The opinions expressed by both the Youth Conference and the Achimota Discussion Group pointed to the need for greater economic and social progress, but a progress based on research and scientific knowledge rather than on spasmodic and un-co-ordinated development. Of these matters something will be said in a later chapter. They also stressed, though from somewhat different viewpoints, the necessity for political growth and increased self-government. Some of the younger and more radical of the Africans made use of every chance to demand immediate and complete autonomy.[38] But the older men, especially the chiefs, though they wanted an African majority on the legislative council and other reforms, appeared more willing to wait for a gradual evolution toward independence. Most of the Africans were loyal to the British connection, wishing to remain within the Empire if they could achieve, in the not too distant future, the status of a dominion. As Casely Hayford once remarked,

. . . . every son and daughter of the whole territory is well and rightly persuaded that our destiny is linked with Great Britain, and that under her tutelage, we shall succeed in achieving the best of every phase of life. Our quarrels and bickerings are domestic affairs . . . . on the larger issues we are agreed, and no one can shake the African's firm belief in the virtues that have made England the model state for the world.[39]

In reviewing the events of the 1919–1939 period, they seem to

in West Africa, noticed this same friendly spirit. "In no other territory visited was cooperation between the government and missions so close, nor did we anywhere else meet Africans with a greater sense of public service or find such free and natural professional and social contacts between Africans and Europeans." Jackson Davis, *Africa Advancing: A Study of Rural Education and Agriculture in West Africa and the Belgian Congo* (New York, 1945), p. 66.

This movement for discussion groups is particularly valuable since the Gold Coast has not a first-class press. Some of the newspapers are immoderate in tone and the Africans themselves recognize the need for better journalism. Lugard considered that such publications were a serious danger to racial peace. Lugard, *Dual Mandate*, p. 80.

[38] For example see N. Azikiwe, *Renascent Africa* (Lagos, 1937). Azikiwe was editor of the *African Morning Post*, a Gold Coast newspaper, during the mid-1930's. He was eventually fined and imprisoned for seditious writings. Later he was acquitted by the West African Court of Appeal and went to Nigeria where he has started a nationalist movement known as Zikism. His writings, which are a plea to the youth of Africa to assert itself and demand complete autonomy, are very popular among many of the younger generation. See also A. A. Nwafor Orizu, *Without Bitterness* (New York, 1944), p. 293.

[39] J. W. de Graft Johnson, *Towards Nationhood in West Africa* (London, 1928), p. 79.

fall into two divisions. There was a time of rapid growth from 1919 to 1929 when trade and revenue increased by leaps and bounds and when an equally surprising expansion of communications, public utilities, and social services was therefore possible. At the same time, the government permitted additional African representation on the legislative council and endeavored, by the 1927 Native Administration Ordinance, to strengthen the authority of the traditional chiefs.

The Depression years followed this prosperous period when the drop in revenue, the resultant suffering, the administrative attempt to introduce an income tax and to curtail civil rights by a new sedition policy, all combined to cause unrest in the Gold Coast. With the governorship of Sir Arnold Hodson in 1935, the authorities appeared to take a more sympathetic attitude. The next four years saw some improvement in local government. Certain states inaugurated stool treasuries; the joint provincial council made unified political action possible; and chiefs' leadership in the cocoa holdup strengthened their position. By 1939 the Colony was ready to take advantage of the stimulation to general development which the exigencies of war were to bring to all of West Africa. Before the 1939–1946 years are considered, however, it would be wise to give some attention to the other divisions of the Dependency and to the economic and social progress of the previous period. Only after this survey has been made can the reader appreciate the problems of the Dependency as a whole.

CHAPTER VI

ASHANTI

While the years 1919–1939 saw great development in the Gold Coast Colony itself, the other sections of the Dependency, namely Ashanti, the Northern Territories, and Togoland, were also making good progress. After the powerful Ashanti Confederacy was conquered in the late nineteenth century by the British, the federation was dissolved and its king was deported to the Seychelles. In 1901 the English annexed the territory and entrusted its control to the governor of the Gold Coast. The Order in Council which implemented this change[1] gave the governor authority to provide by ordinance for the administration of justice, the collection of revenue, and for all that was necessary to maintain peace and good government. He was to exercise his authority through a chief commissioner who in turn would be aided by district commissioners and other officers. There was, therefore, no need for either a legislative or an executive council in Ashanti.

In the days of the old confederacy, the various chiefs had owed allegiance to the paramount of the Kumasi, since it was his predecessor, Osei Tutu, who in the eighteenth century had first organized the Ashanti groups on a federal basis.[2] Since that time, this king had been recognized as head chief in his own state but as Asantehene with reference to the entire country. When in 1896 the British deported King Prempeh, the federal form of government was dissolved and the various units remained isolated, each under the rule of its own chief. But the state of Kumasi had lost its paramount, so that native administration was thrown out of line and much disorder ensued. As a result the British decided in 1905 to replace him by a state council. The eighteen divisional chiefs who would have held this right under the former dynasty and who resented their loss of power, were invited to form a Kumasi Council under the chairman-

[1] *British and Foreign State Papers, 1903–1904*, XCVII, 988. Ordinance for the Administration of Ashanti, 1902, *Laws of the Gold Coast in Force 1936*, chap. 94 (hereafter cited as *Laws, 1936*).

[2] Robert Rattray, *Ashanti Law and Constitution* (Oxford, 1929), p. 76.

ship of the chief commissioner.[3] Their authority, however, was limited to their own state in contrast to the federal powers they had held before 1896. Gradually the bitterness of the chiefs and people against the conquering power began to disappear, through the willingness of the various commissioners to adapt policy to local needs. Governor Sir Gordon Guggisberg attributed the progress of the Colony to its economic prosperity, to the wisdom of its commissioners, and to the elasticity and common sense of British rule which seemed instinctively to adapt itself to the successive phases in the evolution of the race.[4]

The economic prosperity of which he spoke resulted in great part from the cocoa farms. Shortly after the annexation of Ashanti, this form of agriculture was introduced, especially into the western half where large areas were suitable for it. Rubber and kola also did well in these same districts. As soon as the *Pax Britannica* had assured steady commercial conditions, European and Hausa traders moved into Kumasi which remained the capital of the Colony. In 1903 the railroad connecting it with Sekondi on the coast was completed. Eventually good roads were also built and in 1923 a second railroad was opened, running from Kumasi to Accra. Little by little the capital itself gradually changed from an entirely African town to a well-laid-out European city which in 1938 had a population of over 44,000.

Yet such development came gradually and, during the years 1901–1920, progress must often have seemed slow to the British officials. There were not sufficient funds to provide for all the schools, roads, hospitals, and other social services necessary to transform the forest area into a modern colony. Although Kumasi improved, the rate of development was not evenly distributed throughout the territory and today many sections still remain primitive. The inhabitants in Ashanti were not any more ready to accept direct taxation than those in the Gold Coast, and even the chiefs' levies were most irregular and only grudgingly accepted by the people. It was still the policy of the British Empire to expect each colony to pay for its own improvements, as the idea of a Colonial Development Fund was not to come

[3] Sir Francis Fuller, *A Vanished Dynasty* (London, 1921), p. 216. Fuller was chief commissioner in Ashanti from 1902 to 1920 and did much by his sympathy and common sense to help its people adjust themselves to British rule. His book gives an excellent account of these early years. See also the Ashanti Annual Reports.

[4] *Events, 1920–1926*, p. 234.

for many a year. Ashanti, therefore, had to get along as best it could on local fees and on its share of the import and export taxes of the Dependency.

If there had been more revenue, much of it would probably have been spent on education, for the Ashantis were anxious for an increased number of government schools. In 1925 there were five such institutions, besides twenty-eight assisted schools and some one hundred fifty-eight in the nonassisted class.[5] Nongovernment institutions were conducted either by missionaries or by Africans.

The first Christian church was built in Kumasi as early as 1841 by a Methodist missionary, but the numerous wars of the nineteenth century naturally prevented almost all missionary activity. Even in the twentieth century progress was slow. Many of the early converts gave up their allegiance to the chiefs and to native customs, which aroused such antagonism that the schools of the missionaries were not well supported. But the Ashanti were eager for education and for the advantages enjoyed by the inhabitants of the coastal areas, so they clamored for government schools. Eventually the missionaries succeeded in getting converts to remain loyal to their tribes. Christianity then spread more rapidly and by 1925 there were nearly thirty denominational schools. The Methodists opened a training college in 1923 at Kumasi, where they spent some £25,000 on its fireproof building and extensive grounds.

During the world war of 1914–1918, though practically all troops were withdrawn from Ashanti for the Togoland campaigns, the Africans remained thoroughly loyal and contributed generously to Great Britain's war expenses. After the war Ashanti felt, in a limited way, the wave of restlessness and desire for increased freedom which swept over much of colonial Africa. It was particularly evident in a growing rift between the older and younger members of most of the tribes. The young men resented the authority of illiterate chiefs and the levies required to pay for the heavy debts which encumbered many of the Ashanti stools. It was clear that the very existence of African institutions was threatened unless a strong counterbalance could be introduced. As in the Gold Coast Colony, the British officials determined to improve the position of the chiefs by more efficient forms of local government. A new native jurisdiction ordinance would have to be prepared, but it would be necessary

[5] *Ashanti Annual Report, 1925.* In 1925 only 7,209 children out of a total population of 486,000 were in school.

first to have a thorough knowledge of Ashanti law and customs if the best of the past was to be preserved.

In 1921 an anthropology department was inaugurated by the Gold Coast government under the direction of Captain Robert Rattray, an anthropologist and former commissioner, who had had much experience in Ashanti. It was part of a more general movement, as we have seen, to implement the policy of indirect rule in British Africa. Rattray believed that the people of Ashanti had come to the parting of the ways where there was a choice either of giving up African institutions in favor of European ones or of trying to preserve what was best in their own culture that it might be adapted to modern conditions.[6] He preferred the latter course and found that the greater majority of the inhabitants shared his views. During the years 1920–1927 he spent much of his time traveling among the various Ashanti tribes, where he won the confidence of the old men and women who were still steeped in the ancient beliefs and practices of their people. He was thus able to make a complete study of their religion, constitution, law, and folklore.[7] Such material would be helpful to the British officials, to missionaries, and to the Africans themselves.

It was found that the old Ashanti Confederacy, though autocratic in appearance, was "in correct practice democratic to a degree,"[8] since the chief was dependent on his council, which in turn represented the various divisions of the state. The federation, moreover, had been of great value in that it welded the Ashantis into one nation, restricted the powers and ambitions of great chiefs, and satisfied the West African's love of a titular head.

Because of this early tradition of united action, it would probably be easier to make a success of indirect rule among the Ashantis than in the Gold Coast. Besides being among the most gifted tribes of West Africa, they had not been misled, as was so often the case on the Gold Coast, by the bad example of slave-trading or unprincipled Europeans. They were therefore simpler and more docile.

[6] *Report on the Anthropological Department, 1926–1927,* p. 6. See Agnes Donohugh, "Essentials of African Culture," *Africa,* VIII (July 1935), 329–38, for a good discussion of this problem.

[7] The results of Rattray's research can be found in the reports of the anthropological department, and in fuller form in his four books: *Ashanti* (Oxford, 1923); *Religion and Art in Ashanti* (Oxford, 1927); *Ashanti Law and Constitution* (Oxford, 1929); *Tribes of the Ashanti Hinterland* (Oxford, 1932).

[8] Rattray, *Ashanti Law and Constitution,* p. 82.

In 1921 an interesting event occurred which showed that most of the Ashantis were still very loyal to their traditions. It will be remembered that the golden stool was their symbol of nationhood; it contained the "sunsum" or soul of the people. Since the fatal British attempt to gain possession of this stool in 1901, the people had kept it carefully hidden. Twenty years later a group of African road builders accidentally came across its hiding place, whereupon several Ashantis, having robbed the stool of its ornaments, sold them for the gold they contained. News of the sacrilege soon crept out and the whole nation was aroused. As a result of Captain Rattray's studies, the British officials understood the gravity of the situation and took a wise course of action. The culprits were arrested and the Kumasi Council of Chiefs allowed to try them in their own local fashion. So serious did they consider the crime that the death penalty was imposed. The British, fearing an internal revolt, later commuted the sentence to perpetual banishment. As for the stool itself, the chief commissioner explained to the natives that the government held no claim to it and that it remained the property of the nation. This action helped to atone for the earlier attempt of a British governor to seize the stool, and it deepened the loyalty of the people.[9]

Shortly afterward the Queen Mother of Mampong, one of the Ashanti states, sent a replica of her own silver stool to Princess Mary of England on the occasion of her wedding.

It may be that the King's child [Princess Mary] has heard of the Golden Stool of Ashanti. That is the Stool which contains the soul of the Ashanti nation. All we women of Ashanti thank the governor exceedingly because he has declared to us that the English will never again ask us to hand over that Stool. This stool we give gladly. It does not contain our soul, as our Golden Stool does, but it contains all the love of us Queen Mothers and of our women. The spirit of this love we have bound to the stool with silver fetters, just as we are accustomed to bind our own spirits to the base of our stools.[10]

If the relations between the government officials and the chiefs were improving, this was not the case with reference to the African rulers and the "young men."[11] The ever increasing need for a law which would strengthen the position of the chiefs was finally met in

[9] *Ashanti Annual Report, 1921*, pp. 21–29.

[10] *Report on the Anthropological Department, 1922*, p. 12.

[11] The term "young men" is used by the chiefs to refer to the ordinary citizens as distinct from the chiefs and elders.

1924 by the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance of that year. This bill set down definite regulations for the legal election and destoolment of chiefs, making them subject to the confirmation of the chief commissioner. It made more definite provision for local courts and included a schedule of a select number of chiefs and subchiefs to whom jurisdiction was granted. The ordinance appears to have been well received, and some of the rulers not included in the schedule began to demand this privilege. The report of the following year states that there was steady improvement in its application, but that it was difficult for the tribunals to function properly without trained registrars who were evidently very scarce in Ashanti. Of 1,667 cases disposed of by native courts that year, only seventy-five were appealed to the district commissioners. Eventually the commissioners were able to train the African clerks in the intricacies of legal procedure, and affairs then went more smoothly, especially as no lawyers were allowed in the tribunals of Ashanti.[12]

Two years later Ordinance 10 of 1927 provided for native treasuries. These were not compulsory but the commissioners encouraged them in districts which were the least unfavorable to sound finance. By 1929 only thirteen areas had taken advantage of the law. One report states that it was difficult for the Africans to see any connection between revenue received and expenditure made. In the next decade, however, the Ashantis began to realize that the publication of stool accounts prevented much corruption. The chiefs were required to open bank accounts whenever possible, and no withdrawals of funds nor contraction of stool debts was allowed without the signature of the district commissioner.

Another step forward came in connection with the city of Kumasi. Since it was the commercial as well as political center of Ashanti, it had been growing rapidly since 1901. The entire area within the city limits was a Crown estate, where the land was rented to the inhabitants. Little was done in the early years to control municipal growth by carefully prepared plans. In 1924, however, a serious plague broke out in the Zongo area, which was the quarters of the Hausa traders. This disaster appears to have hastened the modernization of the city. The next year a public health board was inaugurated with both European and African members, appointed by the

[12] Ordinances 1 and 2 of 1933 eventually allowed lawyers in native courts, but only for certain types of cases. For the annoyance of the Gold Coast lawyers at this restriction see Legislative Council, *Debates*, 1933, p. 84.

chief commissioner, or nominated by the chiefs and chamber of commerce. It was made responsible, under the control of the chief commissioner, for the sanitation and development of the city. Its main source of revenue was the land rents which the government turned over to it for some years, as a grant-in-aid. There were also various fees for licenses and markets, and after 1928 the board levied house rates. An excellent town-planning scheme was prepared, and before the Depression in 1930 almost £1,000,000 had been spent on the commercial section by the government public works department, the public health board, and by private owners.[13] In 1942 the British restored the Crown lands of Kumasi to the Asantehene, but in such a way as to preserve the rights already granted to other parties. During the war period also, further plans were made for the modernization of Kumasi, which is developing into one of the most attractive cities in West Africa.

Interest in better building spread to the villages and what is known as the Ashanti-type compound was advocated by the government engineers. This is a concrete house built around a plot 60 by 80 feet with a courtyard in the center. Some chiefs co-operated with the authorities by following layout agreements for the correct development of their towns. While the Depression held up much progress, the late 1930's saw a renewal of building activity. Many of the poorer areas still remain, however, with inadequate water supplies and sanitation, and with the most primitive wattle and daub huts. As in the Gold Coast Colony, the advantages of social services have not been evenly distributed.

Among the members of the first Kumasi public health board was the former Asantehene, Prempeh I. He had been exiled in 1896, as we have seen, and the confederacy had been broken up. He was but a youth at the time and had lived ever since with members of his family in the Seychelles Islands, where he had become a Christian and had received some education. In the early 1920's he wrote some of his Ashanti relations that he would like to return, if not as king, at least as a private citizen. The British authorities, impressed by the loyalty and self-control which the Ashanti people had shown during the golden stool incident, decided in 1924 to allow Prempeh to return to Kumasi.[14] The chiefs and the government co-operated in supplying a maintenance fund. A suitable home and 150-acre

[13] *Ibid.*, 1930, p. 90. Of this sum £320,604 was spent by people of Ashanti.
[14] *Ashanti Annual Report, 1924*, p. 29; *Events, 1920–1926*, p. 234 ff.

plantation were prepared for him, and he was given a place in the municipal government. He remained a private citizen until 1926 when he was again installed as head chief of Kumasi but not as Asantehene. This involved the abolition of the Kumasi Council of Chiefs which had faithfully replaced him since 1905. Prempeh's former subjects were deeply grateful for his return and came in great crowds to welcome him back to Ashanti. When he died in 1932 he was succeeded by his nephew under the title of Nana Osei Tutu Agyeman Prempeh II. About this time investigations by the British authorities revealed that the great majority of the people wanted the restoration of the old confederacy. On January 1, 1935, the Ashanti kingdom was officially recognized, with Prempeh II assuming the ancient title of Otumfuo Asantehene.[15] The great durbar held at Kumasi in honor of the event was a most colorful affair, revealing the beauty and dignity of the pageantry of the Ashanti people. Governor Hodson said later that the perfect order and discipline among the 50,000 African participants was "a proof of national unity and concord."[16]

The Asantehene was to be assisted in government by a confederacy council, made up of the paramounts from each division of the country and of the chiefs of the seven Kumasi clans.

In the same year two new ordinances, not directly connected with the restoration of the confederacy, came into effect. Ordinance 1, the Native Authority Ordinance, marked a further advance in introducing into Ashanti the type of indirect rule which had proved successful in both Nigeria and Tanganyika. It gave the governor power

> . . . . to declare there shall be a native authority for any specified area and to appoint as such native authority any chief, or other native or any native council or group of native councils. The Ordinance imposes on such native authorities the obligations generally of maintaining order and good government.[17]

It will be noticed that the governor may choose to appoint a group of native councils as the native authority in any area. This makes it possible for him to combine the various chiefs of a number of small divisions into one unit of government and thus secure the economy and increased efficiency that comes of co-ordinated social services. If such a combination be made, however, the chiefs con-

[15] *G.C. An. Report, 1934–1935*, p. 76.
[16] Legislative Council, *Debates*, 1935, p. 3.
[17] *G.C. An. Report, 1934–1935*, p. 76.

cerned do not thereby lose their individual authority in local matters.

