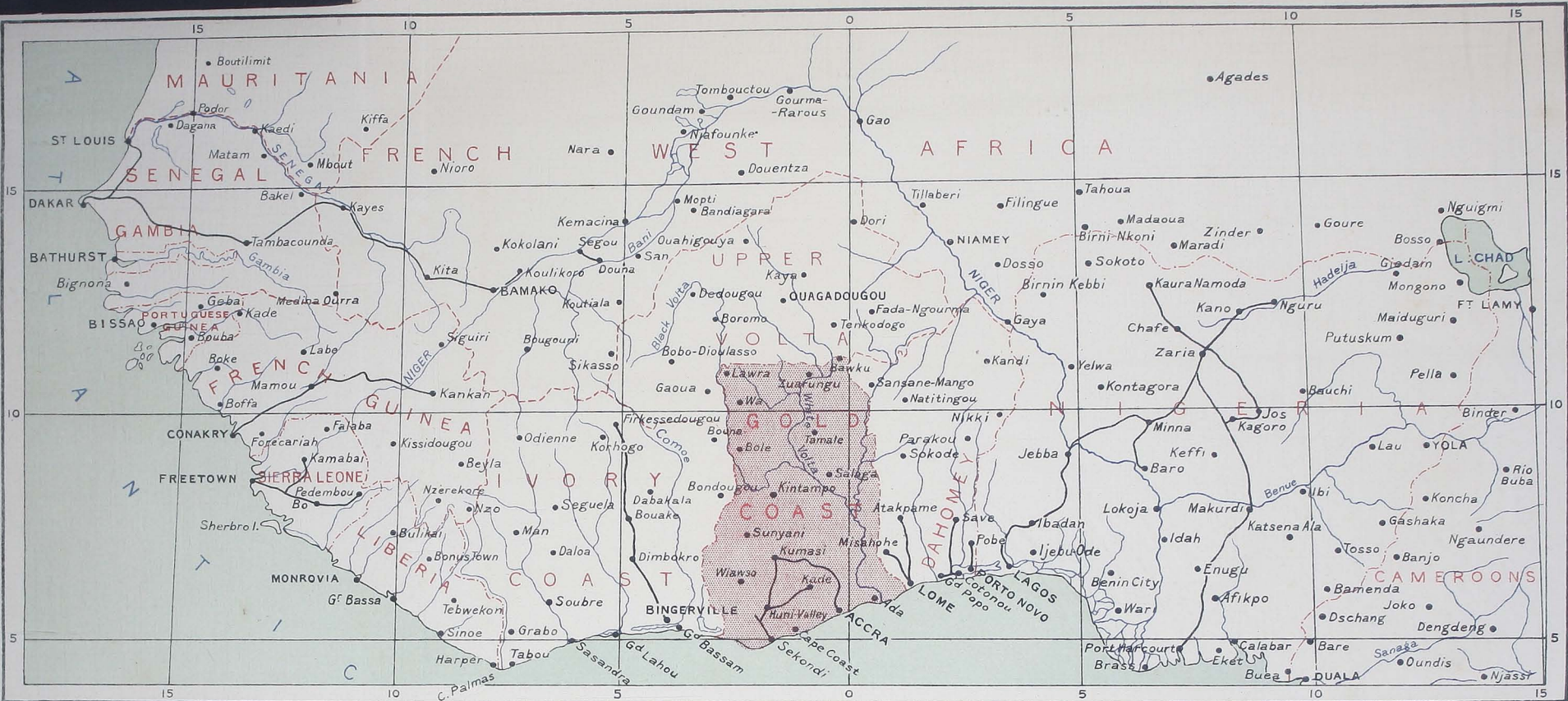


MAP OF WEST AFRICA SHOWING POSITION OF THE GOLD COAST.



Survey H.Q. Accra, 1932.

THE GOLD COAST, 1931.



THE GOLD COAST, 1931.

A Review of conditions in the Gold Coast in 1931 as compared with those of 1921, based on figures and facts collected by the Chief Census Officer of 1931, together with a Historical, Ethnographical and Sociological Survey of the People of that Country.

By A. W. CARDINALL

Chief Census Officer.



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CHAPTER I.
GEOGRAPHICAL.

*Description of the Country—The Coast Line—Lake Bosumtwi—
The Forest and Sudanese Zones.*

The Gold Coast is that portion of the coast of Guinea lying between longitude E. 1° 14' and W. 3° 7' and latitude N. 4° 45' and N. 11° 10'. It stretches along a coastline of some 334 miles, and penetrates northwards towards the Sudan for a distance of about 380 miles.

The country is not a separate entity containing the people of one single nation but is an arbitrarily created zone, the result of many political machinations and arrangements. Its area amounts to some 91,843 square miles which is divided among the several parts of which the Gold Coast is composed as follows:—

	<i>Square miles.</i>
Gold Coast Colony	23,937
Colony of Ashanti	24,379
Protectorate of Northern Territories	30,486
Mandated Zone of Togoland	13,041

Politically it is bounded on the West and North by the French Colonies of the Ivory Coast and the Upper Volta, and on the East by the Zone of Togoland mandated to France, whilst the Southern frontier is the Atlantic Ocean.

Occasional cliffs and rocky outcrops interrupt the low sandy foreshore along which break continually the ocean swells in a surf that for long has made landing difficult and often dangerous and to no small extent has hindered the progress of the country. No harbours, nor river estuaries have offered shelter to the trading vessels, until during the past decade the harbour of Takoradi was built and opened.

Back of this sandy horizon there rises a long chain of low hills which, reaching the coast itself at about Cape Three Points, recede further and further inland until they are still visible some 30 miles away from the sea at Prampram. Between these hills and the sea lies a great plain which is characterised by areas of oil-palm, grassy flats and brackish lagoons.

The late Director of the Geological Survey of the Gold Coast briefly describes it as follows:—

“The coast-line varies very much in its character from west to east. Between Newtown and Axim there are strips of beach sand, backed by swampy country, extending in places to about 20 miles from the coast. From Axim eastward to



beyond Appam, the greater portion of the coast-line consists of massive rocky cliffs, some of them rising as sheer walls to upwards of 200 feet above sea-level. Where streams reach the ocean there are usually brackish or freshwater swamps or lagoons, separated from the sea by fringes of sea-sand. From near Appam eastward to the limit of the Colony there is an alternation of lagoon and coastal plain, with or without cliffs. The land is steadily encroaching on the sea. The coast-line is undoubtedly rising, a fact evidenced by the occurrence of several well-marked marine terraces or platforms, one of which is from 70 to 100 feet above present sea-level, and at least two others of more recent age, of 20 feet and 8 to 10 feet above it. The last uplift of 8 feet was partly the cause of the occurrence of the fringing and landlocked lagoons to be seen now along many parts of the coast. In some places shells of existing marine species can be seen in the clay and mud of the banks of channels several feet above present sea-level. Owing to the uplift the shallow estuaries and indentations of the coast at the mouths of streams were converted into lagoons. The strong west-south-west Guinea current, and the prevailing south-west wind acting on the sea formed a great swell which persistently swept and is still sweeping along the coast, transporting landward large quantities of sand along the sea-floor. Continued action of this kind has resulted in the formation first, of a shoal, then of a tidal sandbank, and finally of a shore-sand barrier. This work is being actively aided and hastened by the wind, which blows the dry sand inland. The constructive action of the two forces proceeds rapidly, and at such places the land is gaining at the expense of the sea, while at others, as at Accra, those portions of the cliffs that are composed of soft rocks are being rapidly broken down and the material washed away. Shore-sand barriers in most places prevent the waters of the impounded streams from flowing into the sea. In a few places, however, the streams are able to discharge during the rainy season floods or at low tide, while several of the small streams and the large rivers have permanent outflows."

Immediately behind this coast line, from Axim to Kpong on the Volta River and eastward thereof there stretches an area commonly known as the Coastal Zone, varying in width up to as much as 60 miles inland from the sea. It consists generally of almost level plains, on which very occasionally there rise abruptly small ranges of hills or isolated peaks. Trees of any size are scarce, but the soil is by no means a poor one, crops of various kinds being readily cultivated.

To several causes can this quasi-desert nature of the plains be attributed; the uplift mentioned above, the continuous depositing of sand by the south-west monsoon, the action of man, and the influence of the Volta River's everchanging delta. The receding

of the forest has been historically noted, and its retreat is clearly visible to-day, one of the most difficult of the many problems in the Gold Coast.

The area of the country covered by the forest is almost an equilateral triangle; from Axim to the Volta River at Kpong, from Kpong to Nkoranza in Ashanti, and a base formed by the Western Frontier across which the forest itself continues to stretch towards Sierra Leone. It covers an area of approximately 18,000 square miles, and includes almost all that country from which the people of the Gold Coast at present draw their prosperity.

This ever-green forest offers to the traveller a sense of almost overwhelming weight. Giant trees rise to a height of some 200 feet or more; a late conservator of forests in this country estimated their number to be from 20 to 30 an acre, so that it is not difficult to realise how the canopy of their branches and leaves affords a roof almost impenetrable to the full light of the sun, whilst trees of smaller girth, rising to an equal height help to add to the entanglement above. In the forest, an almost twilight prevails. The undergrowth, or jungle which borders the paths and roads of man, or covers the space where some giant tree has fallen or a former patch of cultivation existed, ceases. One can gaze for as much as a hundred yards through the long irregular lines of the grey barked trees, rising branchless to the dark ceiling of their leaves, whilst one stands on a soft carpet, the pile of which is one vast nursery of tree-lings, rising barely a foot in height. The air is heavy and steaming, a continuous dropping of moisture almost enough to be termed rain falls from the canopy above, and over all there hangs an almost overwhelming odour of vegetation, sometimes pleasant and sometimes the reverse. The silence of the woodland is not here, there is always the chatter of monkeys, the hoarse calling of birds and the ear-splitting shrilling of the cicadas.

The ever-green forest lies in a country of hills and mountains. The northern boundary is formed by a range which in many places attains to heights of more than 2,000 feet. But throughout the area the hills are many and steep, with here and there perpendicular walls of rock or over-hanging cliffs, affording vistas of magnificent scenery.

The whole area is well-watered with innumerable streams and rivulets, which form the tributaries of the Rivers Tano, Ankobra, Prah and Birim.

Included in the river system is the basin of the one and only real lake in the Gold Coast (Lake Bosumtwi), lying some 20 miles to the south-east of Kumasi. This expanse of water presents in many ways a unique problem for the geographer and for the geologist. The latest account of it is given in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* for September, 1931 in an article by Mr. Malcolm Maclaren, D.Sc., F.G.S., who puts forward the theory that its origin is meteoric. His description of the lake is briefly as follows:—

"Lake Bosumtwi is roughly circular, with an average diameter of a little under 5 miles. It lies at the bottom of a great crater with its surface waters 900 to 1,200 feet below the crater rim. The diameter of the crater at the rim is about $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles. The inner slopes are steep. They were obviously originally precipitous, but have been modified somewhat by denudation. . . . The inner walls of the crater are densely jungle clad. Perhaps the most striking topographical feature is the continuous and unbroken rim, which is raised from 300 to 600 feet above the general upland level (950 feet) The water gathering area of Lake Bosumtwi is therefore confined wholly to the crater walls, and no stream flowing into it has a greater length than $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles, while the majority have a length of about a mile. The maximum depth of the lake appears to be at the present time about 240 feet

"The bottom of the lake is therefore about 100 feet above sea-level."

Mr. Maclaren compares these figures with the almost exactly coinciding ones of the famous Meteor Crater in Arizona.

To the casual observer the appearance of the lake would suggest a volcanic origin. But as Mr. Maclaren points out there are nowhere in the neighbourhood any traces of volcanic ejecta, nor is there any evidence of recent volcanic action recorded elsewhere in the country. It is the comparative recentness of the origin of this lake that is so striking to the geologist and no theory has yet been put forward as so likely as Mr. Maclaren's theory. He gives an almost thrilling account of what to him seems to have occurred.

"There is no reason to assume that the diameter of the meteor in any way approached that of the resultant impact-crater. Travelling, as it must have done, at a velocity of approximately 50 miles per second, urging ahead of it, and especially drawing behind it, enormous quantities of superheated air, the shock and heat of impact must have blown all rock round the point of impact to incandescent dust. If, as was probable, since by far the greater number of meteorites that enter the earth's atmosphere are stony and not of nickel-iron, the Bosumtwi meteor was stony, then it also was blown to dust, leaving in solid masses only the small portions of nickel-iron metal that stony meteorites usually carry. The mass of the meteor is probably to be expressed in thousands rather than in millions of tons, and the relative diameters of meteor and crater are believed to be comparable to those of a high-explosive shell and the crater formed by it. The direction of the meteor is possibly indicated by the greater piling up of the rim against the flank of the Obuom Range to the south. If this assumption is valid the meteor fell from the north-north-east."

The lake is a sacred place, and many are the tabus imposed upon the dwellers on its shores and the fishers in its water. It was the great fishing centre from which the people of Kumasi drew

supplies of fish, and as a result the villages along its bank are numerous and the inhabitants passing rich. The earliest known description of the lake seems to be that given by Perregaux in the *Bulletin de la Société Neufchâteloise* in 1906, but the fullest is probably that of Rattray in his book *Ashanti*, 1923, pages 54-76.

Lying immediately to the north of the ever-green forest is the so-called Sudanese zone. Of this the late Major T. F. Chipp, D.S.C., M.C., wrote:—

“Comparatively no botanical or forestry survey work has so far been carried out in this country on the vegetation of the Sudanese Zone, and consequently it is not possible at the present stage to define the limits of the sub-divisions into Savannah Forest and Savannah. The controlling factor over this zone, apart from its proximity to the more arid conditions of the north, is the annual grass fires, which, sweeping over extensive areas of country for many decades must now be considered in the light of a natural factor. Strips of the original closed forest are still found in its southern edges along watercourses and on the south side of the hill masses. Beyond that Savannah Forest and Savannah stretch away to the north, the forest patches or isolated trees ever becoming fewer.

“In the west all the country north of $7^{\circ} 30'$ belongs to this zone. As one proceeds eastwards the limits bear towards the south, but keep to the north of the Mampong, Agogo, Kwahu and Akwapim ranges of hills. In the east of the Colony it has supplanted the Guinea vegetation right down to the sea front. It is now steadily progressing along the sea front in the shape of a wedge, ever widening behind, and at the same time extending its thin end westwards. In this manner it has progressed as far as Sekondi. Westwards of Sekondi it cannot yet be said to be established, although many of its characteristic denizens such as *Borassus*, *Phoenix* and *Sanseveria* are found as far as Half Assinie along the sea front, and the latter two right to the western frontier of the Colony. The extension of corn and groundnut farms between Sekondi and Half Assinie is causing the tall forest to contract inland rapidly and so preparing for the conversion of this country to the Sudanese vegetation.

“As in the case of the Guinea Zone (i.e. coastal zone) the soil may be sand or clay, but there seems little doubt that the majority of the country has a sandy soil covering. In many places, however, owing to the destruction of the vegetation, the soil is completely removed, and there the bare rock surface is exposed. This occurs sometimes as stretches of flat rock . . . sometimes as prominent jagged rocks and scarps. Where the vegetation exists there is found a black soil to the depth of a few inches only, formed by the collection of vegetable ash from the annual fires, and often described as ‘a rich black soil suitable for the growth of cotton

and similar agricultural crops.' The removal of the vegetation, however, quickly causes its dispersal by wind and rain.

"The principal rock of this part of the country is sandstone. Where this has been eroded, as on the hill tops, granite with quartz appears, and the effect of the erosion is seen in the sandy accumulations in the depressions and low valleys. Where this zone of vegetation occurs in the south-east of the country detached outcrops of clay ironstone occur, and here and elsewhere further north are occasionally found schists and shales.

"The general rise of the country . . . does not appear to be continued, and maximum heights of the majority of the isolated hills are not recorded as being greater than those of the principal divides of the country. It seems reasonable to suppose that the northern part which embraces the Northern Territories and Northern Ashanti is a land surface reduced to a low relief by erosion. This explains the exposed granite on the hill tops and alluvium in the depressions, the latter being constantly moved on to the sea."

This Sudanese Zone is drained by the Volta River System. It is, except in the rainy season, from August to October inclusive, not well watered, most of the rivers and tributaries running almost completely dry, leaving only occasional pools of comparatively deep water.

Finally in the extreme north the approach of the desert has already made itself apparent. Thorn-bush and sandy patches are annually growing larger, and the writer is personally aware of fields on account of the advance of the sand having been abandoned as no longer fit for cultivation.

Of the hills in the Sudanese Zone there are few of remarkable note. From Kintampo to Gambaga a broken scarp faces the north-west, rising to about 800 feet above the surrounding country, whilst ranges of hills north of the White Volta mark the frontier of the Protectorate with the Upper Volta Colony. Isolated peaks are noticeable here and there but the general character of this zone is one of gentle undulation. To the east the frontier with French Togoland is marked by the mountain ranges which form the backbone as it were of that country, and the watershed of the Volta River and the Mono.

The population of these various zones differs, both tribally and in density. In the coastal area, at its widest the greater number of inhabitants belong to the linguistically allied tribes known as Ga, Adangbe and Ewe, and their area is comparatively thickly populated.

The oil-palm and ever-green forest is the habitat of the Akan peoples and except for the more open areas their country is but sparsely inhabited.

But even more thinly peopled is the adjacent area of the Savannah forest, where the Guang division of the Akan stock is found. To their north is the true Savannah country where the Dagomba and tribally related peoples dwell and populate the country more and more thickly as one proceeds northward.

CHAPTER II. HISTORICAL.

Myths and Traditions—Former High State of Civilisation—Aggrey Beads—Advent of the Europeans—History of the Gold Coast in its relation to that of the World—Local Historical Events—International Agreements—Ashanti and the Northern Territories—Samory—Ferguson's Death—Annual Record of the Last Decade—Constitution—Judicial System.

The arbitrary character of the political boundaries of the Gold Coast is such that in any review of the history of its inhabitants there must always be kept in mind that the Gold Coast as defined to-day has been imposed upon the people by aliens not only of nation but of race and is in no sense of the word a spontaneous or homogeneous creation.

The earliest known contact with Europeans was during the latter half of the fifteenth century, and prior to that our knowledge of the people who lived in the Gold Coast amounts practically to nothing. One has to rely almost entirely on myth and tradition.

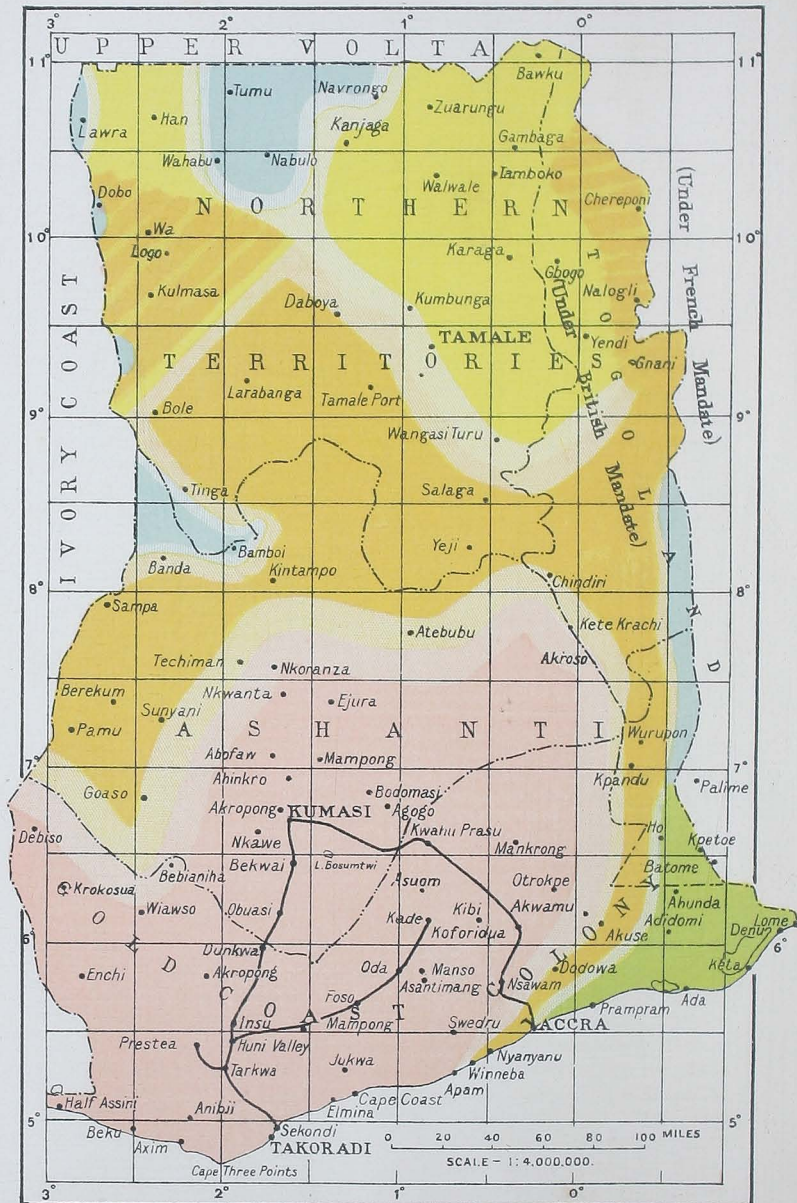
The former seems generally to point to a race of short men or dwarfs of a reddish colour as being the aborigines; the latter consists of one long list of migrations of families and individuals and the founding of settlements by hunters and fishers. Throughout the traditions, however, there runs a general tendency to record a movement in waves from north-west to south-east with a secondary movement on a very much smaller scale from the east along the coast westward.

There is no real antiquity lying behind these traditions but there is considerable evidence to support their truth. Linguistically the people of the Gold Coast Colony and Ashanti as well as of a considerable portion of both the Protectorate and Mandated area are allied; their religion, custom and folk-lore are so similar as to be almost identical; and the forest area where the bulk of the Akan tribes have settled shows no evidence of any dense settlement or any ascertainable age to man's existence therein.

It is the Akans that reached the coast line in waves from the north-west, whilst the Ga, Adangbe and Ewe seem to have drifted slowly and in comparatively recent historical times from the east and north-east.

No useful purpose can be served here by giving the story of each individual tribe, for the division into tribes is often arbitrary and the term "tribe" is too frequently loosely interpreted.

THE GOLD COAST



SURVEY H. Q. ACCRA 1932.

MAP SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF LANGUAGE GROUPS.

- | | |
|---|---|
| Akan-1 Twi-Fanti Group. | Akan-2 Twi-Guang Group. |
| Ga-Ewe. | Moshi-Dagomba. |
| | Unclassified. |

THE GRADUAL MERGING OF ONE LANGUAGE GROUP INTO ANOTHER IS INDICATED BY THE SHADING.

Ordinarily it might be defined as a social group comprising a number of families descended from a common ancestor ; in course of time slaves and others seeking protection or adoption are included until, although the idea of consanguinity persists, the tribe becomes based more and more on common social and political institutions rather than kinship.

In the Gold Coast Colony there can be classified three tribes, the Akan, Ga-Adangbe and Ewe, and as the coast is approached these are more and more mixed in blood with the unknown aborigines, slaves, strangers both European and African and even Asiatics. These three type-tribes can be distinguished by the following main characteristics: the Akan form a social group organised on democratic, quasi-military lines, the men not being circumcised ; the Ga-Adangbe practise circumcision and being in the intermediate cultural stage between the Akan and Ewe have a constitution which is semi-military and semi-sacerdotal and less inclined to democracy ; the Ewe society is built on a religious base, circumcision is practised and a democratic form of government non-existent, it not having yet wholly evolved from the patriarchal state.

In Ashanti the Akan type-tribe continues northward under the tribal name Brong, but in the north-west corner there is an isolated group, the Mo-Banda, which has not yet been studied but which superficially seems to be closely related to the Nunuma and Kassena division of the so-called Grunshi living along the northern frontier of the country.

In the Protectorate of the Northern Territories the dominant tribe in the southern province is the Guang or Gbanya or Gonja. They are not numerically dominant, but cover the greatest area of which any single identifiable tribe is in occupation. Undoubtedly of the same stock as the Akan they have been ruled for some two hundred years by overlords of Mandingo origin, but have maintained almost intact their own cultural and social systems as other peoples in other parts of the world have done under similar conditions.

Numerically superior to these Guang in the protectorate are the Dagomba who likewise, but for a far greater period of time, have been subject to rulers of alien race. It will probably be found, when the tribes of the protectorate have been more closely studied, that the Dagomba people cover, except for isolated groups of remnant tribes, the whole area north of the Guang to as far north as the sixteenth parallel. So little is known of the northern tribes that at present excepting linguistically no reliable grouping into tribes can be made. Linguistic divisions are by themselves of little value, and of this fact there is an excellent example in the north of the mandated area of Togoland where the Chakosi of undeniably close affinity to the Konkomba, their neighbours, speak a language dialectically related to that spoken by the Akan from whom they are separated by close on two hundred miles.

The mandated area of Togoland provides many ethnic problems. The old international frontiers, the Volta River and the Daka River, were merely arbitrary ones, and the Mamprussi, Dagomba, Guang, Akan and Ewe tribes dwell on both sides; but to the east are found tribes quite unclassified although considerably studied by various German students. Such are from north to south the Bimoba, the Chakosi already mentioned, the Konkomba, the Ajati, Adele and the small mountain tribes Logba, Buem, Santrokofi, Akposso and Wora-wora.

Of the history of these protectorate and north Togo tribes excepting for the Dagomba and Mamprussi little is known. The Konkomba relate how they were driven from the westward and point as evidence to the great heaps of slag which their forefathers are said to have made when smelting their iron and which are so marked a feature of the country in the Savannah zone east of the Great North Road from Kumasi to Tamale and west of the Daka and Volta Rivers.

The Bimoba are of recent migration having entered their present settlement within the past decade.

Of the other Grunshi tribes, the Busanga, the Nabdam, Nankanni, Kassena, Issala, the so-called Lobi, etc., the tradition leads generally back to some hunter or to some mythical arrival out of a hole in the ground.

But as with recent Gonja or Guang history the Mamprussi and Dagomba have preserved a traditional story which rings true. They tell of the descent from the north-east of a hero who with his followers seized the dominion of the land, and after exterminating the actual chieftains of the clans or families that lived therein tolerated the return of the rightful heirs to those chieftainships in the guise of priests and interceders before the spirits of the Earth. That traditional history is to a certain extent borne out by quite disinterested evidence.

The tradition is briefly that the hero settled first in Pussiga, a small village now just across the old international frontier east of Bawku. A son, i.e. a descendant, founded the kingdom of Mamprussi, from which again the kingdom of Dagomba was similarly created. Meanwhile by identical methods sons had founded the kingdoms of Fadan Gurma, Tenkodogu, Wagadugu and Wahiguya.

It appears the descendants of the original conqueror did not take kindly to a quiet sedentary life but were ever anxious to be on the war-path, to earn fame and fortune and if possible to found kingdoms. That spirit in the blood of those of the ruling stock survived until and even during the early days of European occupation.

It is definitely recorded by the historian of Timbaktu, in the *Tarikh es Soudan*, how in the fifteenth century that city was sacked by marauders from Moshi and at the end of that same century

the Portuguese governor of Elmina despatched a large embassy from the coast to give presents to and make a treaty with the "Sultan" of that country.

The particular Moshi Kingdom referred to was that of Wahiguya. That was the latest to have been founded by the scion of the hero race of Pussiga. It is therefore not unreasonable to deduce that the kingdoms of Mamprussi and Dagomba date historically from the twelfth century at the latest, since 300 years must have elapsed before Wahiguya could have been founded and rendered sufficiently powerful to overwhelm Timbuktu.

Their traditional history is one long list of petty wars, of raids and brigandage, of rebellion and of palace intrigues.

To return however to the people of the coastal zone and Akan kinship, their migration from the north and north-westward having been admitted, one can recognise that their earliest migration had not the character of permanency. That these immigrants were hunters, lived on grubs and snails, roots and fruits, with occasional meat of the forest animals is certain. The earliest pictures of these people show a naked folk, covering parts of their body with bark-cloth, and armed with spears and bows and arrows. To this day these general characteristics survive. In areas such as the districts of Sefwi and Kete-Krachi, the people still make and use bark-cloth both for aprons and for covering; snails and certain caterpillars, (especially the former) are still the staple diet of the majority of the inland Akans; and the wild roots and fruits once the ordinary food of the people have survived in the manner customary to sociological evolution as medicinal and magical concoctions.

The earth itself supplies evidence of all this in the innumerable broken off pieces of neolithic diggers, termed here, as similar stones elsewhere in the world, God's axes and hoes and thunderbolts; it also reveals a complete absence of ancient clearings either for farming or for dwelling sites. So that with myth, tradition and the testimony of the earth itself in accord it is clear that at the period preceding the arrival of the European in the fifteenth century, the people in the coastal and forest zone were nomadic hunters, undoubtedly not numerous, and traditionally migrants from the interior.

Such were the ancestors of the Akan tribes. The forebears of the Ga and Ewe traditionally came from the East, probably overland and possibly a few contingents by sea. Their appearance came at a much later period and they encountered members of the earliest Akan people in Winnebah, where they were known as Fetu, or Ofutu, Obutu. It is interesting to record that the earliest linguistic and anthropological study of the people who inhabit the Gold Coast is that of the Fetu, who were described so long ago as 1673.

In parenthesis it may be noted that there is a pleasant theory that the peoples of the Gold Coast had attained a great height of civilization and that this had degenerated or stagnated until, the

circle completed, the stage of primitiveness wherein Europeans re-discovered them was reached again. There is no shred of evidence to justify this theory. On the contrary every myth and tradition point to the reverse, and the fact that the ancestors of the Akan people fled from culture and civilisation, which the conquerors of the Dagomba certainly possessed, seems undeniable proof to the contrary.

Several writers have put forward a suggestion that the Phoenicians probably visited the Gold Coast. There is no sound reason to accept this nor yet to refuse it. The matter to-day is of almost purely academical interest. In support of their assertion, they have pointed to the occasional finding in the ground of beads, locally termed "aggrey." To these beads the inhabitants of the Gold Coast attribute a great value.

But these writers overlook the fact that beads of glass and porcelain partake of the nature of indestructibility. At the same time the artificial value given to the beads by the local inhabitants has misled them into attributing a greater antiquity than need necessarily be the case and has probably caused the confusion in terms of Phoenician and Venetian.

Certain facts point to this having taken place. There is no evidence that the Phoenicians were specialists in the art of bead-making; there is absolute evidence that the Venetians were, and moreover that they had an established trade with the people south of the Niger in the early part of the fifteenth century, having agencies at least so far south as in El Touat; there is no evidence to be gained from the beads brought to Europe of their being of an age such as a Phoenician origin would have shown (actually the bead from West Africa of greatest ascertainable antiquity in the British Museum is of the Roman Empire period); and it is to be recorded that during the past decade, when the north was opened up to the southerner, a small but very profitable trade existed for a short time in these beads, many Ashanti and Kwahu traders travelling into French Territory to acquire (which they readily were able to do) collections of so-called aggrey beads for sale in their home towns.

The word "aggrey" itself seems to indicate merely a bead which in the eyes of the local inhabitants was regarded as a bead of value. The earliest narratives of voyages by the Dutch and English persistently tell how the ships while awaiting the collection of cargoes proceeded into the bight of Benin where they brought to the Gold Coast among other articles certain blue beads of coral called "akori" or "accory" or "aigri."

The Phoenician connection seems therefore to be based on very slender grounds, but indirect influence from if not real contact with Egypt and Egyptian culture is almost certain. In a recent work "Hebrewisms in West Africa," the author, the Reverend Father J. W. Williams, produces a vast amount of material in proof of this assertion, whilst Römer showed clearly

the routes along which this influence travelled. Not only great similarities in culture and religious thought and practice exist, but there are other likenesses, in architecture, costume, head-dress and so on, whilst the agricultural systems and the field products of the northern tribes seem to point to an eastern origin.

It is in any case difficult to imagine that West Africa could have been kept outside the pale as regards influences from the older Mediterranean civilizations. There is clear evidence of a slight contact with Rome ; there is clearer evidence of Egyptian. Moorish and Arab influence is historically known ; whilst a certain influence from the culture of the Berbers and the Church of North Africa can safely be assumed. But the extent of these influences whether direct or indirect, whether at first or at second hand cannot now be ascertained.

It is, however, highly probable that the contact, or threatened contact with these higher forms of culture, which would have involved at the best servitude and at the worst extermination, led to the emigration of interior tribes, forcing them to withdraw into the wilder recesses of the forests. They in their turn thus forced the aborigines into still wilder recesses so that one finds the oldest evidences of occupation and settlement on the hill-tops and in the rocky areas of the forest—repetition here of a course of events to be observed almost universally throughout the world. Such ancient sites are those at Begoro in Akim-Abuakwa, at Obuasi in Ashanti and at Nsuta in the Western Province.

Historically it is not until the fifteenth century that the people of the coast came into direct contact with Europe and as a result they have become involved in all the great world movements since the Middle Ages. It was to the great impulse which swept Western Europe in the middle of the fifteenth century to seek for communication, unhampered by the Turks, with the wealth of Cathay and to the religious fervour to renew touch with the old Christian Church whose head was Prester John, that the Portuguese, inspired by the princely geographer, Henry the Navigator, crept slowly down the coast of Africa. Year by year their progress was pursued. Their undertakings were commercially successful, so that they considered it advisable to establish a stronghold on the coast. For this purpose they chose the site of Elmina, where in 1482 d'Azambuja erected the castle of San Jorge d' El Mina.

The Portuguese continued their progress southward, founded the future great Christian Kingdom of the Congo, crossed the continent of Africa, rounded the Cape of Good Hope and opened the way to India and Cathay.

The Spanish discoveries on the Western side of the Atlantic and the revelation of the possibility of attaining untold wealth raised in an acute manner the question of labour supply. No other source was available than that of Africa ; and the only means of obtaining that labour was through the age-old and well-tried methods

of slavery. Thus there began the trans-oceanic Slave Trade, which in spite of its abomination, was in many ways destined to be a blessing to West Africa.

Economically the Slave Trade, which both Africans and Europeans indulged in to the full, resulted directly in the opening of the country. The wandering hunter and fisherman were through their greed for European luxuries forced to settle and adopt fixed habits. Elmina, a picture of which as it was in 1547 is extant, from a hamlet of some few huts grew into a town of importance; the diggers of roots and the hunters of grubs and snails found they had in order to live in the new manner to barter something for the luxuries they coveted. Slaves were in demand and slaves were easy to come by. Therefore they began to hunt and capture and sell their fellow men. The Portuguese in order to feed the slaves awaiting shipment as well as to support their captors had to introduce foodstuffs; so that because of this evil there was introduced into the Gold Coast almost every food-plant which provides to this day for the feeding of the people.

