

In that admirable work, "The True Temper of Empire," by Sir Charles Bruce, whose writings on Imperial questions teem with so much good sense, we are shown the value of the tropical Dependencies to Great Britain. He tells us that "The international struggle for the control of the tropics has brought home to us that no aggregation of nations in temperate zones can constitute a self-sufficing and self-contained Empire. It has forced us to realise the extent to which the great staples of the world's commerce come, not from the temperate regions, but from the tropics." He quotes for us a contribution to this point from the objects of the British Cotton Growing Association as set out in the prospectus in these words: "It has been estimated that if all the cotton mills in this country were running three-quarter time instead of full time, the loss would be not less than £300,000 a week, or at the rate of £15,000,000 per annum."

Someone may say that these are obvious truths. But truths have a fashion of not appearing until some directing hand points to them. And so even now it is necessary to urge that the place of West Africa and her importance to the life of the Empire are not sufficiently appreciated. The *African Mail*, in a terse leading article in the issue of March 21, 1913, bemoans the situation. It treats us to facts and figures of an interesting order. It says:—

"How great is the comparative importance of British West Africa in relation to the other dependencies of the Crown is a fact but too often lost sight of even in these days. In area, in population, and in natural wealth—if we except mineral wealth, and we shall not be able to make that exception for very much longer—the West African Dependencies are, in combination, incomparably the most important of our tropical and semi-tropical sphere of Imperial activity. Their administration is really the biggest task which faces the Colonial Office. It is the biggest responsibility which the nation has incurred

“ in the government of the subject races—India, of course, “  
“ excepted. That is not understood by the general public. “  
“ And yet it is an unquestionable fact. The total area of “  
“ British West Africa is 444,342 square miles, just short “  
“ of being four times the area of the United Kingdom, “  
“ within 30,000 square miles of the area covered by the “  
“ South African Union, larger than the two Rhodesias, “  
“ twice the size of the Uganda Protectorate and East “  
“ Africa Protectorate respectively, two-thirds as large as “  
“ Bechuanaland with Basutoland and Swaziland thrown in. “  
“ But when we turn to populations, the relative import- “  
“ ance of British West Africa is still more significant. “  
“ British West Africa numbers 20,176,635, while the South “  
“ African Union numbers only 5,973,394 (white and “  
“ coloured included), Rhodesia 1,593,676, Uganda 2,843,325, “  
“ East Africa 2,651,892. In fact, the whole of British “  
“ Africa, other than West Africa, consisting of the South “  
“ African Union, Basutoland, Swaziland, Bechuanaland, “  
“ Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Uganda, East Africa, and Somali- “  
“ land only numbers a total of 15,043,503 inhabitants against “  
“ British West Africa’s 20,176,635. British West Africa “  
“ is also the most densely populated part of British Africa, “  
“ the average being 45.4 (in Southern Nigeria the average is “  
“ 98.4) per square mile, against 12.6 in the territories of “  
“ the South African Union, 12.7 in Uganda, 10.2 in East “  
“ Africa, 3.6 in Rhodesia, and so on. A proper apprecia- “  
“ tion of these facts is required to give to British West “  
“ Africa the place to which it is entitled in the public mind.”

These things being so, West Africa calls for a treatment suitable to her condition. And the first thing which she may reasonably demand is efficiency in her service. If her importance is hardly second to that of India, it is only fair that her servants should be about as good. There is only one way of rendering the Civil Service efficient. That is by competitive examination. It should be an examination open to all, irrespective of creed, colour, or prejudice. It should be a test in which the best brains would win. The candidates should be known by numbers, not names, to avoid the possibility of sympathy or favour. And the spoils of office should come to such as win. And, what is more, rise in the

service should also depend on a suitable test. And here may usefully be recalled the terms of the Queen's proclamation :—

“ And it is our further will that, as far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge.”

Under such a régime it might be possible in time to see the Judicial Bench of the West African Dependencies filled by Jurists not necessarily British by birth. We do badly require efficiency in every branch of the service, and we may reasonably look for it in the administration of justice also. Men's lives and liberties and property are matters of daily inquiry. Inexperience may do a deal of harm; ignorance more so. In the Universities and in the Inns of Court there are Chairs for Mahomedan and Roman Dutch Law, and candidates for seats on the Magisterial Bench in South Africa or India must satisfy a given test. There is a time coming when a knowledge, by competitive examination, will be required of a candidate who aspires to administer justice either on the Gold Coast, or in Southern Nigeria. If the place of West Africa has been correctly indicated, it stands to reason that ancient seats of learning will soon find it their duty to institute professorships in the Customary Laws of West Africa. See what a mass of information would thus be available for the solution of a given problem. Departmental Committees would then be at a discount. For there would be no necessity for the hurried and haphazard collection of evidence on an emergency in the face of existent scientific data and record.

## 3.

The future demands also the highest possible efficiency in the West African Medical Service. We want the best brains in this Department that the Empire can produce. We aim at the excellence of the Indian Medical Service on the basis of Lord Morley's policy. Though the gradual elimination of the European doctor, either in India or in the Gold Coast, may be, for the moment, somewhat remote, it ought to be possible to give every possible encouragement to native medical men to devote their lives to scientific research in the interests of the people. The present policy of shutting the door of opportunity in the face of highly qualified native medical men is nothing short of a scandal; and one cannot but admire the manly stand that has been taken against it by the Rev. John H. Harris, of the London Aborigines Society, and others.

And there is reason for the demand. For the West African Medical Service wields a power before which the authority of Governors-General pales into insignificance. The word of its Ministers is infallible. "Their decrees, like the laws of the Medes and Persians, do not alter. When issued, Governors-General quake in their seats; policies are unsettled; commerce and enterprise stand aghast; and as for the man in the street he carries his liberty, the most sacred thing to a British subject, in his hands." Therefore it is that we must have efficiency—an efficiency which shall be gauged not by prestige, or prejudice, or favour, or the colour of a man's skin, but by the fair test of competitive examinations.

When scientific men disagree, the man in the street benefits. It leads to investigation. Scientific investigation leads to the discovery of new truths. At all events, we want to know the truth about the ways

of Stegomyia and the manner of its visitations to the West African Dependencies. To the ordinary man this is important. For long has he suffered from the domination of Medical Boards. To medical men themselves it ought to be important. For it will remove the stigma which naturally attaches to a divided house. It should help to restore public confidence.

In the year 1911 Sekondi was thrown into a tumult of despair. It was proclaimed as an infected port. Yellow fever was said to have broken out. The pity of it was the man in the street did not believe in it, and said so bluntly. He seemed to have had reason on his side. For it is an historical fact that cases that were treated outside the Colonial hospital as for malaria recovered, whereas the cases diagnosed by the experts as yellow fever and treated as such succumbed. There is no harm in calling bilious remittent fever yellow fever. What's in a name? But that there is a life to pay for every case thus wrongly named and treated. When medical men disagree the man in the street may have a look in. He may even begin to use his instinct. He may be excused if he calls in reason to his aid. And a very good reason for suggesting a thorough investigation is the frequency of the recurrence of these alleged outbreaks. Let us see what a well-informed writer in the *Gold Coast Leader* in its issue of April 5, 1913, says upon the matter :—

“ Dr. Rice, Senior Sanitary Officer, in an article which we reproduced from the ‘ African Mail ’ in our issue of the 15th March, tried to explain the reasons for recent epidemics or so-called epidemics of yellow fever in the Colony being so limited and not approaching in character the historical epidemics of the West Indies and South America. In Dr. Rice’s opinion these epidemics are limited in the Colony because ‘ cases are diagnosed promptly, preventive measures, such as evacuation of

“ the infected area and isolation of contacts, are at once put  
“ into force, and the campaign against the stegomyia mos-  
“ quito has done much to reduce the number of the defini-  
“ tive host; and that the promptitude with which the various  
“ outbreaks of 1911 were suppressed was in a large measure  
“ due to them.’ It is, of course, satisfactory to Dr. Rice,  
“ who is responsible for the sanitary management of the  
“ Colony, and any preventive measures taken to control  
“ or stamp out any epidemic diseases threatening the  
“ Colony, to proclaim, like the good merchant, the fine  
“ qualities and excellence of his own wares. We would  
“ certainly have been among the first to give Dr. Rice the  
“ meed of praise he solicits, and recommend him for honours  
“ he may so long have desired, had we been satisfied that all  
“ the cases which he and his assistants diagnosed as yellow  
“ fever were cases of yellow fever at all.

“ The Government medical officers reserve the right to  
“ themselves to diagnose any cases they chose as yellow  
“ fever cases, and nobody is to question the correctness of  
“ their diagnosis. The Government medical officers allow  
“ no consultative body or committee, consisting of them-  
“ selves and native private practitioners, to see, discuss,  
“ and form an opinion on the cases diagnosed by medical  
“ officers as cases of yellow fever; and in a country like this,  
“ where fevers of all kinds are so common, it can be per-  
“ ceived how easily Government medical officers, keen on  
“ yellow fever, can make a mistake in the diagnosis of, say,  
“ febricula, call that disease yellow fever, subject the Colony  
“ to quarantine, the people to the discomforts and hardships  
“ of isolation camps, outrage their feelings by unnecessary  
“ post-mortem examinations on their beloved dead,  
“ and afterwards appeal to the world to congratulate  
“ them on their efficiency for having stamped out  
“ an epidemic in quick time, and saved the  
“ Colony from incalculable miseries. Our readers will  
“ appreciate the undue advantages of the position taken up  
“ by the Government medical officers when we inform them  
“ that Sir Patrick Manson, one of the greatest authorities in  
“ the British Empire on tropical diseases, says that ‘ the  
“ difficulties of diagnosis of yellow fever are very great.  
“ There is no clinical feature so far as is known which would  
“ distinguish a mild attack of yellow fever from an ordinary  
“ febricula, nor any pathognomic clinical sign that would  
“ absolutely distinguish a malarial remittent from yellow  
“ fever.’

“ It is not our desire to hamper in any way genuine work being done to protect or free the Colony from any epidemic diseases. But we are profoundly dissatisfied with the methods of the present medical and sanitary advisers of the Government. There seems to be a lack of the scientific spirit among the Government medical officers. They appear to us to be imbued with too much class and colour prejudice, and their methods inspire the public with no confidence in the sincerity of their purpose and the singleness of their aim. They appear to us under the cloak of public interest to be working for their own hands and their own advantage.”

Who can be silent in the face of such a situation? “ As far as the Gold Coast is concerned we have had this sort of vague domination off and on for the past two years. The sinister flag goes up when men think themselves most secure. It is all done in the name of Science. It is high time Science decided once and for all. To Cæsar the servants of Stegomyia, as far as recent outbreaks are concerned, have appealed. To Cæsar we will go, and it will be a fair, open, impartial investigation in the common forum of the scientific world.”

Once more, with an efficient medical service, the problem of population might be safely handled. We are not satisfied with the returns as far as the Gold Coast is concerned. The fairest Utopia without children would be but a barren waste. The causes of infant mortality must be scientifically studied and prevented. We should like to see villages teeming with chubby little ones, who would in due course plough the field; or wield the pen, mightier than the sword; or paint masterpieces that will astound the world. We want healthy children very badly in West Africa, with its wear and tear, and that notwithstanding the prejudices of missionaries and philanthropists.

## 4.

But the acme of ineffectiveness is reached when we come to that glorified Department known as the Public Works Department. How is it that in all British West Africa we cannot boast of a decent harbour, perhaps with the sole exception of the Freetown harbour? And it is on the Gold Coast that we suffer most deeply. Take that eyesore, the Accra breakwater. It is a grievous fault. It is a wanton piece of mechanism which has broken heavily into the pockets of the taxpayers, and nothing more. Everyone, official and layman alike, points at it the finger of scorn. Someone made the mistake of taking the wrong angle. The Crown Colony system is the embodiment of irresponsibility, or it would be possible to discover that somebody and make it ever afterwards impossible that a similar mistake should occur.

What of your waterworks, which take decades to finish, while the people groan with thirst? What of public buildings raised only to be condemned as unfit for habitation? For a change, it might be suggested that here, also, competition be invited. What really should it matter to this Dependency whether a French or a German firm gives us a decent, useful harbour, or whether suggestions come from the brain of an African? It has been ironically said that about the only straight line cut in the Sekondi-Coomassie line was the work of a black engineer. One may here take the opportunity of reminding the Government that there are competent native engineers on the Gold Coast—men whose parents have spent fortunes in qualifying in the different branches of the profession. But they are, generally speaking, among the unemployed. And yet these men would take a pride in the erection of useful permanent works in their

own country. With the present enlightened Administration, it ought to be possible to call in the services of these men to aid the Department.

## 5.

And what shall we say next? The future of West Africa demands that the voice of the taxpayers should be more and more heard in the councils of West Africa. You cannot admit the place of West Africa within the Empire without admitting this fact. The Power which controls the destinies of peoples and nations calls upon us to recognise this fact. West Africa shall not for ever remain a hewer of wood and drawer of water. She shall take her true place among the nations of the earth. View her history impartially. Where can man record such astounding developments and such progress? The brain of her people is as fertile as her soil. Where, elsewhere, you have to prepare glass houses and regulated temperatures in order to produce given results, here you have only to scratch the ground, put in the seed, and presto! such results as may satisfy the most fastidious. And she shall move on to her pre-ordained destiny, and no power on earth can stay her course. Only West Africa must believe in herself. She must realise the extent of her opportunity, and, bending her full force to the task, she must rise superior to every obstacle.

Well, it is obvious that West Africa cannot continue for ever watering the feet of the Empire without her own feet being watered. It would be against the law of Nature. You cannot be a blessing to others without you yourself being blessed. That does not depend upon the will of man. And the first substantial reward will be the enjoyment of free in-

stitutions. We do not necessarily require Parliaments after the type of that in the heart of the Empire; but some substantial sort of effective control must we have in the passing of laws and in expenditure. Then will all the vagaries that are exposed from year to year in the annals of West Africa be put a stop to.

I have in another work indicated that the claim for representative Government on the part of a West African Dependency is not based on imitation of what has been learnt from others. The idea is indigenous; so, at the least, with the Gold Coast. That this matter may also be free from controversy, I shall quote from what I have said herein before. For, on the authority of the late revered Dr. Edward Wilmot Blyden, the task of West African writers, situated as they are, must be line upon line, precept upon precept, here a little and there a little, if so be the voice that cries in the wilderness may be heard of men.

Well, ten years ago I wrote in "Gold Coast Native Institutions" thus:—

"Legislation, to be effectual, must be with the Chiefs in a representative legislative assembly. Any important measure affecting the people must be passed with 'the consent and the direct co-operation of the Chiefs themselves.' If the policy of the Government had been based upon this sound principle, there would be no need to-day for this work. What the country requires most urgently to-day is a national assembly wherein all sections of the community will be adequately represented. That is the fundamental element of progress—the reform at which all right-thinking men must directly aim."

And this important principle is supported by Lord Stanley, Secretary of State to the Colonies, in his letter to Lieutenant-Governor Hill, on the "Assessor's Jurisdiction," dated at Downing Street, Novem-

ber 22nd, 1844, which is worth again reproducing in this connection :—

“ You will bear in mind that the power of the assessor in his judicial capacity is not derived from either the Acts of Parliament above referred to or from the Order in Council. . . . It must be founded on the assent and concurrence of the sovereign power of the State within which it is exercised, either expressed, as in the case of the treaty transmitted by you in your private and confidential despatch of the 6th of March last, or implied from long usage, as in the case of the long and general acquiescence, which can be shown in many districts, in the authority hitherto exercised by Mr. Maclean.”

Again, what I said a decade ago in considering the “ Conflict of Systems ” applies with yet greater force to-day. It was this :—

“ We have seen from the discussion of native institutions how widely diffused among the people is the idea of representative government. It is the very essence of the Native State system. In that system, the right of every adult member of the community to be represented in the State Councils is fully recognised and guaranteed. What conflict of ideas must there be in the mind of the native when he contemplates the farcical pretext in respect of the representation of the country in the presence of the non-official members of Council in the Council Chamber!

“ The trend of progress the whole world over is toward free institutions—a state of society whose members are free to govern and regulate their own affairs. It is the keynote of healthy Imperialism. It is this very principle, recognised by Great Britain in her relations with the Dominions over the seas, which is strengthening and consolidating Greater Britain. But I shall possibly be met with the criticism that self-government is reserved by Great Britain for those English-speaking Colonies whose populations are nearly or wholly white. That may be. But what is the essence of the matter? I am inclined to think that it is not so much a question of the particular people inhabiting a particular Dependency, as a yielding to the logic of facts in given circumstances. Statesmen, in time, have come to learn the hidden meaning of the

“ bitter lesson which cost Great Britain the loss of the  
“ American Colonies, and the world one of the greatest  
“ opportunities of conserving universal peace, progress, and  
“ goodwill among men. In the case of the Gold Coast we  
“ shall appeal to the logic of facts, and shall not appeal in  
“ vain.

“ I believe, therefore, that whenever a strong case has  
“ been made, showing the capability and the right of any  
“ given community in free alliance and friendship with Great  
“ Britain, call such connection by what name soever you  
“ please, to manage its own internal affairs, Great Britain  
“ will not be backward in extending to such a community the  
“ blessing of free institutions, feeling certain that therein  
“ lies the fastest bond with the Mother Country. In the  
“ case of the Gold Coast, we simply say, ‘ Allow us to make  
“ use of our own native institutions, which we understand,  
“ and which from experience are adapted to us.’ We shall  
“ ask once, twice, and ask again, and if this generation is  
“ not listened to, we shall hand on the legacy of legitimate  
“ and constitutional request to the next generation.

“ But where are your facts, you will rightly ask, making it  
“ logically proper to ask for the revival of representative  
“ government, on native lines, on the Gold Coast? To a  
“ fair question allow me to return a fair answer. I have  
“ endeavoured to show that, on the Gold Coast, you are not  
“ dealing with a savage people without a past, who are  
“ merely striving to copy or imitate foreign institutions. I  
“ can understand why, for example, you will rightly or  
“ wrongly refuse full representative government, say, to  
“ Jamaica or Trinidad. There you are not dealing with an  
“ indigenous people. You are face to face with the problem  
“ of trying to train up a people who have lost touch with  
“ their past, and whose immediate past dates from the  
“ time when Europe went into sackcloth and ashes over her  
“ grievous sin against the African race. You may seriously  
“ or not assume that they are not ripe for self-government,  
“ and postpone the time till the Greek calends. But here  
“ you are confronted with no such difficulty. On the con-  
“ trary, you are stimulated by the circumstances of the case.  
“ If you are free to admit it, you will see that you find here  
“ already a system of self-government as perfect and efficient  
“ as the most forward nations of the earth to-day can pos-  
“ sibly conceive. A people who could, indigenously, and  
“ without a literature, evolve the orderly representative

“ government which obtained in Ashanti and the Gold  
“ Coast before the advent of the foreign interloper, are a  
“ people to be respected and shown consideration when they  
“ proceed to discuss questions of self-government.

