yaw Boakye, father of Nana
Sir Ofori Atta and Dr. J. B. Danquah. 17 Although many of the
above-mentioned functionaries were willing to continue to per-
form their normal duties at court, Asante put pressure on them
not to participate in any ceremonies associated with aboson and
ancestor worship. Consequently Emmanuel Yaw Boakye, for insta-
ence, told the King that he 'could not join in anything done in
honour of the fetish'. From then on he refused to beat the
drums during Sundays and Ama. 18 The conduct of Asante confir-
med the fears expressed by the Okyenhano and his Elders in 1870


17. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, A Report from Deacon Nath Date
4B p.549. Other converts included Obeyan, Denkyira, Apori,
and Apeagyei.

about the threat to the State posed by the conversion of State functionaries. 19

The loss of Yaw Boakye's services in particular was a bitter pill for Anoako Atta I to swallow. A paternal nephew of King Asafo Agyei of Dwabo, Emmanuel Yaw Boakye settled at Kyebi in the 1860s and was Anoako Atta's 'best friend before he got to the Stool'. 20 On his accession to the Ofori Stool in 1867 Anoako Atta I appointed Yaw Boakye as 'keeper of his Privy Purse', with responsibility for 'a portion of the penalties on breach of King's oath'. 21 Boakye was also entrusted with various sums of money and commissioned to trade on behalf of the King. 22 By 1870 Yaw Boakye had become a leading state drummer and a close confidant of Anoako Atta I. 23 In appreciation of his loyalty and friendship the King gave him his first cousin, Akosua Buo Gyankorouaa, in marriage. The conversion of Yaw


21. N.A.G., S.C.T. 2/4/12 Civil Record Book Vol.4B p.576. Yaw Boakye, may well have been a sub-treasurer of sorts in charge of the King's strictly private financial affairs. See Chapter One p.56

22. See Chapter One p.56 Probably Boakye was Batchen head of the royal traders.

Beakye apart from straining the relationship between him and the King opened the way for inroads to be made on the solidarity and ancestral faith of the royal family. In fact it directly led to the conversion of odehuye Gyankoronaa in 1877. 24

Apart from the 'soduction' of the Okyenhene's slaves and trusted servants, David Asante also interfered with the Okyenhene's jurisdiction. Since the late 1860s, the Basel Missionaries, as already pointed out, had made no secret of their contempt for the Okyen Abukwaa judicial system. 25 Naturally they viewed the proclamation of authority and the Order in Council of 6 August 1874 as presaging the imminent abolition of the Okyenhene's court and its substitution with a British Court. In anticipation of this change, David Asante, acting on his own

24. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p.592, Asante's Report for the year 1877 dd.28 Jan. 1878. Gyankoronaa was baptised under the name of Susanna Gyankoronaa.

25. See Chapter One p. 98. In the six years preceding the establishment of the Gold Coast Colony the Missionaries never missed an opportunity to vilify the Okyenhene and his court. It was alleged that 'small misdeeds' in the state were 'visited by heavy and often cruel punishment'. The Okyenhene's court was also accused of bending 'the law to suit their own needs'. Exploiting the Governor's sense of outrage felt against Anako Ntia I for permitting human sacrifice during the funeral of his predecessor in June 1867, the Missionaries urged the British Governor at Cape Coast to appoint a Resident to the state to supervise the administration of justice in Okyen Abukwaa and harmonise the State's customary laws with British law. (Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, pp.538-9 Eisenschmid's Report 3 Oct. 1868; p.528 Christaller's Report 1 Oct. 1866.
responsibility, set himself up virtually as a rival judicial authority to the Okyenhene's Court. He arbitrated disputes between Christians; persons wanted for trial for violation of the King's oath consulted him before making up their minds whether to appear before the King's court or not. Asante wrote letters of recommendation for people who were aggrieved by the judgements of the Okyenhene's court and wanted to appeal to the Supreme Court in Accra. In one particular case admitted by him, he gave a letter of recommendation to a Kyebi Christian called Akonza to take to Jonathan Palmer, a court interpreter at Accra, when the Christian decided to appeal to the Supreme Court against a fine of two ounces of gold (about £7.2.0) inflicted upon him by the Okyenhene's Court.

So successful was Asante in hiding behind the cloak of colonialism to create a myth of invincibility around himself that he could even interfere with cases actually being heard before the King. In 1876 he interrupted the trial of certain school boys of Kyebi arraigned before the King on a charge of assaulting Okoufo Abekyi simply by threatening to report the matter to the Governor if they were punished in any way.

ference with Okyenhene's jurisdiction over his subjects was totally indefensible and amounted to an usurpation of authority. Indeed by 1877 his European colleagues were of opinion that Asante had become 'too much involved with people and things to which a straight forward missionary calling would not lead him... '"

Asante's activities between 1874 and 1877 had a dangerous cumulative effect on the political and economic well-being of Okyenhene. First, the exodus of freed slaves from Kyobi reduced its population drastically and worsened the problem of scarcity of food supply. Consequently Kwawu and Asante traders began to boycott the Kyobi route in favour of the Kukurantumi route. Second, and more serious than the economic decline of Kyobi, was the loss of authority and prestige suffered by the Okyenhene. Writing to his superiors in April 1875, David Asante stated, in obvious reference to the Okyenhene, that richmen who counted their wealth in slaves had become impoverished.


30. The food situation was already serious around the middle of 1874 due to influx of Dwaben exiles. See Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p.581 Asante's Report for 2nd Quarter 1874.

shed by the Emancipation Ordinance and that 'even the power of sovereigns in the interior had become almost nil'.

Indeed the loss of the majority of the King's slaves and other palace functionaries, besides reducing the labour force available to him for the production of food and gold, affected the size of his personal following, and ipso facto, his authority and prestige, thus confirming Boamah's observation.

It was a measure of the extent of the decline of the Okyonhene's authority and his utter helplessness that he allowed David Asante to get away with a token fine of four bottles of ale for falsely accusing him of stealing a goat from the mission station only to weep and take to drinking for days on end.

Meanwhile David Asante was highly pleased with his work and expressed belief, in a letter to Basel, that 'the time for the Abukawawa Mission had arrived'.

32. Heidenbote No. 9 1875 Asante's Report 29 April 1875.
33. See Chapter One p. 78. In January 1875 the Kings and Chiefs of the Colony presented three petitions against the Emancipation Act and argued that they would be 'ruined without their slaves'. See John Grace, Domestic Slavery in West Africa, p. 37.
The Okyenhene's reaction

By June 1877 the forebodings were clear to Anoako Atta I. Using the Colonial Power as a shield, the Basel Mission was seeking to resolve the church-state controversy in Akyen Abuankwa unilaterally in its favour; and in the process, was undermining the foundations of the society. If the King was to retrieve his lost authority and preserve the cherished institutions of his people then a quick and decisive action was imperative. The first step decided upon by Anoako Atta I was to banish David Asante from his state. On 20 September 1877 he had Asante brought before a meeting of Ankoba, Aposek, Kyidon and Amentoaniensam, and recounted all the evil things that he had done during his four years' stay at Kyebi. Those included his 'seduction' of royal slaves and baptising of household servants of the King resulting in their refusal to 'do their duty as they were wont'; his encouragement of Christians in their disrespectful behaviour towards the Okyenhene; his interdiction of the Basel Mission teachers from writing letters for the King; and his surveillance of the Kyebi Court for the purposes of getting the Okyenhene into trouble with the Colonial Government.36 After severely scolding Asante, Anoako Atta I declared him banished from the State and caused a gong-gong to be beaten.

round Kyebi to announce the order.

Asante decided to defy the order banishing him and, with characteristic inpertinence, told the Okyenhene that he was not at Kyebi by his sufferance but at the wish of God. Attempts by some nhenkwans headed by Osenasehene Oben Diase to seize and forcibly expel Asante from the mission station resulted in a fracas during which Mrs. Date, wife of Deacon Nathaniel Date, was assaulted. David Asante, confident of the support of the colonial Governor, went to Accra and took criminal summons in the Supreme Court against Chief Oben, Odohye Kwasi Kuma (the King's younger brother) and others for assault on Mrs. Date. He also filed a suit against the Okyenhene personally for unlawful banishment.

The case against the Okyenhene and his other subjects was heard before Chief Justice Sir David Chalmers between 17 and 21 December 1877. Yaw Bekye, Brewu and Atwaboa were found guilty of assaulting Mrs. Date and were sentenced to 60 days imprisonment each with hard labour; Yebo and Osenasehene Oben

37. Heidenbote No.2 Feb. 1878 p.11; M.A.G. S.C.T. 2/4/12 Civil Record Book Vol.4H pp.492; 497-499. Nathaniel Date is alleged to have said that he was mightier than the King while his wife said: 'The King's head shall be cut off'. The King personally intervened and dispersed the crowd after telling them that he had 'no palaver with anybody only Assanti'. Mrs. Date was subsequently delivered of twins but neither of them survived.
were acquitted for lack of sufficient evidence; Kwasi Kuma was given the benefit of doubt. In his judgement in respect of the Okyenhene, the Chief Justice found as a fact that David Asante had acted injudiciously and provocatively, and that most of the charges levelled against him by the King were proved. He was also satisfied that the quarrel between the King and Asante was a political one and that the Okyenhene had no intention of destroying the work of the Basel Mission in his State.

In view of the provocation which the Okyenhene and his Chiefs were found to have suffered 'from the injudicious, swag-gering and unconciliatory demeanour and conduct of Mr. Asanti', Governor Freeling recommended that he 'be removed and at once to another District not under King Attah'. He made it clear that if the Local Committee of the Basel Mission kept David Asante at Kyebi they would bear full responsibility for any future trouble arising from his tactlessness. Fearful of

losing the goodwill and protection of the Government and unwilling to risk the withdrawal of its annual subvention of £100, the Basel Mission Local Committee transferred Asante to Akwapim in March 1878.42

The vindication of King Amoako Atta I by the Chief Justice and the transfer of David Asante from Akyen Abualwa were a great source of political satisfaction and a morale booster for the Okyenhene and his Chiefs. Nonetheless, there can be no doubt that the King's submission to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court over a purely domestic matter that was well within his competence established a dangerous precedent and compromised his sovereignty over his state. It implied a tacit and de facto recognition of the Supreme Court's jurisdiction over Akyen Abualwa. The precedent established by the trial was to be resorted to again and again as a practical method of eroding the Okyenhene's sovereignty over his state.

In the meantime, however, the verdict of the Chief Justice put the King in the proper psychological frame of mind to attempt to curb the pretensions of the Basel Mission and regain the political initiative which he had temporarily lost. In the next few months following the departure of Asante, the Okyenhene took

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42. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p.607; Heidenbote No.7 July 1878, Asante preached his farewell sermon at Kyobi on 17 March 1878 and left on 19 March via Kukrantumi where he spent 1878 with other Deacon Koranten.
stern and disciplinary measures against leading members of the Kyebi Christian Community who had collaborated with Asante. Notable among them was Emmanuel Yaw Boakye who had been a key prosecution witness in David Asante's case against the Okyenhene. On 5 February 1878, shortly after his triumphant return from the Coast, Amako Atta I enforced a decree of the Supreme Court which he had obtained against Yaw Boakye for the recovery of £53 7s and £1.1.3 or £35.9.6. He had Boakye's property, including all his furniture and clothes, a farm and a 16-room house, sold by public auction. Indeed the first thing noticed by Rev. Karl Buck on his arrival at the Kyebi Mission Station to assume duty as Asante's successor was a heap of household goods exposed to the sun outside Boakye's house. Upon enquiry he was told that they were Yaw Boakye's property seized by the Okyenhene.

During 1878 and 1879 the Christian Community in Akyem Abuakwa felt a backlash from Asante's confrontation with the King in the form of popular resentment against them. At Kyebi people

43. The amount represented the balance of a sum of 7 Kendas or £50.8.0 which the King had entrusted to Boakye's care while he was a personal servant of the Okyenhene.


45. Heidenbote, No.7 July 1878 p.50.
boycotted street preaching for fear of incurring the wrath of the King. Elsewhere in the State the asafo and Akomfo settled old scores with the Christians in their midst. At Asiakwa, four local baptismal candidates were assaulted for fishing in a forbidden stream near the town; at Begoro Akomfo Kesewaa blamed a typhus-fever epidemic which claimed 170 lives in December 1877 on the importation of pigs and the felling of Odum trees by the Christians. Consequently an outraged asafoakye, Abam, mobilised the local asafo to stop the Missionaries from felling any more Odum trees and threatened Rev. Mohr with expulsion from Begoro.

From other parts of Akyem Abuakwa reports were received by the Basel Mission of harassment of Christians and prospective converts. Early in 1879 a female ex-slave in the service of the Okyenhene at Tete (Asikan) who was suspected of having an intention to become a Christian was compelled to abjure her intentions by swearing the Okyenhene's oath. The Chief and Elders of

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47. Ibid p.601, Bucks 1st Quarterly Report from Kibi 27 March 1878; p.104 Mohr's Report to Basel 10 April 1878; Heidenbote No.7 July 1878. The pigs were imported from Kwawu and Akwapen.
48. The Odum trees were felled for timber. Mohr took charge of Begoro Station in 1875.
49. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p.609 Buck's Report for 1879
Anyinan alarmed by the recent conversion of Johannes Kani and Jacob Opon, drummer and 'carrier' respectively of the local Obosom Tano, banned further conversions on pain of severe penalties. 50

By far the most serious incident occurred at Asumafà during the Easter of 1879. Regarded as one of the strongholds of Christianity in north-western Akyen Abuakwa, Asumafà was situated only a few miles from Asamana, the domicile of Obosom Anokye, then the most powerful and most vindictive god in Akyen Abuakwa. 51

During Easter of 1879 Okonfoo Tobo, priest of Anokye and Chief Priest of the State, led a protest demonstration of all the akonfoo in the State against the Christians at Asumafà. In the course of the demonstration Tobo knocked down a pipe from the mouth of a Christian passer-by because smoking was a taboo to his god. A riot nearly ensued and all the Christians fled into the bush. The irate priests attacked and destroyed the local chapel. 52

As the anti-Christian posture assumed by the Chiefs, agrafo and akonfoo threatened missionary work in the State with extinction, the Basîl Mission was compelled to turn to the Colonial Government for active support and protection. In 1878, for

51. See Chapter One p.54.
52. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p.610; Also N.A.G., S.C.T. 2/5/11
   Criminal Record Book 2 Jan. 1879-4 Feb. 1884.
instance, the President of the Local Committee of the Basel Mission on the Coast, Rev. Disterle sought Government's guarantee of protection for Rev. Mohr and other Missionaries at Begoro. In July 1879, Rev. Karl Buck, head of the Kyobi Mission, travelled to Accra to persuade the Government to come out openly decisively and publicly in support of the Basel Mission's cause. He called for legislation or proclamation to abolish certain customary taboos in the State of Akyem Abukwa. He wanted the Government for instance to legalise the cultivation of afase (water yam) and the rearing of pigs, arguing that this would not only benefit the Basel Mission but also the country at large by increasing food resources available to the people.

**Government Intervention and Exile of Amoako Atta I**

Up to 1879 the Government had not intervened decisively and unequivocably in favour of the Christians in their quarrel with the political authorities in Akyem Abukwa although it had demonstrated open bias towards the Basel Missionaries time and again. In 1877, for instance, Governor Freeling prejudged the quarrel between Asante and the Okyenhene before Amoako Atta I

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had had a chance to tell his side of the story. In a letter dated 1 November and based on Asante's report the Governor warned that he would 'not allow the Missionaries to be ill-treated in any way or driven out of the country' and that Government was ready to send a force of constabulary to punish the State if it did not refrain from harassing the Missionaries. As already shown, the Chief Justice's subsequent verdict vindicated the State. Similarly, the Governor condemned the Bogoro people and Chief Kwasi Antwi without a hearing over the alleged threat to expel Rev. Mohr in 1878. He threatened:

I warn you that if there is any interference with the Missionaries or any unfriendliness shown then I shall send and fine you and the people of Bogoro very heavily.

From 1879 the Colonial Government began to identify itself openly with the cause of the Basel Mission in Akyem Abuakwa. There were at least two reasons for this change of attitude. First, was the Government's growing conviction that Anoako Atta's conservatism placed 'obstacles in the way of civilization and progress'. This conviction was based largely

55. N.L.G., Adn 1/9/2 Governor Freeling to King Attah 27 Sept. 1877.
56. See p.120
57. N.A.G. Adn 1/9/2 Governor Freeling to Chief Kwasi Antwi, Bogoro 24 March 1878.
58. See p.127.
on adverse missionary reports. In July 1879, for instance Buck alleged, during his interview with Governor Ussher that slavery persisted in the state of Akyen Abuakwa in violation of the Emancipation Ordinances.\footnote{Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p.615 Buck’s Letter to Basel 2 March 1880.} Second, was the irritation felt by British Colonial officials over the spirit of independence and tenacity of power exhibited by Amoako Atta I.\footnote{See p.150. Also Chapter Three pp.174-178, 227-228.} Both Missionary and Colonial official therefore seemed to see in Amoako Atta the main obstacle to the realisation of their respective goals. If Amoako Atta could be convicted on charges of slave-dealing and possibly exiled like King Eninil Kwao of Wasa, the greatest obstacle to Missionary work in, and the extension of the colonial frontier to, Akyen Abuakwa would have been removed.\footnote{King Eninil Kwao was exiled to Lagos in 1878 after having been removed from his Stool for slave-dealing. By October 1879 Kwame Fori King-elect of Akwapim was awaiting trial for slave-dealing. See N.A.G., Adm 1/9/2 H.T. Ussher to King Attah 20 Nov. 1879; Ag. Governor to Chiefs of Akropong Oct. 1879.}

In July 1879 Governor Ussher urged Rev. Karl Buck to bring authenticated cases of slave-dealing and slavery to his notice for appropriate action. He also gave Buck ‘written instructions’ on the subject of the enforcement of customary taboos in Akyen Abuakwa to be handed over personally to the Okyenhene.\footnote{Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p.609 Buck’s Report for the year 1879.} The
Basel Mission did not allow such an excellent opportunity to discredit the King in the eyes of the Colonial Government to slip by. In October 1879 Buck made a report to the Governor that during a visit to Anyinman he saw 'a whole row of people' either being sold into slavery or being pawned for money to pay fines inflicted on the town by the King. Under interrogation, the man who conducted the sale charged the King with involvement in a wide range of similar incidents. 63

While the accusations were still under investigation a widow called Amoakoan reported that the King had 'caused her sisters, sons, daughters, nieces to be sold to satisfy' a fine of £144 imposed on her by the King's Court. 64 As a result of these complaints Governor Ussher ordered Amoako Atta to send his messengers down with the persons alleged to have been sold by him for an enquiry. Ussher's letter threatened:

I have had very bad reports about your proceedings in Eastern Akin - that you sell and hold slaves against the law, and that you place obstacles in the way of civilization and progress.

... I warn you that I cannot pass over these things, and that if they prove true, it will be very hard for you. 65


64. N.A.G., Adm 1/9/2 H.T. Ussher to King Attah 20 Nov. 1879.
Ussher also viewed in a most unfavourable light a letter from the Okyenhene dated 29 December 1879 which hinted at preparations being made by the state of Akyen Abuakwa to secure, by force if necessary, not only the repatriation of Abuakwa adehyee still in Adanse but also the recovery of possession of the famous Adanse god Bona which the King claimed for his Stool.

Governor Ussher considered the 'purport' of the Okyenhene's letter to be 'serious' as the adoption of the steps contemplated by the Okyenhene was likely to embroil the Protectorate in war with Asante. Consequently Ussher gave Amaako Atta I up to 15 January 1880 to go to Accra to explain his 'proceedings in that and other matters' in respect of which complaints had been made against him. King Amaako Atta arrived in Accra at the end of January 1880. After being kept waiting for forty days he asked for an audience with the Governor only to be told that he was 'lying under the gravest charges' and could not therefore see His Excellency till he should have cleared himself of the accusations against him. Meanwhile he was forbidden to leave.

66. Kumi Attobrah, The Kings of Akyen Abuakwa, p.30. Taking advantage of Adanse's difficulties caused by her rebellion against Asantehene in 1875, Amaako Atta put pressure on Adansehene Kwaku Nkansa to return the god Bona and repatriate Abuakwa adehyee still in Adanse. When these requests were rejected he threatened war. See also N.A.G., Adm 1/9/2 Ussher to King Attah 15 Jan. 1880.
Accra. 68

The law officers found little substance in the various charges brought against the King. Some in fact related to events that occurred before the enactment of the Emancipation Ordinances. Nonetheless, it was apparent that the Government wanted a pretext for removing the Okyenhene from his lawful authority. By a letter dated 10 February 1880 Rev. Buck was invited to Accra to assist the Government 'in making a sound case' against King Amoako Atta I, with an assurance that his part in the whole affair would be kept 'confidential'. 69

Buck did not have much difficulty in gathering evidence to build up 'a sound case' against the Okyenhene. Christians with an axe to grind, many of them former servants of the King, were all too eager to take revenge for the wrongs, imagined or real, done to them by the King. Among those who offered to testify against the King were Joseph Bosonpen and Yaw Boakye. 70

68. N.A.G., Add 1/9/2 R. Knapp Brown (Pr.Sec.) to King Attah 10 March 1880.
70. Others who offered to testify against the King were Isaiah Amaofo and Jeremiah Ntin. Joseph Bosonpen a former servant of the King had left the King's service to become a Christian after he was fined in a case involving snails; Yaw Boakye had been dragged before the Supreme Court by the King in November 1879 for the second time in two years, in an attempt to recover the balance still outstanding after the attempt to recover the remainder of 3 Jan. 1878. See N.A.G. S.C.T. 3 Civil Record Book 2 Jan. 1879-4 Feb. 1884 p.178; University of Ghana  http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh
charges ultimately brought against the Okyenhene at the May Assizes of 1880 were arson, slave-dealing and murder. The arson case arose from the burning of the house of an old Christian woman and widow of King Atta Obuon called Yaa Dokuaa. 71 There were two counts of slave-dealing against the King. The first count of 'slave-dealing by receiving a pawn' related to an incident which occurred at the end of 1876, four years before pawning was outlawed in Akyem Abuakwa. 72 The second count of slave-dealing had to do with a fine of ten predwlan imposed on Katawere of Dwenben in 1875 for swearing ntankokoo which involved 'the lives of all the royal family of Kyebi'. 73 The murder charge was in respect of executions carried out at Asiakwa on the death of Nifehene Duodu a few months before the proclamation of the Gold Coast


72. N.A.G., S.C.T. 2/5/1 Criminal Record Book 2 Jan. 1879-4 Feb. 1884. A key prosecution witness in this case was Emmanuel Yaw Boakye. The pawn, Atta Kwao, became such in lieu of payment of a court fine of £5 paid on his behalf by the King. He was set free by the D.C. in February, three months before the King's trial, following the emancipation of pawns.

73. N.A.G., S.C.T. 2/5/1 Criminal Record Book 2 Jan. 1879-4 Feb. 1884 pp.184-5. The pawn, originally a slave girl from Salaga called Anina was placed in pawn with the Okyenhene in lieu of the fine.
Colony.

The all-African Jury which tried the King at his request returned a verdict of 'Not Guilty' in respect of the charges of slave-dealing and murder but convicted him on the 'minor charge of malicious arson'. For this the court sentenced him to five years of penal servitude. Nifahene Duodu was convicted of murder and sentenced to death. The sentence was, however, commuted to life imprisonment. His alleged accomplices, Kwasi Ansa (his son) Kofi Apeakorah and Kwame Tena received ten, ten and fifteen years respectively. On 14 May the King and the other convicted persons were put on a warship bound for Lagos. Buck returned to Kyebi on 10 May but the King's mother, Anma Antofaa, and his younger brother Kwasi Kunta, remained behind in Accra to arrange for the settlement of their debts.

The trial, conviction and exile of King Antako Atta I was as irregular and arbitrary as it was unjust. In the first place it was hardly consistent with the basis of the relationship between himself and the British crown. As already pointed


75. N.L.G., Mn 11/1/1096 Minute of 15 Sept. 1884; Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p.615 Buck to Basel 23 May 1880; p.618 Eisenschnid's letter dd. 28 May 1880. The King's conviction took effect from 10 May 1880 and was to last till 9 May 1885. He arrived in Lagos on 20 May under the escort of Sgt. Major [illegible] Gold Coast Constabulary.
out, Abunkwa's sovereignty, on the eve of colonial rule, had not been impaired by her relationship with the British Government. 77 Nor had the legal basis of Abunkwa-British relations been altered in any way during the first six years of the creation of the Gold Coast Colony. 78 As a 'Protected' Chief and an ally, rather than a subject of the British Crown, the jurisdiction claimed by the Supreme Court over the Okyenhene and his State was without foundation, moral or legal. Even assuming that the unilateral extension of British jurisdiction over Akyem Abunkwa by the Supreme Court Ordinance of 1876 79 had legal validity, the sentence imposed on the King could not be regarded as commensurate with the offence on which the conviction was based, especially since Governor Ussher himself considered the charge of arson to be a 'minor' one.

Governor Ussher had so badly wanted, indeed expected, the Court to convict the King on the more serious charges of slave-dealing and murder, that he could not hide his disappointment at the King's acquittal in respect of those charges. In fact he blamed it on the 'poisoning of witnesses' in the face of what he regarded as 'clearly proved charges' and 'uncontradicted

77. See Chapter One pp. 91-95.
78. See Chapter Three pp. 169-170.
evidence'. It would appear therefore that the King was the victim of a pre-meditated travesty of justice whose sole object was to remove him from his lawful authority and pave the way for the unimpeded spread of Christianity, western ideas and British influence in Akyen Aboukwa. This conclusion is reinforced by the fact that although convicted supposedly of a crime against the law, King Amako Atta was not treated as a common criminal in exile but rather as a political prisoner and granted certain privileges. Finally the trial was voications as two of the principal charges of murder and slave-dealing arose from incidents that were practically no offences under the state of the law in Akyen Aboukwa at the time they took place.

The economic, political and social consequences of the King's exile on Akyen Aboukwa were profound. The living expenses of the King and his retinue, resulting from his long detention in Accra from January to May 1880, together with legal fees saddled the


81. N.A.G., Ldn 1/5/1 H.T. Ussher to Lt.-Gov. Griffith 15 May 1880. Ussher's instruction required that the King should not be put 'to manual labour'. He was to be allowed 'extra food'...in consideration of his position' and permitted to retain his 'own clothes'. He was also allowed to have the company of one of his wives, the mother of Barima Amantia (alias Pape Young) the present Abontendonhene who was born in exile.
state with considerable debt. To raise money to defray this debt the King had to pledge stool property. This debt was to influence the scale of fines inflicted in the Okyenhene's court in the immediate future, especially in the first two years of the King's return from exile. The immediate impact of the exile was, however, political. Within a year of Amonko Atta's exile three key political figures in his administration died. The first, Adontenhene Ampaw, died in June 1880 only four weeks after the King was put on the British warship bound for Lagos.

Chenre Sokyerna, the King's aunt, died a few weeks later. In the middle of 1881 Banfoo Kwesi Amonko, Gyansohene of Kyebi and a faithful councillor of the King, also died. Although the causes of the deaths are not stated in the records it is not unlikely that these persons died of grief, possibly by their own

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83. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p.618. The King was defended in the arson case by E. Bannerman. A computation even on the official rates of daily subsistence of 5/9d and lodging allowances of 2/6d payable to Divisional Chiefs waiting on the Governor would put the King's living expenses alone at more than £50.0.0 see N.A.G., Adn 11/1/3.


hands. 86

Under the irresolute leadership of young, impulsive and inexperienced Kwasi Kuré, who himself narrowly escaped conviction and exile in 1880 the royal family and the King's court fell into disarray, resulting in the acceptance of baptism by several members of the royal family and the Court. In October 1881 Huppenbauer gleefully reported the baptism of certain unnamed members of the royal family at Kyebi. 87 Their example was followed by several men and women 'formerly owing their sole allegiance' to the King and the Royal family. Among them were Salono Impofo 'a sub-chief' and relative of Joseph Bosomtwe, and Abraham Bosomtwe, a long standing okra (soul) to the Poman Stool. They were baptised in July 1884. 88

Even more symptomatic of the atrophy of central authority in the State and ominous for the future was the accession of Joseph Bosomtwe to the important office of Kyebi Gyansahene in

86. A precedent for this occurred in 1811 when Okyenahene Atta Musu Yiakosan died of small pox in October near Kwanyako after a very successful campaign against the Asante general Apea Dankwa. Overwhelmed with grief several of his principal chiefs who were with him committed suicide. See C. E. Metcalfe Great Britain and Ghana: Documents on Ghana History 1807-1957 London, 1964 pp. 17-18; Brodie Cruickshank, Eighteen Years, pp. 92-98; J. B. Danquah, Akin Abakwa Hand-Book p.19.

87. Heidenbote No.2 Feb. 1882.

August or early September 1883. Bosonpen, alias Kenire, was the son of Anna Bunbenna (also known as Dentuo) of Kyebi. He was born at Apedwa in 1848 and lived there as a boy with his father till the 1860s when he moved to Kyebi and entered the service of King Amoako Atta I. He, however, left in 1876 to become a Christian after he had taken offence at a fine inflicted upon him by the King's Court in connection with a case involving snails.

He was one of the witnesses whose testimony helped convict Amoako Atta I of arson. Within seventeen months of the King's exile, Bosonpen with the active support of Christian converts within the Ankobea, Apesenzaka and Kyidon, as well as the encouragement of Rev. Karl Buck, became Kyebi Gyanshcene in succession to his uncle Kwasu Amoako on his own terms. He claimed exemption from the obligation to pour libation to his ancestors, option to judge cases according to English rather than customary law, freedom to resettle his uncle's ox-slaves in the salon and convert them to Christianity, and the grant of custody of the Gyansse Stool to the Basel Mission.

It was a sad reflection of the extent of the political decay and lack of realism in Akyen Abogkwa during the interregnum that

89. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1265 Notes taken at Kibi 21 Dec. 1896. Also p. 130 fn. 70

'the chiefs and headmen of Akim approved of the appointment of the chief' on the above-mentioned conditions;\textsuperscript{91} for it was inconceivable how a Christian Gyansehene in the mould of Bosompen, who was also the 'first leader of the Kyebi congregation', could be relied upon to supervise the ahedefoo in the performance of those duties associated with his office and directed towards the propitiation of the gods and the ancestors. The precedent set by Bosomen was followed by Chief Salomo Anpofo who announced on his baptism, that he wished to rule not 'according to heathen usages but... according to British law as Joseph Bosomen had done'.\textsuperscript{92}

The social impact of the King's exile on Akyem Abuankwa was no less profound. In the King's absence emancipation of slaves and pawns occurred on a large scale. Although the proclamation of authority did specifically refer to the adoption of 'measures concerning domestic slavery and pawnng', the institutions continued to flourish in Akyem Abuankwa without any serious interference.\textsuperscript{93} In February 1880, however, while the King was awaiting

\textsuperscript{91} N.A.G., Adn 11/1/1096 Allen to Hon. Col. Sec. 4 Feb. 1885.

\textsuperscript{92} Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p.652 Ofori's Report 5 Jan. 1005; N.A.G., Adn.11/1/1094 Ad Mohr to LG. Col. Sec. 16 Dec. 1896; For the duties of the ahodefoo See Chapter One.

trial in Accra, the Government issued a proclamation abolishing pawning and declaring all pawns free.\footnote{94} According to Mohr's estimate there were between 1,000 and 2,000 Akyem People being held in pawn in the eastern District of Akyem Abuakwa.\footnote{95} Within two months of the proclamation there was hardly any pawn left in Begoro. One pawn-owner, Ntim, alone freed 60 pawns of both sexes who owed him debts amounting to £450.\footnote{96} During the King's exile, the Basel Missionaries constituting themselves into watchdogs of the Government put pressure on nearly every village chief to implement the order of the Government.\footnote{97} While the emancipation of slaves and pawns undoubtedly relieved several hundreds of people from what seemed to be perpetual bondage, it is equally true that it ruined several rich individuals like Ntim of Begoro.\footnote{98}

\footnote{94} N.A.G., S.C.T. 2/5/1 Criminal Record Book 2 Jan. 1879-4 Feb. 1884 p.183. The Court's comment on the trial of the king for 'slave-dealing by receiving a pawn' was: 'it is quite a common thing for persons to be in pawn at Eastern Akim till about 3 months ago'.

\footnote{95} Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, pp.129-130 Mohr's Report dd.10-26 April 1880.

\footnote{96} Ibid p.130.


\footnote{98} Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p.585\footnote{B} Asante & Werner to S.R.C.
Kyobi in particular suffered irreparable damage from the emancipation of slaves and pawns. Within a year of the King's exile the town's population decreased sharply. With the loss of their main economic support, most of the inhabitants abandoned the town to live on their farm lands. Trading activity and the gold-mining industry almost ground to a halt. A significant number of those left behind in the town were state-functionaries accustomed to earning a living through the perquisites of their offices and the largess of the Okyenene. Some of these akodefoo found it difficult to adjust to a different lifestyle and took to brigandage and crime to maintain themselves. 99

More than any others it was the Basel Mission which profited most by the King's exile. Through their inportunity they got the Government to come out more strongly in their favour. Not only were they given firm guarantees of protection and free exercise of their religion, but inplacable foes of Christianity like Chiefs Yobo of Apam and Akyea of Apena were actually pressured directly by the Government into selling lands to the Missionaries for the erection of mission stations (Salons) and permitting schools to be opened in their towns. 100

99. Heidamboto No.4 April 1931.
time the Government compelled the Abuakwa Chiefs to relax the enforcement of the observance of the customary taboos in the state and make it optional. In October 1882 for instance, the Civil Commandant of the Volta District, R.M. Runsey, was instructed by the Governor to see Chief Buaben of Anyinan and inform him that His Excellency could not 'assent to his binding any of the people of ANYINAN by such laws... as insistence upon them must necessarily be highly injurious to the people...'

The instructions continued:

If any of the people of ANYINAN choose of their own free will to observe any of the customs referred to they are perfectly at liberty to do so, but the Governor distinctly forbid any attempt by the Chief, or any other person, to compel any one living at ANYINAN to comply with the laws...

Chief Buaben was summoned to Akropon by the Civil Commandant in January 1883 and given 'a good talking to'.

101. N.A.G., Add 1/9/2 Brandford Griffith (Pr.Sec.) to Runsey, Akropon 20 Oct. 1882. Emphasis added. The customary taboos enforced at Anyinan and indeed elsewhere in Akyem Abuakwa included the following:

(i) Prohibition on the carrying of a bundle of firewood into the town.

(ii) Prohibition on the use of a brass pan to fetch water from a local stream.

(iii) Prohibition on the carrying of a bunch of palm nuts into town.

(iv) Prohibition on the keeping of goats in the town.

Believing that the absence of a popular uprising in Akyen Abukwaw over the King's exile showed 'that the King had very little ground under his feet' the Basel Mission decided to press their advantage. 103 Everywhere Missionaries treated the authority of the Chiefs with disdain, and turned the salons into an 'imperium imperio' of sorts. In the four and a half years of the King's exile the congregations in his State increased their membership by leaps and bounds. By the end of 1880 the strength of the Kyebi district congregation stood at over 600 with the Kyebi congregation proper numbering 204. These figures rose to 703 and 275 respectively at the end of 1881. 104 The number of houses in the salon at Kyebi also increased from 12 at the end of 1879 to 21 at the end of 1880. A new Chapel was begun in 1880 and during 1881 the two-storey Kyebi Mission house was completed by Huppenbauer and Munz.

Elsewhere in the state also the growth of Christian congregations was phenomenal. At Aseikwa where the outstation was founded only in 1877 the numbers reached 105 at the end of 1882, an increase of 130%. The corresponding figures for Kukrantumi, Abunafo, Abonosu and Apapan were 106, 45, 58 and 48 respectively.

The Begoro congregation increased in membership from 61 at the end of 1800 to 75 at the end of 1801. School enrolment showed a similar trend. In October 1800 a provisional girls' school was started at Kyebi with 16 pupils, and shortly after at Begoro with girls recruited from Kukurantumi. So encouraging was the enthusiasm for school that an annual school fee of 2/3d was imposed in 1801 at Kyebi, Asikwa and Begoro. By the beginning of 1802 enrolment at the Kyebi primary school stood at 42, and soon there were suggestions that the boarding school system should be discontinued for the primary school, 'since such places were necessary in the period when people did not realise the importance of education'. Already the need was being felt for a middle school at Kyebi to prepare Agyen pupils for training as teachers. In 1803 the Kyebi Middle School was established followed shortly by the establishment of the Begoro Middle Boarding School.


School. 100

The baptismal candidates recruited by the Missionaries during the King's exile may be divided into two main categories. In the first group were persons who considered membership of the church as offering immunity from the jurisdiction of the traditionalAkson courts. Such people were more often than not persons who bore personal grudges against the traditional courts. As observed by Mohr, prospective converts at Begoro believed that 'the Christian community is politically separate from Begoro town'. 109 Although the Missionaries may not have directly encouraged this attitude their own overbearing attitude towards the Chiefs and their continual interference with chiefly jurisdiction with a view to shielding Christians from justice certainly contributed to the prevalence of that belief. 110

The other category of baptismal candidates were ex-slaves, ex-pawns and other poor and needy people who were attracted by


109. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p.105 Mohr to Dr Sol dd. 10 April 1870.

110. In 1803 for instance Buck and two Missionaries called on Bogorohene and literally reprimanded him for ordering a presbyter Jacob to uproot afase which he had grown. They also demanded the lifting of the ban on rearing of pigs and goats. See Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p.181 Huppenbaum 1803.
the nonetray inducement offered. During 1800 Buck lent money out of local church funds - the so-called Poor Fund - to private persons, namely 'converts who in the process of conversion had lost everything and could not marry, people who were being held back from conversion by small debts they owed'. Such loans of up to £3 were a powerful inducement to many persons saddled with debt to offer themselves as baptismal candidates. Indeed the impression existed from 1877 onwards that 'to become a Christian is to be looked after' and several persons openly demanded the payment of their debts as a condition of becoming Christians.

The relatively high rate of growth of church membership between 1800 and 1865 gave the missionaries a false sense of success and security. It was clear, however, that the gains made by the Basel Mission were confined to the eastern half of the State only. The tour reports of Huppenbauer, Ramseyer, Mohr and Muller show that the people of Western Akyen Abunka maintained their hostility to Christian influence. During his ten-day tour of that region in July 1800, Huppenbauer learnt at Asuon that the local Akanfooo were 'annoyed and embittered' by missionary

111. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p. 523, Duck to Basel 13 April 1881.
intrusion into the town, and he found the people of Oseame to be unenthusiastic about the gospel. In 1882 Ramsay, Mohr and Muller found no one at Asuon willing to become a Christian. From what his host told him, Muller concluded that the local people had set their face resolutely against the Christian faith. 113

The Basel Mission indeed under-estimated the loyalty of the Abakwa people to their exiled King as well as their attachment to their institutions. Behind the facade of political disarray and seeming abandonment of the gods, lurked a tremendous fund of goodwill and loyalty to Inoko Atta I and respect for the ancestors. These were shared by the overwhelming majority of the King's subjects, Christian and non-Christian alike. Throughout his exile the majority of his subjects still regarded him as the lawful King and discounted advice from the Government to elect a new King. Twice in September 1880 and again in 'the spring' of 1883 the Chiefs and people of the State petitioned the Government for his repatriation. On the latter occasion non-Christians and Christians alike contributed to a fund totalling £300 with which they sought to ransom the King. 114 It was also a mark of the confidence which the people had in the King's

113. Heidenbote No.12 1880; Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p.633 Muller's Report on a journey in the inland Twi areas 11 April 1882.

judicial administration that many people reserved their cases for his return. According to Huppenbauer the King received 15,000 francs in complaint money from 'the innumerable people who brought cases before him' during the first three weeks of his return. 115

On the eve of Inyacko Atta's repatriation then, the triumph of the Basel Mission was more apparent than real. The struggle between traditionalism and foreign-inspired innovation was by no means resolved conclusively. Nor could the future course of events be predicted with any degree of certainty. Everything hung in the balance and the answer lay in the disposition of Inyacko Atta I.

The King's repatriation and the final show-down.

King Inyacko Atta's detention in Lagos lasted from May 20 1880 till late December 1884 when Governor Young brought him back to Accra in his steamboat. 116 The first question to be considered by the Government was whether his subjects 'desire that he should be restored to his throne...'. 117 Mr. Hull held a meeting on 31 January 1885 with the principal chiefs of the state at Kukurantumi to discuss the issue. Present were Adontenhen Atta Kwaku,

115. Heidenbote No.6 June 1886 p.45.
116. Ibid p.43; N.A.G., Jan 11/1/1096 Governor's Minute to Col. Sec. 8 Jan. 1885.
117. N.A.G., Jan 11/1/1096 Governor's Minute to Col. Sec. 8 Jan.
Benkunhene Kwasi Antwi, Oseawuohene Kwabena Atwero and Chief Danso of Abosu. With them were Odikro Tawude of Medeantam, Odikro Yaw Ba of Fonkyeneko and Joseph Bonsompeh, Gyasaahene of Kyobi. The assembly of chiefs was unanimous in their wish to have the King reinstated and selected a deputation including the Adontehene, Benkunhene, Oseawuohene and Kyobi Gyasaahene to proceed to Accra on 9 February to have further discussions with Governor Young. After holding two meetings with the Akyen Chiefs on 16 and 18 February 1805 Governor Young agreed to the reinstatement of Anoako Atta I. The Okyenhene was allowed a week to arrange for the redemption of the stool property pledged during his trial, after which the Governor sent him back to Kyobi on 25 February 1805 in the company of C.D. Turton, a high Government official who was 'to be present at the re-installation on the stool of his fore-fathers of the King of Eastern Akyen'.

On 1 March the King arrived at Kyobi after an absence of over five years.


119. N.A.G., Add 11/1770 Governor's Interview with Akyen Chiefs at X'borg 18 Feb. 1805; Also N.A.G., Add 1/7/12 Governor M.G. Young to King Quamina Fori 25 Feb. 1805.

120. N.A.G., Add 11/1/1121 Petition from Benahene and others for return of King Iseeo Atta 10 March 1805. Anoako Atta spent one night at Koforidua and was presented with 2 sheep and 20 flasks of run by the New Dwaben Chiefs.
During his two months' stay in Accra from December 1884 to February 1885 Amoako Atta learnt about the changed state of Akyem Abuakwa society from conversations which he had with the Chiefs. What he heard irritated him a great deal. First, he learnt that royal authority was in shambles; frivolous use was being made of his oath by members of the New Dwanen community resettled on part of his territory as exiles; several of his wives had been seduced by Christians and non-Christians alike and one had died of abortion; Joseph Bosonpem, a Christian whose evidence had helped to convict him had been elected Kyebi Gyansehene; several members of the royal family had been converted to Christianity, and there was widespread violation of the customary taboos which were the very essence of traditional religion and the sanction behind his political authority. Amoako Atta also learnt that state revenues were in disarray. It was obvious to him that unless the traditional political system was to be allowed to wither away, it was imperative that the pretensions of the Basel Mission be curbed and its gains reversed.

121. N.A.C., Adm 11/1/1096 D.C. Allen to Hon. Col. Sec. 4 Feb. 1885; N.A.C., Adm 11/1/1121 Petition from Bonahene and others 10 March 1885. For details see Chapter Seven

warth of the welcome given to the King was a great source of encouragement and a reassurance of the rightness of his cause.  

In a fiery speech made on the occasion of his reinstatement,  
Moako Itta I did not mince words. He left the Christians in no doubt that he was, and intended to remain, the sovereign ruler of Akwamu. In Turton's presence, and in unequivocal language, he re-imposed the ban on farming, fishing and gold-digging on sacred days (mnabone) and warned that whoever violated the ban would be severely punished. When Assistant Catholic Yaw Boakye rose to protest, the King silenced him by pointing his right finger at him and shouting angrily: 'That is Boakye! that is Boakye! that is Boakye!' Boakye fainted with fright and had to be carried away unconscious. Turton looked on without any comment.  

The King's speech revealed the polarisation between King and Missionary. While the former and his Chiefs deemed the observance of the customary taboos and laws imperative for the welfare and prosperity of their State, the Missionaries, backed by the Government, considered it to be intolerable to the 'Christian conscience'. King and Missionary were thus set on a collision course. Huppenbauer and Weiner tried to intimidate the King by drawing his attention to the Governor's letter of 1879 in  

123. Heidenbote No.6 June 1886.
which he was ordered to refrain from impeding missionary work. They threatened to report the King's conduct to the Governor if the ban was not revoked, but Amoako Atta refused to be intimidated.

The Okyenhene told the Missionaries that he had never hated the Christians and that it was rather they who had sinned against him by ignoring God's injunction to them to honour the King and respect all authority. He continued:

The Christians do not honour and fear me. When I am King, to whom all lands which your eyes see belong, who can do and order what he wants, when I order that the Christians should celebrate those days which to our ancestors from olden times were sacred, they say no: that we do not do! Isn't that disobedience? Amoako Atta reminded the Missionaries that he was a sovereign in his own right and as such he could 'do and order' what he wanted in his country. Then referring again to the ban on work on sacred days he concluded his speech thus:

These days belong to my stool... so I cannot allow the Christians to work on the mentioned days. Whoever wants to work on such days should buy himself his land.  

125. Heidentote K.G. June 1886 p.44.  
126. Tril.
to the Supreme Court in Accra on pain of banishment and confiscation of property.

The third step taken by Anoako Atta I to revive his authority was to punish those found guilty of seducing his wives. The heavy fines inflicted were said to have ruined the victims' families. In one case involving a man from Agyasponaa who fled the State upon the King's return, his elder brother, a baptismal candidate, was summoned to Kyebi by three sword-bearers and tried in the place of his runaway brother. He was fined £88 (2,200 francs) and two sheep as npata (pacification) and charged mëda (thanks fee) of £16 (400 francs) and schnapps. His family took a loan from a man of Otuni, to repay which they had to sell all their sheep, goats and gold-dust. 130

Okyenhene Anoako Atta I also adopted measures to improve his finances. At his two meetings with Governor Young and the Akyen Chiefs in February 1885, the King blamed his exile on false and malicious reports of financial oppression made by Christians who sought to escape punishment for wrongs 'done... against the stool'. Since the main complaint against him in the past had been excessive fines, he wished the Governor to ask Okyenana to pay him a weekly or monthly stipend for the maintenance of 'his household and dignity' in lieu of his share of the fines imposed.

130 fnote 1886.
by his Court. Such fines were in future to be determined, collected and appropriated for the benefit of the general public so that people may not have occasion to bring false charges against him.' The King's proposal was highly significant. First, it reflected his realisation of the inevitability of his exclusive reliance on court fines and fees as a source of revenue, in view of the emancipation of his slaves and pawns. No longer would it be possible to count on gold-mining, trade or agricultural production by royal servants as a supplementary source of revenue. Second, it showed his determination, if possible, to avoid personal conflict over his judicial administration with his subjects in general, and the Christians in particular. The King's proposal anticipated by nearly half a century the Native Treasury System eventually established in 1940 by the Colonial Regime to guarantee Chiefs a permanent, reliable and regular source of income and free them from dependence on court fees.

The rejection of the King's undoubtedly innovative proposal was to drive him back to dependence upon the shrunken traditional

131. N.G.C., Mm 11/1770 Governor's interview Akyen Chiefs at Xborg 18 Feb. 1835.
132. Ibid.
sources of revenue. To meet his need for increased revenue to cope with increasing responsibilities and administrative costs, Amoako Atta I had no option but to raise court fees and other charges. Summons fee was allegedly raised to about 250 francs (£10.0.0) and the penalty for swearing ntankokoo from £10 to £14 (350 francs). In spite of these increases the majority of the people continued to bring their cases before the King's court. 134

By October 1885 Amoako Atta's authority seemed to have been firmly re-established and he now relented in his attitude towards the Christians. Death had removed Weiner in April 1885, leaving Huppenbauer as the only European Missionary in Akyen. 135 Esau Ofori who was in charge of the Kyebi district appeared to be more tactful and understanding. He permitted Christians to pay an annual levy imposed by the King to raise revenue to defray the expenses of his trial. 136 Consequently the King became conciliatory towards the Christian community at Kyebi. He invited Esau

134. Heidenbote, p.45; Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, Esau Ofori's supplement to Yearly Report for Kyebi District 29 Dec. 1886. Ofori's comment that 'The whole population of Akyen country grudgingly stand conniving at the tyrannical ruling of King Attah by heavy fine' implies that people sent their cases to the King solely out of fear. This is doubtful. The fact is that the procedures of the traditional courts were the only ones they understood.

135. Heidenbote, No.6 June 1886 p.46.

Ofori and a presbyter of the Kyebi Church to the palace on 25 October and extended a hand of friendship to them; he presented a sheep to Gyaasahene Joseph Bosompon and Chief Salomo Ampofo and restored recognition to them as councillors of his court; he even made a public declaration of his wish to live in peace with all the Christians. As a result of the King's gesture, relations between him and the Christians began to improve and the anti-Christian sentiment evoked by the re-imposition of the ban began to abate. 137

It was at this period of improved relations between the King and the Christians that the Basel Mission took the fateful decision to send Assistant Catholicist Yaw Boakye to Western Akyen Abukwa to try and open a mission station at Asson, which as shown, was very much opposed to Christianity. 138 The Basel Mission could not have sent a more objectionable person than Emmanuel Yaw Boakye. Not only was his role in the conviction and exile of the King fresh in the minds of the people but also they recalled that in 1874 he had put many Asson people into debt by accusing them of stealing his tobacco. He had also insulted the townspeople. 139

137. Heidenbote No. 6 June 1886 p. 46.
138. See pp. 145-146.
No sooner had Bonkye arrived at Asuon on 29 October 1885 with his Christian load carriers and his family to assume duty than Chief Fosuhone and Amo, okonfo of the local oboson Apean, ordered a gong-gong to be beaten to prohibit the sale of food to him and his party. After only two days in the town Yaw Bonkye was summoned before the assembly of the townspeople, and ordered to leave the village as oboson Apean 'dislike(sic) at all Christianity in our village'. Initiating the bravado of David Asante, Bonkye told Chief Fosuhone that he would only leave the town on the orders of his superiors who had sent him there. He was, however, overpowered and forcibly expelled with his family. Tired and hungry they arrived back at Kyobi on Monday 2 November.

The Basel Missionaries promptly reported the incident to the Okyenhouen and asked for an amicable settlement. Chief Fosuhone and his people thrice refused the summons of the Okyenhouen to go to Kyobi, and in the end, against the advice of the King, the Missionaries reported the matter to the Governor


through the Local Committee and called for protection. Yaw Boakye also became tired of waiting for the recovery of his personal property left behind at Asuon and went to Accra in April 1886 to apply for criminal summons against his alleged assailants.\footnote{143} His Excellency ordered the Elders of Asuon to go to Accra in May and after an enquiry came to the conclusion that Yaw Boakye was not entirely free from blame. He thought it expedient to refer the case back to the Okyenhene for an amicable settlement.\footnote{144}

In the next few months the King did his best to re-assure the Missionaries and maintain good relations with them, especially Rev. \textit{Ed} Mohr, who since the death of Huppenbauer in March, had become the leading missionary in the State.\footnote{145} In May the King invited the Missionary to dinner and furnished him with ten days supply of foodstuffs. He also allowed the Missionary to take a picture of himself, his mother and two of his wives.\footnote{146} Indeed throughout 1886 the Missionaries continued to receive grants of lands for the establishment of mission stations at Tete, Mayinam, Masse and Abyen Akropon. The King himself granted land

\footnote{143} N.I.G., Adm.11/1/3 King Anonko Atta to H.E. 1 May 1886; Paul Jenkins, Abstracts pp.660-61 Huppenbauer's letters dd. 3 Nov. 1885 and 27 July 1885.  
\footnote{144} Paul Jenkins, p.671 Mohr's Report to Basel June 1 1886.
\footnote{145} Heidemote No.6 June 1886 p.46.
\footnote{146} Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p.686 Mohr to Basel 2 May 1887; p.692 Mohr; Abstracts Aug. 1887; p.671 Mohr's Report to
for a mission station at Benso on a hilly ground only a few hundred yards from, and over looking, the royal mausoleum, the final resting place of his ancestors. The grant of the plot at Benso proved the sincerity of the King's oft-repeated statement that he was not opposed to mission work per se.

Unfortunately the Christians in Akrom Abukawa did not reciprocate the King's conciliatory gestures. Believing that Yaw Boakye had 'been made the scapegoat unfairly' they, with the encouragement of Mohr, subscribed to a fund to send a deputation of Asuon christians to Accra at the end of July to prefer charges against Chief Fosuhene. Inspite of the restoration of Yaw Boakye's property at the end of August followed by the settlement of the Asuon case by the Anuntooniens and Ankobea, Aposenaka and Kyidon early in September, the Christians remained unrelenting over the Asuon incident. Indeed the Basel Missionaries resisted the Governor's inclination to let 'the whole thing ... lie in abeyance' by pressing for the prosecution of Yaw Boakye's assailants.

147. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p.663, 673; Heidenbote No.1 1883.
148. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p.672 Mohr to District Prases 29 July 1886.
149. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/3 Anocke Atta to H.E. 9 Sept. 1886; E. Ofori to Mohr 9 Sept. 1886. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p.682 Mohr to Basel 3 Feb. 1887. Boakye's property was brought to Kyebi on 20 Aug. 1886. Except for the loss of £31.16/- and damage to a few clothes everything was intact.
From August 1886, the Christians of Kyebi took to preaching on the public streets, outside the salon, and in a nook that became a great source of provocation to the non-Christians. As recalled by Kwaku Afum later:

In their preaching they used to buse (sic) the living as well as the dead. They speak of the kings of Akim who were killed in wars with the Ashantees or otherwise betrayed and thereby not their death as if they were the worse (sic) of all Akims, knowing that the sort of preaching will only irritate the people... 150

The conduct of the Christians predictably led to a steady deterioration of relations between them and the political authorities in the state. The enforcement of the ban on work on sacred days which had been relaxed in October 1885 was revived with vigour.

On September 9, for instance, church leaders from Kyebi, Asiakwa, Agpat, and Tete informed Mohr about ominous signs of trouble and called for Government's protection. In early December 1886 Christians of Asamankese reported that they had been forbidden to work on their farms for three days in every week and for eight days after the death of any person in the town. 151

On 14 December, Mohr, accompanied by several Christian carriers from Bogoro, arrived at Kyebi where all the Mpakanfo

150. N.L.G., Adm 11/1/1095 Anoako Atta II to Col. Sec. 30 Dec. 1889.

151. N.L.G., 1415 D.C. Acara to AG. Col. Sec. 19 Jan. 1887.
and their retinues had gathered for the celebration of the annual Odwira festival. A riot occurred the next day between Mohr's carriers and the nhenkwas at Kyebi. Pandemonium broke out in the capital when the King announced the theft of gold-dust, velvet cloths and some trinkets from his treasury on the morning of 16 December. A public meeting was hastily convened at which Kwasiwaa the Okonfoe of Obosen Tutu identified Kwa-dwo Amfofo as the thief. Under torture, Amfofo and his accomplice Kwaku Kyei made statements that implicated Gyansehene Joseph Bosompet, who following the deterioration of relations between the Christians and the Chiefs, had given up his stool and returned to live on the Mission Station. Bosompet was arrested and detained with several other christians including Joshua Kwaku Adae, Emmanuel Denkyira Sarahyia, Yaw Amako and Thomas Aspaa Wasu the King's nephew. The detention of the arrested persons lasted till Saturday 26 December 1806, during which period the Christians at Kyebi suffered much privation being confined to the Mission Station and denied access to their


farms and to the rivers.

**Intervention of the Government and the King's death**

As in 1877 the use of violence against the Christians at Kyebi led to direct Government intervention in Abukwaa's internal affairs. Upon receipt of reports about the anti-Christian riots at Kyebi, Assistant Colonial Secretary, Charles D. Turton presented the Governor with a strong minute in which he described Amako Atta I as having 'reverted to what he was before he was transported to Lagos, o.i. (sic) a drunken savage barbarian...'.

Turton recommended to the Governor to stand firmly behind the Basel Mission in the interest of colonial rule. He urged:

Apart from the complaints which have been received of the manner in which this native king administers justice, and of the arbitrary way in which he treats his subjects there is a great political question at issue and that is the struggle between Christianity and [heathenism] which shall prevail...

Matters have now come to a crisis and it is for this Government to say whether Christianity with its many blessings is to be suppressed and by the

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persecution of those who belong to the Christian Churches. 157

Turton's minute typified the prejudice which colonial officials entertained against indigenous African institutions in the Gold Coast during the 1860s. 158 Christianity was viewed a priori as being superior to traditional religion. But more importantly, it was seen as an instrument of acculturation to be harnessed for the advancement of the economic and political objectives of colonialism. An Executive Meeting was called to consider Turton's recommendation to arrest the Okyenhenene and bring him to Accra under the escort of a force of Hausas led by an officer of the Constabulary. As there was no officer to spare, Mr. Simons, Registrar in the Secretariat was appointed to go to Kyebi and bring down the King and the persons accused of the theft of his money. Simons was accompanied by 'a corporal and three constables by way of adding weight to his mission.' 159

Jacob Simons arrived at Kyebi on Saturday 26 December and spent the next day interrogating the prisoners: Kwadwo Ampofo, Yaw Bekye, Kwaku Kyei, Kofi Tua, Joseph Bosompon and his mother Anna Busabena.

157. Ibid.
158. See Chapter Three pp. 170-171
The Anantooniensa felt greatly irritated by the continual intervention of the Government in the affairs of Akyen Abuakwa and in particular, the humiliation of the Okyenhene. They tried to organise resistance against the arrest of Amako Atta I by swearing the great oath of *wukunde* to prevent any one from taking him to Accra. On 30 December 1906, 20 men left secretly for Saltpond 'for the purpose of purchasing ammunition'. In the end the attempted resistance collapsed. There were two reasons for this: First, the plans of the Anantooniensa were betrayed by a Christian, Mr. Gyina, who got to know about them through his brother, a palace servant. Upon receipt of the information Simons sent an express message to the Governor that the King intended to resist 'and unless force is used he will not come to Accra'. Consequently a force of Hausas then waiting at Aburi was alerted to hold themselves in readiness to take the King by force if necessary. Second, the State lacked adequate supplies of gunpowder to sustain a long resistance. Only six men were actually seen to have 'purchased a considerably quantity of ammunition


at Saltpond on 30 December 1886. 

On 5 January Simon's escort left Kyebi with the prisoners and several Christians to await the King at Aburi. On the same day the Governor sent to order Amoako Atta to include the Anamtooniensa in his entourage for the Accra enquiry. The object of this was to avert 'any breach of peace or destruction of Christian property during the King's absence from Kyebi.' Accompanied by six of his leading chiefs and the Anamtooniensa, the Okyenhene left Kyebi with Simon for Accra on 8 January 1887.

