

*The Principal Achimota College,
from the Author.*



66



AN EPISTLE
To the
Educated
Youngman
in
Akim Abuakwa
(Gold Coast)



BY

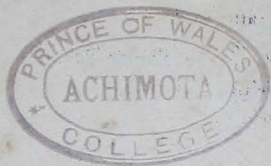
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Errata



Page 10 paragraph 4 for "is" read "are."

Page 11 line 20 for "is" read "are."

Page 17 line 24 for "and" read "land."

Page 21 line 24 delete "the town."

Page 31 line 22 for "spacious" read
"specious."

Page 36 line 2 for educationalists (in a
few copies only) read "educationists."

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To the EDUCATED YOUNGMAN
in
AKIM ABUAKWA.

My Dear Sir,

I desire to address you and all the educated persons in Akim Abuakwa on a few topics of importance to the national well being of Akim Abuakwa. This communication is rendered necessary and opportune in view of the phenomenal success of the visit to England of Nana Otumfo Sir Ofori Atta, our esteemed ruler. A few months ago I had the honour of addressing you at the Reception given by you to me at Kibbi, and you will recall that some of the problems dealt with in this paper were touched upon by me in my speech. The occasion of my address was for great words, and not well suited for active doings. Besides, my stay in England had been so long, and I stood out amongst you as a unique person, being at that time, the only son of Abuakwaland who had had to deliver a public report on his return home from England. I said many things in my address which possibly were of interest, but which could not be pressed to their logical consequence in view of the singular position I then occupied.

Now however that our esteemed Omanhene has gone to England to see things for himself; now that one prominent member of your Union, Mr. Charles E. Asante has gone to study things at first hand; and now that a Chief like the Jasehene Kwadjo Pippim of Kwabeng, and a Stool Heir like my friend Mr. A. H. Appiakorang have all come back to Abuakwaland as living witnesses of the paragon system of life obtaining in the British Isles, I feel that I must write to enlist your active sympathy and co-operation in the task that lies before the men and women of Akim Abuakwa who are charged or have charged themselves (and what true son of Abuakwaland is not so charged?) with the duty of seeing that there should be progress and prosperity and enlightenment for our great State.

I feel that in writing to you in the form of a letter and in plain language as is customary between acquaintances, my appeal will bear fruitful result; for I desire to give each and every one of you an opportunity for studying a few of our problems at his own leisure and to record his suggestions in his own way and at his liberty.

National Ideals.

One special reason for writing to you is because of my conviction that no nation can well succeed in the active exercise of its energy unless the people of that country be fired with an ideal goal or object which,—consciously or unconsciously—every man, woman or child accepts as the moving power behind the central plane of his or her life. Nobody can well succeed in life who has not a definite ideal, an ambition, or goal, towards which he aims, and the higher the ambition or ideal the greater the resulting success or achievement.

We in Akim Abuakwa have an ideal. I believe that ideal to be that in so far as in our power lies the Akim Abuakwa State should rise from a consciousness of its lower condition to a realisation of an ideal of the highest modern culture. We in Abuakwaland are prepared to accept the conditions of advance imposed upon us by enlightened culture, but we are not prepared for a wholesale sacrifice or disregard of the basic principles of our traditional forms of rule and government. Our aim is to rise in harmony with the foremost and progressive States in the Colony. By this I do not mean that we should excel in what may be called advanced political leadership in the Gold Coast. Nor do I mean that Akim Abuakwa should have as many lawyers or doctors, or surveyors as can be found in Accra or Cape Coast. Lawyers have their uses not only as legal practitioners but also as men who are well equipped to shape the constitutional polity of any State. But the vogue of the lawyer as lawyer, or of the doctor or surveyor as such, should not be allowed to overshadow the issue before us. These are not the ideals for the Akim Abuakwa State. At least, not its main ideals. We want something bigger than the success of the individual, we want something that means the success of all.

I love Akim Abuakwa. There are many States in the Gold Coast which I love, but I love Akim Abuakwa best. But I do not love Akim Abuakwa simply because it is the land which gave me birth. That is the way of the blind patriot, the man of sentimental loyalty and fanatic emotionalism. It is not the way of one who believes that emotion should be tempered by justice, sympathy by truth. My love for Akim Abuakwa is justified by the fact that its ideals appeal to my patriotic fervour. Akim Abuakwa seems to me to have a point of view which is the best point of view to which any State in the Gold Coast can aspire. I believe this ideal to actuate you all and I therefore appeal to you to maintain unimpaired, the desire to rise from progress to pro-

gress and to seek means for bringing about those conditions of life which, without leading us to sacrifice our national pride and unity, will on the other hand lead us to embrace the higher culture. In all this there is nothing that necessarily compels us to permit the shackles of an outworn civilisation to prevent us from seeing the light ahead of us.

Belief in the Suman-Sebe.

The first of the matters to which I desire to call your attention is the excessive belief by all classes in the potency of the **Suman-Sebe**, the belief in charms, talismans, and amulets. It is my personal experience that this belief is not only useless, but it is wrong, pernicious and evil.

I want it to be clearly understood that I am not referring to the worship of Fetish or Obosom as national or family gods. So far as you are concerned I have no fear in respect thereto. Every person who has been to school and has been instructed in the rudiments of religion readily believes that the worship of God through the medium of any sort of idol made by human hands is not the best and highest form of religious expression, for it is realised that it does not call into action the highest mental faculties of man for religious devotion. The root of the Fetish or Obosom is in the earth and is therefore earthly. It has not the sublimity of divine origin and lacks the elevating elements which should be present in every true religion to raise a man's soul heavenward to a contemplation of higher things.

On the other hand, I am not prepared at the present level of our general education to advise the radical or "root-and-branch" abolition or destruction of the national fetish. The Obosom has its uses; at least, for a great majority of the people it provides a necessary pivot for religious devotion and moral restraint of a kind. For that reason I should be the last person to advocate the policy of forcibly undermining the people's belief in the various Abosom. We should only be creating the worst possible forms of moral standards for the people were we to insist on the immediate abandonment of their Fetishes without any prospect of substituting for them a better and more intense form of belief. In this connection I should mention that I include in the term Abosom any form of Fetish or religious cult, be it so modern in origin, which has not been proved to be generally evil, but which has a sanction of a more or less public and not of a private character. Christian as I am, I am not ashamed to advocate the

above theory, well believing that until the minds of the people are well saturated with what education can teach as regards the sanctions of true religion, it will be rash and dangerous to deprive them of a strong and central belief. The Christian religion, as you all know, is not, or has ceased to be, a merely passionate religion. Religious fanaticism is unknown to-day in Christendom, and with the disappearance of that superabundance of emotional belief, the belief of the Christian in the goodness of God and of man has come to have its spring of action in imaginative intellectualism. This is to say, since the Christian religion is not to-day based on the Faith and Obedience of the Catholic persuasion, but rather on the higher ideas of Truth and Love, it is not easy for any people for whom the absolute values of life, Truth, Goodness and Beauty, have not yet crystallised themselves in their mode of life and thought, to rise with the unity of one man in acceptance of Christianity as a national religion. This consequence will come; it is bound to come with the increase of education; but its advent will be gradual, and until that time comes, some form of religion be it so traditionally low in ideal, must be preserved among the people in order to maintain and sustain their moral life on an acceptable and recognizable standard of moral value.

The plain fact of the matter is that every form of fetishism which has not a public sanction, that is to say, the influence of which is not held to affect the whole or a majority of the members of a particular community, a town, tribe, or nation, should not be regarded as a useful fetish. A fetish is useful in proportion to the number of persons in regard to whom it is held to exercise direct influence in regard to their conduct. All private fetishes are bad and evil.

Now as you are well aware, the Suman-Sebe is the most exclusive of all fetishes in that it concerns only the individual or private person who has had it made for him. Against all other persons in the wide world, it is, or is intended to exercise evil influences. You will here permit me to do a little sermonizing.

The Suman-Sebe to enable one to gain favourable opinion with other persons is evil because it is intended to force a human being against his will to take a person into his confidence who might not otherwise be fit for such confidence. The Suman-Sebe to protect one from witchcraft and poisons and such like beliefs in low class superstitions are all evil because they foster the belief that witchcraft and

poisoning and sympathetic magic are all true and compatible with a true belief in God, or are such as can be held to be part of an advanced or enlightened culture. The Suman-Sebe to enable a man to succeed in his business or calling is equally evil, because by placing our reliance on such powers of the lower beings we alienate from ourselves the most divine, the most powerful vehicle of human activity which God gave to each and every one of us, namely:— the spontaneous development and exercise of our own will power. Such belief has percolated through even to young school boys and it is quite common to see members of school football teams placing implicit reliance on the Suman-Sebe which a worthless Mohammedan or pagan charlatan had given them.

Will-Power v. Suman.

I want you to note this: The world is governed by **will power**. The world was created by a Divine Will Power, that is to say, by a Creative Will, and man can only be saved by a correct exercise of that will power which the Creative Intelligence so kindly gave to every one of us as participators of the original Creative Will. It is a disgraceful and ungrateful abuse of the gift of God to prostitute our will power by making it subservient to an evil genius whose chief claim on the allegiance of human kind is its successful exploitation of our ignorance.

Not only that. By relying on the Suman-Sebe a man automatically loses his self-control, and with the disappearance of that, all self-confidence escapes from him. He begins to live in the belief that the Suman will do all he wants for him. That is to say, he prostitutes his will power. There are many successful men in our world, and some of these successful men on the Gold Coast probably believe that they became successful through the potency of some quite commonplace verses of the Koran or some cabalistic writings which were copied for him in an unknown language tied up and wrapped in cotton thread, and which he either kept under his pillow or wore underneath his clothes next to his heart. But was it really this talisman that brought success to this man? Was it not rather his own will power, his own determination to succeed that carried him through and against the obstacles of life despite the undecipherable writings on the parchment or goat skin? (Our own Bible contains as many or more precious passages than can be found in the Koran; if you want a talisman copy any good verse of the Psalms of David! I can assure you it

will have the same effect or non-effect as the Koranic verses in Arabic, but first you must fast for seven days and indulge in holy contemplation!)

A man who believes that his success depends upon a certain amulet or talisman given to him by an indigent beggar or a charlatan who does not himself know the meaning of life, such a man will utterly fail to make a mark in the world, for, not believing that through self-will alone he could achieve whatever is humanly possible he gives himself over to certain limitations set by the Suman-Sebe, and thereby becomes addicted to indolence, to uncreative activity; he lives perpetually in the belief that whatever happens, whether he exercises his will power or not, the Suman-Sebe will save him, will procure success for him—a quite erroneous and superstitious belief. The main result is that the man is led naturally to take a **defensive** attitude towards life, he does not see that the successful man is he who successfully **attacks** life and conquers life's obstacles. He does not see that a defensive attitude towards life is the confession of failure, and that the man is most successful who goes out of the ordinary run of life to do things, to exercise his creative power, to attempt such fresh lines of activity which the Suman-Sebe is never capable of doing for him. The Suman-Sebe cannot put the spurs of life into him. At best what the maker of the Suman-Sebe tells him is this: "You fool, you think I am a God to be able to refashion your nature. I can't. But I can do this. Take this with you, go home and wear it and you shall have the power you desire." But does the Sebe give him power? No. It is rather the act of **giving**, the auto-suggestion from the maker of the Suman-Sebe that fills the man with confidence with the spark for a renewed confidence. As a matter of fact he gets nothing permanent from the auto-suggestion. Let him infringe a rule against it, and he begins to fear the power is gone. This briefly is the psychology of the Suman-Sebe. It can only make the wearer **hope** that all will be well; he lives in hope, he lives a life of **resignation**, not of achievement; a life of failure not of success.

My dear sir, I want you to let this be known to your friends. We as a nation are likely to remain backward in the race of progress if we allowed our minds to be dominated by the limitations of the Suman-Sebe. Instead, we must put the enormous resources of our **will power** into action. I have lived in Europe for about six years, and although one hears even in Europe a recrudescence of belief in witchcraft, I never heard once that Mr. Baldwin won his way to become Prime Mi-

minister of England through the use of the Suman-Sebe; I never heard once that Lord Leverhulme became a prince of British industry through the use of the Suman-Sebe; I never heard once that Mr. Bernard Shaw or Mr. H. G. Wells attained distinction as a writer through the magic influence of some potent Suman-Sebe acquired in early manhood. (You see, these things become so ridiculous when you bring them in contact with the searchlight of the true and sublime). Everyone of these successful men, you will admit, has become what he is because he thought out things, he saw an ideal, and having fixed his mind upon an ambition he set his will power to work to realise that ideal. That you and I and our neighbour and every man in Abuakwa-land can do the same, can use his will power to secure success in his proper line of business and along his individual or native talent, I have not the slightest doubt.