“ Nor in discussing this matter must we lose sight of the  
“ fact that the position of the Gold Coast is perfectly unique  
“ among all the other so-called Dependencies of Great  
“ Britain. Without anticipating the discussion in the next  
“ chapter, I may broadly state that the relations between  
“ Great Britain and the Gold Coast originated in friendship,  
“ mutual trust, and commercial alliance. It will be seen,  
“ therefore, that the people have a right to mould their  
“ institutions upon their lines, Great Britain being merely a  
“ protecting Power, and only concerned with their relations  
“ with the outside world. It will be also seen that at no  
“ time have the people divested themselves of their right  
“ to legislate for themselves. Before the spread of educa-  
“ tion in the land, they did these things for themselves,  
“ sometimes in co-operation with their friends and protec-  
“ tors. Why not now?

“ It is sad to reflect in this connection that the policy of  
“ the British Government has been retrogressive rather than  
“ progressive. It is as if the Colonial Office had resolutely  
“ set to work to discourage national spirit, and to destroy  
“ every vestige of it in the breasts of the people. But this  
“ kind of thing will not do. Hence the humble appeal  
“ to-day that Great Britain should fully and seriously con-  
“ sider this question of free institutions for the Gold Coast,  
“ upon which so much of the future progress of the country  
“ depends.

“ It is conceded, I believe, on all sides that the Crown  
“ Colony system of administering the affairs of the Gold  
“ Coast has failed, hopelessly failed. What then? Is the  
“ country to be left to go to rack and ruin? It may mean  
“ nothing to the colonists, but to the aborigines it means  
“ everything that is dear to them of country, home, and  
“ fatherland.

“ If the Gold Coast were a country with free institutions,  
“ free from the trammels of Downing Street red-tapeism,  
“ we should soon have good wharves and harbours, gas  
“ works, waterworks, and railway communication all over  
“ the country. Prosperous cities would grow up, and know-  
“ ledge would spread among all classes of the people, pro-  
“ ducing a willing and an efficient body of workmen for the

“ material development of the vast wealth and resources  
“ of the country.

“ In a well-regulated system the whites would find they  
“ could not do without the blacks, and vice versa, and soon  
“ would grow up a spirit of forbearance, tolerance, and  
“ mutual respect, each race doing its allotted work upon  
“ natural lines in a prosperous and contented Federal Gold  
“ Coast and Ashanti.

“ All this may be a dream. At least, so you may think.  
“ But if a dream, it is one worth attempting to realise,  
“ instead of sitting bound hand and foot in the face of ugly  
“ facts.”

## 6.

I end as I began. I bring West Africa this day a message of hope. I bring her also a message of goodwill and high endeavour. I bid her join hands across the sea over her common need, her common trouble, her common anxiety, her all-important aim. I would ask her men of light and leading to smoke the peace-pipe together. It is a sacrament to be received with an humble heart. And united West Africa arises chastened and inspired with the conviction that in union is her strength, her weakness in discord.

APPENDICES.

## APPENDIX A.

## THE BLACK MAN'S LAND.

## THE OLD AND THE NEW POLICY.

A REVIEW OF SIR WILLIAM NEVIL MCGEARY'S  
ARTICLE IN "THE NATIONAL REVIEW,"  
JANUARY, 1913.

A remarkable sermon was preached in London on Sunday evening, February 17, 1907, by the Rev. Charles Garnett, M.A. It was a manly statement on behalf of certain South African native Chiefs who needed badly an appeal as to their lands. These men, who at one time owned certain portions of the lands of South Africa, were now practically homeless, and they had come all the way to England to see if they could get a holding on African soil—fancy that—on soil which once was indisputably theirs. There were British men of honour and of high principle ready to plead the cause of the helpless, and the Rev. Charles Garnett but represented an influential section of enlightened British public opinion. And this thing is of happy augury for the future of the British Empire. When last I was in England I had the opportunity of visiting the House of Commons, the Bank of England, and other national institutions. But it was not until I found myself at the Wesleyan Conference, one of the finest deliberative bodies in the world, that I got an idea as to the staying power of England. Paradoxical, is it not? Yet men will

come in time to recognise that that which makes for the highest prestige of a nation is a developed sense of fair-play, justice, and equity. Believe me, nothing impresses the African mind better than these qualities. The average African will go the wide world with you, if he can but trust you. When journals like *The Review of Reviews*, *The National Review*, and others, take to arousing the public conscience as to the rights of a defenceless people, and there are such fearless men as the writer of the article now under review to espouse their cause, one may reasonably hope that the future is not so dark.

The writer of this article, as has been noted elsewhere, was for eighteen years in the West African Colonial Civil Service, and was at one time the Attorney-General of the Gold Coast. As such he has had unique opportunities of comparing the alternative policies advocated, and, therefore, must command attention.

The writer opens this important contribution to the land question by directing attention to the two alternative land policies in West Africa, "the Northern Nigerian, and what may be generally described as the Gold Coast, Land Policy," and, continuing, informs us that it is now proposed to introduce the Northern Nigerian system throughout all the West African Colonies in substitution for the latter.

Before proceeding with the further discussion of the article, it may be useful to recall what the Right Honourable the Secretary of State to the Colonies is reported to have said upon the matter from his place in Parliament on June 27, 1912, to the effect that however excellent a land system might be, regard must be had to the circumstances of the particular Dependency where such a system is sought to be applied.

Bearing this in mind, it is easy to follow the writer when he draws attention to the importance of West Africa, and invites us to an examination of the land system of the Gold Coast in the following pregnant paragraphs:—

“ In British West Africa there are twenty million natives inhabiting about half a million square miles. The exports are about ten million sterling; which represent the produce of the land, mineral, agricultural, and natural.

“ British West Africa comprises five Colonies: Gambia, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast, Southern Nigeria and Northern Nigeria. Northern Nigeria came under the Crown by transfer from the Niger Company in 1900. The other four Colonies have been British for a long time; the Gambia and Gold Coast for two hundred years; Lagos, the capital of Southern Nigeria, became British in 1861. But the period of the commercial and political rise of the four Colonies really dates from Mr. Chamberlain's assumption of the Colonial Office. He was a good friend to West Africa; men and money were freely, wisely and successfully employed in what this statesman described as the development of Unimproved Estates. The Gold Coast system was introduced in 1900 on Mr. Chamberlain's instructions, and it has, in the main, worked well and given satisfaction to Europeans and natives, and there is no demand for its reversal.

“ The other four Colonies have each separate legislatures and different laws. But the Land Laws are similar. Putting aside the Gambia, Sierra Leone, and Southern Nigeria, let us examine the land system and legislation of the Gold Coast, which may be taken as in every way representative. The Gold Coast is not only the oldest of the British Colonies in West Africa, but it is therein that during the last two or three decades European enterprise in mining and other concessions first began and has been most widely developed. On the Gold Coast Colony, moreover, we have the benefits of the Belfield report, published July, 1912 (Cd. 6278).”

The writer points out that twenty years ago there was no legislative control of alienation in West Africa.

Then was introduced the Crown Lands Bill, and, later, the Lands Ordinance, both of which measures proposed legislative experiments similar to those advocated for Northern Nigeria.

In Sir William M. Geary's own words:—

“ The first legislative solutions proposed in 1894 and 1897 were similar to the Northern Nigerian system, viz., that land should be vested in or administered by the Government. To this the natives vigorously objected as being confiscation of their land. They sent a deputation to Mr. Chamberlain, who admitted their objections were well founded, and withdrew the proposed legislation. In lieu thereof the Concessions Ordinance, 1900, still in force, was passed on his instructions. Mr. Chamberlain was ‘master in his own house,’ and could control Governors and permanent officials. Under the Concessions Ordinance the prospective European concessionary has to approach the chief and make his bargain with him, which teaches both that the latter is the owner of the land. Next the matter goes before the Concessions Court, to inquire whether they understand, whether terms are reasonable, and customary rights of people protected. Then there is a survey and, if no opposition, certificate of validity is issued, whereby the concessionary gets a title *in rem* good against all the world. The payment, which consists of a sum down, usually about £250, an occupation rent about £30, and after mining commences a full rent about £300, is made to the Government, **who pays over the whole to the chief**; he keeps a third for himself, a third for the “Stool,” and a third he gives to the elders. Agricultural concessions are subject to the sanction of the Executive, but under similar conditions, the natives being the grantors and payees; the Governor's sanction being endorsed on the deed.”

“ In January, 1912, Mr. H. C. Belfield, C.M.G., an experienced official, was sent out as Special Commissioner to inquire into the twelve years' working of this system. He stayed over two months, took the evidence of forty-four witnesses, a judge, officials, mining managers, the European lawyer representing most of the mining companies, five native lawyers, and several native chiefs,

“ and also educated natives. His report was published  
“ about July 12. Mr. Belfield finds as facts:—

“ 1. That while the Crown extends its protective  
“ authority to all places and persons in the Colony, there  
“ is vested in it no right of ownership in any lands save  
“ the forts on the coast, with the adjacent area and land  
“ specially acquired, and any endeavour to extend these  
“ rights otherwise than by the legal process of acquisition  
“ would amount to a breach of faith with the people.

“ 2. That all the land belongs to the people. The land  
“ is divided among tribes with boundaries which, though  
“ approximate, are known. The tenure of this land is  
“ communal, with the exception of individual land  
“ usually near the coast town. The land not required for  
“ tribal use is vested in the chiefs and elders, and the  
“ proceeds applied as above explained; misconduct and  
“ misappropriation being punished by removal from office.  
“ Mr. Belfield, in his recommendations approves of the  
“ principle of the chief and elders being the grantors and  
“ payees of concessions to Europeans, subject to official  
“ intervention.

“ But such intervention must be conducted in a man-  
“ ner which will leave the people assured that their in-  
“ herent right of disposition of their lands remains in their  
“ own hands, and that only such interference is contem-  
“ plated as will supplement their knowledge of essential  
“ detail, and obviate the risk of their knowingly making  
“ bad bargains, while leaving to themselves the right of  
“ election as to whether the land applied for shall be  
“ disposed of or withheld. On no account must the fact  
“ be lost sight of that the land is the property of the  
“ people, that a concession is a contract between the land-  
“ owners and the applicant to which the Government is  
“ no party; that intervention must therefore be limited  
“ to supervision and guidance only, to the end that im-  
“ provident alienation may be prevented and only such  
“ terms sanctioned as will ensure adequate protection of  
“ the rights and requirements of present and future gene-  
“ rations.

“ Such a land system appears to combine the minimum  
“ of interference by the State with the maximum of pro-  
“ tection for the subject. One quarter of the premium  
“ and rent, he recommends to be retained by the Govern-  
“ ment, to be expended locally on works of permanent

“ public utility. He recommends the abolition of the  
 “ Concessions Court, and that each kind of concession  
 “ should be passed by the Executive: This might be  
 “ theoretically better, but the native has a great liking for  
 “ being heard in Court, and will always prefer the deci-  
 “ sion of a Law Court exalted above the arena of the  
 “ administrative conflict to the decision of the most fair  
 “ and honest official. He testifies to the bona fides both  
 “ in representative constitution of membership and finan-  
 “ cial status of the Gold Coast Aborigines’ Protection  
 “ Society, consisting of chiefs and educated native traders  
 “ and lawyers. This is the Society which has criticised in  
 “ the past Government Bills and is opposing the present  
 “ proposals.”

The Concessions Ordinance practically controls alienation wherein foreign capitalists are the grantees of concessions, and the writer takes care to point out that “ Native land tenure and dealing between native and native is left to Native Common Law and there is no legislation thereon in any of the four colonies.”

We next get an illuminating contrast between the Gold Coast land system and that of Northern Nigeria. He tells us that :—

“ In Northern Nigeria the law is entirely different. The  
 “ surface owner has no benefit from the mine. In 1902  
 “ Sir Frederick Lugard declared to the Sultan of Sokoto:  
 “ ‘ The Government will have the right to all minerals,  
 “ but the people may dig for iron and work it, subject to  
 “ the approval of the High Commissioner, and may take  
 “ salt and other minerals, subject to any exercise imposed  
 “ by law.’\* Legislation followed on these lines, so that  
 “ in Northern Nigeria the surface owner derives neither  
 “ dead rent nor royalty from the European-owned mine.  
 “ One does not see on what basis of right this vesting  
 “ of all mines in the Government can be justified. It is  
 “ not the law of England, whereby mines belong to the  
 “ surface owner except mines of gold and silver which  
 “ belong to the Crown. Probably the reason why this  
 “ Crown prerogative was allowed to subsist after the

\* Blue Book, N. Nigeria, Report 1904 (Cd. 1768), pp. 58 & 153.

“abolition of 1660 of the feudal tenures, is that gold and silver mines in England are as unimportant as the prerogative rights to whales and sturgeon. The tin mines of Northern Nigeria, according to evidence before the Commission of 1908, were worked by the natives previous to the coming of the European companies, who sometimes, at all events, expelled the native worker. Generally in all European concessions—mines or other—the native of Northern Nigeria has neither voice as to the grant, nor benefit from the workings; the application is to Government, who receive the rent; any natives actually on the land are, however, entitled to compensation.”

“Apart from European concessions, the Land Proclamation of 1910, has regulated native land tenure throughout Northern Nigeria. It has been enacted that all land occupied or unoccupied (except the Niger Company’s land) is to be ‘native land,’ under the control and disposition of the Governor, and no title to occupation or use is to be valid without the consent of the Governor. The Governor is enabled to give a certificate of right of occupancy at a rental to be revised every seven years. Such right of occupancy devolves upon death according to native custom. But the occupier has no right of alienation, *inter vivos*, either by sale, mortgage, or transfer of possession, without the previous consent of the Governor, and any such attempted alienation is null and causes a forfeiture of the right of occupancy. As regards involuntary alienation by execution or bankruptcy the Proclamation is silent. This legislation applies not only to farms, but to houses in urban sites. This legislation was the result of the Report of the Committee of 1908.”\*

The article now proceeds to deal frankly with the composition of the Committee. It says plainly:—

“But it is open to criticise the constitution and proceedings of the Committee. The report involves the absolute denial of the natives’ property in the land he occupies, and it is the report of a Committee who were in a hurry—their instructions were to hurry; they took evidence in six days and finished in two months. All

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\* 1910 (Cd. 5102, 3).

“ the members of the Committee were officials or ex-officials, with the exception of Mr. J. Wedgwood, M.P. The character and good intentions of these gentlemen is unimpeachable and unimpeached. But when the issue to be tried is as to the ownership of land between the Government and the natives, can it be satisfactory to the latter that the majority of the tribunal should be employés or ex-employés of the former, especially when their verdict is in favour of the former and the latter has no opportunity of being heard either in person or by counsel?

“ With one exception, Mr. J. Holt, all the witnesses were officials or ex-officials. Besides J. Holt and Co., the only other European traders in Northern Nigeria were the Niger Company. They declined to give evidence on the ground that the subject being of great magnitude it was impossible to consider it in the few days given. The Committee began its sittings on June 1, 1908; the Niger Company were only invited to give evidence on July 10, and the Committee closed its evidence on July 17, and reported on July 29, 1908.

“ Another important omission was that no native was admitted to give evidence. No evidence was admitted to show how the Gold Coast Concessions Ordinance had worked though witnesses thereon were available in England as well as in Africa. No missionary gave evidence—and a missionary may be a most important witness; for, like a trader, he knows the native and his ways and customs from an unofficial standpoint, and he is independent of the Government in a way no official, and few trading agents, can be. Roman Catholic Missionaries' evidence would have been valuable, as in three cases they were vendors of land to the Niger Company, and they might have been asked from whom and how they acquired the land.”

As to the value of the Committee's finding we have the following criticism :—

“ The Committee reported that the native has no ‘ property ’ in the land he occupies. But I think I have shown that their decision must be accepted with some reserve. Even taking the evidence given, there is room for a different conclusion, viz., that the occupying cultivator had by custom undisturbed possession subject to

“ some fine on alienation. Nor do I think it lies in the mouth of the British Government to deny the natives’ rights of property and alienation. The Niger Company, from 1880 to 1900, bought from the natives various rights over land, freehold, leasehold, and easements, and in 1900 part of these rights they sold to the Government and part retained. If the natives had no right to alienate to the Niger Company, then the British Government have no title to these lands.”

“ Further, as the British Government bought in 1900 from the Niger Company land and rights over land which the Niger Company had originally acquired from natives, why should land now occupied by natives be taken and vested in the British Government by mere act of law. The assertion of ‘ control ’ by the Government under the Proclamation of 1910 is not technical, as they are enabled to take actual possession of any land, if required, without payment for the land, but only for crops and improvements.”

After this the writer turns to the “ present situation ” and discusses most ably Mr. Belfield’s report. Says he :—

“ Lastly, let us turn to the present situation. Mr. Belfield’s report was published on or about July 12, 1912, but this official gentleman returned to England on May 14, 1912, and naturally he must have at once called at the Colonial Office ; presumably he informed them of the general purport of his report, but to the Colonial Office only must it have been known. On June 6, 1912, there appeared in the ‘ Times ’ a letter signed by E. D. Morel, Noel Buxton, J. Ramsay Macdonald, Philip Morell, Albert Spicer, and Josiah C. Wedgwood, urging that the Northern Nigerian land system should be applied throughout West African Colonies, and that an experienced Committee should be appointed, as was done in the case of Northern Nigeria. On the same June 6, 1912, a deputation, including E. D. Morel, Mr. Wedgwood, P. Morell, Mr. N. Buxton, and Mr. King, waited on Mr. L. Harcourt at the Colonial Office to urge that the Northern Nigeria system should be applied to the other West African Colonies. In the ‘ Times ’ of June 26, 1912, there is an announcement that the Secretary of State for the Colonies has appointed a Committee ‘ to

“ consider the laws relating to the transfer of land in the West African Colonies and Protectorates (other than Northern Nigeria), and to report whether any, and if so what, amendments of the law is required.’ The personnel of the Commission are Sir Kenelm E. Digby, G.C.B., K.C., Chairman; Sir F. M. Hodgson, K.C.M.G., Sir W. Taylor, K.C.M.G., Mr. J. C. Wedgwood, Mr. E. D. Morel, with Mr. C. Strachey, Mr. W. D. Ellis, and Mr. R. E. Stubbs, of the Colonial Office. Out of these eight gentlemen three—Sir K. E. Digby, Mr. J. C. Wedgwood, and Mr. C. Strachey, were members of the Northern Nigerian system and took part in the deputation. The remaining four members of the Committee are officials or ex-officials.

“ The inference seems obvious that the Colonial Office, who alone knew the purport of the Belfield Report, published July 12, 1912, were not the *Agent Provocateur* of the letter and deputation of June 6, 1912, but also by the appointment on June 26 of the Committee above named, were determined to effect the throwing over of the Belfield Report and the introduction throughout West Africa of the Northern Nigerian system. Some, if not the majority, of the Committee, had already judged the question submitted to them, and announced their preference for the Northern Nigerian system.”