It can safely be averred that the Slave Trade was the direct cause of the introduction of agricultural habits among a people whose wealth and happiness to-day is entirely due to agriculture.

The security of the Spaniards and Portuguese in this trade was assured by Papal Bull, and Christendom was then quite willing as a whole to acquiesce in a regulation whereby half the unknown world was allotted to the enterprise of Spain and half to Portugal. Occasional interlopers of various nations disregarded this law, but their individual efforts were mere interludes and of but little importance.

However Christendom at the end of the sixteenth century was at throes in internecine strife. Portugal had been absorbed by Spain, and except for the Slave Trade the coast of Guinea was practically neglected. Spain was deeply engaged in war with her subjects in Holland and when the latter country asserting her independence decided to attack her arch-enemy at the source of her wealth, South America, the third great step in the development for the Gold Coast had been taken. The Dutch seized the Coast of Brazil.

The Dutch and English had visited the Gold Coast at infrequent intervals before the seventeenth century. But such visits were irregularised poaching and smuggling trips, performed at the instigation of individuals in a desire to get rich quick rather than with the express intention to settle in and exploit the country. This illicit trade was, in spite of the risk to its participators, highly profitable, and by the end of the sixteenth century the Dutch had tentatively established two fortified posts to protect their interests.

The seizure of the Brazils altered the outlook, which the Netherlanders in the Low Countries held as regards the West African trade. The Coast of Guinea, and the Gold Coast in

particular became of prime importance; the labour necessary to develop the South American countries had to come from West Africa. As soon as this was realised, the Dutch made determined attacks on the Portuguese settlements, which received but little assistance from their Spanish masters who were far too busily occupied elsewhere.

Thus it was that as soon as war in Europe broke out afresh in 1621, the Dutch determined on the conquest of the Gold Coast as a part of their plan of campaign. The West Indian and Guinea Company was formed, and plans laid to capture the headquarters of the Portuguese on the Gold Coast, San Jorge del Mina. The first attempt failed but in 1637 the fortress fell and the Dutch were more or less left in undisputed control of the traffic with this country.

However only three years later Portugal regained her independence from Spain. The former sought to win back her former possessions in the Brazils and the war with Holland was continued. The end came in 1642 when Holland handed the Brazils back to Portugal, who abandoned the Gold Coast to the Dutchmen. Thus ended the Portuguese control of this country, a control that had lasted since 1481.

Meanwhile the success of the Guinea trade had attracted to the Gold Coast the attention of other European monarchs and merchants, who sent out expeditions to exploit the wealthy slave trade and establish settlements in the country. Thus Brandenburgers, Swedes, French, Danes and English came hither and built fortified posts. There is even record of a Hungarian Guinea Company, probably equipped and arranged at the instigation of Dutchmen, who found themselves excluded from this profitable business unless working for the monopolistic West India Company, and who therefore perforce had to obtain a protection similar to that which the letters of marque provided privateersmen in the following century.

But Brandenburgers, Swedes and French ceased by the end of the seventeenth century to be seriously interested in the Gold Coast and the trade of that country remained almost exclusively in the hands of England, Holland and Denmark.

The merchants of these three countries carried on unceasingly the traffic in slaves on whose labour the prosperity of both the Americas and the West Indies was more and more dependent with the unforeseen result that the people living on the coast or within easy reach thereof leapt several stages in cultural evolution, to which reference is made later.

But world politics continued inevitably to have great effects upon the development of this country. The Napoleonic Wars included among its incidents, more or less disregarded at the time, the sale of Louisiana by the French to the United States.

When France once more was settled the loss of this wealthy Colony made itself felt in the areas of industrial manufacture.

Raw material reached France but was no longer of French origin. Far-seeing thinkers began to consider the possibilities of the northern parts of Guinea as a likely source of supply for the raw materials which Louisiana had provided; and thus the policy of a single self-supporting empire which still dominates the thoughts of Frenchmen when they consider matters colonial, was founded at the time of the Bourbon restoration.

Meanwhile a second event had occurred at the end of the eighteenth century which was destined to affect most profoundly conditions of trade and the position of the West African. European opinion had never really acquiesced in the slave-trade. It had tolerated what was an obvious ill because of the immediate gain. Although Africans themselves had supported in the pulpit and in theses submitted to their universities defended the practice and traffic of slavery public opinion was never, when fully informed thereon, in its favour, and in 1782 Austria declared slavery and the trade in slaves illegal. Denmark followed her example a decade later, and England having come to the same conclusion abolished slavery in 1807.

Thus at the end of the Napoleonic wars there were two world-forces at work in the moulding of this country: the desire of France to find a new source of raw materials, and the abolition by the greatest sea-power of slavery in all its forms.

The former for the time being had little effect beyond the definite establishment of the French in the Senegal country; the latter led to the general acceptance by the world of the principle of abolition and rendered for the time being almost useless to merchants the coast-line of the Gulf of Guinea.

But with the abolition of slavery there also entered into the minds of a few sincere, almost fanatical men, in Switzerland as well as in Denmark, the desire to develop the countries where the slave trade had thriven. Both countries realised that this should be done not only by evangelisation of the people but also by the agricultural development of the country, and to the early efforts of these devout men the present prosperity of the country is almost exclusively due. Thus it came about that the first half of the nineteenth century witnessed a waning in trade which led almost to the abandonment of the country by the English but at the same time saw an ever growing desire to lead the people of the Gold Coast to the peace of Christianity, as envisaged by the devout, and therefore to the peace of a thriving peasantry.

This phase endured until 1870. By that time the Danes and the Dutch had definitely abandoned the country and the English alone remained on the Gold Coast. At the same time the Franco-Prussian war broke out and France's utter defeat brought a result quite unforeseen to the Gold Coast.

Faced in Europe with severe loss in territory, material and man-power, France remembered the policy to which Napoleon's

sale of Louisiana had given birth. She therefore looked to Africa wherein to rebuild her fortunes and began that intensive penetration which finally led to the scramble for Africa.

Most of the European powers were involved in this imperialist but rather undignified and certainly non-ethical competition. To the Gold Coast the result was however entirely beneficial. Great Britain consolidated her coastal holdings, annexed Ashanti and assumed a protectorate over the Northern Territories, thereby creating a country under her flag which could be regarded as a single entity and for the holding of which at that time it was considered successful exploitation alone could be the justification. The modern and finer ideal of leading the country towards nationhood had not then been born.

Then dawned the twentieth century and with it a complete revolution as regards the tropics, probably one of the most important in the world's history. The uses of quinine and the discovery that the principal tropical diseases were insect-borne and therefore capable of being controlled had been made known towards the end of the last century. The present one saw the foundation under the auspices of the Imperial Government of the School of Tropical Medicine whilst similar institutions were opened in Liverpool, Paris, Hamburg, Lisbon, Rome and elsewhere. The deadly climate of the tropics was to be attacked and the result of that attack is visible to-day. Without the knowledge acquired and made known by such men as Laveran, Manson, Ross and others, the development of this country could never have taken place.

When the twentieth century opened the Gold Coast was in a way fortunate in having its house set in order through the tragic 1900-1 rebellion of the Ashanti, and so enabled the country to adjust itself to the thoughts with which Europe was obsessed: to make money as quickly as possible, and to move about the earth with the greatest possible speed.

Both these thoughts were applied to this country; the former has led to the accumulation and handling of wealth, never foreseen, divided not too unevenly among the Gold Coast Africans; the latter has, aiding and abetting this lust of acquiring wealth, brought about a sociological revolution, the end of which is nowhere yet in sight.

The wealth of the Gold Coast is discussed in a later chapter, as well as the progress of the revolution in speed and its direct and indirect effects. Summarised these steps in the history of the country in its relationship to the world in general are as follows:—

Fifteenth Century.

First contact with modern Europe resulting in the beginning of the trans-oceanic Slave Trade.

Sixteenth Century.

Growth of that Slave Trade resulting in the creation of settlements and the necessity of teaching agriculture to the Gold Coast inhabitants in order to supply the wherewithal to feed the slaves.

Seventeenth Century.

General European rivalry ending in the abandonment of the Gold Coast by the Portuguese and their replacement by the Dutch, English and Danes.

Eighteenth Century.

The greatest development of the Slave Trade leading to its decline and a general desire to evangelise the country.

Nineteenth Century.

Abolition of the Slave Trade ; agricultural development of the country through the missions and governments ; the scramble for Africa leading directly to the creation of the Gold Coast as a single country.

Twentieth Century.

Acquisition of great wealth by the inhabitants through the practice of agriculture ; and the social revolution brought about by the search for speed which was intensified by the Great War, whilst life in the tropics was made safer than believed hitherto possible by the researches in medicine.

Finally the effects of the Great War on world politics must not be forgotten. There is scarcely a sufficient gap in time between the end of that great event and the present day to gauge aright its true effects but there are at least two prominent results readily visible : the search for speed has opened up the country to an extent that would have seemed incredible even in 1921, and the conquest of the German Colonies with their final apportionment to the Allied Powers has brought about a change in mental attitude towards the people of these tropical countries, of whom we no longer regard ourselves as masters but for whom we realise we hold a trusteeship for the conduct of which we are responsible to posterity.

Such in brief is the history of the Gold Coast in its relationship with the history of the rest of the world. It is more convenient to record in quasi-tabular form the principal events in local history rather than to weld them together in a connected story, since many histories of the country have already been written and published and are readily available.

ca. Eleventh or Twelfth Century.

Invasion of the north-eastern corner of the Protectorate of the Northern Territories by Na Ggewa and his followers who founded the first of the Moſhi-Dagomba Kingdoms in the country of the Kusasi and Busansi, making Pussiga their capital. Raiding and marauding throughout the country to the south where they formed the Mamprussi and Dagomba Kingdoms, they drove many of the inhabitants southward and thus brought about in the

Thirteenth Century. ca.

the first invasion of the coastal countries by families of the Guan who reached the sea at Winnebah.

Fourteenth Century.

The earliest arrival of immigrants from the east, who settled along the coast and absorbed the indigenes and thus in all probability created the tribe now recognised as the Ga Adangbe.

ca. 1450.

The first Portuguese are stated to have reached that part of the Guinea Coast known as the Gold Coast and are probably the first of the modern Europeans to have done so. The French have asserted that almost a century earlier men from Dieppe and Rouen had traded here; but this story is clearly refuted by the recent authoritative work by M. C. de la Roncière in his *La découverte de l' Afrique au Moyen-Age*.

From now on history is authenticated.

1482.—Arrival on the Gold Coast of the expedition from Portugal under command of Dom Diego d' Azambuja and founding of the fortress of San Jorge d' El Mina.

1486.—The fortress of San Jorge d' El Mina and its surrounding huts raised to the dignity of a City by King John II of Portugal.

ca. 1488.—The Governor Joao de Barros, sends an embassy from Elmina to the Sultan of the Moshi.

1553.—First English expedition to the Gold Coast, whence 150 lbs. of gold was brought home to England.

1595.—First Dutch expedition to this country.

1598.—Dutch found their first settlements at Mori, Butri and Kommenda.

1618.—Formation of the first English chartered company for trading in the produce of Africa; "The Company of Adventurers of London trading in Africa." A fort was built at Kormantin but shortly afterwards abandoned.

1621.—On 3rd June, 1621 the States General of the United Provinces granted a charter to the Dutch merchants to form a West India Company which gave them exclusive right to trade on the West African Coast. Of those early years there is to-day but one record and that fortunately an authoritative one, compiled from the archives of the company by one of the Company's employees and later director, Joannes de Laet of Leiden. The narrative of the acts of the company appeared in 1644 in thirteen books, each book covering the period of one year from 1623–1636. The author then destroyed the archives.

1622.—Disaster at the Abrobi mine a few miles to the north of Kommenda which had been worked since prior to 1482 by the Portuguese.

1623.—Building of Fort Duma 15 miles inland of Axim to protect prospectors, and the discovery of a rich mine at Aboasi.

1626.—Compagnie Libre de Dieppe et Rouen formed by the French for trade in West Africa and a second English company with rights to carry on business in slaves received its charter.

1636.—Earthquake destroys the mine at Aboasi and Fort Duma.

1637.—Capture of Elmina by the Dutch.

1642.—Abandonment by the Portuguese of their possessions in the Gold Coast to the Dutch.

There is considerable confusion in the local history of the Gold Coast after the withdrawal of the Portuguese. The Dutch were nominally their successors, but the monopolistic claims inherited from the Portuguese were disputed by the merchants of other countries, and during the period from 1647–1667 Danes, Swedes, French, Dutch and English seem to have been at incessant strife with each other.

In 1662 the third English Company had been incorporated "The Company of Royal Adventurers of England trading to Africa," and in 1664 the *Compagnie Libre de Dieppe et Rouen* had been merged into the French West India Company. It is to be noted that all the companies trading in Guinea excepting the English were West Indian Companies, thereby indicating that the trading interests were almost entirely confined to the Slave Trade.

1667.—Treaty of Breda secures Cape Coast Castle to the English.

1672.—The Company of Royal Adventurers surrendered its charter and a fourth company called the Royal African Company was formed, having as its patrons the King and the Duke of York.

1682.—First German appearance on the Gold Coast, an expedition being sent by the Elector of Brandenburg with orders to form a settlement. A fort was built at Manfro and on the return of the expedition some of the principal natives were taken back to Hamburg. They were well entertained and visited Berlin, returning the following year to their country.

ca. 1682 or earlier.—The Dutch penetrated inland from Axim, and built a fortified post some 40 miles above the old Portuguese fort Duma—over 50 miles from the sea. This was in the country of the Aowins, the only Gold Coast people living on the coast who were known to have used poisoned arrows. The name of this outpost was Fort Ruyghaver and it seems to have been destroyed and abandoned not long after its foundation on account of the hostility of the Aowins.

ca. 1697.—Osei Tutu succeeded to the Kingship of Ashanti and shortly after founded the town of Kumasi as his capital. His reign marks the beginning of the Ashanti Kingdom.

ca. 1720.—Osei Tutu killed by the Akims at Akromantin and is succeeded by Osei Apoku Wari as King.

1722.—Serious blow to piracy on the Gold Coast, 52 pirates being hanged at Cape Coast Castle on one day.

ca. 1725.—Osei Apoku Wari invades the country of the Northern Territories and subjugates the Kingdoms of Gaman, Dagomba and Nta.

1750.—The 5th English Company formed: the African Company of Merchants. Among its duties was one by which it was bound to maintain the forts and settlements on the Gold Coast in exchange for £13,000 per annum.

1752.—Society for the Propagation of the Gospel begins work at Cape Coast Castle.

ca. 1764.—The earliest recorded visit by Europeans to Kumasi, the Danes sending Noy to that capital as a special ambassador. Throughout the century the Ashanti power had been growing, but the kingdom had never quite been consolidated. Rebellions were frequent, so that the history of that country is one long account of wars and punitive expeditions. In 1792 their assistance was called upon by the Danes who become deeply involved in a war with the Awuna, and in that year the first direct communication took place between Kumasi and an English Governor who sent to request them to refuse the help for which the Danes had asked.

1797.—King of Denmark prohibits his subjects from engaging in the Slave Trade.

1798.—Visit of the famous botanist P. Thonning to the Gold Coast on behalf of the King of Denmark to report on the agricultural possibilities of his possessions, where coffee in particular had been very successful. There were three experimental plantations at that time established in the foothills of the Akwapim Range, near Aburi, Akropong and Dodowa.

1807.—Abolition of slavery by Great Britain.

First conflict between the Ashantis and the British. The former attacked the Fort at Annamabo, but were repulsed with great slaughter, the reason for the hostilities being the protection given by the British to two Assin chiefs who had fled from the former.

1809.—A suggestion that spirits from Indian corn might be distilled on the Gold Coast in order to replace Hollands gin was turned down by the Committee of the Company of Merchants, who passed a resolution to the effect that it was the duty no less than the inclination of the Committee to discourage the introduction into Africa of the art of distilling spirits and that the objects of the Committee were to promote agriculture and commerce.

1812.—Murder of Meredith, Governor at Winneba, by the people of that place. This was the culminating tragedy of a series of assassinations and crimes which had been taking place since the abolition of slavery. The fort at Winneba was destroyed as a punishment, thereby removing European protection in case of an attack by the Ashanti—a measure reprovved in London but apparently one which met the case locally as it brought the Winnebas to heel.

1815.—A school for the education of the children of Cape Coast established by the Committee of the Company of Merchants under the headmastership of Rev. William Phillip who was destined to succeed to the chaplaincy of a remarkable African,

who had been educated at Oxford. This was the Rev. Phillip Quaque who was probably the first of any Non-European race (since the Reformation) to be ordained in the Anglican communion. He had been sent home to England in 1754 and after his return to the Gold Coast had succeeded to the chaplaincy at Cape Coast, which he retained until his death in 1816.

The earliest record of the successful introduction of cacao into the Gold Coast.

1817.—Cape Coast destroyed by fire, resulting in the first attempt at town-planning. The instructions read: "That instead of the houses being crowded together as formerly, they should be built upon a regular plan alike conducive to the health of the inhabitants and the beauty of the place."

Mission sent to Kumasi, consisting of Messrs. James, Bowdich, Hutchison and Tedlie. A treaty was entered into under which the King of Ashanti agreed to a consul being appointed to reside in his capital.

1818.—Joseph Dupuis appointed first British consul at Kumasi.

One of the last recorded large shipment of slaves from the Gold Coast, seven vessels taking slaves on board close to Cape Coast in February of this year.

1820.—Dupuis enters into a treaty with the King of Ashanti at Kumasi, but in spite of the fact that his appointment as consul was from the Home Government, the treaty was refused by the merchant governor and council at Cape Coast Castle. Dupuis returned to England and it is probable that his report influenced the decision of the Government to abolish the African Company of Merchants and to transfer their possessions on the Gold Coast to the Crown to be placed under the Government of Sierra Leone.

1822.—Sir Charles McCarthy assumes the Government of the country, which as a result of many misunderstandings was practically in a state of war with Ashanti. The coastal tribes ever since 1807 had been either actively or indirectly engaged in hostilities with that country, and only the exercise of considerable diplomacy and patience had kept the European settlements from becoming involved in one or other of the disputes.

Formation of the Royal African Colonial Light Infantry to maintain and defend adequately the Forts.

Seizure of Sergeant Kujo Otetefo stationed at Anamabo by the Ashanti on 16th August, his capture ending with his murder early in 1823. The Ashantis justify the murder on the ground that it was an execution, since the Sergeant was guilty of having grossly abused the King of Ashanti, a crime punishable in their eyes with death. But the greater probability is that the King of Ashanti was weary of the undecided policy of the English Government and wished to find out one way or another the latter's attitude *vis-à-vis* the coastal tribes if and when the Ashanti decided to conquer them finally.

1823.—In order to avenge the murder a force was sent from Cape Coast Castle to arrest and bring in the murderers who were supposed to be at Dunkwa, some 15 miles inland, where the tragedy had taken place. This was the first definite inland punitive expedition undertaken by the British and ended in a serious reverse, the troops being ambushed and forced to fall back on Anamabo. The Ashantis invaded the country which was now being regarded by the Government at Cape Coast Castle as under its protection. Sir Charles McCarthy returns to the Gold Coast at the end of the year to assume full charge of affairs there.

1824-6.—Sir Charles McCarthy after making various tours of inspection of the local forces arrayed against the Ashantis, was attacked at Assamacow (Insamancow) in the Wassaw country and suffered a complete defeat in which he lost his life, 21st February.

Throughout the major portion of this year the Ashantis menaced Cape Coast Castle but owing to an outbreak of small-pox which is said to have caused terrific losses, they withdrew so that by April, 1825, the Governor, Major-General Turner, C.B., was able to withdraw most of the troops to Sierra Leone. But the Ashantis returned in force, this time with the intention of inflicting punishment on the Accras, who had abandoned their alliance with them. The few British troops available together with levies from the Akims, Akwamus and Denkeras marched to the assistance of the Accras. Issue was joined on 7th August, 1826, at Dodowa and resulted in the complete defeat and rout of the Ashanti invaders, peace however not being fully restored until 1831.

1827.—The Basel Mission sent out its first missionaries to Christiansborg.

1828.—The troubles of the late war, its disasters and misunderstandings, together with the appalling casualties due to the climate and declining trade had almost convinced the British Government that the abandonment of the Gold Coast was desirable. But the merchants trading thither seeing the loss which such action would inevitably bring upon them suggested that the affairs of the Forts might be handed over to a Committee of London Merchants. This plan was adopted, and Cape Coast Castle and James Fort Accra were handed over to their care but were still to be considered dependencies of Sierra Leone.

1830.—George Maclean appointed as President of the Council by the London Committee.

1831.—Maclean signed a treaty of peace with the Ashantis and began to exercise authority and jurisdiction among the protected tribes, i.e. the former allies against the Ashantis.

The trade in palm-oil had begun about 1820, but existed only to a small extent. The good government introduced and enforced by Maclean brought a great impetus to the manufacture and export of this commodity, which now became the principal item of trade from this country.

1835.—The Wesleyan Church entered the mission field and in 1836 was laid the foundation stone of the first Wesleyan Chapel in the Gold Coast at Cape Coast Castle, its completion and dedication taking place in 1838.

1840.—The Royal African Colonial Corps was disbanded and the troops incorporated with the West India Regiment.

1841.—Rev. T. B. Freeman of the Wesleyan Church had visited Kumasi in 1839 but it was not until this year that he was permitted to found a mission station there, the first Christian Church to be established in Ashanti.

In the same year in consequence of reports that the merchant government were conniving at the slave trade the British Government sent out a special commissioner to report on conditions obtaining on the Gold Coast. His report resulted in a select committee being appointed in 1842 and on their recommendation the Crown resumed the direct control of the Gold Coast under the Governor of Sierra Leone in 1843.

Commander H. W. Hill was appointed Lieutenant-Governor and Maclean was created Judicial Assessor or Stipendiary Magistrate in recognition of his work and the firm and just administration which had resulted in a great extension of jurisdiction through the voluntary acquiescence therein by the people. This extension of jurisdiction was formally confirmed in a treaty, locally called the Bond, which the chiefs signed on 6th March 1844.

1848.—After a successful punitive expedition against the Appollonians, Governor Winniett left Cape Coast Castle for Kumasi on a visit to the King of Ashanti. He was accompanied by an escort of one company of the 1st West India Regiment and the band of that regiment. This was the first occasion on which a British Governor and British troops visited the capital of Kumasi.

1850.—The forts and settlements on the Gold Coast were separated from the Government of Sierra Leone on January 1st and Executive and Legislative Councils established.

On August 17th the Danish Government ceded its forts and possessions to Great Britain.

An attempt was made during this year to grow cotton near Cape Coast Castle. But the difficulty of obtaining labour caused the attempt to be abandoned.

1852.—The Poll-Tax Ordinance was passed by the Legislative Council, consent thereto having previously been obtained from the Chiefs concerned. The tax was one shilling per head of the population and the revenue therefrom was to be devoted to "the payment of stipends to the Chiefs and the expense of collection, and then to the public good in the education of the people, the improvement and extension of the judicial system, in affording greater facilities of inland communication, increased medical aid, and in such other measures of improvement and utility as the state of social progress may render necessary." In the first year £7,567

was collected but this amount fell off to £1,552 in 1861 when the Ordinance was allowed to lapse into abeyance.

1854.—Considerable disturbances took place at Christiansborg which was consequently bombarded as well as the town of Labadi.

1862.—Severe earthquake along the coast in which Accra suffered great damage, every stone building being levelled and the castle and forts rendered uninhabitable, whilst at Cape Coast Castle the shocks were also felt but no damage was recorded.

In October the Gold Coast Artillery Corps mutinied. This regiment had been established in 1851 to relieve the Imperial Troops then forming the garrison of the Gold Coast, and had taken part in several minor punitive campaigns. The mutiny lasted from the 3rd to 9th when the men surrendered. In the following year the corps was disbanded.

1863.—The Protectorate was invaded by the Ashanti who withdrew in face of a demonstration in force during which a camp had been established at Prahsu.

1864.—As a result of this expedition to the river Prah, the Home Government decided to send out a special mission to the four colonies in West Africa under Colonel Ord to investigate the conditions obtaining there and to advise upon the future policy which should be observed towards them. On his return to the United Kingdom a Select Committee was appointed to consider his report. Their opinion was given in 1865 and was to the effect that it was not possible for the British Government to withdraw from the settlements, and, what is most interesting in the light of the imperial post-war policy: "that all further extension of territory or assumption of Government, or new treaties offering any protection to native tribes would be inexpedient; and that the object of our policy should be to encourage in the natives the exercise of those qualities which may render it possible for us more and more to transfer to them the administration of all the governments, with a view to our ultimate withdrawal from all except probably, Sierra Leone".

The Committee further opined that in view of steam communication the central government could be re-established at Sierra Leone.

1866.—The Gold Coast again attached to Sierra Leone.

1868.—Interchange of territory between the British and Dutch Governments, by which the former ceded all their possessions west of the Sweet River in exchange for all the Dutch possessions east thereof.

The steamer "Eyo" was the first steam vessel to cross the bar of the Volta River and ascend that river.

1869.—The Ashanti commenced war with the Krepis and in the course of their campaign captured the town of Anum where since 1864 the Basel Mission had maintained a station. The missionaries Ramseyer, his wife and infant son and Kuhne were taken

prisoners' and a French trader, Bonnat, was captured a little later at Ho. The prisoners were taken to Kumasi where they remained until their release in 1873.

1871-2.—The Dutch transferred all their possessions on the Gold Coast to Great Britain. The former had been involved for some years in wars with the people and the exchange of territory in 1868 had in no way added to the peace of the country. Their home Government moreover was not prepared to enter upon regular hostilities. At the same time the British realised that the responsibility for the hinterland was becoming indubitably theirs, especially after the capture of foreign subjects who had been dwelling with tribes that considered themselves under British protection. It was evident therefore that the first step toward procuring the latters' release and the re-establishment of peace was to clear up the muddle on the coast. The transfer of all possessions and settlements to one or the other of the two powers offered the only possible way out. The actual transfer was carried out in February 1872.

Confederation of all the Fanti States was agreed upon by the Kings, Chiefs and representatives. The formal constitution was drawn up at Mankessim and signed on 18th November 1871. But the local government disapproved the movement which was forbidden by proclamation in 1872.

1873-4.—The Ashantis in furtherance of the war started in 1869 crossed the Prah in January, and the British Government decided to put forward a serious effort to settle the disturbed country. Sir Garnet Wolseley was appointed Governor and commander-in-chief and with a select force of European troops amounting in all to some 2,500 men invaded Ashanti in January 1874 and after several severe engagements entered Kumasi on February 4th, which was destroyed the following day. The return to the coast began on the 6th and by the 27th except for the special service officers and small detachments of the Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers the European troops had re-embarked for home.

A treaty, known as the treaty of Fommanah was entered into at Cape Coast on 13th February, 1874 between the King of Ashanti and the Queen of Great Britain by which the former agreed to pay an indemnity of 50,000 oz. of gold and renounced all claims to any tribute or other homage from his former subjects but now allies and under the protection of Great Britain.

This war had three very important results :—

1. The Gold Coast Government was separated from that of Sierra Leone and together with Lagos became the Gold Coast Colony. At the same time all the rights and jurisdiction acquired by the Crown were transferred to a Supreme Court ; provision was made for the enactment of laws ; a police force was created ; customs duties, licences and the imposition of sanitary rates in towns were arranged ; and the establishment of schools and other improvements outlined.

2. The final and complete abolition of slavery and the pawning of people was enacted thereby putting an end to the continuance of domestic slavery in all areas under the protection of the British flag. Domestic slavery and the status of slave had not previously been made illegal, the practice of the slave trade and traffic in slaves alone had been forbidden.

3. The complete disruption of the former Ashanti Kingdom, its component states throwing off their allegiance to the Kumasi King in rapid succession in the hope of their being taken under British protection. This however could not be given them in the circumstances and consequently the immediate hinterland of the Gold Coast Colony was reduced to a state bordering on anarchy.

1876.—Dr. Gouldsbury with a small British mission visited Salaga and returned via Krachi and signed with the chiefs of the latter place a treaty of friendship and freedom of trade.

Headquarters of Government moved from Cape Coast Castle to Accra.

1877.—This year was marked by the revival of the gold-mining industry. Since the efforts of the Portuguese, which had not been continued by other European nations, gold-mining had been left entirely in the hands of the country-people who employed uneconomic native methods of extraction. However Jules Bonnat, the Frenchman who had shared the captivity of the Missionaries in Kumasi formed the African Gold Coast Company which after prospecting the country around Awudua (on the Prestea branch of the present railway) obtained a concession at Tarkwa and thus were the pioneers in that famous gold field.

1879.—Owing to the intrigues of the Ashantis, it was deemed advisable to send a mission under Mr. John Smith to Sefwhi and Bontuku. The mission was not entirely successful and was disapproved by the Home Government which looked with disfavour on any policy which might be regarded as intervention in native affairs outside the Protectorate.

1881–1883.—Great activity marked this period in the history of gold-mining in this country. The reefs at Abontiakoon and Abooso were discovered; concessions were taken out in great numbers with little regard by their grantors as to whether a previous concession covering the same area had been given or not; labour difficulties caused the engagement of indentured Kru labour; and diggers from all over the world, thinking another Californian strike was about to be made, arranged, quite regardless of the climate, to flock to the country.

At the request of the King of Ashanti the Government sent a mission to Kumasi under Captain R. L. Lonsdale who had orders to do all he could to convince the chiefs and people of the tribes neighbouring on Ashanti that the Government wished to preserve peace with the latter and were especially desirous of opening trade and commerce with them. He visited Salaga and Krachi on his return to Accra (1882).

In 1881 the Roman Catholic Church re-established its mission at Elmina where it had during the Portuguese occupation been firmly settled.

1886.—Submarine cable communication with England was completed.

A survey of the relations between the European Powers in regard to African matters must now be made:—

In 1880 the question of the western frontier between the British and French possessions, first raised in 1877, was re-opened by Great Britain, who wished to transfer it 3 miles west of Newtown, at which place it had been fixed prior to 1871 by a Franco-Dutch Convention. A boundary commission, appointed in 1882, separated in 1883 without arriving at an agreement.

In the following year the Colonial Government owing to a great increase in smuggling was considering the annexation of Be Beach, on the eastern side when it was annexed by the Germans, who in July, declared a protectorate over it and Togoland. In 1885 a conference of Powers interested in Africa was held in Berlin, and on the 26th of February, concluded the Berlin Act, which provided that the occupation of any newly acquired territory should be notified to the signatory powers, and that such occupation must be supported by sufficient authority to protect existing rights and freedom of trade and transit. An Anglo-German Frontier Commission was then appointed, and by March 1886 had fixed the eastern boundary for $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles inland. At the same time the Germans annexed Agotime, Kawe and Atiwe, a step which threatened to divert the Salaga trade from the Colony. In consequence, in July, the Colonial Government extended the Protectorate over Krikor, and also over Krepi and Akwamu in virtue of the former Danish authority over them. These acts led to an arrangement as to further extensions which was confirmed by the British and German Governments in March, 1888. By this agreement a neutral zone was established north of a conventional line drawn on the latitude of the mouth of the River Daka, and south of the 10° N. latitude, while the eastern and western boundaries were apparently $0^{\circ} 33'$ E. and $1^{\circ} 7'$ W. respectively. Both Powers agreed to abstain from acquiring any exclusive influence in this zone, but recognized the right of either to make treaties with chiefs in it as to territories lying outside it. The boundary from the sea to the neutral zone was fixed by a later agreement of 1st July, 1890, which conceded Heliogoland to Germany. By April, 1892, the demarcation on the ground was completed not without considerable opposition on the part of some of the tribes to their transfer to Germany.

Meanwhile on the western frontier an agreement had defined the boundary between the French and British possession from the coast to 9° N. latitude.

This line of demarcation agreed to in 1889 was more precisely fixed by the agreement of the 12th July, 1893, and the British claim to Bonduku was at the same time abandoned.

In 1890 the Brussels Act, which provides for the suppression of slave-trading and for the limitation of the import of arms and ammunition into Africa, was signed by most of the European Powers and by the United States.

In 1892 G. E. Ferguson concluded treaties with five countries west and north of the neutral zone, and later with three west of it, six north and east of it, and six within it. With certain of these countries Germany had made treaties in 1888. Further additions were made in 1894 during Ferguson's expedition of that year, while in 1895 France also negotiated treaties with some of the countries to the west and north.

The struggle between Togoland and the Gold Coast for the trade east of the Volta, which had been accompanied by a lowering of tariffs that threatened the financial condition of the former, was concluded by the signature of a Customs Convention at Berlin on the 24th February, 1894.

The acquisition of Ashanti by Great Britain in 1896 and the treaties concluded by Ferguson led to great development and activity in the neighbouring spheres of influence of Germany and France in 1896 and 1897. The latter country was also urged to action by the successes which had attended Samory's movement towards the Kong country, north of the Ivory Coast.

Eventually the western frontier of the Gold Coast from 9° to 11° N. and its northern frontier were fixed by a convention between France and Great Britain, dated 14th June, 1898, and ratified on the 13th June, 1899, and the partition of the neutral zone between Germany and Great Britain was effected by a convention signed on the 14th November, 1899, and ratified in the following February, a treaty which provided as well for the settlement of the Samoan and other questions.

1893-4.—In consequence of events which culminated in a threatened invasion of Atabubu by the Ashantis, Sir F. Scott left Accra in October, 1893, at the head of a force of Gold Coast Constabulary, numbering nine European Officers and 364 natives.

Halting during November at Abetifi, the Expedition received more or less definite requests for inclusion in the Protectorate from Agogo, Mampon, Kumawo, Jaubin, Nsuta, and Ashanti. On the 17th December, headquarters arrived at Atabubu, which Ferguson had reached on a political mission two months earlier. On the 21st December, that officer concluded a treaty with Amantin, whither a small force was despatched in the following month. Meantime the Bandas and Ashantis had attacked the Mos, but were defeated: they then turned to the Boles for assistance. But the forces of that country fled on the approach of Ferguson's mission, and the Bandas were thus reduced to inactivity.

By March 1894 treaties were concluded with Nkoranza, Jwan (Wiasi), Basa, Nkaneku and Ayinwofi, and the danger of an invasion of Attabubu was averted. In the previous month it had been decided to send a mission, under Vroom, to Kumasi, with a view to induce Ashanti to accept incorporation in the Protectorate. The expeditionary forces were consequently withdrawn from Attabubu, and returned to Accra early in April.

Before the departure of the force from Atabubu Ferguson had been despatched on an important mission to the tribes north of the Black Volta, with which he concluded before the end of the year treaties of friendship confirming the British claims to the country that ultimately became the Northern Territories.

Vroom's mission arrived at Kumasi on the 17th March, and returned to the coast six weeks later without, however, having succeeded in its object. No further progress was made in 1894 in inducing the King of Ashanti, Prempeh, to accept a Resident.