On 20 January the Government issued a letter of Commission which set up a Commission of Enquiry to investigate the relationship between the Okyenhene and the Basel Mission since 1874. The 3-man Commission consisted of W.H. Qualye-Jones, Queen's Advocate (President), Honourable George Frank Cleland, Justice of the Peace and member of the Legislative Council, and Mr. Metcalfe Sumter Clerk, Inspector of Schools. The President received his letter of appointment on 27 January and was preparing to convene a meeting of the Commission when he was informed...

164. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1094 Sinons to Hon. Col. Sec. 6 Jan 1887.
of the King's illness by the Acting Chief Medical Officer. At 6.20 a.m. on 2 February 1907, Okyenhen Amaako Atta I died from 'exhaustion from double pneumonia'.

King Amaako Atta I's death was not only tragic. It was also inopportune, for it occurred at a time when the state of Abukwa was at a cross roads: the Emancipation Acts were seriously disturbing the social, political and economic stability of the state; an alien faith with adherents representing only 0.05% of the State's population was seeking, with the backing of the colonial regime, to impose its dogma and norms on the rest of the society; the solidarity of the royal family had been shattered by religious polarisation; the traditional system of justice was in danger of being superseded by an alien system inspite of the tacit recognition accorded to the traditional courts by the Supreme Court Ordinance of 1976. In short Amaako Atta I died at a time when the Colonial Government was actively exploiting its role as protecting power as well as its undoubted military superiority to usurp the sovereignty of Akyen Abukwa. The state could ill afford, at such a critical stage in her history, to lose a ruler who symbolised her struggle to maintain her freedom and independence against external encroachment.

166. N.L.G., Adm 11/1/3 Commission to H.E. W.E. Griffith 7 Feb. 1907. Ag. Medical Officer to Col. Sec. 2 Feb. 1907; Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p.682.
Jnoako Atta I had an abiding faith in, and deep respect for, the customs and beliefs of his forefathers. His whole reign had been one long struggle against European pretensions to moral and institutional superiority. The Okyenhenene did not hate Christianity or its agents, the Missionaries. Like his predecessor, he fully appreciated the benefits of western education which the Missionaries were introducing to his people, and he gave them every possible encouragement as attested by the Missionaries themselves. He was disposed to tolerate Christianity as one of the 'faiths' in his State, but only if it abandoned its overt and covert attempts to destroy the spiritual foundations of Akyen Abunkwa society. Jnoako Atta was also irrevocably opposed to missionary interference with his undoubted jurisdiction over his own subjects in his State.

By his death, Akyen Abunkwa lost a courageous leader and an intractable foe of imperialism while the Ghanaian public missed an opportunity to know the true and fundamental issues in the church-State controversy which had been raging in Akyen Abunkwa since 1870. Jnoako Atta I bequeathed an uneasy inheritance to his younger brother and successor, Kwasi Kuma. In the next chapter an attempt will be made to examine the impact of the King's death on the course of Akyen Abunkwa's history and Kwasi Kuma's response to the continuing pressures of colonialism and Christianity.
CHAPTER THREE

LOSS OF SOVEREIGNTY 1887-1900

At the death of Aneko Atta I the constitutional position of Akyen Abunkwa vis-a-vis the Colonial Regime was still ill-defined. Two important pronouncements made in the course of 1887 implicitly conceded the de jure sovereignty of the Protected Kings over their territories. The first made by the Colonial Office in March 1887 declared:

The term "annexation" used in relation to the G.C.C. is incorrect 'in as much as the greater portion of the Gold Coast Colony remains a Protectorate, the soil being in the hands of the natives, and under the jurisdiction of the native chiefs.

The authority of the Chiefs in their respective districts, subject to appeal to the Supreme Court of the Colony, is recognised and regulated by the "Native Jurisdiction Ordinance" No.5 of 1885.

1. J.A.C., Adn 11/1731 Colonial Office to A. Mc Arthur, M.P.
The second pronouncement was in the form of a verdict given by the Supreme Court in the case of Opon vs. Ackennie. In their judgment given on 22 October 1807, the Full Court comprising Hector McLeod, C.J. Salaman Smith and Francis Smith (Puissance Judges) upheld Defence Counsel's argument that neither Sec. 11 of the Supreme Court Ordinance (1876) nor the M.J.O. (1803) took away any jurisdiction from the Kings and Chiefs of the Protectorate. The Full Court saw in sections 11 and 12 of the Supreme Court Ordinance (1876) 'no negative words, no words of exclusion, nothing to indicate that jurisdiction other than Her Majesty's is to cease'. The judgement went on:

We see no words that lead us to think it would be inconsistent with the object of the Legislature that Her Majesty's Jurisdiction and the

2. On 6 January 1807 Jacob Opon was arrested at Abernan on the orders of Nana Akyini, King of Ekumfi for non-payment of costs by Okyafo for whom he had stood surety in a suit begun at the instance of Charter. Opon later sued Joseph Charter and King Akyini for illegal arrest and imprisonment. The D.C.'s court at Saltpond gave judgement on 25 January against the defendants and awarded £5 damages and 11/- costs. The judgement was confirmed by the Divisional Court at Cape Coast presided over by Chief Justice McLeod, but a further appeal to the Supreme Court led to the overturning of the judgement of the Lower Courts. See N.A.G., Adn 11/1/1477. Excerpts of Judgement: Appeal in Full Court from Divisional Court. Also N.A.G., Adn 11/1/1095 Chief Justice to Col. Sec. 22 March 1809.

jurisdiction of the Kings and Chiefs should be co-existent...

We are clear that the Supreme Court Ordinance has in no way impaired the judicial power of Native Chiefs and so far as we know it has not been suggested that any Ordinance has taken then away. 4

Notwithstanding these pronouncements colonial officials insisted that the British Government had acquired defacto sovereignty over the Protected Territories. Influenced by persistent missionary vilification of the traditional authorities, and by a growing sense of racial prejudice and imperialism, they had since 1830 been advocating a policy of direct rule over, and active interference in the affairs of, the Protected Territories.

In a despatch to England in January 1830 Governor Ussher proposed the appointment of District Commissioners to share direct authority in the Protected Territories with the Kings and Chiefs.

He argued:

The only road to improvement is to bring the European into contact with the natives of the interior. A certain number of District Commissioners should be appointed, whose sole charge should be, in conjunction with the native chiefs to rule certain districts, hereafter to be formed.

in nearly the same manner as they now, under the Government, rule the coastal stations. These Commissioners should be charged to sit periodical-ly with the native Kings and Chiefs of their district, in due turn explaining to them the working of the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance; seeing that justice is administered as far as may be without corruption. 5

In 1893 the Colonial Government re-enacted the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance. 6 Applied in the first instance to selected states 7 whose rulers had shown themselves amenable to colonial rule, the N.J.O. purported to define and govern the political relationship between the Colonial Government and the Protected Kings concerned. It empowered the Kings to make bye-laws with the approval of the Governor 'for promoting the peace, good order, and welfare of the people'. It 'conferred' civil and criminal jurisdiction 'in the causes and matters approved under


6. The original N.J.O. was enacted in 1878 but was never implemented.

7. The first three States to be proclaimed under the N.J.O. were: Akunpen under King Kwano Fori; Yilo (Western) Krobo under King Akrobede, and Manya (Eastern) Krobo under King Sackitey. They were proclaimed under the Ordinance on 21 August 1893. See page 172-173 for the reason for the selection of these states.
the bye-laws' and prescribed penalties for their breach. 8

The N.J.O. made the courts of the Protected Kings courts of first
instance and provided that a case heard by such courts could not
be re-heard by a D.C.'s court unless leave to appeal was granted
by the Commissioner for Native Affairs. 9

Conspicuously missing from the list of states proclaimed
under the N.J.O. was Akyen Abunkwa whose King was said to be
'probably the most powerful chief of the Protectorate'. 10

There were at least three reasons for the omission: First, the
exile of Anoako Atta I from May 1880 to March 1885 left the State
without an effective political and judicial head. Second, Govern-
ment officials, in any case, considered Anoako Atta as 'a drunken
unscrupulous man' who could not be trusted with power. 11

Third, and most important, the N.J.O. from the beginning was regarded
as a reward and a mark of favour 'granted only to Chiefs who were

8. Metcalfe, Great Britain and Ghana pp.390-393. The extent of
the criminal jurisdiction conferred was defined by section
3 of the Schedule to the Ordinance.

9. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/3 J.T.H. to Col. Sec. 20 Dec. 1891; Gold
Coast Colony Ordinances Vol. 1 1874-1892 p. 399. Clause
24 of N.J.O. (1883).

10. N.A.G., Adm 1/5/1 H.T. Ussher to Lt. Governor Griffith 15
May 1880.

recognised to be loyal and intelligent'.

In the eyes of the Government Anoako Atta I was disloyal. Therefore it was not deemed to be in the interest of the Colonial Government to boost his authority by means of the N.J.O., but rather to allow it to atrophy.

To the extent that Akyen Abunkwa remained outside the purview of the N.J.O., the major instrument of control over the Protected States, and in the light of the two pronouncements already referred to, her relationship with the Colonial Government as of 1897 remained in status quo ante. That is to say, Abunkwa's political relationship with the Colonial Government in 1897 was still at the level of an ally. Anoako Atta's death and the resultant political disarray into which the state was plunged offered the Colonial regime a unique opportunity to abrogate and usurp the Okyenhene's sovereignty.

**Reasons for Usurpation of Akyen Abunkwa's Sovereignty**

The Colonial Government's reasons for wanting to destroy the Okyenhene's sovereignty are not hard to discover. First, was

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13. See pp.227-228. Also Chapter Two.

the fact that Akyen Abunkwa held the key to the success of the
Government's policy of containment adopted towards Asante from
1874. An essential part of that policy was to give her no pre-
text whatsoever for making incursions into the Protectorate.
To a great extent this meant restraining the Protected Kings in
their dealings with Asante. The Okyenhene in particular needed
to be restrained since his intrigues with Asante dissidents and
refugees within his boundaries, as well as outside them, were a
source of irritation and provocation to the Asantehene and anxious
to the Colonial Government.

During the Sagrenti War, Okyenhene Amoako Atta I is reported
to have entered the Dwaben capital 'to attempt to detach the
King of that place from his alliance with the King of Ash-antee'
and discuss the 'migration' of the Dwaben people to Akyen
Abunkwa.\footnote{\textit{Agnes Akosua Aidoo, Political Crisis and Social Change in
Asante Kingdom 1867-1901}, UCLA Ph.D 1975 (Unpublished)}
In November 1875, following the migration of King
Asafo Agyei and a section of his people into Akyen Abunkwa, the
threat of Asante invasion of the Protectorate seemed so imminent
that Governor Strahan instructed Acting Inspector of the Constabu-
larly 'to detail two officers and 150 Roussas to proceed to
Chebbi... to act as a support to the Eastern Akins in the event
of their territory being entered by Ashantis in pursuit of
Between late 1875 and 1876 Dwanen refugees in Akyen Abuakwa attempted, with the connivance of King Anoako Atta I, to use the State as a base for war with Asante. Anoako Atta I was summoned to Accra in 1877 and ordered to disarm the Dwanen under threats of punishment while King Asafo Agyei was exiled to Lagos for persistently plotting to go to war with Asante.  

The Okyenhene's relationship with Kwawu which rebelled against Asante after the Sagrenti War did not also augur well for relations between Asante and the Protectorate. In March 1874 Okyenhene Anoako Atta I accepted Kwawu's overtures to him for protection and 'allowed them to take the Akin oaths'. In response to the Asantehene's protest that the Okyenhene was 'encouraging and assisting the Quarhoo people and others in taking up arms against the King of Ashante', the Acting Administrator C.C. Less ordered Anoako Atta I to 'at once put a stop to these proceedings... Anoako Atta I ignored the warning and continued his intrigues as a result of which some Kwawu Chiefs, especially the Obohene,
acknowledged him as their overlord. In May 1864, for instance
the Obohene and one other Chief opposed the proclamation of
Kwawu as a British Protectorate and refused to sign the Protec-
torate treaty because they 'had drunk fetish to acknowledge the
authority of the Okyanhene'.

The wrangle between Anoako Atta I and the Asantehene over
the ownership of Munronnu and Banka lands also gave the Colonial
Government cause for concern. Those lands situated between Rivers
Pra and Amun were believed to have originally belonged to the
Kokofu stool which built the villages of Munronnu, Banka and Aman-
tia on the orders of Asantehene Kwaku Dua I in about 1837 as out-
posts for watching the movements of the Akyen, and preventing
them from crossing the Pra into Asante. In 1874 the Akyen
contingent serving with Sir Garnet Wolseley's army crossed the
Pra and occupied the village of Munronnu and Banka. The Kokofu
never reconciled themselves to the loss of these villages and
Prempoh I is believed to have contemplated an expedition for their
recovery before his exile.

p.252 Ramayer to Basel 12 May 1883; N.A.G., Adm 11/1715
Treaties with Native Chiefs. The treaty was signed on 5 May
1864 on behalf of the Government by the D.C. for Bogoro Dr.
J. Spilsbury Smith, while King Beaten signed for Kwawu.

21. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/3 Ashanti Refugees and the People of Eastern
Akin. Conf.

22. Ibid
Akron Abukwa's relations with the Akon Kotoku State also endangered prospects of lasting peace with Isante. Since the Gyadan War of March 1860, the Western Akyen district had been in a state of chronic instability. From 1824 to 1860 the Kotoku, originally refugees from Isante, lived at Gyadan near Osino as guests of Ohenna Dokua and her twin sons following their evacuation of their home in Isante Akyen. In March 1860, however, they fought against their hosts and migrated to the Western extremity of Akyen Abukwa where they laid the foundations of a new state on lands freely granted to them by Osomuohon, Kwaben Gyadan. For eleven years Akyen Abukwa and Akyen Kotoku lived in a state of belligerence with Okyenhene Anokoo Atta I demanding the withdrawal of the Kotoku from the Isana lands on which their settlement of Naunaen and Isone stood. The Akanton Accord (1871) temporarily ended the State of belligerence but hostility was renewed from 1884 over the ownership of the Biren river at Naunaen and the right to collect ferry tolls. By the end of 1887 the two States were drifting towards a war that threatened to involve King Attafua's subjects living beyond the Pra.

in Asante Akyen.  

The risk of war with Asante did not only arise from Abuankwa's relations with Dwaben, Kwawu, Kotoku and Adanso. It partly arose from the political instability created by the large influx of Asante refugees who entered and lived in Western Akyen between 1883 and 1893, as a result of the civil war and succession crisis in Asante. In 1883 the Chief of Dadiase informed Governor Samuel Rowe of his rebellion against the Kokofuhano and established contact with Bosomchene Kofi Ahankora of Akyen Soadru. Dadiase subsequently joined Adanso in 1886 in her war against Belwe and Kuma, and after her defeat, the Chief and people of Dadiase crossed the Pra and entered Western Akyen as refugees. With the consent of Governor Rowe they settled at Akyen Soadru, Bronso and Nsuaen. Anxious to prevent the

24. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1094 Report by C.D. Turton on his Expedition to Western Akyen 27 July 1883 parags. 47-48; Also see pp.201-216 below.

25. See Chapter Two p. 129.

26. For details of the civil war and succession crisis see Agnes Akosun Aduo, Political Crisis and Social Change in the Asante Kingdom. Chapters 8-10.


28. N.A.G., Adm 11/1730 Firninger to Governor April 24, 1886; E.C. Barnett D.C. Cape Const to Col. Sec. April 29 1886.

civil wars in Asante from spilling over into the Protectorate, the Government prevented the Dadiase people from responding to the invitation of Kokofuhene to return to Asante and assist him in his war against Bekwai. In a message to King Attafua and King Kofi Ahenkora, in March 1837, the Government ordered the detention of the Dadiase people as they 'could not be allowed to leave for purpose (sic) of engaging in war with Ashanti tribes'.

The second reason for the policy of ending Akyen Abuakwa's sovereignty was economic stagnation arising from the State of political instability in Western Akyen. Before the migration of the Kotoku from Gyadan the route from Praso through western Akyen had been the 'shorter and more direct route' from Asante to the coast. This route was 'shorter by two or more days than the road via Prahusuc, Mansue, and Eseconanh'. The re-establishment of the Kotoku State, a long-standing foe of Asante, in western Akyen 'blocked this way' to Asante traders.

Early in 1863, for instance, Asante invaded Western Akyen as a result of the killing of an Asante slave and the mutilation of two Asante nationals in Akyen Kotoku. The insecurity of this route for


Asante traders increased from 1880 onwards when some of the Adansu people began to ill-treat 'Asantees passing on the road through [their] country and take their goods from them'.

The Colonial Government made special efforts to re-open the Akyen route to Asante traders from September 1883. Assistant Inspector Kirby of the Gold Coast constabulary was instructed to find 'a more direct route than the one generally followed' from Accra to Western Akyen. He was urged 'to find a track which led from Accra to the main road to western Akin, without passing westward along the beach and inland by Agona Swaidroo'. With the co-operation of the Agonahene, Kofi Kyinte, Mr. Kirby discovered a route which led from the Agona capital of Nsaba to Accra via Akroso, Adipon and Beula. This route brought Nsaba 'within two days' journey from Accra, instead of three and a half, as was the distance by the road... formerly taken... By January 1884 the new 113 mile long Asantia-Accra road 'via Ireebee, Gyirobi, Insuian, Accrossic, Akroso, Insabang, Quanakor, Adipong and Beula' had become a public thorough fare.

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33. N.A.C., Adn 1/9/2 Brandford Griffith to King of Adansi 14 Feb. 1881.
34. N.A.C., Adn 11/1729 Governor Rowe to Earl of Derby Jan. 12, 1884. The popular road in question went from Accra via Winnoba, Agona Swedru, Esikuma, Akyen Swedru and Brenase.
35. N.A.C., Adn 11/1729 Governor Rowe to Earl of Derby Jan. 12, 1884.
To ensure that this road stayed open, Kirby was instructed to warn Kings Attafua and Kofi Kyinto that the Government would 'not permit them to levy any tax or tolls on passing traders beyond reasonable and moderate payments for lodging'. He was also to insist that the road through their territories was 'a road of the Government, that it must be kept up in good order' in return for periodic presents from Government.  

Within only two years the flow of trade along this new route began to be interrupted by the Asante civil wars and the influx of Asante malcontents into Western Akyen. In April 1886, even before they entered western Akyen, the Dadiasehene, then at war with Bekwai and Kumase as an ally of Adanse, exhorted the Bosonchene 'to seize all Asante or other traders passing through Akin with powder, guns, lead or salt for Asante and close the road'. The presence of the Dadia in western Akyen bothered many officials as it threatened to 'stop the trade and cause the Becquays to come into the Protectorate'.  

The stagnation of trade caused the European merchants at Cape Coast to become indignant with Brandford Griffith's

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38. N.A.G., Add 11/1730 Firninger to the Governor April 24, 1886.

Administration. In a Memorial to the Manchester Chamber of Commerce in January 1867, they held the Administration responsible for the decline in trade
in consequence of no serious steps having been taken to maintain proper authority both within and on our borders; and to keep a clear highway for the trade into the interior. 40

The merchants further alleged that British influence on the Gold Coast was waning and that trade was passing to the neighbouring French and German territories 'owing to the continued depredations of the tribes on the frontier of the Gold Coast territory', a reference to Adanso refugees in Western Akwes alleged to be robbing traders from Asante. 41

The strictures on Trandford Griffith's Administration made him edgy and he responded with measures designed to stabilise the political situation in Western Akwes. In January 1867 he ordered an escort to be provided for traders from Praso in an effort to put a stop to the molestation of traders. In addition he conceived of a plan of arranging with King Anoako Atta I 'if possible for a settlement in [his] country of the Adansis who are

41. Ibil.
now in Western Ashanti. The Okyenhene’s death in February 1867 stalled the Governor’s plans. The third factor which contributed to the abrogation of Akyen Abaakwa’s sovereignty was the scramble for Africa. By 1867 it was becoming obvious that unless Britain took steps to prevent any claims likely to be staked to the interior of Ghana by France or Germany, she might be overtaken by events. Indeed it was no sheer coincidence that treaties of protection were signed with a number of interior states between 1865 and 1868.

It is clear then that by late 1867 the Colonial Government was under great pressure to strengthen its political control over the interior districts in the interest of political stability and peaceful trade. By reason of its size, resources and strategic position, Akyen Abaakwa did not only hold the key to the success of British diplomacy towards Asante, but also constituted a vital transit area for trade between the coast and the interior states of Asante, Asante-Akyen and Kwahu. The only hope of promoting peaceful trade from the interior was to

42. N.A.C., Adn 11/1731 Governor Griffith to Mr. Stanhope M.P. Jan. 14 1867.

43. The States and the dates of the conclusion of treaties of protection were as follow: Akwamu (July 1866); Kropi (June 1867); Kwamu (May 5 1868); Shum (July 3 1868). See N.A.C., Adn 11/1715 Treaties with Native Chiefs; also N.A.C., Adn 11/1727.
stabilise the political situation in western Akyen. This meant controlling the conduct of politics and diplomacy in the Akyen States and, if need be, abrogating their autonomy through the establishment of an effective 'British presence', to ward off rival imperialists.

The Assault on the Okyenhene's Sovereignty

The abrogation of Akyen Abunkwa's sovereignty was accomplished by means of a succession of steps taken by the Government between October 1887 and 1900. The first step towards limiting the Okyenhene's freedom of action and curbing the State's spirit of independence was the creation of the separate administrative district of Eastern Akin, by an order in Council dated 6 October 1887. The new district was approximately bounded on the north by Kwawu; on the south by Accra, Winneba, Saltpond and Cape Coast Districts; on the east by the Volta River District and on the west by the Akyen Kotoku State. In the last week of October, Captain H.B. Lethbridge the first District Commissioner or D.C. left Accra to take up residence at Asafo or Bogoro with instructions to 'make it known throughout Eastern Akin that a District Commissioner's court is now open for the hearing of

all cases' 45 To back the D.C's authority the Government provided him with an escort comprising one sergeant, two corporals, three lance corporals, one bugler and twenty privates besides Assistant Colonial Surgeon Dr. Spilsbury Smith and R. B. Acquay, appointed as Deputy Magistrate of the D.C's Court. 46

The second step was the imposition of a definitive settlement of the Church-State controversy in Akyen Abukwa. The death of Amako Atta I followed only three days later by that of his highest ranking Chief, Adontenhome Atta Kwaku, had a traumatic effect on the State. 47 In and around Kyebi and Kukuran-tumi pandemonium broke out as hundreds of mourners went beserk with grief, bewilderment and vindictiveness and indulged in widespread destruction of mission property. Doors and windows of chapels and private houses of the Christians were torn off. At Kyebi livestock of the Christians were shot, their farms were damaged and about 50 young coffee trees in the mission's school

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45. Ibid; also Draft of Proposed further action in Eastern Akim 26 Sept. 1887.


47. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/3 Ad Mohr and others to H.E. 9 Feb. 1887. Atta Kwaku succeeded Amaw in July 1880. His death was followed a few months later by that of Nifahene Inc. See Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, pp.615, 680.
plantation uprooted. The harmonium, altar and pulpit were burnt. Cases of torture were reported from Apedwa and elsewhere and many Christians were forced to abjure the Christian faith. At Kukurantuni thirteen doors and eighteen windows of houses on the Mission Station were removed though none of the houses were demolished; while at Bogoro the Christian community numbering 114 was seized with fear and fled into the bush within ten minutes of the arrival of royal messengers from Kyobi. Rev. Sitzler and Frau Mohr were summoned to the Bogorono's house and ordered to leave the town in eight days. Christians in Fankyeneko, Osino, Abonpe, Dwenase, etc reacted under pressure and fled towards Krobo and Akuapem; while from Anyinan, Asumafo and Abonosu about 214 Christians fled to the coast with 70 others seeking refuge at Abetifi. The damage done to property at Kyobi, Tete, Apedwa, Asumafo and Abonosu was estimated at


49. N.A.G., Ad 11/1/1094 Lethbridge to Col. Sec. 15 Feb. 1007; Queen Amba Imporfun and Chiefs Achilli, Ayinado etc. to H.E. Brandford Griffith 22 March 1007; N.A.G., Ad 11/1/3 Ad Mohr to H.E. 11 Feb. 1007.

As a result of these outbursts of anti-Christian demonstrations directed first and foremost against Rev. Ad Mohr, the Colonial Government decided on a military occupation of Akyen Abukwa to safeguard the lives and properties of the White Missionaries and their converts. A force of Gold Coast Constabulary comprising 1 officer, 56 N.C.Os and men and 32 carriers left Accra on 15 February under the command of Captain Lethbridge for Bogoro where they were joined on 23 February by a reinforcement comprising 1 officer 77 N.C.Os and men each with 50 rounds of ball ammunition, commanded by Assistant Inspector Brennan. Between 15 and 26 March Inspector Brennan accompanied by his troops held a public enquiry into the anti-Christian riots and

52. Mohr had played the leading role in causing the arrest of the King and had been indiscreet enough to predict before the Okyenhene left for Accra that he 'would never live to return to Kyebi'. See N.A.G., Adn 11/1/1094 Brennan's Report of Mission to East Akin 8 April 1907; also Adn 11/1/3 Chiefs, Ahene, Ayinaduo, Ado, Antwi Kwasi etc. to H.E. 16 Feb. 1907.
53. N.A.G., Adn 11/1/1094 Lethbridge to Hon. Col. Sec. 15 Feb. 1897; Same to Officer Commanding Detachment 3 March 1897; Brennan's Report 8 April 1907. Lethbridge's detachment escorted Mohr to Bogoro. As it went through Akyen it rescued other Mission Agents - Tabi of Tumfa, Essau of Bogoro and Tete of Asialwa. (See Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, pp.684-5) The total strength of the force under Brennan's command was 139 including 2 Assistant Inspectors, 1 Assistant Colonial Quartermaster (Quartery Papafio) and 17 Gunners.
condemned Okyeman for taking the law into their own hands. Five
Hundred pounds was demanded from the State as compensation for
Mission property damaged or looted; the state was further ca-
led upon to execute a bond in the sum of £2,000 (later reduced
to £1,000) as a guarantee of their future good behaviour towards
the Christian community, and to exempt the Christians from the
obligations of certain customary taboos, especially the ban on
work on sacred days. In addition, Brennan arrested several per-
sons against whom specific complaints had been made by the Chri-
stians and committed them for trial in Accra. 54

Brennan's enquiry can hardly be said to have been conducted
with fairness and impartiality. First, he admitted having found
no substance in the allegation of discriminatory laws against
Christians. He reported that

no cases of the instituting of fetish laws for the
purpose of extorting money from the Christians have
been brought to my notice, nor have I heard of any. 55

nor did he obtain proof of the charges of heavy and extortionate
fines. The 'only instance of a heavy fine having been levied
by the late King' that was brought to his notice was the fine of
£40 imposed on Eliezer Saranhyia of Akyen Akropon in December

55. Ibid parag. 30.
for the treasonable conduct of his nephew. 56 Obviously
the Christians were either too afraid to substantiate their
charges or were telling palpable lies.

On the other hand, Brennan found the charges of Christian
insolence and provocative conduct not without substance. He
reported:

In concluding this Report, I would most respect-
fully, beg to state that, the German Missionaries
apparently exercise an undue amount of influence
in some of those out-of-the way parts: not always
confining themselves to their calling. This toge-
ther with the domineering manner of the Christians,
has created a very bad feeling. 57

This opinion was also shared by Captain H.R. Lethbridge. He
remarked:

Hitherto the German Missionaries and their converts
seen to have constituted themselves as judges in
cases of dispute. The Natives could get no redress
here and feared taking their case to Accra. 58

56. *Ibid* parag. 29. *Saranhyia's* 12-year old nephew made an
utterance equivalent to Ntankokoo on the occasion of the
arrest of his uncle by the Okyenhene in December 1896.
Saranhyia was fined £35.10.0 and when he escaped the fine
was recovered from his relatives. Together with interest
the family's debt came to nearly £40.0.0 see N.A.G., Adm
11/1/1094 Mohr to H.L. Rottmann 15 May 1897.

Emphasis added.

58. *N.A.G.,* Adm 11/1/1097 Lethbridge to Ag. Col. Sec. 2 May
Under the circumstances it was strange that the Christians were not strongly rebuked publicly and also made to enter into a bond to be of good behaviour.

Second, the compensation demanded was in excess of the estimate of the damage caused. The estimate prepared by Rev. Mohr on 13 March 1887 put the total cost of damage caused at Kyobi, Abonosu, and Asunafo at £60.7.6 after taking into account lost property returned. Under the circumstances the total amount of £540 which appears to have been exacted from the Chiefs and people of Akyen Abukwa was unjustified. The imposition of the fine on the entire state was also indiscriminate and arbitrary, in the face of abundant evidence that the attacks on Christian property were the work of certain... 

59. N.I.G., Adm 11/1/1094 Appendix to Bromman's Report & April 1887; Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p.699 Ressler to Basel 30 June 1887. Of the amount Chief Danse of Abonosu was personally held responsible for £46.17.0 of which £40 seems to have been recovered later as damages in a suit filed in the supreme court.

60. It is clear from the records that the whole amount of £500 was eventually collected. By May 26, three instalments of £27.19.0, £171.0.0 and £211.16.0 had been paid. In August Lethbridge proposed to return £100, apparently the excess, to the State but this was opposed by Mohr on the ground that the money so returned was likely to be shared by the Chiefs instead of its being refunded to the actual contributors. There is no record of the refund ever being made. The total amount disbursed out of the compensation at a Conference at Bagoro in settlement of claims was roughly £422.0.0 which may be taken as the actual cost of damage. N.I.G., Adm 11/1/1094, Adm 11/1/3 Reports of Bromman and Lethbridge; J.J.N., Abstracts, p.695, Station's Conference
identifiable groups of people.

Lethbridge ascertained at Kukurantuni on 15 February that the damage done to houses on the local Mission Station had 'been done by the people of Osun [Og securities and Taffo and not by the people of Kukurantuni". 61 Chief Poasa of Tafo and his elders did not deny the charge and promised to retrieve and return the lost properties. 62 At Begoro Lethbridge inspected the Mission Station on his arrival and 'found no damage whatever had been done to it'. The only missing property, a few cattle belonging to the Mission, had been seized by people from Kyebi. Chief Kwasi Antwi was commanded on the restraint shown by his people and told that His Excellency would be pleased 'to hear that his people during his absence [at Kyebi] had respected the Christian property'. 63 In view of all this the imposition of the fine on the whole state and its collection in 30/- units from all and sundry was most unjust. This mode of punishment was criticised even by Mohr as inequitable. 64

61. NA.G., Adm 11/1/1094 Lethbridge to Col.Sec. 15 Feb. 1007.
62. NA.G., Adm 11/1/1094 Lethbridge to Officer Commanding 3 March 1007.
63. NA.G., Adm 11/1/1094 Lethbridge to Col.Sec. 18 Feb. 1007; Same to Breman 3 March 1007; See also NA.G., Adm 11/171 Talavera Books.
There is also evidence that Brennan's mind was already made up to punish the State even before he began his enquiry. In a letter to the Governor written after a preliminary meeting with Gyanasehene Ayinadu and the Kyebi Executive Council on the morning of his arrival at Kyebi, he intimated his intention 'to exact the amount of the estimated damage and also a guarantee of about £2,000 for their future good behaviour'. The amount of £2,000 was to be forfeited in the event of the State 'not complying with my stipulations', but to be returned at the discretion of the Government 'should they prove by their future conduct, their good faith'. Brennan's letter ended:

In the event of their being unable to pay this sum, I purpose (sic) detaining, as hostages, some of the most influential chiefs until the amount is forthcoming. The feeling against the Christians is decidedly hostile, and unless some guarantee as above mentioned is exacted, the Christians would not be able to return here with safety.\(^65\)

It seems clear then that Brennan intended his enquiry to be a mere window dressing hiding his pre-meditated object of black-mailing the traditional authorities into guaranteeing the Christians against future molestation on the latter's own

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\(^{65}\) H.I.G., 1\text{st} 11/1/1094 Ass. Insp. George Brennan to Hon. Col. Sec. 17 March 1897.
terms. 66

Although neither Brennan, Lethbridge or Governor Griffith
admonished the Basel Missionaries and their Christian converts
publicly for their provocative, indiscreet and intolerable beha-
viour, His Excellency minced no words in reprimanding Mohr in
private. In a letter to the Basel Mission Society's headquarters
in Osu, he blamed the troubles in Akyen Abua'wa on Mohr's 'lack
of calm judgement and... tact', and suggested that he be trans-
ferred out of the State. As in the case of David Asante a
decade earlier, he warned that if Mohr remained at Begoro or
elsewhere in Akyen Abua'wa, he would be doing so 'at his own
peril' since the Hausas could not be detained in the State inde-
finitely for his protection. 67

After the withdrawal of the Hausas from the State Akyen
Abua'wa remained as uncompromising as ever in her attitude
towards the Basel Mission. 68 Ohonaa Anna Ampofoa was

66. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1094 Chas. D. Turton to Rev. Steiner and
others, 11 April 1887.

67. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1094 Chas D. Turton to Rev. Paul Steiner
and others 11 April 1887.

68. Brennan left Kyebi for Accra on 6 April with the greater
part of the force leaving Lethbridge behind at Begoro with
30 N.C.Os and men to obtain the signatures of the Mpakanfo
to the peace Bond and collect the balance of the fine. At
the end of May the rest of the Hausas returned to the coast
leaving Lethbridge with a mere handful of Hausas. See
N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1094 Brennan to Col. Sec. 2 April 1887;
Brennan's Report 3 April 1887; Paul Jenkins, Abstracts,
p.608 Mohr to Basel 5 June 1887.
determined to prevent an unconditional return of the Christians to Kyebi, and in a petition to Lethbridge supported by Banso and the Amamtooniensa villages, she made the banning of Christians from re-entry into Kyebi or the annulment of the order guaranteeing then exemption from the observance of the age-long customary taboos of the state a condition of the election of a successor to Anoako Atta I. 69

Following the creation of the administrative district of 'Eastern Ahm', the Government decided to resolve the stalemate in the church-state controversy by imposing a final and definitive settlement. The settlement embodied in the 'Public Announcement' read by D.C. Lethbridge at a public meeting of all the Mpakonfo and the Christians held at Kyebi 3 November recalled all Christians in exile under a Government guarantee of protection. 70

69. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p.600 Mohr to Basel 5 June 1887; p.695 Rossler's Report 6 Oct. 1887. By August 1887 the 'Peace Bond' remained unexecuted as the Chiefs of Abonosu, Wamkyi, Osamase and Akyense ignored orders to go to Kyebi to sign it. The Chiefs whose signatures were sought were Tawahene Dacco Ababio, Oseawuphene Kwabena Atwera, Osamasehene Kwa鼎 Gyasi, Gyasehene Kwabena Lyinadu, Nifahene Kwaku Amo, Benkumhene Kwasi Intwi, Regent Agyen of Kukurnantuni and Kwadwo Danso of Abonosu. See N.A.G., Adn 11/1/1094 Col. Sec. to Brennan 2 April 1887; Bond signed by Abuakwa Chiefs 3 April 1887.

70. Lethbridge arrived at Kyebi to assume duty on 1 November 1887. On 31 October some 200 Christians had arrived at Kyebi accompanied by Revs. Eisenschmid and Rosler. To mark their triumphant return they 'rang the chapel bell and fired guns'. To avert a clash, they withdrew from Kyebi for a few days and reappeared on 3 November. See N.A.G., Adn 11/1/1095 Lethbridge to Col. Sec. 4 Nov. 1887 Conf. No.3.
It also, inter alia, abolished the taboos which the Christians considered to be intolerable to the 'Christian conscience', and guaranteed all the peoples of the state free access to all rivers 'for all proper purposes', and the right to plant and eat afase (water yam) and all edible vegetables. It was also made lawful to keep pigs in the State as long as they remained in styes and were not allowed to stray. The Ahenfo were furthermore called upon to refund the bail money of £126.2.6 paid on behalf of Joseph Bosonpon by the Christians in December 1866.  

The third step taken by the Colonial regime towards the subversion of Akyen Abuakwa's sovereignty was to intimidate the state into electing a successor to Amoako Atta I under terms dictated by it. As part of the State's defiance of the colonial regime, Omenaa Anna Ampofoan caused the indefinite postponement of the funeral of Amoako Atta I and thereby prolonged the vacancy on the stool. In the absence of an acknowledged political head, authority in the State remained diffuse making it virtually

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71. N.A.G., Adn 11/1/3 Decision of the Government upon various matters submitted to His Excellency 11 October 1907; N.A.G., Adn 11/1/1094 General Instructions to the D.C. Eastern Akin 11 Oct. 1907. For details of the arrest of Joseph Bosonpon see Chapter Two pp.160-162. Judgement was given in the theft case against Bosonpon in May by the Supreme Court. He was acquitted and awarded £25 damages against Oky芬an. The state was represented by Lawyer Moss and the Basel Mission by Mr. Bannerman. See Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p.606 Mohr to Basel 2 May 1907; p.603 Rottmann to Basel 11 May 1907; N.A.G., Adn 11/177 White's Interview with Akyen Messengers 6 Oct. 1907.
impossible to hold any single individual responsible for law and order in the state at large. The D.C.s instructions required him, after the reading of the Public Announcement, to persuade the chiefs and people of the state to elect a successor to the late King. The Kingmakers were not, however, in the mood to oblige the Government as long as it stuck to the Public Announcement and guaranteed the Christian minority the right to violate the most cherished customs and beliefs of the non-Christian majority, and by implication, to repudiate the spiritual and, ipso facto, the political authority of the Okyenhene and his Chiefs.

When Omena Ampofoaa asserted Akyen Abuakwa's sovereignty and bluntly refused to obey the injunctions of the Public Announcement, Lethbridge thought the time had come to make an open assertion of the British claim to sovereignty over Abuakwa:

I informed the Queen-mother that Eastern Akin forms a portion of the Gold Coast Colony and belongs to Her Majesty the Queen of England who is represented by His Excellency the Governor of the Gold Coast Colony and that Her Majesty has ordered through His Excellency the Governor that all Christians are to be allowed to return to Eastern Akin and therefore have every right to do so.72

Omena Anna Ampofoaa of course rejected the British claim of sovereignty and became irritated by the D.C.s statement that she was

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72. N.D.G., Adm 1097 Lethbridge to Col. Sec. 4 Nov 1897 Conf. 3.
'powerless to refuse to obey the Governor's orders'. She left the meeting immediately and unceremoniously with her son, Kwasi Kuma, and retinue, shouting defiantly as she went: 'We will not allow the Christians to remain here and we refuse to obey the orders of the Queen of England'.

Lethbridge's claim of British sovereignty over Akyen Abualoe was false and baseless, and in direct contradiction of the Colonial Office's statement of March 1887 already referred to.

The U.C.'s claim was typical of the inconsistency that characterised British policy towards the Protected Kings at this time. Lethbridge's response to the challenge from Ohenna Anpofea was to have recourse to intimidation. He refused, rather arbitrarily and erroneously, to recognise the Ohenna as having any authority in the State, and threatened to hold the principal chiefs collectively responsible for any trouble in the State as long as there was no King. He also made recognition of a new Okyenhene by the Government conditional upon his agreement to acknowledge himself to be under the D.C.'s 'immediate orders as the representative of His Excellency the Governor'. Lethbridge's bluff worked.

Frightened by the prospect of being held liable for the full amount of the 'Peace Bond' which they had signed only two months

73. Ibid.
74. See p.168.
75. N.A.G., Adn 1097 Lethbridge to Col. Sec. 5 Nov. 1887 Conf.... No.5... No.10
before for the good behaviour of the state, the principal chiefs
complied with Lethbridge's demand for the election of a new King
on his terms. 76

The most fatal blow dealt to the sovereignty of Akyen Abun-
kan was concealed in the oath of loyalty that was administered
to the Okyenhene-elect, Kwasi Kuma, on the morning of 6 November
by the D.C. The oath read:

I swear before the District Commissioner that I an
under British Laws and will obey whatever instruc-
tions are given to me by the D.C. from the Governor
and the same will be duly executed as I am in the
room of the late Amoako Atta. 77

After taking the above oath the Okyenhene-elect was made to
sign a declaration to obey all the instructions of the Governor
'contained in Public Announcement and all other orders which may
be sent to me from time to time by His Excellency the Governor.' 78

76. There were two candidates for the succession, Kwasi Kuma,
younger brother of Amako Atta. I and Kwabena Dente, their
16-year old nephew. Rosler believed Dente to be favoured
by the majority of the electors and attributed his failure
to win the nomination to the evil influence of Chenaa
Amofoa and her daughter Kyerewana. It must be pointed out
however, that in insisting on the nomination of her son,
Kwasi Kuma, the Chennaa was merely adhering to an immemorial
custom which laid it down that brothers or cousins must
take precedence over nephews in matters of succession;
(Nniwaa paa nasuaye a wofase mii adee). See Paul Jenkins
Abstracts, p.690 Rosler to Basel 30 June 1837; p.695 Mohr's

77. N.A.G., Adm 1097 Lethbridge to Col.Sec. 6 Nov. 1837 Conf. 6
Emphasis added.
As a 'mark of recognition of his having been placed on the
throne' the Governor sent one piece of silk, one European cane
and £25 to King Anoako Atta II. Simultaneously he received 'a
warrant under His Excellency's hand proclaiming Aquasi Kuma King
of Eastern Akin'. 79

Between then the Public Announcement, the oath of loyalty
and the 'warrant' of proclamation, practically ended Akyem
Abuakwa's political autonomy. The first definitively resolved
the church-state controversy which had been raging in Akyem
Abuakwa since the 1870s in favour of the Basel Mission. By the
beginning of 1880 the church-state controversy had become a dead
issue. Henceforth it was the Governor, rather than the Okyenhene,
who was to determine the permissibility or otherwise of religious
practices and beliefs in the state of Akyem Abuakwa. 80 The
second and third were no less far-reaching in their effect. By
swearing the oath of loyalty and signing a declaration to obey
all instructions and orders from the Governor, the Okyenhene
implicitly gave up his status as an ally and acknowledged him-
self as a vassal and subject of the British Crown; while his
acceptance from the Governor of a warrant proclaiming him King
also implied that his right to rule had ceased, de facto, to be
inherent in his stool and become derived from an external source.

1067.
namely the British Government. **Ipsi facta**, it offered the Colonial Government strong grounds for interfering in the internal affairs of the State.

Henceforth Akron Abukwa became exposed to a more direct official interference, while the Okyenhene was rendered liable to removal from office for violation of his oath of loyalty, and written commitment, a threat which, like the sword of Donocles, was effectively used by the Governor to restrain the Okyenhene's political conduct. The circumstances of Amoako Atta II's election and confirmation established a precedent which contributed in no small measure to the passing of the chiefs' Act of 1904 under which the Governor assumed the power of granting or withholding recognition from a newly-elect chief in the Colony. From there it was but a short step to Government's assumption of power to suspend or depose chiefs under the 1910 Amendment of the N.J.C. Finally the swearing of an oath of allegiance to the Governor through the D.C. at Ksyezi established a precedent that was followed by Amoako Atta III and Ofori Atta I.

The next step, the fourth in the series, taken towards the subversion of Abukwa's sovereignty was the elimination of all remaining pockets of resistance to ensure that the fiat

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81. See N.A.C., Adm 11/1/424; N.A.C.K., Adm 29/6/32 History of Legislation parag. 51(h).
82. N.A.G., Adm 1097 Amoako Atta III to D.C. 16 April 1911.
of the Government was respected throughout the state. This step was to culminate in the Government's take-over of the ferry and lands adjoining the Biren river at Asuon and the deportation of Oseawuchene Kwabena Atwere, easily the most influential chief and a sworn foe of colonialism. The first show of resistance to the steady encroachment of colonialism on Akyen Abunkwa was put up in October 1807 by the people of Asuon, who demonstrated open contempt of the Supreme Court during the interregnum.

Inspite of the despatch of several messengers from the Court the fine of £50 imposed on the town of Asuon in January 1807 for contumacious conduct in connection with the assault on Yaw Boakye remained unpaid by October. Kwadwo Fobi and Apea Yebon of Asuon continued to ignore the demand for the payment of fines imposed on them by the Chief Justice in a suit brought against them by Yaw Boakye.

The instructions of the newly appointed D.C. required him to go to Asuon first to execute a Supreme Court warrant for the arrest of the two judgement debtors. He arrived at Asuon on 26 October to find the townspeople in conference with their chief


Fosuhene Apenten. As he entered the town the assembly broke up but the men returned shortly afterwards with guns hurriedly fetched from their houses. They paraded the streets in large numbers shouting that if the District Commissioner 'had come for the purpose of demanding money they would fight before they would allow any to go out of the town'. In view of the hostile demonstration and the inadequacy of his force the District Commissioner decided to withdraw and ask for reinforcements. He wrote to the Colonial Secretary:

If I have to arrest these men I shall be compelled to ask His Excellency to send up reinforcements as there is every chance of my meeting with armed resistance and I saw at Asuon that the force I have with me is insufficient to cope with the numbers which would be brought against me.

Without the backing of the entire state, chief Fosuhene realised that resistance would be futile. He collected and paid the fines to the District Commissioner and with that the Asuon 'rebellion' collapsed.

The second show of resistance by the Oseawuo division proved to be a tougher nut to crack. In essence, the rebellion of Oseawuohene Kwabena Atwere was a protest against the mounting pressures of colonial rule as manifested by the progressive decline

05. M.A.G., Aid 11/1/1097 Lethbridge to Col. Sec. 4 Nov. 1097,
Conf. No. 2

06. Lethbridge to Col. Sec. 20 Nov. 1097
of the economic and political power of the traditional ruling class in the Protectorate.  

Born at Obogu, probably in 1840, during the captivity of his mother in Assante, Kwabena Atwere, an Odchye of the Wankyi stool, returned to Akyem after the proclamation of the Gold Coast Colony, and succeeded to the Wankyi stool in May 1864 following the death of his grandfather Kwaku Mena.  

Atwere's enstoolment coincided with the boom in rubber trade which by 1864 was turning the Kotoku capital of Nsuaen into an important crossroads and market town. Traders in rubber travelling inland from the coast regularly passed through Akyem Swedru and crossed the Birén at Nsuaen. Kotokuhene, Attafua I exploited the situation to advantage by operating a ferry over the Birén which brought him an estimated annual revenue of between £100-£200.  

Soon he began to show signs of affluence and in 1866

87. For a discussion of this see Chapter Five.


89. There was disagreement between Atwere and Attafua about the amount of revenue derived. Atwere estimated the average number of traders who used the ferry daily at 30, and the daily takings between £1 and 5/-.

Attufua's estimate of annual takings was £4. This is obviously a gross underestimate for at the existing rate of 6d per crossing charged by other nearby ferries, the daily takings would average 10/- - 15/- a day i.e. about £100-£100 a year. (See N.A.G., Adn 11/1771 Governor's interview 6 Jan. 1800; N.A.G. Adn 11/1771 Governor's interview 6 Jan. 1800; Turton to Col.
began the construction of a new palace.

The Oseawuohene looked on with justifiable envy. As already pointed out his stool did not only own the Asona lands on which the Kotoku State had been rehabilitated. It also owned the Biren which was enriching Attafun. Naturally Kwabena Atwere decided to stake a claim for an equal share of the ferry revenue. In 1867 he did so amid mounting indebtedness of the Wankyi stool caused partly by his own castoffrent expenses and partly by the expenses incurred in February 1867 in connection with the funeral of King Amoako Atta I and the anti-Christian riots. Atwere's claim for a share of the Nsuaen ferry revenue was in line with established custom and precedent. Until 1864 when the chief use of the Biren river was for fish and crabs, portions of the catch made by Kotoku subjects were regularly given to the Wankyi stool as a token of recognition of its ownership of the Biren.

Unfortunately King Attafun showed unwillingness to extend this customary arrangement to the revenues of the Nsuaen ferry. In April 1867 the Oseawuohene lodged a formal complaint with Governor Griffith shortly before he left for England on leave.

90. See page Seven
91. Atwere was the chief entrusted with the conveyance of Amoako Atta's corpse from Accra to Kyebi and one of the signatories of the Peace Bond. Oseawu's share of £50 out of the fine of £500 imposed by Brennan was paid personally by Atwere for which he was not reimbursed.
92. N.A.G., Adn 11/1/1095 Governor Griffith's interview with
Lethbridge received instructions during his short residence in Akyen Abuakwa as D.C. to endeavour to settle the dispute but was unable to do so. 93 Atwero met Governor Griffith again on the matter in Accra on 6 January 1838 as a result of which Dr. Spilsbury Smith the new D.C. for Akyen Abuakwa was instructed to try and resolve the dispute. 94 The D.C. not the two rulers at Nsuen on 4 April 1838 but Attafu remained adamant in his refusal to agree to 'any division of the profits of the ferry with the Chief of Wankie'. He rather preferred the Government to resettle him and his people elsewhere. Pending a decision on this request and a final settlement by the Governor, the D.C. requested the two rulers to execute bonds in the sum of £500 each to keep the peace for 12 months. 95

Governor Griffith refused to consider Attafu's request for the resettlement of his people as it would have involved the abandonment of 'a territory extending a distance of from 30 to 40 miles, North to South, with a population upon it of about 14,400', and the desertion of 'all the towns, villages, and plantations now upon it' which would have brought 'ruin to a thriving

95. N.A.G., Adn 11/1/1095 D.C. Eastern Akim to Ag. Col. Sec. 4 April 1838...
and prosperous people'.  

A third attempt was made to resolve the dispute with the departure of Assistant Colonial Secretary, Mr. Charles Denneth Turton, for Western Akyen on 25 April 1883. Turton's meeting with representatives of the two rulers at Meseaso on 8 May broke up in confusion and achieved nothing.

War between Abua and Kotoko now seemed imminent but Atwere did not intend it to be just a local war. He intended it to be a rebellion against the colonial government as well. Ever since his meeting with D.C. Spilsbury Smith at the beginning of April Kwabena Atwere had lost faith in the Colonial Government's sense of justice and fair play and was determined to repudiate its authority. He accused the D.C. of bias against his stool and told him as he passed through Wankyi to Begoro on 5 April that 'he would never allow his people to come to Begoro if [the D.C.] wanted them at [his] court'.

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96. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1094 Report by C.D. Turton on his Expedition to Western Akyen 17 July 1883; N.A.G., Adm 11/1/732 W.B. Griffith to Lord Knutsford May 17 1883. In 1883 Akyen Kotoko state comprised 39 towns with a total population of 40,440 distributed as follows:

- 12 towns with a population of 14,300 between Soaband and Biron (i.e. Wankyi lands).
- 14 towns with a population of 13,520 between Biron and Pra.
- 13 towns with a population of 12,540 in Asante Akyen (i.e. North of the Pra). See N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1095 Turton to Col. Sec. 5 May 1883.

Atwere was no less defiant towards the Assistant Colonial Secretary. Before the appearance of his representatives before Turton at Moscase on 2 May, the Osawuohene had already sent Turton a message that he would not be satisfied with any decision short of recognising his ownership of the Biren and its adjoining lands and expelling the Kotoku. 98 The Wankyi representatives appeared before Turton on May 3 looking 'sullen, insolent and irritating' and as they left the nouting they 'defied the Government' and the Kotoku shouting that they would seize the Biren and expel the Kotoku from Wankyi stool lands. 99

Even before Turton's arbitration, Atwere had started preparing for war. On 1 May he sent messengers to Kyebi to request reinforcements after negotiating a secret alliance with Bosomahene Kofi Ahenkora and purchasing large quantities of powder, guns and lead from Saltpond. 100 Friendly Kotoku towns like Kusi were given adequate notice to evacuate their villages which lay on the line of march of the incoming reinforcements to avoid harm 'because it [i.e. the impending war] was only a palaver in

98. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1095 Turton to Col. Sec. 2 May 1893.
100. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1095 Turton to Col. Sec. 5 May 1893.
which white men were concerned’. Clearly then what had
started as a local misunderstanding was growing into a rebellion
against the colonial Government. Indeed by 9 May a large Abun-
kwa force including men from Kyebi had taken up a position on
the northern (Wankyi) side of the Biron 'within 2 hours journey
of Insuiani’.

Turton was greatly agitated by the prospect of an Abunkwa-
Nsuaen war. First it was unlikely to remain localised. Atta-
fua’s subjects beyond the Pra in Asante-Akyem had begun prepara-
tions to march south to assist their King and had been barely
restrained at the request of Turton. Second, it was not
inconceivable that the Asante would seek to fish in troubled
waters by making common cause with the rebellions Oseawuohene
in an effort to enter the Protectorate in pursuit of Adansehene
Kwaku Nkansa then residing at Hoaba and in furtherance of his
ambition to regain Kwa. Atwere’s pro-Asante sympathies
could not be ignored. As a young man living at Obogu, he had
joined the Obogu army in resisting Captain Glover’s contingent

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101. N.A.G., Adn 11/1/1095 Statement of Effa of Kusi 15 May 1900
102. N.A.G., Adn 11/1/1094 Report by C.D. Turton on his Expedi-
tion 17 July 1900.
103. N.A.G., Adn 11/1/1094 Report by C.D. Turton on his Expedi-
tion 17 July 1900. See also p.206 fn.96
104. N.A.G., Adn 11/1/1094 Report by C.D. Turton 17 July 1900;
See also p.181.
when en route to Kumase in 1873. He was likely to welcome an alliance with Asante in an effort to overthrow colonial rule in Akyem Abuakwa. In view of the gravity of the situation, Turton decided to act fast and decisively by adopting pre-emptive measures. On May 13, he personally accepted from Attafun the transfer of ownership of the Nsuaen ferry 'together with the land abutting on each bank' of the Birem and measuring 600 feet by 200 feet. Attafun sought by the transfer to ensure that the ferry at Nsuaen did not fall under the control of his enemy but remained available to his subjects of Nsuaen for crossing to their farms on the northern side of the river.

The take-over of the Birem at Nsuaen and its adjoining lands was yet another link in the chain of acts of injustice perpetrated against Akyem Abuakwa by the Colonial regime. It provides further illustration of the arbitrariness of colonial officials in the 19th century. In the first place the action amounted to expropriation as there was no shadow of doubt about Wankyie stool's ownership of those lands, a fact which, given the will and a little diligence, the Colonial Government could have ascertained. The fact that Attafun asked to be resettled should

105. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1095 Turton to Col. Sec. 25 March 1890; Statement by Kwabina Kesse of Insuian 24 July 1890.

have been enough evidence that the lands occupied by his people around Nsuaem did not belong to them. Indeed in 1893, King Atta-fua himself, in a petition to the Government asking for leave to return to resettle in Asante-Akyen, admitted that 'the lands on which many of his towns were built did not belong to him'.

In spite of careful enquiries made by Hull in January 1894, he 'could not discover that the Kotokus owned any of the land which they occupied. His report read in part:

I do not believe..., that the land was ever sold to them, and at the present moment I an almost certain that the land on which Insulain stands belongs to Wanki.

Indeed it was not until after 1911 that the Kotoku negotiated for the purchase of the Wankyid Stool lands occupied by them. To have accepted the transfer of the river and its adjoining lands from someone who had no title to them was tantamount to aiding and abetting fraud.

Throughout the negotiations the Colonial Government tolerated the intransigence of King Atta-fua and rather put pressure on Atware to remit his claims or make concessions. It is difficult, for instance, to understand why the Colonial Government failed to appreciate the logic of Atware's argument that the

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1/1126 Hull to H.E. Governor 22 Jan. 1894.
Wankyi stool, as lawful owner of the Biren river, was entitled to at least part, if not the entire revenue, accruing from the ferry operation in much the same way as Attafuwa took tolls from traders crossing the Pra by virtue of his claim to ownership of that river. One can only conclude that British policy in this matter was not dictated by a sense of justice and fair play but by political expediency. In his obsession with the maintenance of stability in western Akyen it did not matter to the Governor if the property rights of the Wankyi stool were infringed.

As part of the pre-emptive measures adopted by Turton, he requested and received a detachment of the Constabulary consisting of about 256 men on May 10. Two days later Assistant Inspector Brennan led his troops into Wankyi to arrest Atware and his principal collaborators - Asonuhene Posuhene and Abonosuhene Kwadwo Danse - but found the town 'crowded with armed men' who were prepared to resist him by arms. The three Ahenfo refused to obey his order to accompany him to Accra and Brennan considered it expedient to retreat to Nsuenen. His report recognised the crisis for what it was: a rebellion against the colonial Government. It read in part:

It is not a case merely of a threatened breach of the peace, but of an insurrection against the government, and the sooner the government takes immediate steps to provide an adequate force to quell the insurrection, the better. 110

On 22 May Turton sent an urgent telegram to Governor Griffith "requiring all the available efficient Hausas who could be sent to him". He estimated that the Osawuoboe had in his village between 2,000 and 3,000 armed men 'who showed every desire to fight, while more Eastern Akins were coming in hourly...". 111 The Governor wasted no time in making arrangements for 'all the available trained Hausas that there were remaining on the coast to proceed to Mr. Brennan's assistance'. 112 Seventy-five men went down to Winneba by the steamship "Lagos" from Accra on the morning of 25 May and marched to Nsuen by 4.30 p.m. the same day. At midnight on the same day sixteen men left Elmina for Nsuen to increase the strength of the British force at Nsuen to 347. Further reinforcements consisting of seventy two N.C.Os and men arrived on 29 May to raise the number of Hausas and carriers under Brennan's command to 419. 113


111. N.G., Adm 11/1732 W.B. Griffith to Lord Knutsford June 1 1900.

112. Ibid.

113. Ibid.
With the strength of his army nearly doubled, Assistant Inspector Brennan marched on Wankyi by the Mosaso road and seized the canoe at the Wankyi ferry to ferry his troops. Having entered the town which was virtually deserted, he assembled the few inhabitants that he found and after allowing them sufficient time to evacuate, set the town ablaze. Kwabena Atwere left his headquarters at Adankrono for Accra to protest to the Governor about the burning of his town but was arrested on June 9 and detained in Ussher Fort as a political prisoner, his only offence being his attempt to defend his ancestral lands against usurpation. A warrant for Atwere's detention was passed by the Legislative Council on 1 August 1893, and after two months temporary detention at Elmina, he was sent off in the "Shebro" to Lagos where he was later joined by his wife Adwoa Akadaiwaa. He remained in exile till August 1894.