As to the composition of the Committee, the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce decided at its meeting of July 1st, 1912, “ to support a strong protest by the African Trade Section against the composition of a Committee appointed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to consider land transfer in West Africa, which, said Mr. G. A. Moore, had been too long the sport of faddists.”

The writer next takes up the argument in favour of West African land nationalisation and against improvident alienation of “ tribal lands.” Says he:—

“ The arguments in favour of the Northern Nigerian system and its introduction elsewhere may be gathered from the report and evidence given before the Committee of 1908, Mr. E. D. Morel’s articles in his paper, the ‘ African Mail,’ and the letter of June 6, 1912.

“ They are twofold, *i.e.*, that by nationalising the land  
“ the introduction of freehold individual tenure, which  
“ has already shown a tendency to creep in is prevented,  
“ and alleged communal system preserved; and secondly,  
“ the chiefs are stopped from improvidently alienating  
“ the tribal lands.

“ The first argument refers to native tenure and dealings  
“ between natives. It is a most difficult matter for Euro-  
“ pean officials to understand, codify, and administer  
“ native law, and unless there is an imperative necessity,  
“ they had much better leave it alone. Why should not  
“ individual ownership come in Northern Nigeria, as it has  
“ come in elsewhere? Politically, a peasant proprietor-  
“ ship owing security of tenure to the British Govern-  
“ ment seems a valuable asset. Economically, to forbid  
“ by law the individual African ever becoming the owner  
“ of the land he occupies, removes the strongest induce-  
“ ment to thrift, good farming, and development of the  
“ country. There are arguments in favour of land  
“ nationalisation and in particular of the nationalisation of  
“ mines, which it is not my task here to discuss. But in  
“ Europe, as a matter of practical politics, such nation-  
“ alisation could only be carried out by compensation or  
“ recognition of existing vested rights, unless as the result  
“ of a bloody civil war or revolution. In Northern Nigeria  
“ it has been effected not only without the consent but  
“ without consulting the natives and without any saving  
“ of vested interests. The arguments, such as they are,  
“ in favour of land nationalisation, lose much of their  
“ force if it is to be thrust on the landsfolk at the behest  
“ and apparently for the benefit of an alien Power and its  
“ officials. Imagine land nationalisation in England car-  
“ ried out by a German conquest and the proceeds applied  
“ to the garrison and administration of the conquerors.  
“ To allow a communal native system, with its give and  
“ take, to continue or die out is far different from laying  
“ down by statute a hard and fast Government control,  
“ administered by zealous officials.

“ The second argument is that by improvident aliena-  
“ tions to Europeans of large areas and tribal land for a  
“ trifling consideration, the tribe will be deprived of their  
“ land and reduced—the phrase is Mr. Morel’s—to a land-  
“ less native proletariat.

“ Even assuming this to be either true in the present or  
“ a risk in the future, this is no reason for interfering with

“ native land tenure and dealings between natives. But  
“ it is not true in the present, and with any prudent legis-  
“ lative control over concessions there is no risk of the  
“ African being excluded from the soil by *latifundia*. Here  
“ we can come to bed-rock facts; the Belfield Report  
“ finds:—

“ (a) Only one twenty-seventh of the Gold Coast and  
“ hardly any of Ashanti has been alienated to European  
“ concessionaries.

“ (b) There is over and above sufficient land for triple  
“ the present native population.

“ (c) The natives welcome the introduction of Euro-  
“ pean concessionaires under proper conditions, and their  
“ presence is beneficial to the natives.

“ The demand for concessions rightly granted cannot en-  
“ croach seriously on the supply of land for the native.  
“ Each of these classes of concessions must surely be  
“ considered in a different light as to whether they are  
“ or are not exclusive of native rights to cultivation, of  
“ gathering natural produce, of hunting, &c.

“ (1) For a mining concession the exclusive surface  
“ required would extend to but a few acres for the shaft,  
“ erection of plant, houses for staff and labourers, dump-  
“ ing-ground, and the right to cut timber for props and  
“ fuel. A mining concession might therefore be granted  
“ over a large area with but trifling interference with  
“ native rights. Suppose, to put an extreme case, the  
“ whole half-million square miles of British West Africa  
“ were parcelled out among various mining companies  
“ subject to forfeiture for non-working or non-payment of  
“ rent, would there be any material interference with the  
“ surface rights of the natives?

“ (2) A timber concession is not exclusive of native  
“ rights, and according to Mr. Belfield's suggestion,  
“ paragraphs 126 and 127, would be for five years only at a  
“ dead rent and royalty to remove mahogany ripe for  
“ cutting.

“ (3) Agricultural concessions for planting rubber,  
“ cocoa, &c., must of course be *pro tanto* exclusive of  
“ native rights. But if, as Mr. Belfield suggests in para-  
“ graph 114 such a concession should be not more than two  
“ square miles in a block, and not more than two such  
“ areas held by the same person—it will be a very long

“ time before the half-million square miles in British West  
 “ Africa are planted up by European concessionaires. A  
 “ grazing concession might be treated similarly to an agri-  
 “ cultural concession, but up till now the European has  
 “ manifested no wish to become a West African ‘ Cattle  
 “ Baron.

“ (4) A concession of gathering natural sylvan produce-  
 “ oils, palms, gum, rubber, &c., should never be granted  
 “ —see paragraphs 18 and 19 of Sir P. Girouard’s des-  
 “ patch—as a monopoly and to the exclusion of the  
 “ natives.

“ A common-sense purview of these facts as to Euro-  
 “ pean concessions drives one to the inference that the  
 “ argument as to improvident alienation is so baseless, it  
 “ can only be a pretext to cover some different object,  
 “ which the native, who is both shrewd and suspicious,  
 “ has already perceived. The African objects, and natur-  
 “ ally, that the control and disposition of his land should  
 “ be vested in the Government, and that he should become  
 “ a rent payer on a precarious tenure. If the Colonial  
 “ Office have a cast iron policy they mean to enforce, it  
 “ is open to them to carry it out. The natives are helpless  
 “ and know they are helpless. At the most there will be  
 “ some occasional village riot, whereof the victims will be  
 “ many score black men and some luckless British subal-  
 “ tern or sub-official. Is it the pretext to introduce the  
 “ Indian Land Tax at 6s. in the pound, resulting in a  
 “ population always near starvation limit? ”

“ Cui bono ”? To what purpose is all this ado?  
 We will answer it in Sir William M. Geary’s own  
 inimitable way :—

“ ‘ Cui Bono ’ is the question to be asked as to the pre-  
 “ sent proposal looked at with regard to the interests of  
 “ the British Government, the natives and the European  
 “ concessionary.

“ The European concessionary’s interests are confined  
 “ to dealings between natives and Europeans. He has no  
 “ interest in dealings between natives and natives. He  
 “ wants only a good merchantable indefeasible Govern-  
 “ ment guaranteed title, which he can put and sell upon  
 “ the Stock Exchange. He has to pay premiums and  
 “ rent either to the Government or to the natives, and  
 “ *prima facie* it would seem immaterial to him who will be

“ the payee. But the interest of the European concessionary is to live peaceably with the surrounding natives and obtain a good and constant supply of labour. That the native should be the payee will contribute to both these ends. The African is shrewd enough to appreciate the inexpediency of eating the gold-egg laying goose. If he perceives that the sequence of no labour and no profits for the concessionary means no rent to native, it will surely conduce better to the peaceful development of the country than taxes and police.

“ The native accepts generally the theory that land dealings between natives and Europeans should be subject to external sanction, provided that he is the payee, and he prefers the sanction should be judicial rather than executive.”

Lastly there is a pregnant postscript which the reader cannot afford to ignore. And it is this:—

“ Northern Nigeria is excluded from the purview of the now sitting Committee, but if the Gold Coast native dislikes the Northern Nigerian system, perhaps the Northern Nigerian native would like the present Gold Coast system; and they might, which has not yet been done, be consulted as to their wishes. In the Gold Coast system the European concessionary pays rent to the native; in Northern Nigeria the native pays rent to the European Government.”

I have allowed Sir William McGeary to speak almost throughout in his own words, and for an obvious reason. I have said that there are two sides to every question. Mr. Morel and his set have elected to see only one side of this question. That the other point of view is logical, equitable, and supported by an authority of Mr. Morel's own creation is evident, not only from the representations of “educated natives,” but also from the calm survey of disinterested men capable of judging the situation. These things being so, will the public conscience of Britain allow an injustice to be done to the West African peoples, or will their appeal merit the attention which it deserves? For ourselves, we believe, West Africa will calmly and hopefully await the decision.

## APPENDIX B.

## "THE CAPE COAST VISIT.

## 1.

## THE GOVERNOR'S ARRIVAL.

*Grand Reception by the Inhabitants of Cape Coast.*

"The ancient town of Cape Coast wore a festive appearance on the morning of Thursday, the 15th inst., when His Excellency Sir Hugh Charles Clifford, K.C.M.G., Governor and Commander-in-Chief, accompanied by his suite, consisting of Capt. Hamilton-Dalrymple, A.D.C., Mr. Holme, private secretary, and his medical attendant Dr. C. V. Lefanu, M.B., Ch.B., &c., &c., Acting Principal Medical Officer, landed ex s.s. *Tarquah* at 8.30 a.m. Hours before His Excellency's arrival the whole town was astir, and both old and young were preparing to accord him a warm welcome. It was a gala day, and the future historian would be charged with a dereliction of duty if he failed to make the 15th of May, 1913, stand out in bold relief in chronicling the notable events of the year. Merchants and traders closed their shops throughout the day, all the schools, elementary and secondary, were vacated in honour of Sir Hugh's arrival, and everyone assisted to make the occasion auspicious and unique.

"The elaborate programme of the Cape Coast Town Reception Committee was carried out without a hitch.

The day and Sunday school children, in holiday attire, lined the streets from Castle Beach Road to Victoria Park in the following order:—The Beach through Low Town Road was occupied by the girls and boys of the Government schools and Sunday school; from the Main Drain at the junction of King Aggrey Street were the Wesleyan day and Sunday school children; the Catholic and the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Mission schools and Sunday schools were posted at Jackson Street; the Nigritian children were formed along Green Lattice Lane; the students of the S.P.G. Grammar School occupied the street abutting on the Broach and the Mfantsipim and Richmond College students took their stand along the Gothic House, thus making a long lane of human walls on the right and on the left. At the landing places things were moving forward, and such was the congested mass of people hurrying to and fro that the police had their work cut out for them. District and Provincial Kings and Chiefs in state were constantly passing with their retinue to take their positions at the Park, making melody and adding to the volume of noise the occasion demanded. Massed choristers in surplice to the number of 80 and collected from the Anglican, Wesleyan, Zion, and Nigritian Churches were posted near the gateway leading to the Beach, and under the *baton* of C. E. Graves, Esq., A.Mus., L.C.M., F.V.C.M. Punctually at 8.30 His Excellency's boat was seen making its way towards the shore. The surf was a bit rough, and all on *terra firma* watched the progress of the boat with anxiety; presently there was a calm, and the men shot their steady craft through the swollen tide, and the Governor was lifted bodily and safely conveyed to land. A special State Umbrella already unfurled was at once placed over him, and under that regal canopy His Excellency was received by the Provincial Commissioner, J. T. Furley, Esq., and the District

Commissioner, L. W. S. Long, Esq., and other Government officials. The C.C.P. then walked up by the side of Sir Hugh, and coming a little nearer the choristers sung lustily the National Anthem, after which he was introduced to Chief Kofi Sackey the Regent, Tufuhin Coker, and other Chiefs of Cape Coast; the Governor next shook hands with the officials of the Town Council, ministers of the Gospel, members of the Bar, the officers and members of the Aborigines' Society, and a few ladies present, including Mrs. G. H. Savage and Miss Cole. Passing through the entrance into Castle Beach Road, where a guard of honour had been formed by the soldiers of the West African Frontier Force and Gold Coast Volunteers, under the command of Captain Harrison and Lieutenant Blackmore, His Excellency inspected the troops. Preceded by the Tufuhin the Governor and a large crowd following passed through the lines of children surrounded by a concourse of delighted people. The thought atmosphere was most helpful, for once the utmost unity prevailed among all classes, colour and creed. All the sweet treble voices of the young folk blended with the deep tones of oldsters gave hearty welcome to His Excellency; handkerchiefs waved continuously, cheers were spontaneously given, and, the Governor saluting them the while, marched through the serried ranks of an excited populace. The tense feeling of a waiting people held in suspense for many years found full vent when the pleasing, open countenance of the Governor beamed upon them. Amusement, satisfaction, and an agreeable surprise were a few of the sensations depicted on the Governor's face when now and again women waved their shawls and danced with joy before him. The gentle sex expressed their feelings and added to the words of welcome, tender phrases and ejaculatory prayers such as, "Stay with us for all time"; "Take good care of us"; "Be a father to us";

“Free our town from all oppression”; “Make Cape Coast prosperous,” and so forth. Meantime at regular intervals and at certain stations the Companies in proper order were firing volleys one after the other. No. 2 Company blazed away at Low Town near the flag-staff of the Lighterage Co.; at No. 5 Company Post, the No. 5 people fired; No. 3 Company did like service near the Silk Cotton tree in front of Captain Quansah’s house; facing Millers’ Factory No. 6 Company displayed their flag, as others had done before them, and discharged their guns, the sound of which seemed as if they had been loaded right up to the muzzle; at King Street, facing the road to Fort William and Swanzy’s Factory, the No. 1 Company had their turn; No. 7 Company occupied the road to Wesleyan Mission House; and at Commissioner Road, the No. 4 Company had their innings; and considering the heavy detonation of the muskets used, it was a miracle that there were no explosions. To the credit of the Inspector of Police and the highly efficient management of Chief Coker be it said, that there was only one accident caused by reckless firing, which unfortunately grazed the chin of a pantry boy among His Excellency’s *entourage*. Inside the entrance to the Park, the members of the Wesleyan and Nigritian Singing Bands, assisted by the girls of the Choral Union of the Zion Church rendered “God save the King” in the vernacular under the conduct of Captain Abokyi. The wording of it was as follows:—

“Nyami ngye hen Hin Pa,  
 Hen Hin Kuniyin nnyin nkyer,  
 Nyami ngye Hin!  
 Omman’ Kuniyimdzi daa  
 Ahumka na enyimnyam,  
 Ma onhwe hen du nkyer,  
 Nyami ngye Hin!”

“The Park was literally seething with crowds of people. It was like a Paradise reflecting the variegated hues of the rainbow. Large contingents from the country in martial array; Kings and Chiefs from the Province with thousands of followers, muskets in hand, each itching to draw the trigger and help to make confusion worse confounded. All sorts and conditions of people had foregathered to do homage to the King’s Representative, and considering the heterogeneous character of the spectators, it is a matter for congratulation that everything went on as smoothly as it did. At the centre of the Park the Boy Scouts, under the command of Scoutmaster Renner formed a guard of honour, and, arriving on the scene, the Governor inspected the lines. Our Natural Rulers had been grouped in a semi-circle, and beginning from the beginning His Excellency and suite, escorted by the Provincial and the District Commissioners formally greeted the following Kings: Moussa of the Mohammedan Community; Adzikessi of Moree; Mbia of Egya; Amonoo V. of Anamaboe; Ewusi Tsinasi of Dominasi; Kaye II. of Denkerah; Ababio II. of Aburah; Bainn of Salt Pond; Essandoh III. of Nkusukum, and the King of Esikuma; the representatives of Ahinkura of Assin Atanasu; Tsibu of Assin Apimenim; Attah Fua of Akim Kotoku; the Regent and Chiefs of Cape Coast; Princes Abakuma of Ekroful Nyanfueku and the Regent of Assaybu. The Governor, proceeding on, passed through the lines of officers and members of the following Societies in gorgeous regalia and tunics, viz. :—The Independent Order of Good Templars under the respective Constitutions of England and America; the Sons of Temperance; the Orders of Free Gardeners, Foresters, and Odd Fellows. His Excellency was then led to the Grand Stand designed by Mr. J. Bessa Simons, which he had beautifully decorated; the Governor’s suite and sisters Winifred Haigh and

Mabel Robinson also took their seats by permission of His Excellency; then the principal business of the day began in real earnest.

## 2.

## “WELCOME ADDRESSES.

“Cape Coast,

“15th May, 1913.

“TO HIS EXCELLENCY,

“SIR HUGH CHARLES CLIFFORD, K.C.M.G.,  
GOVERNOR AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, GOLD COAST  
COLONY AND PROTECTORATE.

“Sir,

“As Officers and Members of the Executive Committee of the Gold Coast Aborigines' Rights Protection Society, and speaking on behalf of the Amanhin and Ahinfu (Kings and Chiefs) of the Central Province, some of whom are here assembled, we respectfully beg to offer your Excellency a most cordial welcome to our historic town of Cape Coast.

“It was with intense gratification that we received authentic report of your decided intention to honour us with an official visit, and we felicitate ourselves upon having your Excellency with us to-day.

“For obvious reasons we regard your presence here at this opportune time as a good augury for the material prosperity of every section of the community.

“Representing as we do, Sir, the Natural Rulers of the Eastern, Western, and Central Provinces of this

country, we are in a position to assure your Excellency of the loyalty, goodwill, and sympathy of those whom Providence has placed under your rule and governance, and we are fully prepared and ready to accord you that frank co-operation which your Excellency has seen fit to demand and without which it would be exceedingly difficult for the Government of the Colony to be successfully administered in the interest and for the welfare of the indigenes.

“Your Excellency’s thoughtful visit inspires us with renewed confidence and durable hope—confidence in His Majesty’s Government and hope in the future of our rich but undeveloped country.

“There are a few matters of vital importance and urgency to which we would wish to invite your Excellency’s serious attention and favourable consideration during your short stay in Cape Coast. We flatter ourselves to think that we have discovered the key to the situation, whereby rapid progress in every direction might be facilitated in this and other places both urban and rural, especially in the Central Province; and when a satisfactory solution of such problems as may be humbly brought to your Excellency’s notice shall have been effected with that breadth of sympathetic interest we have already learned to associate with your name, nothing, we trust, shall prevent or retard the social, intellectual, and economic advancement of the Gold Coast Colony and Protectorate.

“Sir, we had looked forward with pleasurable anticipation to the conjoined visit of Lady Clifford, your beloved consort. It is a sore disappointment to us that for reasons of health she is not by your side on this occasion, and we fervently pray that it may soon be possible for her ladyship to return from Europe perfectly restored to take her distinguished

place among us and render to your Excellency that unique assistance in the services of the Colony which only a lady of her varied experience, vast resources, conspicuous ability and brilliant attainments could give with credit to herself and satisfaction to us all.