Finally, it is necessary to see that it may be because we are known to believe in the power of the Suman-Sebe that our white friends are so suspicious of us and contemptuous of our capacity; it may be because the whiteman thinks we have not given ourselves trouble enough to develop our will power, but have instead been wasting our resources for making good in a downright belief in the despicable Suman-Sebe that he is so careless in the epithets he applies to our mental culture. And I suspect our brothers in America have been so successful mostly because they are unfettered with the trammels of the primitive culture which, in common with them, we inherited from the age of long ago.

Well, if we want light let us shut out, wipe out, the dark corners from our mind; if we want enlightenment let us lighten our burden as to the mystery of mind; and if we want to develop our mind, let us free it from the external barriers by which we close up the avenues to its expansion. You cannot develop your mind, you cannot increase your mental capacity except from within. We have got to give up this pernicious belief; we have got to make a clean sweep of this dirty claw of the dark and evil forces of ignorance. If our talent be one, or two, or three, or four, or five, let us follow the parable of the Master, dig our talent up from where we have hidden it in earthly things, and develop it along the line of natural law. Self-culture, Creative-will, Will-Power—these are the roads to success. They are the handmaids of civilisation.

Trade Gin.

As regards Gin, I have met but very few educated sons of Abualwaland who are so debased as to indulge in gin drinking. But a good many of our people know no better drink. They live in the trade, and what they know is trade gin. I suppose our unfortunate brothers drink rum and gin because of the comparative cheapness of gin—compared to other alcoholic liquors.

Now I want you to tell all your friends and relatives that gin is not the drink for a gentleman; it is not the drink which any person who boasts to belong to the Akan race should associate with his name. As Okyeame Charles E. Asante remarked with great humour and point during his public report on Sir Ofori Atta's return from England, gin was probably originally used to arouse the lower savage spirit of the war horse. If this is so, it should be disgraceful for any true born Akan man—a very proud race—to make it a habit of drinking from the same cup with the savage in the war horse. I should advise you to discourage any man of your acquaintance, educated or uneducated, from the habit of regarding gin drinking as a respectable pastime. So far as I know, it is neither respectable nor a pastime. I don't see that there is any amusement in getting gin-drunk. On the contrary **it takes all the farmer's hard earned income away from him.** It saps his health, and renders him mentally and physically incapable of attending to his farm, the good of his children, and the welfare of his country. If you know of any educated man who does not think it *infra dignitatem* to drink gin, please avoid him. Yes, do.

Gin is a lucrative trade for the European trader. He will not stop importing it into the Colony so long as he knows that there are people foolish enough to spend their money on so pernicious a potable as trade gin. They don't drink gin in England. Yes, it is rare to find anybody gin-drunk in England. Of course, they drink gin and bitters, but how different in quality and under what different conditions! It is true they drink beer, but then beer is cheap and it is not so devilish in its effect on health and mental balance.

You all have heard of the Omanhene's exemplary act when last he was giving the official report of his visit to England. He had a case of trade gin presented to him in England. He accepted the present and brought the case of gin to Akim Abuakwa. You know the Omanhene spends a lot of money in buying drinks for his people, and you know that in an assembly of his Chiefs it used to be thought a

gracious act for the Omanhene to present the assembly with a case or two of gin or rum. But on this occasion, instead of giving the twelve bottles of gin to his assembled Chiefs, the Omanhene ordered that the total contents of the **12 gin bottles should be poured out into the ground** as an example to his people that the State of Akim Abuakwa was from that date determined to set itself against the drinking of gin. Nana Sir Ofori Atta did not get his State Council to pass a law prohibiting the people from gin drinking. He made a noble gesture instead. He called upon the people to exercise their freedom and bring their will power into action vowing that from that day for any man in Abuakwaland to drink gin was to do a disreputable thing. The effect might not be immediate, but the act shall bear fruit. Barima Kwadjo Appeanyo who performed the ceremony of this unusual gin libation is, as you know, Chief Keeper of the Akim Abuakwa Stool House, and I wish to remind you that he called our great departed ancestors to witness the solemn obligation under which his act placed every Akim Abuakwa-man.

Lest we forget, always remember that the date was the 4th of August, place, Government School playing ground, Kibbi, and the hour was 4 o'clock p.m. *year most probably 1928*

Town and Village Councils.

The most important problem to which I should like you to give a serious consideration is the matter of town and village planning, town sanitation, and the health and well being of the inhabitants of every town or village in Abuakwaland. I consider this subject so important that I have no hesitation in placing it with Education as the two most pressing problems which require the collective effort and co-operation of every individual person—educated or uneducated—in the State.

I shall put the position in as plain a language as possible, stating the essentials of the need as briefly as one can be brief in words. Comparisons are said to be odious, but they are only so when the mind that compares lacks an appreciation of the commonsense in logic. I desire to present the condition of things in England to you. In England as in every civilised country:—

1. Every town has a head called a Mayor or Lord Mayor who is charged with the municipal government of the town.
2. Water supply is in the hands of this Mayor and his Council.

So is the supply of light by electric or gas power.

3. Drainage is in the hands of this authority.
4. Street cleaning and street lighting is in his hands.
5. Roads to and from the town are generally under his charge. Houses are generally built by and sold or rented to the townsmen at moderate rates.
6. Transport facilities for the use of the people in the town are provided by the same authority.
7. The care of the health of townspeople is his particular concern and the hospitals in the town—which are all **free**, are under his authority.
8. Education of the young is under his authority.
9. In short, everything that tends to the good health and material well being of the people of a town is in the hands of the Mayor and his Council.

How does the mayor get money to do all these things: to provide water for every house; to provide light for every street and every home; to educate all the young children in the town—free of charge; how does he get money to build hospitals, and roads, and town halls, and concert halls, and such splendid houses for the townspeople?

Well, these are questions you may well ask. But is not the answer obvious? When the Mayor and his Council see that the existence of anything of general utility could be improved or rendered of greater service to the townspeople, they meet and discuss the matter, and levy a certain rate or tax on every adult member of the town. The money thus collected is used directly in the benefit of the whole people. If it is a road that wants to be done the Mayor gives the work to efficient contractors; the contractors do the work; they do it well, and the townsmen who have paid for it go about their ordinary labours whilst the contractors do their hire. If it is drainage they want, they pay contractors to do it. If they want houses, they raise a loan, build the houses with the money; and rent them at very moderate rates to the townspeople, and the loan is paid off gradually. Nobody loses much, and nobody gains much. Everybody is satisfied. They all live in good houses over there. Schools are maintained in much the same way. All the inhabitants pay for the school buildings and the school teachers and the school materials, all or almost all, out of the taxes or rates which the townsmen pay to their own

Lord Mayor or Mayor. They are all quite willing to pay the taxes, and when the schools are built and maintained by them, all their children go to the schools free of charge to the individual parent. Children are educated free to the age of 14 in every town or borough in England.

Now, mind you, the system of municipal or town government is quite different and distinct from the political government of England. You may have heard of a man called the Prime Minister of England who is the premier or first minister of His Majesty the King. Well, you would think that all Lord Mayors and Mayors were somehow or other subject to his rule and authority. Not a bit. The national government only looks after the trade and industries and other things that are likely to bring one man from one town into some definite political relationship with some other man from another town, or it may be from the same town. The national government mostly concerns itself with such big undertakings upon which the whole material life of the country is dependent, such things for instance that might bring the English man in contact with foreign peoples or people not inhabiting England. All other affairs concerning a citizen of a town in Britain is in the hands of the Lord Mayor or Mayor under a system called "local government." The local governments and the national governments have not much in common. The main point at which they meet is when the National Legislature (Parliament) has to give general authority to local governments to proceed in certain general ways so as to prevent the rights of individuals being infringed. But the plan for town improvement is not drawn up by the Parliament for each and every town. Each town draws its own plans and then submits them to Parliament for the necessary legislative sanction. That is all. The rest is in the hands of the Lord Mayor and his Council. This is how English towns are governed and that is why there are so many lovely cities and towns and villages in Britain, because every citizen in the town is from a very early age trained to take intelligent interest and pride of citizenship in his native town or village or borough. Each one of them can say this is **our** town hall. It was built by us. (I wonder if any of your friends can say: "This is **our** Odikro's house, it was built by us." Things are a little different over there, aren't they?)

Now do not run away with any idea that the Lord Mayor or Mayor is an autocratic or despotic ruler who schemes schemes out of his head and forces them upon the people in his town. The

Lord Mayor is nothing of the sort, nor does he do anything of that sort.

The fact is, the Mayor or Lord Mayor is not a ruler at all. He is not a king, not even a chief, he is just an elder, an "Alderman," as he usually is, of the Council of his town. He is not a prince of this Council, not a *princeps principium*, but a sort of leading Elder, a *primus inter pares* who is put at the head of the Councillors in the town to give unity and individuality to the actions of the Council. That is all. A Lord Mayor or Mayor holds his post for one year and no more than one year. After his term of office, another person, possibly an elder or Alderman (Old English for elderly-man) is chosen by the Council to be their head.

The Council is composed of Aldermen and Councillors. Each Councillor is elected for a period of one year by the several people in the town — the people who *reside* in the town and who own houses or other valuable property, such as business premises &c. The Councillors in turn elect some of the chosen men to be their Elders or Aldermen. These elected persons constitute the Village Council, the town council, or the city corporation. They are elected Councillors who appeal to the confidence of the people as men of their own selection, chosen after their own heart.

These men tax the people: they make them pay rates, house rates, light and power rates, water rates, poor rates — and many other rates. The people pay the taxes willingly because they know that the money will be applied in the interests of the town, and because they know by experience that the money is always so applied not in the personal aggrandisement or adornment of the Councillors and the Lord Mayor or Mayor but in the physical and mental well being of the town and its people. Consequently they live in good towns and good houses with good surroundings over there in England. You may have heard of places called slums or poor quarters in cities like London. Most of these quarters have become slums or poor districts because the inhabitants are not rich enough to pay high rates for the improvement of their surroundings. Sometimes when matters grow very bad in such districts, the poor population become something like a charge on the central government, and it sometimes happens that old and decrepit buildings are pulled down, new ones are built, streets widened, paved, and drained, all at the cost of the government at moderate rates to the people

Now what possible lesson can we in Akim Abuakwa learn from this experience of the way towns are managed and ruled in England and other European countries ?

Let us take the biggest item in the programme of a town or municipal authority : the building and maintenance of houses. The condition in England is that people are not allowed to build any kind of house they choose, or live in any house their idiosyncracies either of poverty or of wealth might dictate to them. People have to live in houses the type of which is approved by the local authority : the house must be medically fit for human habitation ; it must be one in harmony with the general aspect of the town ; i.e. its aesthetic beauty must enhance the beauty and symmetry of the street in which it stands. It must moreover be one which the house holder can well keep in good habitable repair. In short it must be a healthy, sufficiently commodious, durable and beautiful house. Hence the town or village authority take it upon themselves to build several of such houses for their people : the people in turn buy the houses at moderate rates or they are rented at fairly cheap rates to them, and everybody lives in his house, — his castle, happy.

The question is, can we do such things in Akim Abuakwa ? I am convinced we can, only on our own small scale. We can build houses in our towns by the community plan on the co-operative system. We can ask the Government to place its expert medical, sanitary, and building experience at our disposal. The Government can advise what type of houses are best suited for a rural district like Akim Abuakwa and at what minimum cost. We can formulate plans ourselves as to how to get the money for building the houses. But how to do these things in detail are matters for us to discuss among ourselves.

So it is with our roads and the streets in our towns and villages. The Government is ever ready, I suspect, to help in making motorable roads, but the Government is not over-anxious to build the streets in our towns for us. Unless the Government saw that the townspeople were desirous of such things as good streets, the Government would not spend public money on any such town. If the townsmen are tolerant enough to let weeds grow in their own compounds, at the back of their houses, and in their own streets and squares, you must be sure the Government will not make concrete drains for them. They will not farmet the streets of that town,

Having come to the conclusion that the people of that town are not ripe for the good things which a healthy township should have. The Government passes them by : "A backward town" says the Medical Officer, and that may be the end of that town.

Now we can prevent this. We can prevent our towns being "snobbed" by the Medical Officer of Health if we make our own towns fairly habitable, and bare of weeds and overgrowth and dilapidated houses, crooked streets, blind alleys, road less streets and dirty streets. The only way in which we can do these things effectively is to strengthen the hands of the village or town authority in a very definite manner. We already have our "Mayor" in the Odikro. The Odikro in every essential respect answers to the position of an English Mayor, so I think does the Ohene of a town or division. Already we have our Mayors and Lord Mayors. In the town or village Council we have our Elders (Aldermen) and Councillors. These are the people who ought to charge themselves or be charged with the improvement of our towns on modern lines. I doubt not they could do it if they but knew that it was necessary. Do our Councillors appreciate the urgency of the matter of town sanitation; do they realize that the ancient founders of the Akim Abuakwa State system put them there as Councillors and Aldermen to see to the improvement and well being not only of the litigious relations of the townsmen but of their environmental conditions as well, sanitary and medical?