In December an embassy from Ashanti under Ansa, the King's uncle arrived at Cape Coast Castle, and at the end of the same month Captain Stewart and Vroom were sent to Kumasi, whence they returned in February, 1895, after being insolently received by the King.

1895-6.—In April the Ansas proceeded on an abortive mission to England. By the autumn of 1895 it appeared a strong probability that military operations would have to be taken against Ashanti. A last effort was, however, made to induce Prempeh to conform to the conditions of the treaty of 1874 by accepting a Resident and suppressing human sacrifices. Captain Stewart and Vroom were therefore sent on a second mission in September with an ultimatum, to which no reply was obtained. On their return journey they concluded a treaty with Adansi, the country south of Ashanti proper.

By the middle of November, 1895, it was decided to enforce the terms of the ultimatum by the despatch of an expedition under Col. Sir F. Scott, of a total of 2,042 Europeans and Africans. A detachment of 150 men of the Gold Coast Constabulary was directed to Atabubu, to form the nucleus of a levy of 2,000 Nkoranzas, whose country was threatened by the slave-raider Samory at the instigation of the Ashantis.

Meanwhile the Ansa embassy had returned to Cape Coast Castle, from England and after two days delay proceeded in December to Kumasi, whence envoys were sent on the 11th January to treat with Sir F. Scott. But on the 17th January Kumasi was reached without opposition and on the 18th the Governor arrived. The next day Prempeh, the Queen-Mother, the chiefs or kings of Bantama, Asafu, Ofinsu and Ejisu, the acting king of Mampong, and the two Ansas were arrested, and the fetish-groves of Kumasi and Bantama were destroyed.

The Ashanti captives were removed to Elmina Castle; and in 1898, owing to the difficulty of preventing communication

with Ashanti, they were deported to Sierra Leone, whence they were eventually transferred in 1899 to Seychelles, not to return to their country for a further quarter of a century.

The opening up of Ashanti after its occupation in 1896 was followed by marked activity in the development of the Colony. Capital was attracted by the enterprise of gold, timber, and rubber prospectors; old roads were improved and new ones made; in 1898 the Sekondi-Tarkwa Railway was begun; further impulse was given by the settlement of the frontier question with France and Germany in 1898-99.

Legislation thus became necessary to protect both the natives and the prospectors in the sale or purchase of land, and found expression in various Land Concession Ordinances and the Survey Ordinance, No. 8 of 1896, which were followed in 1901 by the beginning of a trigonometrical survey of the colony, in conjunction with the demarcation of the eastern and western frontiers. In 1898 the Northern Territories were included in the Government of the Gold Coast and in 1901 with the reconstitution of those territories and Ashanti, the Colony of the Gold Coast was extended so as to include all the tribes embraced in the Protectorate prior to 1890. In 1902 the Gold Coast Constabulary was re-organised and embodied in the West African Frontier Force.

After the occupation of Kumasi the administration of the former kingdom of Ashanti was vested in a Resident, who was installed at that town in March, 1896. A fort was also built there, and a garrison of 300 men provided from the Gold Coast Constabulary. For the next four years British influence throughout the country was effectively extended by a policy which, while preserving the Kotoko or Ashanti Council, aimed mainly at suppressing all attempts on that part of the Kumasis to re-assert their authority over the surrounding districts and at opening up the trade routes from the latter to the capital.

For these purposes it was necessary to construct new roads and to maintain garrisons in various localities. These measures, entailing also the regular provisioning of the garrisons from the coast, led to a serious drain on the finances of the Gold Coast Colony, for no contribution was levied from the Ashantis except in the form of labour. The rapid increase in the trade of Ashanti during these years appeared, therefore, to justify the introduction of some form of payment by the natives towards the cost of administration.

Sir F. Hodgson, the Governor of the Gold Coast, proceeded to Kumasi at the end of March, 1900, while the Resident was on leave in England. On the 28th of that month the proposed system of taxation was explained to the assembled kings and chiefs who understood apparently that they were at the same time to surrender the Golden Stool, the national emblem of sovereign power. The Ashantis, unprepared for these demands, at once made secret preparations for revolt, a step to which they were

no doubt encouraged by the prospect of such an important capture as the Governor, and by the weakness of the Kumasi garrison, which even with the Governor's escort at that time totalled 150 rank and file only.

The first encounter took place close to Kumasi on the 3rd of April. On the 11th, matters had become so serious that all the troops in the Northern Territories were summoned to Kumasi. Four days later the rebellion embraced the following tribes:—The Kumasis, Adansis, Kokofus, Achimas, Ahafos, Nsutas, part of the Nkoranzas, the bulk of whom, however, with the queen and the Tekimans, remained loyal. The detention of the Mampon and Juabin kings in Kumasi decided their wavering subjects, except in the case of a few Mampon villages, in our favour. But still more important was the fidelity of the King of Bekwai, whose capital occupied by a portion of the West African Frontier Force, eventually served as an advance base for the relief of Kumasi. On the 25th and 29th April, determined attacks were made on the fort, which was closely invested by the 9th May. On the 15th of that month the Northern Territories troops arrived, and, with a detachment of the Gold Coast Constabulary and the Lagos Hausas, which had reached Kumasi on the 18th and 29th April respectively brought the garrison up to 12 combatant officers, six medical officers and 722 rank and file. An inadequate reserve of ammunition and the difficulty of feeding the large number of friendly natives in addition to the garrison culminated on the 23rd June in the evacuation of the fort by the greater part of the force. Two British officers, one medical officer and 115 rank and file, of whom but 25 were fit for operations in the field, were left, with rations for 24 days, while the remainder, viz., ten officers, five medical officers and 600 rank and file, accompanied by the Governor, nine other Europeans of both sexes, 800 servants and carriers, and 1,000 friendlies marched out in a south-westerly direction. This force, harassed by the enemy for the first three days, moved *via* Takiman, Terebum, Nkwanta, Edubia and Takorassi, reached a place of safety at Ofinsu in the Denkyira country on the 30th June, and made its way thence to the coast.

Meanwhile, reinforcements had been arriving from Northern Nigeria and Sierra Leone, the latter colonies also furnishing carriers, the want of whom had seriously hampered operations.

On the 13th July a force under Colonel (later Lieut-General Sir J.) Willcocks, the greater portion of which was concentrated at Bekwai, started to the relief of Kumasi. Marching *via* Peki and Nkwanta, the column was frequently sniped at, but did not meet serious resistance until 4.30 p.m. on the 15th when the enemy was found in a strong stockaded position one mile from Kumasi. A heavy shell and Maxim fire was at once opened, and maintained for 20 minutes, while the infantry extended on both flanks of the guns into the bush. Then "cease fire" gave the signal for a general

charge of the whole line which drove the enemy in confusion from his position, and some minutes later the Fort was relieved. On the 17th the column returned from Kumasi with the old garrison and on the 19th reached Bekwai.

Operations were at once begun with the objects of securing the communications from Prahsu to the Ashanti capital, of driving the enemy, more particularly the Adansis and Kokofus northward, and of ultimately suppressing the rebellion.

On the 20th September the final stage began by the despatch of a column of 500 men and a 75-mm. gun to open up the road to Kintampo, distant 100 miles, and of another column of 900 with two 75-mm. guns to reconnoitre the country to the north-west of Kumasi. The first column met with little resistance and returned from Kintampo on the 13th October. The operations of the second column were of importance, not only in the decisive results which they attained, but also from the fact that during them the Ashantis abandoned their defensive tactics. For, convinced apparently of the uselessness of these against shell-fire and bayonet charges, they attacked this column, on the 22nd September, in front and all along its left flank, but after a fight of 40 minutes' duration, were completely routed. Thanks to their superior mobility, the Ashantis made good their retreat, and, being reinforced by all available fighting men, prepared—but without stockades—a strong position at Obassa on the Berekum road. Here they were attacked on the 13th September by Colonel Willcocks with 1,200 men and five guns, and, after a stout resistance, of which a frontal and flank counter attack were the prominent features, were again completely routed; the next day they were pursued for 10 miles by a force of 800 men. This was the last fight of the campaign, but during October flying columns searched the country around Kumasi; and in the first half of the following month two strong columns, 1,200 men and three guns in all, visited Bechem, Ahafo, Odumase and Berekum, and on the 19th Mim surrendered.

On the 23rd November operations closed with the return of the columns to Kumasi; and by the 3rd December that town was evacuated by all the troops, except its garrison.

In March 1901, Major (now Sir M.) Nathan visited the capital, and, at a meeting of all the Kings and chiefs of Ashanti, informed them of the election of new kings of Kokofu, Nsuta, Adansi, Ofinsu, Ejisu and Abodum and new chiefs of the Korentin, Adentin, Chidom and Owiku divisions of Kumasi, in place of their disloyal predecessors (deported in the same year to the Seychelles) while rewards for their fidelity were promised to the kings of Bekwai, Dengiassi, Agona, Mampon, Juabin, Berekum, Wam, Takiman, Attabubu, Kumawo, and Nkoranza and to the chiefs of Esumeja and Bompata.

Since that date the country settled down; and entered on its present prosperous career.

With the country to the north of Ashanti the colony had no direct relations prior to 1892.

In consequence of the occupation of Bontuku by Samory—a slave-raider who devastated the French Sudan for many years and who in 1895 had threatened Nkoranza in virtue of an alliance with Prempeh—an expedition was despatched in February, 1896 to the neighbourhood of Bontuku. It found whole districts and towns in Gaman laid waste and depopulated and provisions so scarce that the only foodstuff locally available for native soldiers and carriers was, with rare exceptions, dried cassada, ground and made into flour. Samory, in spite of protestations of friendship, could not be induced to leave Bole to meet the officer commanding the expedition, which, on its return march, concluded treaties with Bechem and Asunafo Ahafo, Borumfo and Wam.

Samory's slaver-raiders continued to disturb Nkoransa and Gaman and to interrupt trade with the north throughout 1896. Consequently at the end of that year it was decided to occupy Bole and Buna effectively since they were considered to have fallen within our sphere by the treaties of 1892 and 1894. Lieutenant Henderson, R.N., with a party of the Gold Coast Constabulary arrived at Bole on the 2nd of January, 1897 and then pushed on to Wa and Dokta. At the latter place he was attacked by the Sofas, as Samory's fighting men were called, on the 29th March, and after four days' resistance fell back to Wa. Here the expedition remained three days, when, the force having run short of water it was decided to continue the retreat. Lieutenant Henderson, however, proceeded first to the Sofa camp with a view to a parley, but was detained as a prisoner and sent to Samory, then in Jimini; here he was released and sent back to the coast. Meantime the force began its retreat, and although harassed by the Sofas en route, succeeded, after being succoured by a French force near Leo, in reaching Yagaba on 20th April. A most regrettable incident of the last stage was the death of Ferguson, whose journeys in the hinterland had mainly contributed to the extension of British influence therein. He was wounded at Dokta and in the retreat from Wa was abandoned by his carriers and killed by the Sofas. The rainy season prevented further operations, and with the foregoing events British intercourse with Samory ceased. The latter was captured by the French in 1899 and exiled.

Ferguson was one of the most remarkable Africans born on the Gold Coast. The Governor reporting his death to the Secretary of State paid the following tribute to his memory:—

"I should not be doing justice to the services of this lamented officer if I did not express to you my sense of the great loss which the public service of this Colony has sustained by his death. The geographical and political work which he has carried out under the direction of this Government is well known to you and has won for him on several occasions commendation and reward. He was a striking example of an intelligent, industrious and trustworthy native officer and was as modest as he was able. It will belong before his place can be adequately filled."

George Ekem Ferguson was a native of the Gold Coast having been born at Anamabu about 1865. He was educated in Sierra Leone, and on his return became a teacher in the Wesleyan School at Cape Coast. In 1881 he obtained a Government clerkship and was employed as junior clerk in the Governor's Office in 1884 when he first exhibited a taste for cartography by producing a map showing the divisions of the Gold Coast according to the location of tribes and the boundaries recognized among them. In 1884 he served an apprenticeship in political work with a mission in Krobo and Akwamu. In 1889 and 1890 he went to England, receiving assistance from the Government to enable him to pursue his studies there at the Royal School of Mines. On his return to the Colony he was again employed in political work for which he had many special qualifications. In 1890 he negotiated a treaty with Kwahu and Attabubu and in 1891 he was employed on an expedition to Akim and upon the Anglo-German Boundary Commission. In 1893 he was attached to the Public Works Department as Surveyor of Roads owing to his knowledge of surveying. In 1894 he was selected for the special service by which he is best known. He made a successful journey through that portion of the West African Sudan which lies to the North of Ashanti, mapping the country and concluding treaties with a number of native tribes. His work both as an explorer and as political agent proved to be of the highest value and his services to Geography were recognised by the bestowal on him by the Royal Geographical Society of the Diploma of the Gill Memorial and a gold watch. He was specially nominated by the Secretary of State for a further mission to the hinterland and he was accordingly despatched with Henderson in December, 1896, their destination being Buna and Wa. Buna was already in the hands of Samory's troops before they could arrive there and their temporary occupation of Wa ended with his death. The Governor concluded:—

“Mr. Ferguson has lost his life in the performance of his duties and in bearing testimony to his ability and devotion I am performing a melancholy duty to the memory of a valued subordinate.”

In the same year, 1897, the territories to the north of Ashanti were constituted a separate Protectorate with the title of “The Northern Territories” and placed in charge of a Commissioner, a grant in aid of the expenditure being voted by the Imperial Parliament.

With the termination of the rising in Ashanti and the fixation of the international boundaries the people of the Gold Coast settled down to a period of exceptional prosperity. There had been in the previous decade a boom in the mining industry, which whilst attracting much attention to the country had also drawn a crowd of gamblers and speculators of the most unscrupulous character, and there had also been a boom in rubber, which had caused the spread of commerce even to the remotest parts of the forest. Such

was the growth of trade that in 1897 the first bank had been established—the Bank of British West Africa at Accra, which held the monopoly of the banking business for twenty years, when the Colonial Bank opened its first agency.

The rubber boom did not last long. The development on economic lines of highly organised plantations of para soon rendered the collection in the forests of the country of the wild rubbers, *funtumia* and *llandolphia* unprofitable. But as the rubber industry was dying, the cacao industry was growing, so that from the dawn of the century until the outbreak of the great war the progress of the Gold Coast was even and regular, unmarked by any incident of real note.

The war naturally retarded this progress. The Gold Coast like all other members of the Empire responded nobly to the call of patriotism and her share towards the common need was given with no niggard hand.

The war brought in its train two revolutionary ideas to the African of the Gold Coast, the familiarity of and thence the desire to travel and the cult of speed. There was one year of rest, the year of the influenza plague which killed one in twenty of the inhabitants within a period of a little more than a quarter of the year. This was in the dry season 1918-1919. But in the following year the country went forward in leaps and bounds. The last census was in 1921 and since that date, i.e. a decade, the list of accomplishments is such that the rate of progress can truly be termed phenomenal. Year by year these events are as follows:—

1921.

The Governor of the Gold Coast motored from Kumasi to Navrongo where a special mission from the Lieut.-Governor of the Haute Volta met him, having motored southward from Wagadugu, the capital of that colony. Thus for the first time through motor connection was established between the Gulf of Guinea and the Sudan. This remarkable feat was due to the foresight of Lieut. Col. Watherston, a former Chief Commissioner of the Northern Territories who had died in Tamale in 1909. This officer had laid down a policy of road development anticipating the requirements of motor traffic in the Protectorate and thereby putting into force the scheme which the first Chief Commissioner had expounded so long previously as 1899. It is worth while recording the words of the latter, since he wrote them actually prior to the freedom of the road being granted in England to motor cars. Having discussed the various methods of transport, head-porterage, draught by horse or ox, pack transport by horse, ox or donkey, and railways he continued:—

“The recent improvements in motor cars suggest these vehicles as a means of transport vastly superior to carriers, and as providing some at least of the advantages of railways without any of their drawbacks. Roads suitable for them

can easily be constructed, No ambitious bridging schemes need be thought out, for culverts can easily be made locally to bear the weight of a motor car and its load, and the large rivers are so placed that they could naturally be taken as junctions for the car service, the goods being ferried across. The original outlay would be relatively very small and so also would the number of men employed in the working of the line. A fair load would be carried each trip and would perform the journey, in favourable circumstances, in one-fifth of the time at present occupied."

It was not quite according to the above plan that the motor car invaded the Protectorate and reached its northern limit. As the road was obviously in the first instance merely a dry season one to the north of Tamale, it was found practicable to cross the larger rivers, even the White Volta itself by means of drifts and the shuttle cock system outlined by Colonel Northcott was never necessary except in the rainy season.

A second event during the year 1921 was one of considerable local historical importance and certainly of intense human interest. This was the finding and desecration of the Golden Stool of Ashanti. The story as told at the time runs as follows:—

In the early years of the reign of Osei Tutu, King of Ashanti, about 1700 there came to live among the Ashantis a man named Anotchi. He was a clansman of the King of Denkera, then paramount over Ashanti, but he had been forced to fly from Denkera because he had seduced one of the King's wives. He took refuge in the Obi country where he made study of fetish medicines and practices, and thence he returned to Juaben, Ashanti. To the King of the latter place he announced he had a mission from Onyame, the sky god, to make the Ashantis a great and powerful nation. This was reported to Osei Tutu who summoned a gathering of the people in Kumasi. In their presence Anotchi by his magic power drew down from the sky a black cloud, and amid the rumblings of thunder and in an atmosphere thick with white dust, a wooden stool having three supports and partly covered with gold, emerged.

It did not descend upon the ground but came to rest upon the knees of Osei Tutu. Anotchi proclaimed to the King and all the people that the Stool contained the Sunsum (soul or spirit) of the Ashanti nation, their power, their health, their bravery, their honour and their welfare. He warned them also that if the Stool were captured or destroyed the Ashanti nation would sicken and die. He called upon Osei Tutu and each Ashanti Chief and each Queen-Mother to give him some of their hair and some nail parings, which he collected and ground into powder and mixed with "medicine." Some of this compound was drunk and the remainder poured over the Stool. The meaning of this rite is as follows. When an Ashanti dies away from home and the body

cannot be brought back for burial, nail parings and hairs from the corpse are carried home, since it is supposed that the soul will accompany them.

The Stool is never supposed to have touched the earth, for it was not allowed to come into direct contact with the ground. The Stool was placed on the skin off the back of an elephant and over which had been spread a cloth of the kind woven in the north. It was never sat upon nor was it the stool of ordinary everyday use. On great occasions the King would make pretence to sit upon it three times and would then seat himself upon his own Stool, his arms resting upon the Golden Stool. In its progress once a year to Bantama, the burial place of the Kings, this Stool was carried under its own umbrella and was surrounded by its attendants who in number and in wealth of adornment exceeded those of the King who followed it. Its full title is Sika Gua Kofi "Friday's Golden Stool" for it was on a Friday that the Stool descended upon the knees of Osei Tutu.

The Gyase or bodyguard were custodians of the Golden Stool, and the Gyasehene or Head of the Gyase was responsible for its safety. In 1896, when Prempeh was arrested at Kumasi, certain of these guards disappeared into the forest with the Stool in their possession, and when the escape of the Stool was reported to the head of the Gyase orders were given that it should be taken to the village Wawase and there to be handed over for safe keeping in a special hut built for its reception.

Some twenty years later a dispute arose over the ownership of land at Wawase. Before giving a decision the Chief Commissioner considered it desirable to inspect the land and set out from Kumasi for that purpose. His intentions were immediately suspected and on the eve of his departure the head of the Gyase, Esubonten, sent a messenger to Wawase telling the guardian of the Stool to remove it at once from Wawase and to hand it over to a man in the village of Abuabugya for safe keeping.

In August 1921 a road was being made at Chief Esubonten's desire (but under Government supervision) between Abuabugya and a neighbouring village. At a certain point a diversion almost at right angles was made from the track, as the road overseer considered the line easier. It happened that a labourer's axe struck a box, and the youngmen* gathered round. One Danso, who was by now the custodian of the stool was present and begged them to leave it alone and only succeeded when he had convinced them that they had come upon a small-pox fetish.

This box contained the Golden Stool and its insignia. Danso sent to his house for a tin trunk as the box was rusted, and with some old men waited till dark when they carried the Golden Stool in the trunk to Abuabugya where it was placed in the room of Yankyira whose duty was to look after the youngmen. The old

* The expression "Youngmen" is used to signify the plebs, and those not in possession of a Stool or attached directly to the holder of a Stool.

men "swore fetish" that the discovery should not be made known to others, but Danso was convinced that the youngmen had fully realised what was in the box they had come upon by chance. A certain Seniagya a professing Christian and by descent one of the Stool Carriers, seems to have got wind of the discovery, for three days later he appeared at Abuabugya. After greeting Danso and Yankyira he walked straight into Yankyira's room, where he drew attention to the box. He then persuaded Danso and Yankyira to share with him the gold ornaments belonging to the Stool, and while the distribution was taking place Yogo, an ordinary "youngman" happened to pass and claimed a share. The point of view adopted by these spoilers of the sacred thing was that the Stool itself alone was sacred, whereas the gold around it was not.

Meanwhile the youngmen of Abuabugya had grown inquisitive and eventually the matter came to the ears of the Kumasi Chiefs.

In the course of their enquiry it was found that the Golden Stool had been desecrated and various of its ornaments taken, that a certain goldsmith had received one of its bells to melt down, that the gold Fetters made in memory of the days when Denkera was master of Ashanti had been pawned and that most of the other gold ornaments and insignia belonging to the Stool had disappeared.

On the evening of Monday, 12th September a message, was left at the Chief Commissioner's bungalow that "there was big palaver over the Golden Stool; it had been stolen." The next morning at a meeting at Appremesu, the Palaver Hall of the old palace and the place where the two cannon captured in the Denkera war were set up, Chief Esubonten and Seniagya were accused before the chiefs. Police attended to watch the proceedings, and it soon became necessary to remove to the police stations for their own safety the two accused who became the object of the hostility of a large crowd. The news of the desecration of the Stool soon spread and the excitement and consternation became intense. The Ashantis from neighbouring villages put on mourning and poured into Kumasi to find out if the report were true. It was not at first believed possible that their own people could have violated the sanctity of the Stool. The town "became rough and shaky"; no market was held for some days; there was a good deal of wild talk and a good many of the foreigners in the town left Kumasi. As the facts became known and the Ashantis came to understand that they had not become a general laughing stock but that the sympathy of all strangers was with them in the degradation their national sentiment had suffered, their hostility focussed itself more and more upon those accused of complicity in the crime. Meanwhile the Chief Commissioner had announced that the Government had no intention of seizing the Stool but was prepared to see justice done in accordance with the desires of the Ashantis.

The problem of how to deal with the accused was as perplexing to the Government as it was to the chiefs among whom there had

been a strong party for concealing the whole business from the authorities. In that case as one of the chiefs explained :—" The two men would have been taken into the bush and lost." On the other hand the offence was not one that fell within the four corners of the Criminal Code, nor would the punishment for theft have been adequate in the minds of the Ashantis. But the procedure was settled mainly by the fact that the accused were in the police station under Government protection. After several interviews the procedure decided upon was as follows :—

The chiefs were to hold the Enquiry, not at Appremesu, but in the open space behind the police barracks ; police were to be at the enquiry to maintain order and preserve the peace ; the accused would attend under armed police escort ; witnesses were to be summoned and any further arrests were to be made through the Commissioner of Police ; accused and witnesses were to be under police protection ; the enquiry was to be conducted according to the principles of British justice ; at the conclusion of the enquiry a report was to be made to the Chief Commissioner, who would consider the question of guilt and the nature of the punishment to be inflicted.

The chiefs found that Senigya, Kujo Danso, Kwesie Yankyira, Yogo and Kujo-Poku (the goldsmith who melted down the bell) " being natives of Ashanti and subjects of the Gold Stool of the Ashanti Nation, did expose, steal, destroy, sell and otherwise unlawfully deal with and use the said Gold Stool thereby betraying the said Ashanti Nation and laying it open to disgrace and ridicule, and debasing the name and fame of Ashanti, much to the annoyance and provocation of all people young and old, thereby giving occasion for disturbance and bloodshed, but for the intervention of Government."

In the case of Esubonten the chiefs found that he, " being the Head Chief who by virtue of his office had the custody of the Golden Stool ", had neglected his duty and he, " gave occasion for the exposure and loss of the Golden Stool which has caused much commotion and fear not only among the whole of the Ashanti Nation but among other nations on the coast " and further by " causing a new and unnecessary road to be constructed from Abuabugya to Ahinkro, through the piece of ground in which the Gold Stool and the Treasuries of the Ashanti Nation are deposited did cause the said Stool to be discovered, exposed and stolen, like an officer or soldier sleeping on guard in time of war, or neglecting to keep watch has suffered the enemy to enter." These persons the chiefs recommended should be put to death. " In the days of the kings of Ashanti a person committing a less serious offence than this was put to death with all members of his family."

At the time the case against Esubonten did not appear strong enough to justify his conviction and was put back for further enquiries. In the case of the others who had confessed their guilt, banishment overseas was substituted for the death penalty.

Eight others were convicted of buying the ornaments of the Stool knowing that they were stolen and belonged to the Stool. The chiefs asked that these persons should be banished and all their goods confiscated. Five of these, however, were convicted on the evidence of Seniagya alone—Seniagya had assumed the part of Titus Oates and was accusing people one day and the next day would confess he had been lying. These five persons, therefore, as the evidence of Seniagya was utterly unreliable, were acquitted. The remaining three were ordered "to swear fetish" before the Kumasi Chiefs. One of them had admitted receiving the Gold Fetters in pawn, another admitted purchasing some of the Gold from the ornaments melted down and the third admitted that he had also purchased some of the gold.

Fresh evidence was subsequently brought against Esubonten which was sufficient to prove at least that he was guilty of negligence. The office he held was that of the keeper of the King's Keys including the key of the Stool House; he was brother and successor of Opoku Mensa who had charge of the Golden Stool; the Stool was found on his land by his subjects; he knew the approximate whereabouts of the Stool and it was on his instructions that the Stool was removed from Wawase to Abuabugya. On the other hand he was not immediately responsible for the discovery of the Stool and was in no way concerned in the theft of the Gold. The chiefs asked that he should be classed with Seniagya and the others. His guilt however, was not as heinous as theirs and it was decided that his Stool should be declared vacant and that he should be banished from Ashanti.

The attitude of the Government towards the Stool is that the Ashantis may, if they so desire keep open custody of the Stool, that as far as Government is concerned they need not think it necessary to bury or conceal the Stool, that Government will not interfere unless the Ashantis allow its worship to sink into an indulgence in vile and impure practices or unless they make use of it for other criminal purposes.

The story of this disturbing event in Ashanti politics cannot be closed without paying a tribute to the conduct of the Chiefs and people of Ashanti throughout the crisis. Apart from the first day or two, Kumasi at night, in spite of the large crowds coming in, was as quiet as if curfew had been instituted. No doubt the embargo immediately placed on the sale of spirits in the capital and the neighbouring districts strengthened the hands of the Chiefs, yet the greatest credit is due to the Chiefs themselves for the manner in which they conducted the enquiry and strove successfully to preserve the peace.

1923.

The railway between Accra and Kumasi, begun in 1909 in order to open up the Akwapim country, was formally declared open for traffic on 5th July and for the public on 5th September.

The Gold Coast Hospital (Korle Bu) was formally opened on 9th October. This is one of the largest and best equipped hospitals in the tropics. The hospital is for Africans and during the year 1930-31 admitted 3,345 patients, the daily average of persons occupying beds being 221.9. Its construction was begun in 1920 and completed in 1923.

Electric Light and Power are available in all buildings, and an efficient water-borne sewerage system with purification works discharging the effluent into the adjacent lagoon has been provided. The grounds which are well laid out form an attractive feature of the scheme. The total cost of the buildings, excluding equipment, was £254,500.

The Kumasi telephone service installed and trunk communication with Accra opened.

The Church of England entered the mission field of Ashanti.

1924.

A Native Jurisdiction Ordinance was introduced into Ashanti in order to regularise and control the working of the tribunals held by the various chiefs.

On the 12th November Prempeh returned to Kumasi after twenty-eight years of exile. He was granted an annuity and a spacious house was erected for his use by Government. Before leaving the Seychelles Islands where he had spent most of this long period of captivity he was the recipient of many testimonials of his character, behaviour and undoubted ability. His reception at Kumasi was magnificent.

Electric Light and Power were installed at Accra and at Sekondi.

As a result of a serious outbreak of plague in Kumasi the zongo or foreign section was pulled down and rebuilt on the most modern lines. This work which entailed a very considerable outlay in money marks the commencement of the layout of the city, which is probably the finest and most picturesque in West Africa.

1925.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales landed at Takoradi on 9th April. He visited Sekondi, Kumasi and Accra, embarking from the latter port on 14th April. During his visit he laid the foundation stone of the school which bears his name at Achimota. His reception everywhere was in enthusiasm such that pen can hardly describe it. Individuals went from every part to see him and returned happy and content telling their friends: "He saw me and smiled at me"; "I have here a piece of the ground his foot trod upon".

Her Highness Princess Marie Louise stayed in the Gold Coast from 10th May to 10th June during which period she accompanied the Governor on a tour of the Northern Territories, visiting Wagadugu the capital of the Haute Volta. The story of her visit she recorded in a volume of letters which relate the trials and troubles of the first motor car trip completely round the Northern Protectorate from Kumasi and back.

1926.

This year marked the coming into operation of a change in the constitution of the country, a short review of which is given at the close of this chapter.

The Forestry Ordinance was passed this year, a measure of great importance to the country, having for its object the conservation of the forest and the constitution of properly administered reserves without interfering with the ownership of the land.

The Honourable W. G. A. Ormsby-Gore, M.P., Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, accompanied by the Honourable C. A. U. Rhys, M.P., and Mr. J. E. W. Flood and Mr. A. Bevir of the Colonial Office, arrived at Accra from Nigeria on the 20th March, 1926. During the first ten days Mr. Ormsby-Gore paid a visit to British Togoland.

Between the 27th March and the 5th April Mr. Flood visited the Northern Territories, making a complete circuit from Kumasi *via* Yeji, Tamale, Navoro, Lorha, Wa, Kintampo, and Sunyani, and back to Kumasi, where he rejoined Mr. Ormsby-Gore. The latter with the remainder of the party motored on the 1st April from Accra *via* Aburi, Mampong, Koforidua and Kibi to Bososo where they entrained for Kumasi. From the 3rd to the 6th of April Mr. Ormsby-Gore visited various places in Ashanti and on the 7th and 8th journeyed by train to Sekondi, visiting the gold mines at Obuasi and Aboso and the manganese mines at Nsuta *en route*.

On the 9th he visited Takoradi Harbour Works and the Seysie palm oil plantation, while on the 10th Mr. Rhys, Mr. Flood, and Mr. Bevir visited Cape Coast. On the 11th of April the whole party embarked at Sekondi for Sierra Leone. A report of the Under Secretary of State's visit to West Africa was presented to Parliament in September, 1926 and has since been published.

1927.

A visit of far-reaching importance was made to the Gold Coast by Professor Diedrich Westermann. Hitherto the different vernacular languages had been reduced to writing by the efforts of various missionary bodies without any common agreement. Each had used its own system of orthography, and published its own text books, from which its own pupils had been taught, with the result that Africans of different tribes who could converse fluently with each other, were often quite unable to communicate in writing except through the medium of English. Professor Westermann, on account of his acknowledged pre-eminence as a scholar of Gold Coast languages, was invited by Government to undertake the production of a script which would be common to all the languages and dialects without unduly differing from the scripts already in use. This difficult task, in which the local



Missions united in giving enthusiastic support, has, it is believed, been successfully accomplished, such opposition as existed having generously yielded to the demands of the public interest.

An outstanding political event, so far as the Colony proper was concerned, was the introduction into the Legislative Council of the Native Administration Bill, read a first time on 3rd March, 1927.

The Bill consolidates the law as it existed with regard to Native Administration and Jurisdiction, and repeals various Ordinances which had dealt with native political and judicial affairs.

An important provision in the Bill, the introducer and seconder of which were Paramount Chiefs, was that by which the Provincial Councils created by "The Gold Coast Colony (Legislative Council) Order in Council 1925" were given jurisdiction to decide disputes of a constitutional nature between two or more Paramount Chiefs, or two or more Divisional Chiefs of the different States in the Province.

Provincial Councils also were given power to decide disputes relating to the ownership, possession or occupation of lands or to jurisdiction, arising between two or more Paramount Chiefs or between two or more Divisional Chiefs of different States in the Province, with an appeal to the Full Court of the Supreme Court of the Colony.

Where Paramount or Divisional Chiefs or States belonging to different Provinces were in dispute the matter was to be decided by the Provincial Councils of each Province sitting jointly.

The Bill also gave the Governor power to refer any question, matter or dispute to a Provincial Council for hearing and determination.

The Native Administration Bill was received with some opposition mainly from the educated class residing in the coast towns, whose fear appeared to be that too much power was being placed in the hands of the Chiefs. This opposition has died down now that the people realize the very genuine step forward on the road towards self-Government which its introduction marked.

In Ashanti Prempeh was installed as Head-Chief of Kumasi, or Kumasihene thereby involving the abolition of the Kumasi Council of Chiefs which since the rising of 1901 had so successfully and loyally advised Government on all matters concerning the welfare of the people of Ashanti.

1928.

The Harbour of Takoradi was ceremonially opened on the 3rd April by the Right Honourable J. H. Thomas, M.P., who, when Secretary of State for the Colonies, had taken a keen personal interest in its construction. The remarkable development of the country, especially in regard to the bulk and nature of its exports, had been such that the existing ports on the Gold Coast were not capable of adequately dealing with the traffic.

The principal port, i.e. the one responsible for the hauling of the produce of the greatest trade basin was Sekondi, which had been selected as the coastal terminus for the railway in 1898. At the time a report was submitted recommending Sekondi but at the same time pointing out that if it were ever a question of making a deep-water harbour, Amanful would be the best place. The Surveyors termed Amanful that locality where precisely Takoradi now stands.

Early in 1919 those responsible for the manganese mining interest foreseeing the inevitable increase in their shipments of ore became anxious about the capability of the resources of Sekondi, and their enquiries eventually led to the whole question of the Gold Coast ports being re-opened by Government. At the time there were the following coastal settlements used as ports: Axim, Dixcove, Ajua, Sekondi, Elmina, Cape Coast, Anamabu, Saltpond, Winneba, Accra and Ada. They were all exposed to the Atlantic swell with its resultant surf which breaks immediately on the shore especially during the period from July to December and according to the native more particularly at the time of the full and the new moons. This latter point has no reason in theory to support it but it has often been noticed to be true. Careful observations have shown that this swell depends neither on wind, atmospheric pressure or any other meteorological conditions obtaining in the locality where the surf breaks, but is probably the result of disturbances taking place at a very great distance from the coast of Guinea, an explanation which in sailing-ship days gave to the very heavy surf the name "Ascension rollers", i.e. waves from the stormy regions south of Ascension Island.