“In conclusion, we commend your Excellency to the unerring guidance of the Almighty and indulge the hope that your maiden visit to Cape Coast may be fraught with the highest and best results to all concerned.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

J. P. BROWN, *President.*

ATTOH-AHUMA, *Secretary.*

“His Excellency the Governor, addressing the President, Officers, and members of the Gold Coast Aborigines' Rights Protection Society, regretted that circumstances were not very propitious that morning for one who desired to be distinctly heard. He thanked them warmly for the magnificent reception that had been given to him on this the occasion of his visit to their ancient town. He hoped before leaving Cape Coast to have further and more convenient opportunity to meet and discuss with them important matters connected with the affairs of the Colony. He thanked them for the kind references they had made to his wife, and greatly regretted her ladyship's inability to be by his side. He hoped Lady Clifford would be able to join him before the close of his present tour. In a letter he had received the previous day, Lady Clifford, who had peculiar and especial interest in the town of Cape Coast, had expressed much regret that she could not be with him that day. His Excellency, continuing, said he trusted by the grace of God he might be guided to administer the

government of the Colony faithfully and to the best of his ability. He would always welcome advice from every section of the community, and would be prepared to discuss matters very dear to the hearts of them all.

Cape Coast, 15/5/13.

“TO HIS EXCELLENCY,  
SIR HUGH CHARLES CLIFFORD, K.C.M.G.,  
GOVERNOR AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE GOLD  
COAST COLONY AND PROTECTORATE.

“Your Excellency,

“We, the undersigned Regent, Tufuhin, Chiefs, Elders, Captains, and other inhabitants of Cape Coast beg most respectfully to welcome your Excellency to this town.

“Our gratification at seeing your Excellency this day is deepened by the fact that for the past six years or more we have been denied the pleasure and honour of any visit by your predecessors; and we look upon this occasion as one of great promise to us, for your Excellency will personally be in touch with all that goes on around you, and be able to make up your mind as to what is really required.

“We need not for the present take more of your Excellency's time, as you are staying beyond this day; and we hope you will afford us an opportunity of placing before your Excellency our views and wants.

“We must not omit to make mention of your Excellency's consort, Lady Clifford, who we are certain would have been pleased to accompany your Excellency here had it not been for her enforced absence

on health considerations, which we sincerely deplore. And it is our heartfelt hope and prayer that she may soon recover, and, if possible, return to join your Excellency on the Coast, taking her share in the burden of administration by her wise and genial counsel.

„That your health will in no way be affected by your stay here, and that great success will always attend your Excellency's noble efforts for the advancement of the people over whom you are placed.

“We beg to remain, your Excellency's most humble servants.

(Signed)

KOFI SAKYI, *Regent.*

W. Z. COKER, *Tufuhin.*

&c., &c., &c.

“The Governor stated in reply that he could not find words sufficiently adequate to thank them for the reception that morning. It had been remarked in one of the previous addresses that the people of this country were loyal to His Majesty the King, and if anyone doubted it, he should only be there to witness the cordial reception. His Excellency had spent a great deal of time travelling through the Provinces, in order to have the chance of meeting the Native Rulers of the country, so that he might hear from their own lips something of their feelings, thoughts and wants, and to discuss with them the affairs and needs of their people. By being in touch with them, he hoped to become sufficiently equipped for the administration of that important Colony. He looked forward to the few days he would stay in Cape Coast with very great interest, and he hoped that that visit would be the first of many.

“ AN ADDRESS OF WELCOME TO  
HIS EXCELLENCY SIR HUGH CLIFFORD, KNIGHT  
COMMANDER OF THE MOST DISTINGUISHED ORDER OF  
SAINT MICHAEL AND SAINT GEORGE, GOVERNOR AND  
COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE GOLD COAST COLONY.

“Presented by the President and Members of the  
Cape Coast Town Council.

“May it please your Excellency.

“We, the President and Members of the Cape Coast  
Town Council beg most respectfully to accord to  
your Excellency in the name and on behalf of the  
Municipality a hearty welcome to this ancient town,  
and to express to your Excellency our humble felicita-  
tions on your appointment as Governor and Com-  
mander-in-Chief of this Colony.

“Your Excellency’s visit to this town is the cause of  
much gratification to all the inhabitants, and in voic-  
ing this sentiment on their behalf we as a body wish  
to assure your Excellency of our earnest desire to  
work for the benefit and improvement of the condi-  
tions of those whom we represent.

“We may remind your Excellency that whatever  
may be its present position commercially this town  
was at one time the seat of the Government. It has  
been and still is the centre of much educational  
activity.

“We much regret the untoward circumstances of the  
illness of Lady Clifford so soon after your Excel-  
lency’s arrival in the Colony, which necessitated her  
ladyship’s premature return to England. We know

that we are echoing the sentiments of all in stating that your Excellency's anxiety during her ladyship's illness was shared by the whole community, and we join in the general prayer that you may both be vouchsafed the enjoyment of health and every blessing throughout your Excellency's tenure of office.

“Sealed with the common seal of the Cape Coast Town Council this fourteenth day of May, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Thirteen.

(Signed)

J. T. FURLEY, *President.*

J. E. SAMPSON, *Town Clerk.*

L.S.

“His Excellency thanked the Councillors, headed by the Provincial Commissioner—J. T. Furley, Esq., as President, for the kind reception that he had had on his arrival. He also thanked them for the kind reference to his wife, who had hoped to be by his side. He trusted that an opportunity would be afforded him to discuss with them matters relating to the Town Council with more leisure and under more peaceful surroundings than those by which they were environed that morning.

“The incessant and promiscuous booming of guns fired simultaneously, very much interfered with the proceedings, and it was not possible for anything that was being said to be heard outside the radius of those who stood very close to the platform. After these addresses His Excellency bade the people *Au Revoir.*

## "OUR MEMORANDUM.

"Aborigines' Office,

"Cape Coast Castle

"16th May, 1913.

"To His Excellency,

"Sir Hugh Clifford, K.C.M.G., Governor and  
Commander-in-Chief, Gold Coast Colony.

"May it please your Excellency,

"We, the undersigned President, ex-President, Vice-Presidents, and other officers of the Gold Coast Aborigines' Rights Protection Society, for ourselves and on behalf of the Amanhin, Ahinfu (Kings and Chiefs) of the Eastern, Western, and Central Provinces of the Gold Coast, beg leave respectfully to place the following matters of vital importance before your Excellency for your Excellency's favourable consideration.

"1. The Land Question. There is no matter which is nearer the hearts of the people of this country than the Land Question. In so far as this matter is affected by the Forest Bill and the proposed control and administration of the land by the Government, the matter has been already dealt with by our deputation to the Colonial Secretary, at the Colonial Office, London, and we desire on the present occasion to endorse all that our deputation have said and done in our behalf. In brief, the people strongly object to their lands passing under Government control and to the extension to this country in any shape or form, of the Northern Nigeria land policy.

"2. Railway Communication. We desire to call your Excellency's attention to the extreme importance of a line of railway being constructed from Cape Coast to Prahsu and another line from Cape

Coast through Jukwa and Mampon to Imbraim to tap the produce centres. This, in our humble opinion, is the key to the progress and development of the Central Province, which is the only Province, at present, without any transport facilities.

“3. Harbour Works. Under this head, your Excellency, the construction of a breakwater at Cape Coast would appear to be a desideratum. This matter was, some years ago, brought to the notice of the Government, and an estimate therefor provided, but, up to the present, nothing has been done, and landing at Cape Coast is still dangerous.

“4. Revenue. In this connection, we would respectfully call your Excellency's attention to the necessity for a policy of retrenchment to be introduced, whereby the constant depletion of the revenue by the short service system in vogue and the “duty” and various other allowances might be guarded against. We understand that these extra allowances were introduced during the mining boom to prevent officials leaving the service for mining speculations.

“5. Non-continuity of Policy. Another important matter to which we respectfully desire to draw your Excellency's attention is, that where a community has found an officer of the Government efficient, practical, and sympathetic, they might be permitted to ask for his return after his furlough, so as to ensure a continuity of policy.

“6. Multiplicity of Offices. We also beg to be permitted to mention the creation of certain offices which appear to us to be superfluous. For example—the appointment of Resident, District, and Provincial Engineers.

“7. Non-employment of Natives. We think, Sir, that the time has arrived in the Government of this country, when, to inspire confidence, competent and worthy natives may be appointed to important administrative positions in the Service.

“8. Municipal Government. Under this head we beg to bring to your Excellency's notice that what the country wants at the present time is an amendment of the Town Councils Ordinance so as to make the management thereof thoroughly representative. The Town Council as now constituted is unsatisfactory to, and unpopular with, the people.

“9. Education. It is much to be deplored that up to the present the Government has not established any Secondary Schools in the Colony. What is required to encourage movement of the people themselves is the founding of scholarships on the lines of the petition presented by the people in connection with the King Edward Memorial Scholarship.

“10. (a) Axim. We have, on this occasion, with us the representatives of the Axim Branch of our Society, and we desire on their behalf, to draw your Excellency's particular attention to the gradual and steady encroachment of the sea on the Amamfikuma portion of Upper Town, Axim.

“(b) Recently a Branch of the Society has been instituted at James Town, Accra; and on behalf of its members, we are to bring to your Excellency's notice that the constant proclamation of outbreak of plague is much to be deplored, as it disorganises business and is a source of much inconvenience to the people, and that preventive measures might be taken.

“We have the honour to be your Excellency’s most obedient humble servants.

J. P. BROWN, *President.*

W. E. PIETERSEN, *ex-President.*

T. F. E. JONES, *Senior Vice-President.*

J. E. BINEY, *Vice-President.*

W. COLEMAN, *Vice-President.*

J. D. ABRAHAM, *Treasurer.*

GEORGE AMISSAH, *Financial Secretary.*

ATTOH-AHUMA, *Secretary.*

W. S. JOHNSTON, *Asst.-Secretary.*

C. J. BARTELS, *Kyiami.*

“To His Excellency,

“SIR HUGH CHARLES CLIFFORD, K.C.M.G.,  
KNIGHT COMMANDER OF SAINT MICHAEL AND SAINT  
GEORGE, GOVERNOR AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE  
GOLD COAST COLONY AND PROTECTORATE.

“Your Excellency,

“Following our welcome address to your Excellency on the 15th instant, we respectfully beg to submit for your favourable consideration the following Memorandum.

“1. Water Supply. This matter has been taken up by the Government in favour of Accra and Seccondee. We beg to submit that the same attention should be paid to Cape Coast. With the exception of water collected in tanks by well-to-do people, the water used in the town for drinking purposes is brackish; and the Sweet River, which we suggest might be used in this connection, is nearer Cape Coast than are the rivers to Accra and Seccondee, which are being utilised for these two places.

"2. Transport Facilities. Having regard to the rapid increase in the number of cocoa plantations to the North and North-East of this town, we pray that facilities might be given to us for the conveyance of produce in the shape of cocoa, palm oil, palm kernels, kola, rubber, &c., to it. In the Government Gazette No. 40, page 464, dated 29th June, 1907, His Excellency Governor Rodger, on the occasion of the opening of the Agricultural Show at Cape Coast, thus delivered himself. "If planting development warrants the necessary expenditure, a Government railway should eventually be constructed to connect with Cape Coast and the planting districts of the interior, similar to the line which is about to be constructed from Accra." Says Mr. J. T. Furley, Commissioner Central Province, in his report on the Central Province for the year 1911, Gazette No. 55, August 10, 1912, under the head of agriculture.

"The principal feature under this head was the rapid increase throughout the Province in the cultivation of cocoa. Large areas are now planted, and each year further extensions are being made. A number of the plantations have reached the bearing stage, and the production will increase from year to year. More cocoa was produced during the year than would be handled, and owing to lack of transport, quantities were left ungathered on the farm."

"Had we these facilities we are praying for, we assure your Excellency the report of export from this place hitherto would have been far more encouraging.

"The Cape Coast—Prahsu and Cape Coast—Jukwa Roads, have been undergoing improvements. We beg to say that the work has not proceeded with that rapidity which, from the start, we were led to expect; and we respectfully venture to hope that greater attention will be paid to them, and furthermore that the Jukwa Road will be extended to Mbraim.

“If your Excellency ask us what sort of conveyance we require, we will respectfully answer a light railway.

“3. Break-water. About this, there is a long-standing promise yet unredeemed. This question was mooted when not even a cask of oil or a bag of kernals or cocoa was shipped from this port. But what do we see now, your Excellency? Steamers call here weekly for produce. Therefore, we say that this unredeemed promise should now be fulfilled. And we believe that if your Excellency will consult really competent engineers you will find that the cost will not be as great as at Secondee or Accra.

“For the present, we confine ourselves to these as our most-keenly-felt wants, fully confident that as times goes on your Excellency will lend us a sympathetic ear to any further requirements that we may call your attention to.

“Praying for your Excellency long life, health, and success.

We beg to remain, &c.,

(Signed) KOFI SAKYI <sup>his</sup> ×  
mark.

*Regent.*  
& Others.

### 3.

#### “THE ABORIGINES’ BANQUET.

“In Honour of His Excellency Sir Hugh Charles Clifford, K.C.M.G., Governor and Commander-in-Chief Gold Coast Colony and Protectorate.

“The banquet given to His Excellency the Governor by the Officers and Members of the Executive Com-

mittee of the Gold Coast Aborigines' Rights Protection Society, on Monday, the 19th day of May, 1913, at the District Commissioner's Court Room, Cape Coast Castle, was a brilliant success from start to finish. Covers were laid for over 80 guests, and among those who attended were the Governor's suite, viz., Captain Dalrymple, A.D.C., Mr. Holme, private secretary, Dr. C. V. Lefanu, J. T. Furley, Esq., Commissioner of the Central Province, and L. W. S. Long, Esq., District Commissioner, Cape Coast. Rev. W. R. Griffin, Chairman and Superintendent of Wesleyan Missions; Dr. Hamilton, M.O.; Captain Harrison, the Officer Commanding; Mr. Carasoy, T. & Lighterage Co.; Father Meder, Superior and Provicar of the Catholic Mission; Dr. Beringer, Medical Officer of Health; Rev. R. Fisher, M.A., S.P.G. Mission; Mr. F. S. Allen, manager, Bank of British West Africa; Mr. and Mrs. A. J. E. Bucknor, Barrister-at-law; Mr. Chatfield, Engineer of Roads; Mr. D. Palk, Provincial Engineer; Mr. Smith, Inspector of Customs; Mr. Philip, Agent, Messrs. F. & A. Swanzy; Mr. Harrison, Assistant Commissioner of Police; Sisters Mabel Robinson and Winifred Haigh, of the Girls' High School and Training Home; Mr. J. A. Barbour James, Surveyor of Post Office; Mr. A. Firman Blackmore, Headmaster Government Schools; Mr. and Mrs. Casely Hayford, Barrister-at-Law; Mr. J. L. Minnow, I.S.O.; Mrs. Eva Amisah; Mrs. J. E. Eminsang; T. F. E. Jones, Esq., Vice-President, G.C.A.R.P. Society; J. E. Biney, Esq., Vice-President, G.C.A.R.P. Society; J. R. Abraham, Esq., Treasurer, G.C.A.R.P. Society; Mrs. Esuman-Gwira; Rev. S. J. Gibson, B.Sc., of the Richmond College and Mfantshipim School; Mrs. D. Myles Abadoo; Mr. and Mrs. J. D. Aaku; Mr. G. E. Warner, of Messrs. H. B. W. Russell & Co.; Prince Atta Amonoo, Barrister-at-Law; Rev. Attoh-Ahuma, M.A., Secretary, G.C.A.R.P. Society; Rev. and Mrs.

E. A. Pinanko, Zion Mission; Mrs. G. H. Savage; William Coleman, Esq., Vice-President, G.C.A.R.P. Society; Mr. K. E. Asaam, Sub-Assistant Treasurer; Mr. and Mrs. J. Bessa Simons; Mr. J. P. H. Brown, proprietor of the *Gold Coast Leader*; Mr. E. Tagoe; E. J. P. Brown, Esq., Barrister-at-Law; Mr. S. R. Wood, Secretary Axim Section G.C.A.R.P. Society; Mr. J. E. Kitson; Mr. J. A. Abadoo, Kyiami, Axim Section G.C.A.R.P. Society; Messrs. W. Bonso Bruce; Alexander Bruce, J. A. Mills, and Nee Lamp-  
tey—representatives of the Accra Branch, G.C.A.R.P. Society; Mr. and Mrs. E. H. Brew; Messrs. Millers, Ltd.; Josiah Mills, Esq.; Mr. J. E. Sagoe; Mr. John Intsiful; Mr. J. W. DeGraft Johnson; Mr. A. D. Wilson, Kyiami of the Society.

“The Dining Hall was beautifully lit with incandescent lamps of 1,500 candle power; the decorations were simple but tasteful and effective, and everything went on merrily as marriage bells. Punctually at 7.30 p.m. the room was filled, His Excellency and suite being present. Prayers were said by the Rev. W. R. Griffin, Chairman and General Superintendent of the Wesleyan Mission, and the company sat down to discuss a most sumptuous dinner. The menu consisted of *Hors D'œuvre varies*; Soup, Fish, Entrees, Joints, Releve, Cold Buffet, Entremets with the usual accompaniments befitting the occasion. The wine list was choice and select. The service left nothing to be desired, thanks to the strenuous efforts of Messrs. W. S. Johnston, the Assistant Secretary, and Mr. J. Bessa Simons, Convener of the Banquet Committee, ably assisted by Mr. J. E. Sagoe, Mr. C. J. Bartels, Mr. C. E. Graves, Messrs. J. A. Stewart, John Intsisful, Webber and Stewart. At a quarter-past 10 o'clock or thereabouts President J. P. Brown, of the Aborigines' Society, who acted as Chairman of

the evening, called for order, and presented the toast of "Their Majesties the King and Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Dominions beyond the Seas," which was enthusiastically honoured. The second toast was that of "Our Distinguished Guest," proposed by Casely Hayford, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, in these felicitous terms.

"Mr. Chairman, Sir Hugh Clifford, Ladies and Gentlemen. It is with pleasure that I rise to propose the toast of our distinguished guest, Sir Hugh Charles Clifford, and I wish particularly to associate with that toast the name of Lady Clifford, who we all wish could have been here with us this evening joining in this festivity. Lady Clifford's name is a household word wherever the English language is spoken, and wherever good literature is read and appreciated.

"My introduction to the works of Lady Clifford was somewhat in this wise. When coming down here on the boat with my wife the other day, she had a touch of sea-sickness. It was not the type that our good and mutual friend Dr. Lefanu would style virulent. Still, it was bad enough while it lasted. I made her comfortable, and then went away for a bit. When I returned she was reading a book. She seemed content. I did not want to disturb her. When I came back again she was still reading it, and she did not stop till she had finished reading it. It was one of Lady Clifford's books. It was nearly dusk now. I took the book in my hands, turned over the pages, and said "I see." Well—I took possession of the book, and I can assure you that not even a decree of the Aborigines' Society will make me part with that book till I have read it from cover to cover.