The Nsuaen ferry crisis of 1893 was the most effective and widespread demonstration against the pressures of colonial penetration into Akyem Abuakwa. It offered the state a unique opportunity for a state-wide uprising. That the state failed to

take advantage of it was due principally to the lack of effective leadership and direction at the centre. From the very beginning Aseako Atta II encouraged Atwero in his rebellion until he lost his nerve. By 9 May a force from Kyebi was already at Wankyij and was followed by forces from Asuon, Aboresu, Kado, Adankrono and elsewhere in the Osuawuo division. The Akyeasehene also received the Okyenhene's orders to block the route from Nsuen to the Fante coast to prevent arms and powder from reaching the Kotoku state. The Abuakwa forces were building a camp near Gyadan Birongo when the Okyenhene yielded to threats from Governor Griffith and sent messengers on 23 May to recall his troops and order the others to disperse. On 24 May the Asuonhene and Aborosuhene returned to their towns. 116

The collapse of the rebellion was also due in part to the excessive decentralisation of the Abuakwa army which left mobilisation and discipline largely to the whims and caprices of individual chiefs. Apart from a small force from Kyebi, the four remaining wing chiefs appear to have given little or no support to the Osuawuo division. Turton made a perceptive observation when he wrote: 'Our strength is because they have not united action - Each chief being a leader'. 117 Kwabena Atwero's attempted defiance of the Colonial Government failed not for want

117. N.A.C.; Adm 1/1/1095 Turton to Evans (Private) 3 June 1903.
of energy, courage or commitment but for want of active and
determined involvement of the whole state. He was a skilful
military commander and, as Turton conceded, 'no fool in military
tactics'.

With the exile of Kwabena Atwere colonial rule in Akyem
Abuakwa for all practical purposes became a fait accompli.
First, it removed from the state one of the most determined and
inplacable foes of colonialism, a man whose 'capacity' to sub-
vert colonial rule was 'only limited by opportunities and the
force under his control'. Second, it precluded the possibili-
ity of an anti-Government alliance being forged between Atwere
and Kokofuhene Osei Asibe and Yaw Atwereboanna, the unsuccessful
candidate for the Amanhene's stool, who lived as exiles at
Akyekyesu in Akyen Kotoku. Above all, the acquisition of
the Nsuaen ferry secured the Government control of 'the main
north eastern trade route leading from the sea board of the Gold
Coast to Asante Akin, Kwahu and the territories lying further

118. Ibid.
Sec. 1 Aug. 1900.
120. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1095 Turton to Col. Sec. 25 March 1090;
Agnes A. Adoo, Political Crisis and Social Change in Asante
Kingdom pp. 595-594. Osei Asibe and Yaw Atwereboanna lived
at Akyekyesu from 1900. By 1900 the Kokofu refugees were
on bad terms with Kotoku and the Agona through their
frivolous use of the oaths of Attafun and Kofi Kyinto. The
two Asante leaders were never allowed to return to Asante.
Osei Asibe became a prisoner in Accra in February 1095, Yaw
Atwereboanna at Nsuaen in June 1908.
inland'. Apart from increased facilities for the development of the commercial resources of those areas afforded by Government control of the Naunen ferry, the Government, through its control of what was considered to be 'the last of the great trade routes to the interior', was enabled to ascertain 'the supply of arms and ammunition passing by this route to Ashantee' and western Akwa. 121

Between the deportation of Atwero and the end of the century, the Colonial Government brought into play its last strategy for administering the coup de grace to the Okyenhene's sovereignty. The strategy involved interference at will in the affairs of Akyen Abu-ku, delination of the Okyenhene's judicial authority and dictation of trial procedures and scales of fines. The aim of all these was to undermine still further the authority and image of the King and reduce his court ultimately to an appendage of the Supreme Court.

Since 1864 the Colonial Government had been looking 'with considerable disfavour upon the Courts and Prisons of the Chiefs' and although no active measures were taken for their immediate and outright suppression, the powers of the traditional courts increasingly became obscure. Many a law officer held the opinion that traditional courts and prisons in states like Akyen Abunkwa, which were not proclaimed under the N.J.C. 'had no legal standing'
Judges repeatedly told the protected Chiefs and Kings from the Bench that outside the N.J.O. they held court and imprisoned people 'at their peril'. On more than one occasion the Governor 'intimated that he could not recognise judicial power in the Chiefs except under the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance'; while D.C's refused 'to recognise or give any effect' to the judgments of such Chiefs' courts. Under the circumstances many of the Protected Chiefs exercised powers of jurisdiction and imprisonment with considerable apprehension and doubt.

The Supreme Court's judgement in Opun v. Ackinnie, already referred to, notwithstanding, the Colonial Government stuck to its guns. Its officials ignored the Chief Justice's interpretation that a Protected King or Chief was entitled to exercise over his subjects in his court the jurisdiction which belonged to him 'according to native law, including the power to enforce his judgments in the manner authorized by native law...'; and the English courts continued to regard traditional courts not registered under the N.J.O. as arbitrators' courts only.


123. Ibid.


Ipso facto, the English Courts considered themselves 'bound to hear every case properly brought before them without regard to its having been decided by the King...'

In Akyen Abunkwa this attitude of the Colonial Government found expression in the banning of the use of logs or handcuffs for purposes of trial in the Okyenhene's court; in the encouragement of the King's subjects to take their cases to British courts as court of first instance or on appeal, and to bring criminal suits against the King personally; and in interference with the King's prison. From 1806 the Okyenhene was warned repeatedly not to use handcuffs supplied to him for any other purpose than 'for sending to Accra such prisoners as may be charged with the commission of serious offences'. In 1800 Anoako Atta II sent his messengers with handcuffs to arrest Banfoo Boansi of Asaman for ignoring his summons to answer charges brought against him by Okonfoo Kisiwaa. The townspeople obstructed the King's messengers in their duty and seized the handcuffs which they subsequently returned to the D.C. In spite of the Full Court's ruling that the Protected Kings had power to enforce their judgements and orders 'in the manner authorized by native

127. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1095 Anoako Atta I to H.E. 12 Aug. 1086; Col. Sec. to Anoako Atta 6 Sept. 1096; Anoako Atta II to Col. Sec. 20 May 1000; N.A.G., Adm 11/1/3 J. Sphilsbury Smith D.C. to Ag. Col. Sec. 7 March 1000.
law' the D.C. gave judgment in favour of Boansi and awarded him £10 damages. 120

In September 1890 Kwadwo Essel went to Accra to complain that he had been assaulted and wrongfully imprisoned at Kyebi for 27 days. In a minute to the Colonial Secretary the Queen's Advocate recommended:

The simplest plan to put a stop to these practices is to have the matter decided in court. The complainant can bring an action for damages against the parties who imprisoned him - assault and false imprisonment. The King has been warned over and over again without avail. The damages should be laid at a sum not less than £100. I think this would bring the case before the District Commissioner... 129

Kwadwo Essel declined to press charges against the King and Ferguson was asked to warn Anako Atta II to refrain from mishandling his subjects or be prepared to face prosecution. The King was informed that such severity was not 'only ill advised' and intolerable but rendered him 'liable to be brought before the Court'. He was also asked to take note that

120. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/3 J.S. Fulsbury Smith to Ag. Col. Sec. 7 March 1890.

129. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1095 Queen's Advocate to Ag. Col. Sec. 8 Oct. 1890; Statement of Kwadwo Essel taken at Victoriaborg 16 Sept. 1890.
had Cudjo Essol chosen to take out a summon(sic) against him to appear before the court at Accra to answer for his action it would have been the duty of the government(sic) to have seen that the summon(sic) was obeyed. 130

Barely three years later, a subject of the Okyenhene did take out summons against the King for criminal assault. On April 12,1093 Kwaku Nабre swore an affidavit alleging that he had been 'flogged and stamped' by servants acting under the King's orders. The King himself was alleged to have held the complainant's wrist. 131 Mr. J.R. Phillips D.C. for Accra decided to have the King prosecuted. A criminal summons was issued against him with the D.C. determined to enforce it by the issue of a warrant in the 'ordinary way' for his arrest if Anoako Atta II failed to attend court upon the service of the summons. The Okyenhene was tried in June and convicted of 'assault occasioning actual bodily harm'. He was fined £25. 132

Interference with Anoako Atta's prison under Section 6 of the Native Prison Ordinance No.23 of 1890 prevented him from enforcing the judgements of his court by means of indefinite detention; for under the Ordinance the maximum period allowed

131. N.A.G., Adm 1097 Affidavit sworn by Kwaku Nабre Accra 12 April 1093.
132. N.A.G., Adm 1097 D.C. to Col. Sec. 8 June 1093.
to be served in a Chiefs' prison was one month. In October 1390, for instance, Mr. Hull investigated four cases of imprisonment in the King's prison which he 'denounced before the King and his court as scandalous'. Three of the cases involved James Kwaku, Kwabena Nkronso and Yaw Kokroko detained for refusing to pay fines and charges for which they stood security. The first two had been in prison for nearly six months each and were released on the orders of Hull. A third prisoner Kofi Lante of Begoro who was also released, alleged that he had been in prison for 3 months 2 weeks for refusing to pay a debt of £6 incurred by a friend for whom he stood surety.  

The Government also assumed the exclusive right of taxation in the State. In response to a petition of the Okyenhene in October 1092 for authority to raise a tax of 1/- per male and 6d per female from his subjects for the purpose of rebuilding the ruined palace at Kyebi, the Governor told the King's messenger, Kwasi Yeboa, that 'contributions should be voluntary and that no one should on any account be compelled to contribute towards the expense'. It is clear then that the Okyenhene's authority

133. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1477 Native Prisons Ord. - Orders, Rules, Regulations

134. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/3 Hull to Col. Sec. 2 Nov. 1890.

135. For further discussion see Chapter Six p.438.

136. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1095 Col. Sec. to Anoako Atta II Nov. 1892.
was being hedged round with too many rules and regulations calculated to cause his sovereignty to atrophy.

Effects of Steps on Okyenhene's authority

The cumulative effect of the various measures taken against Akyen Abuakwa was that within a decade of the death of Anoako Atta I, central authority in the state had almost broken down completely. No longer could it be said of the Okyenhene, as in the pre-colonial days, that he had strict control over his people.  

Backed by a Government order, Christians were openly and with impunity violating the cherished customs and beliefs of the Okyenhene's forefathers. His subjects, especially the Christians and the rising educated and wealthy members of society, were disregarding his summons with impunity and showing preference for the British courts. Indeed the presence in the state of a British court which not only offered people an alternative venue for redress of wrongs but also had power to hear cases already decided by the Okyenhene 'on the ordinary court fees being paid' contributed a great deal to insubordination.

In December 1888 Odikro Yaw Tawia of Kade ignored summons from the Okyenhene's court in connection with an oath case and appealed to the D.C., Spilsbury Smith for support.  

Although the Okyenhene's jurisdiction in oath cases was undoubted, the

137. See Chapter One p. 48.
D. C. failed to uphold his authority by ordering Yaw Tawia to obey the summons. In the following year the Okyenhene reported three cases of insubordination. In the first case Janes Kwaku Ashmore, an educated trader of Asamankese, refused to obey summons from the King's Court till six men were sent to arrest him. In the second case one Amon also of Asamankese refused to accept judgement against him in an oath case and decided to take his case to Accra. In the third case Okodah refused to appear before the King's court inspite of summons issued through a sword-bearing royal messenger.

In some cases, refusal to obey the King's summons was accompanied by insults against the King's person. In others insults were hurled at the King publicly in his court by aggrieved parties. On 2 August 1894, for instance, Apedwahene Kwaku Akyea showed gross disrespect to the King by walking out of his court in the middle of a hearing involving him and Apamanhene. He refused to return to the court when the Benkumhene was sent to recall him. Six of his subjects later went to the shenfie (palace) and 'publicly abused and insulted' the King. The same day the Okyenhene's messengers who tried to pass the night at

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139. N.A.G., Add 11/1/1095 Anoako Atta II to Col. Sec. 30 March 1899.
140. Ibid.
141. Ibid.
142. See of James Ashmore
Apedwa were expelled. The lightness of the punishment prescribed by the Native Prisons Ordinance (1888) made many people disinclined to pay fines considered by them to be too high.

As the King explained:

... in former times, everything went on properly. But now every guilty(sic) does not like to pay the pacification saying: put me into prison, His Lordship the Travelling Commissioner H.H. Hull has commanded you not to put anyone into prison for two or three months. 144

More serious than the personal humiliation of the King by his subjects and the decline of his judicial authority was the threat of political disintegration of Akyem Abuakwa. In June 1892 Baafoo Kwasi Apontua of Abenase petitioned the Government to be allowed to secede from Akyem Abuakwa because of alleged judicial oppression by the King. 145 A similar petition was received from Baafoo Miso of Otuni in October 1892 asking to be allowed to transfer his allegiance to the nearby state of

143. N.A.G., Adn 11/1/1095 Amoako Atta II to Col. Sec. 3 Aug. 1894; T.C. Rayner to Col. Sec. 28 Sept. 1894.

144. N.A.G., Adn 11/1/1096 Amoako Atta II to Col. Sec. 26 March 1899.

145. N.A.G., Adn 11/1/1095 Chief Kwasi Apontua to Col. Sec. 21 June 1892. The Odikro alleged that the King was conspiring with Baafoo Odame of Okyinso to deprive him of a piece of land adjudged by the Supreme Court in 1883 to belong to the stool of Abenase.
Chief Kokoo of Dwene also begged the Governor in December 1899 'to remove him from the power of King Amoako Atta and place him directly under the Colonial Government' because of alleged injustice suffered at the hands of the King. Happily for the state the Governor refused to countenance these petitions.

Amoako Atta II was greatly worried by the steady decline of the Okyenhene's authority and prestige. In 1890 he reacted indignantly to the verdict in the Boansi case, by rushing to Bogoro to enquire from the D.C. 'if he was a King? and if so what were his powers'. Throughout the first decade of his reign, Okyenhene Amoako Atta II persistently called the Government's attention to the progressive collapse of his authority and appealed for support. He protested to the Governor that although he, as King, had 'a right to hold a court', yet defendants when summoned, 'refused to come and disobeyed his lawful commands'. He begged the Governor 'to assist him in enforcing

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146. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1126 Amoako Atta II to Gov. Griffith 22 Oct. 1892; Governor to Amoako Atta II 24 Dec. 1892; Governor to King Attafu 27 Dec. 1892. The Odikro alleged imprisonment for challenging a verdict against him in a land dispute with Bafoo Onne of Kwae and expressing intention to appeal to the British Court.


149. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/13 J.S. Fulsbury Smith to Ag. Col. Sec.
justice in his dominions and maintaining peace and good order throughout the country'. In March 1809 he wrote to the Governor asking for advice 'as to what to do'. Amoako Atta II felt so exasperated by the mounting disregard of his authority that he sent a messenger to Accra to find out from Governor Griffith whether he had 'given any directions to the Eastern Akirs not to obey their King'.

Amoako Atta II suggested three ways in which Government could help him to retrieve his lost authority and respect. First he asked for the lifting of the ban on the use of handcuffs for arrest in civil cases and for permission to use them in the case of those who refused to obey summons from his court or to pay court fees. Second, he asked to be allowed to resort to long terms of imprisonment as a deterrent, for as he explained to Hull,

if he could do nothing to maintain authority, the Akiras were wild people and would take the very cloths from the backs of people in the streets of Kibbi unless held in check by the fear of the prison.

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154. Hull to Col. Sec. 2 Nov. 1890.
Third, the Okyenhene asked for Akwen Abuakwa to be proclaimed under the N.J.O. (1883) so as to make his court a compulsory court of first instance for his subjects. In August 1891 he formally applied for the extension of the N.J.O. to his State. 155

Neither of Okyenhene Anoako Atta II's proposals received favourable consideration. Several officials felt that he did not deserve to be entrusted with power. The Colonial Secretary, Mr. Hodgson, and the Chief Justice expressed fears that the N.J.O. would strengthen the King's hand and deny to his subjects the protection which they enjoyed against financial oppression through the existing arrangement which assured easy and direct access to the British courts as courts of first instance. 156

A more important reason for wanting to keep Anoako Atta II powerless was the Government's suspicion that he was in collusion with the Asantehene in his efforts to regain control first over Aktebu and then Kwawu. 157 So strong was the Governor's suspicion that in October 1893 he instructed Mr. Hull, Travelling Commissioner, to proceed to Kyebi 'ostensibly to obtain the signatures of the King and Chiefs to the bond' which they were being

155. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/3 Anoako Atta II to Col. Sec. 10 Aug. 1891


called upon to sign as a condition of Atwere's repatriation, 'but really for the purpose of watching the movements of the King and ascertaining what his disposition is towards the Government'. 158 Under the circumstances it was in the best interest of the Government to continue to undermine the Okyenhenoe's authority over his subjects. Accordingly, Amoako Atta II was told that the Government had 'no intention of extending the N.J.O. to his state yet'. 159

In the meantime Amoako Atta II's position steadily deteriorated into that of a roi fainéant. His oath was either frivolously used or ignored by those upon whom it was sworn; his messengers were constantly harrassed and embarrassed; the King looked on helplessly as he was forbidden to enforce his authority by the use of the traditional logs (epa), handcuffs or long-term imprisonment. If he did he risked criminal prosecution in the British courts. He became greatly impoverished having lost his slaves and pawns and the right to tax his people. By the end of the century Amoako Atta II had become 'a most weak and impotent person'; 160 and maintenance of discipline in Akyem Abuakwa was

158. Ibid. Ag. Governor Hodgson to Marquess of Ripon Oct. 6 1893 Conf.
159. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1095 Col. Sec. to Amoako Atta II 23 Nov. 1891.
becoming largely the responsibility of Travelling Commissioners.

The extent of the 'political inpotence' of the Okyenhene may be illustrated by an incident which occurred at the very end of the century. On 6 August 1899 a riot nearly broke out at Kyebi between the asafo of Kukurantumi and that of Tafio who were in the capital in connection with a land dispute between their two towns. Mr. Cummings, D.C. for Akuse who was at Kyebi on a visit asked Amoako Atta II to order the Tafio asafo to disperse but he replied that 'he was quite powerless and that if he ordered them to disperse the people would laugh at him'.

No stronger evidence can be cited to depict the near collapse of the Okyenhene's authority and influence by the end of the 19th century. Also early in 1900 the Okyenhene summoned a meeting of the Okyenmen 'to deliberate on a plan of action' in connection with the Yan Asantewaa war, but owing to his 'want of influence' three weeks elapsed before any notice was taken of his summons. When the Okyenmen council ultimately assembled 'it was only too apparent how little weight attached to his counsels and word'. The individual chiefs 'did as they pleased and clearly showed that they... would recognise no central authority'.

It was obvious towards the end of the 19th century that some steps had

162. N.A.G., Add 11/1/3 Memo by Hull on the Position of Affairs in Add 22 Dec. 1900
to be taken to save the authority of the Okyenhene from total collapse and extinction if he was to be of any political use.

In April 1899 both the Attorney-General and the Colonial Secretary came to the conclusion that it would be 'desirable' to proclaim Akyen Abunkwa under the N.J.O. in order to enable the Okyenhene 'to exercise effective criminal and civil jurisdiction over his subjects'.  

In Executive Council Meeting held at Victorinborg on Wednesday 17 May 1899 agreed to the issue of a Proclamation extending the N.J.O. to Akyen Abunkwa. The Proclamation 'signed and sealed' by the Acting Governor William Low came into force on 1 June 1899. The extension of the N.J.O. to Akyen Abunkwa bore all the marks of a rescue operation. It was intended to bolster up the authority of King Amoako Atta II and, on the surface of it, looked like an act of magnanimity. But it was not. It stemmed essentially from self-interest, being intended to strengthen the King's hand and tighten discipline in the state in preparation for the role envisaged for Akyen Abunkwa in the impending Asante Expedition of 1900, and for the Okyenhene in the implementation of the policy of 'indirect Rule'.

163. M.A.G., Adm 11/1/1096 Attorney-General to Hon. Col. Sec. 7 April 1899; Col. Sec. to As. Governor 10 April 1899.

then in its gestation period.

It is quite clear that at the turn of the 20th century British sovereignty had been established de facto for all practical purposes over Akyen Abucakw. The Okyenhene's inherent right to rule had been substituted with a derivative one; by an oath of allegiance, he had acknowledged himself as a subject. He had acquiesced in immunities and guarantees granted to the Christian community. The N.J.O. had brought Akyen Abucakw's traditional courts firmly under the supervision of the Supreme Court and the Colonial Government; but at the same time it had conferred enlarged powers on the Okyenhene and his Chiefs. Misuse of these powers was destined to alienate the King's subjects and sow the seeds of conflict for the future. In the subsequent chapters, an attempt is made to assess the impact of colonial rule and missionary activity on the traditional social, economic and political arrangements described in chapter one, and the response of the Abucakw people.

165. For a discussion of the practice of Indirect Rule in Akyen Abucakw see Chapter Six.
CHAPTER FOUR

AKYEM ABUAKWA SOCIETY AND THE MISSIONARY
AND COLONIAL CHALLENGE

In 1839 Andreas Riss visited Akyem briefly, apparently to
investigate prospects of opening a Basel Mission Station there;
but it was not until September 1853 that Rev. Suss took up
residence at Gyadan as a Basel Missionary. The missionary
presence in Akyem Abuakwa, and particularly the planting of
Christianity, sowed the seeds of a new social order which was
destined to upset the pre-existing social arrangements. The
seeds, however, took some time to germinate, nature and bear
fruits. After nearly twenty years of effort the social impact
of the Basel Mission remained negligible. Few people in the
state professed the alien faith which it propagated or patroni-
sed the few schools which it established for the dissemination
of western learning, ideas and skills.

The turning point came with the proclamation of the Gold
Coast Colony and Protectorate in 1874. Within the next seventy
years missionary and colonial official collaborated in espous-
ing a common cause whose long-term effect was to foster new
values, attitudes and beliefs, and indeed change the social
configuration of Akyem Abuakwa. In this chapter the

1. Hans W. Debrunner op.cit. p.126; See Kwanena Poh, Govern-
ment and Politics, p.114.
2. See Chapter One p.95.
contributions made by the Basel Mission and the Colonial Government to social change in Akyen Abunkwa are examined in turn. Their impact is also appraised.

The Basel Mission

Throughout the third quarter of the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th century the Basel Mission was the main instrument of social change in Akyen Abunkwa. It did not only promote the spread of Christianity, western education and sanitation but also popularised new architectural styles, scientific medicine, monogamy etc. Above all, it was largely through its importunity that the Colonial Government abolished slave-dealing, emancipated slaves and pawns and guaranteed religious toleration in the state. Indeed the Basel Mission was the pace-maker blazing a trail for the Colonial Government to follow.

The first far-reaching contribution made by the Basel Mission towards social change was its relentless campaign against slavery and pawning. In its earliest stages the campaign took the form of buying and freeing slaves or rescuing pawns from bondage by the payment of their debts. For instance, Rev. Suess and Rev. Baum bought several slaves and pawns in 1856-57 to work for them under an arrangement which offered the slaves and pawns an opportunity to regain their freedom after working off the
purchasing price. On January 1, 1865 the Missionaries arranged with Jonathan Palmer to free three slaves of his in whom he had invested a total of £138.00 (£31.1/-) on the understanding that they would work for their former master for a small wage or for one or other of the Missionaries.

Paul Torseaye of Kukurantuni and Jonathan Asumen of Kyebi, both converts to Christianity, were redeemed from bondage with money lent to them by the Slave Emancipation Committee of the Basel Mission through the local Missionaries. Apart from buying people out of slavery and pawn, the Basel Missionaries took care of abandoned slaves. They also provided refuge for escaped slaves whose lives were in danger.

Through their reports from the late 1850s which were replete with accounts of the cause and socio-economic effects of slavery, the Basel Missionaries, no doubt influenced the


4. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p.523 Mader's Report to the S.E.C. dd. 19 Aug. 1865. The slaves were a 40-year-old Kurosi woman bought in 1856 for £46.00, an 18-year-old Anlo boy Asemyane bought in August 1859 for £45.00 and a 58-year old Krepí woman bought in 1864 for £47.00.


decision to abolish slave-dealing and emancipate slaves throughout the Gold Coast Colony and Protected Territories in 1874. 7

After the passage of the Emancipation Act, the Basel Missionaries assumed the role of self-appointed agents of the Government to enforce the law. They monitored the activities of slave-owners in the State and sent intelligence reports to the Government or to their headquarters in Accra. As already pointed out, the Missionaries at Kyebi wrote to the Civil Commandant at Christiansborg in June 1875 to despatch 'a reliable group of police' to Kyebi to protect ex-slaves and ensure that the Emancipation Act did not remain 'a paper law'. Buck travelled to Accra in 1879 specifically to lay charges of slave-dealing against Ameako Atta I; 8 and in 1882 Mohr drew attention to the persistence of domestic slavery in the Wankyi district because no one was 'helping slaves to go to law, or to escape'. 9 At Begoro two resident Missionaries joined Buck in 1883 to complain to Benkurhene Kwasi Antwi about the lack of strict observance of the slave laws. 10

Following the passage of the Emancipation and Abolition laws of 1874, the Basel Missionaries pressed the Government for 'some


8. See Chapter Two pp. 111 & 127.


legal regulation over pawning' as the usurious rates of interest charged on loans made a pawn 'virtually a permanent slave.' 

In February 1800 the Government responded by issuing a proclamation outlawing pawning and freeing all pawns. The Basel Mission turned its Mission Stations into places of refuge for runaway slaves who wanted to make good their newly-acquired freedom. The Kukurantumi and Anyinan stations in particular became the favourite hide-out of runaway slaves from Akyen, Kwawu and Asante. By 1878 there were 20 such people at the Kukurantumi station and 12 at the Anyinan station in 1880. Besides affording the ex-slaves a place of refuge, the Basel Mission also provided employment for as many as its resources would allow as carriers, builders or labourers. To supplement their effort, Eisenschmid urged Government to acquire lands for the rehabilitation of the ex-slaves so as to halt their drift to the coast in search of wage labour and arrest the depopulation of the State.

Another important missionary activity which contributed to social change in Akyen Abuakwa was the propagation of the gospel.

12. See Chapter Two pp.138-139.
expanding work in South Akwes was opened, and with the establishment of an outstation at Apinamang in 1889, 'the missionary occupation of Akwes was complete, at least for the time being'. Indeed by 1890 the Basel Mission, 'somewhat contrary to expectations' had been able 'to purchase land and start work at all the major towns in Akwes'. A list of the Mission'sinnovable property drawn up in 1893 showed effective missionary presence in some thirty-one villages. In Begoro, Kyebi and Kukurantumi districts, only Nsuta and Saco had no mission land.

The spread of the gospel was matched by remarkable growth in church membership. As already pointed out the first phase of growth was the period of Okyenene Monako Ato's exile. During that time 'heathenism' seemed to be on the defensive as the total Christian population in the State rose to 1413 at the end of 1896. In that year Mohr estimated that 360 out of

24. See Chapter Two.
Kyebi's population of 700 were Christians. The anti-Christian riots of 1806-7 resulted in a loss of 147 in the total membership of the church; but from 1808 the church entered another phase of expansion.

By May 1883 a 'deep peace' existed between Anoako Atta II and the Christians following the guarantee of freedom of worship enshrined in the Public Announcement of November 1887. Except for Kyebi, Apedwa, Asuon, Oseem and Anyinan, the Basel Missionaries were 'welcomed in a friendly way everywhere...' in the 1890s. Mohr's annual report for 1889 stated categorically:

No trace of enmity remains in the missionaries' reception in Akyen towns - they are everywhere regarded as friends.

The 'thaw' in relations between Christians and non-Christians aided the spread of the gospel in the last decade of the 19th century.


28. See Chapter Three p. 194.


At Kyebi, people continued to offer themselves for baptism inspite of the ban on street preaching imposed by the Okyenhene. Within a year of the Public Announcement several of the Okyenhene's servants were baptised while others became baptismal candidates. Kwabena Dento, Abakonhene and an unsuccessful candidate for the succession in 1887 visited the Kyebi Mission Station 'at all times of day' during the last four months of 1889. Early in 1890 he attended church service occasionally and showed an inclination towards conversion. He attached himself closely to Catechist Daniel Ofci, head teacher of the Boys Boarding School, received a gift of a bible from him and learnt to read and write, much to the disconfititure of King Amoako Atta II. In the following year tw. of the King's elders, one of whom was described as 'the owner of the Kyebi land' joined the congregati

33. *See Chapter One* p.46.
35. Paul Jenkins, *Abstracts*, (supplement) p.50 Sätzler to Basel 1 June 1891. The description may well refer to the Kyidonhene or Kyidon pongin, both of the Anpabane clan, believed to have been the first to discover the Biren in the Kyebi area. (See Fraser Ofori Atta, *Amantoo-Mnienso*, p.30).
Christian riots also quit the King's service and was re-admitted into the church. 36

The conversion of men so close to him seemed to have undermined Anoako Atta II's will to continue his resistance to the new social order which Christianity was seeking to create in Akyen Abunkwa. In April 1092 he decided to reconcile himself to evangelical work in his state and co-exist peacefully with the Basel Mission. He wrote thus to Mohr:

It will please me exceedingly to shake hands with you whenever you are here and I am very glad to say the christians have commiserated with no by paying me visits many a tine after having lost my mother ...

... I solemnly assure you to have no grudge with the Christians at Aken, much less with you. 37

In 1093 J. Muller was 'received with great friendliness' by the Okyenheten. 38

Apart from the seeming futility of trying to check the spread of the gospel, there were other considerations which influenced Anoako Atta's friendly disposition towards the Basel Mission. First was his anxiety to ensure the availability of

36. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, (Supplement) p.47 Annual Reports from the local Pastors in Akyen; Also Thomas Yao Komi, Kristofo Taa, p.15.

37. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts (Supplement) p.60 Mohr's Report dd. 10 April 1092.

38. Ibid. p.80 J. Muller to Basel 4 March 1093.
the christians' help with 'reading and writing letters', especially since he had difficulty in obtaining the services of a secretary. 39  Second, he was 'concerned to have Europeans back in Kyebi in order to check the decline of Kyebi's status vis-a-vis Bogoro'. 40  Amoako Atto II felt so grateful to the Presbyters of the Kyebi congregation for averting an attempt by the Amantooniensa to destool him in December 1892, that he lifted the ban on street preaching in Kyebi as a token of appreciation. 41  The lifting of the ban removed the greatest stumbling block in the way of the Kyebi Mission, and paved the way for unimpeded growth of the local congregation whose strength stood at 209 adults and 226 children at the beginning of 1893. 42  The conversion of members of the ruling elite or their display of friendliness towards the church was not confined to Kyebi. At Kukurantumi, the new Adontenhene Kofi Aberantee (1839–1900) had been a Christian before his accession and was friendly towards the local Mission. 43  In 1893 he offered no resistance to the conversion of his brother Yaw Boe, a member of the

40.  Ibid, p.75 Pfisterer’s note 12 July 1893.
43.  Ibid p.77 J. Muller to Basel 4 March 1893.
Kukurantumi royal family. At Asokwa near Kwaben a Christian who left the church in order to become chief considered 'giving up his stool in order to rejoin the congregation' in 1891.

One of the very few converts at Osenase in 1892 was 'an old man who ought to have taken over the stool'. The Bogorohone continued to be favourably disposed towards the Basel Mission.

The church achieved a more remarkable growth in the 20th century. In 1910 there were 2,300 communicant members of the Presbyterian (Basel) Church in Akyen Abuakwa. This number represented only half the total Christian community. The figure rose to 8,000 members in 1926 of whom 3,774 were communicants. These were distributed among six principal stations and fifty-one outstations as against 1413 members distributed among three principal stations and 12 outstations in

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In important sidelight to evangelical work in Akyen Abuakwa, was the rise of suburban Christian settlements called Salem or Oburonikrom (white's town) by the local people. These settlements were originally intended in the 1860s to protect the Mission's first few converts against religious 'contamination' by reducing their interaction with the non-Christian population to the baroest possible minimum. The anti-Christian sentiments aroused by the backlash from David Asante's confrontation with the Okyenehene led to an increasing anxiety on the part of Christian congregations throughout the state for isolation and autonomy of sorts. From the Christians of Apapam, Asinkwa, Abonosu and Asunafo came requests in 1877 for 'land to be bought for them so that they can make separate villages'.

In 1886 Christians all over Akyen Abuakwa busied themselves with 'clearing and re-marking' the boundaries of their Mission lands with 'living hedges' and ntone. By 1889 all the Christians of Asinkwa and Sadwunase were living on Mission land.

49. J.D. Danquah, the Akin Abuakwa Handbook p. 91; Paul Jenkins Abstracts p. 671 Mohr to the Local Committee 17 Feb. 1886. The six principal stations were Bogoro(6) Tafo(6); Kwaben (12); Kyobi(6) Asumankease(7) Otuni(10).


51. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts (Supplement) p. 2 Mohr's Report for 1889 dd. 18 Jan. 1889. Ntong is a kind of tree usually used for marking boundaries in Akan countries.
At Kyobi also all the Christians were resettled on Mission land 'apart from a few Christian women married to heathen husbands'. The main reason for the tendency among Christians to want to live at the salens was to gain immunity from the 'fetish' prohibitions against keeping goats or working on the farm on specific week-days. By the 1890s salons had become important landmarks on the missionary landscape in Akyen Abuakwa.

The Salens stood in marked contrast to the non-Christian sectors of the townships. The houses in the non-Christian sectors were made of swish and sticks with the interior walls and floors of the better ones 'plastered with a shining red clay' and the exterior walls daubed with white clay. The roofs consisted of banana leaves or 'Daha' a type of palm leaf thatching which lasted only two or three years. By contrast the houses of the Salens usually sited on hilly ground within five to ten minutes walk were an impressive sight. They were not only 'large' and 'healthy' and made of timber and stone in some cases but were roofed with shingles or corrugated iron sheets which

lasted much longer than the 'Daha' roofs.

The Abonosu salen 'with its well-laid streets and large healthy houses' was already a model Christian village by 1800.56 The Kyobi salen had 'several road (sic) and straight streets' constructed in 1878 with the labour of the pupils of the Boarding School under Buck's supervision.57 By 1892 the Kyobi Salen had begun 'to look really impressive with many good swish houses, some of them of 1½ stories'.58 In 1893 it had 'the look of a place where order and conscientiousness reigns'.59

An amount of £2,000 had been spent on the Bogoro salen by 1807 making it 'an exceedingly fine one with a very fine Mission House, Chapel and schools...'.60 The village was provided with a cess pit;61 and in 1893 the Mission House was given a new roof of corrugated iron sheets.62 The houses at the Salens were

57. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, Nath Date's report for 1878 dd. 31 Dec. 1878.
58. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts (Supplement) p.56 Ofori's Annual Report dd. 9 Jan. 1893. The number of houses in the Salen rose from 12 in 1870 to 21 in 1890. At Kukurantuni the houses increased from 6 in 1874 to 15 in 1891.
62. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts (Supplement) p.62 Mohr to Basel
fitted with doors with hinges and locks. 63

The Selens offered a model of improved architectural styles, sanitation and town planning, and soon these innovations, especially architectural, caught on. As early as 1875 Okyenhene Amoako Atta I started the construction of 'a two-storey stone house' presumably with technical advice from the missionaries. 64 The house with eleven rooms, was intended as a new palace. It was not completed till the late 1890s. 65 Huppenbauer was accommodated at Asuon in 1880 in 'a beautiful livable house with veranda unique in Akyen'. 66 By 1893 shingle roofs could be seen 'everywhere' in Akyen; 67 while houses fitted with 'well-built doors with locks', instead of mats, were becoming a common sight. 66

The establishment of Mission schools to provide western-style education also had a tremendous impact on the social

63. Ibid p.9 Sitzler to Basel 5 May 1880.
64. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p.583 Hader to Basel 21 April 1875.
attitudes and values of the people of Akyem Abuakwa. Mission education was originally conceived as a hand maid of evangelical work. School pupils were not only regarded as potential recruits for the Church but also as agents of religious propaganda. In 1867, for instance, an Okonfoo of Kyebi urged the Okyenhene to close down the Kyebi Elementary Boarding School precisely because its pupils were being used to spread 'the seed' during their vacation. Up to the end of the 19th century school pupils continued to be used as part-time evangelists. They were also available for conversion to the Christian faith. By the end of 1870 the 'most part' of the 44 pupils of the Kyebi Elementary Boarding School were baptised Christians.

By and large, Mission school education was not well patronised till the 1890s, even by Christians. Of the estimated 879 children of Christian parents in Akyem Abuakwa only about 240 were attending school by the beginning of 1891. School enrolment remained low up to the 1890s. At Bogoro, the Mission had great difficulty getting children to enrol for school in 1879 and despite a ruling which made it obligatory for Christian

69. Ibid p.532 Christaller's Report for 3rd Quarter 1866.
70. See p.237.
parents to send their children to school, the enrolment stood at 8 at the end of 1880. The enrolment at the Bogoro Middle School rose from 16 in the 1886-87 academic year to only 19 in the 1890-91 academic year. The Kyobi Boarding School experienced only a rise of 2 in enrolment in the twelve months between December 1891 and December 1892. By the 1890-91 academic year it had a total enrolment of only 57 pupils including 15 day pupils from Kyobi. The Kukurantumi and Apamap schools had 11 and 10 pupils respectively in June 1891; the Abosu school had 17 in 1893.

The reasons for such low figures of enrolment were varied. First was the impediment placed in the way of many a prospective pupil by slavery and pawning before 1874. Pupils were taken away from school whenever their parents wanted to pawn them.

74. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts (Supplement) p.73 Stations Conference in Bogoro with subscript by Herman Rottmann dd. April 7, 1893.
76. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, (Supplement) p.50 Hirsmuller's Report on the Kyobi Boarding School and the Bogoro Middle School for 1890-91.
78. Ibid. p.641 Anobah's Report 1 Aug. 1893.
In 1873, for instance Rev. Eisenschnid applied to the Slave Emancipation Commission for $27.00 to redeem 'a good pupil' of the Kyobi Boarding School - Kwame Ayirebi of Apaman - who had been taken away by force and pawned to pay off a loan. 00

The emancipation of slaves and pawns resulted in a temporary, boon in education as the liberated youth of Akyen took advantage of the prevailing atmosphere of personal freedom to start attending school. 01 At Kyobi the Missionaries had to turn away twenty ex-slaves from the school in 1875 for want of places. 02

The boon in education was however, short-lived. Parental opposition, strictness of discipline and imposition of school fees soon led to stagnation or decline in school enrolment.

Most non-Christian parents of Bogoro, for instance, equated school with conversion and feared that they would incur the wrath of the gods and ancestors if they sent their children to school. Besides they disliked the tendency of literacy to alienate the youth from their families too quickly or make them 'no good for the ordinary way of life'. 03 Other parents regarded

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00. Ibid p.577 Eisenschnid's Application to S.E.C. 1 Sept. 1873.
02. Ibid. p.585 B. Asante, Mohr and Werner to the S.E.C. 26 June 1875.
03. Ibid p.102 Mohr's Jahresbericht for 1870, 21 Jan. 1870; Supplement p.8 Sitzler to Basel 5 May 1873.
their children as economic assets, especially in lieu of slaves and pawns, and were reluctant to allow them to go to school unless the Missionaries agreed to compensate them for the loss of their children's services. 

Parents who allowed their children to go to school withdrew them as and when they wished, to help with the collection of snails, cola-nuts, gun-copal or rubber and with the conveyance of these commodities to Accra or Saltpond for sale.

Excessive use of the cane by some teachers as a means of enforcing discipline also undermined enthusiasm for school. The unpopularity of the Begoro school, for instance, was due to Teacher Andreas Ewi's frequent flogging of the school children. Teacher Elias Ofori was guilty of brutality towards the children whom he flogged and kicked at the least provocation. In October 1877 Jonathan Ofori left the Kyebi Boarding School for home, his 'only excuse' being that 'Teacher has flogged him'.

But by far the most serious cause of stagnation or decline in school enrolment was the imposition of school fees in 1881.

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07. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, (Supplement) p.18 Hirsemuller's Report on the Begoro Middle School and the Kyebi Boarding School in 1889 dd. 3 Feb. 1890.
08. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, Nath Date's Report for 1878 dd. 31 Dec. 1878.
at a time when cash was extremely hard to come by in the state. 39 Children of 'heathen' parents at Degoro, for instance, were expected to pay 3d per annum as school fees and deposit 2/- per annum as a guarantee that their children would attend school regularly. 90 As only few parents could afford school fees, most children stayed away from school. 91 At Asinkwa there was no school in 1902 'on account of school fees'. 92 Deacon Theophilus Opoku observed at Oaseen in 1902 that as a result of the exaggeration of the cost of education by deserters from the Nkropon Middle School, parents were scared to send their children to school. At Tafo, the chief and his elders were prepared to supply pupils for a school only if the Basel Mission would undertake to bear all expenses. 93

The duration of the elementary school course also bothered many pupils. In 1900 the pupils of the 4th class of Kyebi Boarding School overstayed their Christmas vacation in protest against Rev. Buck's announcement that they would have to go through the 5th and 6th classes before qualifying for admission.

to the Teacher's Seminary at Akropong Akuapem. The tendency of teachers to use pupils for their 'own private purposes' was also resented. Lack of employment opportunities for school leavers other than mission employment undermined willingness to continue in school for long. In 1888 Rev. Sitzler commented:

...Another problem is that people believe when a boy has gone to a Mission school, he is the Mission's for life, and cannot understand what is happening when the Mission later refuses to give a stupid boy a job.

Stephen Apeatu had to leave for Sierra Leone in search of a job after his education in Basel Mission Schools in the 1880s. After working in that country for several years he returned to Kyebi to work for the Basel Mission in 1890.

In order to sustain and increase interest in mission education, the Basel Mission offered several inducements. First it introduced free supply of clothes, food and books. At Kyebi, the primary Boarding pupils received half-yearly supply of clothes free of charge. In addition the pupils were presented

94. Ibid. p.612 Buck's Report on Kibi Boarding School dd. 29 March 1880.
96. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts (Supplement) p.8 Sitzler to Basel 5 May 1888.
97. Ibid. p.29 A Report from Eisenschmid... 8 Feb. 1890.
98. Ibid. p.8 Sitzler to Basel 5 May 1888.
with Christmas gifts. The presents for Christmas in 1892 consisted of 'cloth for a suit, and some biscuits'.

Second, poor and needy children were offered free tuition.

Third, a four-day school week was introduced at Begoro whose object was to give young children 'a liking for school rather than to teach them a great deal'.

In furtherance of this object the new teacher Mr. Sakyi was 'specifically ordered' not to beat the children.

Partly as a result of these inducements and partly owing to the quality and dedication of a new crop of teachers, the Mission Schools began to show a marked improvement in enrolment from mid 1880s. Dan Abongyo, Ofie and Gyima succeeded in arresting the loss of pupils at the Kyebi primary school through sheer force of personality, while at Kukurantumi the school got 'a lot better' under Teacher Oforidei. The renewed interest in education was also a reflection of the growing appreciation of literacy due to increasing volume of correspondence and other


103. Ibid.

104. Ibid p.636 Marquart's Report 14 March 1884. The Kukurantumi teacher in 1882 was described as being uninterested in his job. See Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, Opoku's Report.
forms of paperwork. The Akyen people were also peeved by the taunts of the Akuapem people who, considering themselves as living near 'civilization' and having many 'educated' people, thought 'themselves additionally superior to those further inland'. Throughout the 1880s there were incessant requests from several Chiefs for the opening of schools in their villages.

In January 1883 the few Akuakwa pupils studying at the Akropong Middle School petitioned for a Middle School to be established in their state for two reasons: first they contended that the Akuapen teachers in the school displayed bias against them; second, that 'Akuapen fufu was too small'. The petition was favourably received, for several Akyen Christians shared Huppenbauer's unhappiness at the inability of most Akyen pupils to continue their education at the Akropong Middle School for financial reasons. They feared that if the tendency of Akyen pupils going to the Teachers' Seminary instead of the Middle School continued very few native Akuakwa pupils would

105. See Chapter Six
106. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts (Supplement) p.18 Hirsmullor's Report on Begoro Middle School and the Kyebi Boarding School in 1889 dd. 3 Feb. 1890.
107. See Paul Jenkins, Abstracts (Supplement) pp.12, 22, 26 78.
Indeed by 1883 Akyen Abuakwa could boast only of two Catechists including Samuel Gyimah of Kyobi. There were less than a dozen Akyen teachers; while the number of Akyen pupils at the Akropon Middle School numbered only four. In supporting the petition Evangelist Emmanuel Yaw Boakye argued that a middle school in Akyen would encourage her youth to stay on longer at school in the hope of training to become teachers.

In March 1883 a Middle Boarding School was opened at Kyobi followed by a second one at Begoro in 1885. The Kyobi Middle School ceased to exist after only one year possibly due in part to the renewed anti-christian sentiments that followed the


110. Ibid, p.535 Eisenschmid to Basel 25 June 1875; p.591 Ascens to the Basel Frauen Vercin 10 Oct. 1876. Samuel Gyimah, the first Akyen Catechist was consecrated in May 1875. In 1863 George Pabi of Kukurantumi had left the Catechists Seminary because he found the discipline to be too exacting see Paul Jenkins, Abstracts p.511 Eisenschmid's Report 18 Jan. 1864.

111. These were Ewi(1865), Jonathan Asuane(1876), Jonathan Oware(1879), Andreas Adu(1878), Sakyi Stephen(1879), Dnako (1879), and Oforidoi(1883) See Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, pp.102, 111, 130, 518, 589, 612, 636.

112. These included Emmanuel Agyei of Kyobi and Simeon Agyaako of Begoro. See Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, pp.612, 632.


114. Ibid p.656 Kibi Stations Conference 10 Sept. 1884; p.643 J. Muller's Report 20 Dec. 1883; Short sketches of the
repatriation of Aneko Atta I. 115  By contrast the one at
Bogoro survived and prospered. By February of 1886 the enrolment
in the three classes of the Bogoro Middle School stood at 21. 116
The Bogoro Middle School known henceforth as 'the Akin Middle
School' remained the highest institution of learning in the state
till the 1920s. By 1893 it had accommodation for 39 pupils
most of whom came from the Kyobi Primary Boarding School and the
Kukumantumi Primary Day School. 117 Among the distinguished
citizens who passed through the walls of the Bogoro Middle school
in the 1890s and early 20th century were Wilson Boobiene later
Apinananhene, Thomas Yaw Kani, Aaron Eugene Boakye Danquah, later
Nana Sir Ofere Atta I King of Akpen Abisarka, and Dr. J.B. Danquah,
a distinguished nationalist politician and jurist. 118

By the beginning of 1899 the Akyen people had begun to
understand the uses of education and were keener on their chil-
dren attending school'. 119 In 1890 three 'graduates' of the

115. Ibid, Report of the Boarding School of Kyobi 1865; Paul
Jenkins, Abstracts (Supplement) p.42 Hirsmuller (to the
Akropong Seminaries) 31 May 1890. See Chapter Two.
117. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, (Supplement) p.36 Hirsmuller's
Report 26 July 1890. p.69 Mohr's Report dd 20 Feb. 1893;
p.36 Bogoro Station Conference to Basel 29 July 1893.
118. See pp. 273, 291, 300-304.
119. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts (Supplement) p.4 Mohr's Report
dd. 16 Jan. 1839.
Begoro Middle School qualified for admission to the Teachers' Seminary. They were John Ofori of Kukurantuni, Alexander Danquah, half-brother of Nana Ofori Atta I, and Reynolds Danso of Kukurantuni.\(^{120}\) So keen did the youth of Akyen appear to be on education that the Missionaries were not enthusiastic about accepting Akwapin pupils who arrived at Bogoro in ever increasing numbers in 1892-3 without notice expecting to be admitted to the school.\(^{121}\) In 1892 a Fante ex-secretary of the Okyenhoue who lost his job through excessive drinking moved to Apedwa and tried to 'set up an English-language school' there.\(^{122}\)

In view of the upsurge of interest in education, the Conference of Akyen Presbyters decided in January 1899 to charge catering fees of 4/- and 6/- per annum per pupil in the Kyebi Primary Boarding School and the Begoro Middle School respectively 'in view of the reduction of food-money granted per pupil by the Basel Committee'.\(^{123}\) In addition school fees were to be charged at the rate of 6d per pupil.\(^{124}\) It was decided to restrict financial support to 'only pupils in the top three classes' of the

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120. Ibid p.42 Hirsmeuller (to the Akropong Seminaries) 31 May 1890.
122. Ibid, p.60 Mohr's Report dd. 18 April 1892.
124. Ibid, p.84 Bauer's Report on Begoro Middle School and Primary School etc. 17 July 1893.
Kyebi Boarding School. 125 Parents could send their children in future to the 3rd class but were to be responsible for their support. 126

These measures caused uneasiness among parents as money was scarce in the Akyem congregations, especially those of Kyebi and Kukurantumi. Non-Christian parents in particular were reluctant to pay for their children's education. 127 At Asialawa Cathechist Toto offered to loan pupils money from his salary to pay fees but soon stopped when he found it difficult to retrieve the loans. 128 The Basel Mission had 'lots of trouble getting in the 6d school fees' at Apam and Kyebi. 129 Even more difficult to collect from the parents of pupils in the Kyebi Boarding School were the catering fees of £/− per pupil. In 1890 the Mission's subsidy for catering for the Boarders was withdrawn and pupils left to arrange privately with women in

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125. Ibid p.13. Rossler to Basel 29 May 1899. Those exempted for the academic year were Dan Abokyi, Irm. Ntin, Jos Agyekum, Jos Duodu and James Atta. The Kyebi Primary Boarding School was confined to classes 3, 4 and 5. Classes 1 & 2 held separately from the boarding school constituted the elementary school. See Paul Jenkins, Abstracts (Supplement) p.53.


127. Ibid p.223, Degero Station Conference to Basel 29 July 1893.


Kyebi to give them food. In spite of the reduction of private catering fee from 2/3 to 1/6d a month, several pupils left the boarding school in 1893 because "their parents or relatives refused to continue paying the monthly charges for food". 130

Notwithstanding parental opposition, the Basel Mission stood firm. In July 1893 the Begoro Station Conference decided that the increase in middle school enrolment should be met by raising the entry requirement, withdrawal of subsidies for food and the levying of school fees. 131 By the end of the century private catering and payment of school fees had become accepted features of the mission school system in Akropong Akropong. The total number of Mission Schools in the state in 1900 was 33 with a total enrolment of just above 1,000 pupils. 132 Besides formal schools, the Basel Mission set up Sunday schools and night schools for teaching adults to read. 133

Missionary education remained open to both boys and girls though only a few girls took advantage of it before the 1930s.

131. Ibid p.36 Begoro Station Conference to Basel 29 July 1893.
Before 1874, girls in Akyen Abuakwa had shown as much enthusiasm for education as boys. In mid 1866, there were 7 girls as against 15 boys enrolled at the Kyebi elementary school. The girls lived in Eisenschmid's house as maids. Indeed for both boys and girls engagement as house servants of the Missionaries was a stepping stone to enrollment as school pupils.

By 1869 the Kyebi elementary school consisted of 20 boys and 10 girls. At Kulurantuni there were 3 boys and 3 girls enrolled at the local school in 1866.

The Emancipation Acts of 1874 and 1880 had an adverse effect upon female education. In lieu of slaves and pawns, daughters were needed at home to mind babies and young children while their parents were away in the forest collecting gumcopal and snails or on the coast trading. Consequently girls became very difficult to recruit for school. In 1879 there were only two girls out of a class of 9 at the Bogoro Elementary school. An attempt to start a girls' school at Bogoro in

1000 failed owing to lack of pupils. In 1893 the elders of the Kyebi church requested for the establishment of a Girls' boarding school but this could not be granted because Kyebi was considered unhealthy for the residence of an European head-nurse. Female education continued to lag behind that of boys throughout the first four decades of the 20th century.  

The Basel Mission did not concern itself only with emancipation of slaves and pawns and the spread of Christianity and western education. It also waged war on certain cultural practices which in its view were not only inconsistent with Christian morality but also the cause of indebtedness and social hardships. Those included polygamy, alcoholism, sexual permissiveness, and traditional funereal rites. In 1874 the of Akyem complained that it was impossible to get wives in the state without paying enough money to compete with the elders. On the average, taking a wife cost 'something like £10.00 and several pieces of cloth'. The problem was often exacerbated by the

140. Ibid p.127 Jahresbericht for the Begoro Station in 1890
142. See pages 275-76.
demand for 'head-money' (Tri-sika) which invariably saddled young prospective husbands with debts. The Akyem Synod of 1883 attributed the prevalence of indebtedness among Christians in the state to what they called 'the dowry problem'.

The remedy proposed by the Basel Mission for its members was insistence on marriage under the Marriage Ordinance of 1884; and for this purpose it got four of its chapels – Kyebi, Bogoro Kukurantuni and Anyinam – licensed to perform marriage ceremonies. In view of the fact that there were more Christian young men than girls, prospective Christian husbands were permitted to marry non-Christian girls but only on condition that such girls promised the presbyters 'before hand' that they would 'live on mission land with their husbands and obey the regulations for congregations'. Although relatively cheaper, marriage under the Ordinance posed a serious problem for Abunkwa Christians.

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146. *Ibid* p. 645 Minutes of the Akyem Synod held 6 Feb. 1883. See also p. 505 B. Asante, Mohr and Werner to S.E.C. 26 June 1875. Head-money or Tri Sika was a kind of loan made by a prospective husband to the bride's family at the time of marriage to enable them settle a pressing debt. The money was always recoverable with interest whenever the wife asked for divorce. See J.B. Danquah Case in Akan Law p. xxvii.
149. Marriage Licence cost only 7/6d.
To obtain a marriage licence without which the Missionaries might not carry out a marriage ceremony, a prospective bridgroom had to go 'twice to Akuse' personally as the process of obtaining the licence lasted three weeks. Consequently many Christian couples simply ignored the law and married 'without either licence or Christian ceremony'.

The penalty for non-compliance with Christian marriage laws was expulsion from the church. In 1888 two Begoro Christians were excluded because of their involvement in marriage difficulties. At Tunfa most of the early Christians were excluded at the end of 1886 'because their marriages did not correspond to church rules'. Many of the Christians excluded at Begoro in 1890 were married couples who had decided to separate. Continual quarrelling with one's wife could also lead to expulsion. Adultery and sexual permissiveness were similarly punished with expulsion from the church. Several teachers, Catechists and ordinary church members were expelled now and again for committing

adultery or fornication. 155  

Other forms of conduct punishable by expulsion were drunkenness, and participation in traditional funeral rites, dancing and drumming. Of the eight Christians excluded at Begoro in 1879 3 were charged with drunkenness. 156 Teacher C. Ofei was dismissed from his job at Apinaban in 1891 'for drinking too much'. 157 In 1893 it was laid down at Kyebi that a Christian who drank schnapps should be expelled from the congregation after a series of warnings. 158 It was also forbidden to Christians to dance to the tunes of the traditional drums or take part in burial rites for non-Christians. 159 In 1899 Rossler was told about a Christian of Banso who was excluded for painting 'himself with red earth' during a funeral. 160 Nine years earlier a Fankyeneko Christian had also been excluded for taking part in the 'custom'

155. Among the teachers and Catechists were Andreas Adu(1879), Samuel Gyina(1876 ), Joshua Gynema(1890), Don Ofei(1890). See Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, pp.60 & 154; Supplement, pp.201, 202, 222.


158. Ibid, p.79 J. Muller to Basel 4 March 1893.

159. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p.141 Years Report of the (Begoro) Station for 1891 dd. 2 Jan. 1892; Abstracts (Supplement) p.79 J. Muller to Basel 4 March 1893.

Missionary prejudice against traditional culture was imbued by converts and manifested itself in violation of taboos or customary prohibitions. It also was responsible for the violent confrontations that occurred in the 1870s and 1880s between Christians and non-Christians at Asiekwa, Asunafo, Esum and Kyebi. The aloofness of Christians from traditional cultural practices grew stronger in the early decades of the 20th century.

The Basel Missionaries also did a lot to popularise scientific medicine in Akyen Abuakwa. Before the 1890s the akonfoo of the various gods held sway in the field of curative medicine, as illness was invariably seen as the work of evil spirits.

The akonfoo as native doctors charged a lot of money for their services. In 1874 Akonfoo Amofo of Osino collected £27.00 (about £6) from the people of Begoro as his fee for medicine given to the townspeople to protect them against disease and all kinds of mishap. Treatment of a small wound could cost as much as 8/- plus a sheep. By the 1890s the Basel Missionaries were

162. See Chapter Two
163. See Chapter Two
164. See Chapter One pp.80-81.
166. Paul Jenkins (Supplement) p.83 Bauer's letter to
successfully treating cases of wounds and minor ailments without asking for payment for their 'time and trouble' except for their drugs.\textsuperscript{167} In 1890-91 Hirsulner cured two persons of dysentry at Bogoro with 'Hollenstein' pills. The first was a pupil of the Middle School and the second, a little girl brought to him 'after a native doctor had failed to do anything for her...' According to Hirsulner, his success helped 'to get the whiteman a better reputation as a doctor than the black man'.\textsuperscript{168} In 1893 Bauer reported that he was 'very busy as a dispenser, with Christians and non-Christians coming from all parts of Kyem to ask for his help'.\textsuperscript{169}

The Basel Mission was indeed a veritable propaganda outfit. Through its congregations and salons, its schools and boarding system, its catechists and teachers, it sought to inculcate new values, attitudes, beliefs and habits. In the 20th century, the Colonial Government and educated Abakwa citizens sought to complete the super structure of the new social order whose foundations had been laid in the previous century by the Basel Mission.

\textsuperscript{167} Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, (Supplement) p.03 Bauer's letter to Basel May 1893.

\textsuperscript{168} Ibid, p.51 Hirsulner's Report on the Kyebi Boarding School and the Bogoro Middle School for the Academic Year 1890-91.

\textsuperscript{169} Ibid, p.67 Bauer's Report on the Bogoro Middle School and the Kyebi (Primary) Boarding School in 1893 dd. 1 Feb. 1893.
The Colonial Government

In the 19th century the Colonial Government played second fiddle to the Basel Mission in the matter of social change and development in Akyem Abuakwa. Its impact was felt mainly in three directions: in the emancipation of slaves and pawns which paved the way for the growth of an egalitarian society; in the Public Announcement of 1887 which guaranteed freedom of religion and worship to the Christians, and in the intimidation of Abuakwa Chiefs into granting lands for the establishment of mission stations. In the 20th century, however, the Colonial Government played a more positive and direct role in bringing about social change through its support of educational expansion, its programme of health and medical care, and the suppression of what it considered to be obnoxious customs.

The establishment and financing of schools in Akyem Abuakwa in the 19th century had been largely left to the Basel Mission. The Basel Mission's educational budget was largely financed from its meagre local resources supplemented by grants from Basel. In 1892, for instance the Mission's income from its congregations in Akyem Abuakwa totalled £142 of which £119 was set aside 'to cover the salaries of the pastors, catechists and teachers'.

170. See Chapter Two pp.140-41; Chapter Three, pp.184-88; 194-195.

171. Paul Jenkins. Abstracts (Supplement) p.56 Ofori's Annual 13. Of the income £50 came from Sunday
first two months of 1893 the Mission obtained an income of £249 of which £219 was earmarked for payment of salaries of its 31 local agents in the State.