My dear countryman, the duty devolves upon you as an educated man to get your Eldermen and Councillors and "Mayor" interested in the matter of the health and sanitary conditions of the town. It is for you to let every Councillor or Elder know that it is his duty. Do not be rebuffed. Tell him in a nice way that you are ready to help him if he is ready to support you with his authority.

By yourself, you can do nothing directly because you are not an Elder or a Councillor, but you are a townsman, a property holder perhaps, and by reason of your enlightened intelligence you are in the peculiar position of responsibility, because you know the higher values in life, your sense of value belongs to a different order from that of a good many of the townspeople, and therefore your share of blame for the insanitary condition of *your* town is higher and greater than that of any other person. Hence I say it is your duty to interest yourself in the welfare of your town. Get your neighbours to appre-

ciate and understand the necessity of having a good sanitary and healthy town.

Suggestions for Town Councils.

I propose soon to lay certain suggestions before Nana Sir Ofori Atta whereby a concerted national scheme of town sanitation and town planning will be inaugurated in the State of Akim Abuakwa. Until that scheme or any good scheme is set in motion I am not in a position to give much useful detail as to how every individual dweller or citizen or townsman can be made to take an active share and intelligent interest in the improvement of his town. Meanwhile I can suggest that any plan for town improvement in the future must embrace : —

(1) Some form of contribution towards the cost from every individual inhabitant or house-owner in the town. The payment to the Odikro of market dues is not enough source of income for such a purpose. Market dues should be reserved for market improvement.

(2) This would necessitate the re-establishment or restrengthening of the town or village Council in such a manner as to enable you or some of the educated men in your town to have an active opportunity of placing the ideas of sanitation and health which you learnt in the Boarding School, the Senior School, or in the Seminary, at the disposal of your town. These useful ideas were not taught us for nothing in the Schools. They were taught us in the hope that we might use them to the benefit of our towns and surroundings. As an educated man you are *an asset*, a man of distinctive value to your town and country, and you ought to make your value a profitable one to your own town. Cultivate pride in your town and country.

(3) Next, besides the town or village council there must be a man or body of men, fairly well educated and intelligent, charged directly with full responsibility for the constant and perpetual care of the town. The man thus appointed is the man who will see that the orders of the town or village council are carried out to the letter and not half-heartedly in a clannish or sloppy manner. In England, besides the Lord Mayor or Mayor they have a man called the Town Clerk who stays at the Town Office permanently, and sees that there is some form of continuity and constant and correct regard for the orders and decrees of the town or village authority. You may have to be charged

with that duty in your town or village so be prepared for it. Get busy and begin to think for your town. (Please note that the term Town Clerk is nothing like what we call a "Clerk" (*Krakyeŋi*) in this country. "Clerk" over there is not a derogatory term as is the habit over here. They in England respect their educated people. The Town Clerk in many towns in England is often a qualified Barrister or Solicitor. You see, the job is not an easy one.

(4) You will see at once that for the town or village council effectively to enforce the sanitary order of its town or village, it will require to have authority under the Native Administration Ordinance to do so. The Odikro and his Council *must be given authority* to hear and determine all cases (sanitary offences) which arise as a consequence of the orders and decrees given by the Council. They must have some form of criminal jurisdiction, be it ever so small in extent. At present the Native Administration Ordinance deprives them of such authority; we must demand it for them, otherwise all your labours for the improvement of your town will be in vain. In England every Mayor or Lord Mayor is the first magistrate i.e. the first "Chief Justice" within the limits of his own town. They do these things better in England, but we can do them much better here because we have got a clean slate to start on. The English system somehow or other grew. We have got their experience to build upon. In that we stand at a better advantage. Ours must not only grow; it must be built consciously and conscientiously.

(5) If the burden of town planning and sanitation grows beyond the capacity of the town or village the Central Government may have to be called in to give some help in money by way of subsidy. They do it in every civilised country. The Government is doing it for Accra, Cape Coast and Sekondi. I am sure besides the Government, our Omanhene will also give some form of substantial support in proportion as a town improves its environmental conditions of life.

I have said enough on this topic and I want you to read it over again before you proceed to the next topic.

Native Administration Ordinance.

Now to a subject that seems to have rightly engaged the attention of the country during the last few years, I refer to the Native Administration Ordinance, with the drafting and enacting of which our Omanhene had a good deal to do.

Without wasting words I must say at once that I am wholly in favour of the principle or principles underlying the Native Administration Ordinance. The preamble of that Ordinance speaks of it as intended to regulate the exercise of certain powers and jurisdictions by Native Authorities. Some of the chief objections to the Ordinance which some of my friends in the Coast towns have made are (1) that it gives too much power to the Chiefs; (2) that the Chiefs ought not to have been charged with drafting the Ordinance; and (3) that the institution of Provincial Councils to support and amplify the work of Native Authorities in connection with the Administration Ordinance is an unconstitutional act on the part of the Government. All these objections are wide of the mark, ignorant, and for the most part indicative of a primitive mentality still lurking behind the minds of some of our *soi-disant* leaders in the Colony.

(1) No Ordinance by the British Government can ever give *too much* power to our Chiefs, if by power is meant the right of a Chief to expect the performance of certain duties by the subjects of his town or State within the limits of the principles of English constitutional and Common laws welded and transfused with the customary laws and institutions of our own country. And again no Ordinance of the British Government can ever give *too much* power to our Chiefs, if by the term "Chief" is meant a ruler in Akan and (or Ga-Adangme land) who was elected to the position he occupies by the people over whom he rules, and who can be deposed by the people who elected him should he choose to abuse his power in disregard of the tribal and individual rights of his people. The Government has not by this Ordinance given our Chiefs any more power than they were entitled to before the advent of the British or any other European government.

I can assure you that the members of the British government at the Secretariat, Victoriaborg, are not a pack of fools. They are of course men, a pack of men, if you like, and therefore liable to err. But they are not such fools as to pass any Bill into law which does not fit in into the four corners of English jurisprudence or is incompatible with the principles of natural justice, equity, and good conscience. They may err; they err too often; but they will not do so with an enlightened awareness that a particular power or authority intended to be "regulated" for the native authority was not in consonance with the principles which ensure to any member of the Empire his right to personal freedom, his right to freedom of discus-

sion, his right to attend a public meeting, his right to self-defence, or his right or expectation that "justice shall not be sold to him." These are some of the fundamental rights of every British subject, and the Ordinance does not make the slightest pretence to take these away. It would not be to the interests of the British Government to do so because, if they did, they might have to pack away to England, having by their own act made it unprofitable and useless for them to remain here as a *British* Government protecting the interests of British traders, British capital, and British policy of Empire-wide control.

You may not see the exact point I am urging here, but some day you will see what every politician knows: that the more of personal liberty, intelligent culture and *laissez faire* you allow to a people, the more they become amenable to orderly government, capable of productive ability, and an increasing desire to share in and become members of a wide and far flung organisation as rich and varied in its cultural attainments as is the British Empire. You have a good example of where personal freedom leads to orderly and stable government in the condition of life in England. You heard Nana Sir Ofori Atta tell you in his report how a great majority of the people in England are law abiding, and yet how the external authority of the law seems to be so devoid of any superficial exercise of force. The most typical illustration is the London Policeman. The London Policeman is the most docile and affable person in all England, and yet his share in personal executive power is so enormous that a list of it might make the Prime Minister blush for his comparative impotence. In England because personal liberty and the law are interchangeable terms, things are a little different, and the rulers and law-makers of England always take particular care that the authority of the law should not clash with the sanctions of freedom and personal liberty of the subject. The result is as Nana Sir Ofori Atta told you in his report. There is an appearance of orderly and stable government in the British Isles.

But if you take a contrary case of a place like Russia, you will find that if a Government like the Tsarist regime or the Bolshevik Soviet government in that ill-fated country deprived its subjects of all semblance of personal freedom and liberty, nothing but disrespect for the law ending in bloodshed and revolutionary upheavals are the natural and inevitable results. These conditions and premises of government are becoming quite wellknown to all forms of civil government, and I can assure you that the Government at the Secretariat

are not unaware of the experience of the older governments in Europe.

It would be rash therefore for any British Government to think of putting a premium on the personal liberty of British subjects in the Gold Coast. The Native Administration Ordinance was not intended to do so; if in certain sections of the Ordinance there is suggestion of such limitation on personal liberty, one may fairly well say the law-makers of the country did so unintentionally.

What I think the Ordinance has done is to regulate certain of the jurisdictions and powers already inherent in our Chiefs. The Ordinance would have erred if it had given authority to **Chiefs** as such without taking cognisance of their Councils or Councillors. Fortunately, under the provisions of the Ordinance a Chief's Council is given as much authority as the Chief himself and under certain circumstances, the Councillors can sit and determine many matters in the personal absence of their Chief. Such powers that the Ordinance gives are given to **our own** Chiefs and representative Councillors, and if these Councillors—our own uncles and fathers—who are acting as Elders and Councillors refuse or fail to use their power in the interests of their own people—their own children, nephews and nieces,—then we should have ourselves to blame and no one else. We have here a form or responsible government literally thrust upon us. It is for us to seize it and make it a polished and refined form of government.

It would be well to note also that far from the Ordinance giving too much power to our Chiefs, what it does on the contrary is to take some of their major and capital powers away. The Chiefs have not now the power of life and death. Any of your ascendant relations over 50 years of age can tell you that a few decades ago our Chiefs had this power of life and death over any person in their respective territories. Our Chiefs cannot now make war when a neighbouring State or a recalcitrant sub-State attempts to trample upon their national honour. History will tell you that our Chiefs had power to do that fifty years ago. Our Chiefs can now only fine a criminal about £10 or so; you know yourself that not quite long ago a Chief could fine as much as "Predwan du" (roughly £8 x 10) for a violation of the Oath. Any aged man can tell you that formerly if a delinquent ran away he could be arrested anywhere and brought back to the Chief, his hand well secured to a log with a piece of hooked iron. To-day our Chiefs have no power to do any such thing. (Nobody

wants them to have any such power. I don't.) They have not even power to arrest persons, criminals, wherever and whenever they like; they must do so in a civil and civilised manner, by warrant, and mostly under the countersignature of a Government official or other person in authority.

It is true that as practice and experience with the Ordinance goes on anomalies are likely to be found, for as I said, nothing human is perfect, all of us are likely to err, not excepting a Gold Coast Legislative Council. But such parts of the Ordinance which require amendment do not really justify the sweeping assertion that "the Ordinance gives too much power to the Chiefs."

The Position of a Councillor.

The second objection is that the Chiefs ought not to have been charged with drafting the Native Administration Ordinance. The ground for this objection seems to be that Chiefs, or Paramount Chiefs in this case, are not the law-making authorities in an Akan State. The argument is that when a State Council is in session, the Paramount Chief only presides over the Council, and their Councillors make the law for the Paramount Chief.

True, too true, but see this. As a son of Abuakwaland you probably belong to an **Abusuapon** (great family) which has a head owning a Stool, the family Stool, and who is styled a Captain-on-Stool. Now you know that in your Abusuapon there are some elders, some elderly men, who usually meet with the head of your family, your Captain-on-Stool, to adjust certain family matters. When these elders and their Head meet, you admit that the Head or Captain-on-Stool has no authority as such to make despotic laws for the members of the family. All the members of your family retire into committee in a body and decide upon some matter unanimously. What they decide the head of your family, the Captain, has got to take as the unanimous voice of his family. He accepts the position, **i. e.** he approves of the decision of the Elders of the family, and that matter henceforth becomes a rule or law (**enhyehyee**) for the members of your family. You see the logical concatenation?

The Captain-on-Stool, sitting as the supreme head or Chief of his family, cannot make a law for his family, but with him as head the Elders of the family can make a law which binds not only the Elders, but every individual member of the family.

This is a well known principle in the Akan State system, and

you will recall that it runs through the whole of our chieftaincy and "council-of-elders" system.

Now supposing the Captain-on-Stool goes to the Council of the **Odikro** or chief of your town, what is his position in that Council? You know the Odikro or Chief is head of the Council. Your head-of-family, the man who in your family is supreme head becomes in an Odikro's Council, not a head but a mere member, a representative of your family in the Odikro's Council. Here he is a Councillor. With his brother Councillors, all of them head of their respective families, they form "the Odikro's Council." It is they who retire into committee alone and without their Odikro-president; they consult in committee upon any proposal before the Odikro's Council and return to the Odikro and deliver their finding. The Odikro has got to take what they decide as the unanimous voice of his Council and therefore of his town. He accepts the position; i.e. he approves of the decision of the Elders of the Council, and that matter henceforth becomes a law or decree (**Āhyede**) for the members of the Council i.e. of the town which they represent.

The Odikro or Chief sitting as the supreme head or president of his Council cannot make a law for his Council, but with him as head the Elders or Councillors of the town can make a law which binds not only the Elders or Councillors, but every individual member of the town.

the town.