"My wife forbids me referring to Sir Hugh Clifford's works in the same breath as Lady Clifford's. Still, I cannot resist the temptation of saying I knew His Excellency before I had the honour of meeting him on the Gold Coast. It was through his books. I am not going to satisfy your curiosity by telling you which. You must find out for yourself. I as it were reserved my judgment. I said some day I might meet His Excellency. Well, I came, I saw; you have come and you have seen in him, as in his books, an earnestness and a consciousness which, enlisted in the service of any human activity, must command success and the admiration of men.

"The assembly here to-night, Sir, reminds one of the days of the judicial assessors. There was a time when the officers of the Government mixed freely with the people. I believe the Eastern Province provided an African Governor in the person of the late James Bannerman. The judicial assessors sat on the Bench with native chiefs, and we had principal medical officers of African descent. Those times, after a while, seemed to have gone past. Then we come to a period of isolation, of distrust, of segregation, and even of suspicion.

"We bridge over the gulf of time and come to the year 1913 in the month of May. His Excellency has told us that we must not expect that he is going to create for us a new heaven and a new earth. But we know what he is going to do, that he will restore the confidence of the people in a way that has not been done since the days of Governor Maclean. He was able to inspire the sympathy and the loyalty of the people, and he ruled with a success that has scarcely been matched since.

"The Aborigines' Society has been doing a good work, in reviving the confidence of the people. You know we cannot help people thinking, and I think it is safe for all concerned to know what they are thinking about, and for this reason an intelligent press, dignified in tone, is a useful thing and so a body like the Aborigines' Society which interprets the needs and the wants of the people.

"There is a force in this country which we are apt to make little of and do not appreciate sufficiently. I refer to the warm-heartedness, the loyalty and the devotion of the people to any administration or official in whom they have confidence. I must confess, Sir, that when in the Seccondie address we suggested that your Excellency might be pleased to extend your tour to the Central Province and to this historic town, we were nervous lest you might not be able to do so. Seeing the enthusiasm of the people, one may say your Excellency has been repaid for the trouble you have taken. One characteristic act of a characteristic man has blotted out the memory of the past and restored the confidence, the sympathy, and the co-operation of the people.

"But co-operation, Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, must be intelligent, frank, and earnest, otherwise it helps not on the work intended; and, so, we bespeak for the new administration such co-operation.

"Two notable thoughts have been contributed to political literature quite recently. The one is by Lord Rosebery, where he points to Japan as an object-lesson of national efficiency. That is relevant in so far as it enables us to appreciate also the success of Japan in colonising. For the second thought is by Baron Goto, where he refers to the Formosans as Fellow Nationals. That suggests training the Formosan people to the status of citizenship. It precludes the idea of their being for ever hewers of wood and drawers of water. It is unfortunate that that exactly has not appeared to be the object of a recent administration. We hope to see revived in the time of the present administration the ideal of citizenship, so that the people of this country may take their true place as citizens of the British Empire.

"One thought more, and I have done. We thank His Excellency for the assurance as regards our lands that the pledges given to us by Mr. Chamberlain will not be set at naught nor our right to them in any way interfered with.

"Sir, our land system and our institutions are founded upon a rock, and we trust they will find in your Excellency a sure defence. In that hope and in that faith I wish your Excellency and your consort long life, success, and prosperity in the administration of this country. I ask you all to drink heartily the health of His Excellency and Lady Clifford.

"On rising to respond Sir Hugh received a grand ovation.

"His Excellency the Governor, in responding to the toast in his honour, said he must begin by thanking the Society for the warm reception and grand entertainment that had been accorded him that night. Mr. Hayford had begun his speech with kind reference to Lady Clifford. He regretted that on that occasion of his first visit to Cape Coast, he was alone, but he hoped that upon the next opportunity when he could pay another visit to our ancient town, Lady Clifford would be with him. He felt proud to hear from Mr. Hayford that Mrs. Hayford's "sea sickness" on board the "Burutu" on the voyage to this town last week had been relieved by one of Lady Clifford's books which she happened to be reading at that time. His Excellency added that during the last few weeks, he had received many letters from several parts of the Empire, to whom Lady Clifford's books had brought comfort, enquiring anxiously after her health. It was sad to record that none

of his own books had ever been known to soothe the pangs of sea-sickness, though he had been told that certain passages in some of them sometimes occasioned a feeling of nausea.

“Speaking to the Society, His Excellency said he should like to thank the President, Officers, and members thereof for entertaining him so lavishly that night. Only one circumstance could have rendered the compliment paid to him more complete, and that would be if the entertainment had been given to him at the end of five years among them instead of after a period of only five months’ administration of the Government of that Colony. He trusted that the cordiality which had prevailed at the commencement of his administration would remain intact during the course of his tenure of office. No one was more convinced than himself of the impossibility to please everyone, and in illustrating this, His Excellency referred to the story of the man, the donkey, and his son, who, by listening to the conflicting advice of various people ended in finding themselves in a river. All that a man could do in the administration of such a Colony as that was to devote all his energies to the task of learning from those whose local knowledge entitled them to be heard. Here His Excellency referred to Sir Walter Scott, and said that even he, a man of such large reputation and learning, used to say that he never spent ten minutes in the company of anyone without learning something he did not know before. After serving for 30 years in other parts of the Empire, he had now come to live under entirely new conditions and amid an entirely new environment, and his first duty therefore was to learn about the country from personal observation. The main object of the present tour was to enable him to come in contact with the representatives of the various interests in the Colony, to discuss and exchange views with them, for therein lay the safest route to that knowledge without which it would not be possible for him materially to enhance the prosperity of this country. He knew he could not satisfy all parties; he was not able to meet the wishes of everyone—for instance, even some of the modest requests recently made to him by some of the merchants at Cape Coast; but he promised everyone a patient and courteous hearing who had any matter to lay before him. His Excellency emphasized the point that, a man who made no mistakes made nothing. On certain occasions his judgment might be betrayed and he might make mistakes which he would regret afterwards. All he could promise was that, no mistake would be made knowingly; he

claimed no infallibility of judgment; for that was not an attribute of humanity, but he would administer the affairs of this country to the best of his conscience and strive to rule it as God would have him rule it. Finally he would thank the people of this ancient town once more for the warm reception that had been accorded him; his sensations would be devoid of gratitude did he not again take the opportunity to thank the people. He had visited Elmina that day, where he had also been accorded a hearty, and he might perhaps be permitted to add—a noisy welcome. The streets were somewhat narrow and very crowded, when to this was added the unceasing detonation of guns his feelings had been divided between gratitude for a warm reception and a splitting headache. This must serve as his excuse if his speech that evening disappointed his audience.

“His Excellency, in conclusion, said he wished again to thank that great Society for the sumptuous banquet and entertainment of that evening, and also to express the hope that the good feelings which had that night been manifested might continue unchanged throughout the whole period of his administration.

“Then the Rev. S. J. Gibson, B.Sc. (Lond.), Acting Principal of the Mfantshipim School and Richmond College, gave the toast of “The Gold Coast Aborigines’ Rights Protection Society.”—Mr. Gibson said:—

“It is a grand thing when a people recognises that it has a heritage of ancestral rights; when it feels that the past is not a nameless, shameful shadow, and realises that its forefathers have in the long, long years evolved a system of customs and usages which are trustworthy, practicable and expedient in the economy and polity of the present. There is always the possibility that new legislative measures may be proposed which, however sincere may be the promoters, laws and customs on which the social fabric of our law is based. To prevent these is the object and aim of the Society which entertains us to-night, for it seeks to preserve the old, not because of its antiquity but because of its intrinsic value.

“Through always being in a position of criticising the weak and attacking the false there is a danger that due praise

would not be given to the true and a possibility of such a Society degenerating into a permanent opposition, we can all congratulate this Society on the even balance which typifies both its words and its actions. We appreciate not only the dignity and fearlessness which has always characterised its attack on what it feels to be false, but also the charity and forbearance with which it has treated its opponents and the welcome which it always has offered to that which is good and true.

"We all of us recognise that all true and lasting reforms must be first internal.

"Tribes and factions can only be transformed into a nation from within. That is the principle which actuated the founders of this Society.

"The aim and to a great extent the achievement of the Society, is the union of what I may term the acidic and basic radicals of the Gold Coast into a compound of sweetness and stability. The attention which the Society has given to such side issues as commerce, especially agriculture, education, with particular reference to secondary education, and journalism, with regards to their official organ, which is an honest attempt to supply a journal free from those blemishes which so often disfigure colonial newspapers, all these show the sincerity and wisdom of its members.

"It would hardly be my desire to wish this Society long life. I hope that it will never succumb to senile decay, or to that chest complaint associated with West African currency, but that, its objects being attained, it will be enabled to retire gracefully when by reason of an amended constitution, the Aborigines Rights are adequately advocated in that governing body which is so largely responsible for our welfare. I ask you all to be upstanding and to drink 'Success and Prosperity to the Gold Coast Aborigines' Rights Protection Society."

"In response to this toast the Rev. S. R. B. Attoh-Ahuma, M.A., the Secretary of the Society, thus delivered himself:—

"May it please your Excellency, ladies and gentlemen,

"The proposer of this toast has often amused me by calling himself an "adopted Aborigine," and all

who have just heard him will no doubt agree with me when I say that if he had been bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh, he could not have done better in presenting the work and worth of the Aborigines' Society. In the name and on behalf of the officers and members of the parent Society and the branches at Axim and Accra respectively, therefore, I thank the Rev. Gibson for the eloquent manner in which he has proposed the toast in question and you ladies and gentlemen for the enthusiastic reception you have so generously accorded it. I must premise by saying how overwhelmed we are by the most favourable remarks that fell from the lips of His Excellency in the course of his splendid and instructive speech with respect to the Society. We owe a deep debt of gratitude to the Governor for his good opinion of us. It is very much to be regretted that after the lapse of fifteen years it should be at all necessary to disabuse the minds of people in certain quarters who still maintain that the Gold Coast Aborigines' Rights Protection Society exists for the sole purpose of opposing all legislative measures emanating from His Majesty's Government right or wrong. That is not a fact. Others seem to harbour the idea that its members are more or less influenced by a morbid love of cheap notoriety, and some even go the length of presuming that it is with the object of self-advertisement that they meet week after week, year in, year out. No, your Excellency, ladies and gentlemen, the Society exists to disseminate the principles of true citizenship, and it is the earnest endeavour of its members to be only useful in the service of their home and country. We are proud, therefore, to think that the Governor has no share in the opinion and judgment of our traducers. I can assure you that we are actuated by no unworthy or sinister motives; with the very best intentions and with hearts sincere we live to do all the good we can to the sons and daughters of the

soil. We have not impeded and we do not impede the advancement of the Government in any shape or form; on the other hand, we have in some notable instances accelerated and do still try to accelerate it. The Society has never done anything antagonistic to the good Government of the country since its inauguration 15 years ago. Another point that must be submitted is the unwarranted assumption that the Society originated with and is engineered by a band of educated men in the community. That also is not a fact. There are no professional patriots in the Society. The personnel of this political organisation consists of gentlemen some of whom have in their own right reversionary interests in the Stools occupied by the ruling Kings and Chiefs of the day, while others are closely related to them; consequently, it would be suicidal for any of them to do anything out of harmony with the true spirit of national advancement. This, however, does not preclude them from vehemently opposing any measure that in the opinion of members is detrimental to the customary rights and usages of the people they represent, or is subversive of the traditions and privileges of the country. In the Declaration of Constitution are recorded the origin and the specific aims and objects of the Society. Sir Frederick Mitchell Hodgson, K.C.M.G., was the first to extend to us the right hand of fellowship within the precincts of this very Castle, and subsequent Governors have not been backward in recognising the usefulness of the Society. Whatever doubts and suspicions lurked in the minds of our opponents should have been completely set at rest by the emphatic pronouncement of Mr. Special Commissioner Belfield, when in Paragraph 152 of his report—copies of which you gentlemen, I trust, have secured—he absolutely exonerates the educated members of the Executive Committee. Our Bye-Laws are based on the principles I have already referred to.

I challenge anyone here to-night to say aught against the integrity of the Aborigines' Society; these principles of sympathy, goodwill, and kindly consideration it is our honest intention to strictly adhere to. If this were a Court of Justice I should like to put the District Commissioner and the Provincial Commissioner into the witness box, and then your Excellency and you, ladies and gentlemen, shall be convinced that the Aborigines' Rights Protection Society has not been a negligible quantity in the political affairs at least of the Central Province during their tenure of office. The Society is a force to reckon with; until our Commissioners and other officers in authority became absolutely familiar with the idiosyncracies, customs, laws, habits and modes of thought peculiar to the native, until they knew what it is to *think black*, as Miss Kingsley puts it, the Aborigines' Society shall ever remain a force to reckon with in the administration of the Government of this Colony and Protectorate. The Society has stood for, stands for, and shall always stand for, strenuous effort to ensure combination of the scattered interests and the unity of our natural Rulers; the establishment of harmonious relations one with the other and the cohesion of forces which make for the safety of the public and the welfare of the race. Mr. Gibson has referred in flattering terms to the efforts of the official organ of the Society; as the officer responsible for that department of our work, I must express my regrets for two reasons; first, that vernacular training has not sufficiently advanced to admit of the publication of the Society's journal in Fanti so as to secure the widest possible circulation. Secondly, English being an acquired language, it is possible that we may not have succeeded in giving adequate expression to our views and opinion in ventilating the grievances and requirements of our constituency; the little we have been able to do, however, has met with

the kind approval of eminent men among us; on the authority of the Rev. Griffin who, I am glad to find, has so far recovered from his recent illness to be at His Excellency's table to-night; on the authority of Bishop Hummel, of the Catholic Mission, who, I regret to state, is away to Europe on furlough; on the authority of the Principal of the Richmond College, and from the casual words to which the Governor gave utterance last Friday when the members of the Executive Committee had an interview with him, and when His Excellency graciously referred to certain temperate articles that had appeared in the *Nation*, we feel encouraged and enheartened to go forward in the thorny path of journalism in West Africa; and we promise you that so long as we are connected with the Society's official organ no scurrilous contribution shall find accommodation in its columns. Finally, we indulge the hope that when Sir Hugh has studied the Society from every point of view, and has satisfied himself of its merits and capabilities His Excellency would be pleased to make the Gold Coast Aborigines' Rights Protection Society the authorised channel for the practical realisation of that frank co-operation which he seeks."

"Our Natural Rulers" was proposed by T. F. E. Jones, Esq., Senior Vice-President, in these words:

"Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen,—With great pleasure I rise to propose the toast of 'Our Natural Rulers.' But I am afraid, Mr. President, the Chairman of this function has made a wrong choice in calling me to rise to propose the toast, as I am not fluent in English speaking, which to me is an acquired language. I shall, however, try to do the best I can.

"Our Natural Rulers have always been the instruments in the hands of the Government for the administration of the Colony and Protectorate. They have always been assisting the Government in every direction. This hall has been generally known as 'The Palaver Hall.' Although

there is doubt as to whether palaver is an English word, yet it is generally understood to mean a cause or matter, hence palaver hall was known to be where matters or causes of civil and criminal nature as well as political were adjudicated by the Judicial Assessor together with our Natural Rulers. In case of legislation, the Governor convened a meeting of them all to come to Cape Coast to confer with them before any law was passed, when each ruler carried with him such law and caused a Gong-Gong to be beaten in his Division for the information of his subjects. What do we see now? Instead of the beating of Gong-Gong through the medium of our Natural Rulers as before stated, the Government seems to think that the publication of any new law in the Government Gazette is sufficient notification to the public, not considering that the number of those who could read and write in this country is less than about five per cent.

“Laws are every now and again passed without their knowledge and usual co-operation, hence the absolute ignorance of themselves and their subjects of any new legislation, until he himself or his subject has been charged with a breach of same, when it is explained to him in the dock.

“We hope it will not be so during your administration, so that the ancient co-operation (if dead) might be resuscitated. Our present Natural Rulers are the successors of those who were parties to the ‘Bond of 1844’ in which document they conferred a part of their inherent Criminal Jurisdiction to her late Majesty the Queen of England.

“But for the assistance of our Natural Rulers, how difficult would it have been for the Government to quietly govern the masses? There would have been a necessity to station District Commissioners all over the hinterland, and consider the amount of revenue that might be required to do so.

“We further hope that your Excellency will find your way to take our said Natural Rulers into your confidence in the administration of this country.

“I beg to again ask you all to drink the health of our Natural Rulers.”

“Responding, E. J. P. Brown, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, spoke as follows:—

"Your Excellency, Mr. President, Officers and Members, Ladies and Gentlemen,—

"In thanking you in the name and on behalf of our Natural Rulers, whose toast you have just honoured, I beg to explain one circumstance in connection with this pleasant gathering, and that is the absence of our Natural Rulers. They are unable to be present to-night owing to a rigid rule of native etiquette which forbids their partaking food in public. At this period of the evening I do not intend to inflict upon you a very lengthy speech. In fact, this is not the time for a political speech, but I feel a temptation with this hall and the present gathering deserves mention. This is the historic Palaver Hall, as was told you by the last speaker, in which had met the predecessors of our Natural Rulers and previous Governors of this Colony and Protectorate for the deliberation of political matters, the enactment of laws, and the trial of political offenders.

"Our Native Rulers acted as judges and legislators, the Governor sitting with them as President. It was in this historic hall that the celebrated Governor Maclean, conjointly with some of the forbears of our Kings and Chiefs, made a Treaty with the King of Ashanti, which defined, for the first time, the extent of British jurisdiction in this country. The famous Bond of 1844, whereby the forbears of our Natural Rulers conferred certain jurisdictional rights in criminal cases on the British Government, was also signed in this very hall. Speaking of the Bond of 1844 reminds me of the opinion which I once heard a Government official (not in the Service now) express—'The Bond of 1844 is now obsolete,' he said. That is not true, for were that so, the British Government would have no footing in this country. The Bond of 1844 has subsequently been supplemented and emphasised by the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance—a regulative measure, placing on a proper basis the inherent jurisdictional rights of our Native Rulers. Eight years after the signing of the Bond, the people of this country, as the allies of the British Government, sent a combined expedition against the notorious King Kweku Akai to punish him for his fiendish atrocities and studied defiance to British authority. He was captured, tried, found guilty, and sentenced to death in this very hall by the Kings and Chiefs and the Governor as President, but his sentence was commuted to that of penal servitude for life; he died in 1852. It was also in this hall that the first legislative meeting, composed of the

forbears of our Natural Rulers and the Governor took place when, in order to carry on the Government of the country, sanction was given to the British Government by the Kings and Chiefs to impose customs duties for the establishment of schools, the erection of works of public utility, and the increase of the judiciary.