In recognition of the importance of the effort which the Mission was making in the field of education, the Colonial Government made token annual grants to the Mission beginning from 1874. Between 1874 and 1882 the Basel Mission received an annual grant of £100. Under the Education Ordinances of 1882 and 1887 the Government paid the Mission grants-in-aid which were based on the academic performance of the individual schools. For the 1890-91 school year, for instance, the Inspector of Schools, Mr. Mark, recommended the following grants-in-aid for the Akyem schools: Kyebi Primary Boarding School £37.8.0d; Kukurantumi Congregational School, nothing; the Begoro Congregational School £3.12.0d. The Begoro Middle School with a high failure rate of 52.6% (10 out of 19) got only

172. Ibid. p.70 Mohr's Report for 1895 dd. 20 Feb. 1895. The break-down was as follows: Missionary Offering £39; Church tax £89; Sunday offering £59, School fees £12. A monitor's salary was £12 per annum, the same as that for an Assistant Catechist/Evangelist.


In the following year, however, following an extremely complimentary report by Schools Inspector Tuck, the Middle School's grant went up to £30.17.6d.176

From the beginning of 1919 the Government took an increasingly bigger share of the educational budget of the State. First it took over responsibility for the payment of teachers' salary bill in the State.177 Second, it responded favourably to Ofori Atta's request for the establishment of Government schools in the State. Though himself a product of Basel Mission education, the Okyenhene believed that the standard attained by 'scholars of the Government schools' was superior to that of Mission school graduates.178 In 1916 Governor Clifford accepted the Okyenhene's offer to erect the school buildings and instructed the Director of Education to make provision in the estimates for 1917 for the establishment of a Government Primary School at Kyobi.179 By the end of 1916 a site had been cleared and 'the sum of £600 voted' for the Project.180

The official opening ceremony of the school was performed by Governor Clifford on 4 January 1919 on the occasion of his visit to Kyebi to invest Ofori Atta with the Order of Commander of the British Empire (C.B.E.). The first batch of fully qualified standard VII 'graduates' passed out of the school in 1922. In the same year the Government established a Trade School at Kyebi in response to an appeal by Nana Ofori Atta for 'more primary and trade schools' in his State. The Kyebi Trade School became a show-piece and was one of the places visited by His Royal Highness and Prince of Wales during his visit to the Gold Coast in April 1925. By 1927 the trade school under the headship of Mr. Bevan had made good progress and Ofori Atta was calling for the addition of facilities for rudimentary training in Engineering.

The Government's Education Ordinance of 1925 gave a great boost to educational expansion in Akyn Abuakwa as in other States. Under the Ordinance it became possible for any school

185. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/712 Memo on Matters Submitted to H.E. at
to qualify for a grant subject to the attainment of certain pre-
scribed standards of efficiency. The grant, based on the
salary bill of a school, encouraged the various missions operat-
ing in the State, to open more schools in remote parts of the
State in collaboration with the Chiefs and people. In 1927 a
total of £4,030.16.9d was paid in Akyen Abunkwa in respect of
Government grants to assist schools. The number of Mission
schools in the State in 1928 stood at 62. Admissions to the
Trade School to date totalled 163.

The efforts of the Government and the Basel Mission in par-
ticular, in the promotion of western-style education generated an
'education fever' with which the Abunkwa populace was seized in
the 1920s and 1930s. Under the influence of the Abunkwa Scholars'
Union formed in 1916 to promote the development of the State, the
Okyeaman Council passed a bye-law in 1918 which obliged Chiefs to
give Stool heirs the benefit of western education. In the
next six years at least two chiefs were destooled partly because
of their lack of enthusiasm about education. Apinananhene Kofi

108. Ibid. The break-down of the schools were as follows:
Presbyterian Mission 47 (with 15 assisted); Wesleyan 13
(with none assisted); L.M.E. Zion 2 (with none assisted).
109. M.A.G., Adm 11/1721 Apiranah Native Affairs. For more
discussion on the Abunkwa Scholars' Union see pp.304-307.
Boaton was forced to abdicate in May 1918 partly because of his neglect to give 'the Heirs to the Stool the benefit of education'. Similarly Takwahene Kwasi Daako was destooled in 1924 because he neglected to support the schools in the town.

With a view to increasing the existing educational facilities and enabling the many youths in the State who were eager to go to school to do so, the Akomen Abuakwa Scholars' Union under the influence of J.B. Danquah, prevailed upon the Okyeman Council to collect 5% 'on all proceeds from land alienation... to be specifically set apart for national needs'. A Bank Account was opened in 1920 in the name of Okyeman for the fund and a circular issued to all Chiefs requesting them to pay up their contributions. Indeed in the 1920s and 1930s part of the revenues accruing to each stool from land sales or royalties was applied to educational purposes. The people of Asiakwa spent $1,000 in 1930 on a four classroom block.

In September of the same year the people of Kyebi also completed

190. Ibid
192. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1105 In Answer by Hon. Ofori Atta to Petition of Barina Kwaku, noa 4 Nov. 1921; Award Published at Nsawam Sept. 9, 1929.
193. Ibid. The Asu's original recommendation was 10%
work on new school buildings for the Government school out of
money voted by Ofori Atta. The total school enrolment in
the State in December 1931 stood at 3,552 with maintenance costs
estimated at £10,726 for the year.

The thirst for education was not assuaged by the building
of primary schools. The rising educated elite shared Ofori
Atta's belief that education up to Standard III did more harm than
good, and that rural primary schools would be purposeless unless
provision was made for middle (senior) schools to absorb their
products. In 1935 a Government Middle Boarding school was
set up at Kyebi through the initiative of Ofori Atta; and
from then on it became the fashion for towns and villages to ask
for the opening of middle schools in their localities. From
1940 to 1943 the Takwahene, for instance, importuned the super-
visor of Presbyterian schools, Mr. L. L. Creedy, for help to
establish a middle school at Akosombo. The request for
higher education in Akyak Lbuskwa culminated in the establishment
of the first secondary school in the State at Asafo through

196. N.A.G.K., LdM 29/6/32 S.I.L's Address delivered to the E.
The school was opened by the Governor on 5 June.
199. N.A.G.K., LdM 29/5/101 Minutes of Birrin District Education
Finance Sub Committee 14 Feb. 1944.
private initiative in 1935. In 1937 Ofori Atta had it transferred to Kyebi and taken over by the State. 200

The statutory establishment of Stool Treasuries in 1940 generated more revenue for the financing of a programme of educational expansion in the State. The Birrin District Education Committee established by Government in 1943 under the Chairmanship of the District Commissioner was charged with the special responsibility of promoting and supervising education in Akyem Aboukwa. 201 A special levy called 'education rate' was levied by the State on all adult citizens. The levy which was paid into the Central Treasury at Kyebi was used to meet the educational needs of the State. State assistance was granted 'only to non-assisted schools except in special cases'. In 1943, for instance, the Committee approved a grant of £300 towards the Presbyterian school building at Adeiso. 202

The most serious flaw in education in Akyem Aboukwa in the 20th century as in the 19th century was the over-concentration of effort on education for boys. The result was that the rising educated elite could hardly find suitable wives. Over the

200. The school now known as Aboukwa State College is one of the well-established secondary schools in Ghana.

201. W.E.F. Yard, A History of Ghana p.406. Other members were Okyenhene, the Deputy Director of Education, the Supervisors of Presbyterian, Methodist and Roman Catholic schools and W.E.A. Ofori Atta, State Treasurer.

202. N.A.G.K., Add 29/6/101 Minutes of Birrin District Educa---
years the impression had gained ground that formal education for girls was not essential so that there was not 'a single girl' in the State in 1927 who had passed Standard VII. In order to dispel the dangerous notion that female education was a waste of effort and money and avert 'a national disaster' Ofori Atta called on Government to establish a girls' boarding school in Akyem Abuakwa. Owing, however, to lack of sufficient female teachers in the country, the Government found itself unable to grant the request. By 1943 the State was still without a girls' boarding school.

The spread of education aided the Government's efforts to build upon the modest success scored by the Basel Mission in the popularisation of scientific medicine. Between 1912 and 1923 the Government maintained a Dispensary at Kyebi. A medical officer was also stationed there intermittently, mainly for the benefit

206. The first girls' boarding school - Mid. Tafo girls school - was opened in 1951.
of the 40 Europeans in the Birem District. The outbreak of 'a lot of sickness' in the State, and particularly of 'a strange epidemic' at Asiakwa in 1913 underscored the need for a hospital in Akyem Abuakwa. In 1923 the Government established the Kyebi Hospital under the charge of a Resident Medical Officer.

That the people of the State had come to appreciate the benefits of modern medical science was evident from the fact that the Kyebi hospital continued 'to be crowded' throughout the 1920s. In 1929-30, for instance, the hospital was kept busy dealing with an outbreak of small pox which occurred especially in villages along the Kukurantumi-Apedwa road. To remedy the low birth rate among the State's women which was attributed to 'diseases that affect the womb' the Chiefs and people of Akyem Abuakwa appealed to the Government to appoint a female medical officer to the Kyebi hospital as the women felt

207. The Medical Officer was withdrawn in January 1913. Within a few months the D.C. Mr. Hobbs, his assistant and 3 European Miners at Pusupusu became ill with fever. At the same time an epidemic claimed six lives at Asiakwa. Kyebi again had a Medical Officer briefly in 1915. From then till 1919 the town was without a Resident Medical Officer for all practical purposes. See N.A.G.K., Adm 29/6/3, Ldm 29/6/4, Ldm 29/6/10.


inhibited in the presence of a male doctor. 210

The growth of medical consciousness in Akyem Abuakwa was not matched by the Government's capacity to provide medical facilities in the State. Medical care in the State in fact remained inadequate and unsatisfactory up to World War II. In 1931 the Medical Officer at Kyebi was recalled and the visiting medical officer from Nsawam could only work at Kyebi hospital once a fortnight inspite of the growing number of patients.

Efforts to attract private African Medical practitioners to set up private practice in Akyem were unsuccessful, and except for a brief interlude in 1933 when Dr. Tagoe was stationed at Kyebi, the hospital appears to have been without a Resident Doctor till after 1935. 211 When Ofori Atta was taken ill in July 1935 he had to travel to Accra to see Dr. Mac Rae. 212 To cater for the health needs of its own staff and labourers the Consolidated African Selection Trust (CAST) found it imperative to establish its own hospital. In 1935 plans were drawn up for a hospital at Akwatia. 213


In pre-colonial days when the vast majority of the people of Akyem Abunkwa lived in small villages the standard of sanitation was remarkably good. The villages were built in 'the most orderly' manner with houses 'grouped along a wide high street ... with one or two alleys leading off it'. Basel Missionary Muller considered the houses and villages as having 'a pleasing aspect - cleaner than those in Akwapim and on the coast'. The small village of Kuarantumi, for instance, was 'a village built with an almost European degree of order'. It was 'neat and clean, with a fairly wide main street'. Tafo was also a neat village while Asafo was 'a pretty village with European style houses...'.

By the turn of the century, however, population growth and expansion of the villages was turning the towns into 'shanties' and 'slums'. From the very beginning of the 20th century the Colonial Government addressed itself to the problem of sanitation in Abunkwa towns. During his visit to Kyebi in 1901 Governor Nathan expressed regret that the State capital was 'not as good

214. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p.37(a)-38 Zimmerman's reisebericht over a journey to Gyadam May 1858.
216. Ibid p.44 Aver Reisebericht after Journey to Gyadam 5 May 1859.
217. Ibid p.5 Widmann and Mader to Basel 23 March 1852.
218. Ibid p.503 Stromberg to Miss Lang 11 March 1861.
a town as others he had passed through on his journey’. 219 In 1903 Travelling Commissioner Captain Hawtrey went to considerable trouble 'to get the principal towns clean' by having 'new latrines built, pools filled up, rubbish shot into pits etc'; and to ensure that the big towns maintained a reasonable level of sanitation at all times, he suggested that Kyebi, Begoro, Asiakwa, Tafo, Kukurantim, Asuom and Kade be placed under the Town Ordinance. 220 Two years later improvement in the sanitation of Kyebi was made a condition for the refund of the balance of the fine of £250 inflicted on the Okyenhene in 1900 as a result of the Abuakwa-Dwaben troubles. 221

On becoming King in 1912, Ofori Atta took advantage of his bye-law making power under the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance to tackle the question of sanitation. He encouraged his Chiefs to form sanitary committees of young men in their towns and villages and empowered the Chiefs to inflict a fine of 5/- under sanitary bye-laws for each hole dug in the centre of compounds for the 'disposal of dirty water and slops'. 222 The Senior Sanitary Officer visited several important towns in the State and

221. N.L.G., Adm 11/1/3 S.N.A. to H.E. 27 Sept. 1905. For a discussion of the Abuakwa-Dwaben troubles see Chapter Seven.
222. N.L.G.K. Adm 20/4/3 Birrim District Report for Quarter
commended Oforiatta for 'the practical interest' he took in sanitation. By the end of 1919 new latrines and drains had been dug in several towns and villages with the sanitary conditions at Kyebi comparing 'very favourably with towns provided with groups of scavengers'.

From mid 1920s the Chiefs and people of Akyem Abunkwa under the influence of its educated citizenry, manifested a desire not only to have their towns placed under the Towns' Ordinance, but also to have them properly laid out, and further sanitary improvements made. While not begrudging the coastal towns the money freely spent by Government on their sanitation, the Chiefs and people of Akyem Abunkwa urged the Government to be 'a little liberal' in spending some of its revenue on sanitation in the rural areas and thereby do its duty to the 'entire populace' of the country.

The Government's contribution to sanitation and town improvement in Akyem Abunkwa in the 1920s and 1930s took the form of technical advice, partial grants-in-aid and the institution of


sanitary courts. Otherwise the burden of improving sanitation in the State continued to rest on the shoulders of the Chiefs and people. At Kyedi the people led by Ofori Atta constructed a new market totally enclosed by a high wall with open sheds roofed with corrugated iron sheets and provided with concrete floors and surface drains. Apart from the cost of the drains which was borne by the Government the entire cost of the market was defrayed by the Okyenhen. Besides the market, properly constructed deep-pit latrines 'with a concrete floor and self-closing, fly proof lids' were provided by the Okyenhen.

In 1931, the Okyenhen and his Elders gave the Medical Officer an order for 30 barrels of cement for the construction of a water supply in the town. A contractor was also employed by the Okyenhen to construct streets, drains and culverts for £500. Ten 'pairs of latrines' were also constructed at the cost of £140 of which £40 was personally contributed by Dr. Selwyn Clarke.

At Begoro, the D.C., Mr. Warrington,

226. In 1929 (for instance) Government took over sanitary services at Akwese and employed sanitary headman and 3 labourers. But this was the exception rather than the rule. See N.A.G.K. Adm 11/1/371 Petition from Barina Kpawena Ano 20 April 1931.


229. N.A.G.K. Adm 26/6/49 D.C. Beeton's Diary for April, May, June and July 1935.
supervised the construction of a dam by communal labour between February and July 1930. The dam, approximately 48 feet long and 2½ feet above the stream bed level, was fed by springs in the reservoir area at the rate of 300 gallons per hour. Three outflow pipes carried off the normal flow supplemented by bailing from the reservoir during the rush hour. Other improvements to Begoro town included the construction of concrete gutters and a lay out. By March 1934, 'a lot of quite good new buildings' were being put up in the town.

In the western half of the State also a number of projects were undertaken through communal labour in March and April 1930. The Odikro and people of Kade built a market with a partial grant of £50 from the Government; at Akropon 'a properly drained lorry park' and drains were constructed and the main street widened; the people of Takymam constructed a new street and a new market and raised the level of the lorry park. To help maintain a high standard of sanitation in the towns and villages, the District Commissioner held sanitary courts in several towns from 1931 and inflicted fines, inter alia for 'unscreened water


receptacles'. 233

Finally the Colonial Government took steps to abolish and outlaw certain customary practices which it considered to be outrageous and repugnant to the laws of England. The first of these was human sacrifice which had been practised in Akyem Abuakwa, as in other Akan States, from time immemorial in connection with the death of Kings. 234 The proclamation of authority issued in 1874 by Lord Carnarvon Secretary of State, outlawed the custom. 235 In 1830 Asiakwahene Ama, as already indicated, was convicted of the offence and exiled to Lagos. 236 All forms of judicial torture were also outlawed. 237 In 1909, for instance, when Kofi Anoako committed adultery with one of the wives of Okyenahene Anoako Atta II called Abena Faamaa, the ancient custom of 'atopre' could not be invoked for fear of the law. Describing the custom as witnessed by him in about 1859 Emmanuel Yaw Donkye, then a state drummer, stated:


236. See Chapter Two

237. David Kinble, A Political History p.303. The use of logs was also outlawed in the 1880s. See Chapter Three p.228.
In that case the man Oben and the woman Inkwabu were tortured. Knives were put through the male offender's cheeks right and left breast and back. Thorns were put through his nose. The flesh and skin were taken off both feet and given to the woman to grind and rub on her skin. He was forced to dance "atopreh" then his penis was cut off. An iron rod was then driven from the back of the man's head through the body and into the ground. The big drums were then beaten the iron rod was removed and the man beheaded.

Other customs outlawed were Ifunsono(1901) and witch finding (Yi-abcyie, 1930). The former involved the public parade of a corpse in a ritual aimed at discovering the person responsible for his death. Certain gods deemed to be dangerous to society were also outlawed. Among them were Nkona, Hweseso, Aberowa and Katawore.

Effects of Measures

The long-term and cumulative effects of the activities of the Basel Missionaries and the Colonial Government may be judged by the extent of the changes that had taken place in the attitudes, values, habits and aspirations of the people of Akyen.

Abunkwa by 1913. The first important change was in the area of social stratification. In place of the three social classes of pre-colonial days there were now only two: the traditional ruling elite and the ruled. The former had suffered a considerable decline in status due to the loss of a sizeable portion of their traditional following made up of slaves and pawns, to the rising status of the new educated elite and nouveaux riches, and to their growing indigence. 241 From 1910 for instance, chiefs other than headchiefs (i.e. Paramount Chiefs or Kings) did not qualify for the issue of 'permits to withdraw arms of precision and ammunition' for their use except 'with the Governor's approval'. On the other hand 'qualified native Barristers, Doctors, Engineers and Surveyors' as well as 'Clerks in the Government or Mercantile service with salaries of not less than £100 per annum' did not require the Governor's approval for such permits. 242

Also noticeable as an important social change in the 19th century was the growth of a new spirit of egalitarianism generated largely by the emancipation of slaves and pawns, and by the spread of the Christian message of equality of all persons before God. The emancipation not only enabled ex-slaves to

241. For a discussion of the nouveaux riches. See Chapter Five.
attend school on equal terms with children of free born parents, but also encouraged them to develop self-pride. In 1876 David Asante reported the story of an ex-slave boy of the Kyebi Primary Boarding School who said to a boy from a royal family sitting next to him at the dining table: 'Kosaw nsu biae efoi yen nyinaa vo re' (Go and fetch water, we are all equal now).\(^2\) In 1882 an ex-slave pupil John Ayebinin from Salaga was sponsored by the Basel Mission to further his education at Akropon middle school alongside Emmanuel Agyei, son of Emmanuel Yaw Boakye and Simeon Agyanko from Begoro.\(^2\) Another ex-slave boy, without family, called David Pippin successfully completed his course at Akropon secondary in 1891 and was appointed to teach at the Kyebi elementary (non-boarding) school.\(^2\)

Ex-slave members of congregations were also admitted to a share of power in the administration of the affairs of the Church. At Kukurantumi the non-Asan section of the congregation comprising ex-slaves from the north resented the monopoly of the presbytery by free-born members and got Deacon Theophilus Opoku to arrange

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244. Ibid p.634 Munz to the Twi District Inspector of Schools 20 June 1892; p.632 Munz's Report on the Kibi Anstalt Sept. 1892.

245. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts (Supplement) p.54 Bogoro Station Conference to Basel 10 Dec. 1891.
for one of their number Jonas Onyane to be elected Presbyter in September 1802 to represent their interests. 246 Slowly over the years ex-slaves of non-Akan origin were integrated into Akyem society and their ethnic origin soon became obscured. 247

Another significant impact of Missionary activity was the gradual decline and eclipse of Kyebi, the State capital, in the 19th century, partly because of its decline as a market town and principally because of its loss of population. 248 From several villages people went to Kyebi in 1875 'to fetch home their ex-slave relatives'. 249 By May 1875 Mader was already asking for permission to increase the enrolment at the Kyebi Boarding school as 'a large school will help to balance the striking reduction in the population of Kibi town'. 250 The lack of patronage of street preaching in 1877 was due to a large extent to the decrease in Kyebi's population. 251

The exile of King Ancafe Atna I worsened the plight of Kyebi as its inhabitants, denied of their means of livelihood,

248. See Chapter Two p.116
249. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p.505 (:) Lante, Mohr and Werner to S.E.C. 26 June 1875.
scattered themselves in farming villages. The choice of Begoro as the residence of the District Commissioner for Akyen Abunkwa in 1897-1898 struck a further blow at the status and image of the state capital. By 1893 Christians formed the majority of Kyebi's population and with his restricted group of servants the Okyenhnene had difficulty keeping the area around his palace clear of grass. The growth of the Akyen Middle school at Begoro, the exodus of pupils from the Kyebi Primary Boarding school in 1893 over catering fees and the addition of Class VI to the Begoro Primary school increased the obscurity of Kyebi as parents in the State sent their children to the Begoro school in preference to the one in Kyebi. To reverse the trend, and check the decline of Kyebi's status vis-a-vis Begoro, the Okyenhnene added his voice to the plea of his elders that Kyebi should once more become the residence of European missionaries. Kyebi, however, had to await the reign of Ofori Atta I to regain her traditional status as the nerve-centre of Akyen Abunkwa.

252. See Chapter Two p.140
254. Ibid Mohr's Note dd. 8 June 1893.
255. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts (Supplement) p.75 Pfisterer's Note 12 July 1893; p.80 J. Muller to Basel 4 March 1893.
Also significant as an event of social change was the reconciliation of Chieftaincy to Christianity. In the 1070s the two institutions had been regarded as incompatible and mutually exclusive, but the precedents set by Joseph Dosompen and Salone Ampofo during the Okyenhene's exile and the conversion of royals and state functionaries undermined this attitude. Gradually people came to see little or no contradiction in a Christian occupying a stool. In 1090 the people of Kwaben in petitioning the Government to persuade Jonas Oware, then resident in Accra, to accept the stool of Kwaben stated:

Now it has pleased the elders of the above-mentioned town to place one of the nephews of the deceased called Jonas Oware who is presently at Accra on that stool; in hopes that, he would as an educated Christian young man bring more civilization(sic) to the country, and also give all necessary advice(sic) to King Amoako Atta II who is still young and illiterate... that we also might enjoy the benefit of education and christianity.

By the turn of the century Christianity and literacy were fast becoming the hall marks of civilization and progress. No wonder that one of the clauses of the rules drawn up by the Ananteeniensa in December 1900 for Amoako Atta II's observance,

256. See Chapter Two

as a condition of his reinstatement enjoined him 'to take good care of the Christians'. Indeed from 1900 onwards there was a clear tendency in the State to prefer educated, and or Christian, candidates for the office of chief. Among the educated and Christian ndebye elected Chiefs in the 20th century were David Kwaku Isare (1902-1905), Gyanora (1905-1908), Tupiri (1908-1912) and Antwi Asua (1913-1919), all of Begoro; John Robert Owre (1905-1910) of Kwaben; and John Kofi Boobae (1905-1910) of Apinanah. Of the educated 'Christian' rulers of Akyen Abunkwa in the 20th century the most remarkable, able and famous was Nana Sir Ofori Atta I, King of the State from 1912 to 1943.

258. N.A.C., Adn 11/1/3 Rules given to King Amoako Atta II on the occasion of his re-instatement, 3 Dec. 1900. Following the Akyen debacle at Bonkra during the Yaa Asantowaa 'kr, the Chiefs and people of Akyen Abunkwa destooled Amoako Atta II but this was disallowed by Government.

259. More often than not the candidates' membership of the Church lapsed on becoming chiefs (see pp. 242-3). In the case of Asunafahene and Tumfahene in 1904 they retained their membership of the church and following the precedent of the Gyanase Stool of Kyobi in 1902 surrendered their stool to the custody of the Basel Mission. The Government however disavowed the action and retrieved the stools for the people of Asunafo and Tumfa. For details see N.A.G., Adn 11/1774 Palaver Books.

260. Gyanora worked as a Teacher and Catechist (1888-1890) and as Preventive Officer before being enstooled in 1905; Kofi Boaten was a prosperous trader resident in Accra before his enstoolment.

261. See pp. 300-303.
The impact of the Basel Mission and the Colonial Government was also felt in the sphere of traditional culture. The Public Announcement of 1837, the assimilation of Christian and western ethics to Chiefaincy and the spread of western education undermined Akyen Aboukwa's traditional culture. In the privacy and security of their salons the Christians continued to violate the customary taboos cherished by their non-Christian counterparts in the main townships. Indeed the salons became sorts of imperium in imperio enjoying immunity from the customary taboos. In explaining the anxiety of Osien Christians to move to a salon, Mohr stated that they were

'not allowed to keep goats in Osien, and working on the farm is also forbidden on specific week-days, both of which prohibitions would not apply if they lived on mission land...'.

In the early 1940s it was common to see Christians at Osino, for example, carrying bundles of firewood and bunches of palm nut to the Mission Station. The Christians also beat fufu at the mission station during the Ohun festival contrary to custom. On the other hand they did all they could to promote alien festivals like Christmas and ceremonies like memorial


263. This is based on the writer's personal observation as a school pupil.
services for the dead. Christian disrespect for custom was inbibed by some of the non-Christian youth. In 1905 when the Odikro of Nkronso reprimanded two drunken youngmen Kwabena Pakyi and Kwame Bekoe for making noise on Ohunda Bonada (Ohun Tuesday) and threatened to order them to slaughter sheep, one of them retorted: 'if you claim any sheep from us I will bring you before Commissioner'.

Some Chiefs, especially those with a Christian background, also neglected to perform certain customary rites. In 1909 Odikro Kofi Twum of Asafo was destooled, inter alia, for neglecting to 'give some feast to the fetish and the stool' during an Odwira festival. Among the rules drawn by the Begoro public in 1907 for the observance of Chief Gyanera, an ex-catechist, was one which enjoined him specifically to look after the town gods. Gyanera's successor, Otupiri, was destooled in 1912, among other reasons, for 'neglecting the worship of his own fetish stool'.

264. Civil Record Book Vol.1 1905, 2 Sept. 1905-3 July 1907 Acc. Number 1 Kyebi Palace Archives.
266. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/57 Bye-Laws made by Begoro People and Humadu people for the observance of the Chief, Begoro 12 April 1907.
Monogamy and marriage under the Ordinance slowly became an accepted part of Christian morality and a way of life for many Akyen Abukwa Christians. Evangelist Emmanuel Yaw Boakye and Presbyter Solomon Botwe had 5 and 4 wives respectively before their conversion in the 1970s but soon after became monogamists. 

By 1009 there were 50 married couples in the Kyobi congregation and 20 couples each in the Kukurantumi, Bogoro and Asiakwa congregations. 

In January 1909 an attempt was made by the Basel Mission Synod sitting at Aburi to claim a superior status for marriage under the ordinance by arbitrarily fixing satisfaction fee for Christian husbands at £5 instead of the £1 4/- to which all Akyen young men were customarily entitled. 

King Amaako Atta successfully resisted the claim of the Christians with the backing of the Colonial Government. 

The Christian impact on traditional culture was also evident from departures from the traditional pattern of matrilineal inheritance. The tendency was for Christians to leave a portion of


270. N.A.G., Adm 1097 Enquiry at Kyobi 24 Sept. 1909. The synod was constituted by Revs. Kohr, Hottmann and others. The satisfaction fee payable to Principal Chiefs in Akyen was £6 plus sheep. See N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1096 Amaako Atta II to S.N.A. 3 July 1909.

their inheritance to their wives and children, in the 1930s and 1940s. 272

The Basel Mission also left Akyen Abunkwa, and the Gold Coast at large, a legacy in the educational structure which they devised in the 1860s. This structure survived with hardly any serious alterations beyond 1943. The Mission educational ladder had three steps: the elementary or primary school; the middle school or 'Grammar' school; and the Teachers' Seminary or Theological Seminary. 273 Until the 1890 elementary or primary school course lasted five or six years depending on the age and ability of the pupils. 274 Of these, two years were spent in what was called congregational schools and three or four years in the Kyobi Primary Boarding School. 275 In 1893, however, the duration of the primary school course was formally extended to six years.

The six-year primary course, first introduced at Begoro, became

272. The division of property was based on the Abusa principle – ½ to the deceased maternal family and ½ to his wife and children. See Kwesi Frempong to Ofori Atta 17 Feb. 1934 :, in item 200 Case No.47/32 Kyobi Palace Archives.

273. There was no Theological or Teachers seminary in Akyen Abunkwa throughout the period covered by this thesis. Akyen pupils had to go to Akropon for training as teachers and catechists.


the prototype for all primary schools in the State. The middle school course also lasted for four years.

The syllabus or curriculum emphasised Biblical History, Geography, Reading, Arithmetic, Writing and manual labour. At the middle school level Physics and Greek were taught in the 1880s and 1890s. Mission education set great store by manual labour, as an important training in industry. The boys of the Kyebi Primary Boarding School, for instance, spent two hours a day working on the school's coffee plantation, corn farm or buildings. In 1893 the Begoro Middle School boys planted 400 new coffee seedlings and realised £5.9.3d and 15/- from the school's coffee and maize farms respectively. Unfortunately the teachers found manual work 'a burden' and left the pupils 'to their own devices when possible'.

276. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, (Supplement) p.74 Mohr's Note dd. 8 June 1893.
280. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, (Supplement) p.89 Bauer's Report 9 Jan. 1894. There were 1515 coffee trees altogether in the school's plantation.
The Missionaries believed that there was a correlation between discipline and academic performance.⁹²² Discipline was enforced by means of flogging and expulsion for drunkenness, lateness to school or lack of academic progress. In 1835, for instance, five pupils of the Bogoro middle school were expelled for failing their examination and two for misconduct (i.e. drunkenness).⁹²³ Again in 1890 one pupil was dismissed as being simply not gifted enough for the demands made on him.⁹²⁴ Teachers were also liable to dismissal for inefficiency or immorality.⁹²⁵

One of the most important legacies of the Missionaries was undoubtedly the Boarding School system. Like the Saloon, the boarding school system originated in the need to isolate pupils from the uncongenial atmosphere of the parental home in the interest of good academic performance.⁹²⁵ In 1833 and 1890 a

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⁹²⁴ Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, (Supplement) p.20 Hirsmuller's Report on the Bogoro Middle School and the Nyobi Boarding School in 1889 dd. 3 Feb. 1890.
⁹²⁶ Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p.646 Minutes of Achin Synod 6 Feb. 1883.
case was made for the abolition of the boarding system for primary school children as the system had outlived its usefulness. But the view was not shared by some Missionaries. Hirschluller, for instance, wrote in defence of the boarding system:

...the difficulties point towards boarding schools.

After all, night falls at 6 p.m. and apart from our teachers no single head of a household in Akyen has a lantern. So how can children do their home work?

The boarding school system survived the debate and by the turn of the century had become accepted as an important and desirable feature of the educational structure in Akyen Abunkwa.

In 1927 the Chiefs and people of Akyen Abunkwa asked the Government for permission to turn 'the present Government Primary School at Kyobi into a Boarding school for pupils from Standard III to VII' because they believed that 'discipline among children while in school is essential to their future life'; and in their view only Boarding schools were capable of instilling the sort of discipline they envisaged. It was the same reason of discipline that underlay the Okyenan's request for a

287. Ibid; also Paul Jenkins, Abstracts (Supplement) p.36, Hirschluller's Report 23 July 1890. John Muller favoured abolition of the Boarding system.


Girls' Boarding School for the State.

The routine and traditions of the Boarding school system as evolved in the 19th century survived almost intact into the 1940s. The highlights of the routine included the waking bell at 5 a.m., morning prayers between 6 and 7 a.m., performance of chores, breakfast at 9 a.m., exact time at 12-1 p.m. and 5-6 p.m., roll call at 1 p.m. and 6 p.m., and evening prayers at 7.30 p.m.

The purpose of the exact was to ensure that pupils did not go into town without permission. The 'boarders' wore prescribed uniform. In 1864 the Kyebi Boarding school pupils marched out into town in shirt and trousers (white) made by Frau Kroner.

All fancy clothing and shoes were banned at the Bogoro Middle Boarding school in 1892. In the 20th century white drill suit became the characteristic Sunday wear for all 'boarders' in Akyen Abuakwa.

290. See p. 276


295. The present writer was a boarder at the Asafo-Akyen Middle School as a private school from 1948-49.
Perhaps the most significant impact of missionary and colonial activity in Akyem Aboukwa was the rise of an educated elite. Largely products of Mission schools, the educated elite working as teachers, catechists, traders, civil servants or state employees, played no mean role in the affairs of Akyem Aboukwa and of the Gold Coast Colony in general. The careers of Nana Sir Ofori Atta I and his cousin Dr. J.B. Danquah best exemplify the social impact of missionary and colonial experience in Akyem Aboukwa.

Born at Kyebi on October 11, 1891 and christened Aaron Eugene Boakye Danquah, Ofori Atta I, as he became known in later life, was the son of Odshyee Akosun Buo Gyankrona and Ermanuel Yaw Boakye the controversial Basel Mission Evangelist and former state drummer of Okyenhene Amoako Atta I. He was educated at the Basel Mission Primary Schools at Amun, Bepon, Kyebi and Abetifi and subsequently at the Boys Middle Boarding school at Bogoro and the theological seminary at Akropong Akwapom. On leaving the seminary after only one year, he worked with T. Hutton-Hills as a solicitor's clerk in 1899. He was then aged 18.

In 1900 Boakye Danquah left Hutton-Hills' office to take up an appointment in the correspondence Branch of H.H.'s

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296. See Chapter Two. Akosun Buo Gyankrona's first husband, Kwadwo Pipin, a non-Christian, fathered her first son Alexander Danquah, for many years secretary to Amoako Atta. Alexander Danquah Jr, Abstracts, (Supplement) p.42 Hira-
Custons Department in Accra. The same year he joined the Gold Coast Volunteer Corps and accompanied Captain Wilcox as an N.C.O. to the Yan Asantewaa War. Subsequently employed in the Correspondence Branch of Governor Nathan's office, Boakye Danquah served as His Excellency's interpreter during his tour of Cape Coast and Sekondi in 1901. After working for the Goldfields of Eastern Akin Ltd. in 1902 and Obuse Mines in 1903 he returned to Kyobi to work with his half-brother A.E.A. Danquah as joint-secretary to Okyeenhene Anooako Atta II. When his brother died he held the post alone till his enthronement as Okyeenhene in November 1912.

By 1909 he had already established a reputation as 'the brain behind the Okyeenhene's throne'.

Ofori Atta's accession to the Ofori Stool was perhaps one of the greatest social revolutions in Akyen Abunkwa considered against the background of Mohr's judgement in 1890 that 'a Christian King in Akyen seems more or less an impossibility'.


A man of undoubted ability, shrewdness, and promise, his election was popular both with his own people and British Colonial officials. District Commissioner Hobbs, for instance, commended the king-makers for having 'made a wise choice'; while the C.E.P regarded Ofuri Atta's thorough understanding of English as 'a great asset to any chief at the present time'.

In recognition of his 'conspicuous ability and wisdom', Ofuri Atta was appointed a member of the Legislative Council on 28 March 1916, barely four years after he ascended the Ofuri stool. Two years later, on 14 March 1918, he was appointed a Commander of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire (C.M.G.) not only in recognition of his war efforts but also of the success he had attained 'in the administration of his Division'.

As a member of the Legislative Council (1916-1943), President of the Eastern Provincial Council of Chiefs and Chairman of the Joint-Committee of the Provincial Council of Eastern, Central and Western Provinces in the 1930s, Member of the Board of Education from 1927, member of the Committee on Cocoa (1919) and member of the Executive Council (September 1942-August 1943), Ofuri Atta

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had a hand in determining the course of the political, economic and social development of Akyen Abunkwa and the Gold Coast at large. Little wonder he achieved the distinction of being the first West African Chief to be knighted.

The role of Dr. J.B. Danquah in the history of Akyen Abunkwa and of the Gold Coast was no less spectacular. He was born on December 21 1895 to Lydia Okon Korantena of the royal family of Adadientam and Emanuel Yaw Donkoe, and was educated at the Kyobi Mission Primary and Begooro Middle schools. On leaving school in 1912 he worked first as a lawyer's clerk, then as a clerk in the Supreme Court and finally as Court Clerk and Registrar at Kyobi from 1915 till November 1921 when he left for England to study law. From 1927 when he returned to the Gold Coast till his death in February 1925 he remained in the forefront of national affairs. He was secretary of the Gold Coast and Asante Delegation to the Colonial Office (1934), Secretary of the Gold

304. Ofori Atta was a nominated unofficial member of the Legislative Council 1916-1927. In February 1926 he was elected Provincial Member of Akan Section of the Eastern Province in succession to the late Okunpenghe Kwafo, and held the seat till his death in 1943. In 1920 Ofori Atta became a member of the Government Educationist Committee and of the Board of Education in 1927 following the passage of the Education Ordinance 1925 No. 1 of 1925. (See Metcalfe Great Britain and Ghana; N.A.G., Ad 11/1/1420 Native Affairs Department Annual Reports April 1926-March 1927, 1926-1929; April 1925-March 1926.

305. N.A.G., Ad 11/1/1420 Annual Report Native Affairs Depart-
Coast Youth Conference (1938-1946) founding member of the Coossey Constitutional Committee (1949) and member of the Legislative Council (1946-1950) and Legislative Assembly (1950-1954). 306

Dr. J.B. Danquah did not make his mark on the national scene only. At the state level, he served as a member of the State Council and Legal Adviser to the Okyereh up to May 1935. 307

More importantly, he was the founder of the Akyen Abukwaa Scholars' Union.

Founded in 1916 with J.B. Danquah as its first Secretary, the Akyen Abukwaa Scholars' Union aimed primarily in bringing together all the educated sons of the State to offer leadership in a common endeavour to promote peace, unity and progress in the State. Its membership appears not to have been exclusive to the sons of Akyen Abukwaa only. Educated non-Abukwaa people domiciled in the State were admitted to membership. 308 Early in its existence the Union was attracted to the objectives and political aspirations of the coastal educated elite and sought to identify itself with the aspirations of the National Congress of British West Africa. At its meeting held at Tafio on 10 December 1920,

306. For a fuller biographical account of J.B. Danquah, see L.H. Ofosu Appiah, The Life and Times of Dr. J.B. Danquah, Accra 1974; Danquah Funeral Committee (Compld.) Danquah—An Immortal of Ghana.


308. See list of signatories to the Union's Resolution on the NECWA 10 Proclamation, Gold Coast Legislative Council Resolution, 25 April 1921 p.219.
the Union passed resolutions which threatened to condemn 'most highly' any action 'done by anybody or association in Akyen Abuakwa and elsewhere to frustrate the plans of the Congress'.

The signatories, twenty-two in all including the President, D.K. Minta and the Acting Secretary, R. Kware Ofosu, were arraigned before an outraged Okyen Council on 27 December 1920, reprimanded, fined and made to publicly retract the 'views expressed in the said Resolutions' because they were 'not consonant with' those of the Chiefs. Thereafter the Union as a body, became loyal to the Ofori Stool and parochial in outlook holding 'the same opinion with their Elders and Chiefs'.

Is a non-political body, the Union functioned as an instrument of social change and progress in Akyen Abuakwa throughout the 1920s and 1930s. It was at its instance that the Okyen Council decreed compulsory education for stool heirs and established a special fund for social development. In 1935 a prominent member of the Union, Charles E. Okai of Asafo offered his building for housing a private secondary school at Asafo, the first in the State and the direct ancestor of the Abuakwa State

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310. Gold Coast Legislative Council Debates, 1920-21 Session 4 Feb. 1921 p.120.
College of to-day.312

At the height of the crisis over the Native Revenue Measure and Income Tax Proposal which threatened Akyem Abuakwa with disintegration, the Abuakwa Scholars' Union offered to mediate between the Okyenene and the rebellious divisions in an effort to save the unity of the State.313 On October 13, 1933 it held a meeting with the rebellious Adonten and Gyaase divisions at Kukurantumi and persuaded them to go to Kyebi for an arbitration.314 The Union's efforts backed by those of the Secretary for Native Affairs who held three meetings with the rebellious divisions at Kwaben and Bunso between 20th and 30th October 1933 resulted in the holding of a reconciliation meeting at Kyebi on November 9, 1933.315 Thus, thanks to the Union's initiative, Akyem Abuakwa survived the crisis with its unity unimpaired.

In recognition of the Union's constructive role in the affairs of the State, and in particular of the part it played in saving the unity of Akyem Abuakwa, it was given representation

312. See pp. 274-275 above. After the removal of the Secondary school to Kyebi, its buildings were used to house the Asafo Presbyterian Middle Boarding School. The founder and headmaster of the Asafo Secondary School was Mr. Addae.

313. For a discussion of the Native Revenue Measure and Income Tax Proposal see Chapter Seven pp. 512-514.


315. N.A.G.K., Adm 26/6/49 D.C. Messer's Diaries for October and November 1933.
on the State Council from 1933. Its first representative was its secretary Gideon Kofi Kakari. By 1939 the Union was being represented on the State Council by Mr. E. Awuch Pesaa, a founding member.

The missionary and colonial presence in Akyen Abuakwa did touch off a veritable social revolution with far-reaching consequences. Not all the social changes brought about were of course in the best interest of the State. A critical evaluation of the social impact of Missionary activities and Colonial rule will be found in the concluding chapter.

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CHAPTER FIVE

ECONOMIC REVOLUTION: MISSIONARY AND COLONIAL IMPACT

The traditional economy of Akyen Abuakwa, as already indicated, experienced some shifts and changes in the pre-colonial period.1 For nearly a century the gold-mining industry of the 17th and early 18th centuries was eclipsed by the slave-trade before being revived around the middle of the 19th century.

From then till 1874 gold-mining remained the predominant economic activity in the State with trade in palm-oil, gum-copal, 'guinea-grain' and subsistence farming as supplementary activities.2 At this stage in the State's economic history, the missionary impact was reflected in four developments: the introduction of new economic crops, especially coffee; the popularisation of silver coins as an alternative currency to gold dust; the creation of a modest demand for wage labour and the teaching of new skills like carpentry, masonry and bakery to a few of the State's youth.3

1. See Chapter One pp. 61-75.
2. In 1860 Eisenschmid wrote: 'The impact of gold-digging is seen in the lack of industry... and in the comparatively slight amount of farming going on'. A decade later, Buck regretting the lack of progress in evangelical work at Kwaben commented: 'The chief enemy is Gold'. (See Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, pp.537 and 610; Also p.114 Mohr to Begoro 28 Oct. 1879.

The Mission's economic impact, as in the case of its social impact, remained relatively insignificant till after the dawn of colonial rule when the interplay of missionary and Government policy measures brought about a radical overhaul of Akyen Abunkwa's traditional economic structure. Among the policy measures were the emancipation of slaves (1874) and pawns (1880); the demonetization of gold-dust (1899); the encouragement of cash-crop farming to satisfy the exigencies of the Industrial Revolution; the promotion of scientific mining and the development of an infrastructure in the form of roads, railways etc. The impact of each of these measures will be examined in turn.

The Emancipation of Slaves and Pawns

The first significant economic effect of the emancipation of slaves and pawns was the creation of a reservoir of free but unskilled wage labour force in Akyen Abunkwa. Until about 1870, the Basel Mission had experienced a lot of difficulty with regard to recruitment of wage labour. The commitment of most of the existing labour to the gold-mining industry and to the collection of forest products like gum-copal affected the Basel Mission's ability to satisfy its need for carriers, masons, carpenters etc. By the 1860s experience had taught the Missionaries that

4. The Mission's difficulty in recruitment of labour often arose from the King's hostility. In 1864, for instance, King Owusu-Kwadwo of his subjects to carry loads between.
the easiest way to recruit labour for mission work was to buy
slaves or pay off the debts of pawns. Wage labour was not only
hard to come by. It was also expensive. In 1856, for instance,
Rev. Baum was compelled to pay as much as one Thaler (c4/6d) per
carrier for the 18-mile journey from Kukurantuni to Gyadan. 6

The emancipation of slaves solved the chronic problem of
scarcity of wage labour, as the freed slaves augmented the size
of the existing wage labour force constituted by Kropi refugees
in Akyen Abuakwa. 7 By mid 1875 hired labour had become both
cheap and abundant. Wages far from going up, had in fact rever-
ted to their pre-Sagronti war level except for those paid to
Graftsmen. 8 The emancipation of pawns in 1860 added an estima-
ted 1,000 to 2,000 people to the existing labour force. 9 Not all
the free labour force created by the emancipation could be absor-
bded by the Akyen Abuakwa economy. Consequently part of it
migrated to Abwape and the coast where there was 'no shortage of

5. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p.513 Stronberg to Basel 4 May 1865;
p.36 Baun to Basel 14 July 1857.
That was the rate normally charged for the entire journey
from Akropon to Gyadan.
7. The Kropi refugees entered Akyen Abuakwa during the invasion
of their country by an Asante army led by Adu Bofoo in 1869-70.
1875; Asante, Mohr and Werner to the S.E.C. 26 June 1875.
9. See Chapter Two p.139.
employment'. Those who remained in the State either settled down to agriculture or took to private trade.

Agriculture in Akyen Abunkwa certainly benefited from the emancipation of slaves and pawns. Several of the liberated slaves mainly 'foreigners – Kwahus, Asantes and Nnonkofo or people from the interior' became domiciled in the State and took to farming 'which no-one hinders in view of plentiful land available'. Their efforts at food production were supplemented by migrant farmers from Acra, Abokobi, Aburi and Akropon who flocked to Akyen Abunkwa in the 1880s and 1890s in search of farmland. Increased population caused by the arrival of the Dwaben refugees and increasing enrolment at the Mission's boarding schools, coupled with the State's growing importance as a transit area for traders passing to and fro between the coast and the interior provided farmers with the necessary incentive in the form of a market. By 1893 there were 'many patches cleared where ten years before only forest stood'.


12. See pp. 323–324

The State of Akyen Abukawa seemed to have outstripped Akwapim in food production in the 1890s. In contrast to the persistent complaints of the Basel Missionaries and their agents about the scarcity, and consequently the high cost, of food in the State which had characterised the 1860s and 1870s Muller talked of a reversal of food importation into Akyen Abukawa from Akwapim. He remarked in 1893:

"...food is cheaper in Akyen too - indeed the Akwains buy food in Akyen to cover their through the season before the harvest when they have eaten all their own food. Akyen land is very fruitful, and the plantains bear masses of fruit - the coco-yam is also successful..."

Food production in Akyen Abukawa continued to increase till the turn of the century.

The emancipation of slaves and pawns gave all the people of Akyen Abukawa an equal opportunity to participate individually and privately in the expanding trade in palm oil, gun copal (ehye).

14. See Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p.502 Stronberg's letter to Basel 20 Sept. 1860; p.519 Christaller's Report for 1st Quarter of 1865 31 March 1865; p.501 Isante's Report for 2nd Quarter of 1874; p.604 Buck to Basel 17 June 1878. The acute shortage of food at Kyebi between 1874 and 1878 must have been largely due to the sudden influx of Dwaben refugees which increased the demand on the available food supply already strained by the presence of the Krepis.

monkey-skins, parrots, guinea-grains, kola-nuts and rubber.

Legitimate trade brought considerable wealth to the Akyem people as carriers of palm-oil from Akuapem and Akyem to the coast in the 1880s. In June 1881 when Muller visited Kukurantumi several of its inhabitants were absent carrying oil from Akuapen to the coast for money. The people of Tumfa and Akwatia whose lands abounded in Kola-nuts took them to Salaga for sale. Others, especially from Begoro, went to Akuapen 'in large numbers with loads of dried snail' for sale.

Of all the new export items from the State of Akyen Abuakwa the most valuable was rubber. The rubber industry which became well established in the State only in 1884 moved rapidly into the forefront of the Abuakwa economy. In 1886 Chief Fosuhene, excused himself for his inability to answer the Okyenhene's summons in connection with the Yaw Boakye episode because 'all his people has (sic) scattered away for Rubber business'. In the following year Mohr reported that most of the Christians in the State


had 'been away in the forest for months collecting rubber'. 21
The men of Asunafo spent most of the year 1890 in the bush 'collecting rubber'. 22 Like Asunafo, Aman was 'a place where the Christians were particularly often absent trading or collecting rubber'. 23

The search for rubber took the Akyen traders far beyond the borders of their State into Asante and beyond. J. Muller reported in 1893:

The rubber trade of the Akyens has developed very much in Asante, and even grown into contacts with areas the other side of Asante. 24

The 'rubber business' also took the Akyen beyond the Volta River. The 'elder' of the Taflo congregation who went to Nkonya for rubber in 1892 stayed there a year and had to be excluded for 'sexual irregularities'. 25 Indeed for most Christians rubber-collecting and retail trade were 'the only two ways of earning money'; and of the two the former was preferred by the church as being fraught with less immorality. 26

The retail trade in imported commodities also engaged the attention of the Abuakwa people. By 1870 it had become 'the main custom... to go off and trade as soon as one has a few thaler'. From their earnings from hammock-carrying and the sale of cola-nuts, palm-oil and rubber, the Abon traders bought salt, tobacco and cloth from the coast for distribution in their State. Cathapist Inaba found it difficult to convene a full meeting of the Abonosu congregation in 1883 because members 'so often go to Accra or Abono to get goods to trade'.

By the last decade of the 19th century Abon Abuakwa's participation in the 'economic revolution' touched off by the introduction of 'legitimate trade' had given rise to an emergent class of nouveau riches. Among members of this class were Ntim of Degoro, Janes Kwaku Ashmore of Asankese, John Bonfo of Abonosu, Twum of Kyobi, John Wilson Dodoo of Apinana and Kofi Johnson alias Kofi Twum of Asafo. Ntim was already a wealthy man by 1800. He had 60 pawns of both sexes in whom he had invested 2450. James Kwaku Ashmore, John Yaw Bonfo and John Wilson Dodoo, products of Basel Mission schools, had taken to trade after their

education in the tradition of the educated African Merchants of the coast.

Educated at Basel Mission school at Kyebi and the Wesleyan Mission school at Winneba, James Ashmore took to trade and had by 1880 become a successful trader with residence in Accra. John Yaw Boafu of Aboneso lived at Ussher Town, Accra as 'a rubber-broker' and an agent of a European merchant in the 1890s. He made money by advancing sums of up to £20 to people 'to buy rubber from the bush'. John Wilson Boabo another prominent Abakwa trader resident in Accra in the 1890s, was 'well-to-do' and owned a house there by 1905. It was through him that Ofori Atta I, as Aaron Eugene Boakye Danquah, obtained employment as a lawyer's clerk in Patton Mill's office in 1899.

By far the most spectacular of this emergent class of nouveaux riches of Akyen Abakwa was Kofi Johnson of Aboafo. Born at Abrepo near Osino, Kofi Johnson established a flourishing business 'in rubber and spirits at Abonpi' in the 1890s. By 1901 he was possessed of a considerable private fortune' estimated at

31. N.A.G., Add 11/1/1094 /Ako Atta II to Col. Sec. 30 March 1899; Statement by Teng Kwaku made at Victoriaburg 8 April 1899.


34. See Chapter Four, p. 300
£3,000 in silver coins and £1,000 in gold. Out of the £3,000 in silver he had "granted £1,000 to F & A Swanzey Ltd. for business", presumably as security against goods supplied, and given out £1,000 in loans. Kofi Johnson claimed to be worth a total of £2,390 besides twelve boxfuls of cloth worth £221.17.6 and £10 worth of Legacy beads. He also had a big farm and kept pigs.

In proportion as the economic power and status of the nouveaux riches rose that of the traditional ruling elite declined. As pointed out by Edward Reynolds, a noticeable consequence of the substitution of legitimate trade for the slave-trade was the progressive decline of the economic and political power of the Chiefs of the Protected Territories. In Ayew Abualawa the growing indigence of the Chiefs was exacerbated by the emancipation of slaves and pawns. By the end of 1800 the Olyenhono and several of his phanto were indebted to their subjects.

Odikro Kwasi Apontun of Hooso owed a prosperous trader of Afgyara called Yaw Kusi a sum of £150 which he borrowed to finance a lawsuit. The Wankyi stool had been pledged as


37. Edward Reynolds, Trade and Economic Change, Chapter Four.

security for a loan of £100 borrowed from James Ashmore to pay legal fees to Edmund Hannornan in connection with the exile of Oseawuohene Kwabena Atwero.\(^{39}\) In about 1090 Adontenhene Kofi Aberante could not raise a sum of £6 from his own resources to help pay off the debt of a sub-chief and had to borrow it from a Basel Mission school teacher from Kukurantumi called Kwasi Ewui.\(^{40}\) The Okyenohene's financial exigencies were no less serious than those of his ahemfo. The ruins of the new stone palace started by Amoako Atta I in 1875 stood as a grim advertisement of Amoako Atta II's improvidence which grew worse in the course of the 1890s. The death of the King's mother, Oheren Anma Awofooa, on 17 March 1892, added to his financial woes, and the donation of £10 from the Government was a great relief.\(^{41}\) In her very first letter to Governor Griffith, the new Queenmother, Anna Kyerewen, could not help but solicit financial aid for the 'rebuilding \(\sqrt{of}^7\) an old house which had fallen into ruins'. The Governor obliged by sending her £20.\(^{42}\)

\(^{39}\) N.A.C., Adn 1097 Notes on Public Enquiry at Wankyi 7-9 May 1906.

\(^{40}\) N.A.C., Adn 11/1/1122 Meeting held at Koforidumon 20 Aug. 1895.

\(^{41}\) N.A.C., Adn 11/1/1096 Amoako Atta II to Col. Sec. 11 June 1892; Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, pp.563, 620.

\(^{42}\) N.A.C., Adn 11/1/1095 Queen Anna Kyerewa to Governor 17 Aug. 1892.
Denomimazion of gold-dust

In 1859 gold-dust which had been the normal currency for most districts of the Gold Coast Colony since the 1840s ceased to be legal tender. The first significance of the measure lay in the disappearance of the last of the traditional media of exchange. It also led to the simplification and standardisation of currency in the State. More importantly, the denominisation of gold-dust helped to crystallise the shift in the balance of wealth. As long as gold-dust remained the normal currency of Akyem Aboua those who possessed lots of it, such as the Chiefs and members of the traditional ruling elite, could be counted among the rich. With denominisation, gold dust lost its advantage as a medium of exchange and was reduced to a mere commodity. Henceforth wealth in the form of cash was re-distributed in favour of the new emergent class of traders, cash-crop farmers and professionals, who, increasingly became creditors to the Chiefs in the 1890s and early 20th century.

The denominisation of gold-dust created an acute shortage of cash liquidity in the last decade of the 19th century not only


44. In 1857 Baw complained: 'The predominance of gold-dust as currency is a check on trade since it is bound up with so much bickering and fraud - even six years old boys in Gyaddan are taught how to practise deception with the gold scales'. See Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p.31 Baw: to Basol
for chiefs but also for the mass of ordinary people who had to satisfy an increasing variety of obligations - marriage and funeral charges, school and books fees, church dues etc. Due to scarcity of money in the Akyen congregations, there were many Christians who could not afford to pay a weekly offering of 1d. This coupled with the insufficiency of the number of half-penny pieces circulating in the State kept the size of the Church's Sunday offering small. 45

One important consequence of the transition to a full modern money economy in Akyen Abunkwa was the rise of a class of money-lenders. In 1860-69 some money-lenders charged as high a rate of interest as 100%. The loan of £100 given to the Wankyi Stool by James Ashmore in 1860 attracted 100% interest. 46 By the turn of the century loans were being granted for periods of up to one month at rates of interest of 50% or more. Rev. Ad Mohr knew people who took loans of £3 and had to pay £12 in two weeks. 47 Odikro Yaw Kusi of Kankan stood surety for Odikro Apontua of Kweso for a loan of £16 at 50% interest. 48 In 1904

46. See pp.317-8; Also N.A.G., Adm 1097 Notes on Public Enquiry at Wankyi 7-9 May 1906.
Banfoo Kvalu Jin Ayoi of Fankyoneko had to raise a loan of £200 at 50% interest to pay a fine imposed on him by the Government as a result of an assault on the D.C., Captain Soden, and his entourage at Fankyoneko. 49

A celebrated money-lender of Kyobi in the first decade of the 20th century was Botwe who made a living 'by waiting in the principe of the Obranho's court and advancing money at high rate of interest to the litigants to enable them pay their fines...'. 50

Finally it may be said that the demonitization of gold-dust was partly responsible for the collapse of the indigenous gold-mining industry in Akyem Abukwa. 51

The Industrial Revolution and Cash Crop farming

One of the most important consequences of missionary activity and colonial rule in the 19th century was the commercialization of land. Land alienation as a commercial proposition had been virtually unknown in Akyem Abukwa before the arrival of the Basel Mission in 1853. Between 1856 and 1890 the Abukwa Chiefs were persuaded or forced by Government intervention to alienate several plots of land at Gyadasu, Kyobi, Ayodwa, Apiapat, Amiadua, Begore, Sayinim, Abonosu, Asumfo etc. for the construction of


mission stations or sales. The minimal cost of plots, ranging from 'ennyowa mienu' (2 plates) to $25 £5.12.0, reflects the low value attached to land in the State in the 19th century. Indeed the cost of an acre of land to the Missionaries averaged about 7/- - 10/-.

Beginning in the 1860s land-starved Krobo and Akwapen farmers seeking to extend their oil palm-plantations joined the Basel Mission in the 'scramble' for Abualwa lands. Between 1860 and 1876 the Krobo bought approximately 120 square miles of Begoro Stool land beyond the Ponponsu river which formed the boundary between Akyen Abukwaa and Krobo. These purchases extended Krobo farm lands to Bisa by 1093. Akuapem oil-palm farmers leased Abuakwa lands near Ahabante from the stool of Kukurutumi.

52. See Chapter Two.

53. N.A.G., Adn 11/1/1440 Deed dated 24 Feb. 1050; Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, pp. 613, 33, 106, 116, 605; Also Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, (Supplement) pp. 1, 14, 57. The second plot of land bought in 1050 at Gyadan, the Diodu Hill, measured at least one sq. mile and cost 2 plates. Other plots cost as follows: Abosu (1075) £25 or £5.12/-; Anyinan (1079) £15 or £3.7.6; Asiakwa (1077) £16 or £3.12/- for 6 acres. The Local Elders' original demand was for £56 or £12.12/- (i.e. £2.2 an acre) against the Mission's original offer of £12 or £2 14/.-; Wrenkyiren (1830) £2 10/-; Osino and Takyinatia near Akroppon (1890) £1 each. The Begoro Mission lands cost £140. See H.W. Brauner o.p.cit. p. 192.


for the cultivation of the oil palm tree. By 1865 they were paying Hana Anpaw, a tribute in palm oil for the use of his land.

Kwame Nyante, linguist of King Kwadade of Akropong, and an elder of Ahabante was in charge of the collection of the tribute. Shortly after 1865 the lands on the left bank of the Densu river from Ahabante to Adweso came into the possession of Okyenhone Anoako Atta I and were sold outright to Akropong farmers.