The important thing to note is that the Captain-on-Stool of your family ceases to be a head and becomes a member as soon as he steps into a Council which has a larger authority than his own. He ceases to be a "Chief" to exercise the authority of a Chief and becomes a **Councillor**, an **Elder**.

Application Of The Principle.

Now you can see that the same principle is applicable to the Council of the Ohene or Opanani of the Division in the state. If you belong to the Adonten or Bekum, or Nifa, or Oseawuo or Jase Division, you know that all the Adikrofo (Chiefs of towns) in the Division as soon as they set foot in the Ohene's Council cease to be heads or presidents of Councils; they become Councillors or members (**mpaninfo**) of the Ohene's Council. They make the laws which the Ohene has to accept or approve as the unanimous voice of the people in his Division.

Now don't you see that in the State Council the same principle obtains throughout? The Omanhene is undoubtedly head or president of the Council. The Ohene of the State Council Adonten (Front), the Ohene of the Nifa Right), the Ohene of the Benkum

(Left) the Ohene of the Oseawuo (Stool) the Ohene of the Jase (Body) all these are more or less independent heads or presidents in and over their own Councils. But as soon as they set foot in the State Council, the Council of the of Akim Abuakwa, they cease to be presidents and with the Omanhene at their head as sovereign president, they become **members** or Councillors or Elders of the State Council in just the same way as the Elders of your (Abusuapon) great family were just members of the Council over which the head of your family the Captain-on-Stool presided as head. You see that the principle is as clear as tropical sunlight. These Ahenfo or Divisional Chiefs together with the senior Chiefs of their respective Divisions are the people who retire into committee upon any proposal or bill before the State Council and return to the sovereign-president and deliver their finding. The sovereign-president has got to take what they decide as the unanimous voice of the State Council and therefore of his State. He accepts the position; that is, he approves of the decision of the Elders or Councillors of the State Council and that matter henceforth becomes a law or statute (**'mra**) for the members of the State, **i.e.** of the various Divisions, towns and people.

The King's Sovereignty.

The logical sequence is apparent, and I need not repeat the constitutional formula a third time. Now before I carry you any farther I want you to admit a most unpalatable (?) position. The fact of the British people being the supreme government in the country means that our Paramount Chief, like every other Paramount Chief in the country, is not the absolute sovereign of the Akim Abuakwa State, nor is any Paramount Chief in the Colony the absolute sovereign of his State. This is not to say our Paramount Chiefs are not sovereign in a very full sense of the word. With the State Council every Paramount Chief who truly represents the people in his State can be and is regarded as the political sovereign in his State, relatively to the Gold Coast (British) Government; but the full and absolute sovereign of a State in the Colony is the Legislative Council which acts as the function of His Majesty King George V., who is the legal sovereign of the Colony. Were it not that the Gold Coast is a Crown Colony, the legal sovereign of the Colony would have been the King in Legislative Council. As it stands at present, the legal sovereign of the Colony is His Majesty King George V., by His Minister or Secretary of State for the Colonies and personally represented by the Legislature of which the Governor, the Colony's Administrator, is president. This seems a little compli-

cated but you need not worry now about it. The important point to note is that our Omanhene as well as everyone of us is under the direct and legal sovereignty of the King of England, while at the same time every man, woman, or child is directly subject to the political sovereignty of our Omanhene.

Need For Colonial Assembly.

Well, now, let us turn to the system of Councils. You see that every Paramount Chief is an independent head of his State Council in much the same way as every Odikro or Ohene was found to be the head of his Council. Now suppose all the Paramount Chiefs of the community to be assembled in Council with the representative of their sovereign King George V., presiding over that Council. What then is the position of these our Paramount Chiefs who are sitting with the King's representative in Council. Are we to regard our Paramount Chief as still retaining his full sovereign-presidency of Council in such a way as to entitle him to preside over this Council the members of which are his coevals in power and dignity? Don't you see that it follows logically that just as the Ohene who is independent in his Division became a mere member or Councillor in the Central State Council, so the Omanhene becomes a mere member, a Councillor in the Central Legislative or other assembly of the Sovereign to whom we are all subject. If you agree with this conclusion then all other consequences follow. The Paramount Chiefs assembled in Council do not legislate for the country as Paramount Chiefs but as Councillors of His Majesty the King who have been deputed by their different State Councils to represent the views of their different States to His Majesty's representative. I said before that a Paramount Chief is a political sovereign and not a legal sovereign. What it means is that he is the representative of an **electorate i.e.** the people of his State for whom every law is eventually made. It is their voice that he voices in the Council. It is their "polity" that he must propound in Council. As such political sovereign therefore His Majesty as legal sovereign has to take the Omanhene's representations, and when duly weighed side by side with the representations of other political sovereigns in the Colony, if found that they are unanimous or generally agreed, His Majesty the King or the Governor as the King's representative, accepts or approves of that unanimous finding as the law or ordinance of the Colony. The position is unaltered whether a Paramount Chief goes to the Legislative Council (or the "Colonial" Assembly) himself or whether he sends instead an ordinary member of his State to represent his people in the Legislature or Colonial Assembly.

As we go deeper into the system the thing becomes complicated but I guess anyone who can put A & B together and get a sum like AB or A+B or (AB) would find that the system is methodical throughout.

The Provincial Councils And After.

Unfortunately as things stand at present there is not in the Colony any one single united General Assembly or Council at which all the Paramount Chiefs or their representatives can meet with the Governor or other representative of His Majesty the King as president. What we have now are three separate and discrete Provincial Councils representing the three Provinces. It has no central board for all the Provinces in unity, but you see that the Legislative Council of the Colony in some way serves as the assembly for the united views of the three Provinces representing the Paramount Chiefs and the States in the three Provinces. Provincial members who are Paramount Chiefs are appointed to the Legislative Council. The proper thing would have been for the Government to create for the Paramount Chiefs and their people in the Colony an assembly of the type described above, a Colonial Legislative Assembly. This, they have not seen their way clear to do for us. What we have now is the Legislative Council, but so far as I can see, the Legislative Council seems to serve its purpose as a temporary and stop gap assembly, and it might depend upon the progress made by the Provincial Councils for the Government to take the further step of establishing a Colonial Assembly for the Gold Coast.

The absence of a Central or general Colonial Assembly is an anomaly which must needs be remedied with the least delay. What we want is an assembly of all the Chiefs in the Colony and not a Legislative Council of which only 6 Chiefs are members. However, considering the great opposition made to the establishment of Provincial Councils as being unconstitutional, I reckon the establishment of a Colonial assembly would cause a greater uproar, and I am inclined to agree with the powers that be, that they have need to go gradually.

Now, my dear countrymen, I should like you to wake up to the situation. The Chiefs who drafted the Native Administration Ordinance and submitted it for enactment into law by the Legislative Council, the only form of Central Assembly we now have, did so as the political sovereigns of the Colony i.e. as the direct representatives of the people of the Colony, and in doing so they were in keeping with the traditions of our own institutional governments as well as the best traditions of British parliamentary government. In England the political sovereign is the electorate i.e. the people as a whole; the legal

sovereign is His Majesty the King in Parliament (Lords and Commons). The same principle should prevail in the Colony, and we must not show ignorance of our own laws by objecting to the Native Administration Ordinance on the score that it had been drafted and passed by our own sovereign rulers. There are many difficult and technical questions in connection with the Native Administration Ordinance, and these cannot be discussed here. I am at present engaged in writing in book form, a commentary on the Ordinance as a whole, and I hope, if I am spared time and strength to finish the work, you will have another chance of forming a clear conception of the object of the Ordinance.

The Constitutional Argument.

The third objection is that the Native Administration Ordinance is "unconstitutional." I have partly answered this objection in the above. The main question is "what is an unconstitutional law?" I have very great respect for the legal luminaries who are known in this country as political leaders or statesmen. But sometimes I cannot help thinking that in their attempt to lead the country to believe that the Government or the Legislature had passed an "unconstitutional act," they were not deliberately trying to focus the attention of the people on issues which would have no perceptible effect with the Government, and which yet might unconsciously poison the mind of the people against the true rulers of the country. Posing as our statesmen and leaders these respectable people are expected to do our thinking for us, they are the people who, because of their special qualifications, are expected to interpret the technicalities of law for the benefit of the people. It is a great responsibility. But I am saddened sometimes to think that in their attempt to interpret what the Government is trying to do or has done, they raise issues on which their less learned brethren are likely to be excited to take a wrong view of the true nature or extent of the error which the government has committed.

My colleagues talk a lot about the Native Administration Ordinance as being unconstitutional. Now, we may well ask what is an "unconstitutional law". If you, a business man, will take the trouble to study the constitution as a certain Englishman, Walter Bagehot, a banker, once did, you will I am sure, come to the same conclusion as he did by his own independent investigations. Bagehot lays down that statesmen have especially a great responsibility if they raise questions on which men not learned in the law are likely to be

wrong; if they raise questions on which the interests of the lay man "is not identical with, or is antagonistic to, the whole interest of the State, they will have done the greatest harm they can do. The future of this country," I adopt his words, "depends on the happy working of a delicate experiment, and they will have done all they could to vitiate that experiment. Just when it is desirable that unlearned laymen should have good issues, and only good issues, put before them, these statesmen will have suggested bad issues". (**The English Constitution** pp. XX.) These arguments apply with special point to the "unconstitutional argument". No English enactment is rightly termed "unconstitutional". This is not so in other countries.

The Ultra Vires Theory.

In America, for instance, it might be quite correct to term a law "unconstitutional" in that the United States Congress are bound by the articles of the American Constitution to do certain things and to do no more than those certain things; if they do more, the Supreme Court of the United States can and has power to turn down the law as being "unconstitutional," as being against the articles of the American written constitution, even though it may be a good law by the ordinary standard of morals. In the French constitution, I think the principle is more or less the same, although I doubt whether in saying a law passed by the French Senate is "unconstitutional" the Frenchman who passes that censure means to assert that the law is thereby null and void.

In England and in the British Colonies however the position is quite different. The Crown in England and the Legislature in the Colony can enact for the Colony any form of law which is not opposed to the "spirit" of the British constitution. In the British Parliament it is for the Speaker of the House of Commons to say whether or not a particular bill is "opposed to the spirit of the British Constitution." If he does not, the bill can and may pass the English Legislature. It then becomes law, very proper law, and it is wasting precious time to talk of its being unconstitutional. You may, and can, call it a bad law, but it is simply ridiculous to call it "unconstitutional." So it is with our own Legislature. Any law which passes our legislature and in regard to which His Majesty the King is not advised to exercise his power of dis-allowance is **eo-ipso** a constitutional law. It may be a bad law, but that does not mean that the act is either a breach of

law or void of effect. So long as a law made by a Colonial Legislature is not repugnant to any act of Parliament or Order in Council which extends to the Colony, such law is valid for the particular Colony. (See p. 339 of Dr. Maitland's "Constitutional History").

Such topics are issues that our statesmen do the country an injustice and irreparable harm to introduce to our political arena, mostly I think to mislead where the blind needed enlightened lead. I should warn you that you would have a rude awakening, if believing a law was unconstitutional, you deliberately chose to disobey its exercise, and had yourself brought up before the Chief Justice of the Gold Coast. The Court will tell you in plain words as recently some Asamangkese Elders were told, "My dear friend, you are sadly mistaken as to the extent of my power. I am sorry I cannot help you. You have got to obey the law because it is the law of His Majesty the King."

In all cases where you desire to protest against what you consider to be a bad law, the proper attitude is to avoid actually breaking the law yourself, whilst asking in a proper way for repeal of the law. The Native Administration Ordinance is a good law in principle and any attack upon isolated sections of the Ordinance as working hardship or rendering unworkable certain recognised forms of procedure, should be done through the proper channels—on the platform, in the newspapers, by pamphlets and by appeals to our representatives in the Legislative Council, to our Chiefs, etc., etc. There are a thousand and one ways in which we can ask for amendments to particular sections of an Ordinance. But even if the whole of an Ordinance be found to be bad and to require repeal, it is useless to call it "unconstitutional." What we can do is to show how it infringes private or public right, and then to ask for reconsideration of the section or of the Ordinance as a whole by the Legislative Council. But whatever you do, don't be misled to break the law yourself from thinking that it was unconstitutional, and therefore, so the argument runs, not binding upon you.

I should like you to read the Native Administration Ordinance and send your suggestions for amendments to me: meanwhile I am in communication with Sir Ofori Atta as to what I think requires his special attention with a view to effecting amendments.

Strangers Farm Tax.

Many of the coast papers, as you are aware are constantly publishing letters and articles against the tax which strangers in Akim Abuakwa quite freely cultivating our ancestral lands are called upon to pay.

The tax is often wrongly described as "Juaben Tax." Juabens are however not the only strangers or foreigners who are taxed in Akim Abuakwa. Akuapems are liable to be taxed and you know the Akuapems are our own cousins, the Akuapem Paramount Stool being ancestral nephew to the Abuakwa Paramount Stool.