“ The Aborigines’ Society is composed of our Natural Rulers, the officers and members present here to-night being the Executive Body, carrying out the wishes and directions of our Natural Rulers. The present gathering, therefore, forms a happy link in the chain of unbroken friendship and loyalty of the people of this Country towards the good British People which our Natural Rulers recall with just pride and pleasure. Having thus taken an equal part in the administration of this Country, our Natural Rulers recently addressed a petition to His Majesty the King, praying for a restoration to their former position in the way of fuller representation on the Legislative Council. For some reason or other His Majesty would not be advised to alter the present system. Your Excellency has asked for a free, frank, and cordial co-operation from our Natural Rulers, which they are prepared now and always to give to Your Excellency, but there can be no better and surer way of giving full effect to such co-operation than by giving them a proper voice in the government of the Country. It may be urged that there is now on the Legislative Council one of our Natural Rulers, namely, Konor Mate Kole. But as far as I am informed, he is there representing agricultural interests in accordance with the expressed wish of the late Governor, Sir J. P. Rodger, when he rightly recommended that owing to the growing importance of the agricultural community, its interests should be assured in the form of a representative on the Legislative Council. His appointment, therefore, on the death of the late Honourable Sarbah was obviously not to fill the place left vacant by the deceased member, but to create a new membership altogether.

“ Your Excellency’s varied career in the East and other parts of the British Empire, where the preservation of the integrity of Native States is the primary object of the Government, convinces us that during Your Excellency’s administration our Natural Rulers will once more be made to take their proper share in the administration of this Country as was done in the days of our forbears.

“ Our Natural Rulers are working together for the solidarity of national aims, and although in the days of the

Fanti Confederation (between 1867 and 1872) much discouragement and strong opposition were brought to bear on the efforts of our forbears to establish for themselves lasting foundations for self-government, to-day an enlightened Administration is on the fair way of making amends for the mistakes of a former administration by the very sympathetic recognition it has given, and still continues to give, to the Gold Coast Aborigines' Rights Protection Society—an offspring of the famous but short-lived Fanti Confederation. In conclusion, it is gratifying to observe that the present occasion evidences a state of things which is eloquent of the fact that our Natural Rulers are in unity, and that unity is in the Country for the prosperity and well-being of all concerned."

"The last toast on the list was safely placed in the hands of Tufuhin Kobina Ayensu (Chief W. Z. Coker).

#### TOAST, GOLD COAST COLONY AND PROTECTORATE.

"I have been asked to travel within a very wide area of about 82,000 square miles, with a population of nearly three million people, who are ruled by their Natural Rulers—Amanhin, Ahinfu, Mantseme, Konor, Seriki, Fia, &c., &c., and all these Natural Rulers are under the protection of the wisest colonisers—the British Government. The Gold Coast was first discovered by the Phœnicians many years before the birth of Christ, and we traded with them in gold and aggrey beads. Since then we have had intercourse with Europe, and have been exporting gold dust and other products. Each year the exports have been increasing by leaps and bounds. The British Government has had communication with us for the last 200 years, and it was only during the time that Mr. Chamberlain took office as Secretary of State for the Colonies that the Gold Coast was brought into prominence before the British public as one of the valuable estates of the British Crown. There is vast and unlimited wealth in the Colony—rubber, timber, cocoa, palm-oil, palm-kernels, kola-nuts, &c., and I believe we have also diamonds, if we could only get experts to trace them.

"Our difficulty is transport. What we require is transport facilities, and if we get these facilities from the hinterland to the coast, I think the Gold Coast will in a few years be one of the richest estates in the British Empire. The Gold

Coast, as you all know, especially those who have seen the gold mines, have noted the vast wealth with which it abounds, and I am sure that in a few years we will be shipping not only gold, but also diamonds.

“In conclusion, I submit to you the toast of ‘The Gold Coast Colony and Protectorate.’”

“The Provincial Commissioner, in responding, referred to the present position of the Colony as a most important one in the British Empire. The country was an extensive territory. During the previous year the Gold Coast beat the record in the quantity of cocoa shipped for the European markets from the various cocoa producing centres. He wished for the country greater success and prosperity.

“The Governor briefly proposed the health of J. P. Brown, Esq., the Chairman, and said how successful the evening’s function had been, trusting that the great Society might have success, long life, and prosperity. After President Brown had replied in suitable terms, and had assured the company that as long as he lived his services would always be at the disposal of his country, the anthem of the Empire, “God save the King,” was lustily sung, and a most enjoyable evening was brought to a close.

## 4

“MEMORANDUM OF REQUIREMENTS AND GRIEVANCES OF THE RATEPAYERS OF CAPE COAST RESPECTFULLY SUBMITTED BY THE UNOFFICIAL MEMBERS FOR THE KIND CONSIDERATION OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR.

“*Water Supply.* The question of water supply is a sore one. About two years ago it was proposed by the Government to send an expert to Cape Coast to test areas between the hills in the town with a view to creating spring tanks as reservoirs for a general water supply. This scheme was never carried out

*General Drainage.* This should be on a more improved and extensive scale. For example, the main drain requires widening, deepening, or raising the walls on the sides to allow a free flow of the large volume of water which overflows its banks and does considerable damage to adjacent houses during the rainy season. There are also many by-way drains in the town which require immediate attention. Some of the streets also require attention.

*Town Surveyor.* The appointment of an Engineer or Surveyor for the Council independently of the Public Works Department to facilitate the work of the Council, demands immediate attention.

*Native Club House.* A Native Club House, combining a Town Hall for the Municipality to be managed and conducted by the Council is urgently required to meet the pressing social needs of the people. Accra and Secondee have Native Club Houses.

*Building Regulations.* These have been carried out by the Council officials without consulting and obtaining the sanction of the Council. Demolition of houses and refusal of permits for buildings take place as by "Orders of the Council" when the Council, as a matter of fact, had not met and given such directions. No discretion is also exercised with respect to the discretionary provision in the Towns Ordinance, the exercise of the powers of which is vested in the Town Council by Section 38 (1) of the Town Councils Ordinance No. 17 of 1894.

*Housing Problem.* The principal objection of the Official Members is with respect to swish buildings. It is an admitted fact that the Cape Coast swish is the strongest in the country. Even at Axim, where the swish is not of much strength for building purposes, a departure has been made in the Regulations

to allow the people to build their houses with swish. There are swish houses in this town built since the seventeenth century which are still in good condition. There is no opposition to any suggestion as to ventilation, &c., and the proper planning of houses; what the people desire is that they should be allowed to build with swish as heretofore on sanitary principles. It may not be out of place to suggest that in the case of a whole locality, where the people have been asked to give up their houses, ample compensation should be paid to enable them to acquire suitable sites to build on. Lest it may be feared that the moneys so paid to owners of demolished houses may not be utilised for building purposes, it is respectfully suggested that all moneys paid under such circumstances be deposited in the bank by the Council, on the owner's behalf, and builders contracted for at a reasonable estimate to build houses on approved sanitary plans. Any balance to be paid to the owners after completion of the buildings.

*Enforcement of Sanitary Measures.* In enforcing sanitary measures, although firmness in action is necessary, yet sympathy with a view to getting the people to realise the benefit to be derived, ought to be shown by the Sanitary officials. For example, where a nuisance complained of has been abated before the expiration of the notice, people have been summoned and fined for the same nuisance. Owing to the want of kindly consideration on the part of Sanitary officials in dealing with sanitary questions, the people have come to regard the Town Council as a medium for oppression in the name of sanitary improvements.

*Town Council unpopular with the people.* The people are not enamoured of the Town Council as at present constituted. When it was first extended to

this town the people objected to it as a quasi-Government institution under executive control by reason of the President being always an official and also the preponderance of official over unofficial votes. Until some time in 1906, the people refused to elect members to the Council. However, as the promise was held out to them that the Council was instituted to train them in the system of self-government, and that upon showing efficiency in the matter the Council would be given over to them to manage and conduct for their benefit, they elected their own representatives to see how far that promise would be carried out. Since then, the views of the Unofficial Members of the Council have been given little or no attention. While one President sympathetically inclines to the views of the Unofficial Members, his successor takes no notice of them. The constant changes of officials, owing to the present leave system of the Civil Service, makes it impossible to secure continuity of policy—consequently the Town Council has not been a success. Not satisfied with the present condition of things, the people refused to return members to the Council at the last election, with the result that the Governor nominated the present Unofficial Members.

*Substantial Subvention to the Town Council.* Owing to the commercial depression of the town through the introduction of railways in the Eastern and Western Provinces, and the consequent diversion of its trade routes, the value of houses has gone down, many houses being untenanted. The people have great difficulty in meeting their rates, and although the percentage of 5 per cent. on the assessed rates has been reduced to 3 per cent., the present heavy areas of rates are a proof of the inability of the people to pay their rates. It is respectfully suggested that a substantial subvention be made to the

Council to enable it to effect the necessary improvements if it is so urgently required.

“The statement is reiterated that the Council as at present constituted denies the ratepayers the advantages of self-government. It is therefore respectfully suggested that the Town Councils Ordinance requires some material amendments which should secure to the people a proper form of municipal government as was held out to them on the application of the Town Councils Ordinance to this town.

(Signed)

E. J. P. BROWN,

T. F. E. JONES,

J. D. ABRAHAM,

J. W. DE GRAFT JOHNSON,

Unofficial Members C. C. T. C.

“Your Excellency,

“We, the merchants of Cape Coast, have the honour to welcome your Excellency here, and we trust that your visit may result in the improvement of trade and conditions generally.

“We have been courteously invited by the Provincial Commissioner to lay before your Excellency our suggestions for improvements which we deem necessary. We gladly avail ourselves of this opportunity to bring to your Excellency’s notice the following:—

“I. In order to facilitate the shipment of produce, the erection of a shed near the beach for storage purposes would be of inestimable advantage. Messrs. the West African Lighterage and Transport Co., Ltd., are willing to bear the expense of the building, provided a suitable site be granted to them, and all difficulties would be removed if your Excellency could

arrange to allot to them the open space at the base of Castle Hill, opposite the Customs beach.

II. The two approaches to the Customs beach, *via* Low Town and Castle Hill, are at present in an exceedingly bad state of repair. All imports and exports have to pass over these roads, and their permanent repair to withstand a four ton load is urgently required. Accumulations of water on the Low Town road have occasionally rendered haulage impossible.

III. It is with regret we have to point out that the telegraph service is somewhat unsatisfactory. Mutilations of telegrams and cablegrams, and delay in their delivery are of frequent occurrence, and any steps your Excellency may see fit to take to improve the local service will be greatly appreciated.

IV. The Jukwa and Prahsu roads, the only arteries for the conveyance of produce, would be greatly improved by rendering all bridges at an early date capable of permitting motor traction; more especially would we call your Excellency's attention to the bridge five miles hence on the Jukwa road, and 17 miles on the Prahsu road. It would materially benefit farmers and merchants alike were these two roads continued, that to Jukwa so as to reach Mampong, and the other main road carried from Dunkwa to Prahsu. As soon as the roads are generally in a suitable condition to sustain motor traffic, there is every reason to believe the exports from this port will very considerably increase.

V. Under existing conditions the merchants are seriously hampered by lack of space for drying cocoa before shipment. The factories cannot adequately cope with the difficulty, and we would respectfully request your Excellency's permission to utilise in this respect certain open spaces adjacent to our warehouses. We would suggest, on behalf of Messrs.

the African Association, Ltd., Millers, Ltd., and the Compagnie Francaise de l'Afrique Occidentale, the privilege of using the rectangle in Intin Street known as Watt's land; for Messrs. H. B. W. Russell & Co., a section of the Victoria Park; and for Messrs. J. J. Fischer & Co., a plot at the base of Hospital Hill.

VI. Only cases relating to amounts of under £50 at present fall within the jurisdiction of the District Commissioner's Court. This sum represents virtually the value of only one puncheon of rum, and a considerable rum trade is carried on in Cape Coast. It would be a distinct advantage to merchants were the limit raised to £80 or £100, and thus obviate the delay caused by waiting for hearing in the High Court.

"Expressing our thanks for the opportunity kindly accorded by your Excellency to submit our proposals, we beg to subscribe ourselves,

"For F. & A. Swanzy, T. PHILIP.

For African Association, V. HARRIS.

For Millers, Ltd., E. H. BREW.

For C. F. A. O., F. CONSTANT.

For B. B. W. A., Ltd., F. S. ALLEN.

For J. J. Fischer & Co., Ltd., J. E. HAYFORD.

For the West African Lighterage & Transport Co.,  
J. CARASOV.

## 5

"THE SECCONDEE ADDRESSES TO HIS EXCELLENCY SIR HUGH CHARLES CLIFFORD, KNIGHT COMMANDER OF THE MOST DISTINGUISHED ORDER OF SAINT MICHAEL AND SAINT GEORGE, GOVERNOR AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE GOLD COAST COLONY.

"May it please your Excellency,

"We, the undersigned Omanhin of English Seccondee, the Omanhin of Dutch Seccondee, and

others, the Councillors, Elders, Captains, and the principal native inhabitants of Secondee as well as the Amanhin, Ahinfu (Kings and Chiefs) and others, the principal native inhabitants of Secondee-Dixcove District, beg leave respectfully to welcome your Excellency to the Gold Coast Colony, and to Secondee in particular, and regret the circumstances which have made it impossible for Lady Clifford to share in the hearty greeting which we bring you this day, and pray to God that He may preserve both Lady Clifford and your Excellency in good health long to administer the affairs of this Dependency.

“Your Excellency has taken up the reins of Government at a time in the history of the country when, to ensure success, it is necessary for all sections of the community to accord your Excellency frank co-operation. We are here to-day to assure your Excellency of such co-operation during your administration, and we have reason to believe that in this we echo the sincere sentiment of the whole country.

“In this connection we cannot help recalling the memorable message which her late gracious Majesty, Queen Victoria of revered memory, caused to be sent on the 17th February, 1908, to one of our Amanhin through the then Governor, in these words:—“King:—I am directed by the Acting Governor to inform you that the telegram which you and others sent to the Queen on the 21st December was duly received, and that His Excellency is commanded to state that her Majesty was pleased to receive it very graciously, and that her Majesty does not doubt that the Governor of the Gold Coast will cordially co-operate with you for the welfare and advancement of the Colony.”

“Your Excellency will see that from the time of the late Queen-Empress the relations between the Crown

and the people have been marked with a sincere devotion to the person of the Sovereign and loyalty to the throne. And we beg to assure your Excellency of the profound sympathy of the people in your recent anxiety as to the health of your Excellency's consort and household. We trust that it will be within the power of science to determine definitely the causes of these outbreaks, and to devise means for their prevention.

“Before your Excellency's arrival in this Dependency the record of your Excellency's enlightened official career in other parts of his Majesty's dominions beyond the seas had reached us. In dealing with the people of the Gold Coast your Excellency will come in contact with customs and institutions which may be novel, but which nevertheless have their foundation in the history and evolution of the people. From what we know of your Excellency's broad-mindedness we are sure that the peculiar position of the Gold Coast will meet with due sympathy and consideration on the part of your Excellency.

“We have read with pleasure in the local press of your Excellency's successful tour in the Eastern Province, and we are convinced that the interest of the general colony will be advanced if your Excellency can make it convenient to extend your visit to other parts of the Colony, including the Central Province.

“We are, your Excellency's obedient, humble servants,

ANAISI II., Omanhin, Dutch Secondees;

INKETSIA, Omanhin, English Secondees;

and others.

“Secondee,  
22nd April, 1912.

“ Sir,

“ We, the undersigned Omanhin of Dutch Secondee, the Omanhin of English Secondee and others, the Councillors, Elders, Captains and the principal native inhabitants of Secondee, beg leave through you to express to His Excellency the Governor our appreciation of the opportunity given us of laying before him our grievances and wants, and in doing so desire to assure him of our wish in all loyalty to co-operate with the local authorities in the good government of the town of Secondee.

2. Our first grievance is with respect to the taking over of several town plots by the Government. While we recognise that for public purposes land may now and again be required by the Government, yet we must respectfully object to the taking of land intended for public purposes and afterwards Government letting out such lands to private individuals on leases.

Among instances of this in Dutch Secondee part of the town may be mentioned the site of the premises of the Bank, Allen's Hotel, and Messrs. Swanzy's business houses, which, originally acquired on the understanding that they were required for the improvement of the town, have since been leased to the Bank, Messrs. Swanzy, and to the late W. E. Sam for substantial consideration monies and annual rentals.

3. We would point out here that if the object of the Government was to ensure good buildings being put up on the sites in question, the owners of the lands might have been given time to put up such buildings themselves or to grant leaseholds of the premises to suitable applicants, thus ensuring to themselves the rents.

We wish to point out that by the methods adopted by the Government the holders of these private lands have been deprived of the income which they might otherwise have derived from them.

4. In the acquisition of these lands by Government the owners have no option in the matter. In the particular instances cited the owners for a long time refused payment, and it was upon their apprehension that if payment was not

taken they might lose what had been offered that they were induced to accept such payment.

5. It might also be pointed out that in these Government acquisitions of town areas the owners deal with the Government at a disadvantage since there is no independent valuation, and the Government has practically the right to say how much it would give as consideration.

6. Another grievance with respect to our lands is that some of them are taken without in any way consulting the convenience of the owners or even consulting the chiefs upon the matter. The whole of the land from the Sanitary Engineer's office along Council Road to River Essa and thence on the right bank to the Central Prison and from thence to the Colonial Hospital back to the Sanitary Engineer's office was thus taken, and there has been no consideration paid for it.

These lands belong to the Stool of the Omanhin of Dutch Secondee, and it is considered by him and his people a great hardship that they should thus be deprived of their property.

7. Further from Central Prison to Abrayaba village on the new railway line, a pillar has been fixed by the Government. We have the same objection to this area being taken without consulting the owners or their convenience.

8. Again from new British Secondee (Essikadu) to Kojo Krome has been taken without consulting the owners or their convenience.

The people fail to see why these appropriations should be made without their consent, and beg that His Excellency may look into the matter.

9. With regard to appropriations in Dutch Secondee, it is necessary to point out that while Government are letting out Stool lands at a rental, the chief's own people have no land to build upon.

10. We wish also to complain of the way in which the Amanhin are made to lower their dress to the waist before the Commissioner. This is contrary to custom, as all that is expected of an Omanhin in paying respects is to touch his head band and bow. The compelling of an Omanhin to lower his apparel to the waist is an act of humiliation about which the people feel deeply, and we shall be pleased if His

Excellency would direct that due consideration be given to the Amanhin.

11. The fishing people of the town would ask His Excellency to consider the question of providing them with a suitable beach for going a fishing and landing, after preventing them from using the old landing place.

They would suggest the beach from Kleinart's brick works to Accra town beach. It is a great hardship for the fishermen to have no recognised place for going off or landing.

12. The land also from Mr. Christian's bungalow to Mr. Kleinart's brick works is also taken by the Government without rent being paid to the owners.

13. Another matter which we desire to bring to His Excellency's notice is the unfavourable light in which our educated sons are regarded. Their interests are the same as our own, and it is only natural to expect that in all public matters they should be identified with us. It is also natural that having important matters to lay before His Excellency, after full consideration by ourselves, Councillors and people (both educated and uneducated), we should have the same put in suitable shape by the writer thereof, and beg respectfully that your Excellency might regard the sentiments herein as our own grievances and wants.