The Ashanti Confederacy Council was named as the supreme native authority for the nation. A second bill, the Native Courts Ordinance, sets up four grades of tribunals. These courts differ in jurisdiction, according to the importance of the chief concerned. The district commissioners exercise supervision over them and can remove cases to their own courts.

The Asantehene presides over a tribunal of first instance for the Kumasi division, and over a court of appeal for the entire confederacy. This latter consists of the head chiefs of the divisions and clans and has: (*a*) power to hear appeals in land cases from head chiefs' courts; (*b*) original jurisdiction in land cases between chiefs of different divisions. Appeals from head chiefs' courts, in other matters, go to the government magistrates' courts.

The new ordinances and the changes brought about by the restoration of the confederacy developed on the lines envisaged, with surprisingly little disturbance in the lives of the ordinary people. Under the guidance of the Asantehene, the policy of consolidation was carried forward so that Ashanti began once again to assume something of its old importance as a complete unit. This was particularly evident in 1937, during the cocoa holdup, when the Ashanti people were as solidly united as those of the Gold Coast.

While stool treasuries became more efficient under the new regime, material progress was delayed by the lack of regular taxation. It was not until 1942 that the Ashanti Confederacy adopted a small annual levy for the entire area. One-third of the sum collected goes to the central confederacy and two-thirds to the divisional native authorities for development purposes. In 1944 total revenue was over £100,000 and the Ashanti institutions were rapidly adapting themselves to modern conditions.

Throughout this period the municipal members of the Gold Coast legislative council occasionally asked that Ashanti might be represented on that body.[18] The Colony African press also suggested the union of the two sections. On the occasion of the restoration of King Prempeh one paper said:

> The Ashanti and the people of the Gold Coast are cousins . . . . they are destined in the order of Providence to become welded together in one national unity and entity.

[18] Legislative Council, *Debates*, 1929, pp. 156, 170; *ibid.*, 1935, pp. 121, 142.

It ought to be a proud thing for Great Britain to help to rear a nation in the Gold Coast and Ashanti which will form the nucleus of the yet greater nation to be, namely, that of British West Africa, with a Parliament of its own, in the way of self-government at some distant date leading up to Dominion Status.[19]

Some of the ancient jealousy between the two divisions still remained, however, and political union did not come until the inauguration of the 1946 constitution.

Looking back over this period, many of the advances made by the Ashantis appear remarkable. They had shifted from the warfare or slave trading of the nineteenth century to the cocoa farming of the twentieth. Their confederacy was restored and the rule of their chiefs strengthened, but on a new basis that allowed for adaptations consonant with Christianity and modern progress. As in the Gold Coast Colony, very much remained to be done, especially in the line of a more even distribution of social services and a fuller co-operation between the older and younger members of the community.[20] The Ashantis, however, with their more widespread respect for the culture of the past and with their tradition of national unity may perhaps solve these problems more rapidly than will their neighbors to the south.

[19] *Gold Coast Leader*, November 27, 1926, p. 6, quoted in Buell, *The Native Problem in Africa*, I, 843.

[20] Excellent discussions of these problems by both Gold Coast and Ashanti leaders can be found in the published record of the Discussion Conference held in May 1945, at Kumasi. Both the British Chief Commissioner and the Asantehene gave their unofficial support by attending the closing meeting. The editor, an African professor from Achimota, remarks in the foreword that while there were points of difference on controversial subjects, "the general impression was that the people in the Colony and Ashanti are both thinking along the same lines as regards the main problems of National Development." M. A. Ribeiro, ed., *Towards National Development: Post-War Gold Coast* (Achimota, 1945), p. vii.

CHAPTER VII

THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES AND TOGOLAND

THE PROTECTORATE OF THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES AND NORTH TOGOLAND

The Gold Coast Dependency includes the three great divisions of the coastal Colony, Ashanti, the Protectorate of the Northern Territories, and—for administrative purposes—a fourth area, the mandate of British Togoland, which became a trusteeship in December 1946. Since the history of the Gold Coast Colony and of Ashanti has been considered, this chapter will be concerned with the last two divisions. Because the northern part of Togoland contains sections of tribes who also live in the Protectorate, the League of Nations mandate in 1922 gave the Gold Coast government the right to administer them as a unit. This arrangement satisfied the inhabitants, who had been discontented since the Anglo-German treaty of 1890 had broken up their tribal life. On account of these tribal connections, it has seemed wise to deal with the history and development of the Northern Territories and of north Togoland as a unit.[1] The story of south Togoland will be considered in the second part of this chapter.

The savanna areas in the hinterland of the Gold Coast and of Togoland are occupied by Negroid peoples speaking, for the most part, languages of either the Gur or Gonja groups. In 1931 the population of the Northern Territories was 717,275 and of the mandate, 293,671. Though no recent census has been taken, it was roughly estimated that the 1946 population of the two areas was over 1,000,000 and 400,000 respectively. The inhabitants depend on agriculture or cattle raising for a living. Even today they are in a primitive condition in comparison to the tribes of the Colony and of Ashanti.

[1] The account given in this section has been taken largely from *Northern Territories Annual Report; Gold Coast Annual Report; Report of the British Mandated Sphere of Togoland;* A. W. Cardinall, *The Natives of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast, Their Customs, Religion and Folklore* (London, n.d.). The film, *A Mamprussi Village,* which was taken in the Northern Territories gives an excellent picture of the life of these very interesting tribes. British Information Services circulate this film.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century much of the area between the Guinea coast and the Sudan was being explored by French, British, and German nationals. International rivalry soon developed, and these agents endeavored to secure territory by getting the various chiefs to sign treaties of protection. Into Togoland and into the hinterland of Ashanti during these years, the British government sent representatives to make maps and to secure treaties from the local rulers. Later, military expeditions went north to quell the disturbances which slave raiders from the surrounding areas were causing. In 1897 the British definitely occupied this section, and in 1901 they annexed it as the Protectorate of the Northern Territories.[2] Meanwhile, boundary treaties had been made on the east with the Germans, who had by this time annexed Togoland, and on the north and west with the French.

For a time the Protectorate was administered in a semimilitary fashion by a chief commissioner and the officers of the second battalion of the Gold Coast regiment, who had both civil and military duties. This measure was necessary because of the unsettled condition of the country, but the disorder caused by foreign slave raiders and by several turbulent tribes of the northwestern section gradually subsided, so that in 1907 it was possible to replace the troops by a constabulary and to put the administration on a purely civil basis.

It became evident, once the British had established order, that the majority of the inhabitants were peaceful, industrious, and law-abiding. They are still primarily an agricultural people, though in some areas cattle raising is possible. They live by family groups in large compounds, which consist of a series of round huts connected by a wall and surrounding a central courtyard where the cattle are kept. There are also shelters for sheep, goats, fowl, and the grain supply. The older children in the family have their own huts, and a wealthy man has one for each of his wives. These buildings are connected with passages as in a maze, but with low walls to separate them. Made of mud, they are waterproofed with a glaze prepared from a mixture of locust bean pods and cow dung, and often painted in bright colors and designs. The average compound houses ten to twenty persons, though before the *Pax Britannica* some were built for over a hundred occupants, who thus sought the protection of numbers. A single narrow entrance with a stout gate is another remnant of less peaceful times.

[2] *British and Foreign State Papers, 1905–1906,* XCIX, 495.

The compounds are not usually grouped in compact villages but are surrounded by the farm lands of the family. Such land is obtained from the *tendana,* or priest of the earth, in return for an annual tithe, which is generally a basket of grain. These baskets are exchanged in turn for a sheep which is sacrificed to the deity. The title to land is permanent and remains within the family, so that while it may be leased, it is never sold. Land tenure is, accordingly, so much more secure in the Northern Territories than in Ashanti and the Gold Coast that litigation is very rare. Since both the chief and the poor man originally got their land from the *tendana,* the ruler would never dare incur the earth god's anger by seizing the property of his subjects.

In the north and northeastern sections of the Protectorate, the population is very dense, and farms average from only four and one-half to five and one-half acres for a compound, housing ten to fifteen people. Seventy-five percent of the crop is millet and guinea corn. As the dry season lasts for almost half the year, there can be no cultivation at this time, and the farmers must live on stored grain. Thus land is precious and only small sections can be allowed to lie fallow each year.

Large areas of the Protectorate, especially the Gonja state, are infested with tsetse fly, so that danger of trypanosomiasis makes them unsuited for cattle. The soil, moreover, is usually poor and rainfall insufficient, with a resultant low population density. Much of Dagomba, Mamprussi, and Lawra-Tuma, on the other hand, are good cattle and agricultural areas. Scant rainfall is a serious drawback, but geological surveys in recent years have revealed large underground supplies of water. If the revenue is obtainable, wells and pipe lines will change the whole aspect of the Northern Territories.

When the British established the Protectorate, they soon realized that the only hope of economic development lay in the improvement of agriculture and cattle raising. The latter industry would be particularly valuable since the southern areas had to depend almost entirely upon imports for their meat supply. There was also the possibility of mining, if the mineral deposits were to prove sufficiently rich to warrant exploitation.

Agricultural experiment stations, which were soon set up, attempted to improve indigenous methods of farming and to test the possibilities of cotton culture. The extensive development of the latter product was finally given up, for though it grew fairly well in

both the Protectorate and in Togoland, it could not be produced cheaply enough for export.

As for food crops, the government believed that the Northern Territories could eventually supply the southern colonies, where interest in cocoa led the farmers to neglect subsistence agriculture. Besides peanuts, cassava, legumes, and yams, this area could also produce the shea nut which is rich in a fat known as shea butter, or commercially as "karite." Proper care of these trees would ensure an increased supply of nuts which always found a ready market in the south. The essential foundation for trade, however, was a sufficient transport system.[3] In 1901 the territory had practically nothing but bush trails. Road building, therefore, became one of the earliest activities of the British administration. By 1920, motor trucks began to run between Kumasi and Tamale, the capital of the Protectorate, and eventually throughout the entire area. For a time there was a question of continuing the Kumasi railroad farther north, but it was finally decided that motor transport was less expensive and more practical.

When the British first took over the Northern Territories, they found that what trade did exist was almost entirely in the hands of the foreign Hausa. The native was primarily a farmer and not interested in commerce. Cattle, from nearby French territory and from the Protectorate itself, were driven south and sold in the markets of Kumasi and the Gold Coast. On the return trip the traders brought kola nuts from the Ashanti forests to be sold in the Mohammedan areas to the north, or manufactured articles which, little by little, began to attract the primitive peoples of the Protectorate. Desire for European goods, however, grew very slowly among these simple agriculturalists who have had little contact with the white man, and who have clung more tenaciously than the inhabitants in the south to their ancient customs and superstitions. For the same reason they were not easily persuaded to migrate as seasonal laborers to the mines and cocoa plantations in the Colony and Ashanti. Each year an ever increasing number of unskilled workers came from the surrounding French possessions, and passed through the Protectorate on their way south. As a result, the entire group was sometimes classified as Northern Territories laborers, but of the total only a fairly small percentage actually used to come from that area. It was

[3] In 1901 it cost £2½ a 60-pound load to transport goods from the Gold Coast to the Northern Territories.

only in the 1930's that almost as many British as French subjects began to take advantage of the higher wage rates of the south.

The contrast between the Africans of the north and those of Ashanti is quite marked. The highly organized tribal government of the latter group, combined with their intellectual capacity, put them in a position to profit by the commercial advantages which came with British rule. The northerners, on the contrary, lived in small, un-co-ordinated groups; and their country was poor. As a result they took no interest in commercial possibilities, left all trade to the foreign Hausa, and preferred to maintain their primitive habits. Those who actually did try a season or two in the south often refused to return because they felt little need for money. They disliked the unaccustomed food and underground mine work. They were sometimes unfairly treated and, when they got home, there was always the danger that their farms, women, and cattle would be gone. The tribal elders and the missionaries, moreover, disapproved of the ways of life with which the young men came in contact during their stay in the "more civilized" south.

Before the motor roads were built, the Hausa traders followed the old slave-trading caravan trails which united the Gold Coast with the vast Sudanese plains to the north. Along them each year passed thousands of cattle, sheep, and donkeys, or African porters with their head loads of yams and shea nuts for the coast, or with salt and kola for the north. In the early days caravan tolls supplied the Protectorate's only source of revenue, so that it had to depend in large part on government grants. In 1907 even these were dropped, through fear that such taxation would force the trade into the neighboring French or German colonies. Thereafter revenue was scanty, but the government believed that eventually economic development would come. The labor supply too, once the young men began to go south in considerable numbers, was to be an indispensable factor in the growth of the mining and cocoa industries of Ashanti and the Colony.

Before studying further the material growth of the Protectorate, it would perhaps be wise to consider the manner of local government, because with a primitive agricultural people these two phases of daily life are very closely linked. It was, moreover, only because the British were eventually able to introduce a satisfactory form of indirect rule in the Northern Territories that, in recent years, there has been real co-operation between rulers and people in economic matters. The

story of the gradual development of this indirect rule is probably the most interesting phase in the history of the Dependency.

In 1897 the government found that tribal organization had been all but destroyed by the slave raiding which had been so common in this area. Then, too, the coming of the white man had not helped matters. Eventually, however, the British worked out, in an even more successful manner than in Ashanti, a complete reinstatement of native authority. To understand the problems involved and the methods used, it will be necessary to consider something of the historical background of the Northern Territories.

The story of these peoples was only vaguely known until 1927, when an anthropological investigation was made of this area.[4] Before this study, it was generally believed that the Protectorate and the surrounding territory had been invaded some four or five centuries earlier by a mass migration from the northeast. The newcomers set up the Mamprussi, Dagomba, and Gonja kingdoms in localities which still bear these names, and forced their language and customs on the original inhabitants. Inquiries among the population led to the conclusion that this account was only partially true. It appeared that instead of whole tribes descending upon the Northern Territories, merely small bands of warriors had come. Because they were better armed than the original inhabitants and possessed a more developed idea of chieftainship, they were able to obtain political power. They were apparently clever enough to realize, however, that their only chance for permanent control lay in identifying themselves as much as possible with the existing customs of the land, which they did. Though the resident peoples were divided into three great language groups, they "possessed a practically uniform religion, a uniform tribal and totemic organization, and an identical political constitution or system of tribal government."[5] The outstanding feature of the last was a *tendana* or priest-king.

This *tendana* would undoubtedly have evolved into the type of native ruler with whom we are familiar among the Akan; that is, a ruler who was not only high priest and custodian of the land of his tribe and of the ancestral spirits, but one who was also a chief or

[4] Captain Robert Rattray of the Gold Coast anthropological department, who had already made a study of the people of Ashanti, spent several years in the Northern Territories. He traced the early history, language, constitutions, and customs of the inhabitants. The results of his findings were published in 1932. See Robert Rattray, *Tribes of the Ashanti Hinterland* (Oxford, 1932), 2 vols.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. xi.

king on a territorial basis and whose sanctions were secular and physical rather than spiritual; in other words, what the average European implies when he uses the word "king" or "chief." Here in the north, this natural evolution from the priest-king to the territorial ruler was interrupted by external influences which produced a really remarkable state of affairs.

These external influences were, of course, the coming of strangers from the northeast. The invaders had already developed the idea of a political and secular rule which they took over for themselves, leaving the *tendana* the spiritual leadership and his trusteeship of the land. They married into the tribes among whom they settled, adopted many of their manners and customs, and their descendants came to speak the language of the country. One important change they did make was the shift from a matrilineal to a patrilineal line of succession, so that they could keep the kingship in their own families. In contrast to Ashanti and the Gold Coast these foreign rulers usually appointed their successors, and the elders elected them only when there were several candidates in the princely families who had the right to rule.

As a result of the retention of the *tendana,* there appears, therefore, to have grown up a kind of dual mandate. There was the secular ruler, descended from the leader of the warrior bands, recognized by everyone as a titular head, but rarely interfering with the private life of the masses. All religious concerns continued to be managed and conducted by the former priestly rulers, who now, however, functioned nominally under the territorial chief. The new foreign ruler and the old native *tendana* thus came to work hand in hand, "The people belong to me, the land belongs to the *tendana*," was a statement which such chiefs often made.[6]

The sphere of influence which these soldiers of fortune came to control did not, however, embrace all the Northern Territories, but only the northeast, west, southeast, and southwest. Down the center and radiating from it was a large section where their power was felt so little that the *tendana* kept his original authority. When the white man came in, demanding to see "the king" and expecting to be supplied with water, firewood, and carriers, these old priestly rulers, aristocrats in their way, would remain aloof and thrust forward some unimportant person, often a slave or the descendant of a slave, as the supposed chief. For a while he would act as an intermediary

[6] *Ibid.*, p. xv.

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between the *tendana* and the white man, despised by his fellows for being willing to play a false part. Then, backed as they were by the unknowing Europeans, in the course of time many of them began to dig themselves in, confident of a permanent chieftainship. The real ruler, often before he realized just what was happening, gradually found himself becoming of less importance in the eyes of his own people. There were many such petty, unconstitutional, European-made chiefs in the Northern Territories. They were usually efficient rulers, very willing to carry out the suggestions of the district commissioners because they realized their position depended entirely on European support.

It will be apparent from the foregoing discussion that the chiefs of the Northern Territories fell into three groups: (1) A few rare cases where the traditional ruler, the priest-king, still functioned, but in the dual role of secular and spiritual leader, that is, as a chief in the modern sense; (2) those chiefs, originally aliens, whose title to that office dated from long before the advent of the European in these parts; such rulers were, for example, those of Mamprussi, Dagomba, and Gonja; (3) chiefs whose title dated only from the time of European intervention, and was created by it. These were often persons without a vestige of any traditional qualifications to hold such office.[7]

As a result of this investigation, it was suggested that for the reorganization of native administration which the government was contemplating in 1929–1932, the chiefs of the *tendana* class should certainly be retained since they were the true rulers. As for the second category, they too could be kept, as they had succeeded, before the advent of the Europeans, in working out quite an equitable system of government. There had been a tendency for them in recent times, however, to ignore the advice of the council of elders and become autocratic, a condition which is entirely opposed to the fundamentally democratic spirit which underlies the true African constitution of this area. The third category, of European-made rulers, should be required to acknowledge the rightful *tendana* and his hereditary elders as his councilors. When any one of these chiefs died, every effort should be made to reinstate the rightful ruler in his place.

Finally, as a general conclusion of these years of research, it was decided that the Northern Territories could be regarded as "a more or less homogeneous cultural and—to a lesser extent—linguistic

[7] Rattray, *Tribes of the Ashanti Hinterland*, p. xviii.

area, rather than as a mosaic comprising a welter of tongues and divergent customs."[8] If this were true, it should not be hard to reunite some of the old states and to introduce the idea of native authorities with increased judicial power, stool treasuries, and the right to guide and improve the economic life of their peoples.