The principle for the justification of the tax rests on this. Many Akuapems, Accras, Krobos and other industrious people have come to Akim Abuakwa to cultivate our virgin forest lands for economic produce. A good many of these take the preliminary step of buying the land before they cultivate it. They pay for the right to cultivate. A good many Akuapem people, several Juaben people, and several other non-Akim Abuakwa people who have made Abuakwaland their permanent home take no such trouble to pay for the right to cultivate. They simply go on our forest land and do as much devastation of the forest as they like. It is this sort of cultivator that the Akim Abuakwa State Council has required to pay a certain tax for the privilege of cultivating Akim Abuakwa lands free of cost. Such taxes are accepted as the quite common rule in Ashanti, Adanse, and some places in the Colony. I hear that even in Ashanti-Juaben the people there are made to pay taxes for such cultivation. The principle for the justification of the tax is obvious.

A second point is whether the tax falls equally on the people taxed. Formerly the tax used to be £1 per cocoa farm irrespective of the size of the farm; to-day it is 1d per cocoa bearing tree. You will agree that the latter falls equally on the people taxed. It is another question whether 1d. per tree is too heavy. The State Council might conceivably reduce the tax to $\frac{1}{3}$ d. per tree and lose none of its right to tax thereby. I understand the tax of 1d. per tree works out at 2s. 6d. per load of 60lbs. This means that if a farmer got about 100 loads a year at £1 per load the State of Akim Abuakwa takes a taxable share of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum. Undoubtedly this is not a small sum, but it must be remembered that owing to the frequent litigation arising from boundary disputes the protection of our lands are costing

the Stool a heavy sum of money annually. It must not be forgotten also that Akim Abuakwa people themselves pay no tax at all in respect of their own lands.

Taxation And Thrift. ①

As regards the principle of taxation looked at from the general aspect of national welfare or national decay, I should like to point out that some economists and sociologists are strongly of the opinion that a tax on industry provided it is not so heavy as to cripple capital, has a most direct result of encouraging thrift in the people who are so taxed. That is to say, if any people are taxed in regard to a particular industry it has the tendency to urge them or instil into them the need to exercise thrift, to save some money for unforeseen contingencies. It may be that a Juaben farmer will say to himself "My farm is liable to a tax of £12. 10. 0 a year. This year cocoa was £1 a load; the market fluctuates; next year it might be 10s. per load; this means that about one-fourth of the £50 I may get next year will go towards paying my tax. I must therefore save some money, I must make some provision for next year." Next year happens and he finds that instead of cocoa being 10s. a load it has risen in price to £1. 5. 0 a load. Here what he saved last year is increment profit to be added to what he gains this year. But if he is a wise and shrewd man he will make provision again for the next year, and so gradually, and all unknowing to himself and to the master who taxes him, he is becoming thrifty, and gradually but surely, wealthy.

I think this explanation describes quite a natural and passable phenomenon and it may well be accepted as a true statement of an economic principle. It seems to me to be quite common, for if we cast a glance to a place like England we find that the people there are made to pay what is called income tax which may be about 4s. in the £1. But instead of refusing to work in order that the Government might be balked of its desire to tax their income, the good English people work the harder in order that after paying the tax on their income there might be something still left for them to live an abundant life. They are forced by the pressure of the tax and their desire to give a good life, to exercise thrift and gradually become wealthy.

Let us take our cue from this. Is the incident of tax on industry to be looked upon as so evil a thing as to be confined exclusively to strangers, or should we Akim Abuakwa people also pay some form of

tax be it ever so small? I am aware that here I am speaking of a delicate subject and on dangerous ground, and I desire to leave it to you to think it out and let me have your suggestions.

With regard to the tax on Strangers it seems as if the principle of the tax cannot be accepted as universally binding until we in Akim Abaakwa have been able to establish a national or State Treasury which will keep an account of how the money thus collected is disbursed. Such a Treasury will generally be a means of establishing for us a national exchequer from which funds will come to support every village or town in the improvement of its surroundings, alleviate its educational difficulties and help in other programmes of progress. The idea of a State Treasury has not yet taken deep root with our Chiefs, and I should advise you to use your undoubted influence to get your Chief to appreciate the great benefits accruing from a central State Treasury. I understand the contemplated State Treasury will be directly responsible to the Akim Abuakwa State Council, and I believe the State Treasurer will be appointed by the State Council. Altogether a project that deserves your very warm support. I invite your views. x

The Problem Of Taxation. ①

I shall be glad also to have your views as to whether, from the national, as distinguished from the legal, point of view, the tax on strangers is generally to the ultimate good of the inhabitants in Abuakwaland. There seems to be an undercurrent of opinion throughout certain sections in the Colony against a differential tax in Akim Abuakwa, the contention being that from the historical point of view strangers who have come to live and find a home in Abuakwaland should not be harassed away by means of a heavy differential tax on their industrial output. It is urged that these strangers who came in search of peace should be enabled to find a haven in Abuakwaland; they should be made to live in peace with the people and gradually be absorbed into the different Abuakwa tribes by a process of peaceful assimilation likely to leave the distinction between stranger and native in a vanishing ratio.

Of course persons who advance this sort of argument seem to forget that these strangers are, in some towns, in a huge majority against the native inhabitants and therefore the process of assimilation is really the other way about, the original Abuakwas being as it were over-

whelmed by the habits and institutions of the settlers to the loss of the distinctive Abuakwa character. Then, again, virgin forests cease to be virgin as soon as the cutlass is applied to them—they become cocoa plantations or worse, mere "mfuwa" or farmlets which render the soil less productive.

However I cannot offer a final opinion on the subject as I am not aware how far you and your friends are in favour of "letting sleeping dogs lie." of not disturbing the peace and harmony which seems to exist between the Abuakwas and the old established community of settlers. Personally I believe that a large homogeneous population contributes much more greatly to the diffused wealth of a State than a heterogenous population of "natives" and "strangers" of which one is classed off from the other by the taxation of the fruits of its industry. I invite your views.

Land.

This is a very big problem. You are well aware that land is the largest economic factor in any State. Akim Abuakwa has an area of 3000 square miles, and every square mile of this large portion sold means a **pro rata** reduction in the economic possibilities of Abuakwaland. Now you know that a great many of our Chiefs are very fond of selling lands, especially when they can find a spacious reason for it, e.g. to pay for the costs of a Stool land litigation in the Supreme Court, to pay off an old standing Stool debt, or to perform the funeral custom of a deceased Chief. All these excuses you know yourself are merely pretexts to outrageous devastations of the Stool lands bequeathed to our generation and the next generation, and the next generation, and so on to the nth generation that will be born into the laps of the kind and affectionate mother Abuakwa. I do not like to single out any one Chief as being the greatest culprit in the sale of land, but in order that you may have a concrete example before you of how rapidly mother Abuakwa is being dismembered, I should like you to recall that about 98 per cent. of the land from the Densu at Nsawam to Densuso (Apedwa) has all been sold away absolutely and for all time. Now you know that from Nsawam to Densuso is roughly about 25 miles as the crow flies. Lands to the left and right of the Nsawam-Densuso road to a distance of 10-25 miles on either side have been sold. The same tale can be told in the Eastern part of the

State on the Krobo boundary; the same tale is now going on in the Northern boundary of the State round about Asuom, and you are of course aware that the town of Oda (capital of Western Akim) and surrounding villages are situate on land sold by Akim Abuakwa. Some of the earlier land sales alienated our territorial jurisdiction as well. So is the whole of the New Juaben settlements with Koforidua as its capital. If these places had not been sold but given away for small rentals, be it however small, we should have been earning a regular income on our lands to-day while still preserving our title valid, solid, and unimpaired. These lands are gone for ever and Akim Abuakwa territory is, under our own eyes gradually being cut off slice by slice, like bread on a breakfast table. There will come a time when the bread will cease to be whole bread and mere crumbs will be left for our progeny. And when that time comes our children will vainly cry for lands any where in the Colony because the price of land shall have been raised 100 times its present value, and even then people will not be over-anxious to sell to them or to anybody. They would keep our descendants to rents that run on longer leases than 99 years—on perpetual leases. Land that was bought from us will be rented to us, to our children at 100 times its value, and when that happens will our posterity honour us, and praise our names and raise us on the marble pedestal of fame for having deprived them so selfishly of their right to live? In England the habit is quite common of granting leases or effecting settlements for the long period of 1,000 years or more, that is to say, for a period which shall be more than sufficient to cover the lives of all possible children and other persons interested in an estate, and the trustees hold such lease or term for the purpose of seeing that succeeding generations are satisfied. There is no reason why we should not stop the habit of absolutely alienating our interests in land, just for the booze of a day's funeral custom, permanently depriving our progeny from their share in the trust bequeathed to us by our and their ancestors. We also must learn to look ahead into the future and think also of the unborn.

The Present Land Laws.

My dear countryman, you are well aware that the Okyeman State Council have passed several laws in an honest attempt to put a stop to the sale of land in Abuakwaland, and you are well aware that none of these enactments has really been effective. I should be surprised indeed if within this very month somebody or other were not selling land in some part or other of Akim Abuakwa. The present law is that

nobody should sell any land in Akim Abuakwa without the consent of the State Council in open assembly, and that if a Chief with or without his Council sold land without such State sanction, the Chief should be destooled.

Without wishing to express an opinion on the right of the State Council arrogating to itself the power to destool a Chief of any town in Abuakwaland—a very dangerous enactment, I think, which places a two-edged weapon in the hands of the British Government—I should like to point out that such a law can never secure the rights of posterity if it be implied thereby that justice is being dealt to our descendants by allowing a single square mile of Abuakwaland to be alienated absolutely under whatever law or sanction. Every such square mile sold means a dismembering of the body of Abuakwa, and if when the individual sells land it is held to be wrong, morally and legally, you will agree with me that no amount of generalisation or addition of the number of men will make what is wrong right. A wrong is none the less wrong because many persons agree to commit it. To hold the opposite true is to commit the fallacy of composition. Murder is naturally wrong whether it be private murder or public murder as in warfare, civilised or primitive.

I believe, and I trust you will agree with me, that the lands in Akim Abuakwa are community lands, they are held by all the people in common, our Chiefs being, as it were, trustees for such common tenure, and it clearly does not sound true either in law or in morals for communal property inherent in a continuous generation to be alienated by an earlier portion of that continuous generation of common tenants. It is a moot point in law whether any person who does not hold the absolute power of appointment over any property can deal with it to affect the rights of those persons whose right of inheritance cannot be determined by him either in his life time, by direct appointment, or after his death, by will. The point here raised has the confirmative support of many authorities in case law, but I do not propose to worry you with any technicalities.

I am convinced however that

- (1) It is wrong, legally and morally, for any person or any body of persons to sell lands in Abuakwaland, or to reduce the 3000 square miles

to anything below 3000 square miles. A thing can only be disposed of absolutely by the person who has absolute ownership. But **who** is the **absolute owner** of lands in Akim Abuakwa? Abuakwaland being, by right of Stoolocracy, ours as well as the property of unborn generations nobody can rightly or legally sell any portion of it. We cannot sell our **pro rata** portion in the lands because the unborn generation are not here to agree as to what is our portion.

- (2) The present law regulating sale of land must be changed in such wise that the State Council which is the Supreme law giver within Abuakwaland shall recognise that it does not lie within the power of the members thereof to sanction the sale of any communal lands for whatever specious reason. I hope you will use constitutional methods to get your Chief or Divisional Chief converted to this belief.
- (3) If we are to secure the economic value of Abuakwaland to remain at a constant level in proportion to the gradual increase in population, it is for you and me, and all the educated persons who agree with us on the illegality and impropriety of selling lands in Abuakwa to convince all those Chiefs who are fond of selling lands and all our land-hogs that they are really more odious than the man in the Bible story who sold his birthright for a mess of pottage, or than the man in mythology who killed the goose for its golden eggs.

Lease, But Do Not Sell.

Henceforth everybody who wants to buy land in Abuakwaland **must not have** land to buy. He must be made to acquire the requisite piece of land, settle on it, and pay a nominal ground rent in acknowledgment of our Stool right and national title to the land. (Note that ground rent is a different thing from a tax on economic or other produce. The latter is a tax on income and depends upon the productive capacity of the person taxed. Ground rent is payable whether the land is being worked or not).

By this means you will agree, we shall be indirectly but effectively opening up progress for Akim Abuakwa by encouraging settlement, increasing

population, and gradually increasing the productive wealth of the country not only for a year, but for all time. If you feel that my remarks on land are too impassioned, I refer you to the appropriate Chapter in "Akan Laws and Customs" where you may find a less impassioned statement of my views on the reckless way in which some of our Chiefs deal with our lands.

Mining.