The surf itself or swell does not impede to any great extent traffic movements in the ports, nor can it be considered of any real danger. In 1911 the S.S. *Montauk* went ashore on the Sherbro reef outside Sekondi and ten years later her hull was still showing; many of the native villages are built in close proximity to the sea, often being only four feet above its level. Those two facts seem to prove that the surf can never be considered excessive.

But the great inducement, which out-weighed every other argument, to construct a deep-water harbour was the elimination of the lighter, with the resultant speeding up of traffic and therefore increased capability in handling a growing and very considerable bulk of produce. At every coastal port lighters and surf-boats were necessary and often steamers would lay out at a considerable distance from the shore, so that the time and labour wasted were very great.

Work on the construction of Takoradi began in 1921 and on 8th November, 1926, the first ship entered the harbour. She was the S.S. *Agnete Naerst* flying the Norwegian flag and carried coal for the contractors. In the year 1930, two and a half years after the opening of the harbour and in spite of the decline in trade

which had already become manifest, there entered 371 vessels of a nett tonnage of 1,042,726 tons and there cleared 326 with a tonnage of 943,081.

The Harbour which cost £3,133,366 is composed of two breakwaters, some 2,500 feet apart running from the shore in an easterly direction. The south or main breakwater after a distance of 4,600 feet curves to the northward for 2,300 feet, the total length being approximately $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles. The north or lee breakwater has a length of about 4,500 feet. The area of water enclosed by these two breakwaters is approximately 220 acres.

The lee breakwater which is provided with rail and road facilities, has four wharves of a total length of 1,000 feet. Two of these wharves each having its own transit shed and cranes are allocated to imports. The third is for the export of manganese, behind which is situated a dump capable of holding 25,000 tons of ore, together with a handling plant which is on the endless belt principle and can load up to 1,000 tons per hour. The fourth is for coal traffic and is provided with crane facilities.

An open dump for bulk cargo, provided with cranes and a shed for the storage of salt, etc., is situated to the west of the coal wharf. On the northern or outer side of the lee breakwater there is a mooring berth for vessels carrying bulk petroleum. A 10-inch pipe line which can be connected to vessels discharging petroleum leads to the storage tanks $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles away. There are also six mooring berths provided for ocean-going vessels in the deep water portion of the Harbour.

At the inner end or base of the Harbour wharves are provided with road, rail and crane facilities for lighters for the shipping of cacao and mahogany. A transit shed, and cacao sheds which are leased to the various firms, are situated behind these wharves.

The Harbour is provided with a slipway and moorings for lighters and has its own Signal Station. The Administration, Customs, Immigration Offices and a Disinfecting Station are situated within the Harbour area.

It is of interest to compare the conditions provided at Takoradi Harbour with those which existed at Sekondi where all cargoes were taken through the surf in lighters and surf-boats to vessels lying two to three miles from the shore. Manganese vessels which had to lie off Sekondi for periods up to three weeks now clear from Takoradi in from three to five days and the length of stay in port of general cargo vessels has been very considerably shortened. Another great advantage at Takoradi is that cargoes are not damaged by the surf and that practically all risk of damage and loss which occurred when cargoes were transferred to or from lighters at Sekondi has been eliminated. Passenger vessels in many instances come alongside the import wharves and the majority of such vessels now put in at Takoradi and Accra the same day. The storage facilities for general cargo and cacao at Takoradi are more

commodious and accessible than those provided at Sekondi where the majority of cacao was stored in the open.

Shortly after the opening of the port Sir Alan Cobham landed in the harbour in the seaplane with which he had flown from England, crossed Africa from North to South and had coasted homewards from Cape Town. His was not the first aeroplane to have visited this country as foreign planes had been seen both on the coast and in the extreme north-east corner of the Northern Territories, at Bawku; but it was the first British machine and the first seaplane.

1929.

On 12th January, Captain R. S. Rattray, C.B.E., arrived in the Gold Coast at Tamale, having flown from England. This successful flight was followed in the autumn by a Royal Air Force visit from the Egyptian Sudan, when it was possible to use the newly constructed aerodrome at Tamale.

The final departments of the Prince of Wales College and School at Achimota were opened during this year. It had been intended that this institution should contain within its borders kindergarten, primary and secondary education, together with the training of teachers. The first had been opened in January, 1927, and the last had taken over the Government Training College which formerly existed at Accra. This year saw the opening of the Upper Primary, Secondary and University Departments.

On 1st April the Northern Territories Constabulary was disbanded and the force amalgamated with the Gold Coast Police Force. The Corps had originally been recruited from the 2nd Battalion of the Gold Coast Regiment which had been disbanded at the time of the replacement of the military government of the Protectorate by a Civil one in January, 1907. The change made little or no difference but marks the end of an epoch and a milestone on the path to progress. The first ten years of British occupation of the Northern Territories had been a period of pacification and the restoration of order. Not only had British and French troops faced each other in the Builsa country, at Wa and at Buna without a breach of the peace it is true but certainly with a most disturbing effect, but the whole country from Navrongo to Kintampo had been the hunting ground of two slave-raiders, Samory and Babatu. The former has already been referred to. His raids and expeditions were along the present western frontier and it is difficult now to realise their extent and the appalling loss inflicted by them on the country. One example of this raider's feats may be given. At Bole there are three mounds rather more pyramidal than the usual middens and of a very unusual size. When the first British troops entered the precincts of that town in 1897 they found the ground strewn with the headless bodies of the unfortunate inhabitants, and their first task was to get rid of these human relics. The mounds of dead were covered with earth and remain to-day as silent evidence of that cruel past.

It is not out of place to give in brief the history of the other raider, Babatu. In the '60's of the last century a dispute had arisen as to the succession to the Mamprussi "Skin" or throne, and civil war had broken out. One of the parties to the dispute had invited to his help a band of Bazaberimi or Zaberma horsemen, whose military prowess brought him success. He was then faced with the problem of getting rid of his allies, and after great difficulty persuaded them to take up their abode in the Grunshi country between the Mamprussi and Moshi countries. (The word Grunshi is the plural of Gurunga, a Moshi or Dagomba word and is the equivalent of the term barbarian as used by the ancient Greeks; it was and is applied to all those natives not wholly tamed or under the dominion of the Moshi or Mamprussi). The leader of this was one Gazari and he settled with his followers at Sati in the Nunuma country just within what later became French territory. He turned quite naturally to the task of creating a kingdom for himself but died before he had attained success. His method was the one typical of all these Sudanese raiders. A village would be attacked, the menfolk either became soldiers of the marauder or were sold into slavery, and the women and children were divided among his adherents. On the death of Gazari the leadership was disputed by Amrahiya and Babatu. This coincided with the arrival of the Europeans. Amrahiya made himself out to be the King of the Grunshi and as such allied himself with the French under whose protection he placed himself. Babatu came south and battles between him and the French were fought on what is to-day British soil, at Kanjaga and at Ducie. He was defeated and finding no sanctuary with the British fled to Yendi where he died. But he left behind him a land completely devastated and almost denuded of population. The ruins of villages and homesteads, wasted farmlands and overgrown fields mark to this day the routes of his marches and the scenes of his maraudings. There are still many survivors of those he sold as slaves, dwelling as freemen and women in the neighbourhood of Krachi and in the Ada-Keta area. The maps of the former area based on a survey made in 1907 show numbers of small villages which no longer exist. They were the hamlets in which the slaves sold by Babatu used to dwell and are deserted now as their inhabitants, the few who survived, returned to their original home when the *pax europæica* was established.

After 1907 the civil administration had to face a period of unrest throughout the Protectorate. The people were peaceful enough; but the petty chiefs, the so-called sons of chiefs, continued in the old fashion, and caravans and traders afforded them comparatively easy prey. A semi-military force was necessary and it was actually not until 1918 that highway robberies on a large scale ceased.

After that date the troops returning from the war, almost all recruited from the wilder parts, and the determined opening up of

the country ensured a more law-abiding attitude, and the need for a constabulary as distinct from a police force ended.

1930.

The West African Court of Appeal Order in Council came into force on the 1st March, 1930, and the first session of the Court was held at Freetown in Sierra Leone on 10th March.

CONSTITUTION.

The constitution of the country is as follows.

At the conclusion of peace with Ashanti in 1874, measures were taken for placing the government of the Gold Coast upon a footing of efficiency and security.

A new charter was issued, dated the 24th of July, 1874, separating the settlements of the Gold Coast and Lagos from the government of the West African Settlements, and erecting them into one colony under the style of the Gold Coast Colony, under a Governor-in-Chief, with an Administrator at Lagos.. There was one Executive Council and one nominated Legislative Council for the two settlements and one Supreme Court.

This charter was superseded by Letters Patent, dated the 23rd of January, 1883, and 13th January, 1886, respectively.

By the latter instrument Lagos was separated from the Gold Coast and formed into a distinct colony. Provision was made for an Executive and Legislative Council, the members of both being nominated by the Crown. Four unofficial members were appointed to the Legislative Council.

By Royal instructions, dated 20th September, 1916, under Letters Patent of the same date, all previous instructions were revoked and the Executive and Legislative Councils were re-constituted. The Executive Council was constituted by the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney-General, the Treasurer, the Director of Medical and Sanitary Services, and the Secretary for Native Affairs with the Governor as President. The Legislative Council was constituted by the members of the Executive Council and, in addition, the Comptroller of Customs, the Director of Public Works, the General Manager of Railways, and the Commissioners of the Eastern, Central and Western Provinces, as ex-officio members, and such unofficial members as might be appointed by the Crown. By an Order in Council, dated 8th April, 1925, Letters Patent and Royal Instructions, dated 23rd May, 1925, the Legislative Council was re-constituted. It is now composed of the Governor, fifteen Official Members and fourteen Unofficial Members. The newly-constituted Legislative Council for the first time contained an elective element, provision having been made for the election of six Head Chiefs as Provincial Members of the Council, three Municipal Members to represent the towns of Accra, Cape Coast, and Sekondi, respectively, a Mercantile Member, and a Mining Member.

The above alteration did not affect Ashanti of which the constitution is as follows :—

“ Ashanti was annexed by Order in Council of 26th September, 1901, which came into operation on 1st January, 1902.”

This Order in Council and Royal Instructions of the same date gave the Governor of the Gold Coast Colony power to exercise all powers and jurisdiction on His Majesty's behalf in Ashanti subject to His Majesty's instructions communicated through a Secretary of State. The Governor was given power to provide by ordinance for—

- (a) the administration of justice ;
- (b) the raising of revenue ;
- (c) generally for the peace, order and good government of Ashanti.

Ordinances are “ enacted by the Governor of the Gold Coast with respect to Ashanti ”, and are subject to the Crown's power of disallowance. In making ordinances the Governor must respect native laws by which chiefs', tribes' or populations' relations are regulated if they are not incompatible with the exercise of the powers of the Crown or injurious to the natives.

By subsequent Orders in Council of 6th July, 1907, 8th May, 1919, and 14th July, 1922, the Order in Council was amended in respect of the grant of pardons and the suspension of officers ; and by corresponding Additional Instructions given in the same years the Royal Instructions were similarly amended.

Of the other two dependencies of the Gold Coast, the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast were proclaimed a British Protectorate by Order in Council of 26th September, 1901, which came into force on 1st January, 1902. When the boundaries of the Colony, Ashanti and the Northern Territories were defined in 1906, certain portions of the latter were included in and annexed to Ashanti. Under the Order in Council of 1901, and subsequent Orders in Council of 6th July, 1907, 8th May, 1919, and 14th July, 1922 (with the accompanying Royal Instructions), the Governor of the Gold Coast Colony was given the same powers for the Northern Territories Protectorate as for Ashanti.

The following Orders in Council have also been applied to the Northern Territories :—

British Protectorate Neutrality Order in Council, 1904.

British Protectorates (General Convention) Order in Council, 1917.

The Northern Territories Administration Ordinance, 1902 (No. 1 of 1902), and subsequent amending ordinances provided for the administration of the Government. The provision relating to Ashanti as to the application of various ordinances of the Colony, and the administration of the law, also apply to the Northern Territories.

TOGOLAND.

The Gold Coast is responsible for the administration under a mandate of the League of Nations granted to Great Britain, of certain portions of the former German Colony of Togoland. The partition as between the French and British mandatory areas is contained in an agreement between the two powers dated 10th July, 1919, and this instrument defines the boundaries.

On the 20th July, 1922, the Mandate for that portion of the former German Colony of Togoland which is now known as the British Sphere of Togoland was conferred upon His Britannic Majesty. The particular territory which is the subject of the Mandate is declared in the mandatory instrument to be that part of Togoland lying to the west of the line agreed upon in the Franco-British Declaration signed on 10th July, 1919. The territory is now administered under the British Sphere of Togoland Order in Council, 1923. Under this instrument the British Sphere is divided into two portions named the Northern Section and the Southern Section respectively. The Northern Section is administered as if it formed part of the Northern Territories Protectorate; the Southern Section is administered as if it formed part of the Gold Coast Colony and until other provision is made by Proclamation of the Governor it is to be administered as if it formed part of the Eastern Province.

The law for the time being in force in the Northern Territories applies, so far as it is applicable, to the Northern Section but the Governor may by Ordinance modify or amend any provision in such law, or exclude any provision from its application to the Northern Section. The law for the time being in force in the Colony applies, so far as it is applicable, to the Southern Section, but the Governor may, by Ordinance, exercise the same powers of modification, amendment or exclusion, as he may in respect to the law applicable to the Northern Section. The Governor may also by Ordinance make all such provision as may from time to time be necessary for the administration of justice, the raising of revenue, and generally for the peace, order and good government of both sections. If any applied law or any Ordinance enacted by the Governor be repugnant to any provision of the Mandate it is void and inoperative to the extent of such repugnancy. The jurisdiction of the Chief Commissioner's Court of the Northern Territories extends throughout the Northern Section; the Supreme Court of the Colony exercises throughout the Southern Section the like jurisdiction as it exercises in the Colony and as if the Southern Section formed part of the Eastern Province.

The powers and authorities conferred on the Governor by the British Sphere of Togoland Order in Council are governed by the provisions of any existing or future Order in Council relating to the Northern Territories or to the British Sphere, and by any existing or future Royal Instructions relating to the Northern Territories or to the British Sphere.

JUDICIAL SYSTEM.

The judicial system of the country was altered in 1930 as mentioned by the creation of a West African Court of Appeal. This Court deals with appeals from the Courts of the Colonies of the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and the Gambia ; from the Chief Commissioners' Courts of Ashanti and the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast ; from the Courts of the Protectorates of Sierra Leone and the Gambia ; and from the Courts of Togoland under British Mandate.

The Supreme Court of the Gold Coast consists of the Chief Justice and six Puisne Judges. The Chief Justice and the Puisne Judges of Nigeria are also *ex officio* Puisne Judges of the Gold Coast.

Its jurisdiction is limited to the Colony. In Ashanti and the Northern Territories there is a Circuit Judge who presides over the sittings of the Courts of the Chief Commissioners with practically the same jurisdiction in civil and criminal cases as the Judges in the Colony.

There are divisional courts at Accra, Cape Coast and Sekondi ; criminal assizes are held quarterly in the same towns and special divisional courts are from time to time held in the larger centres.

Police Magistrates and Commissioners are *ex officio* Commissioners of the Supreme Court in the Colony and of the Chief Commissioners' Courts in Ashanti and the Northern Territories.

The Law of the Colony is the Common Law, the doctrines of equity, and the statutes of general application in force in England on the 24th July, 1874, modified by a large number of local Ordinances passed since that date. The Criminal Law was codified in 1892 and the civil and criminal procedure are regulated by the Supreme Court and Criminal Procedure Ordinances, both passed in 1876.

CHAPTER III. ETHNOGRAPHICAL.

Divisions of the Gold Coast Peoples—Their religions—Sky, Earth, Animism, Ancestors and Fetish Worship—Influence of Christianity—Cult of St. Anthony—Sir James Frazer's Summary of the Gold Coast Religions—Earth-gods and Land Tenure—Constitution of the Tribes—A True Democracy—The Common People—Asafu—Despots and Priests.

In an ethnographical survey of a people numbering more than three millions divided into four distinct groups, it is not easy to be brief. Therefore in this chapter I have not hesitated to quote *in extenso* the various summaries of these different ethnographical divisions written by others whose published works are considered authoritative.

The areas occupied by the four groups mentioned cannot be clearly defined as their boundaries overlap, but for convenience they have been recognised as follows :—

<i>Group A.</i>	<i>Agni-Twi or Akan or Kwa.</i>
Tribal Divisions ...	Ashanti ... Guang ... Gbanye
	Brong ... Jaman ... Chakosi
	Fanti ... Nchumuru ... Bowiri.

Locality.

- (i) All Ashanti excepting in the north-west corner where the Mo and Banda people (not yet classified) are found.
- (ii) All the Western and Central Provinces of the Colony.
- (iii) In the Eastern Province the following states—
 - (a) Akim-Abuakwa
 - (b) Akwamu
 - (c) Akwapim
 - (d) Kwahu.
- (iv) In Togoland—
 - (a) Portion of Gbanye
 - (b) Krachi
 - (c) Buem
 - (d) Nkonya and a few small states which seem to be in process of amalgamation.
- (v) In the Northern Territories the greater part of the Southern Province :— the Gbanye State or Gonja.

<i>Group B.</i>	<i>Ga-Adangme and Ewe.</i>
Tribal Divisions ...	Ada ... Ga
	Awuna ... Krobo.

Locality.

- (i) None in the Northern Territories, Ashanti, Western and Central Provinces of the Gold Coast Colony.
- (ii) In the Eastern Province, Gold Coast Colony—

(a) Ada	(f) Osudoku
(b) Awuna	(g) Peki
(c) Ga	(h) Prampram
(d) Manya Krobo	(i) Shai.
(e) Yilo Krobo	

- (iii) In the Southern portion of Togoland a number of very small states which it is to be hoped may consider favourably amalgamation in the near future.

<i>Group C.</i>		<i>Moshi-Dagomba or Gur.</i>			
Tribal Divisions ...	Builsa ...	Kusasi ...	Nankanni ...		
	Dagomba ...	Mamprusi ...	Talansi ...		
	Dagarti ...	Nabdarn ...	Wala ...		

Locality.

All dwell in the Protectorate of the Northern Territories where the kingdoms of

- (i) Dagomba
- (ii) Mamprusi
- (iii) Nanumba
- (iv) Wala

have been easily recognised. In other parts of the country the precise character of the states has not yet been ascertained.

Group D.

Unclassified.

Tribal Divisions ...	Adele	—	—
	Akpafu ...	Issala ...	Mo
	Banda ...	Kassena ...	Ntrubu
	Bimoba ...	Konkomba	Nunuma
	Busansi ...	Lobi ...	Santrokofi

Locality.

These tribes inhabit almost the whole length of the frontier of the Gold Coast from north of Kintampo to the mountain areas of the international boundary which divides former Togoland.

The above classification is unfortunately based on linguistic areas and may in due course be found erroneous, since it is now-a-days commonly admitted that language has not necessarily any signification ethnically. In this country there are two distinct language movements which bear out this contention. The growth and spreading of Twi, the language of the Akan peoples, is such that the old mountain languages of Togoland are rapidly disappearing and at the same time with the increased facilities of communication and therefore trade this language, almost unheard in the Northern Territories a decade ago, is now rapidly becoming the principal *lingua franca* of the commercial traveller in those parts.

The second language movement is to be found in the rapid opening of the country, the revolutionary changes in the methods and objects of trade, the unquenchable thirst for luxuries and the intensive campaign of education both by the Government and the missionary bodies. This has resulted in a great increase in the use of English both in its "pidgin" and its correct forms whilst at the same time it has tended to act as a preserver of languages which ordinarily would have disappeared and the preservation of which it is now generally admitted have neither the justification of evidence as to nationhood nor usefulness in the business of to-day.

But if these groups and tribes do not yet meet on the ground of a common language they do meet on that of a common religion. Except for the followers of the exotic faiths of Christianity and Mohammedanism, the people of the Gold Coast are animists, whose religion has been defined by Sir James Frazer, O.M., as "a childlike

interpretation of the Universe in terms of man. Whether or not it was man's earliest attempt at solving the riddle of the Universe, we cannot say. The history of man on Earth is long; the evidence of geology and archaeology appears to be continually stretching the life of the species farther and farther into the past. It may be that the animistic hypothesis is one of many guesses at truth which man has successively formed and rejected as unsatisfactory. All we know is that it has found favour with many backward races down to our own time."

And Sir James Frazer includes among those backward races "also the uneducated classes in civilized countries, and especially the peasantry, among whom ancient modes of thought and of practice commonly linger long after they have disappeared from the more enlightened members of the community."

The hypothesis itself is one by which man attributes to all things, animistic and inanimistic alike, the thoughts and feelings to which he himself is subject. The word "soul" is difficult to define; a precise meaning for it has not yet been generally accepted; but by animism is meant that religion in which man attributes to all things the possession of a soul. It is the religion of that country which Schiller calls *Dichterland*. In details the religions of the Gold Coast people differ to a certain extent, but the broad principles are the same. The belief is general and absolute in the existence of a Supreme Being. He is, as might be expected, identified or possibly confused to a certain extent with the sun and sky. To him are erected by the Akan and Grunshi (i.e. the dweller in the extreme north) alike the three-pronged stick on which a bowl is set. The northerner identifies with him also the Thunder-God though the latter is, among the hierarchy, retained as a separate conception. Thus in the north, where the well-being of the country and the livelihood of the individual depend so greatly on the elements, sun, wind, rain, thunder and sky are manifestations of the Supreme Being, whereas in the south, where a kinder climate has caused man to cease to worry on the inclemencies of weather, the need of prayer and propitiation to these great elements is not so necessary.

Second to the Sky-God is the Earth-Goddess. Her worship in the north is perhaps the most striking feature of the religion of those parts, but equally in the south it is realised that from her spring all the foodstuffs on which man relies. In the absence of the written word, religion is inclined to be individualistic and among primitive people except for national or tribal or family observances even doctrine is elastic. There is no hard and fast set of rules such as the maturer religions have evolved; there is no doctrinaire caste of priests, no fear of heresy. The practices of religion are therefore not necessarily identical, although their creed may be the same.

Village life or community meetings amongst the southern people is a marked feature of their existence. Without it, an

Akan village is inconceivable. But in the north this is far from being the case, and except in towns where there are zongos or strangers' quarters it can almost be said to be non-existent. This reacts on the religion of the people, so that public observances are rare among the latter whilst common among the former. For instance among the Akans a characteristic of their religious tribal life is the system of "adae"; the northerner apparently has no such practice. The adae system may be briefly summarised as follows:—The word itself possibly means a day of rest for no one is supposed to work or go to his fields on those days. The adae ceremony is held in order to propitiate, solicit or worship the spirits of the dead, and is a rite observed twice in every successive period of forty-two days. The first of the ceremonies occurs on a Sunday and is followed twenty-four days later by a Wednesday adae, which in turn is followed by a new Sunday adae, six weeks after the first.

It is interesting to observe that this period of forty-two days is made up of the multiple of six and seven. There are respectively the seven modern days of the week and six week-days or market days, commonly found among the northern people but not existing among the Akans. It is possible that the former six-day week has been combined with a later seven-day week, to which the writer is inclined to attach a Christian origin. Possibly some later student will be able to trace in the names of the six week-days the six market places whence they were derived.

These days of adae are real village holidays of the fiesta type common in the Mediterranean; but no trace has yet been found among the northern tribes of any such practice.

There are many other details in the religion of the Akan and southern tribes which are lacking among the Moshi group. In Ashanti there is the making of a godling, the transference as it were of the godling's spirit to a shrine or some receptacle. Captain Rattray gives an account of the procedure by which this is effected—

“ Before passing on to a detailed account of the ceremonies I witnessed in connection with certain of the Ashanti gods, I propose to give a brief description of the origin and nature of these deities and of the composition and consecration of their shrines.

“ The word shrine is used, in this particular context to designate the potential abode of a superhuman spirit. It consists (generally) of a brass pan, or bowl which contains various ingredients. This pan, upon certain definite occasions, becomes the temporary dwelling or resting-place, of a non-human spirit or spirits.

“ At the present day it is perhaps hardly necessary to state that such an object or shrine ('fetish' is what every English-speaking West African and most Europeans would

wrongly term it) is spiritually an empty nothing until the particular spirit for which it has been consecrated, prepared, and made acceptable thinks fit to enter it. It possesses, it is true, a certain sanctity, by virtue of its being the potential abode of a spiritual being."

Captain Rattray, after showing how the Ashanti regard rivers and water generally as one of the essential attributes and property of the Supreme Being, quotes the saying "As a woman gives birth to a child, so may water to a god," and gives the following details of the making and consecration of one of these shrines, which held the spirit of one of the River Tano's sons:—

"A spirit may take possession of a man and he may appear to have gone mad, and this state may last even sometimes for a year. Then the priest of some powerful god may be consulted and he may discover, through his god, that it is some spirit which has come upon the man (or woman). The one upon whom the spirit has come is bidden to prepare a brass pan, and collect water, leaves, and 'medicine' of specific kinds. The possessed one will dance, for some two days, with short intervals for rest, to the accompaniment of drums and singing. Quite suddenly he will leap into air and catch something in both his hands (or he may plunge into the river and emerge holding something he has brought up). He will in either case fold this thing to his breast, and water will at once be sprinkled on it to cool it when it will be thrust into the brass pan and quickly covered up. The following ingredients are prepared; clay from one of the more sacred rivers, like Tano, and the following plants and objects: afema (*Justicia flavia*), Dama Bo (*Abras preicatorius*); the bark of odum, a creeper called hamakyem, leaves and bark of a tree called domine, another creeper called hamakyerehene, any root that crosses a path, a projecting stump in a path over which passers-by would be likely to trip, also roots and stumps from under water, the leaves of a tree called aya—those are chosen which are seen to be quivering on the tree even though no wind is shaking them—the leaves, bark and roots of a tree called Bonsam dua (lit. the wizard's tree), a nugget of virgin gold (gold that has been in use or circulation must not be used), a bodom (so-called aggrey bead), and a long white bead called gyanie. The whole of these are pounded and placed in the pan along with the original object already inside, an incantation or prayer is repeated, and the various sacrifices are made, the blood being allowed to flow upon the contents in the brass pan."

Captain Rattray then continues:—

"It will be noted that other minor spirits, or powers of nature, are not wholly ignored or neglected, and that all are considered as able in some manner to help the greater spirit that is to be called upon to guide and assist mankind."

The priests told him that at times, when this greater emanation of God was not present, the spirits of some of the lesser dieties would flash forth for a moment and disclose their presence. For example, a priest would suddenly burst forth, singing, "*odomæ, die odo me omera*" ("I am the odoma tree, let him who loves me come hither.") It would seem that priests and priestesses, when in this ecstasy, are subject to many spirit influences, a priestess having been heard to talk in a different dialect from her own, a fact which did not at all surprise the onlookers, who merely said "Oh, that is the spirit of So-and-so"—mentioning a dead priestess of the god, who had come from another district, and had used that dialect.

An old priest with whom Captain Rattray remonstrated for not trusting to the one spirit of the Supreme God replied as follows: "We in Ashanti dare not worship the Sky-God alone, or the Earth-Goddess alone, or any one spirit. We have to protect ourselves against, and use when we can, the spirits of all things in the Sky and upon Earth. You go to the forest, see some wild animal, fire at it, kill it, and you find you have killed a man. You dismiss your servant but later find you miss him. You take your cutlass to hack at what you think is a branch, and find you have cut your arm. There are people who can transform themselves into leopards; the grass-land people are especially good at turning into hyenas. There are witches who can make you wither and die. There are trees which fall upon you and kill you. There are rivers which drown you. If I see four or five Europeans, I do not make much of one alone, and ignore the rest, lest they too may have power and hate me."

Such brass pans or shrines are not found among the Moshi or other tribes of the northern group. Nor is the almost-worship of the Unknown God or power, which the preceding paragraph seems to indicate, a feature of their religious practices. This is probably because in the north the people's condition of life has been for so much longer firmly established and settled, the proof of which will be found later in this chapter in the paragraphs dealing with their constitution.

Possibly one of the most prominent features of the northern form of religion is the never-ceasing inter-mixture of ancestor-worship with that of the Earth and Sky. In Ashanti or among the other and kindred races this ancestor-worship exists and is by no means the least important part of their religion. In the north it is always part and parcel of the whole, whilst in Ashanti it is to be noted chiefly in the *adae* ceremony and is kept apart from the worship of the Sun and Earth. In Captain Rattray's description of the former he notes that throughout the ceremony there is no apparent invocation or mention of any power or spirit other than that of ancestors. He remarks that no gods or fetishes are called upon, whereas, in northern Ashanti in marked contrast these spirits are invoked. And still further north they are invariably included in every prayer or offering.

There is no reason to suppose that the mythical and traditional migrations of the inhabitants of the Gold Coast Colony are not based on historical facts, and the fact that ancestor-worship in the north is closely connected with that of the earth seems to indicate this. The Earth is a goddess. She harbours the dead, and since the dead are within her bosom from time immemorial, these latter have become, as it were, an essential part of her. Now the Ashanti in his migrations did not carry his dead with him. Therefore he only had the Earth to worship. And when he came to pay respect to his dead, they were of too recent a departure to have become mingled with the Earth. Moreover it is also more than likely that the spirits of the dead once in the bosom of the Mother Earth were inclined to wander in that bosom back to the haunts of their ancestors so that they would return home rather than sojourn in the neighbourhood of their wandering children. All native history emphasises this nomadic character of the early Akan arrivals, so that it is permissible to conjecture that they considered that the recent dead were nomads too and would rather wander in the land of the departed than take up a permanent residence in some fixed place, where their spirits would become commingled with Mother Earth. Thus prayer to his ancestors could be offered apart and at a separate occasion.

At the same time as sky-worship, earth-worship and ancestor-worship are practised, there is the lesser cult of charms, amulets, medicines, philtres, etc., together with the complementary body of witches, sooth-sayers, medicine-men and others who seem rather to be the remnants of an earlier faith than parasites of later growth. So prominent a feature in the every-day life of the people was this that it came to be regarded by the European strangers as the principle part of their religion and thus the word fetishism was adopted as a correct term by which to designate that religion.

The religion of the Gold Coast people can thus then be summarised. Animism; worship of the Sky and Earth; the cult of the lesser deities, sons and children of the former; ancestor worship and fetishism.

There is however always to be remembered as was pointed out in the chapter dealing with history the fact that not in historical times have these people been ever out of touch with the so-called higher cultures. There is yet to be traced the several influences of Egypt, of Greece, of the East, of Rome and of the great church of North Africa, of the Berbers and of the Moors, of the Arabs and their several invasions. Not least is that of the Catholic Church which was the inseparable companion of the early Portuguese invaders.

That this last did influence and still influences local religion the following summary of a note provided by the present Assistant Secretary for Native Affairs, Mr. J. C. de Graft Johnson is good testimony.

The principal yearly festival in Elmina is Baka Twei, which is the annual ceremonial opening of fishing in the small River Benya at the mouth of which stands the famous Castle San Jorge del Mina. It takes place about the beginning of July and is preceded by the festival of Nana Ntuna, the titular deity of Elmina. Ntuna is a corruption of St. Anthony, an old statue of whom is looked upon as the Shrine of Nana Ntuna. According to the local tradition this statue was brought to Elmina before the Castle was built and it is said that until recently there used to be an old Bible in the Ntuna Bum, the hut in which the statue is kept. The Ntuna rites associated with the cult of Ntuna begin about the time of Passion Week. On the Wednesday before Easter a sacrificial offering, consisting of dog's flesh, plantain and rum, is made to Brafu Kweku or Brafu Wednesday, a subordinate obosum (god) supposed to be the devoted attendant and executive officer of Nana Ntuna. Brafu Kweku is represented by a small stone at the entrance of the Ntuna Bum. The sacrifice to Brafu Kweku is probably a present to persuade him to use his services to put Nana Ntuna into the proper frame of mind to give his children, the Elmina people, his annual blessing. Following the offering to Brafu Kweku, the festival of Isa is celebrated on Easter Day. Isa is the name given to what appears to be the powdered residue of very ancient wafers or communion bread left in a receptacle, possibly a Monstrance, still kept in the Bum. The name Isa is suggestive and is probably a form of Jesus. Nana Ntuna himself is represented by the statue of St. Anthony, already referred to, a rosary and a crucifix. Nana Ntuna, Isa and Brafu Kweku constitute the trinity of the Antoni-Bum worship during the celebration of which lighted tapers or candles are placed round the statue and incense is burnt. After the service in the Bum into which no one is allowed wearing shoes or sandals, the monstrance with Isa or what represents Isa in it and Nana Ntuna and the symbols representing him are reverently carried out and publicly exhibited in a solemn manner, similar to that with which the Catholics at Elmina and elsewhere to-day carry out the Host during the celebration of the Feast of Corpus Christi.

The very obvious connection between this cult and former Roman Catholic worship gives considerable food for thought and one is justified in wondering how much influence that Church wielded in the century and a half during which this country was kept a sealed book to the rest of the world by the Portuguese. There is no doubt about the intense desire of the Portuguese rulers to evangelise the countries over which they held dominion; it is proved beyond question that the hinterland was visited by and known to them; and the example of the Catholic Kingdom which they founded in the Congo area is well known. Moreover possible traces of Christianity in the use of the sign of the cross, the baptism of children and the practice of confession in its earlier form are to be found throughout the North.

Traces there may be but the religion of the people to-day is far removed from Christianity. No better summaries of the fundamental religion can be given than that of the worship of the Sun and Earth written by Sir James Frazer, O.M., who has collected and collated all that is so far known in his "Worship of Nature" (1926).

Among the northern tribes the worship of the Earth-gods is however the most important cult for the community, whilst that of ancestors is pre-eminently essential for the individual. Nothing can be done without a sacrifice of some sort, generally a fowl, to one's ancestors. In every courtyard there stands a mound which marks the founder's grave, and outside or near it are little pyramids representing others of the family's dead. Each pyramid is capped with a stone, whereon are laid blood and feathers from the sacrifices. And when a family migrates, earth from the pyramids is carried to the new abode, and there the sacrifices to the dead are offered as before.