In June 1861 J. Muller, after descending the Akropong hills from Marpong 'passed for several hours through magnificent palm farms' before entering the forest near Koforidun. Twelve years later, he reported:

People from Accra, Abokobi, Aburi and Akropong are all the while moving their farms towards Akyoa and onto Akyen soil. Many parcels of land have been sold to people from the coastal district by the Akyens. They are moving into the vicinity of Kukumantumi and into the Bogoro hills, and in the south they are a day's journey from Asanman [i.e. Asanankosy] on the Akyen side of the Densu. This latter area is partly being cultivated by Accras and Akwapins, since the area around Abokobi


57. N.I.G., Jam 11/1/1122 Meeting held at Koforidun 20 Aug. 1895; Also Chapter One p.60.

and in the vicinity of the Akwapim hills is planted with oil palms right up to the vicinity of the Donau... There is ... now a hunger to possess land among the people - even our own employees are getting themselves parcels of land... 59

This 'land-hunger' created by the response to the demand for industrial raw materials gave Akyen Abukwa land a high commercial value. By 1896 land in the State was selling at £1 4/- per rope or over £6.0.0. per acre. 60

The cultivation of the oil palm tree in Akyen Abukwa appears to have been dominated by migrant farmers with the Akyen people showing little interest. By 1870 the Basel Missionaries were still urging their congregations in Akyen Abukwa to grow oil palm as an economic crop. 61 As late as 1882 Muller reported that though the coast was only four to five days away from western Akyen the people 'do not seem to have taken up palm-farming'. 62 Indeed


60. N.A.G., Adn 11/1/457 Evidence of Simeon Edmund Sackey, Jamer's clerk 13 Jan. 1903. A rope was equal to 15 fathoms or 90ft. That worked out at 900sq. yards or 0.19 acres for a perfect square of land sold. The blocks of lands sold were more often than not irregular in shape and the procedure was to select one of the boundaries as the base-line for the measurement of the land in square measures of ropes or abasan. For details see Polly Hill, The Migrant cocoa-farmers of Southern Ghana, Cambridge 1963 Chapter Two.


'the main business' of the Akyem people continued to be 'digging for gold'. From 1884, however, rubber, as already shown, began to overshadow palm oil and gold as exports from Akyem Abuakwa. Like kolanuts, rubber was not originally cultivated but grew wild in certain parts of the State. Owing to the wasteful method of tapping, the rubber industry did not last long. By 1888 the industry had passed its peak and was entering a period of decline. It, nonetheless, survived till about 1910.

More important as a factor in the ultimate collapse of the rubber industry than wasteful methods of tapping was the spread of cocoa into Akyem Abuakwa in the 1890s. Spreading from Akuapem through New Dwaben, cocoa cultivation reached Akyem Abuakwa before 1890. James Kwaku Donko of Asiakwa began making the first of his twelve cocoa farms during the time of Nifahene Kwaku Amo (1874-December 1887). By 1900 cocoa cultivation was in vogue in the

64. See p.313; A load of rubber sold at Accra for £5.0.0. in the late 1890s. See N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1440 John Buaffo to S.N.A. 13 Sept. 1905; K. Arhin(ed.) The Papers of George Ekem Fergusson, p.6.
eastern half of the State, and as Governor Nathan passed through Kukurantumi on his way to Kyebi in February 1901 he 'was glad to see... that there was a good deal of cocoa plantations' in the State.69 Those who had no cocoa farms were urged by the Governor to cultivate one.70 Cocoa was said to be already 'bringing much money to the people of... Akim...' by 1903.71

There were hundreds of individuals with cocoa farms containing between 40 and 1,000 trees.72 Salomo Agyei of Moseaso already owned a cocoa farm consisting of some 4,000 trees (about 7 acres) by 1900. At an estimate of 573 trees to an acre, and a yielding capacity of 28 loads per acre, Salomo's annual income from this farm alone at the current price of £1 per load was about £300.73 George Kwaku Donko of Asiakwa had 12 cocoa farms by 1904. The total number of trees was 2,000 and the yields for 1904 and 1905 respectively were 20 and 30 loads.74 At Ettokrom, Kwame Eto, an oheneba (prince) of Asiakwa, had a large acreage of land under

72. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/3 See List of Dwaben cocoa farmers expelled from Akyem towns in 1900;
73. See N.A.G., Adm 11/1/184 Miles scheme in Ag. 3.N.A. to C.S. 28 July 1930.
cocoa. The village of which he was the founder and first Odikro stands to-day as a memorial to his industry.\textsuperscript{75} In the same village were two brothers who produced between them 60 to 70 loads of cocoa a year.\textsuperscript{76}

Cocoa cultivation caught on in western Akyem Aboukwa also. Travelling in that district in 1903 along the Birem to Asuom and back to Kyebi via Osenase, Asamankose, Akantew and Apinaman, Captain Hawtrey noticed that people were 'taken up with cocoa, kola and rubber growing'.\textsuperscript{77} One farmer, James Okai, had a farm at Nyame bekyere between Akroso and Asamankose which yielded about 150 loads of cocoa per annum in 1909.\textsuperscript{78}

The Basel Mission contributed directly and indirectly to the spread of cocoa in Akyem Aboukwa. The earliest cocoa seeds planted in the state were obtained from the pods imported by the Mission from the Cameroon or West Indies in 1890 and sold by Rev. Hohr to Akyem cocoa farmers at 2/6\textsuperscript{d} a pod.\textsuperscript{79} The Mission also exhorted their African agents, congregations and 'graduates'.

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{75} N.A.C.G., Adm 29/6/2 Amonako Atta II to W.A. Pritchard 11 Aug. 1908.
\textsuperscript{76} N.A.C.G., Adm 11/1/636 Yaw Siiw to S.N.A. 27 Jan. 1909.
\textsuperscript{77} N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1096 Extracts from Hawtrey's Report 11 May 1903.
\textsuperscript{78} N.A.G., Adm 11/1/103 James Okai to C.R. Williams Aug. 1909.
\end{flushleft}
of their schools to take to cocoa farming. The land on which
the village of Yaw Koko stands today, for instance, was bought
by Teacher Amairen and Dr. Okanta a Mission agent at Akropong and
planted with cocoa. James Okai who worked as a school teacher
at Oda and Manso in the 1890s bought an extensive tract of land
between Akroso and Lzamankese in 1898 for the purpose of growing
cocoa. The farms of the Mission-educated migrant farmers situ-
ated at Anyinam and between the Densu River and the Apedwa-Nsawam
road were said to be 'better tended than those owned by the Akims
who lack the education and energy to make good farmers'.

The impact of cocoa on Akyem Abunkwa was far-reaching. First
it accelerated the pace of land alienation in the state which had
been taking place since the 1850s. In 1893 4/5 of Abunkwa's ter-
ritory still consisted of 'primeval or high forest'. By 1933
the total acreage of Abunkwa territory was under cocoa culti-
vation alone. Throughout the 1890s and early 20th century the

80. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1265 Apam-Apedwa Land Dispute by Hull
26 Jan. 1901.
81. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1126 Nsoso dated 12 July 1892; N.A.G., Adm
11/1/1630 Amako I to H.E. 23 July 1898; Attafum to Hon. Sec. 2 June 1898; Hull to Col. Sec. 30 Nov. 1898.
82. N.A.G., Adm 29/6/10 D.C. Birrim's Annual Report for the
30/31 Dec. 1879; Abstracts (Supplement) p.76 J. Muller to
Basel 4 March 1893.
Krobo, for instance, continued their purchases of Begoro stool land until the frontiers of their farm lands extended from Odumase northwards to the Afram River and westwards towards the Akum River which flowed only a few miles east of Begoro. 85 Akuapem migrant farmers also bought extensive tracts of forest land in western Akyem Abuakwa from Akanten, Asamankese and Apapam stools. By 1933 16 out of the 17-mile Asamankese-Suhum road was covered with cocco farms owned by Akuapem migrant farmers. 86

Second, the recklessness with which the Chiefs and people of Akyem Abuakwa alienated land in their state to strangers ultimately necessitated a review of the Land-tenure system. As already pointed out, although the paramount stool claimed ultimate ownership of Akyem Abuakwa lands it was never able to enforce this claim in practice, and by the beginning of colonial rule, the sub-stools considered themselves for all practical purposes to be the owners of the lands attached to them. 87 Of the £400 voted by the Legislative Council in March 1894 for the purchase of additional Kukurantumi stool land for the New Dwaben community in Akyem, Adontenhom Kofi Aberante gave Amoako Atta the paltry

85. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1453 Copy of Minute by S.N.A. Hull 16 Nov. 1905; Adm 11/1/1440 Begoro-Jakity Land Dispute 4 July 1916.


87. See Chapter One pp. 58-60.
sum of £20 which he rejected. From the reign of Kwaku Fening (1863-1875) to that of Kwaku Tupiri (1908-1913) the Krobo as pointed out negotiated the purchase of their farm lands from the Bogoro Stool with 'the Bogoro only', without prior consultation with, or consent of, the Okyenhene.

When the abusa principle was first adopted and applied in 1885 by the Okyeman Council to agricultural production in the State, particularly to rubber and kola-nut collection, the stool's share of $1 was entirely appropriated by the Ahenfo and Adikrofo with the King receiving nothing out of it. By 1900 whatever customary right the Okyenhene claimed to have in the State's land was gradually being extinguished by default. In an appeal to the Colonial Government Amaako Atta II wrote:

It is the fashion and customary from beginning of this Akin throne that whenever any of the Akins had to made(sic) a sale of any land or happened to obtain a rook or any valuable metal from any part or parts of any land the party is bound by our rule to give up one third of the said product to the stool, but nowadays the people are unwilling to do


89. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1453 Petition from Mate Kole to Ag. D.C. Akuse 26 Nov. 1919; See Chapter One p.59.

90. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/116 Amaako Atta II to Ag. Col.Sec. 10 May
as it is customary to be done.

Before I shall force the rule I beg
to let you hear of same, I shall be exceedingly oblige(sic) for your advice upon this matter.91

The Government refused to interfere as it was a matter within
the competence of the State Council.92

In an effort to enforce the customary land-tenure laws of
the State, Amoako Atta II summoned a State Council meeting toward
the end of 1901. This meeting prohibited the alienation of stool
lands in the State 'without the previous consent of the Para-
mount Stool' and ruled that the Paramount Stool's share of any
revenue from the sale of land was to be 'one-quarter of the pur-
chase price, consideration money, rents or profits, instead of
one-third thereof as had hitherto been customary'.93 Hence
this session of the State Council came to be called the 'Quarter-
Meeting'. Some of the Stools like that of Kwaben made 'a per-
partial arrangement' with King Amoako Atta II by which it paid
'a special share' of \( \frac{1}{3} \) of all concessions money to the Paramount

91. N.A.G., Ldm 11/1/281 Amoako Atta to Hcn. Col. Sec. 25 June
1901.

92. N.A.G., Ldm 11/1/281 lg. Col. Sec. (C. Rhiby Williams) to
Amoako Atta II 9 July 1901.

93. N.A.G., Ldm 11/1/1105 Award Published at Nasawm on 9 Sept.
1929 by Roger Evans Hall paraga. 8, 118.
Stool. Others like the Begoro Stool ignored the ruling of the Quarter Meeting throughout the first decade of the 20th century.

At the time of Ofori Atta’s accession to the paramount stool in 1912, the harmful effects of uncontrolled commercialisation of Akyem Abuakwa lands were already very much in evidence. For over two decades Ahenfo and Adikrofo had been allowed by default on the part of the Paramount Stool to engage in a reckless and irresponsible alienation of stool lands ‘to the extent that one really trembled and became nervous as one tried to picture the near future of the Division...’. In certain villages Ahenfo and Adikrofo had sold or given away so much land to concessionaires and buyers that their subjects had already begun to feel actually the pressure for land to cultivate upon or even extend their existing farms, and it was certain that soon, the Abuakwas, among the biggest and most profitable land owners in this country, would be reduced to a landless and beggarly people.

Cases were brought to Ofori Atta’s notice in which land sold to strangers for £60 or less had been resold for over £700

94. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/29/1 A Queen Kyewa and 15 others to Amaako Atta II 25 Nov. 1910.

95. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1105 Answer by Hon Ofori Atta to Petition by Barima Kwaku Amon 4 Nov. 1921.

96. Ibid parts
after the original buyers had reserved a sufficient chunk of it for themselves and their heirs. More often than not a Chief would sell or cause to be sold large tracts of land without consultation with his elders let alone account for money realised from the sale. There were some Ahemfo whose selfishness and greed had tempted them to sell lands 'including farms cultivated by their own people'. Not to be outdone, private citizens 'holding no position or rank' had made it their 'regular business or profession' to sell lands without any authority whatsoever.

It was not uncommon for citizens to clear large acreages of forest land under the pretext of making cocoa farms for themselves only to sell them after two years to strangers. Owing to the lack of proper records about land sales, unsold plots of land left lying forgotten between two sold ones had been quietly and surreptitiously appropriated by the purchasers whose lands adjoined them. The situation seemed to be so alarming that Ofori Atta wondered whether his people thought their generation would

97. N.A.G., Adm 11/1197 Explanatory Remarks relative to the warning issued by Ofori Atta in Gold Coast Leader 17 July 1915.

98. Ibid;

99. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1105 Answer by Ofori Atta to Petition

100. Ibid; Also N.A.G., Adm 11/1197 Explanatory Remarks

101. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1105 Answer by Hon. Ofori Atta to Petition
only be the last to live in this world which imagination apparently inclines them to destroy so dangerously the very existence of the immediate and all future generation.\footnote{102}

The remedy for this unsatisfactory situation seemed self-evident: the prohibition of further reckless alienation of land.

On 27 January 1915, Ofori Atta called a meeting of the Okyeman Council and secured its unanimous consent to reserve to the people of the State 'and to future generation the few: portion(sic) of lands which has not been alienated'.\footnote{103} Subsequent to this meeting the Okyenhene caused an advertisement to be placed in the press warning prospective land buyers that alienation of any portion of Okyem Abuakwa land 'in any shape or form is absolutely prohibited'. It was further prohibited for any citizen of the State to sell, pawn, or offer his cocoa farm as security for any purpose without proper authority. No farm was to be mortgaged to Europeans 'for business purposes' without the prior approval of 'the Odikro of the place and the Okyenhene of Eastern Akim'.\footnote{104}

The Okyenhene's claim to joint-ownership of, and joint-control over, State lands implied by this advertisement aroused

\footnote{102. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1197 Explanatory Remarks.}
\footnote{103. N.A.G., Adm 11/1197 Explanatory Remarks.}
\footnote{104. N.A.G., Adm 11/1197 Extract from Gold Coast Leader 1 May
opposition among some Chiefs. Leading the opposition was Barima Kwadwo Peasa, Ohene of Tafo, who stood to lose by the claim in view of the boom in Tafo lands generated by cocoa and the prospect of the extension of the railway to the town.\footnote{For a discussion of the extension of the railway line to Tafo see pp. 377-379.} While he and his elders were prepared to pay 25\% of the rents received to the paramount stool, they made it clear that they would not admit the Okyenhene's 'right to control conjointly with the Ohene the disposal of Tafo Stool lands'. They went so far as to issue a public notice 'repudiating the validity of all leases in connection with Tafo lands on which the Okyenhene's name appeared'.\footnote{N.I.G., Adm 11/1/63; Extract from D.C. Birrin's September Quarterly Report.} After the Tafohene and his elders had twice snubbed the Okyenhene's Linguist sent to Tafo to demand an explanation of the Tafohene's conduct, the Acting D.C. W.J.L. Jones visited Tafo and ordered Barima Peasa and his elders to go to Kyebi in September for the settlement of their dispute with the Okyenhene, warning that if they showed any reluctance to obey his orders, he would 'employ what means the circumstances demanded' to enforce their attendance at Kyebi.\footnote{From September 6-9, the Okyenhene Council sat to investigate the Tafohene's complaint against the Okyenhene. In the presence of Barima, the Council upheld the Okyenhene's claim that the rents were due to the stool.}
of the D.C. the Council ruled on September 9 that the ownership of Akyem Aboukwa lands vested in the Paramount Stool. The judgment explained that it was in acknowledgement of the Paramount Stool's ownership of state lands that in ancient times the Okyenhene received $\frac{1}{2}$ share of gold nuggets found on any part of Aboukwa territory, or declared forfeit to his stool, any land that became the subject of ruinous and interminable dispute between sub-stools. The judgment concluded:

Any land in Akin Aboukwa before its alienation should be known by Omanhene and his consent obtained before its alienation can proceed. Omanhene's name must appear in every document with regard to land in Akyem Aboukwa. We find that if the chene of Tako said that he owns the land absolutely it is a lie. Since the ancient time if a chief received legs of game he had to send same to Omanhene, also shares of snails collected were sent to him - we therefore find that the chene's claim to be the owner of the Tako lands is absolutely wrong and not according to Akin Aboukwa law; we know that the Omanhene of Akin Aboukwa is the owner of all Akin Stool lands. 108

Judgement was accordingly entered in favour of the Okyenhene against Kwadwo Pensa who was ordered to pay £96 as upata (pacification) to Ofori Atta.

108. N.A.G., Adm 1/11/05 Answer by Hon. Ofori Atta to Petition... 4 Nov. 1921; Also Extract from D.C. Birrim September Quarterly Report. Emphasis added.
The ruling of the State Council is highly significant. On the one hand it was the first documented, explicit, unequivocal and unanimous exposition of the customary land-tenure system of Akyen Abuakwa. Henceforth it became the main foundation of Ofori Atta's authority for evolving a new comprehensive land-tenure system and rectifying the existing situation under which some strangers had for decades cultivated stool lands 'free, and under no distinct or proper contractual engagement'. On the other hand, it became the source of rural discontent and the cause of an attempted secession from the State by Asamankese and Akwatia.

Easily the most unhappy episode in the history of Akyen Abuakwa and the most intractable and traumatic problem that Ofori Atta had to grapple with during his 31-year reign, the attempted secession of Asamankese and Akwatia represented a violent protest against Okyemen's attempt to assert the Paramount Stool's joint-ownership of all lands in the State. Although a representative of Asamankese was a signatory to Okyemen's ruling on the State's land-tenure system in 1918 it soon became clear that Barina Kwaku Ama had no intention of abiding by it. The test came in September 1920 when Mr. Semple, a representative of the Anglo-Guinean Company which was negotiating for the lease of

109. I.A.C. Mr 11/A/1105 Answer by the Hon. Ofori Atta to
a building plot at Asanankese, presented an agreement prepared
by the Okyenhene 'in the name of Onahene, Elders, Councillors
and Onan of Akyen Abuakwa'. Barina Kwaku Anoa refused to sign
the agreement and told Mr. Semplo in indignation that 'the Onan-
hene had no land' at Asanankese. 110

Kwaku Anoa subsequently refused to obey summons from Kyebi
to go and explain his conduct. Between January and April 1921
he took up residence at Adeiso and refused to collect farm rent
from the Dwabon tenant farmers of the Asanankese stool. Indeed
he forbade them, in his capacity as landlord, to pay any money
to the Okyenhene. 111 From that time Barina Kwaku Anoa and Odi-
kro Kwane Kuma of Akuatinia absented themselves from State Council
meetings. Eventually they anticipated Ofori Atta's intention to
compel them to appear before the State Council to explain their
conduct by announcing their secession from Akyen Abuakwa. The
letter of secession written by Asanankesahene at Adeiso on 27
June 1921 read:

110. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1105 Notes of Interview held at S.N.A's
office 30 March 1922. The lease was for 60 years and
provided for a consideration money of £25 and an annual
rent of £5.

111. For details of the Dwaben 'rent' see Chapter Seven
pp. 506-508. The collection was made in arrear, usually
at the beginning of the year. The sub-stool retained 3/4
share and forwarded 1/4 share to the Okyenhene. The rent
for 1918 and 1919 were collected by the Okyenhene's
collector J.T. Abogabe Agyeman.
Asa as I do not want to tax your patience, and just to relieve you and Okyeam of any inconvenience(sic) that my absence from your meetings may cause, I and my elders respectfully lay before you that we should not be counted upon as we shall henceforth be no parties to any bye laws or Rules that would be passed by you and your Elders and that such bye laws and Rules as you may have passed should not be communicated to us.112

Asamankese's disaffection towards the Paramount Stool of Akyem Abuakwa was actively supported and sustained by Hutton Mills whose primary concern was to protect certain landed interests which he had knowingly acquired illegally in Asamankese. As solicitor and Legal Adviser to Ofori Atta, Hutton Mills had been responsible for the press advertisements of 1915 and 1919 which not only forbade alienation of Abuakwa lands in any form without the prior consent of the Okyenhene but also nullified certain concession agreements on grounds of default.113 Ofori Atta was therefore puzzled when Hutton Mills informed him towards the end of 1919 about a request by Barina Kwaku Amoa to prepare for him a draft lease to replace 'verbal arrangements based on... customary abusa system' under which certain strangers cultivated Asamankese

113. See p.357 below.
Stool lands. 114

In a letter to Hutton Mills dated December 19, 1919, the Okyenhene pointed out the superfluity of Kwaku Amea's request as he had already been furnished with over 50 printed copies of the lease forms drawn up with the approval of the Okyeman Council. The Okyenhene intimated that he was investigating publications in the Government Gazette of unilateral alienation of Asanankose Stool lands by Chief Kwaku Amea and if the reports were substantiated the Chief would be 'liable to some question'.115 The import of Ofori Atta's letter was not lost upon Hutton Mills, who felt a sense of insecurity about the titles which, despite his awareness of Okyeman's stool lands policy, he

in his own name, and in the names of others in his behalf, had spasmodically acquired in regard to large tracts of Asanankose Stool Lands... 116

Upon receipt of Ofori Atta's letter, Hutton Mills wrote to confess that certain tenants of Asanankose including himself had lease agreements with the Asanankose Stool 'prepared and printed nearly five years ago' though they had remained unexecuted


because it had not been possible for the Ohene and the tenants and himself 'to meet and execute them'. He pleaded:

In connection with the alienation of Asamankose lands which you intimate had been made by Ohene Kwaku Amaah incompatibly with the customary laws of the Division, I regrettably rank with the grantees who have accepted titles to lands of the Asamankose stool.

If the alienation of such lands is invalidated by the non-observance of the customary law binding on(sic) it would be satisfactory and equitable in the interests of bonafide grantees who had acquired such lands in ignorance of the existing custom that the point be raised and settled during the life-time of Ohene Kwaku Amaah as his successor may not be equally competent to explain the disregard of the custom and to make compensatory redress as in the case of two agricultural lands which he and his chiefs had sold and leased to me personally and over which I had up to date expended a capital of over two thousand pounds (£2,000) including consideration money and rents paid to the grantors. 117

In view of Hutton Mills' position as Solicitor and Legal Advisor to Ofori Atta, his pretended ignorance of the Okyenhero's Stool lands Administration policies was, to say the least, absurd.

Early in 1920 information reached Ofori Atta that Mr. Hutton Mills was negotiating, on behalf of Kwaku Amaa, for the renewal of the lease on certain old gold mining concessions whose re-possession by the State for non-payment of rent had been announced by a public notice issued on behalf of Okyeman Council by the very same Hutton Mills as solicitor. This information resulted in 'a somewhat heated correspondence' between Ofori Atta and Hutton Mills. Consequently the two men became estranged, and the next few months saw Hutton Mills drawing closer and closer to Barina Kwaku Amaa for a showdown with Ofori Atta. It was against this background that Kwaku Amaa wrote his letter of succession.

Apart from his private selfish interests, Hutton Mills also shared the growing popular antipathy towards Ofori Atta on account of his anti-nationalist role in the politics of the Gold Coast.

Following the birth of the Congress of British West Africa in March 1920, and the claims of the educated elite to the political leadership of the Gold Coast, Ofori Atta came into sharp conflict with the Gold Coast intelligentsia. He chided the leaders of the N.C.B.W.A. for their political pretensions and contrasted their

118. The concession concerned, the Apinama (Awoso - Kobiriso) concession extended over 10 sq. miles. It was originally granted to Dr. F. Nanka Bruce on Nov. 2 1912. In 1920 Hutton Mills leased the lands 'for some Europeans' for a consideration of £300 and an annual rental of £50 see N.A.G., Adu 11/1/1105 An Answer by Hon. Ofori Atta; S.N.A.'s Interview with N.A.G. 27 April 1922; N.A.G.K. Adu 29/6/42 D.C. 2.E.P. 5 Sept. 1923.
attitude with that of the leaders of the Aborigines Right Protection Society who enjoyed 'the confidence of the chiefs and people' because they made 'no attempt... to run down or usurp the authority of the Chiefs'. Maintaining that the Chiefs were the 'most authoritative exponents of native public opinion' Ofori Atta prevailed upon Guggisberg to send a telegram to the Colonial Office to denounce the Congress delegation as charlatans and upstarts. Consequently Lord Milner, the Secretary of State for the Colonies refused even to grant the congress delegation an audience.

After the return of the Congress delegation, the educated elite mounted a campaign of vilification against Ofori Atta, who henceforth became their whipping boy. The Gold Coast Times described him as

an accomplice of the Government... a sworn foe to popular national movements... an under study of the Government and a factor in the political game of divide and rule.


121. Gold Coast Times March 14, 1925 p. 6.
By April 1921 popular resentment against Ofori Atta was mounting as evidenced by his being hooted at in Accra.\textsuperscript{122} It was this growing popular outcry against the Okyenhen generated by his clash with the leadership of the Congress that gave a national dimension to a simple domestic dispute which otherwise might have remained a matter of purely local concern and interest. Under the circumstances, the Asamankese rebels with the help of counsel drawn from the ranks of the Congress leadership maintained their defiance of the Ofori Stool till 1938.\textsuperscript{123}

The commercialisation of Abukwah lands touched off by the cocoa industry did not only necessitate a review of the State's customary land-tenure system with its attendant danger of the attempted disenchantment of the State. It also led to a high incidence of ruinous land litigation, and inter-village skirmishes. In 1890, a riot occurred between Tafo and Osean in which the Tafo people were alleged to have 'misfired five guns'.\textsuperscript{124} Three years later Amoako Atta II reported that the people of Kwanah and Accra were 'scuffling with fists, sticks and the like among themselves, upon claiming ownership of a piece of land; and had

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{122} N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1427 Ofori Atta to Tackie Yaoboi 27 April 1921.
\item \textsuperscript{123} See Chapter Seven pp.515-516.
\item \textsuperscript{124} N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1451 Statement of Kofi Abantar to D.C. Akuse 16 Aug. 1899.
\end{itemize}
almost shot guns'. Tafo and Kukurantuni engaged in a pro-
longed land dispute which lasted from 1893 to 1905. Each
side accused the other of selling its lands and in 1903 during
the visit of H.E. Fell to Kukurantuni he heard that the Tafo
people intended to fight the Kukurantuni people after his depar-
ture from the district.

The state of chronic instability created by inter-village
boundary disputes was described thus in 1904 by Captain Soden the
newly appointed District Commissioner for Akyen Abunkwa:

In half the towns in the district natives are
selling spirits without licences. But by far
the most serious state of affairs is the very
bad feeling which exists between many of the
towns owing to the grabbing of each other's stool
lands to sell concessions to Europeans. This
has now led to several of the towns being ready
to take up arms against each other and there is
very little doubt that they would fight if it
were not for my immediate presence in the vicinity
of their towns and the fear of the severity of
the punishment I have promised to inflict on the
first that causes a breach of the peace...

125. N.A.G., Add 11/1/1096 Amoako Atta II to H.E.B. Griffith
21 March 1893.
Inter-village boundary disputes were marked not only by acrimony but also by ruinous expenditures. The Apedwa-Apam land dispute (1894-97) cost the former over £2,000. The Asante stool spent £1,600 on their land dispute with the Ga in 1895, while the Osino people incurred a debt of £700 on their dispute with Fankyeneko in 1906.

In 1921 Ofori Atta appealed to Government to empower Political Officers in the district to settle land disputes outside the court to save the people from 'having to sell privately or by public auction our very last wearing cloth to meet liabilities in connection therewith...'. He accused Accra lawyers who handled such disputes in the courts of 'absolute lack of sympathy' and of exacting 'abnormally heavy retainers and refresher(sic)...' from everyone that fell a victim at their hands... In 1927 the Government acted to bring down the heavy cost of land litigation by granting the courts of the Chiefs of the Colony and Asante 'exclusive jurisdiction in land...disputes'.

Another important outcome of commercialisation of land, and of cocoa production in particular, was the decline in food

129. N.A.G., Ldr 11/1/1265 Hull to Ag. Col. Sec. 5 Nov. 1897.
130. Ibid
133. Ibid.
production. As already pointed out, Akyem Abuakwa began to achieve an agricultural surplus in food during the last decade of the 19th century.\textsuperscript{135} The State's expanding food production continued during the first decade of the 20th century as revealed by the Kyebi Agricultural show of 1911.\textsuperscript{136} Unfortunately the State's potentiality as a leading producer of food was never realised owing to over concentration of effort on cocoa as well as the steady influx of immigrants. Between 1921 and 1931 the State achieved a population growth rate of 55.5\%, the highest in the Eastern Province of the Gold Coast Colony.\textsuperscript{137}

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s the State experienced food shortages which resulted in high prices. During a visit to Kyebi in May 1920, Guggisberg drew attention to the fact that 'all the big towns in the south are short of food' and urged Abuakwa farmers to take advantage of the extension of the railway through the State to produce food on a commercial scale.\textsuperscript{138} The exhortation went unheeded and the State continued to rely to a considerable extent on importation of food from Kwahu to supplement local supply.

\textsuperscript{135} See pp. 311–312.

\textsuperscript{136} N.A.G., Adm 11/1/318 Agricultural Show, Kyebi Dec. 1911. 163 out of 655 exhibits were food items.

\textsuperscript{137} See Chapter Seven p.463; N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1077 Chief Census Officer to S.N.A. 11 June 1931.

\textsuperscript{138} Speech by H.E. the Governor at Kibi Palaver at Mpena\textasciitilde 8 May 1920.
When the Ononiene of Kwara, Nana Kwaku Akoono V, prohibited the exportation of 'certain articles of food into AKYEM' in 1924 he created a crisis which caused Ofori Atta to retaliate by banning Kwara retail traders from his State.\footnote{139} Even though only \(\frac{1}{4}\) of her territory was under cocoa cultivation by 1934 food production in Akyen Abuakwa remained inadequate. Like other states in the Colony she continued to depend to a considerable extent on food imports.\footnote{140} The supply of meat and fish also remained inadequate, partly as a result of certain policy measures of the Government. The first was the restriction on the grant of import licence for the importation of guns. In 1927 for instance, only 6 permits were issued for the importation of guns into the State.\footnote{141}

The restriction on the purchase of gun powder and the proclamation of bye-laws against 'hunting in companies of over three persons with guns or cutlasses, without the permission of

\begin{itemize}
  \item \footnote{139} N.A.G., Ldn 11/1/1420 Native Affairs Dept. Annual Report April 1923-March 1924; Also N.A.G.K., Ldn 29/6/15 Birrin District Quarterly Report 31 March 1924.
  \item \footnote{140} N.A.G., Ldn 11/1/779 Governor’s Address at Kumasi 26 April 1933. Among the food items imported into the Gold Coast in 1931 were rice, flour, beans (from Nigeria), cooking oil, meat and fish. The bill amounted to £700,000. The breakdown was as follows: Rice over £100,000; flour over £100,000; meat and fish £250,000.
  \item \footnote{141} N.A.G., Ldn 11/1/727 Memo on matters submitted to H.E. the Governor at Kibi 13 Aug. 1927.
\end{itemize}
the Head Chief, also discouraged the traditional hunting expeditions of pre-colonial times called Atwee, and left the people dependent on dry fish for their supply of protein. In 1927 Ofori Atta made a special appeal to Government to consider the 'advisability of taking the lead in procuring a Trawler for purposes of fishing' so as to satisfy the fresh fish and protein requirements of the rural population.

Finally cash-crop farming gave rise to the establishment of numerous new settlements in Akyen Abunkwa. In pre-colonial Akyen Abunkwa villages and settlements had been few and far between, with Kukurantumi being the first Akyen village on the road from Akropong. Travelling back to Akyen from Christiansborg through Krobo in 1863 Stronberg noted that Begoro was the first Akyen town from Krobo Odumase. The lands between the two settlements were only 'thinly inhabited'. The total number of settlements in Akyen Abunkwa in 1881 was estimated at about a hundred.

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144. See Chapter One p.61.
With the increasing commercialisation of land and the influx of immigrants into the State, new settlements began to spring up. By 1890, thanks to the spread of cocoa from Akuapem, several small villages were springing up at the Nasawu end of the Kyebi-Nasawu road. One of these, Suhum, was a settlement of only four shelter huts standing eight minutes walk from the road. The number of settlements in Akyem Abuakwa stood at about 350 in 1930 compared to 100 in 1881.

Scientific Mining

Round 1897 the Gold Coast's reputation for gold caused a 'speculative movement on the London Stock Exchange' as a result of which 'concession hunters' flocked to the country and began negotiation with Abuakwa Chiefs. Between 1897 and December 1900 no fewer than nine concessions were leased in the State.

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148. Ibid

149. Ibid


150. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1706 Report of Committee on Tenure of Land in West African Colonies and Protectorates. It was with a view to regulating the rush for concessions that Governor Maxwell passed the Lands Bill of 1897 - 'An Ordinance to regulate the administration of public lands and define certain interests, and to constitute a concessions court'. The Lab Party opposed the Bill.
mostly to Goldfields of Eastern Akim Ltd. These included Asiakwa and Saman concessions;\textsuperscript{151} Pano (13 November 1899), Awuenease (15 November 1899); Adadienten (15 November 1899); Nautan (24 November 1899); Agyepona (24 November 1899); Sadwumase (25 November 1899); Nuoso (14 December 1900).\textsuperscript{152} The number of mining concessions in the State increased with the discovery of diamonds near Ahonosu by the Director of Geological Surveys in 1919.\textsuperscript{153} The rush for diamond concessions increased the number of mining concessions in Akyɛn Abuaɛka to 57 in 1923: - : 29 gold, 2 diamond and 4 mixed (i.e. Gold and Precious stones).\textsuperscript{154}

For over three decades the mining industry in Akyɛn Abuaɛka was marked by exploitation, discrimination and confusion. First, having 'no conception' of what a square mile was the Chiefs had not 'the slightest idea' of the extent, or any appreciation of the value, of the lands they alienated; while individual subjects, motivated by sheer avarice, had taken advantage of the credulity

\textsuperscript{151} This was leased originally to Castle Gold Exploration Syndicate Ltd. in January and February 1897 respectively and released to Gold Fields of Eastern Akim Ltd. in November and December 1899.

\textsuperscript{152} N.A.G.K., Ad 11/1/1105, Award by R.E. Hall Sept. 1929 parag. 56; N.A.G.K. Adn 29/6/42.

\textsuperscript{153} N.A.G.K., Adn 11/1/1420 Native Affairs Annual Report for 1919. News of the discovery was published in the Gold Coast Gazette on 26 July 1919.

\textsuperscript{154} N.A.G.K., Adn 29/6/42 List of Concessions and Options in the Birrin District. Enclosed in Ag. C.E.P. to Col. Sec.
of concession hunters to sell stool lands without authority. Second, rents paid for the concessions were only a pittance. The Asinkwa stool, for instance, received only £12 per annum from the Goldfields of Eastern Min Ltd. as rent for the Pusupu concession which encompassed 25% of its lands. When Nifahene Kofi Boaten complained, Governor Nathan told him that an increase in rent would have to wait till 'machinery was in use'.

In lieu of a specific provision in the Concessions Ordinance (1900) imposing a time limit for the effective development of concessions, their holders were content to hold their options for as long as they cared without any serious effort to work them. Apart from brief dredging operations carried out in about 1909 in the Biren there was virtually no work done on the 5 sq mile Pano concession between 1900 and 1911. The Kyobi and Asinkwa concessions, also about 5 sq miles each in extent, were not worked till 1911 when their owners took out certificates of validity for them.

Of the many concession holders only two, Wallis

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156. N.A.G., Adn 11/1/747 G.E. Macdonald to AG. Col. Sec. 16 May 1901.


42 Particulars of Mining Concessions D.C. to Hon. AG. C.E.P. 5 Sept. 1923.
Syndicate and Goldfields of Eastern Akim were engaged in any sort of actual operations by March 1913. By December the former had closed down while the latter was doing 'very little work'.

Only 4 of the estimated 47 mining concessions in the State in 1928 were being worked, namely, Akwatia (CAST), Asiapwa (Atta Gold Company Ltd.), Atiankana and Atiankana "A" (West African Diamonds Syndicate).

The Concessions Ordinance worked to the disadvantage of the people of Akwem Abuakwa by imposing severe limitations on the participation of landlords in the Mining Industry. Section 24 prohibited any person from searching for minerals without a prospecting licence while section 34(i) restricted prospective African gold miners to the use of the antiquated traditional methods of their ancestors, a restriction which was extended to cover diamond mining from 1919 onwards.

The Mining Industry retarded the development of the agricultural sector of the Abuakwa economy. The existence of vast un-worked concessions, some 10 sq miles in extent, deprived the landlords of the use of their land for agricultural purposes.

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It is true that every concession agreement contained a clause giving power to the lessors 'to re-enter on non-payment of rent' and even re-let; but being uneducated, ahemfo who had not received any rent for several years did not know what to do to recover the sums or terminate the agreement. In their ignorance they thought that once they granted a concession they 'lost the right of developing the area by making cocoon farms'. Accordingly large tracts of land in the state remained undeveloped 'that would not otherwise be the case'.

Even more serious than under-utilization of Abukwala lands was the threatened extinction of the people's freedom of movement as well as their rights of access to lands under concession for purposes of collecting firewood, hunting and snaring game which were guaranteed by the Concessions Ordinance (1900). Faced with the problem of unauthorised private workings on their

164. Ibid.
165. The Ordinance provided that leases 'should not derogate from the customary rights of natives "in respect of shifting cultivation, collection of firewood and hunting and snaring game":' See N.A.G., ltr 11/1/1706 Report of Committee on Tenure.
concessions, C.A.S.T. persuaded the Colonial Government to call upon the Legislative Council on 23 February 1926 to pass an Ordinance 'for the more effectual prevention of illicit dealing in Diamonds'. Under Regulation No. 15 of 1926, also known as the Birrim (No. 1) Diamond Area Regulations, made under the Diamond Mining Industry Protection No. 11 of 1926, a considerable area of Western Akyem Abunkwa was declared as Diamond Areas and divided into two zones: an outer and an inner zone. The outer zone, also known as Zone of Restriction, was enclosed by a cordon formed by police posts at Osemase, Suponso, Manso, Isono, Wankyi, Takorase, Kusi, Kade, Frankaso, Apinuran and Akanton. The inner zone, or zone of exploitation, was controlled by a cordon of police posts at Osemase-Boaduua road junction, Supon Pump station, Adankrongo, Boaduua and Topremaw.  

166. Consolidated African Selection Trust first entered the diamond Mining Industry in September 1922 by acquiring its first concession extending over 5 square miles of Akwatia Stool Lands. For a consideration of the sum of £1,200 C.A.S.T Ltd. of London Wall building in the City of London secured the lease of the concession for a period of 99 years with the right to mine and appropriate all diamonds, precious stones and other minerals of every kind and description whatsoever, in, upon or under the land and premises. In return the Company offered to pay a nominal yearly rent of £500 by equal quarterly instalments and an annual sum equivalent to 5% of the net profits, if any, in royalties to the Akwatia Stool. See N.A.C.K., Ldm 29/6/42.

167. Gold Coast Colony Legislative Council Debates Session 1926-1927 Africana Library Legon, p.470 Ordinance No.11 received His Excellency’s assent on 12 March 1926.
With effect from 30 June 1926 no person was to 'enter or be in the Area of Exploitation' except with the knowledge and approval of the Manager of C.I.S.T., or an appropriate Residence Permit issued by a D.C., or an appropriate Travelling Permit issued by the D.C. or a superior Police Officer for a valid period of 14 days. The penalty for breach of the regulation was to be either six months imprisonment with or without hard labour or a fine of £50. Residence permits might be cancelled by the Provincial Commissioner after one month's notice, if in his view the residence of the holder was 'prejudicial to the effective working of any mine or mining works within the Area of Exploitation or to the maintenance of peace and good order in the Area of Exploitation'.

The D.C. or Superior Police Officer might 'at any time and without notice' cancel a Travelling Permit issued by him or his predecessor in office. Hawking of wares or trading in the area of exploitation without the consent of a Manager or of the D.C. was to be made a punishable offence; while, except for Government Officers and their parties, no one was to be allowed to move about within the area of exploitation between 6.30 p.m. and 5.30 a.m. 'unless he carries an efficient light'. In the case of the outer zone, no one except Government officers on duty
and their followers, was to enter or leave the area 'EXCEPT BY ONE OF THE CONTROL POSTS'. Regulation No. 15 of 1926 was one of the most malicious pieces of legislation ever passed in the Gold Coast. It reminds one of the present day Bantustan policy of South Africa and the Apartheid Pass Laws.

It was fortunate for Akyen Abuakwa that she had a King who was not only well-educated and knowledgeable but also patriotic and extremely capable. Under his leadership Akyen Abuakwa relentlessly resisted the iniquities of the European-dominated Mining Industry. Beginning from December 1919 Ofori Atta made a move to retrieve stool lands tied under unworked concessions. Upon his instructions, his solicitor, T. Hutton-Hills issued a public notice declaring several concessions null and void for 'non-payment of occupation rents', and the concession holders were informed that the lessors had 're-entered on and taken possession of their stool lands. 170

Backed by the African unofficial members of the Legislative Council Ofori Atta reacted strongly against Regulation No. 15 of 1926 also. In a notion calling for its withdrawal, he deplored the attempt to control part of Abuakwa territory for the sole benefit of C.A.T and charged the Government with abdicating its

170. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1105 Extract from Notice in Gold Coast.
responsibility 'to protect the interest as well as the recognised and customary rights' of the people of the Gold Coast. After questioning the basis of the Government's authority to restrict the freedom of movement of the people on their ancestral lands, Ofari Atta asserted:

The regulation Sir, is so arbitrary that it seizes with the arms of a giant lands which do not belong to the Diamond Mining Company concerned; lands which do not come within the area of the concession of the African Selection Trust, that is to say, Sir, lands which belong to other people.¹⁷¹

The Okyenhene's notion was strongly supported by Nonce Mate Kolo and Kojo Thompson and was withdrawn only after Government had given an assurance that a conference would be held at the end of the meeting to amend the regulation 'in a way satisfactory to all the parties or devise an entirely new set of Regulation'.¹⁷²

The outcome of the conference held between the C.E.P., representatives of C.S.T and the other Mining Companies, Ofari Atta and Obi-Kro of Akwaria, was Ordinance No. 29 of 1926 which sought merely to control the purchase, sale and export of diamonds.¹⁷³

In 1931 Ofori Atta called for the removal of the anomaly of concessions remaining undeveloped for an indefinite period of time. He wanted the Government to ensure that concession holders 'both present and prospective' developed their concessions or forfeited their title to them. In this connection, he suggested the imposition of a five year limit to prevent concessionaires from 'paying mere occupation rent' without working or developing the concessions, and 'thus precluding the land owner from doing anything with the land for 99 years'.

Finally the Okyenhene resisted the covert attempt by the Colonial Government to turn the mining Industry into an exclusive preserve of European Capitalists. He felt outraged by the arrest of one of his subjects for prospecting for diamonds on private land not under concession, and, in a protest note, reminded the Government that the ostensible purpose of the Concessions ordinance was to protect the African land owner against improper treatment by unscrupulous miners and concession hunters, and not to make him 'a perpetual receiver of a shadowy interest in the way of nominal occupation or mining rents'. Ofori Atta therefore called for the renewal of the restriction.


with a view to enable the landowner to work his lands for purposes of minerals in any manner considered best in the interest of the people concerned... 177

As a result of the Okyemhane's representations, the Government agreed, subject to the concurrence of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, to ask the Legislative Council to amend the existing law so as to permit landlords to carry out mining operations by methods other than native and also to impose a time limit within which all future concessions must be effectively developed and worked with a view to preventing concession being taken up merely for speculative purposes. 178

The entry of Europeans into the hitherto exclusively African field of activity revolutionised the mining industry in Akyem Abusua. First the mining industry became highly mechanised. By 1931 C.A.S.T. had installed eight plants on its Akwatia concessions. 179 Two six-ton boilers and four lorry loads of pipes were convoyed to the Akwatia mine in December 1933. 180 The Holland Syndicate Diamond Mine at Tarkwa had two plants working in

177. Ibid; See also N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1796 Report of Committee of Tenure of Land.


In April one of the plants was closed down to enable work on the Wankyí concession to start with machinery claimed by the Manager, Mr. Nicholas, to be 'the largest alluvial one in the world' and certainly 'twice the size of anything at Akwatia'.

The Coy Company Ltd. also operated their concession near Toproman under Mr. Faithfull's management with the only set of machinery it owned.

The mechanisation of the mining industry made the traditional methods of mining out mode, uncompetitive and unrewarding.

At the same time lack of capital and technical know-how prevented individual Abukuma citizens or other Africans from participating profitably in the industry. Indeed by 1930 all the numerous African entrepreneurs who secured concessions in the State during the second and third decades of the 20th century had withdrawn from the mining industry leaving the field to be monopolised by expatriate firms, namely Consolidated African Selections Trust, West African Diamonds Syndicate, Coy Company Ltd. and Holland.

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184. Already by 1890 the people of Apedwa were abandoning the gold industry for rubber trade because 'the laborious and wasteful industry yielded wealth to then such a precarious furth (ed.) The Papers of George Eken.
Syndicate. Henceforth Akyem participation in the industry became marginal being confined to elderly women who periodically washed for gold in rivers such as Birin, Akusu and Akuow mainly for use as ornaments.

On the other hand the introduction of scientific mining increased opportunities of wage and salary employment. By January 1934 between 300 to 400 Africans were employed by the Holland Syndicate Diamond Company on its two plants at Takoradi. C.A.S.T. similarly employed a large African labour force. Among prominent Akuakwa citizens employed by the various Mines was Nana Ofori Atta I who worked for Goldfields of Eastern Akyem in 1902.

Apart from providing employment for the people of Akyem Akuakwa, the mining industry became the largest single source of revenue for the Paramount Stool as well as some of the sub-stools throughout the 1930s. A 'Return of Concession Rents payable at

185. These included Atta Gold Company (Fusupusu); J. Akwun (Apasan); Lamptey's lands (Achimota (between Anyinan and Enyiresi); Vanderpuige's lands (Anyinan); the West African Nigerian and General Trust Ltd. (Kwaben), Dr. Fred Nanka-Bruce (Apeinan-Moso-Kobirisco concession), subsequently transferred to T. Hutton Mills. See N.A.G.K., Adm 29/6/42 Concessions.

186. N.A.G.K., Adm 29/6/49 Diary of W.H. Beeton for Aug. 1932. The grandfather of the present writer was a great 'gold-washer' in the 1940s.


188. N.A.G.K., Adm 26/6/49 D.C's. Trek Diary for Jan. 1934

189. See Guttery, p. 301
Eastern Province' enclosed in a letter of 23 January 1932 showed that 31 out of 32 concessions listed paid an annual rent of £5, 20.0.0 to various Stools in the State. Of this amount £312.5.0 went directly to the Paramount Stool besides the £ customary share claimed by it in another £1,371.0.0. In addition there was also the Paramount Stool's claim, still sub judice, to a share of the substantial rents and royalties totalling £57,960.18.5 which C.A.S.T. paid to the rebellious Chiefs of Asamankese and Akwatic between 1929 and 1931. Revenues from the Mines formed a substantial portion of the budget for the programme of social developments described in chapter four.

190. The validity of the Akwatia Concessions leases was challenged by the Paramount Stool which was not made a party to them owing to Asamankese's attempted secession from Akyen Abukawa. Certificates of Validity were issued by the Concessions Court between November 1925 and March 1926 in respect of concessions No.898(Akwatia), 903(Akwatia Block 2) and 907(Akwatia Block 3 & 4) without prejudice to the claims of joint-ownership advanced by Ofori Atta. By an Agreement dated 26 April 1929 the Paramount Stool received £10,000 from C.A.S.T. 'as a commutation of whatever interest' it claimed in the Concessions. In addition Omanhene sued Asamankese and Akwatic Stools for a share in rents and royalties paid to the two stools by C.A.S.T. between November 1929 and 30 June 1931. See N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1105 Award Published at Asaman 9 Sept. 1929; N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1630 Asamankese Law suits.

Infrastructural Development

In pre-colonial times Akwem Abuaa was linked to the Accra Coast by two important roads. The first, the Asante-Akwem (Obogu)-Asoo-Kado-Osmence-Isamankose-Kwasin (Koisan) road linked the Western half of the State to Accra. Radiating from it were the Kado-Kyebi road and the Kado-Moscase (Sene)-Insucin (Oda) road. The second, the Kwaawu-Amyinm-Kukrantuni-Aburi road, linked the eastern half of the State to Accra. From it radiated such branch roads as the Kyebi-Asafo-Kukrantuni road, the Kyebi-Laiakwa-Osfun road and the Bogoro-Fankyonoko-Osfun road.

The state of these roads left much to be desired. Writing in 1872 David Asante described them as being 'even in African eyes, very very bad'. The roads, essentially bush tracks, often went over hilly and rocky places. For several months most of them remained uncleared with the bush often concealing disused pits which abounded in the district. The roads could be so bad even in the dry season as to render travelling by hammock 'very impossible at certain places'. In the rainy season, the Bircon river and its numerous tributaries formed a net-work of marshes and


194. Simon to Col.Sec. 22 Jan. 1867.
swamps which made travelling extremely difficult. The Birer often attained a depth of twelve feet and a width of forty yards in places, and this, coupled with the swiftness of the currents, made crossing at once difficult and hazardous. Owing to the poor state of Akyen roads it took, at least 40 hours to go from Kado to Accra, for example.

With the introduction of Colonial rule the Government began to pay attention to Akyen Abunkwa roads in an effort to promote the regular flow of trade to and from the hinterland. Throughout the 19th century the policy of the Government was to rely on the Chiefs and people to keep the roads in a satisfactory condition in return for small monetary rewards. In 1875 the Colonial Government succeeded by this method in having the Akyen roads 'cleaned'. During his brief stay in Akyen Abunkwa the D.C., Dr. Smith, was 'sharp on chiefs who (did) not keep their paths clean'. Early in 1888 the Chiefs of Kado and Adankrono were

195. In 1888 it took D.C. Smith 4 days of 'forced marches' to go from Begoro to Oda, the usual time being 6 days. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1095 Spilbury Smith to Col. Sec. 12 April 1888.


197. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1094 Statement by Yaw Tawia Kade 26 Dec. 1888. The breakdown was as follows: Kado-Osmanaso 8 hours; Osmanaso-Asamankese 6 hours; Asamankese-Okorase 12 hours; Okorase-Kwanten 15 hours.

198. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p.583 Mader to Basel 21 April 1875

199. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1094 Statement by Yaw Tawia Kade 26 Dec. 1888. The breakdown was as follows: Kado-Osmanaso 8 hours; Osmanaso-Asamankese 6 hours; Asamankese-Okorase 12 hours; Okorase-Kwanten 15 hours.

paid £4 each by Government as a contribution towards the maintenance of ferry services on the Birn between Adankrono and Kade. This ferry ranked next after the Nsuaen(Oda) ferry as a crossing point for traders from Asante and Asante-Akyen.

Governor Griffith appealed to Osawuahene Kwabena Atwero in 1888 to use his influence to get the chiefs and people of his Division to construct a new road from Kyebi to Nsuaen(Oda) which would shorten the journey by about 40 miles. In addition to the promise of pickaxes, shovels and spades, the Government offered a reward at the rate of 10/- per mile for making the road and 10/- per quarter for maintaining it. This project could not be carried out owing to the outbreak of the Nsuaen ferry crisis.

In 1890 Government made a similar arrangement with Chief Kwasi Akyen of Apadwa for the maintenance of the newly-cut Apadwa-Nsawan road for 'a quarterly payment of £12... or £40 per annum'. When Fergusson arrived at Apadwa on 27 October 1890 30 miles of the road had been cleared. The first payment of

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202. See Chapter Three

£40 was made in 1891 and the second in 1894 for work done during
the 1893-94 fiscal year.  

The policy of voluntary construction and maintenance of
roads by the Chiefs and people of Akwas Abuankwa did not work satisfactorily. For example, no maintenance work was done by the peo-
plo of Apewa on the Apewa-Nsawam road during 1891-92 and 1892-93 fiscal years.  

By June 1894 Akwas Abuankwa roads seemed to be
in a state of hopeless neglect. In a note to the Colonial Secre-
tary Rev. Ad Mohr implored the Government 'to order way cleaning
throughout the whole Aken country' as the roads were in 'a very bad condition'.

The Kukurantumi-Oseon-Nsutan-Ayinam-Kankan road for instance, became impassable during the rainy season with
the section between Ayinam and Kankan nothing but 'one long
swamp'.

The cause of the neglect of the roads was no doubt
due, in part, to the people's pre-occupation with cash crop farming
and the collection of rubber which often took the men away from the
State for weeks on end.

The Government's solution to the problem of road maintenance
and construction was the passage of the Roads Ordinance(1894)

206. Ibid
1895.
under which responsibility for maintenance of roads was placed on the shoulders of the Chiefs of the Gold Coast Colony. The Ordinance made all able-bodied men liable 'to be called upon for road work up to a maximum of 24 days in a year'.\textsuperscript{209} With the aid of this 'benevolent form of forced labour'\textsuperscript{210} road construction in the State of Akyem Abuakwa began in earnest during the first decade of the 20th century.

By the end of the 19th century there was 'no road to Kibi from Akuse or Akropong' though there was one from Acora 'part of which had been constructed by the Government(sic) as far as a place called Sansani'.\textsuperscript{211} But as the economy of Akyem Abuakwa developed in the 20th century the need arose for improvements to be made to the existing network of pathways.

The first serious attempt at road construction in the State was made by a mining company - Gold Fields of Eastern Akim Ltd. In 1900 it stationed some of its officials at Apedwa to supervise improvements to the Sansani-Apedwa road.\textsuperscript{212} By March 1906, however, the road had been allowed to deteriorate owing to lack

\textsuperscript{209} N.A.C.K., Adn 29/6/32 Confidential Papers: Minute by Hon. S.H.L. (Jones) 17 June 1931.


\textsuperscript{211} N.A.G., Adn 11/1/3 F.N.H. to Col. Sec. 11 Nov. 1898.

of maintenance. It was 'bad in places' and required attention.'213 Continued neglect led to further deterioration and by the beginning of 1907 it was not being 'very much used'.214

From 1904 District Commissioners availed themselves of powers under the Roads Ordinance to launch road building and maintenance programme. Francis Crowther, D.C. for Akyen Abuakwa, ordered the Abuakwa Chiefs to clear the Kyobi-Bunso-Suhyen road in preparation for Governor Nathan's visit in October 1904. In the following year he again ordered 'road cleaning throughout the State'.215 Towards the end of 1908 Mr. Hobbs, D.C. succeeded in having 5 bridges constructed by communal labour for a reward of £2 per bridge. He also got the Bunso-Osecon and Bunso-Asiakwa roads which were not under the Roads Ordinance cleared by the town people living along them for 'a present'.216 The pressure of communal labour on roads was felt increasingly by the Chiefs and people of Akyen Abuakwa up to the eve of World War I. In 1912 for instance, the Chief of Akyensu was fined twice - £10 and £25 respectively - 'for not keeping his roads clean'.217

213. N.A.G.K., Adm 29/6/1 Report for Quarter ending 31 March 1906.
On the eve of World War I there were about 193½ miles of officially listed roads in Akyen Abunkwa. Of those 24½ miles, i.e. the 12½ mile Nsawan-Asuboi road and the 12 mile Adeiso-Asamankese road, were listed as under the care of the Public Works Department (P.W.D.). The remaining 169 miles of road were listed under the Road Ordinance of 1894 and authorised to be maintained for a fee by the Chiefs. Both categories of roads were in an unsatisfactory state of repair.

From 1914, the responsibility for road construction and maintenance was shared by the Colonial Government, the Mining Companies and the traditional authorities of Akyen Abunkwa. As far as the Government was concerned World War I put an abrupt end to 'skilled road construction' in the Colony, and for the next five years expenditure on new roads was 'cut down to vanishing point'. In spite of the growing importance of Nsawan as a cocoa buying centre, especially for produce from the Densuagy area, not much attention was paid to the Kyebi-Nsawan road.

By September 1915 it was still not notoriable because the bridges

221. " ' ... " . .;-. Gold Coast Legislative Council 17-28.
necessary to complete it had not yet been constructed. 222 The
Asankese-Naawan road, under the P.W.D. received scant attention
during the war. Reconstruction of the 29-mile road was begun in
1914 but by mid 1916 only 4½ miles of it had been completed. 223
The Koferidua-Tafo road on the other hand had some improvements
made to it in 1915 which rendered it serviceable for light lor­
rries. 224 Owing to its importance to the cocoa industry it was
reconstructed during the first few months of 1916 and thereafter
was 'constantly used by light motor traffic'. 225

After the war came to an end, Government began to pay
greater attention to road construction in Nkwen Abunkwa. The
Public Works Department undertook work on the Kyebi-Bunso road
and finally completed it during the third week of March 1924.
During the first quarter of 1924 15 wooden culverts on the Bunso-
Gyegyeti 'pioneer road' were dismantled and replaced with con­
crete - 5 on the Bunso-Osino-Anyan section and 10 on the Inyin-
non-Kankan-Gyegyeti section. 226 The 10½ mile

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222. N.A.G.K., Adm 29/6/4 Birrin District Quarterly Report 30
Sept. 1919.

223. N.A.G.K., Adm 29/6/10 Government Gazette Supplementary
14 July 1916.

224. N.A.G.K., Adm 29/6/4 Francis Growther (AG. C.E.P.) to AG.
Col. Sec. 29 Dec. 1915.

225. N.A.G.K., Adm 29/6/10 Government Gazette Supplementary
14 July 1916.

226. N.A.G.K., Adm 6/15 Birrin District Report for Quarter
1924.
also completed in 1923 and officially opened to traffic by Governor Guggisberg at the end of December. 227

Besides the Colonial Government, the Mining Companies also contributed to road construction in Akyem Abuakwa. The exigencies of the Mining Industry, in Western Abuakwa led C.A.S.T. for instance to construct the 20-mile Asamankese-Alwattia road in 1923. In February 1924 the boiler of a portable steam engine was successfully conveyed to Akwatia in a Vulcan lorry weighing over 5 tons. 228 The road was extended northwards to Kado in 1929 for the purpose of transporting machinery to its new field of operation north of the river Anaw. 229

The Chiefs and people of Akyem Abuakwa were saddled with the responsibility for road maintenance under the Roads Ordinance during World War I. Indeed during 1914-1919 road construction and maintenance in the Gold Coast became the special responsibility of the Chiefs. 230 By September 1915 there were 80 miles of road authorised to be kept by the Chiefs under the Roads Ordinance, for which they earned only £35 in the third quarter. 231

227. Ibid
228. Ibid
231. N.A.G.K., Adn 29/6/4 Birrin District Quarterly Report for Sept. 1915. The rates were 50 miles at 20/- per mile.
Under the leadership of the D.C. communal labour was mobilized throughout 1916 for the construction of several roads in the State, bringing the mileage of notable roads to 532. After the end of the war the people of Akyen Abuakwa continued to be responsible for the maintenance of certain roads. The surface of the 24-mile Bunso-Gyegyeti pioneer road, for example, was maintained in good condition during the first quarter of 1924 by the Chiefs.