As regards leasing of lands for concessions, I consider it right for the mineral wealth of the country to be developed, but care should be taken that the lands are not given away to European capitalists for almost next to nothing, and we should also ensure that the greatest portion of the money that comes to the Stool from such concessions is reserved and ear-marked for important works of development of benefit to the nation and to the community as a whole. You will, I hope, agree also that there is need to exercise restraint in the grant of leases for concessions, for since most of these leases have long terms of 99 years, if care be not taken all our mineral wealth would be exhausted in a few generations to the impoverishment of Abuakwaland. Gold and Diamonds are not like cocoa or rubber. Once you take gold and diamonds away from the land there is no other means of replacing them. Once taken always taken. Cocoa and Rubber and other economic products can always be grown with proper manuring. There is no manure or fertilisation for gold and diamonds. It stands to reason that some of these mineral deposits in Abuakwaland should be reserved in the bowels of the earth for the unborn generation of Abuakwa sons some of whom may become geologists, engineers, and even company directors able themselves to work the mines of which our own selfishness shall have deprived them.

My dear countryman, I commend this section on land to your very solemn consideration.

Education.

I have reserved the problem of education for the concluding portion of this letter as I think it requires your cool and concentrated attention. To grasp the significance of the several issues involved I should like you to open out your mind and be as receptive as possible. The problem of the age, it has been said, is the problem of education, and half our ills depend upon lack of much of it, and that half will cease to exist when we shall have passed out of our present stage into a more advanced or educated age.

Nursery.

Education to be thorough should start from the nursery. It should start from the very day the child is born. Some educationists even hold that the problem is best tackled from the pre-natal age. The contention may be true, but pre-natal education of the child requires such a high standard of technical efficiency to which owing to the present lack of a sufficient number of maternity and other hospitals it is impossible for us to attain. We can however confine ourselves to the problem of finding the best methods for the care and training of our child population. The need suggests at once the desirability of education for women. The girls of today are the mothers of tomorrow, and as such every girl should be taught in school some of the rudiments of child training. Every mother, every nurse in charge of a child, should know, for instance, that a child is not always hungry when it cries. Nor may such crying be the sign of sickness. The cry of the child may be a distressful sound for the mother, but to the child it may be the source of present or prospective pleasure. The child actually enjoys a certain benefit in the pitiful sounds emitted in crying. The explanation for this is that no child is born into the world with its breathing apparatus or organs in perfect and complete function. A child has got to learn how to breathe, it has got to learn how to speak by its breathing organs, and a great part of the breathing exercise is performed by and through crying, and the more the child has of this lesson which a kindly Nature is the Teacher the better become the child's breathing and speaking organs.

Consequently a mother or any nurse should be able to tell the difference between the cry of hunger and the cry which is a breathing exercise. As a rule, our women folk usually begin to suckle the child whenever it shows signs of crying. Now, that is bad nursing. Even though the cry may be distressful it is not always right for the mother to alleviate her own mental distress by feeding the child. Let the child cry. Don't give it milk simply because it is crying. A child should be fed only at stated intervals. Every child—nay every person—should have fixed hours for meals. If the fixed time is not due for feeding a child, let it cry out, but don't feed it. If the cry continues, the best thing will be to lull the child to sleep. A child must have regular and long hours of sleep during the day as well as at night, longer in fact than the sleeping hours of the mother, and whilst in the evening the mother sits by the fireside to gossip with her acquaint-

ances, the child should not be made to stay with mother, but it must be sent to sleep soon after it has had its evening meal and a bath. It is our custom "to let a child out" when it is a week old. It is thought right for the mother to go to farm with the child, and some mothers start regular farm work a fortnight or less after the day of the child's birth. All this is not right. It is I think wrong to take a child under 3 months to a farm. The little child is yet a stranger to this world and it must be taught and brought up softly and gently to the hard things of this world. A young child cannot see, it cannot hear much, and it cannot smell much. It has not sense enough to sense danger. All these are activities which should be taught to the child gradually and step by step, for this finer method of bringing up a child cannot be adopted if the new mother takes to farm work or heavy manual labour. If, owing to her economic position, the mother cannot afford a wet nurse or some other help to feed the infant, the best she can do is to enlist the assistance of near relatives, her mother or some other person who can give her free assistance when she goes to farm. A child can have a better adjustment of its nervous organism when the lessons it has to learn are brought to its knowledge gradually and step by step in little bits of experience and not in the large blur of the forest or farm.

These instances will I trust show you the extreme delicacy of the matter of nursery work, for the most permanent foundations for the future health and mental capacity of the child are laid at a very early age in the nursery.

English Nursery Schools.

How then can we have the best nursery training for our child population? In places like England they have Nursery Schools where people who are not rich enough to engage private nurses and governesses take their children during the day—children under the age of 5—to be taught how to walk, how to speak and sing, how to play and draw, how to dance, how to sleep, how to eat and a hundred other how to's and when to's. By the time a child is five, it can, under such a method, enjoy much greater benefits of health and mental efficiency than the child of its own class which has not had the advantages of such nursery training. "One great result of the nursery school is that children can get faster through the curriculum of to-day. When they are half or two-thirds through the present elementary school life they will be ready

to go on to more advanced work. "In short, the nursery school, if it is a real place of nurture, and not merely a place where babies are 'minded' till they are five, will affect our whole educational system very powerfully and very rapidly. It will quickly raise the possible level of culture and attainment in all schools, beginning with the junior schools. It will prove that this welter of disease and misery in which we live, and which makes the doctor's service loom bigger than the teacher's, can be swept away. It will make the heavy walls, the terrible gates, the hard playground, the sunless and huge class-room look monstrous, as they are. It will give teachers a chance." This is the recorded experience of Margaret McMillan (*The Nursery School*, Dent) one of the foremost exponents and workers in nurseries for children. These methods of training the young have been adopted on a very large scale in England, and the educational theories of men like Hon. Bertrand Russell are based on them.

Out here, I have spoken to some prominent men about the need for a nursery school for our children, emphasizing that without such schools it would be difficult to obtain the best results in the Kindergarten and Elementary Schools, but the men to whom I have spoken have deemed it inadvisable to do so at this stage of our cultural advance, because:

- (1) The cost of nursery schools, roughly about £5 to £15 a year is thought by some to be so heavy as to render the idea unattractive to the ordinary peasant mother or father.
- (2) Nursery schools in which children will stay away about 12 hours during the day from their mother to be brought up under conditions slightly different from those obtaining in their homes, will, it is held, be inimical to the best interests of the country in that it will alienate the feelings of the child from the sentiments of a home life.
- (3) Thirdly, nursery schools, it is contended, will not attract the ordinary mother or father in that the people as yet do not appreciate the necessity of having their children brought up in a way which is not "customary," is unusual, or foreign, and perhaps has a "Europeanising" influence.

All of which arguments will be right so long as we are old fashioned enough to hold that our present civilisation, i.e. our present social standard of life, is unqualifiedly enviable and unexcelled. An idea which is quite wrong. Compared to many nations in the world our social culture is not commensurate with the health and prosperity which we enjoy today. But besides the above cited objections a Nursery School of the nature described above seems impossible at present because of the fact of the large rural population we have in the Colony; were we city dwellers nursery schools could have been easily instituted and managed; as it stands at present, the population of the country is so scattered that it will be difficult to bring very young children to a few central training or nursery schools.

Local Nursery Institutions.

This being so, it is a problem for you and me and all our friends and people to find a way of bringing up our girls under such conditions that when they become mothers they will be able to train their children in the home in the best way to live and to live well. There are one or two institutions in the Colony that can help in this connection. First, we have the Korle-bu Hospital where nurses can be trained, and also we have the Maternity Hospital and the Children's Hospital, Accra. These institutions are open to the people of Akim Abuakwa for training in nursery work and midwifery. It is for you and me to tell our people about it; it is for you and me to encourage such of our youngmen and women, who are qualified, to enter these institutions and learn the new ideas so that in time they will come back to Akim Abuakwa and help us to educate our girls, to train our children, and to build for ourselves a strong and enduring nation and ever increasing population.

Secondly, in the matter of child welfare and women's education we have the elementary schools, and also a few high schools for girls not in Akim Abuakwa, but accessible to all eligible Akim Abuakwa girls. I think we should send as many of our girls to these places, and we should also see that our girls in the elementary schools are taught something of human physiology and child psychology. Lessons in these subjects can be given in most elementary ways and they can be made interesting from several points of view.

A third remedy is for every educated man, for all of us, to supply ourselves with such sources of information as will enable us to impart the knowledge thus gained to those members of our family over whom we have or should have some influence. You will recall that it is my intention to open a library for the educated people in Akim Abuakwa and I hope that when this library is opened useful books on the subject will be available for you and all our educated friends.

Life is one of the dearest things on this Earth, for although in spirit the dead may still be with us, in all temporal things we should aim at preserving our life and health. It must not be forgotten that the strain and stress of the new civilised life—its motor and steam transport, its machinery, its preserved foods, its rapid changes, its travel and bustle, all its constant demands upon our nervous system and energy—are incomparably greater and more exacting than what our life used to be fifty years ago. The consequences of the new life demand a much more balanced and guarded way of life for it is of such a kind that the toll of death that may come with it would be proportionately higher than was the case with our fathers if we failed to take adequate protection to preserve and sustain our health amidst the new environmental conditions. It should therefore be made a point in our national programme of progress to see that in accepting the civilisation of the whiteman—its comfort and luxury—we should also take measures to live according to the health and medical precepts of a civilised life. The care of health should be greater than our desire to amass individual wealth by the methods of the white man, for without health we cannot enjoy wealth. Health without wealth is blind, and wealth without health is empty.

The Elementary School.

The next grade of education to which I should like you to direct your attention is what is known as the Elementary School, that is, the school in which the child enters at the age of five or six or seven to be instructed in those general ideas which will fit him to choose his vocation or enable him to proceed to a higher school for the purpose of preparing for progress or a higher grade appointment in life. The elementary school is the place where a child should "know something of everything and everything of something." That is to say, it is a school in which every child has to be grounded in the element-

ary ideas of several subjects to serve him as a handle or key or lever to open the various mysteries of life in any particular sphere of the great battle of life chosen by him.

The elementary school is intended to enable a child to go into any trade, to start as an apprentice, with a proper sense of the graded value of things. He is taught there to give proper respect for his family and the members of his business circle. He is taught in the elementary school to be a good member of his particular society. He is taught how to entertain a dutiful respect for his State, to grow and become a good citizen. He is taught the appropriate duty he owes to God and man, to love man and to love God. Elementary education should enable a child to grow up with enlightened ideas about his relation to his brother man, to his family, to his country, and to respect everything or everyman in the world that merits admiration and honour.

The Artisan v. The Clerk.

Secondly, the elementary school is a place where a child learns those rudiments of "everything" which enable him to enter a vocational school, (Technical or Trade or Secondary,) without the necessity of going under service either as a servant or an apprentice. The boy at the elementary school will find that his apprenticeship as a Clerk, his choice of a commercial or vocational school, and his eventual qualification at these latter institutions, become much easier because of that good foundation to which he drilled himself in the elementary school. It is necessary for us to draw a clear line of distinction between the boy or girl who stops at the highest standard at the elementary school, and the boy or girl who proceeds from that school into what is called a "Secondary" School, i.e. a vocational or commercial school, Trade, Technical, or Institutional, by means of which he or she acquires additional training which the boy or girl who stops at the highest standard at the elementary school may possibly obtain under the state of an apprentice or probationer either as a clerk or a manual worker, or as is more commonly the case, as a cocoa buyer. I wish you to understand this distinction because owing to lack of a sense of appreciation between the man who leaves school without a vocation—the "Clerk" that is, and the man who does not leave school until he has acquired a vocation, a commercial or business training, we are incapable of seeing that the artisan is really much better situated than the "Clerk".

The clerk stands to the vocationally trained man as 7:9, or perhaps less. In Akim Abuakwa you see the difference best when you compare the youngman who went to the Seminary with the one who stopped at the Middle School. The Seminary student, having acquired vocational training as a Teacher stands at a greater advantage of making a mark in the world than the one who entered the world after passing Standard VII. It is, in the nature of things, impossible for such a man to rise to a high standard of achievement unless he gave himself some sort of private or self-education through which he might rise to equal the man who had spent two or four years in the Seminary.

I hope you will make it a duty to see that any youngman of your acquaintance or any man who has a boy or girl in school does not leave or permit his boy or girl to leave school until he or she has acquired a vocation, or is fairly on the way of acquiring a training that will give him or her a better status than that of the apprentice or probationer. The passing of the Government Civil Service Examination is a fairly good test whether a boy or girl may adopt a business career, especially if there is no chance for such boy or girl receiving higher vocational training at one or other of the Vocational Schools in the Colony. But first, we must lay for ourselves a good foundation in the elementary school.

The Vocational School.