Of the Akan and Ewe group, Sir A. B. Ellis wrote:—

"The general bias of the negro mind has been in favour of selecting the firmament for the Chief Nature-god, instead of the Sun, Moon, or Earth; and in this respect the natives resemble the Aryan Hindus, Greeks, and Romans, with whom Dyaus pitar, Zeus, and Jupiter equally represented the firmament. The Tshis and Gas use the words Nyankupon and Nyonmo to express sky, rain, or thunder and lightning, and the Ewes the word Mawu. The Tshi people say Nyankupon bom (Nyankupon knocks), 'It is thundering'; Nyankupon aba (Nyankupon has come), 'It is raining'; and the Ga peoples, Nyonmo knocks (thunders) 'Nyonmo pours', 'Nyonmo drizzles', etc., while in just the same way the Ancient Greeks ascribed these phenomena to Zeus, who snowed, rained, hailed, gathered clouds, and thundered. Nyankupon has for epithets the following: Amosu (Giver of rain); Amovua (Giver of sunshine); Teterboensu (Wide-spreading Creator of water), and Tyadumpon, which seems to mean 'Stretched-out Roof' Tyo, to draw or drag, dua wood, and pon, flat surface."

The Supreme Being of the Ashantis dwells aloof in his firmament too far away to be concerned directly with the affairs of man. Some of his powers he has delegated to his son, the lesser gods (abosom), who act as his vice-gerents in different places or for different purposes here below—a constitution strikingly similar to the almost feudal kingdom of the northern peoples. However in every courtyard in Ashanti there stands an altar to the Sky-god in the shape of a three-forked branch cut from a certain tree which the Ashantis call the Sky-god tree (Nyame dua). Between the branches, which are cut short, is fixed a basin or a pot; in this receptacle the offerings are placed, and in it is generally to be found a neolithic celt, one

of the Sky-god's axes. Precisely similar altars are to be found in the compounds of the north.

"The late Sir A. B. Ellis was formerly of the opinion that their Sky-god, whom he calls Nana Nyankupon, "the Lord of the sky", was borrowed by them from the Christians and was in fact little more than Jehovah under a new name and a thin disguise. But this opinion he afterwards saw reason to retract. Discussing the nature of Mawu, the Sky-god of the Ewe-speaking peoples of the Slave Coast, he observes: "While upon the subject of this god, I may as well say that, from additional evidence I have since collected, I now think that the view I expressed concerning the origin of Nyankupon, the parallel god of the Tshi-speaking peoples, was incorrect; and that instead of this being the Christian God, borrowed and thinly disguised, I now hold that he is, like Mawu, the Sky-god, or indwelling spirit of the sky; and that, also like Mawu, he has been to a certain extent confounded with Jehovah. It is worthy of remark that nyankum means 'rain', and nyankonton, 'rainbow', while the word Nyankupon itself is as frequently used to express sky, firmament, thunder, or rain, as it is as a proper name."

"The name of Mawu is known throughout the whole of the country, wherever the Ewe language is spoken, from the coast far into the interior, and is of importance in the daily life of the people. The idea of the Sky-god is not of foreign origin, a reflection of missionary teaching; it is an ancient possession of the race and is said to have formerly occupied an even higher place in the popular religion than it does at the present day. The conception seems to have been moulded directly on the sight of the celestial vault.

When the morning clouds are seen encircled with a rim of light and the blue sky peeps between the rifts, the natives say "Mawu has donned his coat of many colours". The proper name for the visible sky is dzingbe, but the visible sky is also called Mawu ga, "the Great God". In a native assembly a man has been heard to say, "I have always looked up to the visible sky as to God and when I spoke of God I spoke of the sky, and when I spoke of the sky, I thought of God". Another man observed, "Wherever the sky is, there is God; for the sky is God".

In the interior of Togo there live a number of tribes speaking languages which differ from Ewe. But among them also we find the worship of the same great Sky-god under different names. Thus the Akposos worship him under the name of Owulowu, which they regard as equivalent to the Mawu of the Ewe-speaking peoples. The same word Owulowu is used to designate both the firmament and its personification. Among the Krachi, he is Wulbari, among the Konkomba O'wunbuor, and among the Gbanye he is known as Ebuore. The similarity in name is striking.

"The Ashantis of the Gold Coast regard the Sky and the Earth as their two great deities. The worship of the Earth-goddess is less well known, than that of Nyame perhaps because it is not quite

so obvious. No temple, no image is reared in her honour, but her power is none the less universally acknowledged. From the Earth, according to one of their most familiar myths, sprang some of the noblest of the Ashanti clans, for example the Oyoko, from which the later Ashanti Kings were descended. The Ashanti name for Earth is Asase Ya, this Old Mother Earth. The day dedicated to her worship was Thursday, and even now the Ashanti farmer will not till or break the soil on that day; down to some thirty years ago a breach of the rule was punished with death. To this day the Ashanti farmer makes an offering to Old Mother Earth every year on the day when he begins to till his land. He goes to the field, taking with him a fowl and some mashed plantain or yam which his wife or sister has cooked for him. Arrived at the field where work is to begin, he wrings the fowl's neck, and letting the blood drip on the mashed yam and the Earth he speaks as follows: "Grandfather so-and-so, you once came and hoe-ed here and then you left it to me. You also Earth, Ya, on whose soil I am going to hoe, the yearly cycle has come round and I am going to cultivate; when I work let a fruitful year come upon me, do not let the knife cut me, do not let a tree break and fall upon me, do not let a snake bite me". He then cuts up the fowl and mixes the flesh with the yam. After that he throws portions of the mixture to the four points of the compass; and some of the remains he places in a leaf and deposits on the spot where he stood in making the offering.

"Among the inhabitants of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast there prevails a worship of the Earth like that which is characteristic of the inhabitants of the Upper Senegal and Upper Volta or the French Sudan, and the resemblance is natural enough since, as has already been pointed out, the boundaries between the two countries is not racial but merely political, the same tribes being settled on both sides of it. While the natives of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast all recognize the existence of a great Sky-god or Supreme Being whom they call Wuni, Weni, or We, they in practice pay much more attention to the gods of the Earth for, like the ancient Chinese, they have not risen to the general conception of a single Earth-god, the personification of the whole Earth, but believe in the existence of a great number of Earth-gods, each presiding over his own particular territory, like a human chief. For the most part every community possesses at least one Earth-god, and the names of the Earth-gods vary from place to place. They are not visible, but abide in natural objects, such as clumps of trees, rocks of large size or remarkable appearance, and ponds; but clumps of trees are their favourite homes. At Kanjaga, for example, there are two such sacred groves. One of them is a small cluster of fan palms surrounding a single tall one, all of them growing out of a white ants nest. The other is a group of short, long-leaved raphia palms such as grow in the marshes of the Ashanti forest. This latter grove, situated in a small dale otherwise bare of trees, presents a striking appearance, all the more so because these palms

are elsewhere unknown in the district. The propitiation of the local Earth-god is deemed of the utmost importance, for were it neglected, famine would surely follow as a consequence of the wrath of the offended deity. His righteous indignation is excited by the spilling of human blood on the ground, and by the commission of incest, for such acts are thought to pollute the soil. Even so seemingly trivial an act as the shooting of an arrow in anger suffices to disturb the equanimity of the sensitive deity. When such a deed has been done, or indeed anything untoward has happened, the particular Earth-god in whose domain the event took place must be appeased. The duty of making atonement devolves on the religious chief or priest who bears the title of tindana, tengyona, or tengsoba, meaning in every case the Owner of the Land or Chief of the Earth, as the corresponding official is commonly designated in Upper Senegal. It is his office to intercede between the people and the deity who gave them the land on which they live and the food which they eat. They say that no place is without its Chief of the Earth (tindana), and to this day, if people migrate into an uninhabited country in the hope of finding there a less niggardly soil than the one they have left behind them, they must obtain a grant of land from the Chief of the Earth who happens to dwell nearest to the new settlement. As usual, the atonement takes the form of sacrifices, which are ordered by the Chief of the Earth to be performed as the occasion arises. He also appoints the day when the new crops may be eaten by the community; in short, he regulates all matters that concern the religion of the Earth-god.

"The requirements of the deity are revealed from time to time by a soothsayer, who ascertains them by means of certain magical stones, which he shakes out of a bag. The divine wishes announced by this form of soothsaying are regularly gratified, or if not, so much the worse for the Chief of the Earth who is responsible for the omission. For example, the Chief of the Earth at Issa was informed by the soothsayer that his Earth-god desired a market to be re-established on the spot. The Chief delayed to comply with the divine injunction, and in consequence his son was badly mauled by a leopard as a warning to the Chief himself to be in future less dilatory in obeying the deity. Through the communication which the soothsayer thus maintains with the higher powers his services are indispensable not only in religious matters but in the conduct of everyday life; practically nothing is done without consulting him; the whole structure of society is in his hands. Yet the stones by which he works his wonders are neither rare nor beautiful: they are just hard, smooth stones which may be picked up in the fields. The natives believe that the stones have fallen from heaven, so they gather and pile them on the ancestral graves, or rather on the little pyramids of mud which are set up to serve as altars in the worship of the dead. But sceptical Europeans are of the opinion that these stones are simple disused hand-grinders.

“The Ewe-speaking people worship the Earth as a goddess under the name of Anyigba. One of the epithets applied to the goddess is Mother of the little children for she it is who bestows offspring on people. She also makes the yams to grow and trade to prosper; she gives good luck in hunting and victory in war. It is in her power too, both to inflict and to heal sickness and disease. One day of the week, named *asiamigbe*, is her rest-day or sabbath; therefore on that day it is unlawful to hoe the ground, to dig yams, or to thrust a stake into the earth, because such acts are clearly calculated to disturb her divine repose, if not to do her bodily injury. Anybody who hoes the ground on her sabbath will surely die.”

The above summary of the religion of the Gold Coast people is based on extracts from Sir James Frazer's work and quotations from all the authorities on the religion and customs of the various sections of the people dwelling in this country. It is to be noted, however, that in the survey there is omitted all those tribes dwelling between the Ashanti and the North. As yet no exhaustive treatise has been published to cover the lore of the tribes living in this zone. However it is well known that the main characteristics of their religion are similar to those of the people to their north and to their south, and the close relationship of the Dagomba with the Moshi enables one to obtain a good view of the religion of the former from the works of M. Tauxier, the authority on the latter.

Enough has been written and quoted to show the bases on which the faith of the Gold Coast people is founded. But apart from these general characteristics, there remain the individualistic worship of ancestors, charms, home and local gods—a mass of spirits and deities that have often confused animism with pantheism. There is no need to enlarge on these phases, provided we remember always that the people here live in *Dichterland* before the licence of the poet has washed away the sordid conditions and roughnesses of savagedom.

Arising from the religious outlook of the people there is the question of land tenure which has become involved with the constitution of the country to no small extent. It is a question about which much has been written and is of so large an importance that one must, in order to understand the native of the Gold Coast's attitude of mind towards the land, be permitted to enter into considerable detail.

Of the four groups outlined above, it may be stated at the outset that nothing reliable is known about the system of land tenure among the Ewe or the unclassified groups. The Ga-Adangbe system has become so fogged through contact with various European systems that its first form is no longer recognisable. But since the religion of all groups is based on the same premises, and since the land is among all considered part and parcel of that religion, and thirdly because the origin from some individual hunter is common to all tribes and families, it is certainly not unreasonable

to presume that the evolutionary development of the systems of land tenure among the groups has followed along similar lines.

No better outline of this process of evolution is available than that by Captain Rattray in his 'Ashanti Law and Constitution', one of the reports submitted to the Gold Coast Government during his tenure of the office of Anthropologist. He points out how in the Akan group the Ashanti were originally a nation of hunters. They have a saying: "In olden times the tribes all resided in one town", but this is to be explained by the usual exaggeration of a large family of nomads whose sons are forced by the circumstance of over-crowding to seek for other realms in which to roam. The tradition of various clans record an era when game, fish, wild herbs, berries and roots were the sole food of the people, and it is logical to deduce that as a family grew larger, so the area, over which the collection of the food required had to be made, increased. But there is a limit to that area, viz.,—the distance a man can cover in safety from his home. That limit was undefinable, but within the area of that roughly-known boundary the family would naturally have come to regard the food obtainable therein as theirs. Only by might could this right be wrested from them.

The family in course of time might reach a numerical strength sufficient to warrant its being termed a tribe, but there is no reason to suppose that the nomad Akans were ever of any great number. The advent of agriculture brought about the first revolution.

So far all the Gold Coast tribes are known to have more or less followed along these lines, but when agriculture actually came is not determinable. There is no doubt but that the grain-eaters of the Moshi group as well as the unclassified tribes of the North advanced more quickly than the southern tribes at this point of evolution. The introduction of guinea-corn and millet was probably from the East and is certainly of considerable antiquity. On the other hand the Akan and Ga-Adangbe groups owe practically all their foodstuffs to European introduction from the West Indies. The possible exception is that of yams which to this day are sought for in their wild state among the hills of Ajati to be planted and cultivated, when they lose their bitterness and coarseness, in the richer soil of the lowland plains. This revolution in the manner of living gradually brought about, although the process is not yet complete among the Brong and Guang tribes, a stabilization. The nomads began to settle and as settlement required cultivation, there grew up the idea of a family right in the land as distinct from over the land which was to supply them their livelihood.

Captain Rattray opines that a previous idea of family interest in the land had existed. "These ancient hunters possibly regarded one locality in their wild forest hunting-grounds as being more particularly their very own, namely, the spot where their ancestors had been laid after death . . . Their dead men used it; they continued to use it—for ever. The spot marked by the grave was regarded as the particular property of his kinsman."

Although that theory is open to debate since on the surface it seems incompatible with the nomadic life, the idea of the land belonging to the dead or being so permeated with them that the Earth and the dead are almost inseparable as ideas is certainly a sound supposition and would in time lead to that intensive cult of ancestors which being observed by Captain Rattray enabled him to write: "It is not, however, the Sky and the Earth deities who in Ashanti are held to be the prime factors in shaping and influencing the actions and destinies of mankind. These great unseen powers are generally too remote and perhaps too mighty to be concerned very intimately with the individual clan, much less with the individual member of the clan, and the predominant influences in Ashanti religion are neither 'Saturday Sky-god' nor 'Thursday Earth-goddess', nor even the hundreds of gods (abosom), with which it is true the land is filled, but are the samanfo, the spirits of the departed forebears of the clan. They are the real land owners who, though long departed, still continue to take a lively interest in the land from which they had their origin or which they once owned. The Ashanti land laws of to-day appear but the logical outcome of a belief which, in the not very remote past, considered the living landowners as but holding as it were tenancies at will from the dead as being the trustees of the latter."

The Akans who were in the closest contact with the Europeans were not allowed however to evolve along natural and therefore slow lines. With the introduction of agriculture necessitated by the Slave Trade there were also introduced fire-arms by the use of which the slaves could be caught and kept. The nomad family having ceased its wanderings had acquired a patch to cultivate for the use of the family. Not every member of the family was now necessary; free labour was obtainable for the newly introduced form of obtaining food; the young men were at liberty to go abroad to hunt for slaves or to act as middlemen for the merchants. And in the interior they became available as organized bands, later to become formidable armies.

Land thus came to be regarded as belonging to the family, the offspring of which no longer had to seek their own food collecting zone, but could stay near the paternal roof. The slaves required housing and wives. The village came into existence, and family lands became village or community lands.

The actual area required for the cultivation of food stuffs was small, but the hunter spirit had not disappeared, so that from the focus of the village hunters would issue forth and claim as the and over which they had a right all that area within their reach and within their power of defence against all possible claimants.

This theoretical process of evolution in the system of land tenure is not different to that actually observed in other places in the world. But locally on the Gold Coast it may possibly account for the apparent lack of zeal in agricultural pursuit of the coast-dwellers. They evolved from nomadic hunters to citizens of

towns, merchants and middlemen, without themselves passing through the intermediate stage of farmers or cultivators. At the same time it offers an explanation of the willingness of the southerner to employ northern labour on his fields and in his plantations and the readiness of the latter, who has for centuries been a land labourer, to undertake that work.

In the extreme North, that is to say throughout the Protectorate of the Northern Territories and the Northern Section of Togoland, the system of land tenure did not reach that of village lands to the same extent. The permanence of cultivation led to an intensive form of family ownership and even to one approximating our own idea of individual ownership. An understanding of this explains the difference in the constitution of the two areas, the Protectorate and the Akan system.

But further leaps in evolution were to be made in the coastal areas. After the 1873-4 war with Ashanti and the establishment of a protectorate by Great Britain over the tribes, who had been our allies in that campaign, there ensued a period of keen exploitation of the minerals of the country. Concessions with recognised titles were necessary if capital was to be persuaded to flow into Gold Coast channels. There quite logically and undoubtedly legally followed the idea that the head of the community could act for the community, and in consequence there has grown up the conception that the Omanhene with the concurrence of his counsellors were trustees of the land over which the community exercised collecting and hunting rights. The voice of the family was not to be heard above the acclamation of the village or community. Still less could the individual make his claims upheld. Moreover there was plenty of land, the system of cultivation was not of a permanent character and the immediate compensation in money or gifts made acquiescence easier.

However less than forty years later a fresh revolution in thought occurred. There was suddenly thrust upon the country the quite new idea of permanence in agriculture. The amazing possibilities of the cacao market made individual effort so remunerative that farming for the family became secondary to farming for the individual. The evolution was complete and the system of land tenure in its aspect *vis-à-vis* a cacao plantation among the Akans is practically the same as that *vis-à-vis* the guinea-corn and millet fields of the Northerner.

The communal idea, hitherto tacitly admitted and acquiesced in, is receding far into tradition, not without considerable resistance by the Chiefs who not only see their trusteeship and its concomitant perquisites disappearing, but also see the day is not far distant when the old-time tribal organisation must inevitably disappear.

This organisation has almost been outlived already; the individual hunter, the small family, the growing family mixed with alien adherents, the village, the community, the state and tribe.

It is evident that the constitution of a community evolved in such a manner must be along family lines ; and such has been the case in the Gold Coast.

It was probably owing to the rivalries of the different European powers along the coast that the various families or clans or tribes dwelling thereon never reached the stage of unification, such as was attained in Ashanti, but the constitution was practically identical. The head of the clan is the Omanhene and he is assisted by counsellors who include every village head-man and every family chief although in practice delegates represent this rather unwieldy witenagemote.

In Ashanti where the release of the young men from their family duties by the introduction of slave labour and where the non-interference by Europeans enabled one branch of the tribe to organise an army which succeeded in imposing its overlordship over its neighbours this familial constitution had given way to a more elaborate quasi-feudal system with a recognisable king at its head. But the head of the various families or clans who had been forced to admit this supremacy never lost sight of their right to be consulted and there remained in being the right of the family, that is the common people, to direct the family heads in those consultations. That is a very fine form of democracy and has provided a vent through which discontent and ill-usage, grievance and complaints could be remedied. To a certain extent this natural manner of airing wrongs and obtaining redress has been concealed. Unexpected and extremely rapidly acquired wealth by the people accompanied the evolution of the chief from family head into kingship, but to-day there is no doubt that there is a healthy sign of effervescence by which it is clear that the people are beginning to take no small interest in their communal affairs and well-being and are no longer content to leave state matters in the hands of chiefs who are becoming further and further removed from the 'plebs' out of which they sprang. This movement is not only to be observed in the Gold Coast, it seems to be spread almost all over the world. Fortunately in this country the movement is based on the old family right of the members to be consulted by their head before he represents them at the tribal witenagemote. It is therefore under a properly constituted leadership and forms an important part of the Akan constitution.

The movement is generally termed that of the Asafu. In the past the history of the Asafu as known to Government has not been happy. It originated in the grouping of the young men in clans based on paternity as opposed to the matrilineal organisation usual to the Akan people. As village life grew, the creation of quarters developed, so that while each member belonged on his mother's side to the village or tribe as a whole, he belonged through his father to the quarter where his father's family belonged. In Ashanti the system was of great military value, but in the coast towns the natural rivalry between quarters increased since the Europeans made use

of such an obvious method of maintaining order. The result however was not so orderly and to this day quarter-fighting or company riots are still all too frequent.

The African's mind is supremely sensitive; and he will often accept insult, where none whatsoever is intended. Moreover he can convey disapproval, or make mockery of the acts of others in ways, most shrewd and cunningly devised. It is not usually recognised, so subtle is the act, that drumming or whistling, even the manner of shaving one's head or the fashion of wearing one's cloth can convey the deadliest of insults. Emblems are therefore easily made to indicate derision, to throw taunts, to cast aspersions and to recall events which had better be forgotten.

The companies or quarters in the coast towns have been all too ready to adopt this method of annoying their rivals, with results that in many cases have been tragic beyond words. One such occurred in 1930 at the village of Appam and over 40 people lost their lives, most of the houses were burnt and extensive damage done. The cause of the trouble was insignificant. But this was no new occurrence. In 1849 the Dutch Government had entered into an agreement with the people of Elmina with a view to the good administration of that town, and among the clauses of that convention there appears the following:—

“ ART 11.

“ The old agreement with the Elmina Government of the second November, 1840 respecting the Customs flags to prevent their being the cause of any palavers, are inserted in this contract as follows:—

1st.—That all Customs flags of the different quarters shall be done away with, and that the pendant above the flag of quarter No. 4 shall no more be used; the said Customs flags being the general cause of all disturbances and in this Contract forbidden to be used—thus after this meeting the Elmina Government has given the said flags to the Netherlands Government to deposit.

2nd.—That in the place of the above-mentioned Customs flags, shall be given them by the Government a National Dutch flag—three colours; the flags marked as follows:—

For quarter No. 1 with the number 1.

“	“	2	“	2.
“	“	3	“	3.
“	“	4	“	4.
“	“	5	“	5.
“	“	6	“	6.
“	“	7	“	7.

No. 7 with the letter K signifying that this is the King's quarter.

The Broker's quarter shall be distinguished by the letter M.

The Volunteer quarter by the letters VB.

For the Government workmen the letters L.S., whilst the field marshal shall be allowed to use the pendant, 3rd.—Each of the above-mentioned quarters, volunteers or Government workmen, who shall overstep the above-mentioned rules, shall be fined in a sum of five ounces (Oz. 5) gold for the benefit of the King of Elmina and the landholders, who shall use this for the trouble they take in the strict performance of their duties, whilst other expenses shall make good to the Government that they have incurred from the non-fulfilment of this contract."

That phase of the development of the Asafu movement is exotic. Its true lines of evolution have been traced, as the result of the Appam riot, by the Assistant Secretary for Native Affairs, Mr. J. C de Graff Johnson, whose report summarised is as follows :— The power and position of the Asafu in its relation to the state can hardly be disregarded or minimised. In its wider sense it embraces even the Omanhene and the principal chiefs themselves ; in its narrower it definitely constitutes the third estate, the common people without whose assistance no native government in the Akan country is possible, the saying being : Ohin na ni mpanimfuo na Asafu (the Chief and his Elders and Asafu). The Omanhene as a rule appreciates the rights and privileges of the Asafu and their unique relation to the Paramount Stool. In Ashanti it is fully recognised that Chiefs, paramount or other, can only be elected and installed after the wishes of the "youngmen" have been consulted. Where this has been ignored the Chief so elected has sooner or later come to grief. Moreover, in the old Ashanti regime, when a Chief has been elected and installed by his people he is at first regarded as a mere Nkwankwahin (a leader or Captain of the "youngmen") until his appointment is confirmed by the Paramount Chief or Supreme Council. And further, no member of the Stool family is ever appointed as a real Nkwankwahin of the "youngmen" lest with the Asafu behind him he should drive away the ruling Ohin and take his place. This shows that the power behind the Stool rests with the "youngmen", not with the Elders. By whatever name it is called, the fact remains incontrovertible that both in the Colony and Ashanti the Asafu forms part and parcel of the Oman that more often than not its representatives serve on the Oman Council and take part in its deliberations ; that every person, prince or peasant, virtually belongs to the Asafu ; and that a man only ceases to identify himself with its activities when he is elevated to occupy a stool or appointed a Councillor. The Asafu is therefore essential if the position and authority of the Chiefs are to be maintained. It has a voice in putting a Chief on and removing him from a Stool. As the Berekum Nkwankwahin pointed out the "youngmen" can

object to an Omanhin's order if they consider it is not right. In other words, the Asafu collectively can countermand the Omanhin's order. The Omanhin is first and last the servant of the Oman and the Mbrantse or Asafu form the bulk of the Oman.

That a similar organisation exists among the Ga-Adangbe and Ewe tribes is known, but it has not yet been definitely identified among the Northerners of the Moshi and unclassified groups, where the constitution differs from that of the Akan tribes. However the terms Kombenaba, Kefrinaba, Kademawura which seem to mean leader of the young men tend to show that such an institution is in being, even if it has hitherto failed to reveal itself.

The true democratic character of the Akan constitution cannot fail to have been noticed, based as it is on the Family. Among the Ewe and Ga-Adangbe the constitution is even more closely connected with the institution of the Family, and the people have not had to the same extent to assert their inherent rights. In the Northern Territories however the constitution is far from democratic and is almost despotic.

The land tenure system was stabilised much earlier in the North than in the South as has already been remarked, and in a generalisation may be termed almost identical with that now obtaining among the Akans. But there are two most important considerations to be made; hitherto there has been no interference by Europeans who in order to exploit the country must either reconcile the local system with their own or alter it entirely, and secondly the head of the family, clan or tribe is not the political head, this latter being an alien to the family, clan or tribe who has placed his authority over the people *vi et armis*.

There are therefore existing in the Northern Territories, the one imposed on the other, two distinct constitutions. There is the Family constitution which regulates the intimate life of the people, orders the worship when due of the ancestors, keeps in touch with the spirits of the Earth-gods and stands as the connecting link between the Supreme Being and the insignificant plebs. At the head of the family is the house-master, the community-master, the interceder between the family and the gods. He is called tindana in Dagomba country, and under other names he is readily recognisable in every tribal or group division in the Protectorate.

So similar has been the process of evolution, and so impossible is it to conceive that a cultural boundary could have existed between the migrants into the Forest and the people who dwell to-day where they formerly dwelt, that it would seem logical to conclude and certainly most reasonable to suppose that the Dagomba word "tindana" (lord of or one who has power over the "tenga") is identical with the Akan word "Omanhene" (lord of or one who has power over the "Oman"). Ordinarily "tenga" is translated Earth, and "Oman" as tribe, but when the latter has resided for centuries

in one place, and has saturated the Earth with the numbers of his dead, the failure to discriminate between *tenga* and *Oman* becomes readily intelligible and probably inevitable.

Secondly, however, imposed upon this Family or clan constitution is the despotic rule of the political chiefs. They are to be found in every part of the Northern Territories excepting among a few of the unclassified tribes, where the Family system of the tindana still exists untouched. These political chiefs as has been shown in the chapter dealing with history are of absolutely alien stock and they introduced with them a form of government in which are to be found many similarities to oriental administrations.

The rulers of the Gbanye or Gonja divisions came, tradition has it, from the West, whilst those of the Mamprusi, Dagomba, Wala and in all likelihood the Dagarti divisions from the East and North-East. The first-comers seem to have been composed of warrior bands who seized not the over-lordship of the land but the suzerainty over the dwellers thereon. Their male offspring did not descend to the plebs but remained marauding princelings who lived by banditry and raiding. Some were given small divisions of the people to rule over. They were and are indifferent as to the land on which their people lived, provided their own household was never lacking in food, nor did it matter to them by what means the food reached their corn-bins.

They were mounted and clothed; they had or the people believed they had the magic power by which they could seize and maintain dominion. The naked tiller of the fields, the peasant whose toilsome life left no time or opportunity to organise resistance, acquiesced in their exactions which the common sense of the rulers did not make onerous and were content to win from the soil that which the Earth-gods consented to yield.

The administration of the country except in the organisation of raiding expeditions was left to an artificial body of men, born of the land but no longer interested therein, a group of eunuchs. These were slaves and many of them actually sons of the people over whom their masters ruled. To each division of the administration of the country and in particular of the towns in which they resided one eunuch was allotted. These head-eunuchs formed as it were a council and they alone were able to tender advice to the Na or Chief contrary to the latter's inclination.

The Eunuch regimen was similar to that of the sons of chiefs. They were classified in age-groups and received promotion by merit or what amounted to the same thing, willingness to give presents to those in authority, which in our candid manner we term bribery. Thus a slave-boy eunuchized at the age of seven could rise in course of time to the eminent post of chief of all the eunuchs, as it were, to be Grand Vizier. Similarly a chief's son could rise from the lowest grade of page to a rank equal to that held by his father. That regimen existed until our advent into the area of the Northern Territories. The last of the eunuchs

who held high rank died during the last decade and with him the time-honoured administrative system of the Dagomba Kingdom. At the same time there disappeared, at our coming, the opportunity for the sons of chiefs to raid and plunder the peasantry. Occasional attempts to carry on the pleasant pastime have occurred but the people no longer acquiesced quietly therein and brought their complaints to the European. Retribution was usually swift and certain.

The disappearance of the eunuch system, the forced abandonment of banditry, the complete lack of administrative knowledge or indifference thereto among the chiefs, a fuller understanding of the family life of the people and their history, and finally the rapid opening up of the country during the past decade introduced a problem for Government not too easy to solve.

It is not possible to summarise here details of the intimate life of the people, be they Akan, Ewe or Dagomba. Birth, marriage and funeral rites, observances at seed and harvest time, clan and family customs are too numerous, and vary too much in minor details to permit even a résumé. There are many works available on these subjects, as a reference to the bibliography accompanying this work will show. Above, a sketch of the religion and the constitution of the people has been attempted, and the great underlying similarity between the various tribes has been emphasised. It is the same with the minor customs and in that fact lies the great possibility that the artificial Gold Coast may one day attain united nationhood.

CHAPTER IV.

ECONOMIC.

Economic Development of the Country—Gold-mining—Iron and Manganese—Diamonds—Romance of the Cacao Industry—Economics of that Industry—Problems arising therefrom—Forestry Problems—Minor Agricultural and Sylvan Products—Imported Foodstuffs—Internal Trade—Cattle Breeding—Meat Consumption—Transport Problems—Non-distribution of Overhead Charges—The National Income.

The preceding chapter will almost certainly give to the reader unfamiliar with the country a somewhat misleading picture of the Gold Coast. That impression this chapter is intended to rectify. It must I think be admitted by all that an ethnographical survey, especially a curtailed one, of Great Britain would deal almost exclusively with the remoter parts, where folk lore, folk custom and folk traditions still are found, with Northumbrian and Cornish peasantry rather than with dwellers in suburban Croydon or Acton.

One of the most prominent features in the history of this country has been its persistent advance in cultural progress by leaps rather than by the process of gradual and continuous evolution. Since the beginning of the twentieth century these leaps have been even more exaggerated and the past decade has witnessed a rate of progress which might even be considered dangerous.

The sudden acquisition of very great wealth may upset the equilibrium of an individual but in the Gold Coast it seems to have acted over the nation as a most potent stimulant for greater effort, even the set-back of over-production and the disappearance of markets having had but little effect. It is probable that the nation is advancing faster than may seem good to the Government, who actually has had occasion to act as a brake rather than as an accelerating force. For instance the anxiety of the people to procure access to their villages by means of motorable roads has often overlooked the necessity of their maintenance.

The accompanying table of exports and imports during the past decade will show the amount of money turned over by the nation.

	Imports.	Exports of Domestic Produce.	Total External Trade.
	£	£	£
1921	6,816,757	5,532,113	12,348,870
1922	6,501,205	6,632,349	13,133,554
1923	7,727,561	7,543,612	15,271,173
1924	7,207,433	8,715,113	15,922,546
1925	8,820,568	9,786,206	18,606,774
1926	8,443,660	10,999,103	19,442,763
1927	11,702,667	13,458,721	25,161,388
1928	11,301,811	12,944,318	24,246,129
1929	9,625,592	11,530,760	21,156,352
1930	8,507,458	8,855,054	17,362,512
	£86,654,712	£95,997,349	£182,652,061

The African population of the country including its dependencies is 3,160,386. It will be seen therefore that if one accepts as a round figure for the adult population during the decade 2,000,000, the individual average turn-over during ten years is £91 or £9 per annum. In terms of per capita to the revealed population it amounted to £5 5s. approximately in 1930, a year when values had fallen to a very considerable extent. The great characteristic of the Gold Coast is (so insignificant are the areas under European exploitation), that the greater part of this wealth can be reckoned as obtained and used by the native—an economic situation difficult to reconcile with the anthropological survey just recorded.

The resources of the country from which the people draw this wealth are mines and agriculture. To the former the country owes its name. Originally gold was the sole mineral exported. To-day manganese, and diamonds almost rival that valuable product, and to-morrow there promises to be bauxite and tin and even petroleum.

GOLD.

From the earliest days of Portuguese settlement gold has been exported. There is no reliable information at present available as to the quantity of this mineral which has been taken out of the country nor any certain date as to when it was first extracted. One of the earliest estimates is that of Barbot who considered that in 1660 the annual value was £240,000 in modern sterling. The first reliable records date only from 1903 so that during the period 1483–1903 at the moderate estimate of £50,000 per annum, this country yielded some £21,000,000. Since that date accurate statistics have been kept. These show

1903–1910 1,579,940 oz. exported.

1911–1920 3,679,531 oz. exported.

or a total in 18 years of 5,259,471 ounces.

During the past ten years the annual output decreased but towards the end of the period a revival in this industry became most marked.

The figures are :—

Year.	No. of Companies.		No. of Labourers.		Oz. won. Fine.	Value.
	Mining.	Producing.	European.	African.		
1921 ...	14	10	252	10,313	203,395	£ 863,979
1922-3 ...	15	12	265	10,083	259,738*	1,103,326*
1923-4 ...	16	12	257	10,025	200,703	852,548
1924-5 ...	15	9	229	10,338	210,301	893,359
1925-6 ...	13	11	190	9,135	198,083	841,394
1926-7 ...	11	9	195	8,240	189,117	803,369
1927-8 ...	10	8	202	7,831	168,933	711,833
1928-9 ...	9	7	209	7,792	167,115	709,903
1929-30	9	5	200	7,386	218,494	928,161
1930-31	6	4	181	7,121	246,075	1,045,327

* Covers a period of 15 months 1st January, 1922—31st March, 1923.

The mining areas are classified under three headings, quartz, conglomerate and alluvial. To the first belong the mines at Prestea, Bibiani and Kayiankor in the Western Province of the Gold Coast Colony and at Kibi in the Eastern Province. This group also includes the famous Obuasi mine in Ashanti, one of the richest gold mines in the world.

The Tarkwa area, opened up first by the French in 1880, is in that in which the conglomerate mines are being exploited. Whilst the alluvial were chiefly the Ofin, Ankobra and Pra rivers but these are not at present being worked. The six companies at work on 31st March, 1931, were :—

Company.	Area working.	Tons crushed.	Fine oz. won.
1. Akoon Syndicate, Limited	Abontiakoon ...	482,55	19,552
2. Tarkwa and Aboso Mines Limited.	Aboso and Adjah Bippo.	118,589	44,884
3. Ariston Gold Mines (1929), Limited.	Prestea ...	57,637	22,619
4. Ashanti • Goldfields Corporation, Limited.	Obuasi ...	133,284	159,019
5. Bibiani (1927), Limited ...	Bibiani ...	—	—
6. Lyndhurst Deep Level, Limited.	Konongo ...	—	—

There are no companies at present working in the Northern Territories nor in Togoland. In the former considerable prospecting has been done in the past and two companies once worked a small area in the present Western Gonja District where gold undoubtedly

exists. Gold has also been located in the north-west of the protectorate but the cost of transport at present militates against any probability of development in the near future.