14. We desire also to bring to Your Excellency's notice the hardship on the inhabitants of Secondee being shifted from site to site. The people of English Secondee have been shifted once at much inconvenience, and they pray that their rumoured removal also from new English Secondee (Essikadu) may be put a stop to. Equally would the people of Dutch Secondee object to their being shifted from Accra Town which is at present occupied by them.

"We have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servants,  
 ANAISI II., Omanhin Dutch Secondee,  
 INKETSIA, Omanhin English Secondee,  
 and others.

"Writer: CASELY HAYFORD,  
 Anona Chambers,  
 Secondee.

"May 4, 1913."

—"The Gold Coast Nation," May 22 and 29, 1913.

## APPENDIX C.

## FURTHER DEPUTATION PRESS CORRESPONDENCE.

## LANDS AND FORESTS IN WEST AFRICA.

To the Editor of "The Times."

Sir,—It would be obviously improper for us, under existing circumstances, to allow ourselves to be drawn into a controversy with the native gentlemen who have signed the letter in "The Times" of to-day. But lest confusion should arise in the public mind, the following facts may be usefully recorded.

Your correspondents are in this country to protest against a specific Ordinance brought forward by the Gold Coast Government after a detailed investigation by Mr. H. N. Thompson, Conservator of Forests, Southern Nigeria. [Cd.4993.] The principle with which this Ordinance is concerned is the preservation of certain forest areas in the Gold Coast and Ashanti from destruction and over-exploitation. We understand that the Secretary of State has received the deputation of protest, and has taken careful note of the arguments placed before him.

Partly as the result of a report [Cd.6278] on the system of alienation of native lands in the Gold Coast and Ashanti framed by Mr. Conway Belfield, who was appointed by Lord Crewe for the purpose, a Committee is now sitting to investigate the problem both as regards the Gold Coast and other parts of British West Africa.

Mr. Belfield was also instructed to furnish observations on the proposed Forest Ordinance. He did so. [Cd.6278.]

The Committee referred to has had your correspondents from West Africa before it, and has taken their evidence.

The question of the conservation of forest areas in the Gold Coast and the land question as a whole are, therefore, being carefully investigated and considered at this moment by a Committee, whose labours will, in the nature of the case, last many months.

Your obedient servants,

E. D. MOREL,  
JOSIAH C. WEDGWOOD.  
PHILIP MORRELL,  
NOEL BUXTON,  
ALBERT SPICER.

July 18.

GOLD COAST AFFAIRS.

Westminster Palace Hotel,  
Victoria Street,  
London, S.W.

To the Editor of the "African Mail."

Sir,—We notice the reproduction in your issue of 26th July, 1912, of the reply over the signatures of Messrs. E. D. Morel, Josiah C. Wedgwood, Philip Morrell, Noel Buxton, and Albert Spicer, to our letter in the "Times" of 18th July. Reluctant as we are to appear in print in any controversy bearing upon the Gold Coast Forest Bill, 1911, we are compelled to offer an explanation in view of the apparent Press campaign which you are vigorously waging against the interests of our people, whose real cause and true interests you seem to wholly misapprehend, much less to appreciate.

It being far from our intention to enter into any controversy in this matter with you and the other signatories to the letter under reference, who, by the way, are members of the West African Lands Committee, we did not reply to our said letter to "The Times."\*

The position is too well understood to need any reminding that the enquiry into the Forest Bill, 1911, of the Gold Coast, and the West African Lands Committee's investigation into the system of land alienation in West Africa, with special reference to the Northern Nigeria land system, are not one and the same thing.

You and your co-signatories are not unaware that the Forest Ordinance of the Gold Coast, against which our people have protested, is drafted after the Forestry Ordinance of Nigeria.† And it must occur to you and them that the Forest Ordinance, the main principle of which is to compulsorily reserve the alleged "unoccupied" or "uncultivated" lands of the people and afterwards lease them to outsiders, cannot but have the effect of nationalising the lands of the people and of vesting ultimate ownerships thereof in the Crown, with whom, under the Bill, dealings with the lands must be negotiated. Such a system of land administration forms the basic principle of the one prevailing in Northern Nigeria, which is a conquered country, and which does not stand on the same footing as the Gold Coast, an unconquered, unceded, and unpurchased country.‡

Mr. Belfield, in his report on the Forest Bill, has, in the main, admitted the force of the people's contention, and recommended that the principle of compulsory reservation, and subsequent grant by way of lease to outsiders, should not be proceeded with by the Government. Upon this point Mr. Belfield says:—

"Certain portions of Sections 14, 15 and 16 appear to me to be open to grave objections, inasmuch as they indicate that when Government has secured the control of a forest area by the creation of a reserve, it proposes to lease or otherwise dispose of portions of it to third parties, or to give authority by way of licence to collect and remove forest produce. The declaration of such intention is one of the points which has aroused the hostility of the chiefs to the measure. They are not satisfied that Government will be content with using its powers merely to effect the collection of forest produce, but anticipate that once such powers have been taken, the reserves will be cut up and alienated as concessions or leased for purposes in no way connected with forest conservancy.

"Having regard to the wording of those sections, I should hesitate to say that such anticipations are devoid of foundation, and I think that the people have reason on their side in objecting to provisions which empower the Government to vest in other persons any interest in reserves of which it has undertaken the management."

Shortly after our arrival in this country\* there appeared another article in "The Times" from the pen of its

Nigerian correspondent, who, we understand, is yourself. On the 19th July, the "African Mail," edited by you, in a leading article dealing with Mr. H. Conway Belfield's report, commented on it, and pointed out the desirability of introducing measures to check the alleged depletion of the forests, which we contend is not correct in view of the existing facts to the contrary, and also in view of an adverse criticism by Mr. G. D. Hazzledine on Mr. H. N. Thompson's report on the West African forests, which you caused to be published in your defunct journal, the "West African Mail," of October, 1904, now known as the "African Mail."† Mr. Belfield contradicts the alleged depletion of the forests in the following passage in his report:—

"The extent of land which has been alienated to Europeans in the Colony up to the present time bears no more than a very fractional proportion to the area which remains; but in using the term 'alienated,' I must be understood to refer only to those properties the disposition of which has been formally completed by the issue of certificates of validity, and not to include the much more extensive area, in respect of which notices have been filed under the Concessions Ordinance, most of which have cumbered the books of the Court for many years, and of which only a small proportion will be further proceeded with."

Mr. Belfield publishes in his said report a valuable table from the Director of Surveys, giving details of the land disposed of year by year during the last decade. The approximate total area of the Colony is 24,300 square miles. Mr. Belfield further states in his said report:—"I believe it will be found that misconception, with regard to the area alienated, has arisen in the minds of people in England through inability to distinguish between those lands the disposition of which has been finally completed by the issue of certificates of validity, and those which are locally referred to as being 'under notice.' The latter are those in respect of which notice has been filed in accordance with the provisions of Section 9 of the Concessions Ordinance; but in the vast majority of instances no further action is contemplated, and they continue to congest the Court records only because no efficient machinery has been provided for their removal. Still, so long as they are there, they must be included in any compilation of lands which are subject to the provisions of the Ordinance and within the cognisance of the Court, and as they aggregate in area a total exceeding 3,000

square miles, it is easy to understand that the inclusion of such figures in any return of lands alienated must convey a totally erroneous impression of the extent to which it has been disposed of."†

It is important to bear in mind that neither yourself nor any of the signatories to the letter under reference has been to the Gold Coast, and therefore you cannot be expected to know the conditions of the country as well as we do. It is not improbable that you and your co-signatories may have been misinformed as to the actual conditions there prevailing. §

You and your co-signatories may not know that the people of the soil have little or no representation on the Legislature of the country. Avenues of higher and other administrative appointments, which were open to the sons of the soil two or three generations ago, when the country had not reached its present state of development, are no longer open to them notwithstanding the spread of education and general knowledge and the vast economic development of the cocoa and other industries which has taken place in recent times.

It appears that much of the difficulty in this connection arises from a want of sympathy with the view of the sons of the soil as regards local conditions, and which can only be remedied by an adequate and independent representation on the Gold Coast Legislature.

These and the already unsatisfactory leave system of European officials, who invariably make short stay in the country through the frequent transfers to other Colonies just when they are beginning to understand the conditions of the place, whereby their successors are not infrequently compelled to follow up a subversive policy or abandon a useful one, must surely appear to you and your co-signatories that the people need to be more sympathised with and understood than the time-honoured way of treating the native view point of things that affect their material interests and welfare, as mere "humbug."

We deem it our duty to state that we did not give evidence before the West African Lands Committee as a deputation, as your letter would seem to suggest. In fact, when we were asked to do so we specially requested that our evidence might be taken not as members of the deputation, but as private individuals, our mission having no connection whatever with the said Committee.

From the last paragraph of your letter, it would appear that the Committee, of which you are members, has not only to deal incidentally with the Forest Ordinance, but also to deal with it specifically, and we are humbly of opinion that if justice is to be done to all parties, the other side of the question—that is, the people's case—must also be brought before the British public to enable it to form a correct view of the situation.

In conclusion, we regret to observe that whilst the matters under investigation are sub judice, you and your co-signatories, being members of the said Committee, should have written to the Press, pressing upon the public mind your views on the issues raised, on which you would have to report.||

We remain, Sir, your obedient servants,

T. F. E. JONES,  
CASELY HAYFORD,  
E. J. P. BROWN,  
B. W. QUARTEY-PAPAFIO, M.D.

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\* The letter in the "Times" to which allusion is here made was itself by way of a brief reply to a long and controversial communication which the signatories in question declined to discuss in view of the appointment of the Land Committee.

† On the contrary, the draft legislation referred to differs in several important particulars from the Southern Nigerian Ordinance.

‡ No one has ever suggested that it did.

\* The Deputation's arrival was, so far as we know, not publicly announced, and many persons interested in West African affairs were quite unaware of its presence in this country.

† Mr. Hazzledine is not an expert on tropical forestry. Mr. H. N. Thompson is one of the greatest living experts on the subject.

‡ This is precisely what the signatories of the letter in the "Times" declined to do, as set forth in the said letter. See footnote \* (col. 1, p. 485).

## APPENDIX D.

"THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS" AND THE FOREST  
BILL.

The following important reference to the Forest Bill occurred in the editorial columns of the *Review of Reviews* in its issue of August, 1912:—

"A question of native rights in the Gold Coast Colony has arisen out of the Forest Bill of 1911, and a deputation from the Native Chiefs and the million odd inhabitants is in London at the present time to voice the grievances of the natives in regard to it. Previous Bills met with the opposition of Kings and Chiefs, it being asserted that the rights of the natives would be interfered with. To a deputation to the Colonial Office in 1897, Mr. Chamberlain acknowledged the justice of the objections raised against the Bill, and it was prevented from becoming law. The present Bill also introduces similar encroachments, but under the name of management. If passed, it would give the Governor power to declare land subject to forest reservation; to prohibit the taking of timber, rubber, etc., during certain periods; and to constitute forest reserves. The deputation pleads that by taking away the control of the land from the Kings and Chiefs the whole fabric of native institutions will be destroyed. They cite the statement of the Conservator of Forests to show that the timber areas have scarcely been touched, that it is the native alone who is able to cultivate the soil to its utmost possibility, and that the European cannot dispense with him. It would, therefore, be a great mistake to deprive the native of the management of his own land. From time immemorial these lands have belonged to the natives, and it is by their labour that the great cocoa industry has been built up. If we wish them to remain independent and not suffer undue hardship, we ought to allow them the continued possession of their own land. It would be both unjust to those who are under our protection and contrary to the traditions of the British Empire were the British Government to be led away by the insidious whisperings of interested parties, and penalise the natives of the Gold Coast for their success in cocoa growing by destroying the whole fabric of their State constitution."

## APPENDIX E.

The following able review appeared in "Transactions of the Royal Scottish Arboricultural Society," Vol. XXVI. part II., July, 1912:—"Gold Coast Land Tenure and the Forest Bill, 1911. A review of the situation, by Casely Hayford, Barrister-at-Law." London: C. M. Phillips.

"The interesting pamphlet before us has been written with the view of enlisting the sympathy of the Colonial Office, Members of Parliament, and the people of this country in the case against this Bill, which has been ably stated by counsel, on behalf of the Kings and Chiefs and natives of the Gold Coast, at the Bar of the Legislative Council. The speeches of the various counsel engaged in the case, and the Governor's reply, are given in full. It appears that previous attempts at legislation on the same lines had been defeated owing to the opposition of the Kings and Chiefs, their main objection to the Bills being that each sought to infringe upon the inherent rights of the natives of the country in the ownership of their land. An attempt had apparently been made to show on behalf of the Government that there were waste and unoccupied—i.e., ownerless—lands in the country, but such a contention could not be upheld, and the various Bills never became law. The present Bill, it is asserted, introduces the same encroachments under the name of management. The Bill, if passed, would give the Governor in Council power to declare certain land subject to forest reservation; to prohibit the taking of timber, rubber, etc., during certain periods; to constitute forest reserves, and to manage native forest reserves. On behalf of the natives it was maintained that they could not understand the difference between management and confiscation. The Bill, they believe, would give the Government the whole power of management, and would sweep away the owners' rights to impose their own terms and conditions. It would seriously affect their inherent proprietary rights in the soil of their native land, and would tend to annihilate their social and

political organisations and institutions. The Governor, in replying to the criticisms of the Bill, said that he thought the objections raised were based upon misapprehension of its terms, and he pointed out that the sole object of the Bill was to prevent the wasteful working and destruction of the forests of the Colony, the Government having not the slightest intention of taking away the lands of the people.

“ The writer of the pamphlet goes on to draw conclusions from the facts that had been brought out in the discussion, insisting, first of all, that the land question of the Gold Coast and the principles appertaining to the tenure of the land had been finally settled by the Home Government long ago, and that it would be almost impossible to convince the natives that management such as is proposed under the Bill would not be a practical alienation of their rights in the land. It would be, he says, a disastrous error in policy to seek to alter in any material way the system of land tenure on the Gold Coast after the failure of various attempts which had been made in the past, because it is inconceivable to the native mind that any jurisdiction can exist without land and without the right and power of active management of such land. Take away the control of the land by the Kings and Chiefs, and you have practically destroyed the whole fabric of native institutions. If the Bill becomes law, lands might be reserved, and the real owner would have no right even to enter upon them without incurring a penalty, neither could he grant any concession without the Governor's consent, nor take any of the forest produce without a Government licence. As to the alleged destruction of the forests, he quotes the Conservator of Forests as saying that the timber areas had scarcely been touched. The same authority is also quoted to show that only the natives can successfully develop rubber planting. This, the writer says, puts the whole case in a nutshell. It is the native of the soil who must develop the possibilities of the soil, and, apart from him, European enterprise can do nothing; therefore to take over the management of the land from the native, and convert his condition into one little better than that which at one time prevailed in the Congo, would be a very bad blunder. The writer concludes with the following eloquent appeal: ‘ Please recognise the rights of indigenes; please admit that they have a right to an opinion in a matter in which they are vitally interested. Let the principle of ‘ Live and let live ’ be the guiding star in a constructive statesmanship, and all will be well. For, as His Excellency the Governor has wisely pointed out, even

measure well pressed down, as between European capital and native labour, thus and only thus, will the land yield its increase for the betterment of all.'

“The whole controversy shows, on the one hand, that the natives are very jealous of their rights in their native land, and very suspicious of any action taken by the Government which might tend to alter or infringe upon those rights, which are so well defined and defended by the counsel engaged on their behalf; and, on the other hand, it illustrates the difficulties which the Government have to deal with in trying to introduce amongst natives a system of forest management which these natives cannot understand, far less appreciate. The opinion expressed by one of the counsel engaged in the case is worth recording. What is required, he said in effect, are not forest officers to manage the forests, but well-trained instructors to instruct the Kings and Chiefs in the cultivation of their land. Such forestry instructors might be appointed to educate the people in scientific agriculture and arboriculture. These native Kings and Chiefs, having power under the native Jurisdiction Ordinance to make bye-laws for the conservation of the forests, could work hand in hand with such instructors, and be guided by their advice, to the lasting benefit of the economic development of the country.”

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"ETHIOPIA UNBOUND."

PRESS NOTICES, &c.

# ETHIOPIA UNBOUND

## STUDIES IN RACE EMANCIPATION.

BY CASELY HAYFORD (EKRA AGIMAN)

*Barrister-at-Law.*

Published by C. M. PHILLIPS, 14, Portugal Street, London, W.C.

The first edition of this work having been exhausted within a short time of its publication, it is proposed to issue a popular second edition. Meanwhile the following press and other notices of the work will no doubt interest those who were unable to obtain copies of the first edition.

From the "African World" of November 4th, 1911:—

### NATIVE INSTITUTIONS.

Mr. Casely Hayford, a native barrister of West Africa, known to the public by a previous work, entitled "Gold Coast Native Institutions," has just issued a new work, entitled "Ethiopia Unbound: Studies in Race Emancipation," published by C. M. Phillips, 14, Portugal Street, London, W.C., 1911. This work is a product of the times, when races are feeling after harmony and co-operation, East is calling to West and North to South for mutual understanding and co-operation. The Universal Races Congress was born of this aspiration. Mr. Casely Hayford, an African of unimpaired instincts and European scholarship, now comes forward to deal with the question. He has written from the European and the African standpoint, and it is hoped his words will be listened to as a contribution to an eirenicon. Mr. Hayford's book contains real "studies." They are not haphazard criticisms on the negro race or the white race. They are a plea for harmony and co-operation, founded on the respect of each for the religion of the other, without endeavouring to supersede one by the other, the African being allowed to worship God according to the customs of his fathers. The book should be a valuable addition to the literature of the question.

Extract of a letter from Dr. E. W. Blyden, LL.D., dated July 10th, 1910:—

I am much obliged to you for sending me your book. I have been able to give only one hour to its reading four mornings each week. I began on the 5th instant. Professor J. S. T. Davies, Acting Postmaster-General of Sierra Leone, who is deeply interested in such subjects, comes to me and he reads while I take notes, and we discuss the points raised. For this service he has suspended his daily notes on the story of my life.

The conclusion thus far reached is that "Ethiopia Unbound" is one of the most remarkable books ever produced by a native of

Africa educated on European lines. The whole drift of the work is to illustrate what the world has long been waiting for, and is still waiting for, from the educated African, viz. : that quality or character which is begotten by instinct upon culture. Hitherto we have had instinct suppressed by culture, and the result has been a perplexing barrenness. Instinct is the father, culture the mother. Whence shall come the offspring when the father is suppressed?