With regard to Secondary or Commercial Schools, *i.e.* schools which train youngmen and youngwomen for a vocational career, I should like to call your attention to the fact that we have the Kibbi Junior Trade School at which boys can be trained to become master-masons, carpenters, metal workers, or agriculturists, but it is a surprising revelation that although our Omanhene has, at great cost to the State, had the Trade School established for us, the School is not patronised by sons of the soil as well as it should be, for it appears that a majority of the best boys now at the Trade School come from places as far away from Kibbi as Adda and Krobo—the people in those places being already celebrated for their industry—whilst our own boys disregard the benefits of that institution, and a majority of those who go to the School from Akim Abuakwa have not shown results as bright as one should expect them to. I do hope that you will let it be known to all your friends that it was a great act of foresight on the part of our Omanhene to have insisted upon the Trade School be-

ing established in Akim Abuakwa, and we should be very greatly to blame for our lack of vision in not patronising the Trade School.

There is also the Technical School at Accra at which vocational or business Training can be given, and I do hope that as many friends of your acquaintance will be advised to appreciate the value of sending good boys to that institution.

Besides these we have the newly established Achimota College at which vocational training of a higher kind may be obtained, and there is also the Teachers' Training Institution at Akropong and Accra at which vocational training of an appreciably high standard as a Teacher may be obtained. We have also the Survey and Agricultural Schools, the advantages of which can never be exhausted, and I trust that those of our youngmen who do not like to become teachers, or Trade Scholars will enter the Survey and Agricultural Schools. As regards the training for teaching, I need not emphasize its inestimable value, for I doubt not if you are not yourself a product of that Institution, you have an acquaintance or two who have received their training in that institution, and you are well aware how highly respected are the School Teachers who have thus qualified for a higher vocation with profit to themselves, their family, and their country, and of course, indirectly to all men and women who come in contact with them.

The High School.

Apart from the education of the Clerk, the future mother, the artisan, and the professional School Teacher, there are other forms of training to which those youngmen in Abuakwaland qualified by age and capacity may aspire. A few years ago such centres of higher educational training could hardly be found in the Colony. Cape Coast, that ancient seat of learning, catered for a selected class of students with some of the products of which you have no doubt come in contact, and to-day that form of higher education has been added to by the great educational institution at Achimota, Accra. It is here that we must expect to find our higher salvation in educational advance. We in Abuakwaland should have had to institute a higher educational centre for the training of our youth had not Achimota been established. It was for a long time the aim of Sir Ofori Atta to establish a boarding school for Boys and Girls in Abuakwaland, and I hope it is not too late for steps to be taken to meet the demand before the need becomes too acute.

Now however that Achimota has, so to speak, been thrust upon us, our difficulties have been appreciably reduced, and I should like to feel that we in Akim Abuakwa have no intention of trampling upon this precious pearl as if unaware of the great value inherent therein towards our salvation.

The English Educational System.

In England they have (1) Elementary Schools of more or less the type and standard of our present elementary or primary Government and Missionary Schools; they have also (2) Technical or business Schools of more or less the standard of our Trade, Technical, or Teachers' Training Institutions, usually termed the Secondary School. At these institutions students are prepared for technical vocations, the school being chiefly concerned with the practical application to industries of the principles of science and of art. It is a place where all education lower than that of University rank, and higher than that given in the primary Schools is taught. It gives a general education, educating the whole faculties of the student and not confining itself to the acquirement by the pupil of that kind of instruction directed simply at fitting a boy or girl to enter business in a subordinate capacity. The term vocational or secondary school includes the "Grammar School" as well as the Training Institution for teachers, for these schools enable the pupils to leave for the world well prepared for appointments in business higher than that of the Clerk, and they give also an excellent preparation for professional studies such as medicine, law, agriculture, teaching, carpentry, masonry, metal work, survey, engineering, and the professions of architecture, painting etc. It is also in the secondary school that girls have a wide opportunity of being given practical lessons in domestic economy, as well as a thorough training in music and the fine arts. There are, as I have said, many of such schools scattered in the Colony, the most famous being the Mfantsipim at Cape Coast, the Roman Catholic Convents, the Technical School, Accra, the 4 Trade Schools, the Teachers Training Institutions, the Survey Schools, and some other High Schools and Convents (Wesleyan, Catholic and Presbyterian). It is only for us to patronise these Schools and our standard will rise to equal that of many civilised countries.

The Public School.

(3) Besides the Elementary and the Secondary, they have

in England, some other form of School which is much like the Secondary but differs a little in that it gives a general or liberal education to its students of such a kind that the student from any such school can enter into the world not necessarily with his vocation cut out for him, but ready and prepared with the larger end of making him fit for high positions of management and trust in all walks of life. This is what is known in England as the Public School, where a really first class education leading to the Universities and to what is known in England as the "Services," is given. A boy who has passed through the junior section of a Public School has the choice of subjects for special study that may determine his future career. Should he decide to take the "Classical" course in the Public School curriculum, he would be preparing for an advanced course in the University with a view to a profession or to enter the higher branch of the Civil Service. More often, some of these boys are the sons of independent or wealthy parents who desire their sons to take to the political life of government in much the same way as the duck takes to water in that they have not a great urge to work for a living. Many of these students however enter the world as professional or other leading men of note. If however a public school boy instead of taking the Classical course takes the "Modern" Course in the School, he begins to prepare for engineering, or for some of the leading positions in the commercial and industrial spheres, or he may prepare for the army or navy. In any event a Public School boy comes out of the School and from the University a full-fledged master mind; he may serve as a cadet for appointment in some new locality but never as an apprentice or learner.

It has been said of the English Public Schools that no country in the world has institutions comparable to them "either in the character of their aim, the singular blending of freedom and discipline in the daily life of the scholar, the attention given to the formation of lofty character, which seems to be acquired almost automatically, through the action of environment rather than of formal instruction," providing as it does "all means for the pursuit of athletics, a pursuit which has become more and more a passion with the youth of England."

The Clerk v. The Secretary.

In short, education in a Public School—there are about 170 such schools in Great Britain—enables a man to take direction of

affairs, of large concerns and big issues, without much need of the mechanism of practical experience. It is men of this type that come out to the Gold Coast, to the Secretariat for instance, to take up some of the highest posts in the Civil Service even though the age of any one of them might not be half the age of one of the oldest clerks in the Secretariat. This state of things is tolerated not because the youngman of 22 who takes command over the old clerk of 45 is white, nor that the Secretariat Clerk is inferior in native ability to the young arrival, but because the authorities have reason to consider the younger man to have gone through a course of training that at once gives him all the ripe and rich experience of the long service clerk, and he has something more than that, he has with him in tabloid form, the germ of initiative and executive or administrative direction. This to a lay mind may seem an absurd order of things, but to the student of psychology it seems natural enough, since the supreme test of mental quality is based upon the kind of systematic training received and not upon the mechanical growth of the mind, that is to say, a man who from an early age trains his mind to the highest possible perfection has a wider breath for mental exercise than he who starts to belabour his mind with singular facts that come to him in isolated forms.

The University.

(4). Again in England they have the highest institution of learning, the University, at which men are trained in a highly specialised manner, at which the best scholars and authorities exchange ideas, and to which students from the Public and other schools resort to benefit by the communication of the best knowledge that the time affords. To the University goes the student who has decided upon a classical or modern career to put finishing touches to the learning obtained at the Public School and other institutions of a similar nature. The University is a sort of corporation of all the higher colleges devoted to different branches of learning. I must warn you, however, that the University man is not one who has learnt **everything**. A University is a place where the best that there is to know about any one subject, or connected group of subjects, is taught to the student desirous of qualifying as an authority or a scholar in the particular branch of life he has chosen to work out a salvation for himself and for humanity. (The ancient Universities were very exacting in what they expected their students to ac-

accomplish, and the life of men like Milton who, as a classical scholar, knew his Latin and Greek, his Mathematics and Science, French and Italian, Arabic and Sanskrit, English prose and poetry, and who, besides, loved his country as well—shows that to be a university man in the old days was to make all the world your universe of study. To-day, however, University men are not supposed to know everything. There is specialisation to an efficient degree as opposed to generalisation.)

Of the four grades of schools and seats of learning found in England, we have only the first (Elementary) and the second (Secondary or Vocational) well established in the Gold Coast. The Public School has been or is about to be introduced at Achimota and that may lead on to the establishment of a University at which we can acquire that sort of efficiency to enable us to take a large share in the control and direction of our own destiny.

The Achimota Model.

Achimota, then, is the place where from January 1929 the Gold Coast Colony is going to train men and women who will gradually begin to assume the higher appointments in the public and business life of the Colony. If we in Abuakwaland would like to take a share in the great things that are in store for the development of this country—we must remember the Gold Coast is still 100 per cent. a raw undeveloped portion of the surface of the earth—if we in Abuakwaland are conscious that if we failed to step briskly with the dance at Achimota we shall 10 to 15 years hence be left in the background like the wall-flower in a dance hall, then this is the time for us to act, this is the time for you and me and all our friends to take active interest in Achimota and send our children there to share in making the pudding and in eating it. Our children must from the very start share in the inestimable benefits that are sure to accrue to the Colony from the fruits at Achimota.

I very sincerely and earnestly wish you to understand that throughout the whole of British West Africa, perhaps in the whole of tropical Africa, there is not a finer educational institution like Achimota, and already we hear that the King of Abyssinia, the only independent African kingdom, has sought to send his children to Achimota for higher education; this may be mere rumour, but it shows also that the outside world are quite alive to the true and real value of an institution like the one we have with us. The product

of the Achimota ideal will be the finest educational product anywhere in Africa.

The Cost of Achimota.

The greatest objection to Achimota is the cost. According to the present scale Achimota will cost:—

- (1) For the Kindergarten pupil 4-6½ years of age £20 per annum;
- (2) For the primary school pupil 6-12½ " " £30 " "
- (3) For the Secondary Student 12½-17 " " £50 " "
- (4) For the University Student 17-21 " " £75 " "

It has been objected that for a child of five to start school at the rate of £20 a year is unheard of and extraordinary. Those who advance this argument forget perhaps that what Achimota intends to do to the child is equally a novel thing, something that is "unheard of," and of course who denies that Achimota is an extraordinary place, an uncommon educational institution as different from the old type of bush school as a push bike is from an automobile? Admittedly it would be a fine thing if the Government could make Achimota a free institution where everybody could send his child at about the same cost as the bush school which is largely responsible for the present educational predicament of the country. But if Achimota were made free where would its value lie? Should we persist in living in an educational world of darkness in which, as Hegel once put it, "all cows are black?"

I don't suppose that the Government has raised the Achimota standard so high for the simple reason that it wants to make money out of it. I believe the intention is somehow to recruit to Achimota only children who can be said to have come from good homes or good environment by the fact that their parents are rich enough to pay a dear price for their future welfare. If this were not the aim of Government it would remain inexplicable why the Government should think it worth while to spend thousands of pounds at Achimota only to make a parent pay £20 a year for a training which could be obtained for the child at twentieth the cost? Secondly it seems to me that the Government intends to induce parents to send to Achimota only those of their children who show a promise

or an aptitude for higher training, for the ideal at Achimota is "quality" not "quantity," or, as I have said somewhere "tulips not roses." Very soon, when the results of Achimota begin to show themselves, the Prince of Wales College will be flooded with applications for admission, and if then it were free, the ideal before the founders would be killed by the method of admitting a class of children with no prospect of assimilating the ideas of higher training. Parents would begin to experiment with their children at Achimota just to see "if my child can do it too." The result would be chaotic.

In England people have come to recognise the Public School to be so useful and indispensable a thing that thousands of children are yearly refused admission for the simple reason that there is no room for all who wish to go there. At places like Eton, Harrow, Rugby, Winchester, and Charterhouse, a parent who desires his son to obtain a Public School education must first register the child's name at the School on the very day of his birth. A child whose name is thus entered remains on the waiting list of the particular Public School and will be admitted to the School, if being otherwise qualified, there is a vacancy for him on his arriving at the proper age. The same thing may one day happen with Achimota. If you want the best of your children well provided for, you cannot do better than seek entrance for them now at Achimota. From the very start our people must be made to realise the value of Achimota, and value is to him who pays.

Its Value.

Apart from these speculative explanations as to the cost of Achimota, there is of course a real reason for the high fees, namely, the cost of keeping a child there, including lodging, food, games and sports. The Government seems to contend that these things will actually amount to the figure quoted per annum. Whether this is so or not, it is for our higher luminaries at the Legislative Council and the Board of Education to find out. But let it be understood that although any one educated at Achimota primarily obtains benefit for himself and, may be, for his native State, yet remembering the saying that "it is men and not things that make a country great," whatever benefits accrue to any Achimota product will be to the ultimate good of the whole country. "Man," says Aristotle, "is a social animal," and no one man can live for himself alone or for his family

or his State alone, however selfish he may be. In appealing to you therefore to take interest in Achimota I do so in the belief that the benefit that accrues to you and your family will eventually benefit the Akim Abuakwa State, and ultimately the whole of the people of this Colony. If we in Abuakwaland fail to send our children to this institution we shall have consciously deprived ourselves of some of the highest advantages for enlightened progress, and we shall have failed to take an appreciable share in the burden of developing this country, the land which gave us birth and being and to the destiny of which our own immediate destiny is anchored.