Some very definite ordinance would have to be drawn up, however, for the success of such a plan, since during the years 1901–1929 no reorganization of native government had been attempted. When the British first took over the territory, they had merely allowed the chiefs to continue exercising the jurisdiction which they had formerly held. No effort was made to define more exactly its extent, or to recognize native tribunals. As a result of so vague a policy, a process of disintegration began to set in, and even chiefs with a long tradition of rule found it hard to hold their authority. Matters were not helped by the separation of tribes caused by the Anglo-German boundary of 1890, or by the sometimes arbitrary formation of administrative districts within the Protectorate itself.

Mamprussi and Dagomba in the east, and Wa and the Gonjas in the west and southwest, were among the principal areas that had formerly been organized into strong native states by descendants of the early invaders. Even these states, once so firmly knit, were now weakening. At the end of the nineteenth century, when the Germans annexed Togoland, the Nas (paramount chiefs or kings) of Mamprussi and Dagomba had lost considerable portions of their kingdoms. Ever on the lookout for an opportunity to regain these lands, during the world war of 1914–1918 they eagerly supported the Anglo-French invasion of that colony.

As soon as the war broke out in the summer of 1914, British forces from the Gold Coast Dependency and French forces from Dahomey co-operated in an immediate attack upon Togoland. The efficiency of their invasion and the limited strength of the resident German contingent combined to make possible its speedy reduction. By August 7, 1914, the town of Lome was in the hands of the British and by August 26, after several engagements and the destruction of the great German wireless station at Kamina, the acting governor unconditionally surrendered the entire colony to the invading forces.[9]

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 2.

[9] *Report of the British Mandated Sphere of Togoland for 1920–21*, p. 4; Charles Lucas, *The Gold Coast and the War* (London, 1920), contains a full account of the occupation of Togoland.

The British and French then divided Togoland on provisional lines, and remained in occupation until the victorious Allied powers could make a decision as to its future status. Before the German annexation of this territory in 1886, some of the tribes had acknowledged the protection of Great Britain. The British reports to the Permanent Mandates Commission stated that the inhabitants appeared more satisfied to return to their rule than to remain under German administration. One story is told, for example, of a Togo chief whose grandfather had buried his Union Jack rather than surrender it when the Germans annexed his land. Upon the return of the English, the old flag was dug up and proudly displayed.[10]

In the northern part of Togoland there were several native states that were split by the Anglo-German boundary. Among these the Dagomba kingdom was the largest. Its head chief or "Na" had his capital at Yendi, in German territory. After the British invasion, he signed a treaty acknowledging their sovereignty, and asking that his former state be reunited.[11] Mamprussi and a small part of Gonja had likewise been separated by the former frontier.

With this situation in view, it was decided at the Paris Peace Conference that Togoland should be divided in such a way as to reunite these tribes.[12] The Supreme Council, therefore, mandated an area of some 13,000 square miles in the western portion to Great Britain, while the French received the larger and more important eastern section containing 19,960 square miles, having access to the coast at the port of Lome, and containing the railroad which the Germans had built.[13]

[10] *Br. Togo Mandate Report, 1923,* p. 38. See also *Correspondence Relating to the Wishes of the Natives of the German Colonies as to Their Future Government,* cd. 9210, 1918. It is difficult to know if this report of the satisfaction of the natives at a return to British rule were true of all the inhabitants of Togoland. Mary Townsend in her *The Rise and Fall of Germany's Colonial Empire* (New York, 1930) came to the conclusion that German colonial administration was no better and no worse than that of any other power similarly circumstanced.

[11] *Correspondence Relating to the Military Operations in Togoland,* cd. 7872, 1915, pp. 31–34.

[12] G. L. Beer, *African Questions at the Paris Peace Conference* (New York, 1923), p. 433.

[13] The boundary between French and British Togoland was settled by the Milner-Simon Agreement of July 1919. See *Official Journal of the League of Nations,* August 1922, p. 883. Though the British administered the western portion as a mandate from 1919 on, and sent a 1920–1921 report on Togoland to the League of Nations, the actual document of mandate was not confirmed until July 1922. This postponement appears to have been due to difficulties over the boundary and to

The cause of this uneven division was the desire to reunite certain separated tribes in the northern section of Togoland and, for the same reason, the British were allowed, by Section 9 of the mandate, to administer the area as an integral part of the Gold Coast Dependency.[14] If the new boundary joined tribes in the north once again, however, it had the opposite effect in the south where the Anglo-French frontier now split the Ewe-speaking tribes into separate groups. Though there was some agitation among the Africans, and though they sent a petition to the British Government protesting the partition of Eweland, the territory was divided as had already been determined by the Paris Peace Conference.

In the first report on Togoland to the League of Nations, the British pointed out that the acceptance of the mandate would involve additional expense for the Gold Coast. Since the new boundary reunited the northern tribes, however, the government was reconciled to the prospect of a temporary financial liability.[15] It hoped that the mandate would eventually become independent of government grants. Throughout the following years, however, the deficit between revenue and expenditure continued to exist, amounting in 1938, for example, to some £67,000.

Since the mandate was to be administered as a part of the Gold Coast Dependency, the northern section was placed under the chief commissioner of the Northern Territories, while south Togoland was made a district of the eastern province of the Colony. The advantages of a union between so small an area as British Togoland and the well-established government of the Gold Coast were obvious, but the Permanent Mandates Commission had no intention of letting the mandatory power think that the territory thus administered was eventually to drift into annexation. An examination of the minutes of the commission reveals its attitude on this point.[16] It was because of tribal relationships that some two-thirds of the mandate was united with the Northern Territories, while only a small part was left for

a delay in getting the consent of the United States. Buell, *The Native Problem in Africa,* II, 278. For the text of the mandate see *Official Journal of the League of Nations,* August 1922, p. 874.

[14] Permanent Mandates Commission, *Minutes,* Fifth Session, p. 42.

[15] *British Togo Mandate Report, 1920–1921,* covering despatch by Governor Guggisberg.

[16] See, for example, Permanent Mandates Commission, *Minutes,* Fifth Session, pp. 17–18, 31, 190.

south Togoland. Until 1932 this northern portion included the following districts:[17]

District	Area in Square Miles	Population
Kete-Krachi	3,911	25,244
Eastern Dagomba	4,609	58,929
Eastern Mamprussi	1,528	4,518
Kusasi	385	12,093

As can be seen on the map, Kete-Krachi was the most southerly of these four divisions. It was occupied by several different tribes among whom no previous link had apparently ever existed. The next section, Eastern Dagomba, was only one portion of a large native state which had about half its territory in the Protectorate itself. The capital, Yendi, seat of government for its paramount—the Ya Na—lay in the mandated sphere, which accounted for the paramount's desire that the British occupy Togoland. Cattle raising and agriculture, as in most of this area, were the principal occupations of its people along with some simple crafts such as weaving, rope, leather, and pottery making. North of Dagomba was the Mamprussi district, divided also between Togoland and the Protectorate, although in this case the capital and the bulk of the land lay on the Northern Territories' side of the boundary. In the far northeast corner of the mandate was the Kusasi district which, though small in area, had a population of 12,000 with a density of 137 to the square mile. The tribes of both Eastern Mamprussi and Kusasi had formerly owed allegiance to the Na of the old Mamprussi state, but with the disintegration of native authority during the period 1890–1930, this bond has been greatly loosened.

It will be remembered that such weakening of native constitutions had been noticeable, not only in the mandate, but throughout the entire Northern Territories. It was with a view to re-establishing the former unity by a system of indirect rule that Captain Rattray's study of these tribes had been undertaken. His research enabled the government to ascertain, in most cases, to what paramounts the numerous small divisions had previously owed allegiance. Long experience in the Gold Coast Colony had taught the British the necessity of gaining the full consent of the Africans before any changes were

[17] *British Togo Mandate Report, 1927*, p. 51. During the years 1920–1932, several shifts were made in the arrangement of these districts. The various reports give an account of these changes.

made. With this fact in mind, in 1930–1931 they invited the chiefs, the elders, and their followers to preliminary conferences.[18] At these meetings the Africans and the commissioners talked over disputed points of customary law and endeavored to restore, as far as possible, the original native constitution. The principal aim of the conferences, however, was to persuade the subchiefs once again to acknowledge the authority of the state paramount, from whose jurisdiction they had been free for some thirty years. Force was not applied, but the advantages of union were demonstrated so effectively that, in almost every case, the subchiefs willingly and often enthusiastically joined the reconstituted state. This action, like that of the restored Ashanti Confederacy, was a striking example of the respect which the West African peoples have for their traditional organizations.

As a result of these conferences, the numerous small divisions of the Northern Territories and north Togoland were reunited into several large states. Thus the tribes of the former districts of Kusasi, and East and West Mamprussi, became the single state of Mamprussi under the paramountcy of the Na of Nalerigu. The Ya Na of Yendi restored the hereditary kingdom of his ancestors when he amalgamated all but one of the tribes of Eastern and Western Dagomba into a unified Dagomba state. The one group which did not accept his headship was that of the Nanumbas. These people, however, had never been dependent on the Ya Na and were therefore justified in remaining a separate state.

As for the Kete-Krachi district, it was found that two small tribes on its western boundary had formerly belonged to the great Gonja state of the Protectorate, so they were allowed to reaffirm their allegiance to the head chief of that area. Some of the other tribes of this district had no former connection with the Krachi paramount, so remained independent, but by 1935 a large enough population acknowledged his overlordship to justify his appointment as a native authority. To the reconstituted states of Mamprussi, Dagomba, Gonja, and of a section of Krachi can also be added those of Wa and Lawra-Tumu in the far northwest. In the Northern Territories and the north section of Togoland it was hoped that the process of tribal disintegration had thus been halted.

Once these small divisions were reunited into several strong states,

[18] *G.C. An. Report, 1930,* p. 3. *British Togo Mandate Report, 1930,* pp. 6–10.

there was no reason to delay the establishment of native administrations based on an adequate representation of the aboriginal population. To this end, during the year 1933 three new ordinances were promulgated providing for executive, judicial, and financial reorganization.

The Native Authority Ordinance[19] was very like the one which the government was to provide for Ashanti in 1935 and with which we have gained some acquaintance in a previous chapter. It gave the chief commissioner, with the approval of the governor, the right to appoint any chief or group of chiefs as the native authorities, and placed in their hands the duty and power to provide for good government. In contrast to Ashanti and the Gold Coast, there was to be more stress on the executive than on the judicial. It will be remembered that on the coast especially the chiefs had great difficulty in carrying out such measures as the establishment of forest reserves, the destruction of diseased cocoa trees, and above all the collection of taxes. Their subjects, sometimes under the leadership of educated Africans, often refused obedience. Here in the north the inhabitants were still in a primitive state, and though before the reorganization of 1932 the dependence of subchiefs on paramounts had been insufficient, the common folk still had much respect for authority. The chiefs were therefore able to use the powers given them by the new law to carry out widespread economic and social reforms, especially in the matter of agriculture and cattle raising. A further consideration of this matter will be taken up shortly.

The judicial power of the chiefs was established by the Native Tribunals Ordinance.[20] Prior to this time African courts in the north were most inadequate, with a vague jurisdiction and no provision for enforcing decisions except through the district commissioner. The tribal elders settled most cases merely by arbitration. The new law permitted the chief commissioner to establish a tribunal for any native authority area and to define the extent of its civil and criminal jurisdiction. This measure is in marked contrast to the judicial ordinances of Ashanti and the Colony where the amount of jurisdiction is definitely stated. It was probably the intention of the government to leave the commissioner free to go rather slowly in the matter of courts, which had been the cause of much abuse in the south. He would thus be able to watch the development of each state

[19] Ordinance 2 of 1932.
[20] Ordinance 1 of 1932.

and assign it as much jurisdiction as he thought it was capable of handling. At any rate, three years later a second judicial ordinance was promulgated which provided for three grades of courts with the extent of jurisdiction definitely stated. Grade A courts, for the higher chiefs, had civil and criminal jurisdiction up to £50 or six months' imprisonment, while Grade C courts were limited to £10 in civil affairs and to £5 or one month's imprisonment in criminal affairs.[21]

The third aspect of the 1932 Native Authority reorganization was financial. Up to this time all revenue had come from indirect taxes such as ferry tolls, market and license fees, and import duties, on the small amount of European goods which reached the north. Prior to 1914 the Germans had collected a direct tax in Togoland, but the British dropped it in favor of indirect taxation. As for the chiefs, they had depended on occasional levies and small court fees for revenue, as well as on the forced labor of their people for the upkeep of roads and other public property. The British believed that in the Northern Territories there could be no true development of local government without regular taxation, any more than there could be in Ashanti or in the Colony. Fortunately there did not exist in the Protectorate the prejudice against it that hampered progress in the south. The government therefore passed in 1932 a Native Treasuries Ordinance[22] which gave the chief commissioner the right not only to establish treasuries in all Native Authority areas but also to define the sources of revenue, to provide for specified forms and amounts of taxation, and to regulate the preparation of annual estimates. Here was the first law to introduce direct taxation in any section of the Gold Coast Dependency. The authorities, however, did not immediately apply all its clauses. Treasuries were introduced in the reorganized states and subdivisions, and the people were gradually prepared to acknowledge the need for regular assessments. In 1936, when the effects of the Depression had all but disappeared, the new tax was collected for the first time. To the pleasant surprise of the British, who had not forgotten the recent commotion in the Gold Coast over a like measure, the tax was not only peacefully collected but the actual returns exceeded the estimates. The account in the *Gold Coast Annual Report* of the new legislation is written in a most laudatory manner, and with the evident intention of impressing

[21] Ordinance 31 of 1935.
[22] Ordinance 10 of 1932.

the southern sections with the benefits which had come to the Protectorate from such docile acceptance of government advice.

The Northern Territories have seen the greatest advance in native administration so far recorded in the history of the Gold Coast. Chiefs and councilors have been granted limited powers in the government of their divisions, tribunals have been set up, each under the direct supervision of the District Commissioner and direct taxation has been introduced, the assessment and collection of which is carried out almost entirely by the native authorities, the administrative officers acting in a purely advisory capacity. The introduction and successful operation of this tax is an event of unique historical significance, for not since the later years of the nineteenth century has any form of direct taxation been paid by any section of the people of the Gold Coast. Moreover, the keenness displayed by the Protectorate chiefs and their sense of responsibility have been such that the estimated revenue from the tax was exceeded in every division and there were no instances of abuse, embezzlement or evasion. This result reflects the greatest credit on the native authorities and gives cause for considerable confidence in the future development of the territory.

The revenue, which is administered through properly constituted native treasuries, has been applied to the general welfare of the people in a manner which should act as a great incentive and example to the States in other parts of the Gold Coast. Roads, wells, cattle kraals, dispensaries and sanitary conveniences have been provided in every division, while the chiefs and tribunal members, together with the staff necessary for the various services, have for the first time been paid regular salaries. As a result, the reliability and efficiency of these services have increased to a degree unthought of a few years ago.[23]

As can be seen from this quotation, the assurance of definite revenue now made possible a real progress in local government. The payment of regular salaries to the chiefs and their officials seems to have had some indirect results of great value, for it both enhanced these officials' position in the eyes of their people and taught them the reality of their powers and responsibilities.

The entire proceeds of this tax were paid directly into the local treasuries; for it was meant not to be something new but merely the commutation to a regular levy of the former customary tribute in labor and in kind. The district commissioners helped the African

[23] *G.C. An. Report, 1936*, p. 8. The film, *A Mamprussi Village*, gives most interesting scenes of the collection of this tax and of the budget session which the district commissioner holds with the various chiefs. See p. 87 above, note 1.

officials to make out the rolls of taxpayers and to decide what was the average annual income of each area. A flat rate was assessed on each adult male according to the economic condition of his section. The maximum rate was 7 shillings (later scaled down to 5 shillings) and the minimum 1 shilling, except in a few divisions where it was found wiser to apportion a lump sum to each family group and let the elders determine what individuals could pay.[24]

As a result, both of the tax and of a more systematic collection of market fees, etc., the revenue of the native administrations increased from £860 in 1933 to £98,000 in 1946.[25] The district commissioners supervised the drawing up of the annual estimates which were regularly published in the *Gold Coast Gazette.* These statements were given in great detail and a study of them reveals, perhaps better than anything else, the gradual progress which the native administrations made. Expenditures for such items as market buildings, sanitary structures, model farms, and dispensaries began to appear. This is all the more surprising when one considers that in 1934 there were only seven or eight primary schools in the entire area and that, except in the towns, the inhabitants were still living under the most primitive conditions.

A question naturally occurs to the reader of these reports, however, as to how the Africans of so poor a section were able to pay any tax at all. The answer can be found in the fact that the economic growth of this area was steadily going on, due largely to government efforts to improve both the agricultural and cattle-raising industries.

In 1922 the veterinarian department at Tamale, administrative center of the Northern Territories, began work on breeding livestock and poultry with a view to improving the poor native strains. At the same time a strict quarantine was imposed on imported cattle, and attempts made to stamp out the rinderpest epidemics which had annually been destroying some 20 percent of the cattle herds. The department soon realized that the only hope for eradicating the plague was the immunization of all the stock of the Protectorate. Though it seemed an almost impossible task, in view of the ignorance of the African owners, an up-to-date laboratory with piped water and electricity—the first to be used in the Northern Territories—was opened in 1932 at Pong Tamale by means of a grant from the British Colonial Development Fund. Here antirinderpest serum was prepared and young Africans were taught to administer it. Within two

[24] Hailey, *African Survey*, p. 586. [25] *G.C. An. Report, 1946*, p. 127.

years the entire stock of the area was immunized and the illiterate inhabitants were won over to appreciate its necessity.[26]

With the danger of rinderpest out of the way, the laboratory turned its attention to a study of the tsetse fly and trypanosomiasis problem. This proved a far more difficult task, because about half of the area of the Protectorate was fly-infested. Five years of experimentation at Pong Tamale showed that the complete clearance of a district required far more than the conventional removal of the primary breeding foci. An antitsetse campaign, concerned with both human and animal trypanosomiasis, was begun in 1935 but it would be a long and expensive process,[27] especially as the recession of the forest in the southern cocoa areas was leaving ever increasing bush regions open to infection.

Once the cattle were freed from rinderpest, the animal husbandry department was able to turn its attention to better breeding. The same government grant which built the Pong Tamale laboratory also financed experimental farms where trials were made until satisfactory types of cows, pigs, and poultry had been obtained. In 1926 a tariff was levied on all cattle imported from French territory, and the funds thus obtained paid the running expenses of the department. One of its aims was to provide a model farm where young Africans could be trained in modern husbandry and where the various chiefs and elders of the Protectorate could see the actual result of combined scientific agriculture and livestock raising. It was hoped that eventually each chief would have his own model farm with a communal breeding bull which would thus form the nucleus of an area of improved husbandry. The whole economic future of the Protectorate depended, to a large extent, on the success of this plan. Great efforts to carry it out were made at the beginning of the 1930's and the annual reports thereafter contain the encouraging story of its implementation.

Because the political reorganization of 1932 had enlarged and strengthened the various units of local government, and because the new tax had given them a regular source of revenue, the head chiefs

[26] *G.C. An. Report, 1930,* p. 28 ff.