 Apart from constructing and maintaining roads at the request of Government, the Chiefs and people of Akyen Abuakwa under the modernising influence of their educated elite took the initiative to construct roads at their own expense for the benefit of their communities. At the time of Ofori Atta's accession in 1912 motor transport was only just coming into widespread use in the Colony. A few lorries had been imported into the country in 1907 and by 1910 there were possibly 12 motor vehicles in the whole country. In lieu of motor transportation exports from the State continued to be conveyed to the coast by head loads or, in the case of cocoa and coffee, in casks rolled along the existing poor, narrow and

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234. N.A.G., Adm 14/2/13 Gold Coast Colony Legislative Council.
winding paths. 235

Conscious of the advantages of motor transportation, Ofori Atta paid great attention to the improvement of the Kyebi-Apodwa road which had been left in a disgraceful state by the Colonial Government. As the main link between Kyebi and Accra, the road, in the Okyenhene's view, deserved to be made completely noto-

In the last quarter of 1916 the Okyenhene placed a contract for the reconstruction and bridging of that road at a cost of £1,500. From 1917 to March 1918 the road was kept in a good state of repair by the Okyenhene without any subsidy from the Government. The road was closed to traffic from December 1919 to January 1920 to enable cement culverts to be constructed and the road re-surfaced with a partial grant of £150 voted by Government. After the re-opening of the road to traffic, Ofori Atta received 'an increased payment' for its maintenance to ensure that it


stayed open to traffic. By the beginning of 1922 the Apodwa-Kyebi road had become 'a very fine road' thanks to the untiring efforts of the Chiefs. Apart from the single exception of the bridge spanning river Kerman about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Kyebi, all the timber bridges or culverts on the road had been replaced with concrete bridges and culverts by 1924.

The spirit of self-help which Ofori Atta inculcated in his people bore fruit in the 1920s and 1930s. In 1929 the Odikro of Abonpe gave a contract for £1,500 to one Mr. Newton to construct a road from the Osino railway station to his village. The contract included a bridge over the Biron river. Similarly the people of Awahan near Osonase employed a contractor in 1930 to link their village to Osonase by road; while at Akwatia the Stool paid for the construction of a road bridge.

The opening up of Akyem Abunkwa to motor traffic from 1916 onwards ended the drudgery of cash rolling and facilitated quick and easy transportation of agricultural produce to the coast. It also ended the relative isolation of the remotest villages from the State Capital and other important centres of political and cultural life.

economic activity in the State. Notwithstanding its contribution to the growth of the Obuakwa economy, the application of the Roads Ordinance (1894) perpetuated a type of slavery in the form of forced labour in the State, at a time when the mining and cocoa industries were creating an insatiable demand for wage labour and providing individuals with opportunities to sell their labour to the highest bidder. To compel entire communities to maintain Government roads for a fee of 10/- a mile under the prevailing circumstances was sheer exploitation.

That compulsory maintenance of roads imposed a severe strain on the time and freedom of the people is evidenced by an appeal by Ofori Atta to Acting Governor A.R. Slater in 1927 to relieve the chiefs and people of responsibility for the Suhyen-Abonosu road as the increased traffic on it placed it 'beyond the ability of the chiefs and people to maintain it in a satisfactory manner'.

No serious consideration was however, given to the reduction of the mileage of roads listed to be maintained by Chiefs in the State till after 1939 when the District Commissioners of the Eastern Province added their voice to the Chiefs.

plea, and also criticised as inadequate and irksome to the people the maximum of £20 per mile allowed to the D.Os for road maintenance, as against £40 per mile for the P.W.D. 243

The Colonial Government did not only limit itself to a programme of road construction in Akyem Abunkwa. It also built a railway line through the State, encouraged the revival of private ferry services and provided Post and Telegraph services. Indeed a major pre-occupation of Sir Hugh Clifford's Administration (1912-1919) was the extension of the railway inland from Manganese and Koforidua. This extension was considered by the Governor to be 'the first call' on public revenue. 244 By September 1913 work on the New Manganese-Koforidua extension was already in progress with a labour force of 1,500 men recruited largely 'from the interior'. 245 This section was 'handed over to open lines on February 15th 1916 on which date regular traffic commenced'. 246


244. M.A.G.K., Adm 11/1776 Address of Welcome to Clifford 22 April 1916; Clifford at Kibbi 23 April 1916.


/10 Government Gazette Supplementary 5.
The survey of the 'probable route' of the Koforidua-Amyinan railway was begun in late 1913 but work on it was delayed by the outbreak of World War I. A railway survey party resumed work on the section during the first quarter of 1915; and by June when work was temporarily halted, clearing and main line earthworks had been completed up to a point near Enyiresi about 38 miles from Koforidua. The potentialities of the railway as a factor in the rapid economic and social development of Akyem Abuankwa were appreciated by the Ahenfo; and in an address of welcome to Sir Hugh Clifford in February 1913 they requested that the railway be constructed as close to Kyebi as possible. Clifford refused to commit himself and merely expressed the hope that it would be possible to bring the railway 'nearer to Kibbi than it is at present...'.

In April 1913 Tafohene Kwadwo Pesan requested for a railway station to be built close to Tafot and promised to give every possible assistance including a free gift of the requisite land. Bogorohene 'ntwi Abua also asked for a branch railway to Bogore; while Asamankesehene Kwaku Awoa expressed a preference for a railway 'in place of a motor road'. The desires of Ofori

247. Ibid.
Atta, the Benkumhene and the Naankesehene could not be satisfied, largely due to the exigencies of World War I. Tafo, however, lay on the line of construction and a railway station was built near the town. The New Tafo station as it came to be known was completed in November 1916 a few days after the Junapo railway station was opened for goods traffic. The railway eventually reached New Tafo in June 1917.250

Work on the 120-mile Tafo-Kumase railway was begun in 1920 and three years later 'a through passenger train service' was run between Accra and Kumase for the first time.251 The second railway in Akyen Abunkwa, the Central Province railway, was begun in 1923. By October, 81 miles of it had been completed as far as Oda and opened to traffic.252 The railway was completed at the end of 1927.253 To bring villages beyond the Biren in Western Akyen Abunkwa within easy reach of the railways the Government encouraged the revival of private ferry services which had ceased with the progressive decline of the rubber trade during


253. N.A.C.G., Adm 11/1263 Minutes on Railway freight rate on Kola. Kumasi to Accra 11 March 1925; J.B. Donquah, Adm
the first decade of the 20th century. By 1924 the Chiefs of Kade and Adankrono had revived their ferry services and were charging 6d per head per crossing.

Post and Telegraph facilities were also extended to Akwet Abunaw from 1913 onwards. The first two towns to enjoy postal services were Kyebi and Bogoro. The Kyebi Postal Agency run from June 1, 1913 by Mr. A.E.W. Amoako was controlled by the D.C. and checked monthly. The Bogoro Agency was operated by the European Missionaries of the Basel Mission in 1913. Initially it sold only a limited stock of stamps. No Postal Orders were sold nor was a parcel post service provided. In 1916 Asamankease and Tafo were also provided with Postal Agencies. The former became a fully fledged Post Office in April 1930 when its modern buildings were completed for occupation.

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254. Ferries had played an important role in trade across the Birni River during the 1880s and 1890s but declined during the second decade of the 20th century. The main source of income for ferry operators was the non-native rubber and kola traders who crossed to and from Asante. By 1915 there were no ferries operating in the State. See N.A.G.K., Ṣẹn 29/6/4 Birrin District Quarterly Report for Quarter ended 30 Sept. 1915.


The first telegraphic service in the State was provided at New Tafo in 1916 through the extension of the telegraphic line from Koforidua.\textsuperscript{259} By March 1924 Adeiso also was enjoying telegraph facilities but extension of the line from Nsawan towards Kyobi had only reached mile 50 (i.e. a few miles from Kyobi town).\textsuperscript{260} No part of the State enjoyed telephone services by 1919.\textsuperscript{261} By April 1930, however, Kyobi and Adeiso were linked by telephone.\textsuperscript{262} Telephone link with Asankoswo was established in September 1930.\textsuperscript{263}

The impact of infrastructural development in Akyem Abuakwa in the 20th century was very striking. First, it led to the expansion of trade, especially in cocoa. Before World War I cocoa was rolled to the coast in casks or puncheons for sale;\textsuperscript{264} but with the development of motor and railway transportation, buying centres sprang up at several points on the road not-work and on the railway. Among the earliest ones were Nsawan and Adeiso. From 1915 additional centres sprang up at Suhun, Apetwa, New Tafo, Amyinan, Abonosu and Ekoso, and later in the 1930s at Akropong and Nankese.

\textsuperscript{259} N.A.G.K., Adm 29/6/10 C.E.P's. Annual Report for 1916.
\textsuperscript{260} N.A.G.K., Adm 29/6/15 Report on Birrim District 31 March 1924.
\textsuperscript{261} N.A.G.K., Adm 29/6/4 Quarterly, Report Birrim 31 March 1919.
\textsuperscript{262} N.A.G.K., Adm 26/6/49 Asst. D.C's Diary for April 1930.
\textsuperscript{263} N.A.G.K., Adm 26/6/49 D.C's Diary for Sept. 1930.
\textsuperscript{264} N.A.G.K., Adm 30/6/3 J.R. Whitaker's Report for Quarter 1930.
The growth of New Tafo as a cocoa buying centre was phenomenal. In the first quarter of 1919, for instance, it was reported that farmers from Abonosu and western Abualwa towns 'who had in former years' been accustomed to dispose of their cocoa at Apodwa Suhun and Asuboi brought it 'across the Kibbi mountains for sale at Tafo'. The New Tafo railway station also provided the main outlet for the vast cocoa growing area of Begoro and its hinterland extending as far as the Afrom plains. The tonnage of cocoa bought at New Tafo during the first quarter of 1919 was so large that the Railway Authorities had to provide additional vans to cope with its evacuation to Accra. New Tafo's growing importance as a great cocoa buying centre was underscored by the fall in earnings from railway traffic at Koforidua during the September Quarter of 1919 - from £21,597 in March to £9,572.18.1.

From an obscure village Ekoso situated near the Bireen in the neighbourhood of Abonosu acquired 'prominence as a cocoa buying centre' in 1924. Asamankese also became 'an important centre of trade reputed to be the largest, wholly native town in the


266. Ibid.


268. N.A.G.K., Adm 29/6/15 Birrin District Report 31 March
Colony' during the 1920s. 269

The construction of roads and a railway in Akyen Abuakwa actually helped to increase the State's output of cocoa. The 'considerable planting of new areas' which began early in 1916 and continued through the first month of 1917 was as much the result of the prevailing high prices as of the incentive provided by the facility of road and rail transportation. 270 During the first quarter of 1919 the Acting C.E.P. reported that 'the whole population is directing attention to its farms and cocoa transport'. 271 In December 1919 'a record sale of cocoa plants' was made to farmers by the Agricultural sub-station at Kyebi; 272 and by 1929 cultivation had almost reached the summit of the 1,700 feet high Atowa range. 273

Other agricultural produce of note whose export was greatly facilitated by the building of roads and railways were kola and palm kernels. Before the opening of the Central Province railway in 1926, transportation of kola from Kade to Sekondi for export

269. Ibid


to Lagos caused problems. The completion of the C.P.R. provided
a quick and reliable outlet for 'the great Kola Area around
Kadi'. The net-work of rural roads also facilitated the
marketing and export of palm oil and palm-kernels during World
War I and II. In 1918 the 'Controller of shipping' was authori-
sed by the British Government to commandeor 'all the shipping
space homeward available for the West African colonies... for
palm oil and palm kernels...'.

Thanks to motor transportation
the people of Akyem Abunkwa captured a fair share of the market.
Again during World War II school children throughout the State
were mobilised to crack palm kernels for sale and export as their
contribution to the war effort.

Improved transportation did not only benefit the export
trade. It also helped to develop retail trade in the State. In
addition to the traditional 19th century commodities, like texti-
les, tobacco, alcoholic drinks, natchets and salt, milk, corned
beef, sugar, candles, sardines, soap and building materials were
distributed in the State. The rise in cocoa prices from March
1919 encouraged 'brisk' trade, and in spite of inflation 'a consi-
derable amount of business' was done at Tafo especially.

274. N.A.G., Adm 11/1263 D.C's Office Adjaten Lodge to S.N.A.
23 Dec. 1924; Traffic Manager's Minutes on Railway Freight
rate on Kola... 11 March 1925.

Parsonage Sts 5 March 1918.

9/6/6 Birrin Report for Quarter ended 31
Another dimension of infrastructural development in Akyem of
Abuakwa was the mushrooming of villages along the net-work of roads
and railways and the expansion of existing ones. This phenomenon
is explained by the obvious economic advantages of living by
motor roads and railways. Suhum, for instance, which as already
pointed out was a settlement of only 4 huts in 1890 expanded
rapidly with the construction of the Nsawom-Kyebi lorry road to
become an important and populous town in the 1920s. The
prospects held out by the extension of the railway through New
Tafó led to numerous people applying for building plots in the
township area. Throughout the first quarter of 1919 the son of
Tafóhene Kwádwo Peasa did brisk business in leasing building
plots.

Finally the installation of telegraph and telephone facili-
ties in the State promoted the efficient conduct of business
and saved costs. During the 1930s Ofori Atta, for instance,
conducted most of the political and economic affairs of the State
by use of telephone and telegram especially during the crises
precipitated by the attempted secession of Amamanke and the
Income Tax revenue measure of 1931-1933. Telephone and

277. See p. 350.
278. N.A.G.K., Adm 29/6/4 Birrin Quarterly Report 31 March
1919.

279. N.A.G.K., Adm 29/6/49 D.C's Diary for April 1931; D.C's
1931; See Chapter Seven
telegraph services did not only facilitate the conduct of business; they were also important media for maintaining purely social contact.

Summary

Missionary activity and colonial policy brought about fundamental changes in the structure of Akyen Abuakwa's economy between 1875 and 1943. The predominantly traditional subsistence economy of the pre-colonial era was transformed into a modern market economy. By 1882 signs of the transition were already visible. Theophilus Opoku remarked that one of the principle(sic) foes that the Basel Mission was struggling against was 'love of money'. The growth of a money economy in the State encouraged occupational change as a result of the availability of a wider range of employment opportunities. Besides the traditional occupations of subsistence farming and retail trade, the Abuakwa people had the option of becoming cash crop farmers, or seeking employment as wage labourers, or pursuing professional careers in teaching, law and medicine.

Between them cocoa farming, the mining industry and railway construction created an almost insatiable demand for wage labour in the 1920s. Not even recruitment of unskilled labour from Northern Ghana to supplement local supply at daily wages ranging

between 1/3d and 2/- could solve the problem of shortage of labour. In the end Governor Guggisberg had to make a special appeal to Ofori Atta to help mobilize communal labour for the construction of the Akyen railway.  

The economic opportunities opened up in the State by cash crop farming and the mining industry attracted immigrants from within and without the borders of the Gold Coast. The immigrants, largely Yoruba, Hausa and Zaberrina helped to give Akuakwa towns and villages a cosmopolitan outlook. The Yoruba population at Asuboe numbered 60 in 1930, while at Akran there were 'as many Lagosians as Akins' in 1935. Suheji also had a sizeable community of Zaberrina and Kotokoli in the 1920s and 1930s. These immigrants supplemented the work of established cocoa buying centres by working as itinerant brokers. The District Report for the first quarter of 1924 read in part:

It is no exaggeration to say that literally hundreds of Hausa cocoa carriers passed weekly over paths from Lagon to Anankese via Kade, and from Apiramang to


Leaankose via Osenase. 284

The economic impact of the Missionaries and the Colonial Government was also evident in the shift of economic power from the hands of the traditional political elite into the hands of the emergent class of cash crop farmers, traders and professionals. By the first decade of the 20th century it was already difficult for even a paramount chief of the Colony, if he inherited no wealth, to feed and clothe himself and his wives and children and other domestics and keep his household, and his own respectability as a Head Chief. 285

Unlike their subjects, Chiefs found it impracticable to take personal advantage of the boon in cash-crop farming. First, the increasing administrative and judicial responsibilities imposed on them by the N.J.O. and N.A.O. left them little time to attend to private interests. In 1931 for instance, D.C. Judd commented that the Divisional Chiefs and senior Adikrofo stayed 'in Kibi much too much' and 'always seem to be away from their towns'. 286

Second, the tendency to consider all properties acquired by Chiefs during their occupancy of their stools as stool property


of which they might be deprived on deposition was a disincentive.\footnote{287}{See Chapter Six pp.405-406.} Third, it was no longer possible, as in pre-colonial days, to make free use of subjects’ labour for private purposes;\footnote{288}{See Chapter Six p.453.} while paid labour was not only hard to come by but also expensive for the already impoverished Chiefs.

It was indeed in recognition of the loss of status suffered by the traditional ruling elite through a shift of economic power and the impracticability of combining the office of Chief with the role of a private cash crop farmer that Nifahene Kwaku Agyeman ‘persistently neglected his duties as the Chief of Asinkwa’ to attend to his cocoa farms at Akyinasin. Ultimately having decided that of the two commitments cocoa farming was ‘the less irksome and certainly more profitable’, he readily seized on an alleged conspiracy to destabilise him as a pretext for abdication in 1919.\footnote{289}{29/6/4 Birrin Quarterly Report 3 March 1919.}

Relative affluence among the mass of Abukwa’s rural population was reflected in the itch for luxury and material comfort. Incomes from cash-crop farming and other forms of employment were spent on gramophones, bicycles, lorries, wax-prints, boots, modern houses, imported tinned foods, soaps, lanterns, drugs etc.

While some of the imports were useful and helped to raise the
standard of living among the people, others were of doubtful value and a drain on the State's financial resources. Affluence gradually became an index of merit and an important hidden influence in the choice of a candidate for the office of Chief in the 20th century.

The development of Akyen Abunkwa's natural resources generated considerable revenue which was applied in part to the programmes of social improvement already described. Motor and railway transportation as well as telegraph and telephono facilities ended the isolation of several villages, facilitated inter-village contact and made possible such state-wide organizations as came into being in the 1930s.

The rapid rate of economic change in Akyen Abunkwa was marked by a growing sense of unparalleled social alienation and insecurity. First, burglary and other crimes accompanied the development of a money economy in Akyen Abunkwa. The D.C's report for September 1913 showed that 'Burglary, Robbery and theft' were on the increase. The crime rate increased especially during

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290. See Chapter Seven

291. In 1901 Kofi Twum who was described as 'only a relative' of the deceased Odikro Afirii of Asafo was preferred, because of his immense wealth, to his cousin Kwabena Gyasi who appeared to have a better claim. See Civil Record Book 25/3/07-5/9/07 No. 3 Kyebi Palace Archives.

292. See Chapter Four

293. See Chapter Four

3/6/3 Birrin District Report, 30 March and
the cocoa season, with gangs of 'armed thieves' terrorising small village communities. Ofori Atta attributed the growth in the crime rate partly to the lightness of the punishment inflicted by the Courts and partly to the presence of unemployed aliens and called for appropriate action.

The second cause of social alienation and insecurity was the State of neurasthenia in which several people found themselves as a result of the high incidence of venereal disease, matrimonial infidelity, infant mortality and crop failures. In the 1930s venereal disease became 'alarmingly prevalent', especially in the mining districts of Akyem Abuakwa. Not only was the disease 'responsible for most of the sterility, still births and sickly, short-lived infants' but also it was the cause of the 'melancholia, marital misery, and embittered outlook on life'. Prostitution was also encouraged by the presence of a large body of unmarried immigrant and seasonal labourers in the mines and on cocoa farms.

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298. Ibid
In their bewilderment and neurosis victims of venereal disease, crop failures, crime, marital unhappiness etc. tended to blame their misfortunes on witchcraft, and to clamour for 'powerful protective and curative magic' that would save them 'from witchcraft, thieves and adulterers'.

So widespread and general was the search for security that most African pastors complained that they had 'difficulty in preventing their flocks from going secretly at night' to consult the aboson (gods) about personal problems.

It is clear then that far-reaching changes followed in the wake of the economic revolution that occurred in Akyen Abunkwa under colonial rule. But as will be argued later the real beneficiaries of the economic changes were not the mass of Akyen Abunkwa people but rather the expatriate European companies and the colonial regime.

300. Ibid.

301. Ibid.

an pp.524-25.
CHAPTER SIX

INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE AND INNOVATION

Missionary activity and colonial rule did not influence Akyen Abuakwa's history in the social and economic spheres only. In the political field too, the passage of various ordinances, the adoption of certain administrative measures and the spread of novel ideas in a rapidly changing social and economic milieu brought about alteration in the structure, character, functions and powers of the State's political institutions. The monarchy, the State Council, the judicial structure, the treasury and the asafo - all underwent significant changes, some of which are examined in this chapter.

1. The Monarchy

The first significant change in the monarchical system occurred in the loss of the inherent power of Chiefs. Traditionally the Chief's authority derived from his occupancy of the blackened stool which was the embodiment of the spirits of the founding fathers. But following the peculiar circumstances of Kwasi Kuma's election and confirmation as Okyenene Amoako Atta II in November 1887 the Governor was deemed to have established himself as de facto sovereign power in Akyen Abuakwa by reason of Amoako Atta's oath of allegiance and declaration of his subservience to the Colonial regime. In consequence of this

pp.47, 86.

* pp.198-200.
self-assertion the Governor claimed to be the fountain-head and source of all political power and authority in Akwem Abuakwa.

The implications of the Governor's claim were far-reaching. It not only converted the inherent traditional right of the Chiefs to exercise political and judicial functions into a derivative one, but also in fact, it sought to confer upon the Governor power to deprive Chiefs of their stools and authority. In 1894, for instance, Travelling Commissioner Rayner, a judge of the Supreme Court threatened Apedwahehene Kwasi Gyekye with deposition if he persisted in his contumacious conduct towards the Okyenene. In four years later, another Travelling Commissioner, Mr. Hull, warned Okyenene Amoako Atta II that if he was not able to maintain order in his State like other Kings in the Colony 'the Government would have to put someone in his place who could'.

The Government's claim of power to depose the Okyenene and his sub-Chiefs found legal sanction in 1899 in the application of the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance (1883) to Akwem Abuakwa; for under section 29 of that Ordinance the Governor was empowered to depose a chief for abuse of power or other sufficient reason.

This power of deposition was exercised in 1900 to the prejudice

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4. N.A.G., Hull to Col. Sec. 2 Nov. 1893.

of the Akyen Abunkwa constitution. Apparently holding that power to depose implied power to decide who should rule, the Government disallowed the popular deposition of Amoako Atta II in October 1900 inspite of the Acting Colonial Secretary's admission that the people's action voiced 'correctly the feeling in which the King is held in Akyen'; that he was 'entirely unsuited for his position'; and that he was 'detested for his niggardliness, greed, incapacity, want of dignity'.

The ostensible reason for disallowing the deposition of Amoako Atta II was that it had not been carried out in accordance with the Abunkwa constitution because the letter announcing the deposition had not been 'signed by a majority of the council of Akyen chiefs and sent down by their representatives'. It is however, obvious from the evidence that the Government cared less about the constitutionality of the deposition than about the lack of a suitable successor. Alex Eugene Danquah, the most immediate heir, was not considered to be a suitable choice; and although his younger brother, Aaron Boakye Danquah was considered 'preferable' the Acting Colonial Secretary did 'not think much of him'.

6. N. A. G., Ldm 11/1/3 Eg. Col. Sec. to Ag. Governor 6 Nov. 1900
The immediate cause of the King's deposition was his uninspiring leadership which led to the humiliating defeat of the Akyen troops at Beankra during the Yan Lsantewaa Yar. For details see Amoako Atta to Col. Sec. 14 Sept. 1900.

7. N. A. G., Ldm 11/1/3 Eg. Col. Sec. to Ag. Governor 6 Nov.
As for the other branch of the royal family represented by
Kwaku Sereku and his mother, the Colonial Secretary considered
them to be 'people of no position in Kibbi'.

The non-ratification of Amoako Attah's deposition was signi-
ficant for two reasons. First it raised a very important constit-
tutional question regarding the rightful persons and the correct
procedure for removing an Okyen’ato from office. In a protest
note to the Government about its opinion of the signatories to
the letter of deposition as 'mere nobodies' and 'persons of lit-
tle importance', the Kyebi Executive Council and the Anantoo-
miensa asserted categorically:

We the undermentioned Chiefs and Captains who
signed the letter of the 1st instant to wit
Apapan, Apedjo, Tetteh and Kibbi are the only
authorized men in the Akin District who have
the right to depose a King or to put one on the
stool, this custom and law exist from time
immemorial.

Upon request by the Government Rev. A. Mahr who had spent the
best part of twenty years living and working in Akyen Abukawa
confirmed the essential correctness of the claim of the Kyebi

   1900.

9. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/3 Memo by Hull 22 Dec. 1900; Ag. Col. Sec.
   to Ag. Governor 6 Nov. 1900.

10. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/3 Chiefs and Captains E. Akin to Ag. Col.
Executive Council and Anantonicsa. He wrote that

Amparn & Apeewo formed the King’s body guard &
were the proper persons to depose the King pro-
vided the other Chiefs authorised their doing so. 11

Admittedly the panel which tried the King included only
one Divisional Chief namely Kwabena Atwara, Oseawuohene; but the
exclusion of the other four was not intentional, indeed it could
not be helped. Adontenhene Kofi Lerante had abdicated soon after
the Yan Amansewac War and a successor was yet to be chosen; Nifah-
hene Kofi Boaten was still away in Asante, while Bonkunhene Kwasi
Antwi was on his sick-bed. 12 In any case the absence of the four
Divisional Chiefs need not necessarily have invalidated the pro-
ceedings if they were properly represented. 13 The Government
was to concede belatedly in January 1901 that the deposition had
been properly carried out. 14 In the meantime, however, the
Chiefs and people of Akyem Abunkwa were warned in unequivocal
language that Anoako Atta II was still their King and that if
they disobeyed or harassed him in any way Hausa troops would be
sent to Kyebi to exact a heavy fine from them. 15

1900.

1096 D. of E. to Col. Sec. 3 Feb. 1902;

13. See Chapter One p.43.

14. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/3 Governor Nathan’s Minute to Col. Sec. 19
Jan. 1901.

15. Ag. Governor’s Interview with Manco-
— in 23 Nov. 1900.
The second significance of the non-ratification of Amoako Atta's deposition lay in the change of official attitude towards the Okyeneneho's authority over his people. Until the turn of the century, many a colonial official had been apt to consider the Kings of the Protected Territories as political anachronisms, who ought to be swept aside. Thus Acting Queen's Advocate, William Brandford Griffith had confidently forecast in 1887:

...District Commissioners will gradually displace the native Courts in the... interior parts of the colony... and we shall rule the people through the District Commissioner as on the coast instead of depending on the tottering and uncertain power of the Chiefs... 16

In its anxiety to displace the Kings of the Protectorate, and establish direct rule over the interior people the Colonial Government had persistently ignored Amoako Atta's appeals for support in retrieving his rapidly collapsing authority over his subjects. 17

By 1900, however, the policy of direct rule through District Commissioners was being reviewed by the colonial office. According to a confidential memorandum written in 1931 by Mr. W.J.A. Jones, S.N.A., Sir Mathew Nathan arrived to take over the administration of the Gold Coast Colony in 1900 with instructions


pp.224-228.
'to apply the policy of indirect rule to [the] colony'.

Nathan, however, soon reported to the Secretary of State that 'the Chiefs were rapidly losing their authority' - and 'so little control had they over their people that he doubted if it would ever be possible to carry out his instructions'.

The disallowance of Amoako Atta's deposition by Nathan's Government can thus be seen as part of the effort to strengthen the authority of the Colony Chiefs for purposes of implementation of the policy of indirect rule through Chiefs.

In 1904, the Colonial Government took the important step of vesting authority in matters of enstoolment and destoolment of Chiefs in the Governor. Under the Chiefs Ordinance (1904) the Governor constituted himself into the final arbitrator of the finality, validity or otherwise of an election or destoolment. The ostensible aim of the Ordinance was 'to facilitate the proof of election and installation and the deposition of Chiefs according to native custom'.

Under section 3 of the Ordinance newly elected Chiefs were obliged to apply, through their Paramount Chiefs, to the Governor for recognition and confirmation.

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/73 T. Batten Mills to Amoako Atta III

... N.A.G., Adm 11/1/959 Titles of Native Chiefs.
It was claimed that the Ordinance was not intended to create or depose a Chief but merely to confirm 'the acts of others'.

However, plausible this claim might be in theory, it was a deceptive piece of legislation in practice; for by requiring newly enstooled chiefs to apply to the Governor for confirmation, the Ordinance sought to emphasise the derivativeness of the Chiefs' authority.

The attempt to make chiefly authority implicitly derivative rather than inherent was opposed by Caseley Hayford in 1907 during the debate on the Native Jurisdiction (Amendment) Bill. He questioned the basis of the Governor's power to withdraw a Chief's right of jurisdiction under the bill and argued that 'the rights of jurisdiction being inherent in the Chiefs, it was not competent for the Governor in Council to withdraw or even vary them'.

The N.J.O. (Amendment) Bill (1907) was not passed into law, but the Government subsequently revived the provision in 1910 and succeeded in empowering the Governor to suspend or depose a Chief under the N.J.O. (Amendment) Bill (1910). The Governor's power to deprive a Chief of jurisdiction was retained under Section 121.

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of the Native Administration Ordinance (N.A.O.) of 1927; and it was even recommended in 1931 that 'confirmation by the Governor of a Headchief or Chief be a condition precedent to the exercise by him of jurisdiction under the Ordinance'.

Between them the Chiefs' Ordinance (1904), the N.J.O. (1910) and the N.A.O. (1927) altered the character of monarchy in Akyem Abuakwa as elsewhere in the Colony. First they institutionalised Government-sponsored enquiries into election and destoolment of Chiefs as a permanent feature of Abuakwa's native constitution. Following the passage of the Chiefs' Ordinance, the Government initiated the practice of holding enquiries into cases of election and destoolment, usually under District Commissioners. From the accession of Nana Ofori Atta I, however, authority to hold such enquiries was delegated to the Paramount Stool. Enquiry into destoolment and enstoolment by Paramount rulers of the Colony was finally given statutory backing under section 14 of the N.A.O. (1927).

Second, the Chiefs' Ordinance and the institutionalisation of enquiry into destoolment and enstoolment became important weapons


in the hands of the Government and Ofori Atta for ensuring docility among Chiefs and security of tenure for those favourable to the Government and the Okyenhene. Between 1913 and 1918, for instance Ofori Atta exploited his power of enquiry to advantage in seeking to curb the wave of destoolments in the State spearheaded by local asafo organizations. The destoolment of four of his principal Chiefs - Gyansehene Kwasi Kwanin of Kwaben (1913), Benkumhene Antwi lwra of Bogoro (1917); Apiramanhene Kofi Boaten II (1918) and Gyansehene Kwasi Banin of Kwaben (1918) - were disallowed after enquiry by the State Council presided over by Ofori Atta. 28 On the other hand, the Government refused to confirm the status of two of the popularly elected Chiefs. Kwasi Dakwawo was not confirmed as Okyemuy Gyansehene in 1924 on grounds of his attempted assault on ex-Gyansehene Kwasi Banin for which he was gaol for six months; 29 while Kofi Adom was refused confirmation as Asamankosehene in 1930 because of Asamankose's rebellion against Ofori Atta. 30 In an attempt to coerce Asamankose and Awatia to re-integrate with Okyemuy, the Government withdrew recognition from Chief Kwaku Amea and Odikro Kwame Kuma between 1923 and 1929. 31

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30. See Chapter Five pp. 337-344.

31. N.I.C., Adm 11/1/1105 Notes of Interview at S.N.A's office 26 Apr; 1 July 1922; S.N.A. to Hon. Col. Sec. d Published at Nsawam 9 Sept. 1929 pag. 5.
Third, the statutory involvement of the Colonial Government and the Paramount Stool of Akwem Abuoakwa in matters of enstoolment and destoolment of mpakanfo and ldikrofo led to the creation of long gaps between enstoolment and conferment of recognition through publication in the Government Gazette. For instance although Kwadwo Pipin was elected as Kwabenhenne on 27 May 1924, he was not confirmed by the Government till 22 February 1926. Such delays in confirmation technically prolonged the duration of vacancies on the stools, raised questions of legitimacy and inhibited the effectiveness and respectability of chiefs-elect.

Finally, the Okyenhenne's active involvement in the enstoolment and destoolment process of his sub-chiefs compromised ancient custom and violated the dictum that 'Okyenhenne nsi ohene, na ontu ohene' (i.e. the Okyenhenne does not make and unmake chiefs).

The effect of such interference was to limit the independence of action traditionally enjoyed by the citizenry of Abuoakwa towns and villages in such matters. In 1931 the S.H.A. recommended the surrender of the Governor's power of suspension and dosition under the N.A.O. but it was not adopted.

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33. See Chapter One
34. N.A.G.K., A.K. 29/6/32 Qsnf. History of Legislation... by W.J.A. Jones. See also Jarle Simonsen, Commoners, Chiefs and State, pp. 283, 304-305.
The second significant change in the monarchical system was the differentiation made between personal private property of an incumbent Chief and stool property. In pre-colonial times no such distinction was made. Revenues accruing to the stool were applied to satisfy both the private bills of the Chief and public expenditure including the manufacture of various items of stool regalia. Stool farms were also cultivated for the support of Chiefs through communal labour and these became part of the stool property to be passed on to their successors. Strong extended family ties, in a largely subsistence economy, promoted the spirit of communalism and de-emphasised private ownership. Thus as late as 1902 newly-destooled Benkunhene Kwaku Asaro, as successor to the late Chief Kwasi Antwi, took over 'all his property.' By the end of the first decade of the 20th century, however, it was fast becoming an established custom to make a distinction between the private and public property in the hands of a Chief.

The reasons for this distinction were varied. First, was insecurity of tenure arising from the increasing frequency of destoolment. As a precaution, incumbent Chiefs took care to

35. See Chapter One
37. Cases of destoolment in the 19th century were few and far between. Notable among them were those of Begoronene Kwaku Fening (June 1873), Kadenene Yaw Tawia (c.1898) and Gyadun Ben (April 1898). By contrast no fewer than destoolment or attempted destoolment were mid 1900-1912.
distinguish between the property they inherited and what they owned privately before their enstoolment or acquired privately during the course of their tenure of office. Upon their destoolment, they insisted on taking their privately acquired property with them. Following their abdication, Adontenhene Kofi Aberante (1887-1900) and Osinohene Kwasi Antwi (c. 1900-1910) for instance demanded to keep their private property.\footnote{N.I.C., Adn 11/1/79 Kofi Twum to S.N. 2 Nov. 1910.} In their report on the destoolment of Okyenehene Amoako Atta III in November 1912 the Chiefs of Okyen Abua\footnote{N.I.C., Adn 11/1/1096 Chiefs' Letter dd. 27 Nov. 1912.} wrote that 'any property which he owned before he came to the stool is his own private property and he is allowed to keep this'.\footnote{N.I.C., Adn 11/1/1696 Chiefs' Letter dd. 27 Nov. 1912.}

Another reason why deposed Chiefs insisted on taking away their privately acquired property was the bitterness which destoolment generated. Litigation over Amoako Kofi Twum's destoolment in 1909-1910 cost him £3,851.6.6.\footnote{N.I.C., Adn 11/1/79 Kofi Twum to S.N. 2 Nov. 1910; Kofi Twum to D.C. 11 Feb. 1911.} The 'only property belonging to the Stool' which Amoako Atta III was allowed to keep after his destoolment was 'the cloth he was wearing at that time'. Everything he had received while he was on the stool was declared stool property and taken away from him.\footnote{N.I.C., Adn 11/1/1096 Chiefs' Letter dd. 27 Nov. 1912.}

Upon his abdication in
1932 Benkumhene Twum Antwi was required to return to the stool three sets of false teeth which were allegedly acquired by him with stool revenue. 42

Third, pursuit of individual private wealth weakened the communal spirit of extended family life and led to jealousy and disputes about the disposal of private property left by deceased Chiefs. In 1905 when Gynamara succeeded his late cousin Kwaku Asare as Benkumhene, he was given 'none of the late Chief's property which it is customary to do' because one Kwasi Ofe who considered himself to be the 'really(sic) brother to the late Chief' took all of his 'personal property & ... farm'. 43 Under the circumstances Gynamara was unlikely to be disposed to bequeath his own private property to any other member of the extended family than his closest maternal relatives.

The third significant change in Akyem Abuakwa's monarchical institution was the atrophy of the office of Abakomahene. As already explained, the Abakomahene, as heir apparent, was closely associated with the incumbent Chief in the administration of the affairs of the town village or State as the case might be. 44

The days of the office became numbered when following his

unsuccessful bid for election as Okyenhene in 1887, Kwabena Dento, Abakomahene to the Ofori Stool, gravitated towards the Basel Mission at Kyebi in such a manner as to estrange the successful candidate, Kwasi Kuma, alias Amoako Attta II.\(^{45}\) In February 1890 Rev. Mohr reported that the Okyenhene was watching Dento distrustfully and that the Abakomahene was 'not allowed to leave Kyebi...'.\(^{46}\) Amoako Attta II appears to have been haunted by suspicion that Dento was plotting his overthrow with the Basel Mission and when the Abakomahene died during the first decade of the 20th century his stool was allowed to fall into abeyance.\(^{47}\) Elsewhere in the state however, the office continued in use.\(^{48}\)

In place of the Abakomahene Okyenhene Amoako Attta II raised the status of Oheneba Kwadwo Apemyo, Ahenomahene also known as Aposeramahene, and granted him precedence over the other Chiefs of the Kyebi Executive Council.\(^{49}\) Ofori Attta I did not revive


\(^{46}\) Paul Jenkins, Abstracts (Supplement) p.17 Mohr’s Annual Report dd. 13 Feb. 1890.

\(^{47}\) Civil Records Book 23 March 1907-5 Sept. 1907 No.3 Kyebi Palace Archives.

\(^{48}\) In 1908 the Oheman of Asiakwa nominated Kwasi Okoampa, Abakomahene, to succeed Nifahene Kwaku Agyei Sec Nac. Adm 11/1/747 C.E.F. (C.N. Curling) to S.N.A. 2 July 1908.

\(^{49}\) Civil Records Book 23 March 1907-5 Sept. 1907 No.3 Kyebi Palace Archives. Apemyo was the son of Okyenhene Attta Obuam and Afua Dokuma of Banso. As Ahenomahene he was head of all princes of the Ofori Stool.
the office of Abakomahene when he became King in 1912. In fact he is said to have called for its abolition throughout the state because of the tendency of its occupants to subvert the authority of incumbent Chiefs. In lieu of an Abakomahene at Kyebi to help with the vastly increased judicial duties of the Okyenhene, Ofori Atta singled out Kwadwo Apeanyo for elevation to the rank of Opakanni (Divisional Chief) with the title of Abontendomhene on the occasion of his investiture with the honour of C.B.E. (Commander of the British Empire) by Governor Guggisberg at Kyebi in 1919. As Opakanni Barima Apeanyo was 'allowed to hold his own tribunal: a most unusual honour' for a stool occupant at Kyebi. He, as first councillor, also took precedence over all other members of the Kyebi Executive Council and presided over that council in the Okyenhene's absence.

Ofori Atta's action influenced attitudes towards the office of Abakomahene throughout the State. By 1924 the office had either been allowed to fall into abeyance or abolished at Kwaben. Begoro by contrast still had an Abakomahene in 1932.


52. Ibid.

On being consulted about the choice of a successor to Nana Twum Antwi, Oponin Ayiore, an old invalid man told the elders of Begoro that 'as usual the occupant of the Abakomdwa (stool) is the right person to be chosen' but if they 'wished to change the old custom' then they should elect a candidate from Nana Antwi's line. By 1940 the office of Abakomhene had ceased to be important in many Abuakwa towns.

2. The Judicial System

With the loss of Akwes Abukwa's political sovereignty disappeared her autonomy in judicial matters. At the end of 1887 the Acting Queen's Advocate, Mr. W. Brandford Griffith, called on the Government to grapple with and place on 'a sound and definite basis' the question of native courts and prisons 'possessing powers by virtue of native custom'; and the course of action which he was inclined to suggest for adoption was one which would 'gradually lead to the extinction of the native prisons and in consequence of the native Courts'. As a first step, native prisons in towns with a resident D.C. were to be 'definitely suppressed'. In the interior, however, only native prisons that were unnecessary or guilty of abuse of power were to be


immediately suppressed.\textsuperscript{57} As an instance of a native court that might be suppressed outright, the Acting Queen's advocate cited the Okyenahene's court. He commented:

There persons appear to have been imprisoned and tortured on the ground that the fetish said they were guilty... This is the nature of the Court which we would be fostering and bolstering up by merely regulating the native prisons - a court which without any action of the Government is already on the wane before progress education and Christianity...\textsuperscript{58}

The Acting Colonial Secretary did not share the opinion of the Acting Queen's Advocate. He conceded that the inhabitants of the coastal towns obeyed 'a judicious Commissioner as much as they do their Chiefs' and feared the former to a greater extent. But he attributed this to the fact that the D.Cs were 'supported by an armed Constabulary'.\textsuperscript{59} He doubted if the exigencies of imperial expansion would permit the application of a policy of direct rule in the interior states. He posed the rhetorical question:

\textit{As far as I can judge, the Queen's Advocate is of opinion that the powers of the Chiefs should be allowed to die out, but I must ask, how then are}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[57] Ibid.
\item[58] Ibid.
\item[59] \textit{N.A.G.} 11/1/1477 \textit{ig. Col. Sec. (Hughes) to H.R. 22 Jan.}
\end{footnotes}
we to keep touch with the people of the interior. The Colony cannot afford the number of District Commissioners which would be required, nor provide a sufficient number of Houssas to support them even if they were appointed. The extension of the frontier, however, renders it more necessary that the people in the interior should be kept in hand that roads should be cleared and kept open, that traders should be unmolested, and slavery prevented - but how is this to be done if the Government cannot provide officers to attend to these duties, and the Kings and Chiefs are not respected and obeyed by their people... they would not be obeyed or respected unless they have power to fine and imprison... 60

In view of the above-mentioned reasons, the Acting Colonial Secretary recommended the passage of an Ordinance for the strict supervision of native prisons. Such prisons should be liable to closure if they violated the Ordinance, but prisons of those Chiefs who had it 'in their power to assist the Government' were not 'to be interfered with' unless there was 'plain proof of injustice, corruption and want of humanity'. 61

In Akyem Abouakwa which was outside the scope of the N.J.O. (1883) before 1899 administrative measures were resorted to to ensure that the procedures and conditions of imprisonment and service of

60. Ibid.

61. Ibid.
fines of the Okyenhenel's Court were assimilated to the judicial principles of common law. From 1899, however, when the N.J.O (1883) was applied to the State the limits of the Okyenhenel's criminal and civil jurisdiction as well as his legislative authority were strictly defined by that Ordinance. Henceforth judicial power was vested in Abuakwa chiefs and their councillors designated as Native Tribunals. Such tribunals were not deemed to be properly constituted unless the Paramount chief or chiefs concerned were present at the sessions. The N.J.O. conferred the same jurisdiction on all ranks of chiefs including Adikrofo. Lastly Akyem Abuakwa native tribunals were reduced to courts of first instance vis-à-vis the Supreme Court now the highest court in the State.

62. See Chapter Three.

63. See N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1096 Quashi Numo to Col. Sec. 13 Nov. 1899; Attorney General to Ag. Col. Sec. 16 Jan. 1900; Ag. Col. Sec. to Amoako Atta II 17 Jan. 1900; S.N.A. to Amoako Atta 1 June 1908.

64. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/667 Ag. S.N.A (C.W. Welman) to D.C. Accra 19 May 1921; C.W.P. (Sekondi) to S.N.A. 31 March 1925.


66. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1440 Amoako Atta to S.N.A. 4 Feb. 1908. Under N.J.O. any one aggrieved at judgement of a Native Tribunal could appeal to the Divisional court if permission was granted by the S.N.A.
The Okyenhene's power of imprisonment was also restricted under the Native Prisons Ordinance of 1888 to only one month. 67 Imprisonment was to be served only in registered native prisons of which there were only two in Akyen Abuakwa by 1905. 68 In 1910 the Native Prisons Ordinance (1888) was repealed and substituted with the Native Prisons (Amendment) Ordinance of 26 August 1910. The new Ordinance extended the period of imprisonment in a native prison from one to three months, and provided for a fine of up to £100 for wrongful imprisonment. It also subjected native prisons to periodic inspection by District Commissioners. 69

Under the N.J.O. Chiefs became liable to trial and conviction by the supreme court, in the same way as their subjects. In July 1909, for instance, Odikro Kwasi Dwaa of Apam was committed for trial at Accra Assizes for murder arising from the death of Kofi Date from torture at Apam. The Odikro was convicted and died in a Sekondi prison in March 1912. 70 Section 35 of the N.J.O. also


68. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/5 S.N.A. to C.E.P. 24 March 1905. The two prisons were located at Kyebi and Bogoro. Keeper of the Kyebi Prisons was Nyameadjase.


70. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/137 Phillip(T.C.) to Ag. S.N.A. 4 Aug. 1909; C.E.P. to S.N.A. 29 March 1912.
deprived Abukwa Chiefs of extra-territorial jurisdiction.

Before the application of the N.J.O. to Akyen Abukwa in 1899 the traditional system of jurisdiction in vogue among the Akan States emphasised personal allegiance and considered the State oath as the foundation or source of a King's judicial authority. Thus an Akropon man who swore the oath of the Okyenhene or had it sworn upon him at Akropon would be liable to stand trial before the Okyenhene's court at Kyebi.

With the promulgation of the N.J.C. (1883) the basis of jurisdiction was altered. Henceforth jurisdiction was given a strictly territorial definition in that the proclamation empowered the Kings concerned to exercise jurisdiction under the N.J.O., over areas under their supervision, that is to say, over their respective territories or states. The jurisdiction of a King's Court was declared by clause 18 of the N.J.O. to be 'exclusive of all other native jurisdictions' and was 'not to be exercised by any other native tribunal on any pretext whatsoever'.

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73. Gold Coast Colony Ordinances Vol. 1 1874-1892; Also N.A.G., Gb. West Colofori Atta to C.E.P. 16 Feb. Conf. No. 218/86/
traditionally exercised over persons resident outside his own state in cases involving his oath. Lastly the Okyenhene lost his exclusive jurisdiction in land cases as a result of the promulgation of his state under the N.J.O. 74

In 1927 the N.J.O. was replaced by the N.I.C. Under it the criminal and civil jurisdiction of Native Tribunals were enlarged. For instance, sanitary cases were brought within the purview of the Native Tribunals under section 46 s.s. 6, 11 and 16. 75
Undermining the authority of a Paramount Chief and using wrong insignia were also made punishable offences under section 31. 76
Most significant of all was the restoration to the Chiefs of 'exclusive jurisdiction in land and stool disputes' with a view to combating the soaring cost of land litigation in the supreme court. 77 Furthermore, the power to hold tribunal was restricted to Divisional chiefs only; 78 the ban on extra-territorial jurisdiction was maintained under section 60; 79 and the Governor was

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78. N.A.G., Ldn 11/1/974 S.N.A. to Hon. Col. Sec. 4 Nov. 1927; Governor's minute 1 Nov. 1927.
79. /1/974.
empowered to confer or withdraw jurisdiction.  

The impact of the N.J.O. and the N.A.O. on the traditional judicial set-up of Akyem Abuakwa were far-reaching. First they had the effect of entrenching the concept of Territorial jurisdiction as opposed to the traditional Akan concept of personal jurisdiction. In the first three decades of the 20th century the new concept of territorial jurisdiction became the source of bitter inter-communal conflicts between the Akyem Chiefs and the migrant settler communities in Akyem Abuakwa, especially the New Durbans and Krobo. 

Second, the two Ordinances introduced some innovations in procedures and processes. Verbal summons was replaced by writs served, not by post as originally envisaged, but by Tribunal messengers. This practice contributed in no small measure to the excessive costs incurred in Native Tribunals. Provision was also made for Christians to be sworn upon the bible rather than on the State oath or on abosono(gods) during court hearings.

The leniency of the prison term prescribed by the N.J.O. undermined the efficacy of the traditional practice of holding sureties liable for the satisfaction of debts and costs, as people opted for one month's imprisonment rather than pay any money.

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81. See Chapter Seven.
83. 1/1096 Adewo Atta II to Col. Sec. 26 March Chapter One.
Others preferred to offer coca farms as security for fines and costs in lieu of relatives standing surety for them. The Okyenhene and his Chiefs were at a loss as to how to deal with this innovation, and approached the Government for authority to sell such farms for the recovery of debts and costs. Amoako Atta explained:

My reason to apply for the rule is because people use(sic) to borrow monies or owing debts to others & when summoned & judgement go(sic) against them they prefer going to prison in order that the Creditor must lose his money.

This request was turned down because it was feared that authority to sell land in payment of costs and debts would increase 'the facilities for oppression & extortion in such courts...'

The third important impact of the N.J.O. and N.L.O. was the proliferation of bye-laws. The Okyenhene used his bye-law making power to bring into force a whole range of bye-laws which posed problems of legal technicalities and interpretation for the average uneducated citizen. As an example may be cited bye-law No.10 of 16 March 1909 which made it an offence 'for any young man to insult...'

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84. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1096 Chief Kwaku Asare to Col. Sec. 10 June 1903.
85. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1096 Amoako Atta to Col. Sec. 14 Sept. 1903; same to same 28 Sept. 1903.
any Elder or Royal publicly'. 87 The word "insult" was of course subject to a variety of interpretations. In spite of such complexities, section 20 of the N.J.O. debarred lawyers from appearing on behalf of clients before Native Tribunals. 88 In December 1906 Governor J.R. Roger further laid down some general rules on the subject of interference by lawyers in disputes between Chiefs and "in other native affairs which either do not or ought not to form the subject of legal proceedings". Inter alia, no lawyer was to be allowed 'under any circumstances... to be present' in any dispute between Chiefs or "other Natives" in the office of the S.N.I., Provincial Commissioner or District Commissioner. 89

The N.J.O. and N.A.O. also affected the nature of penalties which were inflicted under the traditional Adunkwa judicial system. The death penalty was abolished, and from 1899 onwards imprisonment became punishment per se, instead of being merely a means of enforcing payment of fines, costs etc. 90 Under the N.J.O., Chiefs were also empowered to detain accused persons in cells before and after trial. In the former case accused persons could be detained for a maximum of eight days, and for longer periods in the case

87 Civil Record Book Vol. IV 1908-1909 No. 4 Kyebi Palace Archives.
88 J.B. Danquah Cases in Akan Law p.xxi; N.A.G., Adm 11/1/171 Native Courts interference with cases by lawyers.
89 N.A.G., Adm 11/1/6 Minute by (H.E.) J.R. to Col. Sec. 7 Dec. 1906 Confidential.
90 See supra, ante pp. 52-53.
of those on remand or convicted persons awaiting removal to a
registered prison or Government Prison. 91 The absence of a
Government Prison in Akropong Akwapim, the inadequacy of registered
native prisons, difficulties of transportation and above all, non-existence of records or returns on detentions encouraged abuse of
power by the Native Tribunals. 92 In 1925, Guggisberg amended the
schedule to the N.J.O. by Rule No. 6 to provide for 'Return of
pending criminal cases, and of persons in custody' with a view to
eliminating existing abuses. 93

Judicial administration in Akropong Akwapim under the N.J.O. and
N.A.O. was characterised by a great deal of corruption and oppression. At the enquiry that proceeded his destoolment in 1910,
Nifechene Kwarase Okompa confessed to accepting a bribe of £40 from
the people of Asafo 'for the wrongful purpose of assisting them
to illegally destool their chief'. 94 Anoako Atta II's son and
his two clerks were alleged in a sworn statement made by Kwaku
Dakwa of Abonpe to have accepted bribes from him in respect of
his trial before the Okyenahene's court in 1905. 95 Judicial

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91. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/927 S. Warring Saxton D.C. to C.E.P. 31
May 1924; C.E.P. (F.W. Jackson) to all D.C.'s 8 Aug. 1924.
1903.
93. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/2927 Gold Coast Colony Rule No. 6 of 1925
under N.J.C.
94. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/747 Inquiry into destoolment held at Kyobi
95. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1440 Statement of Kwaku Dakwa taken before
a D.C. at Aburi 22 Aug. 1907.
oppression and arbitrariness were no less rife. In 1907 Joseph Boateng, a school teacher of Asialwa was fined a total of £16 by the Okyenhene's tribunal for mistakenly referring to late Okyenhene Obuo as "Boafuo" during the hearing of a land case involving his uncle Odikro Kwaku Ofori of Dokyi. Two years later Nifan-hene Okoampa fined Emmanuel Asare £25 for having 'sold a coat of sick swine' instead of £2 allowed by the law.

The classic example of judicial oppression and arbitrariness occurred in 1929 during the Asamankese rebellion when nineteen citizens of the town arrested at Afoagyiri and Achinota and taken to Kyebi were charged under the N.A.O. and subjected to revolting treatment by officials of the Okyenhene's tribunal. So widespread were incidents of judicial abuse in the tribunals of the colony that following enquiries made during a nine month tour of the colony Honourable W.H. Grey came to the conclusion that Native Tribunals required 'greater supervision... by the European officers of the Government'.

96. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1440 Joseph Boateng to S.N.A. 13 April 1907.
99. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/394 W.H. Grey to Hon. Col. Sec. 26 April 1912...
The causes of the excesses of the Native Tribunals were varied. First was the almost total dependence of most Chiefs on their hangers-on/court foes for their livelihood in contrast with pre-colonial times. As Honourable Grey explained, the more summons the Chiefs issued the greater their income. It was therefore in their interest to encourage litigation. Second was the greed of corrupt court officials who often misled the predominantly illiterate Chiefs deliberately so as to settle private scores or benefit financially. T.W. Breckenridge, Travelling Commissioner, for instance, blamed Nifahene Okompa's 'misdeeds' on his court clerk, Mr. Mensa, an ex-official of the Volta River Preventive Service who had established himself as a 'sort of "bush lawyer" person 'who carries a set of the Ordinances with him' to mislead the unsuspecting and ignorant public.

The removal by the N.J.O. of the option, hitherto enjoyed by the Abunkwa people, of taking cases directly to the British courts was also a contributory factor. No longer were the Okyen-hene's subjects free after 1899 to boycott his tribunal in matters that fell strictly within its purview. Henceforth they were obliged to take all such cases before the Okyenhene's tribunal in

100. See Chapter One.
102. N.A.G., Ln 11/1/747 T.W. Breckenridge, T.C. to C.E.P.
the first instance. Nor was it easy for them to appeal readily as before against judgements of the Okyenhenes tribunal without the prior approval of the Commissioner for Native Affairs. 103

In lieu of permanent residence of D.Cs in the State between May 1888 and 1912 it was easy for the Okyenhenes and his Chiefs to brow-beat the people into acquiescing in their verdicts. 104

In any case many an aggrieved person preferred to suffer in silence rather than travel all the way to Accra or Akuse to petition for a re-hearing of his case by the D.Cs court. Besides, the exhorbitant fees charged by lawyers made rural people 'have the same dread & dislike to bringing their cases to be heard at the English Courts as... taking them to the Native Courts'. 105

Another effect of the N.J.O. and N.A.O. on Akyem Abuakwa institution was the super-imposition of the Supreme Court over the State Council as the highest court in the land. As already pointed out, the State Council was Abuakwa's highest court with


104. From the withdrawal of Dr. Smith in May 1888 Akyem Abuakwa was administered by the D.C. for Accra till 10 March 1892 when it was placed under D.C. for Akuse. In March 1904 Capt. Soden took over as Resident D.C. After he left in September, the District was placed temporarily under Crowthor from June 1905-1906. From then till 1912 the District was administered on adhoc basis by Travelling Commissioners: H.K. Greenway(1907-1908); H.J. Hobbs (1909-1910); J. Phillips.

both original and appellate jurisdiction before the advent of colonial rule.\textsuperscript{106} As part of the strategy to undermine the Okyenhene's authority, the Colonial Government encouraged his subjects between 1874 and 1899 to look upon the Supreme Court as the bulwark of Akyom society. The policy appealed to the enemies of the Okyenhene, particularly Christians, some of the rising educated class and persons with an axe to grind, who took advantage to show gross disrespect to the Okyenhene's judicial authority. In August 1886, for instance, Ayimadu of Asiakwa told the Okyenhene's messengers who served him with summons that he would have 'nothing at all' to do with the King's court. Summoned by the King's court for the second time, he sent a message that the King had 'no power to call him in [his] court'.\textsuperscript{107} When the Okyenhene complained about Ayimadu's insolence, the Governor told him that Ayimadu was 'within his rights' in refusing to attend the King's court because Chiefs 'not possessing powers under N.J.O.' could only act as arbitrators.\textsuperscript{108}

The habits of insubordination and contempt developed towards the Okyenhene's tribunal and State Council could not easily be discarded after 1899 despite the efforts of the Colonial

\begin{footnotes}
\item[106] See Chapter One pp.43, 48.
\item[108] N.A.G., Adm 11/1/3 W.B.G. to Commissioner for Native Affairs Col. Sec. to King Amoqua Atta 17th Sept.
\end{footnotes}
Government. Indeed contempt of the Okyenhene's judicial authority increased in view of the many limitations which hedged it and reduced his courts to mere appendages of the Supreme Court. In 1905 the Okyenhene and his State Council were forced to petition the Governor thus:

We cannot but submit this application as we find that men in this district are growing very insubordinate; and cases of contempt and disobedience of Elders and Chiefs are becoming so numerous that we venture to approach the Government with a view to augmenting our authority in stopping same. 109

The N.I.O. (1927) was in fact conceived as a measure to enable the native states of the Colony to 'stand on their feet' by arresting 'the decay... in native customs and institutions...' and restoring 'order out of chaos'. 110 It's effect was, however, to generate more opposition and insubordination on the part of subjects towards the Native Tribunals. 111

The super-imposition of the Supreme Court over the State Council did not only encourage insubordination and contempt towards the latter. It also encouraged prolonged and often ruinous litigation. As already mentioned, the Okyenhene lost his exclusive

jurisdiction in land cases held under native tenure and in succession disputes between 1874 and 1927. The concurrent jurisdiction enjoyed in those matters by the Supreme Court tempted lawyers motivated by a preference for professional-style justice, as opposed to executive-style justice, as well as by selfish financial interests, to fish in the troubled waters of Akyem Abunkwa. The result was ruinous and almost interminable land litigation in the State. An unnamed Accra lawyer is alleged to have made a deal with an Akyem Chief to recommend his professional services to prospective clients in Akyem Abunkwa for a commission of 10-20% on the profits earned from each case.112

The spate of litigation over land and stool disputes attained such alarming proportions in the second and third decades of the 20th century that Government was forced to adopt measures to exclude lawyers from such disputes and curb the soaring costs of litigation. Among the measures adopted were first the removal of land and stool disputes from the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court by the N.L.O. 1927. Original jurisdiction in land cases held under native tenure was vested in the Native Tribunals with only appeals being heard before the Supreme Court. In executive and all matters affecting stools, however, appeals lay to the Governor whose decision was to be final.113 The second measure was the publication

111/1/974 C.C.P. to Col.Sec. 29 May 1928 Conf;
1/1/1544 Native Administration and Policy.
N.A. 7 May 1931.
in the Gazette of lists of authorised electors under section 4 and 6 of the N.A.O. The third was the institutionalisation of enquiry into destoolment and enstoolment cases by the State Council under section 14 of the N.A.O.