Conclusion.

I should like to thank you for the patience you have shown in reading this long letter. I do hope that I have been able to put my case in as plain a language as possible, for in writing to you on these important topics, it was not my aim to achieve any rhetorical effects. My method has been to use a common diction with the object of appealing to your proper sense for facts of value. I trust that when you become convinced of the urgent necessity for taking co-operative or individual action in any of the matters outlined above you will take steps at once to effect reforms or urge things forward to realise your aim, for in many of the matters I have placed before you, it will be fatal merely to wait and see.

I shall be most happy to hear from you as to any point on which you desire more information, and if you will be so kind as to send me any suggestions, I shall place yours side by side with suggestions received from other quarters and publish a symposium of the different opinions expressed.

An Apology to Gold Coast Youth.

I feel I owe an apology to those educated sons of the Gold Coast who may take interest in this epistle as to wish that I had addressed it to all the educated people of the Colony, Ashanti, and the Northern Territories. I should very much like to do this but for the fact that had I done so the whole trend of the epistle would have taken a tone of generality and the result would not have been as effective and satisfactory as one should wish. If however any educated person in the Gold Coast desirous of helping his native State would only substitute for the name Akim Abuakwa or Abuakwaland

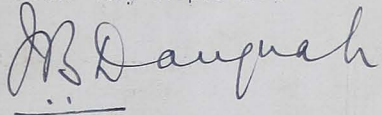
the name of his own State, I doubt not he would find that throughout this letter there is scarcely anything that might not have been meant for the people of his own State. These remarks apply particularly to the sections on town or village councils and Education, and I trust those of my friends and other admirers in the Colony who are constantly writing to me, and into whose hands this letter may fall, will be kind to write and let me have their suggestions and comments which may be published later for the greater and higher interest of the Colony, West Africa, and the Negro race.

In conclusion I should like to emphasize for your benefit that I believe in anything, such as the Trusteeship of the British Empire and the development of African institutional governments from the state in which they are at present to a higher and better state, which will raise the Colony as a whole to a participation in those higher elements of human well being and happiness in which Truth, Beauty and Goodness are the eternal containers.

If in addressing this letter to you I have helped to set alight the slightest spark of patriotic fervour, I feel most sincerely happy to sign myself,

Sir

Yours very respectfully.



Oyidom Hall,
Kibbi, Akim Abuakwa,
11th September, 1928.

P.S.

The Omission Of The Cocoa Trade.

You will notice, I think with some regret that although this letter covers a wide and varied ground in regard to the problems of this country, it does not directly devote a paragraph to Trade, Commerce or the Cocoa Industry. This omission, I am ready to admit, is a valid ground for criticism, for cocoa being the staple industry, you are rightly entitled to expect that it should be specially dealt with in the text and not relegated to the doubtful honour of a postscripture.

I desire to assure you that the exclusion of trade and commerce from the text is intentional and not negligent. I have not omitted the cocoa industry and its trade because I take them to be negligible;

they have been omitted because it was not my intention in this letter to discuss pure economic questions. As I said somewhere in this letter, every person, and every nation must have an ideal or goal as the working plan of his or its activity, and the ambition is realizable in proportion as it is clear cut, distinct, and distinguished.

This is an age of specialisation. It is the age in which every man or woman who wishes to succeed on a large and striking scale should specialise or fully equip himself in one particular problem or an organic group of problems. The village carpenter who is the village blacksmith as well cannot be both a good carpenter and a good blacksmith. At best he can make a hobby of the one and a vocation of the other. The clergyman who is a lawyer as well cannot be both a devout parson and a clever advocate. One simulation must be given up for the other. Nor can the devoted inventor be a good dramatic critic, for it is not easy to combine originality with the critical faculty. And so on.

Trade and the cocoa industry are proper subjects for the economist to tackle. Economics is not my special concern. I could be of help in assisting to unravel the economic tangle which has involved us in our present impoverishment, but I have chosen instead to use any talents I have in the interests of social progress. My ideal is to help to mould the conditions of life in this country to approach the level of tolerable culture by means of **educational and social adjustments**. It is for those who have charged themselves with the duty of educating the country on its economic needs to come forward at the appropriate time and lead the country to its true place in the economic world. In the ultimate end social reform and economics involve one another. They are both means to the Summum Bonum, leading to the highest realisation of the Good, but the ethical in life interests me more than the economic, and I enlist your special sympathy and assistance in any suggestions of mine which appeal to your rational conviction.

Gold Coast Students Association, London.

Perhaps, I should assure you further that the above statement is not something that has come out of me as an after-thought. It has been my declared aim ever since I had an opportunity of declaring openly what share I intended to assume in the labour of declaring this country and its people in accord with modern standards

of civilised life. It was at a special meeting of the Gold Coast Students Association, London, that I made the declaration to devote my spare hours to the study and propagation of social and educational reforms. } NB

Perhaps I am revealing a secret in informing you that it is a part of the original constitution of that Association for every member to sign or subscribe to a declaration setting forth the particular sphere of life in which he intends to take a hand in the progress of the Colony when he comes back home to work in the Gold Coast. Some members of the Association declared for Infantile mortality, others for Trade and Commerce, others for Sanitation, others for research into African Herbs, and others for other branches of life. I signed for Social and Educational Reform, and I think I am in one way redeeming the pledge I gave to the members of the Gold Coast Students Association in making the contents of this letter available for every person in the Colony. X

Some Requisites Of Trade.

Lest you should be misled as to my intentions, I desire to give a few hints on the primary requisites of Trade and Commerce. I believe that any commercial or trade undertaking which aims at unqualified success must in the first place recognise the importance of Combination. Competition is only successful when the competing forces co-operate within and without themselves to carry out certain determined objectives. Such combinations may take the form of co-operative societies wherein, for instance, farmers engaged in the cocoa industry agree to market their produce at particular centres or to particular people or to some people in general who represent their interests and are prepared to share the profits of middlemen with the producers. Several of such co-operative systems have been brought to the notice of the cocoa farmers in this country, and I desire to advise that if upon careful investigations you and your friends conclude that any particular co-operative system with sufficient guaranteed capital behind it, will ensure a good return to the people, no stone should be left unturned to get such a system supported for the benefit of the farmers. Another form of combination is the amalgamation of identical interests under the direction of a single group for the benefit of the owners. Such combinations no doubt bring wealth to the people so combined. In the cocoa industry in particular, it

Cont

brings wealth to the middleman, the cocoa buyer, but it does not bring as much return to the farmer as the co-operative system seems to ensure to him. However if you and your friends find that the co-operative system is, owing to apparent lack of confidence, unworkable, it is for you to seek out methods by which you can capture some of the enormous returns which, instead of being reserved in this country, are yearly being exported by the merchants and other middlemen into foreign countries.

Trust and Confidence in Trade.

The second essential of a successful trade or commercial undertaking is the creation and maintenance of confidence and trust. Tell your friends not to be misled into believing that the white trader who advances money to the tune of £1000 or more against a deposit and security of about £150 cash and £200 estate, does so in the belief that £350 is good compensation for £1000. What he desires to promote is a system of mutual confidence and trust, for where these are not in evidence credit disappears, and with it, the assurance and support that could come from Bankers and Financiers. It is an elementary rule of economics to realise that with every breakdown of a single commercial engagement, the value of money depreciates and the repercussion of such depreciation on the standard of gold value at the Bank reflects itself in every detail of trade. The enormous fluctuations and instabilities in the cocoa market are due mainly to the loss of confidence and the betrayal of trust, and with every breakdown of trade arrangements, a like change takes place on the cocoa market and a sympathetic reduction of price in cocoa is forced upon the poor farmer. It is therefore essential for our trade prosperity that we should study the benefits of commercial security, trust, and confidence, so that not only in the cocoa trade, but in every aspect of commerce and industry, we should be able to compete with the trader who comes into the country, however big his capital might be.

A third essential of successful trade operations is the proper exploitation of talent. Where it is recognised that any particular man has talents suitable for large industrial or commercial concerns, he should be given a chance, equal to his talent, for exercising his capacity in the interests of this country. That atmosphere of suspicion of the stranger, the man not of our group, or our race, should not be allowed to enter the domains of trade, for without brains

well equipped for a special aspect of business we would be left behind in the race for economic control. Let us cast away from us our jealousies and prejudices, and give proper scope for the exploitation of commercial talent for the good of the country.

Cocoa Plantations.

As to the cocoa industry itself, I should warn you and all our friends, the farmers, that the growth, care, and preparation of cocoa are aspects of an important industry that require very systematic and careful handling, and the farmer should at all times avail himself of the best technical advice that comes to him, through his Chief or other agency, from the government and other Agricultural Officers in the country. I desire to recommend to your serious study and practice every piece of advice or information that may reach you from the Agricultural Officers or from the Agricultural Society which has recently been established in Akim Abuakwa.

Cocoa Buying Centres.

We in Abuakwaland should endeavour to make a good return by establishing a large central market for cocoa at one of the Railway Stations in Akim Abuakwa. It is possible for us to station select and well picked cocoa buyers at such stations as Tafo or Anyinam whose business will be to buy the best possible cocoa and sell it to the best buyers. In that way we shall gradually establish a name and a brand for Akim Abuakwa Cocoa, and with a good grade once established the farmer will obtain an assurance of good standard price for the standard quality which the exceptional labour he has put in his produce encourages him to expect. We can select a place like Tafo or Anyinam as an experimental station for buying and marketing the best and only the best cocoa. In time to come the European trader who has always got an eye for a good thing, will be forced to recognise that "Tafo Cocoa" or the "Anyinam Brand" is a synonym for "good cocoa", and the maintenance of that quality may revolutionise the whole basis of the cocoa trade in Akim Abuakwa.

It is not easy to establish such a standard quality for Abuakwa cocoa unless we induce as many of our farmers to sell their cocoa to representative buyers at Central Depôts, and the best way to reach the generality of farmers is through the Chiefs and rulers of the

country. I therefore advise that you get into touch with the farmers, through the Chiefs or other representative men so as to give them an assurance that they could have a reasonable expectation of a constant level of high price if

- (1) They would always produce the best cocoa;
- (2) Sell at recognised Buying Centres to representative State-Buyers who are instructed to buy the best; and
- (3) Maintain a high tradition of good cocoa and a constant supply of large quantities.

This third is a very important point, for it will be impossible to create any impression upon the Colony's Cocoa trade unless the greatest portion, if not all, of the cocoa from Akim Abuakwa were prepared to the standard of "Tafo or Anyinam grade."

Such a scheme is only workable with the support of the Chiefs and of the big commercial concerns. If the latter, like Cadbury and Fry's, are prepared to offer the best prices for the best cocoa, there is no reason why our Chiefs should not give their support to the scheme, giving due recognition to those of the Traders' cocoa buyers and agents who might give assurance to the State of their willingness to buy the best and only the best.

Value for Money.

The aim of such a scheme is twofold. First, it is to realize for the farmer a high level of standard price for his produce; and second, it is intended to demonstrate to the farmer that good work has good value, and that the more he combines with his fellow workers to produce none but the best cocoa, the more he will gain from the result of his labours.

As you are aware, the method adopted by the State in recent years to ensure the marketing of good cocoa was by inspection by State officers who had no interest in the cocoa other than the fact of entering up the name of the farmer with bad cocoa for a criminal summons to be issued against him. Now the local cocoa Inspector is thoroughly powerless to educate the farmer as to the need for good cocoa. At best he tells him that if he brings bad cocoa on the market he will be fined 5/-. He does not tell him what "good" cocoa may bring to him. And what is a fine of 5/- or even £1 to the farmer who, after the Inspector's summons, is sure to realise as

much for his cocoa as his fortunate brother who, for one reason or the other, was not detected and fined?

Local Inspection of cocoa cannot have any direct effect on the buyer or trader. The latter can only be urged to buy the best if in buying bad cocoa he is prevented from shipping same or selling it to any other Trader. The only way in which cocoa inspection can profit the country is by way of inspection at the port of shipment. Nothing can be more effective than that method. The Trader knows this to be true, and so, I think does the Government. But of course such a law will be very difficult to place on the statute book of the Colony, and I can only invite you to consider the alternative plan to ensure the sale and purchase of "the best quality cocoa," which has been briefly outlined above.

I hope also that by establishing central buying places at one or two of our important Railway Stations we shall be able to have our own Koforidua or Nkawkaw such as the New Juabens and the Kwahu have been able to do. We should be able in Abuakwaland to create a real township of good substantial buildings for the new trade so as not to be bested out of our rights by our own inaction and inertia.

Respectfully yours,

J. B. D.



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