The story of gold-mining in this country is one of great human interest. In ancient times gold was washed for in every stream and even in Cape Coast gold dust could be found in the off-scourings of the streets after heavy rains. In many parts of the country there are to be seen deep pits, circular in shape and of small diameter. The native miner descended these shafts using hands, knees and back. The rock extracted by his primitive hoe was crushed by hand grinders and the dirt then washed. Such are now no longer worked, as with the disappearance of slave labour the results would not possibly be sufficient to cover the expense.

The Portuguese were the first to exploit mines in a more economic fashion and their efforts ended in tragedy, a mining disaster which stands alone in its magnitude in the history of mining in this country. Before the founding of Elmina Castle a mine had been opened up by Fernando Gomez at a place called Arobi, not far from Komenda. That mine was worked almost without cease from about 1485 to the early part of the seventeenth century. Somewhere about 1620 the hill was so honeycombed by tunnels and borings that it collapsed and buried numbers of workers beneath it.

A second mining area was opened by the Portuguese some distance inland from the mouth of the Ankobra River, at a place called Aboasi. To protect the workings, a fort was built, known as Fort Duma. Some dozen years after the opening of this mine, which is said to have been of extraordinary richness, an earthquake caused it to cave in, and only seven men escaped. They were not underground at the time, but the entire number of men so engaged perished.

When the Dutch had wrested their holdings on the Gold Coast from the Portuguese the former made an attempt to exploit the gold fields discovered by the latter. Little is known of this endeavour, beyond its tragic end wherein the fort erected to protect the mine was blown up during an attack by the natives. Since then until after the Ashanti war of 1873-4 the mining industry was left entirely in the hands of the local population.

Modern mining on the Gold Coast owes its beginning to the French, and especially to the enterprise of J. Bonnat, the agent for the Gold Coast Company. It was in 1877 that he and his companions landed at Axim and, proceeding up the Ankobra River, took up concessions on that river and also on a range of hills to the West of Awudua in the vicinity of what is now known as Prestea.

In the following year Bonnat took up a concession at Tarkwa, and later another concession at Aboso, and it is of interest to record that on each of these two concessions an important mine was developed; that at Tarkwa having been worked continuously until 1928, while that at Aboso is still an active producer.

Several concessions were also taken up by English companies about the same time, and modern mining was thus started on the Gold Coast.

Bonnat who was one of the captives in Kumasi in 1869-1873 died at Tarkwa and lies buried there on the scene of his labours and enterprise.

The gold at Prestea is won from a quartz reef, which is the most usual form of a gold deposit, but that at Tarkwa and Aboso is obtained from a conglomerate bed of much the same nature as that being mined on the Witwatersrand, South Africa, and now universally known as "banket". It is worthy of note, however, that the discovery of the Tarkwa goldfield took place some ten years before that of the Rand.

Except for short interludes, as the result of shaft collapses or lack of funds, mining has been carried on at Prestea ever since Bonnat's time, but so far no dividends have been paid; now that gold is at a premium, however, the prospects of operating at a profit are greatly increased.

The Tarkwa goldfield has been more fortunate than that of Prestea, though for quite a number of years the mines here were also failing to yield dividends. During the last two years, however, what with ample labour and reduced costs, the mines have shown a profit, and an expansion in mining on this field is a topic frequently discussed.

IRON MANGANESE.

The industry of iron-mining is one of the oldest industries carried on by the peoples of the Gold Coast. It stretches back to the period before history began in these parts and seems to have been universal in the distribution of localities. Iron ores of various types are to be found almost everywhere and to have been used for the production of iron by the neighbouring inhabitants, although among most of the tribes of the Gold Coast neither iron-smelting nor iron-production are known to-day. Evidence however of the wide distribution of this industry is abundant in the existence of heaps of iron-slag and broken tuyers, which are found in great quantities practically everywhere north of the forest zone. Inside that zone such heaps have also frequently been seen but owing to the denseness of the jungle not to the same extent as in the Savannah country where they are readily visible.

This iron was used chiefly for weapons but the memory still exists of an iron monetary system which had reached the stage of conventionalized token money. From time to time pots containing this money are discovered; only last year (1930) one such was unearthed in the Akan country near Abetifi. The fact that iron tokens were used as money would seem a further proof of the recent migration of the Akan peoples from outside the forest zone. Their tradition is that iron money was older than standardised weights of gold dust, the use of which as a monetary system dates subsequent to the advent of the European.

To-day iron is smelted by most of the tribes belonging to the unclassified group, particularly those dwelling along the northern and eastern frontiers.

An interesting fact which possibly may throw some light on the movements of the people is that the Busanga and Bassari people who live mostly on the French side of the frontier make seasonal migration into British territory in order to work the iron ore, and at the same time it seems significant that the black-smith although not the iron miner almost invariably belongs to the traditionally oldest established family in the country.

Mining for iron by European methods was not considered economically practicable until in 1915 a deposit of manganese of great value and extent was discovered close to the Sekondi-Kumasi railway at a place where the station of Akyem has since been built a few miles south from Tarkwa. The Geological Survey Department made the discovery on land over which a mining company already had a concession, and this, together with the great demand for high-grade ore owing to the war, enabled operations to be begun without any delay.

In 1916 over 4,000 tons were exported and annually thereafter until recently shipments have been increased manifold. The return of shipments and other figures relating to this industry during the past decade are :—

Year.	No. of Companies working.	No. of Europeans Engaged.	No. of Africans Engaged.	Total Tons Exported.
1921	2	12	805	7,195
1922-3	2	12	632	83,153*
1923-4	1	21	1,222	181,623
1924-5	1	43	1,934	276,905
1925-6	1	61	3,114	361,838
1926-7	1	51	1,355	398,551
1927-8	1	43	1,531	334,535
1928-9	1	40	1,607	376,913
1929-30	1	47	1,740	496,486
1930-31	1	37	1,535	396,044

* For the period 1st January 1922-31st March 1923.

The decline in the last period is due to the universal slackening in trade which unfortunately affected the labour engaged. The average for the year showed 1,535 Africans at work in this industry, but for the first quarter of the twelve months there were 2,119 so employed as against only 845 in the last quarter.

DIAMONDS.

For some considerable time the existence of diamonds in the Gold Coast had been suspected, the first reasoned report being one submitted by Ferguson, the same man mentioned previously as the founder of the Northern Territories Protectorate. He had

been trained in metallurgy and mineralogy in England and in 1891 was directed to proceed on an exploring trip to Attabubu via Kibi and Abetifi.

He reported that in his opinion the Akim-Abuakwa district would be found to be diamondiferous; but it was not until 1919, thirty-eight years later, that the first diamonds were discovered.

The late Director of the Geological Survey, Sir Albert Kitson, C.M.G., C.B.E., was their discoverer.

They were alluvial diamonds of small size but good in colour and quality; they were found in considerable numbers in the pebbly gravels of the Birim River at a place called Abomoso. Since then other discoveries have been made south of Tarkwa, near Enchi in the Western Province, in the Obosum River basin in northern Kwahu and in the Mampong District of Ashanti. The area at present being worked is the Akim-Abuakwa district in the neighbourhood of Kade Akwatia. So far the largest diamond found in this country weighed 9 carats and was valued at £15.

The statistical return of this industry is as follows:—

Year.	No. of Companies (and Individuals) Mining.	No. of Europeans Engaged.	No. of Africans Engaged.	Carats Exported.	Value.
1921 ...	1	2	125	1,788	£ 4,476
1922-3 ...	1	2	214	8,410*	10,292*
1923-4 ...	2	3	748	30,419	34,223
1924-5 ...	2	14	824	61,381	69,054
1925-6 ...	2	15	978	152,148	171,167
1926-7 ...	2	23	1,139	340,020	420,119
1927-8 ...	3	23	1,357	501,455	474,220
1928-9 ...	5	35	1,954	686,068	598,454
1929-30 ...	5	39	3,014	716,898	628,877
1930-31 ...	4	40	3,392	848,199	595,079

OTHER MINERALS.

No other minerals are at present being worked in this country of which the mineral wealth as known already is exceptional. The first discovery of bauxite was made on the Kwahu plateau at Mt. Ejuanema and it is estimated that there are some 4,000,000 tons of ore available. This is within easy reach of the railway between Kumasi and Accra, being only some two miles away from the station at Nkawkaw.

Other discoveries of bauxite have been made notably in the Affo Hills 50 miles from Dunkwa on the Kumasi-Takoradi line. Here a conservative estimate of available ore reaches the colossal total of 50,000,000 tons containing approximately 58.26 per cent alumina. Bauxite has also been located in considerable deposits west and north-west of Kumasi in the Yenahin area and near the Mie Hills.

The British Aluminium Company obtained last year certificates of validity for two concessions in the Affo area, so that the bauxite mining industry may very shortly be begun.

Oil has been found between Axim and Half Assinie, and tin in the Winneba District. Valuable clays, marble, lime-stone have also been located and it is of interest to note that steamers calling at Accra usually take in enough locally quarried sandstone for the holystoning of their decks homeward and return—a small mining industry to which but little attention has been paid.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS.

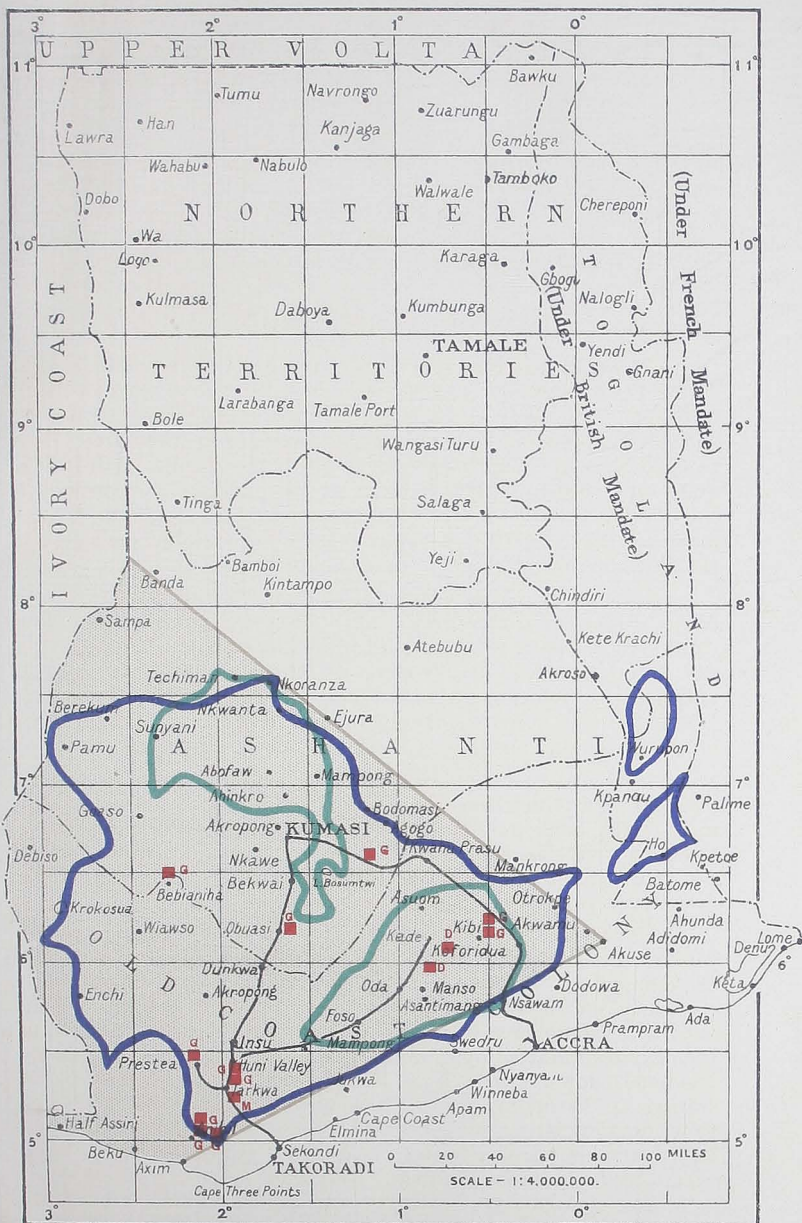
The accompanying map shows how the approximate area of greatest productivity coincides with the approximate zone of dense forest, and curiously enough includes the mineral as well as the agricultural products. The people dwelling in this area have reached since the beginning of this century a degree of wealth of quite unprecedented height, due to the extraordinary growth in the development of the trade in cacao, but agricultural encroachment on the forest began at some date considerably earlier than the introduction of that valuable commodity.

Of the cultivated agricultural products the Gold Coast exports cacao, coffee, maize, pepper, fibres, coconuts, copra, groundnuts, palm kernels and palm oil; whilst of the non-cultivated agricultural and forest products the country despatches copal-gum, rubber, kola nuts, sheanuts, shea butter and various woods and timbers. By far the most important export is that of cacao, the local history of which is probably unique in the annals of husbandry.

Cacao, or more popularly cocoa, which is indigenous to South America, is first mentioned as having been grown in the Gold Coast in a Dutch book published in 1815, but these early essays were rendered futile by the prolonged and general internecine warfare which was waged more or less throughout the country during the first thirty years of the nineteenth century.

In 1843 the Basel Mission began their second invasion of the country and carried on their work under the aegis of the Danish Government. They were thus brought into the closest contact with the early efforts of that power to introduce agriculture of an exporting character and were so to speak the natural inheritors of the plantation started by the Danes at the foothills in the neighbourhood of Dodowa. In 1856 the Mission were farming an agricultural station at Akropong growing chiefly coffee and fruits as well as experimenting with grasses for thatching. One of the missionaries, Rev. Johannes Haas of Sissach, near Basel, received in 1857 some cacao seedlings from Surinam, but these appear to have died. A further consignment, however was more successful, as ten trees were in existence by 1861. Two years later these were reduced to two only, but these flourished and in 1866, it is recorded that the

THE GOLD COAST



SURVEY H. Q. ACCRA 1932.

- Area of Maximum Productivity
- Cacao Area
- Cola
- Minerals (Diamonds, Gold, Manganese)

first ripe cacao pods had been gathered, some of which were replanted at Akropong and others distributed to other stations of the Mission, Aburi, Mampong and Odumase.

For some unknown reason the trees attracted the attention of the local inhabitants who purloined the pods, obviously for cultivation. To such an extent was this practice carried on that fences had to be built round the trees and even these were broken.

Agricultural pursuits were of course, somewhat checked by the Ashanti troubles between 1868 and 1874, but the people of Odumase still remember the old cacao tree outside the Mission House from which pods were actually sold to the people both of the neighbourhood and even of Akwapim.

The value of the plant, as an article of export was further brought home to the people of the Gold Coast by the return of one Tetteh Quarshie who had been working in the island of Fernando Po where he had witnessed the intensive cultivation of the tree. He brought with him some seedlings and apparently distributed them amongst his relatives. That was in 1879 or thereabouts.

A few years later a fresh stock of seed was introduced from Sao Thome by the then Governor of the Gold Coast and nurseries made at Aburi, whence seedlings were distributed to the local chiefs and to the Mission.

These three introductions were successful and resulted in the present important industry. The first shipment of cacao as an exportable product was in 1891, when 80 lbs. were sent out of the country. Since that date the export in quantity in quinquennial periods has been :—

Quinquennial Period.	Total Shipments tons.	Average per year.
1892-1896	62	12
1897-1901	1,644	329
1902-1906	23,855	4,771
1907-1911	104,669	20,934
1912-1916	291,528	58,306
1917-1921	591,451	118,290
1922-1926	1,029,292	205,858
1927-1931	1,128,662	225,732

The value of this crop depends of course upon the market, but the Gold Coast has been extremely fortunate in practically seizing the control of that market since it produces the greater portion of the world's total output of cacao.



But the most interesting feature of this industry lies in the fact that it is almost exclusively in the hands of the native population. Moreover, although Government encouraged, in some places quite brusquely, the making of nurseries and the planting out of the seedlings, the development of the industry has been practically spontaneous on the part of the inhabitants.

The inevitable result of the rapid increase of the people's wealth has been to bring about what almost amounts to a revolution. The communal ownership of land is being largely repudiated for individual ownership; the sale of land, an almost unheard of practice, has become a matter of every-day life; the tendency for the maker of a cacao plantation to leave his property to his son rather than his sister's son has almost brought a change from matrilineal to patrilineal descent; the industrious planter has been forced to hire labour in order to cope with the fruits of his industry and is gradually ceasing to be a working farmer with the inevitable result that in course of time he will be a non-working landlord; an influx of strangers drawn as it were to El Dorado has opened up the country to an extent no man could have foreseen as possible within so short a period; fresh problems of the gravest nature, such as preservation of forests, slum conditions, unemployed, spread of disease, transport and shipment, and a people which has learnt to gallop before it could crawl have been set for Government to solve.

Before considering some of these problems and relating the methods being adopted to compete with them, it is perhaps desirable to portray the conditions obtaining in the area of greatest productivity.

Farming, before the introduction of this quasi-permanent crop, was carried out by the system known as that of "shifting cultivation." The menfolk selected a small portion of the forest, cleared the undergrowth and cut the lianes. This work was carried out at the beginning of the dry season, and towards the end of that period they set fire to the dried refuse. The larger trees were left but the smaller ones usually perished. Then the womenfolk took possession, planted plantains, maize, groundnuts, yams, onions, ginger, coco-yams in a seemingly haphazard manner, according to what they considered the soil was most suited to produce. In five years or even less the patch would be abandoned and a new one selected. The old farm was exposed to the sun and became jungle so that that particular area was lost to the forest.

This ruinous system of cultivation has been termed "land robbery" and with the huge demand on the forest made by the requirements of the cacao industry has become a serious menace not only to the agricultural value of the land but to the cacao industry itself.

The introduction of a crop exclusively grown for export brought a great change in the economics of farming by the methods of shifting cultivation. For the purpose of food production to

meet the requirements of the family the old system continued, but the fields which formerly had been abandoned and allowed to return to jungle were now required for the young cacao trees originally planted amongst the plantains and other crops. The care of these rapidly became impossible physically to the owner and planter. He had to engage labour and the peasant small-holder, semi-nomadic by inclination and heredity, evolved quite suddenly into a settled and landed working farmer.

Fortunately for the prosperity of the Gold Coast labour was readily available. The country at no time in its history had been able to develop by the work of its own native labour. This latter had invariably been immigrant, and there existed even in the remoter recesses of the Sudan the knowledge that a market for labour was available in this country. The news that the market was a "bull" one soon spread and immigrants flocked to the fabled land where mere work in the fields was rewarded with wages almost incredibly high.

A second result of this change in the economic life of the people was brought home to nearly every one by the realization of the fact that labour was in itself merchantable and that the fruits of labour not only rewarded monetarily the labourer but also enriched his hirer. No better example of this can be given than that of the ordinary Gold Coast peasant himself.

Formerly he and his family could and did grow with comparative ease enough food for themselves. They invariably grew a little more than was enough, just as the wives always cooked a little more than the family required so that a stranger who might drop in could be fed to his content. The actual cost of such farming was in money nil. The first cacao plantation grown among the food-crops equally cost nothing in money. In fact money was scarcely required at all. There were no markets in the forest zone except those established in the non-productive towns of the European or along the main trade routes to the interior. Everyone grew enough for himself or as a member of a family received, when sick or too old to work, the food to which that membership entitled him.

But when labour came to be hired, that labour had to be fed, and more labour had to be hired to produce that food. Thus the system grew until labour is now hired to perform the first essential of every cacao-field, the cleaning of the forest. To such an extent has this system grown that the area available for and capable of producing cacao is the only limit of the country's productive powers, providing the labour supply continues to flow freely.

The cost of cacao production originally a pure peasant's or small-holder's crop now became a part of the economics of an organised system dependent on hired labour. To such an extent indeed has this become the case that the vice of absentee landlordism actually exists. So great was the extent of the land

available and so limited in numbers the indigenous people that practically any unoccupied land could be taken by one of the latter and claimed as his or his family's own by virtue of the right which issued from the act of clearing, a claim now recognised when that clearing is performed by proxy. It has therefore become possible to arrive at an estimate of considerable accuracy in regard to the cost of cacao-production in the Gold Coast and the profits accruing to the people.

The cost of a cacao plantation is dependent on a variety of causes, the degree of suitability of the soil, proximity to distribution centres, availability of labour and so forth. The trees usually bear fruit in their fourth or fifth year, when a considerable yield may be expected. It is therefore assumed that the plantation is established in five years and represents in monetary costings approximately £9 per acre. The following is a table showing how this sum is reached. It is based on the cost of labour being reckoned at 1s. per diem, a wage which is general but in a few centres rather below the average :—

	£	s.	d.
Original clearing of small trees and brushwood at 15 man days per acre	0	15	0
Felling and chopping large timber at 60 man days per acre	3	0	0
Burning and final clearing at 15 man days per acre	0	15	0
Stumping at 6 man days per acre	0	6	0
Cocoa seedling at 2s. 6d. per 100 say 400 ...	0	10	0
Planting of seedlings 1 man day per acre ...	0	1	0
	<hr/>		£5 7 0
<i>1st Year.</i>			
Three weedings at 4 man days per acre	£0	12	0
Collecting Akate,* filling vacancies, and miscellaneous 6 man days per acre	0	6	0
<i>2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th Years.</i>			
Two weedings per annum at 4 man days per acre	1	12	0
Collecting Akate, filling vacancies and miscellaneous 6 man days per acre	1	4	0
	<hr/>		£3 14 0
	<hr/>		Total ... £9 1 0

*Insect pests.

There is of course considerable variation in these costs; for example the felling and chopping may require very much more or much less labour than the above, since those depend upon the number of large trees on the selected site. When the latter is found to contain many large trees of hard wood, clearing is often not attempted because of the heavy demand on labour.

Again the six man days per acre for stumping are estimated for the removal of some of the smaller stumps only, the larger ones being allowed to decay *in situ*. Further the cost of temporary shade for the nurslings has been omitted since that shade is provided by the food plants required either by the family or the labour. No permanent shade is planted, but a few of the original forest trees are usually left for this purpose.

The establishment of a cacao plantation represents therefore approximately in money the sum of £9 per acre and in labour 170 man days.

It is generally acknowledged that the size of the average cacao-plantation is somewhat in the neighbourhood of four acres, and the costings of such a plantation have recently been worked out on the assumption that a four acre plantation represents the capital outlay incurred to bring it to production. The estimate is based on a farm in Ashanti. Although the crop is of too recent introduction to allow any definite statement to be made, it is generally estimated that the average useful life of a cacao tree in the Gold Coast is about thirty years. Plantations in suitable situations in the Colony have shown that this figure may be too low but it will probably prove a high enough average for trees in Ashanti.

If one accepts a thirty year life and a capital value of £36 for the plantation farm, depreciation should be allowed for at the rate of £1 4s. per annum or 6s. per acre per annum. Other costings are :—

Interest on capital.—As the planter has tied up a certain amount of capital in the plantation he is entitled to interest on that capital. The average value of the farm during its life is £18, interest on this sum at 5 per cent is 18s. or 4s. 6d. per acre.

Rent.—A stranger wishing to take up farm land in Ashanti is required first to obtain the consent of the Chief and then to make a present to him or his Stool. This usually takes the form of a sheep and a bottle of gin, and if he is granted land no further payments are made until the cacao trees come into bearing when a rent of 1d. per tree is usually paid to the stool.

Planters who establish cacao on lands belonging to their own stool pay no actual rent as such but are expected to contribute to stool funds and to help in maintaining roads, paths, etc., and in the general upkeep and sanitation of the village. As these payments and services can be practically considered as a return for the use of the land they are legitimate charges against the production costs of cacao. It is not easy to estimate the value of such services, and to allocate a proper proportion against the cacao crop is less so, but it may be assumed that a man farming in his own village land only pays one quarter of what a stranger would pay, i.e. $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per tree or approximately 5s. per acre or £1 on his four acre farm.

As probably 90 per cent of the cacao is produced by planters on their own stool lands that figure is used in compiling costs of production.

Total fixed charges.—What may be described as fixed charges on the plantations are therefore as follows :—

			£	s.	d.
Depreciation ...	...	at 6/- per acre	1	4	0
Interest on Capital ...	...	at 4/6 ,, ,,	0	18	0
Rent ...	...	at 5/- ,, ,,	1	0	0
			15/6	£3	2 0

Note.—The figure of five cwts. per acre generally accepted by the Agricultural Department has been used though this is probably too low a figure on plantations which have been carefully established, a condition assumed in the foregoing estimate of costs of establishing thereby adding to the conservative nature of those costings.

Annual Labour.—Labour is usually of the family type and therefore its cost is difficult to calculate, but when labour is hired, a fair estimate would be a wage of £5-£7 per year together with land for his food and time to cultivate it. This last is yet another factor against accuracy in the computation of true costs.

The number of man days per annum per acre may be considered to be on a well managed plantation as follows :—

Weeding ...	...	...	at 10	man days per acre
Pruning ...	...	...	at 2½	,, ,, ,, ,,
Picking and Breaking ...	...	...	at 8	,, ,, ,, ,,
Fermenting and Drying	...	...	at 3	,, ,, ,, ,,
Sorting and Bagging ...	...	...	at ½	,, ,, ,, ,,

Total 24 man days per acre or 96 man days per annum per plantation of four acres.

Wages for unskilled labour in Kumasi at present are 1s. 3d. per day but outside that town 1s. per day would appear to be more usual. Thus the annual labour bill amounts to £4 16s. or 24s. per acre.

Miscellaneous Charges.—*Implements.*—The chief implement used is a cutlass made of hoop iron that can be purchased from the local blacksmith for 6d. Hoes, pruning knives and pickers are also required but annual depreciation on tools will scarcely amount to more than 5s.

Fermenting boxes are very rarely used. A drying rack complete with mats can be made from local materials at a cost of two or three days labour, say 2s. 6d. If cocoa is stored this is usually done in the farmer's dwelling house so that no charge can fairly be made.

<i>Total cost at Village of production.</i> —	Fixed Charges	£3	2	0	
	Labour	...	4	16	0
	Miscellaneous		0	7	6
			<hr/>		
			£8	5	6
			<hr/>		

Yield from four acres at 5 cwts per acre = 1 ton.

Cost of production to farmer £8 5s. 6d. per ton.

Cost of production to farmer 4s. 5d. per load of 60 lbs.

Transport.—The average charge for transport of cocoa in Ashanti is 9d. per ton mile. Assuming that the average distance from Kumasi is 30 miles the cost per ton would be £1 2s. 6d.

Merchants' Expenses.—(a) *Bags.*—Cocoa is exported in 140 lb. bags, therefore sixteen bags are required for one ton; these bags can be purchased wholesale at 1s. each.

(b) *Brokerage* is usually paid at the rate of 6d. per load or 10s. per ton. A bonus may be paid above this.

(c) When cocoa is brought to the merchants' stores at rail head it is usually re-dried, re-bagged and re-weighed and often stored for some time before being put on rail. Estimated cost to merchant 5s. per ton.

(d) Overhead expenses £1 per ton.

<i>Total Merchants' Expenses.</i> —	Bags	...	...	£0	16	0
	Brokerage	...	...	0	10	0
	Re-drying etc.	...	...	0	5	0
	Overhead	...	...	1	0	0
				<hr/>		
				£2	11	0
				<hr/>		

Total cost on Rail at Kumasi.

Cost in Village of production	...	...	...	£8	5	6
Transport	...	...	...	1	2	6
Merchants' expenses	...	...	...	2	11	0
				<hr/>		
				£11	19	0
				<hr/>		

The above costings have been arrived at by the Department of Agriculture and the general accuracy of their calculation was supported independently by the owner of a large plantation in the Akim-Abuakwa country. In the 1930-31 season he obtained a crop of 1,400 loads and paid £400 in labour. No member of his family was employed, the whole plantation being worked by hired hands. The cost per load was 5s. 8½d. to which must be added the interest on the capital outlay, based on the previous estimated, which would amount to 1s. a load. That owner was an absentee planter and undoubtedly his labour charges were unnecessarily high and not efficiently supervised.

A second independent authority, also African, supplied the following figures of costings to a peasant farmer, whose labour was estimated at 1s. 6d. per diem :—

Collecting 2,500 pods ...	...	...	...	...	1s. 6d.
Breaking 2,500	...	...	...	...	2 3
Fermenting 2,500 pods	...	...	...	...	0 6
Drying, bagging, etc. ...	...	...	...	...	6 0

or 10s. 3d. for 2,500 pods or three loads. The load on this calculation cost 3s. 5d. and with the 1s. for the interest on the capital outlay 4s. 5d.

The average yield of an acre has been estimated to amount to 9 loads per acre. These loads are 60 lbs., so that a ton of cacao requires 4.15 acres of land. This area represents a capital cost of £37 7s. in accordance with the above calculation so that the annual production of 240,000 tons approximately of cacao in the Gold Coast has required 1,556 square miles of land and a capital cost which in terms of money may be reckoned to have totalled approximately £9,000,000, although the expenditure in actual money could not have amounted to one-tenth of that sum.

Originally the whole of this considerable industry could have been attributed to the work of peasant proprietors or small-holders, but to-day this is no longer the case. The demand for cacao forced the introduction of hired labour, but the majority of the plantations are still peasant-owned and peasant-worked. There are no data at present available as to the proportion of the whole crop produced by the working small-holder, but it is evident that his share is decreasing annually.

The figures given above show that 23,900,160 man days are required annually to carry out the necessary plantation work. This labour is supplied by a population of approximately one and a half million persons of whom there are available as adult males capable of labour 400,000 approximately. This body of labour therefore has to supply individually 60 man days per year on the production of an export crop the value of which amounted to £6,970,385 in 1930 and had at one time reached the annual value of £11,727,566.

The handling of so large a crop harvested from a great number of separately owned and widely scattered plantations brought into being a quite inordinately large force of middlemen. The business of these latter was no new introduction into the economic system of the Gold Coast. From the earliest days of the slave trade middlemen had been essential to the easy working of commerce, so that the supply was ready at hand and quite adequate to deal with an ever increasing trade.

However it is precisely this excessive employment of middlemen in the marketing of produce that is one of the principal disadvantages and probably the most uneconomical feature of small-holdings. The usual solution and remedy is the formation of co-operative

societies and on the Gold Coast their need is all too apparent if the producer is to receive the full reward of his production. Fortunately the natives of the Gold Coast possessed already in their civic system, which was and is in reality nothing more or less than the intensive family culture common to most races in the earlier stages of development, the foundation on which to erect such societies.

In 1921, when the exportation of cacao had reached the figure of 133,195 tons of a value of £4,764,067, the Gold Coast Agricultural and Commercial Society had been inaugurated. It was formed in order to enlist the active support and sympathy of all sections of the community directly interested in the economic development and prosperity of the country. Although non-official it received financial assistance from the Government as the objects of the Society were in the first instance essentially of an educational nature. Its activities were perforce limited to the Gold Coast, Ashanti and the Southern Section of Togoland, and although covering the whole agricultural field were mostly confined to the problems presented by the main and most important crop.

The movement begun by this Society was considerably more widespread than would appear from the membership of its various branches and through the dissemination of its ideas into almost every village made the peasant farmers and small-holders begin to think in terms of co-operation.

The Society itself came to an end in 1928 but the subject of rural finance had been brought into prominence three years previously by a number of Africans who had submitted a proposal to the Government for the establishment of an Agricultural Bank. At a general meeting of the Society to which the whole scheme had been referred for consideration and discussion a counter proposal, suggesting the formation of co-operative societies as existing in Ceylon and India, was made. This suggestion was eventually accepted by the Government and an Ordinance enacted to regulate and control the operation of co-operative societies in 1929.

It is as yet too early to give details of the progress of the movement nor is it an auspicious moment, in this period of general depression in the world markets, to review the financial position of these societies, which have been only two years in operation. But it is of interest to record that although the idea of co-operative societies in the economic conditions of European markets has proved its value, here in a country of a cultural status which might almost be termed primitive that value was recognised spontaneously by the people and prior to the enactment of the ordinance or the mooted of the official Co-operative Scheme, there had already been formed associations of a similar nature.

In Ashanti there were formed in 1918 three co-operative societies for the sale of cacao, and they are to-day the most prosperous of all the registered societies. Their joint paid-up capital amounts only to £177 10s. and the membership to 145,

but they handled approximately 80 tons of cacao and returned a dividend of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

The above figures show how much the industry is still in the hands of the small-holder and it is of interest to record here, since the destiny of the industry seems to be in the direction of landlordism and to an organisation based on a more economic system, some statistics of very close accuracy obtained by officers of the Agricultural Department in a survey conducted under the Plants (Injurious Pests) Ordinance.

The area covered by the survey was typical of the greater portion of the cacao producing country and is situated in the South-eastern portion of Ashanti, almost in the centre of the productive area.

In extent it covered 65.32 square miles, and every cacao plantation therein was visited and surveyed. The data collected showed that of the total acreage approximately 7.25 per cent had been taken for cacao production.

It was found that over 25 per cent of the population as based on the figures of the 1921 Census could be classified as cacao planters and that there were actually 2,184 plantations or orchards owned by some 1,249 persons. Of these latter there were 278 or 22.3 per cent women owners.

The average size of the area was larger for those owned by males than those owned by females, the former being 2.8 acres whilst the latter was only 1.13 acres; but the average acreage of the plots was 1.7 acres, so that most of the planters were cultivating more than one plantation.

The attached table is of considerable interest as it shows the preponderance at present of the small-holder and if in ten years' time the same area were to be surveyed the return would be of undoubted value in showing whether that preponderance is maintained.

Size of Farms.	Number of Farms.	Male Owners.	Female Owners.	Total Owners.
ACRES.				
Up to 1 acre ...	1,299	359	198	557
Between 1 and 2 acres.	476	240	43	283
2- 3	192	172	20	192
3- 4	79	70	9	79
4- 5	43	42	1	43
5- 6	32	29	3	32
6- 7	21	17	4	21
7- 8	13	13	—	13
8- 9	7	7	—	7
9-10	7	7	—	7
10-15	8	8	—	8
15-30	7	7	—	7
Total ...	2,184	971	278	1,249

A table showing the number of plots per farmer is as follows:—

Persons having	1 plot ...	795 =	Approximately	63.66	per cent.
„ „	2 plots ...	232 =	„	18.50	„ „
„ „	3 „	106 =	„	8.50	„ „
„ „	4 „	48 =	„	4.00	„ „
„ „	5 „	32 =	„	4.50	„ „
„ „	6 „	16 =	„	1.25	„ „
„ „	7 „	9 =	„	0.75	„ „
„ „	8 „	7 =	„	0.50	„ „
„ „	9 „	1 =	„	0.08	„ „
„ „	10 „	2 =	„	0.16	„ „
„ „	11 „	1 =	„	0.08	„ „

Of the total area under cacao, 2,713 acres were owned by males and 314 acres by females. The size of the plantations varied from a fraction of an acre to 27 acres; approximately 60 per cent were less than one acre, and a further 20 per cent were less than two acres.