Another impact of the N.J.O. and N.A.O. was the evolution and growth of a modern bureaucracy in Akyem Abuakwa. In pre-colonial times the traditional bureaucracy described in Chapter One was well suited to the needs of a form of government that was essentially parochial and characterised by simplicity of laws, conventions, functions and procedures. As colonial penetration of the State increased and the Okyenhene's government was called upon to publicise a multiplicity of ordinances, make arrests, maintain law and order, administer justice in accordance with an unfamiliar jurisprudence, mobilise people for public works and undertake an increasing volume of paper work in the form of letters, reports, court returns etc., it became imperative to evolve a modern-type bureaucracy with skills and an orientation different from those of the traditional bureaucracy.

Until his exile in 1880 Anonko Atta I relied entirely upon the Basel Mission agents at Kyebi for secretarial services.

For nearly a year after his appointment as Catechist in charge of


115. See p.461.
the Kyebi congregation, Kyebi-born Samuel Gyina served as the Okyenhene's honorary secretary, until David Asante stopped him from writing letters for the King without clearance from the local Mission. In June 1887 when Amoako Atta I travelled to Accra to see Governor Freeling he was accompanied by Samuel Gyina as his interpreter. After his return from exile in 1885 Amoako Atta I appointed the first full-time secretary to the Okyenhene in the person of Theophilus Oforidei. Educated at the Kyebi elementary school and the Middle school at Akropong Akuapem, Oforidei entered the Wesleyan High School at Cape Coast in 1879 with financial support provided by Amoako Atta I.

His educational career was ended by the exile of the Okyenhene in 1880 and in 1883 he obtained employment with the Basel Mission as a school teacher (Monitor) at the Kukurantumi elementary school.

117. See Chapter Two.
119. Oforidei's parents were an Odikro of Pamam and Agyei Koree of Dompem. He was probably born c.1860. Interview with Mr. J. R. Appiah, Pamam 19 Dec. 1976.
120. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p.670 Mohr to the Local Executive Committee 17 Feb. 1886.
Early in 1886 Oforidei resigned his appointment at the insistence of the Okyenhene and became his full-time secretary. He held the post for five years before resigning in 1891 to seek re-admission to membership of the Church. Oforidei's successor was Mr. Anankra, a dismissed Fante official of the Government service, employed at a monthly salary of £2. Anankra's appointment was resented by the Colonial Government because of his unsatisfactory record and after only a year he was dismissed on grounds of drunkenness. After Anankra's dismissal the Okyenhene decided to appoint a member of the royal family to the post of State Secretary, thus starting a tradition which was maintained till the end of Ofori Atta's reign.

The first in the line was Alexander Eugene Apea Danquah, Son of Kwadwo Pippin and Akosua Boa Gyanroman, later wife of Emmanuel Yaw Boakye, M.L.A. Danquah was born in 1873. He was educated at the Kyobi elementary school from 1881-1886 and at the Bogoro Middle school from 1886-1890. After spending only a

122. The Okyenhene demanded Oforidei's resignation after he had settled a bill of £30 sent to him by the Wesleyan High school in 1885. See Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, pp.670, 672.

123. Paul Jenkins, (Supplement) p.47 Annual Reports from local pastors; Thomas Yaw Kani, Kristofo Tan p.15.


Abstracts, (Supplement) p.42 Hirsmullar to Akro-ies 31 May 1890. The parents were divorced in
year at the Akropong theological seminary he left to become State
secretary to his uncle, Amako Atta II. He left his job temporarily in 1896 to study law at Accra on the advice of the Commissi-
sioner for Akuse; 127 and after working as a Superintendent of
Police at Prampram in 1898, he returned to Kyebi to resume his
post in 1900. 128 In September 1903, J.E.B. Danquah's half and
younger brother, J.B. Danquah, later Nana Sir Ofori Atta I, was
appointed joint-secretary to assist with the increasing volume of
secretarial duties. 129 For their remuneration the two brothers
received 12½% share of abadwadee (hearing fees) after 1907. 130

From 1909, J.E.B. Danquah became the brain-power behind the
paramount stool, and after his election as Okyenhene in November
1912 the new state bureaucracy underwent considerable development
and expansion. J.B. Danquah, the Okyenhene's paternal brother,
as already noted, 131 was recalled from his Supreme Court job in
Accra and appointed court clerk at the Okyenhene's Tribunal. He
was promoted Chief Clerk and Registrar in 1916 and worked in those
capacities till his departure for England in November 1921.

His successor was K.T.A. Danquah, also of the royal household.

127. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/3 Hull to Col. Sec. 2 Nov. 1898.
129. Ibid.
130. Civil Record Book 28 March-5 Sept. 1907 No.3 Kyebi Palace
       Archives. Before 1907 the Clerks' share was 7½%.
131. See Chapter Four p. 303.
Following Ofori Atta's stool land reforms of the second and third decades of the 20th century and his programme of social development, the secretariat was expanded to include a stool Treasurer, farm rent collectors, keeper of the prison, market overseers, sanitary officials etc. 132

An important branch of the new bureaucracy was the Native Authority Police Force. The rapid social and economic developments of the 1920s and 1930s were accompanied by a high incidence of crime and violence. 133 To combat the crime wave the Government increased the strength of its Police force in Akyen Abuakwa from 15 at the end of September 1915 to 21 at the end of 1916. 134 By the end of March 1919 the Police at Kyebi numbered 19 and were commanded by a Superintendent. From Kyebi they were sent out on special duty in various parts of the district. 135

As a supplement to the efforts of the Government Police, Ofori Atta organized a Native Authority Police Force in 1927 with a nucleus of 12 men headed by Oheneba Kwaku Amoa, now State archivist at Kyebi. In 1930 the D.C. arranged a course for the

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132. Mr. William Ofori Atta was appointed State Treasurer in 1943; The first prison-keeper of the State prison registered in 1895 was Nyameadiano.

133. See Chapter Five pp.390-391.

134. N.A.G.K., Adm 29/6/4 Birrin District Quarterly Report 30 Sept. 1915; N.A.C.K., Adm 29/6/10 C.E.P's Annual Report for 1916. In 1915 there were 1 Superintendent of Police, 1 Sergeant, 3 Corporals, 1 Second Class Constable and 9 third Class Constables.

Tribunal or Native Authority Police forces of the various Divisional Chiefs in the State in August. 136 While on leave in the United Kingdom in September 1931, the D.C. Mr. Warrington placed an order on the Okyenhenche's behalf for 'cummerbunds, Fezzes and cap badges' for the Okyen Abukwana Native Authority Police. 137 The Head of the Force attended a course of instruction at the Police Training Depot in Accra in 1932 to enable him run the force efficiently. 138

Taking their cue from developments at the Okyenhenche's court at Kyebi, the Mpakanfo and Adikrofo also established miniature bureaucracies at their courts. On his accession in 1905, Benkunhenche Gyanera appointed Simeon Edmund Sayyi, alias Teacher Denko, as his full-time clerk with responsibility for accounts of land sales to the Krobo. Two years later he recalled his Sierra-Leone educated cousin E.R. Thompson from Accra and placed him specifically in charge of the administration of Begoro stool lands. 139 Nifahene Kwame Okampa, as already noted, also engaged the services of a Mansa an ex-official of the Volta Preventive

139. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/457 Case N. 21/1913 Begoro Native Affairs; Adm 11/1/1440 Hate Kale to S.N.A. 6 June 1911 Conf. C.V. Curlin (C.E.P.) to S.N.A. 26 June 1908.
service as his court clerk. The growth of a modern bureaucracy and the establishment of administrative routine tended to make government more and more impersonal and efficient.

3. Stool Revenues and Stool Treasuries

In pre-colonial times stool revenues derived from land, booty and court fines and fees were applied largely to the support of Chiefs and their elders. The revenues were shared out in fixed proportions. From the 1880s the abuse system was used as a basis for sharing revenues particularly Abuakwa (Hearing fee) among the Chiefs and various groups of elders. As long as stool revenues remained meagre and barely sufficient for the upkeep of the Chiefs and elders the general public did not feel inclined to insist on accountability by the Chiefs and Elders. In the 20th century, however, public attitude towards the disposal of stool revenue changed. Thanks to the promulgation of the N.J.O. in Akyem Abuakwa the number of cases that came before the Okyenhene's court as well as those of his sub-chiefs increased, yielding considerable revenue. The commercialization of stool lands brought in still bigger revenues which were supplemented by payments for communal labour undertaken under the Roads Ordinance. Consequently educated and politically conscious citizens

140. See p.421.
141. See Chapter One
142. Civil Record Book 28 March-5 Sept. 1907 No.3 Kyebi Palace Archives: N.A.G., Adm 11/1/457 Kwasi Mensah's cross-
began to demand accountability for expenditure of stool revenues in the interest of the wider public.

In near-by Akwapem the Oman (public) decided in 1900 that all concessions money should be paid directly to the Paramount stool in the first instance before being shared on the basis of abusua among the Omanhene, the landowner and 'the oman of Akwapim'.

In Akyem Abuakwa, however, the weakness of Amoako Atta II's regime made it difficult for him to enforce the ruling of the "Quarter Session", let alone ensure that some of the concessions money was set apart specifically and purposely for public projects. Consequently the Chiefs and a few elders tended to appropriate concessions money that fell into their hands. Nifahene Kwame Okoampa (1908-1910) sold Asiakwa Stool lands to J.J. Fisher 'giving no account whatever of the sale contrary to native custom'. During his two years occupancy of the stool (1905-1907) Benkumhene Gyamera sold stool lands 'to the value of heavy £3,000 and actually collected £1,732'. His own account book showed £1,232 paid of which the Elders and people knew nothing! Between October and November 1907 alone Gyamera sold £766 worth of lands

144. See Chapter Five pp.330-331.
to the Krobo without the knowledge and consent of his elders.147

His successor Kwaku Otupiri (1908-1913) also sold £521.9.3 worth of lands without the consent of his elders and appropriated it.148

Public discussion of the need for some safeguards against disbursement of stool revenues was intensified during the reign of Ofori Atta I. Indeed several chiefs were destooled for dissipation of stool revenues between 1918 and 1927. Apinamanhene Kofi Boateng II was destooled in 1918 partly because he sent £20 of Apinaman's share of 'concession money' to his son studying in Sierra Leone, while neglecting to educate stool heirs.149

In 1927 Asuomhene Yaw Sankodee was destooled for squandering about £700 of concession money and the proceeds of seven stool (cocoa) farms on alcoholic drinks instead of spending them for the upkeep of the palace, for making stool regalia and for 'looking after the affairs of the stool'.150

Thomas Yaw Kani of Kyebi echoed the feelings of many Abuakwa citizens when he appealed to Government in 1927 to institute controls over public income and expenditure by appointing an officer to check 'all revenue derived from... the Oman; viz

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court fees, farm taxes, rents, land purchases etc.' monthly and satisfy himself of their disbursement. He accused some of the Chiefs of being 'spendthrifts selfish and miserable drunkards' who spent large sums of stool revenue irresponsibly either on juju from Northern Nigeria and Northern Territories and on marrying 'too many wives'. Yaw Kani's 'sole prayer' was that stool revenues 'should not be left in the hands of Chiefs to be spent for their selfish ends'.

Ofori Atta was in full sympathy with the sentiments expressed by Yaw Kani. He believed that Chiefs must be made accountable for stool revenues received by them because stool lands were 'not exclusive personal property of the occupant of the stool' to be appropriated by him 'to his own personal advantage'. Not only did Ofori Atta persuade the Okyeman Council to make unauthorized sale of stool lands an offence punishable by destoolment; he also showed preparedness to establish stool treasuries in his State 'to obviate the possibility of stool funds being squandered and eliminate one of the chief causes of destoolment'.

153. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/547 C.E.P. to S.N.A. 10 Dec. 1927. Under this customary law 4 chiefs were actually destooled between July 1927 and Sept. 1927. These were Kwadwo Adu Bofoo of Abomoso and Adwom Afi of Akwabooso (25 Aug.) Kwebena Danse of Apinman (5 July) and Tefohene Kofi Pensa II (Sept.).
In October 1928 the Okyenhene forwarded to the Government for approval bye-laws made on 22 October 1928 by the Okyeman Council under Section 40 of N.A.O. for the establishment of a State Treasury for Akyem Abuakwa. The bye-laws provided for the appointment of a State Treasurer to be responsible for the collection, receipt, and proper disbursement of any revenue, and for the keeping of an exact account of such moneys as in these bye laws shall be deemed to be revenue or expenditure of the State Treasury.  

The State Treasurer's accounts, to be supported by the necessary vouchers, were to cover tributes, rents, tolls, tithes etc. due to the State. A cash-book was to be kept in which all items of revenue and expenditure were to be entered. The cash-book was to be checked monthly with the cash balance in the presence of the State Treasurer. A Register showing the nature and manner of all payments, names of persons liable to pay, and date of payment was also to be kept.

Officials of the State Treasury were to include a Treasury Clerk, a Treasury Clerk's Assistant, a Collector and Assistant Collectors and an Auditor. Twenty percent of amounts collected in respect of foreign rents (from strangers), gold, diamonds, sale of stool lands was to be paid to the State Treasury. Of the balance $\frac{1}{2}$ was to go to the Okyenhene with the remaining $\frac{1}{2}$ going to the

155. Ibid.
Chiefs and Elders concerned. Five percent of the total oath fines of any Tribunal in Akim Abuakwa recognized under the Native Administration Ordinance 1927' was to be paid to the State Treasury at the end of every month. All monies received in respect of Tribunal fines were to be paid to the Tribunal Registrar who would issue a receipt and enter the payment into the Tribunal Cash Book. A bank account was to be opened for the State. Finally a Finance Committee was to be appointed each year to consider the estimates of the new year and adopt and approve of the Report for the past year. Membership of the Finance Committee was to include the seven Divisional Chiefs, six Chiefs of the Kyebi Executive Council, the three Amantooniensa Chiefs, the State Treasurer and the Okyenhen as President. 157

The Akrom Abuakwa State Treasury byelaws could not come into force in November 1928 as intended because the Government withheld its approval pending a careful and thorough discussion of the question of direct taxation in the Colony as a whole. The Poll Tax Ordinance of 1852 marked the first attempt at direct taxation in the Gold Coast by the Colonial regime. Resistance to the tax eventually led to its substitution with a house tax in the municipalities first established by Governor Benjamin Pine in 1858; but the Municipalities were not a success and in 1861 and 1866 the Municipal Corporations Ordinance and the Poll Tax
Ordinance respectively, were repealed.

Between 1886 and 1925 the question of direct taxation lay in abeyance, although it was sporadically raised by some Chiefs whose growing indigence made them long for the restoration of their power of taxation usurped alongside their power of legislation by the colonial regime. In 1912 for instance, Hon. Mate Kole appealed to the Government to give serious consideration to the passing of an ordinance 'empowering Chiefs to raise sufficient revenue' to meet the increasing cost of administrative duties imposed on them by various ordinances. The request was turned down because it was felt that unlike Northern Nigeria, and to a certain extent Southern Nigeria and East Africa, direct taxation as a regular annual impost was an innovation in the Gold Coast. The Government believed that the bestowal of powers upon Chiefs of the Colony 'to enforce a system of direct taxation appears to be contrary to all established usage; one that would be difficult to introduce, and inexpedient for many reasons...'

158. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/928 Extract from Memo by Hon. S.N.A.

159. Although Chiefs levied direct taxation in pre-colonial times it was not a regular annual feature but rather an irregular and periodic affair. The Chiefs' right to levy tax was deemed by the Colonial Government to have been lost with the onset of Colonial rule. Henceforth the Government claimed 'exclusive right' to raise revenue by direct taxation. See Chapter One p.55. Also Chapter Seven pp.484-85.


161. N.A.G. Adm 11/1/39 Minute by S.N.A. to H.E. 10 July 1912;
The question of direct taxation could not, however, be shelved indefinitely owing to the urgency of the need to arrest the growing impoverishment of the Chiefs by providing them with a source of regular personal income on the one hand; and the desirability of husbanding the resources of the State to furnish a fund for minor works of public utility on the other. In connection with the latter, Sir Conway Belfield's Report of July 1912 recommended the establishment of stool Treasuries. It stated:

it is most desirable that some arrangement should be devised which will preclude the appropriation by Chiefs and elders of the whole of the proceeds of the disposition of the land for personal or quasi-personal purposes, and will effect the retention of a reasonable portion of such revenue to be expended in works which will benefit the tribe as a whole and those who come after them. 162

No serious attention was paid to this piece of advice.

Official attitude towards the question of direct taxation and stool treasuries changed during the 1920s. First Government's revenue became increasingly inadequate to meet the cost of the manifold local services which it was 'continually being appealed to provide'. The S.N.A. for instance, felt that the time had come for the Chiefs to be authorized to raise revenue by direct taxation 'within certain limits' from all persons living in their area of

jurisdiction, for purposes of local development. 163 Mr. Ormsby-Gore, Under Secretary of State in a report on his West African tour of 1926 urged that the Native Authorities be made to assume responsibility for the construction of roads and improvement of sanitation in their villages; and be given part of the revenues derived by Government from licences and other sources in their areas of jurisdiction in proportion as they showed preparedness to assume such responsibility. 164

Second, it was agreed that apart from the 'small degree of relief' which stool treasuries would afford to the general revenue of Government, they would free the Chiefs from over-dependence on Tribunal fees and fines, and help to restore dignity to the office of Chief. 165 Indeed the Under Secretary of State considered the establishment of Stool Treasuries both in the Colony and Asante as 'a principle of cardinal importance for the future stability and development of native institutions'. 166 In March 1928 the Government took a firm decision to create stool treasuries and the S.N.A. was charged with the duty of submitting 'definite proposals for instituting stool treasuries in the Colony' after

163. N.A.G., Ldn 11/1/928 Extract from Memo by S.N.A.
165. N.A.G., Ldn 11/1/928 Extract from Memo by S.N.A.
careful consultation with Provincial Commissioners and the Provincial Council of Chiefs. 167

Circular letters to this effect were forwarded to the Provincial Commissioners in January and April 1929 for their information and discussion with the Provincial Councils. By September 1929 the Central and Western Provincial Councils had approved the principle of stool Treasuries. 168 The Eastern Provincial Council passed a resolution at its meeting at Dodowa on 11 November 1929 in favour of stool treasuries which they considered to be 'of utmost importance in the interest of the stools and of the people thereof'. The resolution stressed that the time had fully arrived for Stool Treasuries to be made 'part and parcel' of Native Administration in the Colony. 169 The Joint Committee of the Provincial Council of Chiefs meeting in Accra in December 1929 under the chairmanship of Nana Sir Ofori Atta welcomed the establishment of Stool Treasuries and asked for the necessary legislation to be passed 'with minimum delay' to pave the way for the individual States to pass Stool Treasury bye-laws 'compatible with local conditions'. 170 In September 1931 the Government amended the N.A.O. to provide for the establishment of Stool Treasuries by

167. N.A.O., Adm 11/1/184 Governor to Col.Sec. 23 March 1928.
168. N.A.O., Adm 11/1/928 Minute S.N.A. to Hon. Col.Sec. 9 Nov. 1929.
170. 11/1/928 Ofori Atta to S.N.A. 17 Jan. 1930.
means of bye-laws. Action on the matter had to be suspended owing to the widespread protests and demonstrations precipitated by the proposed Income Tax and Native Revenue tax measures of 1931.

At the end of 1938, after a delay of seven years, the S.I.A., Mr. Hugh Thomas, notified the Commissioner for the Eastern Province of his intention to introduce into the Legislative Council in March 1939 'An Ordinance to provide for the Establishment and Management of Native Treasuries'. The Native Administration Treasuries Ordinance finally became operative in Akyem Abuakwa under a notice published at page 57 of Gazette No. 6 of January 1940. The Joint Provincial Council of Chiefs discussed the draft Native Administration Treasury Regulations (1939) for 'the governance of Stool Treasuries' and sent its views to the S.I.A., but owing to delay in the passage of the Regulations into law, no treasury established under the Native Administration Treasuries Ordinance was yet functioning efficiently in Akyem Abuakwa by the end of February 1940.

172. For details see Chapter Seven pp.512-514.
By 1940 at least six Stool Treasuries seem to have been established in the State. Of these two had been established, five years before, under the special and peculiar circumstances created by the rebellion of Asamankese and Akwatia. Between 1923 and 1934 the rebels had successfully maintained their defiance of the Ofori Stool thanks mainly to enormous financial resources placed at their disposal in the form of mining rents and royalties paid to them by CLST. It was estimated that the two rebellious stools received £750 per quarter in rents between 1923 and 1930, while royalties assessed at 5% of the Company's profits averaged nearly £10,000 per annum. In 1928 alone the secessionists received £12,000 in royalties. The total revenue accruing to the two stools from concessions between November 1929 and 30 June 1931 amounted to £57,960.18.5. Most of this money was paid out in lawyers' fees or frittered away in gifts or inducements to people.


177. See Chapter Five


With a view to checking further misuse of the substantial revenues of the rebellious stools and ending their defiance of Ofori Atta the Colonial Government issued a proclamation which brought the Asamankese Division Regulations Ordinance (A.D.R.O.) into effect on March 30, 1935. The primary purpose of the A.D.R.O. and subsequent regulations made under it was to check 'unwarrantable squandering of stool revenue on matters of no constructive value'.\textsuperscript{182} The Ordinance provided for the collection and disbursement of stool revenue 'directly under the control of Government' through the establishment of Stool Treasuries at Asamankese and Akwatia into which 'all rents, dues, royalties and revenues' from stool lands as well as 'all levies, dues, fees and rates' payable by virtue of, or in accordance with, the provisions of any ordinance or by-law were to be paid. The Ordinance authorised the Governor-in-Council to prescribe 'the purpose' to which such revenues might be appropriated and the amount that might be allocated to any such purpose. It also provided for a penalty of £50 or two years imprisonment with or without hard labour or both for any person other than the 'Prescribed Officer' namely the D.C., who received Stool revenue.\textsuperscript{183}

\textsuperscript{182} N.A.G.K., Adm 29/6/63 Address by Hon. A.C. Duncan-Johnstone C.E.P. at Reconciliation Meeting May 27, 1938.

\textsuperscript{183} Ibid; Also N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1105 The Asamankese Division Regulations Ordinance; N.A.G.K., Adm 26/6/49 Diary of D.C. Birrin for April 1935.
Under the L.D.R.O. revenues of Asamankese and Abwasie were directed towards social improvement rather than litigation. In the 1937-38 financial year revenue for the Asamankese stool, derived chiefly from mining rents and royalties, farm rents under the Abusa system and market tolls and fees for the newly inaugurated conservancy services, amounted to £3,572.10.10. The principal items of expenditure were the erection of model market sheds, the construction of streets and drains, the maintenance of an adequate staff of scavengers and labourers and the completion of a lorry park. In addition a comprehensive scheme of town drainage was drawn up. In 1939-1940 financial year the Native Administration of Asamankese carried out a number of useful public works and increased its bank balance by £400. At Abwasie progress was no less remarkable. In the 1937-38 financial year a Native Administration School consisting of three classrooms with adequate playing fields, office and school equipment was constructed. A good teaching staff under the temporary headship of a Government Second Division school teacher was also recruited and streets, drains and market-sheds made. In the 1939-40

185. Ibid.
186. N.A.G., Adm 11/1799 Minutes of the 31st Session of the Provincial Council, Eastern Province held at Dodowa 5 March 1940.
financial year a model village costing nearly £1,000 was built. 188

The success of the Asamankese and Akwatia 'experiment' generated much interest in Stool Treasuries in the State. Adoiso, a town under Asamankese, started a Treasury which was, at the request of the townspeople, put under the A.D.R.O. It was gazetted on 4 February 1939. By March 1940 it had a working balance of £265 after making grants-in-aid to local education and resurfacing the town's lorry park. 189 In 1937 after a 'study tour' of Northern Ghana to familiarise himself with the working of native Treasuries established by his friend W.J.L. Jones, then Chief Commissioner for the North, Ofori Atta established a State Treasury at Kyebi. 190 Gazetted in September 1937, the State Treasury became a key factor in the State’s development efforts in the 1940s.

Between March and September 1942 the State Treasury received a total revenue of £18,094 from concession rents, royalties and court fees. Of this amount £712 was spent on educational staff, £248 on sanitation latrines and £700 on a new school classroom block. 191 The stool treasuries Ordinance introduced sanity and order into the administration of Abunkwa’s stool finances.

188. N.A.G., Adm 11/1799 Minutes of the 31st Session of Provincial Council 5 March 1940.


It put an end to the streak of reckless dissipation of stool revenues by establishing controls and introducing the principle of accountability. In this way Abuakwa Chiefs were from the 1940s onwards guaranteed an adequate and regular income for the maintenance of their personal dignity and the satisfaction of their household needs, while at the same time ensuring that the general welfare of the public was not sacrificed. The bulk of the income of £18,094 mentioned above for instance, was devoted to the payment of salaries to Chiefs and state functionaries.192

4. The Traditional Army or "Asafo"

The changes that overtook Akyem Abuakwa's institutions were not confined to the monarchy, the judicial system and financial administration only. They also extended to the asafo organization. As already shown in Chapter One the traditional asafo was a passive subservient adhoc organization fashioned by the Ahenfo and their elders to carry out their wishes.193 Due, however, to the social and economic revolutions of the late 19th century the asafo organization underwent a gradual transformation in composition, leadership and orientation from 1875.

In actual organization and equipment the asafo did not change much in the 20th century. The asafotwene and the dawuro (a hollow

192. Ibid 296 The salaries ranged from £3,000 for the Otumfuo to £100-200 for clerical staff and £50-100 for stool functionaries, heirs etc.

iron cup usually called gong-gong) remained the key instruments for
summoning the asafo to a meeting or action. The asafo flags
were also retained, with new and more fanciful ones being devised.
The offices of asafoakye and his deputy sripi continued to be the
key offices as before although the asafo now had its own spokesman
or linguist, asafoakye Kyerme. Perhaps the most striking changes
were the institution of what appeared to be personal oaths of the
asafoakye and the greater secrecy and solemnity which often marked
asafo meetings and decisions. In 1898 Travelling Commissioner
Hull reported that the 'able-bodied men' of Kukurantumi 'wishing to
form a "company" for the benefit of the town repaired to the house
of the fetish man Kwabena Nketia for fetish to drink'. The
obvious intent of fetish-drinking was to ensure solidarity and
mutual trust.

In other respects the changes in the asafo organization were
remarkable. First the asafo of the 20th century revealed an ethnic
diversity. Not only did many liberated 'foreign' slaves make Ayen
Abuakwa their domicile; but also the state experienced an influx

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1899.
195. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p.13 Zimmerman's Quartel Bericht
dd. July 1852;
196. See N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1096 Complaint by Head Chief Amoako
Atta II against the chief and people of Tafo 25 Dec. 1902.
198. See Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p.129 Mohr's Report 10-26 April
Levant., Mohr and Werner to the S.E.C. 26 June,
Adm 1/1/1095 Statement of Yaw Broni of Layi-
ictori.borg 18 Jan. 1899.
of exiles from Asante and migrant farmers from the Colony in the
course of the last quarter of the 19th century. Consequently
Aksem Abuakwa was turned into a sort of cultural melting pot which
changed the ethnic complexion of its body politic. Henceforth the
asafo drew its membership from a mixed group of Aksem, Asante,
Akwapem, Ga and Northerners, and its motivation for action and
solidarity was provided not by ethnicity but by a sense of common
political grievance and identity of economic interest. Asafo
membership did not only reveal ethnic diversity. It also showed
a certain degree of social differentiation. Within the ranks were
to be found christians and non-christians, educated and illiterate,
rich and poor.

The leadership of the asafo also changed. In the traditional
asafo the asafoakye, as an appointee of the chief and his elders,
was liable to dismissal by them. From the last quarter of the
19th century, however, there is evidence of asafo asserting the
right to choose their own leaders and merely presenting them to the
Chief and his Councillors for confirmation. Asafoakye Abam of
Bogoro was reported by the Basel Missionaries to have been an
'elected' leader. So also was asafoakye Kwaku Nkroma of

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199. See Chapter Five pp. 322-324.
200. See Chapter One p.23.
Akyem who became asafoakye in 1902. In fairly large towns like Akyem and Tafro, more than one asafoakye was elected with each having a specific number of young men directly under his orders. Asafoakye Kwaku Nkrona, for example, had 100 young men under his authority.

The main qualification for the office of asafoakye in the 18th and 19th centuries was subservience and loyalty to the Chiefs. From the last quarter of the 19th century onwards eloquence, courage and sometimes wealth became the usual qualifications. Asafoakye Aman, besides being eloquent and daring, appears to have been a trader of considerable means. Both Asabere and his brother Kwaku Amoafo who held the office successively at Osino in the 1890s and early 20th century were men of courage and wealth. Amoafo was one of the only three citizens of Osino to have owned a two-storied house. Sometimes strangers domiciled in the town were preferred for the office as they tended to be bolder and more forthright, being less influenced by family or other


203. Ibid


205. Interview with J.H. Sakyi, aged 70 son of Amoafo 5 June 1977. Asabere's name is immortalised in Osino asafo songs.
local ties. 206

The Asafoakye of the late 19th and early 20th centuries enjoyed power that rivalled that of the Chiefs. L.B. Ellis observed in 1837:

The Colonial Government while destroying the power of the Chiefs has left the Company Organization in tact; and the captains of the companies now arrogate to themselves an independence and freedom from restraint which formed no part of the original scheme. 207

The asafoakye enjoyed the loyalty and confidence of the young men and could act independently, and in defiance, of the Chiefs. Asafoakye Abban held meetings with the Bogoro asafo on his own authority and in the absence of Chief Kwasi Antwi. Buck commenting on one such meeting remarked:

The Chief was absent from the town but his presence would not have made any difference as Abban is his rival and has all the young hot heads on his side. The Chief and his Elders will avoid conflict with us but not this Chief elected from the able-bodied men. 208

206. Interview with Barina Asumadu Osawumene aged 98 19 June 1977. At Osino a Dwaben exile Opanin Ason held the office of Asafoakye in the 1920s.


208. Der Heidemote No.7 July 1878. Emphasis added.
This asafo meeting, acting on its own responsibility and without the concurrence of the Benkumhene, forbade the Beoro public to sell salt and foodstuffs to the local Christian congregation. 209

At Wunkyi in 1898 the entire asafo felt insulted by the Osawumhene Kwabena Atwero's reference to asafoakye Kwadwo Nife as 'an animal'. They created a scene, demanded and received pacification in the sum of £8 from the Chief. 210

The spread of education and wealth changed the orientation and outlook of the rising generations in Akyen Abuoakwa who constituted the asafo. The educated group, largely products of the mission schools, gradually became enamoured of western ways and concepts of government. Contact with coastal society, and especially with lawyers, through residence, litigation or trade undermined traditional attitudes of docility and subservience towards Chiefs and Elders. The traditional system was considered outdated in certain respects and there developed a perceptible trend towards an agitation for reform. One such reform already noted related to the rational use of stool revenue. 211

Under the influence of the educated group the generality of the population became infected with a spirit of egalitarianism.


211. See pages 432-435.
and individual freedom. Ex-slaves particularly became jealous of their new status and resented privilege based on birth or references by the ruling group to their servile origins. Aware of individual rights under the law and pre-occupation with pursuit of private individual wealth made them intolerant of the manifold traditional obligations towards Chiefs. In 1907 Bogorohone Gyana had to employ hired labour to clear his cocoa farm as the asafo were not disposed to do it. About ten years later the Apiranm asafo turned down a request by Chief Kofi Bosen to make a farm for him by telling him that 'their asafo is not for farm making'.

The above remark was a reflection of the new role which the asafo envisaged for themselves. Following the establishment of the 'Pax Britannica' in Akos in Abukwa inter-town riots and skirmishes had been effectively curbed by threats of stern punishment. The extension of the prohibition against arms dealing to the State in 1895 had deprived the rising generations of the opportunity to own guns. As already noted only six permits

212. See Chapter Four pp. 286-88; Also N.A.G., Adm 11/1/291, Queen Kyowa and 15 others to Opanhono Anoako Atta II 25 Nov. 1910.


were issued to Akyen Abukwa in 1927 for the importation of shot guns.²¹⁶ Besides, restrictions were imposed on the purchase of gun powder lead and percussion caps.²¹⁷ Of the few guns which the Akyen people possessed, many were lost at Boankra in 1900 when, on the orders of Captain Benson, the Akyen were disarmed, and their property allegedly looted, by the Dwaben.²¹⁸ Incidentally the Yac Asantewaa War proved to be the last large-scale warfare in which the Akyen Abukwa asafo participated as an organization. Government monopoly of arms and military inactivity gradually turned the minds of the youth of Abukwa from warfare and militarism to politics.

By the beginning of Ofori Atta's reign, the asafo were already emerging as highly politicised bodies anxious to stake a claim to exercise a controlling influence in local politics. In May 1916, for example, the Asantooniensa presented a list of 28 demands to Ofori Atta. Inter alia they demanded a status independent of the Wings of which they were integral parts, exemption from the Okyenhene's oath penalty and unconditional access to the palace at all times.²¹⁹ Indeed by 1918 the asafo were

²¹⁶. See Chapter Five p.348.
²¹⁸. See N.A.G., Adm 11/1/3 Capt. Irvine to Col.Sec. 1 Jan. 1901; Asako Atta to Col. Sec. 14 Sept. 1900.
considered to be 'exceeding their limits by taking the power out of the Chiefs' hands and investing same in themselves.' If a Chief ordered his people to go and clear the road his orders could be defied if the asafoakye did not wish to go. All he had to do was to call the asafo together and say 'we will not go and clear the road'.

The asafo bid to arrogate to itself the controlling power in local politics is best exemplified in the attempted destoolment of Ohene Kofi Boateng II of Apiraman in May 1918. Acting without the concurrence of the Osonomyawa and the other Elders as custom demanded, the Apiraman asafo entered the Ahemfi and destooled the Chief. Subsequently they carried the stools to the house of Osonomyawa Kwadwo Leyon and compelled him to endorse their action by signing the letter by which the destoolment was reported to the Okyenhene.

At an enquiry held by the Okyenhene’s Court at Kyebi Nana Ofori Atta condemned the action of the Apiraman asafo as an attempt to subvert the constitution of the State and set themselves above

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220. N.L.G., Adm 11/1/721 Enquiry into alleged destoolment of Kofi Boateng II 21 May 1918.
221. Ibid.
222. The charges against the Chief included misappropriation of £60 being Apiraman’s share of concession rents, obtaining £15 from the Oman under false pretences, failure to celebrate Odwira for three consecutive years, refusal to divorce his wife Gyawaa considered to be immoral and failure to give stool heirs formal education.
the Elders of the town. In a storm reprimand he said:

what you the 'asafo' at Apinam has done has no precedent, there is no instance in which an asafo atase without the knowledge and authority of the Manrado and his Elders has destooled a Chief. It is a dangerous attempt to change the custom of this country and make the young men the leading authority... It will be my place (sic) so long as I have the honour to occupy this stool, to see that such important customs which directly and fundamentally support the system of ruling in this country are not abused or changed...223

Although judgement was entered in his favour Chief Boaten realised that the asafo were in no need to accept him back as their chief and so decided to abdicate.

In the next few months the asafo increasingly took on the character of a pressure group. In August, the Kwaben asafo met and declared Gyansehene Kwasu Banin destooled during his absence at Kyebi to answer charges of corruption levelled against him by some of his subjects. When the asafo arrived at Kyebi to report the destoolment the Okyenenchene insisted that their action was contrary to custom and demanded an apology to the Gyansehene. The asafo bluntly refused and taking advantage of the pandemonium which ensued, they assaulted their chief on the street, by tearing

his cloth and kicking him. The D.C. hurried back to Kyebi from Asamankese arrested and fined 16 members of the asafo including the asafokye and gripi, a total of £58. The asafokwene and other asafo emblems were seized and destroyed. After an enquiry the Gyaasehene was reinstated.

The asafo-chief confrontation was moved to the highest level when the Amantoomianse, in furtherance of their bid to secure a more independent and privileged status, and to establish their right to separate consultation by the Okyeanhene, attempted to destool Ofori Atta in November for allegedly mortgaging the Ofori Stool to the Colonial Bank. Although the Okyeanhene had mot


226. During World War I the Colonial Government enacted a law which aimed at preventing a glut on the London Cocoa market through restrictions on export. Under the law shippers who had the good fortune to start business before 1917 were favoured. This created a monopoly situation for European merchants who exploited the situation created by the stock pile of large stocks of unsold cocoon from the previous season to advantage. In order to relieve the farmers suffering, the Paramount Chiefs of the Eastern Province sought 'special licence' from Clifford for direct shipment of their subjects produce to Europe or America. In this connection Ofori Atta negotiated with the Colonial Bank to charter a ship for him on the security of Akem Abunkwa State revenues. In July 1918 an anonymous letter was circulated alleging that the King had mortgaged the Ofori Stool to the Colonial Bank and called for his destoolment. See Jarle Simenson, Rural Mass Action, p.32; N.A.G., Adm 11/1/737 Ag. D.C. Jones to Hon. C., Adm, P.32 1918; Extracts from D.C's Sept. Quarterly Report C., Adm 11/1/692 Memo of East Province Para- to Clifford 5 March 1918.
and explained the matter to the satisfaction of the State Council, the Amantoomensaa was not satisfied and decided to go to Kyebi to demand directly from the King 'an explanation of the guarantees' he was alleged to have given to the Colonial Bank. On the morning of 14 November 1918 they gathered at the suburbs of Kyebi and, in defiance of police orders, marched into the capital playing their drums. A riot ensued between them and the Police led by Superintendent Obina in which one constable and one civilian were seriously wounded.

Clifford's Government regarded the new asafo movement as a threat to the survival of chieftaincy which the Government was determined to 'support and maintain'. According to it intervened in a firm and decisive manner. Acting D.C. W.J.A. Jones, an implacable foe of the asafo movement, had thirty-nine members of the Amantoomensaa arrested, and convicted on two charges: 'assembling with intent to cause a riot' and assault of the Police. Fines ranging from £15 to £50 were exacted for the first charge and 38 of the 39 rioters sentenced to terms of imprisonment varying from two to six months in respect of the second charge. On 21 November 1918 all the prisoners were sent to Accra to begin their sentences. The severity of the punishment and Sir Hugh


228. N.A.C., Adm 11/1/737 C.E.P. to Hon. Col. Sec. 22 Nov. 1918; Lg. D.C. to Hon. C.E.P. 2 Dec. 1918. See also N.A.C., Adm D.C. W.J.A. Jones to Hon. Provincial Commi-

ra 8 May 1918.
Clifford's stern rebuke of the asafo on the occasion of his last visit to Kyebi on 4 January 1919 resulted in the abatement of what Jones called 'the revolutionary spirit' of the asafo and in temporary relief of the pressure against the Chiefs. As already noted the political confrontation between the asafo and the Chiefs was renewed in the early 1930s.

Summary

Colonial rule introduced significant changes into Akyen Abuakwa's political structure and institutions between 1874 and 1943. First, the N.J.O. (1883), the Chiefs' Ordinance (1904) and the N.A.O. (1927) reduced Abuakwa Chiefs to agents of colonial rule in the 20th century. In place of immemorial inherent powers, they now exercised conferred powers in the fields of justice and political administration, and risked deposition if they fell foul of the colonial regime. Second the exercise of judicial power was confined from 1927 onwards to divisional chiefs who numbered only thirteen. This policy overburdened the courts of the divisional chiefs and led to intolerable delays, corruption and expense. The Okyenhene's tribunal, in particular, functioned less satisfactorily owing to Ofori Atta's preoccupation with provincial and national duties. An entry in the diary of the


230. Seven pp. 512-514.
D.C. for July 1930 reads:

There is no doubt that the Provincial Council takes up far more of his time than he can afford to give. It would relieve the pressure somewhat if his tribunal dealt only with appeals and serious breaches of custom.

Third, the elevation of the Æposemakahene to the status of a divisional chief in 1919 under the name of Abontondonhene altered the traditional balance of power among the Æposenaka Ankobese ne Kvidon. Henceforth the Abontendonhene as 'Chief of Kyebi' ranked directly after the Okyenhenene giving him the most powerful voice in the deliberations of the Kyebi Executive Council and the affairs of the Gyaase Division. The entrenchment of the concept of territorial jurisdiction created a lot of political confusion throughout the first four decades of the 20th century; but the growth of a modern bureaucracy at the courts of the chiefs imparted efficiency to local administration, even though it created opportunities for corruption.

Fifth, the politicisation of the masses as a result of missionary education and the pressures of alien rule led to an alteration in the composition of the Chiefs' councils and the state council to admit representatives, first of the asafo and later, of the educated elite. The impact of those and other political changes is assessed in the concluding chapter.

On 29/6/49 D.C's Diary for July 1930.
At the death of Nana Sir Ofori Atta I on 20 August 1943, Akyem Abunkwa had been under missionary and colonial influence for barely eighty years. Short though this period was the missionary and colonial experience had a profound effect on the State's traditional set up - political, social and economic. The emancipation of slaves and pawns, the commercialisation of land, the growth of a market economy and the influx of non-Akan immigrants transformed Akyem Abunkwa into a modern, multi-ethnic society; while a new kind of public morality and political consciousness was generated by the spread of western-style education, increasing social differentiation and the adoption of alien political and legal concepts. By any standards, the State which Ofori Atta bequeathed to his successor was a much more complex and sophisticated society than that inherited by the Amaako Attas in the 19th century.

The extent of social change was reflected in the adoption of new values, attitudes, beliefs and habits. These had been inculcated, on the one hand, by the Basel Mission through its widely scattered Christian congregations and its boarding school system; and, on the other, by Government through executive action, legislation and programmes of educational expansion, sanitation and medical care, self-help and community development. Personal dignity had been restored to those once held in
bondage through the abolition of slavery and pawning and the outlawing of human sacrifice and all forms of judicial torture.¹

Cultural assimilation of peoples of diverse ethnic origins was also promoted by the emancipation of slaves and pawns. Among the rules made in April 1907 by Begoro public for the observance of Benkumhene Gyamera was a clause which denounced his habit of disclosing the ethnic origins of some of his subjects.² Three years later Gyaasehene Kwaku Oware of Kwaben was destooled because, inter alia,

When he become(sic) intoxicated he begin(sic) to explain and show where some of the citizens came from. But we know that by the help of the British no one can be counted as a slave.³

Cultural integration, equal opportunity and a growing sense of equality before the law promoted a spirit of egalitarianism and, ultimately, an Abuakwa 'identity' and 'national' consciousness.

A new sense of morality which frowned upon alcoholism, sexual permissiveness and polygamy was fostered by the spread of Christianity; while western-style education endowed the State with a core of literate and skilled men with a modern outlook and progressive ideas that were to influence the course of politics and social

¹. See Chapter Four pp. 284-5.
³. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/291 A Queen Kyewa and 15 others to Omanhene
advancement. The structure of elementary school education, especially, its syllabus, curriculum and 'boarding' house system remained characteristic and enduring features of the Abuakwa educational scene beyond 1943.4

The rise of suburban Christian settlements - the Salans, Christian villages or Oburonikron - with their well-laid streets, improved sanitation; while novel architectural styles influenced building and planning techniques in the indigenous townships. Popularisation of scientific medicine and improved sanitation, as well as contributing to the relief of human suffering on a large scale, must have been a key factor in the phenomenal growth in population attained by Akyem Abuakwa in the decade between 1921 and 1931: from an estimated figure of 90,306 Africans in 1921 to 140,462 in 1931, an increase rate of 55.5%.5

The social impact of Missionary and colonial presence in Akyem Abuakwa was, however, far from being an unmitigated blessing. Insistence by the Basel Mission on monogamous marriages disrupted several pre-existing polygamous households.6 The abolition and emancipation of slaves and pawns marked the first step in the progressive loss of social prestige and economic power by the


5. N.A.C., Adm 11/1/1077 Case No.8/1931 Chief Census Officer to S.N.A 11 June 1931. The territorial extent of Akyem Abuakwa was estimated at 1,869 sq. niles and population density 75.1 per sq. nile. The figure of 1,869 seems to be an under-estimate. See p.494 fn.108. Sur p.294.
traditional ruling elite. The uniformity of religious practices and beliefs of pre-colonial days gave way to conflicting and seemingly irreconcilable dogmas. The ensuing church-state controversy did not only provoke needless violence on a massive scale and saddle the Chiefs and people with unnecessary debts; it also undermined the spiritual foundations of Akyem Abunkwa and, ipso facto, its social and political cohesion. In 1904 the Chief of Tumfa summed up the situation thus: 'You missionaries make two towns out of each town and bring division among us, who are brethren'.

The fostering of church-state dichotomy with a view to insulating Christian converts against contact with their culture together with European denigration of African institutions must indeed stand as the greatest single indictment against the social influence of the Missionaries and colonialists in Akyem Abunkwa. Missionaries and Colonial officials alike saw Amoako Atta I's struggle to safeguard the cultural heritage of his ancestors as an impediment in the way to 'civilization' and 'progress' as conceived by Europeans. Guggisberg was one of the few colonial officials to have realised the folly of the attempt to make Europeans out of Africans. He remarked at Kyebi in 1920:

7. See Chapter Two pp.116-117.
One of the great mistakes of the education in the past has been this, that it has taught the African to become a European instead of remaining an African. This is entirely wrong and the Government recognises it. In future our education will aim at making an African remain an African and taking interest in his own country.  

Guggisberg's dream could not be fulfilled because the Church which directly controlled education in the State remained inflexible in its determination to implant European cultural norms in the minds of their pupils.  

Missionary and colonial prejudice against traditional culture was imbied by Christian converts as well as products of mission schools in the State and accounted for the aloofness of many of them from traditional festivals and other cultural practices in the 20th century. In 1914 Nana Ofori Atta I had occasion to criticise the Basel Mission in a memorandum to Synod for the Mission's segregation of Christians into 'a separate community in each town' and for its general antagonism 'towards African ways'.  

In the 1920s and 1930s the rigidity of Missionary attitude toward the African way of life provoked a reaction in Akyem Abunkwa in a

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way reminiscent of the movement called 'Ethiopianism'.

The socio-economic effects of rapid urbanisation and industrialisation in the 1920s and 1930s unhinged the minds of the generality of the population resulting in an 'enormous increase in pre-occupation with witchcraft'. Under the circumstances it was not enough for Christianity merely to condemn and declare 'the spirit world of African paganism' as non-existent without providing an appropriate tonic for the trauma that afflicted many minds. The natural reaction was for several Christians to discard, if only subconsciously, the missionary straight-jacket in which they found themselves and seek solace in the renewal of faith in the ancestral religious belief system.

Indeed, one of the characteristic developments in Akwes
Akwes's social history in the 1920s and 1930s was the proliferation of gods in the State. Worship of certain gods proscribed by Government was revived in defiance of the banning order. In February and March 1924, forty-one devotees of Awenso, suppressed in 1922, were prosecuted at Anyinam and Kyebi and fined a total of


Apart from the revival of the worship of old gods many new ones were procured from Northern Ghana out of public subscriptions of £40-£80. The popular ones among them included Sonya Kuro (from the village of Sonya near Bole), Nana Tonge (from the Tonge Hills near Navrongo) Asase (also from the north) and Tigare (from Ipari near Wa), easily the most renowned in the early 1940s. The resurgence of faith in the African gods continued unabated throughout the 1930s into the 1940s. In an entry in D.C. Masser's diary for May 10, 1934 reads:

I noticed in Layum (as well as in several other villages on the way) the presence of a newly made fetish grove. On enquiry in every case I have been told that it is to protect the town. It has been given various names and no two villages have given the same place of origin. At Layum I noticed women's clothing, beads etc. hung up in a tree. On enquiry I was told that this was the clothing of certain witches which the fetish had caught.

The indifference of missionary school teachers to manual labour as a subject on the curriculum and their tendency to equate it with the performance of unpleasant chores of all sorts, stifled the development of interest and pride in working with one's hands.

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15. N.A.G.K., Adm 29/6/15 Birrin District Quarterly Report for Quarter ending 31 March 1924. 15 devotees from Kukbo were fined £50 at Anyinan and 26 from the neighbourhood of Suhun £42 at Kyebi in March 1924.


Adm 26/6/49 Diary of D.C. Birrin District for Emphasis added.
In 1888 Sitzler reported:

...the people say that when someone has been to school they are no good for the ordinary way of life. They are too idle to farm and do other forms of manual work...18

The failure of mission education to instil pride in manual labour, to teach that there was dignity in working with one's hand, became a source of concern to Governor Guggisberg. During a visit to Kyebi in January 1922 he expressed regret that 'Nearly all educated youngmen think it's a disgrace to work with their hands'.19 It was to remove this misconception of the function of education and to show that education could help artisans to work better that he established a trade school at Kyebi. The impact of the trade school was, however, limited and the prejudice persisted.

The overwhelming use of Akuapem teachers in Akyen schools, through no fault of the missionaries and Government, inhibited the development of an Akyen orthography and literature and resulted in the adoption of 'Akuapem Twi' as medium of instruction in Abukwa schools and of worship in Abukwa churches.

No less profound than the social impact were the economic effects of the Missionary and colonial experience in Akyen Abukwa


Between 1875 and 1913 the whole economic structure of the state underwent a substantial overhaul and transformation. On the eve of colonial rule the vast expanse of Abusua's territory was under-populated and under-utilized. The economy was buttressed initially by the gold trade and subsequently, by the slave-trade with hunting and subsistence agriculture as supplementary activities. Available food resources were limited mainly to yams (e.g. afase), plantains, bananas, corn and palm oil. Existing roads were no more than mere footpaths and internal markets few and far between. Local trade such as there was, was carried on through the medium of a modley of currencies. Between 1880 and 1913, however, the state experienced a veritable economic revolution.

First, the range of food resources increased thanks to the activities of the Basel Missionaries. For instance coffee and mango introduced in the 1860s by the Basel Mission spread through the State; while from the turn of the 20th century cocoyam 'gradually increase[] in favour in Akin as an 'important article of diet'. Second, there occurred a change from trade in gold.

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20. See Chapter One pp.61-63.
23. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts pp.516, 525, 541, 544 Reports by Eisenschnid, Muller and Kroner.
and human beings to trade in natural products - rubber, gumcopal, palm oil, cocoa and a variety of minerals. Third, Akyem Abuakwa lands became highly commercialised and therefore valuable assets. Scientific mining eclipsed indigenous-style mining and caused an increase in the State's mineral output. Fifth, infrastructural development facilitated movement of people and goods. Lastly, currency became gradually standardised. The long-term effects of this economic revolution were both beneficial and harmful to Akyem Abuakwa.

Among the beneficial effects were the opportunities for occupational change created through availability of a wide range of jobs; a more equitable re-distribution of wealth which in pre-colonial times was concentrated in the hands of the traditional ruling elite; the growth of population as manifested by the expansion of existing towns and mushrooming of new settlements; the ease of movement of persons and goods ensured by the construction of roads and railways; and the importation of a wide range of consumer items that improved the quality of life: kerosene lamps, building materials, gramophones, drugs etc.

Viewed critically, however, the true beneficiaries of the economic revolution in Akyem Abuakwa were not the Akyem people but rather the expatriate European companies and the colonial Government. First, the absence of any form of price control gave expatriate companies a free hand to maximise their profits, and
prices paid for agricultural produce of the African were anything but fair. As early as January 1904 Adontenhene Kwabena Kon
complained to Governor Nathan that 'the Merchants do not pay fair price for cocoa'. Ten months later Okyenene Amosako Attu reiterated the Adontenhene's complaint and urged the Governor to ensure that the merchants paid 'better prices for cocoa or the industry might die'. These appeals were ignored and indeed during the war years cocoa farmers obtained 'the lowest prices on record for their produce'. By February 1918 farmers were being offered less than 5/- per load as compared with £1 in 1901.

In view of the prevailing high cost of labour 'in collecting, and breaking the pods, fermenting and drying the beans' which was between 2/3d and 2/6d per load, the price was most unremunerative. Ofori Attu made efforts to relieve the financial distress of Abuakwa farmers in 1918 by seeking to charter a private ship to export their accumulated stocks direct to Europe and

America. But the efforts came to nothing due to the existing system of export licensing which was designed to favour the expatriate companies. Under the system introduced in March 1917 as a result of the limited shipping space every exporter of cocoa to the United Kingdom was limited to 'half the amount he had exported during the last twelve months'. This arrangement of course favoured the expatriate companies which were in business before 1917 and it created a monopoly situation for them which they exploited effectively to practically take the commodity 'for almost nothing'.

The slump of mid 1920 provided an excuse for payment of low and unstable prices throughout the 1920s and early 1930s. In 1930 the price of a load of cocoa was 9/- by January 1934 it had fallen to 6/3d at Accra. The prices offered for kola, rubber and coffee were much lower still. In 1921 Kwame Gyaw, President of the Asuboe and District Cocoa Farmers Association threw his stock of coffee away in indignation rather than accept the ridiculous low price of 1d per lb.

32. N.A.G.,广播 11/1/184 Akim Abuakwa Cocoa Areas by Miles.
While offering very low prices for agricultural produce, the expatriate companies charged relatively high prices for imported consumer items. The cost of cement, for instance, jumped from the pre-war price of £1.0.6d to £2.10/- a barrel at Koforidua and £3.0.0. elsewhere in 1920. Boots and cloth which used to cost 6/- per piece before World War I cost £4.0.0 in 1921. Below is a sample of comparative prices of imports for 1914 and 1920.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commodity</th>
<th>Pre-War Price</th>
<th>Post-War Price (1920)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wax Prints</td>
<td>15/- to 18/- or 19/6d</td>
<td>35/- to 80/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iron Sheets (6 feet)</td>
<td>3/6d</td>
<td>6/6d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(8 ft.)</td>
<td>9/6d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portland cement</td>
<td>16/- to 20/6d</td>
<td>50/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>4 1/2d per tin</td>
<td>1/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>6d per packet</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butter</td>
<td>1 1/2d per tin</td>
<td>4/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corned Beef</td>
<td>1/- per tin</td>
<td>3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/2 lb. Sardine</td>
<td>3d</td>
<td>1/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matches</td>
<td>3d per packet</td>
<td>1/- to 1 1/6d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soap</td>
<td>6d per bar</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candles</td>
<td>6d per packet</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enamelled Basin</td>
<td>6d</td>
<td>3/6d to 4/6d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In percentage terms, prices of some imports rose by as much as 300% between 1914 and 1920. The effect of the inflationary

pressures set in motion by high cost of consumer items was reflected in the high prices of local foodstuffs and meat.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Foodstuff &amp; Meat</th>
<th>Pre-War Price</th>
<th>Post-War Price (1920)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plantains</td>
<td>3d for 3 hands</td>
<td>1/- per hand (can)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mankani (coconut)</td>
<td>3d for 12</td>
<td>6d for 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yams</td>
<td>1/- per small tuber</td>
<td>5/6 - 6/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eggs</td>
<td>3d for 3</td>
<td>1/- for 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fowl</td>
<td>2/6d to 3/6d</td>
<td>8/- to 15/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheep</td>
<td>15/- to 40/-</td>
<td>60/- to 80/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goat</td>
<td>10/- to 15/-</td>
<td>30/- to 60/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bullock</td>
<td>£5 to £8</td>
<td>£12 to £24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The exploitation of cash crop farmers by the expatriate companies was too glaring to be overlooked, and in 1918 the Paramount Chiefs of the Eastern Province took up the matter with Governor Clifford. In a memorandum dated March 5 the Chiefs protested:

Whilst the Gold Coast Produce is taken for almost nothing..., the prices of European Goods have reached such prohibitive height that one feels most unhappy... we may, however, be permitted to say this, that if interference by Government in this connection be considered impracticable, we shall find ourselves compelled to take measures to guard our people against such manifest exploitation of the natives' poor resources...

37. Ibid.

Clifford's response to this complaint was non-committal. He merely informed the Chiefs that his Government would consider the necessity 'to regulate the prices of imported foodstuffs', and until then, they should encourage their subjects 'to live upon the produce of their own country as much as possible...'

Guggisberg, Clifford's successor, showed no intention of adopting any measure of price control in the interest of colonial subjects. During his visit to Kyebi in November 1919 all he could do by way of consoling the people was to express sympathy 'in the matter of the high prices now ruling' which he blamed on lack of shipping and the 'consequent rise in freight charges'.