[27] Legislative Council, *Debates,* 1936, p. 13; *G.C. An. Report, 1934,* p. 14. In 1944 a "Tsetse Fly and Trypanosomiasis Committee" was set up by the secretary of state for the colonies in order to co-ordinate the work of the entire empire. Bush clearance in the Gold Coast continued during the war and some hundreds of square miles have been freed for human habitation and cattle breeding. British Information Services, *Weekly War Notes,* December 21, 1944, p. 33.

were able to set up model farms as suggested by the government. By the end of the 'thirties, twenty such centers were completed with substantial stone buildings and stocked with the improved types of cattle which the Pong Tamale station had developed. The central government gave two-thirds and the Native Authority one-third of the funds necessary for their support. The farms were managed by tribal elders aided by young men who had been educated at the Pong Tamale center or on the model farms connected with each of the Northern Territories' primary schools. Each head chief planned gradually to increase the development of his area by encouraging the subchiefs to open up smaller centers in their own divisions.

As cattle raising is impossible in the forested areas of Ashanti and the Gold Coast, the Dependency must rely almost entirely on the Protectorate or on foreign import for its meat supply. There is a small area east of Accra which is also a cattle center, but it cannot begin to fulfill the needs of the peoples on the coast. With a practically unlimited market, then, a bright future faces this industry in the Northern Territories. If the tsetse fly regions can be cleared and sufficient water supplies developed, the day may come when the present large import of French cattle and canned meats will give place to a wholly domestic production.

Along with the economic progress of the 1930 decade, some social development was also taking place. This can be seen in the steady though slow increase of interest in education, health, and Christianity.

The first school in the Northern Territories was a primary one opened in 1909 by the government at Tamale. In 1925 Governor Guggisberg published a memorandum on education for the Protectorate.[28] He advocated that the government keep a strict control so that no inferior schools be opened, as had happened in the south. He wanted all teachers trained at Achimota and supervision exercised from that institution. Very little, however, was done to carry out this policy. Probably the Depression interfered with development, but in 1930 there were only five government primary schools and two technical schools in the area.

After the establishment of stronger local rule in 1932, the government turned all its educational institutions over to the Native Authority, except for the agricultural center and a middle school

[28] *British Togo Mandate Report, 1926,* Appendix E.

(standards IV–VII) which it later established at Tamale. By 1946 there were seventeen Native Authority primary schools, entirely financed by local funds except for the teachers' salaries which were assumed by the government. The majority of these institutions were for boarders only, where the boys were housed by groups in African-type compounds. The discipline was usually organized on civic lines with chiefs, subchiefs, and elders chosen from the student body to share responsibility and thus obtain valuable experience for the future. Much stress was laid on crafts and each institution had a well-run farm for the purpose of demonstration and practice as well as for food production.

Aside from these few schools, the Protectorate and the northern section of Togoland had no others except for five institutions conducted by Catholic missionaries. The White Fathers, a society founded for the evangelization of Mohammedans and Negroes in Africa, had entered this area in 1906 and had established themselves in the far northern section with a center at Navrongo. Gradually they spread toward the northwestern corner, founding missions, schools, and dispensaries. When Principal Fraser of Achimota toured the Protectorate as government educational inspector, he found the White Fathers' institutions the best in the area, because of the strong link they had established between school and village life.[29] This link is particularly necessary in the Northern Territories, where education must be closely bound up with native life if the danger of a detribalized educated African, wholly out of sympathy with his fellows, is to be avoided.

The only other missionary effort made in this area was that of the Methodists who settled in 1913 at Tamale, the capital of the Protectorate. They withdrew, however, in 1920 and have not since returned. In the mandated sphere there are several other missions, but they will be considered in connection with the southern section of Togoland. The Africans of the Northern Territories are deeply attached to their animistic faith, and Christianity makes very slow progress. In recent years, however, there has been something of a mass movement toward conversion among the Dagatis, one of the more industrious and intelligent tribes of the Lawra-Tumu area.[30]

As for health and sanitation, the Northern Territories, like Ashanti and the Gold Coast, have not received an evenly shared de-

[29] Legislative Council, *Debates,* 1929, "Governor's Address," p. 51.
[30] Donald Attwater, *The White Fathers in Africa* (London, 1937), p. 59.

velopment and very much remains to be done. There are several small hospitals, leper and sleeping-sickness camps, and some sixteen dispensaries, most of which are supported by Native Authority funds. Yaws, guinea worm, and other diseases are very widespread in the entire area, but until sufficient water supplies are obtained so that better sanitation and a larger food supply can be introduced, this condition will probably remain. The chiefs are beginning to realize the need of improvement and to set aside fair sums for this purpose in their annual estimates.[31] It is really too big a task for them, however, and needs the help of the central government or the Colonial Welfare Fund on a large enough scale to clear up all the tsetse-fly areas, to build sufficient health centers, and to develop an adequate water supply.

Before leaving the subject of the Protectorate, it is encouraging to review the consequences which followed from the 1932 reorganization of native institutions on the lines of indirect rule. These northern chiefs seem to possess a keen civic sense and the increased responsibility given them by the Native Authority Ordinances has brought out the best that is in them. The peasant population, too, has benefited by the change. They feel a sense of pride and ownership in experimental farms, schools, and dispensaries which are managed by their own rulers rather than by alien officials. Throughout the reports the statement is often repeated that the revival of rule through indigenous institutions has caused a return of mental activity and an interest in the work of government which did not exist previously. When Nana Sir Ofori Atta and other Gold Coast chiefs visited the Northern Territories in 1937, they were astonished at the social progress which this section, so much poorer in natural resources than the coastal colony, had made.

The following year all the chiefs and most of the subchiefs of the Protectorate and north Togoland met at the capital for a conference on the general needs of their people. It was the first meeting of its kind ever to be held, but it was most successful in helping each ruler to shift his viewpoint from the confines of his own division to the larger problems of the entire area. Though it takes us somewhat ahead of our general narrative, it is encouraging to note here that in 1946 a Northern Territories Council, representative of all the

[31] In the Mamprussi State Estimates for 1938–1939, for example, over £4,000 are set aside for medical, sanitary, and water supply development out of a total expenditure of £17,915. See *British Togo Mandate Report, 1938,* Appendix III.

chiefs, was established. In due time the Protectorate can expect to share in the central government of the entire Dependency by sending delegates to the legislative council.

SOUTH TOGOLAND

In turning from the Northern Territories of the Dependency to south Togoland, one comes to a section which in many ways is not unlike the Gold Coast Colony itself. In the division of the mandated sphere an area of 2,607 square miles, or about one-fifth of the whole, is known as the Southern Section or the Ho District, and is connected for administrative purposes with the eastern province of the Colony. Even though so small, this portion contains nearly one-half of the mandate population—128,377 in 1938—and is richer in natural resources than the larger northern part.

Generally speaking, Togoland is hilly and picturesque. A mountain range, commencing near Accra in the Gold Coast, runs in a northeasterly direction, cuts across south Togoland, and continues along the Anglo-French boundary into the Krachi district. A second and smaller range parallels the Volta River in the western part of south Togoland. Forested areas, suitable for cocoa growing, are found in these two mountainous regions and provide the inhabitants with their greatest single source of wealth. The rest of this Ho District is covered with scrub or park lands which gradually give place to savanna types of vegetation as the Northern Territories are approached.

The Volta River runs along the western boundary of Togoland for some distance, but eventually flows into purely Gold Coast territory until it reaches its outlet in the Gulf of Guinea. The southern boundary of British Togoland stops abruptly some thirty miles inland from the coast, while the far eastern corner of the Gold Coast Colony juts over into this area, forming what is known as the Volta triangle and cutting off the British mandated sphere from any access to the sea. For this reason it has been necessary to connect Togoland by a road system with the Gold Coast ports of Accra and Ada on the west, and with the French port of Lome on the east.

The climate in the southern section, like that of the Colony, is so tropical and humid as to make it an undesirable area for European settlers. The river valleys and forest areas are quite fertile, but for the rest the soil is poor and rainfall uncertain, so that some sections are entirely uninhabited. Besides cocoa, cotton, and tobacco some

fruits and vegetables can be grown. The district is therefore a predominantly agricultural area, as cattle raising is impossible and the iron, gold, chromite, bauxite, and limestone deposits are not well situated for transportation facilities. A few of the inhabitants engage in handicrafts but such production is entirely for local use. As a result of an intensive campaign for road building during the 1920's, trade has been much stimulated. Meat, flour, textiles, an occasional motor car or truck, and some building materials are imported through the Gold Coast, while an annually increasing amount of cocoa and other foodstuffs leaves the country by British ports on the west and the French one on the east.

The inhabitants of southern Togoland form, in the main, one linguistic group—the Ewe—which is made up of a number of petty tribes with more or less similar customs, but at different stages of development. These peoples are believed to have come originally from Yorubaland in southwestern Nigeria.[32] They migrated in waves westward, probably in the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries and built up settlements at Tado near the River Mono and at Notsie, now in French Togoland. As the settlement at Notsie grew, groups of Ewes traveled farther west, fanning out to south, west, and northwest—that is, to the coastal lagoons, to the Volta River area, and to the uplands of the north. Other peoples from different areas also made their permanent homes among the Ewes.

Broadly speaking, therefore, the land of the Ewe people lies between the Mono River on the east and the Volta on the west, extending northward from the Gulf of Guinea as far as the uplands of central Togoland. In this area of nearly ten thousand square miles there are close to a million inhabitants. At the present time these Ewe-speaking people are divided between British and French Togoland, while some can also be found in the southeast section of the Gold Coast Colony.

The early Ewe settlements were few and far between, but in the course of time the original villages and their offshoots increased in population and ultimately various politically independent local states came into being. These divisions vary from 50 to 300 square miles and from 500 to 50,000 inhabitants. Poor communications and the stretches of unexplored lands between the states account for the small size of these units. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,

[32] *Ewe News-Letter*, No. 1 (May 1945).

moreover, there was considerable disorganization in the country resulting from quarrels over fishing and trading rights, slave raids, the Ashanti invasion of northern Eweland, and the various expeditions undertaken by the Europeans to pacify the country. Such disorders left their mark on the inhabitants so that when the Germans came they did not find such large or well-organized political units as, for example, existed among the Ashantis. In 1884 the Germans annexed Togoland as a protectorate, and in the following years concluded boundary agreements with their French and British neighbors. During their thirty years of occupation, they made thorough and careful preparation to develop the economic resources of the colony in conjunction with the needs of the homeland. Roads were built and plantations and forest reserves begun. The Germans apparently hoped to develop the cotton-growing industry sufficiently to make themselves independent of imports from America. Most of the good cotton land was in French Togoland, however, and production has not been particularly successful in the British area.

The Germans appear to have governed Togo largely by direct rule, and no effort was made to amalgamate the tribal divisions. About 1908, however, the colonial office in Berlin initiated a policy of preserving and utilizing native institutions. Though self-government, to the extent that it has been developed by British indirect rule, was probably never intended, the chiefs were given a very limited jurisdiction and some responsibility for maintaining law and order.[33] Direct taxation in the form of a head tax (6 marks annually) was imposed, so that for some years Togoland was the only self-supporting German colony.

After the British took possession of the western part of the country in 1914, they dropped this head tax in favor of indirect taxation which was more to the satisfaction of the population. But they retained most of the German laws during the war period and in some cases for several years thereafter.

In 1923 a royal order-in-council finally made definite provision for the government of the mandate.[34] It divided the area into northern and southern sections, placing it under the authority of

[33] Mary Townsend, *The Rise and Fall of Germany's Colonial Empire, 1884–1914,* p. 278. In contrast to Townsend's account of the German policy, the British reports state that they made mere figureheads of the chiefs. *British Togo Mandate Report, 1920,* p. 9.

[34] *British Togo Mandate Report, 1923,* Appendix J.

the governor of the Gold Coast in accordance with Section 9 of the mandate treaty which stated:

> This area shall be administered in accordance with the laws of the Mandatory as an integral part of his territory . . . .
>
> The Mandatory shall therefore be at liberty to apply his laws to the territory subject to the mandate with such modifications as may be required by local conditions.[35]

Thereafter the ordinances of the Gold Coast Colony were applied to southern Togoland, while those for the Northern Territories were promulgated in northern Togoland, unless unsuitable or contrary to the conditions of the mandate.

In 1924 an administration ordinance[36] provided for some simple forms of local government. Because of the numerous tribal divisions and the backwardness of the people in civic matters, the British decided that it was too soon to attempt advanced forms of indirect rule. The ordinance therefore retained most of the earlier German arrangements. The native courts had only civil jurisdiction, while the chiefs were limited to fines of £5 and the subchiefs to £2½. They had no authority to enforce decisions, which power was left to the district commissioner.

Since this same ordinance provided that southern Togoland be united with the eastern province of the Gold Coast, there was no need for chief commissioners. The five districts of the mandate—Ho in the south and four others in the north—were managed by district commissioners responsible to their respective superiors in the Dependency itself. The commissioner of the Ho area had his own court with jurisdiction up to £100 for both civil and criminal cases, but any matter beyond this had to go to Gold Coast courts.

This method of administration remained in force in south Togoland until the early 1930's. About that time, the government was endeavoring, as we have seen, to strengthen the African institutions in the various sections of the Dependency by an amalgamation of small tribal groups and by an introduction, wherever possible, of fuller indirect rule. In the mandated sphere the same type of policy was carried out. But in the southern section, unfortunately, there were no remains of large native states as in Ashanti and the Northern Territories on which to build. A common language and customs

[35] *Official Journal of the League of Nations*, August 1922, p. 880.

[36] Ordinance 1 of 1924.

were the only bonds which united the 68 independent divisions which existed before 1932. The British therefore encouraged the various rulers to form larger states by acknowledging the headship of some acceptable chief within their own area. If unification took place efficient treasuries and native courts could be set up and the chiefs could pool their slender resources for the establishment of schools, dispensaries, agricultural experiment stations, and other much needed benefits for their people.

Following this plan of the British officials, by 1939 all but 15 of the 68 divisions had amalgamated into four larger states. Though the Ewes recognized the value of such unification, some of them believed that these independent units should have formed confederacies rather than becoming merely subdivisions of enlarged native states. While this difference of opinion has caused some political unrest, the new states have, nevertheless, made real progress during recent years.[37]

Once the amalgamation had begun to take place, it was possible to introduce some of the advantages of indirect rule, and accordingly an administrative ordinance[38] was promulgated in 1932 which provided for the strengthening of local institutions. On general lines it was not unlike those which have already been studied in connection with the Dependency. It gave the governor the usual right to declare chiefs, councils, or natives as the local authority in any given area with the power and duty to provide for order and good government. Both divisional and state councils were recognized and allowed to investigate political and constitutional disputes within their own areas. An individual might appeal from the divisional to the state council in such affairs and then to the governor, whose decision was final. The state council, since it was made up of the chiefs of the various divisions under the presidency of the paramount, could make by-laws on matters pertaining to the general good of the area, such as establishing state treasuries, for example.[39] The head chief, as an individual, however, had no executive authority over the entire state as had those in the Gold Coast. Such power remained in the hands of the divisional chiefs since they were to remain independent

[37] There is a full discussion of this political problem in the *Ewe News-Letter*, No. 13 (May 1946).

[38] Ordinance 1 of 1932. This ordinance combines the administrative and judicial clauses which are usually treated in separate ordinances in the Dependency.

[39] It is interesting to note that in the Northern Territories there are no by-laws, for the chief commissioner issues the orders of this type.

in local matters. Their only obligation was to accept his presidency of the state council and, when registering their election as chiefs, to submit their names through him for the necessary government confirmation.

These clauses cover the administrative sections of the ordinance. Part IV had to do with judicial matters and gave the governor power to establish tribunals in any Native Authority area under the supervision of the district officers. This general provision was implemented the following year by a governor's order[40] which set up courts in each division of the four new states and on certain defined matters up to £25 gave them both civil and criminal jurisdiction. Appeals lay from the chief's to the paramount's tribunal and hence through the Gold Coast courts all the way up to the Privy Council in London if necessary. The order also provided for a president, other than the paramount, in cases in which the head chief's interests were concerned.[41] It is to be noted that these courts were only established in divisions which belonged to the new states and not in the independent areas. The government hoped to encourage further amalgamation with this bait of increased jurisdiction. Divisions in which the new ordinance did not apply had to be content with the very limited powers granted by the old German law and with dependence on the district commissioner for enforcing all judgments.

The 1932 ordinance made no provision for local revenue beyond granting the divisions the general right to set up stool treasuries and collect taxes. The government hoped that each state would establish a central treasury and levy a regular tax as was done in the Northern Territories, but in south Togoland great difficulties stood in the way. In the first place, the states were artificial creations and the individual divisions felt they would derive little benefit from pooling their funds. Secondly, the Africans were willing to accept occasional levies but they saw no need for regular taxes. Because in past years the central government had financed a water supply and markets in the capital city of Ho, they now expected the same thing to be done in other areas. Finally, the Gold Coast Colony had no direct taxation at that time and seemed to have developed very well

[40] Governor's Order No. 2 of 1933. See *British Togo Mandate Report, 1933*, Appendix III.

[41] Land cases, as in the Gold Coast, went—not to the head chief's court—but to the state council which was considered a fairer tribunal for such matters.

without it.[42] In the face of such prejudice regular revenue could not easily be obtained and, indeed, in several instances the people threatened chiefs with destoolment if they insisted on forcing the issue. By 1939, then, only two state treasuries had been set up and no attempts made to collect taxes.

Besides the political changes of these years, there was some parallel growth on social and economic lines. In the mandated sphere there are no government schools and in the southern section education is entirely in the hands of missionaries, who are assisted by government funds whenever their institutions reach the required standards. During the German occupancy, Lutheran and Catholic mission societies had established some excellent primary and technical schools. The former group had also succeeded in translating the Bible into the Ewe language and had done a fine piece of work. When the British entered the territory, all German missionaries were deported. From 1916 to 1923, the government conducted the Bremen Society (Lutheran) schools. Scottish Presbyterians then took over these institutions and were later aided by some of the former German missionaries who were allowed to return. Eventually a Ewe Presbyterian Church, made up largely of African clergymen and almost entirely supported by local funds, developed from the efforts of the early missionaries.

A Catholic institution working in the Gold Coast—the Society for African Missions—took over the German Catholic schools, and later two orders of religious women began to teach and to do medical work among the inhabitants of the mandate.

The Gold Coast Education Ordinance of 1927 was also applied in south Togoland, requiring a reorganization of all assisted schools on a more efficient basis. Both Catholic and Presbyterian schools made great efforts to raise their standards, so that in 1938 there were eighty-three assisted and thirty-seven nonassisted schools. The assisted schools received a government grant of £11,336, together with some funds from the native authorities. Out of a population of 128,377, nearly 6,000 boys and 1,500 girls were attending school. Red Cross and Boy Scout associations were established in some centers, and Ewe boys and girls occasionally went to Achimota or missionary colleges for higher education.[43]

Medical work was carried on by both the government and the

[42] *British Togo Mandate Report, 1937*, pp. 6 ff.; Hailey, *African Survey*, p. 479.
[43] *British Togo Mandate Report, 1938*, pp. 47–49.

missions. This is a field in which there is still much room for improvement, and the Permanent Mandates Commission, on several occasions, expressed the opinion that more medical officers were needed. The British representative answered that one doctor for every 60,000 natives was a better proportion than was to be found in the Gold Coast, and no increase in the medical staff was made.[44] Leprosy and hookworm as well as the other usual tropical diseases were widespread. As in the Dependency the infant mortality rate was always over 100 deaths to every 1,000 births.[45] The only answer to the problem seemed to be a larger revenue, or further grants from the English or Gold Coast governments.