From the "United Empire," the Royal Colonial Institute Journal for October, 1911, pages 737-8:—

This is a book that must be read with patience and understanding. It is always difficult for the European to understand the point of view of the educated West African native, more especially when it is articulate. Mr. Hayford, a native of the Gold Coast, has written a book that is worth careful reading and sympathetic study. There is much in it that will jar upon the European reader, and much that may even cause the incautious and rash to throw the book down unread. But if the reader will persevere to the end he will be amply rewarded. However much he may dissent from some of the author's statements, or resent some of his strictures, he cannot fail to appreciate Mr. Hayford's point of view or to understand better the forces that are working slowly but surely amongst the Ethiopian peoples. It is as easy to underestimate the influence of the educated native in West Africa as it is to overestimate it. In no case can it be regarded as more than the leaven that may affect the whole. But whether the African races assimilate European culture and thought, or evolve a distinct Ethiopian civilisation of their own—as Mr. Hayford desires—it would be folly for the white man to close his eyes to the progress that is being made on all sides in Africa—a progress that is not merely material. There is much sterling common sense in "Ethiopia Unbound." Although it is quite impossible to follow the author to the heights of idealism to which he would lead us when he preaches the doctrine of an African nationality, taking what it will of Western thought, but retaining its own inherent quality, yet there can be little doubt that Mr. Hayford advances upon eminently sane lines. Thus he disapproves of the apeing of European dress which is so prevalent in the coastal districts, and desires a distinct national costume for the cultured African. He would found a national university for the Gold Coast and for Ashanti, not near the influence of the coast, but at Kumasi, away from the corroding effects of a spurious Western civilisation. This should be a national university in the fullest sense, with chairs for Fanti, Hausa, and Yoruba, and the teaching in one of these languages, and not through the medium of English. He would sweep away what he regards as the mock Christianity that substitutes an unholy monogamy, in which there is more immorality than is possible under polygamy, for marriage customs and laws that are the result of centuries of ingrained habit and thought. Mohammedanism is wiser in this respect. It is easy to pick holes in all Mr. Hayford's arguments. It is easy to assert that the idea of Ethiopianism is a dream incapable of achievement on a continent where races are innumerable, and nations, as we understand the term, do not exist. But the really important fact remains that there are those amongst the subject races of Africa who are thinking and working, not as hewers of wood and drawers of water, but upon lines that are at present foreign to European methods of thought. It is not upon the wrongs of oppressed peoples that Mr. Hayford writes, but about the question of retaining all that is good in native institutions, and preserving fundamental laws and customs that are part and parcel of the national consciousness; in fact, he is striving for a national regeneration, but not upon a prosaic Western basis.

Extract of a letter from the late Dr. E. W. Blyden, LL.D., dated August 12th, 1910:—

It is the best work on the subject that a Europeanised African can write. I mean an African imbued with Anglo-Saxon erudition. It is fine writing throughout. But the gist of the book, which I know expressed the spirit and aim with which the author has written, is contained in the last sentence, as follows:—

Little as men may now think in that direction, owing to the insurgent and overwhelming influence of a material civilisation, that is the

\* When that eventuality happens, and Ethiopia shall have entered upon her universal spiritual mission, then, hoary with age, and, freed from the trammels of so-called world progress, aims, and ambitions, she shall pursue her onward path to God in the way of humble service to mankind, and so the saying of the seer shall become true—that 'A little child shall lead them.'

" . . . . . far off Divine event

To which the whole creation moves."

Tennyson probably had not Africa in his mind when he wrote those lines, but he no doubt looked forward to some spiritual height to which in the evolution of things mankind will rise. But we believe that Africa will be in the lead.

From the Journal of the African Society, October, 1911, No. XLI., Vol. XI.:—

Mr. Hayford, whose standard work on the Native Institutions of the Gold Coast was noticed in the "Journal" some years ago, has now cast his ideas on the subject of racial problems more or less into the form of fiction. We say "more or less," because some of the chapters, and those by no means the least interesting, break quite away from the slender thread of story on which most of the episodes are strung. These episodes afford interesting glimpses of native life, of the life of African students in London, and of officialdom on the Gold Coast as it impresses the native mind. The unusual point of view alone would make the book worth reading for Europeans, apart from the intrinsic interest of the problems under discussion; and the freshness and simplicity with which they are presented, even the occasional quaintness which reminds us that English is not the author's natural medium of expression, render it unusually attractive. Deep feeling and a touch of poetic imagination are evident, in spite of the cramping influence of an alien speech, and passages from Fanti songs, quoted in the original, show the author's enthusiasm for the traditional lore of his own country. Everything seems tending towards the rise of a vernacular literature, and it is a healthy symptom that educated natives whose families, generations back, adopted English names, are reviving (as Mr. Hayford does in his title page) their Fanti appellations. Unfortunately, space does not permit of our extracting any of the thoughtful and suggestive passages we had marked for quotation. We must content ourselves with a bare reference to the nineteenth chapter, which shows how the Homeric poems appeal to the unsophisticated African—a striking comment on the incident related by Momolu Massaquoi in the July "Journal."

Extract of a letter from the late Dr. E. W. Blyden, LL.D., of October 22nd, 1911:—

I am glad to say that my hand is getting a little more steady. The more I read "Ethiopia Unbound," the more I see that it is not your book, but an inspiration. It has given me more joy and encouragement than anything I have seen for many years.

From the New York "Independent Weekly Magazine,"  
October 26th, 1911, page 927:—

Our attention is called to two literary expressions of negro ambition and courage. One is the "Crisis," edited by Prof. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, so well known for his writings, which tells us what is in the souls of black folk. The editor is the spokesman of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, of this city, and his magazine has the co-operation of Prof. Kelly Miller and other defenders of racial rights, white and coloured. It is illuminative and intelligent. The other is "Ethiopia Unbound," a volume in the guise of a story, which is but a disguise to set forth the way our Christian civilisation and our Anglo-Saxon arrogance appear to a black native of the Gold Coast of Africa, who prefers Mohammedanism to Christianity, and the native paganism to either—and who looks forward to seeing Africa belong to the Africans rather than to the Europeans who have partitioned it. The book is worth reading.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Justice Earnshaw, dated  
October 3rd, 1911:—

Please accept my hearty thanks for "Ethiopia Unbound." You deserve the warmest congratulations. My wife and I have already read many chapters with very much pleasure and interest. Some of the chapters are really works of art.

From the "Freeman," Indianapolis, newspaper:—

NEW BOOK BY NATIVE AFRICAN.

GOLD COAST BARRISTER'S IDEAL CONTRIBUTION TO  
LITERATURE.

CONTENTS COVER WIDE FIELD.

Author of "Ethiopia Unbound" and "Gold Coast Native Institutions" discusses with masterly ability the relations between the Darker Races. Will help cause in America.

By N. BARNETT DODSON.

"Ethiopia Unbound" is the title of a new book issued this fall from the press of C. M. Phillips, 14, Portugal Street, London, W.C., from the pen of the brilliant and scholarly Casely Hayford, who is the most prominent and successful practitioner before the Gold Coast Bar. Mr. Hayford is also the author of another book, a legal work of some importance to natives, entitled "Gold Coast Native Institutions," which treats of the legal procedure among the natives of the Gold Coast for hundreds of years past, and discovers the fact that the concepts of law and equity and justice held by the alleged "heathen" tribes of Africa in the adjudication of causes tried before their native courts do not in any way suffer by comparison with those practised by "the more favoured nations," which are fond of singing "Shall we whose souls are lighted with wisdom from on high," etc.

"Gold Coast Native Institutions" is the second legal work from the pen of a native African lawyer. The first book of the kind was published several years ago by Mr. J. M. Sarbah, now deceased, entitled "Fanti Customary Laws," and had, as Mr. Casely Hayford's book is having, a wide circulation in Africa and England.

Of "Ethiopia Unbound" I wish to say that no book, in my judgment, of the present century holds greater interest to the thoughtful and observant Negroes of Africa and the world than it does.

It is a serious book, written in a happy, hopeful vein, and discusses with masterful ability, keen logic and philosophical reason-

ing the great world question—the relation of the darker races to the dominant races, and the cause of the impotence and helplessness of the latter. The author points out a way which he thinks will have the effect of begetting more consideration and respect for these dark races, which are being used as shuttlecocks by the dominant, grasping, greedy nations of the world.

"Ethiopia Unbound" is a remarkable book. It is a profound analytical study of present racial and sociological conditions as seen through the eyes of an African scholar and thinker. It is bound to create a favourable impression in America among Negroes who read it, especially those who think, as well as to excite surprise among white men that a Negro has given such a faithful and accurate and truthful description of their methods in adding field to field "by tricks that are vain and ways that are dark." The book may be had on application to the publishers for 5s. (1.25 dols.); or to Bruce Grit, Sunnyslope Farm, Yonkers, N.Y.; 10 cents additional to cover postage.

#### ANNOUNCEMENT.

### "ETHIOPIA UNBOUND": STUDIES IN RACE EMANCIPATION.

JUST PUBLISHED.

By Casely Hayford, Barrister-at-Law, author of "Gold Coast Native Institutions."

This is an intensely interesting book of 215 pages, divided into 20 chapters, which sweep the whole gamut of the problems dealing with racial contact, especially from the standpoint of the native African brought under the sway of Western civilisation, and there are suggestions which bear upon conditions here in America. The author evidently in his contemplation had these in mind, for the volume is dedicated to the "Sons of Ethiopia" the world wide over. There isn't a dull page in the whole book. The author weaves romance, poetry, history, modern Christianity, the evolution of race persecution and recent striving into a plea for fidelity to racial ideals, which will evoke the freedom of which he prophesies when "Ethiopia Unbound" will be a reality. Mr. Hayford brings to the task, which he has so successfully fulfilled, training in the best schools of the Western Coast and of England. He is a member of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law, and of the Gold Coast Bar. His academic excellence, as well as his statesmanlike skill, is revealed in "Gold Coast Native Institutions," published several years ago. Some of the chapters of the present work evince indebtedness to the masterly influence of Edward Wilmot Blyden, but he is not a servile imitator, for he is a master of his subject.

His work is printed on good paper, in large type, and is bound in cloth, uncut edges. On receipt by the subscriber of 1.60 dols., which may be sent by registered letter or money order, it will be sent to any address in the United States or Canada.—Respectfully,

JOHN EDWARD BRUCE,  
Sunny Slope Farm, Yonkers, N.Y.

#### A FEW COMMENDATIONS.

I took up the book merely to glance over it, with the intention of reading it leisurely at some future time, but inherent interest held me until, at brief intervals, it was read from cover to cover.—J. W. Cromwell, Secretary American Negro Academy, Washington, D.C.

"Ethiopia Unbound" is a remarkable book. It is a profound analytical study of present racial and sociological conditions as seen through the eyes of an African scholar and thinker. It is bound to create a favourable impression in America among Negroes who read it, especially those who think, as well as to

excite surprise among white men that a Negro has given such a faithful and accurate and truthful description of their methods—in adding field to field “by tricks that are vain and ways that are dark.”—American Associated Press, N.Y.

From the “African Times and Orient Review,” of November, 1912:—

“ETHIOPIA UNBOUND: Studies in Race Emancipation.”

By Casely Hayford (Ekra Agiman), Barrister-at-Law,  
Author of “Gold Coast Native Institutions.” (London: C. M.  
Phillips, 14, Portugal Street. 1911. 5s. net.)

This book, which is dedicated “To the sons of Ethiopia the wide world over,” is a typical book about a typical man.

Kwamankra, whom the author makes his mouthpiece, is a type which has to be reckoned with in forecasting the future of the coloured races. A native of the Gold Coast, he comes to England to study law. He imbibes European learning and studies European life and faith, but with a critical mind, separating the good and the bad, choosing what is worthy of respect and rejecting what is evil. And the touchstone with which he tests everything is the African soul. “This I will take, for it is better than ours, and that I reject, because ours is better.”

We call Kwamankra a type because he represents the spirit which is moving the advanced among the sons of Ethiopia. The spirit of rebellion against the stigma which the self-styled superior races have for centuries laid upon their darker brethren, and which is leading the thoughtful leaders to compare the fundamental ideas and aims of the white and the coloured races, with a result that they repudiate the idea of inferiority and retort it on their erstwhile teachers.

Much has been written by European travellers, missionaries and merchants, about the strange and abnormal features of African life among the primitive inhabitants: the distorted lips, the tattooings and markings, the human sacrifices, regarded as peculiar and characteristic of the “degraded Negro,” ignoring the fact that such abnormalities were features of the early life of what are now held to be the “most cultured” races. The educated native, regarding the native mind and life from within, and with loving knowledge, sees beyond these “accidents” the inner meaning and deep purpose of the native social system, and, seeing, loves and admires.

Pondering on the future of his race, which he feels it is his lot and duty to guide, he turns more and more from the exotic ideas which have been inculcated as the proper course of development, to the ideas native to the soil. “Not on European lines, but on African, must we march; not to become imitations of the white man, and apes and echoes of his civilisation, with a mock culture, foreign and shallow, but real Africans, men with an African culture, deep-rooted and dear, because our own, the complement and not the copy of other cultures, developed from our own hearts and brains, to challenge comparison fearlessly with the works of other races. We have a good foundation; let us raise thereon a building for the whole world to wonder at.” Such is the spirit of the leaders of young Africa, not adopted in arrogance or overweening self-confidence, but as the result of long and profound meditation and the basis of much self-sacrifice, work and long-suffering for the uplifting of their people.

Having completed his studies, Kwamankra returns to the Gold Coast, and becomes a leader and champion of his people, for through the whole story there rings the common cry of the African races who are waking. The cry of injustice from all, and the demand for equal opportunity from the educated, who claim a right to help in ruling and moulding their native countries.

Many of the lessons which Mr. Hayford wishes to impart to his readers are put in the form of allegories in the native manner, which may also be considered as typical of the lines for the early stages of an African literature.

Chapter XVI. deals lovingly with the late Doctor Blyden, of whom Mr. Hayford is the authorised biographer.

It is in the seventeenth and eighteenth chapters that the author delivers his message to Ethiopia. What this message is the following extracts will show:—

“Whether in the east, south or west of the African Continent, or yet among the teeming millions of Ethiopia’s sons in America, the cry of the African, in its last analysis, is for scope and freedom in the struggle for existence, and it would seem as if the care of the leaders of the race has been to discover those avenues of right and natural endeavour which would, in the end, ensure for the race due recognition of its individuality.”

“A two-fold danger threatens the African everywhere. It is the outcome of certain economic conditions whose method is the exploitation of the Ethiopian for all he is worth. He is said to be pressed into the service of man—in reality, the service of the Caucasian. That being so, he never reaps the full meed of his work as a *man*. He materially contributes to the building of pavements on which he may not walk—take it as a metaphor, or as a fact, which way you please. He helps to work up revenues and to fill up exchequers over which, in most cases, he had no effective control, if any at all.

“African manhood demands that the Ethiopian should seek not his opportunity, or ask for elbow-room, from the white man, but that he should create the one or the other for himself.”

“Now, when you tell the so-called Pagan that he will not end well, that he is the devil’s own, he listens curiously, and wonders whether you can mean all you say. His attitude henceforth is a defensive one, seldom antagonistic. Henceforth he only asks to be let alone. And yet people wonder that so-called spiritual work makes such little headway in these parts.”

“What the unspoilt, educated African feels he wants is, rest—rest to think out his own thoughts and to work out his own salvation.”

“The crux of the educational question, as it affects the African, is that Western methods denationalise him. He becomes a slave to foreign ways of life and thought. He will desire to be a slave no longer. So far is this true that the moment the unspoilt, educated African shows initiative and asserts an individuality, his foreign mentor is irritated by the phenomenon. In September, 1905, public events on the Gold Coast led me to write in the local Press as follows: ‘We feel, secondly, that the educated native is unduly maligned for party purposes. It is the same cry as the educated Welsh, Irish, or Scotch. In any case, it is a childish cry—a sign of weakness. Does a native cease to be a native when once he is educated? . . . But for the educated native, where would the unsophisticated native be? Hence the weakness of the cry—the shibboleth of the “educated native” Heaven grant that the educated native may never be wanting in his duty to his less privileged brethren, or betray their trust in him.’

“But let there be no mistake about the matter. The foregoing strictly applies to the unspoilt, cultured African. The other type is no good to anybody.”

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The author makes a strong appeal to the Afro-American to return to African ideas and co-operate with his brethren in the land

of their origin. We commend the following extracts to the attention of thoughtful Afro-Americans :—

“ It is not the fault of the black man in America that he suffers to-day from the effects of a wrong that was inflicted upon him years ago by the forefathers of the very ones who now despise him. But he can see to it that as the years go by it becomes a matter of necessity for the American whites to respect and admire his manhood; and the surest way to the one or the other lies not so much in imitation as in originality and natural initiative. Not only must the Ethiopian acquire proficiency in the arts and sciences, in technical and industrial training, but he must pursue a course of scientific enquiry which would reveal to him the good things of the treasure house of his own nationality.

“ The average Afro-American citizen of the United States has lost absolute touch with the past of his race, and is helplessly and hopelessly groping in the dark for affinities that are not natural and for effects for which there are neither national nor natural causes. That being so, the African in America is in a worse plight than the Hebrew in Egypt. The one preserved his language, his manners and customs, his religion and household gods; the other has committed national suicide, and at present it seems as if the dry bones of the vision have no life in them. Looking at the matter closely, it is not so much *Afro-Americans* that we want as *Africans* or *Ethiopians*, sojourning in a strange land, who, out of a full heart and a full knowledge can say: ‘ If I forget thee, Ethiopia, let my right hand forget its cunning!’ Let us look at the other side of the picture. How extraordinary would be the spectacle of this huge Ethiopian race—some millions of men—having imbibed all that is best in Western culture in the land of their oppressors, yet remaining true to racial instincts and inspirations, customs and institutions, much as did the Israelites of old in captivity! When this more pleasant picture will have become possible of realisation, then, and only then, will it be possible for our people in bondage ‘ metaphorically to walk out of Egypt in the near future with a great and a real spoil.’ ”

W. F. H.

From the “ Jamaica Times ” :—

“ ETHIOPIA UNBOUND.” Casely Hayford. (Phillips, London.)

This is a book distinctly out of the common run of books. It is written by one whom education has not lured away from sympathy with his own race and people. There is plenty of genuine feeling about it, not a few distinct pen pictures and evidence of a strong imagination and a poetic one.

From the “ Morning Post,” of September 5th, 1912 :—

#### THE SELF-REALISATION OF THE NEGRO.

“ ETHIOPIA UNBOUND: Studies in Race Emancipation.”

By Casely Hayford (Ekra Agiman), Barrister-at-Law. (C. M. Phillips.) 5s. net.

We hope no one will lay down the book without reading the chapters on “ Race Emancipation ” (XVI.-XVIII). It is high time that Africa roused herself from her long inertia, though surely the awakening force has been from without, from contact with white civilisation, rather than from within. By all means let the African assert his individuality; let him base his conduct on what reason and nature expect of him, not on the white man’s opinion of him (cf. p. 191). We hope that this book may help towards a Negro renaissance, and that the black man may win his way to a position of respect among the races of the world.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE  
WEST AFRICAN LAND QUESTION

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CASELY HAYFORD

(EKRA-AGIMAN)

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*Second Edition.*