Denied of official assistance in obtaining fair and just prices for their produce, Akyem Abuakwa farmers had no choice but to resort to self-help. In 1921-22, 1930-31, 1934-5 and 1937-38 they joined hands with other cocoa farmers in the colony to withhold their produce from sale. Besides boycotts, farmers' groups explored avenues for direct sale of their cocoa in England and America. During a visit to England as a member of the Eastern Province delegation to the World Cocoa Conference in May 1924, Kwame Nyew negotiated for 'better prices for... cocoa in

41. N.A.G.K., Adn 29/6/14 Cocoa - Sale of objections to Case No. 1456/21; N.A.G.K., Adn 29/6/49 Diaries - Birrin District Case No. 2041/30
order to ship it there for sale'. 42 Although Ayew sold the 200 tons of cocoa which he took with him as samples without difficulty, attempts by the Gold Coast Farmers Association of which he was President-General, to organise its own export from 1924-25 season onwards were unsuccessful. 43

In 1934 another attempt was made by the Gold Coast Farmers' Association to get the British cocoa buying firms 'to enter into an agreement with the farmers representatives'. A farmers' delegation including Kwame Ayew was sent to England and it secured the consent of certain firms to 'guarantee a price of 12/6 per load'. Of this 6/3d was to be paid on delivery and the balance after the cocoa was sold in America. Organizational problems, however, made it impossible for the Gold Coast Farmers' Association to give the firms the assurance demanded by them, namely that they would be allotted 50% of the entire Gold Coast crop. 44

Another expedient tried by cocoa farmers of Akyem Abuakwa in their search for a just price for their produce was the adoption of the idea of Co-operatives. Following the suspension of cocoa purchases in January 1931 by the Association of expatriate merchants known as the "Pool" serious thought began to be given to the formation of an Akyem Abuakwa cocoa Federation, composed

42. N.A.G.K., Adm 29/6/14 John Kwame Ayew to C.E.P. 26 Nov. 1924.
43. Ibid; David Kimble op.cit p.51.
44. N.A.G.K., Adm 29/6/61 E.L. Hay to Officer-in-charge Dept. of Cocoa Eastern Province 30 Oct. 1934; Assistant to the Governor C.E.P. 7 Nov. 1934.
of cocoa Co-operative societies, to undertake the direct export of Abuakwa's cocoa to England. Between 1931 and 1935 co-operative societies were formed at Kyebi, Wiconkyiron, Apeiwa, Asuboe and Nsrfio near Suhum.45 An Akyem Abuakwa Farmers Union under the presidency of Opaim Twm Barima was formed on 6 November 1934 and head farmers appointed in every village to see to the enforcement of cocoa sales through the Union only on pain of a fine of 5/- for every load sold to bodies other than the Union.46

The impact of the Union was felt immediately. By November 10, 1934 the Cadbury Agent in-charge of the Tafa-Kulurantumi centre had 'only bought about \( \frac{1}{2} \) of the amount' he usually bought at that time of the year; his U.A.C. counterpart at Anyinam had bought 'about \( \frac{1}{4} \) of the amount he usually bought'; while at Kyebi no cocoa was being sold at all.47 All the efforts of Akyem Abuakwa farmers to obtain a fair price for their cocoa failed ultimately. The first cause of failure was the chronic indebtedness of the farmers which weakened their ability to with hold cocoa from sale for an indefinite period. High food prices and the impo-

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46. N.A.G.K., Adm 29/6/61 D.C. Birrim (Masser) to Hon. Ig. C.E.P. 10 Nov. 1934; J.C. Denkwa Head of farmers Abomosu to Omanhene 9 Nov. 1934.
stocks pre-maturely. Second, lack of proper storage facilities also militated against the success of a prolonged hold-up. Deep-seated aversion of the Densungya Akuapem migrant farming community towards their political incorporation into Akyem Abunkwe undermined effective co-operation between Akyem and Akuapem farmers.

The most crucial factor in the failure of the boycotts was, however, the subtle moves by Government to undermine the success of the co-operation between Chief and farmer in the 1930s. Ofori Atta as a participant in the meeting of the Gold Coast and Asante cocoa Federation held at Nsawam on 21 October 1930 allowed his chiefs to use the State oath to communicate the Federation's orders to the general public as well as punish breaches of the orders by the use of their tribunals. In December 1930, for instance, the Odikro of Amanase ordered the arrest and detention of Wangara Zabrama and others for attempting to help Mr. Reyname Crendace of Messrs Haddock Parker and Co. of Nsawam to evacuate cocoa secretly from a farm near his village. During the 1934-35 boycott, gong-gong was beaten by chiefs of several towns and villages prohibiting the sale of cocoa and threatening penalties against breaches in the form of fines or 'putting in fetish'

(i.e. invocation of the curse of the gods). At Begoro, for instance, the Bonkumhene threatened to punish any person selling cocoa while at Osamase people were arraigned before the Chief's court 'for selling cocoa'.

In the name of 'free trade' and through resort to legal niceties, the Government succeeded in frustrating the use of the state oath and the chiefs' tribunals in enforcing the boycott. In the case of the 1930-31 boycott Governor Slater threatened reprisal in the form of curtailment of the chief's powers if they used their oaths to undermine free trade. District Commissioner Warrington convicted and fined Odikro Isaro Panin of Amanase on a charge of assault against Wangara Zabrama and others on 31 December 1930, and an appeal filed by the Odikro in the Supreme Court in January 1931 to test the validity of the D.C.'s verdict was dismissed.

The illegality of the use of tribunals to enforce boycotts having been thus established, Ofori Atta had no alternative but to uphold it. In 1934 he quashed the conviction by the Nifahene's court, of H.E. Ayesu, a cocoa buying agent of U.K.C. stationed at Asinkwa. The Okyenhene's tribunal held that the Chiefs and their

courts could not 'deal with cases connected with the hold-up under the law'.

On 3 November 1934 D.C. Kasser instructed Ofori Atta to notify the Akyen Abunkwa tribunals that a Chief could not 'make a "lawful order" prohibiting the sale and purchase of cocoa in his town'.

He further warned the Akyen Abunkwa Farmers' Union against dealing with its own members who disobeyed the rules of the Union, ignoring Ofori Atta's argument that while Tribunals could not deal with cases connected with the hold-up under the existing law, there was no reason why the Union itself, in the tradition of British trade unions, 'should not make its own rules and punish recalcitrant members thereunder'. Through such means the Government succeeded in breaking the back of the boycott by 22 November 1934.

The Government's role in the boycott was a source of great disappointment to the people of Akyen Abunkwa. They not only regretted Slater's public statement that Government could not compel

54. H.E. Ayesu was convicted on two counts of wilfully disobeying the lawful order of Nifahene ordering that no person in the town of Aseakwaa should sell or buy cocoa cent. to Sec. 46 SS. of N.L.O. 18 of 1927-34 and wilfully ignoring the Recognised Oath of Akyen Abunkwa sworn in prohibiting the sale and purchasing of cocoa cent. to Sec. 46 S. 3 of N.L.O. 18 1927-34'. See N.A.G.K., Adn 29/6/61 Cocoa Hold-Up.


56. N.A.G.K., Adn 29/6/61 J.O. Darkwa to Onahene 9 Nov. 1934; Ofori Atta to D.C. 12 Nov. 1934.

the merchants to raise prices; they also deplored Government's unwillingness even to make a gesture of sympathy by offering to arbitrate between the farmers and the buyers. The persistence of high prices of imports in the face of low cocoa prices remained one of the main grievances of the people against Government and its collaborators in the 1930s and a key factor in rural discontent. Indeed the failure of Ofori Atta to get better prices for his subjects' produce was held against him and listed as one of the charges against him during the confrontations provoked between the Abukwa asafo and chiefs by the Native Revenue Measure of 1932.

Exploitation of Abukwa's natural resources mainly for the benefit of expatriate companies is further exemplified in the operation of the mining industry. By December 1913 the total area of land alienated in the Eastern Province under concession and published in the Government Gazette amounted to 7,801 sq. miles. Of these concessions probably more than 20% were located in Akyen Abukwa. Until the early 1930s vast tracts of

59. N.A.G.K., Adm 29/6/61 D.C. Kibbi to Ag. C.E.P. 3 Nov. 193;.
60. See Jarle Simensen, Commoners, Chiefs and Colonial Government p.258: Also pp.511-514 below.
61. See pages 511 and 514 below; Also Jarle Simensen op.cit. Vol.II p.29c.
63. See N.A.G.K., Adm 29/6/42 Concessions No.973/1917.
otherwise fertile agricultural lands in Abuakwa were tied under concessions of which the majority were hardly worked at all. In 1928 for instance there were only 2,000 sq. miles out of 10,000 sq. miles of concessions in the colony that were being worked. In Akwan Abuakwa at least 19 mining concessions covering an area of over 1,000 sq. miles were not being worked. 64 In several cases no rent was paid to the state in respect of these 'idle' concessions while in others rent was allowed to fall into arrears for several months and only suddenly paid 'when an outside claim or other circumstances arose to increase the value of the land'. 65 During all these years most landlords lost even the right of access to the lands for purposes of collecting firewood and snails, rights which were guaranteed by the Concessions Ordinance (1900). 66

The rents paid were only a pittance and out of proportion to the extensive rights acquired by the concessionaires under the terms of their agreement. For instance the 99 year lease of the extensive Block 5 concession at Akwanga carried with it the right to mine and appropriate all minerals of any sort; and for that

64. N.A.G.K., Adm 29/6/42 Validated concession in the Gold Coast Colony not being worked - Records in the Lands Department 1928; Col. Sec. to Hon. C.E.P. 20 April 1928.


66. See Chapter Five p.354 fn.165.
right C.A.S.T. contracted to pay a yearly rent of £500 only plus 5% of the net profit, if any. Below is a sample of annual rents paid to the Stools of Akyem Abuakwa in 1932 in respect of mining concessions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Concession</th>
<th>Extent</th>
<th>Annual Rent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kyebi Lands</td>
<td>4.5 sq. nls</td>
<td>£ 21 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tumfa No. 1</td>
<td>4.5 sq. nls</td>
<td>£ 12 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tumfa No. 2</td>
<td>4.375 sq. nls</td>
<td>£ 12 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asinkwa</td>
<td>c. 5 sq. nls</td>
<td>£ 200 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adadjiantan</td>
<td>3.14 sq. nls</td>
<td>£ 12 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akwatia Blocks 3 &amp; 4</td>
<td>1.816 sq. nls</td>
<td>£ 75 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akwatia Block 2</td>
<td>1.20 sq. nls</td>
<td>£ 150 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akwatia Block 7</td>
<td>1.5 sq. nls</td>
<td>£ 125 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akwatia Block 8</td>
<td>.93 sq. nls</td>
<td>£ 56 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prankese</td>
<td>384.18 sq. nls</td>
<td>£ 75 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prano</td>
<td>3.027 sq. nls</td>
<td>£ 30 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topremans Blocks 1, 2 &amp; 3</td>
<td>1.12 sq. nls</td>
<td>£ 105 0 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When Nann Ofori Atta I complained about the low rents paid in the country by the Mining Companies and called for a bill to require the Ashanti Goldfields Limited, for instance, to pay

67. See Chapter Five fn.166.

68. N.A.G.K., Jan 29/6/42 Validated Concessions in the Gold Coast not being worked 1928; Particulars supplied to Surveyor-General on Concessions by D.C. Jones 5 Sept. 1923; Return of Concession Rents payable at the Eastern Province enclosed in letter dated 23 Jan. 1932.
royalty on their profits to the grantors of their concession. Governor Arnold Hedson refused to oblige. His argument was that it would be short sighted and extremely harmful to interfere as capital 'was very sensitive' and might be driven away to other parts of the world if interfered with. Thus as in the case of agricultural produce expatriate mining companies were allowed a free hand to decide what to pay African landlords for their mineral resources.

Legal restrictions placed in the way of Abukanwa citizens by the Concessions Ordinance effectively eliminated them from the industry and turned it into the exclusive preserve of European expatriate companies. The abortive Regulation No. 15 of 1926 fully demonstrated the extent to which the Colonial Government was prepared to go in aiding and abetting expatriate companies to exploit the Abukanwa people by disregarding their rights in land. Indeed the Colonial Government itself participated directly in the economic exploitation of the people of Okyenhene Abukanwa.

The usurpation of the State's sovereignty was accompanied by the claim of exclusive right to raise revenue by means of taxation. Thus in 1892, for instance, Okyenhene Amoako Atta II

70. See Chapter Five pp.353, 359-360.
71. See Chapter Five pp.355-357.
was forbidden to enforce a tax which he proposed to levy on his people for the repair of the Kyebi palace. 73 Similarly Ofori Atta I was for several years prevented from taxing migrant farmers who cultivated Abuakwa stool lands free of charge, particularly the New Dwaben community. 74 Government officials hold that the various tributes which the Olyenhene proposed to levy amounted to 'an extensive scheme of direct taxation' which ought not be allowed 'without legal powers and without a properly organized treasury'; 75 that the power of Chiefs to make bye-laws for the good government and welfare of their subjects under Section 40 of N.A.O. did not 'confer the power to impose payment of tribute by means of bye-laws'. 76 In the opinion of the Attorney-General, it was 'bad legislation... for the Supreme legislative authority to give indefinite powers of taxation to a subordinate legislative authority'. 77

Under the circumstances it is significant that no objection, legal or moral, was raised by the Colonial Government to the general war taxes imposed by the State Council on the people of Akwasi

73. See Chapter Three p.221
74. See pp.503-508 below.
76. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/184 Mr. de Hart's opinion in Ag. S.N.A.'s Minute to Hon. Col. Sec. 26 July 1929.
77. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/184 Attorney-General to S.N.A. 19 March
Abuakwa in 1914 and 1917 for the benefit of the British Government. At a time when cocoa farmers of Akwai Abuakwa were suffering acute financial distress due to low prices for cocoa the Colonial Government tacitly approved the Okyenah Council's decision to impose a tax of one load of cocoa 'from every person enjoying the fruits of the soil of Eastern Akwai land' as its contribution to the Imperial War fund.  

The levy was ultimately collected in cash at the rates of 5/-, 8/- and £1 for ordinary men, stool elders and Adikrofo respectively, because of Government's unwillingness to accept cocoa.  

Below is how the 1914 tax money was disbursed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fund</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To the National Relief Fund</td>
<td>£2,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the cost of one Aeroplane (nicknamed &quot;Akwai Abuakwa&quot;)</td>
<td>£1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Red Cross Society</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgian Relief Fund</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Relief Fund in connection with the sinking of &quot;SS Falaba&quot; 19 July 1915</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>£4,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similarly the State Council imposed a tax of £1 per man and 5/- per woman in 1917 to cover the cost of the inducement allowance of £7 offered to every Abuakwa young man who volunteered for

78. N.I.G., Adm 11/1/75 Ofori Atta to Odikro (Kankan) 30 Oct. 1914.
79. Ibid.
service in East Africa.\footnote{81}

That payment of the taxes was compulsory and not voluntary cannot be doubted. In the case of the 1914 tax, threats of expulsion were made by Ofori Atta against members of the Dwaben community who protested against payment. Early in 1915 Onanhene Kwaku Boaten of New Dwaben protested to the Colonial Government and demanded a refund of the money taken from his subjects in Akwen Abuakwa.\footnote{82} In the case of the 1917 tax Gyasehene Kwasi Banin was, in the words of D.C. for Birrim W.J.A. Jones, 'authorised to collect a fixed sum from the subjects of the Abuakwa stool';\footnote{83} furthermore the acts of violence and the bitterness generated at Begoro, Kwaben and elsewhere by the collection are suggestive of the application of force.\footnote{84}

It is hard to reconcile the attitude of the colonial Government to taxation by the State Council for local purposes on the one hand, with its attitude to similar taxation for outside use on the other. Surely if the Okyenhene had no legal power to tax

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{N.A.G.}, Ldn 11/1/683 	extit{lg. D.C. Kibbi to Hon. Prov. Commissioner Accra 8 May 1918.}
\end{itemize}
his subjects in the interest of his state, then by the same token he could not be said to have legal power to tax his people for the benefit of the imperial war effort. It is again significant to note that when ultimately it was decided to restore the Chiefs' traditional right of taxation an important consideration was the relief which local taxation was expected to afford to Government revenue. Indeed the Native Administration Revenue Measure of 1932 embodied a secret provision for 'strengthening the Government Treasury by passing 50% of the revenue collected by the Chiefs to the Central Government'. During his two-hour address to the Eastern Provincial Council in December 1931 W.J.A. Jones, the S.H.A., carefully omitted any reference to the Government's proposed share because it might become "a fly in the ointment which would otherwise smell sweet to the Chiefs." The virtual free use of the labour of the Abuakwa people under the Roads Ordinance (1894) for the building of roads that mainly benefitted the external trade dominated by expatriate companies was yet another instance of colonial exploitation.

86. Jarle Simenson, Crisis in Akyem Abuakwa: The Native Administration Revenue Measure of 1932 in Mitteilungen No.12 p.93; Also Jarle Simenson, Commoners, Chiefs and Colonial Government pp.237-240.
Admitted by the C.E.P. Mr. Fieldgate in an address to the Eastern Provincial Council of Chiefs in 1932, the practice amounted to 'a benevolent form of forced labour'.

Colonial rule gave no encouragement to the pre-colonial indigenous crafts and industries which had caught the fancy of the Basel Missionaries. By the first decade of the 20th century the potentialities of craft industries were still considerable in Akyem Abunkw. Exhibits/crafts at the Kyebi Agricultural show of 1911 included 81 pieces of wood-carving, 3 carved stools, 31 pieces of earthen ware, 4 locally made iron implements and 16 'Rattan cones'. Commenting on the quality of the exhibits, the D.C. Mr. Hobbs said:

In Section IV the wood carving was easily first & Dan Bruce of Abotifi who exhibited four cleverly carved boxes had no difficulty in selling them on the spot. The Earthenware was also good and interesting...

... The rattan cones... deserve mention, for it is possible to form a new local industry in cane chair making. I lent the Omanhene a cane chair and from this model two quite good chairs were made and exhibited.


90. See Chapter One pp.69-70.

Instead of encouraging local craftsmen to realise their full potential through a policy of protection, expatriate European merchants were permitted to flood the local market with imported substitutes for local pottery, agricultural implements, chairs, boxes and textiles. Local initiative was thereby suppressed.

Government's attitude to the liquor trade in Akyem Abuakwa also showed that it cared more about revenue than the welfare of its subjects. From the first decade of the 20th century Chiefs and people of the colony gave increasing patronage to the liquor shops opened by European traders in the Gold Coast. In 1913, for instance, 1,758,178 gallons of gin were imported into the colony. Many of the liquor shops were opened in Akyem Abuakwa where consumption of alcohol had been high since 1901. An entry in the Birrin District Report for the quarter which ended on 31 December 1919 read:

European firms are preparing to open new stores in several places. There is an indication that the existing stock of trade spirits is nearing exhaustion.

The expansion of the liquor trade in Akyem Abuakwa was extremely harmful to the State. First, the substantial revenues accruing to the stools from the sale of land and other sources

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92. N.A.G., Adm 11/1778 Speech Delivered by H.E. at the Palaver held in his Honour at Kibi 7 April 1927.


were frittered away by irresponsible Chiefs on imported alcoholic
drinks. Benkumhene Gyamera and his successor Otupiri for instance
spent a good deal of stool revenue on alcoholic drinks and, when
they were short of money they did not hesitate to pledge stool
property against drinks bought on credit. 95 Second, alcoholism
among Chiefs led to irresponsible and disgraceful behaviour as well
as to neglect of the responsibilities of their office. Nifnhene
Kwaku Agyei (1905-1908), 'a terrible drunkard' and 'a physical
wreck from drink' did not only saddle his people with debts and
insult them publicly; 96 he also paid little attention to his dut-
ies as Chief. Travelling Commissioner Phillip wrote of him:

I consider this Chief entirely unsuited for the stool
of Asiakwa. He is always in a semi-drunken state and
to a degree not responsible for his actions. 97

Of another prominent divisional Chief addicted to alcohol, Okyen-
hene Anoako Atta II wrote:

Personally I have known Kwaku Ware since he became
Ohene of Kwaben to be unfit and there is no other
Ohene that I shall unhesitatingly recommend to the
Government the confirmation of his destoolment

95. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/457 Enquiry into destoolment of Gyamera;
Elders of Bogoro to Ofori Atta 12 Dec. 1912.

Adm 11/1/747 Yaw Mwabo lg. Ohene and 15 others to D.C. 8
Jan. 1908.

as this Ohene. 98

A D.C., Mr. Hobbs, was alleged to have once remarked at a public meeting that 'if all the Chiefs in Eastern Aku were like Kwaku Ware, the country would before long fall into ruins.' 99

From 1907 the people of Akyen Abunkwa waged war on alcoholism among their Chiefs. The Bogoro public, for instance, was so scandalised by Chief Gyanera's addiction to alcohol that they forced him to sign an undertaking in April 1907 to give up alcoholic drinks or forfeit the stool'. 100 In September 1910 Gyanera (Kene) John Robert Kwaku Oware was similarly forced to sign a document committing him 'not to touch any rum'. 101 In 1916 the State Council requested Clifford to ban the granting of licences to sell liquor in Akyen Abunkwa. 102

With the temporary boon in the coca industry between 1919 and 1921 the demand for liquor in Akyen Abunkwa sharply increased, much to the dismay of Ofori Atta I. Between 1927 and 1928 the State Council in co-operation with some of the educated sons of

99. Ibid.
100. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/457 Bye-Laws made by Bogoro and Munumadu for the observance of Chief 12 April 1907.
the State mounted a campaign against the high incidence of alcoholism in the State. During a visit to Kyebi in April 1927 Guggisberg was requested by the Okyenhin to take steps to control the consumption of alcohol in the State. On 4 August 1928, while giving an official report on his trip to England at Kyebi Ofirri Atta ordered 12 bottles of gin presented to him in England to be poured out onto the ground to mark the start of a state-wide campaign against gin drinking. This act was followed by an appeal addressed to all educated youngmen of Akyen Abukwa by J.B. Danquah in which he condemned excessive drinking of gin as a factor in rural indebtedness.

Unfortunately, Government's response to the repeated call of the State Council to help curb alcoholism in the State was negative, as spirit licences were an important source of Government revenue, especially in the financial straits in which Government found itself in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Guggisberg unequivocally ruled out any legislative action and recommended the

105. Ibid.
mobilization of public opinion. Without the active support of the Government the State's campaign against alcoholism was foredoomed to failure; and alcoholism with its twin evils of improvidence and indolence remained a trait in the Abuakwa national character well beyond 1943.

In the field of political change too, the missionary and colonial experience left its imprint on Akyem Abuakwa. One of the earliest and lasting effects of the intrusion of colonial rule was the diminution suffered by Abuakwa in the size of its territory as a result of the Colonial policy of rehabilitating migrant communities as distinct and separate political entities on Abuakwa soil. On the eve of colonial rule Akyem Abuakwa occupied territory very much bigger than her present area. But under the influence of colonial rule she lost sovereign rights over considerable portions of it, at least 400 square miles to the Dwaben, the Kotoku and Krobo migrant communities which settled on her

107. N.A.G., Adm 11/1778 Speech Delivered by H.E. at Kibbi 7 April 1927;

lands between 1824 and 1900.

Created originally out of a portion of Kukurantumi stool lands donated upon request to the Colonial Government in 1876 for the rehabilitation of Dwaben refugees who entered the protectorate in 1875-76 following the Kumase-Dwaben civil war, the New Dwaben territory initially extended from Awoso in the South to River Amusow in the north. In 1894, however, the Government prevailed upon the Kukurantumi stool again to part with the lands between the Amusow and Suhyon Rivers for a token price of £400. The lands so purchased were at first rented to the New Dwaben state by the Government at a nominal fee of 1/- a year till August 1932 when they were conveyed by deed to the New Dwaben State. By 1922 when the boundaries of the New Dwaben State were defined for the last time by Order in Council No.17 of 1922, 52 sq.miles of erstwhile Abuakwa territory had been sliced off and set apart for the permanent use of the Dwaben exiles.

In the case of the Kotoku State too, the lands on which its capital Nsuaem was built in 1863 were originally a grant from the Osawwu stool. However, as a result of the Nsuaem ferry crisis of 1886-88 (already discussed in Chapter Three) and the anxiety of

109. See Map 4
111. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/82414 File 97/33 S.F.9; N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1077 Chief Census Officer to S.N.A. 11 June '931. By 1904 New Dwaben's population was 10,000. See N.A.G., Adm
the Colonial Government to pre-empt the forcible expulsion of
the Kotoku immigrants by Okyeman, the exiled Osawuchene and
Okyenhene Amoako Atta II were coerced into executing a bond which
bound the State of Aksem Abuakwa to remit all claims on her lands
occupied by the Kotoku people. The lands so lost by the State
south of the Birem river and between the Birem and the Pra, accom-
modated 26 Kotoku settlements with a total population of 27,900. The
lands remained, for all practical purposes, under Kotoku sove-
ereignty until 1912 when King Attafun negotiated with Ofori Atta I
for de jure ownership through purchase for £700.

A considerable portion of Aksem Abuakwa territory was simi-
larly lost to the Krobo States under the impact of colonial rule.
In 1860s and 1870s Krobo migrant farmers occupied 120 sq. miles
of lands between Pompon and Odumatta illegally sold to them by
the Gyakiti or Toprefo, a Kamana people who originally lived at
Bogoro before migrating to settle in Akwamu. Fear of incurring
the displeasure of the Colonial Government prevented the

112. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1095 Interview between Amoako Atta II and
Chiefs and Col. Sec. 9 June 1893; Atwere Bond executed on
19 Dec. 1893.

113. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1095 List of Towns and villages in Western
and Asante Akin subject to Attafun. From the 1960 popula-
tion Census the area of Kotoku and Bosome States is about
850 sq. miles.

1778 H.E's Address to Kotoku State 7 Jan. 1922.

115. See Chapter One p.18; Also N.A.G., Adm 11/14/0 Notes of
Bringing into the disputed Land Question between the Jaki-
Keg oro 21 Nov. 1893; N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1452 Bogoro-
dispute 4 July 1916.
Bagoro people from using force to retrieve their illegally alienated lands. At the intercession of Konor Sakitey of Manya Krobo and District Commissioner for Volta District Alex W. Williams Begorohene Kwasi Antwi agreed to confirm the Krobo in the ownership of the portion of lands between the Ponpon River and Bisa which had already been put under cultivation by the Krobo buyers. This agreement approved by Governor Griffith on 12 June 1893, resulted in the loss of some twenty four miles of territory by the Akron Abukwaa State. Successive piecemeal purchases of farm lands from Begoro stool ultimately extended the frontiers of Krobo farm lands from Bisa northwards to the Afron River and westwards towards the Akrun River which flows only a few miles east of Begoro.

As the population of the purchased lands was almost exclusively Krobo, and the lands lay contiguous to the Krobo State, the Konors tended to regard these as extensions of their respective states, especially after 1883 when the N.J.O. introduced the novel concept of territorial sovereignty. Indeed by 1906 they were already calling the purchased lands "Krobo". The Krobo were greatly encouraged in their claim of jurisdiction over the so-called "Krobo Plantations" by the attitude of the Colonial Government which seemed inclined to reward them for their contribution

116. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1452 Begoro-Jakito Land Dispute; Polly Hill op.cit. p.73.
117. See Map I
to the agricultural development of the colony as well as their time-tested loyalty. In November 1906, for instance, the S.W.A. accepted, without proof, a claim by Chief Odenkor that the Krobo had purchased the 'Krobo Plantations' outright from the Akyem and considered them as integral part of Krobo. On the basis of this claim the S.W.A. recommended to Government to consider the re-drawing of the map to reflect the excision of 'that portion of Akyem... from its original division' and its inclusion 'in the Volta District as part of Krobo'.

Ofori Atta took up the matter of jurisdiction over the Krobo Plantations after his accession. From 1919 till his death in 1943 he exhausted every legal means and argument at his disposal with a view to securing the restoration of Abukwa's territorial sovereignty over the purchased Krobo farmlands. The inflexibility and technicality of official attitude, however, proved obstructive; and by 1943 about 300 sq. miles of erstwhile Abukwa territory, including the Krobo Plantations measuring about 50 sq. miles, had for all practical purposes been lost to Manya.

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119. In 1900 the Colonial Government favoured the mobilization of the Krobo for the Yor /Asantewaa War because they were 'much more likely to give effective assistance than other tribes'. See N.A.G., Adm 11/1/3 Governor to Col. Sec. 17 July 1900. They were also among the first states to exercise power under N.J.O. (1883).

120. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1453 Copy of a Minute by S.W.A. 16 Nov. 1906.

The establishment of the 'migrant' states on the soil of Akyem Abuakwa did not only result in the diminution of the size of the State. Their contiguity also created a lot of problems for Akyem Abuakwa. First was the problem of continual boundary disputes. From 1893 till 1922 when the Abuakwa-New Dwaben boundaries were finally determined, a succession of disputes on the eastern frontier of New Dwaben, involving New Dwaben, Krobo and the Abuakwa Stools of Kukurantumi and Tafo gave rise to recrimination and counter-recrimination, litigation and even violence.  

It was the estrangement caused by these disputes between Tafohene Peasa and Adontenhene Kofi Aberantee that led to the Akyem debacle at Boankra during the Yaa Asantewaa War.

Boundary disputes between the Kotoku and the Abuakwa also caused a lot of inter-communal violence. In 1893 the people of Gyadam Biremso destroyed a Kotoku farm illegally made on their stool land; and in 1913 a serious affray occurred at Kyea between people of that village and those of the Kotoku village.

122. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1453 Motion to Set Aside Award by H.S. Newlands 28 July 1923: Polly Hill op.cit. p.73.


124. See N.A.G., Adm 11/1/3 Capt. Irvine to Col. Sec. 1 Jan. 1901; Amoako Atta to Col. Sec. 14 Sept. 1900; Chiefs and Captains to H.E. Nov. 1 1900; N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1451 Tafo-Kukurantumi Land Dispute.

of Kwawen in which two men were killed, two seriously injured, and a few houses burnt at Kyea. The ill-feeling generated between Abua-kwa and Kotoku as a result of boundary disputes was responsible for the attempts made by the latter to subvert the former. Between 1893 and 1905 Omanhene Attafu encouraged Otumi and Akyease to secede from Akyen Abua-kwa. Attafu was also suspected to have had a hand in Asamankose's prolonged rebellion against Ofori Atta.

The threat to Akyen Abua-kwa's integrity stirred up controversy over the administration of the western Abua-kwa towns intermingled with Kotoku towns, that is the so-called 'Abua-kwa islands'. In 1904 Omanhene Amonko Atta II protested against the existing administrative arrangement under which the Omanhene 'sent his reports through Attafu' to the D.C. at Saltpond, and requested that Wankyi and two of its subordinate villages - Takorase and Osorase - 'be removed from the Saltpond District to

129. See Map 3. These "islands" included Akyease, Aman, Kokoben, Gyanad, Birano, Osoraso, Otwereso, Kyena, Odu-mase, Kwe, Batabi, Takorase, Nyankonase, Damwonako, Droup and Subiriso.
the Eastern Akyen - Kwahu District'. Anoako Atta's request was pursued with all seriousness by Ofori Atta who pressed for the removal of the 'Abuakwa islands' from the jurisdiction of the Oda-based District Commissioner. His suggestion was that the jurisdiction of the D.C. for Birim District should be made coterminous with the territorial jurisdiction of the Okyehene so that he would have exclusive jurisdiction 'in and over every town or village under the Omahene of Akyen Abuakwa. After persistent appeals Guggisberg's Administration obliged by placing the 'Abuakwa islands' under the administration of an Assistant D.C. for Birim District with residence at Kade in 1920.

Boundary disputes between the Abuakwa and Krobo also produced friction and tension. In 1920, for instance, violence nearly erupted when Krobo farmers took up arms to prevent the Okyehene's tribunal messengers from crossing the Akrun to inspect the lands between it and the Pompon which formed the core of the Krobo Plantations. The disharmonious relations between Abuakwa and


131. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/371 Address presented to Sir Hugh Clifford 22 April 1916 Quoted in Ofori Atta to D.C. 18 May 1922; Also Adm 11/1/352 Extracts from Notes of Interview at Kibi 23 April 1916.


the neighbouring 'migrant' States caused by land disputes contributed in no small way to intensify inter-communal unrest in Akyen Abukwaa in the 1920s and 1930s.

A fundamental issue in inter-communal strife in Akyen Abukwaa was the political status of the migrants. The pre-colonial traditional concept of sovereignty, as already pointed out emphasized personal rather than territorial jurisdiction. 134

In 1865 for instance Atta Kwaku, brother and later, successor of Adontenhen Amponso swore the oaths of Okyenhene and Okuapemhene in a dispute with Masehene over land near Ahabante (off present-day Tinkon). Because of the two separate oaths involved the case was tried at two separate courts, first before the Okuapemhene's court and then before the Okyenhene's court. 135 Under such an arrangement it was possible for Dwaben exiles to live at Kyobi in the 1830s, and Kotoku exiles at nearby Gyadam for 36 years, without too many cases of a clash of jurisdictions. The Abuakwa owed personal allegiance to the Okyenhene and invariably swore his oath and took their cases to him. Similarly the exiles swore their King's oaths and took their cases before them. 136

134. See Chapter Six p.414
135. N.A.G., Ad 11/1/1122 Record of Meeting held at Koforidua 20 Aug. 1916.
With jurisdiction defined in strictly territorial terms under the N.J.O. (1883), it was no longer legitimate for the neighbouring 'migrant' states to claim jurisdiction over their 'nationals' domiciled in Akyem Abuakwa. Unfortunately the late application of the Ordinance to Akyem Abuakwa allowed the Paramount Chiefs of Krobo and Abuakwa to attempt to convert their personal jurisdiction over their migrant subjects in Akyem Abuakwa into a territorial one. Both in the Krobo Plantations and in the Densu-Togbui lands they set up 'agency courts' to operate under their authority as though the purchased lands were extensions or integral parts of their respective states.

The controversy over territorial jurisdiction was first brought into the open by the persistent refusal of the New Daben exiles domiciled in Akyem Abuakwa towns to acknowledge the authority of the Abuakwa Chiefs. On 21 October 1903 Okyeman Council out of desperation passed a bye-law under Section 5 of the N.J.O. which prescribed banishment as punishment for any Daben who disobeyed 'any lawful order by or through Head chief or Headman in any town or village' or showed contemptuous disregard for the Okyeman's oath or offered 'any insult to the Head-Chief, Chief or

37. See Chapter Three, pp.226-231

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137. See Chapter Three, pp.226-231
Headman of any town or village. In a covering letter requesting the Governor's approval the Okyenhene explained that the contumacious disposition of a few of the Dwaben was a potential threat to inter-communal harmony and to good order in general.

He charged:

They do not pay the least respect to any lawful authority exercised either by me or through a Chief or sub-chief in whose town or village they happened to reside respective and disturb the peace, good order and welfare of the people in those villages and towns.

Although the Government did not see its way clear to sanctioning the byc-law, it affirmed the Okyenhene's right of jurisdiction over Dwaben subjects domiciled in the State of Akyem Abuakwa.

Inspite of Governor Hodger's further rulings of 1908 which emphatically placed Dwaben residents in Abuakwa villages under the territorial jurisdiction of Akyem Chiefs, the Dwaben concerned managed to render such jurisdiction ineffective by the simple expedient of sneaking across the border into New Dwaben whenever they lost a case in an Akyem Court. Commenting on this

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142. N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1126 Col. Sec's Instructions to Commission -Personal and Territorial and rights of Chiefs.
subterfuge, the D.C. Mr. H.K. Greenway stated in 1908:

If a Juaben loses a case before the Omanhene he immediately runs away over the border and declines to abide by the finding of the court, if he wins his case he remains in Akim. 143

This mean trick increased inter-communal tension. In May 1909, for instance, the Elders of Bogoro seeing no prospect of peaceful co-existence or integration with the Dwaben in their midst called for their repatriation. They alleged:

... we are unable to mix with the Ashantoes who are always causing disturbances in our town, refusing to clear Govert(sic) main roads with us, but sharing everything with us equally when there appears anything of dividing(sic). They don't give respect to our Chiefs as they had master at Koforidua. 144

With the accession of Ofori Atta in 1912, Akyem Abuakwa relentlessly pursued the policy of asserting her territorial sovereignty over all migrant communities living on her territory proper as distinct from the 'migrant' states. She was, however, resisted by the migrant communities with the active support of their respective Paramount Chiefs. As already noted, 145 Omanhene


145. See p.487 above.
Kwaku Boateng of New Dwaben, for instance, protested against Ofori Atta's taxation of New Dwaben nationals in Akyen Aboukwa. He also opposed the Okyenhene's hearing of cases arising from the swearing of Dwaben oaths, and demanded that the D.C. for Akyen Aboukwa be instructed to 'address himself' always to the Okyenhene of New Dwaben 'in all matters both judicial and administrative' concerning his people living in Akyen Aboukwa. 146

In order to help resolve the inter-communal tension which was mounting, F.G. Crowther held an informal inquiry at Nsawam into the right of jurisdiction over communal settlements made by strangers on lands purchased from the various Aboukwa Stools. 147 The conduct of Okyenhene Kwaku Boateng at the enquiry which was inconclusive enraged Ofori Atta and caused Okyeman Council to decide to lay down

a definite system by which the Juaben residents in Eastern Ghana, will be recognised, to all intents and purposes, as strangers. 148

In pursuance of this policy all Dwaben farmers who hitherto cultivated Aboukwa lands free of charge were called upon to execute


lease agreements and pay yearly tribute for their farms. \(^{149}\)

The levying of tribute on the Dwaben provoked a lot of communal unrest throughout the 1920s and 1930s. In 1919 for instance Onyanchone Kwaku Boaten sent messengers to Osenase, Haase, Tafo c.c. to order the Dwaben residents 'not to pay a cent' to Ofori Atta's collectors till they heard from him. \(^{150}\) He also sent messengers from Koforidua on several occasions 'direct to Osenase to summon people before his Tribunal'. \(^{151}\) In 1920 the New Dwaben Onyanchone recalled all the Dwaben residents in Akyem Abunkwa to Koforidua allegedly 'with the intention... of inciting them to resist the collection of the annual farm tax'. \(^{152}\) It was reported from Asuon on May 4 1920 that the New Dwaben residents were always holding meetings and had 'sent some men to Accra for gunpowder and lead'. \(^{153}\) Chief Kofi Peasah II also reported about the sametime that all the Dwaben residents at Tafo had left for Koforidua 'with the intention to prepare for fighting against the Akim'. \(^{154}\)


\(^{150}\) N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1123 Ofori Atta to C.E.P. 13 June 1919.

\(^{151}\) Ibid.


\(^{154}\) N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1123 Chief Kofi Peasah II to Ofori Atta
late 1920s the New Dwaben community at Tafo led by Mr. Akosa nanhandled Ofori Atta's collectors sent to count cocoa trees on Dwaben farms for purposes of taxation. The growing anti-Ofori Atta feeling in Dwaben circles was further given expression in the assault on the Okyenhen's messengers sent to Tafo in 1929 to arrest two Dwaben farmers of Nanso on a charge of trespass on forest land. The two prisoners were forcibly released. The Okyenhen's attempt to enforce his right of territorial jurisdiction against the Atampen and Krobo migrant communities of Densungya and the Krobo Plantations also produced violence and intensified anti-Ofori Atta sentiment in the State.

Besides the jurisdiction controversy, the attempt by the Colonial Government to turn Chiefs into agents of Colonial rule also contributed to unrest and instability in Akyen Abuakwa. In the pre-colonial era the office of Chief had symbolised the community's hopes, pride and ethos. Chiefs were regarded as the embodiment of the ancestral spirits. As such their persons were sacred and they enjoyed the respect and loyalty of their subjects. It was therefore to be expected that in the 19th century both Missionary and colonial officials should see in the Chiefs the key to the success or failure of their evangelical and imperial schemes.

155. N.A.G., Add 11/1/184 Summons to Kofi Akosa 1 Feb. 1928; Petition by Akosa and others 6 March 1928; Ofori Atta to D.C. 10 April 1928.
In Akyen Abuakwa where they initially encountered determined opposition from the regimes of the Anoako Attas, no effort was spared to discredit the institution of chieftaincy through denigration of customs and usages that sanctioned it or through arrest and exile and other forms of personal humiliation. Thus, for example, Captain Irvine, Inspector of the Gold Coast Constabulary in reprimanding Anoako Attah II in January 1901 before a public assembly of his sub-chiefs and subjects for defaulting on the execution of a bond made him stand bare-footed with his cover cloth 'brought down...so low as to leave [him] half-naked'.

From 1901, however, it became a cardinal principle of the policy of Indirect Rule to rescue chieftaincy in Akyen Abuakwa from the depths of degradation and impotence in which British policy had placed it, refurbish its image and recognise it as the only principle of legitimacy in local administration.

But the attempt to turn Chiefs into instruments of colonial policy only succeeded in causing chieftaincy to lose its credibility as an institution responsive to the interests and wishes of the

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158. N.A.G., Addn 11/1/3 Abro by Hull 22 Dec. 1900; Ag. Col. Sec. to Ag. Governor 6 Nov. 1900; Ag. Governor's Interview with Amantooemena deputation 23 Nov. 1900; N.A.G., Addn 11/1/1096 Hawtree to S.M.A. April 1903; Captain Soden to S.M.A. 16 March 1904; N.A.G., Addn 11/1/1105 Col. Sec. to Y.E. 9 Feb. 1928. See also Chapter Six pp. 398-99, 421-22, 458-59.
people. From the turn of the century chieftaincy in Akyen Abuakwa came to be viewed increasingly in the light of an alien imposition and as a symbol of repression, authoritarianism and exploitation. As such it began to forfeit the respect of a majority of the people. The result was the desperate appeal of the Okyeman Council already referred to in Chapter Six. 159

The changing image of chieftaincy induced a gradual loss of confidence in stool occupants, which manifested itself mainly in the frequency of destoolment at the least provocation and upon any pretext. As against only six recorded cases of destoolment or attempted destoolment in the 19th century there were no fewer than thirteen recorded cases in the first twelve years of the 20th century, and thirty-nine between 1914 and 1918. 160 Indeed under Ofori Atta's regime destoolment was resorted to with an.

159. See Chapter Six p.424
160. The 19th century list is as follows: Kwaku Fening of Begoro (1873); Amoako Atta II(1892); Abontenhene Kofi Aberante (1898); Kwabena Atwere of Wamkyi(1898); Kwame Ben of Gyadam Biremso(April 1898); Yaw Tawia of Kade(1898). For 1900-1912 the list is: Amoako Atta II(1900); Kofi Aberante (1901); Begorohene Kwaku Asare(March 1904); Kwabena Atwere (1905); Nifahene Kwaku Agyei(1908); Gyamera(1908); Kofi Twum of Asafo(1908); Nifahene Kwame Okoampa(1910) Kwaku Oware of Kwaben(1910); Kwabena Antwi of Osino(1910); Takwahene Kwabena Amo(1911); Kwabena Moro of Kade(1911); Amoako Atta III(Nov. 1912).
161. Jarle Simenson, Commoners, Chiefs and Colonial Government p.164. According to Jarle's estimate there were 10 destoolments between 1904 and 1908; 22 between 1909 and 1913 and 39 between 1914 and 1918.
ever-increasing frequency as an expression of popular disenchantment with Chiefs.

The causes of destoolment ranged from excessive and arbitrary fines, abuses of powers under N.J.O. and N.A.O., misapplication of public funds and sheer irresponsibility. In May 1909 for instance the Elders of Begoro were fined £141.7.0 by the Okyenhene's tribunal for concealment of Ntakoko inspite of the fact that a State Council bye-law of March 1904 prescribed a penalty of £12.0.0 plus four sheep and two dogs for the offence. In another case, the Okyenhene's tribunal fined a subject £80.0.0. for remarking sarcastically that 'he swore the Omanhene's oath so that the Omanhene could get chop'. In both cases the fine exceeded the maximum of £25.0.0 authorised under the N.J.O. Misappropriation of stool funds by Chiefs as in the cases of Okoampa, Gyaema and Otupiri also offended their subjects as they became gradually politicised.

Such was the 'unprecedented frequency' of destoolment of Chiefs in Akyem Abunkwa and elsewhere in the Eastern Province between 1914 and 1918 that Ofori Atta led a team of Paramount

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164. See Native Jurisdiction Ordinance No. 5 of 1883 Section 11.
165. See Chapter Six pp. 433-34.
Chiefs of the Eastern Province to wait upon Governor Clifford in 1918 and impress upon him the 'urgent necessity' for amending the N.J.O. at his 'earliest convenience' to guarantee chiefs a greater measure of security of tenure. 166 Notwithstanding the protection provided by the N.A.O. (1927) the wave of destoolment did not abate. 167 In August-November 1932 a popular state-wide demonstration against Ofori Atta's regime resulted in the destoolment of all five wing chiefs as well as lesser chiefs known to be sympathetic to Ofori Atta. 168

The cause of this widespread destoolment action in 1932 was the attempt made by Government to introduce direct taxation in a package deal which included Income Tax and Native Revenue tax. The former was to apply to 'people living in the littoral Towns' while the latter was to apply to the rural population. 169 In December 1931 the S.N.A. addressed the 13th Session of the Eastern Provincial Council on the Government's policy on direct taxation in the Colony in an effort to win their support for the Income

167. See N.A.O. No.18 of 1927 Parts II & III; N.A.G., Adm 11/1/1030 Ofori Atta President of E.P.C. to C.W.P. 16 Nov. 1929; Also N.A.G., Adm 11/1/974 S.N.A. to Col. Sec. 4 Nov. 1927.
168. Among them were Apapahene, Tafohene, Oseomhene and all sub-chief of the Nifa Division. See Jarle Simenson Crisis in Akym Abuakwa pp. 90-91.
Before attending the 13th Session of the Eastern Provincial Council 1931, Ofori Attah discussed the Income tax measure with the Okyeman Council and it was clear that in the face of the great financial distress caused by the slump of 1929 and the resultant low commodity prices, the people were in no mood for direct taxation.

In the light of what appeared to be a virtually unanimous opposition to the Income Tax proposal, the Eastern Provincial Council passed the 'Income Tax Protest Resolution'. It however, favoured the Native Revenue Tax measure. The Income Tax Measure played into the hands of the anti-Ofori Atta groups in the state, namely the Migrant communities, the Asamankese secessionists and supporters of the National Congress of British West Africa. They launched a campaign of vilification against Ofori Atta as Chairman of the Eastern Provincial Council and spokesman of the Joint Conference of the Provincial Councils. The Native Revenue Measure was misrepresented as 'the income Tax in disguise' and rumours circulated that bye-laws were being contemplated by the Okyeman Council that would empower the Chiefs to spend a night with a new bride in their localities.


171. See pp. 471-72.


and harassed that he was forced to write to the Eastern Provincial Council on 6 October 1932 to announce his 'dissociation with any further activities connected with the Native Administration Revenue Proposal'.

The rumours raised anti-Ofori Atta and anti-Chief sentiment to fever pitch and within two months Adontenhene Kwadwo Kona Area, Nifahene Afun Boatema, Benkumhene Kwadwo Twum Antwi, Gyasehene Kwadwo Pippim and Osawuchene Kwabena Atwee II were all destroyed. Benkumhene Twum Antwi, for instance, was charged inter alia with associating himself with the Native Revenue Measure without prior consultation with the Omam and publicly denying knowledge of the measure in August 1932. At his trial the 70 year old Chief was refused permission to have an umbrella held over his head to keep off the heat of the sun. Three sets of false teeth paid for with public funds for his use were recovered and kept as stool property. Destoolment as an instrument of censure remained a recurrent feature of the Akrom Abukwa political scene well beyond 1943.


A bye-product of the crises of confidence in which Chief-
taincy found itself in Akyem Abuakwa as a result of arbitrariness
and close identification with alien interests was the growth of
separatist tendencies. Between 1901 and 1938 there were no fewer
than six secession attempts by towns and villages in the State.
Fankyeaneko attempted a breakaway from the State in 1904 and
Akyence in 1902-4 and again in 1922. Both alleged maltreatment
at the hands of the Okyenfono's administration. Kado and
Asuom also tried to break away in 1932 and indeed by the end of
that year, with the Identon and Gyaase Divisions in full rebellion
and only the Benkum Division wholly loyal to the paramountcy,
Akyem Abuakwa seemed to be on the verge of disintegration.

Of all the secession attempts the most serious was that
of Asamankese and its satellite village of Akwatia which lasted
from 1922-1938. The crisis promoted the establishment of a
firm linkage between rural discontent and anti-colonial protests
of the coastal towns. Asamankese became a stronghold of the
National Congress of British West Africa from its very inception.

In 1925 the fourth anniversary of the congress was enthusiastically

177. N.A.G., Adm 11/1774 Statement by Omanhin of East Akim 9
March 1904; N.A.G., Adm 11/1/371 Akyence Native Affairs;

178. N.A.G.K., 29/6/46 Proceedings of Supreme Court held at
Koforidua 20th Feb. 1933; Jarle Simonsen op.cit. p.98.

179. See Chapter Five pp.337-344.
the colonial and missionary experience also affected significant constitutional changes. In furtherance of his policy of centralizing control over stool lands in the hands of the occupant of the paramount stool, Ofori Atta used the bye-law making power of the Okyeman Council to pass a customary law in 1923 which made it an offence 'punishable by immediate destoolment' for a chief 'of any rank' to be convicted by the State Council of a sale of stool land 'without the knowledge and consent of his Stool Elders and Councillors and of the Paramount Chief in Council'.

Under this bye-law, several chiefs, including Apinamrnhene Kwabena Dane II, Barina Kwadwo Adu Bofo of Akenosu and Odikro Adwoa Afia of Aekwabooso were destooled in 1927 after conviction by the State Council. Although the Government was convinced that such destoolment action from above violated immemorial custom and the right of subjects, it nonetheless condoned it because Guggisberg approved of the spirit of the bye-law as being 'in accordance with the general tenets of British policy in native affairs'.

While the bye-law was certainly progressive, there is no doubt that it introduced a constitutional innovation which became a

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187. See Chapter Six p.403.
potential source of conflict between the State Council and the towns.

Missionary and colonial presence was also responsible for other equally important institutional changes. By 1943 certain traditional political offices had either suffered a diminution in status or atrophied, while new ones had been created in response to changing circumstances: stool Treasuries had become institutionalised; a modern bureaucracy had been evolved and was operating along side the traditional bureaucracy at the courts; while the orientation of the asafo organization had shifted from militarism to politics. The effects of these institutional changes were positive in some respects and negative in others.

The elevation of the Apesomakahene to the rank of Divisional chief, while undoubtedly giving the princes of the Ofori Stool a leading and often preponderant voice in the deliberations of the Kyebi Executive Council in particular and of the State Council in general, certainly fulfilled an important political need. The office and rank of Abontendonhene resolved unambiguously the question of precedence in the Kyebi Executive Council and made for some continuity in the functioning of the Okyenhene's tribunal in his absence from Kyebi.189 Second the elevation of the Abontendonhene to the rank of opakami with power to hold court relieved

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189. N.L.G., Add 11/1/667 lg. S.N.A. to D.C. Accra 19 May 1921; Deputy C.E.P. to S.N.A. 1 April 1926; Reply of Ofori Add. Deputy C.E.P. 4 Nov. 1926.
son of the pressure on the Okyenhene's tribunal in the 1920s and 1930s. 190

Changes in the customary penal laws also made administration of justice more humane. Indefinite detention was replaced by limited imprisonment which, from 1899 onwards, became punishment per se and not just a means of enforcing payment of fines and costs. The death penalty was also abolished. The introduction of the concept of territorial jurisdiction and abolition of extraterritorial jurisdiction of Chiefs, though it disturbed intercommunal harmony in the short-term, was beneficial in the long term as it had an integrative effect. Thanks to this concept the distinction between 'stranger' and 'native' was slowly and imperceptibly obliterated paving the way for the diverse ethnic elements to develop a sense of community and an Akan/African political consciousness of sorts in the 1940s.

The evolution and growth of a modern style bureaucracy at the courts equipped the local Administration to discharge the complicated and diverse functions of a modern government. It also led to the adoption of administrative routines which helped to impart an impersonal character to government. The N.J.O. and N.J.O. provided Ofori Atta with an excellent opportunity to declare and codify customary law in a way that it had never been done before.

190. See Chapter Six pp.459-460.
before. By availing himself of his bye-law making power under the those ordinances, Ofori Atta and the State Council reduced to writing customary laws in respect of land-tenure, succession, marriage, enstoolment, destoolment etc.

Stool Treasuries also laid a firm foundation for equitable and rational disbursement of public funds for social improvement and the maintenance of the dignity of chieftaincy. With the politicisation of the asafo, politics and decision making could not continue to be the prerogative of chiefs and elders. In spite of the drastic action taken by the Government against the Kwaben asafo and the Amantoomiensa in 1918 Ofori Atta and his chiefs realised that they could only continue to ignore the asafo at their own peril. Consequently the State Council decided to admit 'representatives of the Asafo, generally the Asafoatse them- selves' to membership of the Council of every chief in the State from 1919 onwards. This constitutional innovation intended as a concession to the asafo has remained a feature of the Abukwa constitution up till to-day. As already noted the Abukwa Scholars' Union was also given representation in 1933. The admission of representatives of the asafo and the Scholars' Union to

Membership of the State Council was a recognition of the need for a greater democratisation of traditional government and the involvement of the broad masses of the people in government in the future.

If the institutional changes had positive results they also had negative effects. The substitution of the Chiefs' inherent power with a derivative power, for instance, institutionalised the practice of Government recognition by Gazette notification as sine qua non for the exercise of effective chiefly power. The inevitable result of this innovation was the periodic interference by Government in matters of election and deposition of Chiefs, a practice which compromised the people's immemorial and unfeathered right to choose and remove their rulers. In effect it weakened popular control over chiefs and contributed to autocratic rule in the 20th century.

The atrophy of the key traditional political office of Abakonohene removed an in-built safeguard against succession crises and opened the way for unbridled rivalry and manoeuvring for office with its attendant disputes, expense, acrimony and violence. The Government's persistence in regarding occupancy of stools as the only principle or basis of legitimacy in local administration,

194. See Chapter Six pp.395-397.
against the expert advice of W.J.K. Jones and others,\footnote{196} throttled the asafo organization and arrested its natural evolution, especially the Anantoomiensa, into a popular organ of political control. The castration of the asafo and the lack of adequate supervision of the enormous and wide executive and legislative powers conferred on Chiefs by the N.J.O. and N.A.O. led to widespread abuse of power on the part of the Chiefs' tribunals.\footnote{197}

The abrogation of the Okyenhene's exclusive jurisdiction in disputes involving land held under customary tenure encouraged interminable and ruinous litigation. The concentration of judicial administration of a State with a population of 140,462 scattered in 330 towns and villages.\footnote{198} in the hands of the Okyenhene and his 13 Divisional Chiefs created bottlenecks and encouraged corruption. Indeed by denying the Adikrofo their immemorial right of exercising judicial power the N.A.O. reduced the status of an important traditional political group and also cut off a major source of their livelihood. Little wonder then that the Adikrofo in Akon Abuakwa became an aggrieved group in the late 1920s and the 1930s and a potential factor in rural unrest.

\footnote{196. See Jarle Simensen \textit{op. cit.} pp.297-302.}
\footnote{197. See Chapter Six pp.418-422; Jarle Simenson \textit{op. cit.} p.299.}
\footnote{198. See Chapter Five p.347; Also p. 463 above.}
In 1929 Ofori Atta tried to anticipate the problem by appealing to the Government to amend the N.A.O. to enable nine of his principal Adikrofo - Apapan, Apodwa, Wirenkyiren, Oseen, Osino, Anyinan, Kado, Asafo and Asuboe - to exercise jurisdiction in petty civil matters arising in their towns wherein judgement including fines, fines, and costs shall not exceed Ten Pounds. 199

He considered the amendment to be necessary if Akyem Abuakwa was not to run the risk of 'jeopardising the constitution of the State and of disturbing, (sic) by denying them their due place in the administration'. 200 In 1936 the Government amended the N.A.O. by including seven Abuakwa Adikrofo in the Schedule of the Ordinance. 201

That the missionary and colonial experience had a profound and lasting impact on Akyem Abuakwa cannot be doubted. Christianity and European ethnocentricism undermined the spiritual foundations of Abuakwa society and disorientated her people culturally. Many of them, especially Christians and the educated, adopted European norms and values as the hallmarks of social distinction, progress and civilization. Regrettable though this


development was, it was accompanied by other changes that were of value to Akyen Abukwa society, namely, the growth of a sense of egalitarianism, the restoration of human dignity and personal freedom to those who once languished in bondage, the spread of literacy and the popularisation of scientific medicine.

In the political field also the negative effects of missionary activity and colonialism were evident in the truncated territory of Akyen Abukwa, in the legacy of inter-communal suspicion and mistrust, in the political instability that threatened the unity of the State and in the disrepute into which Chieftaincy was brought. On the other hand one could point to the modernisation of Local Government through the institutionalisation of Stool Treasuries, the evolution of a new bureaucracy, the adoption of administrative routines, the administration of humane punishment and the broadening of the base of government through representation of identifiable commoner organisations on Chiefs' Councils as positive, desirable and progressive trends.

Economically, however, the Missionary and colonial experience was a disaster. Admittedly missionary activity and colonial rule diversified agriculture, facilitated movement of persons and goods, and provided greater opportunities for wage employment. But these in no way compensated for the undisguised exploitation of Akyen Abukwa's manpower and natural resources mainly for the benefit of European expatriate companies and the colonial
Government. Low and unfair prices for Abuakwa's produce, low rents for her lands under mining concessions, the wilful tying of vast acreages of otherwise fertile agricultural lands under unworked concessions by concessionaires to the disadvantage of ignorant landlords, the exaction of compulsory and virtually unpaid labour for public works, the stifling of indigenous crafts and industries and the encouragement of the expenditure of the people's meagre incomes on imported liquor and luxury consumer items like sardines, butter, cheese, milk, soap, perfumes, combs, cigarettes, textiles etc. would support a charge of exploitation against colonialism.

Indeed any claim of economic development in Akyen Abuakwa, or of enjoyment of economic prosperity by her people under colonial rule, would be more apparent than real. On balance then Akyen Abuakwa was the worse for the missionary and colonial presence.
APPENDIX

THE OFORI (PARAMOUNT) STOOL:
A REVISED DYNASTIC LIST (C.1629-1943)

1. Aninkwawia  ((?) 1620a - 1690a)
2. ?  ((?) 1690b - 1704)
3. Ofori Panin  (1704 - 1727)
4. Baa Kwante  (1727 - 1742)
5. Pobi Asomanin  (1742 - 1765)
6. Obirikoran  (1765 - 1783)
7. Twum Ampofo  (1783 - 1798)
8. Osaforo Apraku  (1798 - 1807)
9. Atta Wusu Yiakosan  (1807 - Sept. 1811)
10. Asare Bediako  (1811)
11. Kofi Asante  (1811 - 1816)
13. Atta Panin  (1835 - March 1859)
14. Atta Obuom  (May 1859 - May 1867)
15. Amoako Atta I  (July 1867 - Feb. 1877)
16. Amoako Atta II  (Nov. 1887 - Feb. 1910)
17. Amoako Atta III  (April 1911 - Nov. 1912)
18. Ofori Atta I  (Nov. 1912 - Aug. 1943)
Fig. 1 AKYEM ABUAKWA - PHYSICAL FEATURES AND BOUNDARIES

KEY
- Road
- Railway
- Boundary of Akyem Abuakwa
- Mountain

Scale:
MLS: 5°00' 0°30' 0°00'
KMS: 10 10 20 30
Fig. 2 POLITICAL DIVISIONS AND AMANTOOMIENSA TOWNS

KEY

- WANKYI (OSEAWUO) Wing Capitals
- Pano Amantoomiensa Towns
- Roads
- Railways

MLS 5 10 M.L.S.
KMS 5 0 5 10 15 20 K.M.S.
Fig. 3  ABUAKWA ISLANDS (IN RELATION TO KOTOKU STATE)
Fig. 4 BOUNDARIES OF NEW JUABEN

KEY

- Road
- Railway
- Boundary of New Juaben

[Map showing boundaries, roads, and names of places such as Kukurantumi, Suhyen, and Koforidua.]
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