There was some economic development during the years 1920–1939, resulting especially from an increased production of cocoa which rose from 3,542 tons in 1923 to 12,316 in 1938. Coffee holds second place on the export list with a value of £4,722, but as trade is largely local there are no other important items. Revenue in 1938 only amounted to £28,375 (largely from import and export duties), whereas expenditure was £95,904. This meant a government grant of £67,529 was necessary to balance the budget. Such grants have been paid annually from Gold Coast funds, since the mandate was first assumed.[46] But even with this aid, the mandate is not spending sufficient money, according to modern standards, on necessary social services. In 1938, for example, the amounts budgeted were as follows:[47] education, £12,147; agriculture, £6,718; public health, £13,997; public works, £9,658.

It is evident from the fact that the mandated sphere was not self-supporting during the 1919–1939 period that it had not made

[44] Permanent Mandates Commission, *Minutes*, 5th Session, p. 40; 28th Session, pp. 73 and 91; 31st Session, p. 107.

[45] *British Togo Mandate Report, 1928*, p. 42, states that infant mortality rate was probably as high as 400 and the 1927 report, p. 47, declares that perhaps 70 percent die before reaching the age of five in the far northern Kusasi area.

See Robert Kuczynski, *The Cameroons and Togoland: A Demographic Study* (New York, 1939), under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, pp. 525–45. This demographer has made a scientific study of population in four West African mandates. He found that though several tropical diseases, especially sleeping sickness and leprosy, are on the increase in British Togoland, the government has not taken sufficient steps to combat them. Expenditure for medical care is only about 6*d.* per head in Togo, as compared with 2*s.* in the Gold Coast.

[46] *British Togo Mandate Report, 1938*, Appendix XIII. However, it should be pointed out that Togo expenses always include a share in the general administrative costs of the Gold Coast central government. This share is decided on the basis of population and is therefore not very great.

[47] *Ibid.*

as much economic progress as had the Gold Coast itself. Because of the differences in area, natural resources, population, tribal organization, and political background, it is almost impossible to justly compare the two areas. There are some factors, however, which may help to explain the slower rate of development.

In the first place, British Togoland had neither the rich mineral resources nor as large a cocoa-growing area as had the Gold Coast. While some exporting was done, it was less profitable than it should have been, since the mandate is separated by artificial frontiers from access to the coast. The railroad, built by the Germans to serve the entire Togoland area, is now in the French section. In the western part of the mandate transportation was also an expensive item since the nearest ports were in the Colony proper. In addition, the division of the Togoland tribes into so many small groups made economic and social development difficult—unless, of course, British policy had been one of direct and paternalistic rule. Even though some amalgamation took place during this twenty-year period, lack of a unified or national outlook—due in large part to widespread illiteracy—still hampered all forms of progress.

A further and perhaps more fundamental reason for the slower development, was the fact that Togoland was a mandate rather than a British colony. It is natural that both governments and private individuals should prefer to spend their money in territories which belong to the metropolitan power, and whose future is therefore more secure than that of an area under international control. In the 1930's there was a section of public opinion in England which advocated a surrender of the mandates because they did not pay. A member of Parliament, for example, voiced the opinion in the House of Commons that "so long as you have large areas of territory which have no certain future, you cannot attract capital and you cannot have any development plan."[48] Looking at the progress of British Togoland during the 1919–1939 period, then, it appears clear that the mandate, just because it was under international supervision, did not fare any better than the Colony. On the contrary, it seems to have come out less well in some instances, principally as a result of the British hesitancy to invest in a territory whose future status was uncertain.

While the 1939–1946 period has not yet been considered in connection with the Dependency as a whole, it will be helpful, perhaps,

[48] *Parliamentary Debates*, 5th ser., Commons, Vol. 402, col. 434.

to go somewhat ahead of the main narrative in order to complete the account of the Togoland mandate and of its transfer, after the second world war, to the status of a trust territory.

The war years brought few changes to the mandated area beyond the acceleration of economic life which was common to all of West Africa. Toward the end of the period, however, the Ewes began to realize that the time for some sort of change in the League of Nations system was drawing near. With the organization of a new form of international supervision, the problem of the mandated areas would probably come up for discussion. With this possibility in view, leaders in all three sections of Eweland, that is in the Gold Coast Colony as well as in the British and French mandates, began to plan for the possible realization of their long-hoped-for dream of a united Eweland.

In the spring of 1945 Daniel Ahmling Chapman, an Ewe from the British sphere who had had the advantage of an Oxford education and who was on the Achimota College staff, began to publish a monthly newsletter designed to acquaint his fellow tribesmen with the present situation and to prepare them "to play a more effective part in the affairs of our country and in shaping its future."[49] The movement thus started aimed at increasing co-operation between the various states and at a more progressive system of native administration as well as at the eventual unification of separated tribes. During the ensuing months, while the United Nations was meeting at the San Francisco conference, Ewe leaders continued to urge the people to give the movement their full support.

In June 1945, the charter of the new international organization as drafted at the San Francisco conference, was finally signed. Chapters 12 and 13 of this document made provision for the establishment of an international trusteeship system. This system could be applied by means of trusteeship agreements to mandated areas, as well as to other categories of territories. It did not differ greatly from the former mandate system since individual states could continue to administer the trust territories under the general supervision of the Trusteeship Council. This council had no more power than the Permanent Mandates Commission except that it could visit the respective trust territories at the times agreed upon by the administering authority, and could receive petitions directly from these territories. One notable feature, however, is the inclusion of a gen-

[49] *The Ewe News-Letter,* No. 1 (May 1945).

eral declaration of principles for the administration of all dependencies, mentioning among others, the following aim:

To promote the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the Trust Territories, and their progressive development towards self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned, and as may be provided by the terms of each trusteeship agreement . . . .[50]

During the first session of the General Assembly of the United Nations in January 1946, Great Britain took the initiative in putting the new provisions into practical execution by placing her mandated territories of Tanganyika, the Cameroons, and Togoland under the trusteeship system. The following October the British government filed a draft of the terms of trusteeship with the Secretary General of the United Nations for presentation during the ensuing session of the General Assembly.[51] At the same time the French government also presented a trusteeship agreement for the former mandate of French Togoland. In spite of the Ewes' desire for the unification of the territory, the new agreements thus provided for a continuation of the old divisions. Both drafts were accepted by the General Assembly in December 1946. The first meeting of the Trusteeship Council did not take place until March 1947.

During these trusteeship discussions by the various members of the United Nations, the Ewes themselves continued to work for the unification of their territory. Throughout this period efforts were made by Ewe leaders to get the British and French governments and the United Nations to agree to a single trust territory under one administering authority rather than a continuation of the former Anglo-French division. On December 31, 1945, a group of Africans from all three sections of Eweland had published a resolution including in part the following clauses:

[50] *Charter of the United Nations,* chap. xii, "International Trusteeship System," Article 76.

[51] The original draft for the British Togoland trust can be found in *Togoland and the Cameroons under United Kingdom Mandate,* July 1946, Cmd. 6863. The second draft is given in *Territories in Africa under United Kingdom Mandate* (revised texts), October 1946, Cmd. 6935. The final text is in United Nations Trusteeship Document T/8, March 25, 1947. *Trusteeship Agreements; Texts of the Eight Trusteeship Agreements Approved by the General Assembly at the Sixty-second Meeting of Its First Session, 13 December, 1946.*

We deeply deplore the partition of our country as this constitutes a very serious barrier to our social, economic, educational and political progress as a people, and we therefore do hereby resolve: (*a*) that all the international frontiers cutting across Eweland be removed and all Eweland brought under a single administration; (*b*) that the whole of Eweland become a Trust Territory; (*c*) that Great Britain be invited to become the Administering Authority in Eweland.[52]

It will be noticed that this resolution contains a clause asking that Great Britain be invited to become the administering authority. While the Ewes had not been entirely satisfied with British rule, most of them appear to have preferred it to French colonial methods. During the spring of 1946, another statement known as the *Ewe Convention* was drawn up and signed by 45 chiefs or local leaders from the three sections of Eweland.[53] This second document, while asking that Eweland be united under a single administration, does not suggest any definite power as the administering authority. Though Ewe petitions were received by the Secretary General of the United Nations, they were not considered during the 1946 session.[54] As has already been pointed out, the trust agreements providing for a continuation of the former Anglo-French division were approved by the General Assembly in December 1946.

In spite of the fact that the new trust agreements have been sanctioned, the Ewes have not discontinued their efforts for unification.[55] One clause of the British agreement, however, already makes provision for a step in that direction. Section *b* of Article 5 of this document states that the administering authority may constitute the territory in a customs, fiscal, or administrative union or federation

[52] *Ewe News-Letter,* No. 9, January 1946.

[53] *Ibid.,* No. 17, September 1946.

[54] United Nations Document, T/5, records petitions received by the Secretary General on May 29, 1946, etc.

[55] Though later developments of the Ewe situation carry us beyond the period of this survey, it is interesting to note that during the first session of the new Trusteeship Council in April 1947, the All-Ewe Conference sent a cablegram to the United Nations protesting the Anglo-French division. See United Nations Document, T/Pet. 6/1. In December 1947, the Trusteeship Council heard an oral statement from Sylvanus E. Olympio, representative of the All-Ewe Conference, again asking for unification. His petition was not granted, but the Trusteeship Council adopted a resolution approving certain measures which would help to overcome difficulties resulting from the division of the Ewe people. The Council also decided that its first visiting mission to Togoland would devote special attention to this problem. See United Nations Document, T/91 and *United Nations Weekly Bulletin,* December 16, 1947.

with adjacent territory under his control. This clause will make possible the union of all British-governed Ewes into one administrative district—whether in the Gold Coast proper or in the trust area—and will do away with the arbitrary boundaries which have hitherto had a cramping effect on the organization and development of these divisions. While the change applies only to the British sphere and does not eliminate the greater barrier of the Anglo-French frontier, it nevertheless is an advance toward the eventual union of all Eweland.

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CHAPTER VIII

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

The history and political development of the four divisions of the Gold Coast Dependency from 1919 to 1939 have now been considered. It is evident that even in the latter year marked differences in the manner and rate of progress still existed. There were the Northern Territories with a subsistence economy, with insufficient communications to the south, and with social and political circumstances not much beyond those of the more primitive sections of Africa, although reunited native states and an apparently successful form of indirect rule promised much for the future. Then there was Ashanti with its long tradition of war and of federal action which has given this section a homogeneous character and has led to a happy restoration of the former confederacy and to a surprisingly rapid adaptation to Western civilization. In contrast to both the Northern Territories and to Ashanti, in 1939 the coastal area remained divided into numerous petty states with at least three big linguistic groups. Due to the rapid development of the cocoa industry it had reached a more advanced economic status than the rest of the Dependency, with the resultant growth of a moneyed middle class interested in commerce, and with an educated professional group often politically minded and determined to obtain a speedy increase in self-government. The bulk of the population, however, remained living in rural areas under the traditional rule of their chiefs. Certain differences in viewpoint and interests consequently grew up between the rural and urban areas. In recent years the government, recognizing the mistakes of its early laissez faire policy, has attempted to draw together the rulers of the various divisions through the joint provincial council and to co-ordinate and harmonize the aims of conservative and progressive groups.

A fourth section of the Dependency—the mandated sphere of British Togoland—was itself divided in two parts, that of the north sharing the characteristics of the Protectorate while the south had the same type of problems, though in a less acute form, as the Gold Coast Colony itself.

With this picture of the various departments of the Dependency in mind, it will be possible to consider the development which took place from 1919 to 1939 in economic and social matters. Since an interrelation of the four divisions often exists in these fields, they will be treated, as far as possible, from the standpoint of the whole, rather than as separate units.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The economic history[1] of the Gold Coast, since its first contacts with Europeans, can be divided into three main periods, though the characteristics of each occasionally overlap one another. During the first period (sixteenth–eighteenth centuries) various European nations carried on the lucrative business of slave trading until the British outlawed it in 1807, and English companies, encouraged by humanitarian groups, tried to replace it with a "legitimate commerce" of such native products as palm oil, gold dust, and timber. In return for these exports the Gold Coast received firearms, rum, tobacco, beads, and cotton textiles. This "trader's era" lasted until the mid-nineteenth century when parliament finally decided to take control of the coastal settlements, and thus inaugurated the third or Crown colony period, during which the Gold Coast was considered to be of economic value, since: (1) it could produce tropical commodities in demand in the English market; (2) it possessed considerable mineral deposits of gold and—as was later discovered—diamonds, manganese, and bauxite; (3) it could provide an expanding market for British manufactured goods, especially cotton textiles.

The administration, during this last period, had the aim of encouraging exports and imports, and to this end the *Pax Britannica* was imposed on the entire Dependency, adequate government systems set up, and means of transportation developed. The system was not a difficult one to inaugurate, for the Gold Coast possessed great natural wealth; crops, especially cacao which was introduced

[1] There is no economic history of the Gold Coast although certain phases of its development have been treated in empire surveys or in separate monographs. See, for example, W. K. Hancock, *Survey of British Commonwealth Affairs*, II, *Problems of Economic Policy 1918–1939*, Part 2 (New York, 1942); Hailey, *African Survey*; Hinden, *Plan for Africa*. See also the publications of the Achimota Discussion Groups for the best expression of native opinion on economic as well as political and social affairs. The annual reports and the legislative council debates also give details concerning economic and social development.

in the 1890's, were easily grown, and world markets were constantly expanding. The years between the opening of the century and the great Depression were marked by what has been aptly called "a leap to prosperity." The export and import duties, especially those on cocoa, provided sufficient revenue to finance the administration and, for the time being at least, direct taxation seemed unnecessary. As has been seen, Governor Guggisberg used this increased revenue, as well as government loans, to finance his Ten Year Plan which brought to the Gold Coast an enlarged transportation system and new educational, medical, and other public services. With the coming of the slump in world trade in the 1930's, however, the danger of an economy based on export goods was brought home to all; especially since the country was depending for its purchase of imported goods almost entirely on the proceeds of one main agricultural crop, which was extremely subject to world price fluctuations. By 1931 revenue dropped from the high 1927 level of over £4,000,000 to about half that amount. Fortunately for the Colony, the world premium on gold stimulated the mining industry, and the resultant increase of revenue from the gold export tax helped the administration, along with its policy of stringent economy, to weather the trade slump. As a result of this experience, the government made some attempts to foster more varied types of agriculture, but with only moderate success. The cattle and timber industries were also stimulated, but though farseeing African leaders asked for the introduction of local industries, the administration did not, at that time, adopt a policy of official encouragement of manufacturing. It was to take the changed conditions and the challenge to Britain's colonial policy of the 1939–1945 war years finally to procure strong governmental support of a more balanced economy.

Not only the Gold Coast administration but that of the entire colonial empire has been criticized for concentrating during the prewar epoch on political development to the neglect of economic and social progress. As one author puts it, this achievement in popular government and indirect rule has been very great.

> But it will be jeopardized unless the Native Administrations and the European officials who give them guidance show themselves capable of solving the more pressing economic problems and thereby delivering those tangible goods which the people increasingly demand—better education, improved health, and the prospect of liberation from the ancient curse of abject poverty. Until quite recently, officials and writers have

not paid sufficient attention to these matters. Anthropology has been the fashionable study, and it has been encouraged by intelligent administrators because of the help it can give them in improving the mechanism of indirect rule. This is all to the good. The partnership between anthropologists and administrators is a happy one. But it is a pity that the economists have not also been called in.[2]

But there were some signs during the latter part of the 1930's, that both the colonial office in London and the administration in the Gold Coast were taking an increased interest in the economic life of the Dependency. In 1929 the first Colonial Development Fund was established, and about the same time a special section was organized by the secretary of state for the colonies to study and advise him on the economic problems of the empire. Though this policy did not come to full flowering until after 1939, a new attitude was just beginning to appear, during the prewar years, toward social and economic matters in the various departments of the Gold Coast administration.

In turning from this over-all picture of the economic situation in the Dependency to the separate elements which made it up, the most basic one of agriculture will be considered first. During the nineteenth century it presents the story of a varied production for export purposes which gradually gave way to an unhealthy concentration on the single, easily grown, and highly popular cacao crop, until the 1930 drop in prices brought both the government and the Africans to the realization of their dangerous position and of the necessity for a more balanced development.

With the transfer in 1807 from slave trading to legitimate commerce, the Gold Coast began to export palm oil and kernels, a little wild rubber, timber, and gold dust, while there was also a considerable trade in kola nuts with the Mohammedan interior. In the nineteenth century the amount of these exports gradually increased, especially as there was a growing demand in Europe for all types of vegetable oils. It was found that the scrublands along the coast were suitable to coconuts, and a trade in copra, the dried meat of the kernels, was also developed.

Such was the situation in 1879 when an African laborer from the plantations of Fernando Po, an island off the coast of West Africa, returned to the Gold Coast with smuggled cocoa pods. The story has already been told how from this romantic beginning the

[2] Hancock, *Problems of Economic Policy, 1918–1939*, p. 265.

Gold Coast developed an industry which was contributing, by 1925, nearly 44 percent of the total world cocoa exports. Probably the most interesting fact of all is that this amazing achievement was accomplished entirely by African farmers, with little help from the government beyond the provision of the necessary transportation system.

Throughout the colonial empire the British faced, during these years, the choice of allowing European capital to develop the plantation system or of protecting the native cultivator. In West Africa, the decision was almost always in favor of indigenous owners, even though Lord Leverhulme of the Unilevers Company and other British financiers prophesied that scientific large-scale producers would eventually monopolize the market and drive out the local agriculturalists. The cocoa industry, though it is certainly not as efficiently run as it could be, is nevertheless an example of African ability and of the possibility of developing large-scale export crops from small native farms. There are estimated to be some 300,000 such farms in the Dependency (though no exact survey has ever been made), usually four to five acres in size and averaging about one-ton output per farm.

The industry grew rapidly, as the establishment of a farm requires little more than the clearing of the forest and the planting of trees. But in contrast to the growers of South America and the West Indies the African farmers neglected drainage, forking, pruning, disease control, and the provision of sufficient shade trees. In the early years of the industry's growth the government made little effort to guide it or to introduce better methods of husbandry.

With a rapidly expanding market in Europe and America during the first quarter of the twentieth century, success came easily to the Gold Coast farmers. The following figures[3] give a picture of these forward leaps:

Period	Five Year Average by Tons
1891–1895	5
1896–1900	230
1901–1905	3,172
1906–1910	14,784
1911–1915	51,819
1916–1920	106,072
1921–1925	186,329
1926–1930	218,895
1931–1934	236,088

[3] *Gold Coast Handbook, 1937*, p. 38.