It is worthy of note that in this area the largest plantation was merely 27 acres in extent whilst above mention has been made of a plantation situated not very much farther to the south in Akim-Abuakwa which covered some 144 acres.

These larger farms are not necessarily the result of a single peasant's efforts. Inheritance occasionally, hired labour most often, the taking up of mortgages frequently and straightforward purchase may have enabled an individual to acquire a plantation area of considerable size.

The marketing of the cacao beans is almost exclusively carried on through the agency of middlemen, and as usual that method of trading brought about the introduction of land sales, land transfers and mortgages, thereby hastening the process of westernizing a peasantry who had only just emerged from the era of nomadism. Mention has been made before of this recent change from nomadic life to a settled one. Proofs are many and obvious. The continual shifting of village sites, the demand often made for new sites to be laid out, the absolutely willing acquiescence when such moves are ordered for sanitary or other reasons, the immediate migration of a family, even of a tribe, when redress to wrongs cannot be obtained, show conclusively how little in reality the peasant of the cacao producing area is attached to the land. Great indeed is the contrast in conditions to be found further to the north. There a man will die rather than abandon the ancestral home and even when the latter has fallen into ruins will erect a hovel in their midst. The pathetic return of the whilom slaves to their houses which Babatu had destroyed and from which he had driven them into captivity is witness sufficient of the northerners' true attachment to the land of his fathers.

The demands of business had shown the possibilities of obtaining money by the mortgage of land. There followed in

rational sequence the idea of personal ownership, and quite logically there has followed the next step in evolution that of patrilineal inheritance rather than the more warrior-like and nomadic system of matrilineal descent. The Government Survey Department entered at once intimately into the life of the people and as shown in Ferguson's case (*vide supra* page 35) the work of surveying seems one of great attraction to the youth of the Gold Coast. No mortgage could be raised without a plan of the property to be mortgaged; therefore plans and accurate plans had to be made. It was easy to foresee the next step, the formation of a department wherein matters concerning land will eventually be registered. Thus in the last decade the Survey Department gave birth to the Lands Department and both have become factors more and more vital in the economics of the Gold Coast. The maintenance of the cacao crop as the property of the peasant-farmer depends on the restriction of the usurer's activities, and registration of title to land is, though rarely possible, one of the best means by which such restrictions can be effected. No information is at present available as to the growth of the practice of mortgaging lands, but it is safe to conclude from similar conditions elsewhere that the practice must be widespread.

Of all the difficulties at present facing the industry of cacao-planting, that of transport is perhaps the most acute as it is the most obvious. It is the difficulties which this problem presents, that strike at the root of any defence of small-holders. The uneconomic method of handling produce for marketing that must perforce prevail for the small-holder can be defeated only by co-operation but in a situation such as that shown above in the south-eastern corner of Ashanti, even co-operation will not overcome these difficulties.

It has been seen that out of 2,184 plantations, 1,299 were less than an acre in extent, or approximately 59 per cent. The yield of cacao per acre has been estimated at 9 loads of 60 lbs. each; so that these small plantations scattered in an area of 65.32 square miles produced probably 10,000 loads, which at least would have to be carried as head-loads to the village of the owner. No system of lanes, in spite of its magnificent system of roads, has yet been adopted in the Gold Coast. The obvious difficulties and expense of the portorage of this quantity of cacao, difficulties and expenses which would certainly be encountered in practically every part of the country, are an additional safeguard against the destruction of the present unique position the Gold Coast peasant-proprietor enjoys and his decline to that of a hired labourer.

However, the system of peasant culture in a forest zone presents a problem of no small dimension. The minute patches taken by the peasants from the forest are similar to the small perforation in a plate of iron where rust has set in. They must spread; there sets forth from the centre of every patch or hole an eroding influence, so that if no steps are taken the forest as the plate must perish. In the Gold Coast this problem of deforestation has for many years

been recognised and unless directly tackled means without the slightest doubt the disappearance of the forest and with it that wonderful soil to which the prosperity of the country to-day alone can be attributed.

The following extracts from a memorandum by the Acting Conservator of Forests, Mr. H. W. Moor, are of such value and indicate the dangerous position in which the industry finds itself to-day that no apology is required for the length of the quotation :—

“Deforestation presupposes a forested area. The late Major T. F. Chipp, M.C., Assistant Director at Kew and formerly a Forest Officer in the Gold Coast, on botanical evidence, states that formerly the Southern portion of the Gold Coast was included in an undivided forest belt stretching from Sierra Leone eastwards across the continent of Africa, reaching as far north as the seventh parallel of latitude, and probably considerably further. To-day the western portion of this forest belt has shrunk to an island extending from western Liberia to the middle of the Gold Coast. The eastern portion has its western boundary to the east of Lagos. The intervening area is characterised by an intrusion of Sudanese vegetation containing comparatively insignificant patches of original Guinea Zone forest. The area which has been deforested in the course of years and which now exhibits an altered type of vegetation includes the whole of the Ho district of British Mandated Togoland, about three quarters of the Eastern Province and a third of the Central Province of the Colony and portions of Ashanti. When it is considered that the agricultural value of the forest or Guinea Zone is infinitely greater than that of the Sudanese Zone the loss to the country becomes appreciable.

“It is uncertain whether the original cause of this alteration in vegetation is a progressive climatic desiccation but there is no doubt whatever that the major secondary cause, cumulative in its effect, is the customary system of shifting cultivation.

“Africa is not unique in its adoption of this system. It is still practised in Ceylon, India, Burma and other portions of the East, and was formerly customary, and is claimed to be the origin of the heaths of to-day in Great Britain, Scandinavia and Northern Germany. It is the primitive man's labour-saving device, when land is plentiful and population scanty.

“The manner in which this deforestation has been accomplished is the principal factor in its effect. No one can suggest that agriculture should have any but the first place with a purely rural population and, given intelligent leadership in the past, it is conceivable that even the form of agriculture designated ‘shifting cultivation’ could have been carried on, on a limited scale, for ever in certain portions of the country, without involving the wholesale destruction and sterility that

have actually occurred. In actual fact, it has been concentrated over a long period of years in a section of the country which appeared to be subject to a delicately adjusted balance of natural conditions; and the net effect is that not only has a large portion of the country been rendered barren but that the fertility of the rest of the country is endangered by its continuance. The system is a pernicious one, its only redeeming feature being the ease with which results are attained. This same ease, however, reacts on the moral fibre of the people, engendering a life of sloth and entirely obscuring the claims of posterity to an inheritance which is being rapidly dissipated by succeeding generations.

"In passing from the general to the particular effects of deforestation it must be remembered that this is a country of heavy rainfall; not only heavy in the actual volume of annual precipitation but heavy in the manner of fall. A vegetative cover interposes a natural barrier between rain and the soil. The removal of this barrier permits the rain to beat with undiminished force on the soil and, whatever the character of the soil, erosion occurs. Two examples may be quoted. The township of Begoro stands on heavy red clay; a photograph, taken in about 1870, shows a still existing tree outside the chief's house, the roots of this tree being shown as exposed to a depth of about 1 foot. To-day, sixty years later, about 3 feet of the roots are exposed. In this town two feet of surface soil has been sheet-eroded in sixty years, with an average annual rainfall of only 68 inches. Natural depressions around this town have formed the run-offs and are gully-eroded to depths up to 8 feet. The site of this town forms part of the catchment area of the town's water supply. The two holes from which the water is obtained are silted up, necessitating damming in 1930, in spite of the fact that one of these places is said to be an "elephant hole", and was said to be over ten feet deep within the memory of some of the older inhabitants. The other example is from Koforidua where the average annual rainfall is $51\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The soil here is a sandy loam overlying a sandy clay; erosion to an average depth of six inches is plainly marked on the 30-foot front of a public building erected sixteen years ago on a slope of 1 in 12.

"Closely connected with the subject of erosion is the question of the absorptive properties of the soil and stream flow. It is obvious that the proportions of the rainfall that are absorbed and contribute to stream flow, and those which run-off, are influenced by the nature of the soil, the length and nature of the fall and the mechanical obstructions to run-off. A forest covering provides a humus layer which is not only highly absorptive to water in itself but also provides suitable conditions for colonies of burrowing soil fauna which, by their activities, permit a greater degree of percolation.

The foliage, while intercepting and re-evaporating some of the actual fall, breaks its force—a considerable factor in regions characterised by heavy, tropical downpours—and not only promotes a less erosive form of drip but spreads the amount which does eventually reach the ground over a far greater period, a fact which favours percolation at the expense of run-off. The mechanical obstructions to run-off and aids to percolation are the tree-roots themselves and the mass of ground litter always associated with forests. Deforestation, particularly of hill slopes, removes these aids to water-conservation and affects stream flow by producing torrents in the wet season and dry stream beds in periods of drought. World-wide examples are well known; locally, mention may be made of streams that have dried up in the Bisa area within recent years as the result of wholesale deforestation. Another glaring example is that of the town of Sra which is dependent on an adjacent stream for its water supply. Until about twenty years ago water was obtainable all the year round, but since then the hills at the head-waters of the stream have been deforested and now, during the dry season, the town is dependent on a very scanty supply obtained from holes scraped in the dry stream bed, eked out by water from the Volta River, 12 miles distant.

“ The question of the influence of forests on rainfall is a much-debated one and has been the subject of considerable generalisation but of little scientific observation. The so-called tornadoes of the Gold Coast come under the category of instability showers and this type of rain is of great importance in affecting rainfall distribution. If this rain, coming as it does during what would otherwise be a very long, dry season, were to be affected one would naturally expect to see a change in the type of vegetation. And one does see that change in the transition from the wet monsoon forest type to the drought-resistant savannah type. Coffee is a crop requiring what might be termed a forest climate and to-day one would be very surprised to see coffee plantations in the savannah country at the foot of the Akwapim Hills. Yet the Scientist Thonning was sent out from Denmark to report on some very successful plantations in that locality about 1788. Cacao is even more exacting than coffee in its climatic requirements and since its production is the one agricultural industry of any real importance in the Gold Coast, it is on the manner and extent of deforestation that the future of cacao farming depends.”

The need for protection of the Forest Country has indeed been long realised, but lack of understanding and knowledge among the people made the introduction of protective measures useless, since it is obvious that public opinion must be behind any rules and regulations of the nature required by Forest Reserves. However

during the past decade, after a period of intensive education of the people concerned, a Forests Ordinance was passed in 1927.

Under this Ordinance it became possible to constitute reserves in the Forest Zone and to make rules and regulations for their proper administration and control. The principle, however, that public opinion must be behind the enforcement of such legislation was preserved and these reserves were to be constituted on the advice of the Forestry Department by means of bye-laws enacted by the Native Administration. The Government of course reserved to itself the power to constitute these reserves under the Ordinance if the Native Authorities refused to create them themselves or to exercise proper control over them.

At the end of 1930-1 there were 61 such reserves, of which 55 with an approximate aggregate area of 1,643 square miles had been declared such by the Native Administration. The remaining six consisted of three owned outright by the Government of a total area of 53.2 square miles, and three of an area of 16.9 square miles had been proclaimed reserves under the Ordinance. There is thus a total area of 1,713 square miles under protection. It is not yet possible to judge if any progress in the propagation of the idea of forest preservation has been made, for such ideas which presuppose forethought and foresight are almost completely foreign to the African.

In addition to minerals and cacao the Gold Coast export a variety of other tropical products both agricultural and sylvan. The following table indicates the quantity and value exported during 1930 :—

	Agricultural.	Sylvan.	Value.
			£
Coffee lbs.	7,620	—	154
Copal, gum lbs.	—	450	4
Cotton, lint lbs.	239,719	—	1,837
Fibre tons.	287	—	6,802
Grains, various lbs.	5,326	—	65
Mahogany cu. ft.	—	855,532	90,954
Other timbers cu. ft.	—	1,981	9,144
Maize lbs.	347	—	2
Coconuts nos.	58,024	—	124
Copra tons.	917	—	15,671
Groundnuts tons.	1	—	14
Kolanuts lbs.	—	8,441,311	138,322
Palm Kernels tons.	—	5,470	69,018
Oil, palm tons.	—	489	11,392
Pepper lbs.	1,120	—	45
Rubber lbs.	—	539,696	21,987

of a total value of some £365,535. Other raw products were hides to the value of £18,924, ivory worth £1,374 and salt from the lagoons to the value of £301.

A table comparing the value of the total exports showing the overwhelming proportion of the trade which cacao holds and covering a period of ten years indicate the peculiar position of this country in its relation to world trade. The exports include the value of all minerals shipped as well as that of the products of agriculture, husbandry and the uncultivated lands.

	Value of cacao.	Other Exports.	Total Exports.	Percentage of Cacao.	Percentage of other Exports.
	£	£	£		
1921	4,764,067	1,623,143	6,387,210	74.58	25.42
1922	5,840,743	1,680,810	7,521,553	77.65	22.35
1923	6,566,973	1,827,310	8,394,283	78.23	21.77
1924	7,249,878	2,340,243	9,590,121	75.6	24.4
1925	8,222,263	2,404,468	10,626,731	77.4	22.6
1926	9,181,235	2,667,910	11,849,145	77.48	22.52
1927	11,727,566	2,458,337	14,185,903	82.67	17.33
1928	11,229,512	2,399,621	13,629,133	82.39	17.61
1929	9,704,493	2,696,130	12,400,623	78.26	21.74
1930	6,970,385	2,940,303	9,910,688	70.33	29.67

If the value of the minerals exported is deducted it will be seen how insignificant is the export trade other than that of cacao. The reason for this is not far to seek. So easy is cacao to grow and so remunerative that a false idea of commercial values has been forced upon the native peasant. He has yet to learn to think in pence instead of pounds, and once that lesson has been thoroughly learnt, the only limit to his continued prosperity is that of the supply of labour.

Coffee, a proved successful crop in this country, could, with the complete elimination of overhead charges such as the European plantation system involves, compete with such great coffee-producing countries as Brazil; the same can be said of cotton and fibres, copra and palm-nuts, always provided world conditions return to what hitherto has been considered the normal and that transport can be obtained at a sufficiently cheap rate. But the Gold Coast peasant-farmer if he is to survive must remember and be taught always to remember that the crops which produce small but certain profits are those on which his existence depends, since they do not draw upon him the envious eye of the usurer or the greedy one of the capitalist.

In this connection the internal trade of the country in domestic produce offers a rare opportunity for the continued prosperity of the small-holder. The value of this has as yet never been estimated in spite of the fact that the trading inclination or market-sense of the people is one of their most striking characteristics,



The food-bill for 1930 paid by the Gold Coast to outside countries was as follows :—

	£
Biscuits, bread and cakes	92,143
Butter and substitutes	19,398
Cheese	7,667
Coffee	4,254
Confectionery	14,504
Fish—Tinned	182,426
Fish—Dried, Salted, etc.	83,687
Fish—Fresh	2,340
Fruit—Fresh	2,312
Fruit—Dried	5,754
Grain—Rice	207,824
Other varieties... ..	11,102
Flour—Wheaten	216,586
Maize meal	837
Other	4,883
Beans and Peas	4,950
Pulse—Other kinds	139
Other farinaceous preparations	20,877
Jams and jellies and preserved fruits	5,777
Lard and substitutes	14,256
Meat—Pickled and salted	81,872
Tinned and in glass	104,431
Fresh	21,948
Smoked	4,014
Other	502
Milk	43,937
Provisions unenumerated	28,604
Oils edible	26,959
Pickles, Sauces, condiments	3,590
Salt	29,094
Spices	32,380
Sugar	111,047
Tea	7,156
Vegetables—fresh	9,235
dried	8,288
Total	<u>£1,414,773</u>

Of this total the Gold Coast itself could have provided more than 50 per cent of the salt and fresh fish, rice, maize and other meal, beans, salted and fresh meat, edible oils, salt, spices and fresh vegetables or in other words have saved £200,000.

That sum may seem insignificant enough to the cacao producer who has been used to an annual marketing in the neighbourhood of ten million pounds, but fortunately the peasant outside the cacao-growing areas has not overlooked the home market, and in those parts where the latter is not beyond reach through excessive charges for transport he has in recent years been increasingly occupied with production of vegetable and food stuffs. An interesting survey made in the Krachi District showed that a yam field of an acre would yield approximately £10 per annum if the price of yams by the road-side were 2d. a yam of about $4\frac{1}{2}$ to $5\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. The cost of delivery by motor to the market in Accra was estimated at 6.27d. per yam, so that the peasant farmer of Krachi was easily able to place his yams on the Accra market at 9d. and compete with other yams which were at the time valued at 2s. 6d. This latter price was not one fictitiously reached by profiteers, but was due to a long chain of middlemen who each required a profit, to the fact that the Accra market seemed too remote to be a business possibility for the producer himself and to the lack of capital, i.e. ready cash with the first buyer.

Similarly high prices and the concomitant conditions have tended to drive off the market the salt producers of the Ada-Keta area. For hundreds of years probably the people of those lagoons have held a monopoly of the salt trade in the interior. Their canoes still penetrate as far north as Yapei, but competition with salt from Europe has almost put an end to their business. This industry will certainly revive as soon as the people concerned are content with small profits, no longer look back to those halcyon days when an 80 lb. bag of salt fetched as much as 40s. or even more at Yeji, where to-day it is only worth some 4s. 6d., and are prepared to market the produce on an economic basis.

Considerable efforts have been made in the last ten years to place on a sound footing the internal trade in cattle and meat. Cattle are not found in every district of this country as there are but few areas suited for them but the following table shows their distribution and the number of head of cattle per 1,000 of the population. The principal Veterinary Officer considers that the estimate of the cattle can be considered as being fairly accurate, but that the figures for the other live-stock can all be considered as being of a degree of accuracy greater than has been possible heretofore.

District.	Population.	Number of Cattle.	Number of Cattle per 1,000 of Population.	Number of Sheep and Goats.	Number of Sheep and Goats per 1,000 of Population.
1. Colony	—	—	—	220,000	—
Eastern Province					
Accra	136,696	3,000	22	—	—
Akwapim	86,380	5,000	58	—	—
Keta-Ada	243,671	25,000	102	—	—
Volta River	162,100	3,000	18	—	—
2. Ashanti	578,078	1,500	26	10,000	—
3. Northern Territories and Togoland.					
Northern Province					
Kusasi	151,715	15,000	99	70,000	460
Lawra-Tumu	93,125	11,000	129	50,000	537
Mamprusi	61,520	2,000	33	10,000	164
Navrongo	120,870	23,000	190	70,000	578
Wa	72,323	11,000	153	40,000	555
Zuarungu	133,981	12,000	89	40,000	298
Southern Province					
Eastern Dagomba	91,523	10,000	109	50,000	549
Western Dagomba	100,433	11,000	110	70,000	700
Eastern Gonja	23,683	500	22	20,000	833
Western Gonja	15,723	500	31	20,000	1,250
Krachi... ..	20,521	300	15	14,000	700

From the above table it can be seen that the true cattle-raising districts are Keta-Ada in the Eastern Province of the Gold Coast Colony and in the Northern Territories, which in this instance include the Northern Section of Togoland, the Dagomba country and all the Northern Province with the exception of the Mamprusi District.

These areas are also those carrying the largest district population, but the ratio as shown of the number of head of cattle per 1,000 of the population indicates that ownership of cattle is a distinctive feature of the economic life of the people living in those areas. A comparison of similar statistics taken from other countries is of interest—

Country.	No. of cattle per 100 of population.	No. of sheep and goats per 100 of population.
Northern Nigeria	25	53
Uganda	40	37
Tanganyika	92	100
Nyasaland	9	22
Lawra-Tumu District	13	54
Wa District	15	55
Navrongo District	19	59
Eastern Dagomba District	11	55
Western Dagomba District	11	70

and shows how the Northern Territories compare favourably with similar conditions in Northern Nigeria in regard to sheep and goats but not so favourably in regard to cattle. This is to be explained by the fact that the population of the Protectorate although owners of cattle are not in any way breeders or herdsmen.

A further table showing the area of the district, the density of the population, number of cattle and number of sheep and goats per square mile,

District.	Area.	Density of population per sq. mile.	Head of cattle per sq. mile.	No. of sheep and goats per sq. mile.
Keta-Ada	2,146	113.55	11.6	—
Kusasi*	1,227	131.79	12.2	57.0
Lawra-Tumu	3,840	24.25	2.8	13.0
Navrongo	1,551	77.96	14.8	45.1
Wa	3,462	20.89	3.1	11.5
Zuarungu	781	171.55	15.3	51.2
Eastern Dagomba	5,503	16.63	1.8	9.0
Western Dagomba	6,754	14.87	1.6	10.3

shows clearly how the possible area of development in the cattle farming industry is confined almost exclusively to the Dagomba districts.

The value of the meat market of the Gold Coast is considerable and to-day depends almost entirely on imports of livestock overland from the French Sudan and through the seaports from Nigeria. The supply is increased very largely by the importation of salted, dried, smoked and tinned meats.

The figures of this import trade are as follows and have been reached by an estimate of 350 lbs. as the average weight in meat of cattle, and 60 lbs. for the sheep and 40 lbs. for the goat. The year 1930-31 has been taken, and the annual rise and fall in the trade can be discounted as it is comparatively insignificant

	No. Imported by Sea.	No. Imported Overland.	Total in lbs.
Cattle	2,798	50,434	18,631,200
Sheep	14,323	54,608	4,135,860
Goats	1,356	14,261	624,680

or a gross weight of 23,391,740 lbs. of meat.

To this must be added the number of pigs, an estimate of which cannot be reached and the only available figure being that of pigs slaughtered in certain towns. These number 7,750 and averaged at 75 lbs. weighed 581,250 lbs.

*Includes the Kusasi District of the Northern Section of Togoland.

Imports of fresh, salted, smoked and tinned meats totalled 9,795,452 lbs.

A very conservative estimate of one per cent of the total must be added to account for the meat from the local herds and game shot. The final figures are :—

Live imports	...	...	...	...	...	23,391,740
Dead imports	...	...	...	...	...	9,795,452
Pig meat	...	...	...	...	...	581,250
Game, etc.	...	...	...	...	...	337,684
Total						34,106,126

This total distributed over a population including non-Africans numbering 3,163,568 gives an average meat consumption of 10.78 lbs. per capita. This compares favourably with other countries in Africa. But a closer analysis would show that the per capita consumption of meat is infinitely greater in the larger centres than in the rural districts where the people cannot be classified in any sense as meat-eaters. The returns from the four principal municipalities show the following consumption of fresh meat only, no account being taken either of imported smoked or salted or tinned meats or of the consumption by the non-African population.

Municipality.	Popula- tion.	No. of animals slaughtered.				Estimated lbs. of meat.	Total lbs. per capita.
		Cattle.	Sheep.	Goats.	Swine.		
Accra ...	60,726	2,386	2,584	2,941	3,132	1,328,460	21.88
Cape Coast	17,685	28	479	1,601	1,902	245,230	13.81
Sekondi ...	16,953	293	662	1,903	2,552	409,790	24.17
Kumasi ...	35,829	2,148	5,857	3,965	164	1,266,120	35.34
Total ...	131,193	4,855	9,582	10,410	7,750	3,249,600	24.77

The value of this trade excepting for pigs is at present lost to the Gold Coast people, and it is estimated to be worth £5 per head of cattle, 7s. 6d. each for sheep and goats or a total for imported animals on the hoof of £296,685.

There are certain disadvantages and difficulties to be overcome before this trade can be changed into a home industry. The continuous prevalence of rinderpest and the fact that the people of the cattle areas are in no single instance pastoral and therefore have no idea either of breeding or droving must be taken into account.

The former difficulty can be and is being tackled by Government. From the earliest days of our knowledge of the Protectorate epizootics have devastated the herds, and in the past decade most active measures have been taken to combat their

ravages, to control and eventually to eradicate them. Quarantine stations have been erected at every inland port of entry, and imported cattle may only use routes controlled by the Veterinary Department. A continuous campaign has been carried on with the intent to educate cattle owners in the elements of cattle husbandry. Experimental farms for the improvement of the local cattle have been organised, and a training centre for teaching Africans veterinary work, a laboratory for the preparation of sera and vaccines and for research work have been made and built, the headquarters being some 21 miles north of Tamale; and finally throughout the decade efforts have been made to control rinderpest by immunisation with varying degrees of success.

The greatest difficulty, however, is the successful education of the cattle owner. He is an excellent farmer and in that respect differs from the peasant of the cacao-producing area. Conditions however are not identical in the two provinces of the Protectorate. In the extreme north the population of the districts depend mainly on cereals and leguminous plants, whilst in the southern province although cereals are an important item in the daily menu yams are the predominant foodstuff.

The northern system of agriculture is unique in the Gold Coast and no full account of it has so far appeared. The general conditions of life in the Province are extremely primitive, and the religious beliefs of the people play probably the most important part in agriculture. The most striking feature of farming, whereby it differs from the practice usual in the Colony, is that permanent cultivation is employed to a greater extent than shifting cultivation. The cause of this is pressure of population and its distribution and to the fact that the people have been long settled. No compact villages exist and each dwelling is surrounded by its own farm land which often is not sufficiently extensive even to allow of the usual rotation, and since each field touches on neighbouring fields no extension is possible. The crops cultivated are exclusively annuals, of which millet and guinea-corn predominate (75 per cent). Year after year these are grown in a system of mixed farming with other crops. Each year a small portion of land is manured with household refuse and animal manure, and a small portion is periodically fallowed. Many people also work subsidiary farms in the "bush", always some distance from their homes; on these shifting cultivation is sometimes practised, but often these "bush" farms are after a proving period built upon by the overflow from the house which originally started them.

The average size of farm has been found to be about 4.28 acres in the more congested areas, and about 5.51 acres where pressure of population was not so severe. The number of people per compound averaged 10.2 and 14.9. The area of cultivated land per head of population was between 0.4 acre and 0.8 acre. Two cereal crops per year were grown, and the mean grain yield for the year

was 16.4 cwts. per acre. Yield of groundnuts was estimated at 630 lbs. per acre and of coleus potatoes about 3,050 lbs. For five to six months in the dry season, no cultivation takes place, and the people live on foodstuffs stored after harvesting. Storage provision is made for about 250 lbs of dry grain per head to outlast this quiescent period.

Such are the conditions prevailing in the Navrongo, Zuarungu, Kusasi and to a certain extent the Lawra-Tumu Districts. Elsewhere the thinness of the population permits of a system approximating that known as shifting cultivation. It is reasonable therefore to deduce that if the people can be taught to become cattle-breeders the area where success is most likely to be attained is that of the Dagomba Districts, and possibly a portion of the Lawra Tumu District.

The two Gonjas although offering a greater area are to a large extent swampy ground and infested with tse-tse.

The development of an industry in sheep and goats is possible, but the destructive nature of the latter is so well known that Government can hardly encourage the breeding and rearing of an animal to whose activities such irreparable damage has been done in Cyprus and elsewhere.

The type of cattle both in the Northern Territories and in the coastal zone of the Eastern Province of the Colony is the unhumped taurine. The animals are small symmetrical and compact and resemble miniature short-horns. They are slow in development and reach their full size only at the age of from six to eight years. Heifers reach the age of puberty from eighteen months to two years, and the cows do not usually calve every year but appear to do so about every eighteen months. It would seem that the cattle are of such ancient introduction that they might be termed indigenous in spite of the fact that their owners possess no cattle-sense and whenever possible allow them to be herded by immigrant Fulani from Nigeria or the French Sudan.

Other items of internal trade are fibres, mattresses, mats, hats, baskets, string, rope, calabashes, pots, leather work, a certain amount of iron-work, gold ornaments, brasses, stool-carving, furniture, canoe-making, kola, tobacco, fish, snails and poultry. The value of these is considerable and an attempt to arrive at an estimate is made below.

Transport and its problems.

It is evident that this volume of trade both external and internal has brought the problems of transport into great prominence. Here in the Gold Coast as elsewhere in the world there has arisen the question of the competition between road and rail.

During the decade since 1921 there has taken place an almost complete revolution in the carrying trade. Head portage formerly so distinctive a feature of African life is fast disappearing and except for short passages entirely so in the handling of the export traffic.

It still persists to a certain extent in the inland trade and also in the export towards the North. Often this old method of carriage has been termed degrading, but it is as natural to the African as, and no more degrading, than carriage by hand is to the European, and it will persist here for short distances just as the latter does in Europe for an indefinite period.

A comparison of the mileage both rail and road year by year shows a remarkable march of progress.

Year.	Miles of R'wy Open.	Miles of Motorable Roads.					
		Colony.			Ashanti.	N.T.	Total.
		W.P.	C.P.	E.P.			
1921 ...	276 mean	85	443	838	475	400	2,241
1922-3 ...	334 "	97	—	1,015	532	1,200	—
1923-4 ...	379 "	140	—	1,057	721	1,200	—
1924-5 ...	394 "	156	477	1,266	836	1,242	3,977
1925-6 ...	394 "	214	—	1,306	1,019	1,785	—
1926-7 ...	457 "	259	521	1,319	1,080	1,931	5,110
1927-8 ...	480 "	354	587	1,444	1,142	2,000	5,527
1928-9 ...	495 "	390	—	1,506	1,158	2,300	—
1929-30 ...	500 "	443	633	1,525	1,175	2,335	6,111
1930-31 ...	500 "	500	713	1,525	1,228	2,772	6,738

The figures for the mileage of motorable roads are almost spectacular, especially in the total shown for the Northern Territories. But it must be remembered that although a policy of development by motor traffic had been put into force by the earliest of the administrators of that country, the connecting links along which motors could reach the protectorate were only completed in 1921, a fact already referred to.

Other statistics of the development of motor traffic show how phenomenal the progress has been.

Year.	Net No. of Motor Cars and Lorries Imported.	Net No. of Motor Cycles Imported.	Petrol (galls.) Imported.
1921 ...	283	187	986,230
1922 ...	243	52	1,055,781
1923 ...	542	142	1,705,941
1924 ...	783	125	1,832,388
1925 ...	1,284	207	2,799,205
1926 ...	1,432	165	3,615,014
1927 ...	2,891	219	4,818,887
1928 ...	2,482	165	5,752,670
1929 ...	2,096	115	6,011,318
1930 ...	1,772	72	7,305,525

Of the total number of 13,808 cars and lorries imported in the decade there were licenced during 1930 an aggregate of 8921. No estimate is at present possible of the extent of the motor traffic, but averaging the value of the cars at £250 each there was on that basis a sum of £2,230,250 invested in the industry.

The petrol consumption per head of the population has increased from 0.42 galls. in 1921 to 2.31 galls. in 1931, approximately 450 per cent.

In 1921, the more important trade roads were surfaced with gravel, or to give the material its more correct name, with laterite. This material is soft when freshly excavated, but it hardens on exposure to air, and forms a very satisfactory surface for roads on which the traffic is light. When saturated by rain, however, it exhibits all the disadvantages of a clay, and loses its bearing capacity almost completely. The increase in motor transport during the last decade has been so great that it became at times impossible to maintain the more important roads in even a fair state of repair. In wet weather the surface was so cut up by traffic that it rapidly degenerated into mere quagmire, which after a continuous spell of dry weather, formed a very friable surface that was subjected to rapid attrition by the incessant hammering of high speed and heavy vehicles. This attrition, moreover, took the form of corrugations which had a most shattering effect on motor vehicles.

The problem of producing an improved surface was difficult but very urgent.

The method adopted to meet the above conditions was to lay a 4-inch coating of broken stone on the old gravel surface, and to finish this off, after consolidation with road rollers, with a water-proofing coat of tar or bituminous preparation. Approximately 430 miles of the more important roads have now been treated by this method, to which the name of "tarmet" has been given. The improvement effected has been most noticeable and has resulted in an increase in the permitted carrying capacity of motor vehicles. In the last year of the decade a programme of further improvement of the "tarmet" roads had been commenced, but this work and also any further extension of the "tarmet" surfaces was unfortunately held up owing to financial difficulties.

The total cost of maintaining the Trade Roads rose from £53,400 in 1921 to £144,840 in 1930-31, or an increase of 171 per cent. The cost of maintenance by the Public Works Department per mile rose in the same period from £60 per mile to £75 per mile, a very low rate of increase considering the greatly increased traffic, whilst the grants made by Government for the purpose of maintaining village and pioneer roads rose from £4.8 per mile in 1921 to £7.96 per mile in 1931. The amount spent during the decade on new roads and on improvements to existing ones was approximately £1,800,000, about 2.21 per cent of the value of the cacao exports during the 10 years.

In 1925, a Temporary Roads Department was created for the purpose of expediting the survey and construction of new roads. The Department had a military personnel, and during its life of close on six years, some 777 miles of road were surveyed, and 358 miles were constructed. The Department was closed down early in 1931, owing to the unavoidable holding up of the road extension programme, but many important roads such as the Insu-Enchi Road and the Wiawso-Krokosua Road, both in the Western Province had been completed by it.

In addition to improvement work in respect of the road surface, the last decade has seen a very considerable advance in connection with the conversion of bridges having wooden decks into permanent concrete structures, the most noteworthy example of this work being on the road from Kumasi to Tamale, on which all bridges have been so converted.

The figures given above show that the railways have progressed equally during the decade. In 1921, the railway ran from Sekondi, through Tarkwa and Obuasi to Kumasi on the Western side and from Accra to Tafo on the Eastern side. The extension of the line from Tafo was then in progress, and in September, 1923, the line from Tafo to Kumasi was opened to through traffic, enabling trains to be run through between Sekondi and Accra, a distance of 362 miles. In 1923 the construction of a new line tapping the Central Province was begun and gradually opened to traffic, until in December, 1927, the whole line from Huni Valley to Kade, a distance of 99 miles was opened, thus giving an outlet by rail from the Central Province to Takoradi and up-country stations.

As a result of these extensions the number of stations has increased from 51 to 74; and in order to give greater facilities for passengers from outlying villages the management of the railway introduced a system of halts, i.e. stopping places for the picking up and setting down of passengers. These halts number 25, so that there are 99 stopping places in a railway stretch of 500 miles.

In connection with the installation of the halts a service of "Rail Motors" has been introduced. The Sentinel-Cammel type of Rail Motor was obtained for this purpose, each having a self-contained engine unit which operates at a very low cost per mile as compared with an ordinary locomotive. By means of these rail motors, it is possible to maintain frequent local services and it is hoped will prove useful in the development of passenger traffic.