In spite of the rapid development, however, the situation of the cocoa farmer was not as favorable as at first appears. The finances of the industry were poorly organized, or rather not organized at all, with the result that the majority of the cocoa growers were deeply in debt to moneylenders with little hope of ever being able to clear their accounts. These moneylenders were mainly brokers for the European firms. They were given money by the firms to advance to the farmers as a guarantee that the forthcoming season's crop would be supplied to the particular firm in question. The farmer got into debt if, owing to bad weather, disease, or price fluctuations, he was unable to make good the advance received. In some cases, of course, individuals got into debt through extravagant funeral observances, litigation expenses, or other causes.[4]

One cause of this financial difficulty has also been the changing character of land tenure which the cocoa industry itself brought about. West African practice has always been one of tribal ownership of land under the protection of the chief. In the beginning each farmer was a peasant cultivator who worked a few acres of soil with the aid of his family and, if he wished to expand his cocoa holdings, no objections were raised as there was plenty of land for all. With the expansion of industry, however, hired labor from the Northern Territories or the neighboring French colonies was also employed, which led to nonworking absentee owners, who left the farms to managers relying entirely on paid labor. At the same time the land was increasing in value. Such a set of circumstances put the chiefs in a position to enrich themselves by selling their tribal lands, a practice hitherto unknown and contrary to customary native law. Accordingly, in the cocoa areas individual ownership began to replace the former communal right of occupancy. As unscrupulous local authorities often sold and resold the same acreage to different buyers, and as lack of surveys made definite boundaries impossible, endless disputes and costly litigation over land titles soon resulted. A further outcome was that land was no longer there for the taking, and an impoverished farmer could not help himself by expanded production.

With these new conditions, the need for cash has increased. The farmer had to buy land, pay wages to his hired laborers, and support

[4] One of the agricultural officers of the Gold Coast has made a survey of a typical cocoa village. See W. R. Beckett, *Akokoaso: A Survey of a Gold Coast Village* (London, 1943).

his family, for in many cases the older practice of growing local subsistence crops was so neglected that partial reliance on canned goods from England became increasingly common. If a farmer fell in debt he would usually turn to the African moneylender and borrow on his coming crop or, if necessary, mortgage his farm on the basis of a long-term loan. Due to lack of clear titles to land, the banks would not lend with the farm as security, nor was any government credit agency set up, so the moneylenders and cocoa brokers had their way and charged interest rates which were seldom less than 50 percent. The whole system of uncertain land title, of obtaining advances on crops, of ever increasing debts with no way of repaying them, has not only thrown the cocoa industry into a state of confusion and disrupted the land system of the Colony but has also had grave consequences of both political and social import. The sale of tribal lands, their rental to nontribal strangers, or their unjust control by influential families of the district, have often deprived the common folk of their share. As far as native authority is concerned the new system has also created difficulty. Nontribal Africans who buy or rent land sometimes refuse to give allegiance to the local chief or to pay their share in taxes. The migratory laborers from the north, moreover, have no chief to protect them in matters of just wages and are sometimes discriminated against in the local tribunals.

In addition to the unstable financial foundation of the cocoa industry and its resultant evils, there were many technical problems. Due to ignorance of scientific agriculture or to discouragement over low prices, the farmers often used negligent methods in both caring for the trees and preparing the cocoa for market. Proper care of the soil, pruning, drainage, manuring, pest control, and shade trees were neglected. Once the pods were ripe they were often so carelessly fermented and dried that diseased and moldy beans resulted. In the end, Gold Coast cocoa, being rated on the world market as of inferior quality, consequently brought lower prices. In order to protect the quality of the Colony's exports,[5] in 1927 the government introduced a system of voluntary inspection, and seven years later made it compulsory. This legislation, along with the 1937 scheme for government grading, has somewhat improved matters.

Added to these difficulties of finance, organization, and technique, a further one was to be found in the marketing of the product. As

[5] In one year the United States Department of Agriculture rejected 26,274 bags of cocoa out of a probable 400,000,000. Legislative Council, *Debates*, 1930, p. 21.

has been pointed out in an earlier chapter, almost the entire crop was purchased by thirteen European firms. From time to time the Africans united in holdups against the price agreements of these companies, some of which control also the bulk of imports and the retailing stores of West Africa. After the most serious and prolonged boycott—that of 1937–1938—a parliamentary committee investigated the entire cocoa situation, and not only reported against the buyers' pool but also recommended that marketing should be completely reorganized and, under government supervision, entrusted to a co-operative association of African farmers.[6] Though the governor appointed a committee to prepare for such an organization, the war prevented its formation and the administration has since controlled all marketing of cocoa.

The well-being of the cocoa industry was also threatened, during the 1930's, by the rapid increase of cocoa diseases. The agricultural department made some attempts to get the Africans to apply methods of plant sanitation and pest control but results were insufficient. Moreover, the basic causes of the diseases had not been discovered. Visiting agriculturists warned the government of the grave danger to the entire industry and in 1936 a colonial office expert finally spoke sharply. "The Gold Coast," he reported, "with the largest cocoa industry in the world, is still contented with the present and is taking no steps to safeguard the future."[7] Two years later, at long last, a research station was set up at New Tafo. During the war this center did intensive work on the cocoa diseases but the further account will be considered in a later chapter.

Looking back over the early story of the cocoa development, one cannot but regret that it was not properly organized from its very beginning. Here was a peasant industry which might have led to a fairly even distribution of wealth among the lower classes. In West Africa the British have wisely held to the policy of safeguarding the land for the native rather than allowing European-controlled plantations, but such a method cannot succeed unless the Africans are taught scientific techniques and are aided by the government to organize the marketing of the crop on the most modern lines. For the educated Africans of the coastal areas, this can best be done by agricultural co-operatives, while for the more primitive peoples of

[6] *Report on Cocoa*, Cmd. 5845, 1938, Sections 511–45; see chap. v above.

[7] F. A. Stockdale, *Report . . . . on His Visit to Nigeria, Gold Coast and Sierra Leone, Oct., 1935–Feb., 1936*, p. 6, quoted by Hancock, *Economic Policy*, p. 250.

the interior, demonstration farms under the control of the Native Authorities is the wiser method. Unfortunately, until the 1930's no such policy was inaugurated. At that time the task of developing co-operatives was given into the hands of the Department of Agriculture. Its officers have since put much energy and enthusiasm into aiding the Africans to establish such associations, not only for cocoa farmers but for other producers as well.[8] In 1931 an ordinance[9] legalized them and by 1938 the following types[10] had been organized:

Types	Number	Members	Paid up Share Capital
Cocoa producers	371	9,399	£28,298
Copra producers	11	541	632
Fruit (banana) producers	20	348	1,022
Citrus producers	4	464	765
Coffee producers	1	72	110
Total	407	10,824	£30,829

The 371 cocoa co-operatives, however, sold but 9,405 tons of cocoa in 1938, and though all lots were of high purity they commanded only the small price premium of some 6*d.* per load. This reward was scarcely worth the extra effort which co-operative action requires of the untrained African. For this reason the Nowell Commission of 1937 recommended a Cocoa Farmers' Association to represent all the producers, and to sell on their behalf the entire crop of the Gold Coast.[11]

Another view advanced is that the whole cocoa problem is too complicated to be left in the hands of the Native Authorities who, owing to the laissez faire attitude of the government in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, have not received sufficient training in administration to cope with the situation.[12]

On the fundamental question of native business morality, some observers have pointed out that the Gold Coast African first learned commercial methods from hardened European slave traders. Some of the Africans are not professing Christians, and a few appear to

[8] Legislative Council, *Debates,* 1937, pp. 23 and 60; *ibid.,* 1938, p. 107. See also Claude Strickland, *Cooperation for Africa* (Oxford, 1933); Hancock, *op. cit.,* pp. 226 ff.; Jackson Davis, *Africa Advancing,* pp. 122–28. For an expression of favorable African opinion on co-operatives, see K. Sunkersette Obu, "Economic Planning for National Development," Achimota and Kumasi Discussion Groups, *Towards National Development* (Achimota, 1945), pp. 48–49.

[9] No. 4 of 1931. [10] *G.C. An. Report, 1938,* p. 28.

[11] *Report on Cocoa,* Cmd. 5845, Sections 511–45.

[12] MacMillan, *Europe and West Africa,* pp. 80 ff.

have no very high standard of business practice, being wholly material in outlook and interested only in financial gain.[13] The Africans themselves are beginning to recognize this weakness. One of the Gold Coast intelligentsia speaking to the Achimota Discussion Group, for example, pointed out that "Africans have often been known to be ruthless in dealing with other Africans" and that the future "need will be greater business integrity and high moral purpose without which neither Europeans nor Africans, whose privilege it will be to remake Africa, can succeed."[14] Another African, a member of the legislative council, with a frankness not usually found in such addresses, warned the Gold Coast Youth Conference: "Dishonesty keeps the country back from uniting together to carry on any trade, business, or anything that will place the people of this country on a good financial standing."[15] Though unfair business practices are by no means universal, the problem is a serious one and leaves much for the press, schools, and missions of the Dependency to accomplish.

Before leaving this discussion of agricultural development and its related problems, something should be said of the recent attempts which the government has made to introduce a more balanced production. As has been seen, in the first quarter of this century palm oil and local food crops were increasingly neglected for the easier and more profitable business of cocoa growing. With the Depression, however, the low price for cocoa and the general financial condition led the farmers to cultivate subsistence crops both for themselves and the local market. At the same time, especially on derelict cocoa farms, the Department of Agriculture encouraged an increased and more efficient production of palm-oil products. The former wild-rubber industry, which since 1919 had been steadily decreasing, was also revived; while experiments were made in bringing new tropical products to the Gold Coast. In 1934 the production of bananas for export was begun and three years later 59,000 bunches were exported.[16] The industry is a demanding one, however, and the farmers prefer the easier cocoa culture. Citrus fruits have been

[13] MacMillan, *Europe and West Africa*, p. 84.

[14] M. Duwuona, "Towards a New Social Economy," *Pointers to Progress: the Gold Coast in the Next Five Years*, ed. by C. Shaw (Achimota, 1942), pp. 61–62.

[15] Kojo Thompson, "Whither Are We Drifting in Society?" Gold Coast Youth Conference, *Are We to Sit Down?* (Accra, 1942), p. 3.

[16] *G.C. An. Report, 1937*, p. 29; E. Worthington, *Science in Africa; A Review of Scientific Research Relating to Tropical and Southern Africa* (Oxford, 1938), p. 367.

somewhat more satisfactory. In 1934, likewise, grapefruit orchards were begun and the government set up a trial cannery, while in 1938 a European firm established a lime juice plant, and £26,959 worth of lime products were exported. Since the coconut is the only crop which does well on the sandy beaches, the peasants of these districts often combine the production of copra with their ordinary fishing trade. By 1938 some 2,000 tons a year were produced but the industry is capable of further expansion.

Small quantities of rice and tobacco are also grown for local consumption, while kola does well in the forest areas and finds a good market in the Mohammedan Sudan. The farmers of the Northern Territories and parts of Togoland produce maize, millet, yams, and peanuts, not only for their own use but for the markets of Ashanti and the Colony. The Protectorate has also quantities of unexploited shea nut trees, whose fruit contains a solid fat suitable for food. The Department of Agriculture maintains a shea reserve near Yendi, where trials with the effects of cultivation on wild trees since 1932 have resulted in a marked increase of yield.

These efforts of the administration to broaden the base of Gold Coast agriculture have bettered the situation, but they have not been sufficient. The African leaders are not unconscious of the problem and one section of the 1934 petition to the colonial office referred to this point:

> In regard to banana, the cotton plant, limes, etc., the Government has indeed made certain installments towards improving or popularizing their culture, but the moneys voted for these have been niggardly, or otherwise they are expended in the wrong direction by employing local European officers in the Agricultural Department with no special business experience in these markets other than the academic training for their culture. We ask that a special commissioner with a business experience be sent out to the coast to find a way of adding to the wealth of the country in addition to the cocoa they now cultivate.[17]

Of course the fault is not wholly that of the government, as this criticism might lead one to suppose. The Department of Agriculture has made repeated attempts, as has been seen, to encourage other crops, but there probably will be little improvement until the illiterate farmer has been properly trained in more scientific methods. Governors and other public officials have pointed out the danger, not only

[17] Sessional Papers No. 11 of 1934, *Papers Relating to the Petition of the Delegation from the Gold Coast Colony and Ashanti* (Accra, 1934), p. 49.

of a one-crop economy, but also of the malnutrition which is so widespread in the Dependency.[18] Since the early 1930's the League of Nations, the International Labor Office, the British colonial office, and other organizations have shown much interest in the nutrition of dependent peoples. Food surveys were made and malnutrition was found to be the predisposing cause of most of the African diseases, as well as of the low disease resistance so common among the inhabitants. In 1939 the Committee on Nutrition for the Colonial Empire published the results of its survey. The section on the Gold Coast reports:

> Broadly speaking, the diet is deficient in those animal and vegetable foodstuffs which provide fat, good protein, vitamins and mineral matter. It is believed, but not proved, that the calcium content of the diet is poor. The protein content is generally very low. This is especially noticeable in the miner's diet. There is also a definite deficiency of vitamin C in the diet of many of the poorer classes . . . .
>
> Food deficiency is a predisposing factor in many local disease conditions. Tuberculosis, the pneumonias and bronchitis are very prevalent and together account for 30 per cent of all registered male deaths. Over 70 per cent of persons in the coast town of Saltpond gave evidence of tubercle infection . . . . There seems to be a close relationship between undernutrition and the incidence of leprosy in certain areas.[19]

It is evident from this report that the people of the Gold Coast have need of a more balanced diet. The earlier discussion of the cattle industry in the Northern Territories showed its possibilities of further development, but much reorganization of the marketing technique is necessary if the cattle are not to be lost in transit and if a lower price and wider distribution are to bring meat supplies within the orbit of the lower classes.

In like manner, if health standards are to be raised, a more varied diet of fresh fruits and vegetables is obligatory. Practically every type of vegetable and many tropical fruits can be grown in the Dependency. In past years between £1,000,000 and £2,000,000 have been spent, out of total import trade of only some £8,000,000, on all manner of foodstuffs from abroad, including canned fish and

[18] See, for example, Legislative Council, *Debates,* 1930, "Governor's Address," p. 39.

[19] *Nutrition in the Colonial Empire,* Part II, Cmd. 6051, 1939, pp. 35–36. *West Africa,* May 25, 1946, p. 463, states that a nutrition survey conducted by the Gold Coast government itself, during the late 1930's, has been suppressed by the colonial office in London.

meat, flour, dried milk, and vegetable oils. If only the food economy of the Dependency were properly organized, the inhabitants could save much money for more necessary imports; they could build up local trade and above all they could better their health by proper diet.[20]

Closely connected with the agricultural problems of the Gold Coast are those concerning land tenure and forest reserves. As for the land question and the litigation that has grown up around it, one colonial official has called it "the curse of the country" and rightly so, for probably no single issue causes more trouble for the government, Europeans, and Africans, than this "exasperating uncertainty" as to who holds title to the land.[21]

In the early days of British occupation, the government made no attempt to prevent alienation of tribal land to foreigners until, in the 1890's, European mining prospectors began a veritable rush for concessions. In ignorance, chiefs were easily persuaded to alienate their peoples' lands, even though it was not allowed by tribal law. In order to protect the heritage of the Africans, in 1894 the government attempted to vest all waste and forest lands in the Crown to be administered for the common good. When this bill aroused much opposition, in 1897 a second ordinance was planned which would recognize the rights of the occupants as against the chiefs. The African leaders again offered such strong resistance that the matter was dropped, and in 1900 the government merely passed an ordinance which required that all concessions be validated by the Supreme Court of the Gold Coast. The bill, however, was inadequate to protect the peoples' communal rights from the disregard of the chiefs, and by 1939 over 11,000 square miles of tribal lands had been alienated either to Africans or to Europeans.[22]

The gradual shift from communal to individual ownership has further complicated the land situation. As insufficient surveys have been made, it is impossible to grant titles. In addition, the practice of individual ownership is as yet recognized in only certain parts of

[20] The Africans of the Gold Coast are beginning to realize the need for a more balanced diet. The Achimota Discussion Group often touches on this point. See, for example, C. Shaw (editor), *Pointers to Progress,* pp. 50–54, 64–72.

[21] Hailey, *African Survey,* chapter xi, part 2.

[22] Alienation to Europeans is almost entirely for mining purposes. Such alienation does not give the concession holder any land ownership but merely the right to develop mines. A few attempts were made in the past at European agricultural plantations but they were not sufficiently successful to warrant continuance.

the Dependency. The Africans, furthermore, keep up continued litigation over cocoa farms, so that controversies supposedly settled are being constantly reopened. All these factors combine to make the issue one of great confusion.

Probably, as Lord Hailey suggests, the immediate aim should be registration of documents and the final goal—not freehold—but occupancy title which would thus create a just balance between the rights of the individual and the oversight which the community should exercise over the land.[23]

The same factors which have complicated the land situation have also made it difficult for the government to set aside sufficient forest reserves. The early history of this problem has already been discussed, so that it will be sufficient to indicate only the later developments.[24] By 1938 some 5,659 out of the 30,012 square miles of forest zone had been either constituted or approved as reserves. The Forestry Department declared that 6,500 square miles are the minimum essential to protect cocoa areas and water supplies; but this is far from the ideal, and large gaps in the forest zone where the dry harmattan can blow through have been so heavily farmed that even this recommended minimum is impossible. If water, soil, and forest conservation are to be properly handled and the very promising timber industry fully developed, there must be more African co-operation and an increased forestry personnel.

Besides agricultural and forest products, the third great natural resource of the Gold Coast lies in its mineral wealth. European traders exported gold from the very earliest days of their occupation, and in more recent years the survey department has discovered large quantities of bauxite, manganese, and diamonds, as well as lesser deposits of lime, granite, coal, and even oil. In the late nineteenth century European capital began developing mines and by the end of the 'thirties some very remarkable progress had been made, as the following export figures for 1937 will reveal:[25]

[23] Hailey, *op. cit.* In 1944 the government appointed the Havers Commission to study the land-litigation problem. Its report recommended the establishment of a boundary commission, land registration, short-term loans to indebted farmers, and simpler court procedure for land cases. A second commission was appointed in 1946 to prepare plans for implementing the recommendations made concerning debts. *Report of the Commission of Enquiry in the Litigation in the Gold Coast and Indebtedness Caused Thereby* (Gold Coast, 1945).

[24] See p. 35 above. *G.C. An. Report, 1938*, p. 26; Hancock, *Economic Policy*, pp. 251–53.

[25] *G.C. An. Report, 1937*, p. 50. The bauxite deposits were not mined until the 1940's.

Mineral	Quantity	Value
Gold	557,764 fine ounces	£3,910,757
Diamonds	1,577,661 carats	648,057
Manganese	527,036 tons	1,025,091
Total		£5,583,905

The Gold Coast now ranks as the second largest producer in the world for diamonds, and as the third largest for manganese. Its bauxite deposits, estimated at some 229,000,000 tons, are among the largest known to exist, though the lack of hydroelectric power has not yet allowed for much exploitation.[26] The gold mine of the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation at Obuasi is one of the richest in the world. It is not surprising, then, that the Africans have often represented to the government that some of the profits of these rich mines should be kept in the Dependency. As was seen in the discussion of the land problem, in 1894 the British administration failed in its effort to gain control of mining concessions. As a result, ignorant chiefs often granted rights to European companies for very low annual rents, and with no provision for royalties. In more recent years the chiefs have begun to realize their mistake, and have been asking that the Concessions Ordinance be changed so as to ensure a percentage of profits to the landowners. This the government has refused to do, on the grounds that such a measure would jeopardize further development. When the Africans in the legislative council asked for compulsory royalties, Governor Hodson stated:

. . . . I feel sure it would be a shortsighted and extremely harmful policy for the Government to interfere in a matter of this sort, because capital is very sensitive and it might have the effect of driving it away to other parts of the world . . . .[27]

In spite of exports amounting to as high as £5,583,905 in a single year, the mines remained until 1944 with no levy on their exports other than insignificant rents to the chiefs and a slight tax to the government. All income tax was paid within England itself. Since the wages which the mining companies paid to African labor only amounted during these years to an annual sum of between £900,000 and £1,000,000, and since the highest yearly limit of taxation was £400,000, it is evident that the bulk of mining profits went to Europe

[26] A. William Postel, *Mineral Resources of Africa*, p. 35.
[27] Legislative Council, *Debates*, 1939, Issue No. 1, p. 74.

rather than remaining within the Gold Coast.[28] The following excerpt gives an example of African opinion on this subject:

It should be the duty of a trustee government to see that the exploitation of minerals, while giving reasonable profits to shareholders, must contribute substantially to the increase of the revenue of the country in which the minerals are exploited. The large dividends paid by mining companies in recent years, show that they could shoulder more taxation without normal enterprise being discouraged, particularly when it is remembered that conditions of taxation and mining prospects in rival countries like South Africa and Australia are not as favourable as those in the Gold Coast.[29]

The Africans were dissatisfied, not only with the amount of mining profits kept within the Gold Coast, but also with the whole economic setup as well. The loss of revenue which had accompanied the Depression trade slump made them realize the insecurity of dependence on an export economy. In the petition which in 1934 Nana Sir Ofori Atta and other Gold Coast leaders presented to the colonial office, their criticism of economic as well as political matters was expressed. During the legislative debates of these years, too, they often came back on the necessity of a more balanced system based on local manufacturers and a wider domestic commerce.[30] They believed no successful plan of direct taxation could be introduced until the Dependency's wealth remained within the country itself, and was more evenly divided among the bulk of the population to be taxed. To this end they suggested both an increased dependence on domestic foods and the gradual development of secondary industries, for it was estimated that a million pounds worth of goods imported every year, such as soap, edible oils, and certain building materials, could be produced locally. The Youth Conference in 1938, for example, passed the following resolution:

Be it resolved . . . . by the Youth Conference assembled at Cape Coast that the system of trade and commerce obtaining in the country by which its natural wealth is exploited mostly for the benefit of the foreigner at the expense of the native is dangerous to the economic sta-

[28] The Gold Coast government charged mining companies a 5 percent royalty on profits. In addition, since 1934 there was an export tax on gold of 15 percent of the gold premium; and a 6¼ percent ad valorem tax on diamonds. See *Gold Coast Handbook, 1937*, p. 343.

[29] M. Dowuona, "Economic and Social Development of the Gold Coast," Achimota Discussion Group, *Quo Vadimus or Gold Coast Future*, p. 26.

[30] Legislative Council, *Debates*, 1935, p. 135; 1936, p. 115.

bility and permanence of the people of this country and that this Conference recommends that the matter be brought to the notice and attention of the Natural Rulers with a view to their taking suitable action to equate the said unbalanced conditions by means of a national fund and other means appropriate for the purpose.[31]

The remarks of the members of the legislative council came more bluntly to the point, and they openly expressed the opinion that it was the fear of harming British industry that deterred the government from allowing manufacturing to develop.

> Now, Your Excellency, as industries are the mainstay of any country, I desire to emphasize the necessity of fostering native industries such as soap, salt, tobacco, sugar, rice, pottery, cloth-weaving, fishing, and palm-oil with a view to establishing good internal trade in this country. Why should crafts that have held the people from time immemorial be made to give way for a foreign cargo? Home weaving with all its beauty, for example, make way for Manchester and Japanese goods? Now the Department of Agriculture has often been severely criticized because of the failure of that Department to help the country in creating new industries . . . . are we to understand, Sir, that our Agricultural Department is incapable of helping us to produce locally the articles mentioned in the notice? Surely they are capable, unless, in order to protect the European trade, it is not intended to help us to develop economically. It may be contested that this is a misconception, but I say, Sir, that this is what really exists in the minds of the people of this country . . . .[32]

In spite of this agitation, nothing was done during the period under consideration and it was not until the war years that the administration made any attempts to encourage local manufacture.

Looking back at the economic development of the Gold Coast during the period 1919–1939, it is clear that the first part up to 1929 was marked by great prosperity and rapid expansion with the increased revenue from customs duties. Guggisberg began and almost completed his Ten Year Plan for new railroads, for a harbor at Takoradi, and for additional schools and hospitals. His successors in the governorship had the less pleasant task of pulling the Dependency through the second half of the period, 1929–1939, when revenue dropped sharply and all development had to be curtailed. During these years both the administration and the Africans had to face the

[31] Gold Coast Youth Conference, *First Steps Towards a National Fund* (Accra, 1938), p. 10.

[32] Legislative Council, *Debates,* 1939, p. 155.

fact that a one-crop export economy was unwise, and they endeavored to develop the cattle industry in the Northern Territories and to introduce new food crops for both domestic and export use. The Africans believed, too, that local manufacturing and commerce were also necessary but, in spite of their increasing demands, the government took no definite steps toward such a policy except in so far as the encouragement of co-operatives, wider education, and more diverse agriculture can be considered as a preparation for a broader economic system.

Though the administration can perhaps be justly criticized during this period for not having made sufficient efforts to develop the economic life of the Gold Coast, it is only fair to point out that there is another side to the question. British policy in West Africa has usually held that native ownership of the land is to be preferred to the European plantation system. While the latter method may ensure a faster production, a system of peasant agriculture is assuredly better because it preserves home life, leads to the social development of the people in a natural environment, and favors an eventual prosperity which has a more solid foundation than one built on the artificial and often harmful plantation system. In the Gold Coast the African still owns his land and, though he has much to learn of more efficient farming and marketing methods, his economic future is far more secure than it would have been if rapid development had been bought at the price of widespread European exploitation. Of course, in the long run his prosperity will depend on the world market and for this reason he must keep up with scientific methods if he is to successfully compete with modern production. British policy holds that the native can be so guided that new techniques will demand, not the destruction of community life, but merely its adaptation to changed needs. Already the Gold Coast government has begun to help the Africans toward such an adaptation and, if it has been needlessly slow, it at least has the merit of having preserved the fundamental right of native ownership of the land.

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

As the missionaries have been responsible, not only for the religious activity, but also for much of the educational and welfare work in the Gold Coast, it is perhaps wise to begin an account of social development with a brief survey of their history.

The earliest missionaries to the Gold Coast were Franciscan friars

who came in the fifteenth century along with the Portuguese traders. Little of their work remained, however, after Portugal withdrew from the territory. During the following centuries, except for a few Anglicans in the 1700's, almost no missionaries made attempts to introduce Christianity on this slave-trading coast. It was not until the nineteenth century that permanent missions were finally established. Of these the first and the largest, begun in 1835, was that of the Wesleyans. At the cost of great self-sacrifice, for thirty-two missionaries either died or completely lost their health in the first ten years, they established a strong center at Cape Coast. Eventually other groups followed, paying the same heavy price in loss of lives: in 1843 the Basel Society from Switzerland; in 1847 the German Bremen Society to the Trans-Volta area; in 1881 the Catholics to Elmina; in 1898 an American Negro group—the African Methodist-Episcopalian Zion Mission; in 1906 the Anglicans; and during World War I Presbyterians from Scotland to replace the deported German missionaries.[33] Gradually each of these groups spread out from its original center and worked to Christianize and build up an African clergy in the Gold Coast. Most of them founded schools as well as churches, and until 1882 education was entirely in their hands. Even today there are comparatively few government schools, and most of the work is done by religious institutions, aided by grants from public funds if they reach the required standard. Some idea of their position in 1937 can be gained from the following statistics:[34]

[33] *Gold Coast Handbook, 1937,* pp. 25–26.

[34] *Ibid.,* p. 28. The Methodist Church is strongly established in the Central and Western Provinces and in Ashanti. In 1931 it had forty-four African ministers and 427 catechists. It operates a good training college at Kumasi, a secondary school at Cape Coast, and many primary institutions. See J. Cooksey and A. McLeish, *Religion and Civilization in West Africa* (London, 1931), pp. 138–39, and "Gold Coast Methodism; The First Hundred Years, 1835–1935." *Africa,* VIII (1935), 239–40.

The Basel Mission was confined to the Eastern Province where it early developed strong vocational training and has provided the Dependency with some of its best craftsmen. The Bremen Mission worked in the Colony and in South Togoland. During the 1914–1918 war, and again in 1939, the Scottish Presbyterians took over the work of these German missionaries. A native Ewe Presbyterian Church has since developed. It has ninety-two schools in Togoland. In the Colony proper and in Ashanti there are many excellent Scottish Presbyterian schools. *British Togo Mandate Report, 1938,* p. 47; *Gold Coast Handbook, 1937,* p. 112.

The Catholic Missions of the Central and Western Provinces, Ashanti, and Togoland are directed by the Society of African Missions with the help of two orders of nuns who do both educational and child welfare work. The Accra Vicariate was established in the Eastern Province in 1939 by the American branch of the

Denomination	Estimated Number of Followers	Number of Churches or Chapels
English Church Mission	24,000	270
Methodist Mission Society	125,225	767
Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast	58,454	286
Baptist Church Mission	6,000	54
Roman Catholics:		
Colony-Ashanti	106,453	696
Lower Volta	36,383	191
Northern Territories	24,200	24
Ewe Presbyterian Church	27,000	137
Salvation Army	6,386	160
African Methodist-Episcopalian Zion Church	7,064	87

The missionaries' work in the Gold Coast has not been easy. In the beginning, the climate and disease which had caused the country to be called the "white man's grave" led to early deaths among these missionaries, sometimes within a few months of their arrival. Then many of the chiefs and elders opposed the spread of Christianity on the grounds that it weakened their subjects' allegiance to native custom and authority. Perhaps the most difficult problem of all, however, has been the absorption of so many Africans in material affairs. The rapid increase of wealth during the early part of the century accentuated this tendency. The reports of the various missionaries refer to the ease with which converts slip back into pagan ways, and to the lack of "carry-over" of Christian principles from the church to the home, to social life, and to the business world.[35] In spite of these great difficulties missions have done much for the Gold Coast, not only in purely religious matters but in their general civilizing influence as well. At the present time, many of these groups are self-supporting. Some missions have only made a start at an African clergy; while others, especially the Methodist and Ewe Presbyterian, already have a majority of African ministers. This training in responsibility has had its effect on political life, for many Gold

Society of the Divine Word. The White Fathers have been in the Northern Territories since 1906. In 1939 there were 117 priests, 57 sisters, and 182 schools and 12 dispensaries for the entire Dependency. *Report of the Vicariates of the Gold Coast,* 1939.

The Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel first sent missionaries to the Gold Coast in 1752 but their work had eventually to be given up. The Anglicans returned in 1906 and have since opened secondary and primary schools in various parts of the Colony and Ashanti. The Bishop resides at Accra. Cooksey and McLeish, *Religion and Civilization in West Africa,* p. 143.

[35] *Ibid.,* pp. 135–37; Horn, "The Achievements of the Missions," Achimota Discussion Group, *Quo Vadimus or Gold Coast Future,* p. 40.

Coast leaders received their first experience in leadership in the councils of the missions. The Methodists can well be proud of Dr. James Kwegyir Aggrey, the man who did so much for the establishment of Achimota and who, perhaps more than any other man in the Gold Coast, furthered interracial understanding and co-operation.

Other results of missionary activity have been the rooting out of repulsive pagan customs, the encouragement of vernacular languages, and the establishment of friendly contacts with other countries through the parent churches, which has helped to broaden the African's outlook and to ennoble relationships between the white man and the black. In more recent years, too, the missions have increasingly understood the necessity of basing education as far as possible on African culture, and of integrating the life of school, mission, and community. As a result the best missions have achieved a position of marked influence among the Africans.

While the mission schools alone bore the burden of educational work during the greater part of the nineteenth century, the government began to take some responsibility in the matter, when in 1882 an ordinance was passed which provided for a board of education, official inspection, and grants-in-aid for satisfactory institutions. In the following years the administration established a few schools, and in 1909 it opened a technical institute and a normal training college at Accra. When Sir Gordon Guggisberg took over the governorship of the Gold Coast in 1919, there were nineteen government schools, 194 assisted mission schools, and some 400 unassisted ones, often of inferior quality. The budget of that year set aside £54,442 for educational purposes.[36] Guggisberg, who was keenly interested in education, did not consider this enough; he believed it to be the "keystone of progress," and as such he gave it the first place in his plans for the development of the Gold Coast. The set of sixteen principles which he worked out as the basis for a higher educational standard included, among other things, provision for more fully qualified teachers, agricultural and technical as well as literary subjects in the curriculum, organized games, equal opportunities for girls as well as boys, and above all, religious and character training as the foundation of the whole system. With these aims in view, the

[36] *Report on the Department of Education, 1919,* Appendix D. The Gold Coast annual reports as well as the reports on the Department of Education are the best references on this subject. See also *Gold Coast Education Committee Report, 1937–1941* (Accra, 1941).

government passed an ordinance in 1925 requiring higher qualifications of nonassisted schools and their staffs if they wished to remain in existence; while at the same time it announced its intention of establishing a new secondary and normal school which would provide the best that both African and European culture had to offer. This latter plan eventually developed, under Guggisberg's enthusiastic guidance, into the world-famous Prince of Wales College at Achimota.

The new education ordinance went into effect in 1927, with the result that some 150 "bush schools" were closed during the following years. This action led to much criticism on the part of some missionary bodies as well as the Africans, who could not understand why institutions should be closed when, in spite of the increasing demand for education, only one child in ten could be accommodated.[37] By 1930 it was evident that the 1925 plan had probably been too drastic. Because the existing normal institutions of the Dependency could not satisfy the demand for teachers, it was impossible to open more schools of the approved standard. The government therefore decided to allow a two-year instead of a four-year course for rural teachers, and to encourage the establishment of more training centers by grants-in-aid. Consequently the missions were able to expand so that by 1938 the Gold Coast had seven normal institutions.

As for Achimota College, Guggisberg originally planned to have it include only secondary and college departments, but the Reverend Alexander Fraser, the Anglican minister who was its first principal, insisted on both kindergarten and primary departments so that pupils could be trained from their earliest years to the high standard he wished to develop in the school.

The aim and first beginnings of Achimota were charmingly explained to an English radio audience in the fall of 1925 by Dr. Kwegyir Aggrey, the first assistant vice-principal of the college, who was more responsible than anyone else for interpreting the new institution to his fellow Africans and for obtaining their support.

> The greatest recent step forward in the co-operation between white and black, for the good of Africa, has come through the vision of Sir Gordon Guggisberg, Governor of the Gold Coast. He rightly believed that the great need of the movement was an educational institution which could meet the highest and broadest needs of Africans, and one where

[37] Legislative Council, *Debates*, 1929, pp. 168, 172, 218.

the leaders of the race would receive not only the best "head" education, but an education of the "heart" and "hand" also.

The Gold Coast Government has therefore devoted half a million pounds to the foundation of the Prince of Wales' College, Achimota, which, I believe, is the most significant thing in the whole of Africa today. . . . .

With some fifty teachers selected from the five Continents of Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Australia and with accommodations for about eight hundred students, it will be the aim of Achimota to correct the mistakes which have been made in the educational system of Africa. It will take the African boy and girl at the age of six, and carry them through the kindergarten to the University courses. It will give to the African, not only professional training, but also technical courses that will teach both boys and girls the dignity of labour. . . . .

With the coming of Western civilization . . . . African boys and girls tended to cut loose from tribal ties. In many instances the educated became neither Western nor African, losing the best in both and often imbibing the worst of both. . . . .

The importance of the Gold Coast Government's experiment at Achimota is that it will retain and improve the best things in Africa and couple them with the best things Western. The pupils in this Government College will be trained to be Christian citizens, each one a part of the body politic to whom much has been given, and from whom much will be expected. . . . . "Christianity" will not be taught but a truly Christian spirit will be fostered, and the necessity of co-operation between white and black instilled. In the harmony of the world, as in the harmony of an organ or a piano, the black and the white keys are both essential. . . . .

Achimota is destined to influence not only the Gold Coast, but directly and indirectly the entire African Continent. And Africa is grateful for this daring and far-reaching experiment towards the true emancipation of her manhood and womanhood.[38]

The new building was dedicated by the Prince of Wales in 1925 and a few classes were begun the next year, but the school was only completed in 1931 at the cost of £617,000. The institution is situated near the small town of Achimota, some seven miles inland from Accra. Its extensive campus is attractively laid out with a large administration block, numerous residential units, a hospital, museum, printing press, swimming tank, demonstration farm, and model na-

[38] M. Sampson, "James Emman Kwegyir Aggrey," *Gold Coast Men of Affairs*, pp. 64–66. See also *Report on Achimota College, 1926–1927*, and Smith, *Aggrey of Africa*, pp. 225–45 and *passim*, for Aggrey's own account of the joys and trials connected with the beginnings of Achimota.

tive village for employees. Neither trouble nor expense seems to have been spared in obtaining an up-to-date plant and modern equipment.

The staff usually includes about forty Europeans and sixty Africans, though some of the latter are for clerical rather than teaching purposes. Achimota is said to have a faculty ranking with the finest to be found in any comparable institution in England or America. Most of its masters have Cambridge or Oxford degrees and were chosen because of their interest in this type of work.

In 1930 the college ceased to be a government institution by the creation of the Achimota Council,[39] a body made up of European and African members who have entire control of the institution. It continues, however, to receive an annual government grant[40] of £48,000, and the staff pensions are also a charge on Dependency funds. The administration believed that the college would be less open to political attack and would more easily gain the full confidence of the Africans if it became, as far as possible, a private institution. The interests of the government are safeguarded by a quinquennial inspection and by the appointment of official members to the council.

The curriculum included, until changes were made in the 1940's, the usual primary and secondary subjects, a commercial course, a one-year agricultural course, four years of teacher training, and a college department in which the students took intermediate courses to prepare for the external examination of the University of London in arts, science, economics, and engineering, and for the first medical examination. (These intermediate courses were somewhat like those of the American junior college.) The only college degree given was the B.S. in the fields of civil and mechanical engineering.