The line between Sekondi and Kumasi has been considerably improved by deviation and by the elimination of excessive curves and heavy grades. This, coupled with the laying of 80-lb. track through from Sekondi to Kumasi (completed in 1930) has enabled heavier and more powerful engines to be used and the through passenger trains to be speeded up. In 1921 the journey from Sekondi to Kumasi took 10 hours and 35 minutes but in 1931 the trip was accomplished in 8 hours 27 minutes—a saving of over two

hours. Since the initial opening of the through line from Accra to Kumasi in 1923 timing of the train has been tightened up with the result that the journey has been reduced from 12 hours to 10½.

In spite however of these real improvements and increased facilities the response from the public has been a disappointing surprise to the management.

The accompanying table shows how in spite of increased mileage open to the public there has been no corresponding increase in the passenger traffic.

	Total Miles Open.	Total No. of Passengers.	Average per Mile.
1921	276 mean	1,228,434	4,451
1922 (Jan. 1-Mar. 31)	306 ..	344,880	—
1922-3	334 ..	1,345,694	4,029
1923-4	379 ..	1,334,756	3,521
1924-5	394 ..	1,347,916	3,421
1925-6	394 ..	1,487,164	3,774
1926-7	457 ..	1,452,915	3,179
1927-8	480 ..	1,728,493	3,601
1928-9	495 ..	1,875,002	3,788
1929-30	500 ..	1,846,665	3,693
1930-31	500 ..	1,336,489	2,673

The decrease of passenger traffic, which appears in the column of average number of passengers to the number of miles of railway open, cannot be satisfactorily explained solely by the factor of the competition from motor traffic. The 1921 figure was reached chiefly through the Sekondi-Kumasi section of the railway, and that has not been affected by any road competition. The figures for the average mileage travelled by passengers are in order of date as follows beginning with the year 1921:—26.81; 27.52; 29.24; 30.14; 28.07; 29.95; 30.69; 30.54; 28.99; 27.52 and indicate that short distance travelling by train is not favoured by the African population. A possible explanation for the decrease in traffic may be that it is to a certain extent due to the universal trade depression but this must be discounted by the fact that even in the boom years the average passenger traffic per mile never attained the height of 1921. A more probable explanation may be found in the stabilisation of labour in the mining and cacao-producing areas, its tendency to permanence rather than seasonal occurrence, the failure of the Central Province Railway to attract passenger traffic and road competition against the Kumasi-Accra section of the main railway.

At the same time the following table of the goods tonnage carried by rail shows with the exception of manganese, an essentially

railway goods item, the same tendency to decrease per mile of railway open.

Year.	Manganese.	Cacao.	Other Goods.	Total.
1921	7,099	109,114	241,791	258,004
1922-3	83,242	143,074	252,828	479,114
1923-4	189,604	164,329	241,724	595,657
1924-5	273,796	156,148	273,159	703,103
1925-6	372,527	150,281	273,452	797,260
1926-7	394,079	149,189	262,362	805,630
1927-8	297,526	131,517	321,113	750,153
1928-9	330,366	165,629	309,812	808,807
1929-30	507,075	139,462	285,692	932,229
1930-31	396,895	132,499	228,494	758,888

Reduced to a common factor the decrease in rail-borne traffic compared to the mileage on the railways is even more apparent. If the returns for the year 1921 be given the index figure 100 the following comparative results are obtained :—

Year.	Mileage Open.	Tons of Manganese.	Tons of Cacao.	Tons of Other Goods.	No. of Passengers.
1921	100	100	100	100	100
1922-3	121	1,172	131	104	109
1923-4	137	2,670	150	100	108
1924-5	142	3,856	143	112	109
1925-6	142	5,247	137	113	121
1926-7	165	5,551	135	108	118
1927-8	173	4,191	120	132	140
1928-9	179	4,653	151	128	152
1929-30	181	7,142	128	118	150
1930-31	181	5,590	121	94	108

It will be readily seen that excepting for manganese and the years 1922-23, 1923-24, 1924-25 for cacao the freight and passenger carried have never shown a proportional increase to the increase of open lines. At the same time the increase in population during the decennial period has not been taken into consideration. In 1921 the total number of passengers was 52 per cent of the total population, whereas in 1931 that ratio had fallen to 42 per cent.

This competition between road and rail is clearly indicated by a return showing the decline in the percentage rate of rail-borne cacao to the full export. The figures are:—

Year.	Total Cacao Exported.	Total Cacao Carried by Rail.	Percentage of Total Cacao Exported.
1921	133,195	109,114	81.9
1922 (1st Qr.) ...	72,942	63,557	87.1
1922-23	179,513	143,074	80.7
1923-24	197,434	164,329	83.1
1924-25	219,867	156,148	71.0
1925-26	214,250	150,281	70.1
1926-27	241,295	149,189	61.8
1927-28	207,311	131,517	63.4
1928-29	240,113	165,629	68.9
1929-30	206,585	139,462	67.5
1930-31	227,185	132,499	58.3

For the calendar year 1930 the shipments port by port show that of the total crop exported, approximately 22 per cent went from ports not within the sphere of the railway, so that in direct competition with the railway some 20 per cent was shipped. The opening of the Central Province Railway, in spite of its cutting the inland communication of the old ports of Cape Coast, Winneba and Saltpond, has apparently had no effect on the latter, and reasons for what would seem an uneconomic state of affairs must be sought for.

The return of the port shipments are of a certain interest and are as follows:—

Year.	Accra.	Ada.	Cape Coast.	Saltpond.	Sekondi.	Takoradi.	Winneba.	Other Ports including over land.	Total.
1921 ...	61,620	2,169	5,362	7,282	42,662	—	12,287	1,814	133,195
1922 ...	78,974	2,686	6,230	6,412	45,400	—	16,092	3,511	159,305
1923 ...	90,494	2,707	8,194	10,618	60,516	—	21,009	4,126	197,664
1924 ...	107,078	1,166	8,612	12,851	65,409	—	23,028	5,185	223,329
1925 ...	105,328	1,122	8,999	13,466	60,890	—	22,739	5,607	218,151
1926 ...	101,535	860	7,194	12,897	80,478	—	22,039	5,837	230,840
1927 ...	97,868	610	5,532	13,790	66,117	—	20,517	5,476	209,910
1928 ...	91,403	199	7,751	15,845	70,508	8,571	24,501	6,299	225,077
1929 ...	100,136	748	8,598	16,095	—	86,086	19,819	6,586	238,068
1930 ...	80,251	1,240	6,272	12,558	—	67,912	18,132	4,215	190,580

When the Railway was built its rates were such as materially to cheapen transport as compared with head loading, and it was then economical to forward goods in the highest class of the Railway classification by rail at 2s. 6d. per ton mile. But within the last six or seven years the costs involved in the provision and the running of internal combustion engines have decreased to such an extent that many lorries can convey goods at 6d. per ton mile. The very large increase in road mileage open to motor traffic in the Colony and in Ashanti has created the means for keen competition with the railway at various points. The whole length of the Accra-Kumasi section is paralleled by a road which for the greater part of the distance is in excellent condition. Roads also in some instances provide a short route to a port as against a long haul by a railway such being the case in the roads to Cape Coast, Saltpond and Winneba from Foso and Oda on the Central Province line.

The road motor vehicles are to a very great extent owned by Africans or Syrians who usually obtain them on the hire purchase system and who in many cases actually live in them. Their overhead cost is to all intents nil, with the result that even the larger motor transport organisations find it difficult to compete with them. It is therefore practically impossible to quote rates in competition with them since they are able to charge anything they can get and whenever an instalment on their cars falls due their rates are lowered to the smallest possible sum in order to obtain the necessary funds to meet its payment.

At the same time there enters a human factor which would upset any calculation based on the usual western business methods. The African in spite of his rapid development during the past few years retains the age-old manner of commercial thinking common to traders both of his own continent, eastern Europe and Asia. He has not yet passed beyond the stage of barter, and to him certain goods readily exchangeable are as much currency as legally permitted coins. Thus petrol, cigarettes, matches and similar articles are as good as money to him so that when he is unable to borrow the latter he is almost invariably able to obtain the former on credit. This traffic is on the border line of criminality, but has long been recognised and it might even seem that some of the larger firms to a certain extent have come to acquiesce therein. In the case of African lorry owners a trader who has advanced them cases of petrol can soon recover the advance by receiving free use of the lorry to the owner of which he has given the petrol. This sense of barter and disregard of monetary values is even noticeable when changing money. Five half-pence are often, especially away from the principal centres, offered for 3d., and fifty one-tenths of a penny for sixpence. The commonest form, noticeable particularly in the large markets such as Accra, is the use of cigarettes. In the stores they cost say 2s. 6d., but in the market place a similar tin, just as fresh and in every way identical, can be bought for 2s. 3d.

The apparent loss of 3d. is recovered on other goods, and if this cannot be done then the cigarettes are repaid by cigarettes of the same quality and quantity, which have been "borrowed" from some other merchant.

Normally these methods would result in the complete elimination from the transport industry of any such owner, and would only occur in time of stringency or when the number of motor vehicles available as common carriers was greater than the demand required. But conditions are different in Africa. The lorry owner who is quite frequently his own driver can always rely on his family and his friends for shelter and sustenance; his clothing needs can be reduced to a minute sum; he does not necessarily work every day. He is almost entirely without overhead charges, and except to meet the payment of the instalments on his lorries and running charges has no need for money.

To a certain extent this is true of the African owner of a large transport organisation. He employs his sons, nephews, cousins and other members of the family, who are quite independent of the usual expenses required for housing and food, since he will, if they have none of their own provide that for them. A return of all receipts to the owner is not strictly enforced nor expected, since the laws of "meum" and "tuum" are not usually observed to the letter in African family matters, and in exchange the owner has the satisfaction of being regarded as an important person by his family into whose chest most of the money derived from the business will in the long run usually be poured. Until this family system disappears, the apparently uneconomic method of the African lorry-owners will enable them to fear no competition and to enter the lists against the larger European Transport Firms with the benefit of having no overhead charges to burden them or to impede their activities.

Government itself has contributed to this state of affairs in obedience to popular demands. The railways are completely state-owned whereas the motor transport is generally privately owned and makes use of state-constructed and state-maintained roads. The latter moreover are heavily subsidised out of annual revenue whereas the former is presumed not only to provide interest on the capital outlay in this country, some £9,305,607, but to provide for sinking fund and renewals.

Comparative figures showing over a quinquennial period, 1926-30, the relationship in the Gold Coast and other tropical African colonies of motor traffic expenditure and revenue compared to the revenue of the country, and the expenditure on roads are as follows:—

Colony.	Total Revenue.	Revenue derived from Motor traffic.	Percentage of Motor Traffic Revenue to Total Revenue.	Total Expenditure on Roads.	Percentage of Expenditure on Roads to Revenue.	Percentage of Revenue from Motor Traffic Expenditure on Roads.
Nigeria ...	33,306,011	688,351	2.1	1,272,257	3.8	54.1
Nyasaland	1,847,301	51,971	2.8	135,966	7.4	38.2
Kenya ...	15,069,369	892,047	5.9	998,988	6.7	89.3
Uganda ...	7,296,344	203,331	2.8	616,175	8.4	33.0
Tanganyika	9,244,285	202,216	2.2	662,748	7.1	30.5
Gold Coast	23,094,791	716,434	3.1	1,164,165	9.3	33.1

Another great factor which assists naturally the expansion of motor traffic as against rail traffic is to be found in the conditions which govern almost the whole of commerce in the Gold Coast. These conditions are chiefly traditional and may be summarised briefly as a tendency from time immemorial to regard the coast-line as the market area for imported goods whilst the inland market has been almost entirely left to develop itself. The possibility of buying motor lorries on the hire purchase system has encouraged the petty trader and the middleman at the expense of the retail purchaser; and had it not been for the inordinate amount of wealth poured into the country not only in the cacao boom but also in the preceding rubber and concession selling booms, there is no doubt but that a system of developing the inland market on an economically sounder basis would have had to have been put into force. It is a curious anomaly that the non-productive areas of the coast-line enjoy greater amenities than can be obtained in the productive centres.

This pernicious system, if the world-wide trade weariness of 1930-31 persists, must act as a serious brake on the rate of progress of the country. It would seem unfair and apparently poor business to sell a cloth at the coast-line for 17s. 6d., charge £1 1s. for it at Kumasi, £1 6s. at Tamale and £1 7s. 6d. at Navrongo, when the purchasers with most money or in the greatest numbers live close to the distributing points of Kumasi and Navrongo. The elimination of the middleman between the coast-line and the distributing centre (or his disguised equivalent the local distribution of local overhead charges), together with the spreading over the whole market of the total transport costs of an article, instead of making the single item bear its own individual charges, would probably do more to revive trade and speed up development in the Gold Coast than any other measure. The sale of European manufactured goods at a cheaper rate in the inland markets will not only enable the productive population of the country to purchase more, but will also bring their Co-operative Societies into direct touch with the produce-buyers and at the same time increase to an enormous extent the radius in which the middleman and petty trader can work.

This distribution of transport charges over the whole market, which presents enormous difficulties before being possible, would be facilitated by the standardisation of values in the essentials of distribution. With a standardised price for an article such as petrol, it is self-evident how even distribution of transport charges can be attained and those costings made to appear as ordinary overhead charges. The first step towards this end was the installation of the bulk reception of petrol at Takoradi in 1930, and as soon as facilities for bulk delivery at the inland centres are available the inevitable cheapening of imported goods will assuredly bring about not only a great trade revival but a very rapid speeding up of the march towards a higher cultural standard of living among the peasant population.

Yet another factor which is often overlooked although it has an important bearing on the attraction towards the use of motor cars rather than railways is the development of internal communication by telephone. The effect would be noticeable chiefly among passengers using the more expensive class of railway accommodation, particularly 2nd class as the majority of the first class passenger are Government Servants or European non-officials.

Year.	Mileage (railway) Index.	No. of 1st Class Passengers.	Index.	No. of 2nd Class Passengers.	Index.
1921 ...	100	11,100	100	21,600	100
1922-23 ...	121	9,600	86	18,200	84
1923-24 ...	137	14,302	128	27,643	128
1924-25 ...	142	14,200	128	23,911	110
1925-26 ...	142	14,851	133	21,988	101
1926-27 ...	165	14,927	134	18,751	86
1927-28 ...	173	14,814	133	20,913	96
1928-29 ...	179	16,468	148	15,533	72
1929-30 ...	181	16,176	146	13,018	60
1930-31 ...	181	12,213	110	8,306	38

Finally the general speeding up of trade has tended to divert passengers from the railways. It has done much to abolish the "dead" time wasted in long railway journeys and is shown in the increase of the use of the telegraph and telephone systems, and the accompanying table shows how Government has been assisting this phase of the country's general development.

Year.	No. of Exchanges.	Telephone.		Inland Paid Telegrams.	Cable.	Radio.
		Subscribers.	Public Offices.			
1921	4	258	14	308,911	19,318	1,434
1922-23	7	452	—	301,924	21,431	1,719
1923-24	8	464	—	293,091	21,542	1,701
1924-25	14	519	33	288,937	20,907	1,708
1925-26	17	578	41	321,960	20,185	1,725
1926-27	24	628	54	334,298	22,418	2,292
1927-28	33	730	65	381,000	27,100	1,926
1928-29	49	926	87	392,441	29,400	2,185
1929-30	59	1,051	95	410,859	27,600	3,053
1930-31	71	1,152	115	337,226	25,000	2,772

Post Office Figures.

A close analysis of the above figures shows quite clearly that these facilities are used to a far greater extent by the African population than by the non-African, and it is an interesting sidelight on modern life in West Africa that a telegram can be sent to an African driver of a motor car directing him to consult the fetish priest in the Tong Hills. It is difficult at times to reconcile things in this country, the savage and his bow and arrows in all the wild panoply of nakedness and beads and coloured strings standing side by side with the latest model of a car from Europe owned and driven by, possibly, his own brother who is familiar alike with wireless and cinemas. The monetary transactions of the Post Office are usually indicative of the prosperity or otherwise of a country and in spite of the difference in the economic view-point of the Africans they are so in the Gold Coast.

Year.	Money Orders.		Postal Orders.	
	Issued.	Cashed.	Issued.	Cashed.
	£	£	£	£
1921	116,031	90,085	135,666	82,268
1922-23	138,283	87,789	171,912	95,816
1923-24	138,539	96,565	181,813	80,587
1924-25	141,439	101,061	199,760	91,953
1925-26	155,629	115,396	208,828	98,729
1926-27	175,481	128,840	229,612	110,827
1927-28	225,711	171,044	285,135	129,625
1728-29	223,539	176,663	272,581	139,949
1929-30	220,478	181,869	275,079	146,499
1930-31	158,441	131,757	211,194	128,892

It has been usual to believe that the African of the Guinea Coast has always been inclined to hoard his money. So frequently has this been asserted that it has become generally accepted that he is a miserly person. The figures of the Post Office Savings Bank would not seem to bear this contention out, moreover there are certain facts which seem to show that the contrary is the case, and that in so far as money is concerned he is by no manner of means a hoarder. It was and is only rational to presume that with no pockets, no safes, no banks the easiest and most obvious place in which to keep money was earth. Hence he buried and hence arose the supposition that he was a hoarder if not a user.

The Savings Bank returns through the past decade of extraordinary prosperity are as follows :—

Year.	Deposit.	Interest on Deposit.	Withdrawals.	No. of Accounts Open at end of year.	Balance.
	£	£	£		£
1921	28,070	1,371	30,324	6,267	51,231
1922	30,328	1,393	31,386	5,253	51,116
1923	34,118	1,410	35,684	5,798	50,961
1924	39,620	1,436	37,310	6,317	54,707
1925	45,478	1,548	40,865	7,299	60,870
1926	50,692	1,702	44,759	8,369	68,505
1927	72,617	2,030	59,173	9,989	83,979
1928	76,762	2,299	72,280	11,199	90,761
1929	81,260	2,489	76,149	12,361	98,361
1930	66,356	2,533	78,134	13,372	89,115

There are in 1931 seventy-five post-offices where banking facilities are offered and these are established all over the country. The sum of £89,115 does not indicate any great tendency to thrift amongst a population of over 3,000,000 people. The idea of a Savings Bank is not a new one. It was first established in 1887 ; but the progress of the idea of saving money does not seem too rapid. The same story is told by the two Banks which function in the Gold Coast, but figures of the amount held on deposits by them are of course not available in so far as local savings are concerned.

Currency in Circulation.

The coinage in use in the Gold Coast is issued by the West African Currency Board and consists of paper notes to the value of 20s. and 10s., alloy coins of 2s., 1s., 6d., and 3d., and nickel coins of the value of 1d., $\frac{1}{2}$ d., and $\frac{1}{10}$ d.

Silver was withdrawn from circulation in 1921 and has been gradually sent to Great Britain to the total value of £2,590,000 leaving a balance in the country of some £311,200 (estimate). There has been issued a total of alloy coins to the value of approximately £9,068,054, of which it is estimated there are some £4,240,584 in the country, whilst the amount of nickel coinage in the Gold Coast has been valued at £57,889.

Of paper money an estimate is difficult to reach. A very large percentage is withdrawn from circulation as soon as issued ; and the amount in circulation varies according to seasons, so that the figures taken in December and in September differ to a very large extent. For instance in January 1928 it was estimated that there was £7,112,763 in circulation as against £4,941,742 in September

1928 and in December 1928, £6,578,201 as against £4,200,228 in September of the following year. The explanation of this movement up and down is to be found in the fact that the African population not making use of the banks does not take advantage of the cheque system, and this in spite of the large volume of business he handles.

However it can be assumed that there is a sum approximating £500,000 paper money in circulation, so that the total currency required by the Gold Coast people for ordinary purposes amounts to some £5,000,000.

National Income.

It is permissible from the preceding data to form an estimate of the National Income of the country. Hitherto no such valuation has ever been undertaken, nor until recently was it possible in a country where monetary values were largely unknown. The following estimate is admittedly tentative and is in every respect formed on the most strictly conservative basis. It is an attempt to compute in terms of sterling the sum total of the joint incomes of all the inhabitants of the Gold Coast and its dependencies, and being the first will probably for some time to come form the basis on which all such estimates will be formed. The year 1930-31 is taken but the value of the imports and export are mostly those of the calendar year 1930. The usual divisions into two parts of such calculation are observed, viz., the liberal professions and the productive agencies.

Estimate of the National Income of the Gold Coast 1930-31.

A.—*External and Internal Trade :*

	£
1. Value of Domestic Products exported	9,910,688
2. Value of Imports less coin and bullion	8,507,458
3. Customs Receipts on Imports	1,854,435
4. Estimate of trading profits on 2 and 3 at 15 per cent	1,554,283
5. Estimate turn-over through petty traders, middlemen, etc., of 2, 3, 4 at 50 per cent ...	5,958,035
6. Railway receipts, goods and passengers ...	949,142
7. Posts, Telegraphs and Telephone receipts ...	113,824
8. Customs Receipts on Exports	258,892
9. Transport other than by rail of imports ...	250,000
10. Transport other than by rail of exports ...	100,000
11. Transport other than by rail of passengers ...	100,000
(9, 10, and 11 based on 50 per cent of value estimated of 4,500 lorries at £200 each).	
12. Inland trading not based on Import and Exports (Building, local improvements, petty trading, confectionery, etc.)	100,000
	£30,556,757

B.—Liberal Professions :

	£
1. Government Servants	1,657,906
2. Government Servants, unskilled labour ...	350,000
3. Bankers, Dentists, Doctors, Lawyers, etc. ...	250,000
4. Missions (calculated on returns of expenditure)	250,000
5. Domestic Servants, etc.	50,000
Total Liberal Professions ...	£2,557,906

C.—Agriculture and Forestry :

1. Cacao—labour estimate at 24,000,000 man days at 1s. 3d. to handle an annual crop of 240,000 ton	1,500,000
2. Cacao—brokerage at 10s. a ton	120,000
3. Cacao—handling at 5s. a ton	60,000
4. Other export crops—estimate 50 per cent of the value of other crops exported.	182,500
5. Estimate of value of vegetable consumption at 2d. per diem per capital of population 3,160,386	9,612,640
6. Local consumption of timber estimated at 1,500,000 cu. ft. (Public Works 493,816) at 3s. per cu. ft.	225,000
7. Estimate of Labour for (6) at 20 per cent ...	45,000
8. Firewood (rail and mines) 96,000 tons at 20s. ...	96,000
9. Fuel for local consumption at 1d. per diem per capita	4,806,320
10. Palm-wine and millet beer at 1d. per adult male per diem (974,457)	1,471,900
11. Calabashes at 3d., pots at 4d. at two per each adult female per annum (931,726)	54,673
12. Mats, mattresses, fruits, hats, leatherware, stools, furniture, shea-butter, dawa-dawa, etc., at 2s. per annum per capita of the population	316,038
	£18,509,398

D.—Fishing :

1. 3,000 canoe-loads (2,032 enumerated at principal ports). 3 men per canoe. 200 days at 10s. each	900,000
2. Sale of fish in markets, as above, + 20 per cent	1,080,000
3. New Canoes—income to makers thereof at 600 per annum at £5 each	3,000
	£1,983,000

E.—Meat Trade :

1. Value of Livestock imported overland	359,878
2. Sale of 23,391,740 lbs. of locally killed meat at 1s.	1,169,587
3. Estimate of cost of droving and handling ...	35,987
4. Snails at $\frac{1}{2}$ d per diem per capita Ashanti popula- tion	439,460
5. Fowls at 4 per capita of total adult population valued at 1s. each	381,036
6. Local meat at 1 per cent of imported	11,695
	<hr/>
	£2,397,643

F.—Mining :

267 Europeans at £500 per annum	133,500
12,380 Africans at 2s. 6d. per diem	564,377
	<hr/>
	£697,877

G.—Motor Industry :

Wages of 8,192 licensed Africans at £4 per month	393,216
Passengers carried at 10 per day each lorry average fare 2s. about 4,000 lorries	1,460,000
	<hr/>
	£1,853,216

H.—Municipal Expenditure and Revenue about

...	250,000
	<hr/>

Abstract.

A. External and Internal Trade	30,556,757
B. Liberal Profession	2,557,906
C. Agriculture and Forestry	18,509,398
D. Fishing	1,983,000
E. Meat trade	2,397,643
F. Mining	697,877
G. Motor Industry	1,853,216
H. Municipal Revenue and Wages... ..	250,000
	<hr/>
Total National Income	£58,805,993

That total represents on an obvious under-estimate an average income of £19 per head of the total population of the country. It compares not unfavourably with the most recent estimate of the national income of Great Britain £3,842,000,000 among a population of approximately 43,500,000 or £88 per capita of the people.

CHAPTER V.

THE CENSUS, 1931.

Preliminary Survey—Assistance freely given—Census Ordinance—Date fixed—Cost of Census—Comparison with previous Censuses—Abnormal increase due to immigration—Reasons for this movement—Density Returns—Zone of depopulousness—Sex and Age Statistics—Marriage conditions—Status of women—Occupational Returns—Analysis of Occupations—Female Occupations—Religion and Education of the people.

The 1931 census was the fifth census to be taken in the Gold Coast. The earliest took place in 1891 and had been followed by further censuses at the end of every decennial period. Of these the 1891 and 1901 censuses cannot fairly be compared with the later ones as they covered only a portion of the present area of the Gold Coast and its dependencies.

In 1891 the interior of the country was little known and a considerable section had not been visited by Europeans whilst in 1901 the rebellion in Ashanti could scarcely have assisted so pacific an undertaking as the enumeration of the population.

In each census report a greater degree of accuracy has been claimed for the accompanying statistics than for previous figures. The present is no exception ; and it is only rational to presume that the complete opening up of the country, its settled and prosperous state, the absence, or nearly so, of suspicion of the intentions behind Government's desire to count the people and a greater understanding of what was required have combined in the obtaining of a result which can be considered as nearly accurate as possible in a country where conditions are similar to those on the Gold Coast.

A majority of the census officers were of the opinion that the figures collected by them are lower than they should have been by from 2 per cent to 10 per cent. No particular reasons were given for reaching this conclusion but it is probable that the knowledge that reluctance to count any valuable property is common throughout the Gold Coast and that the necessity of taking the count over a period of time automatically causes an error in the final computation prompted the expression of this fear. At the same time it must not be forgotten that there was a certain inducement for chiefs especially in the Colony to exaggerate. Not only do population figures form the basis of representation in the Provincial Councils, but they also usually provide the numbers on which the issue of



gun permits, etc., are based and at the same time to certain chiefs, especially the northern ones, an exaggeration of the number of of one's subjects adds glory and power to the monarch.

It may be safely assumed that the accuracy of the 1931 census in so far as the actual numbers are concerned is greater than that of any previous census. This cannot however be said of the details. The analyses made later in this report will show how inaccurate these latter unfortunately remain.

The counting of the people appears to have been far simpler in its execution than at previous censuses. It is interesting in this respect to record the letter addressed at the time of the first census-taking in the Gold Coast, in 1891, to the Chiefs whose people it was desired to count and compare it with the laconic method of announcing the same wish in 1931.

At the former date the Governor addressed the following letter:—

“ King,

The Queen has expressed a wish to know how many subjects she has in the Gold Coast Protectorate, and has instructed you to obtain this information for her and send it to the District Commissioner.

I ask you, therefore, to number the people of all the towns and villages in your country, and when you have done this to let the District Commissioner of know how many males and how many females you have in your country.

I understand the way you count your people is to divide each town or village into companies, which are again sub-divided into families. The heads of families are then directed to drop into a calabash, or similar article provided for the purpose, a grain of corn or a cowrie, according to the number of their people—and that these calabashes are then collected and the contents counted. You will, therefore, I know, have no difficulty in doing what I ask you.

I wish you to clearly understand that I am not asking you to do this in order to tax your people, or for any purpose but your good. The Government in requiring this information has no intention to tax you or interfere with your country, and I only want the information to give to the Queen. As a loyal King you will, I am sure, help me. You will see that it is for your advantage that I should know how many people belong to your country in the same way that a shepherd counts his sheep to know how many look to him for protection and care.

In those of your towns where you have Hausas living, you must not forget to include them in the numbers.

In order that you may be able to say how many males and how many females you have, I wish you to give instructions

that when the numbering takes place different articles are to be used for each sex—that is to say, Indian Corn for males, and Cowries or Kernels for females.

I am, King,
 Your good Friend,
 W. BRANDFORD GRIFFITH,
Governor."

This method of counting by cowries or stones or similar convenient articles was still in force in 1921 in certain areas but the census recently taken seems to have dispensed with these substitutes and educated persons were employed in their stead. All that was considered necessary, apart from the usual courtesy letters to the paramount chiefs, to inform the public of the intention of Government was the following proclamation, which in order to ensure its widest publicity was printed on red paper with black lettering :—

No. 22.

1930.

NOTICE.

A Census of the Colony, Ashanti, the Northern Territories and Togoland under British Mandate will be taken on Sunday, the 26th April, 1931.

Similar arrangements will be made as in 1921, and full particulars will be published in due course. Further information can be obtained from Captain A. W. Norris, Provincial Commissioner, P.O. Box No. 560, Accra (Telephone No. 266 Accra).

G. C. DU BOULAY,
Acting Colonial Secretary.

ACCRA,
 14th October, 1930.

At the same time that this notice was published there began a preliminary campaign to ascertain the number of houses there were in every village and to locate the smaller farm or hunting villages which being more often than not of a temporary character are not usually known to the commissioners of the districts wherein they have been erected.

This early but very necessary enumeration of houses was undertaken mainly by emissaries of the local Native Authorities but in some cases by specially engaged clerks, who sent in their returns on a form known as Form E which was drawn up as follows :—

FORM " E "

RETURN OF INHABITED HOUSES OR COMPOUNDS AND ESTIMATED POPULATION.

Province..... Division.....
 Town or Village..... District.....

Name of Occupier.	Type of Building.	Remarks.

The printed instructions to these enumerators were at the back and read :—

INSTRUCTIONS.

- (1) This form is to be used for all Towns, Villages and Hamlets of all sizes.
- (2) In the "Remarks" column should be shewn a figure, estimating what is the population of the house or compound: this need only be shewn against each house in the cases of towns which will be counted on census day under Form "B" or Special Form "B."

In the cases of small villages and hamlets which will be taken on Form "A" a total figure may be shewn for the whole lot, and more than one hamlet can be shewn on a page.

- (3) Enumerators in compiling Form "E" should, at the same time, submit a rough estimate as to how many copies of Form "C" and "D" will be required.
- (4) A "compound" is to be taken as a building having its own external or party walls, no matter how it is divided up.

The Forms "C" and "D" referred to those which it was intended to use for Non-African statistics and the returns employed for the registration of the religions of the people respectively. Considerable difficulty was experienced, which for some time to come it seems will be inevitable, about the definition of the word "compound". In the Gold Coast and its dependencies this term covers the whole gamut of inhabited houses from the Castle of the Governor to the fortified buildings containing possibly 100 or more persons, of the north, from the modern bungalow of the rich African to the grass tent of the herdsmen. The value of the return in its conception as a medical one to ascertain housing conditions, over-crowding or otherwise, is in the conditions prevailing on the Gold Coast, nil, but it forms the only possible preliminary factor on which a census could be taken in this country. Not only does it serve to familiarize the enumerators with what is wanted from them, but it also enables the district census officers to learn the whereabouts and the size of the hamlets hidden off the beaten path.

Hitherto at each census an enabling ordinance *ad hoc* had been enacted, but it was considered that from now on a definite ordinance should be placed among the Statutes of the Colony and with this end in view Ordinance No. 21 of 1930 was passed.

AN ORDINANCE to make provision for taking a Census of the inhabitants and livestock of the Colony as and when required.

[19th December, 1930.]

Date of commencement

BE IT ENACTED by the Governor of the Gold Coast Colony, with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council thereof, as follows:—

1. This Ordinance may be cited as the Census Ordinance, 1930. Short title

2. The Governor in Council may from time to time as he may think fit by Order direct a census to be taken of the inhabitants and livestock of the Colony or any part thereof specified in such Order. Power to order census

3. (1) It shall be lawful for the Governor to appoint a census officer, who, subject to the control of the Governor, shall have the general supervision and management of the census, and shall appoint a sufficient number of persons duly qualified to act as enumerators for taking the census and also any other officers necessary for the purposes of carrying this Ordinance into effect. Appointment of census officer, enumerators and other officers

(2) Notice of the appointment of such enumerators and any other officers shall be published in the *Gazette*. Gazetting of appointments

4. The census officer shall cause to be prepared and printed, for the use of the persons to be employed in taking a census, such forms and instructions as he may deem necessary, and in particular schedules to be filled up with such details as the Governor may consider necessary in order to insure, as far as possible, the completeness and accuracy of the census returns. Preparation and issue of forms and instructions

5. The enumerators and other persons employed under this Ordinance shall have authority to ask all persons all such questions as may be necessary for obtaining any of the particulars required by this Ordinance, and every person refusing to answer, or knowingly giving a false answer to any such question shall for every such refusal or false answer be liable to a fine not exceeding five pounds. Penalty for refusal to give information

6. Every person who—

(a) without lawful excuse refuses or neglects to fill in any schedule of details as and when he may be required by the census officer or any officer acting on his behalf so to do; or Penalty for refusal to fill in schedule of details

(b) fills in any such schedule with details which he knows to be false; shall be liable to a fine not exceeding five pounds.

Submission of an abstract of returns to the Governor 7. Upon the completion of any census, the census officer shall cause an abstract of the returns to be furnished to the Governor.

Similar Ordinances, Ashanti No. 9 of 1930, Northern Territories No. 5 of 1930 and British Sphere of Togoland No. 4 of 1930 were enacted to apply *mutatis mutandis* to these dependencies.

In accordance with sections 2 and 3 of the above Ordinance a Government Notice to the effect that a census would be taken was published on 23rd February 1931, couched in the following terms:—

No. 2. 1931.

GOVERNMENT NOTICE.

A census of the Colony, Ashanti, Northern Territories and Togoland under British Mandate, will be taken on Sunday the 26th April, 1931. Each occupier, or head of a house, will be required to furnish a return of all people who slept in his or her house or premises on that night.

2. Similar arrangements will be made by the Census Officers as in 1921 and the forms on which the Census will be taken are as follows:—

- Form "A" for villages and small towns (Africans only)
- Form "B" for certain selected large towns (Africans only)
- Form "C" for all non-Africans
- Form "D" for collecting data as to Religions
- Form "E" for inhabited houses.

3. *Foodstuffs*.—District Census Officers will take a Census as to the price of the principal native foodstuffs on Census day, viz., 26th April.

4. Captain A. W. Norris has been appointed Census Officer, with office at Accra (P.O. Box 560), and further information may be obtained from him, or from any District Census Officer.

By His Excellency's Command,

W. J. A. JONES,
Acting Colonial Secretary.

COLONIAL SECRETARY'S OFFICE,
ACCRA,
23rd February, 1931.

The forms referred to in the notice above were drawn up in the following terms:—