Classes are taught in the more important vernaculars as well as in English. Every attempt is made to give the students a well-balanced training with courses in handicrafts, farm work, and domestic science, as well as in the literary subjects. The native history and customs of the Gold Coast are held in high honor, and the students are expected to take part in practice-teaching classes, first aid, sanitation, and agricultural demonstrations in near-by villages. Within the institution itself, discipline is largely on the lines of the English public schools, and the administration encourages the pupils to develop habits of self-reliance and co-operation. There are both Catho-

[39] Ordinance 10 of 1930; Legislative Council, *Debates*, 1929–1930, p. 49.
[40] The grant was increased during the war to £54,000 and in 1946 to £64,000.

lic and Protestant resident chaplains, and the principal has always been a Protestant minister. A Christian atmosphere is said to pervade the school.

In 1938 there were 679 pupils enrolled at Achimota, 232 of whom were girls. They were divided into the following departments:[41]

Kindergarten	60	Training college (boys	86
Lower primary	90	Training college (girls	66
Upper primary	143	University	32
Secondary	180	Special courses	22

The government made one of its official inspections in 1938, and reported that the aims of Achimota "are being in a great measure fulfilled," adding: "The educational scheme presents itself, on a general view, as an ordered sequence from the lowest almost to the highest levels, conducted with notable ability and devotion on the part of the tutors, and with a high degree of industry in the pupils.[42]

In spite of much successful work, however, Achimota has not been without its critics. In the beginning many Africans disapproved of the expense involved and of its coeducational policy. Since then, especially during the Depression years, there have not always been enough suitable positions for the Achimota graduates, and in 1935 the Africans therefore asked that more stress be put on agricultural training. Some of the missionary groups, too, have doubted the wisdom of primary and secondary departments. They believe that Achimota would be more closely integrated with the educational life of the Colony if its students had received their early education in the regular schools of the Dependency, only going to the college for higher studies. As it is, many feel that Achimota is too isolated from the educational life of the Gold Coast, and that if some of the large sums spent there had been used to raise the general level of all secondary institutions it would have resulted in benefits to a wider group of students.[43]

In recent years local opinion has grown more favorable to Achimota, and its increasing popularity is proved by the hundreds of students who apply for the few vacancies annually available. A

[41] *G.C. An. Report, 1938*, p. 81. The film *Achimota*, distributed by the British Information Services, gives an excellent picture of the work of this institution.

[42] *Ibid.*

[43] K. Horn, "The Future of Education in the Gold Coast," Achimota Discussion Group, *Quo Vadimus or Gold Coast Future*, p. 44; Cooksey and McLeish, *Religion and Civilization in West Africa*, p. 130.

splendid opportunity lies before this great institution—one of the finest in all Africa—for it is on its graduates that the future of the Gold Coast will in large part depend. As Governor Slater once remarked of Sir Gordon Guggisberg: "My predecessor's decision to create Achimota was an act of magnificent faith in the ultimate capacity of the African to govern himself."[44]

In turning from Achimota to the educational situation in general, we find that during the years following Guggisberg's governorship, development was slowed up by lack of revenue resulting from the economic crisis. In 1938 there were only 24 government schools, 424 assisted, and about 457 unassisted institutions in the Gold Coast—some 905 in all. Of these the primary schools were providing education for 90,000 children. Though this was a good record for African colonies in general, it represented only about 15 percent of the school population of the Dependency. At the rate of progress then prevailing, universal primary education would not be possible until the end of the century.[45] The money set aside for all educational purposes, including Achimota, in the 1938 budget was £270,000, which was 9.34 percent of the total expenditure and about £3 to £4 for each child.[46] This is the highest expenditure of any African colony except Zanzibar, but it is unfortunate that these benefits are unevenly distributed. In some of the more prosperous areas of the Gold Coast nearly 30 percent of the children may receive an education, while in the Northern Territories, for example, only 1,000 attend school out of an estimated child population of nearly 200,000.[47]

In order to provide for a more rapid development of educational facilities, in recent years the government has given encouragement to schools supported by the local administrations. This appears to be a wise policy, for if indirect rule is really to work and if schools are to give an education which will fit the child for a future in his own community, they must be as closely integrated with tribal life as possible.[48] Almost all the problems which now face the Gold Coast, whether of a political, economic, or social nature, could be solved,

[44] Legislative Council, *Debates*, 1929, "Governor's Address," p. 51.

[45] *G.C. An. Report, 1938*, pp. 72 ff.

[46] *Report on the Finances and Accounts of the Gold Coast for the Year 1938–1939*, p. 11.

[47] Hinden, *Plan for Africa*, p. 184.

[48] For an excellent discussion of this problem see E. Hussey, "The Role of Education in Assisting the People of Africa to Adjust Themselves to the Changing Conditions Due to European Contacts," *Europe and West Africa*, pp. 119 ff.

in large part at least, by a wise system of education which would combine what is most suitable in Christian civilization with the best of the rich heritage of African life and culture. Such has been the policy of the British administration and of the mission schools, which has held that if growth has gone on more slowly than would be desirable, it has at least had the tremendous advantage of being based on a solid and enduring foundation.

Turning from educational problems to those of health and sanitation, we find a much less hopeful situation. As vital statistics are only kept in the larger towns and even these are not always reliable, it is impossible to obtain any entirely accurate picture of the physical conditions of the population. The reports of the 1931 census, however, and of the medical department, do give some light on the situation. The infant mortality rate in 1931 was estimated to be 170 per thousand for the entire Dependency.[49] Although it is usually lower in the towns, it has been reported to go as high as 400 per thousand in the Kusasi area of north Togoland. The 1931 census also estimated that 40 percent of the children of the Dependency die before reaching puberty. These figures, along with reports of almost universal malaria, widespread social disease, increasing incidence of tuberculosis and leprosy, as well as very serious malnutrition and poor housing conditions, combine to give evidence of a population rather generally handicapped by undernourishment and disease.[50] Such conditions are, of course, characteristic of many African colonies, but nevertheless in some areas, especially the Belgian Congo, great improvements have been made on these lines.[51]

The Gold Coast Medical Department, with its medical, public health, laboratory, and sleeping sickness sections, is putting up a good fight, but it is handicapped by the usual barriers of insufficient staff and revenue, and also by the ignorance and superstition of the population. Most of the diseases which it has to combat are the result of bad sanitation and impure water, along with the weakened condition of the people resulting from malnutrition. The parliamentary report of the survey of nutrition made in 1938 in the entire colonial empire stated that "food deficiency is a predisposing factor"[52] of much dis-

[49] Cardinall, *The Gold Coast, 1931,* p. 219.

[50] Summaries of the health situation are given in the annual reports, in Hailey, *African Survey,* and in *Nutrition in the Colonial Empire,* Cmd. 6051, 1939, pp. 35–38.

[51] Hailey, *African Survey,* pp. 1178–80.

[52] *Nutrition in the Colonial Empire,* p. 36.

ease in the Gold Coast. Health education is therefore of prime necessity, and increased efforts are being made by the government and the Red Cross through the schools and the radio.

For actual medical care, the Gold Coast in 1939 had thirty-eight African hospitals, including Korle Bu in Accra which was built at the cost of £254,000, and which is the best in West Africa. The Basel Mission conducts a well-equipped hospital in Ashanti, and the Roman Catholic missions have a number of medical and infant welfare stations. There are also village dispensaries in the charge of African nurses trained and employed by the government. Some of the Native Authorities have recently established their own dispensaries, as a result of the growing appreciation for proper medical care.

Labor conditions present another area in which further improvements could be made. A labor department was established in 1938 under the guidance of a trained expert from England, and it began by making an intensive study of the problems involved. By 1939 a labor exchange had been opened, and it was preparing legislation in such matters as juvenile employment, trade unionism, workmen's compensations, conciliation methods, and collective bargaining.[53]

Looking back over the Dependency's economic and social development it is evident that the Gold Coast made great progress during the period just considered. The establishment of the *Pax Britannica* and of a settled administration made a full development of natural resources possible, and brought with it an increase of revenue and trade which was ten times greater than it had been in 1900. At the same time, this survey has also revealed that expansion did not take place in the same ratio throughout the territory and if the larger towns and coastal areas greatly benefited, the less prosperous sections did not receive their just share of the improvements. Development, moreover, was not always guided in the wisest channels as the chaotic conditions in the cocoa industry and the unbalanced character of the general economic situation clearly show. Besides the economic needs there were grave problems in the fields of education, public health, and social services yet to be solved. But in spite of these

[53] *G.C. An. Report, 1938–1939*, p. 66. See also the excellent summary of labor conditions in the Gold Coast given by Major G. St. J. Orde-Browne, *Labour Conditions in West Africa*, Cmd. 6277, 1941, pp. 87–113. There is also a very good survey of labor and other social problems for colonies in general in International Labor Office, *Social Policy in Dependent Territories* (Montreal, 1944).

defects, the positive contribution of the British administration was great, as a comparison of the Gold Coast with such independent but less advanced states as Liberia and Ethiopia makes evident.[54] A strong colonial power can protect the economic interests of a comparatively backward area, in the complicated and highly competitive situation which characterizes world trade today; it can provide capital for public utilities, and can give stability and continuity to clearly defined plans for a well-ordered development. This the British administration has done in the past and, although the support has sometimes been insufficient or unwisely directed, the result of the whole appears heavily balanced in the favor of the Africans of the Gold Coast.

[54] The following are comparative statistics for the Gold Coast and Liberia in 1936 (£ = $4.00):

	Gold Coast	Liberia
Population	3,618,376	*ca.* 1–1,500,000
Area (sq. mi.)	91,000	43,000
Revenue	$15,098,984	$770,414
Expenditure	$15,667,968	$708,443
Schools	*ca.* 905	161
Pupil attendance	90,000	10,000

Statistics for the Gold Coast were taken from the annual reports and for Liberia from the *Statesman's Year Book, 1940.*

CHAPTER IX

THE GOLD COAST IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR

When the second World War broke out in the fall of 1939, West Africa did not appear to be vitally affected. Until Dunkirk, the four British colonies were largely spectators, but from then on they were drawn ever more fully into the arena of battle. Britain had begun the war counting on the control of the Mediterranean. When Italy joined the Nazi camp, this life line to the Far East was blocked and the ports and airfields of West Africa suddenly became of vital strategic importance. Then the fall of France not only prevented the use of North African air bases but also flanked the four British colonies with potential enemy territory. Finally, the Japanese seizure of the great Asiatic supply sources forced Britain and the United States to set a new value on the mineral and agricultural wealth of West Africa.

Almost overnight this great western bulge of the black continent was recognized as of strategic and economic importance to the Allies. As a result of the stimulus which was thus given to the whole life of the area, the war became for West Africa one of the most outstanding instruments of material progress which it had yet known. Under its impact, harbors and internal communications were developed, dozens of first-class airfields were built, a greater West African Frontier Force was recruited and trained for foreign service, and vital raw materials for export were increasingly produced, while at the same time local self-sufficiency was advanced to a degree which gave great hope for the economic future of the area. In all this West African activity, the Gold Coast was to play a major part and to share fully in the development thus achieved.

The outbreak of the war did not find the Gold Coast totally unprepared. Already in 1936 the uncertainty of international affairs had led Governor Hodson to create a volunteer naval force to assist in the defense of home waters, and early in 1939 to reorganize the Gold Coast Regiment and to provide for a motor corps unit. He had also developed a radio broadcasting system which was to prove

invaluable as a means of spreading information and of gaining the Africans' fullest co-operation in the years of struggle which lay ahead.

With the declaration of war, the Africans immediately came forward with avowals of loyalty and promises of support so that, in his Christmas message of 1939, the governor could congratulate them on their cheerful and willing collaboration in the sacrifices which had been asked of them.[1] While this attachment to the Allied cause was probably motivated in part by fear of Nazi domination, there is no reason to doubt the African's sincere loyalty to the British connection. In the dark days after Dunkirk the Gold Coast could easily have revolted, and yet there was no evidence, even among the most radical, of any desire to throw off the British rule.[2] On the contrary, testimonies of devotion to the empire abounded. One chief encouraged his people to greater production of needed war materials with the words:[3]

> Our fathers . . . . told us to be loyal to the British flag, for it was the British people who . . . . put a stop to the African scourge—the slave trade. We ourselves have learned to respect the British people for their justice, fair play and wise administration, as compared to other European powers.

And Captain Balfour, the British cabinet minister resident in West Africa during the latter part of the war, found:[4]

> In the 80,000 square miles of Gold Coast territory, there is a smaller police force to keep law and order than is thought necessary to guard and patrol one single white man's camp and aerodrome. Is this a sign of a people longing to throw off the yoke of their rulers or proof of a peaceful people working in harmony with those holding authority in their land?

Though the Africans' loyalty was sincere, it did not always prevent complaints when the cost of the war effort began to be felt in the Colony itself. The illiterate peasants, for example, often found it hard to understand the complex system of controls required by modern warfare.

[1] Legislative Council, *Debates, 1939,* II, 3.

[2] M. Fortes, "Impact of the War on British West Africa," *International Affairs,* XXI (1945), 210; Legislative Council, *Debates,* 1944, I, 111–13.

[3] *African World,* February 1, 1941, p. 95.

[4] *Ibid.,* June 6, 1945.

After the bombardment of England began, the Africans were deeply impressed by the sufferings and heroism of the British people. They responded generously to war drives, subscribing £340,715 in voluntary gifts, £205,000 in war-saving certificates, and £815,000 in interest-free loans.[5] Among the various patriotic drives, none appealed to the Gold Coast Africans more than the "Spitfire" fund. Their contributions having financed two R.A.F. units known as the Gold Coast Bomber and Fighter Squadrons, their proud sponsors followed the exploits of these units with interest and a lively sense of satisfaction.

The Dependency's aid to the war effort, however, was not confined to financial contributions. Gold Coast Africans volunteered both for home defense and for service abroad. After the fall of France in the summer of 1940, the four British colonies were surrounded by Vichy territory. Eventually all French West Africa came under Free French control, but in the meantime local forces had to be increased. Before the war a Gold Coast Naval Volunteer Force had been organized which was to prove invaluable in keeping coastal waters free from mines. Later, home guard and civil defense units were formed, since the Royal West African Frontier Force—the R.W.A.F.F.—would be needed for foreign service. This frontier force was an outgrowth of the early military units organized in the nineteenth century by European trading companies, and later by the British government, for the maintenance of law and order on the Guinea Coast. In 1901 the West African Frontier Force—the title "Royal" was added in 1928—came into being as a combination of the local regiments of the four British colonies, and continued to be officered by men seconded from the British Army. Its work was twofold: to maintain internal security against the various warring tribes and to defend the colonial frontiers. As such it has been a civilizing force in the life of West Africa.

During World War I, the Gold Coast sent its regiment for active service in Togoland, the Cameroons, and later in East Africa. These troops fought so splendidly in the latter area that General Smuts, under whose command they were, sent the following cable: "If you have any more troops like the Gold Coast Regiment, send them at once."[6] In 1940 the R.W.A.F.F. was again called upon for foreign service. Along with troops from both South and East Africa, it

[5] British Information Services, *West Africa and the War,* 1945.
[6] Quoted in *Gold Coast Bulletin,* September 25, 1946.

fought in Kenya, Italian Somaliland, and Abyssinia. The Gold Coast Brigade distinguished itself for courage in these campaigns.

Once this section of East Africa was in Allied hands, the military authorities recalled the R.W.A.F.F. to West Africa for enlargement and complete reorganization. In order to provide for a larger Gold Coast unit in the force, a Compulsory Service Ordinance was laid before the legislative council in 1941.[7] This law was not intended to establish conscription throughout the Dependency, but was only to be applied to those areas where recruiting brought insufficient numbers. The bill caused some criticism, especially in the coastal areas where the inhabitants argued that their political status as a nonself-governing colony did not warrant such action. The African members of the legislative council finally accepted the ordinance, asking, however, that compulsion be used slowly and that a representative of the local native administration be appointed to the recruiting committee of each state. The provincial council of the Central Province took the opportunity, in giving its assent, to ask for increased self-government by passing the resolution that:[8] "the true status of this country will be recognized and proper place given the Chiefs and their people in the administration of the country."

During 1941–1943 the R.W.A.F.F. was entirely reorganized so as to include a completely self-contained expeditionary force. Apart from the divisional troops, 76 different types of units, including artillery, technical, and medical sections, were prepared for action in India and Burma. While the prewar strength of the entire West African force had been only about 6,000 to 7,000, it was now increased to 176,000. There were 1,600 commissioned and noncommissioned officers, principally from the British Army, though Africans were eligible to both types of promotion. By 1945 several Gold Coast soldiers had been thus advanced, among whom was Major Seth Anthony who had been trained at Sandhurst Military College and who was the first West African to receive the King's Commission.

In June 1943, the 81st Division of the R.W.A.F.F. left for Burma, to be followed shortly by the 82d Division. Both these units contained Gold Coast troops. It was the largest colonial army in the history of the British Empire ever to serve as an expeditionary force. Most of these troops fought in the Arakan province of south-

[7] Legislative Council, *Debates*, 1941, II, 6.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

western Burma, a mountainous jungle area in the control of the Japanese, and one of the most difficult fighting terrains in the world. Because of its inaccessibility, the men had to be supplied for many months entirely from the air. Yet these young Africans, accustomed as they were to tropical conditions, remained among the fittest of the jungle troops. In one campaign the West Africans, leaving all motor transport behind, carried their equipment on their heads, just as the head loads of cocoa were carried at home. This enabled them to be extremely mobile, so that, often catching the Japanese off their guard, they were constantly able to cut their communication lines. The R.W.A.F.F. came out of the war, not only with a record of courage and initiative in battle, but also with a reputation for persistent cheerfulness in the most trying circumstances.[9]

In addition to the R.W.A.F.F., Gold Coast men also joined the R.A.F. when, in 1941, that section of the services decided to accept African recruits. The regular British Army and the Royal Navy, however, remained closed to them. In all, the Gold Coast gave over 65,000 men to the various services during the war.

The withdrawal of nearly 70,000 young men from a colony whose total population was under 4,000,000 did, of course, affect the economic and social life of the Dependency. Something of a labor shortage was felt at a time when increased agricultural production was vitally necessary, and the illiterate peasants found it hard to understand why their sons were needed for service abroad. The necessity of gaining full African co-operation, not only for recruiting but for every phase of the war effort, made some means of widespread propaganda essential. Consequently, in 1939 a Department of Information was established. Broadcasting facilities were already available for its use since Governor Hodson, in 1935, had installed the station ZOY at Accra. Since that time smaller stations have gradually been established throughout the Dependency, and both British programs and local ones, in the various African languages, have been broadcast. In addition to the radio the Information Department made wide use of mobile motion-picture units which could go to rural areas for the showing of war and educational films. The department also published an illustrated weekly newspaper, *The Empire at War*, which has since been continued under the title, *Gold Coast Bul-*

[9] For accounts of the R.W.A.F.F. see E. E. Saben-Clare, "African Forces in the Far East," *African Affairs*, XVIV (1945), 151–56; *Gold Coast Bulletin*, December 5, 1945, and September 25, 1946.